The Punic Mediterranean

Identities and Identification from Phoenician Settlement to Roman Rule

Edited by

Josephine Crawley Quinn
and Nicholas C. Vella

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The role of the Phoenicians in the economy, culture and politics of the ancient Mediterranean was as large as that of the Greeks and Romans, and deeply interconnected with that 'classical' world, but their lack of literature and their oriental associations mean that they are much less well-known. This book brings state-of-the-art international scholarship on Phoenician and Punic studies to an English-speaking audience, collecting new papers from fifteen leading voices in the field from Europe and North Africa, with a bias towards the younger generation. Focusing on a series of case studies from the colonial world of the western Mediterranean, it asks what 'Phoenician' and 'Punic' actually mean, how Punic or western Phoenician identity has been constructed by ancients and moderns, and whether there was in fact a 'Punic world'.

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Abbreviations

AE	*L'Année épigraphique* (Paris, 1888–).
CEDAC	Centre de Documentation Archéologique de la Conservation de Carthage.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, consilio et auctoritate Academiae litterarum regiae Borussicae editum.* (Berlin, 1863–).
CNS	*Corpus Nummorum Siculorum. La monetazione di bronzo*, R. Calciati (Milan, 1983).
DCyP	*Diccionario de cecas y pueblos hispánicos*, M. P. García-Bellido and C. Blázquez (Madrid, 2001).
FGrH	*Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, F. Jacoby (Leiden/Berlin, 1923–).
GGM	*Geographi Graeci minores*, K. Müller (Paris, 1855).
IAM I	*Inscriptions Antiques du Maroc* I. *Inscriptions libyques. Inscriptions puniques et néopuniques. Inscriptions hébraïques des sites antiques*, L. Galand, J. Février and G. Vajda (Paris, 1966).
IAM II	*Inscriptions Antiques du Maroc* II. *Inscriptions latines*, M. Euzennat and J. Marion (Paris, 1982).
ID	*Inscriptions de Délos* (Paris, 1926–1972).
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin, 1903–).
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, H. Dessau (ed.) (Berlin, 1892–1916).
ORF	*Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta liberae rei publicae* (4th edition), H. Malcovati (Turin, 1976).
RIL	*Recueil des inscriptions libyques*, J. B. Chabot (Paris, 1940–1).
RRC	*Roman Republican Coinage*, M. H. Crawford (Cambridge, 1974).
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Amsterdam/ Leiden, 1923–).
SNG Cop.	*Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals* (Copenhagen, 1942–).

KEY TO MAPS

3. Van Dommelen
6. Frey-Kupper
7. Maraoui Telmimi *et al.*
8. Ben Younès & Krandel-Ben Younès
9. Quinn

10. Bridoux
11. Papi
12. Aranegui Gascó & Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez
13. Jiménez

0   250   500 km

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Introduction

JOSEPHINE CRAWLEY QUINN AND NICHOLAS C. VELLA

The poster for Giovanni Pastrone's 1914 silent epic *Cabiria* evokes a luxurious and barbaric world of wicked priests, noble elephants, and child sacrifice in the belly of a giant brazen bull-headed god (Fig. 0.1. See also Plate 1). *Cabiria*, often described as the first feature film, told the story of a Sicilian girl kidnapped by Phoenician pirates and sold into slavery in Carthage (Pastrone 1977; Bertetto and Rondolino 1998). Once there, she is chosen for sacrifice to the god 'Moloch' – a modern invention who owes his name to a misunderstanding of the Phoenician term *molk*, or 'sacrifice', on votive inscriptions. In this scene, worshippers gather in anticipation at the temple of Moloch, while the heroic Roman general Fulvius Auxilla and his slave Maciste plan to rescue Cabiria from the fiery fate her Carthaginian captors have planned.

This populist vision of the western Mediterranean in the third century BCE was released just three years after the Italian invasion and occupation of Tripolitania, and closely equated Carthage and its Phoenician population with the Arab world (Garnand 2001; cf. Feig Vishnia 2008). In many ways it reproduced the horrified fascination of Greek and Latin authors with 'Punic faithlessness' and brutality (Prag, Chapter 1; Quinn, Chapter 9), and it coincided with a new scholarly interest in the Punic world, especially in North Africa, which was prompted in particular by the establishment of the French protectorate in Tunisia in 1883; Stéphane Gsell's great *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* began to be published the year before *Cabiria* was released (Gsell 1913–28).

Despite this early interest prompted in large part by European colonial activity, 'Punic' and more broadly Phoenician history and culture rarely featured in the study of classical antiquity over the following half-century (van Dommelen, Chapter 3). The language was studied as a minor branch of Near Eastern Studies, and the lack of literature meant that the culture was scarcely felt worthy of study at all: like the Etruscans, the Phoenicians were simply irrelevant to those schooled in Greco-Roman history and literature. There were of course exceptions to this: in Malta, for instance, the Phoenician past has always been a strong focus of archaeological investigation – if often for more political than scholarly ends (Vella and Gilkes 2001).

Fig. 0.1. Poster for *Cabiria* (directed by Giovanni Pastrone, 1914). Poster design: Luigi Enrico Caldanzano. (Plate 1.)

Things began to change in Italy in the 1960s, when Sabatino Moscati founded the school of Phoenician and Punic studies whose work has been showcased in the *Rivista di Studi Fenici* since 1973 and that still thrives under his pupils today. This increased interest in Phoenician and in particular western Phoenician or 'Punic' studies was not peculiar to Italy: in the 1970s the UNESCO 'Save Carthage' campaign brought scholars and archaeologists from all over Europe and the USA to work at the great Punic city (Ennabli 1992).

The next twenty-five years saw the field's popularity grow in Europe as a result of collaborative research projects, including the publication of the series *Studia Phoenicia* by an inter-university working group based in Namur and Leuven, two dictionaries (Amadasi 1992; Lipiński 1992), and two research manuals (Gras *et al.* 1989; Krings 1995). Along with classic monographs on the Phoenicians (Aubet 1993) and Carthage (Lancel 1992=1995), these were milestones in what Moscati called 'l'età della sintesi' (1995b). Archaeology continued to play its part: along the coast of Andalucia in Spain, for instance, unprecedented archaeological discoveries, first by German and later by Spanish teams, revealed Phoenician activity in the western Mediterranean from an early date, a possibility hitherto denied in Grecocentric scholarship (Gill 1991: 41; Niemeyer 1995b).

At the same time, a series of exhibitions – in Brussels (Gubel 1986), Venice (Moscati 1988a), and Hannover (Gehrig and Niemeyer 1990) – put on display for public and scholarly consumption the fruits of new archaeological research throughout the Mediterranean, commemorating the coming of age of a discipline and challenging the supposedly elusive nature of its ancient protagonists, the Phoenicians.

In the UK, however, despite Donald Harden's work on Carthage and other aspects of the western Phoenician world (Harden 1927; 1937; 1962; 1981), Benedict Isserlin's excavations at Motya (Isserlin 1964), Henry Hurst's project at Carthage (Hurst 1984; 1994; 1999; Hurst and Roskams 1984), and Richard Barnett's publication of artefacts from the tombs at Tharros and ivories from Nimrud (Barnett 1957; Barnett and Mendleson 1987), Phoenician and Punic studies made very little impact at all: there are no established academic posts in the area and, until recently, very little of the scholarly literature was published in English.

This comparative British silence on the widespread activities and connections of Phoenician-speaking communities in the western Mediterranean made Punic Studies an obvious focus for a joint project between the British School at Rome and the Society for Libyan Studies in 2008, which was generously funded by the British Academy. But when the steering group first met to discuss the precise form this project should take, we realized that we had great difficulty answering a very basic question: what does 'Punic' actually mean? 'Identifying the Punic Mediterranean' became the theme of a workshop held at the BSR in November 2008, for which nineteen scholars from Tunisia, France, Spain, Italy, the United Kingdom, Malta, Holland, Belgium, Canada, the United States of America, and Switzerland were asked to address the following questions: What does 'Punic' mean? How does it relate to 'Phoenician'? How has Punic identity been constructed by ancients and moderns? Is there a ' Punic world'? How coherent is Punic culture? The papers given at the workshop addressed both ancient identities *as* 'Punic' and modern identifications *of* 'Punic', two separate but often closely related problems that have become the twin themes of this volume. Many of those papers are published here, along with four additional contributions by Corinne Bonnet, Alicia Jiménez, Josephine Quinn, and Andrea Roppa, which were written to fill specific gaps that emerged in the project's geographical and thematic coverage, and an afterword by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill.

This book is divided into two sections, the first exploring our two themes at a general level, and the second focusing on particular places and case studies. The first three chapters tackle modern identification. Prag opens the volume with a deconstruction of the modern distinction between

(eastern) Phoenician and (western) Punic, showing that it was not, or not until a late stage and in a partial fashion, a distinction that can be found in the ancient textual evidence. Vella then traces the development or even invention of the modern category of Phoenician itself, before van Dommelen looks at the ways in which 'Punic' identities have been used in modern social and political contexts. Turning to ancient identities, Bondì's chapter problematizes the notion of 'Punicity' from a different direction, with a forthright account of the differences between the material cultures of the western regions that calls into question the homogeneity of the 'Punic Mediterranean' from an archaeological perspective. The chapters by Gómez Bellard and Frey-Kupper take a different line, however, based in both cases on studies of specific aspects of 'Punic' material culture across broad geographical areas. Gómez Bellard's general survey of burial practices makes the case for a common cultural identity in the west, and Frey-Kupper extends this position by arguing that supra-regional coinages not only expressed a significant degree of cultural homogeneity but also promoted interregional exchange.

When we turn to particular case studies, however, it seems that the smaller the scale of the analysis, the larger the variation that looms. Starting with the city of Carthage itself, Maraoui Telmini and her colleagues explore the ways in which the pottery record shows both openness to the rest of the Mediterranean and strongly conservative traits. With regard to the problem of definition, they point out that although the archaeology of early Carthage marks it out right from the start as singular among western Phoenician settlements, there are very significant changes in the city's urban fabric and material culture in the middle of the sixth century that map on to the traditional chronological distinction made between 'Phoenician' and 'Punic'. Looking at the nearby Sahel region, Ben Younès demonstrates the variety of 'punicities' encountered even within a small area, and Krandel-Ben Younès then emphasizes the Libyan contribution to the cultural character of the 'Numidian' Tell. Still within the Maghreb, Quinn explores Carthaginian, Greek and Numidian relations that she argues are played out through a myth whose likely western Phoenician origin has been written out of modern scholarship. On a more practical level, Bridoux collects the pottery data for exchange between the Punic world and the Numidian kingdoms to argue once again for a high level of local variation, and most significantly to query the centrality of Carthage's role in these trade circuits. Papi then takes us further west again to pre-Roman Morocco, where he questions whether Carthage played a role in commercial and cultural exchange at all.

Crossing the Straits of Gibraltar, Jiménez uses the coinages of southern Iberia to question the homogeneity of 'Punic' culture there, especially after the fall of Carthage, and Aranegui and Vives-Ferrándiz focus not so much on Punicities but Iberianisms, describing local cultural and economic networks in southeastern Iberia, and the impact on them of traders and travellers from a Punic cultural background. Completing this circuit of the western Mediterranean, Roppa looks at settlement patterns in Sardinia to argue against conventional analyses of the island as 'Punic' as well as conventional accounts of Carthaginian imperialism there, and to highlight once again variation in identities at the local level.

Finally, Bonnet takes us all the way back to the Phoenician motherland. While for Bondì there had been a substantial unity between the cities of the Levant that means that we can still talk about one 'Phoenicity' there, Bonnet argues that by the Hellenistic period at least, these Phoenicians too 'combined tradition and innovation, and displayed different identities according to space, time, purpose and social context'. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill's afterword then situates the problems raised by the essays in broader contexts of modern politics and Mediterranean scholarship, and suggests a new way forwards.

In the context of its particular focus on identity and identification, we want this book to illustrate the current nature of research in Phoenicio-Punic studies, and make no apology for the fact that this gathering of scholars from very different backgrounds and academic traditions reveals the variety of assumptions and starting points from which we approach the field; indeed, we see this as one of the strengths of the volume. In particular, we have not attempted as editors to impose a standard or agreed definition of 'Punic' – a particularly tricky problem given the apparent lack of self-definition or indeed self-consciousness as a group on the part of those to whom we apply the term, on which more below. Instead, we merely asked authors to define how they each use or understand the term. The results reveal the confusing variety in the modern usage of the word, and help to explain why many of the chapters here attempt in various ways to deconstruct and contest its usage.

On the most straightforward level, 'Punic' can be used to denote the world of the Phoenician settlements in the western Mediterranean (here, for instance, by Frey-Kupper and Bonnet). Another geographically based definition, however, sees 'Punic' as the result of the mixing of Phoenician and local cultures in these colonial contexts; for Ben Younès, for instance, a 'Punic' is somebody living in the Sahel, whatever their ethnic origin, and Krandel-Ben Younès distinguishes the 'Libyan' interior from the 'Punic'

coast. Often, though, as Gómez Bellard's survey of dictionary definitions shows, the word is understood specifically in relation to the city of Carthage (cf. here Bondì); in rather different ways, Bridoux and Papi's chapters reflect on the extension of the scope of that traditional definition to the areas of the western Mediterranean under Carthaginian political and cultural influence.

Not all definitions focus solely on geography, however. Largely as a result of the traditional connection between the term and the city of Carthage, the scope of 'Punic' has frequently been restricted to the period from the sixth century onwards (as here by Bondì, van Dommelen, Gómez Bellard, Aranegui and Vives-Ferrándiz, and Jiménez), with the earlier period called 'Phoenician' even in the west. This usage follows the classic definition given by Moscati (1963) and discussed in this volume by Maraoui Telmini and her colleagues, and reflects the perception of many scholars that the sixth century was a time of significant cultural change in the western Phoenician world – exemplified, for instance, by the shift from cremation to inhumation in burial practices (Gómez Bellard, Chapter 5), a phenomenon that is itself usually connected with increasing Carthaginian hegemony in the western Mediterranean (Bondì, Chapter 4). Some of the contributors to this volume debate the true significance of these cultural changes (Roppa, Maraoui Telmini *et al.*), and discuss the nature of Carthaginian hegemony in the wider western Mediterranean (Bridoux, Papi, Roppa); the latter chapters represent only the latest contributions to an ongoing debate on Carthaginian imperialism that started with C. R. Whittaker's classic article arguing that 'only in one or possibly two respects can imperial control be detected: one is emigration under what might be called privileged conditions to states who owed obligations to Carthage . . . the other is in control of ports of trade' (Whittaker 1978: 60). A version of Whittaker's point of view is now largely accepted, as Maraoui Telmini and colleagues note in this volume, but the definition of a 'Punic' periodization based on an older model of Carthaginian territorial control remains standard in much scholarship.

But should we be using the word 'Punic' at all? This collection of writings might suggest not. As Prag shows, the ancients distinguished only rarely and late between 'Phoenician' and 'Punic', and there is no certain attestation of anyone identifying themselves as 'Punic' (Prag 2006; Chapter 1). At the same time, many of the chapters collected here draw attention to cultural variation in the 'Punic' Mediterranean (on which see also, in the Iberian context, Ferrer Albelda and Álvarez Marti-Aguilar 2009). Does the much stronger modern distinction between the two serve

a purpose, or would it be better simply to talk of eastern and western Phoenicians? This would draw useful attention to what these two groups shared in common, such as their language (Punic does not diverge significantly from Standard Phoenician until after the fall of Carthage: Hackett 2004: 367) and the economic contacts and cultural interactions that existed between east and west, even if their relative significance is debated (Ferjaoui 1992; Quinn 2011a; cf. Bonnet, Chapter 15). It would also avoid the negative connotations of the ancient usage of 'Punic' (López Castro 2006).

Should we in fact go further, though, and avoid even 'Phoenician'? As is well known, those we call Phoenicians never called themselves 'Phoenician' (Xella 2008: 70); instead, they identified themselves by their city-origins (Bordreuil and Ferjaoui 1988) and occasionally, perhaps, as part of a broader group of Canaanites, though there is no evidence from Phoenicio-Punic sources for that identification either (Xella 1995: 247). There is in addition a great deal of cultural and economic exchange between Phoenician speakers and other populations in the east that mirrors that described here in the west (Ben Younès and Krandel-Ben Younès; Bridoux; Aranegui and Vives-Ferrándiz). Is the whole notion even of a 'Phoenician world' then a purely external construction? If so, Vella and van Dommelen show here how useful such constructions have been to modern scholars and politicians; perhaps it is time to leave them aside – and time to consider too the history and utility of even more familiar categories such as 'Greek' and 'Roman'.

However that may be, this volume forms part of a recent renewed enthusiasm for Phoenician and Punic studies demonstrated elsewhere by a major exhibition at the Institut du Monde Arabe in Paris (Fontan and Le Meaux 2007), a substantial volume in English on Punic rural settlement (van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard 2008b), a new research manual for Italian students (Bondì *et al.* 2009), and a new monograph on the history of Carthage (Miles 2010). In Britain the Punic Studies Network, which grew out of the 2008 British School at Rome conference, holds regular annual graduate student workshops, currently under the aegis of the Oxford Centre for Phoenician and Punic Studies. Whether or not readers of this book conclude that the Punic, or indeed Phoenician, world is an invention – ancient or modern – we can agree with Martin Frederiksen (Vella, Chapter 2) that the Phoenicians are still on the way back.

We owe a great deal of thanks to all the people who have been involved in this project, especially the contributors, who have been extremely patient over the lengthy period between the original conference and final publication, as well as the other members of the steering committee: Roald

Abbreviations of ancient sources follow the conventions in the third edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1996).

Contexts

1 | *Phoinix* and *Poenus*: usage in antiquity

JONATHAN R. W. PRAG

The term *poenus*, and its modern English equivalent 'Punic', is one of the most problematic in the classical tradition. There is hardly any evidence for its use in self-definition by individuals in antiquity, and the word itself is used almost solely in literary contexts. Nonetheless, it is freely, often uncritically, employed across all branches of scholarship in the study of the ancient Mediterranean, and rarely is it clearly defined. Although, as I shall suggest in this chapter, 'Greek' is probably the nearest equivalent term (in use, not meaning), even this equivalence is only partial: 'Greek' is, most would accept, an ethnic label; but whether 'Punic' can really be so defined, when to the best of our knowledge no-one defined themselves as 'Punic', seems much less obvious (Prag 2006). 'Punic' has, for example, no equivalent in ancient literature to the notorious passage in which Herodotus offers a definition of what constitutes 'hellenicity' (Hdt. 8.144, on which Thomas 2001; cf. Hall 2002), and there is little modern debate of the sort which that passage has engendered – as opposed to very extensive accounts of the negative image of the Punic (cf. Bernal 1987 (chapters 8–9); Vella 1996; Liverani 1998; Bonnet 2005; Bonnet and Krings 2006).

The essential difficulty of the term is well illustrated by the virtual absence in modern English usage of a noun for those described as 'Punic'.[1] The observation in fact begs the question: whom would we wish to describe as 'Punics'? As is noted in the introduction to this volume, the term 'Punic' has been applied most commonly to those peoples of primarily Phoenician origin settled in the western Mediterranean, often with a chronological *terminus post quem* of the sixth century BCE (advocated by Moscati (1988d; cf. Moscati 1995a: 1–3)). The term usually carries an implicit association with Carthage, and often a presumption of some degree of Carthaginian hegemony, not least because the significance of the sixth century lies precisely in the rise of Carthaginian hegemony in the west;

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[1] Although 'Punic' is occasionally pressed into service as a noun in modern English, this can seem awkward; the *New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* observes (*s.v.* 'Punic', A.2) that the substantive form is archaic (that is, 'Punick') and really only found currency up to the seventeenth century.

on occasion, modern usage even appears to imply equivalence between 'Punic' and 'Carthaginian'.[2] In some recent work there has been a move to abandon the term 'Punic' both because of its implications – among many moderns – of Carthaginian hegemony (however defined) and because of the unavoidable, and undesirable, influence of the associated negative stereotype with which the label is frequently burdened. It has been suggested that we should, instead, employ the apparently more neutral label 'western Phoenician' (López Castro 2007: 105; cf. Prag 2006: 4–7; Aubet 2001: 10–13). This chapter however is not concerned directly with the modern usage as such, but rather with the ancient usage that underpins it. Through a consideration of the word's origins, and how the ancient terminology was in fact used, I shall try to clarify the actual scope of *poenus*, and in so doing problematize the modern usage.

The ancient negative stereotype is of course important to this process, but is hardly the whole story (and it should be emphasized that this chapter is not concerned with discussing the stereotype *per se*, but only as it relates to the development of the terminology). As we shall see, the negative tradition about 'Punics' does have precedents in the Greek tradition. Although, for historical reasons, both negative traditions (Greek and Roman) are very westward focused, this does not prove that the terminology refers only to the west. In both Greek and Latin traditions, the underlying term for 'Phoenician'/'Punic' is in fact the same, because *poenus* is in fact equivalent to φοῖνιξ. Modern notions of 'Punic' as applying to the western Mediterranean take their inspiration principally from the later Roman literary tradition (dating from the very late Republic onwards), rather than any more secure foundation. The evidence for a real distinction between eastern and western Phoenicians will consequently be shown to be surprisingly weak.

The origins of 'Punic'

At its simplest, 'Punic' derives from the Latin *poenus*, while 'Phoenician' comes from the Greek φοῖνιξ. However, the existence of two seemingly

[2] The problem is particularly visible in English translations, where *Poeni* is regularly (and wrongly) translated by 'Carthaginians': for example, Sélincourt (1965: 546 = Livy 28.37.1–4) repeatedly renders *Poeni* as 'Carthaginians' in a passage where the whole point is that these were independent communities. Franko's 1994 study of *Poenus* and *Carthaginiensis* (see below) is itself partially flawed by such equivalence, and Palmer (1997: 74 n.7), responding to Franko, himself asserts 'we still doubt that when a Roman thought *Poenus*, he did not also think *Carthaginiensis*'.

distinct terms in modern usage is not in fact an accurate reflection of the situation in antiquity. The Latin term *poenus* is itself the rendering of the Greek φοῖνιξ, with the Latin *phoenix* a later development of (probably) the first century BCE.[3]

In both Greek and Latin there was originally only one term to describe these peoples, wherever in the Mediterranean they appeared. The origins of the Greek term φοῖνιξ are much debated, although the only point of significance for this discussion is that the name was not, so far as we can tell, one that the Phoenicians used of themselves (Billigmeier 1977; Röllig 1983; Vandersleyen 1987; Paraskevaidou 1991). Crucially, Greek never employed a second term to mark out a distinct western group of Phoenicians (or 'Punics'): whether they come from Gades, Carthage or Tyre, all fall under the single label of φοίνικες. However, the actual reality of Greek usage is important – more often than not, most Greek writers would have described 'Phoenicians' from any of these cities as Gaditani, Carthaginians or Tyrians, and not as Phoenicians (see further below).

In Latin, the original term was *poenus*;[4] it is only subsequently that one also finds the term *phoenix*.[5] Significantly, the earlier, unaspirated forms are found applied to eastern as well as western Phoenicians, reflecting the originally single designation, as in Greek.[6] However, it does appear to be true that the later aspirated form, *phoenix*, is only ever found in descriptions of eastern Phoenicians. The developing distinction in usage, consequent upon a combination of linguistic evolution and historical patterns of interaction, is first visible in Varro and Cicero.[7]

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[3] On the distinction in ancient usage, see the original study of Bunnens (1983); much of what is discussed here is examined in more detail elsewhere (Prag 2006), to which however add Edwards (1977), esp. 234–5 (I am grateful to Andrew Lintott for this reference).

[4] And its cognates: *punicans, punicanus, puniceus, punicus*, and the adverb *punice*; forms in *-oe-* are earlier (cf. Baldi 1999: 248 n. 1).

[5] And its cognates: *Phoenice/Phoenica* (place-names, not adverbs), *Phoeniceus, Phoenicius, Phoenissa*.

[6] As for example Cic. *Fin.* 4.56 (*poenulus* and *phoenicia* together); *Rep.* 2.9, 3.7, 3.fr.3; Varro, *Ling.* 5.23.113, 8.35.65. Varro, *Rust.* 1.1.10 refers specifically to language (*poenica lingua*), and raises the interesting question as to whether the language of the Carthaginians was distinguished by the ancients from that of the eastern Phoenicians (see further below).

[7] The earliest testimony to a distinction between *Phoenices* and *Poeni* looks to be in Varro (*ap.* Plin. *HN* 3.1.8): *in universam Hispaniam M. Varro pervenisse Hiberos et Persas et Phoenicas Celtasque et Poenos tradit.* A possible exception is Mela 2.96, describing *Phoenices* crossing from Africa to Spain, in contrast to 2.94 (*Poeni* under Hasdrubal founding New Carthage): but this seems to be in line with the Varronian tradition, is linked in the text to the foundation of Phoenician Tartesos, and crucially relates directly to Mela's own personal origin myths. See Prag 2006, 12 n. 47 for the problematic case of the personal name *Phoenicium* in Plaut. *Pseud.* 226.

Guy Bunnens has already observed that the aspirated forms only appear in Latin literature from the mid-first century BCE onwards. He suggested an historical explanation for this, namely that the Romans were slow to become aware of the eastern Phoenicians as a distinct people from those of Carthage and the other Phoenician settlements of the western Mediterranean whom they had already encountered. For him therefore, the separation of the two terms was consequent upon the rise of Roman power in the east and the destruction of Carthage in 146 BCE (Bunnens 1983; cf. Bunnens 1979). Appealing as this historical explanation may be, it can be only part of the answer, not least since it is partially flawed by the presumption that these peoples, east and west, were perceived to be distinct. Another essential consideration is more banal: the aspirate, and with it forms in *ph-*, only entered Latin orthography in the course of the second century BCE.[8]

In other words, use of the term 'Punic' to delineate a distinct people in the western Mediterranean is a practice taken wholly from later Latin usage (not datable before the very end of the Republic), and itself not one universally adopted in antiquity, since it does not appear to be mirrored in, for example, contemporary Greek literature. That should, at the very least, be a cause for caution.

Before looking at the ancient usage in more detail, it may be helpful briefly to consider the comparison offered by the terms for Sicilian in Greek and Latin: fifth-century Greek discourse can clearly be seen to differentiate between Σικελοί (native Sikels) and Σικελιῶται (Greek settlers in Sicily); over time however the distinction broke down, and in Latin there was only ever the single term *Siculus*.[9] The comparison's value lies in illustrating the different practices adopted in different languages, consequent upon different historical moments of identity formation and salience, and of language contact (significant Roman involvement in Sicily

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[8] The digraphs *ph*, *th* and *ch* 'are not found in early inscriptions and are prevalent in Latin orthography only from about the middle of the second century BCE. At that time they become standard in transcribing Greek names and other loanwords containing the Greek aspirated stops φ, θ, and χ. . . Before that time it was customary for Latin to use the simple *p, t,* and *c* . . .' (Baldi 1999: 291). Wachter (1987: 455–6 with n. 1027) suggests that *CIL* I².2940, from Samothrace, is the earliest example: *L. Iu(v)entius M.[f.]| Thalna m[ystes] | pius* (possibly the legate active in Spain 185–184 BCE, Livy 39.31.4, 39.38.4–6). *CIL* I².626, 630, and 631 (all from the 140s BCE) are the other early examples. The presence of *triumphans, Achaia,* but also *Corinto* in no. 626, and the legend *Q. Pilipus* on *RRC* 259 (129 BCE), indicate that the change was gradual. See now Poccetti (2010).

[9] On Σικελοί and Σικελιῶται, see, for example Thuc. 6.34 and Antonaccio (2001); for the distinction's collapse over time, see Diod. Sic. 5.6.5 with Prag (2013).

dates from the third century BCE, by which time the distinctions internal to fifth-century Sicily had become largely irrelevant). The comparison has its limits however: the Punic case remains unusual both for the late formation of the Latin distinction, visible only after the primary period of historical interaction with Carthage (as we shall see, it is difficult to associate the Latin bifurcation with a salient identity), and the further fact that Greek speakers never took up the distinction. By contrast the Sicilian distinction was already obsolete when Latin-speakers came on the scene, and so the impetus for any such maintenance of separate identities was lost.

Ancient usage

A brief examination of ancient usage of the terms for Phoenician and Punic may help clarify this development. By placing the Greek usage of φοῖνιξ in context, it is possible to trace a development from Greek usage, including a negative tradition about the Phoenicians/Carthaginians in the western Greek tradition, through to the later Roman usage. Such a sequence offers at least a partial explanation for the subsequent development of two differ-ent terms in Latin, with the increasingly western-oriented term *poenus* carrying the greater burden of the negative stereotype. This is not to suggest that as a result of this trajectory later Roman usage was wholly negative (neither was the earlier Greek usage), but it is undeniable that the negative emphasis upon the *Poeni* in the Roman tradition comes to dominate over more neutral usage.[10]

As already suggested, Greek usage of ethnic descriptions is normally rather precise. Some texts speak of Phoenicians in the west, not least in the early period of westward expansion (for example, Thuc. 6.2.6, Hdt. 2.32, 4.197, 5.46, or Pind. *Pyth.* 1.72). Others imply that the Carthaginians can be treated as a group distinct from the broader category of Phoenicians without specifying whether they are or are not a part of that larger group, although the point of the passage is usually a contrast with the Phoenicians of the east (for example, Hdt. 7.167, Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F186). But generally speaking, Greek usage is best exemplified by the precision of civic ethnics

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[10] For overviews of the portrayal of Phoenicians/Carthaginians, see for example Bunnens (1979); Mazza (1988); Prag (2006), which also deals with epigraphic self-representation. Specifically on the Greek tradition, for example: Ribichini (1983); Schepens (1987); Bondì (1990); Musti (1991); Barceló (1994). On the Roman tradition, for example: Thiel 1994 (first published in 1954); Prandi (1979); Dubuisson (1983); Bellen (1985: 20–35); Franko (1994); Devallet (1996); Poinsotte (2002); Camous (2007).

employed by writers as diverse as Aristophanes, Thucydides, or Aristotle (for example, Ar. *Eq.* 1303; Thuc. 6.15, 34, 88, 90; Arist. *Poet.* 1459a, *Pol.* 1272b–1273b). The second-century BCE author Polybius provides a particularly interesting case study. The term φοῖνιξ only occurs eight times in Polybius, always describing those in the west, together with one adverbial instance, meaning to speak Phoenicio-Punic.[11] This stands in sharp contrast to over 700 instances of the civic ethnic καρχηδόνιος in the same author.

This should not be a surprise. As Frank Walbank put it, 'Polybius was Greek enough to get this sort of thing right'.[12] Civic ethnics were the dominant form of ethnic and political identity in the ancient Mediterranean (and indeed the same would seem to be true within Phoenicio-Punic inscriptions and coinage also, not just in the Greek-speaking world).[13] That being the case, a broader term such as φοῖνιξ requires more careful consideration. The modern tendency to classify 'Phoenician' (or 'Punic') as an ethnic, in contrast to a political, designation (the civic 'ethnic') is precisely that – a modern tendency. Epigraphic and literary practices differed in antiquity, and modern notions of ethnicity do not readily map onto ancient practices.[14] In Greek epigraphy, the handful of instances of the ethnic label φοῖνιξ appear to relate specifically to an immediate origin in the actual region of Levantine Phoenicia (Prag 2006: 22–4; cf. 20–1 as

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[11] Polyb. 1.19.10 (army in Sicily); 3.78.1 (Hannibal uses a Phoenician stratagem); 6.52.10 (Phoenician character); 9.11.2 (Phoenician character); 11.19.4 (as one element of Hannibal's army); 14.1.4 (Syphax friendly towards Phoenicians); 14.5.4 (a Carthaginian camp is Phoenician); 15.4.3 (describing Carthaginians); 1.80.6 (adverbial form). There are also eight instances of Phoenicia proper, describing the region in the Levant: 3.2.8; 5.59.4, 5; 5.66.6; 5.67.10; 5.87.6; 8.17.11; 28.1.2. Cf. Franko (1994: 157–8), who does not put the instances in context, and Prag (2006: 18).

[12] Walbank (1951: 46 n. 24); contrast Whittaker's (1978: 64) peculiar assertion that 'there is perhaps a natural tendency among Greek authors to think of all Phoenicians as Carthaginians'.

[13] Thus, for example, Millar (1993: 246): 'The point is not a trivial one, for we consistently mistranslate, and therefore misconceive, the nature of the communal attachments which gave people their identity, in the eyes of both themselves and others.' On the Phoenicians, for example, Niemeyer (2000: 93): 'The Levantine communities were apparently defined primarily as the populations of their respective city-states, and had thus already developed their corporate identity by the second millennium . . . As to the people and their ethnicity, the predominant if not decisive factor seems to have been whether or not they belonged to one of the city-communities along the Levantine coast.' See, for example, *SEG* 18.450 (*c.* 200 BCE), and Prag (2006: 21–2, nn. 94–6) for more examples.

[14] Cf. Lomas (2000: 86), discussing Italic peoples: 'Although the literary sources routinely prioritise the ethnic names over those of the individual communities, referring to these collectively, the epigraphic evidence generated by these communities themselves at the same period, in contrast, shows the opposite pattern – an emphasis on the state rather than the *ethnos*.'

well as Hansen 1996: 174–5, 187, 190): not in itself either surprising or unusual as an example of a regional or supra-polis ethnic, typically based upon a toponym. The use of the term in literature, in relation to those in the west, belongs in a different category. The examples of φοῖνιξ in Polybius are atypical for their association in several instances with the negative stereotype of the Phoenicians, which is otherwise virtually absent from that particular author.[15] Consequently, it has been suggested that Polybius's usage here is a direct consequence of his close association with his Roman hosts, and so reflects the Roman influence of the negative Punic stereotype upon the writer (Walbank 1957–79: I, 412, *ad Polyb.* 3.78.1). Arguably that does Polybius himself an injustice, but more importantly, it (wrongly) gives the responsibility for the negative stereotype entirely to the Romans, and so fails to take proper account of prior Greek usage. It should be stressed that at the time when Polybius was writing, Latin *poenus* was equivalent to Greek *phoinix*, and not necessarily therefore either a distinct term nor possessed of a distinct function.

A clear case can be made for the development in the western Greek tradition, from at least the early fifth century BCE, of the presentation of the Carthaginians as the 'barbarian' (Prag 2010). From the outset, this often can be seen operating in explicit parallelism with the developing treatment of the Persians by the Athenians and others, and later on, the similar influence of the Alexander tradition is also clear (cf. Feeney 2007: 43–59).[16] Such a presentation often forms a key part of the claims of Syracusan tyrants, and others, to liberate the Sicilian Greeks from the (barbarian) Carthaginians. From at least the fourth century BCE onwards this discourse shows signs of a strongly negative and moralizing tone, as for instance in the claim that Gelon required the Carthaginians to give up human sacrifice, reported in the tradition as early as Theophrastus (Theophr. *ap.* Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 2.2 = Fortenbaugh *et al.* 1992: 2 no. 586), or in the ridicule of Carthaginian clothing in the speech attributed to Timoleon by Timaeus at the battle of the Crimisus (Timaeus in Polyb. 12.26.a). However, even in these instances, typical Greek usage tends to predominate, with both texts referring to the Carthaginians rather than the Phoenicians. Slippage from 'Carthaginians' to 'Phoenicians' is much more visible in the later, first-century Diodorus Siculus (for example, 14.46,

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[15] Noted and emphasized by Franko (1994: 157–8), albeit with the false presumption that φοῖνιξ here means Carthaginian.

[16] Note esp. Hdt. 7.165–6, Pind. *Pyth.* I. 71–80; also Lysias 33.5 and Isoc. *Epistle* 1.7–8 for the application of later Panhellenic themes to the Sicilian sphere.

14.65, 15.15–17), much of which may be attributable to Timaeus (but not necessarily, nor all of it). But the possibility of using the broader term 'Phoenicians', as opposed to 'Carthaginians', in the western Greek tradition (as per the earlier accounts of western settlement noted above) is well exemplified by Theocritus, writing *c.* 275 BCE:

> Even now beneath the setting sun the Phoenicians that dwell in the outmost skirts of Libya tremble for fear; even now Syracusans grip their spears by the middle and charge their arms with shields of wicker, while Hieron, in their midst, girds himself like the heroes of old with crest of horsehair shadowing his helm (*Idyll* 16.76–81, trans. Gow).

A key text which illustrates the slippage, in just such a charged context, is the fourth-century [Plato] *Epistle* 8.353a and e:

> at that moment, I mean, when Greek Sicily was in the greatest danger of being laid waste by the Carthaginians and so reverting altogether to barbarism (ἐκβαρβαρωθεῖσαν) ... You are face to face with the probability – may God avert it – that the Greek tongue will be all but silenced throughout the whole of Sicily, for that island will have come under the domination and have passed into the hands of Phoenicians or Opici (Φοινίκων ἢ Ὀπικῶν). (trans. Post).

Significantly, the additional element in this particular text, which might be considered at least partially responsible for the slippage, is the emphasis upon the importance of language (the obscure term Opician here standing most probably for Italian Oscan speakers). Language was, of course, originally the defining element in the categorization of the barbarian.

The fact that Greek usage illustrates this tendency towards negative stereotyping, and can be seen on occasion to employ the broader term Phoenician when doing so, even if not consistently or universally, is important.[17] Not only does it provide a background to the exceptional instances in Polybius, which do not then require a purely Romano-centric explanation (that Polybius knew his Timaeus, for example, is undeniable), but it also prefigures the pattern that we observe subsequently in Latin literature, and so removes the need for *poenus* to have a specifically western meaning. It has been argued that in Latin the term *Carthaginiensis* was reserved for neutral and political statements, while *poenus* was employed for negative stereotyping and similar forms of reference (esp. Franko 1994:

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[17] Contrast Barceló (1994), who argues that the negative tradition is wholly Roman (although he is forced to make an exception for Timaeus).

158). There is much to recommend this in general terms – and it can be seen that such a pattern would not be wholly dissimilar to that traced with φοῖνιξ in Greek usage – but it is too narrow and polarized a representation of the reality, and again misses the point when it comes to ancient ascriptions of identity.[18] Firstly, while it is true that all *Carthaginienses* are *Poeni*, it is clearly not the case that all *Poeni* are *Carthaginienses*, and the term *poenus* can be used without any reference to Carthaginians at all, whether with reference to people in the western Mediterranean, or in the east.[19] Secondly, it is also, as in the Greek tradition, perfectly possible to find negative statements about the Carthaginians without recourse to the label 'Phoenician' (for example, Cic. *Leg. agr.* 2.95; *Phil.* 14.9; *Inv. rhet.* 1.71; Sall. *Cat.* 51.6; Livy 28.44.4; Val. Max. 9.6 ext.1).[20] Thirdly the term *poenus* can be found in use in a Roman context that is both semi-official and relatively neutral, and that extends beyond Carthage in its reference.[21] These uses presumably reflect the term's wider and more general frame of reference, as originally the *only* term available to describe all those of ultimately Phoenician origin. The tendency to use the broader label (whether Greek φοῖνιξ or Latin *poenus*) in negative judgements is, then, rather a reflection of the sweeping, non-verifiable claims made when stereotyping (which consequently operate much better with vague, rather than specific attributions), in both traditions, and is only one possible use of these broader labels (on stereotypes, see Brigham 1971; Hall 1989: 102–13; Bohak 2005). It is a very questionable step to infer from such instances a specific meaning for *poenus* in contrast to *phoenix*.

Two particular aspects of the usage of *poenus* might usefully be highlighted at this point, since they will serve to illustrate the wider range of uses of *poenus* and to extend the context for the increasingly western and

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[18] For fuller consideration of usage in Latin down to the Principate, see Prag (2006: 12–17).

[19] For example, descriptions of the people of Gades as Punic but with no direct Carthaginian element (Cic. *Balb.* 5, 30, 32, 39, 43; Livy 28.37.1–4); for the western Mediterranean Punics more generally, in a post-Carthaginian world, for example Cic. *De Div.* 2.131; *Verr.* 3.12, Sall. *Iug.* 19; Hor. *Carm.* 2.2.10–12. For the term describing the East, see above.

[20] Interestingly, considering that it is frequently (although by no means universally) considered to be a highly negative portrayal of 'Punics', Plautus's *Poenulus* is the only Plautine play in which the more specific *Carthaginiensis* is employed (*Carthaginiensis* in Plaut. *Poen.* 59, 84, 997, 1124, 1377; *Poenus* in *Poen.* 104, 113, 120, 977, 991, 1125; the linguistic adjective *punice* also appears in *Poen.* 982–92, 1000. *Poenus* also in *Aul.* 566; *Cas.* 76; *Cist.* 202; *fr. inc.* 49.1). Note also Sall. *Iug.* 79.8 (two Carthaginians, subsequently called *Poeni*, behaving admirably, in contrast to some nasty Greeks from Cyrene; cf. Quinn, this volume).

[21] In particular Cic. *Verr.* 3.12, referring to peoples subject to taxation; note the reference to the *bello Poinicio proxsumo* in the earliest secure epigraphic attestation of the term, in the *Lex agraria* of *c.* 111 BCE (Crawford 1996, I: no. 2, line 75).

negative orientation of the term, at least in surviving literature. The first is the use of the term *poenus* specifically in relation to language. As already noted in relation to the [Plato] passage quoted above, or as highlighted by Plautus's *Poenulus*, the linguistic difference between speakers of Greek, Latin, or Phoenicio-Punic offers one of the prime contexts for the blanket use of the term *poenus* (or φοῖνιξ – or its potential conceptual equivalent, 'barbarian'). However, it is again worth pointing out the divergence between modern and ancient practice, and the fact that modern writers have imported an additional layer of difference that cannot be found in the ancient sources. Modern linguists distinguish Phoenician from Punic, albeit at the level of dialectical developments in Phoenicio-Punic rather than as separate languages (Amadasi Guzzo and Röllig 1995: 185–7). They also distinguish Punic from neo-Punic: the latter term designates a development in script rather than language (for which 'Late Punic' is preferred; cf. Amadasi Guzzo 1995: 26) and is a classification invented by Schröder in 1869 (Szyncer 1978: 266). The modern tendency to employ neo-Punic as a cultural label (for example, van Dommelen 1998b: 40) is even more problematic than the similar employment of 'Punic'. There is, however, so far as I am aware, no evidence that the ancient Greeks and Romans drew any such distinction: once again, there was only a single term in each of Greek and Latin for the language spoken/written by eastern and western Phoenicians alike. The perils of 'inventing' ethnic distinctions based upon linguistic labels, which have no necessary connection to labels or categories evidenced in antiquity, have been pointed out often enough not to require repetition (see especially MacDonald 1998: 182–8). The modern distinction, in this instance, feeds off (false) presumptions about the value of the label *poenus*, and thereby generates a dangerously circular argument in support of the supposed significance of the ethnic label.

The second element worth noting is the variety of material culture items that attract the label 'Punic' in Latin authors, visible already in Cato's *De Agricultura* of the first part of the second century BCE (for example Cato *Agr.* 7.3, 18.9, 85.1, 126.1; *ORF* 185; perhaps also in Plaut. *Aulularia* 566). These elements do go some way towards suggesting that, in Latin, *poenus* was particularly associated with the North African region, but here too this may be no more than the historical accident that earlier Roman contact was primarily with western Phoenicians, mostly in Africa (or Spain).[22] Livy's association of the position of *sufet* with the *Poeni* comes in the

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[22] For *Poeni* in Spain as well, see, for example, Hor. *Carm.* 2.2.10–12; Sen. *Dial.* 12.7.2; Pliny *HN* 3.1.8; Pomp. Mela 2.96.

context of an account of Gades, with *poenus* clearly used in its broadest sense (Livy 28.37.1–4). It is, of course, quite undeniable that historically the Romans came into contact principally with the western Phoenicians before the eastern Phoenicians, as Bunnens noted, and that much of the (Roman) discourse that developed about these peoples did so in a western environment where the western Phoenicians, and in particular the Carthaginians, had been political or military opponents of one or other group for some time (most obviously, but not only, the Greeks of Syracuse), and so attracted the sort of negative discourse that is so often associated with conflict and competition (see above). Such a situation was of course reinforced and exacerbated by the Punic Wars, and doubtless by the early Latin literature about the wars, which would, presumably, have rendered conventional the use of the archaic spelling of *poenus* for these conflicts (as for example in Naevius's *Bellum Poenicum*). The Third Punic War was already described as *bellum poenicum* in the *Lex Agraria* of *c.* 111 BCE, line 75, although the wars strikingly did not attract such a name in Polybius. It should however be clear, by now, that the specific focus of the term *poenus* on the west, and in particular around Carthage, is a distillation of the increasingly polarized later tradition, and not the term's underlying meaning. Bunnens was undoubtedly right to suggest a historical explanation for the gradual development of two terms, *poenus* and *phoinix*, in Latin, but the explanation is a much more complex one, combining several centuries of history – and historiography – in the western Mediterranean, together with linguistic evolution, and the weight of later literary tradition.

Crucial to this whole analysis remains the point that no-one in the surviving evidence describes themselves as 'Punic', and in the later Latin tradition the aspirated form *phoinix* is directly associated, after the fashion of normal, topographical, regional ethnics in the Greek tradition and indeed as per epigraphic usage in the Greek east, with the region of the Levantine coast known as Phoenicia. Both *Carthaginiensis* (*AE* 1906.35; 1913.207; 1981.871; 1981.926; cf. 1989.888; *ILS* 6813) and *Afer (CIL* 12.686; 13.8335; 13.2000; cf. Palmer 1997: 74 n. 7) are reasonably commonplace as ethnics in Latin epigraphy of the Imperial period; there are by contrast only two possible examples of *punicus* in the entire epigraphic *corpus* (*CIL* 3.4910, an imperial-period epitaph from Noricum; *AE* 1972.14 = Di Stefano Manzella 1972, an epitaph of 48 BCE from the Via Latina), and both are difficult in their reading and far from clear (cf. Prag 2006: 29). There are no recorded examples of *phoinix* as an ethnic in Latin inscriptions. At the same time, 'Punic' traditions were being (re)invented in parts of Roman North Africa (Quinn 2010: 60–4), which would provide a further context

for a developing North African focus to the term *poenus*, reinforcing the earlier historical focus on the west in the Roman tradition. However, it is worth pointing out that Sallust (*Iug.* 78), writing in the 40s BCE, described Lepcis Magna, which offers one of the best examples of 'Punic' reinvention, as being mostly 'Sidonian' in its laws and customs, not 'Punic', in a passage that considers interaction with the neighbouring Numidians. It is therefore difficult to argue that the evolving distinction between *poenus* and *phoenix* in Latin literature, which post-dates the fall of Carthage, should be directly tied to any obvious salience in a 'Punic' identity.

Conclusions

In other words, the ethnic label that we use so freely in modern discourse was used in a range of ways in antiquity, few of which map with any ease onto modern usage, and few of which, if any, equate to the normal range of ethnic labels in antiquity. The term, whether Greek φοῖνιξ or Latin *poenus*, had a potentially much wider range when used of people (both words relating to all those of Phoenician origin, and so equivalent only to the recent tendency to speak simply of eastern and western Phoenicians, or the arguably already outmoded combination term 'Phoenicio-Punic'). Strikingly the term *poenus* is almost completely restricted to the literary sphere (likewise, but to a lesser extent, φοῖνιξ), not least when used in relation to people of the western Mediterranean. As is well known, it shows a strong, although by no means universal tendency to be used in contexts, both Greek and Roman, that entail negative value judgements of peoples that may or may not include the Carthaginians. That is not, however, equivalent to a definition of the term. Where the term does have a more specific use it is in relation either to language (where, nevertheless, the modern distinction between Phoenician and Punic does not appear to be reflected in ancient usage), or else to very specific material culture elements in the central western Mediterranean basin. In the case of these latter it is true that many of them – but not all – derive from the region of North Africa. By itself, however, this last is hardly sufficient to argue for an ancient view of a specifically 'Punic' (in any modern sense) ethnic category. There is, in fact, very little basis in the ancient terminology for the modern distinction between Phoenicians and Punics, or even between eastern and western Phoenicians.

Poenus as an ancient term has few easy parallels for its range of usage. It falls outside the normal category of an ethnic, lacking any direct

topographical foundation, and not relating either to any sort of coherent or easily identifiable political grouping. In this respect it is clearly not comparable to 'Roman' or 'Italian', for example. As a term that can be connected to a linguistic group, however, and on occasion to cultural or institutional traits, and which has an extremely rich presence in the literary tradition, the single closest parallel is probably 'Greek'. That particular aspect becomes all the clearer when one compares the language of, say, Cicero describing the Greeks (as in, for example, the *Pro Flacco*), where the blanket label reveals itself to be a highly flexible and powerful term of categorization, and indeed stereotyping, capable in turn of being sharply subdivided not least on a regional and civic basis (so Sicilians and Massaliotes can be 'better' Greeks, Phrygians and Carians 'worse', etc.) – such a set of distinctions of course reflecting the levels of more normal, everyday identity (Vasaly 1993; Ferrary 2001; 2011). There are clear limits to this parallel, not least in the very clear and widespread self-ascription of the term 'Greek' (or 'Hellene') in antiquity. The total absence of Punic literary sources means that at some level this becomes an argument from silence. The historical fate of Carthage, and the Roman influence upon the later tradition in turn are clearly responsible for the increasing polarization of the literary tradition, and the evolution of the seemingly distinct frame of reference of *poenus* in the later literature. All of that being acknowledged, we are fully aware these days of the highly flexible nature of the label 'Greek' and the very complex processes attached to the process of 'hellenization' in the ancient Mediterranean. Given such apparent parallels in usage between 'Punic' and 'Greek', it would seem that rather greater caution is also due in our use of the term 'Punic'.

2 | The invention of the Phoenicians: on object definition, decontextualization and display

NICHOLAS C. VELLA

'They ain't here!' exclaimed my friend Brien Garnand. We had just finished touring the Getty Villa museum in Malibu, California, and were wondering why the Phoenicians do not get a mention in any of the museum displays. We knew that with its Greek, Roman and Etruscan antiquities the focus of the Getty Villa museum was on the splendour and glory of classical civilization. But we were both perplexed that even the gallery devoted to the alphabet missed the contribution of the purple men of Byblos. Three bands in three different colours stood for the Greek, Etruscan and Latin alphabets respectively in a didactic display on the development of language and literacy over time. There was, of course, ample space for another band below the other three – in purple, we thought, it would be perfect – to signal the Levantine origins of alphabetic writing systems.

On that morning in April 2007, the Getty display made the Phoenicians look like a chimera – an invention, a figment of scholarly imagination. I began to recall two assertions, which I dug up for the workshop that gave rise to this book.[1] The first appears in several of David Ridgway's writings, and is by the late Oxford scholar Martin Frederiksen, who in 1977 exclaimed that 'the Phoenicians are on the way back' (Frederiksen 1976–7: 43). What Frederiksen had meant was that there was finally renewed interest in Phoenician archaeology amongst ancient historians: the physical presence of the Phoenicians had been established on the coast of Andalucia, on the island of Ischia (the ancient Pithekoussai) and was virtually certain in Etruria, not to mention their new status as reflected in their own journal, *Rivista di Studi Fenici*, founded in 1973 by the doyen of modern Phoenician and Punic studies, Sabatino Moscati (Niemeyer 1995b). The Getty display did not acknowledge more than three decades of intense scholarly

activity and an antiquarian legacy spanning more than three centuries! The second statement I recalled was one pronounced in the corridors of FIAT's headquarters in Turin in 1988, just after the inauguration of the Palazzo Grassi exhibition devoted to the Phoenicians that the automobile giant had sponsored: 'Sabatino Moscati has invented the Phoenicians, Gianni Agnelli has manufactured them' (Moscati 1990b: 77 ('Sabatino Moscati ha inventato i Fenici, Gianni Agnelli li ha prodotti')). In this idyllic spot overlooking the Pacific Ocean, the museum curators appear to have been reluctant to embrace Moscati's 'invention' which twenty years earlier had attracted about a million visitors to Venice to see more than a thousand archaeological artefacts on display (Nirenstein 1987; Suro 1988) and which resulted in the publication of an 800-page catalogue (Moscati 1988a).

The absence of the Phoenicians at the Getty museum gives me the opportunity to attend to the question that I am begging: to what extent did the Palazzo Grassi exhibition invent the 'Phoenicians' as a monolithic essence – which included within the covers of its mega-catalogue a 'Punic' legacy as well – and promulgate 'Phoenician' cultural homogeneity instead of questioning it? It is my contention that the construction of a Phoenician past has benefited from the manner in which material things have been decontextualized by several generations of collectors, explorers, art historians and archaeologists, and by the way such things have been represented and disseminated for further research. In the first part of this chapter I will explore the implications of drawing analytical boundaries between different types and categories of objects for the purposes of study, publication and museum display. I will argue that the process of decontextualization of museum pieces is rooted in the scientific method of knowledge-creation practised by the antiquarians, where graphic representations supported the effort of conceptualization and inventorying of objects. In the second part of the chapter I show how such decontextualizations were convenient in order to identify a material culture that could be labelled 'Phoenician' and to put it on display for public and scholarly consumption.

Discovering and defining the Phoenicians

I start with a reference to what I believe to be one of the earliest (if not *the* earliest) official commemorations of the discovery of an object defined as 'Phoenician'. Some years before the French biblical scholar Samuel Bochart published his *Geographia Sacra* (1646), considered by some to be the first

attempt to bring the Phoenicians into European history (Briquel-Chatonnet and Gubel 1998: 23), a discovery of some note was made on the Mediterranean island of Malta. In 1624, a terracotta sarcophagus containing bones and ashes was discovered in a rock-cut tomb at Għar Barka outside Malta's medieval capital Mdina. The episode is narrated in the first history of the Maltese islands written in 1647 by the Maltese knight Gian Francesco Abela (1582–1655), vice-chancellor of the Order of St John. Abela tells us that he had in his cabinet of curiosities two similar sarcophagi. In order not to allow the memory of this discovery to be lost, he set up a commemorative inscription in Latin above the entrance to a nearby cemetery to acknowledge the arrival of the Phoenicians on Malta: 'for the common good of antiquity was placed the urn of the Phoenicians, who, since the annihilation of the Giants, after the expulsion of the Phaecians, were the first to hold lucky Malta' (Abela 1647: 153–4). Abela's narrative frames our investigation. It reminds us of the antiquarian genesis of Phoenician archaeology, linked to an explicit attempt to maintain and preserve identity through recall and the testimony of material culture. It also reminds us of the earliest processes of periodization involving the Phoenicians, a process so central to historical practice. Let me dwell on these two points.

The importance accorded by the antiquarians like Abela to the testimony of material culture is but a particular instance of a general phenomenon: the preference for concrete observation over the written tradition, for visual testimony over the authority of texts. Choay (2001: 50–1) has shown how between the sixteenth century and the end of the Enlightenment antiquarians sought to devise a reliable method of describing objects, evolving along a path comparable to that of the natural scientists (cf. Smith and Findlen 2002). Systematic observation and measurement of objects were combined with accurate representation to allow other antiquarians to reflect upon the inventoried objects and draw a series of generalizations. Abela not only describes but also illustrates objects that he has seen and handled to sustain his historical narrative: a giant's tooth, the Phoenician sarcophagus (Fig. 2.1), a statue of Phoenician Melqart, Phoenician coins with Greek legends, Roman friezes and entablatures, Roman glass and pottery. Illustrations like these were disseminated by the printing of engravings and ensured that antiquities were permanently available to the scholarly community for purposes of comparison (Piggott 1978; Moser and Smiles 2005: 5); alternatively, their didactic and inspirational potential lured foreign travellers to see the originals in noble collections and museums, including Abela's cabinet of curiosities (cf. Freller 2009: 291–3). Choay (2001) argues that the iconographic apparatus emerged to support the immense effort of

LIBRO SECONDO, NOTITIA II. 153
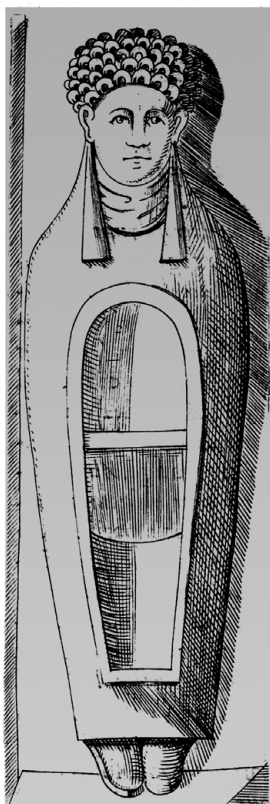
Quest'urna fictile, ò di creta una di quelle che vsauano gl'antichi Fenici progenitori de'Maltesi, si conserua con altre due simili nel nostro Casino di S. Giacomo interamète; ella fù ritrouata l'anno 1624. in vn luogo poco distàte dalla Città Notabile nel terreno di *Gharbar Ka* vicino alla Cripta di S. Venera: era posta in vna grotta cauata, & intagliata nella rocca viua otto palmi in circa sotterra, si scese à quella per alcuni scaglioni alla bocca, ch'era di grandezza di tre palmi in quadro, volta all'Oriente, chiusa con vn sasso; la grotta haueua di lùgo dieci palmi, e di largo sette, la di lei altezza era quanto comodamente vi si potesse da altri star à sedere. Il sepolcro copriuasi con tre pezze dell'istessa materia di terra cotta, delle quali, quella di mezzo era rotta, e caduta nel medesimo, haueuano le parti del couerchio alcuni forami nell'estremità; l'ossa del cadauero si ritrouarono quasi ridotte in polue, & à pena si scorgeua la forma di lui, & essendo da altri toccato alcun osso, che n'haueua la sembianza, venne tantosto à ridursi in cenere; si trouò parimente dentro l'urna vn'ago di ferro lungo mezzo palmo, vn vasetto in oltre di terra cotta, & vna scudellina: la situatione del sepolcro, ò del cadauero era co'l capo à Leuante, & i piedi volti all'Occidente, che così appunto soleuano i Fenici sepellire i defonti, come attesta Alessandro d'Alessandri. *Sed in humandis corporibus Athaenienses Orientem versus, Megarenses, & Phoenices ad Occidentem vertere solebant*, & hauendolo noi à bella posta fatto collocare soura la porta d'vn giardinetto piantato in vno di quei cimiterij antichi, sotto v'habbiamo posta l'Iscrittione, che siegue, acciò di sì bell'antichità non se ne perdesse affatto la memoria.

Gen. Dierum lib. 3. c. 2.

V   *Phoenicum*

Fig. 2.1. The Phoenician sarcophagus discovered in 1624 and illustrated in Abela's *Della descrittione di Malta* (1647), 153.

conceptualization and inventorying and facilitated the commitment to memory of such work. She cites, by way of example, the French Hellenist Bernard de Montfaucon whose *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* was published between 1719 and 1724. The Benedictine held that by the term antiquity he understood 'only that which can be seen by the eyes, and which can be represented in images' (quoted in Choay 2001: 51). I will pick up this strand on images shortly.

I referred above to the process of periodization, placed Abela firmly in it and said that the process is a basic part of historical understanding. The inscription set up to commemorate the Phoenician discovery drew two lines through time: one separating the Giants from the Homeric Phaecians, the other separating the latter from the Phoenicians. It was not only to suit Homer that a 'Phaecian' period had to be conceived for Malta and especially its sister island Gozo where, according to the antiquarians, Odysseus had been entertained by the nymph Calypso for several years (cf. Bonanno 2005; Freller 2009: 663–9). Since no ancient author alludes to the colonization of Malta by the Greeks, antiquarians had to explain why coins with Greek legends had been found there. When cracks gradually appeared in the theory of giants during the course of the Enlightenment, Malta provided antiquarians, merchants and Grand Tourists with singular monuments to study and observe – rude stone monuments of megalithic proportions, invariably dubbed 'Phoenician' or 'Punic'. The first to tell us about them was the German connoisseur and diplomat Johann Hermann von Riedesel, who in 1767 was to be joined by his teacher and friend J. J. Winckelmann in a tour that would take the party to ancient sites in Sicily, Greece, Turkey and Egypt (von Riedesel 1773; Freller 1997). Winckelmann apparently hesitated and Riedesel proceeded on his own. He visited the Ggantija megalithic complex on Gozo in April 1767, after crossing from Girgenti on the south coast of Sicily. 'I shall not make any conjectures about the form of this building', he wrote, 'but to me it appears evidently to be of Punic origin' (von Riedesel 1773: 54). Von Riedesel does not let us in on what he understood by 'Punic', although it can be surmised that the nameless uncertainties associated with modern prehistory were not conceived at the time and the past had to be peopled by someone – Danes, Romans, Israelite tribes, Greeks, Trojans, Druids and so on (Daniel and Renfrew 1988: 14–15). For the Maltese islands, one important datum probably lent support to the Punic connection. This was the tradition that originated in Jean Quintin's earliest description of Malta (Quintin d'Autun 1536: 19), which recounts the legendary story in Ovid's *Fasti* (3.567–78) where Battus, king of Malta, was reputed to have been a friend of the

legendary founder of Carthage, Dido, and to have offered hospitality to her sister Anna when she fled the Punic city (Bonanno 1983). It is also possible that for von Riedesel and other contemporaries, who often made the crossing to Malta from the port of Girgenti (modern Agrigento) after having been to see the Greek temples (Gringeri Pantano 2007), 'Punic' came to represent what 'Greek' clearly was not. The famous French traveller Jean Houel thought that the megalithic buildings he studied in Malta were so different from Greek architecture that they must have been built by Phoenicians who had the technology to do it (Houel 1787: 80). The 'whole spirit of their construction', wrote the art historian and Hellenist George Perrot a century later, was 'Phoenician'; the stone cone discovered at Ġgantija that was thought to represent the deity Astarte was known from representations linked to Levantine Byblos and Cypriot Paphos (Perrot and Chipiez 1885: i, 304). But it was soon realized that the comparison was forced and that nothing in the Levant looked remotely like the Maltese monuments: 'the reasonable system of criticism' wrote the young Scottish antiquarian Henry Rhind, 'had not been followed, of taking account of all, and not fragments of, the existing data which could help . . . decide what Phoenician edifices really were or were not' (Rhind 1856: 399). Indeed, the whole idea of Phoenician megalithism was finally quashed by the works of archaeologists, who at the turn of the century belatedly embraced the idea of prehistory. The megalithic monuments – explored, described, drawn and communicated to antiquarian and archaeological societies all over Europe – had to pre-date the historical Phoenicians; a combination of comparative analyses, stratigraphic excavation and relative dating showed them to be neolithic (Pessina and Vella 2009).

This key conceptual shift outdated several pages of text in books from the second half of the nineteenth century that sought to write Phoenician history and architectural history in part through the use of the Maltese prehistoric monuments, although for the rest these books remained canonical. One was Rawlinson's *History of Phoenicia* published in 1889 (135); the other was Georges Perrot's third volume in the *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* published in 1885 and translated into English that same year (Perrot and Chipiez 1885: i, 301–18). Both followed hot on the heels of the publication of the seminal results of Ernest Renan's *Mission de Phénicie* (1864), instigated by Napoleon III. All three works include an immense corpus of objects, integrating inscriptions, coins and seals, the framework and all of the accessories of public and private daily life, and the great religious structures, whether prestigious or utilitarian. Common language and script, religion and burial practices, dress and personal ornaments, and

other attributes were taken as material markers for an ethnic group with undisputed roots on the coast of south-west Asia. The thread of the antiquarians was swiftly picked up in the course of the century by the newcomers on the scholarly scene, the art historians, whose objective was to provide the raw material for a history of forms and their treatment (Choay 2001: 56–7). In the words of Perrot himself:

> It will be seen . . . that the method we propose to follow is less uncertain than it seems. No doubt we shall take our examples from points very far apart, but that does not mean that we shall take them at hazard. When we refer some object found in a tomb at Mycenae, in Etruria, or Sardinia to Phoenician workmen, we do so because its treatment is different from that of any known local workshop, and because the salient features of its decoration harmonize at all points with those with which we have become familiar in our study of monuments drawn from Phoenicia proper and with the few pieces that bear Semitic inscriptions. In order to widen our field of choice we shall bring back to the quays of Tyre and Sidon the objects carried by their commerce to the four corners of the ancient world; but, before admitting a vase or a trinket into our museum we shall look at every side of it, and reject it unless it bears the undoubted stamp of some industrial centre of the Phoenicians. (Perrot and Chipiez 1885: I, 99–100)

Defining 'Phoenician' art for Perrot depended on a comparative approach in which the object itself and its purpose are not of interest, but instead the diversity of object forms and decorative styles as they relate to the passage of time. This approach is best illustrated in the way one particular class of objects was defined as 'Phoenician', an exercise that had at its core the invention of a 'Phoenician' art style based on the nineteenth-century belief that objects were ethnically diagnostic (cf. Gunter 2009: 91). These objects consisted of a number of metal bowls that became known through a series of discoveries made in the course of the nineteenth century, initially in Italy and later in the eastern Mediterranean and Asia. The seminal discovery was made by Austen Henry Layard in 1849 at the site of Nimrud, south of Mosul, a provincial town in the Ottoman Empire. Inside the ruins of one room of the North-West Palace, built in the ninth century BCE by the Assyrian king Assurnasirpal II, Layard discovered the largest single collection of bronze objects from the site, including more than a hundred and fifty bowls, twelve large cauldrons, bronze furniture parts and other objects. Most of the bronze bowls were found in a pile behind the cauldrons whereas a few were found inside the cauldrons; those at the bottom of the pile were found to be best preserved after careful cleaning was carried out at the British Museum. The

Fig. 2.2. Representations of two metal bowls found inside a tomb in Cerveteri, reproduced as *tavola* x in Grifi's *Monumenti di Cere antica* (1841).

bowls had intricate chased or incised decoration on the inside, and sometimes the designs were embossed or raised from the back. The metalwork carried a variety of decorative schemes, but friezes of animals and hunting scenes were most common alongside complex floral and geometric patterns. Layard published the bowls in a book that he felt would reach wide audiences, in normal octavo format, containing a journal of his travels and discoveries accompanied by numerous illustrations (Layard 1853a; cf. Larsen 1996: 154–5). His drawings of the discoveries, together with those prepared by the artists accompanying him, were engraved, and lithographs were published by the London publisher John Murray in a second volume containing large folio plates (Layard 1853b; cf. Curtis and Reade 1995: 214–15) (Fig. 2.2).

In his description of the bowls, Layard's ambivalent stance is clear when an attempt is made to define the style (1853a: 185–91): the workmanship is 'not purely Egyptian'; a scarab represented on one of the bowls was 'apparently more of a Phoenician than an Egyptian form'; the costumes of the figures 'are Egyptian in character' but the 'treatment and design are Assyrian'. Layard believed that the artist 'either copied from Egyptian models, or was a native of a country under the influence of the arts and taste of Egypt' (Layard 1853a: 192). Noting that one bowl depicting a series of vultures devouring a hare had an inscription in the Phoenician cursive script on the outside below the rim (Layard 1853a: 188, cat. no. 6; Layard 1853b: pl. 62b; Curtis and Reade 1995: 140), he concluded thus:

> The Sidonians and other inhabitants of the Phoenician coast, were the most renowned workers in metal of the ancient world, and their intermediate

position between the two great nations [that is, Assyrian and Egyptian] by which they were alternately invaded and subdued, may have been the cause of the existence of a mixed art amongst them … It is, therefore, not impossible that the vessels discovered at Nimroud were the work of Phoenician artists, brought expressly from Tyre, or carried away amongst the captives when their cities were taken by the Assyrians, who, we know from many passages in the Bible, always secured the smiths and artisans, and placed them in their own immediate dominions. (Layard 1853a: 192)

To make a case for the 'Phoenician' style of the bowls, Layard proceeded by comparison, appending footnotes to his text to relate recent discoveries. He noticed a clear resemblance between the mythical animals and the ornaments portrayed on the Nimrud bowls and plates and the metalwork found in Cerveteri, Italy, namely from the so-called Regolini-Galassi tomb discovered in 1836 and known through the sumptuous publication of Grifi's *Monumenti di Cere antica* of 1841 (Grifi 1841; Layard 1853a: 190) (Fig. 2.2). A first connection was established. He also noticed that Phoenician inscriptions occur on twelve silver bowls found on Cyprus, two of which had been preserved (Layard 1853a: 192; these are the bowls found in 1849 at Ambelliri, the western acropolis of Idalion, Cyprus: cf. Markoe 1985: 170, cat. nos. Cy1 and Cy2). Other connections followed as new finds were announced to the antiquarian community: a silver bowl from a rifled tomb in Amathus in Cyprus (Markoe 1985: cat. no. Cy4) and another that formed part of a treasure found in Kourion on the same island published in 1888 (Markoe 1985: cat. no. Cy 8); a bowl found in the ancient necropolis of Praeneste in Palestrina by Prince Barberini in 1855 (Markoe 1985: cat. no. E5); three bowls excavated from a tomb in Palestrina by the Bernardini brothers in 1876 (Markoe 1985: cat. nos. E1–E3). Knowledge about Phoenician material culture travelled and in so doing became cumulative so that interpretations rested on what was said and known within an earlier context (for example, Helbig 1876; Myres 1933). As discoveries were made and announced, museum catalogues published, and accurate engravings, lithographs and clear photographs commissioned or changed hands, the art historians were encouraged to define classes of what were being termed 'Phoenician' artefacts (Fig. 2.3). By 1885, one of them could even pronounce with confidence that Phoenician art could be distinguished at a glance 'without regards to its provenance' (Perrot and Chipiez 1885: II, 340). The decontextualization of objects implicit in such an attitude brings me to the second part of my chapter.

Fig. 2.3. The silver bowl found in the necropolis at Palestrina in 1876 as reproduced in Perrot and Chipiez's *History of Art in Phoenicia* in 1885: 99.

Displacing and displaying 'Phoenician' objects

The history of the discovery of the metal bowls I have described above is linked closely to the process and policy of collecting and acquisition that characterized European and American museums throughout the nineteenth century. Under the impetus of the rivalry between France and Britain for dominion in the Levant, museums, in close association with archaeological excavations of deeper pasts, extended their time horizons beyond the classical antiquities of Greece and Rome to encompass the remnants of the Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilizations. With the exception of the Regolini-Galassi finds that ended up in the church-owned Museo Gregoriano Etrusco (Buranelli 2000), and the other Italian finds

from Palestrina that came into state ownership (and are now in the Museo Villa Giulia in Rome), the rest of the bowls were acquired for major museum displays: the Nimrud finds for the British Museum, along with the bowl from Amathus (Myres 1933); the Kourion bowls retrieved by General Palma di Cesnola were purchased by the Metropolitan Museum (Karageorghis 2000: 5–7); and the Idalion bowls went to the Louvre (Longpérier 1855: 411). With the gradual acceptance of a place for a Phoenician contribution in the periodization of Greek and Etruscan art history, objects such as these bowls found a place in the period rooms of the modern museum.

The Phoenicians, however, often subsumed within the generic rubric of 'Oriental' and 'Orientalizing', were destined to remain ambivalent and stereotypical for much of the first half of the twentieth century. Gunter has shown how the late-nineteenth-century intellectual climate that conceived of art as the expression of a national spirit was mostly concerned with investigating the originality and purity of Greek art (Gunter 2009: 61–70). In fact, prior to the impact of Said's *Orientalism* within the humanities, the influence of the Phoenicians upon Greek development was typically described in terms of an opposition between east and west, contrasting the active, self-conscious transformation of received knowledge by the Greeks, with the banal, repetitive, stereotyped products of the Phoenicians. Gisela Richter, the Metropolitan's first female curator, was unambiguous in her handbook to the revamped classical collection of the museum published in 1927. She characterized what happened in the Orientalizing phase of her Early Greek period, where the bowls would fall, thus:

> The Greeks had . . . grown accustomed to seeing Oriental goods brought to them by Phoenician traders . . . Moreover, the monotony and conventionalism of the geometric style had begun to pall on a people gradually awakening to new ideas and energies; so that the time was ripe for the inroads of Eastern civilization. It would not have been surprising under these circumstances if Greek art had definitely assumed and retained an Oriental character. That it did not shows the vitality of the Greek artistic genius at the time even of its infancy. Instead of adopting Oriental art wholesale, the Greek artist merely selected certain ideas and motives and with their help and under their stimulus produced creations of his own. (Richter 1927: 46)

It is worth recalling that it was not only outsiders to Oriental studies who conveyed the stereotypical image of the Phoenicians. When Donald Harden – author of a monograph dedicated entirely to them for Thames and Hudson's Ancient Peoples and Places series – wrote in 1962 that,

'the Phoenician, though he possessed an artistic bent, was less interested in art for its own purposes than for the price he could get for it abroad' (Harden 1962: 218), he was essentially repeating a characteristic – a sort of *apologia* – that had long been associated with the Phoenicians, from Renan (1864: 829–31) to Perrot (Perrot and Chipiez 1885: II, ch. 6), from Rawlinson (1889: ch. 7) to Contenau (1949: 119). And it is not only artistic genius that the Phoenicians apparently lacked in ancient and modern writings, but morals and ethics in doing business, institutions like the polis, and the acumen to reach western Mediterranean shores ahead of the Greeks (Liverani 1998).[2] It is against this background that we ought to see the renaissance in Phoenician studies that a young Sabatino Moscati was to spearhead from his newly founded Centro di Studi Semitici in Rome from 1957 onwards. In a seminal paper read to the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei in December 1963, Moscati put together his thoughts in what reads like a manifesto on the *questione fenicia*:

> Now . . . we come to the crux of the problem: it is astonishing to observe how essential and fundamental questions are ignored, misunderstood, or taken as already resolved in the scholarship. Who were the Phoenicians? What were the distinguishing features and characteristics of their civilization, what were the historical, political, religious and artistic events and qualities that defined and shaped it? *Because so far it seems that the unity, the autonomy, the homogeneity of the people and culture have merely been assumed rather than investigated*: and yet, these are not problems that are easily or obviously solved.
>
> (Moscati 1963: 485; translated from the Italian and emphasis added)[3]

At long last, the call was made to question the cultural homogeneity of a social group, known to the Greeks as Phoenician, engaged in trade across the Mediterranean (see Bondì, this volume). The research programme was ambitious and exciting: excavations in Sicily and Sardinia; archaeological missions in Malta and Tunisia; the launch of a monograph series and a journal; the setting up of professorial chairs in Italian universities. For the

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[2] This did not stop modern nations or colonies from appropriating the 'Phoenicians' for various ends. See Champion 2001; Kaufman 2001; Vella and Gilkes 2002; van Dommelen, Chapter 3.

[3] 'Qui . . . si tocca l'essenza del problema; e si rimane stupiti osservando come quel che pure è essenziale e basilare rimanga ignorato, frainteso, ovvero aprioristicamente dato per risolto nel corso degli studi. Chi furono, effettivamente, i Fenici? Quali furono gli elementi distintivi e caratteristici della loro civiltà, quali i fatti storici, politici, religiosi ed artistici che la definirono e la condizionarono? *Perché finora sembra che l'unità, l'autonomia, la consistenza del popolo e della cultura siano state presupposte piuttosto che indagate*: eppure, non sono certo problemi della soluzione ovvia od agevole.'

purposes of this chapter I only wish to reflect briefly on the responses to Moscati's call with regard to the field of material culture, and in particular the metal bowls discussed above.

In his paper to the Lincei, Moscati mentions the category of bowls to argue that they originated in Phoenicia and that they were 'Phoenician': 'on the whole, while doubts remain over the origins of some specific examples or groups of bowls, this does not apply to the overall artistic production' (Moscati 1963: 499; translated from the Italian). In this search for ultimate origins – of iconographic motifs, itinerant artisans, metal sources – that has characterized several studies of these bowls (Riva and Vella 2006), the mutable identities and the different contextual meanings that objects take on when they move from place to place and change owners, hardly came into the picture. Instead, diagnostic objects are understood as representing people, a conceptual framework that has long been questioned (cf. Jones 1997; Roppa, Chapter 14; Aranegui and Vives-Ferrándiz, Chapter 13; Papi, Chapter 11). Little did it matter, for instance, that several of the metal bowls discussed here formed part of larger archaeological contexts that have little to do with the Phoenicians but more with highly ritualized contexts closely connected with living and dying in Etruria and in Cyprus. As Niemeyer reminded us a few years ago, a century of excavation of about three thousand tombs at Carthage has failed to recover luxury objects, like these bowls, which we label 'Phoenician', and this state of affairs begs explanation (Niemeyer 2003: 204 n. 4). This situation was not helped, I would argue, by the mode of displaying and writing about these objects in exhibitions that promoted the very cultural homogeneity that Moscati's call was supposed to be challenging.

The Palazzo Grassi temporary exhibition of 1988, which put together objects long displaced from their spot of discovery and archaeological context, is, I believe, a clear case in point. Curated by Moscati, the exhibition was meant to provide a total, integrated representation of the Phoenicians through the ordered display of selected museum pieces:

> From the start one point was clear to me: our effort must be not to organize *an* exhibition on the Phoenicians, but rather *the* exhibition. That is, it had to provide the completest possible global overview of Phoenician civilization, in all the countries where it appeared, from East to West, and in all the periods when it flourished, from the first emergence of the 'seafaring' cities on the Levantine coast to the destruction of Carthage. So there was no choice or preference between the Phoenicians of the East and those of the West, the Carthaginians – on the contrary, our aim was to achieve a balanced integration so that the survey would be really total and organic. (Moscati 1988c: 10)

The commission for the exhibition design was given to the Milan-based architect Gae Aulenti, who went on to work on two other blockbuster exhibitions at Palazzo Grassi (*I Celti*, 1991; *I Greci in Occidente*, 1996). Aulenti structured her exhibition around three didactic principles: the first was to present archaeological artefacts in the traditional manner, that is, according to typology and geographical area (Levant/Phoenicia, Carthage, Sardinia, Sicily/Malta, Spain); the second was to have the geographical areas separated by themes that define Phoenician culture (commerce/navigation, alphabet, religious beliefs, textile production) using spectacular props to engage the visitor; the third was to have this voyage of discovery brought to life by the use of large murals (Fig. 2.4).[4] The catalogue reflects these divisions with a first part devoted to the same themes, a second part describing the history of Phoenician activity in different geographical areas, a third part tackling art objects according to typology, and a final, fourth part, looking at Phoenician interaction with neighbouring groups (Moscati 1988a). Throughout both exhibition and catalogue, the label 'Phoenician' subsumes a Punic legacy with events, themes and objects going beyond the traditional sixth century BCE date for the start of the 'Punic' phase in the west, a definition that Moscati adhered to in another major publication dealing with Phoenician art (Moscati 1990a: 8).

The claimed comprehensiveness of exhibitions has been criticized by reviewers (admittedly dealing with art exhibitions), who also question the utility of opulent exhibition catalogues (Greenberg *et al.* 1996; Haskell 2000). In the context of archaeological exhibitions, the kind of display divided by region and by different categories of objects, together with the kind of catalogue photography that goes with it, works on two levels. On the first level, the divisions between the objects – statuary, sarcophagi, stone reliefs, stelae, terracotta figures, masks and protomes, jewellery, scarabs and amulets, ivory and bone carving, bronzes, metal bowls, painting, ostrich eggs, coins, glass, pottery – follow the method of parcelling out objects to specialists on an excavation for study and inventory.

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[4] Aulenti's rationale behind the exhibition set-up was expressed in a document published by Palazzo Grassi entitled 'L'allestimento della mostra' that probably formed part of a brochure that accompanied the exhibition. A copy of the relevant page (p. 26) was sent to me by the architect Francesca Fenaroli, associate of Gae Aulenti, together with plans (scale 1:50) of the exhibition layout. No further information was available about the exhibition set-up and attempts to contact the new management of Palazzo Grassi proved unsuccessful. Some photographs of the exhibition are available online at www.gaeaulenti.it. Unfortunately, I was unable to trace illustrated reviews of the exhibition, but an article on the great exhibition devoted to the Celts at Palazzo Grassi in 1991, also designed by Gae Aulenti, gives us an idea of the layout and set-up, in particular the large murals designed and executed by Eliana Gerotto (Mulazzani 1991).
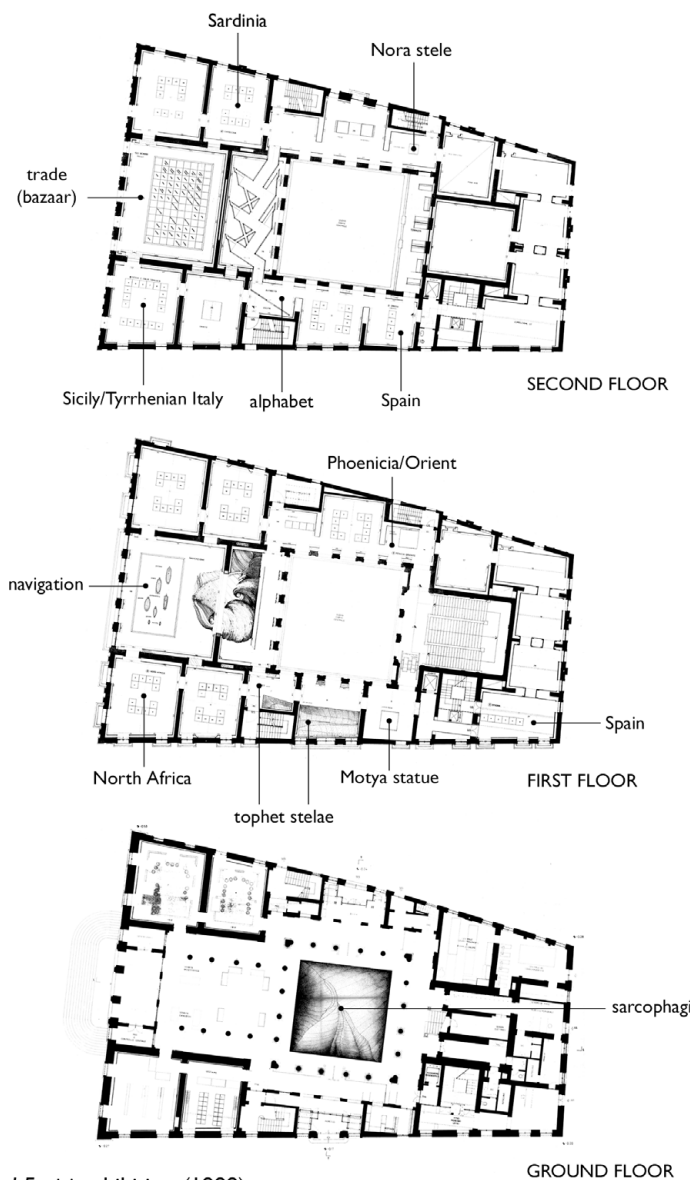
Fig. 2.4. The layout of the exhibition *I Fenici* organized on three floors of the Palazzo Grassi, Venice in 1988.

Despite the blurred boundary that exists, for example, between the terracotta bell-shaped statuettes from Bithia on the south coast of Sardinia and the large limestone statue of Bes found at the same temple site (Vella 1998: 196–203), the artefacts are separated because of their

material difference, with Bisi (1988) writing about the terracottas in a chapter on coroplastic art and Moscati (1988b) discussing the statue of Bes in another chapter on statuary. This was an excellent, missed opportunity where relative scale and portability would have allowed visitors and readers of the catalogue to differentiate between the representation of the deity and the votaries on the same site, following an interpretative method that has long been used by scholars hampered by the lack of textual sources (for example, Smith 1927: 208; Renfrew 1985: 22–4).

On a second level, the display and the catalogue reproduce the old operation of decontextualization, but to different ends. If in earlier centuries, the object had been appropriated by the antiquarians so that it could be declared a specimen in a natural history of human productions, it is now appreciated within a new, redefined context as a work of art, a material expression of a culture called 'Phoenician'. The rhetoric governing the processes through which the same objects have been assembled into particular display configurations, first by antiquarians and later by Moscati and his associates, is indeed different. The choice of a continuous and neutral background for the objects reproduced in the Palazzo Grassi exhibition catalogue (as with the bowls, Fig. 2.5), follows standard recording procedures in archaeological photography (for example, May 1998); the lack of any framing or border around several objects presupposes an abstract, neutral field in which weightless things might equally be standing vertically or laid out on a surface. Thomas (1997: 97–105) has shown that there is a relationship between such a mode of representing ethnographic objects by abstracting them from any normal physical domain and the wish to imbue the objects with a sense of unworldliness for their consumption by exhibition-goers: for his case study, abstracted objects become curiosities insofar as their function and purpose instil inquisitiveness in the colonial viewer. In our case, the new context, given 'Phoenician' objects like the metal bowls in the Palazzo Grassi exhibition and in the accompanying catalogue, appears to be consonant with the attempt to create a space – showcases and a book – for listening beyond the silence that Orientalism had imposed for so long. The objects and their illustrations serve to promote the affirmation of a new identity, in this case a nascent discipline and its unsung heroes of the ancient world – the Phoenicians.[5]

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[5] It is a commonplace that beyond the obvious functions of an exhibition (cf. Rambaldi 2009), the question of how things get displayed in museums and temporary displays cannot be divorced from the political significance of the representational frameworks employed. The critical reviews

Fig. 2.5. The Praeneste gilt silver bowl as it appears in the *I Fenici* exhibition catalogue (Moscati 1988a).

An alternative exhibition of the metal bowls would need to reaffirm the biographies of these objects in such a way that their modern (curatorial and scholarly) and ancient (contextual) meanings are at least to some extent conveyed. Something of the latter has been put forth by those outside Phoenician studies in an exhibition held in Bologna, Italy, in 2000, which sought to understand the phenomenon of the so-called princely cultures of Etruria. The silver bowl from the Regolini-Galassi tomb, mentioned above, appears in the section of the catalogue which deals with 'princely lifestyle' and 'manifestations of princely power', but there is no direct reference to the object in the accompanying discussion (Bartoloni *et al.* 2000: cat. no. 257), nor is there a reminder that this bowl formed part of a collection of grave goods totalling more than five hundred objects. Elsewhere I have argued

of thematic exhibitions, like *I Celti*, 1991 (Megaw and Megaw 1992) and the rhetoric behind the 25th exhibition of the Council of Europe – *The Gods and Heroes of the Bronze Age*, 1998 (Lowenthal 1995; Pluciennek 1998) – show this to be the case even for short-term expositions.

(Vella 2010) that understanding the ancient significance of these metal bowls need not be concerned with the ultimate origins of stylistic motifs, an exercise that makes too much of the absence of archaeological evidence. Departing from the observation that objects need symbolic framings, story-lines and human narrators in order to acquire social lives, I suggest that the bowls with their representations dealing specifically with travel, hunting and warfare (tasks that involve boundary transgression and encounters with human, wild or fantastic creatures) may have been used in mediating between groups inhabiting different worlds. The arts of depicting the world and the techniques of knowing it, learnt first-hand or through repeated storytelling, may have acted as a precious commodity in holding and main-taining social relations amongst an emerging warrior aristocracy. I assert that calling the metal bowls 'Phoenician' should only serve as shorthand to understand the mobile and mutable world that was the Mediterranean in the period when these bowls were in circulation.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have looked at attempts to define 'Phoenicianness' on the basis of material culture set against defining moments in the history of Phoenician studies. I have argued that the debate over the ultimate origins of a class of material culture, set in the context of a discipline striving hard to carve for itself a niche in western European scholarship, has obfuscated any attempt to question the homogeneity of Phoenician culture under-stood to subsume a western or Punic dimension. I believe that I equally could have used the cultural biography of other objects that figure in the catalogue of the Palazzo Grassi exhibition: ivory and glass for example, both classes of material that were once considered 'Phoenician' and are now having their analytical boundaries redefined (on ivory: Ciafaloni 1995; on glass: Spanò Giammellaro 2004). The result would not have been very different. Several chapters in this volume argue for variability rather than homogeneity, for cultural processes that relate to particular circumstances and to particular times. In this scenario, the 'Punic' Mediterranean is appearing more and more like a rich palimpsest, replacing the monolithic essence conveyed by Moscati's invented 'Phoenicians'.

The Getty curators do well to keep the Phoenicians out of their storyline unless a decision is taken to put emphasis on the effects and repercussions of ancient mobility, and into the wholly new lives that objects take in the hands of new recipients in a dynamic Mediterranean world.

3 | Punic identities and modern perceptions in the western Mediterranean

PETER VAN DOMMELEN

It is widely recognized by archaeologists and historians alike that any discussion of identities in the past must take into consideration the conditions under which modern interpretations have been constructed (for example, Díaz-Andreu *et al.* 2005), and this applies even more when considering Phoenician and Punic identities.[1] Because of the obvious 'oriental roots' of Phoenician–Punic culture in the western Mediterranean, historians and archaeologists trained in the strongly Classics-focused universities of Europe and North America have long ignored Phoenician and Punic involvement in the ancient Mediterranean and their interactions with and influences on classical culture and history – 'the history that mattered' as Ian Morris has ironically noted (1994: 21). As European colonial interventions in and occupations of Mediterranean regions in recent centuries have further distorted perceptions and reconstructions of the colonial past (for example, Dietler 2005), discussions of a topic as broad as 'Punic identities' cannot avoid exploring how this theme has been approached in recent centuries and decades.

Gustave Flaubert's historical novel *Salammbô* (1862) epitomizes the predicament of Phoenician and Punic studies in more ways than one. Set in third-century BCE Carthage between the first and second Punic Wars, the book depicts a sumptuous and exotic city that is both threatened by a rebellion of scheming and aggressive mercenaries and undermined by its own excesses. Flaubert's skilful interweaving of fact and fiction draws extensively on Polybius's classical descriptions but owes no less a debt to contemporary 'Orientalist' prejudices. Characters like Matho, the mercenary leader, and even Hamilcar Barca are depicted as prone to violence and unreliable, while Salammbô herself embodies the voluptuous Orient (Said

Fig. 3.1. Alphonse Mucha's famous lithograph of *Salammbô* (1896). (Plate 2.)

1978: 184–91; but see Garnand 2001). Flaubert's vivid and exotic description of child sacrifice to 'Moloch' (Chapter 13) is a particularly influential passage that has contributed much to depictions of Carthaginians as cruel barbarians. The enduring influence of Flaubert's novel on western perceptions of the Punic world can hardly be overestimated, as it has inspired numerous depictions (Fig. 3.1/Plate 2) and other artistic works, including even a recent computer game, 'Salammbo'.[2]

Against this background, it is my intention in this chapter to explore how Punic identities in the modern-day western Mediterranean have been perceived and in many cases are actively being (re)defined. My focus is on the Punic rather than Phoenician world, although all too often it is not possible to make a sharp distinction. I use the term 'Punic world' advisedly, as a geographical reference to refer to those regions of the western Mediterranean where Punic material culture and cultural traditions were prevalent during the Classical and Hellenistic periods (van Dommelen and

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[2] Computer game released in 2003: available at http://fr.gamesplanet.com/ (search for 'Salammbo') [last consulted 25.06.2013].

Gómez Bellard 2008a: 1–11). More specifically, I examine in some detail how these perceptions are constructed and to which modern perspectives, interests, preoccupations and indeed anxieties they may be related; ultimately, therefore, this chapter is more about the modern-day western Mediterranean and western scholarship of the last century than it is about the Punic world in Classical and Hellenistic times.

Constructing identities

As identity has become a major topic in recent decades across the social sciences and humanities alike, archaeology has explored the complex and manifold connections between material culture and (ethnic) identities past and present (for example, Jones 1997; Hernando 2002; Meskell 2002; Díaz-Andreu *et al.* 2005). This includes Mediterranean and classical archaeology, where Jonathan Hall's work on Greek ethnicity (Hall 1997; Hall 2002) offered an early and influential contribution to the debate. It is only in recent years, however, that local and regional identities beyond the classical heartlands have begun to receive attention (for example, Hales and Hodos 2010).

A key insight from these debates that is of particular significance to archaeology is that identities, whether ethnic or otherwise, are socially constructed, while they are at the same time intimately connected to particular areas and places and/or objects and practices – a deeply felt 'sense of place' is an important feature of most identities (Feld and Basso 1996; Tilley 2006). This constructivist approach has effectively replaced the older 'essentialist' perspective that saw (ethnic) identities as permanently engrained in a person or inherently associated with objects or practices, as the latter view has proved too static to cope with changing and newly created identities (Jones 1997; Herzfeld 2006: 129–30). As a social construct, identities are by contrast seen as part and parcel of people's social life as both individuals and communities, as they enable people to situate themselves in time and space both positively and negatively by associating themselves with specific places, objects and practices and by distancing themselves from others (Knapp and van Dommelen 2008).

These insights are critically important for archaeologists, as they establish a theoretically robust connection between social identity and material culture, and overcome the fixed links between 'pots and people' of earlier culture-historical approaches (Jones 1997). No less significant is

the implication that the 'real' archaeological age or provenance of material culture is not a primary concern for the construction of identities, as it is the contemporary perception that matters for the people involved and that informs the identities constructed (Bond and Gilliam 1994; Meskell 2002: 279–81; Díaz-Andreu 2005: 9–11). It is this aspect that is especially pertinent to my discussion of modern perceptions of the Punic world, as it involves both modern and ancient identities and representations.

Between Orientalism and Classicism

As Flaubert's novel about and Mucha's lithograph of *Salammbô* make patently clear (Fig. 3.1/Plate 2), western perceptions of Phoenician and Punic culture have long been dominated by both Orientalist and Classicist perspectives. Because this applies across genres to academic literature, popular writing and art alike (cf. below), western representations of the Phoenician and Punic world constitute an obvious instance of what Edward Said, following Foucault, termed a 'discourse' or coherent 'system of knowledge' (Said 1978: 177). It is indeed very much like Orientalism itself, of which these Phoenician–Punic representations may be regarded as an integral component. There are, not surprisingly, close parallels between the ways in which the Phoenicians and nineteenth-century 'Orientals' were represented in the west: just as the former were both hailed as inventors of the alphabet and despised as deceitful merchants, the latter were represented as both distant forebears of European civilization and unreliable and backward tribesmen (Said 1978: 113–97; Liverani 1998: 8–10).

Classicism has dominated western discourse on Phoenician–Punic culture as the effective alter ego of Orientalism – or rather, from a western perspective, the other way round. As Mediterranean archaeology and ancient history have long been structured and in many ways continue to be guided by the classical tradition that sees Greece and Rome as the centre and yardstick of development (Morris 1994; Marchand 1996), Phoenician contributions to and involvement in Mediterranean history have consistently been underplayed. The presence of Levantine and indeed specifically Phoenician objects in Etruscan tombs have, for instance, long been ascribed to Greek mercantile activities, as direct Phoenician contacts were somehow inconceivable. In the Punic case, the extensive descriptions of Carthage and Punic traditions by Diodorus Siculus and Polybius are inevitably strongly coloured by the

Punic Wars, and their anti-Carthaginian stance played straight into the hands of Orientalist prejudices (van Dommelen 1998a: 22–4).[3]

While Classicism has remained a more or less constant factor to the present day, the fortunes of Phoenician–Punic studies can roughly be traced against the development of Orientalism as outlined by Said (1978: 201–25): during the heyday of 'manifest Orientalism' in the (later) nineteenth century, western scholars were fascinated enough to pay attention to Phoenician and Punic archaeology, but these studies were rapidly abandoned in the twentieth century (Liverani 1998). By the early 1970s, Sabatino Moscati could only describe the field as 'partial, fragmented and disorganized' (Moscati 1974: 15). Another, equally instructive, case in point is the ongoing debate over whether child sacrifice was practised in Carthage, one that continues to see wildly diverging opinions (Garnand 2001).

As the 'elusive Phoenicians' have begun to re-emerge from the Classical and Orientalist shadows onto the Mediterranean scene (Vella 1996) and the Classical paradigm has itself come under scrutiny (Herzfeld 1987; Dietler 2005), the Mediterranean lies wide open for debate and re-interpretation (for example, Herzfeld 2005; Rowlands 2010). As there is a concomitant growing awareness of contemporary local and alternative perceptions of the past and its material remains, the time seems ripe to compare and contrast perceptions of Punic culture and identities.

Modern implications and complications

That it is not just identities, but also the practice of archaeological and historical research in general that are influenced by contemporary social and political contexts, has been recognized for quite some time. Nearly thirty years ago, Bruce Trigger (1984) drew attention to the impact of the nation state and modern colonialism on the organization of archaeology and its interpretations of the past, while Michael Rowlands (1986) pointed out the extent to which our understanding of prehistory is guided by modernist and Europe-centred notions. Extensive debates took place throughout the 1990s about the 'politics of the past' and the ways in which the past was represented and re-imagined across the world as part of (early) modern nation-building programmes and in the context of

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[3] Note however that Classical sources are not uniformly negative, as Greek ones in particular – Aristotle most notably – tend to adopt a far more positive perspective: Barceló (1994); cf. Prag, Chapter 1.

European colonial expansion (for example, Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Kohl 1998; Meskell 1998; Meskell 2002; Shepherd 2002; Díaz-Andreu 2007).

Even if classic colonial situations have mostly disappeared with formal decolonization, many effects of colonialism linger on in the current post-colonial world. In many cases, they have also become intertwined with new nation states, whose borders were often drawn along previous colonial boundaries. As the concept of the nation state is at the same time undergoing substantial revision – at least within the European Union – and elsewhere the plights and rights of ethnic and cultural minorities are given more attention, there is a growing awareness that the nation state and the colonial government are no longer the only or even the main players when it comes to representing the past and constructing identities (MacDonald 1993; Werbner and Ranger 1996). It is precisely the recognition that different communities may perceive the past differently and use its material remains in different ways to construct their identities that has opened up fertile new ground for further investigation.

An early and exemplary investigation of conflicting perceptions of the past that explicitly related these to distinct communities with divergent identities was an ethnographic study carried out by the social anthropologist Michael Herzfeld (1991). In the Cretan town of Rethemnos he compared the role played by the more distant but Christian past of the Venetian period (thirteenth to seventeenth centuries) to the more recent Ottoman past that in Greece is usually viewed in less than favourable terms. Focusing on the built environment, Herzfeld found that people's views of the Venetian and Ottoman monuments of Rethemnos and their perception of the past more generally were far more ambivalent than anticipated. They turned out to be more closely tied up with personal histories and people's immediate social contexts and personal experiences than with grand histories of Christianity and generic notions of Greekness. Herzfeld coined the terms 'social time' and 'monumental time' to capture these very different perceptions of, and ways of involvement with, the past (Herzfeld 1991: 10). A comparable contrast has been described for the Nuraghe Losa in central Sardinia, where the prehistoric monument became the focus of contrasts between local Sardinian identities and generic representations promoted by archaeologists and the Italian state (Odermatt 1996).

These ethnographies have most recently been brought together with more conventional ethno-archaeological studies like Forbes's (2007) long-term work on local rural organization in Methana (Greece) under the unifying heading of 'archaeological ethnographies' (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009). Picking up on these ideas and in line with the

call for a 'total ethnography' to take into account both diverging local
perceptions and state-sponsored representations and to bring out the
contradictions between them (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009: 75),
I have organized my survey of Punic identities and modern perceptions at
three distinct 'levels' or 'settings'. I suggest that these include first of all
'official' representations promoted by a nation state or colonial authorities
and their organizations on the ground; in the second place, images and
associations that are put forward by external visitors and other non-state
entities that are often commercially driven; and finally local views that may
be less explicitly or systematically articulated and are often more informally –
but no less strongly – expressed in local practices and beliefs. My interest lies
first and foremost in the quite different nature of the actors involved and
their 'modes of organization' as institutions or communities, while I am
much less concerned with the spatial scale on which they operate. Rather
than separating these levels as geographically distinct in an approach that
would oppose local to global, I therefore prefer to think of them as 'thematic
foci' with varying spatial dimensions that may overlap to varying degrees.

State representations

The role of nation states might at first sight seem of limited relevance to the
construction of Punic identities, as the Punic world does not coincide with
any one country. As it extends across much of the western Mediterranean,
the Punic world could indeed be seen as supra-national in modern terms.
But that is not the case, as there are three countries whose modern-day
territories fall largely, if not entirely, within the Punic world, namely
Tunisia, Malta and Algeria. As Maltese identities are dominated by the
island's unique prehistoric monuments rather than Punic or other classical
remains (Rountree 2002; cf. Vella, Chapter 2), it is Tunisia and to a lesser
extent Algeria that tend to identify most explicitly with the Phoenician and
Punic past. The location of Carthage on Tunisian soil not surprisingly plays
a key role in this regard, as is for instance evident from the state-sponsored
celebrations of the twenty-eighth centenary of Carthage in 1986 (Fig. 3.2).

   There is, however, rather more to this, as Punic culture tends to be
represented as local by the Tunisian state, with the implication that it is to
be identified as indigenous. As a result, Punic settlement in Carthage and
environs is frequently contrasted with the Roman colonial presence in
North Africa that was defined by military conquest and occupation. This
opposition has been strengthened by comparisons with the contrast
between the French colonial occupation of the Maghreb in the nineteenth

Fig. 3.2. Stamp showing a reconstruction of Punic Carthage in Hellenistic times that was published on the occasion of the 28th centenary of Carthage.

and twentieth centuries CE and the contemporary independent nation states of Tunisia and Algeria. The parallel is made all the more salient by the fact that it was the French themselves who had been the first ones to draw this comparison, to represent themselves as the successors of the Romans and to justify their own colonial exploits (Dondin-Payre 1991; Mattingly 1996).

The first point to note is that there is nothing 'natural' in this web of connections, whether contrasting or comparative, because Punic culture can only be regarded as local in North Africa as long as its Levantine roots, Phoenician colonization and Carthaginian occupation of the central Maghreb are played down and local Berber inhabitants are tacitly ignored (cf. Brett and Fentress 1996: 1–9). It is probably no coincidence that both these strategies are actively pursued by the Tunisian state (Hazbun 2008). It is also worth noting in this regard that there is a long tradition in western academia of understating the Semitic background of the Phoenicians (Liverani 1998: 14–18).

The ostensible inconsistency is often extended even further by highlighting the role of Carthage as an active connector ('trait d'union') between the Maghreb and the Levant and indeed the wider Mediterranean. It is under this heading that the so-called 'Hannibal Clubs' were created and continue to be promoted by the Tunisian establishment (Hazbun 2008: 27). As this association plays on the parallel oppositions Punic:Roman :: Tunisian: French :: Islamic:Christian, it reveals the extent to which these connections

and identifications are guided more by contemporary concerns of the Tunisian state than by archaeological or historical facts on the ground (Saidi 2008). That these associations are made at all and that much is made of them underlines the selective and culturally (as much as politically) determined nature of perception. Overall, the whole situation demonstrates that 'real' origins and connections matter less than perceived ones when it comes to the construction of identities.

The second point to be made concerns the critical role of material culture in these representations: just as the Roman ruins of North Africa were seized upon by the French military and restored and imitated by them in order to reinforce the parallel between the Roman and French occupations of the region (Dondin-Payre 1991; van Dommelen 2006a: 109–11), the archaeological remains of Carthage are crucially important for the identities constructed by the Tunisian state, as they represent tangible and thus ostensibly irrefutable evidence of the connection between the Punic and modern Tunisian inhabitants of the central Maghreb (cf. van Dommelen 2006a: 112–20).

Heritage and tourism

Tourism has become a major feature of economic and social developments in the Mediterranean, as the Grand Tour developed into extended seasonal winter stays by European elites in the earlier half of the twentieth century and subsequently gave way to mass tourism in the post-war period. While the region's mild climate was always a major attraction, the ubiquitous material remains of the classical past and the familiarity of European and North American visitors with the classical world in some shape or form meant that the region's classical heritage was integral to tourism and, by implication, to economic development right from the start (Williams 1997; Mazzette 2003). Tourism operators have readily adopted colonialist and nationalist representations of the past, if only because they resonate in large part with the popular views of tourists from Europe and North America. Modern Tunisia is a good example in this respect, as the strong government support of the Phoenician–Punic past encourages the tourist and heritage industries to focus on these periods, as is perhaps best illustrated by the massive 'Carthageland' theme or fun park built in Hammamet (Hazbun 2008: 27).[4] The recent gradual reduction of state

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[4] The park's website is www.carthageland.com and they also have a Facebook page (Carthage Land Officiel, last consulted 25.06.2013).

influence on the representation of the past and its material remains in at least some of the Mediterranean nation states has however begun to encourage the tourist industry to develop its own representations, usually in tandem with the emerging heritage industries in those same countries (Knapp 2005: 14; see also, for example, Odermatt 1996: 99–103). This applies in particular to the Mediterranean EU countries, where cultural heritage is increasingly becoming a cornerstone of rural economic development (for example, Masu 2003). Because the tourism industry in the present age of globalization is not bound by national borders, the conservation, management and presentation of heritage are rapidly and increasingly globalized and commodified across the Mediterranean as a result (cf. Rowan and Baram 2004: 4–13).

Given the largely negative perception of Phoenician and Punic culture in Europe and the USA, it is hardly surprising that the tourist appeal of Phoenician and Punic remains has been rather limited. In Sicily and Sardinia, Phoenician and Punic settlements tend to be presented as simply 'ancient' or 'classical' without further discussion of their distinctive nature. This 'classicizing' representation is usually reinforced by emphasizing generically classical features like columns, even if these are often of later Roman date. One of the best examples in this regard is the site of Tharros, where two reconstructed Doric columns of a Roman building of late Republican date dominate all the site's visual publicity and have come to represent this otherwise Phoenician–Punic city, where in reality columns would have been a rare sight (Fig. 3.3/ Plate 3).

Unlike in Sicily, where the prominence of the island's Greek heritage may explain the tourists' continuing lack of interest in the Punic past, the Sardinian tourist industry has begun to pick up on the distinctive nature of the Phoenician–Punic past in recent years (see below). In doing so, however, it has fallen back on the conventional stereotypes of exotic and mysterious foreigners who are alien to Sardinia and utterly different from its inhabitants past and present. A striking example is the exhibition 'The Fenici Portrait' [*sic*] in Cagliari, which was part of a series of cultural events to celebrate *I Fenici in Sardegna* in the summer of 2007. Under this banner, artists, authors, artisans, musicians and even chefs explored real or imagined Phoenician connections in Sardinia's cultural heritage in the broadest sense of the term. While the official webpage cast a positive light on the Phoenicians as 'daring merchants' representing 'a synthesis between East and West', the exhibition in Cagliari played on all the usual Orientalist stereotypes of the

Fig. 3.3. Cover of the tourist brochure *Sardegna. Il futuro ha radici antiche* (2000) that shows the two re-erected columns of a temple or perhaps *porticus* of late Roman Republican date at Tharros. (Plate 3.)

Phoenicians as exotic and erotic outsiders with large photos of skimpily dressed and mysterious-looking actors roaming around the ruins of Tharros and Nora.[5]

This uncritical resort to old stereotypes not only implies a lack of reflection in the representation of the island's histories but also confirms the short-term and usually commercial motivations of the organizations that 'promote' these regions. This is even more evident in North Africa, where the tourist industry is actively supported and indeed encouraged by the Tunisian state and the World Bank, who work in tandem to manage cultural heritage in primarily economic terms of growth and development. As a result, the priorities of restoration programmes and tourist development do not necessarily coincide with the concerns or interests of local people (Hazbun 2008: 27; Lafrenz Samuels 2008; Lafrenz Samuels 2012).

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[5] For copyright reasons it is unfortunately not possible to reproduce these photos by Carlo Porcarelli but an impression of the exhibition can be gained online at www.claudioporcarelli. com/exhibitions.php?show=32_grande%20.jpg (last consulted 25.06.2013). The *I Fenici in Sardegna* manifestation was an initiative of the regional tourist council of the *Regione sarda* and the official website was hosted at the regional government servers (www.regione.sardegna.it/j/v/ index.php?xsl=25&s=48229&v=2&c=3692&t=1#). Websites viewed in June 2010. See www. manifestosardo.org/?p=207 for a critical comment (last consulted 25.06.2013).

Local representations

As ethnographic research across the Mediterranean and elsewhere has repeatedly demonstrated in the wake of Herzfeld's seminal work on Crete (Herzfeld 1991), local perceptions of the past tend to be informed by idiosyncratic concerns and interests that are very different from the institutional and commercial ones considered so far. Because of their informal and localized nature, it is only through ethnographic fieldwork that such views may be recorded. Dependent as it is on such work, this brief discussion is limited to Sardinia, because I am most familiar with this island and it is a region where the connections between local identities and the past have repeatedly been the object of ethnographic and historical inquiry (for example, Odermatt 1996; Heatherington 1999; Caltagirone 2005; Paulis 2006; Angioni *et al.* 2007).

In Sardinia, any representation of the past is heavily influenced by the island's long history of foreign domination on the periphery of European and Mediterranean historical developments. For many centuries, the island has been seen as permanently backward and its marginalized inhabitants have consistently been represented as wild barbarians or noble savages, equipped with a fierce sense of independence and resistance (Paulis 2006: 91–162; Heatherington 2010: 38–45). Either way, Sardinian identities have a long history of being framed as essentially indigenous and indeed as being as 'natural' as the island's landscapes themselves, its monumental *nuraghi* included (Heatherington 2010: 59–62; Paulis 2006: 163–85).

All these elements come together in the Nuragic period (Bronze–Iron Ages), during which the *nuraghi* were built, tall dry-stone settlement towers that have become an enduring feature of Sardinian landscapes. This period also pre-dates the first recorded colonization of Sardinia by the Phoenicians and it is thus habitually represented as the 'Golden Age' of Sardinian independence. It has also come to serve as a 'benchmark' or blueprint of 'Sardinian-ness'. These views are practically embodied by Giovanni Lilliu, who has not only dominated Sardinian and especially Nuragic archaeology for the last half-century, but who has also been active in regional politics (Marci 2002). In his book *Sentidu de libbertade* ('Pathway to Freedom': 2004), Lilliu not only combines archaeology and politics to argue for and promote Sardinia's unique identity, but he also does so in the Sardinian language, which is another key marker of the island's indigeneity (Cossu 2007; Heatherington 2010: 51–3). In this context, it cannot come as a surprise that the Phoenician and Punic periods have hardly played a role in representations of the Sardinian past; if anything, it

(a)   (b)
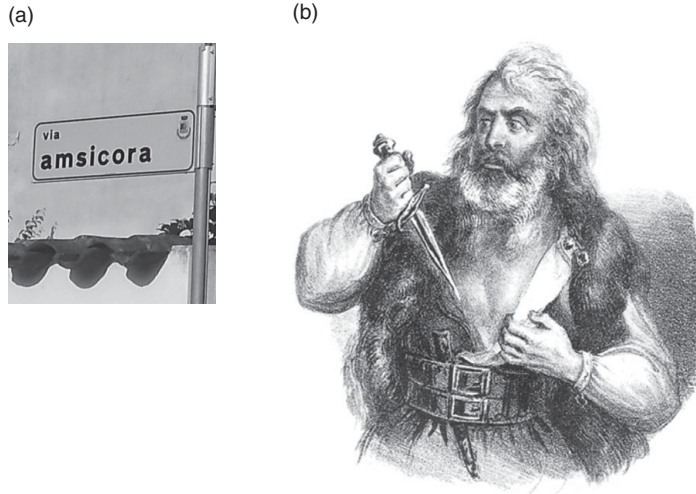
Fig. 3.4(a). Street sign of the Via Ampsicora in Terralba (Province of Oristano).
3.4(b). Portrait of Hampsicoras that illustrated the corresponding entry in Pasquale
Tola's *Dizionario biografico degli uomini illustri di Sardegna* (Turin, 1837–8) and that
is often reproduced.

is rather remarkable that they have begun to make an appearance at all
(cf. above).

A notable exception is constituted by the figure of Hampsicoras, whose
name is familiar to most Sardinians, if only because a 'via Ampsicora' may be
found in most towns and villages on the island (Fig. 3.4a). We are informed
by Livy (23.32.10) that Hampsicoras was a wealthy Sardinian landowner of
Punic descent who led a major rebellion against Roman occupation in 215
BCE. It is this explicit act of resistance that has earned him a place in
Sardinian history, as his tragic death – he committed suicide to avoid
surrender to the Romans – made him a popular topic in both learned
and fictional Romantic writings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,
including several plays and operas (Paulis 2006: 313–22; Stiglitz 2010).
These nostalgic descriptions have effectively assimilated Hampsicoras as
an indigenous Sardinian ancestor, as is perhaps most evident in the numer-
ous representations that show him dressed not as a Punic aristocrat but as a
native bandit dressed in sheepskin – exactly as Livy described the indigen-
ous tribes fighting Roman troops (Fig. 3.4b; van Dommelen 2007: 55–7).

Hampsicoras's case thus demonstrates two key points. In the first place,
it underscores my earlier comment that representations of the past are not
so much based on the 'real facts' on the ground but rather on perceptions
and associations made in later times and different situations: Hampsicoras

is not seen as the powerful Punic landowner he once was, but has been transformed into a native Sardinian freedom-fighter. The second point is that in this new guise Hampsicoras has become a popular and well-known figure from the Sardinian past, who is now a ubiquitous presence on the island – literally on the street of most towns and villages (Fig. 3.4a). It is a measure of this assimilation that Hampsicoras is now increasingly used by nationalist politicians, who have even erected a monument on the place where he supposedly died, in commemoration of his death 'pro s'indipendenzia 'e sa Sardinnia' (Stiglitz 2010).[6]

Concluding thoughts: stereotypes, local traditions and social time

Looking over the evidence brought together in this chapter, the first impression is one of a plurality of ways and means to represent the Phoenician–Punic past of and in the western Mediterranean. It is also overwhelmingly clear that this multivocality has its roots first and foremost in modern contexts rather than in ancient distinctions. These case studies, however brief and eclectic they may be, thus readily underline the theoretical point made at the beginning of this chapter that contemporary perceptions of both modern representations and ancient identities are thoroughly modern constructs that primarily reflect modern anxieties and the interests of specific groups and institutions.

On closer inspection, there is nevertheless one recurrent feature that may be singled out in the ways in which Phoenician and Punic identities are constructed in the western Mediterranean. This unifying 'undercurrent' is that there does not seem to be a positively defined notion of Punic culture, as modern representations (regardless of their context) consistently continue to be informed, if not dominated, by the tired but deeply rooted Orientalist and Classicist stereotypes.

An obvious exception is the popular Sardinian representation that steers clear of the two stereotypes and instead appropriates Punic identity as local, subsuming it within the wider and much stronger construct of its modern Sardinian counterpart. To some extent, the Tunisian representation

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[6] 'for the independence of Sardinia': the inscription is not surprisingly in Sardinian, which is incidentally a Latin language, although the irony of that presumably has been lost on the nationalists. The memorial can be found just off the main road along the Sardinian west coast (SS292) a short distance south from the resort of S'Archittu.

of Punic culture as local North African may be seen as close to the Sardinian case, but a crucial difference is that the former does not appear to have taken root in the local communities of Tunisia in the way that the Sardinian perception has. The Tunisian representation is more like an inversion of the Orientalist stereotype than a local construct drawing on an array of local elements (Hazbun 2008).

Furthermore, the local Sardinian representation stands out because it collapses the Phoenician–Punic past into, and merges it with, quite different and certainly much later time periods. This is most evident in the depiction of Hampsicoras as (the Romantic version of) a nineteenth-century bandit. As his Nuragic roots are perhaps emphasized even more heavily, the representation of the rebel thus really pulls this Punic figure into both other periods. Such a collapse of time and the apparent denial of 'proper' history with its well-defined and clearly distinct successive chronological phases may be seen, I suggest, as an instance of what Michael Herzfeld has termed 'social time' (Herzfeld 1991: 10). Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that identities like the Sardinian one make sense only if people perceive time in social terms, in which the collapse of 'normally' distinct periods makes it possible and indeed perfectly natural to make connections and juxtapositions such as the ones described. The effect of such a process is that these identities are placed 'outside time' and thus come to embody their quintessential and indeed timeless nature. An integral part of the process of constructing identities like these is their connection to the present-day: in the Sardinian case, that is achieved by the elevation of Hampsicoras to the 'gallery of ancestors', whose names literally guide people around their towns and villages in their daily lives. It is not just that the likes of Hampsicoras and Eleanora d'Arborea, ruler of an independent state in medieval Sardinia and another familiar street name in Sardinian towns and villages, thus become part of 'the grist of everyday experience . . . that gives events their reality' (Herzfeld 1991: 10) but they also become practically interchangeable, and the millennium and a half between the third century BCE and the fourteenth century CE that separates these two persons in formal chronology – what Herzfeld calls 'monumental time' – is cancelled out.

Ultimately, I suggest, two main conclusions may be drawn from this. The first one is that Classicist and Orientalist stereotypical representations of Phoenician–Punic culture invariably remain strong in the European and western imagination; their construction, moreover, does not depend on nationalist and state-sponsored propaganda but finds equally and perhaps increasingly fertile soil in commercial strategies and non-governmental

organizations. The relative ease with which Punic identities are subsumed into local ones in Sardinia and state-sponsored representations in Tunisia might even denote a real dearth of substance of Phoenician–Punic culture to the European and Mediterranean mind.

The second conclusion concerns popular and locally constructed identities, like the Sardinian one, that are now 'spilling over' into regional and state organizations as nationalist activists take them into actual local and regional politics. It would be easy to dismiss these constructs and associated perceptions as flawed and irrelevant, but such an arrogant reaction would miss the crucial point that these identities are very real on the ground, precisely because they are part of daily life – and even more so as they become part of regional politics. If we wish to remain able to communicate our archaeological and historical research to local communities on the ground, whether in the western Mediterranean or elsewhere, notions like social and monumental time and constructed and essentialist identities are indispensable. The often acrimonious discussions in Sardinia about the Monte Prama statues and Nuragic connections with the Sea Peoples or indeed Atlantis that have become an all too common feature in the Sardinian media and 'blogosphere' in recent years are surely an unmistakable sign that the Sardinian past is perceived in increasingly diverging, if not incongruent terms.[7] No less critical is the realization that it is only through direct engagement with local actors, be they villagers, tourist entrepreneurs or politicians, that we can begin to gain an understanding of the contemporary 'processes of transformation taking place in local understandings of history and temporality' (Herzfeld 2010: 264–5): in other words, 'archaeological ethnographies' ought to become an integral part of our studies of the ancient Mediterranean.

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[7] See *Il Manifesto Sardo* (www.manifestosardo.org) for discussions of these topics (*s.v.* Monte Prama, Shardana, Atlantis), in particular the contributions by Alfonso Stiglitz (for example, 'Monti Prama, Atlantide e varie amenità', September 2010: www.manifestosardo.org/?p=4952).

4 | Phoenicity, punicities

SANDRO FILIPPO BONDÌ

The question of identity has long been a central theme in the field of Phoenician and Punic studies.[1] Ever since independent studies of Phoenician civilization started at the beginning of the 1960s, great attention has been paid to its distinguishing features, not least because of the elusive and at times disjointed nature of the evidence, and the extent of the geographical area involved. It could well be said that this renewed attention to the Phoenician world and the very perception of it as an autonomous field of study were in fact born out of the question of identity: the fundamental paper that Sabatino Moscati dedicated to the 'Phoenician question' some fifty years ago in a sense constituted the birth of Phoenician studies as an independent discipline (Moscati 1963). Indeed, many of the observations made there still constitute important elements in the recognition of what may be defined as Phoenician identity today.

Turning more directly to the theme of Punic identity, it must be said that in the paper cited above Moscati had already identified the need to distinguish, as far as was possible at the time, an eastern 'phoenicity' that was separate from that attested in the colonies. In criticizing Donald Harden's position, Moscati noted that 'When . . . one uncritically juxtaposes evidence from the civilizations of the east and the west . . . one evades the basic problem which remains that of distinguishing if and to what extent the civilization of the Punic world reflects that of the Phoenician one, with the most negative consequences' (Moscati 1963: 486; translated from the Italian).

Moscati returned to the question of identity in 1974 (Moscati 1974: 21–36), and dedicated a substantial part of a monograph to the subject in 1992 (Moscati 1992a). In the meantime, the distinction between the terms Phoenician and Punic was clarified (Moscati 1990c; 1993a), so that in his 1993 paper dedicated to Phoenician identity, Moscati explicitly deals with the relationship between eastern and western Phoenicians from the point of view of identity (Moscati 1993b: 15–28, 84–5). More recently, Paolo

Xella has made an interesting contribution to the issue, discussing Phoenician identity in detail and at length in the context of an examination of the relationship between the Phoenicians and 'others' (Xella 2008). On the basis of religion as well as political distinctiveness, he makes the case that cultural individuality was usually limited to single cities, and suggests that it was Mediterranean expansion that, by placing the Phoenicians and 'others' in a reciprocal relationship, highlighted their differences. It thus indirectly prompted the construction of an identity which emerged out of comparison and differentiation rather than as the result of a real self-awareness of internal coherence.

This introduction to this chapter serves to illustrate how the theme of Punic identity, as distinct from that of Phoenician identity, has only come to the fore quite recently. In fact, the terminological distinction between Phoenician and Punic, the essential premise of that new theme, has only been clarified methodologically in the recent past – and from this terminological point of view we must specifically state that 'Punic' here will mean the western Phoenician world, from the emergence of Carthaginian hegemony in the second half of the sixth century BCE.

An awareness of the need to look at the Carthaginian world as chronologically, culturally and politically distinct from the motherland in the east is an indispensable prerequisite for a correct approach to the subject. Only relatively recently has the need been felt to abandon approaches based on a sort of indistinct continuity between east and west, between Phoenician and Punic. The terminological awkwardness of the twin label 'Phoenicio-Punic' itself (unfortunately still in use in academia; I myself teach a course on 'Archeologia fenicio-punica' at my university) indicates the need to overcome this outdated approach.

Therefore, the Punic question, if we may call it that, is in some ways a product of increased knowledge and of refinements in methodology. It can be articulated first and foremost through three key aspects: elements of differentiation from Phoenician identity (see above); the legitimacy of addressing this theme in a general way across the whole of the central and western Mediterranean; and the origins, chronology and articulation of the term 'punicity' in different regions and at different periods.

From an external perspective, ideally from one of the western colonies, the eastern Phoenician world might appear to have been characterized by substantial internal unity, and this view has been dominant in recent studies. Perhaps it is correct to claim that phoenicity is, in some ways, a modern invention – not in the sense (as we shall see) that there were not elements of strong internal cohesion in what we call the Phoenician world,

but rather that this apparent unity of identity was not seen in the same way by the Phoenicians themselves. Above all we define this people by differentiating them from neighbouring populations (Hebrews, Arameans, Moabites, Philistines), following the great upheavals at the end of the Bronze Age.[2] However, it is well-known that the Phoenicians never defined themselves as such, choosing instead labels referring to their cities (Sidonians, Tyrians, for example), or else to much broader geographical areas, such as 'Canaanite', which covered the entire Syro-Palestinian area. In other words, the self-identifications of those we call the Phoenicians did not revolve around a 'Phoenician/non-Phoenician' distinction but around phenomena linked to more compact communities (the cities), or to a cultural and territorial reality that extended well beyond the eastern Phoenician region strictly defined.

In short, distinctions were not lacking within the world of the Phoenician east, even qualified ones: one thinks of the distinctive pantheon of gods worshipped in each city, the foreign policy initiatives that often bitterly divided the centres of the eastern homeland, and some of the different variations in dialect (Garbini 1988). However, the overall picture of Phoenician culture in the homeland remains – *for us* – substantially a unified one, thanks to the presence of a series of characteristic cultural elements, related to language, institutions and craft production, or tied to the presence of divinities common to the whole region under discussion.

If, therefore, a contemporary historian can attribute an effective unity to the Phoenician east (the 'phoenicity' to which we drew attention in the title), what needs to be discussed is how far this shared reality was reflected in the west during the first centuries of the colonial era, and how much of it was preserved – or was lost – in the transition from the Phoenician to the Punic phases.

There is no doubt that in the initial phase of expansion in the west, the colonial world presents strong characteristics of homogeneity and continuity with the homeland. For the eighth, seventh and the first half of the sixth centuries BCE, this can be seen in the vast majority of cultural phenomena, from pottery forms to linguistic nuances, from some features of the architecture (although not much is known in this regard for the Archaic period) to certain aspects of craft production. Regarding the latter, what comes to mind in particular are building techniques, the early typologies of stone *cippi* (stone markers), the bronze statuary, the diffusion

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[2] On this concept of 'identification through differentiation', see Moscati 1974: 24–5.

of amulets and scarabs, and, to a lesser degree, some aspects of the production of terracotta figurines. From an iconographical point of view, the common eastern origin emerges clearly from the fact that, in these first centuries, no new image or motif was 'created', as it were, by western phoenicity. Not only were the crafts typical of the motherland transferred to the new settlements in the west, but also the imagery closely tied to them: consider, for example, the repertoire of ivories or jewellery, even where a 'colonial' production of such objects has been suggested, as in the case of later Spanish examples.

However, there were already in this first phase some aspects of material culture that were more markedly local or at least not widely shared among the Phoenician colonies. In Cyprus, for example, the presence of linguistic traits of the Arwadite type highlighted by Giovanni Garbini in his study of Phoenician dialects (1988: 59–60), or the preference shown from the beginning in the Carthaginian area for inhumation burial, in contrast to the funerary traditions of other regions of the diaspora, or above all the distinctive tophet, present only in the central Mediterranean area and not found at all in the Iberian peninsula (Ribichini 1987b; Moscati 1991; Moscati 1992b; Bernardini 1996; Ribichini 2002; Wagner and Ruiz Cabrero 2002). Certainly these are aspects of Phoenician culture in the west that should not be underestimated, but they can be accounted for largely by the accentuation of local characteristics rather than genuine innovative developments in the west. In some cases they can be explained by the different geographical origins of specific groups of colonists: the presence in the west of aspects of Cypriot language, religion and craftsmanship (such as the mention of *Pumay* on the stele of Nora, of *Pygmalion* on the Carthage medallion, or the strong Cypriot traits seen in terracotta masks and statuettes) is a nice example.

In other words, to apply anew a term that was used in past research, but which was largely abandoned by the 1970s, one can speak in this case of a sort of *altpunisch* (Moscati 1974: 60, n. 5): that is, the beginning of a process of differentiation within the western Phoenician world, which did not however detract from the notion of a solid cultural unity within the colonial network as a whole.

That situation applied to the regions under consideration until the end of the second half of the sixth century BCE, that is, until Carthage imposed its own military, political and economic hegemony on the Phoenician colonies of the central and western Mediterranean. This was a process that was largely complete by the end of the sixth century or the first years of the fifth century BCE (Bondì 2000). There is no doubt that in certain ways a

new and different cultural unity now emerged within the western Phoenician *oikoumene*, as the activity of the dominant power led to the diffusion of elements drawn from Carthaginian culture, which became commonplace throughout the territory under Carthage's control.

The examples usually cited in support of this claim are the spread of the use of inhumation burials, of painted ostrich eggs, of grimacing male masks, of female protomes and bronze votive razors – to mention only the most obvious evidence, at least in terms of artistic production. Furthermore, the closure of some commercial routes, such as those previously linking Sardinia with the Italian peninsula, gives the impression that economic activities were reoriented around particular centres. The resultant marginality of the Maltese archipelago (cf. Ciasca 1971: 72–4) demonstrates, for example, the geographic shift in the political and cultural centre of gravity, and thus a shift in the basic nucleus from which cultural innovations and politico-economic policy henceforth issued.

However, in the Carthaginian period (that is, from the second half of the sixth century to the third/second century BCE) there were also very marked phenomena of diversification, resulting in a remarkable level of cultural articulation within the regions under consideration. In other words, to return to the title of this chapter, the substantial unity ('phoenicity') seen at the beginning of the colonial era fragmented into various versions of 'punicity', whose differing composition was fashioned by economic and geographical factors as well as by relationships with other ethnic groups. As a result, a different version of 'punicity' was created within each region.

Contributing elements in this diversification were differences in geographical centrality and economic importance with respect to the position and requirements of Carthage, in methods of resource exploitation, in processes of urbanization and military control, in land taxation, and in forms of land ownership. But the greatest differentiation throughout the Punic world came about as a result of the diverse effects of local components, both indigenous and western Greek, the latter being especially important in Sicily.

Clearly in this chapter I can present only the more important examples, as it is impossible to discuss all the diversities between different areas of the Punic world. I must therefore apologize in advance for unavoidable omissions.

Let us begin with Malta (Ciasca 1982; Vidal González 1996). The first thing to note is that after the earlier relationship between the archipelago and the eastern Mediterranean coast broke down, Punic culture there was heavily conditioned by coexistence with local traditions. This is clearly

attested in some aspects of pottery production, in the choice of the same settlement sites (an element already present in the pre-Carthaginian phase), and in some aspects of religious architecture, the most representative case being, in my view, the sanctuary of Ras il-Wardija, of Punic/Hellenistic date. The limited acceptance of innovative elements from the area of Carthage may be a further indicator of this state of affairs.

In other words, the relationship with the local populations created a form of conservatism. One example is the 'archaizing' character of several terracottas dating to the Punic period, found at San Pawl Milqi and noted by Maria Pia Rossignani and Antonia Ciasca (Rossignani 1969; Ciasca 1970: 106). Ciasca saw a further cause for this situation in a sort of embargo that the Greek cities of southeastern Sicily exerted to limit contacts between the Maltese archipelago, western Sicily and Punic North Africa (Ciasca 1971: 73).

Turning to Sicily, two particular features contributed above all others to defining the peculiar characteristics of Punic culture on the island: on the one hand the nature of the relationship with the territory, and on the other hand the relationships, principally but not exclusively cultural, with the great local culture of the Elymians and with the world of the Sicilian Greek cities (cf. De Vido 1997; Bondì 2003; Bondì 2006).

According to Thucydides (6.2.6), it was precisely the alliance with the Elymians that constituted the decisive factor in consolidating the Phoenician presence in western Sicily, right from the beginning of the colonial phase. Some doubts may be raised in this connection. First and foremost we must ask what type of equilibrium between the parties this accord presupposed, especially during the Carthaginian phase that is of particular interest here. It is known that it was not Carthage that responded to the first attacks on the Phoenician part of Sicily during the first half of the sixth century BCE: the military burden fell above all on the Elymians, and in particular those of Segesta, the only Elymian polity to which we can attribute a civic structure suited to the task in this period (Bondì 2006: 132).

Thus, Carthage does not appear to have had (or to have been interested in having) territorial control over this part of the island in the sixth century BCE. This is confirmed by the way in which, judging from the sources, the Elymians took no part in the war culminating in the battle of Himera in 480, either in the pro-Punic alliance or in its opposition led by Agrigento and Syracuse (Bondì 2006: 132–3). Following the defeat at Himera, Carthage remained substantially disengaged, both militarily and administratively, from Sicily from 480 to 410 BCE. It was precisely in this period that the

alliance with the Elymians seems to have tipped in favour of the latter, if it is true that a controversial passage in Diodorus (11.86.2) does indeed refer to a clash between Segesta and Motya by the river Mazaro in 454 (Bondì 2006: 133). It seems that the Elymians were able to vie with Motya for control of the *chora* of Lilybaeum. This imbalance of relations in favour of the Elymians, shown by Segesta's strong influence on Eryx, the closest of the Elymian cities to Motya, can be seen also in Motya's swift acceptance, at the same time, of the Segestan coin types depicting a dog that are also common in Panormos, Eryx and elsewhere.

There was a decisive change in the situation at the end of the fifth century, when Carthage assumed firm territorial control over the western tip of Sicily after victory in the war of 409–406 BCE. At the same time, the Elymians' capacity to take political and military initiatives faded and they became subordinate to Carthage. The latter's new role as protagonist in Sicily, establishing within a few decades what is generally referred to as the Punic eparchy or epicracy (Anello 1986), created a new type of relationship between Punic and indigenous peoples, who were no longer (or not only) Elymian, but were more or less hellenized peoples living in the territory to the west of what was by then defined as the Alico frontier.

In the fourth century BCE two events occurred that were of great importance for the relationship between the Carthaginians and the local peoples in Sicily (cf. Bondì 2009): on the one hand the creation of an actual fortified frontier or *limes* on the eastern borders of Carthaginian territory, and, on the other, the diffusion of a Punic population (or at least one under Punic control) to a series of rural settlements in the interior, many of which were protected by fortifications. Therefore, it was only in this period that Sicilian punicity became really widespread, both in terms of territorial expansion and of the exploitation of available agricultural resources. This is attested by the flourishing rural settlements in various areas of the west-central part of the island.

However, the most distinctive element of the Punic presence in Sicily, which was not shared to the same degree by any other region of the western Phoenician *oikoumene*, was the island's proximity to the Greek world. It has often been said, perhaps somewhat tritely, that Sicily consti-tuted the door to the hellenization of the Punic world, but this would not have been possible without a profound osmosis with the Greek part of the island. It is not the aim of this chapter to assess the significance of imports of different classes of artefacts, or the amount of Greek pottery found at Punic sites, or the possible forms of physical coexistence between the two *ethne*. Such coexistence is now well-documented at Panormos, Birgi and

Motya itself (for the latter, Diodorus Siculus 14.53). Rather, this chapter is concerned with the penetration of Siceliote elements into the cultural milieu of Carthaginian Sicily, a prerequisite for the development of the leading role that the island played in disseminating aspects of this culture to the rest of the Punic world.

It will suffice here to refer to phenomena such as the spread of the cult of Demeter and Kore, which the terracotta figurines demonstrate long precedes the cult's introduction at Carthage (Xella 1969); the inclusion of Punic Sicily, and of Motya in particular, within the group of production centres of small terracotta altars (*arulae*); and the presence, already by the end of the sixth century BCE, of typically Hellenic elements in Punic architecture (for example, the temples at Porta Nord and some elements in the area of the tophet at Motya). An even more widespread phenomenon was the issuing of coinage by Sicily's Punic cities. The profound penetration of elements distinctive of Sicily's Greek culture can be seen also at Solus, rebuilt in the fourth century BCE on a Hippodamian grid plan. It should be stressed that all of these cases, only mentioned in order to avoid what would otherwise be a regrettable lack of detail, are exclusive to Sicily and mark cultural characteristics that were not shared, at least initially, by other regions of the Carthaginian Mediterranean.

Moving on to Sardinia, there is no doubt that punicity assumed specific and highly distinctive forms on that island. Although effectively forming part of the state of Carthage, a status unique for regions outside Africa, it is worth recalling that the island has two peculiar characteristics that shaped its cultural and political landscape: land management and religion. In the former case, the establishment of a large number of rural villages in the Sinis, the area of Oristano, the Campidano and in Sulcis created a capillary-like settlement pattern. Such a distribution was in line with specific Carthaginian objectives for the economic exploitation of this region, aided by an influx of North African people who moved here in great numbers until shortly after the Roman conquest.[3]

It is important to note how this process took place alongside traditional methods of territorial exploitation, prevalent in North Africa: on the one hand, the extensive cultivation of cereals, and on the other hand, the setting aside of space for so-called 'latifundia'-type properties, as attested in some literary sources, primarily Livy (23.32.10, for Hampsicoras; cf. Meloni 1975: 55–60). It should be noted also that the Punic presence in the

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[3] For a synthesis of the current state of knowledge about the Punic presence in Sardinia between the Carthaginian conquest and the coming of Rome, see Moscati *et al.* 1997: 63–112.

Iglesiente area was designed to directly control and exploit resources, based here too on capillary penetration through small inland centres that performed the initial processing of the vast amounts of ore mined in the region before transporting the materials to the coast.

This diffusion of a Punic population in the territory was associated with manifestations of *pietas* that were certainly typical of this region, such as the emergence of cults of local character. These were often interwoven with strong local traditions or with elements of central-Italic origin, as has been well demonstrated by Giuseppe Garbati (2008). However, what characterizes the religion of the Punic peoples of Sardinia, to the extent of constituting an entirely peculiar identity trait, is the concept of a national deity, Sid, whose cult was practised in the sanctuary at Antas. This was an ideological operation with strong political implications, for the choice of this figure, who could be identified with an important local deity, in practice served to include the nuragic elite in the Carthaginian power system. The regional nature of the cult is also clear: it has not been found elsewhere in the Punic world, nor are there other deities with strong ties to the punicity of an entire area.

Finally on Sardinia, we must refer to another phenomenon of regional scope: the much-debated question of the so-called Carthaginian *limes*, formed of a series of fortresses. I am very doubtful about the military function of these structures, at least in the sense of their constituting a defence of the regions controlled by Carthage against presumed hostility from the interior (Bondì 2008). I am more in agreement with Maya Gharbi's suggestion that settlements such as Padria or Bonorva demarcated territory in a way that facilitated Carthaginian management of the island's economic resources (Gharbi 2004). With this, then, another typical aspect of Sardinian punicity emerges, one not shared by other regions.

The regional nature of punicities, both cultural and economic, can also be demonstrated for areas outside Africa, such as Ibiza and mainland Spain. For Ibiza, I would highlight the widespread diffusion of rural populations demonstrated by the studies of Carlos Gómez Bellard and his colleagues (Gómez Bellard *et al.* 2007, with earlier bibliography), alongside the existence of a class of wealthy freemen of considerable economic means, with properties of varying scale. Furthermore, coroplastic production on Ibiza during the Punic period reveals an entirely original repertoire. On the Iberian mainland, by contrast, populations were concentrated in large urban centres (Cádiz, Málaga, Villaricos) in a departure from the custom of the earliest Phoenician colonization that had seen the

population distributed in numerous coastal settlements on either side of the Straits of Gibraltar.

Of course, the case of North Africa is more complex, both because of the breadth of the geographical frame of reference and because 'punicity' originated in this area, with its characteristic elements often spreading beyond the region of origin. However, it is precisely in the realm of land management that the Carthaginian impact on the North African landscape seems to have been more trenchant than elsewhere, with extremely well-organized forms of territorial organization highlighted by the recent research of Sandrine Crouzet (2003) and Lorenza-Ilia Manfredi (2003). The subdivision into districts, the diverse forms of administration applied to different parts of the North African territory, and not least the different systems of land use, where the state claimed ownership of large inland areas, are all significant indicators of this.

Of course, the examples given here are in some respects incomplete and imperfect, but I hope that they have helped to demonstrate the existence of different 'punicities' within what was largely a common cultural base. Furthermore, the very methods by which the hegemony of Carthage operated in the different regions were themselves an element of profound diversification, at least on the level of administrative and political management. That of the Barcid principate, for example, finds no possible parallels in the rest of the Punic world.

We may wonder if the Punic populations were aware of these regional or local characteristics, if in some way they were conscious of engaging in various forms of cultural practice not fully shared by the rest of the world subject to Carthage. The case of the Sardinian divinity Sid may indicate that this consciousness or distinctive self-identification was present at least at the regional level. Carthage itself, striking the legend *b'rṣt* ('in the territories') on the eparchic coins of Sicily, clearly demonstrates its ability to distinguish the political and institutional status of the metropolis from that of Sicily.

I would also add that awareness of a totally distinctive civic character (perhaps the basis for a new identity?) appears to be underlined by the importance of the so-called 'tombs of the founders' at Motya, according to the interpretation of the excavator of the necropolis, Vincenzo Tusa (1972: 34–55). Another aspect to bear in mind is the 'mythology of colonization', reflected, above all in Sardinia, in a series of figures (Herakles, Aristaeus and Iolaus according to the Greek interpretation; Sid in the Punic sources) who were 'founders' of a specific cultural framework distinct from that which preceded it and from other colonized

regions. In certain ways, Carthage demonstrated an understanding of (and to some extent, a respect for) these differences and peculiarities by assigning distinct tasks to the different regions and adapting the forms of its administration to various local situations.

In retrospect, moreover, the different ways in which Punic culture took root can be perceived in the various forms of persistence and in the varying extent of Punic innovations in different regions (stronger in North Africa and Sardinia, weaker in Sicily, still less marked in Malta and Spain). The substantial distinctions apparent in later epochs certainly go back to the centuries of Carthaginian domination. However, it must be admitted that the ways in which these regions were politically absorbed into the orbit of Rome, something that happened at different times and in different ways, may itself have played an important role in emphasizing these distinctive elements of the late- and neo-Punic periods.

Naturally, the aspects discussed here should not lead us to underestimate the very strong elements that unite the Punic culture of different Mediterranean regions. It is all too obvious that these differences operate within a broadly unitary framework in terms of material culture, through the existence of deities shared across the Mediterranean, and through a common language, social structures and institutions. In this sense I would also like to underline something that unifies the Punic west, distinguishes it, and ties it to the east, namely the notion of a common origin on the shores of the eastern Mediterranean, and specifically at Tyre. This is underscored by the spread of the cult of Melqart, the principal divinity of that city, which owes its existence to him, and whose kings ruled in his name and under his protection.

In this way, punicities – one might say *all* punicities – show that they see themselves as the fruit of a phoenicity that is always recognized as the founding core of their identity until the very end of their political and cultural history.

5 | Death among the Punics

CARLOS GÓMEZ BELLARD

*La pompe des enterrements regarde plus la vanité des vivants que
l'honneur des morts.*

La Rochefoucauld (*Maximes supprimées*, CCXIII)[1]

The goal of this chapter is simply to highlight the importance of funerary
evidence of all sorts – the tombs, their location, and their contents – for our
understanding of Punic culture, and how this material helps to bring us
closer to a definition of Punic identity, one of the themes of this
conference.[2]

It would be good to begin with a definition of the word 'Punic' itself.
What do the major dictionaries say?

Larousse: Carthaginois
Littré: relatif aux Carthaginois
Diccionario de la Real Academia Española: relativo a Cartago
Oxford English Dictionary: relating to ancient Carthage

In the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and the *Enciclopedia italiana*, the only
entries are for the Punic Wars.

If we move on to more specialized works, an entry by Guy Bunnens in
the *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique* tells us that today
'Punics and Carthaginians are more or less synonyms' and also that for the
Romans '*poenus* and *punicus* never, however, entirely lost their general
sense of 'Phoenician'' (Bunnens 1992: 364; translated from the French).

To finish this quick overview, in the introduction to Véronique Krings's
edited volume *La civilisation phénicienne et punique. Manuel de recherche*

(1995), Sabatino Moscati, the great 'inventor' of the Phoenicians (as Nick Vella reminds us, Chapter 2), writes that 'Phoenician' denotes this people in their broadest extent (both east and west), while 'Punic' designates this same people only in the west. But Moscati immediately emphasizes that the latter label only properly applies even in the west after *c.* 550 BCE, and that within the term 'Punic', one might speak more particularly of 'Carthaginian' to specify things having to do with that city (Moscati 1995a: 3). With the term 'Punic', we thus find ourselves among the western Phoenicians (López Castro 2004), developing in new directions and more or less tied to Carthage but not always Carthaginian: rather than a clear definition, we have here a true puzzle. In brief, however, and for the purpose of this chapter, 'Punic' denotes a cultural identity that can be applied to a large group of societies in the central and western Mediterranean between the middle of the sixth and the end of the second centuries BCE.

But setting this problem of nomenclature aside for a moment, let us go back to a keyword of our conference: 'identity'. Research into the question of whether there was a 'Punic' identity is as difficult as that into the identities of other peoples who have disappeared. It becomes far more complicated if we subscribe to the most recent theories of identity, which argue quite reasonably that an archaeological culture is not an ethnic identity (Lucy 2005: esp. 86–91). The endeavour becomes even more difficult when one rejects language and religion as core elements of identity, or if one retains them simply as indices (Eriksen 1993: 11). And if ethnic identity is in the end an individual's self-attribution to a given group (Jiménez Diez 2008: 63), the task becomes almost impossible.

Let us simplify the problem today, and tackle the question slightly differently. One way to differentiate between human groups is through the observation of repeated gestures, of habits, of attitudes or tendencies. Making such distinctions is a key methodology for ethnographers, but one that poses a serious problem for archaeologists: our subjects are no longer living; we cannot observe them. Yet we can turn to the material remains, and the interpretations we can draw from them, in order to reconstruct these different behaviours, and on that basis postulate the existence (or not) of different identity groups. This brings us to the main subject of this chapter: can funerary remains and the different behaviours they imply help us to discern a specific Punic identity?

The 'archaeology of death' has a long tradition in Phoenician and Punic studies; indeed, it existed long before the appearance of the conceptual framework of the discipline. For a long time, Punic archaeology *was* funerary archaeology: from Cádiz to Carthage, from Ibiza to Cagliari, the

great Punic centres were known by their vast necropoleis. That one found numerous pretty trinkets at such sites to fill up museum cases was without doubt an excellent reason for favouring this type of excavation. Today, the state of the discipline is happily very different. But the fact is that we have amassed an enormous body of evidence about death, burial and funerary customs in the Punic world, and in what follows I will attempt to offer an accessible overview of what we now know.

First, the location of necropoleis: the topography of not only the large cemeteries, but also the small rural cemeteries, is not without interest. If it is difficult to reduce the nature of these necropoleis to one or two general characteristics, but we can highlight some of their shared tendencies. In general, each settlement has one necropolis, located in the surrounding area, normally very close, but often separated in a symbolic way (for example, by a river, bay or small valley). Cemeteries can spread across a flat terrain (Cádiz, Motya) or rise up the sides of hills (Carthage, Villaricos, Jardín, Ibiza). They continued in existence for centuries, with constant reuse of the largest tombs, in particular the hypogea. But if space was lacking, that of the dead was sacrificed for that of the living: at Carthage, metal workshops covered the Archaic necropolis on the Byrsa (Lancel 1983: 16–17), while at Motya, the sixth-century BCE wall did the same (Whitaker 1921: 208; Ciasca 1992: 81). In the countryside, the best-known cases suggest that large villages had nearby necropoleis, as seems generally to have been the case on Sardinia (Costa 1983; van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard 2008b: 188–90). By contrast, on Ibiza, where there were no villages, the numerous farms throughout the island each had their own little cemeteries in which they disposed of their dead (van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard 2008b: 60–2).

As for the tombs, the forms differed widely, but we can narrow them down to a few types (Tejera Gaspar 1979; Bénichou-Safar 1982; Ramos Sainz 1990; Díes Cusí 1995).

For adults:

a. Hypogea (underground chambers), which vary in size and depth and can have either a long entrance corridor or a simple vertical shaft.
b. *Fossae* graves of various sorts, dug into soil or rock, lined with stone slabs or composed of a buried sarcophagus.
c. *Pozzi*: shallower, cylindrical pits at the bottom of which the body was placed, sometimes in a container.
d. One could include built tombs here, but only a few examples from Carthage are dated to the sixth century BCE; the others are all earlier, and so in principle Phoenician rather than Punic.

For children:

a. On rare occasions, they are found in the hypogea with adults; there are also some examples of little hypogea made for infants, but they are also exceptional.
b. Amphorae: *encrythismos* burials are the most frequent; the pottery is deposited at a shallow depth close to the hypogea or graves of adults.
c. Cavities: the bones, summarily protected by a bit of cloth, are collected in more or less unworked rock cavities.

Of course, there are also a large number of children in the tophets, but here I would refer the reader to a recent paper by Corinne Bonnet that also arose from this conference (Bonnet 2011).

Let us now pass to the question of the rite: that is, inhumation or cremation. Not that this is necessarily a fundamental distinction, but it does illuminate certain points. At first, with the sole exception of Carthage, the Phoenicians in the west mainly practised cremation, whether in Sicily, Sardinia, Spain or Algeria, while in the Levant both rites were in use (Aubet 1987: 300; Baurain and Bonnet 1992: 203–4). This is why the profound change that happened in the course of the sixth century BCE, the adoption of inhumation as the primary rite and the near total abandonment of cremation, is one of the main indicators (among plenty of others) that marks the extension of Carthage's sphere of influence, the beginning of 'Punic'. For three centuries, cremation, even if it continued to be practised rarely, was otherwise systematically reserved for infants in the tophet.

Adults were laid out on their backs, with all of the burial goods – which we will discuss presently – placed around or on top of them. Some exceptions may suggest particular local modalities, such as a trench at Puig des Molins on Ibiza, where the body was laid on its right side in a flexed position. This may have been a Mauretanian practice, for it is usually found in the cemeteries south of Tangiers (Ponsich 1967), although some examples of that rite are also known in the Tunisian Sahel (Lancel 1992: 309; Fantar 1998a: 96–7; Ben Younès and Krandel-Ben Younès, Chapter 8). Another series of exceptions may be interments in large receptacles found in the interior of Sardinia, for example in the necropolis of Cantaru Ena (Florinas), southeast of Sassari (Manca di Mores 1997).

Further change took place from the second half of the fourth and the beginning of the third centuries BCE with the reintroduction of cremation, which once again became the norm in all the Punic areas without totally replacing inhumation. This change is especially clear in most of Sardinia

(Bartoloni 1981) and Ibiza (Gómez Bellard 1994). Whether in a Greek-style rite (Picard 1954: 90; Lévêque 1964: 500) or not (Fantar 1970: 11–12; Gómez Bellard 1994: 36–8), the bodies were burned and the ashes placed in containers of all sorts, normally terracotta but sometimes a little stone sarcophagus. These containers were in turn buried, or placed in older tombs, especially hypogea, which continued in use until the Roman period.

Tackling the range of grave goods poses a problem: the different objects all merit long discussion, which, alas, cannot be provided here. But good information can be found in the publications of the most important necropoleis that present the principal categories of objects. Of special interest are the monographs on Tharros (Barnett and Mendleson 1987), Nora (Bartoloni and Tronchetti 1981), Lilybaeum (Bechtold 1999), Carthage (Bénichou-Safar 1982), Malta (Sagona 2002), Ibiza (Fernández Gómez 1992) and Jardín, near Malaga (Schubart and Maas Lindemann 1995).

Turning to the burial assemblages themselves, the goods that accompanied the dead were abundant, especially in the early 'Punic' period, that is, the sixth to fourth centuries BCE. We can identify several groups:

a. Closed-form vessels for holding liquids (water, wine, milk?).
b. Open-form vessels for holding or serving solid foodstuffs.
c. Open-form drinking vessels.
d. Cooking pots (more rarely).
e. *Unguentaria* (bottles).
f. Lamps for illumination.
g. Jewellery and amulets.
h. Metal goods, normally for personal care (mirrors, razors, pins); weapons, with some exceptions, are very rare.
i. In later periods, coins, often worn as decorative features of a necklace.
j. Symbolic objects: terracottas, ostrich eggs.

This list offers a starting point; there were numerous variants, but in general, we can say that these groups were the most common in the large funerary assemblages that we know. The question that remains is that of the quantity and quality of the objects, which change according to chronology, regional variation and, of course, the wealth of the deceased. The inclusion of imported goods from Greece or Etruria does not generally alter the composition of the assemblages, however, for such objects are usually cups for drinking wine or perfume bottles and not special shapes, as can be seen in most of the necropoleis already mentioned.

We know little about Punic eschatology, for we have only a few short texts that can provide some insight, such as the papyrus found in a tomb at

Tal-Virtù, in Malta, with a five-line text suggesting that 'a body of water would seem to act as a boundary to the otherworld' (Frendo *et al.* 2005: 433).[3] We can nevertheless assume that the Punics believed in an afterlife, in which the most important physical needs could be met by offerings, even if only symbolic (Jiménez Flores 2002; Ribichini 2004). Perhaps Egyptian influence can partially explain this need to deposit functional objects in tombs. But little by little, beliefs changed; it was no longer the body that needed symbolic 'nourishment', but more the soul, the 'breath', if we accept that translation of the word *rouah* that appears on late Punic inscriptions (Fantar 1970: 13; Ribichini 1987a: 158). Going hand-in-hand with the spread of cremation, which suggests the decreased importance of the physical body, the contemporary substantial reduction of grave goods seems to indicate, as Fantar (1970: 16) has shown for Carthage, a profound evolution of beliefs, 'a tendency to abstraction and sublimation' (translated from the French). The increasing poverty of funerary goods was thus a 'stylisation of modes of expression'. Finally, one common trait that we find in the majority of Punic necropoleis is that the monumental tombs were closed up after the burial rites, and were only reopened when they were reused for further interments. From one burial to the next, they were neither open nor visitable.

Without delving further, what is particularly interesting here is that these were general phenomena across the Punic world, and we see them in Sardinia, at Ibiza, at Villaricos and elsewhere. Through the changes in funerary evidence, both the tomb type and rituals practised, it seems possible to speak about resemblance, about the same religious ideals, expressed in the same fashion, with similar gestures, in different Punic territories. This resemblance is what brings them together, and to appreciate the uniqueness of this group, we only have to compare this evidence to that left by neighbouring peoples: for example, the peoples of the south-western Iberian Peninsula, known as Turdetanians, who did not even bury their dead in a way archaeology can recognize, probably throwing bones or ashes into the rivers (Escacena Carrasco 2000: 216–22).

Allow me to finish with a personal reflection. For three years now, I have had the fortune to work with Peter van Dommelen conducting in-depth research into the rural Punic world. Among the results of this collaboration, and with the help of numerous colleagues, we have recently published a volume on the *Rural Landscapes of the Punic World* (2008). To

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[3] My gratitude to Nick Vella for drawing my attention to this important document.

begin, in chapter 1, we had to state what we thought the 'Punic world' was, and believe me, it was no easy task. We resolved the problem there as follows:

> In the light of the above discussion, we recognise that it is difficult to delimit the Punic world with any precision and in this book we will therefore use the term 'Punic' in a somewhat loose sense in primarily archaeological and historical terms, referring generically to the five western Mediterranean core regions during the sixth to first centuries BC. Because each of the regions discussed presents slightly different circumstances that may favour minor differences in usage, we provide a short qualification of the terminology used in each regional chapter. Unless explicitly specified otherwise, we will not use this term to denote ethnic or political identities but rather as an archaeological or historical label. (van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard 2008a: 5)

Our concept of 'Punic' is thus applicable to a group of more-or-less interconnected communities that developed between Tunisia and the Atlantic from the sixth century BCE, who all shared a language (at least in written form), a pantheon, a material culture and funerary traditions. This does not imply an ethnic or political unity, of course, as we said. But can we nevertheless speak of a cultural identity? I sincerely believe that we can, on the basis that 'identity is a principle of cohesion internalized by a person or a group, which permits them to distinguish themselves from others, to recognize each other and be recognized' (Laburthe-Tolra and Warnier 1998: 261; translated from the Spanish), and I hope to have shown this here on the basis of the funerary evidence. All across the Punic world we find a great number of similarities in the way that the dead were treated. In fact, the choice of tomb type as well as the assemblages of burial goods, despite concrete local variation that does not, however, alter the overall picture, allows us to recognize a ritual community that evolves over space and time, in a manner that suggests the existence of a cultural identity that it is possible to call 'Punic'.

6 | Coins and their use in the Punic Mediterranean: case studies from Carthage to Italy from the fourth to the first century BCE

S U Z A N N E   F R E Y - K U P P E R

'Identifying the Punic Mediterranean' is not a simple task.[1] It becomes even more complex when investigating how concepts of identity might have been understood in antiquity. Coins, however, provide a useful starting point, as one of many elements expressing the character of a culture.[2] They provide information on the weights and measures used, and on technical and artistic skills. Legends and images reflect ways of thought and, more particularly, of transmitting messages.

The modern tendency is to approach Punic (that is western Phoenician) coinages by comparison with contemporary Greek coinages, and as a result Punic coins are sometimes considered clumsy and uninformative.[3] They seem surprisingly silent, and are often without legends, with types frozen for long periods. But this is a partisan approach: looking beyond the masterpieces of Classical Greek and Hellenistic coinage, there are many clumsy images in Greek coinage, and the ubiquitous Punic horse is

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[1] I wish to acknowledge a number of persons with whom I have shared ideas on various fascinating questions that have arisen over the years, many of whom have allowed me to use their unpublished materials: Babette Bechtold (Graz) for our continuing discussion of archaeological contexts and their ceramics; Paolo Visonà (Kentucky) for his advice on Punic coins; Clive Stannard (Forcalquier) for his advice on many regular and irregular coins circulating in the Mediterranean, in particular the pseudo-Ebusitan/Massaliot issues of Pompeii discussed in this paper. They have read and commented on earlier versions of this paper. I also thank Roald Docter, Boutheina Telmini and Fethi Chelbi (Ghent and Carthage), of the Belgio-Tunisian bilateral project at Bir Messaouda in Carthage, 2002–5; Roald Docter also directed the 2000–1 campaign of the University of Amsterdam at Bir Messaouda; Anthony Bonanno and Nicholas Vella (Malta), for the University of Malta's excavations in the sanctuary of Tas-Silġ; Hans Peter Isler (Zurich), for Monte Iato; the late Giuseppe Nenci and his successor, Carmine Ampolo (Pisa), for Rocca di Entella, who gave me access to materials from their excavations, and helped me in many ways. I owe to Clive Stannard information from his Liri database, and help with the English version of the present paper.

[2] For coins as cultural indicators in general and in the Roman provinces in particular, see the work of Burnett (2005: esp. 171, and the chapter on differences between 'our' and 'foreign' coins, 174–6). For the question of cultural identity under the Roman Republic, see van Dommelen and Terrenato 2007b with van Dommelen and Terrenato 2007a.

[3] Huss 1985: 490: 'The depictions on coins . . . suffer from a certain monotony, playing through variations on the standard themes of the goddess' head, the horse, and the palm tree'. (Translated from the German.)

paralleled by Corinth's emblematic Pegasos, and by the endless butting bulls of Syracuse and Massalia. Nor does such an approach appreciate the important political and cultural fact that much Punic coinage was 'supra-regional', making deliberate use of a limited range of generic types across a wide area of Carthaginian control.

   In the Sicilian context (Fig. 6.1), it seems clear that Punic and Greek users recognized Punic coins for what they were. The border between the Carthaginian epicracy in the west and the Greek area dominated or influenced by Syracuse in the east fluctuated, and was fixed by a series of treaties, in 366(?), 339/8, 314 and 306 BCE (Gulletta 2006: 409–10). The massive presence of Punic bronze coinage in western Sicily, and its comparative rarity in the eastern part of the island, is clear from Figure 6.2 (Frey-Kupper 2013: 310–11, 339; cf. Puglisi 2005: 288–9, 293 fig. 8, 294 figs. 10–11). In the east, Greek bronzes prevail: although no other mass of coins comparable to those from Morgantina is available for the east, the recent publication of the coin finds from the agora of Kamarina reflect the same tendencies, with five *SNG Cop*. 109-19 and nine *SNG Cop*. 144-78 (Lucchelli and Di Stefano 2004: 55–6, 92–3 nos. 99.1–5, 100.1–9). In the west, by contrast, Punic bronzes clearly outnumber others.[4] This pattern may provide evidence for a political reality, suggesting that there was little economic interaction, and few contacts, between people in the two areas. It may also reveal an aspect of Roman monetary policy: it has been known for some years that the Romans destroyed earlier silver coinage in the course of the Second Punic War (Crawford 1985: 113; Burnett 2000: 102–3; Burnett 2002: 34), and there now seems to be consistent evidence for something similar happening to Punic bronze coinage during the First Punic War (Frey-Kupper 2006: 30–4, 44; Frey-Kupper 2013: 181, 315, 340). These were specific political acts by the victors, to eradicate the coins of the defeated enemy, and we should not let them mask the broader evidence from Punic coins for the

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[4] Greek coins are relatively common at Entella and at Hippana, but this is to be explained by the history of these two sites. At Entella, the most common Punic types of the period from the last decade of the fourth to the middle of the third century BCE, *SNG Cop*. 109–19 and 144–78, as well as other archaeological materials of the same period are virtually absent (see below). Hippana was destroyed in 258 BCE (Polyb. 1.24.10 and Diod. Sic. 23.9.5; for the archaeological remains, Vassallo 1997: 304), and after that date, no further Punic coins reached the site. A further reason for the relative scarcity of Punic coins is that the Punic type *SNG Cop*. 94–7 was overstruck at both sites, at Entella by the Campanians, and at Hippana by as-yet-unidentified mercenaries (Frey-Kupper 2013: 148–9). These overstrikes increase the ratio of 'Greek' to Punic coins there. In no other site that we analyse were Greek coins struck during this period, with the result that the proportion of Punic coins in the finds is higher.

Fig. 6.1. Sites discussed in the text. The line following the rivers Platani (Halykos) and Torto marks the border dividing Sicily between the Punic epicracy and the area under Syracusan authority or influence, and reflects the status after the treaty of 339/8 BCE.
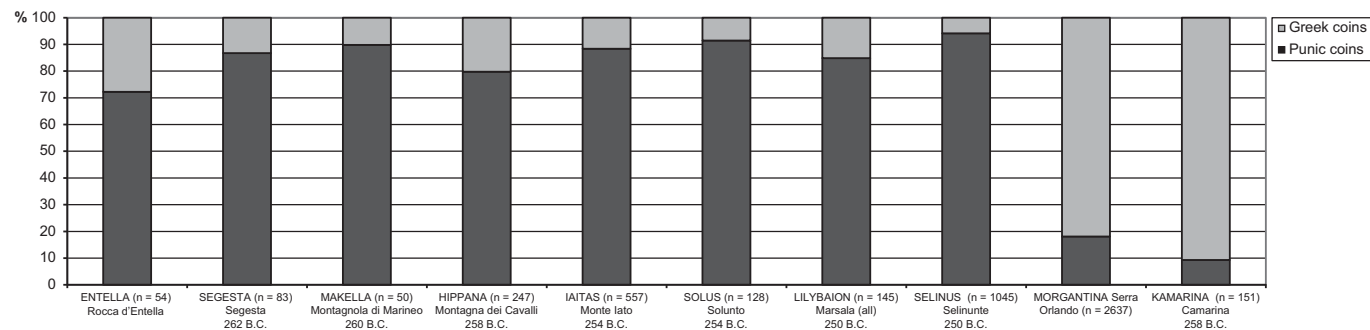
Fig. 6.2. Percentages of 'Greek' and 'Punic' bronze coins of between *c.* 350/340 and 250/240 BCE from eastern Sicily (Morgantina and Kamarina) and western Sicily (all other sites).

wide range of contacts between populations and peoples throughout the Mediterranean, beginning with those of the Carthaginians in their homeland.

The starting point for this research was the coins from the excavation carried out by the University of Zurich at Monte Iato, in the hinterland of Palermo, from 1971. To assess whether the Monte Iato coin finds had specific characteristics, it was necessary to assemble coin series from other sites, and in the process approximately 15,000 coins from other Sicilian sites – including around 2,050 Punic coins – were documented to complement the approximately 500 Punic coins from Monte Iato (Frey-Kupper 2013: 105–46, 310–17, 369, 384–6, 415–36, 566–9). During and after the Monte Iato project, collaboration with several excavations and projects in Sicily and elsewhere in the Mediterranean has made it possible to gather further materials, and formulate new questions that have pushed these studies forward. This chapter is an opportunity to report on this work in progress.

I first consider some aspects of the beginnings of Punic coinage in the west and, in the process, of 'Punic' identity in Sicily, on the basis of the regional and supra-regional coinages of the period between 350/340–250/240 BCE. Sicilian coin series are then compared to coin series from other Mediterranean sites, with the aim of identifying similarities and differences. Finally, questions of ritual are touched on, as is the impact of Punic iconography in non-Punic environments.

Coins and identity as part of an economic and political framework

The 'late' beginning of coinage in Carthage: regional and supra-regional coinages in a wider context

Coinage was 'adopted relatively late in the Carthaginian homeland, which was virtually without coinage (even foreign) until the fourth century BCE. The Carthaginians had undoubtedly been aware of the coinages minted by the Phoenician cities in the eastern Mediterranean, the Greek cities in Cyrenaica, and the Punic and Greek cities in Sicily, long before they adopted a coinage of their own. Paradoxically, the need to pay for military expenditure rather than commercial considerations may have provided the strongest stimulus for the adoption of coinage' (Visonà 1998: 4; cf. Visonà 1995: 170-1).

The earliest coins issued under Carthaginian authority were tetradrachms on the widely accepted Attic weight standard, for circulation in Sicily, in

Fig. 6.3. 'QRTHDŠT', tetradrachm of Attic weight, *c.* 410–392 BCE.

the period between *c.* 410 and 392 BCE (Jenkins 1974: 26–7; cf. also Jenkins and Lewis 1963; Jenkins 1971; 1977; 1978; 1997; Visonà 1995; 1998; Günther 2000a) (Fig. 6.3). The creation of these coins, which carry the legend, 'QRTHDŠT' (Carthage), coincides with the conflicts between the old coastal cities of western Sicily and the Carthaginians that resulted in the destruction of Selinus and Himera in 409 BCE, Akragas in 406 BCE, and Gela and Kamarina in 405 BCE. They served to pay mercenaries, and Carthaginian mints in Sicily continued to issue the denomination until 290 BCE. Gold coins of Punic weight standard – shekels – were issued during the first half of the fourth century BCE, either by Carthage itself, or by Carthaginians in Sicily. The fact that these early silver and gold coins have never been found in North Africa clearly attests to their military purpose.

Several 'civic' mints in western Sicily continued producing tetradrachms, some of which also issued silver fractions based on the Sicilian litra between 350 and 300 BCE: Lilybaion(?), Ṣyṣ–Panormos, Thermai, Ršmlqrt and Solus(?). Further 'military' issues are known from 350/340 BCE (Jenkins 1977: 8–9). Only two minting authorities are attested in the decade after 300 BCE (300–289 BCE). Their coins bear the legends 'people of the camp', and 'the financial controllers': this points to the centralization of minting in the epicracy after the turn of the century (Jenkins 1978: 8; Visonà 1998: 8).

Carthage itself struck an enormous number of gold coins between 350 and 320 BCE, using 88 obverse and 104 reverse dies (Jenkins and Lewis 1963: 20–3, 25, 77–90 nos. 4–173). This attests to increasing monetarization and familiarity with the use of money in the homeland.[5] Carthage also minted a significant quantity of gold after 317 BCE, in the

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[5] An alternative interpretation and dating (Visonà 1998: 7, following Mildenberg 1989: 6–8) sees these heavy minting volumes as reflecting the war between Syracuse and Carthage after 317 BCE, as the two decades after 339 BCE were peaceful, and as there is no evidence for large-scale commercial transactions. Jenkins and Lewis (1963), whom we have followed, propose the higher dates of 350–320 BCE. These issues deserve further discussion.

context of the war with Syracuse, and in the latter part of the century Punic gold and electrum coins were hoarded in North Africa and in Sardinia (Jenkins and Lewis 1963: 91–100 nos. 174–306). The huge volume of tetradrachms issued by the Carthaginians during the Agathoclean period (317–289 BCE), struck from at least 40 obverse and 120 reverse dies, also reflects this war: 'The Carthaginians minted more precious metal currency during the conflict with Syracuse between *circa* 317–289 BCE than in any other period of warfare in the fifth and fourth centuries' (Visonà 1998: 8; cf. Jenkins 1978: 23–35).

The First Punic War (264–241 BCE), fought between Rome and Carthage in Sicily, saw large new quantities of precious metal minted both in Carthage (Jenkins and Lewis 1963: 108–10, pl. 17; Baldus 1982: 164–70) and in Sicily (Jenkins and Lewis 1963: 35–6, 107, pl. 16; Jenkins 1978: 36–42, pls. 15–20; Baldus 1982: 170–89). While the precious metal issues are well known thanks to Jenkins's complete die-studies (Jenkins 1997), the dates and mints of Punic bronze coinage are still actively debated. Jenkins's studies provide a tool for approaching the bronze coinages, but these questions cannot be resolved with the evidence from the gold, electrum and silver alone. The anepigraphic bronze coinage, with its frozen types, which is found throughout the Mediterranean, offers few internal clues for dating and locating mints. There has, none the less, been considerable progress in recent years, through the study of overstrikes, production techniques and the symbol-systems of several coin-types (Visonà 2006b, with earlier bibliography). Metal analyses may provide further clues, but the possibility of extensive metal recycling has to be taken into account and larger samples need to be investigated, given the gigantic quantities of bronze coins produced (Attanasio *et al.* 2001; Frey-Kupper and Barrandon 2003: 515–17, 527–8; Manfredi 2006a: 271–6). The work of Visonà (2006a; 2006b; 2007), who is preparing a corpus of Punic bronze and billon (an alloy of silver with a majority base metal content, usually copper) coinage, is especially promising, and his extensive research already provides a valuable set of references.

Excavations have given us broad new evidence regarding the introduction of the large-scale bronze coinages that circulated in both Sicily and Carthage. The *SNG Cop.* 94–7 type, with the male head and the prancing horse (Fig. 6.4:1), is the earliest of a series of generic, supra-regional Punic coin types that spread throughout the western Punic world. In assembling parallels to the Monte Iato finds, it was possible to identify twenty-one stratigraphic assemblages of the last third of the fourth century BCE from ten Sicilian sites with these coins, and a further context at Bir Messaouda,
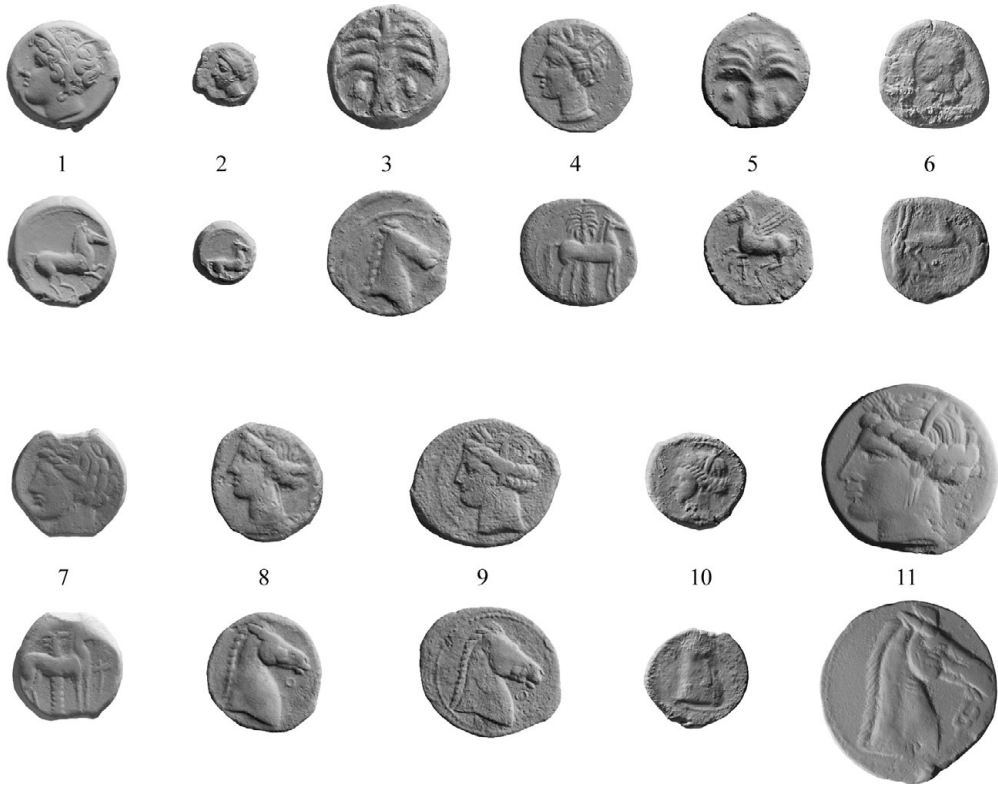
Fig. 6.4. Supra-regional generic Punic bronze coin types: 1. Carthage or western Sicily?, *c.* 350/340–330 BCE; 2. Carthage, *c.* 350/340–330 BCE; 3. Carthage or western Sicily?, *c.* 330–310 BCE; 4. Western Sicily, *c.* 310–280 BCE; 5. Western Sicily, *c.* 290/280–260 BCE; 6. Carthage, *c.* 300–275 BCE; 7. Sardinia, *c.* 280–270 BCE; 8. Carthage or western Sicily, *c.* 300/290–260 BCE; 9. Sardinia, *c.* 300/290–260 BCE; 10. Carthage, *c.* 290–260 BCE; 11. Sardinia, *c.* 260–240 BCE.

Carthage (Frey-Kupper 2013: 13–15 with table 3). The type probably came into circulation in the mid-fourth century BCE, or slightly later, and was certainly available by 330 BCE, at the latest (Visonà 2006b: 242–3, based on Frey-Kupper 1999: 403–4). These dates agree with those proposed by Jenkins (1983: 21–2) on stylistic grounds, and with the chronology of later types. In North Africa – and exclusively there – this type is complemented by lighter, smaller coins with the same obverse and reverse types: *SNG Cop.* 98 (Fig. 6.4:2).

In the discussion of the attribution of the bigger, *SNG Cop.* 94–7 type (Fig. 6.4:1), the absence of the smaller coins (Fig. 6.4:2) outside North Africa has been cited to support a Carthaginian origin for both (Visonà 1985: 673; Visonà 2006b: 241; cf. Frey-Kupper 1999: 403, 421 n. 17). Small

coins do not usually circulate far from their mint, and it would be odd to suppose a separate mint for the larger module, which is stylistically and technically identical (Visonà 2006b: 241). On the other hand, the sheer quantity of the *SNG Cop*. 94–7 type in Sicily makes it difficult to believe that they were all imported from North Africa. It must also be borne in mind that Sicily had a long-established and strong minting tradition of its own, the earlier Punic silver included. Moreover, Punic Sicily was largely economically independent throughout the fourth century BCE, as suggested by the fact that modest numbers of imported transport amphorae and fine wares only began to appear there (from Campania) at the end of the century (Bechtold 2007a: 59–60, 62–7). Was the *SNG Cop*. 94–7 type then issued both in Sicily and in Carthage? If so, the question of why the small denomination is absent in Sicily has to be addressed.

The exclusive circulation of the small, *SNG Cop*. 98 type in North Africa raises the question of whether smaller fractions were particularly needed in the Carthaginian homeland (Visonà 2006b: 242): a demand for a broader range of small denominations could suggest a more refined small-change economy. But interesting as this may be, well-defined Sicilian excavation strata also reveal a more complex range of denominations. Syracusan *onkiai* (1/12 *litra*, itself 1/5 *drachm*) depicting an octopus were imitated locally, with coins bearing a cuttlefish and struck on an open-cast flan (Gàbrici 1927: 131 nos. 42–4; cf. Boehringer 1979: 19 n. 38). These imitations were in turn compatible with Dionysian Hippocamps (bronze *litrai*), and remained in circulation until the second half of the fourth century BCE (Mammina 2002: 349 nos. 56–79, 71, 80–1). The same is true of the small pieces with the local, non-generic, Punic type, 'bearded or unbearded man/ crab', which was probably struck in or near Motya or Lilybaion (Gàbrici 1927: 132 nos. 49–56) (Fig. 6.5:1). This type is associated with twelve specimens of the *SNG Cop*. 94–7 type in a tomb in the Punic necropolis at Marsala (320–300 BCE; Frey-Kupper 1999: 427 nos. 1–13). The widespread use of small fractions in Sicily might therefore have inspired the production of the small *SNG* 98 type in Carthage, where smaller denominations were not previously available.

Using the evidence of coins from Monte Iato and other sites in Sicily, it is possible to define and to investigate a group of Punic coins produced and used in Sicily, of which the crab type is one. Although often anepigraphic, they may be associated with the silver 'civic' tetradrachms. Some do, however, bear mint legends, and all share with the silver 'civic' coins a particularly Sicilian iconography: river gods; the protome of the man-headed bull (Gàbrici 1927: 196 nos. 53–4) (Fig. 6.5:2) and the horned head

Fig. 6.5. Sicilian regional Punic bronze coin types: 1. Motya or Lilybaion?, *c.* 350–330 BCE; 2. Ṣyṣ–Panormos, *c.* 370/360–340 BCE?; 3 and 4. northwestern Sicily, *c.* 350–330 BCE; 5. northwestern Sicily, *c.* 350–330 BCE?; 6. Himera as Thermai, *c.* 330 BCE.

of a young river god (Calciati 1983: 273 nos. 13.1–2) (Fig. 6.5:3–4); the crab (Fig. 6.5:1). The heads of gods and heroes also appear on these coins, including Apollo(?) (Gàbrici 1927: 196 nos. 44–52) (Fig. 6.5:5), Hera and Herakles (Gàbrici 1927: 140 nos. 1–4) (Fig. 6.5:6). In contrast to these 'regional' types, the 'supra-regional', generic Punic types bear stereotypical images: a male head and the prancing horse (*SNG Cop.* 94-7) (Fig. 6.4:1); and a palm tree and a horse's head for the type that followed (*SNG Cop.* 102-5) (Fig. 6.4:3). Both the horse – sometimes linked to the foundation myth of Carthage and a sun god – and the palm tree, φοῖνιξ – a fertility symbol and pun on 'Phoenician' – are highly emblematic (Jenkins 1974: 27). These types were intended for interregional circulation, and standardized images facilitated exchange.

The regional local bronzes described above have not previously been discussed as a group, although several types have been published.[6] The circulation areas have become clearer in the light of the data assembled for comparison with Monte Iato, and archaeological contexts have helped to establish dates. The anonymous coins with the crab (Fig. 6.5:1) are found mainly in westernmost Sicily, near Motya or Lilybaion, while the type, 'male head/horse's protome' and variants (Calciati 1983: 273 nos. 13/3 and 14) (Fig. 6.5:3–5), are typical of the northwestern corner of the island and may have been minted at Panormos or nearby (Frey-Kupper 2006: 42; Frey-Kupper 2013: 110–15, appendix 3, nos. 5–6, figs. 103–4). Other series

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[6] Several of them were illustrated but not discussed by Jenkins (1971: pl. 23–4, along with silver *litrai*). See however 71–2, pl. 22, A–C, for a brief discussion of the bronzes issued in Thermai (here Fig. 6.5:6), which are probably contemporary with the silver tetradrachms and didrachms. For the type with the male head and the horse's protome, see Tusa Cutroni 1999.

centre on Eryx (Gàbrici 1927: 131 nos. 11–21), Solus (Gàbrici 1927: 169 nos. 14, 39–47; Calciati 1983: 311–12 no. 16) and Thermai (Gàbrici 1927: 140 nos. 1–4) (Fig. 6.5:6). Although in most cases mint attributions are premature, it is interesting to see that several concentrations seem to correlate with locally produced ceramics, such as amphorae.[7] It also seems that these circulation areas (at least for the main types) largely overlap with those of the main coin series put into circulation by Roman magistrates in the second quarter of the second century BCE,[8] suggesting a continuity of circulation areas over time.[9] The relative importance of the regional types in Sicily should not be underestimated: in the materials from Monte Iato, 49 coins with the supra-regional prancing horse type (*SNG Cop.* 94–7) are outnumbered by 57 regional type coins. Although there are by contrast fewer regional than supra-regional types (13 to 43) at Montagna dei Cavalli (near Prizzi, ancient Hippana), the presence of regional issues is still significant.

The significant presence of regional and supra-regional Punic bronzes in Sicily after the middle of the fourth century is directly connected to the island's economic revival after the treaty between Syracuse and Carthage of 339/8 BCE (Talbert 1974: 147–8; Hans 1983: 76–81. Individual sites: Bechtold 1999: 259; Käch 2006: 272; Bechtold 2008a: 544–8; Bechtold 2008b: 226–7, 270–1). In Carthage itself, the impressive gold output between 350 and 320 BCE mentioned above (Jenkins Group III) probably also points to prosperity and commercial success.

In Sicily, the regional types end around 300 BCE, and it is certainly not by chance that this coincides with the large-scale production of new supra-regional types, probably in the 310s BCE. The coins with a horse standing before a palm tree (*SNG Cop.* 109–19) were created and produced in Sicily,[10] but were of supra-regional importance. In western Sicily, they

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[7] Production in the northern coast centres (Šyš–Panormos and Solus): Bechtold 2007a; 54–8; 2008a: 547–9, 551–3, 556–9. Lilybaion: Bechtold 2007: 54–8; 2008a: 548–9. The shape in question, Ramon T-4.2.1.5 (Bechtold 2008a: 555–6), is however slightly later (300–270 BCE) than the coins with a crab (350/340–330 BCE). See also Bechtold (2008b: 270, fn. 24) on the presence or absence of specific shapes of black-glazed pottery.

[8] Cf. Bahrfeldt 1904: 337–84 (Series 1), 384–407 (Series 2). For the concentration of Series 1 in the west and southwest of Sicily, probably centred on Lilybaion, and of Series 2 in the northwest, near Panormos, see: Frey-Kupper 2006: 42; 2013: 255–6 and 260, fig. 60, appendix 3, 601–9 nos. 14–15, 626–7 figs. 112–13).

[9] Although it was possible to obtain an initial picture of circulation areas through the study of Monte Iato, these deserve further research and interdisciplinary collaboration.

[10] Manfredi (2006a: 272; cf. Manfredi and Francisci 1996: 33) suggests an attribution to Carthage, which does not take into account the abundance of the type in Sicily and its rarity in North Africa.

outnumber any other coin-type. The huge volumes of these coins undoubtedly reflect a continuity and the aforementioned new period of general prosperity in both Punic and Greek Sicily, which is also clear from the quantity and quality of other classes of archaeological materials. These new types are paralleled, for instance, by the production of the new Sicilian amphora type, Ramon T-7.1.2.1. (for as yet unknown contents) that was shipped across a wide area and is attested on the Aeolian Islands, in Italy (from Campania to Lucania and Basilicata), in Libya, and perhaps in Andalusia (Bechtold 2007a: 64; 2008a: 556–8). Tomb deposits rich in imported goods are a further index of prosperity.[11] A general Sicilian feature of the period is a high degree of 'hellenization':[12] it is noteworthy that several of the new bronze coins look stylistically more 'Greek' than before, particularly some with a head of Kore on the obverse, and the horse standing before a palm tree on the reverse (*SNG Cop.* 109–19). The last regional types follow the same trend; the style of both tetradrachms and bronzes intimately recall Agathoclean coins. For example, the latest tetradrachms minted by Ṣyṣ–Panormos and Ršmlqrt bear quadrigas and triskeles (Jenkins 1971: 41, 69), as do the *litrai* of Ṣyṣ-Panormos of *c.* 320–300 BCE (Jenkins 1971: 75 nos. 20–1).

Shortly afterwards, two series of a larger module, with the horse's head type, came into circulation, produced either in Sicily or Carthage (*SNG Cop.* 144–53) as well as in Sardinia (*SNG Cop.* 154–78; Visonà 1992: 124; Frey-Kupper 1999: 405). The former series is distinguished by a head of Kore with a convex neck-truncation and a pendant necklace (Fig. 6.4:8); the neck-truncation of the latter series is concave, and the necklace is plain (Fig. 6.4:9).[13] The two series circulated concurrently, alongside the coins with a horse before a palm tree (*SNG Cop.* 109–19) (Fig. 6.4:4) and the Sicilian type with palm tree and Pegasos (*SNG Cop.* 107–8; Fig. 6.4:5). These types together then comprise the bulk of small change in western Sicily until the Roman conquest.

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[11] For the necropolis of Lilybaion, this is a 'golden' period (Bechtold 1999: 259–60).

[12] For example, Bechtold (1999: 280): 'Greek influence in the Lilybaion necropolis becomes particularly tangible from the last twenty years of the fourth century BCE, when the 'hellenic' repertoire begins to appear, at first only in the prestigious hypogeum burials . . . its broad diffusion during the first half of the third century BCE distinguishes the Lilybaion cemetery from Punic burial areas of the same period in Sardinia, the Iberian peninsula, as well as from the tombs of the African metropolis itself'. (Translated from the Italian.)

[13] For further technical and stylistic criteria, see Visonà 1992: 124; Frey-Kupper 1999: 405. In catalogues, these series are often not distinguishable, because inadequately described and illustrated.

Punic coin series from sites in the Mediterranean of the period 350/340–250/240 BCE

I now consider Punic coins from various sites that were issued in the century between Timoleon's campaigns against the Carthaginians in Sicily (350/340 BCE) and the end of the First Punic War (250/240 BCE). This is the only period for which there are large sets of comparable data from all over the western Mediterranean, although there is much more information from Sicily than from elsewhere (Figs. 6.6–6.9; Appendix, Tables 6.1a and b–6.2).

Western Sicily

It is instructive to compare the Punic series from Monte Iato in the period between the introduction of the supra-regional bronzes (*SNG Cop*. 94–7 left) and the First Punic War (350/340–250/240 BCE) with those from other Sicilian sites (Fig. 6.6/Plate 4; Appendix, Table 6.1a and b). The pattern at Monte Iato is similar to that at most other sites (cf. Frey-Kupper 2006: 32–4, 51, figs. 3–4). The regional types are a typically Sicilian phenomenon, and appear on the right of Figure 6.6 (from *CNS* I 273 onwards, illustrated in Fig. 6.5), in small but still apparent quantities. The left side of the figure shows the generic, supra-regional types (illustrated in Fig. 6.4). The prancing horse type (*SNG Cop*. 94–7) (Fig. 6.4:1) accounts for about 10% of coins at Monte Iato, and 10–20% in other sites. The type is commoner at Morgantina in eastern Sicily, which departs from the usual western pattern, but is not a Punic epicracy town. Rocca d'Entella presents a further unusual pattern, consisting almost exclusively of the male head/ prancing horse type (*SNG Cop*. 94–7), associated with some rare contemporary regional types, and one horse before a palm tree coin (*SNG Cop*. 109–19) (Fig. 6.4:4): this is probably connected to the specific history of the site (Frey-Kupper 2000; Frey-Kupper 2013: 112, 546–7). The ceramic assemblage, also specific to the site, deserves further research and cross-referencing with the historical data (Frey-Kupper 2006: 33–4; Bechtold 2008b: 370 n. 244). At all other sites, the bulk of the coins belong to the Sicilian type with the horse before a palm tree (*SNG Cop*. 109–19) (Fig. 6.4:4), and the type with the horse's head (*SNG Cop*. 144–78) (Fig. 6.4:8–9).

Carthaginian coins proper are almost absent in Sicily. The early small fraction (*SNG Cop*. 98, of 350–320 BCE) (Fig. 6.4:2) is, as noted above, entirely lacking. The later *SNG Cop*. 120-3 type (Fig. 6.4:6), datable to the first quarter of the third century BCE and systematically struck over the
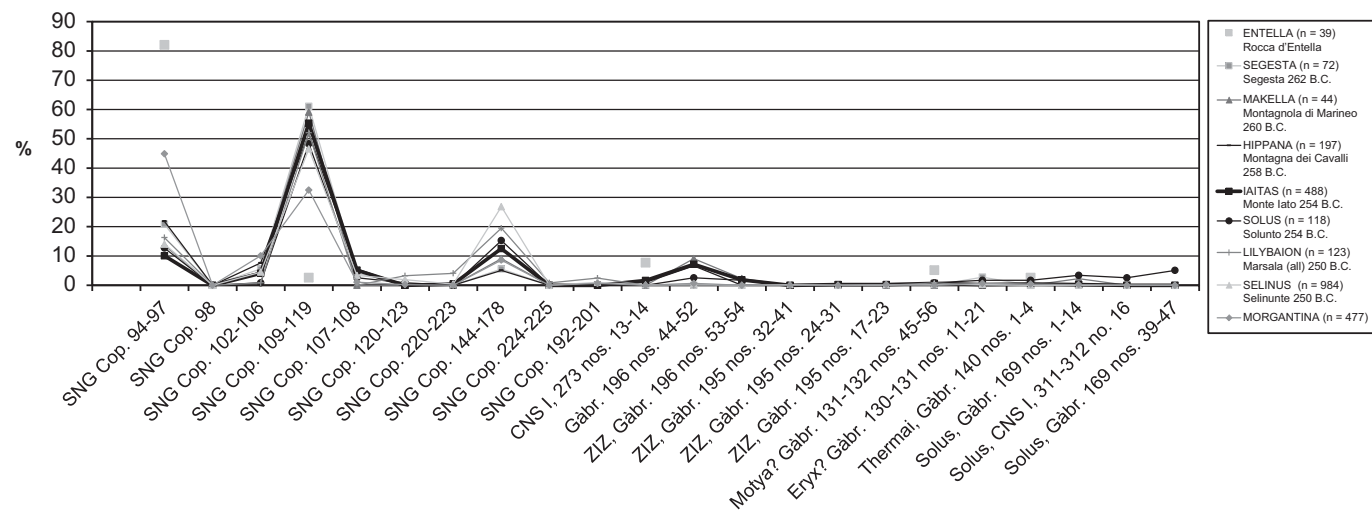
Fig. 6.6. Punic bronze coins of between *c.* 350/340 and 250/240 BCE from western Sicily, comparing Monte Iato 1971–91 excavation materials (black line) to materials from other sites (grey lines). (Plate 4.)

Sicilian *SNG Cop.* 109–19 type, is attested only in Punic towns where Carthaginian goods, especially amphorae, have been found: this seems to be a testimony to individual Carthaginians among the populations, and their contacts with the North African homeland (Frey-Kupper 2013: 315–6). This may be the case at Lilybaion, with its unusually high percentage of Carthaginian *SNG Cop.* 120–3 types (3.3%; Fig. 6.4:6) and Sardinian *SNG Cop.* 220–3 types (4%; Fig. 6.4:7): proportions similar to those found in Carthage itself (Fig. 6.7/Plate 5).

To summarize, the overall pattern of coin circulation in Sicily is of a small number of regional Sicilian types, with the bulk of the coinage made up by supra-regional types. Most of the supra-regional types were struck in Sicily (*SNG Cop.* 109–19). Others may have been struck in either Sicily or Carthage (*SNG Cop.* 94–7, 144–53) and some were issued in Sardinia (*SNG Cop.* 154–78). Carthaginian coins proper are rare and found only in Punic towns (*SNG Cop.* 120–3 and 224–5), where they probably attest to direct contacts with Carthage.

New excavation materials, published and unpublished – from Carthage, Tas-Silġ on Malta, and Tharros in Sardinia – now make it possible for the first time to compare the Sicilian data with data from sites beyond the island (Figs. 6.7–6.9). The number of coins involved is still relatively small compared to Sicilian sites, but the following preliminary comments constitute a first attempt to outline some trends and identify characteristic features of the circulation of bronze coins in each area.

Carthage

Although many foreign excavation teams have worked at Carthage over the last decades, only 97 coins are known from the city itself (Fig. 6.7; Appendix, Tables 6.1a and b–6.2). This is due partly to the fact that many teams worked in areas associated primarily with late antiquity. Where earlier levels were reached, the 146 BCE destruction strata are the contexts most commonly investigated (Docter 2007b: 41, figs. 3–4). The scarcity of coins reported from the period discussed here is due also to the often poor preservation of the material and to the fact that sieving was not always practised. Recent studies suggest, however, that the 'apparent under-representation of precise third century BCE contexts may correspond to a real scarcity of archaeological remains of this period' (Bechtold 2010: 37–8). Of the coins found at Carthage (Fig. 6.7), the *SNG Cop.* 94–7 type is the most common (24% of the coins; Fig. 6.4:1). Its fraction, *SNG Cop.* 98, accounts for 14.5% (Fig. 6.4:2). The presence of the *SNG Cop.*
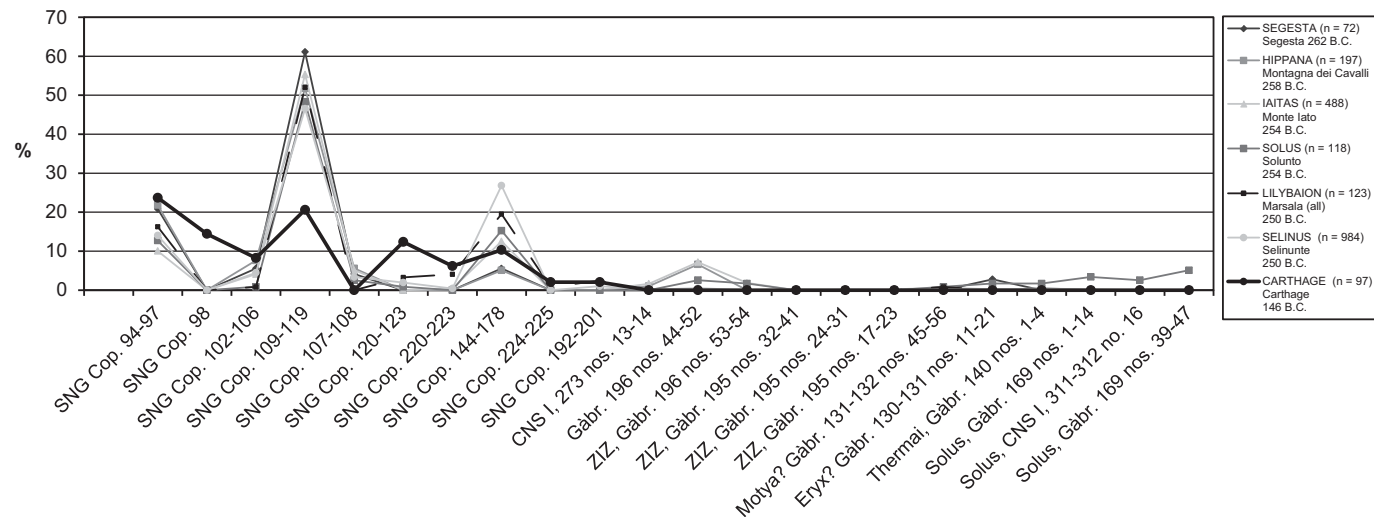
Fig. 6.7. Punic bronze coins of between *c.* 350/340 and 250/240 BCE from Carthage (various excavations) (thick black line), compared to coins from Sicilian sites (grey, except for Lilybaion, in thin dash line). (Plate 5.)

120–3 type (12.5%; Fig. 6.4:6) is also noteworthy, and strongly suggests a Carthaginian origin: this is new information, derived from these finds.[14] These Carthaginian types together form about half of the circulating bronzes of the period 350/340–250/240 BCE (if the coins *SNG Cop*. 94–7 are, in fact, from Carthage). If the *SNG Cop*. 102–5 ('palm tree/horse's head', 8%; Fig. 6.4:3) and 224-5 ('head of Kore/horse's head', 2%; Fig. 6.4:10) types were also minted at Carthage – and at least the latter probably was[15] – the Carthaginian coins amount to nearly 61%. This percentage could be larger, if the *SNG Cop*. 144–53 type (10%; Fig. 6.4:8–9) – which may be from either Carthage or Sicily – in fact proves to be from Carthage.

The Sicilian *SNG Cop*. 109–19 type (21%; Fig. 6.4:4), the Sardinian *SNG Cop*. 220–3 and 192–201 types (6%; Fig. 6.4:7 and 2%; Fig. 6.4:11) and the Sicilian/Carthaginian or Sardinian *SNG Cop*. 144–78 type (10%; Fig. 6.4:8–9) together form only around 39% of the assemblage. Just as with the western Sicily coin finds, the finds from Carthage have their own regional characteristics, with, in particular, a total lack of Sicilian regional types.

Tas-Silġ (Malta)

At first sight, the data regarding the coins from the Punic sanctuary at Tas-Silġ on Malta (Fig. 6.8/Plate 6; Appendix, Table 6.1a and b) may appear to reflect its geographical position, lying between Sicily and Carthage, but this needs to be nuanced. The proportions of the two main types – *SNG Cop*. 94–7 and 109–19 (Fig. 6.4:1, 4) – are equal (31.2%), and together with the type *SNG Cop*. 144–78 (21.3%) (Fig. 6.4:8–9) they make up 84% of the whole. The relatively high proportion of the Sicilian type, *SNG Cop*. 109–19 (Fig. 6.4:4), might appear to indicate a Sicilian pattern, but the 5% of the Carthaginian *SNG Cop*. 120–3 type (Fig. 6.4:6) and the 6.7% of the probably Carthaginian *SNG Cop*. 224–5 type (Fig. 6.4:10) show the link to North Africa. Not too much should be made of the absence of the small module (*SNG Cop*. 98) (Fig. 6.4:2), as these coins could have passed through the sieves of older excavations. On the other hand, the high

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[14] Manfredi 1983: 81: 'Sicily or Carthage?'. Visonà 1998; 12: 'uncertain mint', but already 'found . . . far more frequently in North Africa than in Sicily or Sardinia.'

[15] In 2004, I was able to document seven coins of this type in the Musée de Carthage. Although no provenances are noted for these coins they are probably local finds. Elsewhere, with the exception of Malta (where they may attest to contacts with North Africa), the type is rare; see below and Appendix, Tables 6.1a and b–6.2.
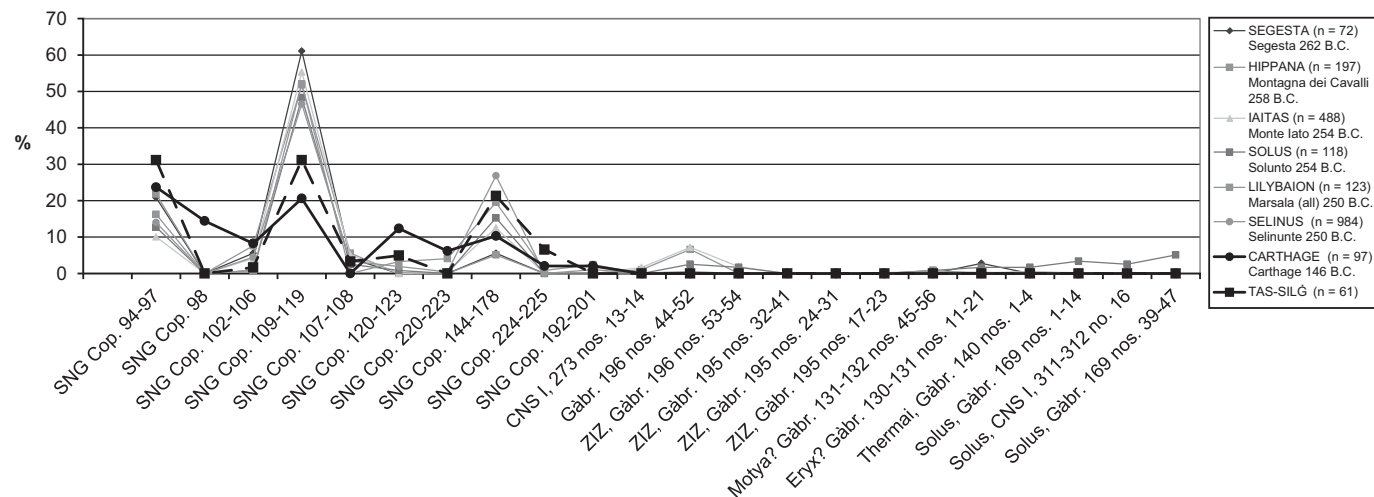
Fig. 6.8. Punic bronze coins of between *c.* 350/340 and 250/240 BCE from Tas-Silġ (Malta) (black dash line), compared to Sicilian sites (grey) and Carthage (thick black line). (Plate 6.)

proportion of the *SNG Cop.* 144–78 type (21.3%; Fig. 6.4:8–9) is closer to the Sardinian pattern. As the total sample of 61 coins from the site is still modest, more certain interpretations are premature, and further questions were addressed in the context of the recent studies of the other archaeological materials (Frey-Kupper forthcoming a). It is also possible that coin finds from a sanctuary have a pattern that differs from those of the settlements discussed here. Finally, as far as we know, Malta itself did not coin in the period we consider here.

Tharros (Sardinia)

Caution is also needed in interpreting the 64 coins from Tharros on the west coast of Sardinia (Fig. 6.9/Plate 7; Appendix, Table 6.1a and b). The large proportion of the *SNG Cop.* 94–7 type (27%; Fig. 6.4:1) suggests an early and consistent supply of coins from, or preferential contacts with, Carthage, if the type is indeed Carthaginian. On the other hand, the small proportion of the *SNG Cop.* 109–19 type (12.5%; Fig. 6.4:4) – if not due to the hazard of a small series – might point to the paucity of contact with Sicily, perfectly reasonable given Tharros's geographical situation.[16] The large number of *SNG Cop.* 144–78 coins (Fig. 6.4:8–9) – which include the Sardinian series 154–78 (45%; Fig. 6.4:9) and 192–201 (12.5%; Fig. 6.4:11) – reflects a strong local supply of bronze small change. The lack of the Sardinian variant of the type with a horse before a palm tree and an *alef* or a caduceus in front of the horse (*SNG Cop.* 220–3; Fig. 6.4:7) may be due to the limited data available at this stage.

Further finds from Tharros may help clarify the pattern. The availability of substantial coin series from other Sardinian sites in the south, an area with an early and intense Punic presence (Nora, Sant'Antioco, Monte Sirai), or in the north (Olbia), could also contribute to further progress in classifying Punic small change (cf. Visonà 1992: 128–31; Manfredi and Francisci 1996).

In comparing Sicilian Punic series with those from other Mediterranean sites, the widespread circulation of the most common Punic coin types – *SNG Cop.* 94–7, 109–19 and 144–78 – does not make it easy to identify local circulation patterns. It is impossible, for example, to know if one or

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[16] Manfredi 2006a: 266: 'In Sardinia, Tharros seems to have become the predominant settlement as a result of its privileged position with respect to trade routes between Carthage and Spain, the economic system that integrated the Gulf of Oristano with its hinterland, and the enormous economic potential arising from the reorganisation of the territory in the fourth century BCE'. (Translated from the Italian.)
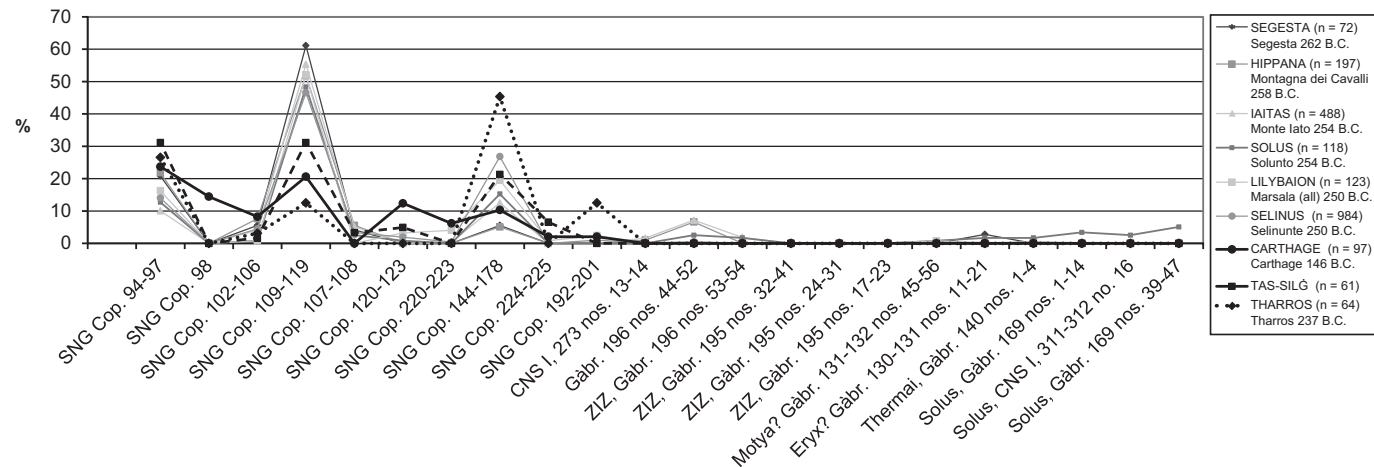
Fig. 6.9. Punic bronze coins of between c. 350/340 and 250/240 BCE from Tharros (Sardinia) (black dotted line), compared to Sicilian sites (grey), Carthage (thick black line) and Tas-Silġ (Malta) (black dash line). (Plate 7.)

several coins with the prancing horse (*SNG Cop*. 94–7) found on Sardinia came directly from Carthage, from Sicily, Malta, Pantelleria (Kossyra), or from Punic Spain or Ebusus, where the types are attested as well (Alfaro Asins 2000: 25–7 fig. 7, 29 fig. 11; Frey-Kupper forthcoming b). Such as it is, the evidence – especially the presence of types such as *SNG Cop*. 98, 120–3 or 191–201 – points to there being identifiable regional patterns.

The political message of Punic types

Visonà (2009) examines seven groups of Punic coins issued in southern Italy, Sicily and Carthage. He describes a regional pattern of coin circulation, within and between these areas, as well as an iconographic programme characterized both by the reuse of earlier Punic coin types and the creation of new types. The new types, he notes, drew on the coin types of other peoples in the areas where Carthaginians were conducting military campaigns, showing both an awareness of other cultures, and a desire to stress the common struggle against Rome. It is tempting to consider the regional and supra-regional coins dealt with in this chapter in a similar light, in order to see what kind of political message, if any, they carry.

The regional types refer back to the iconography of Greek Sicily, but do not simply reproduce them. Instead, they blend Sicilian and Punic themes, and in so doing locate Punic culture within the wider context of Greek culture. It is likely that the Carthaginians in northwestern Sicily adopted the Greek gods and heroes on their coins into their pantheon, perhaps assimilating them to Punic gods (Fig. 6.5). Characteristic Sicilian types including the man-headed bull and the horned head of a young river god (Fig. 6.5:3–4) were never picked up in North Africa, nor used there or elsewhere in the Punic world on coinage.[17] In Punic Sicily they seem to be associated – at least conceptually – with the 'civic' rather than the 'military' silver coinages. Confined to the area of the towns in the westernmost and northwestern part of Sicily, they form a bridge between local Greek and subsequent Punic traditions. Likewise, Greek Sicilian coinage also inspired the iconography and style of the Punic Kore head on the obverse of a number of supra-regional types produced in various Punic minting areas (Fig. 6.4:7–11).

At the same time, the imagery on the coins can be seen as a response – perhaps even a polemical one – to other groups. As we have seen, the supra-regional types issued in Sicily, Carthage and Sardinia frequently use

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[17] The crab appears only on late Punic coins of uncertain attribution: *SNG Cop*. 475–88.

the horse and the palm tree, types that are emblematic of the widespread Punic community. The origins of the prancing horse that appears on the oldest bronze coins (*SNG Cop.* 94–7; Fig. 6.4:1) may be tied to Greek coinages. The type – as Jenkins and Lewis (1963: 12, 18; cf. Bérend 1993: 102–8) already pointed out – was earlier used on the 50-*litra* gold coinage of Dionysios I (*c.* 405–400 BCE). It was adopted for the earliest Punic tetradrachms of the early fourth century BCE (the latest issues of Jenkins's series 1, *c.* 410–392 BCE) and gold issues of the first half of the fourth century BCE (Jenkins 1974: 30–1, 39–40 nos. 38–48; cf. Jenkins and Lewis 1963: 18–19, 76 nos. 1–3; Visonà 1998: 5; Visonà 2009: 179). As used by the Carthaginians who opposed Dionysios's invasion of western Sicily and the destruction of Motya in 397 BCE, the prancing horse type may there express anti-Syracusan feelings. The Nike crowning the horse on the tetradrachms (Fig. 6.3) also points to the assimilation of this type for anti-Syracusan purposes. The bronze coins that use the same horse (*SNG Cop.* 94–7), which were issued in large numbers between *c.* 350/340–330 BCE, undoubtedly carry a similar message[18] in a period characterized by antagonism between the Punic west and the Syracusan east of Sicily.[19] Similarly, the prancing horse continues to appear during the politically tense periods of the First and Second Punic Wars on coins issued in Sicily and in Carthage (Visonà 2009: 177–80), continuing an iconographic 'struggle' which had its roots in the conflicts between Dionysios I of Syracuse and the Carthaginians in the early fourth century BCE.

The Sicilian regional and supra-regional types thus on the one hand attest to the high degree of acculturation to Greek models of Punic

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[18] The contemporary Carthaginian fraction, *SNG Cop.* 98 (Fig. 6.4:2), and the later Carthaginian type, *SNG Cop.* 120–3 (struck on the Sicilian *SNG Cop.* 109–19; Fig. 6.4:6), carry the same pro-Carthaginian message. These bronze coins have, on the obverse, a male head either wearing a crown of corn ears (*SNG Cop.* 94–7 and 98) or flanked by corn ears (*SNG Cop.* 120–3). The head may be Triptolemos (Jenkins 1983: 26), who appears again on Sicilian silver coins issued by Carthaginians in the Second Punic War (Visonà 2009: 179). The earring that the man wears is an element of Punic iconography which reinforces its Carthaginian character. It is interesting to note that the earring is also worn by the male heads on the regional types with the crab and the horse protome (Fig. 6.5:1, 3–4).

[19] It should be noted that Syracuse and other Greek communities in eastern Sicily, for their part, continued to issue coins with the free horse: for example, the post-Timoleonic, Third Democracy coins of Syracuse (Gàbrici 1927: 173 nos. 83–9), preceded by the coins with the legend KAINON, now plausibly attributed to Dionysios II of Syracuse (Holloway 2007); the coins of Gela of 339–310 BCE (Jenkins 1970: 283 no. 553, Group XIII); the coins of Kamarina, *c.* 339 to late fourth century BCE (Westermark and Jenkins 1980: 226–8 nos. 207–16, pl. 37); the mid-fourth century coins of Aitnai (Gàbrici 1927: 112 no. 1; *CNS* III: 141–6 nos. 1–4). I am grateful to John Morcom for comments on these types.

communities living in the Carthagian epicracy in the west. On the other hand, the appropriation of the Syracusan prancing horse type on Sicilian supra-regional types to denote opposition first to Syracuse, and then, as Rome entered into growing conflict with Carthage and the Punic community throughout the western Mediterranean, to Syracuse supported by Rome. The limited concentration on a small number of anepigraphic supra-regional types also appears to suggest the relative cultural and political unity of the Punic world. This limitation of the iconographic repertory of Punic coin types should not therefore be read as weakness or backwardness, but as a sign of cultural strength.

The use of coins in non-economic contexts

I now turn to non-monetary use of coins, and three subjects that are of interest in our context: links between the homeland (Carthage) and the Punic epicracy in Sicily; the continuity of Punic ritual practice; and Punic cultural identity, expressed through Punic coin images in a non-Punic environment. I shall try to illuminate broader problems through these three case studies.

Links between the homeland (Carthage) and the colonies (Sicily)

The Punic tomb T. 13, from via Cattaneo 1987 in Marsala, contains twelve coins of the prancing horse type (*SNG Cop.* 94–7; Fig. 6.4:1) and a coin of a smaller module with the crab type (Frey-Kupper 1999: 427 nos. 1–13; cf. Fig. 6.5:1). It is interesting to note that deposits of twelve coins are a feature in contemporary tombs in the Carthaginian homeland, where deposits with a thirteenth coin also sometimes occur (Frey-Kupper 1999: 427 nos. 1–13). The deposition of twenty-four coins (double the twelve coin set) is also attested in Carthage; Delattre (1903: 593; cf. Visonà 1994: 138 no. 64) described finding such a group in an ivory or wooden box placed upon the chest of the deceased in the so-called 'sarcophagus of the Priest', an obviously rich tomb. Lilybaion was founded after the destruction of Motya by Dionysios I with colonists from Carthage, and throughout its existence was marked by Punic culture. The burial practice of depositing twelve or thirteen coins may therefore be a custom brought from North Africa. The number twelve looks like a symbolic number, of significance in a funerary context, and it occurs often in Semitic culture and religion (for example, the twelve tribes of Israel). Perhaps the thirteenth coin (which in the case of

Fig. 6.10. Ebusitan coins, *c.* 200–100 BCE, and imitations of Ebusitan coins from central Italy, probably struck at Pompeii, last third of the second century to mid-first century BCE: 1. Canonical Ebusus, (Bes/Bes, four-petalled rose symbol to left on both faces); 2. Imitation (Bes/Bes); 3. Imitation (Diana/Bes); 4. Imitation (Bes/toad).

T. 13 is smaller) may be an 'extra something', just to ensure or 'top' completeness. This, of course, is a mere hypothesis.

Continuity of Punic ritual practice

Another coin from the same necropolis testifies to the survival of Punic ritual practices into Roman times. The coin in question, of the type 'head of Kore/horse's head' (Fig. 6.4:10, this very specimen), is probably of Carthaginian origin (Frey-Kupper 1999: 477 no. 154). It was found with the remains of a horse sacrifice, near the animal's skull. The coin dates from between 290 and 260 BCE, but the sacrifice is of 180–150 BCE. Everything – the stratigraphic context, the iconography, and the early date of the coin – points to an intentional deposit in a Punic environment of Roman times (Frey-Kupper 1999: 416). The continuity of Punic ritual practice into Roman times has been demonstrated elsewhere, in Sardinia for instance (van Dommelen 2007: 61–4), but this is one element more in the overall picture of the Punic Mediterranean.

Punic coins in non-Punic environments

Punic coins in Greek towns in the Sicilian Punic Epicracy

Monte Iato (ancient Iaitas) was a Greek town, although it belonged to the Punic epicracy. There is virtually no evidence for the presence of a Punic population (Isler 1993: 88–92; 2009: 104–5; Käch 2006: 273–5). The Punic coins circulating in the town were a tool for commercial transactions in the specific political environment of the epicracy. The Punic horse on them was

not part of Iaitas's Greek culture, and how the Iaitinoi interpreted this image is difficult to evaluate: the obverse female head, which Punic art had drawn from the Greek iconography of Kore, could have been assimilated back into that iconography. Iconographic meaning therefore may have cycled around between the Greek and Punic worlds, creating rather complex patterns.

Ebusitan coins in the Vesuvian area: Bes

A similar example of a Punic icon in a non-Punic context arises with the massive presence of Ebusitan coins and their imitations in the Vesuvian area (Fig. 6.10:1–4). The identification of this imitative coinage has opened a new and unexpected chapter in central Italian monetary history. Clive Stannard has identified, described and dated these coins (1998; 2005a; 2005b: 64–79; cf. also Stannard and Frey-Kupper 2008: 366–75, 378–84; Frey-Kupper and Stannard 2010). The prototypes and most of the imitative issues carry a standardized image of the Punic god Bes (ultimately of Egyptian origin) on both sides of the coins; such repetition of a type on obverse and reverse is most unusual in Greek coinage.

Let me sum up briefly what we now know about this phenomenon.[20] The same mint that struck pseudo-Ebusitan coins also struck coins imitating Massalia, and there are die-links between the two groups. The Ebusitan prototypes are small bronze coins of the second century BCE (Fig. 6.10:1). Stannard and I have recently argued that they probably reached the Vesuvian area in a single shipment for an unknown reason – there are no military or trade factors that can adequately explain the massive presence of these coins (Stannard and Frey-Kupper 2008: 373; Stannard 2013; Frey-Kupper and Stannard forthcoming). On the prototype coins (Campo 1976: Group XVIII), Bes is represented frontally, nude, a hammer in his raised right hand and a snake in his left; Punic letters sometimes appear on the coins. The image on the imitative coins is often very perfunctory, and, in many cases, Bes raises his left hand, rather than his right, because the engraver has copied mechanically and failed to invert the types on the dies (Stannard 2005b; Fig. 6.10:2).

The imitative coins were produced by a mint that mixed types copied from Ebusus, Massalia, Rome and other mints. They probably began in the 130s or 120s BCE, as recent stratigraphic contexts in Pompeii suggest, and appear to have been produced in Pompeii, whence they spread

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[20] Clive Stannard encouraged me to discuss these coins here, and we have been mulling possible ways of understanding this iconography in an Italian context. The following comments result from this discussion.

into Latium (particularly Minturnae) and other areas of Italy and Sicily (Stannard and Frey-Kupper 2008: 371 fig. 3; Frey-Kupper and Stannard 2010: 130; Ribera i Lacomba *et al.* 2013: 189–92; Stannard 2013: 139–41). At Pompeii, the coins of Ebusus and their imitations are the most common element in the monetary stock found under the Vesuvian disaster layer (Roman Republican and Imperial coins included), and account for around 30–50% or more of the whole (Hobbs 2005: 378; Stannard and Frey-Kupper 2008: 367–8 fig. 2). Canonical Ebusus and pseudo-Ebusus circulated together; at both Pompeii and Minturnae, about half of the 'Ebusitan' coins are imitations. These quantities suggest that the imitations were not fraudulent, but 'simply . . . topped up the supply of these types' (Stannard and Frey-Kupper 2008: 383) after the large, initial injection of the block of Ebusitan coin that led to this type being copied.

The citizens of Pompeii in the early first century BCE daily handled coins with a specifically Punic icon on them. How, then, did they perceive the inescapable image of Bes dancing as the main image on their small change? Did they consciously identify the image with its Punic origin? What was the balance between direct iconographic influences from Egypt itself (from whence the Punic world ultimately derived Bes) and those that came through the Punic world, and how was this perceived? As an Egyptian god of protection, Bes was also a god of childbirth, although he seems earlier to have been a god of war, able to strangle snakes, which are a common element of his iconography (Wilkinson 2003: 102–4). What was the perceived relationship between the Bes iconography and the Isis cult at Pompeii, and how was the original Punic or Egyptian icon tamed and assimilated into the Italian repertoire? Some of the imitative issues, indeed, show images of Bes that have little to do with the foreign prototypes (Fig. 6.10:3–4), and the image of a facing, seated Bes in the painting from the north wall of the *sacrarium* of the temple of Isis in Pompeii is stylistically and iconographically far from the originals (Naples, National Museum inv. 8916; De Caro 1992: 58 no. 1.72) (Fig. 6.11/Plate 8); such images 'Italianize' the Punic image, and presumably the associated concepts as well.

Iconographic transfers need also to be considered diachronically, as the process will differ from period to period, and, once we move outside Pompeii, from place to place. Bes became very popular and widespread during the Hellenistic period, and was adopted by the Romans. This process of the assimilation of Bes, in the garb of a Roman legionary, continued well into the Empire.[21]

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[21] Shaw and Nicholson (1995: 54): 'In the Roman period, Bes was perhaps adopted as a military god since he was often portrayed in the costume of a legionary brandishing a sword.'

Fig. 6.11. Fresco from the north wall of the *sacrarium* of the temple of Isis at Pompeii. (Plate 8.)

In addition to the direct Egyptian and Ebusitan Punic channels of transmission for the Bes cult and its icons, as well as other Egypto-Punic cult elements (including architecture: Wilson 2005: 134), into central Italy, other possible channels need to be considered. For example, images of Bes in glyptic art (Bonnet and Xella 1985: 328), frescoes, monumental reliefs and statues (Agus 1983) are found in Sardinia and elsewhere in Italy itself, attesting widespread familiarity with the god. 'Egyptian' types appear on Katanean and other Sicilian coinages in Roman times (Mattingly 2000: 36–41; 2006: 219–20). A further channel by which Egypto-Punic iconography in general may have reached central Italy is through the Punic islands between Sicily and Italy, particularly Malta and Kossyra, which used such types on their coins (*SNG Cop.*, North Africa, nos. 447–52, 458–66). The coins of these islands are relatively common amongst the foreign coins found in the River Liri at Minturnae.[22]

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[22] At 30 October 2008, Stannard's Liri database included 1.74% (21 of no. = 1206) coins from Melite, Gaulos, Kossyra, and coins with a crab, of one or more yet uncertain mints, but usually attributed to 'islands off Tunisia' (*SNG Cop.*, North Africa, nos. 475–88), or to Lopadusa (Calciati 1983: 369–70).

Conclusions

I hope to have been able to outline here some features that may be useful in better 'identifying the Punic Mediterranean'. The limited range of iconographic elements on Punic coins – the horse, the palm tree and the head of Kore – is part of a deliberate policy: the widespread use of standardized types facilitated exchange and expressed some form of cultural homogeneity in an area that spread (at various times) from North Africa to Sicily, Sardinia, Ebusus, the islands between Africa and Sicily, Spain, and, in the Second Punic War, the Italian mainland. While the coins are mostly anepigraphic, the images are highly symbolic and emblematic. They are of a wider import than the ordinary Greek 'ethnic': the punning type of the palm tree, at least, stands for the large community of Phoenicians spread all over the Mediterranean and in some way expresses 'punicity'. That does not mean that Punic coins were employed exclusively by Punic users. They were a tool for transactions in territories under Carthaginian control or for financing military campaigns, independent of the ethnicity or cultural background of the users.

The almost entire lack of coin legends and the wide circulation of 'supra-regional' coins, particularly bronze small change,[23] contrast with contemporary Greek coinages. This is particularly true for a set of bronze coins produced between the middle of the fourth and the middle of the third centuries BCE. Nor did Rome create such a deliberately supra-regional coinage, and the use of Roman coinage did not spread massively throughout the Mediterranean until the conquests of the late Republic and the early Empire.

We have seen that in Sicily in the second half of the fourth century BCE, a set of 'regional' types distinguished by a particularly Sicilian iconography circulated together with the 'supra-regional' types, and that the regional types included small fractions. Punic coinage in Sicily developed against the background of Sicily's long monetary tradition, which in turn played a key role in creating new coinages outside Sicily – in Carthage and later in Sardinia – where there was no earlier tradition of minting. For Carthage, contact with Sicilian Greeks in its western epicracy was decisive not only in the general adoption of coins, but also for the use of tetradrachms based on the widespread Attic standard and the striking of small fractions.

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[23] Such phenomena also complicate the tasks of attributing Punic coins to mints and of studying the flow of coins between Punic areas. Yet the systematic cataloguing and comparison of coin finds from contexts, and coin series from sites, shows that much information can be gleaned from Punic coins, providing nuanced patterns of coin circulation for the various areas of the Punic Mediterranean. This information, in some cases, further helps to identify the mint or minting area of specific types, which in its turn contributes to characterizing coin circulation at individual sites.

We have also seen the interplay between generic Punic bronze coinage intended for supra-regional use and coins bearing local types in Sicily in the fourth century BCE. The regional types of Punic coinage in Sicily with their characteristically Sicilian items, which were never exported, attest on the other hand to a high degree of acculturation of Punic communities in the epicracy.

In his study of the Punic bronze of the Second Punic War, Visonà (2009) has demonstrated the development of an iconography that combines earlier types with new types that draw on local foreign coinages in the areas of conflict, with the aim of suggesting a communality of purpose between Carthage and its allies. It is intriguing to see that coin iconography was used from the beginning of Punic coinage for political purposes. The prancing horse, drawn from coins of Dionysios I, appears on the oldest Punic coins in gold, and is later used on the supra-regional bronze coins (*SNG Cop.* 94–7) to carry an anti-Syracusan message. It was used again during the First and Second Punic Wars, and at that stage aimed at Rome, Syracuse's main ally and Carthage's main enemy.

Our considerations of the use of Punic coins in non-economic contexts posed the question as to whether Punic types shared features with non-Punic coinages and monetary practices in the foreign areas where they were circulating. In Sicily, the area with the best documentation, we have seen a case of direct links to the homeland in the use of coins in funeral contexts, and a continuity of ritual practice into Roman times at Lilybaion, the most 'Punic' settlement on the island. Iconographic borrowing and the reinterpretation of coin images in the appropriating culture followed complex patterns cycling iconographies between the Greek and Punic world, as in the case of Kore's head on Sicilian coins. The example of the adoption of the Ebusitan Bes types at Pompeii raises many questions as to how the image was incorporated into the contemporary iconography of central Italy, and of the relative importance of the many channels through which Egypto-Punic images may have passed.

In concluding, I should like to stress the danger of falling into banality by drawing over-general conclusions regarding the similarities and contrasts between Punic and other coinages. It is better to consolidate the picture, topic by topic, and in precise chronological and geographical contexts. The major challenges of research into the Punic world include not only its wide chronological range, but also the wide geographical areas and number of other peoples involved.[24] I have touched in this chapter on a few periods only, and a limited number of areas and sites. Properly understood, coins offer a window to make progress in identifying the Punic Mediterranean, though looking at monetary history, types and legends, at what they tell us

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[24] For Spain see, for example, Garcia Bellido 1992; or Mora Serrano 2011 (with further bibliography).

or omit to tell us, at where they are present and where they are absent, and at how they were produced and used. Much work still lies ahead.

Appendix

Preliminary note

The numbers given in the tables cover single finds. Hoards from the sites in question have not been taken into account because they are made of specific types, chosen deliberately, of a specific date. They would distort the proportions. Finds from necropoleis are avoided for the same reason. In the case of Lilybaion and Tharros, however, materials from the necropoleis are included because coins from settlement contexts alone would be too few. In both cases, tombs exceeding three to five coins, and thus assimilable to a hoard, are extremely rare, with the exception of T. 13 from Lilybaion, discussed above.

Sicily (Fig. 6.6/Plate 4)

The Sicilian data are taken from my study on the coin finds from Monte Iato and western Sicily, where details and more information can be found (Frey-Kupper 2013: 566–7, appendix 2 tables 68–9). The bibliographical references to the original publications or databases are given below:

Entella / Rocca di Entella, 1984–2008: Frey-Kupper 2000; Frey-Kupper 2002; Frey-Kupper and Weiss 2010; Frey-Kupper and Weiss 2011; and database by Suzanne Frey-Kupper.
Segesta / Segesta, 1990–3: Gandolfo 1995; Mammina 1995.
Makella / Montagnola di Marineo, 1969, 1971, 1975 and 1991–3: Gandolfo 1997a.
Hippana / Montagna dei Cavalli 1960, 1960 or 1964 and 1988–91: Gandolfo 1997b.
Iaitas / Monte Iato 1971–90: Frey-Kupper 2013.
Solus / Solunto, 1951–5: Tusa Cutroni 1955; 1956; 1958–9b.
Lilybaion / Marsala 1965–6, 1969–70 and 1987–91: Tusa Cutroni 1967; Tusa Cutroni 1971; Frey-Kupper 1999.
Selinus / Selinunte 1956–68 and 1985–95: Tusa Cutroni 1957; Tusa Cutroni 1958–9a; Tusa Cutroni 1968; Mertens 2003.
Morgantina / Serra Orlando 1955–81: Buttrey *et al.* 1989.

Carthage (Fig. 6.7/Plate 5)

The most comprehensive data from Carthage are given by Visonà (1994: 131–47; cf. Visonà 1985: 671–2). This list assembles a huge amount of

information, including from articles on the excavations conducted by the French in the early twentieth century, and has a thorough commentary. The description of contexts and the identification of specific types are of particular interest.

Only coins from recent excavations are taken into account here in order to ensure adequate quality in the data (Table 6.2): identifications in older publications are sometimes garbled and hard to substantiate, as Visonà repeatedly points out. The available data, published or not, derive from the work of the following international excavation teams:[25]

British Mission, Circular harbour, 1974–9: Reece 1994: 250–2.

Canadian, Circular monument, 1976, 1978 and 1979: Guimond 1979: 27 no. 1; 1981: 57 no. 2.

Danish, 1975 and 1977: Lund *et al.* 1979.

French excavations, Byrsa, 1974–6: Lancel 1979: 68–70, 76–7, 81, 84; Lancel and Thuillier 1979: 239, 247, 250. For unpublished coins from the same excavations, according to a manuscript of Pierre Gandolphe provided by G. Kenneth Jenkins, see: Visonà 1985: 671 n. 8; 1994: 144 nos. 88–90. The numbers given here in Table 6.2 are based on the completed and corrected data listed by Visonà (1985: 672 table A), to which the coins of the 1983 campaign are added.

Ghent University and Institut National du Patrimoine, Bir Messaouda 2002–5: documentation by Suzanne Frey-Kupper (publication in preparation, in the final report of the excavations). For the coins of the 2000–1 campaign conducted at Bir Messaouda by the Amsterdam University, no data are yet available; the coins are being studied by Lofti Rahmouni.[26]

German excavations, under the *decumanus maximus* 1986–95: Baldus 2007: 826–8.

Harvard University and University of Chicago, Punic Port and Tophet 1975–8: Betlyon 2008: 331 nos. 1–3, 6. Nos. 4–5 and 7–10 are partly illegible or not precisely described (the coins are not illustrated). I had the opportunity in July 2014 to personally examine photographs and originals of a part of the coin finds kept at the Semitic Museum in Harvard. I thank Joseph Greene and Brien Garnand.

Michigan excavations, in the area between the south slope of Byrsa and the Circular harbour, the area of the Circus, a Byzantine cemetery and Bir El Knissia, 1975–83 and 1993: Buttrey 1976: 167 no. 6; Buttrey and Hitchner

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[25] Location of the excavation sites 1972–9: Hurst 1984: 7 fig. 2. Later excavations: Docter *et al.* 2006: 48 fig. 1.

[26] Information kindly provided by Roald Docter.

1978: 106 nos. 6–8 and 10–12; Metcalf and Hitchner 1980: 190 nos. 1–3; Metcalf 1982: 68 nos. 3–4; Visonà 1988: 387 nos. 2–3; Visonà 1993: 204 nos. 1–2; Houghtalin and MacIsaac 2005: 184. For unpublished coins found in the 1979 and 1982 seasons, according to information from John H. Humphrey and William E. Metcalf, cf. Visonà (1985: 671 n. 7). The numbers appearing in Table 6.2 are based on the corrected data given by Visonà (1985: 672, table A), completed by the coins of the 1983 campaign.[27]
Polish, area of the Circus, 1972: Kozakiewicz and Krzyzanowska 1974: 66.

Tas-Silġ, Malta (Fig. 6.8/Plate 6)

Italian excavations 1963–70: Novarese 2006: 65–6 nos. 1–12 and 14–44;
  nos. 36–7 erroneously listed as *SNG Cop.* 144–78 are of the type *SNG Cop.* 224–5.
Excavations of the University of Malta 1996–2005: Frey-Kupper forthcoming a.

Tharros, Sardinia (Fig. 6.9/Plate 7)

The most comprehensive list is by Manfredi (1999), who gives an overview of finds up to 1999, and distinguishes finds of various natures (necropoleis, tophet, settlement and specific findspots, hoards, finds from the 'territorio', and the Camedda collection).[28] Of these, we have taken into account all but hoards (for the reasons given above). There is some uncertainty about the finds from the territory and the coins in the Camedda collection, particularly as to whether the latter in fact come from Tharros. The data assembled here are more complete than any previously published data that I was able to find. Of later excavations at Tharros, only those conducted in 2001 in the southern cemetery have been published so far.
  Italian excavations up to 1999: Manfredi 1999: 181–3.
  Italian excavations 2001: Manfredi 2006b: 255–6 nos. 2–4.

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[27] The slight differences between the entries in the original publications up to 1982 (for the totals, see also Visonà 1994: 132 nos. 39–40, 146 nos. 99–102), which list twelve coins, and Visonà's count of sixteen coins discovered up to 1982 (1985: 672, Table A) is due mainly to the unpublished 1979 and 1982 season specimens the author quotes. The small differences in the types listed (three *SNG Cop.* 94–7, one *SNG Cop.* 98, four *SNG Cop.* 109–19, no *SNG Cop.* 120–3 in the original publications up to 1982, against four *SNG Cop.* 94–7, two *SNG Cop.* 98, three *SNG Cop.* 109–19 and three *SNG Cop.* 120–3 in Visonà 1985: table A) is explained by the difficulty in distinguishing *SNG Cop.* 94–7 from *SNG Cop.* 98, and *SNG Cop.* 109–19 from *SNG Cop.* 120–3, and by the corrections made by Visonà in reviewing the originals.

[28] For the finds in the British Museum, acquired in 1856, cf. Jenkins (1987: 118 nos. 1/72, 5/52, 6/55, 12/38, 22/52, 26/46, 29/37; 29/38, 32/49; lost coins excluded).

Table 6.1a. Punic bronze coins of the period between *c.* 350/340 and 250/240 BCE from various sites in Sicily, Carthage (North Africa), Tharros (Sardinia) and Tas-Silġ (Malta): numbers per type. (The dates given for the various sites are of their destruction, conquest by Rome, or of their going over to Rome.)

	SICILY									NORTH AFRICA	MALTA	SARDINIA
	ENTELLA (n = 39) Rocca di Entella	SEGESTA (n = 72) Segesta 262 BCE	MAKELLA (n = 44) Montagnola di Marineo 260 BCE	HIPPANA (n = 197) Montagna dei Cavalli 258 BCE	IAITAS (n = 488) Monte Iato 254 BCE	SOLUS (n = 118) Solunto 254 BCE	LILYBAION (n = 123) Marsala (all) 250 BCE	SELINUS (n = 984) Selinunte 250 BCE	MORGANTINA (n = 477) Serra Orlando	CARTHAGE (n = 97) Carthage 146 BCE	TAS-SILG (n = 61)	THARROS (n = 64) Tharros 237 BCE
TYPE												
SNG Cop. 94–7	32	15	6	43	49	15	20	138	214	23	19	17
SNG Cop. 98	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	14	–	–
SNG Cop. 102–6	–	4	2	15	20	1	1	44	48	8	1	2
SNG Cop. 109–19	1	44	26	102	270	57	64	458	155	20	19	8
SNG Cop. 107–8	–	3	–	11	25	3	–	33	5	–	2	–
SNG Cop. 120–3	–	–	–	–	–	1	4	19	1	12	3	–
SNG Cop. 220–3	–	–	–	–	2	–	5	4	–	6	–	–
SNG Cop. 144–78	–	4	4	10	61	18	24	264	41	10	13	29
SNG Cop. 224–5	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	2	4	–
SNG Cop. 192–201	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	10	3	2	–	8
CNS I no. 13–14	3	–	–	2	8	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Gàbr. 196 nos. 44–52	–	–	4	13	35	3	–	5	3	–	–	–
ZIZ, Gàbr. 196 nos. 53–4	–	–	1	–	9	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
ZIZ, Gàbr. 195 nos. 32–41	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–
ZIZ, Gàbr. 195 nos. 24–31	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
ZIZ, Gàbr. 195 nos. 17–23	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	1	–	–	–
Motya? Gàbr. 131–2 nos. 45–56	2	–	–	–	3	1	1	2	–	–	–	–
Eryx? Gàbr. 130–1 nos. 11–21	–	2	–	–	1	2	–	3	3	–	–	–
Thermai, Gàbr. 140 nos. 1–4	1	–	–	1	2	2	–	–	2	–	–	–
Solus, Gàbr. 169 nos. 1–14	–	–	1	–	1	4	–	–	1	–	–	–
Solus, *CNS* I no. 16	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–
Solus, Gàbr. 169 nos. 39–47	–	–	–	–	–	6	–	–	–	–	–	–
Total	39	72	44	197	488	118	123	984	477	97	61	64

Table 6.1b. Punic bronze coins of the period between *c.* 350/340 and 250/240 BCE from various sites in Sicily, Carthage (North Africa), Tharros (Sardinia) and Tas-Silġ (Malta): percentage per type (cf. the graphs Figures 6.6–6.9). (The dates given for the various sites are of their destruction, conquest by Rome, or of their going over to Rome.)

TYPE	SICILY									NORTH AFRICA	MALTA	SARDINIA
	ENTELLA (n = 39) Rocca di Entella	SEGESTA (n = 72) Segesta 262 BCE	MAKELLA (n = 44) Montagnola di Marineo 260 BCE	HIPPANA (n = 197) Montagna dei Cavalli 258 BCE	IAITAS (n = 488) Monte Iato 254 BCE	SOLUS (n = 118) Solunto 254 BCE	LILYBAION (n = 123) Marsala (all) 250 BCE	SELINUS (n = 984) Selinunte 250 BCE	MORGANTINA (n = 477) Serra Orlando	CARTHAGE (n = 97) Carthage 146 BCE	TAS-SILG (n = 61)	THARROS (n = 64) Tharros 237 BCE
SNG Cop. 94–7	82.05	20.83	13.64	21.83	10.04	12.71	16.26	14.02	44.86	23.71	31.15	26.56
SNG Cop. 98	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	14.43	0.00	0.00
SNG Cop. 102–6	0.00	5.56	4.55	7.61	4.10	0.85	0.81	4.47	10.06	8.25	1.64	3.13
SNG Cop. 109–19	2.56	61.11	59.09	51.78	55.33	48.31	52.03	46.54	32.49	20.62	31.15	12.50
SNG Cop. 107–8	0.00	4.17	0.00	5.58	5.12	2.54	0.00	3.35	1.05	0.00	3.28	0.00
SNG Cop. 120–3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.85	3.25	1.93	0.21	12.37	5.00	0.00
SNG Cop. 220–3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.41	0.00	4.07	0.41	0.00	6.19	0.00	0.00
SNG Cop. 144–78	0.00	5.56	9.09	5.08	12.50	15.25	19.51	26.83	8.60	10.31	21.31	45.31
SNG Cop. 224–5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.81	0.00	0.00	2.06	6.56	0.00
SNG Cop. 192–201	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.44	1.02	0.63	2.06	0.00	12.50
CNS I no. 13–14	7.69	0.00	0.00	1.02	1.64	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Gàbr. 196 nos. 44–52	0.00	0.00	9.09	6.60	7.17	2.54	0.00	0.51	0.63	0.00	0.00	0.00
ZIZ, Gàbr. 196 nos. 53–4	0.00	0.00	2.27	0.00	1.84	1.69	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
ZIZ, Gàbr. 195 nos. 32–41	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
ZIZ, Gàbr. 195 nos. 24–31	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
ZIZ, Gàbr. 195 nos. 17–23	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.21	0.00	0.00	0.00
Motya? Gàbr. 131–2 nos. 45–56	5.13	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.61	0.85	0.81	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Eryx? Gàbr. 130–1 nos. 11–21	0.00	2.78	0.00	0.00	0.20	1.69	0.00	0.30	0.63	0.00	0.00	0.00
Thermai, Gàbr. 140 nos. 1–4	2.56	0.00	0.00	0.51	0.41	1.69	0.00	0.00	0.42	0.00	0.00	0.00
Solus, Gàbr. 169 nos. 1–14	0.00	0.00	2.27	0.00	0.20	3.39	0.00	0.00	0.21	0.00	0.00	0.00
Solus, CNS I no. 16	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.54	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Solus, Gàbr. 169 nos. 39–47	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 6.2. Punic bronze coins of the period between *c*. 350/340 and 250/240 BCE from various excavations in Carthage: numbers per type.

TYPE	British Mission, Circular harbour 1974–9	Canadian excavations 1976, 1978 and 1979	Danish excavations 1975 and 1977	French excavations Byrsa 1974–6	Ghent University and INP, Bir Messaouda 2002–5	German excavations, Decumanus Maximus 1986–95	Harvard University / University of Chicago 1975–8	Michigan excavations, area of the Circus etc. 1975–83	Michigan excavations, Bir El Knissia 1993	Michigan excavations, Bir Ftouha 1992–9	Polish excavations, Circus 1972	Total
SNG Cop. 94–7	–	–	–	5	3	7	2	5	–	1	–	23
SNG Cop. 98	–	–	–	2	3	6	1	2	–	–	–	14
SNG Cop. 102–6	1	–	–	1	1	2	1	1	–	–	1	8
SNG Cop. 109–19	–	2	–	5	4	2	–	4	1	2	–	20
SNG Cop. 107–8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
SNG Cop. 120–3	2	–	–	7	1	2	–	–	–	–	–	12
SNG Cop. 220–3	–	–	2	1	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	6
SNG Cop. 144–78	–	–	–	2	–	3	–	3	1	1	–	10
SNG Cop. 224–5	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	2
SNG Cop. 192–201	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	2
Total	3	2	2	24	12	24	4	18	2	5	1	97

Case studies

7 | Defining Punic Carthage

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BABETTE BECHTOLD, FETHI CHELBI AND WINFRED
VAN DE PUT

In their recent publication *Rural Landscapes of the Punic World* Peter van Dommelen and Carlos Gómez Bellard start with a chapter in which they discuss and define the notion of the 'Punic World', justifying the scope of the volume (van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard 2008a). They take their cue – as would seem logical – from the widely used and accepted chronological, historical and cultural definition of the term 'Punic' clarified in a seminal article by Sabatino Moscati (1988d), 'which in accordance with the originally Latin roots of the word restricts the meaning of the term 'Punic' to the Phoenician descendants living in the western Mediterranean basin after roughly 550 BC' (van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard 2008a: 3). After discussing the pros and cons of the word 'Punic' and its possible alternatives, like Phoenician, western Phoenician or Carthaginian, van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard arrive at the conclusion that they will use 'Punic', but more loosely than Moscati, 'in primarily archaeological and historical terms, referring generically to the five western Mediterranean core regions during the sixth to first centuries BC' (van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard 2008a: 5, cf. 2008b: 236). They identify these five regions as Ibiza/Formentera, the Iberian Peninsula, Sardinia, Sicily/Malta/Pantelleria and the Maghreb. However, this looser usage of the word 'Punic' has actually been common practice in archaeology since at least the 1960s; earlier literature, especially in the field of ancient history, may have vested the term 'Punic' with political or ethnic connotations, on the basis of the ancient sources, but it is hard to find such usage in archaeological research of recent decades. The above-mentioned article by Sabatino Moscati (1922–97), rightly considered a paragon of the earlier generation of 'founding fathers' of Phoenician and Punic studies (see Bondì, Chapter 4), is in fact exemplary of that earlier generation in its continued reliance upon a definition with political, ethnic and even imperialistic connotations.[1]

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[1] For example, '"Phoenician" defines, specifically in this area [i.e. the west] the evidence that precedes the establishment of Carthage's empire and the events that follow from that. Granted that, "Punic" defines the evidence from the whole western region from that point. "Carthage", finally, defines

That this discussion of the epistemology of the term 'Punic' is not without importance in the context of the present volume is clear from the fact that it is presented as part of a colonial versus post-colonial discourse in which Carthage plays the key role. Van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard use the assumed political and ethnic connotations of the word to construct an artificial picture of 'modern' archaeological and historical scholarship, in which it is apparently commonly held that 'Carthage actively pursued colonial strategies to realise its expansionist ambitions' (van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard 2008a: 8). This carefully described but essentially non-existent 'paradigm' is then deconstructed in order to replace it with an alternative. However, this alternative model, namely that 'Carthage was not so much after colonial territories but was instead involved in a primarily commercial enterprise much along the lines of the earlier Phoenician activities in the western Mediterranean' (van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard 2008a: 10, cf. 2008b: 237–9, with reference to Whittaker 1978), has in fact been very much the leading paradigm in the field for some decades now.[2] References to the works of two prominent archaeologists, Maria Eugenia Aubet and Serge Lancel, in apparent support of the 'colonial' paradigm, read too much into their words without taking the wider context of their works into account (van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard 2008a: 9, referring to Aubet 1993: 283 and Lancel 1995: 81–3). The broader contexts of the passages cited show that Aubet and Lancel do not in fact consider Carthage as an 'expansionist colonial power' *sensu strictu*, with all the negative modern connotations that this implies. With good reason, Lancel puts 'empire' in quotation marks: 'The questions relating to Semitic settlements in the western Mediterranean from the seventh century BCE reflect this ambiguity. Were they originally Phoenician or Punic and, if they were first of all Phoenician, when may they be regarded as part of the "empire" of Carthage?' (Lancel 1995: 81). It was with equally good reason that in the 1994 second edition of her book (translated into English in 2001), Aubet left out the following paragraph from the 1987 first edition (translated into English in 1993): 'In Carthage, rather than of a mercantile emporium, we must speak of an aristocratic colony, which very soon attained urban status

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what relates to the African city, to its affairs, to its material culture' (Moscati 1988d: 5; translated from the Italian).

[2] Van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard's references in this context (at 2008b: 237) to Wagner (1989), López Castro (1991) and Domínguez Monedero (2006), as well as to van Dommelen (1998a: 121–2) suffice to show that the 'new', 'alternative' perspective is not that new and should instead be considered the *communis opinio* (note the dates of the publications). See also Docter 1997: 256, 259.

and which, through its particularly puritanical and conservative civico-religious institutions, was to monopolize the economic and ideological activity of vast territories in the west' (Aubet 1993: 283). Instead, she brought her final conclusions more into line with the preceding chapters, giving rise to more nuanced observations: 'In general we can say that the Phoenicians restricted themselves to intervening in, making use of and stimulating a few pre-existing trading circuits in which, from the beginning of the first millennium, metals, raw materials and manufactured articles were circulating' and, 'The natives in the west were not silent witnesses or passive agents in this historical process but their participation was as active as that of the eastern traders themselves, if not more so' (Aubet 2001: 354). In the fully restructured final conclusions of the third, reworked edition of this influential study, Aubet gives an even more balanced analysis of the colonial relations implied by the coming of people from the east to the west (Aubet 2009: esp. 353–4).

Why is this 'prolegomenon' of relevance? One cannot deny that the city of Carthage played an important role in the political, religious and economic constellation of the central and western Mediterranean from the sixth century BCE, a fact acknowledged by all ancient sources (and also acknowledged by van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard (2008b: 237)). In view of the common practice in Carthaginian archaeology to use the word 'Punic' indiscriminately for 'Carthaginian', especially from the sixth century BCE onwards, one may ask how 'Carthaginian', then, is the wider 'Punic world'? Specific elements of Carthaginian, and in some cases more generally North African, material culture are indeed seen to enter the repertoires of material culture in other central and western Mediterranean areas by the sixth century. As well as the introduction of certain new pottery types, ceramic figurines and decorated ostrich eggs into burial assemblages and household contexts, one could mention in particular burial customs, such as the shift from cremation to inhumation (Gómez Bellard, Chapter 5; Lancel 1995: 81; cf. also van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard 2008a: 6). These changes coincided with the use of chamber tombs (both constructed and rock-cut), alongside cist and simple trench graves. The fact that all these elements and features are encountered earlier in Carthage leads us to suppose that Carthage did indeed play a role in the transmission both of these elements of material culture and of their implied values.[3] A careful analysis of the

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[3] We do not, however, wish to imply that these changes are necessarily linked to the actual presence of Carthaginian or Punic people in these areas, a move that van Dommelen and Goméz Bellard warn us against (2008b: 221; cf. Papi, Chapter 11).

material culture of Carthage is, therefore, a prerequisite for any further attempts to tackle the problem of 'Punic' Carthage and the 'Punic' west. First, though, a few more words on the label itself.

'Punic' as a chronological label

As will be clear from the introductions to this chapter and this volume, elsewhere in the central and western Mediterranean 'Punic' is used primarily in a chronological sense: the sixth to first centuries BCE. Similarly, the periodization hitherto used for Carthage itself distinguishes between an Archaic and a Punic period, the transition being at the end of the sixth century or in the early fifth century BCE. The term 'Archaic' has clearly been adopted to parallel the Greek situation, although strictly speaking the upper chronological range would then have to be called '(Late) Geometric'; this 'Archaic' part of Carthage's history overlaps with the conventional denomination 'Phoenician Carthage' or the 'Phoenician period of Carthage' (for example, Fantar 1998b: 1, 63–107). 'Phoenician' refers to the *phoinikes* encountered in Greek sources relating to the earlier history of the Levantine coastal cities and hence, by extension, to their colonies in the west (Pastor Borgoñon 1988–90; cf. also Moscati 1988d; Fantar 1998b: 1, 13–20; Aubet 1993: 5–21; Aubet 1994: 15–32; Aubet 2009: 17–28). Although the close chronological association of the term 'Archaic' with this earliest period of Carthage has always seemed appropriate, one should ask whether one might already use the term 'Punic' instead. In fact, it seems odd to have both a Middle and a Late Punic period, but not an Early Punic period. Following this reasoning, the term 'Punic' is now the common denominator in a recently proposed revised periodization based exclusively upon the material culture of Carthage, mainly pottery (Bechtold 2010: 5, already used in Slopsma *et al.* 2009: 22):

Admittedly, by introducing 'Early Punic' into the chronological system of Carthage, one is in some way returning to the earlier terminology of 'palaeo-Punic' or 'paleo-punico', which used to be employed in Spain to denote the 'Archaic' period (cf. Moscati 1988d: 3). Still, inappropriate as the term 'paleo-punico' may be for Spain, for Carthage one can use Early Punic as a legitimate chronological label. This is fully in line with the primary usage of the term 'Punic' in referring to Carthage, namely in a purely chronological sense, as opposed to, for example, Roman Carthage or Byzantine Carthage.

Table 7.1. Revised periodization based upon the material culture (mainly pottery) of Carthage.

Period	Sub-period	Revised periodization	Time range	Hamburg DM excavations
Archaic	Archaic	Early Punic I (EP I)	760–675 BCE[1]	I–III (760–675 BCE)
		Early Punic II (EP II)	675–530 BCE	IV (675–550 BCE)
	Late Archaic	Early Punic/Middle Punic (transitional period EP/MP)	530–480 BCE	V (550–480 BCE)
Punic	Middle Punic	Middle Punic I (MP I)	480–430 BCE	VI (480–425 BCE)
		Middle Punic II.1 (MP II.1)	430–400 BCE	VIIa (425–350 BCE)
		Middle Punic II.2 (MP II.2)	400–300 BCE	VIIb (350–250 BCE)
	Late Punic	Late Punic I (LP I)	300–200 BCE	VIII (250–146 BCE)
		Late Punic II (LP II)	200–146 BCE	

[1] Recent radiocarbon dates of animal bones from the earliest levels on the Bir Massouda site have yielded much earlier dates, in fact corroborating the historically transmitted foundation date of Carthage in 814/813 BCE: Docter *et al.* 2005; 2006: 39; 2008. For the present discussion, however, the conventional dates are preferred.

It also seems justified to use the label 'Early Punic' rather than 'Phoenician' for the earliest period of Carthage's existence for another, less chronological, reason. From the moment that people from elsewhere settle in a new territory, they will by necessity come into close contact with other (indigenous) people and for the most part start living together and mingle, as will their material culture. There is just no such thing as 'splendid isolation' in foreign territories. In the process, something new comes into existence, which is increasingly different from that of the place of origin of the earliest settlers; a process of hybridization ensues (van Dommelen 1998a: 214–16). For Carthage this may have been even more the case, if we lend credibility to one important element in its foundation myth: Carthage was not founded solely by settlers of Tyre, but the party also took settlers from Cyprus aboard (Aubet 2009: 232–3; see below).

This chronological usage of 'Punic' for the city of Carthage from its earliest phase therefore seems justified by the internal logic of the terminology, and moreover by the special position that Carthage held among the Phoenician foundations in the central and western Mediterranean from its earliest period, as we will show below.

'Punic' as a cultural label

Can we also justify the use of the term in a (material) cultural sense, either in Carthage or in this broader area? Apart from the specific elements of Carthaginian (or generally North African) material culture encountered in the central and western Mediterranean area from this period onwards, and mentioned briefly above, the main body of evidence for Carthage's increased influence in these areas in this period is of an ancient historical rather than archaeological nature (see, for example: Barceló 1988; 1989; Krings 1998). Since the domain of ancient history by and large falls outside our competences, and a detailed discussion of the archaeological evidence for Carthage's influence and other forms of involvement in the west would grossly stretch the format of the present chapter, the focus here will be on Carthage itself, albeit with a brief digression to other areas for the earliest period.

In the following sections we shall therefore discuss the city of Carthage and its material culture from a diachronic perspective. By so doing, it will become clear that although the special importance of the city goes back to its foundation, major cultural changes did take place in the city during the second half of the sixth century and in the fifth century BCE, corresponding to the extension of its cultural, if not political, hegemony in the broader western Mediterranean. The sixth century marks the point at which the term 'Punic', as distinct from 'Phoenician', attains a meaningful cultural as well as a chronological significance.

Topography of the Early Punic city (eighth–sixth centuries BCE)

Thanks to recent archaeological excavations carried out at Carthage, our knowledge of the topography of the Early Punic city has become more accurate. In its initial stages (seventh–sixth centuries BCE, if not earlier), the Phoenician foundation may have covered at least some 25 hectares and some 5,000–8,000 inhabitants (Fig. 7.1).[4] The Hamburg University

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[4] Initially, and based upon a map published by F. Rakob on various occasions (most recently Rakob 2002: 16, fig. 1), Roald Docter calculated a considerably larger inhabited area: 60 hectares and 12,000–18,000 inhabitants (Docter 1997: 70, 259; see also Docter 2002–3: 122–3). The recent find of the southern city limit necessitated a recalculation of the Early Punic city area, *infra*. These new numbers do not take into consideration the extra surface and possible numbers of inhabitants implied by a postulated Lower Town further to the south, near the Lagune; cf. Docter 2002–3: 123, fig. 5; Fig. 7.1. M. E. Aubet (2009: 235) still considers Carthage to have had an extension of 55 hectares in the eighth–sixth centuries BCE.

Fig. 7.1. Carthage: plan of the Punic settlement area with indication of the major excavated sites: 1. Circular Harbour area (British excavations); 2. Sondage below *cardo* IX (German excavations); 3. Byrsa south slope (French excavations); 4. Byrsa southeast slope (Tunisian excavations); 5. Byrsa North slope (Swedish excavations); 6. Terrain Ben Ayed (German excavations); 7. Below *decumanus maximus* (German excavations); 8. Bir Massouda/Bir Messaouda (British, Dutch and Tunisian/Belgian excavations); 9. Rue Ibn Chabâat (German excavations); 10. Rue Dag Hammerskjoeld (British excavations); 11. Rue Septime Sévère (German excavations); 12. Magon (German excavations); 13. Punische Seetorstraße (German excavations); 14. Rue Sophonisbe (British excavations); 15. *decumanus* VI-N (Canadian excavations); 16. 'Falbe point 90' (Danish excavations); 17. Terrain Boudhina (Tunisian excavations); ▲ Punic necropoleis (as known in 2000).

excavations on the crossroads of the Roman *decumanus maximus* and *cardo* X, conducted between 1986 and 1995 (Niemeyer and Docter 1993; Niemeyer *et al.* 1995; Niemeyer *et al.* 1996; Niemeyer *et al.* 2007) (Fig. 7.1:7), and the Amsterdam University excavations of 2000 and 2001

(Docter 2002–3) (Fig. 7.1:8) have shown an uninterrupted Punic occupation from about 760 BCE on the lower east slope of the Byrsa hill, which may be considered to have been part of the upper town. This Early Punic urban centre was surrounded by the necropolis sectors of Douïmes-Dermech, Juno and Byrsa in the north, west, and, in part, the south. Recent excavations of the Institut National du Patrimoine (Tunis) and Ghent University (Belgium) in the same area, locally known as Bir Massouda (Carthage Dermech; Fig. 7.1:8),[5] have produced evidence of the oldest Carthaginian necropolis, situated more or less in the eastern prolongation of the southern Byrsa necropolis (Fig. 7.1:3).[6] This evidence consists of no fewer than nine *pozzi* (burial pits), cut into the calcareous bedrock and dating stratigraphically to the last quarter of the eighth century and the first quarter of the seventh century BCE. Finally, the Early Punic city was confined in the east and the south by large industrial areas, all lying *extra-muros* on the coast (Fig. 7.1:12),[7] on the Rue Ibn Chabâat site (Fig. 7.1:9),[8] and in the southern part of the Bir Massouda terrain (Fig. 7.1:8).[9]

The city was protected by a system of walls, at least from the seventh century BCE onwards. Remains of a southern boundary wall, separating the Early Punic settlement from the various industrial activities situated *extra-muros*, have been uncovered during different excavations (Rakob 1995: 422, fig. 5; Rakob 2002: 26–7, fig. 7). Two parallel thick walls with stone cross-connections (forming a casemate rather than an *emplekton*

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[5] The Amsterdam University excavations, closely coordinated with colleagues from Cambridge University, transcribed the Arabic toponym 'Bir Messaouda'. In the framework of the Tuniso-Belgian project of the INP (Tunis) and Ghent University at the same site, however, and in the present contribution, we have preferred the transcription 'Bir Massouda'.

[6] The necropolis was discovered during the summer campaign of 2002 by a Tunisian team from the Conservation du Musée de Carthage, directed by F. Chelbi and B. Maraoui Telmini. This sector lies between the Roman eastern *cardo* IX and the *decumanus* I-south; see Chelbi *et al.* 2006b: 15–17, figs. 3–5; Docter *et al.* 2006: 42–5, fig. 11; Maraoui Telmini *et al.* forthcoming.

[7] Large amounts of metallurgical waste were found here by F. Rakob (Rakob 1987: 348–9, fig. 2, T1, pl. 146,1 [1a, 1b, 1c, 11]; 1991a: 229; 2002: 16–17, fig. 1:AA).

[8] Evidence of metallurgical activities has been found by the German Archaeological Institute (DAI Rome) directed by F. Rakob: see: Essaadi 1995a; Essaadi 1995b; Rakob 2002: 46, pl. 11:4. See Rakob (1995) on these excavations more generally.

[9] Traces of metalworking activity were found spread over a surface of about 1500 m². The find also included a large amount of crushed murex shells, used in the process of refining iron. This shell waste in itself is indicative of large-scale purple-dyeing activities, probably situated near the coast. Metallurgical research carried out by J. F. W. Koens in Amsterdam has shown that only ironworking hearths (forges) were present on the Bir Massouda site: Docter 2002–3: 121. For such remains in later excavations on the site, see also Docter *et al.* 2003: 44–5, figs. 2–4; Chelbi *et al.* 2006a; Chelbi *et al.* 2006b; Maraoui Telmini *et al.* forthcoming.

Fig. 7.2. Carthage Bir Massouda (trench 4, cf. Fig. 7.4). Bastion of the Early Punic period, reused as the foundation for a bastion of the fifth century BCE (2004).

Fig. 7.3. Carthage Bir Massouda (trench 4, cf. Fig. 7.4). East casemate wall of the bastion of the Middle Punic period (2004).

wall) have been found in the Rue Ibn Chabâat excavations (Docter 2002–3: 123–8, fig. 6) (Fig. 7.1:9). Evidence of defensive structures, consisting of a section of a casemate wall (Docter *et al.* 2006: 39–43, figs. 2–8; Maraoui Telmini *et al.* forthcoming) and the remains of an Early Punic bastion reused as foundations for a fifth century BCE bastion (Chelbi *et al.* 2006a: 217, 221, figs. 16–17; Figs. 7.2–7.3) were uncovered in the southern part of the Bir Massouda site. Docter (2002–3: 127–8; Docter *et al.* 2006: 40, fig. 3)
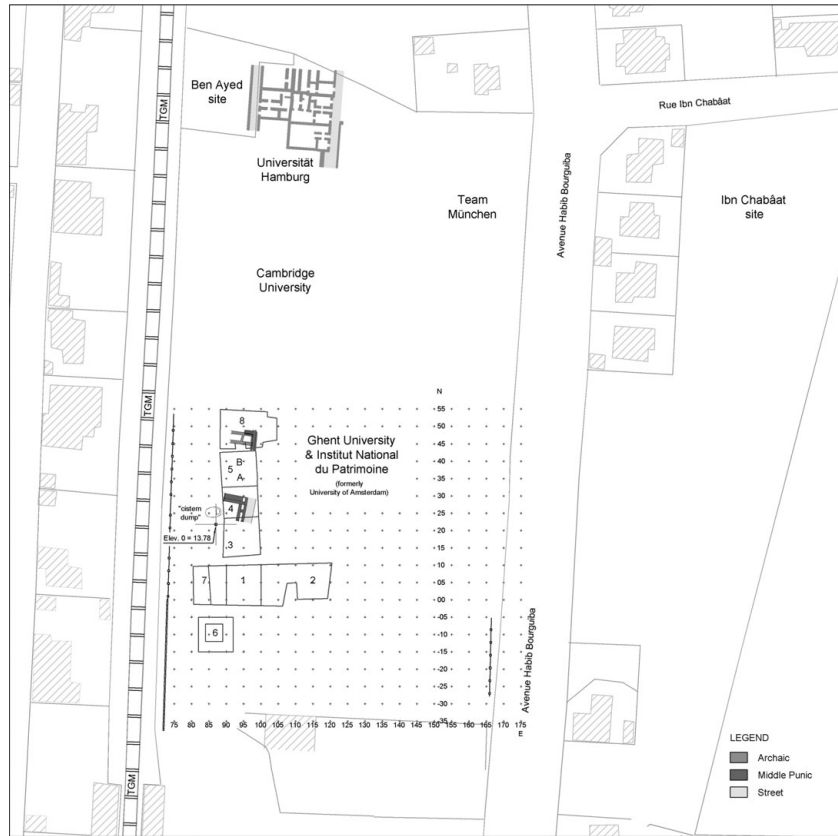
Fig. 7.4. Plan of the Bir Massouda site with an indication of the individual trenches. (Plate 9.)

has suggested a connection between all these structures, interpreting them as part of the southern boundary wall that separated the Early Punic habitation area from the industrial activities (Fig. 7.4/Plate 9).

Urban expansion of the Middle Punic city (fifth–fourth centuries BCE)

In the last quarter of the fifth century BCE, a large urban restructuring operation took place, in which the metalworking quarters in the south and the east of the city (sea coast/Ibn Chabâat/Bir Massouda) had to give way to residential areas. The metalsmiths' workshops were apparently moved elsewhere, and are to be found on the south slope of the Byrsa hill, where the French team has brought to light several late fifth- to third-century BCE metalworking installations (Lancel 1982; Docter et al. 2006: 54, 66, n. 33)

(Fig. 7.1:3), as well as in the area around the later circular harbour (Fig. 7.1:1) where a third-century BCE metallurgical workshop has been found (Chelbi 2004: 56–7). The area between the coast and the upper town, previously used for industrial activities, became occupied by new buildings. Several archaeological excavations have noticed the use of a thick orange-yellow levelling layer, sterile or poor in pottery and compact, that covered the whole area of the earlier industrial remains in order to prepare the new residential quarters (Chelbi *et al.* 2006b: 15–16, fig. 3.6; Docter *et al.* 2006: 48). An almost identical layer, probably deposited at the same time, has been found during the French excavations on the Byrsa hill, where it prepared the area for the new metallurgical ironworking installations (Lancel 1982: 222–3, 225–6, figs 286–7; cf. Docter *et al.* 2006: 54, 66, n. 33).

Remains of the new residential area, established about the last quarter of the fifth century BCE, have been found in many locations on what were the former fringes of the Early Punic city. The German excavations have shown that these habitation units extended to the sea coast according to an orthogonal plan (Lancel 1995: 136–7, 154–5, figs. 70–1; Rakob 2002: 19–20, fig. 3) (Figs. 7.1:12 and 7.5), continuing at least as far as the Roman *cardo* XIII (Rue Ibn Chabâat: Rakob 1987: 333–49; Rakob 1997a) (Fig. 7.1:9). In this location, the eastern side of a public building (perhaps a temple) constructed with El Haouaria ashlars was found,[10] hinting at the proximity of the agora (Rakob 1997b: 69; Maraoui Telmini *et al.* forthcoming). The ceramic finds date this imposing construction to the late fifth century BCE. Radiocarbon analyses of wood from the external wall of the building give a calibrated date of 515–405 BCE, while an analysis of burned wood found in the rubble and related to a later construction phase gives a calibrated date of 400–365 BCE (Rakob 1991b: 71; Rakob 1997b: 68).

In the southern part of the Bir Massouda area, the remains of a luxurious residential quarter established in the last quarter of the fifth century BCE have been documented in the course of the recent investigations (Docter *et al.* 2003: 45; Docter *et al.* 2006: 46–9, figs. 17–21; Chelbi *et al.* 2006a: 217, figs. 12–15). The south wall and the floor of a basin structure in a greyish hydraulic mortar (Fig. 7.6) have been preserved up to a height of about 60 cm. A septic pit constructed in rubble masonry was excavated in the eastern part of the basin (Fig. 7.8). These remains suggest at least two construction phases in the development of this domestic area. In the first

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[10] Rakob (1991b; 1997b: 55) interpreted the building as a temple. Recent control excavations and a re-study of the excavation documents by Christof Flügel and Heimo Dolenz have raised doubts as to this interpretation (personal communication).
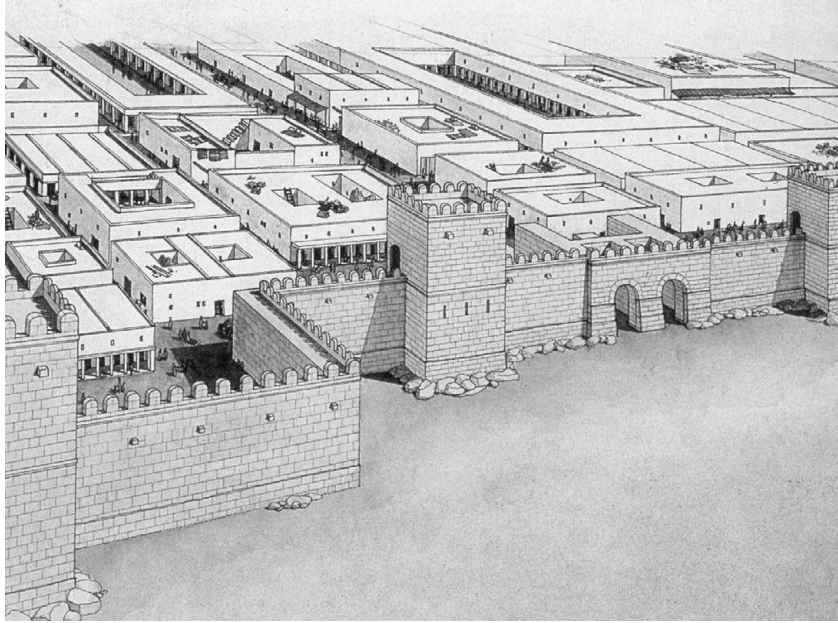
Fig. 7.5. Punic Carthage: Defensive walls with 'Sea Gates' and living quarters with orthogonal street layout of Phase ɪb–c (*c.* fourth century ʙᴄᴇ). Reconstruction by J.-C. Golvin, based upon the Magon Quarter excavations of the German Archaeological Institute (see Fig. 7.1: 12). Note that the reconstruction of the streets and living quarters does not correspond to the excavated remains and the original German reconstructions (Rakob 1991a: 168–72, fig. 33, pl. 62a–b, Beilage 27). It was already the case that the latter reconstructions did not correspond to the excavated remains, since they showed *ambitus*-like corridors between the houses, which were not clearly attested (cf. Rakob 1991a: 238–40).

Fig. 7.6. Carthage Bir Massouda (trench 7, cf. Fig 7.4). Bathtub and bench structure using a greyish hydraulic mortar of a luxurious habitation. Second phase: constructed during the first half of the fourth century ʙᴄᴇ; abandoned *c.* 340 ʙᴄᴇ (2004).
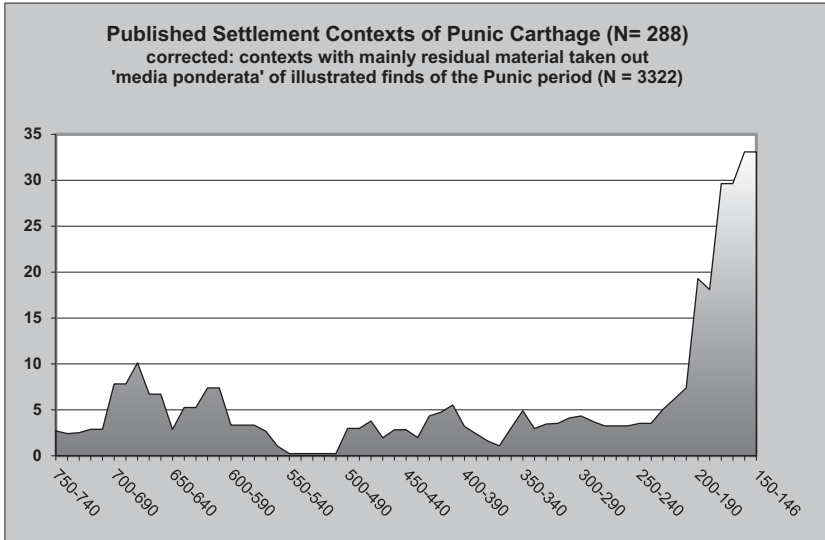
Fig. 7.7. Corrected *media ponderata* (weighted average) diagram of all published settlement contexts of Punic Carthage.

Fig. 7.8. Carthage Bir Massouda (trench 7, cf. Fig. 7.4). Septic pit/latrine and the chalk or *torba* floor of the first phase of the domestic use of the area, dated to the last quarter of the fifth century BCE. The septic pit remained in use till *c.* 340 BCE (2004).

phase, the toilet area had been furnished less elaborately with a simple chalk floor (*torba*: cf. Schmidt in Niemeyer *et al.* 2007: 199–201; Maraoui Telmini 2011: 57–8, fig. 8) (Fig. 7.8). The second phase is connected with the installation of a more elaborate basin with a mortar floor as well as a bathtub and bench (Docter *et al.* 2006: 47–50, figs. 17–20; Maraoui Telmini 2011: 58, fig. 9a) (Fig. 7.6). Ceramic finds associated with this second phase suggest the abandonment of these structures shortly after the middle of the

fourth century BCE (Maraoui Telmini and Ryckbosch in Docter *et al.* 2006: 50; Maraoui Telmini 2011: 60).

More information relating to this fifth-century BCE expansion of the city has come to light recently during excavations by the Institut National du Patrimoine in the area of the Roman circus. These unpublished investigations show that the Magonid city also extended westward, as extensive remains of a large domestic quarter of the fifth or early fourth century BCE were uncovered between the circus and the amphitheatre (Chelbi forthcoming) (Fig. 7.1:18).

These new urban quarters were incorporated into the city fortifications. At the eastern seafront, Rakob documented the remains of an important city wall of the last quarter of the fifth century BCE, provided with a gateway, that must have continued well to the south, up to the area of the later circular harbour (Rakob 1987: esp. fig. 3.K, pl. 146,2; Rakob 1991a: 165–74, 228–38, figs. 32–4, Beilagen 3 and 34; Rakob 2002: 18–19, 21, 36, fig. 3, pl. i:1; Docter 2002–3: 125–6, fig. 7; Fig. 7.5). A second defensive structure was found in the southern part of the Bir Massouda area in the course of the Tuniso-Belgian excavations (Docter *et al.* 2006: 46–8). The foundations of a Middle Punic bastion connected to a casemate wall could be dated to the same period as the seafront city wall (Figs. 7.2–7.3), indicating the existence of an interior city wall enclosing the upper town on the Byrsa Hill. Finally, it is tempting to assume that the extensive use of El Haouaria blocks, quarried from the Cap Bon peninsula on the other side of the Gulf of Tunis, goes back to the same period and corresponds to the needs of these restructuring operations in the city of Carthage.[11]

Other archaeological data from the settlement

The Early Punic settlement contexts of Carthage are characterized by thick levelling layers, extremely rich in finds, that are encountered in all excavations within the city. This is in sharp contrast with the thin layers that date to the second half of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth centuries BCE, which mostly are extremely poor in finds. Only 2.1% of the Punic contexts excavated below the *decumanus maximus* by the Hamburg University team could be assigned to 'Phase v' (*c.* 550–480 BCE; Docter

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[11] The first use of ashlars of El Haouaria sandstone in Carthage, both in the settlement and the necropoleis, can be dated stratigraphically to the middle of the seventh century BCE (Docter 2009: 184).

2005: 270). In the German Archaeological Institute excavations, no arch-aeological contexts dating to the second half of the sixth century BCE were found (or rather, have been published), but a context of the first half of the fifth century BCE from the Magon quarter (Fig. 7.1:12) contains some residual pottery of the sixth century BCE (Docter 2005: 272 and note 10; Docter 2007b: 54, context 120). A recent inventory of all published settle-ment contexts in Carthage gives no trace of contexts indisputably from the second half of the sixth century BCE, and only 8 out of 315 Punic contexts (2.5%) dating to the first half of the fifth century BCE (Docter 2007b: 40–2, figs. 3–4; Fig. 7.7). In the 2000–1 Amsterdam University excavations at Carthage, only 4 contexts out of 140 Punic ones (2.9%) could be assigned a general date in the second half of the sixth century BCE (Docter 2005: 275). If we consider the quantitative composition of these contexts in compari-son with the Early Punic ones, we get the impression that during the Early Punic period, household refuse was used as filling and levelling material in the preparation of new floors and to elevate the street levels with each new generation (Docter 2005: 274). From the middle of the sixth century BCE onwards, the deposits in the streets consistently become thinner, which implies that from that moment the city of Carthage established some sort of garbage collection system for its household waste (Docter 2005; Docter *et al.* 2006: 66–7). More archaeological research is needed to establish the areas where the Carthaginians dumped their city's refuse from the second half of the sixth century BCE onwards. At the same time, it may be that human and animal faeces were collected to be used as manure in the horticulture of Carthage's immediate hinterland in a manner similar to the *koprologoi* of the Greek world (Docter 2005; Docter *et al.* 2006: 67).

Recent finds from the Tuniso-Belgian excavations in the southern part of the Bir Massouda site indicate that Carthaginian houses were provided with toilet pits at least from the Middle Punic period onwards (Docter *et al.* 2006: 47–66, esp. figs. 16–18, 21; Maraoui Telmini 2011: 54–6, figs. 2–3, 5; see also above). No fewer than three latrines dating from the last quarter of the fifth century[12] and the first half of the fourth century BCE[13] have been found in a relatively small area. These three are the first indications of this sort in the Punic world (and are earlier than those found in the Greek world: Maraoui Telmini 2011), and show that the Middle Punic city tried to establish a new system of collecting its dung and other refuse in residential quarters. Two

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[12] Context BM03/4340 in trench 4 (Docter *et al.* 2006: 47, fig. 16).
[13] Context BM04/7457 in trench 7 (Docter *et al.* 2006: 47, figs. 17–18) and contexts BM02/1228 and BM02/1229 in trench 1 (Maraoui Telmini 2011).

Fig. 7.9. Carthage Bir Massouda (trench 4, cf. Fig. 7.4). Septic pit/latrine, dated to the middle of the fourth century BCE (2004).
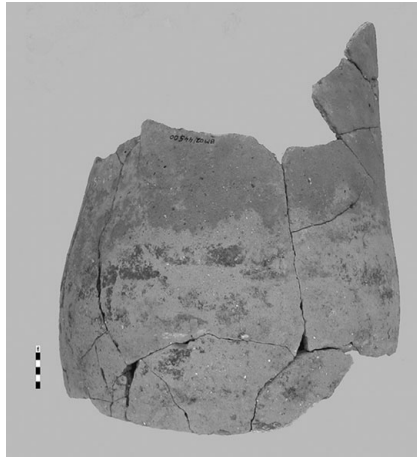
Fig. 7.10. Carthage Bir Massouda (from trench 1, cf. Fig. 7.4). Latrine made of a reused transport amphora (BM02/44500; contexts BM02/1228 and BM02/1229), dated to the last quarter of the fifth to the middle of the fourth century BCE (2002). Thick layer of encrustations on inside and greenish layer of faeces on lower outside. (Plate 10.)

of the latrines are carefully constructed rubble pits (Figs. 7.8–7.9), while the third consists of a reused amphora (Fig. 7.10/Plate 10).

This change in the way the Carthaginians dealt with their garbage probably led to important changes in the management of the streets and hence of the public space. Although the first street pavements consisting of ashlars only date to around 425 BCE, with the constructions assigned to Phase VI (Hamburg University excavations; Fig. 7.1:7), the fact that the street layer of the preceding Phase V is already so limited in height suggests some fixed consolidation of the street level around 480 BCE (construction period of Phase V: Docter 2005: 274; Docter *et al.* 2006: 67; Niemeyer *et al.* 2007: 121, 130–1, figs. 43–4 with BN 8).

Fig. 7.11. Carthage, Hamburg excavations below the *decumanus maximus*. Tanit Sanctuary with greyish mortar pavement of the second construction phase, dated to *c.* 425 BCE (1993). (Plate 11.)

At exactly the same time, a change took place in the way that the Carthaginians prepared the floors in their houses. Up to the second half of the sixth century BCE, these consisted of the white chalk locally called *torba* (cf. Fig. 7.8, blackened by use). One gets the impression that the consolidation of the street levels encouraged Carthaginians to invest in more permanent floorings from then on (Docter 2005: 274). It is significant in this respect that the oldest permanent mortar pavement, a grey mortar floor in the first Tanit Sanctuary securely dated to *c.* 480 BCE (35 cm below the pavement visible on Fig. 7.11/Plate 11), has been found in association with the constructions of Phase V (Niemeyer *et al.* 2007: 116–19, 124, figs. 36a–b with BN 15, 40-Tanit-Paviment I, pls. 9c, 17c; cf. Docter 2005: 274, n. 14).

The pre-eminence of the Carthaginians in flooring techniques has been noted before and becomes even more clear when looking at the elaborate floorings of the fourth century BCE and onwards (Chelbi 2004: 54–6). Already in 1992, while commenting on the decoration of the Punic houses of the Magon quarter, Rakob noticed:

> In the fourth century BCE the houses sported rather elaborate decoration: painted stucco on the walls, polychrome floors, *terrazzi* made of marble tesserae, and, already, regular mosaic made with white and polychrome
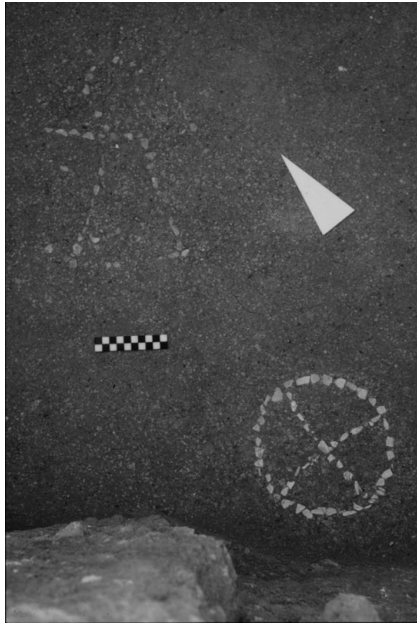
Fig. 7.12. Carthage, Hamburg excavations below the *decumanus maximus*. Symbols of Tanit (left) and Baal Hammon (right) set into the greyish mortar pavement of the second construction phase of the sanctuary, dated to *c.* 425 BCE (1991). (Plate 12.)

> marble. Since these flooring types did not exist in the Mediterranean in that period, it is clear that their invention and their first diffusion ought to be attributed to the Punic metropolis, which enjoyed a period of great prosperity during this century. (Rakob 1992: 33; translated from the French)

The sanctuary dedicated to the goddess Tanit, found in 1991–3 during the Hamburg University excavations below the *decumanus maximus*, is of importance for several reasons (Niemeyer *et al.* 2007: 116–27, 217–33, figs. 36b, 40–1, 82, 86–7, pls. 17–18, 32d–g, Beilage 8) (Fig. 7.1:7). It reveals the earliest occurrence of a pavement with the 'Tanit sign' in the settlement (Figs. 7.11–7.12/Plates 11 and 12), which is also earlier than the ones in Kerkouane (fourth century BCE), Selinunte (fourth–third centuries BCE), Cagliari (third–second centuries BCE), and on Delos (second century BCE; Hvidberg-Hansen in Niemeyer *et al.* 2007: 223–4, fig. 86). The symbol belongs to the second Tanit sanctuary of Phase VI, which is securely stratigraphically dated to *c.* 425 BCE. The elaborately executed symbol, with white marble, red coral and a silver ring, is accompanied by two other symbols set in white marble that may represent the deities Baal Hammon

and Astarte. The fact that this second phase of the sanctuary is apparently an exact copy of the first construction phase (dated to *c.* 480 BCE), at least in its layout, leaves open the possibility that the sanctuary had already been dedicated to the goddess Tanit in the earlier phase. It is also worth noting that the first epigraphic attestations of the goddess Tanit in Carthage appear at the same time on the stelae from the tophet (Lancel 1995: 199).

Ceramic data

When taking the ceramic finds into account, both from the settlement and the necropoleis, one notices many changes in the repertoire of shapes (and provenances) in Carthage from the middle of the sixth century BCE onwards. The *facies* of Greek imports changes, resulting in a dominance of Greek fine wares and wines that must have served the Carthaginian tables at least from the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the fifth century BCE. About the same time, new elements appear in the local, Punic ceramic repertoire. This seems to have been countered, however, by the persistence of certain conservative traits, testifying to the traditionalism of the Punic city.

Observations on the Greek ceramic repertoire: the Early Punic period

Until the end of the sixth century BCE, Greek fine-ware imports, mostly of drinking vessels, form less than 2% of the total pottery counts (Docter in Niemeyer *et al.* 2007: 453, n. 1; Docter forthcoming, n. 12). Among these imports are Euboean fine wares, particularly *skyphoi* dating to the eighth century BCE, Italic and Pithekoussan fine wares, mainly *skyphoi* (deep, two-handled cups) and *kotylai* (shallow two-handled cups), Corinthian *kotylai* dating between the eighth and the sixth centuries BCE, and east Greek fine wares, initially closed vessels but followed by drinking vessels during the period from the late eighth to sixth centuries BCE. By way of example, one may mention fragments of a probably Euboean Late Geometric *skyphos* (Docter *et al.* 2008: 394, 406–9, cat. 50, figs. 5.3, 6.4) (Fig. 7.13/Plate 13, left) and a Greek Late Geometric *krater* (mixing vessel) (Docter *et al.* 2008: 393, cat. 22, fig. 5.4) (Fig. 7.13/Plate 13, right),[14] both from context BM04/4460 in the recent Tuniso-Belgian excavations at Bir Massouda.

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[14] BM04/49320: Docter *et al.* 2008: 406, 408–9, figs. 5.4, 7.5, cat. 51.
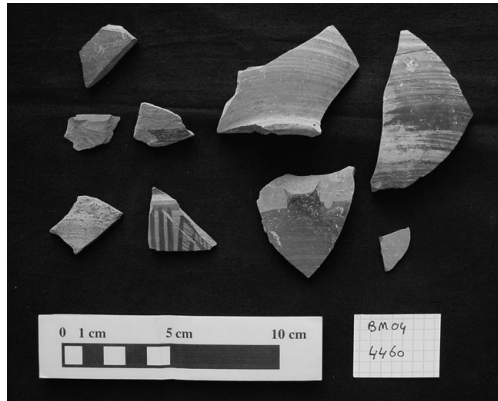
Fig. 7.13. Carthage Bir Massouda (from trench 4, cf. Fig. 7.4). Fragments of two Greek (Late) Geometric vessels in context BM04/4460. Left: Euboean *skyphos* BM04/42940 Right: Euboean or East Greek *krater* BM04/49320 (2004). (Plate 13.)
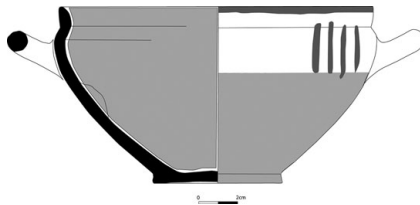
Fig. 7.14. Carthage Bir Massouda (from trench 7, cf. Fig. 7.4). Profile of Carthaginian Bichrome Ware *skyphos* BM02/37918 in context BM02/7222, seventh century BCE.

In a forthcoming article on the adaptation of Greek drinking vessels (*skyphoi* and *kotylai*; Fig. 7.14) in the Phoenician pottery repertoires of the late eighth but mainly seventh and first half of the sixth centuries BCE, one of the present authors offers some quantitative data (Docter forthcoming). Three large samples from the settlement of Carthage, of which the proportion of drinking vessels could be calculated, contained 8%, 0.9% and 10.4% of imported Greek drinking vessels. The respective numbers of Phoenician adaptations of these Greek drinking vessels in the samples are even more impressive: 25%, 13.3% and 9.6%. These proportions are considerable and are unparalleled in the contemporary Greek world in the sense that we know of no instance in which a Greek community allowed the inclusion of such quantities of non-Greek shapes in its daily pottery repertoire. After the middle of the sixth century BCE, the Carthaginian versions of the *skyphoi* cease to be produced (Docter forthcoming).

If one looks at the Greek transport amphorae in the Carthaginian settlement during the Early Punic period, a clear picture emerges (Docter 1997; Docter in Niemeyer *et al.* 2007: 616–62; now generally, Bechtold and Docter 2010): initially few Greek amphorae were imported (3.4%), mainly from eastern Greece and the Greek mainland, and containing olive oil (*c.* 760–675 BCE). Greek wine amphorae (13%) only entered the picture later (*c.* 675–550 BCE). In the Carthaginian necropoleis, the panorama is quite different. Greek transport amphorae are totally absent from funerary contexts (Docter 1997: 233; Morel 2004; Docter 2007a: 616–17). This can probably be explained as the result of cultural traditions and religious prohibitions on the contents of these amphorae. One can hardly imagine that Greek products in general were considered as 'unclean' since Greek drinking vessels and oil containers not infrequently entered Carthaginian graves. One may mention one Euboean *skyphos*, but especially the Corinthian fine-ware repertoire, in which oil containers represent no less than 42% of the total; *pyxides* and *exaleiptra* correspond to 24%, while *skyphoi* and *kotylai* amount to about 3% and 31% respectively (cf. Bergeron 2009).

Observations on the Greek repertoire: the Middle Punic period

In the Middle Punic period (fifth–fourth centuries BCE), the percentage of Greek amphorae within the total number of transport amphorae becomes impressive. The Greek amphorae were imported mainly from Corkyra, southern Calabria and Sicily, especially from the fourth century BCE onwards. They also came from the Tyrrhenian area including Lucania, and with increasing numbers from the eastern and northern Aegean (Bechtold 2008c) (Fig. 7.15/Plate 14).

With regard to the Greek fine wares (both figured and black-glazed) of the Middle Punic period, one sees the influx of increasing numbers of Attic black-glaze in the Carthaginian settlement, especially in the Middle Punic II.1 period (430–400 BCE; Bechtold 2010: 25–9). These consist mostly of drinking vessels (for example, Fig. 7.16/Plate 15), probably imported through ports-of-call on Sicily and the Ionian coast of Calabria. The picture changes around the middle of the fourth century BCE, when non-Attic black-glaze wares, mainly originating in the central Tyrrhenian area/Campania, but also in western Sicily and Lipari, start to be regularly documented in the archaeological deposits. By way of example, part of a context dating to the two central decades of the fourth century BCE is illustrated, with a few residual pieces from the late fifth and early fourth centuries BCE (Maraoui Telmini in Docter *et al.* 2006: 50–62, figs. 22–32) (Fig. 7.17).

◨ Southern Italy/Sicily/Corkyra	◼ Massalia	▢ Corinth
▢ Eastern Greek area	◼ Etruria	◧ Levantine area
◼ Andalusia/Morocco	◪ Catalonia	■ Punic central Mediterranean area
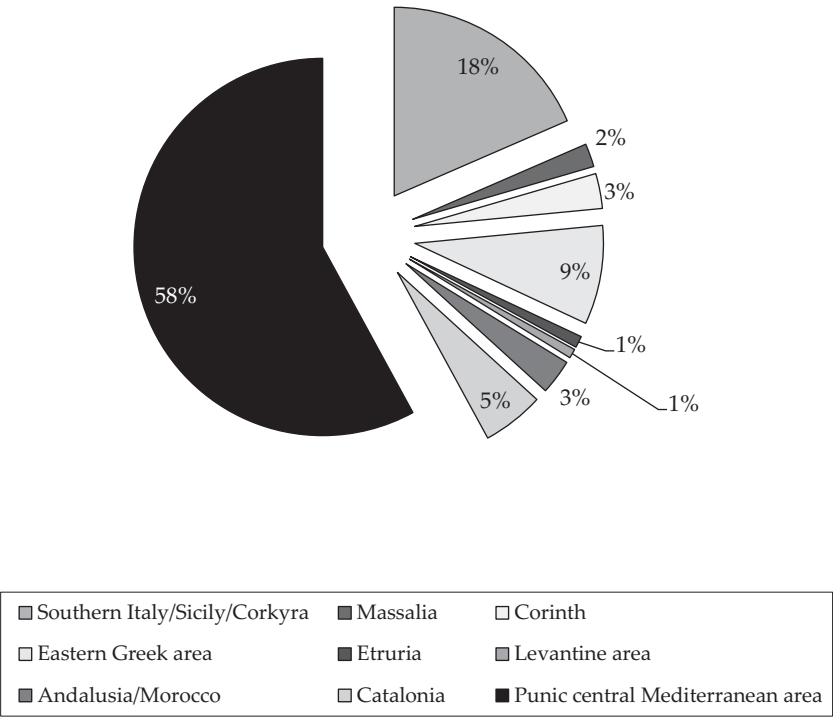
Fig. 7.15. Carthage Bir Massouda (1986–2005). The approximate proportional volumes for the production areas of published amphorae from Middle Punic Carthaginian deposits. (Plate 14.)
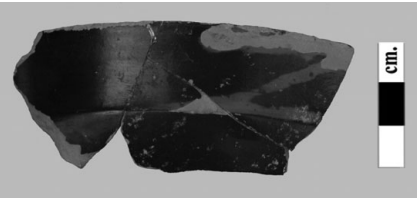
Fig. 7.16. Carthage Bir Massouda (from trench 1, cf. Fig. 7.4). Attic 'Castulo cup'/ 'stemless cup – inset lip' BM02/46042 from context BM02/1204, second half of the fifth and first half of the fourth century BCE (2002). (Plate 15.)

The figured pottery from Carthage also consists largely of drinking vessels. Attic black-figure fragments are rare (Fig. 7.18/Plate 16):[15] some Little Master cups dating to 550–540 BCE and a few Haimonian black-figure cups of the

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[15] A very worn fragment of a black-figure drinking cup BM04/43988 comes from context BM04/4431; a base of a black-figure *lekythos* BM02/49282 comes from context BM02/1218.
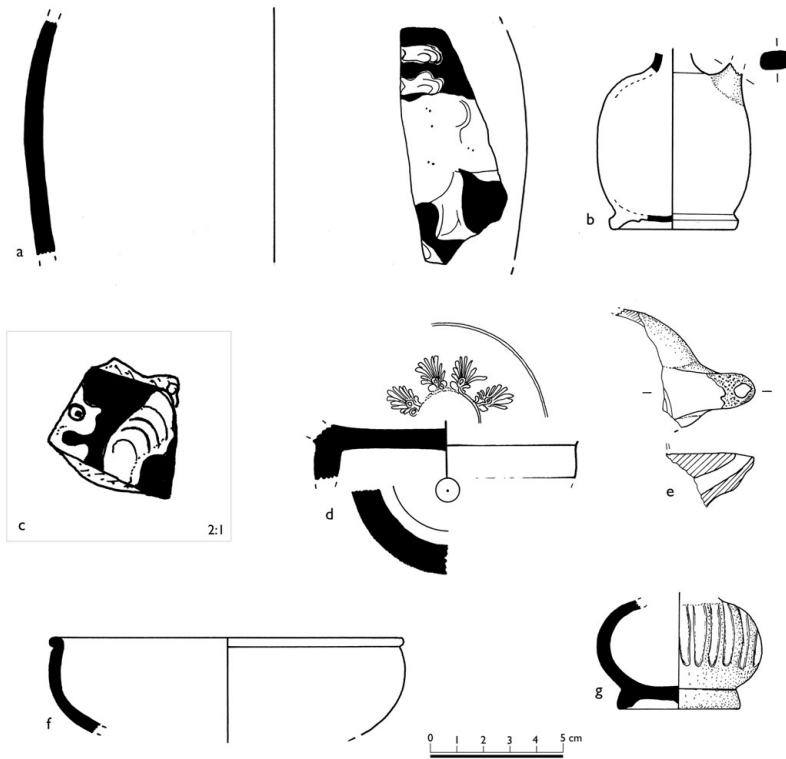
Fig. 7.17. Carthage Bir Massouda (from trench 7, cf. Fig. 7.4). Some of the Greek pottery fragments from the fill of a septic pit/latrine (cf. Fig. 7.7 and 7.21), context BM04/7453: a) Attic red-figure *skyphos* of the second half of the fifth or first half of the fourth century BCE BM04/40428 (pres. H. 8.8 cm); b) Attic red-figure *lekythos* of the last quarter of the fifth or first quarter of the fourth century BCE BM04/40817 (pres. H. 6.7 cm); c) Attic red-figure *askos* or *guttus* of about 350 BCE BM04/40430 (dimensions 1.9 × 1.9 cm); d) Attic black-glaze bowl of the late fifth or beginning of the fourth century BCE BM04/40405 (pres. H. 1.9 cm); e) Attic lamp of the second quarter of the fourth to first quarter of the third century BCE BM04/40427 (pres. H. 2.1 cm); f) South Italian/Siciliote black-glaze bowl of the first half of the fourth century BCE (pres. H. 3.5 cm); g) South Italian/Siciliote (Lilybaeum) black-glaze small *lekythos* of the second half of the fourth century BCE BM04/40406 (pres. H. 4 cm).

early fifth century BCE. Numbers increase in the second half of the fifth century and continue into the first half of the fourth century BCE with *krater*s, *lekythoi* and a few *lekanides* (shallow two-handled bowls). Although in absolute terms the numbers are extremely limited, the general impression is that for a settlement context, the numbers of fragments are not at all inconsiderable. Even Greek settlement contexts do not tend to
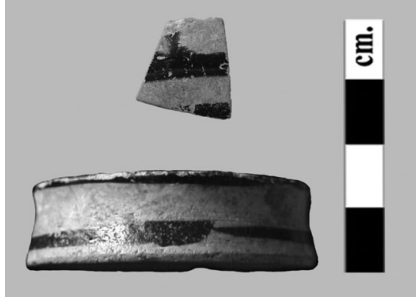
Fig. 7.18. Carthage Bir Massouda, Attic black-figure pottery: above, wall fragment of drinking cup BM04/43988 (from context BM04/4431, trench 4, cf. Fig. 7.4) and below, base of *lekythos* BM02/49282 (from context BM02/1218, trench 1, cf. Fig. 7.4). (Plate 16.)

yield considerably more figured pottery.[16] Few monumental vases are found in the fourth century BCE, and red-figure pottery of 380–320 BCE consists of sporadic imports from Sicily and Apulia (Fig. 7.17).

In conclusion, for the Middle Punic period one gets the impression that the figured repertoire from the settlement is – qualitatively and quantitatively – not unlike that of other settlement sites, Punic and Greek. When looking at the repertoire of Greek imports one sees that the Carthaginians made clear choices in what they obtained and to what ends they employed these imports. Greek fine wares and wines dominated the Carthaginian tables, especially in the Middle Punic period. For large vessels, such as *krater*s, the Carthaginians apparently found little use; this is in accordance with the situation in the Early Punic period (Docter 2007a: 456; Docter *et al.* 2008: 393, 406, 408–9, cat. 22, 51, figs. 5.4, 7.5; here Fig. 7.13, right).

Observations on the Punic repertoire: conservative traits

Carthage's Punic pottery repertoire shows both strong conservative or traditional traits and innovative elements and shapes that were taken over from non-Punic ceramic traditions. The latter elements testify to an unusual degree of openness towards other civilizations, which in fact may be considered a universal trait of both Phoenician material culture in the east and the Punic culture in the west. It is not difficult to draw up a list of epithets for these 'master borrowers of antiquity' (Gubel 1990: 75). As discussed above,

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[16] One may mention, for example, the very low percentages of figured pottery found in the Boeotia survey on sites including Tanagra, Thespiae, and Coroneia.

one sees this openness already functioning in the earliest phase of Carthage with the remarkably high numbers of locally made *skyphoi* and *kotylai* (Fig. 7.14).

In general, when looking at the repertoire of Carthaginian pottery, the impression is one of slow evolution of shapes and decorative patterns and also of long-standing traditions. As may be expected, conservative traits in the pottery repertoire are most noticeable in the funerary sphere. They testify to a deliberate confirmation of the Phoenician origins of the city. In the context of this chapter, only two highly important phenomena will be discussed.

The first is the significant fact that Phoenician/Levantine wine amphorae seem to have been especially favoured in Carthaginian graves from the Early Punic period onwards. The conspicuous absence of Greek amphorae in the graves is of course a related phenomenon, presenting the other side of the coin. Apparently this phenomenon is typical only of Carthage and not of the surrounding (Punic/Libyan) territories, as some recent publications on Gigthis and the Tunisian Sahel demonstrate (Ben Taher and Fersi 2009: 110–11; Ben Jerbania forthcoming).

The second phenomenon is the survival – or rather the reappearance – of the Early Punic bichrome-ware decoration schemes in the Middle Punic pottery repertoire of the settlement, which may be related to this traditionalist attitude. The particular surface treatment has been defined by Bechtold more precisely as 'red-and-black painted ware' and is characterized by the combination of zones of red paint and black lines. In contrast, Early Punic bichrome ware consists of a combination of red-slip zones and black lines. To date, not many examples of this Middle Punic 'bichrome-like ware' have been published from Carthage: three fragments from the Hamburg excavations and one from the more recent Tuniso-Belgian excavations (Bechtold in Docter *et al.* 2003: 56–8, figs. 9d, 10 lower centre; Fig. 7.19/Plate 17). This is probably explained by the fact that such pottery may not have been recognized as later versions, and hence would have been published or classed within the Early Punic material, probably as residual pieces.[17]

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[17] L. E. Stager (Harvard) observed that within the tophet material excavated by him in Carthage, there were some occurrences of 'bichrome ware' in strata later than Tanit ɪ, for which they did not have a good explanation in stratigraphical terms (personal communication to Roald Docter, 2003). It is very probable that these pieces are also Middle Punic 'red-and-black painted ware'.
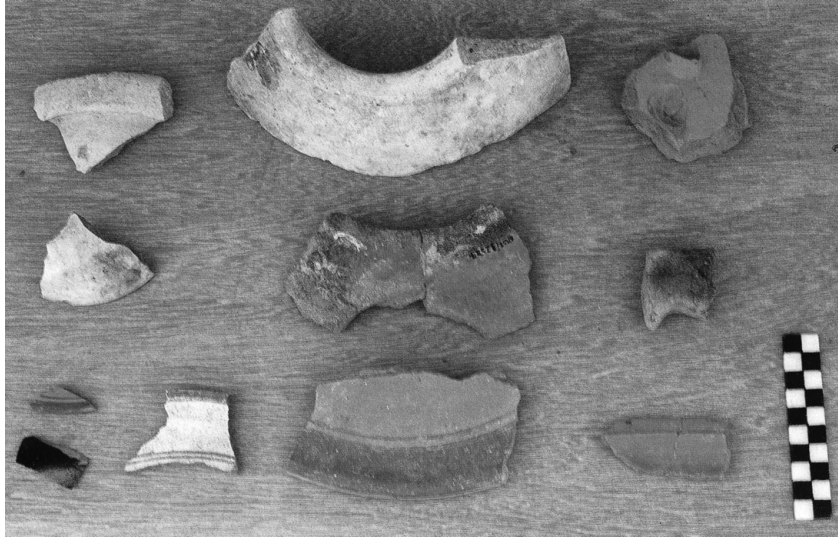
Fig. 7.19. Carthage Bir Massouda (from trench 1, cf. Fig. 7.4). Some of the pottery from context BM02/1234 of the first thirty years of the fourth century BCE. In lower centre: pottery stand in the local 'Red-and-Black Painted Ware' BM02/32592 (2002). (Plate 17.)

New elements in the Punic ceramic repertoire

From the middle of the sixth century to the fourth century BCE, new shapes appear within the Punic ceramic repertoire that reflect either external influence or the internal development of ancient shapes. We will briefly discuss only a few of the many examples here.

Cooking pot (Vegas 67): a globular cooking pot with a rounded base, large mouth, internal ridge on the interior of the rim ('lid rest'), and horizontal handles that are circular in section (Vegas 1999: 195–6, fig. 103; Vegas 2005: 278). An almost intact example, as well as six joining rim fragments of a second one, were found in the Bir Massouda excavation, in a closed context dated to the third quarter of the fourth century BCE (Maraoui Telmini in Docter *et al.* 2006: 50, 55, 61–2, cat. 30, figs. 26c, 32; Maraoui Telmini 2011: 60, fig. 17, bottom; Fig. 7.20a). The form has close parallels among the lidded *chytrai* (cooking pots) of the Athenian Agora that appear around 500 BCE (Sparkes and Talcott 1970: fig. 18:1947–1960; Vegas 2005: 278). The shape seems to have been introduced into the local pottery repertoire of Carthage during the late fifth and the fourth centuries BCE. However, the Athenian *chytrai* have a spout on the body that
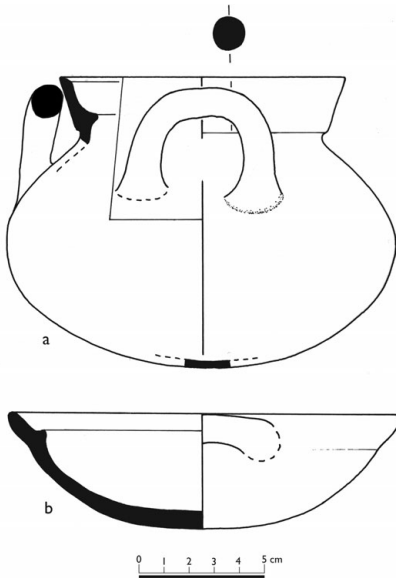
Fig. 7.20. Carthage Bir Massouda (from trench 7, cf. Fig. 7.4). Some of the local cooking pots from the fill of a septic pit/latrine (cf. Fig. 7.7 and 7.17), context BM04/ 7453: a) cooking pot/*chytra* of Vegas F.67 of the fourth century BCE BM04/40816 (H. 11.5 cm); b) *lopas*/casserole of Vegas F.68.1 of the second half of the fifth or first half of the fourth century BCE BM04/40408 (H. 4.5 cm).

only rarely occurs on the Carthaginian ones (Vegas 1999: 195, fig. 103:5). The introduction of this new, foreign shape into the local pottery repertoire may, however, have been a sign of the adoption of new ways of food processing (Bechtold forthcoming).

Lopas or casserole (Vegas 68.1): a small deep casserole with flared mouth, internal ridge on the rim's interior ('lid rest') and horizontal handles (Vegas 1999: 196-7, fig. 104; Vegas 2005: 278; Bechtold 2010: 18-19, 34, fig. 10:8; Bechtold forthcoming) (Fig. 7.20b). The shape was found at Carthage from the third quarter of the fifth century BCE to the second half of the fourth century BCE. In the Hamburg excavations and the Tuniso-Belgian excavations, these *lopades*/cas-seroles appear in contexts of the second half of the fifth century and the first half of the fourth century BCE (Bechtold 2007b: 410-11, fig. 215:2345-8; Bechtold in Docter *et al.* 2003: 55-8, cat. 20, figs. 9i, 10; Maraoui Telmini in Docter *et al.* 2006: 55, 62, cat. 33, fig. 26g; Maraoui Telmini 2011: 60, fig. 17, top). The Carthaginian *lopades* of Vegas's F.68.1 most probably imitate the southern Italian and Sicilian series of the late sixth–early fifth centuries BCE. Besides,
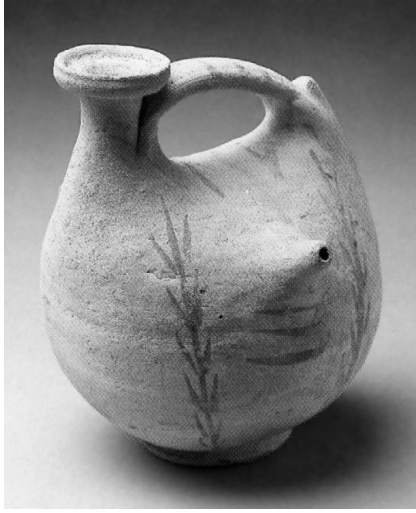
Fig. 7.21. Punic feeding bottle, *askos* variant, with the spout on the body, first half of the third century BCE (H. 15.1 cm). Carthage MN 896.13. (Plate 18.)

a characteristically Carthaginian and intentionally applied red slip often covers the inside or outside of Punic examples. In itself, this red slip may be considered a local conservative trait, typical of the Carthaginian pottery repertoire.

Punic feeding bottles: the form has been found chiefly in Carthaginian necropoleis, and mainly in children's burials,[18] from the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the fourth century BCE (Maraoui Telmini 2009: 216, 297). The shape was produced in many variants (Maraoui Telmini 2009). The jug variant (Maraoui Telmini 2009: 60, categorie 1000), of oriental inspiration,[19] appeared first, and the shape spread all over the Punic world almost immediately, although it may not have spread as a result of Carthaginian hegemony (Maraoui Telmini 2009: 298-9). The *askos* variant with the spout on the body (Maraoui Telmini 2009: 134, Genre F 2100) (Fig. 7.21/Plate 18), appears later but is found in large numbers in Carthaginian children's graves by the middle of the fourth century BCE (Maraoui Telmini 2009: 300). It seems likely that this variant was a

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[18] Only a few examples have been found in the tophets of Carthage and other Punic cities.

[19] The prototypes that inspired the Punic feeding bottles were in all likelihood of eastern manufacture. A direct lineage from Cypriot products of the sixth and fifth centuries BCE has been proposed (Maraoui Telmini 2009: 278-83).

Fig. 7.22. Amphora *à queue* from Carthage, fourth/third century BCE (H. 22.4 cm). Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum inv. 9323. (Plate 19.)

Carthaginian invention, illustrating Greek influence adapted to Punic requirements. The *askos* variant with its spout at the back (Maraoui Telmini 2009: 155‑65, variante F 2200) is clearly of direct Greek Hellenistic inspiration and appears at the beginning of the third century BCE (Maraoui Telmini 2009: 300‑1).

Small Punic jars (Cintas 301–311): small two-handled jars with a high shoulder and a marked external ridge at the transition from shoulder to belly, whose base was shaped as a sort of point or peg (*queue*) of either cylindrical or conical shape (Cintas 1950: 147‑9, pls. xxv, xcii; Garsallah forthcoming) (Fig. 7.22/Plate 19).[20] These jars have been found exclusively in Punic graves, mainly at Carthage, and never in the tophet nor in any settlement excavation. The first examples have been found in Carthaginian graves of the late fifth to early fourth centuries BCE (Garsallah forthcoming). An eastern origin seems likely since the shape finds its direct prototypes in (Levantine) urns of the Early Punic period (Bisi 1970: 100). On the first examples, the base was modelled after those of Greek pointed amphorae of the same period; it developed only gradually into a *queue* (Garsallah forthcoming).

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[20] In the early excavations of Carthage these were usually called *urnes à queue* by P. Delattre, A. Merlin and L. Drappier, and then *amphores à queue* in the typology of A. M. Bisi (1970). See Garsallah (forthcoming).

Punic Carthage: a special city

The picture drawn up for Punic Carthage in the preceding sections of this chapter, on the basis of different aspects of its material culture, shows that the city was a vital community from the Early Punic until the Late Punic period. Although it is commonly accepted that Carthage held a special position amongst the other cities of the central and western Mediterranean from the sixth century BCE onwards, we here want to make a plea that it already held this position from its very earliest phase, long before it attained cultural – let alone political – hegemony.

Comparison with other contemporary Phoenician colonies in the west demonstrates the unique place held by Carthage from its foundation. The finds from the settlement of Toscanos in the south of Spain make this particularly clear, and in a study that focused upon the transport and table amphorae within the wider context of the material culture, the two sites have been compared under the same strict analytical parameters (Docter 1997, especially 274-83; Docter 1999; see also Niemeyer 1995a). Admittedly, one could easily explain the differences seen between them (for example, in the size of the inhabited area, the size of the potentially useable hinterland/*chora*, the composition of the amphora repertoire, and the composition of the imported fine-ware repertoire) as the result of differences in scale or even geographical position, but we suspect that there is more at stake. It is, therefore, perhaps better to seek comparisons with the other early Phoenician foundations whose names have been handed down by later ancient sources (in order of antiquity): Lixus, Gadir/Cádiz, and Utica (Aubet 1993: 135-6, 163-4, 218-36, 247-8).[21] The historical foundation dates of these settlements, *c.* 1100 BCE, would suggest that they belong to an earlier chronological phase than Carthage, but archaeological discoveries to date suggest a similar horizon for all four foundations.

The earliest phases of the city of Lixus in present-day Morocco have come to light only recently. In the late 1980s, Niemeyer could just sketch a rather poor *status quaestionis* of this, the earliest Phoenician founda-tion in the west (Niemeyer 1988-90; Niemeyer 1992), just as the first indications of its earliest period became known (Habibi 1992). Since then, extensive investigations by the University of Valencia and the

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[21] We leave out the foundation of Auza on the Libyan coast, which is supposed to have been a generation or two earlier than the foundation of Carthage, but of which no archaeological trace has ever been found.

Moroccan Institut National des Sciences de l'Archéologie et du Patri-moine (INSAP), directed by Aranegui and Habibi, have filled in the picture and provided very detailed data. Pottery and radiocarbon ana-lyses have yielded dates of the first half of the eighth century BCE, which are in line with the dating established for other early settlements in the west (Aranegui Gascó 2001; especially Aranegui Gascó 2005; Aranegui Gascó 2007). The excavators consider the whole period from the founda-tion to *c*. 325 BCE as belonging to the 'Phoenician' phase. Unfortunately, precise statistical data on the (imported fine-ware) pottery and amphorae for this period are not yet available, as they are for the following 'Punic', 'Mauretanian' and 'Roman' periods, so a full comparison with early Carthage cannot be made. The habitation area occupied in the earliest phase may be calculated however to be around ten hectares, which is less than half of the size of Carthage, and is bordered by workshop areas.

For the city of Gadir/Cádiz the situation is slightly better than that of Lixus (see in particular Aubet 1993: 218‒36), but at the same time more complicated. Gadir was founded on an island or rather a series of islands in the Guadalete estuary, near the Guadalquivir valley. The core of the inhabited site, known as the *Arx Gerontis* (the castle of Gerion), was situated on the northernmost island. It was separated by a deep and narrow channel from the Puertas de Tierra necropolis with burials dating to the fifth century BCE at the earliest. Its settlement size during the Early Punic period may tentatively be calculated and amounts to no more than five to six hectares, which is about a fifth of the size of Carthage.[22] On the basis of the archaeological results and information provided by the ancient sources, Aubet concluded that 'Gadir was a mercantile metropolis' and that 'the mercantile activity of the colony could have been controlled by powerful private traders and agents commissioned by the state, whose links with the political institutions of Tyre were established through the temple of Melqart' (Aubet 1987: 290; Aubet 1994: 301‒2; Aubet 1993: 282 (quoted here); Aubet 2009: 351). The temple, of which submerged monu-mental remains have been found on the southeastern island of Kotinoussa, is known mainly from ancient sources.

This picture of a rather small colonial establishment recently has been brought into question by the discoveries made in Castillo de Doña Blanca, near Puerto de Santa María on the mainland, northeast of Cádiz (Ruiz

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[22] On the desperate state of the picture up to quite recently, see: Niemeyer 1995a: 76, 81, fig. 10; Ruiz Mata and Peréz 1995: 54.

Mata 1999; Bernal Casasola and Sáez Romero 2007: especially 319-22). Here, at the edge of the ancient estuary, a large settlement site was discovered by the team of Ruiz Mata. In its earliest phase, when only part of the site seems to have been inhabited (the *barrio fenicio*), it covered a surface of up to five hectares and may have held a population of some 1,500 inhabitants (Ruiz Mata and Peréz 1995: 54). The site was occupied from the first half of the eighth century BCE onwards and from its beginning had been heavily fortified with impressive – and well preserved – defensive walls and two protective triangular ditches. The urban layout compares best with oriental settlements in the sense that it does not follow an orthogonal plan; the site has harbour facilities, and a rich material culture with many links to the wider Mediterranean world. In view of the relative absence of early finds in the 'island-group' of Cádiz, despite extensive archaeological investigations (Muñoz Vicente 1995-6; Lavado *et al.* 2000), Ruiz Mata has proposed the tempting hypothesis that the main nucleus of Gadir mentioned in the ancient sources is to be found on the hill of Castillo de Doña Blanca, functioning in relation to other sites in the estuary area that served very specific functions, such as the temple of Melqart (Ruiz Mata and Pérez 1995; and especially Ruiz Mata 1999). After the estuary silted up at the transition of the seventh to the sixth century BCE, the site continued in existence, but no longer had direct access to the Atlantic.[23] All the same, in its initial stages, Gadir/Cádiz was a fifth of the settlement size of Carthage, whether we situate it on the 'island group' or at Castillo de Doña Blanca.

For Utica the data are not yet as rich as for Gadir/Cádiz, Lixus and Carthage, though the excavations currently being undertaken by French, Spanish and British teams at the site in collaboration with the Institut National du Patrimoine will hopefully provide more information. As it stands, excavations by the INP directed by Chelbi during the 1980s and 1990s found a few indications of a late eighth or early seventh century BCE occupation of the site (Chelbi 1996: 19).[24] Previous investigations by Abbé Moulard (in 1923 and 1925) and by Cintas (1948-58) in the *Nécropole de l'Île* and the *Nécropole de la Berge* had yielded only inhumation graves from the second quarter of the seventh century BCE and the following two centuries (Cintas 1954b; Colozier

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[23] This palaeogeographically attested process is also visible in the archaeozoological and ichtofaunal data from the site: see Roselló and Morales 1994: esp. 198.

[24] These excavations remain unpublished; but mention has been made already of a Pithekoussan Late Geometric drinking vessel: Docter 1997: 40 with n. 287 and further references.

1954; Cintas 1970: 283–308; Maass-Lindemann 1982: 194–8, pls. 31–2; Chelbi 1996: 20–2). Although the site has been characterized by a relative dearth of published archaeological investigations, several features nevertheless have been mentioned that point to its importance in the Early Punic period. The Early (and Middle) Punic necropoleis show some wealth in the layout, construction and furnishings of the tombs. Of particular interest is a richly constructed chamber tomb of a type also encountered in the necropoleis of Akhziv in the Levant, Trayamar in the south of Spain and elsewhere; these have generally been associated with a rich class of merchants (Niemeyer 1984: 31, 36, fig. 29, with references). The settlement size of Utica in the Early Punic period may tentatively be calculated and amounts to a maximum of twelve–sixteen hectares, so about half the size of Carthage.[25] The habitation area seems to have expanded at the expense of the Early Punic cemeteries during the fourth century BCE and to have been comprised of elaborate houses provided with *pavimenta punica*, albeit of uncertain date (Chelbi 1996: 20, 23). Equally uncertain is the date of an impressive defensive wall of the Punic period encountered below the later *Forum Novum* (Chelbi 1996: 23–4 with illustration).

If, then, one compares these three sites with the picture emerging for Carthage (see above), one clearly sees that Carthage holds a very special position, both by virtue of its size and particular features during the Early Punic period, and by the fact that it consolidated this position and even expanded it from the middle of the sixth century BCE onwards.[26]

One additional and important element may be mentioned as a clear testimony of Carthage's special position amongst the other settlements of Phoenician origin founded in the central and western Mediterranean: the fact that it has a fully fledged foundation myth, with elements corroborated in external and contemporary sources. Carthage was founded in 814/813 BCE as Qart Hadasht – the 'New Town' or the 'New Capital' (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.74; Vell. Pat. 1.6.4). Carthage was the only Phoenician colony that benefited from a foundation tradition, and the presence of an *oikist* or founder: the princess Elissa of Tyre (the Vergilian queen Dido), who founded the city on the Byrsa Hill after having bought a 'small' piece

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[25] This rough calculation has been made on the basis of the map published by Chelbi (1996: 20).

[26] See also Fantar 1998b: I, 109: 'From its foundation, Carthage had the characteristics of a metropolis.'

of land from the Libyans.[27] Although the tradition doubtless contains elements that can be explained as being part of a (later) Greek and secondarily Latin discourse, aimed at creating a non-Greek and non-Roman representation of Carthage,[28] it remains certain that 'features can be found in the story that are clearly oriental, extraneous to the classical world and which could hardly have been invented by a Greco-Roman historian'.[29]

Conclusions

From the start, Carthage seems to have held a special position amongst the Phoenician colonies in the west, well expressed in the creation of a foundation myth. The metropolitan characteristics of the city, with its early city walls and extensive inhabited urban area, also seem to underline the special position of the New Town or New Capital, particularly in the context of contemporary foundations. Right from the beginning and during most of its existence, Carthage had an open and receptive attitude towards the material culture of other areas. One may even consider this as a true metropolitan characteristic. At the same time, strong traditionalist attitudes governed other parts of Carthage's material culture.

During the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, the city witnessed internal changes in the urban fabric, including expansion, restructuring, and the introduction of a waste-management system. These important changes were contemporaneous with Carthage's rise as an economic, religious and political power in the central and western Mediterranean, as well as – and partly as a result of – a strengthened cultural influence upon the areas concerned. This is not to say that these areas became Punic, *sensu* Carthaginian, and definitely not that this evidence for cultural influence can be used as proof of Carthage's physical domination of territories, least of all in a colonial sense with its negative nineteenth- and early twentieth-century connotations. Rather, we can now state more precisely that the primarily chronological label 'Punic', applied to Carthage from its foundation until its destruction in 146 BCE, also serves well as a cultural

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[27] Just. *Epit.* 18.4.6; cf. Cintas 1970: 5-242; Aubet 1993: 136-7, 187-90; Aubet 1994: 190-3; Lancel 1995: 20-5; Fantar 1998b: I, 82-95; Aubet 2009: 232-4.

[28] See: Svenbro and Scheid 1985; Bonnet 2006: 370-1. We would like to thank Jo Quinn for drawing our attention to the latter article.

[29] Aubet 1993: 189, giving the full argumentation and references on 187-90. See also Aubet 1994: 192-3; Aubet 2009: 233-4.

label for both Carthage and for the central and western Mediterranean areas from the sixth century BCE onwards. [30]

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8 | Punic identity in North Africa: the funerary world

HABIB BEN YOUNÈS AND ALIA KRANDEL-BEN YOUNÈS

Punic identity: how to define it? Although Utica was founded as a colony in 1101 BCE according to some sources (Pliny, *HN* 16.216; *Mir. ausc.* 134), it was with the foundation of Carthage in 814 BCE that North Africa, and in particular modern Tunisia, truly entered into 'written history', and the complex terminology relating to the peoples of the region became an issue for the first time. It is worth remembering that there was no agreement about the meaning of the name 'Phoenician' in antiquity itself; the term 'Punic' also seems to have been perceived in a variety of ways by historians in the ancient world, as it is by their modern counterparts (see Prag 2006; Chapter 1).

Did 'Punic' represent an ethnic reality, or was it a socio-cultural construct? Is a 'Punic' living in North Africa a Phoenician from the western Mediterranean, or a North African native, a Libyan whose contact with Phoenician culture brought about the appearance of a new cultural category? And what about the Numidians? Their official inscriptions could set the two languages, Punic and Libyan, side-by-side (for example, *RIL* 1-2), and some Libyan inscriptions even began to follow the formulaic norms of the Punic script, with lines written right to left rather than top to bottom (for example, *RIL* 1-11). Numidian territories did not fall under Carthaginian political power, but Numidian princes were raised in Carthage (App. *Pun.* 10, 37) and fought with or against that city; were they in a sense Punic?

Identity can be either ethnic or cultural, just as it can be both at the same time. The problem of identity is a real and fascinating one, and we have to decipher, decolonize and defuse the debate around it in order to be as objective as possible and avoid predetermined conclusions. The two case studies in funerary practice presented here illustrate and contribute to the debate about Punic identity: one is of the necropoleis of Byzacium, a Libyo-Phoenician area in Carthaginian territory, the other is of two particular necropoleis, Thiggiba and Vaga, in Numidian lands. Together, they reveal a variety of practices and overlapping traditions in the 'Punic' Sahel and the 'Numidian' Tell, and two different perspectives on the complexities of local identity in North Africa.

Punic and Libyan identity in Byzacium (Habib Ben Younès)

Why interrogate the world of the dead? Gabriel Camps wrote a long time ago that societies do not innovate in matters of death (Camps 1961: 461). He was referring to the perennial nature of funerary gestures, themselves tied to a set of accumulated traditions that become a kind of inherent mentality, in contrast to elements of daily life, which are more sensitive to changes in taste.

Numerous necropoleis dotted the landscape of ancient Byzacium (Fig. 8.1), a region covering a large portion of the modern Tunisian Sahel and which included several Phoenician colonies such as Hadrumetum and possibly Thaenae. Of varying size and importance, set up along the coast and in the interior, these necropoleis do allow us to see a certain amount of homogeneity, but only in the context of a broader diversity which is still found in the funerary world today. After all, it is impossible to find a society that is completely uniform in its behaviour, even if it follows the same religion.

It may be impossible to determine the true origin of a person based on the range of conscious and unconscious gestures involved in building tomb structures, adopting burial customs, and enacting other funerary practices
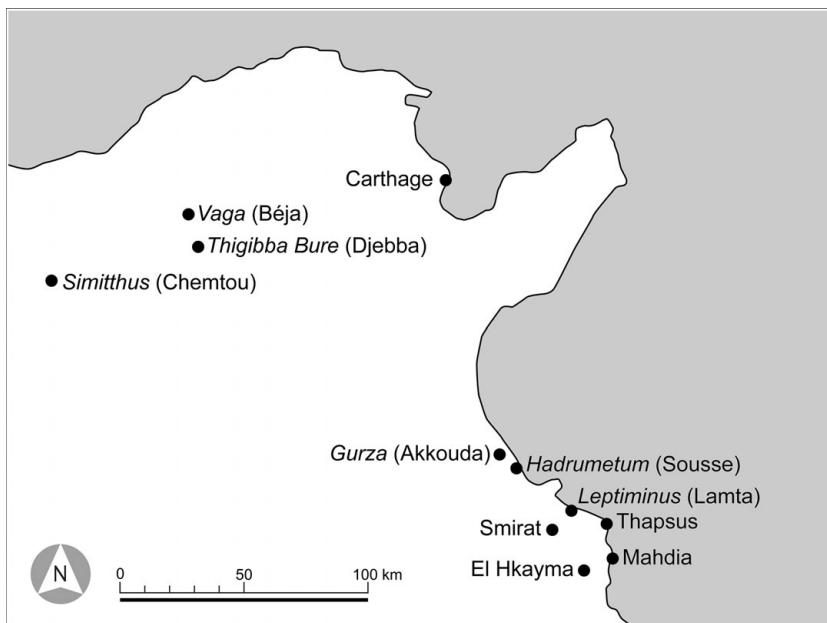

Fig. 8.1. Map of sites discussed in the text.

in the context of their death. Nevertheless, it is impossible to overlook certain striking differences in the architecture, ritual and artefacts at these sites. Do we see the same 'Punic' throughout the Sahel?

It is worth remembering at the outset that the Sahel has a gentle, welcoming topography, opening onto the eastern Mediterranean. Since the dawn of time, the region was without physical obstacles that could create either refuges or barriers for people and cultures. With this openness to the wider Mediterranean, could one homogenous Punic facade be maintained for centuries after Phoenician colonies were established in the region?

In the world of funerary architecture, the first thing that stands out is the significant difference between the necropolis at the Phoenician colony of Hadrumetum (modern Sousse) and other 'Punic' necropoleis of the Sahel: Hadrumetum lacks cut or dug-out architectural elements, such as funerary beds and troughs, in the tomb chambers (Ben Younès 1995: 79-81). This is also true at Leptiminus (modern Lemta), Smirat and El Hkayma, but the friability of the sandy limestone of those sites prevents sculpting, and so the absence of such features does not necessarily have the same significance. In the rest of the necropoleis, however, these elements do exist – albeit in a minority of tombs – sometimes resembling each other, sometimes differing. That many of these tombs have been desecrated and robbed since antiquity means that establishing a precise chronology for the adoption of these worked elements – beds, troughs, for example – is highly problematic. It is clear, however, that this type of funerary architecture spread throughout the Sahel between the fifth and the first centuries BCE.

We can distinguish between the method of burial itself – cremation or inhumation – and more minor elements of funerary practice; among the latter are the niches found in the majority of these necropoleis. At Leptiminus, niches are very rare, but are found cut into the walls of two tomb shafts; in both cases they held an *oenochoe* (wine jug). The large necropolis of Mahdia, by contrast, is distinguished by the presence of five types of niche cut into the walls of the burial chambers: square or rectangular; rectangular with a gabled top; pyramidal in section (Fig. 8.2); with an oblique rear wall; with a vaulted top and flat rear wall. Why so much variety within a single necropolis?

I will not go into how the known modalities of inhumation – extended supine, flexed lateral, or contracted – differ between the coastal and interior necropoleis. But in certain cases there was apparently a discrepancy between the modality of inhumation and the worked stone architectural elements in the funerary chambers that we call *petites banquettes*: bench-like features with dimensions less than 1.1 m in length, 0.5-0.7 m in width, and 0.5 m in height (Ben Younès 1995: 80 and fig. 6.2–3; Fig. 8.3).
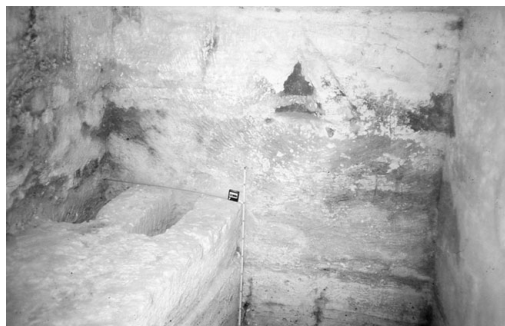
Fig. 8.2. Pyramidal niche (Mahdia necropolis).
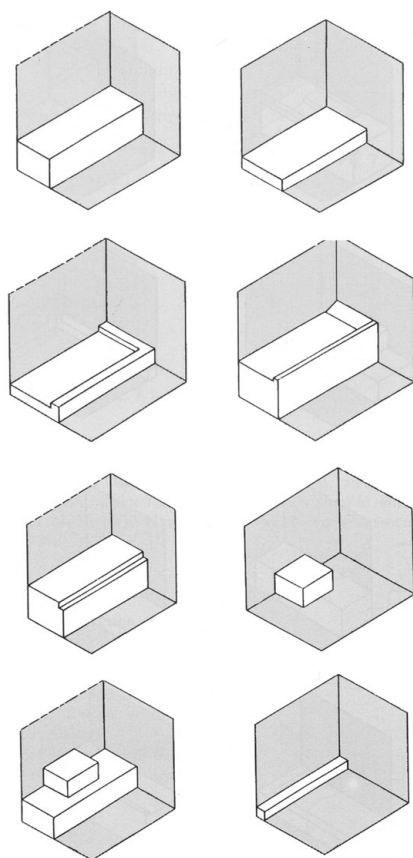
Fig. 8.3. Typology of funerary beds and *petites banquettes* found in the Punic necropoleis of the Sahel.
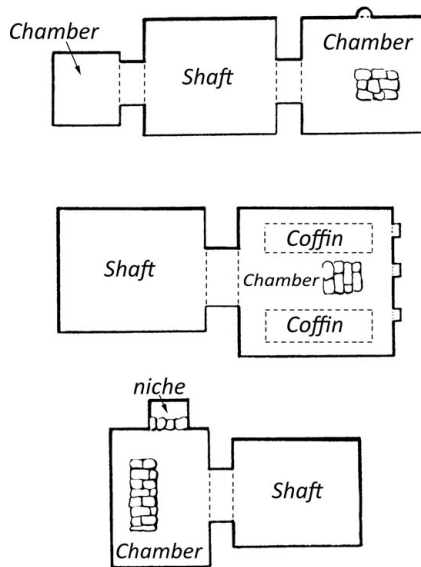
Fig. 8.4. Piles of stones functioning as beds or *petites banquettes* in the Leptiminus necropolis.

These *petites banquettes* seem to have been designed to support bodies deposited in a lateral contracted position, or perhaps an ossuary, although the latter seems less likely as cremation was not practised often enough to have such a distinctive architectural feature dedicated to it. But when several of these tombs were opened at Mahdia, it was noted that only the torso and limbs were discovered on the *petite banquette*, with the head and feet having fallen off the ends. The body then must have been laid out either in supine or lateral extended position, perhaps placed directly on the bench or, more probably, on a perishable platform set atop the bench; after a certain amount of time and decay, parts of the body lost their support and fell where they were found.

At Leptiminus, the impossibility noted above of cutting benches in the stone did not prevent attempts to create a similar layout: sometimes unmortared piles of rocks were placed in the middle or in the corner of a chamber (Fig. 8.4). It might even be possible to see these as constructed *petites banquettes*.

These two examples show a discrepancy between funerary architecture and the evolution of modes of burial. One might suggest that the tombs were reused, and that there was a gap between the period of their construction and their later reuse. Even so, it is possible to deduce that the tradition of the 'Punic' who reused the tomb was no longer the same as that of the 'Punic' who cut the tomb. It is also worth noting that in certain cases,

in tombs of this type, the floor on either side of the bench was raised to be level with it, which clearly made it more practical to receive a body in supine or lateral extended position. In this case, it might be possible to speak of an adaptation of this distinctive architecture to the requirements of the mode of inhumation.

One of the necropoleis of Byzacium is distinguished from the others by the way that the owner of the tomb is signalled. Two tombs at Thapsus (modern Bekalta), probably datable to the fifth century BCE, bear the name of the owner (or perhaps the first person buried there), engraved on the access bay to the burial chamber (Fantar 1978: 67). This practice is rare in general, but can be found for example at Kerkouane (Fantar 1986: 421-6), and differs from the practice at Hadrumetum or Gurza (modern Akkouda), where, in cases of cremation, the name of the deceased was painted on the urns (Blanchère 1888: 154-5; Carton 1909: 20–35). Another practice, another difference: the means by which the same message is communicated varies.

There is also, however, an important disparity between the Sahel and elsewhere. Even in the period when cremation was adopted as the norm across the Punic world (see Gómez Bellard, Chapter 5), this practice never caught on in the Sahel. In the necropolis of Leptiminus, only two cases of cremation are attested despite the large number of undisturbed tombs found there. As for sites in the interior of the region, a single case of cremation is recorded at Smirat, where the remains of the bones were deposited in an amphora placed in a pit outside the burial chamber (Cintas and Gobert 1941: 88, 120). This was not the practice at El Hkayma, the only other inland necropolis where cremation is attested, and more frequently than at Smirat, although still in only four cases compared to twenty-eight inhumations. Here the cremated bones were deposited on the floor of the burial chamber; they may originally have rested on a support, but if so, it has left no archaeological trace (Fig. 8.5). In one of the tombs,

Fig. 8.5. Cremated bones deposited on the floor of the burial chamber (El Hkayma necropolis, TB 13.1).

Fig. 8.6. Ossuary jar, deliberately broken so as to deposit the bones on the floor of the tomb chamber (El Hkayma necropolis, T 3, third century BCE).

dated to the third century BCE, the jar which held the bones from the pyre was intentionally broken so as to deposit the remains on the floor of the room (Fig. 8.6). In Gurza on the other hand, the terracotta cinerary urns containing burned bones were plugged with plaster tops. No ash was found at El Hkayma, marking a difference from Hadrumetum, where bones and ash were deposited in separate urns.

As the example of the *petites banquettes* also showed, the link between architecture and funerary practice is not always concretely clear. Nevertheless, two other architectural phenomena are of particular note for their relationship with funerary practices. The first is the importance of light in the funerary ritual. The presence of niches is often related to the practice of placing lamps in tombs. Reserving a place for lamps in the structure of the tombs suggests the conceptual significance of light. In the case of El Hkayma, the blackening of the tomb ceiling near the niches and the ashen remains of lighted wicks demonstrate that the practice did not merely involve the symbolic deposition of an unlit lamp (Ben Younès 1988: 58–9). In the mind of a 'Punic' at El Hkayma, the lamp ought to have stayed lit after the closing of the chamber until the fuel was consumed or oxygen ran out. Light was as important for those inhumed as those cremated. In order to illuminate one of the chambers which lacked a niche, dated to the second century BCE, the 'master of ceremonies' created a cone of sand on which the rim of an amphora was placed to serve as the support for a lit lamp, the glow of which could light up the entire chamber (Ben Younès 1988: 113) (Fig. 8.7). The absence of such an architectural accessory thus did not exclude engaging in the practice to which it pertained.

Not far away, in at most five tombs out of more than a hundred and five at Thapsus, the burial chambers are marked by the presence of a large

Fig. 8.7. Lamp supported by an amphora rim on a cone of sand (El Hkayma necropolis, TB 13.1).

funerary bed, slightly raised, which occupies more than two-thirds of the surface area of the tomb. In these tombs, two short steps ran around the base of the rest of the walls, starting by the door. In the left corner of some of these steps, a semi-spherical hollow was cut into the floor, the role of which has been a mystery until recently. Two recently discovered (and as yet unpublished) intact tombs of the fifth century BCE elucidate the function of this feature: each had an amphora of Phoenicio–Punic type with a semi-spherical bottom placed in one of these pre-prepared hollows (Fig. 8.8). In each of these two cases, the amphora was accompanied by two other imported amphorae and associated with an Attic *skyphos* placed over the opening of the amphora. This assemblage can only be identified as a drinking service, and, more precisely, one for the consumption of wine.

It would be tedious to discuss at length here the place of wine in Punic belief systems (Spanò Giammellaro 2000). The use of wine is based on a link shared by all peoples in antiquity: the connection that brings together the blood of the vineyard, of the earth, and of all the living beings who consume the fruit. As the blending of vegetal and animal forces, the wine-blood pairing is in the first rank of the 'totem foods' which symbolize

Fig. 8.8. Semi-spherical hollow (Thapsus necropolis).

the nature of the exchange between people and their environment, or, 'the blood of the vine for the blood of a man' (Poux and Dietler 2004: 18‒20: 'le sang de la vigne contre le sang d'un homme').

The question is, did wine actually have this place in the beliefs of all 'Punic' people? It is worth remembering that Jean-Paul Morel connected the pyriform *oenochoai* with a two-lobed mouth found in the Punic tombs on the Byrsa with a wine service. In addition, Morel argued that the Greek (or Etruscan) vases found in Archaic tombs in this part of the large Carthaginian necropolis were related to the consumption of wine or perfume, and were signs of local adherence to models of luxury from the northern Mediterranean (Morel 1999). Returning to the examples from the necropolis of Thapsus, although they occur in smaller numbers relative to the whole set of grave assemblages there, the presence of such vessels demonstrates first and foremost that their owners were people of affluence. In addition, the presence of the semi-spherical hollows discussed above, which must have been commissioned in the construction of the tomb, demonstrates a purposeful connection to a belief made manifest by the deposition of a wine service.

Was the 'Punic' of El Hkayma, where light mattered, the same as that of Thapsus, where wine did? The same question can be posed for many other practices as well. Regarding the funerary practices of migrant Phoenicians between the seventh and sixth centuries BCE, Gras, Rouillard and Teixidor suggest that the migrants conducted their rites according to their own customs, and conclude that 'in the end we are left with the impression of a mosaic of rites elaborated in local contexts through the integration of indigenous traditions' (Gras *et al.* 1989: 161; translated from the French). The same suggestion can be reformulated for Byzacium, a region open to peoples and their culture, with its rich and varied indigenous population whose Libyan (or prevailingly Libyan) culture, in all its complexity, adhered to,

enriched and was enriched by Mediterranean cultures and beliefs, including those of the Phoenicians. The result was not a single 'Punic' character, but multiple characters in which punicity developed in varying ways across time and space. The inhabitants of Byzacium participated in and enhanced the culture; nothing was imposed on them. This absence of a clear uniformity in the realm of funerary practices is an important aspect of research into Punic or Libyphoenician identities, for it helps to show the origins and involvement of various cultures in the formation and development of these identities.

Identity in the Numidian Tell: Libyan or Punic?
(Alia Krandel-Ben Younès)

According to Herodotus, in the fifth century BCE Libya was inhabited 'from one end to the other by men of the Libyan race, divided into numerous peoples' (Hdt. 2.32). These various 'peoples' in Herodotus's terminology were, in reality, a series of tribes or confederations of tribes from which arose the names of the African kingdoms and later of the Roman provinces (Camps 1980: 116). Herodotus further described how among these Libyans, nomads roamed one area while the regions we know as Numidian were inhabited by sedentary farmers (Hdt. 4.191; Camps 1960: 17-18, 153). Whatever the origin and chronology of the formation of the grand Numidian tribal grouping which included the Massylian and Masaesylian kingdoms, the term 'Numidian' has above all an ethnic implication, designating a subset of the Libyans (Camps 1967: 29; Desanges 1980: 78-9).

In this chapter, my focus will not be on the political and military vicissitudes of these two kingdoms; for my purpose it is more important that we are dealing with a unified geographic and demographic entity which can be labelled 'Numidian territory'. The fluctuations of boundaries in the game of war and in diplomatic alliances as well as the tumultuous political histories of the two Numidian kingdoms were largely short-term events which had little effect on the long-term development of these Numidian people (Krandel-Ben Younès 2002: 13-14). Political and juridical conditions, constantly in flux over the course of history, do not seem to have had a deep and direct influence or impact on the cultural life of the Numidian people (Camps 1979: 47).

To create their identities, however, did the Numidians look to Libyan or Punic culture, the latter already a mixture of Phoenician and local elements as the case study of Byzacium suggested? The evidence at our disposal to answer this question is not large, and is mostly limited to the world of the dead and the world of the gods (Krandel-Ben Younès 2002). The origins,

causes and chronology of the emergence of the Numidians' sedentary lifestyle, for instance, thus remain largely unclear. Despite the significant number of Numidian settlements and agglomerations of various sizes, they remain very poorly known beyond the great capitals like Siga or cities such as Cirta (modern Constantine) and Thugga (modern Dougga). Only long-term archaeological investigations will throw further light on this matter. For our purposes, we will choose a few concrete examples which can help us define the cultural *facies* of this confederation of prestigious tribes.

Of the necropoleis in Numidian territory that have been labelled 'Punic' or 'Phoenician', we have chosen to examine the necropolis of Vaga (modern Béja) and the necropolis of Thigibba Bure (modern Djebba), which are both situated a few kilometres from the large Numidian city of Thugga in northwestern Tunisia (Fig. 8.1; Krandel-Ben Younès 1992‒3; Krandel-Ben Younès 2002: 25, 54‒5, 60‒1, 66, 71). The two sites under consideration lie in the midst of Numidian lands, among a strong concentration of necropoleis of the Libyan tradition (dolmens, tumuli, *haouanet* (rock-cut tombs), for example), and I will argue here that they too demonstrate more connections with Libyan traditions and identity than is usually assumed.

The tombs in the necropolis of Vaga, excavated by Captain Vincent and published by Cagnat (1887), and those in the necropolis of Thigibba Bure, excavated in 1887 but not published for more than a century (Krandel-Ben Younès 1992‒3), are distinguished above all by a two-part plan consisting of a cylindrical access pit lacking any means of descent (neither steps nor footholds) giving access to a funerary chamber with a semi-circular vault (Fig. 8.9). The absence of the remains of any covering should not lead us to suppose that the pits remained open, without any means of protection, especially against grave robbers. In most cases, the pit appears to have been filled in: at Vaga with loose earth, and at Thigibba Bure with loose earth and rocks.

I have deliberately avoided using the term access 'shaft' or *dromos* here. Although the function might have been the same, in that the access pits at these necropoleis precede the funerary chamber and serve as a vestibule to it, they present a different form and workmanship to 'Punic' access shafts. The stonecutting is very rough, in sharp contrast to the more neatly carved chambers of the Numidian coastal sites influenced by Punic culture. Unlike those of the 'Punic' tombs, the funerary chambers in the necropoleis of Vaga and Thigibba Bure are not furnished with well-cut access portals. A simple, rough opening provides access to the funerary chamber, which is fitted with elements such as niches, benches, channels and sarcophagi.

Fig. 8.9. Access pit (Thigibba Bure necropolis).

With the exception of one low, stone bench found in a tomb at Thigibba Bure, such features are made from local clays and served as supports for grave goods. These elements are typically Libyan, finding their origin in *haouanet* tombs, and are only later attested in 'Punic' chamber-tombs, notably on Cap Bon (Fantar 2002: 100, 126‒7) and in the Sahel (see above).

In the necropoleis studied here, two different types of inhumation can be distinguished. First, the characteristic position of the body at Vaga is extended on its back, arms along the sides or folded on the chest, with the feet towards the door and the head towards the rear of the chamber, oriented east (Krandel-Ben Younès 2002: 114, 336‒7). Here, in the middle of Numidian territory, the deposition of the body bears the stamp of Phoenician rites: inhumation in an extended dorsal position was the only type of burial practised at Carthage and Hadrumetum, both founded as Phoenician colonies. In the case of Vaga, however, the shape of the funerary chambers does not always accommodate an extended body. In addition, this type of inhumation is frequently used later in the Libyan necropoleis of North Africa, and in these, it serves as an important marker of late chronology or of a tomb's reuse (Camps 1961: 477). All of this leads us to pose questions about the original usage of such a deposition pattern in the Vaga necropolis, a necropolis dating back to the third century BCE, situated deep in Numidian territory and not on the coast, and a site where the tomb architecture displays little in common with Phoenicio–Punic

Fig. 8.10. Burial in lateral flexed position (Thigibba Bure necropolis).

tombs. Since our understanding is, for the moment, reliant on the early excavation report, only further excavation can shed light on this matter. Nevertheless, the funerary architecture at Vaga betrays the Libyan affiliation of the necropolis users.

In the necropolis of Thigibba Bure, by contrast, burial in the foetal position was the most common rite: that is, inhumation in a lateral flexed position, knees pulled up to the chest, feet at the sacrum (Fig. 8.10) (Krandel-Ben Younès 1992–3: 186-7; 2002: 115-16; see Camps 1961: 476 for an attempt to explain the thinking behind this phenomenon). To maintain this position, the body must either have been tied up or held in place with well-positioned rocks (Krandel-Ben Younès 2002: 337-8). Since a body in this position takes up less space than one laid out in an extended position, it allows for a greater economy of effort and tomb space, a useful feature in some cases. Such a method of burial is completely absent at Carthage and Hadrumetum, but is widespread in the Libyco-Punic necropoleis of the Tunisian Sahel and in the Libyan necropoleis of North Africa (Ben Younès 1981: 489-90). The practice of this autochthonous rite thus again betrays the Libyan identity of the users (Krandel-Ben Younès 2002: 338).

Another characteristic of Libyan necropoleis attested at Thigibba Bure is the presence of a large number of children of various ages from infancy to adolescence, buried in the same tombs as the adults (Krandel-Ben Younès 2002: 352). Such a practice is found in the Libyan cemetery at Chemtou, for example, where the burial of infants in the same tombs as adults is attested from foetal age onward. As a result, there are almost no infant necropoleis in the Numidian world, in marked contrast to the Punic sanctuaries called

Fig. 8.11. Excarnation of bones (Thigibba Bure necropolis).

'tophets' (such as those at Carthage and Hadrumetum) where infants alone were cremated and buried in great numbers; this also means that Punico-Numidian sanctuaries such as those found at Thugga, Cirta and Althiburos, despite their Punic-language stelae and burials of cremated infants in urns, performed a different function from Punic tophets.

In addition, another typically Libyan funerary rite attested at Thigibba Bure is the excarnation of the bones (Fig. 8.11). Bodies appear to have been deposited first in a temporary grave and then, once defleshed, transferred to the tomb. A great respect for the skull is apparent in this practice, for it was considered to be the container of a person's vital force and the final image of the deceased, as Gabriel Camps (1961: 499) has shown.

In the Vaga necropolis, given the size of the tombs, only one body was normally buried in each; cases with two or three collective burials are rare. At Thigibba Bure, collective tombs are the norm, where the layer of piled bones can reach a depth of 20–30 cm and where the number of individuals in each tomb is sometimes around ten. This is a characteristic feature in the majority of Libyan tombs in Numidian territory, including at Chemtou. As in the necropoleis of Byzacium, despite cross-site common-alities, local diversity was the norm.

Despite the Libyan nature of the architectural workmanship at Vaga and Thigibba Bure, the tombs at both sites still share their basic conception

with Carthaginian tombs, at least on a superficial level. The cylindrical access pits resemble the shafts; the tomb is always cut deep into the ground and is thus subterranean, although the differences in depth between the Carthaginian shafts (up to 31 m) and the pits on the sites used as case studies here (never more than 3 m deep, as was the case in the rest of the Numidian world, both coastal and inland) is striking (Krandel-Ben Younès 2002: 295).

The apsidal form of the funerary chambers at Vaga and Thigibba Bure (with one exception) is another Libyan trait, a particular feature of *haouanet* tombs. This layout is never attested at Carthage or at the Phoenician foundations of Hadrumetum and Utica (Krandel-Ben Younès 2002: 317-18, 322-3). Yet this architectural form is very frequent in the Tunisian Sahel, where it is found in more than ten different necropoleis, is also attested on Cap Bon and around the Syrtic Gulf, and is frequent at Gigthis and at Oea in Tripolitania (Krandel-Ben Younès 2002: 307).

To get at Numidian conceptions of identity, it is useful to briefly consider some other aspects of Libyan funerary architecture and how they compare to the tombs at Vaga and Thigibba Bure. There is a fundamental difference between the *haouanet* and the tombs discussed in this chapter in that the former, like the dolmen tombs, are always set up above ground rather than carved as subterranean tombs. A second feature of layout, though, seems to be shared across Libyan tombs and is also present at Vaga and Thigibba Bure: they are ordered according to a two-part plan. The corridor or antechamber of Libyan tombs resembles the deep pits which precede the funerary chambers at Vaga and Thigibba Bure (Krandel-Ben Younès 2002: 314-18).

In terms of architectural elements, it is worth discussing the case of the tomb equipped with a modelled low bench at Thigibba Bure. While the *haouanet* often had elements such as benches, these were carved in the rock. The bench at Thigibba Bure is thus a *unicum*, demonstrating similar types of funerary preoccupations and a solution that is related, but differently executed.

One can thus say that within this inland Numidian zone, at sites near the large dolmenic necropolis of El Gorrâa and in a region where *haouanet* tombs were common, users of the Vaga and Thigibba Bure necropoleis built tombs according to Libyan architectural fashions, yet were also inspired by the morphology and architectural grammar of Phoenicio-Punic sites. Responding to concerns and beliefs undoubtedly similar to those which drove the users of *haouanet* and dolmen tombs, the communities using the Thigibba Bure and Vaga necropoleis found architectural solutions that were slightly different.

Fig. 8.12. Deposition of grave goods (Thigibba Bure necropolis).

As in the Punic tombs along the Numidian coast, the necropolis of Thigibba Bure is marked by the deposition of grave goods (Fig. 8.12). Unfortunately, the excavation reports from Vaga do not contain enough detail to discuss small finds at the site. In general, the deposition of grave goods arises from religious ideas and concerns, and represents a way of ameliorating the condition of the dead. This is done by providing the deceased with a collection of utensils which, in the minds of those involved, would serve them not in the tomb (as many people have long believed), but instead in the afterlife (Krandel-Ben Younès 2002: 368‒9). The grave goods at Thigibba Bure provide a range of precious information about the diachronic evolution of funerary architecture and practices and, in sum, the evolution of mentalities; indeed, they offer a window onto the community's commercial and cultural life.

Handmade pottery is almost always present among the grave goods in the tombs at Thigibba Bure. Wheel-made Punic ceramics, including black-glaze ware, is also attested; both handmade and wheel-made lamps are very rare. Jewellery is equally well represented, and seven bronze coins were also found. These grave goods suggest that the necropolis can be dated from the mid-third century BCE to the first century CE. At Vaga, on the other hand, a black-glaze tripod and globular lamps suggest a period of activity in the third to second century BCE (Krandel-Ben Younès 2002: 149). In several of the vessels, above all in the handmade pottery from both sites, apparent traces of food offerings were found: more precisely, remains of birds. It is

worth asking whether these always represent food offerings; could they not also represent, at least in some cases, remains of a meal or funerary sacrifice? The deposition of a solid or liquid food offering, especially animal, must respond to a very precise concern. These food offerings could symbolize a belief in a vital essence that survives beyond death: an idea which may have been borrowed from the Carthaginians, who, it has been suggested, believed that the *rouah* (spirit) outlived the body in this manner (Fantar 1970: 14-17).

Handmade ceramics – the importance of which did not become clear until the publication of Camps's *Aux origines de la Berbérie* (1961) – may serve as another index for the ethnic identity of the necropolis-users; such products are native Libyan. Alongside the Chemtou necropolis, that of Thigibba Bure offers handmade grave goods of great interest. Within the composition of the funerary assemblages from Thigibba Bure, handmade pottery is consistently dominant – not surprisingly, given the rural nature of the site. Within these household wares, it is possible to see regional specificities in form, creating a rich and variegated typology distinguished by certain specific forms, notably a series of bowls (Fig. 8.13/Plate 20). All of these bowls, shaped as cones or truncated cones, and frequently of large dimensions, demonstrate the unique typology of ceramics on the site. Carinated bowls are very rare: only three were found, and where carination does exist, it is located on the top third of the vessel; at other Punico-Numidian sites like ours, carinations occur on the bottom third. Only three small-scale vessels were found. It is equally rare to find objects used in connection with fire; only one lamp was discovered. A series of handmade plates, sometimes of very elaborate shape, was found in a single tomb at Thigibba Bure (Fig. 8.14/Plate 21). This necropolis also produced a cooking pot whose form was a variant on a rare type attested at Thuburbo Maius and Tebourba, again suggesting Libyan craftsmanship (Krandel-Ben Younès 1992-3: 215-16). Finally, among the closed-form vessels from the

Fig. 8.13. One of a series of handmade bowls in the shape of cones or truncated cones found at the Thigibba Bure necropolis. (Plate 20.)

Fig. 8.14. Handmade plate (Thigibba Bure necropolis). (Plate 21.)
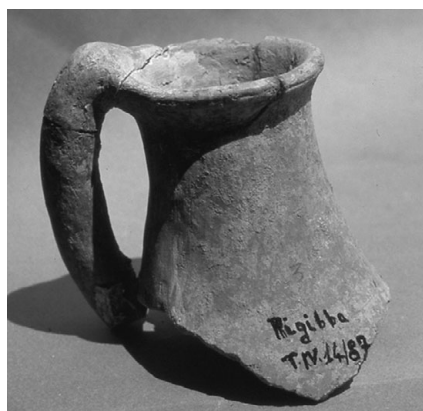
Fig. 8.15. Handmade jug (Thigibba Bure necropolis). (Plate 22.)

Thigibba Bure ceramic assemblage, a series of jugs stands out. Such jugs are well attested in the Libyan necropoleis of North Africa (Krandel-Ben Younès 1992‒3: 216). A few of these handmade jugs from Thigibba Bure resemble the forms of wheel-made Punic jugs (Fig. 8.15/Plate 22). It is also worth noting the presence of red slip on a large proportion of the hand-made ceramics from the Thigibba Bure necropolis, which helps us once again to identify the autochthonous Libyan ethnic origin of the necropolis users (Krandel-Ben Younès 1992‒3: 216).

As noted above, in funerary practice and in matters concerning the dead, people always seem to manifest a strong conservatism. As a result, any changes or signs of openness to external horizons, however small, can reflect a true evolution of mentalities, a profound change and not a mere surface gloss of acculturation that alters nothing but form. It is thus highly

significant that the inhabitants of the Numidian settlements of Vaga and
Thigibba Bure buried their dead in tombs cut below ground, recalling the
Phoenician architectural tradition that was shared by some of the 'Punics'.
Nonetheless, the architectural characteristics of the tombs on these two
sites (such as access pits and apsidal chambers) betray the Libyan ethnic
origins of the users of these necropoleis.

This Libyan identity is also equally manifest in funerary practices: the
lateral flexed position and the defleshing at Thigibba Bure. Nonetheless,
the inhabitants of Vaga interred their dead according to Punic custom in
dorsal elongated position, showing Punic influence in the midst of the
Numidian heartland, distant from the coast where a Punic *facies* is far
more apparent – although it is possible that future excavations in dolmenic
structures might modify this impression. For the moment, this Punic
practice seems likely to have less to do with ethnicity than cultural ties
and exchanges.

In terms of grave goods, we have demonstrated two principal traditions,
one Libyan, the other Punic. The Libyan imprint clearly attests Libyan
identity, especially at Thigibba Bure, where the necropolis was excavated
more recently than Vaga. Bowls, plates, jugs and other closed-form types of
handmade pottery bear a red slip much like the handmade pottery found
in the Libyan necropoleis of North Africa. Punic influence can however
also be seen in grave goods, including wheel-turned ceramics of Punic
tradition, such as amphorae of type Cintas 315 (Fig. 8.16); a *lekythos* of
type Cintas 104/Lancel 521 and black-glazed wares (Fig. 8.17); and
necklaces with beads of glass paste (Fig. 8.18) or of Egyptian faience.

Yet the Punic shapes of the wheel-made ceramics were no doubt
produced in local workshops. There is some reason to believe that
Thugga, capital of the Tunisian Haut Tell and located only a few kilometres
away from Thigibba Bure, was the centre of diffusion of multiple series of
wheel-turned ceramics of both the Punic and Roman periods, including
the black-glaze wares (and imitation black-glaze wares) found at Thigibba
Bure (cf. Ciotola 2000: 58–9). The presence of unpublished forms at
Thigibba Bure might also support the existence of local workshops. Despite
their Libyan origin and the very marked autochthonous character of the
ancient users of the necropolis, the site does then display some Punic
influence in this respect, if to a lesser degree than coastal sites such as
Collo, Tipasa or Gouraya.

Despite the necropolis's lengthy period of use, however, this Punic
influence did not have a significant impact on Numidian culture in a
region that never experienced Carthaginian domination. 'Punicity' here

Fig. 8.16. Punic amphora of Cintas 315 type (Thigibba Bure necropolis).

Fig. 8.17. Black-glazed ware (Thigibba Bure necropolis).

was a cultural fact – or *facies* – of a weak nature. Through a number of mechanisms, the ethnically Libyan Numidians borrowed a range of fashions from their Punic neighbours, each of which worked to create multiple 'punicities'. Thus there was a cultural symbiosis between Libyan and Punic

Fig. 8.18. Necklace of glass-paste beads (Thigibba Bure necropolis).

elements in which the former was strongly marked, given the inland geographic situation, although centuries of contact undoubtedly encouraged the Numidians to adapt their architecture, rites and funerary beliefs. Whatever the significance of the mixed cultural product that resulted, the Libyan ethnic origin of the Numidians is visible from every angle.

Conclusion

The first case study here demonstrates that what it was to be 'Punic' in the Sahel varied over space and time, as multiple 'punicities' arose in the local contexts of Phoenician colonization and Libyan tradition. The second shows that while the politically Numidian and ethnically Libyan population of the Tell borrowed freely from Punic culture, again in a variety of different ways and to a variety of different degrees, they maintained a series of basically Libyan traits. Together the two studies highlight the variety of cultural practice to be found in supposedly mono-ethnic funerary landscapes, and the problem of how to define the cultural identity of regions on the periphery of or outside Carthaginian hegemony.

9 | A Carthaginian perspective on the Altars of the Philaeni

JOSEPHINE CRAWLEY QUINN

In 1935–6 the Italian colonial government in Libya built the first tarmac road along the Syrtes, the enormous double gulf cut into the northern coast of Africa between Cyrenaica and the Maghreb and surrounded by a broad coastal plain running up to distant mountains (Fig. 9.1). At Ras Lanuf, near the foot of the larger bay, Marshal Italo Balbo erected a monumental arch to commemorate this feat (Goodchild 1952: 96). 'Marble Arch', as the British soldiers called it, was a symbol of the conceptual and now finally material link between these two Italian territories; it marked transit between Tripolitania and Cyrenaica along the new Via Litoranea.[1] Its sculpture, however, depicted brothers who died to preserve a boundary, not Roman or even Greek but Carthaginian heroes, the Philaeni brothers.[2] It is their story that I want to re-examine here, first told, to us at least, by Sallust:

> Now that the events at Leptis have taken us to this region, it is worth mentioning an act of extraordinary heroism by two Carthaginians, which the place brings to mind. At the time when the Carthaginians ruled over the greater part of Africa, the people of Cyrene were also strong and prosperous. Between the two cities stretched a plain of unbroken sand, without river or mountain to mark a frontier, a circumstance that embroiled the two peoples in a long and bitter rivalry. After many armies and fleets had been defeated and put to flight on both sides, and they had inflicted considerable damage on one another, fearing that in their exhausted

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[1] Note in this respect the wording of one of the inscriptions on the monument, lines from a speech of Mussolini's on 5 May 1936, announcing the Italian occupation of Ethopia: *UNA TAPPA DEL NOSTRO CAMMINO È RAGGIUNTA. CONTINUIAMO | A MARCIARE NELLA PACE PER I COMPITI CHE CI ASPETTANO | DOMANI E CHE PROTEGGEREMO CON IL NOSTRO CORAGGIO CON | LA NOSTRA FEDE CON LA NOSTRA VOLONTÀ | MUSSOLINI 5 MAGGIO XIV*. (One stage of our journey is complete. We continue to march in peace towards the duties that await us tomorrow and that we will defend with our courage, with our faith, with our will. Mussolini 5 May, Year 14.)

[2] Cf. Abitino on the fate of the arch after Ghadhafi came to power: 'The arch has recently been dismantled by the Libyan government, because it was considered a sign of division between peoples, as well as a reminder of a colonial past' (Abitino 1979: 64).
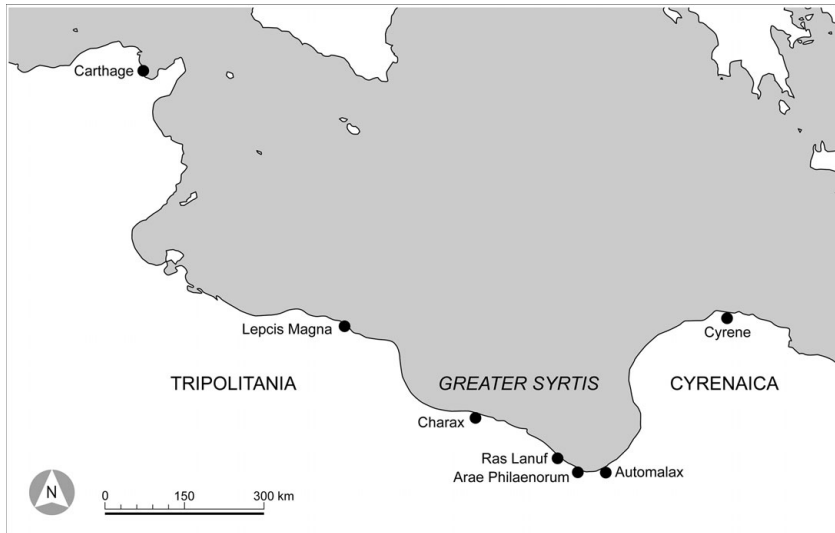
169

Fig. 9.1. Map of places mentioned in the text.

state victors and vanquished might fall prey before long to attack by some fresh enemy, they called a truce in which they came to the following arrangement. On a given day envoys of each city should set out from home, and the spot where they met was to be treated as constituting the common frontier (*finis*) of the two peoples. Carthage sent two brothers, called the Philaeni, who hastened on their way; the Cyrenaeans went more slowly. Whether this was due to laziness or accident, I cannot say for sure. For in that region a storm can cause just as much delay as it does at sea, because when the wind rises on those flat and barren plains, it stirs up the sand from the ground, which is driven with such force as to fill the mouth and eyes, blocking vision and slowing down travel. When the envoys from Cyrene realised that they were considerably behindhand, and because they feared punishment at home for spoiling their city's chances, they accused the Carthaginians of having left home before the agreed time, contested the result, and in sum preferred anything to having to return defeated. The Carthaginians demanded other terms, provided they were fair, and the Greeks gave them the choice of being buried alive at the place where they wished to fix the boundary of their country, or of allowing them, on the same condition, to advance as far as they wanted. The Philaeni accepted the terms and gave up their lives and their persons for their country; so they were buried alive. The Carthaginians dedicated altars to the Philaeni brothers on that spot, and other honours were established for them in the city. I shall now return to my subject. (Sallust, *Iug.* 79, transation adapted from that of Comber and Balmaceda 2009)

Sallust is the first surviving author to tell the story of the brothers Philaeni, but not the first to mention altars: in the fourth century BCE, pseudo-Scylax knew of a seaport called the Altars of Philaenus (ch. 109), the first of a series of similar reports in the ancient geographers.[3] Goodchild convincingly identified the site on the basis of the distances given in these sources as the promontory of Ras el Aáli, a little to the east in fact of Ras Lanuf, 80 miles (129 km) from Cyrene but 180 (290 km) from Carthage (Goodchild 1952: 95–7). Just inland are the twin heights of Jebel Ala, the only change in relief visible to passing ships for many miles: these were probably the original 'altars' (Stucchi 1975: 599).[4] According to Ptolemy (4.3.4), Philaenus was the name of a village (*kome*),[5] near which stood the 'altars' of the same name: it seems reasonable to conclude that these 'altars' got their name from the village, which presumably got its name in turn from a Greek proprietor, a normal practice in the region (Stucchi 1975: 598).

But how did the Altars of Philaenus become Altars of the Philaeni? Several scholars have argued that the myth of the Philaeni brothers originated in the Greek world, a case that has been made with particular clarity by Irad Malkin (1990; summarized in Malkin 1994: 187–91) and Sergio Ribichini (1991). However, I want to argue here that there are equally good, if not better, reasons to see it as a myth that was exploited and probably invented in a specifically Carthaginian context, and that identifying the story as Carthaginian helps us to understand its chronological context and its function. In a broader sense this is a contribution to the identification of a 'Punic' stratum of myth in the Mediterranean, whether one takes that word to relate to Carthage in particular or the western Phoenician world more generally.[6]

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[3] Cf. Strabo 3.5.5, 17.3.20; Plin. *HN* 5.28; *Itin. Ant.* 65.6; Ptol. *Geog.* 4.3.4, 4.4.1; *Stadiasmus* 84; *Tabula Peutinger* 7.2.

[4] Stucchi suggests that the whole zone from the Jebel Ala to the sea became known as the Arae Philaenorum because of these sandbanks (Stucchi 1975: 601), and notes that the promontory gets its modern name of Ras el Aáli from its proximity to Jebel Ala (p. 602). Pliny tells us (*HN* 5.28) that the 'altars of the Philaeni' were made of sand, but like Sallust, Strabo suggests that there were built altars, noting that these had disappeared by his time (3.5.5–6), and altars are depicted in the *Tabula Peutinger* (7.2). This tradition may be an extrapolation from the name or the myth, or it may be that the Carthaginians did indeed build altars in this place at some point: Susan Walker points out to me that monuments visible from the sea were a familiar feature of the ports of the Hellenistic-period Mediterranean, from the Colossus of Rhodes to the enormous sculptures currently being recovered from the sea at Alexandria and Herakleion (private communication).

[5] This is probably the small collection of ruins now called Gráret Gser et Trab (Goodchild 1952: 98–102).

[6] See our Introduction for further discussion; in general I avoid the term 'Punic', since it has no single agreed meaning and no clear contemporary distinction from 'Phoenician', a definition that is itself of dubious utility.

The first reason to see this story as a Carthaginian myth is quite simply the fact that the Carthaginians are the heroes. Swift and noble, they not only win the race, without trickery, but they die for their country and their good name. The Cyreneans, by contrast, falsely accuse the Philaeni of cheating in order to avoid punishment at home, and then refuse to honour the agreement that had been made.

Secondly, Sallust specifically tells us in the *Jugurthine War* that he uses 'Punic' sources for the history of African peoples. At 17.7, he says that he is basing his ethnography of Africa (chapters 18–19) on a translation he had made of the *libri punici qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur*; these 'Punic books that were said to be of King Hiempsal' may have been the library that passed to the Numidian kings after the destruction of Carthage in 146.[7] Sallust then first mentions the Altars themselves in this early digression on Africa (19.3), and there is no reason to think that the same 'Punic books' were not also the source for the story told later in the monograph (Schiffmann 1986: 92).

Finally, Sallust specifies in this first reference to the Altars in chapter 19 that they are where the Carthaginians considered the boundary to be, and in his later full account of the legend it is the Carthaginians who mark the boundary by erecting the altars and establishing honours at home.[8] Malkin explains the Altars as a pre-existing ethnic frontier between different Libyan groups that was taken over by Cyrene in the fourth century BCE

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[7] Plin. *HN* 18.22 for this event, with Oniga (1990: 49–50). Matthews suggested that Sallust might have become familiar with these books or even looted them during his governorship of Africa in 46 (Matthews 1972: 335). It has sometimes been argued (Gsell 1921: 332–4; Morstein-Marx 2001: 195–7) that these were books written by rather than owned by a King Hiempsal, but this would still mean that the source was northwest African rather than Greek. Morstein-Marx notes that the death of 'Herakles' in Spain in Sallust's myth (18.3, qualified there with *sicuti Afri putant*) must be a reference to the Phoenician god Melqart and his famous grave at Gades, rather than to the Greek hero, but notes too that the cult of Melqart was already widespread in North Africa beyond Phoenician communities (Morstein-Marx 2001: 188–9). Krings's suggestion that, despite his strong claim to the contrary, Sallust is in fact using a Greek-language source for his ethnographic excursus seems unnecessarily speculative (Krings 1990: esp. 115–17). Krings here asks why 'Sallust, if he really had a translation of the original in front of him, uses the imperfect *dicebantur* and not the present *dicuntur*' (111), but the imperfect here seems more likely to point to an earlier opinion – implying these books are no longer said to be in either sense King Hiempsal's – and the question of original authorship or subsequent ownership is not in any case obviously relevant to whether or not Sallust is in his own time looking at the books themselves.

[8] Compare the rocks described by Servius where Carthaginian priests used to perform religious ceremonies 'between Africa, Sicily, Sardinia and Italy: the Italians call them the altars because the Africans and the Romans entered into a treaty there' (*ad Aen.* 1.108). Servius says that Claudius Quadrigarius (1 Fr. 31P (third century BCE)) called them 'Neptune's Altars'. The *Tabula Peutinger*, however, depicts other 'altars' marking boundary points that do not involve Carthaginians (Prados Martínez 2008: 208).

(Malkin 1990: 225; Malkin 1994: 188–90),[9] but while in the fifth century BCE Herodotus does place the division between the Nasamones to the east and the Makai to the west somewhere along the coast of the Greater Syrtis (4.172–3), no ancient source says that the Greeks of Cyrenaica ever considered the Altars to be their boundary. Alternative locations for that boundary are mentioned: in the late fourth century, Ptolemy I's constitution inscription for Cyrene specifies Automalax as the western boundary of the city's citizenship (*SEG* IX.1 l.3),[10] while in Strabo 'the boundary (*horion*) between the former Carthaginian country (*ge*) and the Cyrenaean country (*ge*) as it was under Ptolemy' was the Euphrantas tower, between Aspis and Charax, that is to the west of the Altars (17.3.20).[11]

So far, the positive evidence for Carthaginian interest and involvement in this story could be explained as a later intervention in a pre-existing Greek myth, a possibility that has been suggested (Devillers 2000: 127; 2005: 344), and may well be correct.[12] Mythology is not confined to one culture or context, as is perhaps most strikingly shown by the exploitation of the Odysseus myth in the west (Malkin 1998; 2002: 159–72). And just as we can certainly disaggregate layers of Roman intervention in the story of the Philaeni brothers as told by Sallust and later sources,[13] there is no *prima facie* obstacle to Greek usage as well. But for the sake of argument, I want to try to go further than this and suggest that there is in fact no positive reason to see such a Greek layer in the story at all, let alone an earlier or foundational one.[14]

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[9] Pseudo-Scylax also describes the immediate area of the altars as the eastern boundary of the Makai (109), while Strabo calls the Altars of the Philaeni the western boundary of the Nasamones (17.3.20). For Pliny, they are the eastern boundary of the Lotus Eaters (*HN* 5.28).

[10] Goodchild explains this as the Cyreneans' creating a 'no-man's-land' between themselves and the Carthaginians (Goodchild 1952: 103–4), but I see no positive evidence for this.

[11] Even if the boundary between Automalax and the Euphrantas tower shifted at some point in Ptolemy's reign (see Devillers (2005: 349) for a survey of opinions on this point; it may be that the boundaries of citizenship and territorial possession were not seen as identical), neither is the location of the *Arae Philaenorum*. Some Roman-period sources do name the Altars as a boundary of 'the Cyreneans' (*Stadiasmus* 84, with *GGM ad loc.* for the textual problems; *Tabula Peutinger* 7.2) or of the Roman province of Cyrene (Ptol. *Geog.* 4.4.1).

[12] Oniga, who sees the story of the Philaeni as belonging to the genre of folklore, notes that 'one of the basic characteristics of folklore is precisely that of being able to be constantly reproduced and reformulated according to changing cultural requirements as one era cedes to the next' (Oniga 1990: 53; translated from the Italian).

[13] Devillers 2000 has an interesting survey of the Roman elements, comparisons, and issues that Sallust undoubtedly brought into the retelling of the story.

[14] This idea that the myth has Punic origins has been mentioned in passing before (Matthews 1972: 334; Stucchi 1975: 599); Oniga (1990: 58) also discusses the possibility that at least this version of the story derives from a Punic source, with further bibliography.

The Greek name of the brothers does not present a problem for the hypothesis of a western Phoenician origin: whether or not 'Philaeni' was in fact a corruption of a Phoenician name or term (Devillers 2005: 348, n. 47, with *GGM*: 456 and Prados Martínez 2008: 210), if the name of the place pre-existed the myth then it was a necessary part of the story, and had to be incorporated into it. I would suggest that in explaining that the brothers were called 'Philaeni' Sallust is not in fact recording their supposed family name, but rather a nickname or epithet based on their characters, supposedly given to them by the Greeks and therefore offering a convenient explanation for the pre-existing toponym. This interpretation is supported by a reference to the brothers in a short excursus that Solinus devotes to how various non-Greek places in Africa got their Greek names: 'A Greek name was given to the Philaeni brothers from their greed for praise' (27.8: *Philaenis fratribus a laudis cupidine Graium vocamen datum*). The conceit here must be that this happened after their death, and that it was a foreign intervention,[15] and therefore that the brothers were originally called something else; perhaps Solinus is right.

It has also been suggested that this is a specifically Greek myth-type, the *course au territoire* (Malkin 1990: 226). There are certainly Greek examples of similar races: it is probably Charon of Lampsakos who tells us of a race along the coast of the Hellespont between the champions of Lampsakos and Parion to determine a boundary,[16] while Diodorus reports a dispute between Clazomenae and Cumae over possession of the city of Leuce resolved in this fashion in 383 BCE,[17] and Plutarch preserves the story of a similar contest between the Andrians and Chalcidians over Sane in Thrace.[18] But this concept of a confrontation between rival champions to establish a boundary between polities is, as Ribichini has pointed out, not specifically Greek but instead 'a phenomenon attested from the earliest times, both at an ethnographic level and in various civilizations of the ancient world' (Ribichini 1991: 396 (translated from the Italian); cf. Oniga 1990: 65–85). Furthermore, the Greek examples may feature races, but they do not involve brothers, unlike, for instance, the famous Roman duels of

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[15] In all the other cases he lists, Solinus specifies that the names are those given to these places by foreigners, usually Greeks.

[16] *FGrH* 262 fr. 17 *apud* Polyaenus, *Strat*. 6.24, with discussion in Laronde 1987: 199; Malkin 1990: 226; Oniga 1990: 62–3; Ribichini 1991: 396; Devillers 2005: 343.

[17] Diod. Sic. 15.18.4, with Oniga 1990: 63–4; Ribichini 1991: 396–7; Devillers 2005: 343.

[18] Plut. *Aet. Gr.* 30, with Oniga 1990: 64.

the Horatii and Curiatii[19] – but this objection only reminds us again that myth structures and knowledge in the ancient Mediterranean are not bounded by ethnic identity. There may of course have been parallels in the broader Phoenician tradition for either the motif of the race or that of teams of brothers, but I see no particular reason to expect a city as diverse and cosmopolitan as Carthage to pick a myth from its 'own' culture when looking for one to imitate. Nor indeed do I see evidence for a strong sense at Carthage of belonging to any such bounded 'Phoenician' culture, which might exclude the construction of mythical links with 'Greeks'. It is of course well known that there is no clear evidence that the people we call Phoenician or Punic saw themselves as Phoenician, Punic, or in possession of any other corporate 'ethnic' label (Prag, Chapter 1).

Thirdly, some have seen this as a story about a particularly Greek form of imperialism. For Ribichini, the establishment of a territorial boundary after a long and bloody war 'doesn't seem to correspond to the mentality of a merchant people, initially more interested in markets and coastal ports of call than in the problems of sedentary life and in establishing territorial property in a desert zone' (Ribichini 1991: 399; translated from the Italian). For Malkin too this is a myth about territory and territorialization (Malkin 1990: 219, 221, 227), not features usually associated with Carthaginian methods of imperial control. The *Arae* do not, however, mark a linear territorial border between Cyrene and Carthage, but rather a boundary point on the maritime facade. For how can a single point in space mark a useful boundary between two territorial entities?[20] If there is 'territory' involved here, it is maritime territory; this is a ship-to-shore perspective on imperialism, interested not in exploiting the land, but in seaborne trade, taxation and controlling access to the coast.

This fits in very well with the maritime focus of Carthaginian imperialism in many places and most times, and certainly in Africa.[21] Polybius describes Carthaginian control in Africa at the time of Hannibal's march on Italy (218 BCE) as focused on the sea, not the land: the Carthaginians

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[19] On which point see Devillers (2000: 128), alongside other parallels between Carthage and Rome which were all imported on his view by Sallust, although here the notion of brotherhood seems central to the tale and the place name.

[20] For the practice in Greek contexts of linking various boundary markers to demarcate two territories, see Daverio Rocchi (1988: 57–9), with clear examples in her chapter 4 (N.B. nos. 1, 2, 6 and 8).

[21] One obvious illustration of this is the way in which the treaties between Rome and Carthage forbid sailing beyond certain headlands: Polyb. 3.22–4. For more on the importance of promontories in Phoenician ship-to-shore perspectives, see Vella (2005).

were masters of all that part of Africa which 'inclines towards the Mediterranean' from the Altars of Philaenus as far as the Pillars of Herakles (3.39.2: Λιβύης ἐκυρίευον πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔσω θάλατταν νευόντων).[22] And when Massinissa disputed the cities of Tripolitania with Carthage in the late 160s, Polybius tells us that the Carthaginians did not try to hold the countryside but only the coastal ports: Massinissa 'easily made himself master of the open country', but 'he could not get hold of the towns, as these were carefully guarded by the Carthaginians' (31.21.3-4).[23] This of course makes better sense from a Carthaginian perspective: while establishing a border the other side of a large space of unproductive desert might seem an odd ambition, there is nothing strange about wanting a border on the other side of the Syrtic gulf, which was increasingly emerging as an important space of trade and exchange in the Hellenistic period (Wilson 2003[2005]; Fentress *et al.* 2009; Quinn 2011b).[24] The war imagined as the background to the myth of the Philaeni was surely fought on the sea.

Mention of Massinissa, however, brings me from the origins of the myth in space to the question of its origins in time.[25] Sallust tells us that the Carthaginians considered the Altars their boundary with 'Egypt', not

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[22] Polybius's description of Rome's control over the same region after the destruction of Carthage is interestingly different: Scipio Africanus 'subjected to the dominion of his country the largest and finest part of Libya from the altars of Philaenus to the pillars of Herakles' (10.40.7). *Pace* Devillers (2000: 124-5), Sallust's vague claim that the Carthagians *imperitabant* most of Africa (*Iug.* 79.2) at the time of the race with Cyrene is not a specific claim about territorial empire, but about domination, and is, as Devillers says, seen through a Roman filter.

[23] See Polyb. 31.21.1 for the specification that these cities are on the coast, and cf. Hdt. 7.158, where Gelon rebukes the Spartans for failing to join him in seizing the 'Emporia' of the Syrtes from Carthage from which he says they would have derived great profit. This Carthaginian approach is quite different from the way that in Cyrenaica, as Irad Malkin has described, a large territorial hinterland is enclosed by areas sacred to Zeus Ammon (1994: 190-1). The difference between the desert coast of the Syrtes and the fertile agricultural uplands of Cyrenaica provides a straightforward explanation for this difference in imperial conceptions.

[24] Laronde argues that conflicts between Carthage and Cyrene, which he would set between 360 and 340 (Laronde 1987: 487; cf. 28) would not have been over agricultural land, but instead over access to the ports at the head of the Saharan trade routes (Laronde 1990: 8, with earlier bibliography).

[25] The story's setting in time is of course quite a different matter from the time of its invention, and it is the latter that is my focus here. Despite much ingenious speculation (such as that of Laronde mentioned in the note above), there is in fact no historical record of conflict between Cyrene and Carthage until 309 BCE when Ophellas, Ptolemy I's representative in Cyrene, allied with Agathocles against Carthage – but on arriving in the vicinity of that city with his army, was promptly killed by his new colleague (Diod. Sic. 20.40-2): a story that does not fit that told by Sallust at all well. I therefore prefer Stucchi's suggestion that the myth refers to the proto-colonial period, around the seventh century (Stucchi 1975: 600; cf. Oniga 1990: 53; Devillers 2005: 353, n. 76 for later bibliography).

'Cyrene' (*Iug.* 19.3), which points to the period of Ptolemaic rule in Cyrenaica, or the fourth to second centuries. As we have seen, however, both pseudo-Scylax, writing in the fourth century (109), and Polybius, writing in the second century about the period of the Second Punic War (3.39), have a singular 'Philaenus'. This suggests that the myth of the brothers was not yet extant, or at least not standard, by the end of the third century. In the same passage, Polybius is the first to call the Altars a boundary of Carthage.[26]

On the other hand, 146 BCE might be considered a *terminus ante quem* for the mythicization of the boundary if the *libri punici* used by Sallust were indeed the Carthaginian library, and not subsequently augmented by the Numidian kings; certainly all authors writing after Sallust use the plural.[27] In any case, the earlier second century presents an ideal context for the construction of a myth set in the distant past to consolidate contemporary Carthaginian claims to the ports of the Syrtes, not on this interpretation against the claims of Ptolemaic Cyrene – we hear nothing of their expansionist ambitions in this period – but against those of the Numidians.

For it is the Numidians with whom Carthage was disputing the Syrtes in this period, not the Cyreneans. Livy tells us that the cities in Tripolitania paid a tax (*vectigal*) to Carthage at the beginning of the second century, before Massinissa in 193 forced them to pay it to him instead, and by doing so raised the question of the *possessio* of this area (34.62). It is worth noting that Livy records no apparent interest in territorial control or exploitation on either side in this dispute, only in the right to tax the ports.[28] Both sides sent embassies to Rome, where the Carthaginians argued that these cities of the 'Emporia' were within the limits set for them by Scipio Africanus at the end of the Hannibalic War in 202/1 (34.62.9‑10). According to another passage in Livy these had simply been the 'cities and lands that they had held before the war, with the same boundaries' (30.37.2), but in Polybius's

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[26] Pseudo-Scylax puts the border of Carthaginian control vaguely at 'the Syrtis by Euesperides' (111).

[27] Strabo 17.3.20 has it both ways: perhaps a mistake.

[28] Massinissa's interest in the good land around the 'Emporia' (the Tripolitanian cities) is probably related to the benefit derived from that land by those cities (Polyb. 31.21.1). *Possessio* did apparently raise the issue of control of rights of way through the land, since Massinissa had at an earlier stage asked the Carthaginians for permission to cross the region in order to reach Cyrenaica (Livy 34.62.10); he was presumably heading for one of the Tripolitanian ports. *Ius vectigalium* and rights of access to the cities also seem to be the basis of the early treaties between Rome and Carthage, which sought to control access to subject communities as well as the extraction of revenue (Polyb. 3.22.5‑7, 13; 24.4, 11).

more detailed account, the Carthaginians had been required to restore to King Massinissa all places and land that had belonged to him or his ancestors (15.18.5). Now in 193 Livy has the Numidians retort that all that Carthage had by right in Africa was the land within the cut-up bull's hide that had been granted to them at their foundation (34.62.11‑12).[29] The time would have seemed ripe from Carthage's point of view for a new foundation myth, and one that gave them, too, an ancestral claim to the Syrtic ports.[30]

A chronological context of the early second century also lends itself well to a secondary function that I would argue influences the specific content of that myth, and that has to do with the stereotype of the Carthaginians. It is well known that the negative Greco-Roman picture of the Carthaginians (with whom the label 'Punic' was often treated as interchangeable) is largely a product of fourth-century and later writers, who came to focus in particular on *punica fides* (Sall. *Iug.* 108.3), which is of course to say Punic lack of faith (Isaac 2004: 324‑35). The first allusion to this can be attributed to Plautus in the third century, for whom a 'true Carthaginian' knows every language but cunningly pretends not to (*Poen.* 112f), and for Cato (or perhaps one of his colleagues) in the second century, the Carthaginians were confirmed treaty-breakers (*Rhet. Her*. 4.20). According to Diodorus, a false treaty made by a Roman embassy with Perseus in 172 led some of the older Roman senators to reflect that 'it was not fitting that Romans should imitate Phoenicians, in such a way as to surpass their enemies through deceit and not through valour' (Diod. Sic. 30.7).[31] By the first century of course we have Livy's 'perfidy greater than Punic' (21.4.9) and Posidonius's 'Phoenician lie' (Strabo 3.5.5), but even in the second century there was an anti-Phoenician charge to answer, and it is a charge overwhelmingly laid against or made in the context of Carthaginians.[32]

I want to suggest here that the story of the Philaeni brothers operates in part as a response to the nascent Greco-Roman notion of *punica fides*. Not only do these Carthaginians keep their faith against the faithless Greeks, they die to disprove the stereotype. And moreover, just as the story reverses the stereotype, it reverses standard Greek mythical norms. Ribichini has pointed out that while the story contains the standard Greek tropes of

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[29] Massinissa's claim to the region is nonetheless based on might rather than right: Livy 34.62.13.

[30] It could certainly also provide a context for a Carthaginian adaptation of an earlier Greek story, though it is difficult to find an obvious context for the Greek invention or use of such a myth.

[31] Livy puts this as *versutiae Punicae*: 42.47.8.

[32] Cf. also Polybius, who has Hannibal adopting an artifice 'typically Punic' (3.87.1).

trickery in competitions and of burying humans alive, from a Greek perspective it does not retell but rather mistells them (Ribichini 1991: 397‑8). Winning races by trickery is usually seen in a positive light in the Greek tradition as intelligence or cunning prevailing over brute force, but in the story of the Philaeni brothers, the attempted trick by the Cyreneans doesn't work, and the Carthaginians win anyway. And burying enemies alive usually marks one's own claim to the land concerned, giving it to the enemy in a symbolic way that means that they cannot possess it in reality. Ribichini compares in this respect the fate of the Aetolian colonizers in Daunia after the death of their leader Diomedes, when the indigenous inhabitants of the region expelled them from Brundisium, the city they had founded: the Aetolians sought support from an oracle who told them that they would possess forever the land they were seeking to recover, and then sent ambassadors to the locals demanding the restoration of the city, but the Apulians fulfilled the oracle by burying these ambassadors alive (Just. *Epit.* 12.2.7‑11.) In the story of the Philaeni, however, by burying the Carthaginians alive, the Cyreneans give *them* the land. In this telling of the story the Greekness of the myth-type works against the Greeks of Cyrene. This reversal of Greek norms certainly acknowledges – even highlights – the otherness of the Carthaginians imposed by the new stereotype, but at the same time reverses its hierarchy.

Later versions of the story take it in different directions. Pomponius Mela follows Sallust closely (1.33, 38): perhaps not surprising, given Mela's Phoenician sympathies (Batty 2000, with Ferrer Albelda 2012). Valerius Maximus, on the other hand, gives what is surely a Roman rewriting of the tale, in which it is the Carthaginians who cheat, starting early, and who give a clear example of *perfidia* and *fraus punica* (5.6 ext. 4).[33] Sallust could have written this version; that he did not, I have suggested, can be explained by his Carthaginian source.[34]

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[33] On the relationship between the versions of Sallust and Valerius Maximus, see Guerrini (1981: 46–9), and more generally on the later tradition, Oniga (1990: 54–61).

[34] I owe thanks to Corinne Bonnet, Lisa Fentress, Brien Garnand, Edward Lipiński, Sarah Price, Nick Vella, José Ángel Zamora and, in particular, to Irad Malkin and Sergio Ribichini for comments on versions of this chapter.

10 | Numidia and the Punic world

VIRGINIE BRIDOUX

This chapter looks at the idea of the 'Punic world' and at how Carthage's neighbour, Numidia, fitted into it.[1] The expression 'Punic world' is in need of definition at the outset, since it is used by different authors to refer to different things, leading to much confusion. Does it refer only to those regions over which Carthage exerted direct political control, for instance, or does it also encompass those regions that were influenced by Carthaginian culture? It should not, in my view, be defined solely in the former sense, since the notion of a 'world' does not have a primarily political implication, though it can denote a group or a society as it presents itself in a given period or a geographic area. If we then opt for the broader formulation, the 'Punic world' would include North Africa from the Syrtic Gulf westwards, the southeast coast of Portugal, the Spanish coast from Huelva to Catalonia and its hinterland, the Balearic Islands, western Sicily, Sardinia, and some smaller islands such as Malta and Pantelleria.[2]

How did this vast region relate to the Numidian kingdoms? It makes sense, by way of introduction, to set this chapter within the historical context of the political relations established between Carthage and Numidia, a topic that only began to be addressed by scholars in the 1950s. However, I have chosen to focus here primarily on trade, and specifically to undertake a reassessment of the importation of pottery into Numidia, supplemented by numismatic evidence. By doing so, I shall not only demonstrate a series of specific connections as well as a set of economic and cultural networks of a Punic tradition, but also explore their evolution in the context of encroaching Roman domination. This approach invites reconsideration of the ties established with Carthage before 146 BCE and Carthage's mediating role in the importation of both Mediterranean goods and Punic influences

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[1] This chapter is dedicated to the memory of Maurice Lenoir, research director of the CNRS, who oversaw my work from 1999 with rigour, kindness and devotion.

[2] I adapt here the geographical definition given by Morel (1986: 27) to describe what he called a vast 'punicizing' area in which 'Punic' pottery circulated or was made; these were the regions that received, in various forms, Carthaginian influences. I have added to Morel's list southeast Portugal where discoveries of the last years demonstrate that Carthaginian influences extended there as well.

into Numidia. At the end of this chapter, I will return to the notion of the 'Punic world', demonstrating the degree to which Numidia belonged to that world and highlighting fruitful avenues of future research.

Carthage and Numidia: political domination or cultural influence?

Political relations between Carthage and Numidia

According to the ancient texts, political relations between Carthage and Numidia were characterized first and foremost by a series of alliances and conflicts. Thus the Numidians are cited among the allies or enemies of Carthage in textual accounts relating to the fifth-fourth centuries BCE (Just. *Epit.* 19.2-3; Diod. Sic. 13.80, 20.17.1, 20.18.3), and over the course of the third century BCE the rivalry between Carthage and the various Numidian kingdoms played out primarily in the territory of modern northeastern Tunisia.[3] Conflict seems to have ceased in the last third of the century: the Massylian prince Massinissa was brought up at Carthage (App. *Pun.* 10, 37, 39), marriages were contracted between Massylian princes and Carthaginian noblewomen (for example, Polyb. 1.78.8; Livy 29.29.12), and Massaesylians and Massylians fought beside Carthage at different stages of the Second Punic War (App. *Pun.* 10, 79 and *Hisp.* 16; Livy 23.26.11, 23.29.4-5, 23.29.14, 24.49, 27.4, 38.17.6, 29.23-4; Polyb. 3.33.15). Massinissa, however, chose to rejoin the Roman side after 206 BCE, and as a reward after the Roman victory received all the Numidian lands as his own kingdom (Livy 38.35; App. *Hisp.* 37 and *Pun.* 10). His Numidians then remained enemies of Carthage until 146 BCE.

Besides these facts, there are problems of textual interpretation relating to the supposed Carthaginian domination from the fifth century BCE over settlements along the coast of Numidia – amounting to a large proportion of Numidian territory.[4] The archaeological evidence currently does not permit confirmation of this phenomenon (cf. Papi, Chapter 11, on Morocco), and if

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[3] After a series of Carthaginian forays into Numidian territory, King Massinissa took back possession of these lands, some of them at the end of the Second Punic War (App. *Pun.* 54; Polyb. 15.18; Livy 30.37), the rest in 153/152 BCE (App. *Pun.* 68-9).

[4] The *periploi* of Hanno and pseudo-Scylax describe a series of settlements established by the Carthaginians along the North African coast (*GGM* I, 1-7; 90). According to Appian (*Pun.* 57), Carthage was master of more than half of Africa, while Polybius (3.39.2) suggests that the Carthaginians, at the outset of the Second Punic War, had control over the entire coast of Libya from the Syrtic Gulf to the Strait of Gibraltar.

the discovery of the Bougie (Béjaïa) treasure demonstrates that Saldae sided with Carthage during the Second Punic War,[5] supporting ancient reports that Carthage used mercenaries from towns along the Mediterranean coast (for example Polyb. 3.33.8, 3.33.12‑13; Sil. *Pun.* 3.259), this does not demonstrate Carthage's control or authority over these areas. Thus Carthaginian domination and the accuracy of literary testimonia on this topic are, for the moment, questionable. Furthermore (and contrary to standard interpretations) the municipal constitution of Thugga suggests that the Numidian cities were not, at least at the time of the Numidian kingdoms, governed according to Carthaginian institutional models (*RIL* 2; Ghaki 1997; cf. Bridoux forthcoming). Even if there were some Carthaginian influences on the municipal organization of Numidian cities, however, it is difficult to maintain that there was direct Carthaginian political control over these settlements.

Carthaginian cultural influences on Numidia

One thing is certain: Carthaginian influences were widespread in Numidia, in particular in the realms of religion, funerary traditions, language and writing. It would be tedious to go over a list of the inscriptions, necropoleis and sanctuaries that attest this phenomenon, especially in the period when the Numidian kingdom was being consolidated from the late third to mid-first centuries BCE.[6] It is nevertheless necessary to highlight the fact that Punic was the official language of the Numidian kingdom from the reign of Massinissa on, used both for official inscriptions and for the legends on Numidian coins in Punic or neo-Punic script (Alexandropoulous 2000). In this sense, and without wishing to neglect aspects of Libyan civilization in Numidia, we can see that Numidia belonged to the 'Punic world', insofar as that term designates those regions where Carthage exerted a cultural influence.

Taking that as a starting point, I seek here to clarify the phenomenon, looking at how such Punic influences reached Numidia. If the policies of the Numidian rulers were responsible for the diffusion of the Punic language and script from the second century BCE, this was not the only route that encouraged the penetration of Carthaginian influence. Was this

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[5] A hoard of just over 3,000 Punic coins datable to the period of the Second Punic War, now in the Musée d'Alger, was discovered in 1926 (Soltani 2000; 2005).

[6] See Krandel-Ben Younès 2002, and Ben Younès and Krandel-Ben Younès, Chapter 8, for examples of the funerary aspects of this phenomenon.

the result of bilateral relations established beyond the recurrent conflicts and encouraged by the geographic proximity of Numidian and Carthaginian territory? Or did these influences come more indirectly, via the various regions which constituted the Punic world? And if that was the case, what were the privileged routes of transmission?

   One way to approach these questions is through the commercial relations which tied Numidia into other parts of the Mediterranean. These have not yet been studied in detail, but I begin that process here with an inventory of pottery imports found at sites in Algeria and western Tunisia.[7] It is not yet possible to undertake a parallel study of Numidian exports to the wider Mediterranean, since local production remains poorly understood and the only production currently attested archaeologically is the manufacture of coarse ware pottery at Mactar between the second and first centuries BCE (Bourgeois 1982). Since information about imports of the fifth–fourth centuries BCE is rare,[8] the chronological limits of this chapter will be the third and mid-first centuries BCE.[9] Furthermore, Italian imports, although they arrived in Numidian territory in great numbers in this period, have been excluded from the current inventory as they have already been studied (Bridoux forthcoming), and the results of this study will be taken into account in the third part of this chapter. Some objects generally counted as 'Punicizing production' are likewise excluded since their place of production remains uncertain and thus they can add little to our understanding of commercial relations.[10]

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[7] My documentation here has been enriched by the opportunity to study the collections held by Algerian museums, and I thank in particular M. Betrouni (Director of Patrimoine, Algiers), A. Ghessab (former Director of the Agence Nationale d'Archéologie), H. Meshoub (Director of the Musée National A. Zabana d'Oran), Y. Rebahi (Conservator of the Musée de Cherchell), and S. Bensaada (Conservator of the Musée d'Hippone).

[8] Besides roughly twenty pieces of Attic pottery from Tipasa, Gunugu, Hippo Regius and Iol (Villard 1959: 7–13; Morel 1980: 58–61, 68–72; Benseddik and Potter 1993: 274–5, 337), there is currently no other evidence certainly datable to this period that can elucidate relations between Numidia and the rest of the Mediterranean. Only the recent excavations at Althiburos offer new evidence in this area through the presence of Carthaginian amphorae of the fourth century BCE (Kallala *et al.* 2008: 79, 85).

[9] In 105 BCE, the Mauretanian king Bocchus I annexed the west of Numidia and pushed the border back to the mouth of the Chélif and Cap Ténès (cf. Bridoux forthcoming). It is thus the Numidian kingdom in its widest sense that is examined here, from the Oued Moulouya to the edge of the *fossa regia*.

[10] Among these are some modelled vases (Gómez Bellard and Pérez Ballester 2004), *oenochoai*, and *gutti* (pouring vessels) in black glaze (Morel 1980; 1986), generally datable to the third and the first half of the second centuries BCE. The diffusion of these objects is notable, including the regions of Carthage, Tripolitania, Sardinia, Sicily, the Balearic Islands and the east coast of Spain.

Inventory of imported pottery

Imports from Carthage and its territory

Various types of amphorae from the territory of Carthage are well-attested on sites in Numidia; the bibliographic references for the finds, as with all subsequent sections, are indicated on the distribution maps.

Maña D (Ramon 5.2.3.1 and 5.2.3.2) amphorae (Fig. 10.1)

The discovery of Maña D amphorae, or, more precisely, of the variants Ramon 5.2.3.1-2, attests imports from Carthaginian territory between the last quarter of the third century BCE and the first third of the second century BCE (Ramon Torres 1995: 197-9). Although these are present at a wide range of sites in the territory under study, from Siga to Bulla Regia, they have so far been found in very small quantities.

Maña C2a (Ramon 7.4.21, 7.4.3.1) amphorae (Fig. 10.2)

Probably imported from the region of Carthage during the first half of the second century BCE (Ramon Torres 1995: 209-11), these amphorae are particularly well represented in Numidia. They are not only found at a wide variety of sites from the Oranie region to eastern Tunisia, including those of central and eastern Algeria, but are also found in abundance, especially in the east, at Hippo Regius and above all at Mactar and Bulla Regia. They are also abundant at Iol, but a portion of those found at the site may have been produced locally (Benseddik and Potter 1993: 295, fig. 74).[11]

Maña C amphorae (Fig. 10.3)

Among the Maña C group, produced in the territory of Carthage (Ramon Torres 1995: 205-8), it is possible to identify three variants in Ramon Torres's typology in Numidia. The first, variant 7.3.1.1 (late third-mid-second centuries BCE) is well-attested at Mactar and appears in limited

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[11] According to the published drawings, the authors classed some of the fragments in the category of Punic amphorae and others in a group of 'Punic tradition' (Benseddick and Potter 1993 fig. 142, Punic amphorae nos. 1-3, Punic tradition amphorae nos. 1, 8, and miscellaneous). The total number of rims which can be attributed to type Ramon T 7.4.2.1/7.4.3.1 adds up to around 40. Nevertheless, of the sixteen fragments that underwent petrographic analysis, half could be associated with local production.
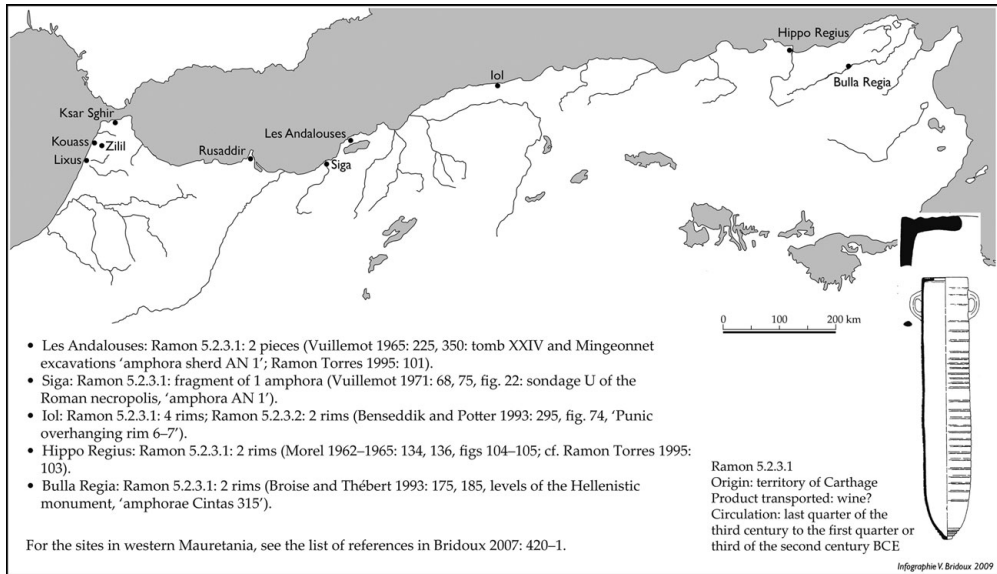
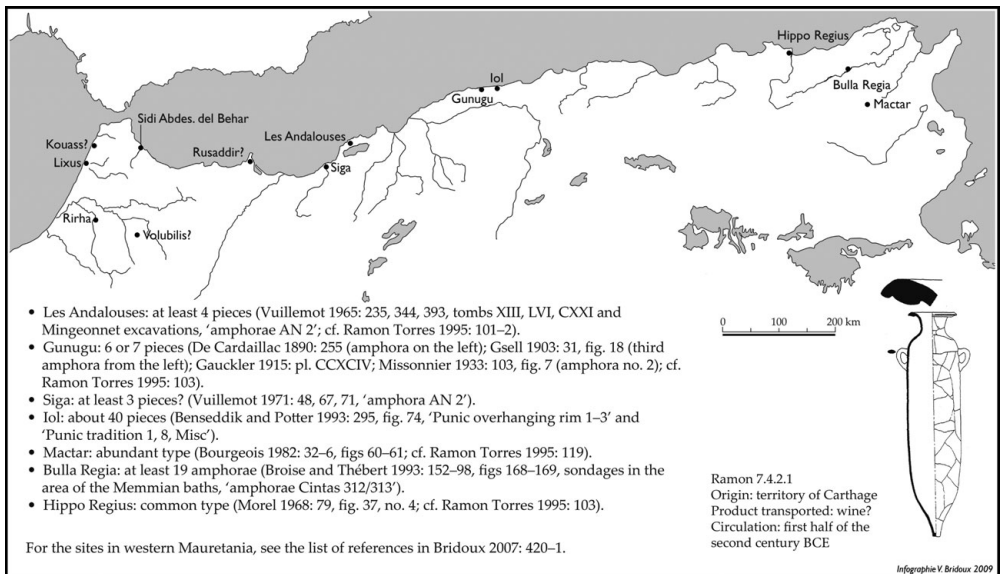**Fig. 10.1.** Distribution of Maña D (Ramon 5.2.3.1 and 5.2.3.2) amphorae.

Text in Fig. 10.1:

- Les Andalouses: Ramon 5.2.3.1: 2 pieces (Vuillemot 1965: 225, 350: tomb XXIV and Mingeonnet excavations 'amphora sherd AN 1'; Ramon Torres 1995: 101).
- Siga: Ramon 5.2.3.1: fragment of 1 amphora (Vuillemot 1971: 68, 75, fig. 22: sondage U of the Roman necropolis, 'amphora AN 1').
- Iol: Ramon 5.2.3.1: 4 rims; Ramon 5.2.3.2: 2 rims (Benseddik and Potter 1993: 295, fig. 74, 'Punic overhanging rim 6–7').
- Hippo Regius: Ramon 5.2.3.1: 2 rims (Morel 1962–1965: 134, 136, figs 104–105; cf. Ramon Torres 1995: 103).
- Bulla Regia: Ramon 5.2.3.1: 2 rims (Broise and Thébert 1993: 175, 185, levels of the Hellenistic monument, 'amphorae Cintas 315').

For the sites in western Mauretania, see the list of references in Bridoux 2007: 420–1.

Ramon 5.2.3.1
Origin: territory of Carthage
Product transported: wine?
Circulation: last quarter of the third century to the first quarter or third of the second century BCE

Infographie V. Bridoux 2009

Fig. 10.2. Distribution of Maña C2a (Ramon 7.4.21, 7.4.3.1) amphorae.

Text in Fig. 10.2:

- Les Andalouses: at least 4 pieces (Vuillemot 1965: 235, 344, 393, tombs XIII, LVI, CXXI and Mingeonnet excavations, 'amphora AN 2'; cf. Ramon Torres 1995: 101–2).
- Gunugu: 6 or 7 pieces (De Cardaillac 1890: 255 (amphora on the left); Gsell 1903: 31, fig. 18 (third amphora from the left); Gauckler 1915: pl. CCXCIV; Missonnier 1933: 103, fig. 7 (amphora no. 2); cf. Ramon Torres 1995: 103).
- Siga: at least 3 pieces? (Vuillemot 1971: 48, 67, 71, 'amphora AN 2').
- Iol: about 40 pieces (Benseddik and Potter 1993: 295, fig. 74, 'Punic overhanging rim 1–3' and 'Punic tradition 1, 8, Misc').
- Mactar: abundant type (Bourgeois 1982: 32–6, figs 60–61; cf. Ramon Torres 1995: 119).
- Bulla Regia: at least 19 amphorae (Broise and Thébert 1993: 152–98, figs 168–169, sondages in the area of the Memmian baths, 'amphorae Cintas 312/313').
- Hippo Regius: common type (Morel 1968: 79, fig. 37, no. 4; cf. Ramon Torres 1995: 103).

For the sites in western Mauretania, see the list of references in Bridoux 2007: 420–1.

Ramon 7.4.2.1
Origin: territory of Carthage
Product transported: wine?
Circulation: first half of the second century BCE

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quantities in Les Andalouses and at Bulla Regia. The second (7.2.1.1) and third (7.3.2.1) variants, produced between the last third of the third century BCE and the first third of the second century BCE, can be identified only at Iol, where they appear relatively abundantly.

- Les Andalouses: Ramon 7.3.1.1: 2 piece? (Vuillemot 1965: 337, 339, tombs I and CXXX, 'amphora AN 5' and 'amphora AN 2'; cf. Ramon Torres 1995: 102).
- Bulla Regia: Ramon 7.3.1.1: 3 pieces? (Broise and Thébert 1993; 152–3, 174, 183, figs 175, 190, 196, 'amphorae Cintas 312/315').
- Mactar: Ramon 7.3.1.1: about a dozen pieces (Bourgeois 1982: 32–6, 60–1, figs 5–6; cf. Ramon Torres 1995: 119).
- Iol: Ramon 7.3.2.1: 27 rims?; Ramon 7.2.1.1: 11 rims? (Benseddik and Potter 1993: 295, fig. 74, 'Punic tradition 4, 5, 6, 7').

For the sites in western Mauretania, see the list of references in Bridoux 2007: 421.

⊙ Ramon 7.3.2.1 and 7.2.1.1
◈ Ramon 7.3.1.1

Ramon 7.3.1.1
Origin: territory of Carthage
Product transported: ?
Circulation: end of the third (?)
to the first half of the second
century BCE

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Fig. 10.3. Distribution of Maña C amphorae.

- Mactar: Ramon 7.5.1.1: in small quantities; Ramon 7.6.1.1 and 7.6.2.1: 3 pieces (Bourgeois 1982: 32–6, fig. 6; cf. Ramon Torres 1995: 119).
- Bulla Regia: Ramon 7.5.2.2: 1 rim? (Broise and Thébert 1993; 196–7, fig. 202, nos 83–188).
- Hippo Regius: Ramon 7.5.0.0: some fragments (Morel 1968: 79, fig. 37; cf. Ramon Torres 1995: 103).

⊙ Ramon 7.5.1.1 and 7.5.2.2
◈ Ramon 7.6.1.1 and 7.6.2.1

Ramon 7.5.1.1
Origin: territory of Tunisian Sahel
Product transported: ?
Circulation: second half (or last third?)
of the second–beginning of the first
century BCE

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Fig. 10.4. Distribution of imports from the Sahel after 146 BCE.

Imports from the Sahel after 146 BCE (Fig. 10.4)

Between the mid-second and mid-first centuries BCE, Mactar received –
albeit in limited quantities – three types of container coming from the area
of the Sahel: amphorae of types Ramon 7.5.1.1, 7.6.1.1 and 7.6.2.1 (Ramon
Torres 1995: 214, 217-19). It may also be possible to identify another
variant of these containers, Ramon 7.5.2.2, used from the late second–
mid-first centuries BCE (Ramon Torres 1995: 216), at Bulla Regia, while at
Hippo Regius, some fragments can be associated with the general group
Ramon 7.5, likewise indicating the presence of products from the Tunisian
Sahel datable between the second half of the second century BCE and the
first century BCE. These imports of pottery in the Punic tradition after the
fall of Carthage are only found in the Numidian east.

Tripolitanian imports (Fig. 10.5)

So-called Tripolitanian amphorae, the production of which developed in
the second and above all in the first century BCE (Pascual Berlanga and
Ribera i Lacomba 2002; Ramon Torres 2008: 73) can be identified under
their older variant at Les Andalouses. There they appear relatively wide-
spread both in tombs and in domestic contexts, largely datable to the first
two thirds of the first century BCE. Their presence is likewise reported
at Iol in limited quantities in first-century BCE levels, while sketches of
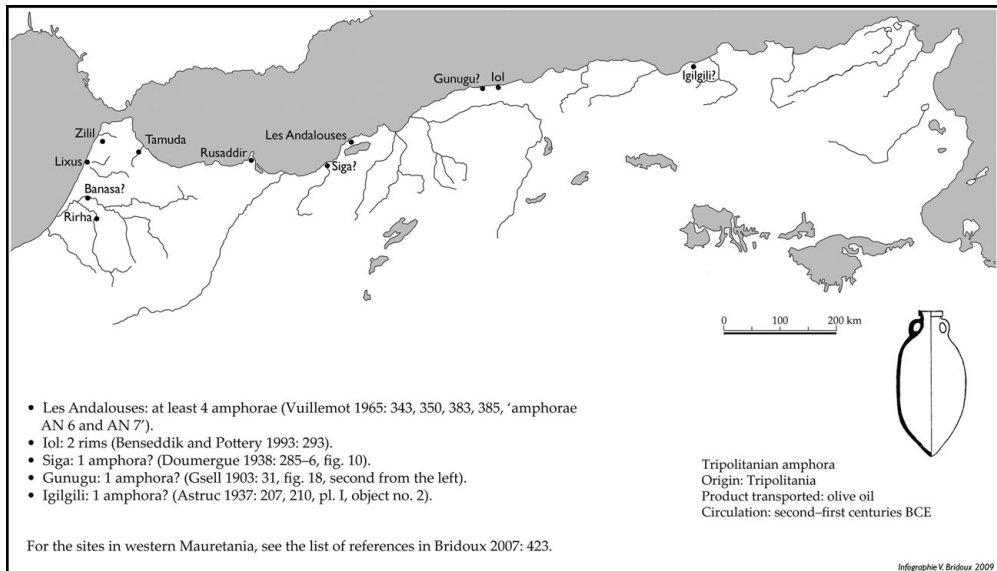
Fig. 10.5. Distribution of imports from Tripolitania.

Maña E amphorae:
- Gunugu: at least 12 pieces (Gauckler 1915: pl. CCLV, CCXCIV, CCC, CCIV, CCCV, CCCVIII, CCCXXVIII, 'amphore fuseau'; Missonnier 1933: 103, fig. 7, amphorae nos 1 and 3; De Cardaillac 1890: 255, amphora to the right; cf. Ramon S95: 102–3).
- Iol: 15 pieces (Benseddik and Potter 1993: 295, figs 107 and 109, nos 542 and 570, 'fusiform type').
- Tipasa: 1 piece (Lancel 1968: 121–2, fig. 83; cf. Ramon Torres 1995: 103).

Ebusitan ceramics:
- Les Andalouses: black-glazed pottery of local production: at least 7 objects: plain Punico-Ebusitan ware of local production (Eb. 72, 73, 69): 11 objects? (necropolis, cf. Bridoux 2006: 1651–70).
- Gunugu: plain Punico-Ebusitan ware of local production (Eb. 73, 69, 23b, 64, 70): at least 5 objects? (Gauckler 1915: pl. CCLVI, third and forth lines, last object to the right; first line from the top, second object to the right; cf. Font de Tarradell 1974: 225; Gauckler 1915: 322, object at the top, right; pl. CCLV, first line from the top, left).
- Igilgili: plain Punico-Ebusitan ware (Eb. 23b, 64)? (Astruc 1937: 209–12, pl. II, object no. 6; Alquier J. and P. 1930: 8, fig. 4).

For the sites in western Mauretania, see the list of references in Bridoux 2007: 421–3.

⊙ Maña E amphorae
◇ Pottery from Ebusus

Ramon 8.1.3.2
Origin: Ibiza
Product transported: wine?
Circulation: second century BCE

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Fig. 10.6. Distribution of imports from Ibiza.

material discovered in the first half of the twentieth century suggest the presence of this amphora type at Siga, Gunugu and Igilgili.

Ibizan imports (Fig. 10.6)

Maña E amphorae (Ramon 8.1.3.1/3.2/3.3)

Sketches, photographs and commentaries published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by Gsell, Gauckler, Missonnier and De Cardaillac suggest that Ibizan amphorae were frequently found at Gunugu. Indeed, they were the most common among all the amphorae found in the pre-Roman necropolis, and their quantity even led the directors of the excavation to consider them products of the site itself (Gsell 1903: 31-2, fig. 18; Gauckler 1915: 322). The variant Ramon 8.1.3.2, datable from 200 to 120 BCE, can certainly be identified, while other examples appear to belong to types Ramon 8.1.3.1 (240/220-190 BCE) or 8.1.3.3 (120/100 BCE-50/75 CE) (Ramon Torres 1995: 223-5). The catalogue of material published from the excavation of the forum of Iol demonstrates that Ibizan amphorae were just as numerous there, with type Ramon 8.1.3.2 also appearing. Finally, an amphora of this same type is attested in the Tipasa necropolis.

Ceramic vessels

I have already dealt with the presence of Ibizan ceramics on the site of Les Andalouses (Bridoux 2006; cf. Vuillemot 1965). The material there is datable between the last quarter of the third and the second centuries BCE, and consists partially of vessels inspired by 'universal' black-glaze wares and partially of coarse ware objects that can be associated with the Punico-Ibizan typologies defined by Font de Tarradell and Tarradell (1975).[12] If in a general way the coarse wares found in the necropolis of Les Andalouses find their closest parallels in the Balearics, belonging to types Eb 72, 73, 69, 62, 30, 13, 14, 1 in the Punico-Ibizan ceramic typology, it is impossible to be certain that the objects were made there. Only urns Eb 72, 73, and 69 – types that rarely spread beyond the Balearic Islands, and whose production is well-attested on Ibiza – can be attributed with certainty to Ibizan workshops.

This is also the case with certain coarse ware vessels found in the necropolis of Gunugu, with the presence of urns of types Eb 73 and Eb 69. Other objects from Gunugu also display characteristics of Ibizan workshops: a jug of type Eb 23b, a form that appears to have been in use between the third and second centuries BCE (Fernández and Costa 1998b: 34), and a similar object that was found in a tomb at Igilgili and associated with a Dressel 1 amphora (Astruc 1937: 209-12, pl. II, no. 6). Two two-handled urns similar to type Eb 64 were likewise found in tombs at Igilgili and Gunugu (Alquier and Alquier 1930: 8, fig. 4): this was one of the most popular forms in Ibizan production between the late fifth and the late third centuries BCE (Fernández and Costa 1998b: 36-7). A two-handled urn of type Eb 70 was also found, the production of which appears to have taken place between the second half of the third century BCE and the last quarter of the second century BCE (Fernández and Costa 1998b: 39). It is worth noting also that, according to the excavation notes of Gauckler (1915: pl. CCCXXVIII), two Ibizan amphorae were found in a tomb beside an *oenochoe* with incised 'zig-zag' decoration, a combination of material attested in Workshop AE-34 on Ibiza (Ramon 1981: 92).

Other pottery found at Gunugu, Tipasa and Igilgili might be associated with Ibizan pottery workshops, though the possibility of another Punic origin cannot be excluded. Such objects belong to types whose production is not currently well attested in Ibizan workshops, and which have numerous parallels found in various Punic necropoleis in the western Mediterranean from the fourth to second centuries BCE; for this reason, such pieces

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[12] This is also the case with vase AN 61 in Vuillemot's typology, for which the only parallel is, to my knowledge, in the Balearic Islands (Bridoux 2006: 1666).

are not included on the distribution maps. It is nevertheless worth mentioning several single-handled jugs similar to Eb 30a and 30b, seen in the drawings and photographs from the excavations at Gunugu (Gsell 1903: 27, 29, figs. 13, 15; Gauckler 1915: pl. CCLVI, second row from the top, at right; Font de Tarradell 1974: 231; on the type, close to Cintas 114, cf. Fernández 1992: 24–5; Fernández and Costa 1998b: 35); single-handled jugs belonging to types Eb 13 and 14 in the tombs of Gunugu, of Tipasa, and of Igilgili;[13] *oenochoai* with trefoil rims close to type Eb 4 at Gunugu and Igilgili;[14] and *oenochoai* of type Eb 2 at Gunugu, Igilgili and Tipasa.[15] Three *lagynoi* (wide bodied flasks) from Gunugu and one from Tipasa can likewise be associated with Ibizan type Eb 21, a form similar to Cintas 98, datable from the third–second centuries BCE (Gauckler 1915: pl. CCLVII, third row from the top, second and third objects from left; Missonnier 1933: 102, fig. 5, no. 7; Cintas 1949: 60, tomb 12; cf. Fernández and Costa 1998b: 32–3).

If caution regarding the provenance of these objects is necessary, the frequency of Ibizan amphorae at Gunugu and the presence of type Eb 73 – a typically Ibizan product – at the site strongly suggest a massive importation of Ibizan pottery there. The closeness of Gunugu and Tipasa, and the discovery of an Ibizan amphora in the western necropolis of the latter, similarly suggest the probable presence of Ibizan pottery at Tipasa. By contrast, if seemingly Punico-Ibizan ceramics appear among the goods from the necropolis of Igilgili, there is nothing else to prove a provenance in the Balearic Islands.

Iberian imports (Fig. 10.7)

Iberian pottery is well-attested at Numidian sites. The evidence does not permit identification of all of the types found but nevertheless clearly demonstrates the importation of a range of products.

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[13]   At Gunugu, the context of discovery remains unknown (Gauckler 1915: pl. CCLVI, first row from the top, at left). At Tipasa, Lancel (1968: 132–3, fig. 108) mentions having found an object of this type in a context of the late second or early first century BCE. At Igilgili, a similar object was found in tomb XIII accompanied by pateras of type Lamboglia 23; Astruc (1937: 207 and pl. II, no. 7) does not mention whether these were covered with black glaze. On production, see also Bridoux (2006: 1658–60). The forms are similar to types Cintas 120 and 123 (for which see Cintas 1950).

[14]   A similar object is visible in a drawing by Gsell but it has a more elongated body than the Ibizan examples (Gsell 1903: fig. 14; cf. Font de Tarradell and Tarradell 2000: 166). These *oenochoai* are similar to type Cintas 164/165.

[15]   On Eb 2, cf. Fernández and Costa (1998a: 83–109). For Gunugu, cf. Gsell (1903: figs. 13–16). The example from Igilgili comes from tomb XX, which did not produce any imported objects capable of providing a chronology for the tomb (Astruc 1937: 231, 233–4, pl. IV, no. E). An example from Tipasa displays decoration consisting of brown lines and the *oudja* eye common on Ibizan products (Lancel 1968: 129, fig. 96; Font de Tarradell and Tarradell 2000: 163). Cf. also Bouchenaki and Bouchenaki (1970: figs. 7–9). These *oenochoai* are similar to types Cintas 180 and 188.
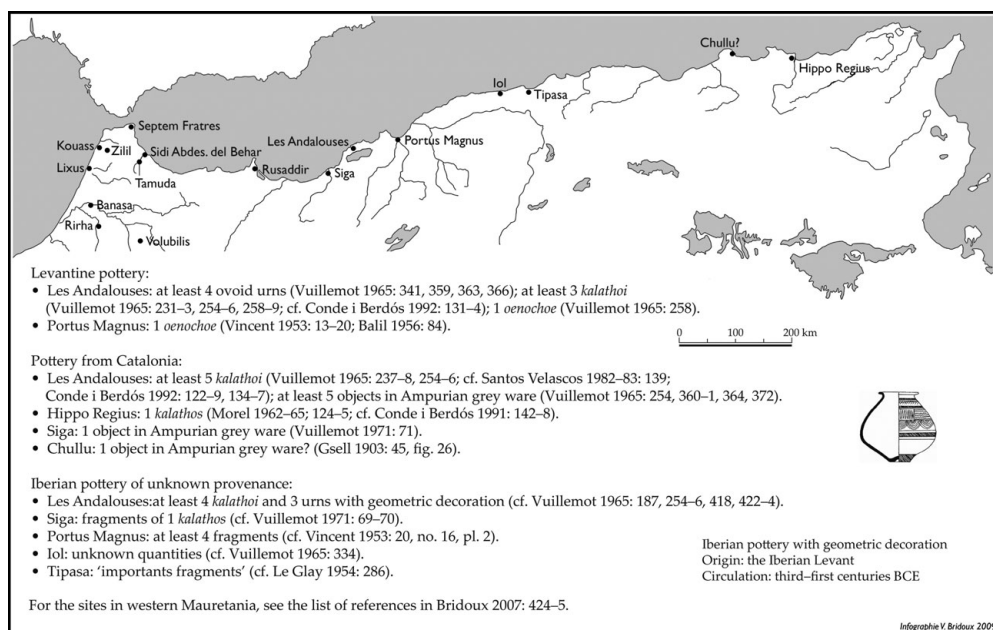
Fig. 10.7. Distribution of imports from Iberia.

Several ovoid urns with geometric decoration, produced in the Iberian 'Levant', are known from the necropolis of Les Andalouses. The closest parallels are found in the regions of Murcia, Valencia and above all Alicante (Santos Velasco 1982‒3: 137‒9). The presence of Campana A pottery associated with one of these pieces suggests a date between the last quarter of the third century BCE and the last quarter of the second century BCE (Vuillemot 1965: 359). Also from the Iberian Levant, more precisely the region of Elche-Arcena, come *kalathoi* (vases), identifiable in Les Andalouses in the habitation levels of the second and first two-thirds of the first centuries BCE. It is possible to identify two of these as types D1 or D2 in the typology of Conde i Berdós (1992). Finally, two *oenochoai* with zoomorphic decoration excavated at Les Andalouses in a level datable to the first two-thirds of the first century BCE, and a third from a tomb at Portus Magnus datable to the turn of the millennium, originate from the same region.

Pottery produced in Catalonia is relatively well represented. Several *kalathoi* decorated with concentric semi-circles, probably belonging to Conde i Berdós's type B7, were found at Les Andalouses, as well as a fragment with floral decoration which can be attributed to type E1, originally from the Ebro Valley. These finds all come from levels datable to the second century BCE. Documented fragments of a *kalathos* of type A1 from Hippo Regius, found in a context of the second half of the second century

BCE, can also be added to this group. Ampuritan grey ware is likewise found in both domestic and funerary contexts at Les Andalouses, where forms 4 and 1D in Aranegui Gascó's typology can be identified (Aranegui Gascó 1987: 89–90, 96). For the most part, these objects are datable to the second century BCE. Form 4 also appears at Siga in a second-century BCE level. Finally, a small handled jar with a ridged body can be seen in a drawing showing the material from the tombs at Chullu: a piece probably belonging to Ampuritan grey ware production.

Iberian pottery, largely imported in the second and the first two-thirds of the first centuries BCE, is thus mainly found in settlements along the coast of the Oranie, and in particular at Les Andalouses where it appears frequently and in many types, both in the necropolis and in domestic areas. Several pieces of unknown Iberian provenance at Les Andalouses in levels of the second and first two-thirds of the first century BCE,[16] at Siga in a level of the second century BCE, and at Portus Magnus (context unknown) can be added to the evidence from the workshops already discussed. Iberian pottery was likewise fairly frequent at Tipasa, but appears to be absent at nearby Gunugu and is poorly attested at Iol.

Imports from the far west

Imports from the far west, coming from Andalucía, Morocco or modern Portugal,[17] are found in Numidian coastal settlements but are almost all confined to the western region.

Maña-Pascual type A4 (Ramon 12.1.1.1) amphorae (Fig. 10.8).

Maña-Pascual A4 amphorae of the late variety have frequently been found at Les Andalouses in domestic contexts of the second century BCE. They are likewise identifiable at Siga, where fragments were apparently excavated in great quantity in levels datable to the second and early first centuries BCE.

Maña B amphorae (Fig. 10.8)

These poorly understood amphorae, generally called Maña B, or sometimes either 'Ibero-Punic' or 'Punico-Turdetanian', are identifiable in the

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[16] Following the excavations he undertook at Andalouses, Cintas mentioned the discovery of Iberian pottery with geometric decoration of various types in a domestic context, probably datable to the second century (Cintas 1953: 55).

[17] Our state of knowledge does not yet allow solid distinctions to be made between Iberian and Mauretanian products. On Iberian products, well-attested, see: Niveau de Villedary Mariñas 2004; Bernal Cassola and Lagóstena Barrios 2004; Sàez Romero 2008.

Maña-Pascual amphorae A4:
- Les Andalouses: fairly common (Vuillemot 1965: 235–6, fig. 97, no. 4 and p. 251, 'amphorae M4'; Cintas 1976: 43; cf. Ramon Torres 1995: 101–2, 237–8).
- Siga: common (Vuillemot 1971: 48, 67–9, 71, 75, fig. 22, 'amphorae M4').

Maña B amphorae:
- Les Andalouses: common (Vuillemot 1965: 235, 239–40, fig. 97, no. 15, fig. 99, 'amphorae M15'; cf. Ramon Torres 1995: 101).
- Siga: common (Vuillemot 1971: 69, 75, 'amphorae M15').
- Iol: 2 pieces? (Benseddik and Potter 1993, figs 92, 94).

◉ Maña B amphorae
◈ Maña-Pascual amphorae A4

Ramon 12.1.1.1
Origin: far west
Product transported: fish sauce
Circulation: end of the forth
to the first half of the first
century BCE

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Fig. 10.8. Distribution of Maña-Pascual type A4 (Ramon 12.1.1.1.) and Maña B amphorae.

western part of Numidia. Multiple variants of this type are attested, and their production in the far west is becoming more and more certain (Ramon Torres 1995: 194). These amphorae are recognizable in the domestic quarter and the necropolis of Les Andalouses in contexts of the second and above all the third centuries BCE, where they appear frequently. The same is true of the pre-Roman levels at Siga, where they seem to date from the first half of the second century BCE. Finally, the presence of Maña B amphorae is probable at Iol, but this identification requires further confirmation given the fragmentary nature of the attestations.

Maña C2b (Ramon 7.4.3.2/3) amphorae (Fig. 10.9)

Amphorae of type Maña C2b, datable to the second century BCE and primarily the first two-thirds of the first century BCE (Ramon Torres 1995: 212–13), are found only in the Oranie, in the necropolis and domestic areas of Les Andalouses and also at Siga.

Sala 1 amphorae (Fig. 10.9)

The amphora type Sala 1, whose production was first identified on the eponymous Mauretanian site (Boube 1987–8: 186–8), actually comprises a series of morphologically similar containers of the first century BCE which
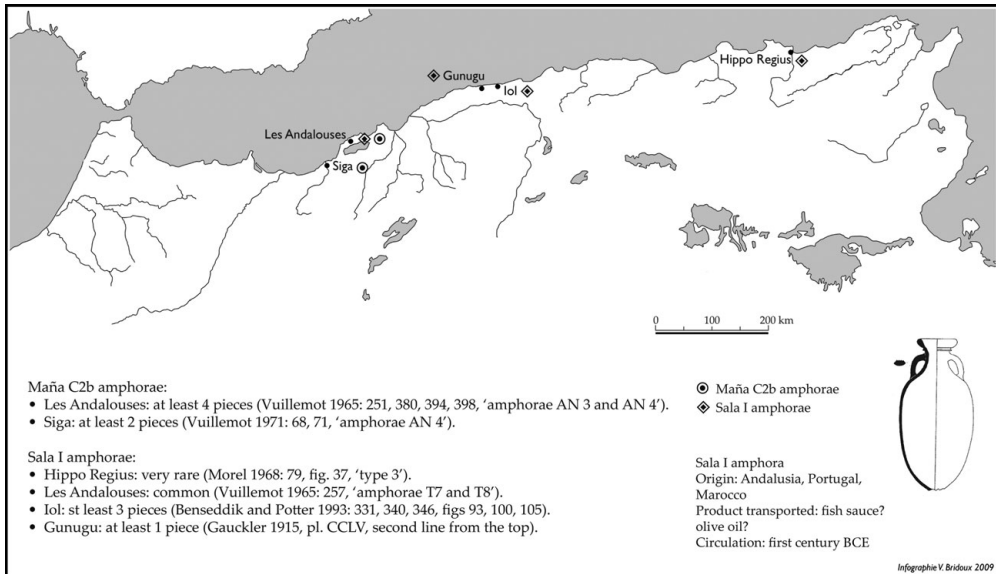
Fig. 10.9. Distribution of Maña C2b (Ramon 7.4.3.2/3) and Sala 1 amphorae.

have a common ovoid body but a range of rims, handles and bases.[18] The diffusion of these amphorae in the coastal settlements of modern Algeria is clear, even if in relatively small quantities: it is possible to identify a few examples at Hippo Regius and Iol. By contrast, they appear more frequently at Les Andalouses where they predominate in habitation levels of the first two-thirds of the first century BCE. Finally, Gunugu can be added to the list of settlements which received Sala 1 amphorae thanks to a photograph published by Gauckler.

Imports from the eastern Mediterranean (Fig. 10.10)

Rhodian amphorae

Rhodian amphorae appear to be found only in the region of Cirta. Nearly a dozen of these vessels are attested at Cirta and Tiddis where they are apparently datable from the fourth quarter of the third century BCE to the first half of the second century BCE.

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[18] See, for example, the amphorae discovered in Portugal where they were named Lomba do Canho 67: Fabião 2000: 665–82. Cf. also the synthesis of Molina Vidal (1995).
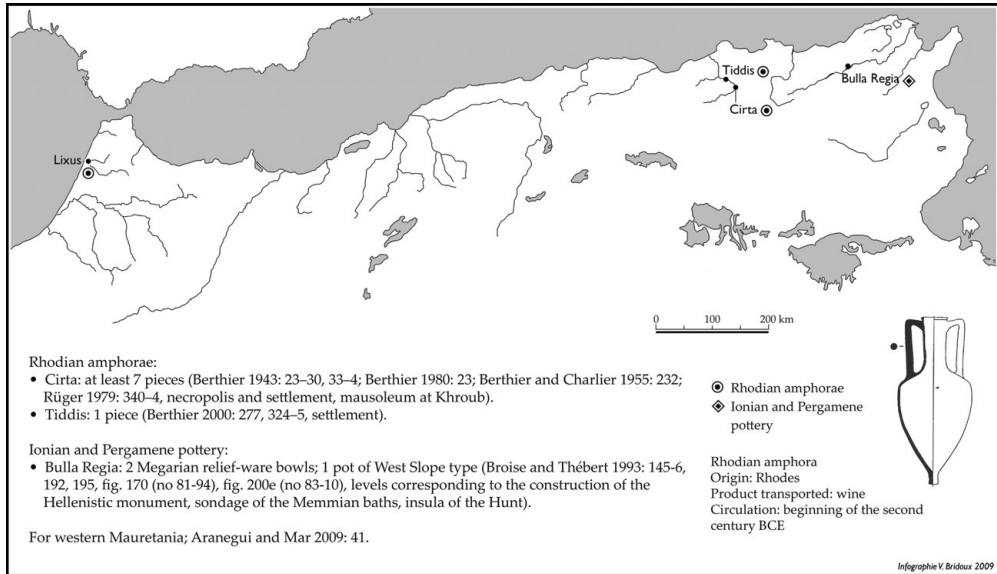
Fig. 10.10. Distribution of imports from the eastern Mediterranean.

Ionian and Pergamene pottery

To my knowledge, these eastern types of pottery have been found only at Bulla Regia. The evidence is nevertheless limited to fragments from two - Megarian bowls with relief decoration, typical of Ionian production, some of which come from a level datable from the mid-second to the early first centuries BCE (Broise and Thébert 1993: 192, fig. 200e), alongside a fragment of Pergamene West Slope ware of the second century BCE.

Circuits of distribution and their evolution

The place of Numidia in Mediterranean trade patterns

The data discussed here attest first to Numidia's insertion into the major trading circuits of the Mediterranean from at least the last third or last quarter of the third century BCE. Italian products (black-glaze pottery, Greco-Italic and Dressel 1 amphorae) arrived in the main settlements of Numidia, both coastal and inland, from at least the first half of the second century BCE; some sites certainly received Italian products from the last quarter of the third century BCE (Bridoux forthcoming). In addition to these, the presence of products from the area around Carthage, the Tunisian Sahel, Tripolitania, the Balearic Islands, eastern and north-eastern

Iberia, the far west, and the eastern Mediterranean can all be seen; the majority of these imports came from regions that belonged to the Punic world before being gradually incorporated within territories ruled by Rome. Although not the central focus of this chapter, it is worth remembering that the nature of the products contained in the vessels under discussion remains difficult to identify at present. Doubts persist about the contents of Carthaginian amphorae (wine? fish sauce?), Ibizan amphorae (wine?), Iberian *kalathoi* (honey? anchovies?) and certain amphorae (especially Maña B and Sala I) from the area around the Straits of Gibraltar (oil?) (cf. Ramon Torres 1995: 264-6). We nevertheless can demonstrate the importation of wine and pottery from the Greek world, of tablewares from Ibiza and Iberia, oil from Tripolitania, fish sauces from the far west, and tablewares and wine from Italy.

Evidence for differentiated commercial connections

The distribution maps presented here, especially when associated with the numismatic evidence (Bridoux forthcoming), suggest that the majority of Numidian settlements did not have direct economic relations with Carthage. The evidence instead suggests regional differences and a variety of specific connections with areas belonging to the Punic world. Some of these connections reveal that the role of Carthage in the diffusion of Mediterranean products in Numidia was not essential, as does the fact that many of these ties were maintained after the destruction of Carthage in 146 BCE.

In western Numidia, for instance, imports and coins from Carthage are not at all abundant and thus do not suggest direct commercial relations: indeed, in the whole Numidian west, only five Carthaginian coins are known. The goods in the necropolis of Les Andalouses instead suggest particularly close ties with the Balearic Islands, and in particular with Ibiza. Contacts between the Oranie and the archipelago go back to a much earlier period, as the material from the island of Rachgoun, datable to the seventh-sixth centuries BCE, displays numerous similarities with that of Ibiza (Vuillemot 1965: 55-130).

The Balearic Islands probably played the role of middleman in the diffusion of Mediterranean imports in the Oranie. In fact, they received the full set of products attested in western Algeria, and their role as a re-distributor in the western Mediterranean is becoming more and more clear (for example: Gómez Bellard 1992: 385-90; Ramon Torres 1995: 62; Pinedo Reyes and Alonso Campoy 2005: 94; Bridoux 2006: 1667-8; Ramon Torres 2008: 85-91). Rome's annexation of the islands in 123 BCE seems to mark a

change in import patterns, especially by allowing Italian traders to take over the markets of the Oranie. Looking at the goods in the necropolis of Les Andalouses, the increasing rarity of Ibizan-type material and the growth of Italian products from the last quarter of the second century BCE become apparent (Bridoux 2006: 1668).

In spite of this, relations between the Oranie and the Iberian Levant should not be forgotten, given the relative abundance of ceramics from that region found at Les Andalouses and the probable existence of a shipping lane linking Siga directly to Cartagena.[19] Likewise, commercial links with the area of the Straits of Gibraltar should not be underestimated. On the one hand, products attributed to the 'Circle of the Straits' are present in the Oranie, and on the other, Strabo states that Malaca was a market for the Numidians who lived on the opposite coast (3.4.2) and Pliny sets Siga across from Malaca (*HN* 5.19).

In the central area of the territory under examination, the situation was different. If the evidence does not allow precise analysis of the ties between Gunugu and Tipasa and other regions of the Mediterranean, it does demonstrate that Iol was a city very open to trade, receiving the majority of imports found in Numidian territory. Numismatic finds suggest that the city probably had direct relations with Carthage as well as with the cities of western Mauretania, of Andalusia, and with the Iberian Levant, probably with Carthago Nova.[20] The influence of coins from Punic Sardinia on the coinage of Iol, and that of the island of Cossura (Pantelleria) on the coinage of Ikosim on the Algerian coast, likewise indicate direct contact between these regions (Alexandropoulos 2000: 324–7).

That being said, the material from sites in central Algeria reveals above all the intensity of relations established with the Balearic archipelago from at least the beginning of the second century BCE. This phenomenon is confirmed by coin finds which similarly demonstrate the permanence of these exchanges after the fall of Carthage: around twenty coins from Ibiza, most struck between 150 and 75 BCE, are attested at Iol, while around a

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[19] In 206 BCE, the Massaesylian king Syphax had to receive Scipio and Hasdrubal in his capital at Siga. The location of this meeting is not explicitly mentioned by ancient accounts, but according to Livy, Scipio left from Tarragona to get to Cartagena, located almost directly across from Siga. From there, he sailed to join the king (Livy 28.17).

[20] Besides coins from Carthago Nova, lead ingots from the Iberian city have been found at Cherchell (Domergue 1965: 23–4). The maritime route which linked Iol to Carthago Nova is also mentioned by ancient sources: Pliny (*HN* 3.19) provides the distance between the two ports. Numerous sources attest the development of these relations from the reign of Juba II (Gozalbes Craviato 1997: 28–30); among other things, Juba II, who established his capital at Iol (renamed Caesarea), was *duumvir quinquennal* and patron of Carthago Nova (*CIL* 2.3417).

hundred coins from Iol, struck from the early second century BCE, have been found in the Balearics (Alexandropoulos 2000: 326). It is thus probable that at least a proportion of the material imported into central Numidia came via Ibizan traders.

Finally, the settlements east of Saldae seem to be the only ones truly connected with the territory of Carthage. Besides a greater quantity of Carthaginian amphorae, Carthaginian coins are very common in this region, particularly at Cirta (around a hundred coins), Tiddis (around twenty coins), Collo (around twenty coins), and Bulla Regia (around a dozen coins). The settlements of eastern Numidia were also the only ones to receive imports from the Greek world. Yet they do not seem to have had relations with the far west, the Balearics and eastern/northeastern Iberia. Numismatic finds confirm this picture, since to my knowledge, no Ibizan coins are attested east of Auzia, nor are there coins from the far west or eastern Iberia besides a few rare pieces in the museum of Constantine, the exact provenance of which is unknown.

The clear evidence for relations between the settlements of eastern Numidia and Carthage does not seem to imply that those settlements received imports from the wider Mediterranean via the intermediary of the Punic metropolis prior to 146 BCE, with the probable exception of Italian products.[21] The presence of a Greek colony at Cirta and the ties between the Massylian dynasty and the Greek world (for example, *FGrH* III: 187, no. 7; *IG* 11.968; Strabo 17.3.13; Diod. Sic. 34–35.5), to which Numidian grain was undoubtedly exported in great quantity,[22] suggest direct commercial ties between these two regions. Other distribution networks could also exist: six Sardinian coins of the third century BCE found at Hippo Regius suggest commercial links with the Punic cities of Sardinia (Acquaro 1988: 25–8).

Besides the disappearance of Carthaginian amphorae, the consequences of the fall of Carthage for the imports which arrived in eastern Numidia are difficult to identify *a priori*. Rhodian amphorae appear to be present before the mid-second century BCE (see Fig. 10.9), but it is impossible to determine whether their importation ended immediately afterwards. Likewise, it is impossible to know whether the appearance of products from Ionia,

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[21] The comparison of imports attested at Carthage, Cirta and Bulla Regia suggests that these Numidian cities did in fact receive Italian products through the intermediary of Carthage (Bridoux forthcoming).

[22] In 180 BCE, Massinissa sent an important shipment of grain to Delos (*ID* 442A, 100–6; Gauthier 1988).

Pergamon and the Tunisian Sahel after the mid-second century BCE should be attributed to new commercial networks or to the possible involvement of Italian merchants. In any case, it seems probable that the fall of Carthage allowed this latter group to gain ground in eastern Numidia.

Roman control of Phoenicio-Punic trading circuits

The connections outlined above reveal the existence of Phoenicio-Punic commercial routes in the context of growing Roman domination in the western Mediterranean. From the end of the third or beginning of the second century BCE, Italian products flooded the markets of the western Mediterranean, including Numidia. When Iberia was annexed by Rome, its products became more widespread in Numidia, at least in the western part of the region. We should thus ask whether these products were carried to Numidia through Roman circuits of distribution or not. Moreover, we should ask about the hold exercised by Rome on distribution networks of Phoenicio-Punic tradition. Did Rome make herself mistress there after the Second Punic War? Were the same circuits maintained alongside Roman trade, sometimes even after the fall of Carthage?

If the evidence does not provide firm answers to all of these questions at the moment, it can suggest the evolution of certain patterns, differentiated according to region. The presence of Italians in eastern Numidia from the mid-second century BCE certainly had an effect on supply circuits in this region (Bridoux forthcoming). In addition, we know that Numidian marble – probably from the quarries at Chemtou – was exported to Rome from the second century BCE (Gaggioti 1988: 201–4). By contrast, a degree of persistence of Phoenicio-Punic economic patterns – and especially ties to the Balearics – can be seen in central and western Numidia. Only from the end of the second century BCE can a sharp increase in Italian imports be seen in these two regions, which can probably be associated with the settlement of Italian merchants. The conclusions drawn from the study of imports suggest that this group acquired an important role in the movement of merchandise in Numidia, and that they took over Numidian markets.

Conclusion

The archaeological evidence and what it brings to understandings of commercial connections can allow us to characterize better the 'Punic world' in its broad sense and understand better its relationship to Numidia.

The Punic world seems to be a cultural and commercial *koine*, linking various regions of the western Mediterranean controlled by Carthage or over which Carthage exerted its influence, especially in the spheres of religion and funerary customs, language and writing. This sphere of influence was characterized, among other things, by a common material culture with regional variations resulting from juxtaposition with different local identities in different places (cf. Bondì, Chapter 4). It was nevertheless open to exchanges with the rest of the Mediterranean and a multitude of products circulated within it along privileged trade routes.

Numidia belonged to this Punic world to the extent that it succumbed to Carthaginian cultural influences and was inserted into Phoenicio-Punic distribution circuits. But such inclusion does not imply direct relations with Carthage any more than it implies Carthage's role as middleman or master. Instead, those areas with the greatest geographical proximity to Numidian settlements were most tightly connected with them commercially. Eastern Iberia, the Balearics and central/western Algeria appear to constitute a particular commercial zone, encouraged by proximity as well as favourable winds and currents. The settlements of eastern Numidia were, by contrast, connected to Carthaginian territory, which they neighboured and to which they were in some cases directly linked by the Medjerda River. In this area, distribution networks and the products they circulated appear to be less diversified.

These specific connections, which were maintained after 146 BCE, suggest that Carthaginian influences in this region arrived via other parts of the Punic world, especially the Balearic Islands and the Iberian Levant before their annexation by Rome.

The trade patterns outlined here seem to come into force at least from the third century BCE, and more so after the Second Punic War. It remains to be seen whether the nature of the relationships between Carthage and the rest of the Punic world evolved from the fifth century BCE, and, if so, to determine the reasons for such changes. New archaeological data from the fifth and fourth centuries BCE are necessary, however, to deal with this problem. In the meantime, re-examination of the material found in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries at sites such as Gunugu and Igilgili – sites inhabited in this early period – should be undertaken.

A second avenue of future research concerns the ties between Numidia and Sardinia and Sicily, and understanding the role that these islands played in spreading Punic influences and products. Such a study would have to be undertaken in conjunction with one of pottery and amphora production in Numidia and in Sicily, Sardinia and western Mauretania,

where the material remains poorly understood. Further studies of local productions, which can reveal the movement of influences, commercial circuits and the persistence or disappearance of older patterns, can also help us to understand cultural and economic exchange within the Punic world from the fifth century BCE, and to identify better the changes that took place when Rome extended her domination over the western Mediterranean.

11 | Punic Mauretania?

EMANUELE PAPI

At the end of the seventeenth century, the British establishment could not decide whether it should consider itself the heir of Rome or Carthage. This choice, as it was then understood, juxtaposed a territorial and an economic imperial power. Carthage was a more attractive option at the time, as an empire governed not by a single monarch but by an oligarchy of the noblest and richest families, and one that had often eschewed militarism or territorial occupation as its means of expansion. Indeed, the oligarchic city with its large-scale but informal commercial dominion seemed particularly compatible with the constitutional reforms that took place between 1680 and 1689 (Vance 2003). Similarly, in the twentieth century, recourse to Carthage to help justify colonialism in Morocco became a hallmark of history and historiography in France and Spain: according to this tradition Morocco formed part of the Carthaginian empire in one of a series of foreign hegemonies that preceded (and succeeded) Roman domination there. What I want to do here is investigate how 'Punic' pre-Roman Morocco (Fig. 11.1) really was, whether we take that term to imply territorial, political, economic or simply cultural hegemony on the part of Carthaginians and other western Phoenicians.

Carthaginian territorial hegemony in Morocco has been hypothesized frequently. Both Stéphane Gsell in his *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (1913–28), and Jérôme Carcopino in *Le Maroc antique* (1943), saw it as a phenomenon that paved the way for Roman imperialism, creating the necessary preconditions by kick-starting the local economy. On this model, the Punic metropolis founded settlements along the coast (with the mountainous regions inland assigned to the indigenous population), supplied trading merchandise and exercised cultural hegemony in the region. This 'Punic phase' was thought to have begun around the turn of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, and lasted until the destruction of Carthage. More recently, however, and in particular since the 1980s, research on pre-Roman antiquity has received a substantial boost in the countries of the Maghreb, not least to fill the gap left by the colonial archaeology that privileged the remains of the Roman empire (Papi
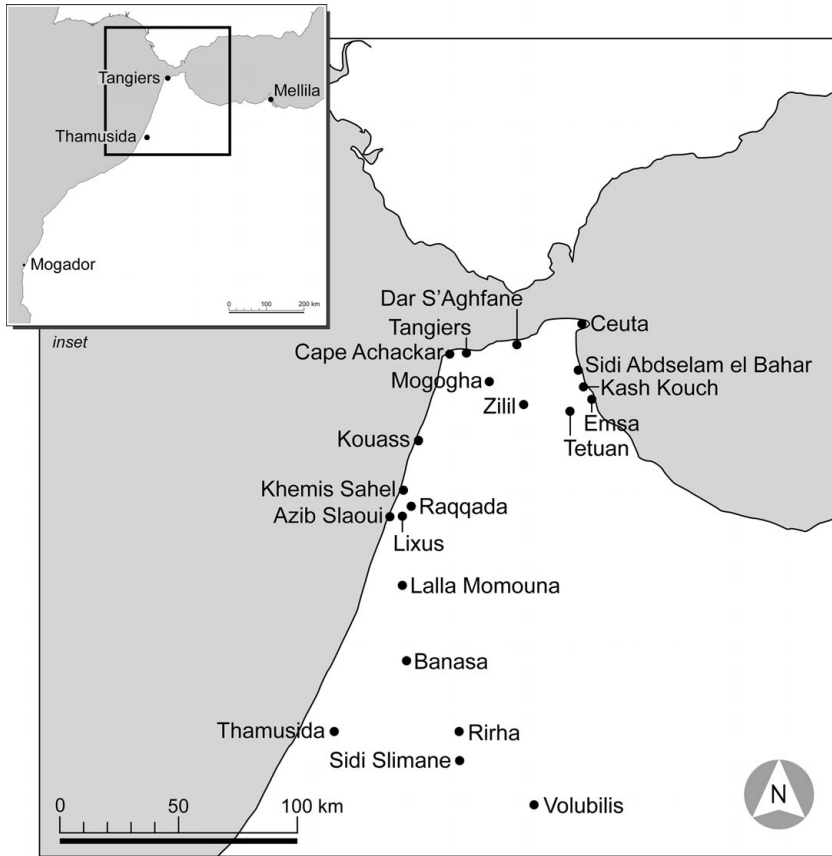
Fig. 11.1. Map of the sites discussed in the text.

2006).[1] As a result, the difficulties involved in reconciling the traditional hypothesis with the emerging archaeological data meant that a hybrid word, 'Punico-Mauretanian', had to be invented to take into account the complexity of the cultural *facies* that now seems to have characterized Morocco in the second half of the first millenium BCE. It is not in fact easy to demonstrate any occupation of coastal sites by Carthaginian colonists or other settlers, since most of the sites traditionally labelled 'Punic' could be interpreted equally well as indigenous settlements engaged in the exchange of local products for imported goods. The Punic hypothesis is based on the unstated presupposition that the presence of imported ceramics or coinage

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[1] One result is that the Carthaginians have come to represent Tunisia's national past (van Dommelen, Chapter 3), although in Morocco and Algeria the 'Punic phase' has been accorded less ideological value.

denotes the long-established presence of, or occupation by, the foreigners who produced those pots or minted that coinage.

At the beginning of the 1950s, Pierre Cintas summarized the *status quaestionis* on the Carthaginian settlements in Morocco in his *Contribution à l'étude de l'expansion Carthaginoise au Maroc* (Cintas 1954a: 8): 'It is generally recognized – however surprising this finding may be – that no Carthaginian remains, strictly speaking, have yet been found in Morocco; this is even true at Lixus, despite the fact that ancient authors labelled it an antique city of Phoenician foundation, and it is considered the capital of the Punics of the West' (1954a: 8; translated from the French).[2] Although Cintas wrote his book after two seasons of survey along the coast, and despite his speculations about the 'Punic potential' of various sites and attempts to identify Carthaginian settlements on the basis of a few fragments of pottery, he was unable to add anything definitive to that analysis.[3] The conclusions to which he came were rhetorical figures: the final chapters of the book are entitled 'parable' and 'hyperbole'. Twenty years later, the 'Punic' surveys of Armand Luquet had similar results, producing no significant evidence. Luquet none the less hypothesized the migration of Carthaginian refugees to Volubilis after the destruction of their mother-city, on the basis of some material of Punic typology and the use of neo-Punic (Luquet 1973–5; see further below).

At the end of the 1950s, Miguel Tarradell invented the historiographical model of the *Círculo de l'Estrecho* ('Circle of the Straits') to distinguish Atlantic material culture from the more properly Carthaginian *facies* of the west-central Mediterranean (Tarradell 1960).[4] This model still has a significant following even for the period in which Morocco was a Roman province, and it can indeed be useful: as a label, for instance, for a particular ceramic repertoire, a specific technological environment or certain architectonic typologies shared between the two shores of the Straits. But in other ways the label establishes a presumption of unity between regions with their

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[2] Cintas also notes there (ibid. n. 5): 'the stelae [from Lixus] reported by La Martinière date to neo-Punic times ... Some tombs ... are equally recent ... a large *tombeau bâti* discovered by chance at Cap Spartel ... cannot, unfortunately, be precisely dated'.

[3] As for instance in the case of Azemmour (Cintas 1954a: 24): 'Returning to the fragment of an *unguentarium* [of the second century BCE], it is agreed that such an artefact, found in that place, demonstrates by itself not only the frequentation but very probably the occupation of the site of Azemmour by the Carthaginians'.

[4] The naturalness of the union between Spain and Morocco was already being theorized in Spanish military contexts from the middle of the nineteenth century, as shown by Gómez de Ateche and Coello (1859).

own distinct characters, as do other historiographical classifications such as 'Etrusco-Italic', 'Hellenistic' or 'romanized'. Furthermore, although it is obvious that trade, culture and technology circulated amongst the regions around the Alboran Sea – albeit in a larger geopolitical context than that of the Straits themselves, one that also included the southwestern Iberian peninsula, western Algeria and the Balearic Islands – Tarradell's model of the *Círculo de l'Estrecho* also posits the subordination of the Moroccan coast to the Iberian settlements of the Straits (and above all to those identified as Punic). As a result, it removes the power of agency from the inhabitants of Morocco, limiting their role to the reception of imports and the imitation of a ceramic repertoire: the workshops of Kouass, for instance, are traditionally seen as imitating Punic ceramics produced in Iberia (Kbiri Alaoui 2007), when one could in fact say simply that they share a repertoire. The model does not take into account, moreover, the distinctive characteristics, history, geography and anthropology of northwestern Africa, its diverse cultures and mentalities, nor its varied forms of agricultural production, manufacture and commerce. (The latter include the trade in Saharan goods that we can trace through ostrich eggs and amber, although the evidence for metals and other merchandise is archaeologically invisible.)

Cádiz certainly did play a significant role in the transmission of goods and cultural models in the region (as did other settlements such as Carteia or Malaga): from the third century BCE onwards 75% of the coins found in Morocco were minted in Cádiz. It is also true that the local Libyan elites used Punic for public inscriptions and for the legends on the coins that they minted from the second century BCE. The currently fashionable terms 'Punic' or 'Punic-Mauretanian' serve in Morocco to designate what are really interconnections between indigenous, African, Iberian, Levantine and Greco-Roman cultures (to call into service, of course, a series of artificial designations). The new enthusiasm for archaeological investigations of the pre-Roman Maghreb means that we now have enough information to create new hypotheses about ancient Morocco, both more articulated and more ambiguous than those allowed by simple definitions such as 'Punic' – a term that (as with 'Hellenistic' in the western Mediterranean) has real value only as a chronological designation.

In the review that follows I want to emphasize how uncertain the identifications of supposed Punic settlements in Morocco are, and the difficulty of establishing the presence of Punic colonists solely on the basis of imports and in the absence of data on the organization of the settlements and their cults, construction techniques, architectonic typologies, necropoleis and funerary rites. I will focus in particular on the earliest

period (fifth–fourth centuries BCE), referring the reader to the most recent bibliography for the sites of the third and second centuries, a period that in part overlaps with the era of the well-attested Barcid foundations in Spain. I will further limit my discussion to Moroccan sites where relevant studies have taken place in the last twenty-five years, referring the reader to Arharbi (2003) for earlier research and bibliography relevant to the *status quaestionis*, the attestation of sites and the identification of imported material. These more recent investigations are essentially based on the study of material (especially amphorae and other ceramics), on limited excavation and on the re-examination of earlier documentation (El Khayari 2004). Important new projects that aim at more global reconstructions of particular places, such as the Moroccan-German project at Mogador, the Spanish-Moroccan survey of the territory of Tetuan, and the French-Moroccan project at Kouass, have begun only in the last few years and until their conclusions are published their data cannot be taken into account.

The Rif

An extensive Italo-Moroccan survey project 260 km from the coast of the Rif has identified eleven ancient sites that were abandoned during the centuries of Roman occupation; the inhabitants had settled along the coast near landing places or rivers. Sidi Driss in the Amekrane river valley (site BD2) has three phases of occupation, from the seventh to the fourth centuries, and is identified as 'an establishment of indigenous character in which autochthonous populations had relationships of trade and exchange with other Phoenician groups from the western Mediterranean', where iron from the inland mines was worked, as in the Islamic period during the reign of Nakur (Kbiri Alaoui *et al.* 2004).[5]

Melilla

Until recently the archaeology of the settlement of Melilla was known only through the Cerro de S. Lorenzo cemetery, in use from the third to second centuries BCE and attributed to a 'Punic-Mauretanian' population

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[5] According to this report, the site of Bouhout (TR 28) had an initial phase in the 'd'époque phénicienne', but the term 'phénicienne' seems here to have a solely chronological significance.

(Tarradell 1960: 63–73). A 50 m² excavation in Plaza de Armas has now produced some highly speculative new hypotheses (Villaverde Vega 2004; Aragón Gómez and Fernández Uriel 2008). Villaverde Vega identifies part of a pit with material from the sixth or fifth to third centuries BCE as 'a *bothros* for the deposition of offerings', two enclosed undecorated spaces of the first century BCE as 'a religious crypt' and a terracotta basin made between the first century BCE and the first century CE as 'a lustral *lenos*', and then inserts this whole set of structures into the orbit of Carthage as part of a sanctuary dedicated to Astarte and then Venus Marina, and, despite the lack of material dated earlier than the sixth century BCE, describes the site as 'Phoenician'. According to his reconstruction the settlement had a foreign population, including a significant number of people of Iberian origin as well as acculturated locals; after the Second Punic War it passed into the sphere of the Círculo de l'Estrecho and finally came under Roman influence. These conclusions are debatable: we have no secure attestation of a Phoenician settlement here, and the interpretation of the archaeological evidence is not convincing. Twenty-nine amphorae identified according to traditional criteria do, however, attest to the importation of liquid products from the Iberian peninsula (Cádiz, Cartagena, Almeria, Valencia), from Campania and from Carthage.

Ceuta

Recent urban excavations (Villada *et al.* 2011) have shown that the site was inhabited at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the seventh centuries BCE. It was urbanized by the mid-seventh century. The ceramics were mostly handmade whereas wheel-made pottery was imported from the central and eastern Mediterranean and from the Iberian coast (in particular, the area of Malaga-Granada; note that Cadiz plays a lesser role in this regard). The site has been identified as an indigenous settlement with a high degree of Phoenician presence and/or trade (Villada *et al.* 2011: 394). It remains an open question whether the establishment of coastal settlements in Morocco was a consequence of international trade (as in Numidia (Kallala and Sanmartí 2011) or in the Sahara (Mattingly and Sterry 2013)) or not, although exchange is attested from at least the third millennium BCE between the Tingitana peninsula, south-central Morocco and the Iberian peninsula.

The region of Tetuan

A Spanish-Moroccan survey in the Martil River valley in 2008 identified two new sites dating between the sixth and third centuries BCE, in addition to the five already known to Tarradell (1960: 97–128). The establishment of these settlements would, according to the investigators, attest to 'at least an episodic Phoenician presence' (Bernal *et al.* 2008: 315–24). This identification of the inhabitants is based on the material recovered by the project, though it is not in fact possible to identify these sites with any security as colonial emporia of Carthage or anywhere else. The site of Emsa, for instance, is a small settlement near the coast that was apparently founded at the end of the sixth century BCE. Its most important phase seems to have been – at least on the basis of the quantity of finds – between the late fourth and third centuries BCE, and the amphorae and ceramics dating from this period are also found in contemporary Mauretanian and Iberian sites (Tarradell 1954; Kbiri Alaoui 2008). In the sites around Tetuan (Sidi Abdsalem, Emsa and Kash Kouch), continuity of settlement from the Libyan Late Bronze Age to the fifth century BCE is attested by local production, technologies and necropoleis, as is the presence of imported goods from the end of the sixth century. An analysis of these settlements from a proto-historic point of view demonstrates the artificiality of distinguishing between 'indigenous' and 'Phoenicio-Punic' sites. Furthermore, the excavation of the site of Kash Kouch on the Laou river has brought to light an indigenous settlement of the eighth–sixth centuries BCE with a hut constructed in wattle and daub, handmade pottery 'of Phoenician tradition', and metal objects that all belong to the same cultural *facies* as the tombs at Tangiers and other sites in the Tingitan peninsula including Sidi Abdesselam el Bahr, Emsa, the caves of Cap Achakar, Ghar Cahal, Kaf Taht el Ghar e Kaf al Kanadil. In this case too the attribution to Phoenician or Punic inhabitants is very dubious (Bokbot and Onrubia-Pintado 1995).

The region of Tangiers

The so-called 'nécropoles phéniciennes' in the vicinity of Tangiers are not Phoenician and the finds from the associated excavations do not allow us to identify particular groups of foreigners established on the Straits, whether Phoenician, Punic or Iberian (cf. El Azifi 1993). In the region of

Fahs, 201 tombs are known from 7 rural cemeteries dating between the eighth and the early fifth centuries BCE (Ponsich 1967: 172-80), in addition to 98 burials from Tangiers and 2 *tombeaux bâtis* at Moghoga Es Sira (5 km southeast of Tangiers) and Cap Achaker (around 10 km southwest of Tangiers).

The rural necropoleis belong to agricultural settlements cultivating grain, olives, beans and peas. These sites are occupied from the Bronze Age onwards, and demonstrate continuity in construction techniques, rites of inhumation, ceramics and jewellery. According to Ponsich, imports are limited to gold and silver jewellery (manufactured, he suggests without supporting argument, in Andalusia by 'Phoenician artisans'); to this we can add the ostrich eggs of African origin found in large quantities from the Neolithic to Roman periods and amber of probably sub-Saharan origin. Terracottas and artefacts in iron and bronze are produced locally, as is the handmade pottery to which should now be added a pair of wheel-made vases decorated with red bands in line with the repertoire of Kouass (about 50 km south of Tangiers); products from Kouass do not, however, seem to have circulated widely in the villages of the Strait.

The tombs excavated on the Marshan plain right outside the western walls of Tangiers have been variously identified as prehistoric, Phoenician, Libyphoenician, Carthaginian, Roman and indigenous. The truth is that most of the inhumations have no grave goods and it is hard to pin down their chronology solely on the basis of their form (rectangular, square or trapezoidal) and construction techniques, or to establish the extent of reuse. Even for Ponsich, the earliest material would not date from before the second-first centuries BCE (Ponsich 1970: 172-80), and some tombs can be securely dated to the Roman period (Biarnay and Péretié 1912).[6]

The tomb at Cap Achakar was constructed of ashlar masonry, which does not seem to appear on other Moroccan sites before the third century BCE (Camporeale 2008: 145). This tomb was robbed out and the commonly accepted sixth-century dating is based on a few fragments of jewellery that are in truth difficult to date. The 'tombeau punique' of Moghoga Es-Srira was excavated out of a natural elevation in the form

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[6] Biarnay and Péretié published fourteen tombs, including one with the remains of infants deposited on their left-hand sides with their heads oriented east, a second burial covered with a block of cement, and a lead sarcophagus and wooden coffins for children, to which should be added a report of a tomb dated by its epitaph to 345 CE. The tombs to the east of the city, at the site of Bou Khachkhach, are dated to the Roman period: Besnier 1908; Buchet and Michaux-Bellaire 1909.

of a tumulus, using squared blocks of 'beach rock' quarried on the Atlantic coast; it is probable that in a second phase the tomb was enlarged with the addition of a second transversal room, generally interpreted as a *dromos*, while there is no evidence for later reuse (Jodin 1960). We do not know if the structure was intended for inhumation or cremation. The three vases that survive from among the grave goods can be dated between the third and first centuries BCE; the parallels among African and Iberian tombs cited by Jodin come from the same chronological context.

Lixus

Foreign populations did found settlements on the Atlantic promontories of Lixus (situated on a lagoon at the mouth of the River Loukkos near Larache: Aranegui Gascó 2001 and 2005, with earlier bibliography), and Mogador (opposite the Portuguese settlement of Essaouira: Marzoli and El Khayari 2009; 2010), in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE respectively. In both cases it seems that the presence of foreign inhabitants can be securely established on the basis of written sources (for Lixus), stratigraphy (for Lixus and Mogador), and epigraphy and onomastics (for Mogador). These inhabitants are held by some to have been under the authority of Cádiz (for example, Ruiz Mata 1985) and by others to have had more independence (for example, Aranegui Gascó 2001).

Nonetheless, notwithstanding the optimistic attempts of many scholars from the mid-nineteenth century up to the present day (cf. Cintas 1954a: 8), the 'Punic' phase of Lixus is not easy to reconstruct: the scanty archaeological data at our disposal are entirely insufficient to define the character of the city between the sixth and third centuries BCE.[7]

The written sources do not help very much, and have been used as the basis for a series of hypotheses that often build on or contradict one another. The dubious *Periplus of Hanno*, for instance, records the foundation of half a dozen Carthaginian colonies on the Moroccan coast, populated by 30,000 men, women and children carried there in 60 *pentekonters*, but makes no mention of Lixus (1–6). Although there are various hypotheses as to the location of Hanno's settlements (Carcopino 1943: 73–163), none of them have as yet been confirmed, and a few centuries after the text was compiled, it was already regarded with suspicion: 'they have reported

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[7] Most of the evidence comes from the most recent Spanish-Moroccan excavations: Aranegui and Hassini 2010.

many cities founded by him, of which no memory or trace exists', Pliny tells us (*HN* 5.8: *urbes multas ab eo* (*Hannone*) *conditas prodidere, quarum nec memoria ulla nec vestigium exstat*). He is probably following the *Libyka* of Juba II, who had dedicated a monograph to Hanno's account. In a corrupt and confused passage, the *Periplus* of pseudo-Scylax does describe a 'city of Phoenicians, Lixus, and another city of Libyans' (112: πόλις Φοινίκων Λίξος καί ἐτέρα πόλις Λιβῦων) but although this seems to describe a Phoenician colony alongside an indigenous settlement (as yet unidentified), it is not easy to demonstrate continuity of occupation of the site on the part of Carthaginians or other Punic groups (Peretti 1979: 373‒418). Strabo also names Lixus, but he locates 'Phoenician trading settlements' in another gulf further to the south that has not been securely identified (17.3.2), and reports Artemidorus's incredulity over the existence of what Eratosthenes claimed were a great many Phoenician cities on that coast 'of which no trace is to be seen' (17.3.8; cf. 17.3.3).

Archaeology attests the importation and use of material from the western Mediterranean, the Atlantic coast of Iberia and from Carthage, at least according to the traditional attributions of the various types. The two 'sepulturas púnicas' published by Tarradell as evidence for the 'continuación [of the Phoenician colony] en época cartaginesa' (Tarradell 1950a)[8] are chamber tombs that find parallels in tombs at Cádiz, and were constructed following local building typologies and techniques attested from the third to first centuries BCE; a coin found in Tomb N.2 at Tangiers, excavated by H. de la Martinière, dates from the second or first century (Müller 1862: n. 211), as does other material found amongst the grave goods. In the same way the 'hypogeos de tipo púnico' (which are also found at Cádiz), three cremations and one inhumation, contain *unguentaria* and lamps from the first century BCE (Tarradell 1950b). The 'murétano-puniques' tombs of Raqqada just to the west of Lixus that date from between the sixth and fourth centuries exhibit techniques characteristic of northern Morocco, and follow indigenous rites of inhumation; the grave goods reveal the display of a certain level of wealth on the part of social groups and families (El Khayari forthcoming). The finds and 'Punic' inscriptions that are considered emblematic of the colony are in truth from a period later than that of the presumed Carthaginian domination: a fragment of a marble

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[8] The settlement's western necropolis was destroyed during excavations of a quarry and we do not know what material was found there: Taradell reports that although Phoenician or Carthaginian objects were apparently discovered, they were not published and their whereabouts is now unknown (Taradell 1950a: 254).

throne with sphinxes has recently been dated to the first century BCE (El Khayari forthcoming); a bronze appliqué with a protome of 'Baal Hadad' in fact depicts Oceanus and should be dated between the first century BCE and first century CE; the coins minted with the neo-Punic legend *mp'l lkš* from the middle of the second century BCE are actually related to the 'Mauretanian' phase of the settlement (Callegarin and Ripollés 2010); and the two funerary inscriptions preserve Libyan names as well as one of 'allure sémitique' and other bilingual onomastics (*IAM* I.23-4).

Until the publication of the second phase of the Spanish-Moroccan excavations (Aranegui Gascó 2005: 141-53), the history of Lixus between the sixth and third centuries BCE was in fact known only from the 'sondeo del Algarrobo' (Carob tree sondage) excavated by Tarradell on the southern slope of the site in 1951 and 1957. This produced red glaze pottery decorated with painted bands, made on the wheel or by hand in the Neolithic tradition and dating from before the fifth to fourth centuries, as well as Attic pottery of the fifth to fourth centuries. The first phase of the Spanish–Moroccan excavations and the reopening of Tarradell's sondage produced structures and finds dating from the mid-eighth to mid-seventh centuries, but no further significant evidence until 200/175–100/80 BCE (Aranegui Gascó and Habibi 2004). The second phase produced new stratigraphy relating to the period 325-175 BCE, which the excavators assign to the 'Punic occupation'; but while these excavations do provide evidence for the importation of amphorae and ceramics at this time, they give no basis for identifying the origins of the inhabitants, the settlement of foreign groups, or the existence of a colony or trading post. In addition, the few dozen sherds quantified are not very significant, and might be falsified by new finds (Aranegui Gascó 2005).

The Gharb: Thamusida and Banasa

The stratigraphy and finds from Thamusida (Sidi Ali ben Ahmed), a small settlement on the River Sebou, show that it was in existence by the fifth century BCE, and had trading relations with other sites in northern Morocco and the Iberian peninsula (Akerraz, El Khayari and Papi 2009).[9] The identification of Thamusida with the colony of Thymiaterion (one of the six founded by Hanno) cannot be confirmed solely on the basis

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[9] The original title of our essay, 'L'habitat de Sidi Ali ben Ahmed – Thamusida (Maroc)' had intentionally avoided the label 'phénico/punico/maurétanien', in part to emphasize the

of the imported goods. The site of Banasa, 50 km upriver from Thamusida, is attested from the early fourth century and is characterized in the third century by the production of an original repertoire of ceramics as well as imitations of imported goods (Arharbi and Lenoir 2004; Arharbi *et al.* 2006). The creation in the fifth and fourth centuries of other settlements in northern Morocco like Emsa, Sidi Abdeslam del Behar, Tamuda, Tangeri, Kouass, Zilil, Azib Slaoui, and Dar S'Aghfane was probably a result of investment in production and exchange, but in their earliest phases these sites are little more than dots on a map, and the characteristics of their inhabitants, economy, trade and politics escape us entirely, as does any established presence of foreign groups. The tumuli of Sidi Slimane (dating from the third century: Arharbi 2009), Lalla Mimouna and Khemis Sahel (both undatable) seem to indicate a certain level of social differentiation and the adaptation of indigenous groups to the increasing scale of exchange and new forms of production. The settlements of Rirha and Volubilis seem to date from the third century, and it is to the latter that I now turn.

Volubilis

The site of Volubilis (Fig. 11.2/Plate 23) is located in the Moroccan interior, on the edge of the Gharb plain where (as just noted), the settlements of Banasa and Thamusida were established in the fifth or fourth century, probably by indigenous populations. The archaeological evidence demonstrates that Volubilis was certainly in existence by the end of the second century BCE, although the genealogy of the *sufetes* (who can be interpreted as local magistrates or princes) listed in one of the neo-Punic inscriptions found at the site could take the foundation back to at least the mid-third century. These neo-Punic inscriptions have been thought to establish the 'punicity', or at least punicizing culture, of the pre-Roman settlement at Volubilis, but in order to understand these documents better, it is useful to consider first the context in which they were found and for which they had been reused, namely the 'tumulus' (Rebuffat 1998). This monument and its associated inscriptions have considerable significance for the reconstruction of the interconnections between local elites and foreign cultural models at Volubilis in the final centuries of the first millennium BCE: the 'tumulus' is a case study in the invention of tradition, combining civic

hypothesis that it was an indigenous settlement. In the printed version the 'habitat maurétanien' became 'punico-maurétanien' after the proofs had been corrected.
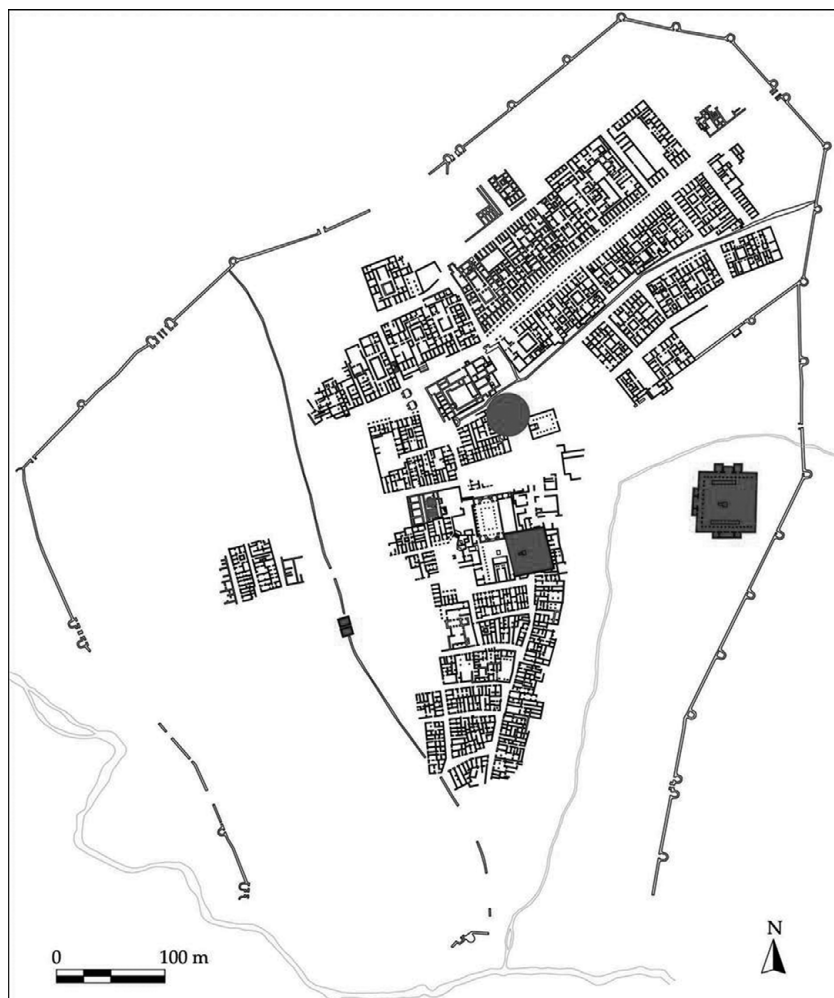
Fig. 11.2. Plan of Volubilis with the pre-Roman buildings. (Plate 23.)

memories, Punic grave markers, African constructions, Greek reminis-
cences and Roman mausolea. It is the most ostentatious monument in
the city, immediately recognizable in the landscape from the time of its
construction: the structure, which has a diameter of 40 m and is more than
8 m high, was built on the northern slope of the city in a position that
magnifies its presence.

The dating of the monument needs contextualization. The small, early
settlement of around 10 hectares was fortified between 80 and 30 BCE;
from this phase we have the city walls, a sacred area that was later
monumentalized ('Temple B') and a mausoleum, of which only a part of
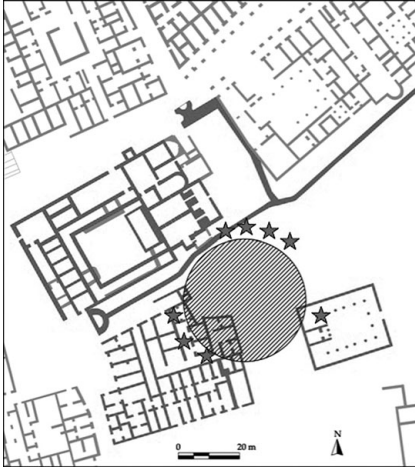
Fig. 11.3. The tumulus at Volubilis with the findspots of the Punic inscriptions (marked with stars) and the adjacent buildings. (Plate 24.)

the funerary chamber remains, preserved under a street and incorporated into a residence, the Maison à l'Ephèbe (Arharbi 2004‑5); the excavators think that the mausoleum became a cellar, but its survival could also signal the appropriation of a monument and a significant lineage from the city's recent past. Later, in the final decades of the first century BCE, corresponding to the end of the reign of Bocchus and the first part of that of Juba II, the walls of the city were removed in order to increase the size of the settlement; their remains are still visible among the walls of the Roman houses. In the area where the tumulus was built, however, the fortifications were not entirely demolished but incorporated into the new structure, giving us a *terminus post quem* for the monument of *c.* 30 BCE. The 'tumulus', which was constructed out of alternating courses of stone and clay, belongs to Camps's Type 1 (Camps 1961: 67‑8), and is more accurately described as a *kerkour* without a funerary chamber (which has been sought but never found). Its appearance, technique and dimensions recall the tombs of Berber chieftains, of which we have many examples throughout Morocco, but it is in fact an example of the symbolic monuments that were constructed from prehistory to the Islamic period as landmarks or to conserve the memory of venerable actions or personages.

The monument's function is clarified by the grave markers found around its base: of the ten Punic and neo-Punic inscriptions from Volubilis, eight were found around the tumulus (Fig. 11.3/Plate 24). Four of these were retrieved to the north of the monument in the 1920s and

published by Février in the first volume of *Inscriptions Antiques du Maroc* (nos. 1–4), one was found in the excavations of Temple C (El Khayari 2000), and the other three are from the edifice to the south known as the 'Monument à l'inscription au bouclier punique', and remain unpublished (Bouzidi 2004). The texts are all inscribed on the same kind of limestone funerary stele, in a local script and in a mixture of Punic and neo-Punic. They name a number of people (the deceased or those who commissioned the tomb with their genealogy), mostly with Libyan names; some individuals are designated as *sufetes*.[10] Palaeography dates the inscriptions from the end of the second and the first centuries BCE and so precede by several decades the construction of the tumulus to which they were relocated. The most plausible explanation is that the inscriptions were *semata*, or substitutes, for tombs that had been destroyed in order to make space for the expansion of the city, and of which we have only the remains of the mausoleum of the Maison à l'Ephèbe discussed above. The tumulus would then be the cenotaph of the elders of the city, a heroon passing down the memory of the city's past. Its appearance recalls funerary monuments of the Libyan tradition surrounded by stelae such as the great tumulus of Manzora in the region of Tangiers, with its anepigraphic stelae, or the Numidian tumuli with funerary markers in Libyan (Camps 1961: 80–1). The similarities to Greek hero-burials in tumuli would not have escaped the *ideal beobachter* – at Marathon the names of the Athenian heroes were inscribed on stelae around the base – nor those to Roman dynastic funerary monuments and invented tumulus hero-burials like the 'Mausoleum of the Horatii' (which, of course, long post-dates the Horatii),[11] nor perhaps those to other Hellenistic practices including the artificial construction of heroa.

The Volubilis monument's function as a memorial continued under the Roman occupation, when the names of two soldiers killed by the Mauri during pacification operations were honourably recorded there. In the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods the *municipium* underwent reconstruction but the monument continued to be respected: the Northern Baths, in fact, deviate by several degrees from the orientation of the decumanus in order to spare it, and the aqueduct was diverted so as to avoid the area. The construction of the Maison au Bassin Octogonal to its southwest in the second century partially cut into the tumulus, but it was only in the third century that it was eroded to a significant degree by the enlargement of that house and by the construction of Temple C to the east. Although it was

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[10] I thank Maria Giulia Amadasi for her advice on this and the following point.
[11] I thank Filippo Coarelli for this suggestion.

surrounded by public and private constructions, the tumulus remained on the fringes of the Forum more or less intact and visible to all throughout the period of Roman occupation, and later provided an attractive location for an Islamic period cemetery.

Observations

In conclusion, none of the Moroccan sites so far excavated conserves evidence of the presence of a stable Carthaginian community and none can therefore be defined as 'Punic' in this sense. Nor is it possible to determine if and in which settlements emporia or trading posts were established by Carthaginian or other groups of immigrants (such as Iberians or Punics from the Iberian peninsula), as we find for instance at Ceuta in the twelfth century CE when Saharan gold reached the hands of Genoese merchants at this terminus.[12]

Furthermore, Carthaginian coins are very rare in Morocco (other than in the Melilla shipwreck, of which we know neither the provenance nor the destination: Alfaro Asins 1993) and certainly rarer than those from Andalusian sites. Amphorae and ceramics from Carthage are attested as well as imports from elsewhere; those identified belong to typologies also found at other sites in the Maghreb and the Iberian peninsula around the Sea of Alboran (and not only at Cadiz and the cities of the Straits of Gibraltar). These ceramics lack the archaeometric analyses that might identify their places of production, but the discovery of kilns at Kouass and Banasa, and from the end of the first millennium at Thamusida, shows that vases were made according to a repertoire common both to Andalusia and Morocco, without it being possible to establish the primacy (in time or significance) of one of these two sources, or the propagation of types from north to south. Some sites, like the necropoleis in the region of Tangiers, and the villages in the region of Tetouan and the valleys of the Lixus and the Sebou, attest a continuity of habitation alongside interregional, sub-Saharan and Mediterranean exchange, although the brokers of this trade cannot – at least for now – be identified.

The absence of much of the Punic cultural 'repertoire' in Morocco also seems significant for this investigation. There are no remains of

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[12] From the fourteenth century, as a result of the foundation of the Portuguese colonies on the coasts of Morocco, the trade routes in gold moved from the Mediterranean ports to the Atlantic, where the Portuguese exchanged gold for Moroccan products such as horses, salt and fabrics.

buildings or building techniques that show signs of imported technologies or architectonic typologies: the use of non-ashlar masonry would seem to be attested from at least the middle of the first millennium and is also found in constructions traditionally attributed to local commissioners and artisans, like the Mausoleum of Gour in the territory of Meknès; *opus africanum* is completely absent before the Roman era, when the orthostat technique is attested in a few temples[13] and in late buildings that reuse large blocks. Furthermore, there is no attestation of the cult of Baal (Saturn),[14] and in terms of cult practice there are no traces of the 'tophets' found at Carthage and other western Phoenician sites (Temple B at Volubilis is a sanctuary in the African tradition: Brouquier-Reddé *et al.* 1998).[15] It must be said, however, that the neo-Punic inscriptions and the social and political roles described in Punic terms, such as the *sufetes* of Volubilis, do attest the use of foreign languages and terminologies by Libyan elites – as also happened during the centuries of Roman occupation.[16]

In general, and until evidence to the contrary emerges, we can state that Punic culture is 'still scarce in necropoleis, sanctuaries and settlements' in ancient Morocco (Aranegui and Hassini 2010: 109; translated from the Spanish). Even if the goods imported, the pottery produced according to Spanish, Punic, Italian and Greek models, and the use of Punic and neo-Punic as languages of the elites all signal relationships, and circulation of knowledge, information, technologies, skills and people, there is no need to hypothesize military occupation, the foundation of colonies, administrative control or the concession of commercial spaces to outsiders, as happened with the Portuguese colonies founded in Morocco in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

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[13] At Sala in the Capitolium of the Trajanic–Hadrianic period (Boube 1990) and in the temple with five cellae which has been dated to the pre-Roman period (Boube 1967: 304, 348–52; 1990: 331–5), but was more likely built in the first century CE (Euzennat and Hallier 1996: 87–9; for the technique see Camporeale 2006); at Banasa in the temple with seven cellae on the Forum (Brouqier-Reddé *et al.* 2004); in the temple at Zilil (E. Lenoir 2005; M. Lenoir 2005).

[14] Frugifer is not an epithet of the Semitic god, but an *interpretatio Latina* of an autochthonous divinity: Cadotte 2003.

[15] On tophets more generally: Quinn 2011a.

[16] See, for example, *IAM* II. 52–3.

12 | Punic after Punic times? The case of the so-called 'Libyphoenician' coins of southern Iberia

ALICIA JIMÉNEZ

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Zóbel de Zangróniz identified a new type of alphabet used by a group of mints located in the hinterland of Gades (Cádiz) between the middle of the second century and the first half of the first century BCE. These towns produced bilingual coins with inscriptions in Latin and in a variant of neo-Punic with both archaic and evolved traits. As was the common practice at the time, Zóbel connected these coins with a group of people mentioned by the ancient sources: in this case the 'Libyphoenicians'. Even if the use of this label to refer to these coins is nowadays debatable, questions still remain about how they should be interpreted, and about their relationship with the Punic diaspora and local Punic culture in the Hellenistic period, and it is these problems that I shall explore in this chapter.[1]

The first so-called 'Libyphoenician' coins were minted in the southern Iberian Peninsula around the mid-second century BCE, that is, around the time of the fall of Carthage in 146. The last coins in this group were produced in the mid-first century BCE, a time when most towns in Hispania stopped issuing their own currency, in line with a series of changes connected with the last years of the Republic and the beginning of Imperial coinage. These 'Libyphoenician' coins are, therefore, a precious document for the study of Punic material culture after 'Punic times', and the collection demonstrates the significance of neo-Punic script at an official level and the use of a characteristic monetary iconography during the two last centuries BCE. These images seem to be linked not with coins minted at Carthage, but instead with those from various other North African settlements, as well as from Gades. In this way 'Libyphoenician' coins challenge narrow centre-periphery approaches that are based on the

notion of Carthage as the ultimate source of innovation and the main model for emulation. At the same time they suggest that it is necessary to deconstruct essentialist concepts of 'Punic culture' in our discussions and acknowledge a range of local cultural variants in the Mediterranean (cf. Bondì, Chapter 4). These in turn played an important role, as the numismatic evidence shows, in building distinctive civic identities across the Roman empire. Finally, the study of these materials shows the importance of establishing comparisons with towns minting what are, according to modern scholars, 'non-Punic' coins, in order to understand better how Punic identity was constructed in relation to other settlements in Hispania Ulterior during the late Republic.

It has been noted that expressions such as 'Phoenician', 'Punic' and 'western Phoenician' have conceptual problems (see Prag, Chapter 1, on the ancient usage of these terms, and on Greco-Roman stereotyping, as well as the editors' introduction). It seems that the Phoenicians hardly ever used such terms to refer to themselves,[2] which has obvious implications for the study of ethnic groups, since they are by nature self-ascriptive. I will not therefore employ these terms in what follows to suggest any ethnic implications (Aubet 1993: 5-12; López Castro 1995: 9-10; 2007: 105; Prag 2006: 30; van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard 2008a: 3-5; Sommer 2010). I will nevertheless use the word 'Punic' here in its traditional geographical, chronological and most of all cultural sense, to refer to people in the western Mediterranean of Phoenician origin, settled in the area of influence of Carthage from the mid-sixth century BCE to the fall of that city in the mid-second century, who adopted and transformed Phoenician cultural traditions. But I do so intending to raise questions about the very nature of this conventional definition, in particular stressing its geographical variability, which suggests that 'Punic' is not always necessarily 'Carthaginian' in some regions of the western Mediterranean, and about the chronological continuities emphasized in recent re-evaluations of the importance of Punic material culture for the building of civic identities after Rome's victory in the Second Punic War (van Dommelen 2001;

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[2] It has been suggested that the eastern Phoenicians called themselves *can'ani*, and their land Canaan, even if this term and its etymology is as controversial as the Greek *phoinix* (Genesis 9:18, 10:15; see Aubet 1993: 8-10). The same usage in the case of rural Punic-speaking communities is suggested by Saint Augustine (*Exp. ad Rom.* 13; Kerr 2010: 21). See Prag (2006: 8, 28-9) for a discussion of three problematic epigraphic examples of the word 'Punic' used as an ethnic. The use of concepts such as 'Punic', 'Libyan' or 'Numidian' as cultural categories in North Africa raises as many questions as the conceptualization of 'Roman culture' in the provinces: see Quinn 2003: 24; Fentress 2006: 4-5; and Whittaker 2009: 193.

Bendala 2002; López Castro 2007; Fentress and Docter 2008: 105–7). The example of the so-called 'Libyphoenician' coins underlines the relational character of the meaning of 'Punic' and how that meaning changes depending on chronological and geographical contexts.

I will begin by addressing the written evidence for the presence of what the ancient sources describe as a North African mixed race, the 'Libyphoenices' in southern Spain. It is not only difficult to understand the nature of this population in its own place of origin, but it is also necessary to separate these 'Libyphoenician' people from the so-called 'Libyphoenician coins', reinscribing the latter in the wider monetary context of southern Iberia during the late Republic. I will then discuss the epigraphic and iconographic particularities of this group of coins and its links with Punic cultural traditions. Regional comparisons (in this case with what have been seen as non-Punic coins in the south of Spain and Punic coins from the north of Africa) are crucial if we are to understand the role that similarities and differences might have had in the building of local 'Punic' identities. I will also compare the 'Libyphoenician' coins with the coinage of other Iberian towns in the context of an increase in the number of local mints in southern Spain after the Roman conquest to conclude that the explicit references to Punic cultural traditions that were transformed and reworked in these coins seem to have played an important role in the building of civic identities in the Roman provinces. In this sense, 'Libyphoenician' coins can be included in the kind of localism that arises from supra-local perspectives (Whitmarsh 2010: 2–3; Woolf 2010: 191).

The issue of the Libyphoenicians

In 1863 Zóbel was able to identify what he interpreted as a distinctive group of nine mints in southern Iberia producing coins with legends that made use simultaneously of Latin and a 'deviant' neo-Punic alphabet (Zóbel de Zangróniz 1863; Siles 1976). Even though the exact location of a number of towns where these coins were produced remained unknown, some of them (Asido, Bailo and Lascuta) were already thought at the time to be located in the surroundings of Gades, in an area occupied in antiquity, according to two sources very distant from each other in time, by the *Libyphoenices*. An anonymous verse *periegesis* (*c.* 110–100 BCE), states that Libyphoenicians, a colony (*apoikia*) of Carthage, were located on the shores of the Sardian sea, next to other peoples such as the

Tartessians, the Iberians and the Bebryces (pseudo-Scymnus of Chios, *Periegesis* V.196-201). In a *periplus* written in the fourth century CE, Avienus describes the Atlantic and Mediterranean shores of Spain, placing the fierce Libyphoenicians, the Massieni, the fertile lands of the realm of the Selbyssina and the wealthy Tartessii next to the Chrysus, a river that is not mentioned by other ancient writers, but is usually identified with the Guadiaro, which flows through the present provinces of Málaga and Cádiz (Ferrer Albelda 2000: 422-3).[3]

Two further authors make reference to the arrival of a group of Libyphoenicians in the south of the Iberian Peninsula. In his description of the preparations for the Second Punic War, Polybius mentions that Hannibal, who was wintering in Carthago Nova, took precautions to secure Africa and Iberia by sending soldiers from one region to the other and vice versa, and by this measure bound the two regions to reciprocal loyalty. According to this author,

> In Spain he left with his brother Hasdrubal 50 quinqueremes, 2 tetraremes, and 5 triremes, 32 of the quinqueremes and all the triremes being fully manned. He also gave him as cavalry Libyphoenicians and Libyans to the number of 450, 300 Ilergetes and 1800 Numidians drawn from the Masylii, Masaesylii, Maccoei and Maurusi, who dwell by the ocean, and as infantry 11,850 Libyans, 300 Ligurians, and 500 Balearians, as well as 21 elephants . . . I found on the Lacinian promontory a bronze tablet on which Hannibal himself had made out these lists during the time he was in Italy, and thinking this an absolutely first-rate authority, decided to follow the document. (Polyb. 3.33.14-18)[4]

This passage seems to have been the source of Livy 21.22.2-3, since the latter reproduces almost exactly the number and origin of the troops given by Polybius.[5] It is important to note that the Libyphoenician cavalry was part of a bigger contingent which included soldiers from Africa, Iberia and the north of the Italian Peninsula, and by no means constituted the majority of the company. Livy describes the Libyphoenicians included in the Carthaginian cavalry as 'a Punic race mixed with Africans' (*mixtum Punicum Afris genus*). In fact ancient sources often make use of this type of

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[3] Avienus, *Ora Maritima* 419-24: *Nam sunt feroces hoc Libyphoenices loco; sunt Massieni; regna Selbyssina sunt feracis agri, et divites Tartessii, qui porriguntur in Calacticum sinum.*

[4] Translation by W. R. Paton, *Polybius*, II *(The Loeb Classical Library)*, Cambridge (MA), 1960.

[5] *Ad haec peditum auxilia additi equites Libyphoenices, mixtum Punicum Afris genus, quadringenti quinquaginta et Numidae Maurique, accolae Oceani, ad mille octingenti et parva Ilergetum manus ex Hispania, trecenti equites, et ne quod terrestris deesset auxilii genus, elephanti viginti unus.*

compound name to describe population groups of mixed ethnic origins or the presence of ethnic minorities in a given territory, such as the Blasto-Phoenicians (Phoenicians settled in the territory of the *Bastuli*: Appian, *Iber.* 56; cf. Domínguez Monedero 1995a) or the Celtiberians, who were, according to Diodorus Siculus, the offspring of intermarriage between Celts and Iberians (Diod. Sic. 5.33). It is also Diodorus who gives us a similar explanation about the Libyphoenician settlements in North Africa at the end of the fourth century BCE, in the context of the invasion of Agathocles:

> For four stocks have divided Libya: the Phoenicians, who at that time occupied Carthage; the Libyphoenicians, who have many towns along the sea and intermarry with the Carthaginians, and who received the name as a result of the interwoven ties of kinship; of the inhabitants the race that was most numerous and oldest was called Libyan, and they hated the Carthaginians with special bitterness because of the weight of their overlordship; and last were the Nomads, who pastured their herds over a large part of Libya as far as the desert. (Diod. Sic. 20.55.4)[6]

This passage is essential in the scholarly discussion about the status and identity of the 'Libyphoenicians' in their own place of origin, a question still far from being settled. Gsell and Bondì, who follow Diodorus when he claims that the Libyphoenicians had the right to intermarry with the Carthaginians (*epigamia*), think that the legal meaning of the term refers, before Roman times, to the citizens of Phoenician or Punic towns dependent on Carthage who enjoyed the same civil rights as the inhabitants of the metropolis (Gsell 1913: 477; 1928: 288–90; Bondì 1971: 656). According to Gsell, however, the Libyphoenicians were later identified as those inhabitants of inland African territory who had adopted Punic customs under Carthaginian rule and could be considered as Libyans who had become Phoenicians (Gsell 1913: 342). Consequently, for Gsell, the Libyphoenicians of Spain could be equated with Phoenicians from Libya, who would have been transferred by Carthage to the Iberian Peninsula, where other eastern Phoenicians would already have settled before them (Gsell 1928: 289). For Ghaki the term Libyphoenician embraced a north African 'civilization' that included a Punic population, Libyans dominated by Carthage as well as 'punicized' Numidians, and was the consequence of a two-way transformation involving the

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[6] Translation adapted from R. M. Geer, *Diodorus Siculus. vol. X (The Loeb Classical Library).* Cambridge (MA), 1962.

Phoenicians living in the north of Africa and the Libyans settled in Punic towns (Ghaki 1983: 78-9). Huss thinks that the meaning of the concept evolved, first making reference to the geographical location of a certain population group (the Phoenicians settled in Libya), but later also related to an administrative condition: towns dependent on Carthage (Huss 1993: 33). López Castro (1992: 54), following Whittaker (1978: 75-6), has defended the hypothesis that the Libyphoenicians were colonists settled by Carthage in different regions of the western Mediterranean during the fifth and fourth centuries, including the northern coast of Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, Ibiza and the south of the Iberian Peninsula. However, Domínguez Monedero has rejected the identification of the Libyphoenicians as Carthaginian colonists, pointing out that 'Libyphoenician' is a term transmitted to us by Greco-Roman sources, probably the translation of a Phoenician generic name used to designate communities of Phoenician lineage and culture that were settled around Carthage or in the north of Africa (Domínguez Monedero 1995a: 228-30; Domínguez Monedero 1995b). In any case, it seems reasonable to distinguish between 'ethnographic' references to peoples of Libyphoenician origins living in the south of the Iberian Peninsula, the transfer of troops during the Second Punic War (whose subsequent settlement in Iberia is difficult to ascertain), and migration flows between the two shores of the Straits of Gibraltar in the late Republic and the early Empire.

If the connection between the Libyphoenicians or other ethnic groups mentioned in the ancient sources and the communities settled in southern Iberia is difficult to establish (Downs 1998; Jiménez Diez 2008: 77, 194-5), I would argue that it is even more problematic to trace a direct link between the Libyphoenicians and the coins with atypical neo-Punic legends discussed in this chapter.[7] Even though the term 'Libyphoenician coins' is still present in the numismatic literature, most authors nowadays recognize that the use of this label is merely conventional and that this collection must be studied in the broader context of the Punic coinage of southern Iberia (Beltrán 1954: 15; Ferrer Albelda 2000: 430). The main difference between the so-called 'Libyphoenician' coins and the rest of the Punic coinage of this region is epigraphic in nature: despite the difficulties in reading the legends on the 'Libyphoenician' coins, at the beginning of

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[7] Recent critiques of the association between languages or archaeological cultures and ancient ethnicity can be found in Shennan 1989: 11; Hall 1997: 21-2; Jones 1997; Derks and Roymans 2009: 2. Antonaccio (2010) discusses the most recent bibliography on the subject of archaeology and ethnicity.

the 1980s, Solà-Solé was finally able to identify these legends as a variant of the neo-Punic script, including three sibilant consonants, as well as various pharyngeal and guttural signs, and characterized by its angular and simple traits (Solà-Solé 1980: 87). This reframing of the problem is even more interesting if we take into account the fact that, according to research conducted in the 1980s, it is possible to locate a new group of mints that used the same type of legends, not in the area around Gades or the towns of the coast that are conventionally interpreted as Punic settlements, but further northeast, in the south of what would become in Augustan times Roman Lusitania (modern Extremadura: Solà-Solé 1980: 69–70, pl. III; García-Bellido 1981: 51; 1993b; Villaronga 1982). This provides us with a complex picture of possible bilingual communities, making use of a rather specific alphabet and iconographical symbols on their coins to portray a certain kind of official image of the town during the last two centuries of the Republic.

The so-called Libyphoenician coins

The group of nine mints that traditionally have been included under the 'Libyphoenician' label are Arsa (in the area of Azuaga, Badajoz), Asido (Medina Sidonia, Cádiz), Bʿbʿl? (Hasta Regia, Mesas de Asta, Cadiz), Bailo (Bolonia, Cádiz), Iptuci (Prado del Rey, Cádiz), Lascuta (Mesa de Ortega, Alcalá de los Gazules, Cádiz), Oba (Jimena de la Frontera, Cádiz), Turirecina (Reina, Badajoz) and Vesci (Gaucín?, Málaga).[8]

These mints seem to be divided geographically into two groups. The biggest concentration can be found in the area located to the east of Gades, while, as noted above, two mints (Arsa and Turirecina) have been located inland, in the present-day region of Extremadura, far away from the towns of the southern coast that have traditionally been considered Phoenician colonies such as Gades, Malaca or Sexs, which also minted coins with Punic and neo-Punic legends (Fig. 12.1). A fair number of coins from some

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[8] For a detailed description of the mints, and the different series and weights of the coins see *DCyP* and García-Bellido (1993a). Recently, Blanco and Sáez (2002) have claimed that the legends of the coins from Sacili (Pedro Abad, Córdoba) allow these pieces to be included in the 'Libyphoenician' group (Figs. 12.4:1–4). The reading of the Punic legends of Sacili and a series from Nabrissa (Lebrija, Sevilla) remains controversial, as well as the location or adscription to a given site of other series of coins, such as ʿYPBR (possibly minted in Ebora or Ituci), an issue with horse and palm (minted in Ursone?/Bardo?) and ʿLBT' – ʾLʿLBT' (minted in Abla?, Almería) (Alfaro Asins 1998: 57; *DCyP* 283, 329–30).
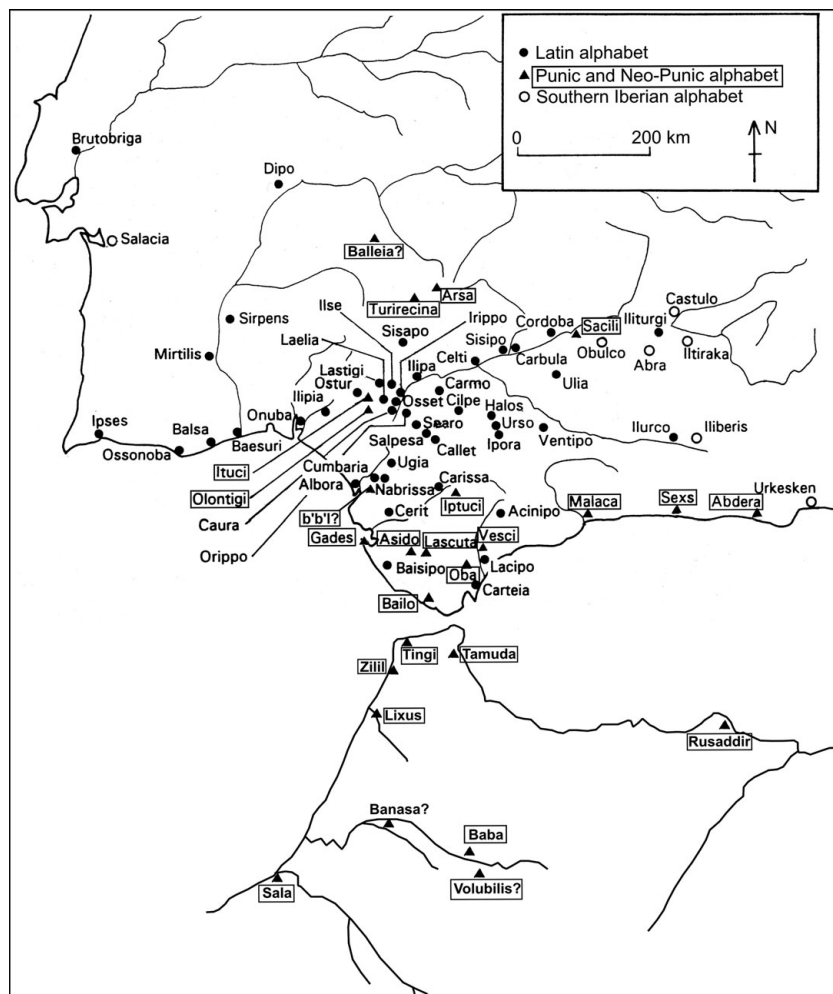
Fig. 12.1. Minting towns of Hispania Ulterior.

mints (such as Asido, Lascuta or Turirecina) have come down to us, but the group of specimens surviving from others (such as Arsa or Oba) is very scanty. The 'Libyphoenician' mints only produced bronze coins (units, halves and quarters), which in most cases seem to follow a Punic weight system similar to that of Gades and the Punic towns of Sicily and Sardinia (unit of 8/9 g), while Arsa and the two mints located further inland (Lascuta, Turirecina) opted for a Roman metrology (García-Bellido 1993a: 128; Chaves *et al.* 1998: 1317; Mora Serrano 2006: 36; Mora Serrano 2007: 417). García-Bellido (1985–6: 499) has proposed dating this group of

ASIDO
Š.'B'L?
'ŠDN
'ŠDNBL
LBNDŠ'

'ŠD'N
B'B'L
'ŠD'NB'L
B'B'L

LASCUTA
LSKW'T?

BAILO
B'YL'NN? , B'L...?

IPTUCI
YB'DW'ŠY'?

OBA
YW – B'L?

TURIRECINA
T'LŠ – YRKN?

VESCI
W'ḤŠK?

ARSA
W'R / Š'?

Fig. 12.2. Legends from Asido, Lascuta, Bailo, Iptuci, Oba, Turirecina, Vesci and Arsa.

coins between the second half of the second century and the first half of the first century BCE.[9]

The work of Solà-Solé (1980) on the alphabet of the 'Libyphoenician' coins was fundamental in establishing a definitive link with the neo-Punic script,[10] finding equivalences between Neo-Punic and 'Libyphoenician' characters that sometimes have archaizing traits (*šin*), while others show evolved characteristics (*lamed*), occasionally seem to be in a phase of transition (*'alef*), or influenced by Latin (*kaf*) (Solà-Solé 1980: 85; Fig. 12.2).[11] The majority of these legends, like most Punic coins of southern Iberia, must be read from right to left. However, some of the readings are controversial: the important epigraphic differences among the

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[9] The oldest specimens, taking into account their uncial weights and the large size of the blanks, could be those of Lascuta, Asido and Turirecina, which might date to the second half of the second century BCE (García-Bellido 1985‒6: 499). However, it is difficult to advance a definite chronology for these materials, since very few specimens have been found in archaeological contexts.

[10] Previous attempts to decipher the 'unbekannt' (unknown) and 'rätselhaft' (enigmatic) ancient Iberian script by German and Spanish scholars include those of, among others, Schulten (1924), Meinhof (1930), Zyhlarz (1933), Wolde (1951) and Beltrán (1954).

[11] For an alternative reading of some of the legends to that of Solà-Solé see: García-Bellido 1981; 1985‒6: 499‒506; Alfaro Asins 1991: 128‒37.

'Libyphoenician' mints make it difficult to be sure sometimes whether we are trying to transcribe a single character with several variants or different characters. Of course the lack of other written testimonies of this variant of the neo-Punic script and the brevity of the texts at our disposal (mainly toponyms including sometimes a prefix and/or suffix) have further complicated the question (Solà-Solé 1980; García-Bellido 1981: 55). It is certainly true that some of the problems posed by the 'Libyphoenician' legends are similar to those to be found more generally in studies of neo-Punic inscriptions. Jongeling has drawn attention to the controversies surrounding the reading of neo-Punic epigraphy, due to its cursive character, and the brevity and scarce number of examples (Jongeling 2008: xiii). In Spain, most of these inscriptions were recorded on pottery, include only a few symbols – probably related to the name of the possessor – and come, predominantly, from the Balearic Islands rather than from the south of the Iberian Peninsula.[12] In this context the body of monetary legends from southern Spain gains even more relevance.

Leaving aside the inclusion of the name of the city in neo-Punic and Latin and the sporadic record of personal names in Latin script,[13] the Punic formula *mbʿl/mpʿl*, which might have a similar meaning to the legend found on some Greek coins ('from the citizens of', or 'coinage of') is occasionally added by 'Libyphoenician' mints, such as Bailo, Asido and Oba (García-Bellido 1985‑6: 500‑6; 1993a: 99; Solà-Solé 1980: 40–2; Alfaro Asins 1991: 120; 1998: 63). This type of legend can also be found also in other Punic mints of southern Iberia, the north of Africa and Sicily, such as Gades, Sexs, Lixus, Tingi and Panormus (Jongeling 2008: 300‑1). Some 'Libyphoenician' coins have bilingual legends, in neo-Punic and Latin. The influence of the latter language can be seen also in the inclusion of foreign words in the neo-Punic legends, in the incipient use of vowels or the change in the direction of the inscription, from the characteristic right-to-left of neo-Punic legends, towards left to right (García-Bellido 1993a: 98).[14]

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[12] Twelve examples have been found in the Balearic Islands (Ibiza, six; Mallorca, six). The rest come from the south (Málaga, two) and the southeast of the Iberian Peninsula (Almería, one; Cartagena, two; and Villaricos, two). See Jongeling 2008: 284‑8.

[13] Such as the names P. TEREN. BODO, L. NVMIT. BODO and A. IRTHI of the coins of Lascuta. Solà-Solé (1980: 48) has suggested a link between the cognomen BODO and the Punic personal name BDʾ.

[14] Legends running from left to right can be found in some coins from Asido, Vesci and Lascuta. These kinds of exceptions have also been noticed in certain series produced by other Punic mints, such as Malaca and Sexs (Solà-Solé 1980: 17).

The iconography of these coins and those of other mints in southern Iberia has usually been discussed in relation to Punic divinities, such as Baal Hammon (Asido, Vesci, Iptuci), Tanit (Turirecina) or Melqart (Lascuta). The representation of different symbols (stars, crescents, dolphins, tuna fish, corn ears) has also been interpreted as allusions to certain gods or goddesses. The images and the legends allow a connection to be established with coinage minted in the north of Africa, but a detailed analysis of both shows that the relationship with other local towns and with the mint of Gades is also fundamental in the interpretation of their meaning.

García-Bellido has carried out the most detailed work so far on the iconography of these coins, analysing the images of each coin as an 'iconographical unit' (where the obverse and reverse must be read jointly) and mainly in relation to the set of civic symbols that linger on the different series of each town.[15] According to this author some of the images of a bearded male head found in the coins of Asido, Iptuci and Vesci may be representations of Baal Hammon (García-Bellido 1985–6: 507–9). The coins from Asido (Figs. 12.3:3 and 12.3:4) show a man with a short beard wearing a crown or a diadem on the obverse and a bull with crescent moon and star on the reverse. The bull has often been identified as a manifestation of Baal (Le Glay 1966: 423, 439; Lipiński 1992: 55) and it is frequently seen alone or in connection with a ram as the victims to be sacrificed to the Roman *interpretatio* of the god in later North African stelae of the first to third centuries CE.[16] In the next issue of the mint (Figs. 12.3:5 and 12.3:6) the bull appears on the obverse again in connection with a star, while an image of a dolphin with crescent moon, pellet and caduceus is placed on the reverse. García-Bellido has suggested that if the dolphin, an animal that is sometimes found in association on coins and stelae with the symbol of Tanit (García-Bellido 1985–6: 509, fig. 5; Bisi 1967: 38, L. 26,3 and 33,1; Mora Serrano 2007: 422, pl. I.10), is an allusion to the goddess, these coins may have combined a symbol of the Punic goddess Tanit with an image of her *paredros*. Only in the final issue of the mint did the bull disappear. The obverse was then occupied by the head of Melqart-Herakles with the lionskin and club, very similar to the one depicted on the coins of Gades (*DCyP* 2ª A 10), and the reverse by a cornucopia inside a crown of leaves (Fig. 12.3:8).

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[15] The use of coin symbols as civic devices seems to have been important. Trillmich (2003) has shown how certain images selected for local coinage from *Hispania* are often repeated in different series of the same town, even if their position or their meaning probably changed as a consequence of the inclusion of iconography related to Rome or the emperor.

[16] See for example the stelae found in the sanctuary of Bou Kournein (Le Glay 1961: 63–4, pl. IV.1, IV.3–4; 1966: 351, pl. III; 1988: 196–8, fig. 6).

Fig. 12.3. Issues of bronze coins from 'Libyphoenician' mints. 1, 2. Arsa (*DCyP* 1 and 2). 3–8. Asido (*DCyP* 1–4, 6 and 7); 9,10. Oba (*DCyP* 1 and 2). 11–14. Bailo (*DCyP* 1–3 and 5). 15–17. Turirecina (*DCyP* 1–3). 18–21. Iptuci (*DCyP* 1, 4, 5 and 8). 22–26. Lascuta (*DCyP* 2–4, 6 and 7). 27–29. Vesci (*DCyP* 1, 3 and 4). 30. B'B'L? (*DCyP* 1).

The bearded head crowned with a diadem of the mint of Iptuci (Fig. 12.3:18), usually described as Jupiter,[17] has also been linked by García-Bellido with a possible representation of Baal Hammon.[18] She interprets the radial icon intermingled with the name of the town depicted on the reverse as a stylized image of a solar symbol. It is difficult to establish a definitive interpretation of these representations without the support of any written references, but this image could be linked with the astral symbols (disc, crescent, sun) that appear frequently on Punic stelae dedicated to Baal Hammon as well as Tanit (Berthier and Charlier 1955: 140 pl. xxiv D; Le Glay 1966: 444; Lipiński 1995: 425) or the images of the sun and the moon that accompany Baal in his Roman form of African Saturn (Le Glay 1961: for example pl. iv.3, xii.6). However, the head of Melqart-Herakles appears in connection with the eight-spoke wheel in other issues of the same mint (Figs. 12.3:19 and 12.3:20). García-Bellido has suggested that this could be read as two representations of Melqart, first without attributes – according to the African fashion – and later in a hellenized 'costume'.

Other mints making use of attributes usually associated with Baal are Vesci and Bailo. In Vesci the bull standing in front of a corn ear on the reverse is juxtaposed with a male head and a corn ear on the obverse (Figs. 12.3:27 and 12.3:28).[19] In the coinage of Bailo there are no anthropomorphic representations but rather the image of a bull with a star, a crescent moon and a pellet on the obverse paired with the image of a corn ear on the reverse (Figs. 12.3:11 and 12.3:12; compare coins from Ituci, Fig. 12.4:9 and *SNG Cop.* 387–8). We may be dealing again with a dual representation of Baal Hammon and Tanit,[20] if we consider that the corn ear is a symbol frequently depicted in Graeco-Hellenistic representations of the goddess as Demeter/Kore in coins. However, these images are ambiguous, because the corn ear could also be understood as a reference to the agrarian character of Baal. Both Pluto and African Saturn receive the

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[17] Its iconographic resemblance to the image of the god depicted in Roman *victoriati* is interesting in this respect. Another example of the imitation of Roman iconography in Punic coinage can be found in the representation of the prow characteristic of Roman bronze coins on the coins from Sexs (Mora Serrano 2007: 410; *DCyP* 4ª 11, 5ª 12).

[18] Even though Baal Hammon was usually identified with Saturn/Kronos (Lipiński 1995: 260), García-Bellido points at some textual and epigraphic evidence that suggests that Jupiter might have sometimes been assimilated to Baal Hammon in Italy and Africa (García-Bellido 1989: 38).

[19] The corn ear of the obverse has also been interpreted as a tree (*DCyP* 403). The image of a bull in front of a corn ear also appears on Carthaginian coins (*SNG Cop.* Sicily nos. 384–6). In the case of this example from Vesci we find a stylization of the image of the corn ear similar to that of the coinage of Arsa (Figs. 12.3:1 and 12.3:2) and Lascuta (Figs. 12.3:22 and 12.3:26).

[20] On Tanit, Hvidberg-Hansen (1982). See especially chapter 2 on the identification of Tanit with other deities of the Greco-Roman world.

Fig. 12.4. Issues of bronze coins from mints of Hispania Ulterior. 1–4. Sacili (*DCyP* 1–3 and 5). 5. Sexs (*DCyP* 18). 6. Ikalensken (*DCyP* 15). 7 and 9. Ituci (*DCyP* 8 and 9). 8. Carissa (*DCyP* 4). 10–12. Gades (*DCyP* 23, 37 and 38). 13–15. Carmo (*DCyP* 1, 4 and 10). 16–17. Obulco (*DCyP* 8 and 9).

epithets *frugifier* (fruitful) and *deus frugum* (god of fruits), and the former is sometimes represented sitting on a throne with one or three ears of corn in his left hand (Lipiński 1992: 57, 261‑4). Bailo introduced the image of Melqart-Herakles on the final issue, displacing the bull onto the reverse, where the names of Roman magistrates were also recorded. However, the corn ear did not disappear and, as if it were a vegetal version of the club that is usually depicted with Herakles, it was included next to Melqart's head (Fig. 12.3:14) (García-Bellido 1985‑6: 508‑10).[21]

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[21] Again, Gades minted a similar series: *DCyP* 6.A.37.

Representations of Melqart on the 'Libyphoenician' coins are easier to identify thanks to the inclusion of the lion skin as an attribute. The coinage of Asido, Bailo, Iptuci, Lascuta and BʿBʿL(?) as well as other Punic mints such as Sexs display images of the god according to this iconography and inspired by the design of the coins minted in Gades (Figs. 12.4:10, 12.4:11 and 12.4:5). In Asido he appears associated with a cornucopia and thunderbolts (Fig. 12.3:8), in Baelo with the ear of corn (which took the place of the club) and the bull (Fig. 12.3:14). In Iptuci he accompanies the solar symbol characteristic of the reverses of the mint (Fig. 12.3:19); in BʿBʿL(?) the coins repeat the frontal image of the face of Melqart, as in the series minted in Gades, including the characteristic representation of two tuna fish (Figs. 12.3:30 and 12.4:12). Finally, in Lascuta the god is associated with images of an elephant, a wild boar with a snake, an oriental altar (crowned by three or four palms) and a *cippus* (crowned by two ears of corn) (Figs. 12.3:22‒6). García-Bellido has suggested that these altars may represent a *cista* (casket) and the oracle of Melqart in Gades, where according to the ancient sources the ashes of the god-hero were kept and worshipped in two bronze altars and his resurrection commemorated annually (García-Bellido 1985‒6: 516; García-Bellido 1987; Aubet 1993: 128, 130, 169).[22] The images of the god portrayed on the 'Libyphoenician' coins seem to combine the Hellenistic attributes of Herakles,[23] also present in the images of the god on the coins from Tyre (Bonnet 1988: 85‒90, 410‒12), with symbols that appear repeatedly on the coinage of southern Iberia, such as the corn ear and the tuna fish, which might be allusions to the primitive agrarian character of Melqart – a divinity subjected to an annual process of death by fire and resurrection coinciding with natural cycles[24] – and his role as patron of navigation for the colonists and merchants that sailed from Tyre (Bonnet 1988: 98; Aubet 1993: 235; Malkin 2005).

Several cities in *Hispania Ulterior* chose to represent a female image on their coins, often in conjunction with agrarian attributes (corn ears, the plough), and marine and heavenly symbols (dolphin, star, crescent). It is

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[22] On Melqart at Gades: Pomponius Mela 3.46; Arn. *Adv. nat.* I.36, Sall. *Iug.*17: Bonnet (1988: 211–12). God-hero duality of Melqart-Herakles: Malkin (2005: 243‒4). Alternatively, the *cippus* could be interpreted as a representation of a baetyl and the corn ear, as Lipiński suggests in the case of other representations of ears of corn in Punic or neo-Punic coins, as a symbol of Baal Hammon (Lipiński 1995: 261‒4).

[23] For epigraphic evidence for the identification of Melqart with Herakles in Punic colonial contexts such as Malta: Bonnet 1988: 244‒7; Malkin 2005: 244. For the iconographical assimilation of Melqart to Herakles: Bonnet 1988: 399‒415.

[24] *Egersis*: Bonnet 1988: 104‒12; Aubet 1993: 128. However, the association of Melqart with vegetal elements is very rare in the western Mediterranean (García-Bellido 1990: 378).

interesting to note that the mints of southern Iberia did not display the classic female head traditionally interpreted as a representation of Tanit on Carthaginian coins, which was itself formally inspired by the image of Arethusa on Syracusan coinage (Jenkins and Lewis 1963: 11-12, 18).[25] They preferred instead what might have been read as a local representation of the goddess or maybe a native divinity that shared astral, agrarian and chthonic attributes with the former (García-Bellido 1985-6: 514; Chaves and Marín Ceballos 1992: 170; Lipiński 1995: 206). However, the image of the goddess with a helmet on Hispano-Carthaginian bronzes, struck by Carthage to pay the troops of the Second Punic War or the images of Dea Roma on the first Roman denarii might have influenced the coin production of certain local settlements. This attribute appears on the images of a female figure in the coins of Turirecina, who sometimes wears a helmet, associated on the reverse with a curved sword and a small rounded shield (Figs. 12.3:15 and 12.3:16). In the final series, with Latin legends, the sword and the shield are replaced by a cluster of grapes and an ear of corn (Fig. 12.3:17) (García-Bellido 1991: 46-7). The same kind of shield is carried by the rider of the coins of Ikale(n)sken (Fig. 12.4:6), a city of uncertain location, which has been tentatively connected with the arrival of troops from Numidia and the *parma* or rounded shield used by the African cavalry (Quesada and García-Bellido 1995: 68-9). Representations of shields can be found also on other Punic coins from southern Iberia, such as Ituci (Sevilla) (Fig. 12.4:7) and Carisa (Cádiz) (Fig. 12.4:8).

Punic after Punic times: the 'Libyphoenician' coins in context

The significance of the group of Spanish coins with neo-Punic legends and images that are also present in the north of Africa can be understood fully only in a wider context. Interestingly, the monetization of both shores of the Straits of Gibraltar is considered to have been almost contemporary. The first Carthaginian silver coins were struck in Sicily for military reasons (Frey-Kupper, Chapter 6). The beginning of bronze coinage has been dated by Jenkins to between the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third century BCE (*SNG Cop.* nos. 94-8). Around the same time, or slightly later,

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[25] Representations of Semitic divinities on Punic coins normally reproduce Greek types, as Lipiński (1995: 56) has pointed out and we have seen in the case of Melqart/Herakles. See also Lipiński (1995: 205-6, 374-80, with earlier references), for the representation of Tanit as Kore/Persephone in Es Cuyram (Ibiza) and the official introduction of the cult of Demeter and Kore to Carthage.

in the first years of the third century BCE, the first bronze coins of Punic cities in Spain, such as Gades and Ebusus, were produced. The major cities of the Mauretanian coast (Iol, Icosium, Lixus and Tingis) started minting their first coins during the same period (Campo 1976: 88–90; Alfaro Asins 1988: 125; 2001: 30; Alexandropoulos 2000: 52–3; Callegarin 2008: 306). Leaving aside the official coins of the city of Carthage that reached the southern Iberian Peninsula (Alfaro Asins 2002),[26] the metropolis also minted gold and silver 'provincial' series in the region (dated between 237 and 206 BCE), probably for military purposes, displaying Hellenistic portraits, eagles and elephants, among other symbols (Villaronga 1973). Carthaginian and Hispano-Carthaginian coins, together with coins from Gades, were the only coinage available in the south of the Iberian Peninsula immediately before the Second Punic War.

Coins from Saguntum, Emporion or Rome arrived in the south slightly later, once the war had begun (García-Bellido 1991: 41; García-Bellido 1993c; Chaves 1998b: 165; 2000). At the end of the third century BCE, towns such as Malaca and Sexs probably also started minting their own coinage; at the beginning of the second century Abdera and Ituci would do the same, and so, some decades later, did Olontigi and the 'Libyphoenician' towns, once the area had fallen under Roman control (Mora Serrano 1993; Campo and Mora 1995; Alfaro Asins 1998: 82–5 with earlier bibliography). But the group of coins showing some kind of Punic influence in iconographic representations is even larger, including, according to some studies (García-Bellido 1993a: 114; Mora Serrano 1993: 78), towns such as the recently discovered mint of Balleia (Badajoz, in the modern region of Extremadura), Obulco, Carmo, Ilipa and Urso, even though their legends use Iberian or Latin alphabets (compare, for example, coins from Carmo (Figs. 12.4:13 and 12.4:14) and Obulco (Figs. 12.4:16 and 12.4:17) with 'Libyphoenician' coins from Turirecina (Figs. 12.3:15–17), as well as the representation of Herakles/Melqart with the lionskin at Carmo (Fig. 12.4:15) with coin images from Gades (Figs. 12.4:10 and 12.4:11)).

The criteria we have been using to differentiate Punic, Roman and Iberian coins are, therefore, mainly epigraphic. Following this principle,

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[26] The arrival of coinage from Carthage, Sicily and Sardinia seems to occur between the end of the third and the early second centuries BCE. During the second and first centuries BCE the number of hoards decreases and the archaeological record testifies to the arrival of coinage from various North African mints. The same pattern is to be found in the collection of coins kept at the archaeological museum of Ibiza and Formentera (Padrino 2006). For finds of coins minted in Mauretanian towns in southern Spain and vice versa, see Gozalbes Craviotto (1994) and Callegarin (2008), with earlier bibliography.

Chaves has studied in percentage terms a group of sixty-nine mints located in *Hispania Ulterior*, from the earliest coinage until the Augustan period (Chaves 1998a: 233). According to this author, forty-eight towns (69.5%) only used the Latin alphabet, seven (10%) had Iberian legends, six (9%) Phoenicio-Punic and eight (11.5%) 'Libyphoenician'. Adding up the coins displaying Phoenicio-Punic and 'Libyphoenician' alphabets gives a result of 20.5%, showing the proportional significance of these legends in the south, in comparison with other local (Iberian) alphabets. Chaves rightly points out, however, that the situation had nuances that cannot be reflected through this general categorization, such as the use of bilingual legends (Latin/local or Punic alphabets) in many towns counted here as non-Latin, since they are the old Punic cities of the coast (Gades, Malaca, Sexs, Abdera), which were some of the last to introduce Latin inscriptions. These numbers have an added value if we take into account the fact that the examples of neo-Punic epigraphy that have come down to us in the Iberian Peninsula and the Balearic Islands are, as we have seen, overwhelmingly related to coinage and that, thanks to numismatic epigraphy, it is possible to detect the use of neo-Punic scripts in the modern regions of Extremadura and inland Andalusia, far away from the 'well-known' Punic towns of the coast.

However peculiar the legends of 'Libyphoenician' coins might seem, they must be set in the context of the Punic legends on coins struck in southern Iberia, which are far from homogenous. Gades invariably used Punic letters, while Sexs and Ebusus produced coins with Punic and neo-Punic characters, sometimes even in the same legend; towns like Malaca, Abdera and Tagilit employed legends faithful to a lesser or greater degree to neo-Punic script, but some settlements even made use of even less standard characters, as we have seen in the case of the 'Libyphoenician' mints. Certain towns coined bilingual series including a Latin inscription, like Ebusus, Abdera and some 'Libyphoenician' mints, to be replaced, in some late series from Gades, Abdera, Sexs, Olontigi, Ituci and some 'Libyphoenician' towns, by monolingual Latin inscriptions (Alfaro Asins 1991; 1998: 63). It is important to remember that other coins from *Hispania Ulterior* also use in their series legends in Latin or various local scripts, such as North-East Iberian (in Iliberri and Iltiraka), the southern script (in Castulo, Urci, Obulco and Abra) and the 'Tartesian' script (in Salaria) (Untermann 1995: 306).

The language mixing in the case of 'Libyphoenician' coins does not seem to follow a strict pattern. It is possible to find series issued by the same mint displaying solely neo-Punic or Latin legends as well as coins with

bilingual inscriptions. Towns changed from one type of script to the other without adjusting to a rigid evolutionary path leading from neo-Punic to bilingual and then Latin according to the chronological ordering of numismatic series proposed by García-Bellido and Blázquez (*DCyP*). Sometimes the Latin toponym appears on the obverse and the neo-Punic equivalent in the reverse,[27] but in other instances both share the same side of the coin.[28] In all cases the Latin legend seems to be a transcription of a pre-existing local toponym.[29] However, there are certain elements that appear only in the neo-Punic legend (such as the administrative formula *mbˁl/mpˁl*), while personal names are only recorded in Latin.[30]

It is also interesting to note here that the very use of legends on coins, which is widespread in *Hispania Ulterior*, is at odds with Carthaginian and Barcid traditions. Legends are very occasionally absent in the coinage of certain Punic settlements in the south, such as the very early anepigraphic series I of Gades (first quarter of the third century BCE) and the coins from Baria (last quarter of the third century BCE). Villaronga and Alfaro Asins explained this particularity by establishing a connection between the early coins from Gades and the Carthaginian custom of differentiating issues through the insertion of single letters rather than legends (Villaronga 1973: 71‑2; Alfaro Asins 1998: 52; Chaves 1998b: 149).

The influence of Gades seems, in fact, to have been stronger than that of Carthage in the south of the Iberian Peninsula and to have reached far beyond this region, at least in commercial terms. Leaving aside the use of the typical iconography of the coins of Gades by other towns (the head of Melqart with the lionskin and the tuna fish),[31] certain mints in the south chose to follow not the Roman weight system, but freely adapted that in

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[27] For example, at Asido (Fig. 12.3:3; *DCyP* 1), Iptuci (Fig. 12.3:19; *DCyP* 4), Lascuta (*DCyP* 1).

[28] For example, at Bailo (Fig. 12.3:11; *DCyP* 1), Oba (Figs. 12.3:9 and 12.3:10; *DCyP* 1 and 2), Turirecina (Fig. 12.3:15 and 12.3:16; *DCyP* 1 and 2), Vesci (Fig. 12.3:28, *DCyP* 3).

[29] Writing the local toponym in neo-Punic on coinage is a custom that endured well beyond the end of the Republic in some towns of Hispania. The most significant examples are the coins of Ebusus from Claudian times (*RPC* 479–82, *DCyP* 70–3) and the coins from Abdera minted in the time of Tiberius (*RPC* 124, *DCyP* 7). Malaca never included Latin legends in its coins.

[30] The study of a group of around seventy names recorded in various mints in the south of Spain shows that around 30% have a local or Punic component (such as P. Terentius Bodo, from the coins of Lasculta, Fig. 12.3:25). A Roman origin can be attributed to half of the remaining 70%. At least some of them could be linked with the clientele of the Romans in *Hispania Ulterior*. The other 36% have been Latinized, but have Oscan, Samnite and Etruscan origins (Chaves 1998b: 157; González Román and Marín Díaz 1994).

[31] Compare coins from Asido (Fig. 12.3:8), Bailo (Figs. 12.3:13 and 12.3:14), Iptuci (Fig. 12.3:19), Lascuta (Figs. 12.3:22, 12.3:23, 12.3:25 and 12.3:26), BˁBˁL? (Fig. 12.3:30) Sexs (Fig. 12.4:5) and Gades (Figs. 12.4:10‑12.4:12).

use in Gades (Mora Serrano 2006: 47).[32] Coins from the latter circulated as common currency in settlements as distant as Cirta in Algeria (Alfaro Asins 1998: 59) and some issues, such as the series VI of Gades, are predominant in certain sites of Mauritania Tingitana (Gozalbes Cravioto 1994: 58; Callegarin 2008: 303).[33] Finds of African coins (from Lixus, Tamuda, Tingi, Zilil and the problematic mint of Saldae) in the environs of Gades also highlight the connection between the north and the south in the 'Círculo del Estrecho' (cf. Papi, Chapter 11; Gozalbes Cravioto 1994; 1998; Chaves 1999: 299; Chaves *et al.* 1998: 1313-18; Chaves *et al.* 2000; Alfaro Asins 2002; Callegarin 2008).[34]

Discussion

The difficulties in finding an appropriate terminology for the 'Punic' coins circulating in southern Hispania during the late Republic reflect the fluctuating situation and, as we have seen, the variety of numismatic series in circulation at the same time in southern Spain: coins from Carthage, provincial Carthaginian coins, local coins minted by various towns in Spain and Roman coins. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Vives (1926: 37) used the term 'hispano-cartaginesas' to talk about coins that were similar to those produced in Carthage, but clearly not minted in North Africa, and 'púnico-hispánica' for coins coming from certain local towns. Guadán preferred the word 'íbero-púnicas' when he described coins minted in Gades, Ebusus, Malaca, Sexs, Abdera, Iptuci and Olontigi (Guadán 1980: 17). More recently, Alexandropoulos (1987: 8) has suggested the expression 'monnayages phénico-puniques d'Espagne' to talk about the coinage that reveals a Punic environment in the traditional sense. 'Spain' is of course a contemporary geopolitical concept, but all these scholars seem to acknowledge to some extent that Punic from Iberia is

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[32] Unit of 8-9 g. Fractions with a weight of 4.5 g. were especially popular. Mora Serrano (2006: 48) has pointed to the fact that some of these weights are not incompatible with the Roman system. Chaves (1998b: 164) has noted, on the other hand, that coins following the Punic weight standard tend to circulate in the coastal areas and are rarely found in inland regions.

[33] Specimens from Ebusus travelled to the north of Africa, but huge numbers of Ebusitan bronze coins have been found in central Italy as well. These coins were also massively copied in this area (Campo 1976: 97; Alexandropoulos 1987: 16-20; Stannard 2005b; Frey-Kupper, Chapter 6).

[34] Groups of coins from North Africa (especially from Tingi, Semesh, Lixus and Tamuda) also reached the south of Spain, but in small numbers in comparison with the quantity of coins that arrived in the north of Africa from Gades or Carteia (Gozalbes Cravioto 1998: 223).

no less Punic than a supposedly 'original' way of being Punic in Carthage, and that the local way of expressing Punic identities in southern Iberia is reflected in the idiosyncrasies of Punic numismatic material from this region.

The blurry line between coins with both 'Punic iconography' and Latin/native scripts (such as those from Carmo and Obulco) (Figs. 12.4:13– 12.4:17) and coins with neo-Punic legends in southern Spain may show more clearly than other elements of material culture the extent to which different versions of 'Punic' culture coexisted in the Mediterranean and how these different ways of being Punic in different places were rooted in vernacular constructions of collective identity to the extent that it is sometimes hard to distinguish between them (van Dommelen 2007: 66). On the other hand, similarities between coin imagery from both sides of the Straits of Gibraltar, and the presence of coins from the Iberian Peninsula in the North Africa and vice versa, show the importance of movements of goods and people in the creation of another layer of regional identity in connection with North African communities. In this respect the special distribution of coins from the mint of Gades and the spread of its iconographic types give a hint of the prominent role of this town immediately before and after the fall of Carthage. It is difficult to tell from the analysis of coins to what extent oriental influences were mediated in the south of Iberia by Gades and its ancient connection with Tyre by contrast with the 'Hellenistic' language of the pieces produced by Carthage in North Africa and southern Spain.

'Libyphoenician' coins show special characteristics (images, weight systems and script) in the context of the province of Hispania Ulterior that demonstrate that Punic elements were still considered important in the construction of the identity of certain communities and in inscribing 'Punic' myths on Roman provincial landscapes of the late Republic (Woolf 2010: 197). The very concept of 'Libyphoenician' as a mixed race is indicative of the perception in antiquity of dissimilarities and processes of hybridism in the north of Africa and how these differences were still considered significant when population groups travelled to other regions. In this sense the information transmitted by the ancient sources is a microcosm of the complex and fragmentary character of Punic culture and the importance of qualifying dualist views opposing Rome/Carthage or Rome/native in 'Romanization' studies.

At the same time, the way we approach this coinage is very illustrative of modern attitudes towards the Punic world and ancient ethnicity. The 'deciphering' of the meaning of 'Libyphoenician' coins is the result of

following the traditional method of superimposing ancient ethnic labels transmitted by Greco-Roman sources on a 'distinctive' group of artefacts. Even though this kind of philological archaeology is not acceptable by modern standards, the ethnic specificity of these legends, which was originally advanced by Zóbel, has more recently been followed in the studies of Solà-Solé. Therefore the question still remains of how these coins, showing local toponyms written in a variant of neo-Punic script, with Punic formulae and images of Melqart, bulls, horses, elephants, tuna fish, corn ears, crescents and pellets relate to the African diaspora or the regional developments of Punic culture.

These elements must, of course, be analysed with extreme caution, to avoid the risk of recreating ethnic or cultural distinctions based on linguistic boundaries alone (Prag 2006: 5; Whittaker 2009: 194). Even the use of Latin in the first series of some mints of Hispania Ulterior cannot be interpreted as proof of the language in use in a settlement, and in fact it is only at the end of the second century and during the first century BCE that the addition of Latin names by magistrates hints that the use of this language had begun to spread (Untermann 1995: 313). By the same token, it is not possible to infer that a town producing coins with Punic legends and images had a population able to read and write Punic – we can take as a warning sign some mistakes in the coins of Lascuta and Asido, where neo-Punic legends have been placed upside down (Alfaro Asins 1991: 116) – but it is certainly an indication of the cultural milieu of the minting authorities, which were most likely not related to the Roman state but to the city government (García-Bellido 1991: 41; Ripollès 2005: 197-8). This gives monetary images an added value, when interpreted in their historical context as part of propaganda and official discourses about real or fictive diasporas (Metcalf 1999: 15; García-Bellido 1993c: 337; Woolf 2010: 192-3), as in the case of coins that display only neo-Punic legends or give neo-Punic and Latin inscriptions the same level of importance.

García-Bellido has suggested that 'Libyphoenician' coins could have been minted by communities arriving in Hispania from the north of Africa in the late Republic and that the very distance from their place of origin might have been the cause of the archaisms detected in the iconography and their original development of neo-Punic script (García-Bellido 1985-6: 519; 1990: 379). We have also seen that African troops were involved in the confrontation between Rome and Carthage in Spain. Transfers of population after the Second Punic War are mentioned as well, for example by Pomponius Mela in the case of the inhabitants of Carteia (2.96), and individual examples of African immigrants to the Iberian Peninsula have

been detected in the epigraphic record (López Pardo and Suárez 2002: 141–2; Lefebvre 2006, with earlier references). Frequent contacts between both sides of the straits of Gibraltar are attested by finds of coins and ceramics (López Castro 1995: 178–84). But more importantly, the arrival of new populations from the north of Africa and the Italian Peninsula after the Roman conquest took place in the south of Iberia in an especially heterogeneous territory. Phoenician settlements were established on the southern coast of Iberia in the eighth century BCE and probably in inland Andalusia from the sixth century BCE (Aubet 1993; Bendala 1994; López Castro 1995: 23–72). Punic culture in this context, as van Dommelen has claimed in the case of third- and second-century BCE Sardinia, 'was not synonymous with Carthage, but represented local communities in local terms, even if drawing on material culture and traditions derived to varying degrees from North Africa and the Punic world' (van Dommelen 2007: 66).[35]

Studying bilingualism in Roman coinage, Adams (2003: 208–9) has observed that switching expresses 'a double identity for the places issuing the coins'. Bilingual legends on 'Libyphoenician' coins at least show that neo-Punic was considered as prestigious as Latin to convey the public image of these settlements in the late Republic in a context where the very use of neo-Punic on coins is revealing and these neo-Punic legends are the only epigraphic evidence available of the Punic toponym of some settlements (Domínguez Monedero 2000: 66; Mora Serrano 2007: 426).[36] Punic inscriptions belong almost exclusively to religious and funerary contexts before the Roman conquest. Only later was the Roman epigraphic habit of displaying secular public inscriptions adopted in some regions of the empire, not to write Latin, but to record neo-Punic or bilingual inscriptions (Kerr 2010: 14). Recording the name of the city in two languages acquires particular relevance in a 'world of towns', where personal names appear side by side with an *origo* (that is, origin or ancestry) derived from a town and citizenship is associated mainly with the legal status of a settlement (Woolf 2010: 195). Prag (2006: 24) has also noted how in Phoenician, Punic and neo-Punic epigraphy the norm is to express identities in the form of civic ethnics or formulae such as 'citizen of x-town'/'the people of x-town'. But we should consider the images in circulation on Punic coins from southern Iberia to be as bilingual as their legends, taking into account

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[35] A similar point is made by Mattingly (2007: 161) in his analysis of funerary rites in the Fazzan.

[36] Punic was also used as an 'official' language, after the second Punic war, in the Numidian puppet kingdoms established by the Romans (for example, Pliny *HN* 17.22; Polyb. 15.18; 21.21), as noted by Kerr (2010: 12, 16).

the variety of symbols (caduceus, stars, pellets, corn ears, clusters of grapes, bulls, tuna, eagles) that can be read from local, North African and some-times Italic (Campanian, Sicilian) perspectives (García-Bellido 1985–6: 518; Chaves 1998b: 168; Chaves 1999; Mora Serrano 2007: 413–14).

The by-product of these juxtapositions is not mere 'cultural bilingual-ism', because, as Quinn has suggested, communities needed to rewrite the very language they used in order to speak it, creating new formulae in which '[e]ven when Latin is the medium, a portion of the message can be local' (Quinn 2010: 61). These hybrid identities were an important factor in constructing Punic identities after Punic times, creating new ways of enacting differentiation through the blending of differences with other settlements with cultural Punic roots in southern Spain and northern Africa 'as part of the praxis of connectivity' (Rowlands 2010: 235). Differ-ences and connections were played out in this case through a distinctive way of 'becoming Roman', in which a re-elaboration of traditional items in the iconography and legends of coins issued by towns such as Gades, Sexs, Malaca, Abdera and the 'Libyphoenician' mints played an important role which should be analysed side-by-side with other elements of material culture in settlements that referred to their own Punic cultural traditions under the hegemony of the Roman Republic (Bendala 2002; Mora Serrano 2005; López Castro 2007: 117–21).

13 | More than neighbours: Punic–Iberian connections in southeast Iberia

CARMEN ARANEGUI GASCÓ AND
JAIME VIVES-FERRÁNDIZ SÁNCHEZ

Contemporary ways of conceptualizing the movement of people and migrations have challenged the way archaeologists look at the material remains of the past. Situations of close cultural contact between Phoenicians, Greeks, Punics and indigenous people have long been a fruitful topic of research in the archaeology of the Iberian peninsula, given the material evidence for assessing the settlement of people of different origins along the Spanish coast. However, interpretations vary: for some scholars, foreign groups drove changes at the local level; for others, the mere presence of foreign peoples does not imply a trigger for social or economic change.

Our aim in this chapter is to assess the relationships of the people living on the southeastern coast of Spain with objects and people of Punic cultural background.[1] This work is based on fresh data and new theoretical insights inspired by studies stressing the different cultural values and meanings with which people endow objects in contact situations (Kopytoff 1986; Gosden and Marshall 1999). We want to move on from essentialist interpretations of these contacts based on fixed ethnic categories and mosaics of separate peoples. Instead, we suggest that people are what they do, following socially situated strategies.

Our area of study is located on the southeastern coast of the Iberian peninsula (Fig. 13.1). We will focus mainly on data from sites on the coast of modern Alicante, which we will compare to the evidence from sites further inland – in the modern provinces of Valencia and Murcia – in order to address local-level processes. The island of Ibiza, which lies only 95 km from the mainland, must also be considered in this context. We shall start by introducing our understanding of the term 'Punic' and its conceptual and theoretical particularities in the area under scrutiny, as well as the term 'Iberian', another concept that requires attention. Then we shall adopt a diachronic perspective, discussing changes in daily practices in households, productive contexts and cemeteries from the sixth to third

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[1] We would like to thank Enric Verdú for his helpful comments regarding the cemetery of La Albufereta (Alicante, Spain).
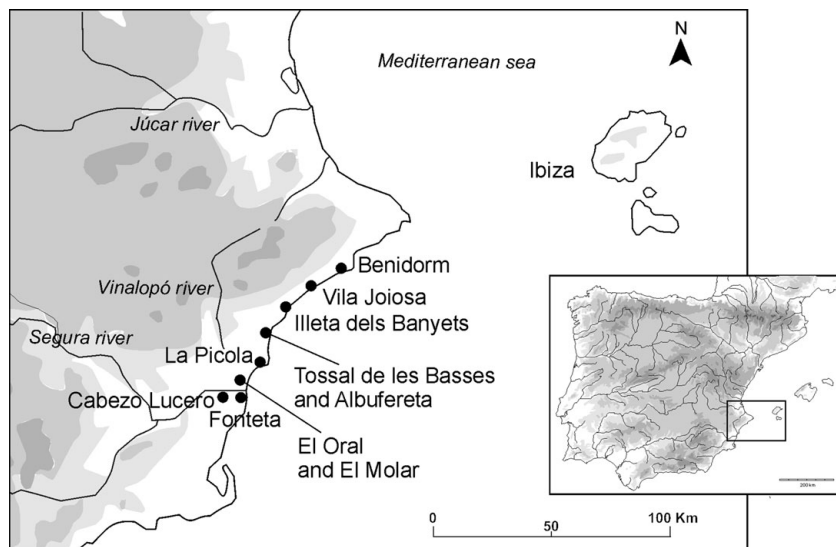
Fig. 13.1. Map of the area of study showing the main sites discussed in the text.

centuries BCE, the period in which Punic cultures are commonly thought to have developed. We shall focus on the way these practices demonstrate exchanges and contacts with the Mediterranean – mainly Punic – world. We shall go on to explain that these contacts are not an essential given, but that they are understood better within their local contexts, traditionally referred to as 'Iberian'. Insofar as these contexts change over time, our concern is with particular daily practices – understanding culture as historical social situations – and with the study of multiple connections that relate to people's *habitus* (*sensu* Bourdieu) and interests.

Punics and Iberians: matching texts with archaeological data

The celebrated written accounts of the presence of the Barcids in the Iberian peninsula from the end of the third century BCE, and especially of their military activities during the Second Punic War, have formed the basis of much of the study of ancient history in Spain. The storming of the Iberian *oppidum* of Saguntum (Livy 21.12; App. *Hisp.* 14; Aranegui Gascó 2004) is one of the traditional milestones in Spanish expressions of national identity, as the fierce Iberians – indigenous people allied with Rome – withstood Hannibal's attacks to the fateful point of preferring to sacrifice themselves rather than leave the city (App. *Hisp.* 12).

Some texts also mention Carthaginian settlements or colonies, like the city of Akra Leuké (Diod. Sic. 25.10; Sala 2003). During the 1930s, the Punic world became the focus of special archaeological interest on the southeastern coast of Spain, and increasing attention was devoted to the material dimensions of the Carthaginian presence on those shores. The work of archaeologists such as Figueras Pacheco (1932), Lafuente Vidal (1944) and Nordström (1961) in the area of Alicante attempted to match the problematic written records with the material remains they were excavating. Following the work of these scholars, among others, the remains of the cemeteries of La Albufereta were uncritically labelled as purely Punic – that is, Carthaginian (Lafuente Vidal 1944: 75) – and they were related to the Barcid foundation of Akra Leuké in the context of Carthaginian control of the coast during the Punic Wars.

These interpretations, which sought to identify particular peoples who were thought to have settled in a particular area, were challenged during the 1960s and 1970s by Llobregat (1969; 1974). At the same time as Tarradell rejected the identification of sites other than Emporion as Greek colonies (Martín 1968), Llobregat began to publish revolutionary work questioning assumptions derived from the written documents about the foundation of Carthaginian colonies on this coast. This led him to suggest that the material remains of these sites were in fact better understood as belonging to the so-called Iberian culture, extending across Castellón, Valencia and Alicante. Llobregat based his interpretations on the assumption that material culture is truly objective, unlike the written texts. He believed Punics were just foreign traders on Iberian soil.

Nowadays, Llobregat's work largely has been superseded as fresh data from fieldwork and new theoretical frameworks emerge (Bendala 2003; Abad *et al.* 2005). Yet the radical changes triggered by his interpretations of the material data point to a tenet to which we will be referring throughout this chapter: relations between material culture and people are elusive and slippery. They should not be taken as a given, since material cultures and peoples do not map straightforwardly onto one another.

Particular Punics among particular Iberians

'Punic' is a literary label recorded in classical texts incorporating stereotypes (Prag 2006; Chapter 1), not a uniform archaeological culture nor a coherent identity to which people adhered from the sixth century BCE onwards. In a recently edited volume, the 'Punic world' is defined in a loose

manner as a historical and archaeological label (van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard 2008a: 5). We agree with those scholars who stress the plurality of the Punic world as a culture (see in particular Bondì, Chapter 4). This plurality better describes cultural particularities in each area, which can be explained through the connections of the real people on the ground and through the long histories of contact and interaction that make it 'difficult, if not impossible to draw strict boundaries between areas that were "really Punic" and those that mostly stuck to their indigenous customs, but adopted many Punic objects and traditions' (van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard 2008a: 4). It is worth pointing out that no metropolis has been identified as assuming a leading role in these developments, and that is why we want to differentiate 'Punic' carefully from 'Carthaginian', the latter being just one area of Punic culture, albeit one with a hegemonic economic and cultural role in some areas of the western Mediterranean (van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard 2008b: 238).

As we are dealing largely with the time before the Punic Wars, the historical situation described in the texts provides a point of reference for our archaeological review. A glance at the treaties signed by Rome and Carthage demonstrates that, in political terms, the east coast of the Iberian peninsula was an area of interest for these hegemonic cities. The treaty signed in 348 BCE could be understood as making Carthago Nova (Mastia?) the limit of the Carthaginian area. The treaty signed in 226 BCE sets the border as the Ebro river, almost 500 km further north (Scardigli 1991: 245–96). We infer from our reading of these sources that our study area was a region of Carthaginian influence (Díaz Tejera 1996) and, more important, the centre of a conflict zone in the fourth and third centuries BCE related to its strategic value.

Earlier 'Phoenician' foundations in the west have traditionally been considered a key factor in understanding the Punic world, alongside Carthaginian influence from the sixth century BCE. Most of these Phoenician establishments (which were also plural and heterogeneous in their aim, scope, and populations) developed into Punic cities. The discovery of an early Phoenician settlement in the area under examination, at the mouth of the Segura river (González Prats 1998; Rouillard et al. 2007), makes the southeastern coast of Iberia an extremely interesting area for our purposes, shedding light on the role that interaction and cultural contact with the local people had in shaping the Punic and Iberian connections that materialized there.

Other cultural features of the region should also be noted in our discussion: first, no Punic name or toponym has been recognized so far in the area of study, the first such toponym (Baria/Villaricos) being in the

modern province of Almería. However, Strabo locates the settlement of Alonai, an alleged fortress of the Greek city of Massalia, on this coast (Strabo 3.4.6; Ptol. *Geog.* 2.6.14; An. Rav. 304.16). In fact, Badie and his colleagues (2000) suggest that Alonai was located at Santa Pola (Alicante) and identify it with the site of La Picola (fifth–fourth centuries BCE), mainly due to its fortification system – a defensive ditch and a small wall in front of the main walled enclosure of the site – which is comparable to that at Olbia in Provence (France), another colony of Greek Massalia (Bats 2004), although nowadays there is broad agreement that Alonai must be modern Vila Joiosa, further north. Secondly, no Punic or neo-Punic epigraphy is recorded in the area, except some commercial inscriptions on pottery from Illeta dels Banyets (Llobregat 1989). This is in contrast to the situation in other areas of the Iberian peninsula, Ibiza, and North Africa, where many Punic settlement names and geographical references have been recorded.

To complete this picture, we understand the term 'Iberian' to refer to the area of the eastern coast of the Iberian peninsula and its inhabitants, as recorded in geographical descriptions dated to the period of the Roman conquest, such as Polybius 3.37.10‑11 and 39.4‑5. The area of study dealt with in this chapter is identified as part of Contestania by Pliny (*HN* 3.19), which covered an area from the Júcar river, south of modern Valencia, to Murcia and Carthago Nova (see also Ptol. *Geog.* 2.5). Some authors, however, locate this region within the broader Edetania, up to the Ebro river (Strabo 3.4.12). We have to bear in mind that these are geographical names of regions given by outsiders – Romans – that do not necessarily map onto internal ethnic divisions and indigenous perceptions and identities. From the archaeological perspective, the area under scrutiny shares some common material traits – pottery typology and weapons, for instance – but lacks overall cultural uniformity. Politically speaking, no city ruled the whole area, but instead various *oppida* controlled territories of production and ruled over smaller settlements (Ruiz 2008: 814).

Daily contexts and practices on the ground

Cultural and social changes during the sixth century BCE

El Oral and El Molar

Our first area of enquiry concerns the situation after the abandonment of both the early Phoenician colony of Fonteta and the settlements engaged in exchange with Phoenicians, such as Cabezo del Estaño and Peña Negra
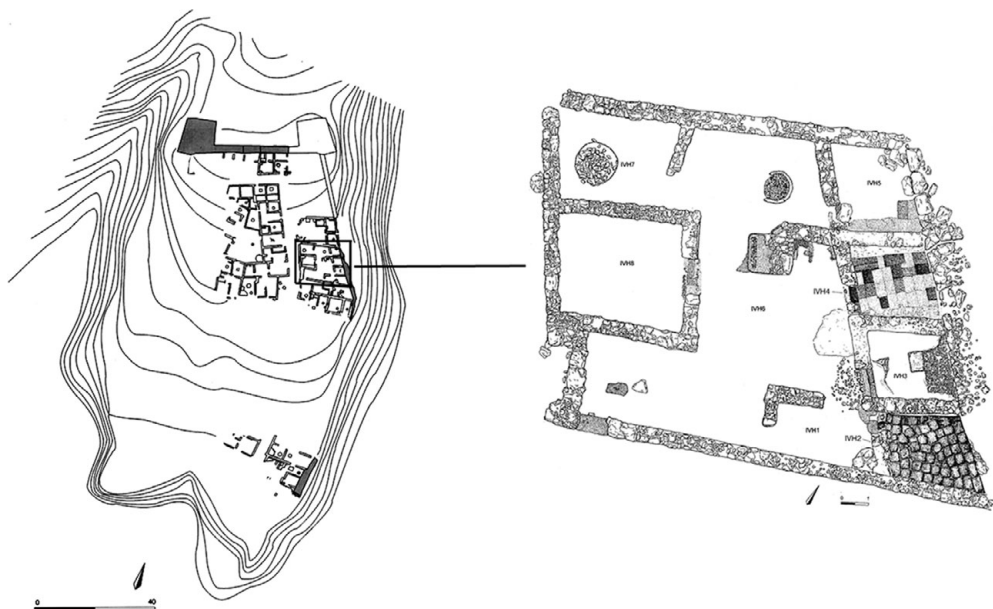
Fig. 13.2. El Oral and one of the courtyard houses.

(Vives-Ferrándiz 2008: 243). By the end of the sixth century, new, small and walled settlements, including El Oral, appear on the coast (Abad and Sala 1993; Abad and Sala 2001; Abad *et al.* 2003; Abad and Sala 2009) (Fig. 13.2). Interestingly, there are several cultural features in these new settlements that link them to the former Phoenician colony of Fonteta. Housing provides a good example of this continuity: houses at El Oral (scarcely 1000 m^2 in area) are large, complex courtyard dwellings whose mudbrick construction techniques and domestic structures – benches, hearths, shell mosaics, floor decorations – are closely related to the architectural practices of the people of Fonteta, or, as some scholars have argued, to broadly shared Phoenician–Punic practices (González Prats and Ruiz Segura 2000: 32; Sala 2005: 128).

The cemetery of El Molar seems to be linked to the El Oral settlement, as it lies barely half a kilometre away. Its chronology ranges from the mid-sixth to the fifth centuries BCE. The thirty cremation tombs that made up the cemetery were excavated in the early twentieth century. Three complex tombs deserve closer attention. Two of them have no point of comparison in nearby cemeteries: a large coffin made out of stone slabs and a stone well with a burial mound (Figs. 13.3:1 and 13.3:2). These two tombs were presumably built following models for inhumation burials, whereas the rest of the tombs are simple pits containing urns with cremated remains
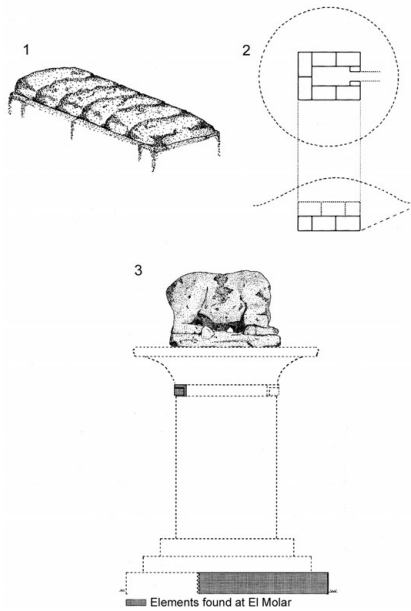
Fig. 13.3. Hypothetical reconstruction of three monumental tombs from El Molar.

(Peña 2003: 24). However, we lack descriptions of these supposed inhumations, something we might expect the excavators to have provided given the differences between these tombs and the cremation pit tombs. We thus suspect that they too may have contained cremation burials. Questions about the ethnic ascription of the individuals buried in these two tombs have been raised in recent years and they are central to our discussion. An ethnic explanation has been suggested as a way of understanding the use of the different burial structures, according to which these people would be foreigners, Phoenicians, or even 'punicized' Iberians (Sala 2005: 35; Peña 2005: 371). It is worth noting that many features of these monumental tombs are documented in other Spanish contexts. For instance, the coffin made out of stone slabs has parallels in tombs from Villaricos (Almería), Jardín (Málaga) and Cádiz, as Peña (2005: 371) has pointed out, thus linking these cultural practices to those found in Punic areas of the Iberian peninsula (López Castro 2008).

A third tomb at El Molar was marked by a monumental sculpture of a bull (Fig. 13.3:3), a sign of elite prestige and a visible way of symbolically appropriating the landscape, especially the nearby coast. Including monumental sculptures in tombs can be seen as a typical practice of Iberian elites and locates this particular tomb within the customs of the southeastern Iberian culture of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE (see Ruiz 2008: 788);

similar displays were found at the cemeteries of Cabezo Lucero, Alcúdia d'Elx(?), Albufereta and Tossal de les Basses, by the coast and, further inland, Corral de Saus, Cigarralejo and Coimbra). Thus, the most important change in burial practices at El Molar concerns the choice of new burial structures, although the communities which used them followed rituals of cremation known in the area since the Late Bronze Age.

Particular new grave goods should also be considered. Sculptures and iron weapons began to be deposited in some tombs as a new way of expressing identities and power: arms in particular denoted the status and power acquired by dominant groups. In fact, the tombs described from El Molar – and others, including the ones from Cabezo Lucero (Aranegui et al. 1993) – are indicators of high-ranking, wealthy individuals, as the burials contain expensive, exclusive symbols that define who is empowered rather than acting as simple expressions of belonging to particular ethnic groups. These changes could be understood as negotiating power relations in the area within a context of continuous connections with other parts of the Mediterranean, and so interpreted in terms of practices that reveal connections between traders and certain local groups. The situation is shaped by diverse groups in historical social processes that do not completely reproduce any earlier practices, but exploit some of their cultural referents, expressing hybrid practices in new contexts (van Dommelen 2006b: 138; see also Vives-Ferrándiz 2008: 262). So, recalling our discussion on the materiality of contact, the point we want to make is that ongoing participation in and alteration of cultural structures, by both the indigenous populations and the newcomers, is likely to explain subsequent cultural and social changes.

Empowered people on the coast (fifth to third centuries BCE)

Tossal de les Basses and Illeta dels Banyets

Tossal de les Basses is a recently excavated settlement that is still not fully published but offers an interesting set of data from which it is possible to draw connections between Punic people and local inhabitants. The settlement has a long chronology, but we will focus on published material dated between the fifth and third centuries BCE (Rosser and Fuentes 2007). The site was established on the coast, next to a lagoon. There were harbour facilities and the settlement had a wall fortified with towers dated to the fifth century BCE, showing the increasing social, economic and political value of the coast.

A point that deserves our attention is the industrial area recorded beyond the outer wall of the settlement where there is evidence of metallurgical and

Fig. 13.4. Illeta dels Banyets.

ceramic production scattered over a relatively extended area outside the fortification. For instance, iron forges and ranges of smelting furnaces for the cupellation of galena in order to obtain silver have been recorded, although we still lack detailed descriptions of them (Rosser and Fuentes 2007: 58). A number of kilns and pottery factories (probably producing amphorae) also have been found (Rosser and Fuentes 2007: 54), and they show how these coastal settlements carried out productive activities with a view to exchange, most likely via broader Mediterranean connections.

This industrial quarter provides data of a kind that is not usually recorded when excavating residential areas. Palaeoenvironmental studies carried out there (Pérez Jordà and Iborra 2011) suggest that farming activities were mainly focused on the cultivation of vineyards, olive trees, pomegranates, figs, apples and pears for export. By contrast, cereals, which make up 70% of the total number of seeds from the residential quarter, have not been recorded so far in the industrial area.

The small settlement of Illeta dels Banyets was situated on a peninsula, some 9 km north of the area of La Albufereta (Fig. 13.4). It has been investigated carefully since the 1970s (Olcina 1997; for a general overview of the history of research Olcina 2005; see also Olcina *et al.* 2009), and was occupied from the Bronze Age. However, in this chapter we will specifically consider the phase dated to the fifth to third centuries BCE. Only half of the area has as yet been excavated, but over this period Illeta dels Banyets can broadly be described as a well-organized commercial and productive settlement, with a regular urban grid, in which two main streets ran the length of the settlement, and a number of smaller streets intersected with
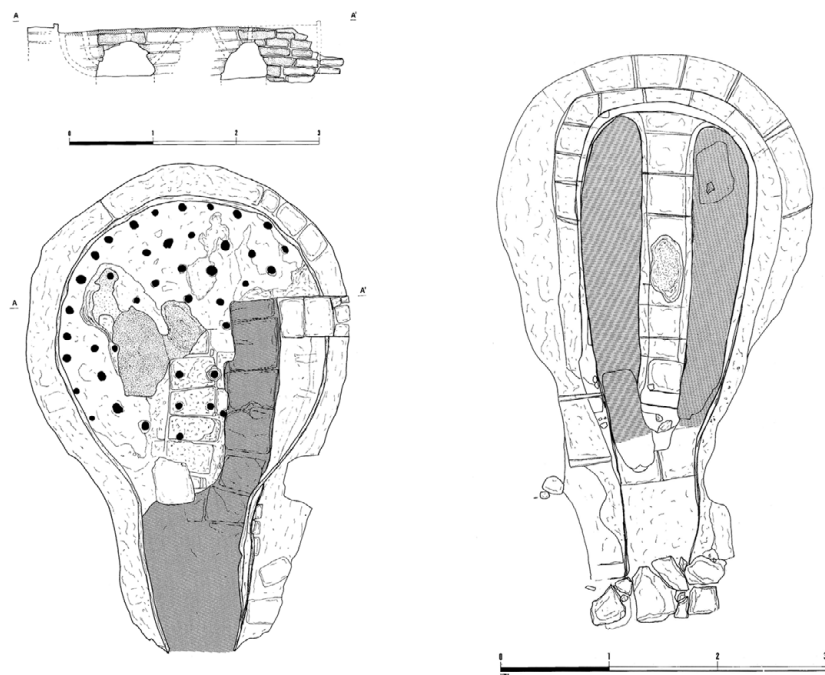
Fig. 13.5. Pottery kilns at Illeta dels Banyets.

them to form several blocks in which storehouses, workshops and shrines have been identified.

At Illeta, agricultural processing and storage are linked to industrial areas, as in the nearby settlement of Tossal de les Basses. Wine-presses are recorded in two blocks of housing there (Pérez Jordà 2000: 58; Olcina 2005: 154‑6). These presses are similar technically to presses from Castillo de Doña Blanca and Las Cumbres in Cádiz, (Ruiz Mata 1995: 196‑203) and Truncu 'e Molas in Sardinia (Pérez Jordà *et al.* 2010: 295; van Dommelen *et al.* 2010), in that they were waterproofed with a compact layer of mortar. There are amphorae (see Martínez Carmona *et al.* 2009: 158, fig. 5 for an overview of the pottery) and storage spaces linked to the presses, and a potters' district producing amphorae surrounds the site (López Seguí 1997; 2000) (Fig. 13.5).

Comparison with presses from the areas around two inland Iberian settlements, Edeta and Kelin (Valencia), reveals two key differences. Firstly, the basins found at Illeta dels Banyets were made with a compacted layer of mortar, unlike the inland presses that consist of a structure of mudbricks or compacted mud and whitewashed clay (Pérez Jordà 2000: 58). Secondly, the volume of production of the coastal presses is exceptional in the local context, and the capacity of the presses exceeds those known to date from Edeta and

Kelin, which are situated in individual houses in rural and urban sites, often along with other productive facilities related to household production (Mata *et al.* 2009: 148). The inland presses obviously provide a different level of production and exchange, in which the participation of households in agrarian production and processing tasks and trade activities is relevant.

Thus, at both Tossal de les Basses and Illeta dels Banyets, occupation on the coast is related mainly to the transformation and exchange of produce – fruit and its derivatives, like wine – of a volume unparalleled in the inland settlements. From these data it seems that several sites in a small area by the coast played leading roles in the agrarian economy. However, we do not know if these farming activities were carried out in the vicinity of these settlements or whether these sites were just importing produce from inland sites to put into containers or transform into derivatives and channel out.

The cemeteries of Tossal de les Basses and La Albufereta

People from these sites 'materialized' their social position in nearby cemeteries. Tombs dated to the fifth century BCE have been recorded next to the settlement of Tossal de les Basses (Rosser and Fuentes 2007: 38‒9). Both the cremation of the corpse and the materials deposited, such as weapons and sculptures (including bulls and lions), follow local funerary rituals that find parallels in other cemeteries with sculptures. One particular tomb with a complex structure of stone and mudbrick, surrounded by thirteen single tombs – simple pits containing incinerated remains – suggests social webs of relations based on lineages and hierarchies that are also demonstrated in other tombs, as at Baza in Granada (Ruiz 2008: 789; Sánchez 2010).

This type of funerary landscape is not exceptional: other examples exist in Vila Joiosa, El Molar and Cabezo Lucero. The prominent sculptures associated with them were deliberately destroyed – and hence forgotten – during the fourth century BCE, part of a broader destruction of monumental tombs in the whole of southeastern Iberia (Chapa 1993). However, some cemeteries continued in use during the third century BCE, when new tombs included new grave goods, such as oil bottles, figurines and incense burners. This is the case with new tombs in Tossal de les Basses itself and in the nearby cemetery of La Albufereta, excavated during the 1930s (Figueras Pacheco 1956; Rubio 1986; Verdú 2005). Here, the combination of incense burners and ceramic oil bottles is common in a number of tombs (for instance nos. 33, 103 and 114) (Fig. 13.6). These objects, and the practices related to them – offerings and perfumes for the care of the corpse – are common
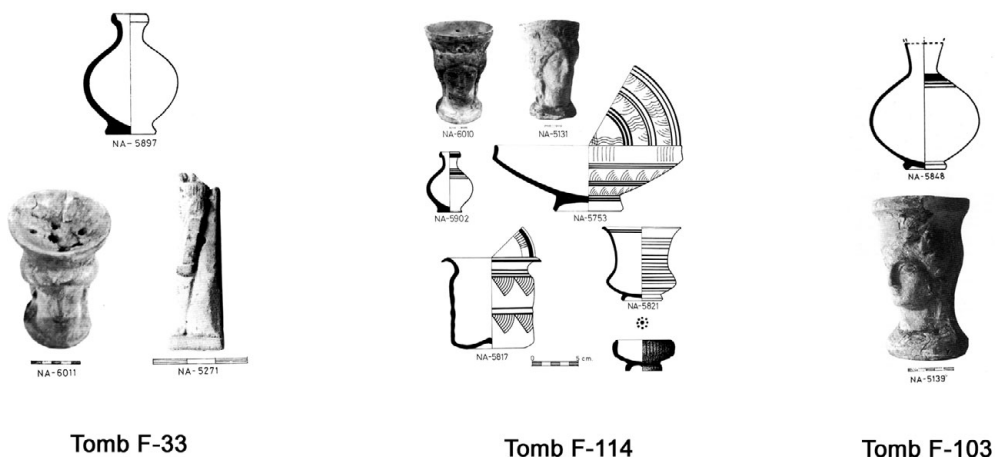
Fig. 13.6. Grave goods from three tombs at La Albufereta.
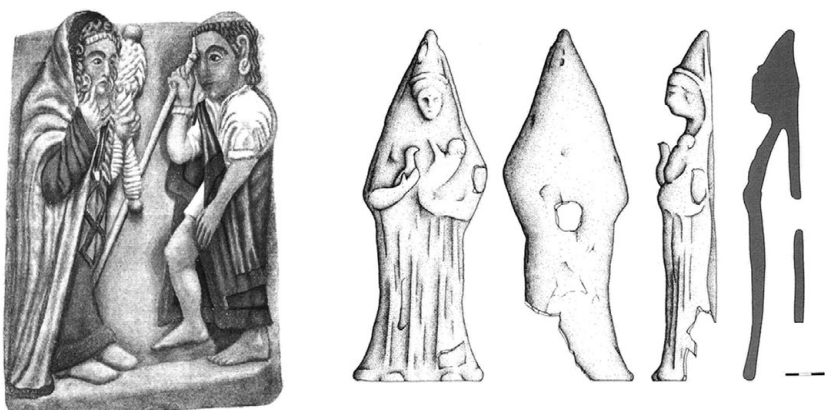
Fig. 13.7. Sculpture and figurine from tomb 100 at La Albufereta.

features in areas of Punic cultural background. However, in the case of the southeastern Iberian cemeteries, other objects were selectively introduced; for instance tombs 81 and 143 include Iberian pottery and Attic cups, tomb 114 has Iberian pottery and a black-glaze cup from the Rosas workshops, tombs 33 and 103 include oil bottles as well, and tomb 100 has a figurine of a woman with a child (breastfeeding?) together with one sculpture (Fig. 13.7). In order to interpret such a mix of objects in this context we should consider that the daily practices of the local communities, including both foreign and indigenous people, played a key role in shaping the material evidence that survives, and that histories of contacts and coexistence can shed light on this material pattern.

Material practices and mobile people

The perennial problem of the equation between people and material culture lies at the heart of debates about the definition of these contexts and, hence, the words 'Punic' and 'Iberian'. Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* and a materially focused investigation can overcome this theoretical flaw. The *habitus* is defined as sets of generative schemes with an endless capacity to create new cultural expressions, thoughts and actions, which are limited by the social and historical conditions of their production (Bourdieu 1980: 88). Inasmuch as people are what they do, the expression of identities, and the assessment of cultural values in a context of contact and coexistence of people from different origins, does not fit the traditional idea of bounded sets of coherent material culture belonging to uniform groups of people, an approach that involves the projection onto the past of modern concepts of nation and groups. Since material culture is structured through social contexts, its meanings are not fixed.

Thus, we assume that cultural identities are dynamic processes rather than given, finished and static products (Knapp 2007: 43). Objects were part of people's daily lives and differences between these people may have arisen from their own perceptions and from their ways of being in the world, and hence had a practical and material impact on daily life (Jones 1997: 106–26). That is why we would stress the idea of a coastal area with people of different cultural backgrounds coexisting in pursuit of economic development and sharing the same funerary space.

The combination of objects in the cemeteries is specific to this local context, which can be seen neither as Iberian (*sensu* indigenous people) nor as Punic (*sensu* foreign people from Ibiza, Carthage, southern Iberia, etc.). To understand fully this mix of objects we have to bear in mind the cultural background of the people living in the nearby settlements. Punic cultural connections, demonstrated by the way wine presses were constructed in Illeta dels Banyets, seem to have been part of daily life in these sites. Thus it is not by chance that settlements like Tossal de les Basses or Illeta dels Banyets appear, on the basis of their harbour facilities, to be well connected to trade routes. These data suggest long-distance seaborne traffic mainly funnelled through the merchants who were behind these developments. According to the evidence from the El Sec shipwreck (Arribas *et al.* 1987), which traded from the central to the western Mediterranean through the Balearic islands, Ibizan sailors may have played a key role as traders along these coasts, and it has been suggested that the crew of this vessel would have been of Punic cultural background, as

deduced from inscriptions on personal items found on board. Two clay models from Tossal de les Basses representing biremes (Ortega *et al.* 2003; Rosser and Fuentes 2007: 59) can be related to these seafaring practices on the Alicantine coast. These models are votive offerings and they show the extent to which ritual performances were relevant at this site as an important staging post on trade routes.

It is likely that the connections we are suggesting can be traced back to the island of Ibiza as it became the most important vector for the movement of imported goods during this period studied here, and especially during the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. Ibizan amphorae commonly occur in Iberian contexts (see statistics in Sala *et al.* 2004: 240), together with Punic cooking pots and mortars (see Martínez Carmona *et al.* 2009: 159, nos. 13–17), which could suggest the incorporation of foreign cooking practices in these contacts too. More particularly, the relationships of Ibiza with this area seem to be confirmed for the first half of the fifth century BCE: in several contexts around the city of Ibiza southeastern Iberian amphorae outnumber other imported amphorae (Ramon 2004: 280; Sala *et al.* 2004: 237–40).

Conclusion

The main avenue of study suggested by this chapter is a simple one: contextualizing the actions of each group of people within the whole context helps us to understand political changes in relation to local dynamics. In pursuit of this aim, we have set out a local perspective from southeastern Iberia in order to show how the leading and competing roles of some coastal settlements in contexts of production and exchange are understood better when the participation of Mediterranean traders and sailors in these local structures is taken into account.

The traditional picture of cultures forming mosaics must be challenged by alternative pictures showing cultural flows within spaces of interaction, resulting in new socio-cultural combinations and a new diversity of relations. In this case, close interaction at the level of cohabitation between sailors and traders of Punic cultural background – namely Ibizans – and local people might have led to new practices reflecting the diverse webs of relationships that enabled the processing and channelling of products from the area's agrarian economy.

14 | Identifying Punic Sardinia: local communities and cultural identities

ANDREA ROPPA

Historical and archaeological approaches traditionally highlight the close political and cultural links between the island of Sardinia and the city of Carthage. In these conventional interpretations, Carthage conquered the island in the late sixth century BCE and colonized the southern half by establishing its power base in the coastal urban settlements that had already been founded by the Phoenicians. The period between the late sixth century and the Roman conquest in 237 BCE is therefore traditionally labelled as 'Punic', both to signify the hegemony of Carthage and to distinguish it chronologically and culturally from the previous 'Phoenician' phase. From the fourth century BCE, increasing numbers of small to medium-sized sites were established *ex novo* on the island, particularly its southern half. This new trend in settlement patterns significantly reshaped the island's landscapes and is commonly thought to have been the direct consequence of Carthaginian colonial intervention. Similarly, the island's material culture, especially pottery collected at both urban and rural sites, seems to prove Sardinia's strong Punic colonial identity because it is characterized by a pronounced adherence to the Phoenician–Punic ceramic repertoire and differs markedly from indigenous pottery. It is therefore regarded as colonial production, implying the takeover of the indigenous interior regions of the island.

Despite these apparent Punic colonial features, recent fieldwork and research in the countryside have brought to light the significant variability of rural settlement patterns during the Punic period. Considering this rural variability as symptomatic of much greater cultural and social variation in Punic Sardinia than hitherto recognized, I shall explore the island's cultural identity, indeed identities, from a range of perspectives. I shall first consider current approaches to the study of 'Punic Sardinia' in greater detail, and then discuss general issues of identity from an anthropological perspective, an approach that will provide the theoretical basis for a reconsideration of modern interpretations. I shall then move on to investigate the archaeological evidence for general features of urban centres and rural settlement patterns on the island, in particular urban–rural relationships and the rural landscapes of inland Sardinia. Case studies of the ancient Phoenician centres of Nora, Monte Sirai and Neapolis and of the surrounding

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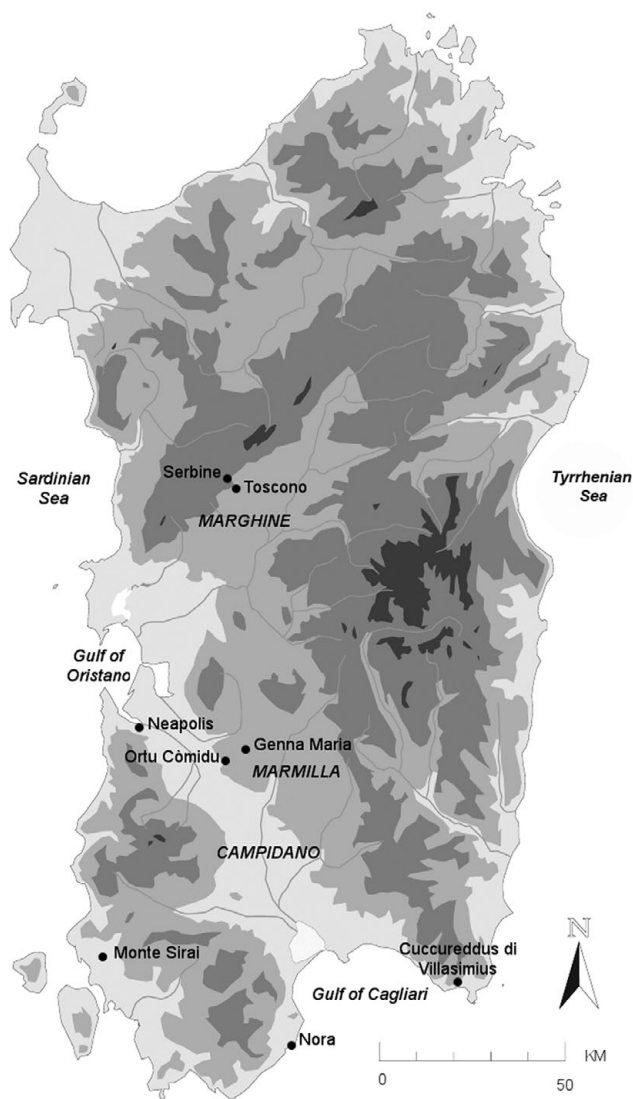
Fig. 14.1. Map of Sardinia showing the study areas and sites mentioned in the text.

landscapes will allow me to highlight local peculiarities in particular communities living between town and country, while the Marmilla region and the sites of Serbine and Toscono in the Marghine area will illustrate the transformations that took place in traditional indigenous – Nuragic – sites during the Punic period (Fig. 14.1).

My main concerns are, on the one hand, to show the considerable variation that defines Sardinia's landscapes in the Punic period and, on

the other, to focus on specific communities and explore their processes of cultural identity formation from the archaeological perspective provided by the analysis of settlement patterns.

Modern interpretations of Punic Sardinia

Research on Punic Sardinia is rooted in a well-established – and mainly Italian – academic tradition, which goes back at least to the 1960s, when Moscati published his seminal study *Fenici e cartaginesi in Sardegna* (1968). This work drew on previous research (Pesce 1961) and followed a period of Phoenician–Punic oriented fieldwork in southern Sardinia, consisting of topographic explorations (Barreca 1965; 1966) and excavations (Pesce 1957; Amadasi 1965; Amadasi 1966). The character of 'Punic' Sardinia was defined more precisely in the 1980s, when Barreca, the long-standing superintendent of the archaeological service, published *La civiltà fenicio-punica in Sardegna* (1986). This consolidated tradition has been updated and refined in more recent years, although some interpretations – Barreca's in particular – have been abandoned (Bondì 1995; 1999; Moscati *et al.* 1997; Bernardini 2004; Bartoloni and Bernardini 2004; Bartoloni 2005).

In this scholarly tradition, specific chronological, political and cultural markers are chosen in order to define Sardinia as Punic. Chronologically, the term 'Punic' covers the period between the late sixth century BCE, when Carthaginian conquest is supposed to have taken place, and 237 BCE, when Roman troops landed on the island in the aftermath of the First Punic War. The label 'Punic' also defines a particular geopolitical context, in which the Carthaginian conquest was aimed at the exploitation of the island's agricultural and mineral resources (Moscati *et al.* 1997: 74-9). Because Sardinia was tightly controlled by Carthage on this reading, and colonists from North Africa settled to exploit its agricultural and mineral resources, they also shaped the cultural appearance of the island (Bondì 1995: 174; Bartoloni 2005: 49-52).

Since the standard reconstruction relies on archaeological and historical evidence liable to divergent interpretations, it has not remained unquestioned, and alternative interpretations have suggested different scenarios. It will be useful here to analyse in detail the main features of 'Punic Sardinia' highlighted by conventional interpretations and juxtapose them with more credible alternatives. The conventional dating of the beginning of the Punic period in Sardinia to the late sixth century BCE is very much debated among scholars of various orientations. Mainstream research trusts Justin's

second-century CE epitome of Pompeius Trogus's first-century BCE account of the Carthaginian conquest of Sardinia, according to which, after an unsuccessful campaign led by Malchus (18.7.1-2), the generals Hamilcar and Hasdrubal eventually conquered the island for Carthage (19.1.1-7). These two campaigns traditionally have been dated to about 545-535 and 525-510 BCE (Moscati *et al.* 1997: 70). Further evidence of Carthage's conquest and tight control of the island is thought to be provided by the first treaty between Rome and Carthage, agreed in 509 BCE. According to Polybius's second-century BCE account of this treaty (3.22.5-10), Romans were allowed to land on Sardinia only for trade, while all negotiations had to be accomplished in the presence of a herald or clerk. Similar obligations applied to Carthaginians landing in Latium. Traditional interpretations quote and agree with Polybius's own comment on the treaty (3.23.5; cf. 3.24.14), that Carthaginians considered Sardinia their own property, thereby taking for granted Carthaginian imperialist policy in the late sixth century BCE (Scardigli 1991: 95; Bartoloni 2005: 45; Serrati 2006: 63-4).

This close adherence to historical sources, however, has not gone unchallenged. The imperialist character of Carthaginian hegemony was already called into question by Whittaker in the late 1970s (Whittaker 1978), and more nuanced interpretations of Carthaginian hegemony have since been proposed, usually defining it as mercantilist (Barceló 1989; Ameling 1993: 141-54; van Dommelen 1998a: 120-2; van Dommelen and Gómez-Bellard 2008a: 10). Although a Carthaginian military intervention on the island is not denied, and some credence is given to the events reported by Justin (van Dommelen and Gómez-Bellard 2008a: 10), alternative readings point to the difficulty of seeing an active and systematic Carthaginian colonial strategy in Sardinia in the context of the Late Archaic central Mediterranean. In particular, the political character of the first treaty between Carthage and Rome is often thought to have been overestimated, because it stipulates that similar conditions should be applied in Sardinia and Latium, although the latter was far from being a Roman possession at that time (Whittaker 1978: 88; Cornell 1995: 293-304). For these reasons, alternative readings suggest that accounts dating to later Roman Republican and Imperial periods, when reflection on imperialism had become commonplace, may have misrepresented Carthage's imperialist agenda half a millennium earlier. They point instead to Carthage's active involvement in commercial enterprise and wide control over transactions in the central Mediterranean at that time (Whittaker 1978: 83; Barceló 1989: 28; van Dommelen 1998a: 122; van Dommelen and Gómez-Bellard 2008a: 10-12).

The available archaeological documentation has also been interpreted in different ways by different scholarly traditions. Destruction layers dating to the second half of the sixth century BCE at two Phoenician sites, Monte Sirai in inland southern Sardinia and the so-called *santuario dei marinai* at Cuccureddus di Villasimius at the eastern end of the Gulf of Cagliari, have been interpreted as evidence of direct Carthaginian intervention (Marras *et al.* 1989: 234; Moscati *et al.* 1997: 70–2; Bartoloni and Bernardini 2004: 65–7). The alleged abandonment in the late sixth century BCE of the site of Nuraghe Sirai, an originally Nuragic indigenous settlement below Monte Sirai that had probably been inhabited by indigenous and Phoenician people since the Iron Age, has also been related to the Carthaginian conquest (Perra 2001b; 2005: 200; Bartoloni and Bernardini 2004: 68). Further evidence, including major changes in burial customs that occurred around the mid-sixth century BCE, has been cited in support of Carthaginian colonization. The cremation rite, which until then had been the traditional burial custom in the Phoenician settlements, was gradually replaced by inhumation in rock-cut chambers or stone cists, as in Carthage and North Africa at this time (Moscati *et al.* 1997: 71). The appearance of new pottery types and materials – such as terracotta masks and figurines that find close parallels in the material culture of Carthage itself – has also been related to the Carthaginian takeover of the island (Moscati *et al.* 1997: 72).

The same data, however, have led scholars of different orientations to nuance the mainstream interpretation that closely links the archaeological data to the literary sources. It has been argued, in fact, that the destruction layers documented at Monte Sirai and Cuccureddus di Villasimius cannot be used in the absence of any other evidence to support historical sources (van Dommelen 1998a: 123; Krings 1998: 89–91; van Dommelen and Gómez-Bellard 2008a: 11). In particular, it has been suggested that the destruction of the sanctuary at Cuccureddus, given its coastal location, might be ascribed more generally to a pirate raid in the turbulent context of the Late Archaic Tyrrhenian Sea (van Dommelen 1998a: 124). The situation documented at Nuraghe Sirai is also ambiguous, both for the very limited extension of the excavated area compared to the estimated surface of the whole settlement, and also because pottery dating to the fifth century BCE has been collected at this site, although earlier materials seem to be predominant (Perra 2005: 184).

A closer examination of the chronology of grave goods found in burial chambers might also point to an earlier chronology for the appearance of inhumation in Sardinia, which gradually began to spread around the

mid-sixth century BCE, becoming more prominent over the next century (van Dommelen and Gómez-Bellard 2008a: 8). Furthermore, a closer examination of particular burial patterns that have been related to the direct influence of Carthage suggests a more nuanced picture. For example, funerary wall-paintings appear now either to pre-date the North African examples by which they are supposed to have been influenced, or not to find stylistic parallels among the supposed Carthaginian archetypes at all (Stiglitz 1999: 85–9). It follows that changes and developments in burial rituals cannot be related exclusively to Carthaginian influence, but are broader phenomena to be contextualized on a case-by-case basis. Finally, the appearance of material influenced by Carthaginian types is not exclusive to Sardinia but it is also well documented in many other western Phoenician sites (van Dommelen and Gómez-Bellard 2008a: 8).

I now turn to the political and cultural significance conveyed by conventional identifications of Sardinia as 'Punic', an issue closely related to the supposed existence of a Carthaginian colonial agenda, primarily aimed at the systematic exploitation of the island's resources. Again, both literary sources and archaeological data have been used to establish this interpretative framework.

The bulk of the literary evidence is provided by Polybius's account of the second treaty between Rome and Carthage made in 348 BCE (3.24), a few references in Diodorus Siculus, and a long-debated passage from the pseudo-Aristotelian text entitled *De mirabilibus auscultationibus* (100). The second treaty bans Romans from trading and founding towns in Sardinia, and it is therefore generally interpreted as evidence for the strong Carthaginian colonial involvement in the island. Diodorus Siculus reports that grain convoys from Sardinia first supplied Carthaginian troops just before the battle of Himera in 480 BCE (11.20.4), a second time while they were besieging Syracuse and then in the aftermath of the subsequent defeat in 396/5 BCE (14.63.4; 14.77.6). These sources are frequently cited as proof of 'the "normalization" of the island ... [which] seems to be the most evident aspect of the work of the dominating power' (Bondì 1999: 42; see also Bernardini 2004: 36, n. 2). The pseudo-Aristotelian passage is a short note that mentions a ban imposed by the Carthaginians on planting fruit trees on the island with a death penalty for those who did not observe it. This note is generally seen as suggesting both a strong territorial policy in the Sardinian countryside and that among Carthage's colonial possessions Sardinia fulfilled the specific role of granary (Moscati *et al.* 1997: 73). Gras has gone so far as to suggest that cereals became a prominent crop in

the island only after it was conquered by Carthage as a result of the city's political–economic strategy (Gras 1985: 223).

While the second treaty between Rome and Carthage seems to set out more precisely and specifically the rules already stipulated in the first treaty, and to define the hegemonic spheres of two major powers in the western Mediterranean, the remaining literary accounts present major problems of interpretation. The evidence provided by Diodorus can hardly be used to infer a systematic Carthaginian exploitation of the island, since grain deliveries are never referred to as a tribute levied by Carthage (van Dommelen 1998a: 127). In particular, the account concerning the battle of Himera refers, instead, to ad hoc supplies for the specific needs of Carthaginian troops (Diod. Sic. 11.20.4).

The problems with the pseudo-Aristotelian reference are more serious and call its reliability into question. This source has many controversial aspects, starting with its attribution variously to the third century BCE (Vanotti 1997), first century BCE (Flashar and Klein 1972), and to the first half of the second century CE (Mastino 1980: 261‑74), and in a recent overview of sources dealing with Punic agriculture, Krings has observed that 'Gras's reading … overinterprets this text well beyond what can plausibly be sustained, because we have no idea what the original contexts or date were' (Krings 2008: 41). In general, it must be stressed that representations of the Carthaginians – and barbarians in general – by Greek authors are often based on a set of similar and repetitive common-places to characterize barbarian behaviour as irrational (Roppa and van Dommelen 2012: 52–5).

From an archaeological perspective, the model of Carthaginian exploitation dates back to the 1960s, when topographic explorations in the southern part of the island first began to show the high density of rural settlement and the widespread adoption of material culture – pottery in particular – commonly found at Carthage and in the western Mediterranean (Barreca 1966: 133‑65). This evidence has been used to argue for a systematic agricultural exploitation of the island by Carthage, which either forced or facilitated the immigration of North African labourers who settled the island in significant numbers (Moscati *et al.* 1997: 73‑85). In this scenario, the indigenous inhabitants of Sardinia gradually became integrated into Punic society, while retaining elements of their own cultural specificity and thereby creating a Sardo-Punic culture. One particular way in which this culture retained its links with its indigenous past was in the resettlement or cultic reuse of traditional *nuraghi* (Bernardini 2004: 52).

However, this well-established interpretation is now complicated both by recent research in Sardinia and in the wider Mediterranean. On the one hand, notwithstanding the apparent homogeneity provided by the material culture in use at both urban and rural sites, recent fieldwork has revealed significant variation across Sardinia's rural landscapes, which can hardly be related to systematic phenomena of colonial exploitation and large-scale immigration (van Dommelen and Finocchi 2008: 199–200). On the other hand, it must also be stressed that if the aims of the late sixth-century Carthaginian conquest were 'the control of fertile agricultural areas and the centres of mining interest' (Bernardini 2008: 586), it is surprising that the actual exploitation of the countryside began more than a century later. It was only from the fourth century BCE onwards that small- to medium-sized rural sites became a common feature in Sardinian rural landscapes, mainly in the south (van Dommelen and Finocchi 2008: 194–200; Roppa 2013a: 66–100).

From a Mediterranean perspective, a rural settlement pattern based on densely scattered farms is not an exclusive and specific feature of a supposed Punic colonialism in fourth-century BCE Sardinia, but is instead a broader and more complex phenomenon that has been aptly labelled 'a global trend that affects the entire central Mediterranean and causes what is in most cases the deepest landscape transformation of antiquity' (Terrenato 2007: 142).

The foregoing analysis of the features that loom large in interpretations of Punic Sardinia has shown the problematic documentation on which they rely. The main problem is that both literary and archaeological evidence has been used to substantiate contrasting visions of Punic Sardinia. While traditional accounts depict a specific colonial situation resulting from Carthage's imperialist agenda (Moscati *et al.* 1997: 63–4), new interpretations point to a much more nuanced vision of Carthaginian imperialism, highlighting its mercantilist character and emphasizing its broad role in facilitating connections between the western Mediterranean regions under its influence (van Dommelen and Gómez-Bellard 2008a: 10). Furthermore, while traditional understandings stress the importance of migration and conquest in shaping Punic Sardinia's cultural identity, alternative readings indicate a loose sharing of technologies and social practices fuelled by continuous movements of people and goods in the western Mediterranean.

In this chapter, rather than trying to relate literature and archaeology better, I would like instead to keep these two different types of evidence separate and, as an archaeologist, focus exclusively on material culture by exploring settlement patterns in Sardinia during the Punic period. Before

discussing the archaeological data, however, I shall clarify my theoretical stance by exploring an anthropological perspective. Because the label 'Punic' is not only a chronological or geopolitical marker but has also been used in cultural terms to explain the shaping of Sardinia's cultural identity or identities, a discussion of contemporary approaches to culture and cultural identity formation will provide a broader conceptual framework for my analysis.

The discourse of cultural identity and Punic Sardinia

Since the role of movements of people in shaping Sardinia's cultural identity or identities is a feature generally agreed upon by scholars of different orientations, I begin by drawing on ideas proposed by the anthropologist Roger Rouse, dealing with questions of identity in contemporary transnational migration in the United States. Examining the logic of identity that has informed migration studies in the past, he claims: 'I am troubled by the widespread tendency to assume that identity and identity formation are universal aspects of human experience' (Rouse 1995: 352). He emphasizes that the traditional conception of cultural identity relies on shared ideas about personhood, collectivities and struggle, which 'are by no means neutral but . . . are closely linked to concepts that have long been central to the hegemonic practices of bourgeois-dominated ruling blocks' (Rouse 1995: 357). These ideas, he points out, consider personhood as the proprietorship of the self, collectivities as homogenous and horizontal, and struggle as moved by social issues of prejudice and disenfranchisement. In particular, collectivities and groups are understood as made up of 'aggregates of atomized and autonomous elements, either individuals or subgroups, that are fundamentally equivalent by virtue of the common possession of a given social property . . . and potential common interests' (Rouse 1995: 358). In practice, he points out, these concepts have led scholars to identify two trajectories in migrants' experiences: those who abandoned their original identity and settled permanently in the United States and those who retained it and remained oriented to their place of origin, to where they would eventually return. He suggests that this interpretation was driven by the assumption that identities 'were "localized", that is they developed and gained their meaning in relation to the circumstances prevailing within a single, bounded territory or place' (Rouse 1995: 353). In relation to a specific case study of a group of transnational migrants, Rouse deconstructs traditional notions of identity by highlighting

the entangled social ties that link migrants both to their place of origin and to their new location. The great diversification of interests and behaviours in the same groups of migrants shows the heterogeneous character of the collectivity examined, while, on closer examination, struggles undertaken by migrants were not focused on issues of prejudice and disenfranchisement. He argues that the traditional conceptions of cultural identity are too naïve and therefore are not useful for grappling with the complex ways in which identities are constantly renegotiated in phenomena of migration (Rouse 1995: 351). It should be noted that Rouse's analysis is focused on a group of Mexican migrants employed in low-wage jobs. The picture is significantly different when dealing with highly skilled and educated migrants, as shown in a study analysing two generations of Croatian migrants in western Australia (Colic-Peisker 2002).

More recent research in transnational phenomena has suggested that in certain cases 'the identities of specific individuals and groups of people are negotiated within social worlds that span more than one place' (Vertovec 2001: 572), and social scientists dealing with the discourse of identity now generally agree that identity is 'characterized as a process embodied in social practice and not as a given or a product. Identity is a fluid, socially constituted achievement that is multiply constructed across micro-social- ... and macro-social ... timescales' (Lee and Anderson 2009: 185). In order to get new insights into the study of cultural identity in these particular contexts, new approaches have been developed, including a focus on the ways in which western material culture is perceived by non-western people (Levitt and Javorsky 2007: 139–40). In this respect, it has been stressed that in our contemporary globalized world, 'commodities need not serve exclusively as vehicles for the meanings and values invested by them by western producers, but may be transformed into representations of indigenous or local identities' (MacDougall 2003: 257).

This focus on material culture brings out the relevance of this discussion to archaeology. Recent theoretical reflection on archaeology has pointed out that the same concepts discussed by Rouse have been used by archaeologists to define a 'normative conceptualization of culture' (Jones 1996: 63), which assumes that culture is homogenous and made up of a set of ideas and beliefs shared by a – cultural – group (Hodos 2010: 14). This is reflected in the common archaeological practice according to which a cultural group is traditionally defined by the degree of homogeneity of its material culture – ceramic repertoires, architectural styles, for example – with the underlying assumption that the more homogenous the material culture is, the more homogenous a group. Changes in material culture, when gradual, are

ascribed to the internal evolution of a cultural group, while 'more rapid change is explained in terms of external influences, or the succession of one cultural group by another as a result of migration and conquest' (Jones 1996: 64), the latter fitting traditional interpretations of Punic Sardinia.

As in anthropology, recent archaeological discussion on culture and identities has also pointed out that neither culture nor identities can be seen as homogenous and static. Culture is 'an assemblage of practices, ideas, customs, traditions, beliefs, institutions, and products of works and thoughts' (Hodos 2010: 15), which are constantly renegotiated through interactions. Identities too are 'multiply constructed and revolve around a set of iterative practices that are always in process' (Meskell 2002: 281).

In this respect, even if the use of material culture to define a cultural group or *facies*, like 'Punic Sardinia', is the only way to explore issues of cultural identities in archaeology, it must be stressed that an apparent stylistic and typological homogeneity of the archaeological record can conceal social and cultural differentiation. For example, as anthropological research highlights in relation to contemporary contexts, when foreign products are used in new environments, the perception of consumers can actively create new meanings (Howes 1996; Miller 1997).

In the case of Sardinia, I propose that the widespread adoption of material culture – pottery in particular – characterized by a strong adherence to the Punic repertoire is only an apparent marker of cultural homogeneity and does not represent a colonial identity. The strong variation in settlement patterns detected across the island points in fact to social and cultural diversity, and shows that 'islanders' identities are formed and fostered within island communities rather than imposed from outside' (Knapp 2008: 28). Consequently, I shall now move to the archaeological data themselves, and the social and cultural differentiation of Sardinia's communities, focusing on issues of urban and rural settlement patterns and town-country relationships along the island's shores through three case studies of Nora, Monte Sirai and Neapolis, and on developments in the rural interior of the Marghine and Marmilla region.

Town-country relationships and settlement patterns in Punic Sardinia

The first case study is the area of Nora and its hinterland. The settlement lies on a narrow peninsula at the southern end of the Gulf of Cagliari, in southeastern Sardinia. Phoenician material is found on the peninsula as

Fig. 14.2. Plan of Nora.

early as the eighth century BCE (Botto 2007: 118), even though clear archaeological evidence of permanent settlement is available only from the early fifth century onwards (Bonetto 2009: 79–151). This pre-Roman phase is known mostly through excavations under the late first-century BCE Roman forum, centrally located on the peninsula, which have documented the existence of a well-developed nucleated settlement (Fig. 14.2).

The hinterland of Nora is a small alluvial plain bounded to the south and west by the steep Iglesiente mountains and to the north by the Sarroch hills. A survey carried out in the 1990s discovered twenty-eight sites dating to the Punic period. Most of them were established during the fourth century BCE; four located in Nora's immediate outskirts already existed, and two on the lower slopes of the Sarroch hills are indigenous settlements dating back to at least the early Iron Age. Five of the sites investigated cover an area comprising between 5,000 and about 10,000 m^2 while the remaining material scatters are smaller than 2,000 m^2. Ceramic assemblages found at the smaller sites are generally poor and composed exclusively of typologically Punic amphorae and common ware, while larger settlements have greater variety and greater quantities of finds. Especially
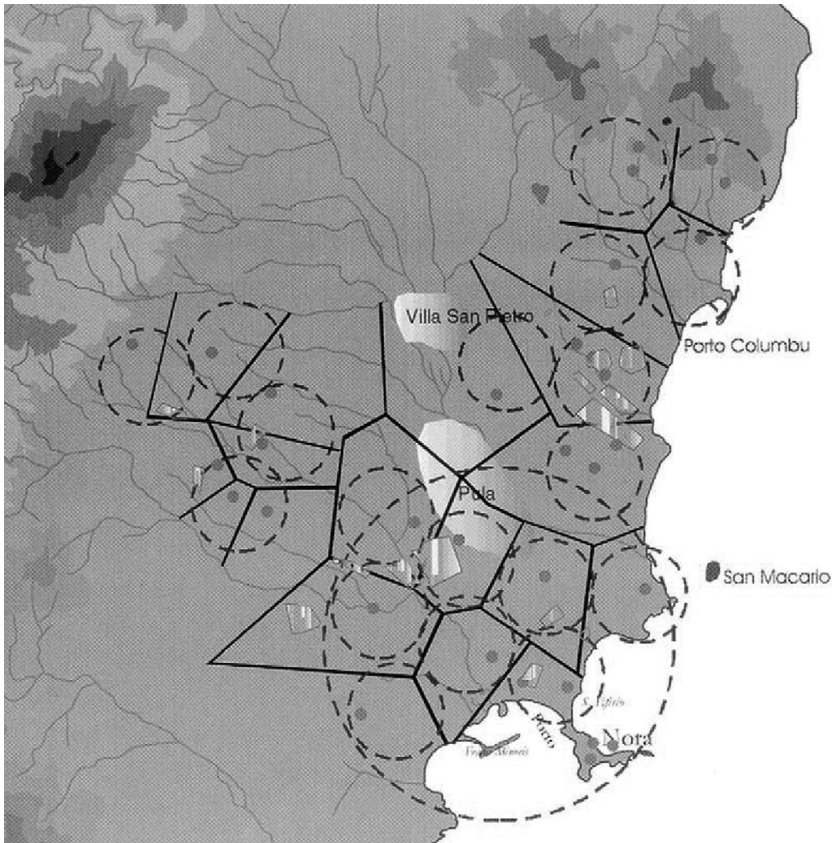
Fig. 14.3. The hinterland of Nora in the Punic period.

at some distance from Nora, smaller sites seem to be clustered around larger ones (Botto *et al.* 2003: 181) (Fig. 14.3).

On the basis of this survey data, a hierarchical organization of the countryside has been suggested, with a workforce settled at smaller sites carrying out agricultural production directed and fuelled by larger sites, which, in turn, channelled the surplus to Nora (Botto *et al.* 2003: 160-3; Rendeli 2003: 18-27). Archaeological excavations carried out at Nora in recent years have yielded further evidence in support of this interpretation: in particular, excavations of the pre-forum levels have brought to light two contiguous rectangular rooms dating to the early fifth century BCE (D4, D5 in Fig. 14.4) that have been interpreted, on the basis of palaeozoological evidence and the large amounts of amphora sherds found there, as storage facilities for cereals and possibly other agricultural products from the hinterland (Bonetto 2009: 129-36).
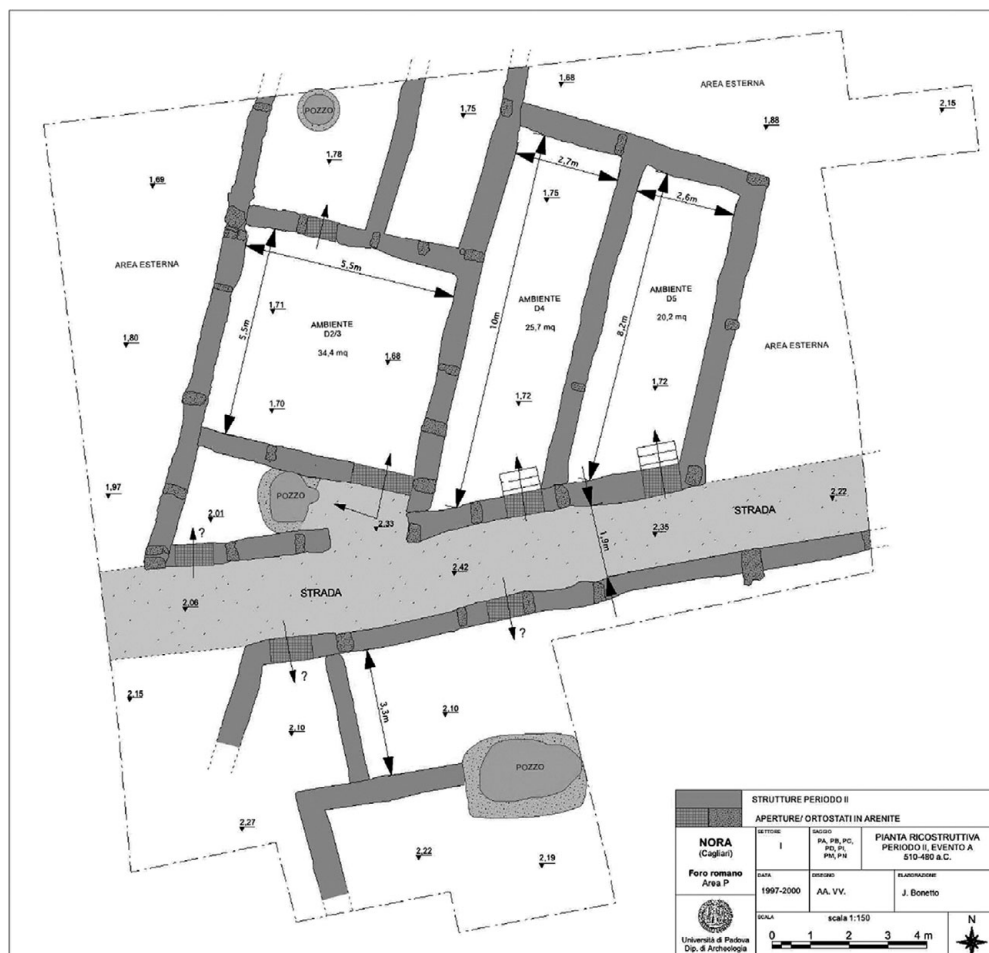
Fig. 14.4. The pre-forum quarter of Nora.

Further evidence for the strong links between the town and its country-side, as well as possible agricultural processing carried out in the town, comes from other finds from the pre-forum levels, including a significant quantity of locally produced amphorae (Finocchi 2009: esp. 465‒6), the function of which was not only transport but also processing and storage – following a western Mediterranean tradition documented both at the Sardinian farm of Truncu ʻe Molas (van Dommelen *et al.* 2007) and at the Iberian site of Alt de Benimaquia (Gómez Bellard *et al.* 1993).

The archaeological documentation suggests then that Nora fulfilled the role of ʻcentral place' for the countryside (van Dommelen and Gómez-Bellard 2008b: 216), which was from the fourth century BCE hierarchically organized and based on estates probably run by people living at larger sites.
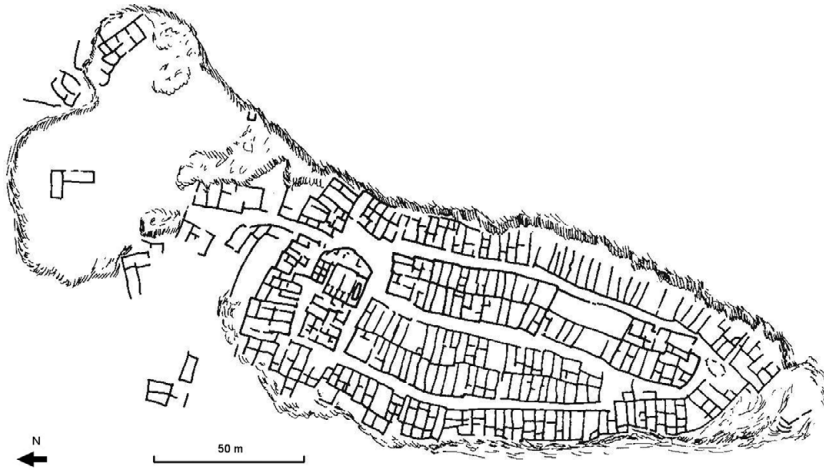
Fig. 14.5. Plan of the settlement of Monte Sirai.

The agricultural surplus produced in the countryside, in turn, was channelled to Nora where it was stored and possibly distributed from the island through sea trade. At the same time, the continuity of indigenous sites and settlement patterns on the slopes of the Sarroch hills in the northern part of Nora's hinterland shows that this area was not empty before the fourth century and that indigenous people were actively involved in the shaping of at least some part of the new Punic landscape.

The second case study is provided by Monte Sirai and its hinterland. Monte Sirai is situated on top of a plateau a few kilometres inland in south-western Sardinia. Grave goods suggest that the site was founded by Phoenician settlers in the second half of the eighth century BCE (Bartoloni 2000: 15), and was inhabited until the end of the second or the beginning of the first century BCE, when it was suddenly abandoned (Bartoloni 1994). Excavations over the past forty years have brought the site almost entirely to light, revealing a layout of houses thickly packed together that gives the site a distinctly urban appearance. Following a destruction episode in the late sixth century BCE, major building activities were carried out in the first half of the fourth century and, more conspicuously, around the mid-third century, when areas that previously had been abandoned were reoccupied. Most of the structures excavated – with the notable exception of a temple – seem to have fulfilled a primarily residential function, even though craft activities are documented in some of them (Perra 2001a: 126–8) (Fig. 14.5).

The countryside surrounding Monte Sirai has been surveyed in very recent years and has been shown to have been densely populated during the Punic period (Fig. 14.6). Similarly to the dating of the building phases
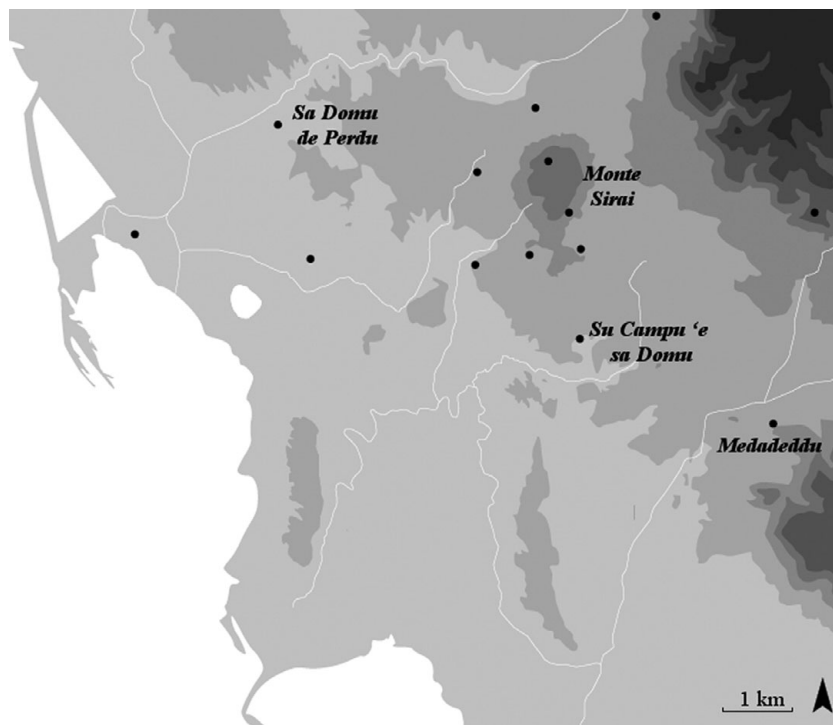
Fig. 14.6. The hinterland of Monte Sirai.

on the hilltop settlement, a significant spread of rural sites took place between the fourth and mid-third centuries BCE, when fourteen sites appeared (Finocchi 2005: 255; 2007: 38‑9). Most of them are situated in the plain within 1.5 km of Monte Sirai and are documented by limited quantities of Punic pottery – mostly amphora sherds – scattered on small surfaces. These settlements have been interpreted as small farms, probably inhabited by a workforce directly controlled by owners settled at Monte Sirai (Finocchi 2005: 253‑8; 2007: 40‑1).

The documentation available, however, may suggest a slightly different interpretation for at least some of these sites. In fact, the limited quantity of finds collected and the almost exclusive presence of amphora sherds among them might be more appropriately related to either processing and storage facilities or temporary shelters. On the other hand, the very short distances between these sites and the central place seem to suggest that people living in Monte Sirai used to travel downhill to the plain on a regular basis in order to work the fields intensively. A similar direct involvement of a town's inhabitants with agricultural activity carried

out in the countryside has been documented both in ancient contexts, as in the contemporary polis of Halieis in Greece (Acheson 1997: 173), and in modern situations, as shown by ethnographic studies in Sardinia (Mientjes 2004: 179–83).

A different picture is provided by two sites that lie further away, about 4 km from Monte Sirai. There, larger concentrations of pottery, including fine ware sherds, and evidence of metallurgic and mining activities respectively have been related to small villages or hamlets that were to some extent autonomous from Monte Sirai. Nevertheless, the use in Monte Sirai of building material extracted at one of these larger sites gives a hint of the role of central place fulfilled in the region by the hilltop settlement (Finocchi 2005: 241; 2007: 41–2).

Data collected in the countryside and the documentation available for the town both suggest the strong connections and interdependence between the central place and its immediate hinterland. The definition of 'agricultural centre' proposed for a settlement type well documented along the shores of the western Mediterranean (van Dommelen and Gómez-Bellard 2008b: 216–19) seems therefore to describe particularly well Monte Sirai's direct involvement with agricultural activity and its primary importance for the integrated community living between the town and its hinterland.

My third example, Neapolis, is situated at a short distance inland from the southern shores of the Gulf of Oristano in west-central Sardinia, and is now connected to the sea through the lagoon of Santa Maria. Research carried out over the last twenty years in the countryside and, more recently, surveys in the urban area have shown a densely inhabited landscape, especially from the fourth century BCE onwards. Archaeological data provided by rural surveys have revealed about 120 sites interpreted as farmsteads established within 10 km of Neapolis, mostly founded in the fourth century BCE. Most of them are located on the sandy and fertile soils that surround the modern centre of Terralba. These high figures amount to 5.5 sites per km² in the Terralbese district and an average density of three sites per km² in the broader area surveyed (van Dommelen 2003: 137–8) (Fig. 14.7).

Most sites are clusters of archaeological material smaller than a hectare and present very similar assemblages of pottery, in which amphora sherds are predominant. The presence of fine ware varies slightly from site to site, pointing to the different economic resources available at each farm and their hypothetical social configuration as inhabited by either tenants or owners. With particular regard to the sandy and fertile soils of the Terralbese district, specialized and intensive crops have been suggested, such as vines and orchards (van Dommelen *et al.* 2010). Wine-processing
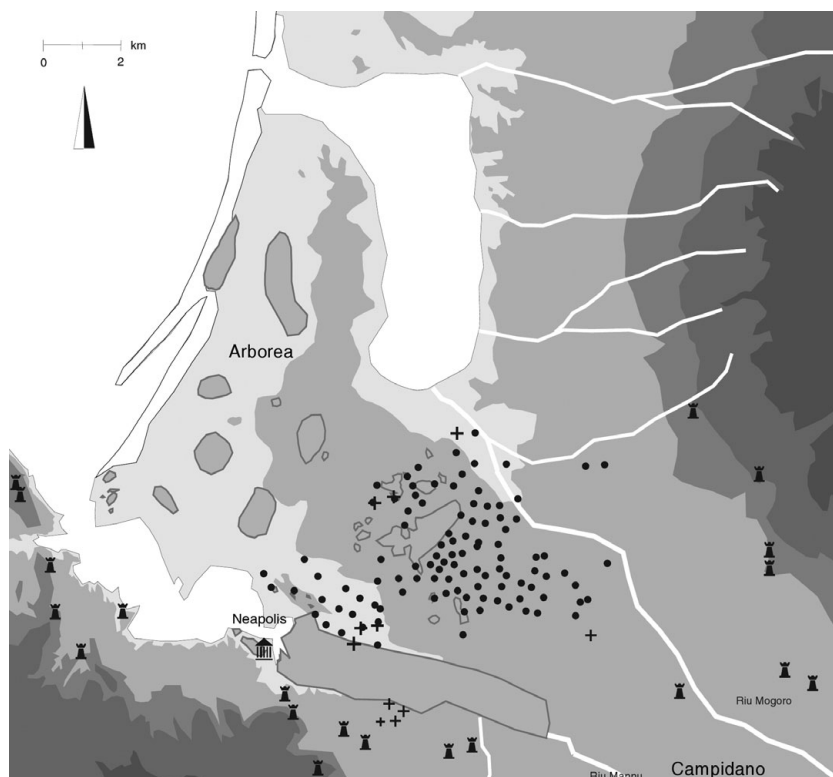
Fig. 14.7. Map of Neapolis and its hinterland showing Punic sites discovered during the Riu Mannu survey (dots) and those already known (crosses), and *nuraghi* (towers).

facilities have been brought to light in the recent excavations of the farm at Truncu 'e Molas, in particular two basins that were used for grape pressing, as clearly shown by palaeobotanical evidence (van Dommelen *et al.* 2007).

The material collected at Neapolis does not differ greatly from the assemblages found at the small rural sites and includes large quantities of imported pottery, especially Punic amphorae from the western Mediterranean shores and, to a lesser extent, the broader Mediterranean basin (Garau 2006: 125). At Neapolis, as well as in the countryside, fine wares – especially Attic black gloss of the fourth century BCE – are well represented, but amphora sherds are the most common, the majority of them locally produced (Fig. 14.8).

The similar composition of the assemblages collected at Neapolis and at the smaller farmsteads shows the homogeneity of the agricultural community living in and around the centre. The predominance of locally
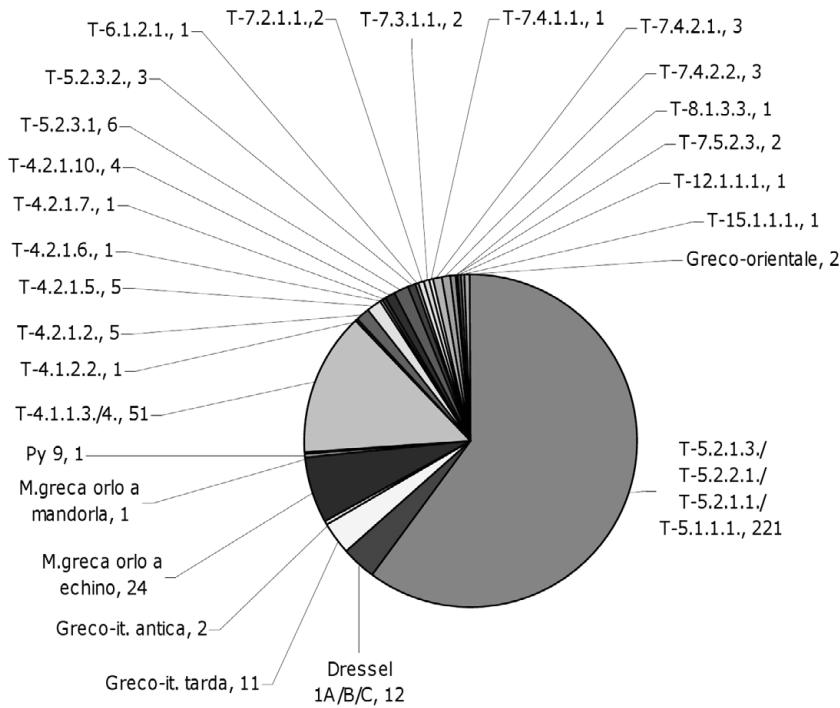
Fig. 14.8. Amphora types at Neapolis. Late Punic types Ramon T-5.2.1.3, T-5.2.2.1, T-5.2.1.1, T-5.1.1.1 are mostly locally produced.

produced amphorae points to the basic role of agriculture in the area, while the more significant presence of imported vessels at Neapolis confirms the central function fulfilled by the settlement, where surplus from specialized and intensive crops was channelled to sea trade, and goods from abroad found their way to the countryside. The cohesion of the community is documented by some large but unfortunately poorly known cemeteries and small shrines scattered in the countryside, which were collectively used by households inhabiting the farms (van Dommelen and Finocchi 2008: 180; Roppa 2013a: 101–28).

Moving inland to central Sardinia, I now focus on some *nuraghi* – the characteristic indigenous Sardinian towers constructed during the Bronze Age – and nuragic villages inhabited during the Punic period, in order to highlight the cultural diversity existing in the island at that time. In particular, I consider the settlements of Serbine and Toscono situated in the Marghine region in west-central Sardinia, and Nuraghe Ortu Còmidu and the cult area at Nuraghe Genna Maria in the central Campidano and in the Marmilla region in the central part of the island, respectively (Fig. 14.1).

The settlements of Serbine and Toscono were excavated and surveyed to varying degrees between 1982 and 1998 in the course of the 'Sardinia Program', a research project aimed at the study of minor indigenous settlements around modern Borore. At Serbine, where the central nuragic tower was surrounded by a village enclosed by defensive walls, excavations have shown continuity of settlement throughout the Iron Age and well into the Roman Republican period. Following a period apparently without significant interventions, building activity took place in the third century BCE, when the floor in the tower was repaved with stone blocks, and significant amounts of pottery found beyond the wall circuit document the expansion of the settlement (Webster 2001: 6). Finds from both the tower and the village, including fourth- to third-century Punic coins, significant amounts of Punic painted and coarse pottery and one amphora from Massalia (Webster 1991: 22-4), point to the connections between Serbine and the southern and coastal parts of the island, from where Punic material found its way to the interior. Significantly, imported pottery from coastal areas constitutes the first appearance of non-indigenous material on the site (Webster 1991: 23).

The excavations carried out at Nuraghe Toscono and the adjacent village revealed a hiatus between abandonment and a subsequent reoccupation that is documented by substantial building activity detected both in the tower and the village, and a possible expansion of the site beyond the wall circuit. According to the excavators, the abandonment is contemporary with the alleged Carthaginian conquest (the end of the sixth century BCE), while the reoccupation took place only in the aftermath of Roman occupation at the end of the third century (Michels 1987: 124-5). On closer inspection, however, a direct correlation between the archaeological evidence and historical events appears rather suspect. The dates were obtained on the basis of obsidian hydration dating, a method performed at that time exclusively by means of optical measurements. Recent research has shown that this methodology is 'relatively imprecise' and that 'many obsidian hydration ages that were obtained prior to the adoption of digital imaging techniques are likely to be in error' (Walker 2005: 173). Another important data-set puts the excavators' interpretation into further doubt. Levels before the abandonment contain a few Punic sherds interpreted as intrusive, while early reoccupation levels contained significant amounts of Punic painted pottery, clearly recognizable from the drawings provided (Webster *et al.* 1987: 58-9), of a type widely documented throughout the island in both urban and rural contexts dating to the fifth to third centuries BCE. This picture stands at odds with the interpretation provided by the

excavators; it is thus much more likely that the abandonment and the reoccupation took place within a shorter period, the latter at least a century before the dating proposed.

Another piece of evidence that documents the peculiar evolution of the community living at Toscono is provided by changes in manufacturing techniques of traditional indigenous pottery. Among the finds from the reoccupation levels 'a significant replacement of traditional Nuragic wares with wheel-made wares' and an 'increased presence of foreign forms and/or styles and techniques of manufacture alongside a persistent native Nuragic ceramic industry' (Webster *et al.* 1987: 65–7) have been noted.

Nuraghe Ortu Còmidu near modern Sardara in the central Campidano was excavated in the late 1970s. Although the site was inhabited from the Bronze Age onwards, the bulk of finds, among which Punic and Greek pottery are well represented, date from between the late sixth and second centuries BCE. The same period sees major building activities as well. The complex consisted of four towers joined together by a wall circuit that defined an internal court. Significant changes took place during the fourth and third centuries BCE, when a series of hearths used for cooking and domestic activities was laid in the eastern tower. In the same period, the floor of the southern tower was carefully paved with rectangular stone blocks, not preserved (Balmuth and Phillips 1983).

The last case study, which deserves particular attention, is Nuraghe Genna Maria at Villanovaforru, located in the Marmilla region in central Sardinia. Nuraghe Genna Maria is a complex made up of a central tower and three external towers, the latter enclosed by a wall circuit that defined an internal courtyard. Following a period of abandonment from the early Iron Age, the complex was reoccupied between the early fourth century BCE and the seventh century CE. The nature of the reoccupation, however, differed significantly from the previous period, since the abandoned complex became a ritual area where sacrifices and other rites were performed. The layout of spaces in the *nuraghe* also changed substantially from the Iron Age, as the main door that opened through the walls was buried under the levels of abandonment and access was available only from the top of the enclosure via a slope. Rituals were performed in the courtyard, where small animals were sacrificed against the wall of the central tower. Votives were stored in the main room and corridor of the central tower, most of which are lamps though pottery and coins were also recovered (Fig. 14.9).

Rites performed at Genna Maria – as in many Nuragic sites that were reused as cultic areas during the Punic period (Stiglitz 2005) – have traditionally been connected with the cult of Demeter, which is supposed
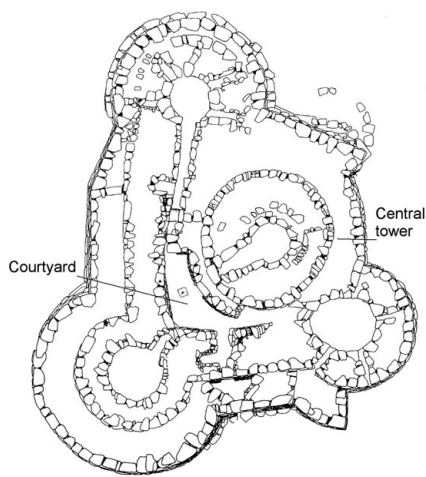
Fig. 14.9. Plan of Nuraghe Genna Maria of Villanovaforru showing the courtyard and central tower occupied by the rural sanctuary.

to have been introduced to the island by Carthage and which has been linked to rural agrarian propitiatory practices in the context of Carthaginian agrarian exploitation (Lilliu 1994: 13–24; Garbati 2003). A recent overview of rural cult sites in Sardinia and Ibiza, however, has shown many connections between ritual practices, votives offered and the locations of rural cult sites in the western Mediterranean. The analysis of cultic elements and the importance of local contexts have led some to nuance the interpretation of these rural sacred sites as Demeter shrines (van Dommelen and López Bertran 2013). These cultic areas, in fact, retain their own peculiar character that cannot be set aside from the local context. In this respect, the evidence from the shrine at Nuraghe Genna Maria is particularly important because it shows how a traditional architectural complex was reused and reinterpreted in ways that were influenced by the sharing of cultural features rooted in the western Mediterranean world.

Discussion: identifying Punic Sardinia

In this concluding section, I shall highlight the main features that have emerged from my analysis of the archaeological documentation, and then locate this evidence within the theoretical framework previously discussed. Finally, I will argue that my focus on settlement patterns can contribute to

the understanding of Sardinian communities' cultural identity formation in the Punic period.

The archaeological evidence examined can be subdivided into two groups: centres already settled by Phoenicians during the Iron Age and traditional indigenous settlements that were originally founded in the Bronze Age and faced particular transformations in the period examined.

In the first group, major developments in urban-rural relationships took place in the fourth century BCE, when their hinterlands became significantly populated. Each community developed specific relationships with the surrounding countryside, which varied from a hierarchical organization of the countryside based on large farms and directed by the urban central place, as suggested for Nora, to the direct exploitation of the hinterland carried out by the agricultural centre of Monte Sirai, to the integrated community which shared similar standards of living at both the centre of Neapolis and the small- to medium-sized farms dispersed in the Terralbese district.

Although typologically similar assemblages of material culture are common both at the urban and rural sites examined, which might suggest apparent homogeneity, more specific settlement patterns – site density and distribution, agricultural activities, peasants' status, relationships among peasants and between country- and town-dwellers – are features that complicate similarities and point to differences.

Indigenous settlements also underwent significant transformations in the course of the Punic period. Major building activity took place at two sites that had been inhabited continuously since the Bronze Age. The settlement at Nuraghe Serbine expanded beyond its wall circuits, and at Nuraghe Ortu Còmidu the bulk of finds and the significant reshaping of the settlement date to the Punic phase. Nuraghe Toscono and Genna Maria, on the other hand, were reoccupied following a period of abandonment. While the former was resettled primarily for residential purposes shortly after an episode of destruction, the latter, abandoned in the Iron Age, was reoccupied as a cult area only in the early fourth century BCE. The evidence examined has been selected to point to phenomena of continuity and the heterogeneous picture of transformations that took place in the Punic period. While the reoccupation at Nuraghe Genna Maria completely changed the use and perception of the *nuraghe*, major building activity and the expansion of sites well over their enclosure walls also significantly reshaped the appearance of traditional indigenous buildings.

In order to propose an interpretation of the archaeological evidence focusing on issues of cultural identity, finally I turn to the ways in which the

diversity highlighted in the archaeological documentation dating to the Punic period can be interpreted in light of theories of cultural identity formation.

Since my archaeological case studies are focused on landscapes, I need to show that landscapes are expressions of cultural identities. Landscapes structure people's interactions with natural environments, and, in so doing, they mediate between nature and culture, becoming 'an integral part of Bourdieu's *habitus*' (Ashmore and Knapp 1999: 20; van Dommelen and Gómez-Bellard 2008a: 17), or the set of common behaviours and dispositions through which ideas and general assumptions of culture are structured into, and structure, daily practices (Bourdieu 1990: 53). The ways in which landscapes are organized and perceived are, therefore, materializations of both cultural identities and social structures of local communities. Since the case studies examined in this chapter highlight the diversity of Sardinian landscapes in the Punic period, I suggest that each of them reflects the active shaping of local communities' specific cultural identity, which appears to be deeply rooted in local contexts.

As pointed out above, however, local contexts are only one of the elements at work in processes of cultural identity formation, and while they do explain the local roots and particularity of each community, they do not cast light on the sharing of common features – the adoption of similar material culture, namely pottery – and common practices, namely rituals, across the island and the western Mediterranean. Cultural identities are instead defined as multiply constructed against micro-social and macro-social contexts (Lee and Anderson 2009: 185) and constantly work at different levels and scales (Meskell 2002: 281). Even though the informative potential of archaeological documentation to detect elements at work in complex phenomena of identity formation is rather limited, I suggest roughly identifying two interrelated levels – the local and the general – against which these collective identities are constantly negotiated.

In micro-social, local contexts the peculiar features of each community are enhanced by the diversity of the landscapes examined, which reflect each community's social and cultural specificities. At this level, environmental constraints, forms of land exploitation, agrarian organization and interactions between individuals from different social, ethnic and geographic backgrounds bearing different traditions (Anschuetz *et al.* 2001: 160–1) vary in each community. The relationship of these variable elements gives rise to different outcomes, from the rather homogenous character of the community living in Neapolis and its hinterland, to the socio-economic hierarchy highlighted in the Nora area, to the reshaping of indigenous traditional settlements which characterizes, to different extents, the four inland sites examined.

At the same time, communities' cultural identities are also constructed against a broader macro-social framework that I identify with the context of Carthage's control of the western Mediterranean, as interpreted by revisionist scholars. Punic hegemony created a primarily commercial network that facilitated connections of people and objects between the western Mediterranean regions that were under the influence of Carthage (van Dommelen and Gómez-Bellard 2008a: 10). The circulation of people and goods across Sardinia and the western Mediterranean led in turn to the formation of a broad common cultural assemblage of practices, ideas and beliefs that constitute the wider dynamic background against which local communities' cultural identities are constructed. This appears to be documented archaeologically by the widespread diffusion of a similar range of ceramic assemblages, by changes in technological practices – as noticed at Nuraghe Toscono for ceramic manufacturing techniques – and by the adoption of ritual practices that changed the way that traditional indigenous buildings were perceived – as for rituals at Nuraghe Genna Maria (Roppa 2013a: 129–42).

These two rough levels that I propose to identify in the construction of local communities' cultural identities are mutually interrelated and are constantly renegotiated by the transmission – to varying degrees – of elements from the wide context to the local, and vice versa. This phenomenon can be perceived, in particular, in the ritual practices performed at Nuraghe Genna Maria, where the introduction of new religious practices – the cult of Demeter – could have stimulated the cultic reuse of the abandoned indigenous site. In turn, the contextualized and specific cultic practice performed at the site may have influenced the ways in which this cult was perceived at the wider level of the island and western Mediterranean.

The variability of Sardinian landscapes as an expression of the diversity of local communities' identities, the stress on cultural identities as fluid processes embedded in social practice and the analysis of local and wider contexts at work in their construction, are elements that I have emphasized in my exploration of Punic Sardinia's cultural identities in order to 'encourage the development of an interpretive frame broad enough to recognize as much of the variation as possible and thus lay the grounds for explorations of the factors that have shaped the difference' (Rouse 1995: 374).[1]

15 | Phoenician identities in Hellenistic times: strategies and negotiations

CORINNE BONNET

In 1983, Fergus Millar discussed the Phoenician cities as a problematic 'case study' of hellenization (Millar 1983: 54‒71; cf. Millar 1987: 110‒33). In his account, this area presents a set of unusual features, such as an absence of Greek colonies, a long-standing diasporic dimension, and a scarcity of Greek evidence, which he considers 'limited, variable, and erratic'. The 'problem' of Hellenistic Syria – the fact that we have little evidence for the impact of hellenization there, in contrast to the abundant evidence for the region's connections with the western Mediterranean – is not an invention, and we still feel ill at ease with that area and that period. My focus here will be on the complex process of the 'hellenization' of native society, trying to use all the available evidence (both Phoenician and Greek), as well as new conceptual tools, in order to make this case study less problematic and erratic than it seemed in 1983. Roughly speaking, we can define 'hellenization' as what happens when Greek cultural elements penetrate foreign contexts, but I am more interested in 'how it works' than in definitions. This is a complex matter of cross-cultural communication involving social fluidity and cultural creativity. Phoenicia is an interesting region in which to investigate these questions, both because the region was strategically important for the Greeks from a geopolitical, military and economic point of view, and because Phoenicia had a long experience of cultural interaction all along the shores of the Mediterranean and in every period of its history through trade, colonization and external domination (Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian and Macedonian), among other dynamics. In this chapter, I shall investigate three aspects of Phoenician identities in Hellenistic times. First, I shall concentrate on the very beginning of the period: what exactly changed in 332 BCE, and what sort of memory of these events was preserved? Next, I shall deal with the organic bond between the Phoenician and Punic areas: what happens to that cultural link in relation to hellenization? Finally, I will try to elucidate the strategies involved in the process of hellenization, bearing in mind the different historiographical paradigms available.

332 BCE: a 'parting of the ways'?

With regard to Millar's stimulating approach, we must emphasize the fact that he does not make much of the Phoenician evidence that, if not very rich, is nevertheless both important and more interesting than most people hitherto have believed. In downplaying this body of evidence, Millar and others give the impression that the conquest of Phoenicia by Alexander was a real 'parting of the ways',[1] even if they accept a certain degree of 'continuity'. Maurice Sartre (2001) proposes a more balanced view of the cultural interaction involved, although he tends to make too much of a distinction between 'Phoenician' and 'Greek' cultures, religions and identities. It is striking that the specialists who deal with Phoenician matters before Alexander almost never consider the Hellenistic-period evidence, whereas the scholars dealing with Hellenistic Phoenicia, who come from the academic field of Greek and Roman history or archaeology, have only superficial access to the Phoenician evidence (for example: Grainger 1992, with review by MacAdam 1993). This traditional division has to be overcome because it reinforces the impression of a historical boundary between 'Phoenician' Phoenicia and the 'Greek' (or hellenized) Phoenicia. Moreover, although the Phoenicians invented the alphabet, nothing has survived from Phoenician literature to inform us about native perceptions of the Macedonian conquest. This is a familiar but uncomfortable situation for the specialist in Phoenician and Punic matters, who must in general rely on foreign sources. Hence, when dealing with Greek dominion over Phoenician cities, we cannot hear the 'voice of the vanquished' (Wachtel 1971), and our perception of events tends to be too monolithic. The historiography of the Punic Wars suffers from the same problem (Bonnet 2005).

Another problem is the risk of essentializing cultural identities. We traditionally speak of 'Phoenician' and 'Greek' identities coming into contact, but the very categories of 'Phoenician' and 'Greek' are inappropriate. By using them, we collapse realities and geographical scales which ought to be differentiated in order to grasp the wide range of options in cultural behaviour, from the 'particular' to the 'general' (Kaizer 2006). Alexander and his army did not constitute a homogenous group at all. Panhellenism may have been central to Alexander's ideology, as reflected for example in his speeches to his soldiers before battles where he alludes to

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[1] For the historiographical background of this expression applied to Judaism and Christianity, see, for example, Dunn 1999.

the Trojan and Persian Wars to legitimate his conquest of Asia, but in fact these conquerors came from different regions of Greece, and Macedonia itself was hardly considered a 'Greek' region at all. Isocrates repeatedly reminded the Athenians that Philip of Macedon and his son were half barbarians. On the other side, so-called 'Phoenicia' was made of a variety of small autonomous kingdoms: Tyre, Sidon, Byblos and so on, without any political coherence (cf. Bondì, this volume). Phoenicia is in fact a Greek invention! There is a certain amount of homogeneity in language and script, economic activities, territorial configurations and religious practices between the Phoenician cities, but any kind of generalization is an historical approximation. For example, it is clear from the literary sources that the attitude of Sidon and Tyre towards the Greek conquerors was very different. Sidon was the most important Phoenician city during the period of Persian dominion. Tyre, which was deeply proud of its glorious past as colonial mother city, must have suffered as a result of this Sidonian supremacy: rivalry was strong between the two cities. But, after the Sidonian rebellion against the Persians in the mid-fourth century, and the subsequent brutal Persian repression of Sidon, the Sidonians probably wanted to revenge themselves, and therefore welcomed Alexander as a liberator. Tyre, by contrast, tried to seize the opportunity to regain its independence, and failed dramatically. Thus any analysis of the events of 332 BCE in terms of cultural 'blocks' is to be rejected. More generally, the study of cultural connectivity has now moved beyond essentialist approaches (De Jong 2007). The old German model of the *Geist*, based on an essentialist perception of national identities, has been replaced by a constructivist analysis of collective and individual identities (the *Wir Gefühl* or *Ethnicity*) (Hall 1997). 'Pure' identities (such as 'Greek' or 'Phoenician') do not really exist. Cultural interactions occur to varying degrees in every geographical and historical context.

Keeping all these elements in mind, let us turn to our main concern: can we consider 332 BCE a moment of cultural rupture in the Phoenician area? The balance between rupture and continuity is a difficult problem for any historical period. We should not refrain from addressing it for Hellenistic Phoenicia and trying to find an answer by adopting both points of view, Greek and Phoenician. In order to make some progress, we should first of all stress the fact that the problem is much more complex than it seems because, rather than a clear-cut choice between two alternatives, the evidence shows a great range of options. 'Strategies' and 'negotiations' are, in my opinion, more appropriate tools to investigate the cultural 'turn' that we observe after Alexander's conquest. I shall return to this point at

the end of this chapter, trying to formulate a new way of thinking about the concept of hellenization. On the political front, the situation seems at first glance quite clear. The Phoenician kingdoms lost their autonomy and became part first of the Macedonian empire, and then of the Hellenistic (Ptolemaic and then Seleucid) kingdoms. No doubt this marks an important element of rupture. But on this level too we must go deeper and recognize that the situation is ambiguous. We can illustrate this with reference to the very moment of the conquest, which of course had deep cultural implications.

As far as the conquest of Phoenicia is concerned, only the voice of the winners is preserved, through Diodorus, Arrian, Quintus Curtius, Plutarch and Justin, who are all directly or indirectly inspired by Alexander's historians, especially Ptolemy, Aristoboulos and Nearchos, through an intricate process of transmission, with the possibility of distortion at every stage. They obviously preserve the 'official' Greek version of the events, which are presented at the same time as a peaceful expedition (to Arados, Byblos and Sidon) and as a violent conquest (of Tyre), depending on the places involved and the reactions of the people who lived there. In both cases, the sources aim to legitimate Greek dominion through a process of historical recollection, 'barbarization' of the enemy and an emphasis on the gods' support for the Greek enterprise.

For example, in his *History of Alexander*, Quintus Curtius Rufus tells us that when Alexander arrived in Phoenicia at Marathos, opposite the prosperous island of Arados, he received a letter from Darius III asking the Macedonian to restore his mother, wife, children and sovereignty. I quote an interesting passage from Alexander's answer:

> King Alexander to Darius, greeting. Darius, whose name you have assumed, brought devastation on the Greeks . . . Again Xerxes, of the same race, came to attack us with hordes of savage barbarians . . . Therefore it is a war of defence that I am waging, not of offence. And the gods also favour the better cause. (Curt. 4.10‑13)

Here are 'the gods': immediately on the stage, invoked by Alexander to legitimate the conquest and its effects. The gods support the 'better cause': Greek revenge on 'savage barbarians', the Persians and more generally the 'Oriental' people. Alexander's epic is presented as the latest step in an eternal struggle between civilization and savagery, Greece and the Orient, good and evil. Herodotus's introduction to the history of the Persian Wars, in his first book, had already connected these conflicts with a long chain of violence, kidnappings of women and reprisals, in which the Phoenicians

played an important role (Hdt. 1.1–2). 'From Troy to Tyre' would have been a good political slogan for Alexander's conquest. In fact, the story of the Tyrian siege, which is the highlight of the various authors' accounts, is constructed with a sophisticated game of echo between the two events in order to suggest that Alexander's extreme violence towards the native population was right and historically justified. It is revenge for 'oriental savagery' towards Greek women and sovereignty: the Phoenicians, in fact, kidnapped Io in Argos, just like Paris kidnapped Helen in Sparta.[2]

Yet the Greek sources unanimously underline the fact that Alexander was welcomed as a liberator in Arados, Byblos and Sidon, where the population and even the kings submitted spontaneously to him. When Alexander's superiority is willingly recognized, the negotiation process develops peacefully and native identities are respected, even promoted. In Babylon, for example, where the population and the priests welcome the Macedonian *condottiere*, he restores the temples, listens to the local religious authorities (the so called *magoi*) and sacrifices to the Babylonian Lord, Bel-Marduk, following the priests' advice (Arrian 3.6.2). Babylon is the exact counter-example to what happens in Tyre. Violent or peaceful, the Greek evidence presents Alexander as the 'natural' ruler of Phoenicia: continuity and rupture are present at the same time. Even in Tyre, where the Greeks used terrible violence, there was also cultural interaction, perhaps because this was already happening before 332 BCE. The strongest expression of the Tyrian identity and prestige is the polyadic god Melqart, whose name means 'King of the City' (Bonnet 1988).[3] He was the founder and protector of the city, and every human king embodied the god's powers and duties. Yet from at least the sixth century BCE, Melqart was assimilated to the Greek hero Herakles, and in Tyre, Cyprus and across the whole 'corrupting sea' he appeared in a form typical of Herakles. Nonetheless, Melqart and Herakles, even if assimilated at an early stage, remained distinguishable when 'ethnic' or religious identities were at stake. Arrian's text grasps this perfectly:

> At Tyre there is the most ancient temple of Herakles . . . not the Argive Herakles . . . for a Herakles was honoured at Tyre many generations before Kadmos sailed from Phoenicia, occupied Thebes, and had a daughter Semele, mother of Dionysos son of Zeus . . . It was to this Tyrian Herakles that Alexander said he wished to sacrifice. (Arr. *Anab.* 2.15.7)

[2] The parallel between Troy and Tyre is developed fully in my book on the religious landscape of the Phoenician cities in Hellenistic times, which I began at Princeton's Institute of Advanced Study (Bonnet 2014).

[3] Herodotus, who visited Melqart's temple, describes it as absolutely gorgeous (2.44).

When Alexander – who, along with the whole Macedonian dynasty, claimed descent from the Argive Herakles – arrived at Tyre, he was aware of this 'intercultural' feature of Melqart's cult, and his strategy aimed to take advantage of it. Indeed, Alexander's conquest of the east was presented as a continuation of Dionysos and Herakles's mythical expeditions in the Orient (Goukowski 1978-81; Bosworth 1988; 1996). Their legendary role as 'cultural heroes' suited Alexander's project very well. In fact, as soon as Alexander received the Tyrian embassy sent to him to negotiate, he expressed a desire to sacrifice to the local Herakles at his island sanctuary.

This request, officially motivated by his personal connection to Herakles, was nonetheless sharply rejected by the Tyrians, who asserted that the insular sanctuary was prohibited to foreigners and proposed that he visit the mainland cult place of the god. Was their reaction due to political opportunism because Alexander's victory over the Persians was still uncertain? I think that it was also a matter of political autonomy, of religious prestige and of cultural identity. The island and Melqart's sanctuary were the very symbols of Tyre's power and uniqueness. Alexander's attitude displays typical colonial behaviour: confronted with a powerful indigenous god, he tries to appropriate him on both a religious and political level. Performing a sacrifice to Melqart, Alexander would have acted as the new Tyrian king, Melqart's legitimate successor.

The bloody seven-month siege conducted by Alexander is described not only as a political and military event, but also as a 'religious drama' involving the gods, and as a clash of civilizations. Both sides claimed Melqart-Herakles as their own through dreams and oracles (Bonnet 1988: 52-6). Alexander's final victory marked the end of Tyre's mighty insularity with the construction of the mole. The city was no more a proud, free and intrepid island, lord of the seas. It was now part of a new territorial, political and cultural organization, in which Tyre would inevitably lose its traditional identity. Herakles's triumph over Melqart is parallel to Alexander's victory over the Tyrians. Alexander offered magnificent sacrifices to his ancestor, thereby marking his dominion over the city and his appropriation of its religious heritage. The sophisticated Greek and Latin narrative accounts seem to support the scenario of a complete 'hellenization' of Melqart, of Tyre, and consequently of Phoenicia. Especially meaningful is the introduction of Greek athletic festivals, which probably replaced the traditional annual Phoenician ritual in honour of Melqart, when the god symbolically died and returned to life (the so-called *egersis*). The saga of the siege of Tyre presents a dramatic case of failed

negotiation: the Tyrian refusal of any 'natural' and 'legitimate' accultur-
ation – according to the Greek conception of cultural hierarchy – led to a
cultural 'colonization' of an indigenous society unable to understand the
superiority of the new model. The sources emphasize the inferiority of the
native population in different ways: they are extremely violent, super-
stitious or impious, treacherous, they easily fall into hubris, their slaves
are very powerful, and so are their women. In other words, far from the
traditional picture of the Phoenicians giving Greece the alphabet or
founding Thebes, we find in this context another representation of
Phoenician identity, based on the whole set of stereotypes tied to the
'Barbarian' as opposed to the 'Greek'.[4]

   There are two main points to be made. First, we can observe that
Phoenician identity is basically related, in the classical sources, to the
context in which it is described. It is subject both to historical circum-
stances and to the authors' purposes or ideological framework. It can thus
vary from a very positive feature to a tremendously negative one. The
historian's duty is not to choose between these different proposals, nor to
reduce the complex picture of Phoenician identity to a simple binary
(good/bad, primitive/civilized, traditional/innovating . . .), but to make
sense of the contradictory Greek discourse on Phoenician culture and
identity. Secondly, aware of this, we must consider with great caution the
message delivered by Greek and Roman sources such as Diodorus, Arrian
and Curtius about the Hellenistic turn: they imply a passive acculturation
of the Phoenician people, accepting or submitting to Greek cultural forms,
but this is an ideological construction and a narrative strategy. We must
compare it with the evidence from Phoenicia in order to reveal the
pragmatic strategies displayed by different social classes or even individuals
according to their needs and opportunities. This will be the main object of
the third section below.

   As for this first part, on the 'parting of the ways', we have arrived at the
conclusion that while Phoenicia is certainly a very stimulating case study of
hellenization, it is not the 'enigma' described by Fergus Millar. The
conquest itself is known only through Greek and Roman sources, but they
are extremely meaningful and open up important perspectives. From the
final decades of the fourth century BCE, we can study cultural interactions
in the Phoenician 'middle ground' (White 1991) by combining the Greek
and the Phoenician evidence. The concepts of rupture or continuity – like

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[4] This is a typical colonial construction, like the modern opposition between the West and
   the Rest.

the qualifications of 'traditional' or 'indigenous' for Phoenician culture –
appear to be inadequate to describe the complexity of the historical
processes at work. The 'new' and the 'old', the 'local' and the 'inter-
national', the 'same' and the 'different' intermingle and weave an intricate
patchwork inspired by individual and collective strategies aiming at the
dynamic invention of a new balance. As Marshall Sahlins (2008) has
argued recently, culture is the very core of the evolutionary process of
mankind in history.

These considerations are particularly relevant in the Phoenician con-
text insofar as this region was very active in Mediterranean networks at
least from the Archaic period (and maybe from the Late Bronze Age). Its
art, for example, is extremely heterogeneous, with strong Egyptian influ-
ence, but also Anatolian features and Mesopotamian borrowings. From
the Persian period, the permeability to Greek models grew considerably.
At Sidon, for example, the extra-urban and very prestigious temple
of Bostan esh-Sheikh is built in the Greek style (Stucky 2005), whereas
at Amrit, on the mainland opposite Arados, the offerings to the gods
(Melqart and Eshmun) also adopt a mixed style (Greek and Cypro-
Phoenician) (Jourdain-Annequin 1992; Bonnet 1997). Greek pottery is
present everywhere in the Phoenician cities long before Alexander's
arrival (Elayi 1988; Elayi 1992; cf. Salles 1991). These phenomena suggest
that any cultural 'turn' initiated by Alexander was in line with a long-
lasting process of cultural permeability, one of the most characteristic
features of Phoenician society.

Another constitutive element of Phoenician identity is the east–west
connection, which brings me closer to the other contributions to this
volume. Even in the Hellenistic and Roman period, Sidon claims to be
Thebes's mother city, whereas Tyre is proud to be Carthage's. How can we
appreciate these elements in the new context of a Greek empire?

East and west: Phoenicia and its Mediterranean networks

The name of Carthage, *Qart hadasht* or 'New City', underlines the close
relationship between the mother city of Tyre and its colony on the African
shore. The name of Melqart (*Milk qart*, the 'King of the City') reveals that
Tyre was the archetypal 'City' and so Carthage was a new Tyre. The story
of its foundation by Elissa, bringing to the new territory the *sacra Herculis*,
the 'relics' of Melqart, as told by Justin (18.4.5), strongly illustrates this
organic link. Thus, continuity is presented as a constitutive part of the

identity of Punic people.[5] But continuity as the core of collective self-representation does not completely exclude significant changes in the reality of everyday life, in cults, in art, in language, because a 'map (i.e. mental map) is not territory' (Smith 1978). I allude here to a book by J. Z. Smith and especially to his remarkable essay on 'Earth and gods' (Smith 1978: 104–28, with a focus on the Jewish diaspora), where he investigated the diasporic dimension of the religious imaginary and religious practices tied to an exile experience: 'To the new immigrant in the diaspora, nostalgia for homeplace and cultic substitutes for the old, sacred center were central religious values' (Smith 1978: xiv).

For the cultural framework of Carthage, these elements are essential. Cult provides a specific space – both material and immaterial – where the link between past and present, between roots and future could be displayed and could have an important symbolic impact on the population. Moreover, ritual practices are associated with exegetical comments, oral or written, that shed light on the meaning of specific behaviours, like killing animals, wearing special dresses or repeating particular formulae. We have unfortunately lost the Punic religious texts that would have illustrated the hermeneutical background of the rituals. In this 'literature', I am convinced that Phoenician models were frequently mentioned and that in some cases we are dealing with the well-known phenomenon of the 'invention of tradition'. For example, according to some authors (for example, Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, 2.56, *ap.* Eusebius *Praeparatio evangelica* 4.16.6), the Punic tradition of human sacrifices is directly related to a Phoenician model: the Carthaginians exported this ritual from Phoenicia and accurately maintained the tradition. Yet, since no tophet has been found up to now in Phoenicia, some modern scholars have expressed doubt about such a ritual 'genealogy' (Ribichini 1987b; 2008). As far as I know, however, nobody has been bold enough to speak clearly of an 'invented tradition'. The Carthaginians needed to consider the tophet rituals as part of their Phoenician heritage, but this was a cultural construction meant to reinforce the diasporic society with a strong sense of belonging, even if (or because) they lived very far from the homeland.

We hear from several Greek and Roman sources that the Carthaginians, over the centuries, paid great attention to their relationship with Tyre (Ferjaoui 1993). Every year, they sent a prestigious embassy on the occasion of Melqart's festival, the biggest ritual event of the year in Tyre, with

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[5] On this point and for an interpretation of the tophet from such a perspective, see Bonnet 2011.

important offerings (Ferjaoui 1993: 27–46). To the same god was sent a tithe from the war booties taken by the Punic army. If I understand it correctly, this habit meant that Melqart was the Baal of Carthage as well as the Baal of Tyre. He was the god who protected the people and made them victorious in their economic and military enterprises. There is a great deal of geographic distance between Tyre and Carthage, but on a symbolic level the umbilical cord survived.

Does the conquest of the Phoenician cities by Alexander change this picture? Does the link between the mother city and the colony suffer from the new Mediterranean deal? Various sources inform us that Alexander planned to conquer the western part of the Mediterranean, and especially Carthage, after having organized his eastern territories (Diod. Sic. 18.4.4; Curt. 10.1.17–18; Arr. *Anab.* 7.1.2–3; Ennius fr. 222 Skutsch; see Sordi 1983: 14–23). But he died before he could try to realize this. During the siege of Tyre by Alexander and the Macedonian army, we are told by Arrian (*Anab.* 2.24.5) and Curtius Rufus (4.2.10–12; 4.3.19–23) that Carthaginian emissaries (*theoroi* in Greek, *legati* in Latin) were present in the city, according to the ancestral tradition. The vocabulary used by Arrian is particularly interesting because it reminds us of the panhellenic religious practice of the *theoria*, whose importance in terms of ethnic and cultural identity and solidarity has been underlined recently by Barbara Kowalzig (2005). Curtius Rufus (4.2.11) adds that the Carthaginians encouraged the Tyrian population to resist Alexander and promised that military support would soon arrive from Africa. Later on, however, the same author (4.3.19) mentions the presence of thirty (or more?) envoys from Carthage bringing moral support but nothing else because the Punic mother city, even though it was a powerful maritime capital, was facing an internal war (*bellum domesticum*). We do not know to what events this passage alludes. Nonetheless, during the siege, Carthage welcomed a certain number of women, children and probably old persons from Tyre to demonstrate their historical solidarity.[6] When the Macedonian fury spread through the city, destroying everything and killing everybody, the Punic *theoroi*, together with the Tyrian notables and the king, found refuge in Melqart's temple and were saved. It is worth noting that the Greek and Roman sources that relate the events deliver the same message about the Carthaginians as the Tyrians: superstitious, cowards, perfidious. The great family of Phoenician and Punic people is definitely different from the Greek community and

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[6] See also Diod. Sic. 17.41. This was probably only part of the Tyrian population, since Diod. Sic. 17.46 mentions women and children enslaved at the end of the siege.

belongs to the Barbarian part of the world. The focus on human sacrifices, especially in Carthage, also plays the role of a cultural boundary.

Now, after 332 BCE, the ritual connection between Tyre and Carthage probably became weaker and less regular. Polybius 31.12.12 is the only evidence we have for a sacred boat going from Carthage to Tyre in the mid-second century BCE. Under Macedonian dominion, and especially after such a tremendous resistance, Tyre could hardly act as a great Mediterranean metropolis. From a symbolic point of view, the Carthaginian *theoria*, which stressed the diasporic power of Tyre, was problematic to the new imperial power in Phoenicia. The memory of the Tyrian empire was erased by the reality of the Macedonian empire. We do not know how the change took place and if this was, at the same time, an opportunity for the Carthaginian state to get rid of an old network, now alive only in a symbolic and ritual form, and replaced a long time beforehand by other concrete and symbolic networks. In other words, in 332 BCE, Carthaginian identity was based firmly on a set of experiences that went far beyond the old colonial customs and the ancestral link with the Phoenician cradle. Even if political and cultural connections with the Phoenician mother city were still taken very seriously, Carthage was at that time a globalized Mediterranean city, with a mixed population and a cosmopolitan culture (Quinn 2011a). Its huge network of trading and diplomatic relations across the sea and the hinterland promoted hybrid identities in which the Phoenician component was challenged by new inputs, mainly from the Greek world. To a certain extent, this evolution is similar to the process encountered in Phoenicia itself that we discussed above. This situation probably contributed to dissolving the connection between Tyre and Carthage, and promoted the emergence of new identities with different orientations. These new geopolitical and cultural strategies, however, did not necessarily convince everyone in society. We can presume that some conservative groups criticized the 'Hellenistic turn' and the neglect of the old customs that had brought Carthage to such a prominent position in the Mediterranean.

In fact, Diodorus tells us that in 310 BCE, when the Greek general Agathocles invaded North Africa and besieged Carthage, the Punic population wondered why the gods were against them:

> Therefore the Carthaginians, believing that the misfortune had come to them from the gods, betook themselves to every manner of supplication of the divine powers; and, because they believed that Herakles [i.e. Melqart], who was in charge of the colonists, was exceedingly angry with them, they

sent a large sum of money and many of their most expensive offerings to Tyre. Since they had come as colonists to that city, it had been their custom in that period to send to the god a tenth of all that was paid into the public revenue; but later, when they had acquired great wealth, and were receiving more considerable revenues, they sent very little indeed, holding the divinity of little account. (Diod. Sic. 20.14.1–2)

The importance of the relationship between the mother city and its colony is clearly underlined, although we do not know whether this was a native tradition or a Greek construction. The bond ensured the existence of Carthage, as it had since the very beginning of the city's history. This organic connection must go on, according to the tradition. The kinship and consequently the solidarity between Tyre and Carthage are also expressed in Punic and Phoenician inscriptions, where some individuals define themselves as 'son of Tyre' or 'son of Carthage', an expression unique to these cities (Bordreuil and Ferjaoui 1998: 137–42; Günther 2000a: 161–5; Ferjaoui 2008: 183–9). Moreover, the language of kinship and the diplomatic framework based on it were familiar to the Greeks (Curty 1995). Did the existence of analogous parameters contribute to the homogenization of Greek and Phoenician identities? The answer must be ambivalent.

On the one hand, the Greeks disregarded Phoenician and Punic kinship because both were basically considered Barbarian populations. After having focused on the colonial link between Tyre and Carthage, embodied by Melqart, Diodorus explains how the Carthaginians solved their problem and buried the hatchet with the angry gods:

> They also alleged that Kronos had turned against them inasmuch as in former times they had been accustomed to sacrifice to this god the noblest of their sons, but more recently, secretly buying and nurturing children, they had sent these to the sacrifice. In their zeal to make amends for the omission, they selected two hundred of the noblest children and sacrificed them publicly; and others who were under suspicion sacrificed themselves voluntarily, in number not less than three hundred. There was in the city a bronze image of Kronos, extending its hands, palms up and sloping towards the ground, so that each of the children when placed thereon rolled down and fell into a sort of gaping pit filled with fire. (Diod. Sic. 20.14.4–6)

In other words, Phoenicians and Carthaginians are akin, but in the wrong way, keeping their Barbarian ethos alive. On the other hand, however, the framework of legendary or historical kinship in colonial contexts is also considered a cultural bridge by the Greeks and is furthermore used by the

Phoenician people – and probably by the Punics too, even if we lack explicit evidence – as a strategy of integration into the Greek *koinè*. One example of such a strategy appropriated by Phoenicians is a second-century BCE Greek inscription from Delphi. It contains a letter sent by the Tyrians to the great panhellenic sanctuary in order to obtain acknowledgement of Tyrian *asylia* (asylum), granted in 126/5 BCE (Curty 1995: 27-8, no. 12; similar document from Teos: Curty 1995: 211-12, no. 87). In the first part of the message, the Tyrians invoke the kinship between the two cities, and their collaboration (*synkrasis*). The mythical background of this Phoenician–Greek kinship is rather enigmatic, but we can assume hypothetically that Herakles linked Tyre with Delphi.

Once more we come to the conclusion that the definition of cultural identities in the mixed and connected context of the Hellenistic world is not an easy matter. Faced with a large set of options and a wide range of strategies, the Phoenicians combined tradition and innovation, and displayed different identities according to space, time, purpose and social context. In order to illustrate the new tools that we can use to grasp the complex cultural interactions that prevailed in the Hellenistic period, we shall look at a final example from Sidon.

'Hellenization': the need for a new conceptual framework

Diotimos of Sidon is known to us through a Greek inscription discovered by Ernest Renan in 1862 and studied by Elias Bickerman (1939; cf. Ebert 1972: 188-93, no. 64; Merkelbach and Stauber 2002: 274-5). The inscription, carved on a statue base, is an honorific epigram for a winner at the Nemean Games. The mention of the Cretan sculptor Timocharis allows us to date the monument to *c*. 200 BCE. The elegant and sophisticated poem was probably composed by a deeply hellenized local poet:

> The City of the Sidonians honor Diotimos, son of Dionysios, a judge (*dikastès*), who won the chariot race at the Nemean Games.
>
> Timocharis from Eleutherna made the statue.
>
> The day on which, in the Argolic valley, from their starting posts, all the competitors launched their quick horses for the race, the people of Phoronis gave you a splendid honour and you received the ever-memorable crown.
>
> For the first among the citizens, you brought from Hellas to the noble house of the Agenorids the glory won in an equestrian victory. The holy city of Kadmos, Thebes, also exults, seeing its metropolis distinguished by victories.

> The prayer of your father, Dionysios, made on the occasion of the contest was fulfilled when Greece made this proclamation: 'Oh proud Sidon, you excel not only with your ships but also with your yoked chariots which are victorious'.

The athletic games, or *agones*, which Diotimos attended and won, were a typical feature of Greek culture. Their introduction into the Near Eastern provinces is a major aspect of 'hellenization' there, together with the *gymnasion* and the theatre (Le Guen 2005). They gave spatial contexts for Greek forms of sociability and identity and promoted cultural mediation under Greek control. In Tyre, Alexander imposed the celebration of athletic games in honour of Herakles immediately after his victory in order to appropriate Melqart's cult and 'hellenize' it (Lindsay Adams 2006). Nonetheless, these contests were used skilfully by the local elite as useful opportunities to display their own virtue and their integration into the Greek world (Chaniotis 1995: 147‒69; van Bremen 2007: 345‒75). The Phoenician competitors were definitely considered 'Greek' and won important games from the third century BCE at Delos, Athens, Cos and Corinth. They did not, however, lose their own identity. Diotimos, for example, who is most probably a descendant of the Sidonian royal family and a very rich man, still bound to Sidon, is aware of Greek customs and practices, and bears Greek names, just like his father, at least in the Greek inscription. Both men are celebrated according to the Greek traditions by an elegant Greek epigram and a statue made by a Cretan artist. Is Diotimos then totally hellenized?

First of all, it is worth noting that Diotimos is at the same time proud of his victory in a Greek competition and of his public office of 'judge' (*dikastes* in Greek), which translates a Semitic word, *shufat*, meaning something like 'governor' in this context. Then, the mythological elements contained in the text deserve more attention. Even if included in a Greek context, they reveal a sophisticated strategy of communication and a complex cultural landscape. Diotimos focuses his poem on Agenor, the first king of Sidon, and his glorious family, which symbolizes the Sidonian people. Agenor himself is an extraordinary case of Greek–Phoenician interaction. In fact, from at least the fifth century BCE he was considered by some authors to be the son of Phoronis, the king of Argos, and the father of Phoinix (the Phoenicians' eponymous hero), of Europa, and of Kadmos, who is well-known as the *oikistes* of the city of Thebes and the hero who introduced the Phoenician alphabet in Greece (Hellanicos of Lesbos *FGrH* 4 F 36, *ap. Schol. Eust. Hom.* Il. G 75). Through this

'comforting (mythological) fiction' (Gruen 1997: 78), Diotimos finds a way to underline the crucial Phoenician contribution to Greek culture and to advertise a hybrid sense of belonging without resisting hellenism. With this strategy, he inscribes Phoenician identity into the symbolic and imaginary network of Greek mythology, promoting integration and mutual comprehension. Besides, since Agenor had a Greek origin, the Phoenicians are definitely members of the Greek family. Moreover, through his sons, Agenor 'civilized' Greece! This is a tricky message in a context of 'hellenization'.

The cultural mixture here does not appear to be in conflict. At approximately the same time, in Sidon, the native kingship was abolished and a new political and social deal emerged, which facilitated new cultural mediators, especially among the local elite. The mythological traditions provided a common language useful for the creation of a cultural compromise, and the concept of mythological kinship helped to reveal very ancient and bilateral bonds between Greek and non-Greek people. The idea of a common family tends to prevail over the model of Greek supremacy over Barbarian enemies.

Conclusions

To conclude, although it must be uncontroversial to say that the introduction of Greek cultural features (personal names, toponyms, images, cults, social behaviours or attitudes, literature . . .) during the Hellenistic period transformed the 'indigenous' identities of the Phoenician people on a collective and individual level, the problem becomes how to describe and explain the so-called process of 'hellenization' without using the old models of colonial 'acculturation' or the ideal picture of a meeting between east and west (Droysen's *Verschmelzung*), associated with the problematic notion of 'syncretism'.[7] The former – widespread and even dominant in scholarship of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century – at least, implies that Hellenistic culture, which is more 'modern', and hence 'superior', is injected into 'primitive' Phoenician traditions, which receive it in a passive way. The latter is not sufficiently precise to grasp the complex conditions of translatability of the practices, images and beliefs we are dealing with (Smith 2008; Ando 2008: 43–58). 'Hellenization', far from

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[7] For the historiography of Hellenistic cultural processes, see Bichler 1983; Canfora 1987; Gehrke 1990; Funck 1996. On Droysen, see Payen 2005; 2006.

prompting clash or collapse, deals with strategy and negotiation, social fluidity and cultural creativity.[8] Glen Bowersock suggests that hellenism was 'a language and culture in which peoples of the most diverse kind could participate ... It was a medium not necessarily antithetical to local or indigenous traditions. On the contrary, it provides a new and more eloquent way of giving voice to them' (Bowersock 1990: 7). Consequently, the range of effects, behaviours, and images can lead to paradoxical situations and identities.

Reflecting on Hellenistic dynamics, John Ma (2008: 371–5) recently proposed that we renounce 'paradigms' (for example, the paradigm of fusion or separation) in favour of a focus on 'paradoxes'. According to him, admitting that contradictory situations and parameters coexist in historical contexts is a fascinating clue to these 'times of troubles'. The category of 'hellenization' thus includes a wide spectrum of responses and levels of interaction, a huge range of attitudes and behaviours: violent opposition and peaceful communication, ideological pressure or resistance and rebellion. Far from any 'obviousness', such an approach emphasizes the importance of pragmatism and opportunism in cultural interaction. 'Hellenization', like 'occidentalization' in modern Canada or Mexico, stimulated continuous creativity as an answer to a certain disruption of the *habitus*. A state of cultural instability and a time of change in Phoenicia and elsewhere after Alexander's conquest turns out to promote the construction of new cultural formats and forms in which some individuals or groups found new spaces for political, social or religious agency. They aimed at creating a cultural compromise and a new existential balance, in other words a 'middle ground' (White 1991). New identities led to new agencies in a context where the old boundaries were replaced by different sorts of transactions and networks of relations. Beyond the deadlock of a binary alternative between conquest and resistance, based on the idea that the native populations always try to protect their own traditions threatened from outside, White's concept of the 'middle ground' provides a more 'ecological' view of cultural landscapes which can be applied to the Phoenician Hellenistic situation. In other words, following Marshall Sahlins's (1995; 2008) 'biological' conception of culture, native cultures naturally

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[8] For a case study based on archaeological evidence alone, see Boksmati 2009. She investigates the relationship between space and identity in Hellenistic Beirut, showing that there was no brutal or extensive 'hellenization' in the urban framework. A considerable expansion is witnessed in the domestic, economic and cultic fields, all strongly interconnected, but the evidence suggests that local populations made strategic and active choices in the adoption of new 'cultural packages'.

change in contexts of political and territorial conquest. They are obliged to adapt to new conditions of life. Consequently, processes of invention or reinvention of traditions, and a large new set of cultural strategies, appear with the transformation and transmission of cultures. This social ability to negotiate new cultural frameworks and to construct 'middle grounds' devoted to interaction is at the very core of human nature.

Afterword

ANDREW WALLACE-HADRILL

This collection of essays by no means offers the last word on the theme of the Punic Mediterranean: on the contrary, it hopes to open up for future discussion what we feel to be a neglected field. Correspondingly, this final contribution, looking back on the chapters that precede, is no last word: it is a plea for more discussion.

The initiative, first to organize a conference at the British School at Rome in 2008, then to broaden it into a collection of papers, arose from a shared sense of a gap. The emphasis of the archaeology of the ancient Mediterranean on the Greek and Roman worlds arises, as is familiar, from its roots in classical education and the emphasis on two languages, Greek and Latin. Knowledge of Hebrew and Semitic languages is more likely to be found among biblical scholars than Classicists. We marginalize the speakers of Punic because they are foreign to us, and the 'Punic' becomes the 'Other'. The sense of alienation is built into our classical sources. But those same sources tell us that the Phoenician (or Punic) speakers were an essential part of their world. Herodotus, 'Father of History', starts his account of the Persian Wars with an overview of east–west relationships that puts the Phoenicians in a central role. It is a story of reciprocal retaliations over the theft of women: it was Phoenician traders, at least according to Persian sources, who started the trouble by kidnapping Io from Argos, and Greeks responded by taking Europa from Tyre; after which the matter escalates, involving Medea from Colchis and Helen taken to Troy (1.1). The *Phoinikes* thus start centre-stage, and subsequently weave through the narrative, colonizing Egyptian Memphis, Libya, Thera, Thasos and Sicily (2.112, 2.32, 4.147, 4.196, 5.46, 6.47), circumnavigating Africa (4.42), trading, carrying off girls (2.54–5), introducing writing (5.58), producing bright robes for Paris and Helen (2.116), sharing the Semitic practice of circumcision (2.104), building canals with skill (7.23), bridging the Hellespont with ropes (7.34), and providing the fastest ships for the Persian fleets (7.96). Herodotus has been to Tyre himself and can attest to the antiquity of their cult of Herakles/Melqart (2.44). Carthage is the daughter city of Tyre, and the Tyrians deter Cambyses from attacking it (3.19). If the Phoenicians play a persistent part in Greek history, their

role in Roman history, through the Carthaginians, is even more central. Yet though Greek and Roman historians will not let us forget the Phoenicians of the east and west, they are always treated as 'the Other'.

This by itself is enough to account for their marginalization. But it is also overdetermined by the history of modern Europe. The ancient division of the Mediterranean overlaps dangerously with a modern one. The tradition of classical history that sees in the Greeks and Romans our own forebears is rooted in a European perspective that sees the Islamic world as 'the Other'. The Phoenicians thus become proxy victims of Orientalism. Their principal territories, from Palestine to North Africa, are lands subjected to a modern history of colonialism, and the image of sinister exoticism is recruited only too easily to a justification of imperialist dominance: Flaubert's *Salammbô*, with its blood-curdling and wholly fictional picture of sacrifice to Moloch, is an unspoken apology for Roman imperialism as a proxy for French rule in North Africa. Pastrone's 1914 epic film, *Cabiria*, would play the same role for the Italian colonization of Libya (see Introduction).

The Phoenicians, east and west, may thus be thought of as victims of a double *damnatio memoriae*, the vanquished enemies of Greece and Rome, and the forerunners of the colonized Middle East and North Africa. But that gives all the more reason for taking them seriously now. It is no longer relevant to our purposes to parade ancient imperialism as a model for modern. We would rather think of the ancients, more akin to our contemporary selves, as networkers. But we cannot tell the story of the establishment of the dense Mediterranean network of cities, which would eventually contour itself as a Roman empire, without allowing a significant role to the Phoenicians, east and west. Their network of foundations, clinging to the edge of the sea, from Tyre to Carthage to Lixus and Cadiz, seems not only in the claims of oral history, but in the archaeological record, to be ahead of the Greek colonizing movement. The Phoenicians are the pioneers: in communication (writing), navigation and networking skills: Herodotus's picture of them bears this out, and the Greeks are their imitators and rivals. And if networking is the big story, we need to pay more attention to them as an integral part of the story. There are the grand moments of conflict, at Salamis, in Sicily and eventually in the deletion of Carthage. But there are more moments at which the networks sit alongside each other in collusion. Polybius emphasizes how long the history was of mutual understanding, formally recorded in treaties, between Carthage and Rome (3.22). If the essence of the treaties was mutual respect of spheres, it was a mechanism that allowed networks to coexist to their mutual benefit.

Sicily is the most important frontier territory: and as the tide of dominance ebbs and flows between Carthaginian west and Greek east, there is also much exchange. The ruins of Motya, sacked by the catapults of Dionysius, preserve an exquisite specimen of Greek koroplastic art. Selinus, poised on the border, has successive Greek and Punic phases: they can inhabit each other's cities. They exchange skills in city planning: Solus (Solunto), with its regular layout, might be taken for a Hippodamian foundation, but is solidly Punic. There is exchange in the arts of living. As the Greeks develop the skills of laying mosaic pavements, their rival neighbours take crushed pottery paving, inset with marble chips, to a level that will rapidly be borrowed as 'Punic pavements'. As for the pots themselves, from amphorae to tableware, these by definition move around, crossing borders in the process, and the material culture of individual sites, whether Greek or Punic, is recognized not in the apartheid of difference, but in difference of degrees of a widespread distribution.

Since, when not fighting each other, the rivals are talking to each other and exchanging goods and ideas, the question open to archaeological investigation is how their networks interrelate. But here we are assailed by doubts over cultural identity. What does it mean to distinguish 'Phoenician' and 'Punic'? Can we really speak of a 'Punic Mediterranean' or a 'Punic' network, with a common sense of identity? Many of the contributors to our original conference found themselves stumbling over an existential anxiety as to whether we can speak of a 'Punic' identity at all. It is not enough to buy into an identity that their Greek or Roman enemies attributed to them: we want reassurance that they thought of themselves as a people or culture united by common practices and mutual loyalties. It is unsettling, then, to discover from more careful study of the texts that it is not clear that they felt themselves to belong to a single *ethnos*, but rather to their various cities: they were Tyrians or Sidonians or Carthaginians, not Phoenicians, let alone 'Punes' (an ugly noun which, despite the temptation of the Latin *poeni*, English has rightly shunned).

The matter is made more complex by the way our Greek and Romans sources have tempted us into giving them contrasting labels: 'Phoenician' in the east, 'Punic' in the west. Etymologically, *punicus* or *poenus* is merely a Latinization of *phoinix* (Prag). Thus it is natural to think of the early settlers, on whom Greek sources like Herodotus report, as Phoenicians, still linked by their Tyrian umbilical, whereas the western cities, under some form of Carthaginian control, are seen through Roman eyes as Punic. That contrast was formalized by the founder of modern study of the western Phoenicians, Sabatino Moscati, who made the rise of Carthaginian hegemony in the west

in the mid-sixth century the turning point (Maroui-Telmini *et al.*). From now on the western Phoenicians have no real cultural community with those of the east, and must be regarded as quite distinct, 'Punic'. The Italian subdiscipline of 'archeologia fenicio-punica', while verbally flagging this distinction, can be felt by its leading practitioners to confuse separate substances (Bondì).

The westerners, we may concede, are a distinctive lot, worthy of study in their own right – by the same measure, the western Greeks are not to be casually agglomerated with their mainland ancestors, and have a distinctive history – but that does not wholly settle the question of the measure of affinity. Did they feel themselves bound by deep historical and cultural ties, and if so, what difference did that make? The most traumatic moment in the story of Phoenician identities must be Alexander's brutal sack of Tyre in 332 BCE (Bonnet). It is striking that a sacred embassy from Carthage was present during the siege, encouraged the Tyrians to resist Alexander with promises of help, and evacuated at least some women and children. In terms of visceral identity, the umbilical cord is still well and truly present, and even if the westerners were different in various ways (like retaining, or perhaps even reinventing, ancestral practices of sacrifice), they felt themselves to be tied by kinship.

It is no surprise that questions of identity prove slippery and elusive. That is the product not just of our inadequate knowledge of the people concerned, and our difficulty in hearing their own voices, as 'people without history', but of the confusions and inadequacies inherent in the modern concept of identity. Having established that identity is not simply an inherent feature of belonging to a particular racial or ethnic group, and that it must be consciously constructed by people who wish to be part of a group, we face daunting problems in retrojecting it into the past. It is much easier to imagine a common identity between peoples of different cities that were subject to Carthaginian hegemony than merely those who claimed a common ancestry in the mists of mythological time. But even then we may be carried away, creating on inadequate evidence an image of a Carthaginian empire, as in Morocco, where very little archaeological evidence supports the thesis of Carthaginian control (Papi), or even in Spain, where Punic colonies evaporate to become essentially Iberian (Aranegui and Vives-Ferrándiz).

Not only is the degree of Carthaginian presence and dominance in dispute, but the obvious point cannot be evaded that every settlement sets up relationships with the local populations, and enters its unique pattern of exchanges and fusions: one would scarcely expect 'Punic' to

look identical in Sardinia, where there is complex interaction with the Nuragic population (Roppa), in Spain and in various parts of North Africa, which generated its own 'Libyphoenicans' (Ben Younès), let alone in Tyre and Sidon. We must settle for diverse Punic identities, not a single identity. But nothing is lost thereby. It is not that the Phoenicians have evaporated and lost existence with the loss of a singular identity. The key question remains the degree to which, for all difference, they perceived and cultivated affinity. That is to say, we might put aside existential agonies over identity, and focus better on how they networked.

There is no gain in torturing the record of material culture for information it does not possess. The range of material goods with which people are buried (or which they put in their houses or trash) can tell us a very limited amount about identity. One can speak of a general resemblance in burial practices more easily than a distinctive culture (Gómez Bellard). On the other hand, it is eloquent about contacts. Coinage is a nice example. The 'ubiquitous' Punic horse surely does say something about identity, insofar as it is the identifying stamp on coins of the mints of many Punic cities, and the fact that Punic coins were overstruck at Campanian Entella, deleting one identity and providing another, and seemingly melted down to a large extent by the Roman victors, shows how the symbols of the Punic 'Other' could be identified with the enemy. But equally interesting is the observation that while Punic coins clearly dominate in the cities of the Punic west of Sicily, and Greek in the Greek east, in all cities there is found a mixture of coins of both sides: there was contact over the ever-changing boundary line, and the sides exchanged goods as well as armed assaults. In any case, the coinage itself is modelled on Greek coinage. Despite their reputation as the great traders of the Mediterranean, Punic cities do not start issuing coinage until the fourth century, driven by the need to pay mercenaries, and the coins are modelled on the tetradrachms of Carthage's great rival Syracuse: production peaks at the height of the struggle with Syracuse in the late fourth and early third centuries BCE (Frey-Kupper).

As we begin to step back from the image of Carthage as an imperialist power, controlling the Punic west and imposing its stamp, and envisage instead a commercial network that continued along the lines of its Phoenician origins (Maraoui Telmini *et al.*), creating a 'cultural and commercial *koine*' (Bridoux), the Punic world becomes, paradoxically, more not less like the Greek world. The cities of Magna Graecia operate as a network of independent units, with umbilical cords stretching to a wide variety of cities in the east. If in the fourth century Syracuse imposes its hegemony on the local Sicilian network, it is by a process parallel to Carthage's

strengthening of its hold in its own sphere: the imperatives of mutually destructive rivalry draw tighter boundaries around the networks and make them less porous.

It is the complementarity of the Greek and Punic networks in the western Mediterranean that means that to neglect one is to tell only half of the story. Nor does the growth of Roman dominance in the western Mediterranean make sense without these dual backgrounds. The absorption of the cities of Magna Graecia into a Roman network instantly constructs the Punic network into a rival: Rome had the capacity to break a balance of power that had kept the two sides in uneasy equilibrium from the eighth to the third centuries. Roman imperialism grows on the basis of the absorption of existing networks. The cities of Magna Graecia, unless like Paestum subjected to direct colonization, continue to speak Greek: there is no requirement to take on a mantle of Roman identity. In parallel, though Carthage is deleted, Punic identity is not, and the development of 'neo-Punic' script, flagging the survival of a language down to the time of Saint Augustine, is a measure not only of cultural persistence, but the perceived compatibility of that with Roman rule. The misleadingly named 'Libyphoenician' coinages of a series of cities around Cadiz, with legends in both neo-Punic and Latin, and the persistence of symbols like images of Melqart, suggests a Roman preference for living with, not replacing, old identities (Jiménez).

In a word, as we begin to open up the Punic Mediterranean to new exploration, we find a world that is complex and diverse, interacting with local populations, and hence never homogenous in identity, changing through time with the tides of Mediterranean history, operating an extensive and diverse network that was complementary to that of the Greek cities. As we begin to understand better how these diverse networks interact and play off each other, we also understand better how Roman conquest is not a matter of deleting old identities, but of enfolding old networks, with their special characteristics, within a larger network.

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2. (Figure 3.1) Alphonse Mucha's famous lithograph of *Salammbô* (1896).

3. (Figure 3.3) Cover of the tourist brochure *Sardegna. Il futuro ha radici antiche* (2000) that shows the two re-erected columns of a temple or perhaps *porticus* of late Roman Republican date at Tharros.
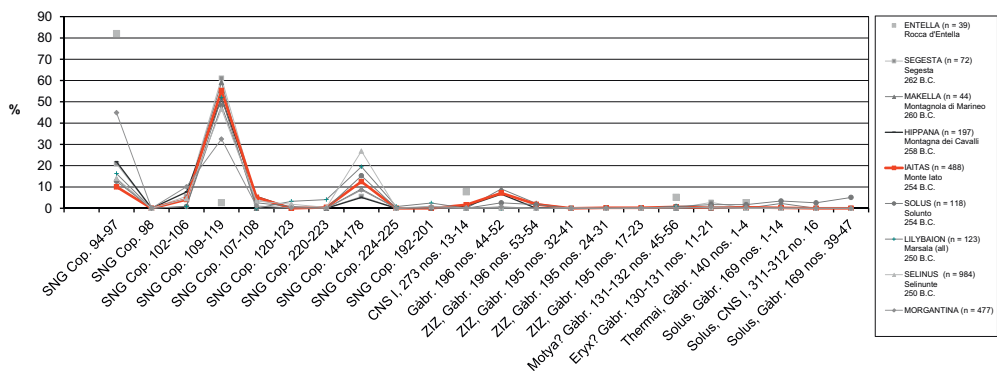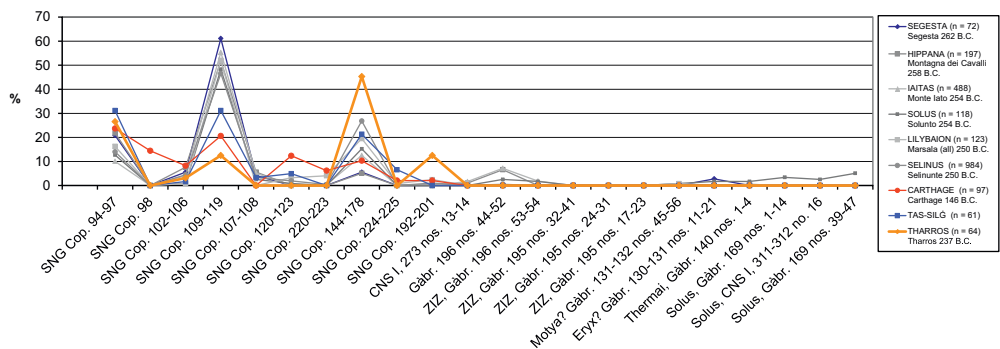
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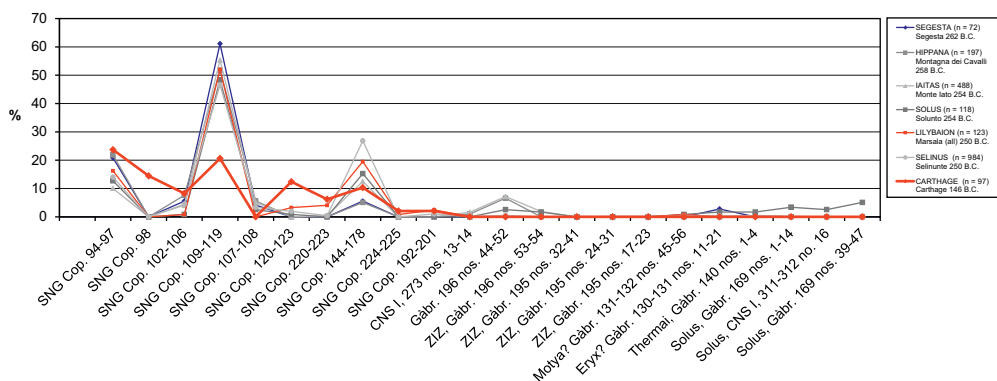
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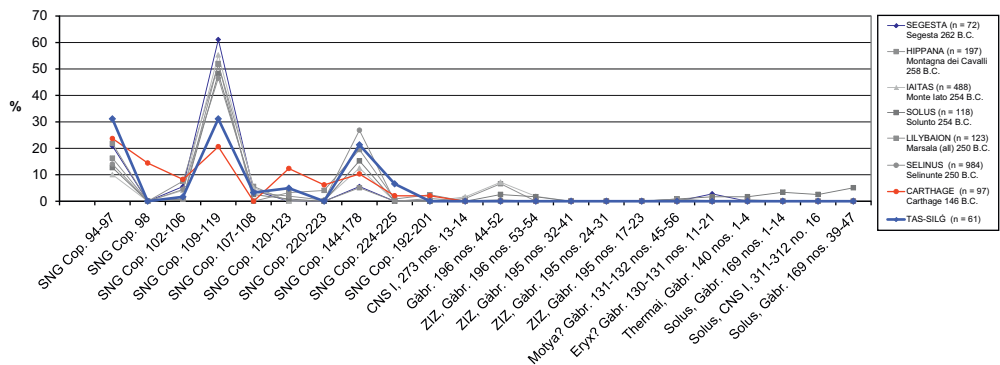
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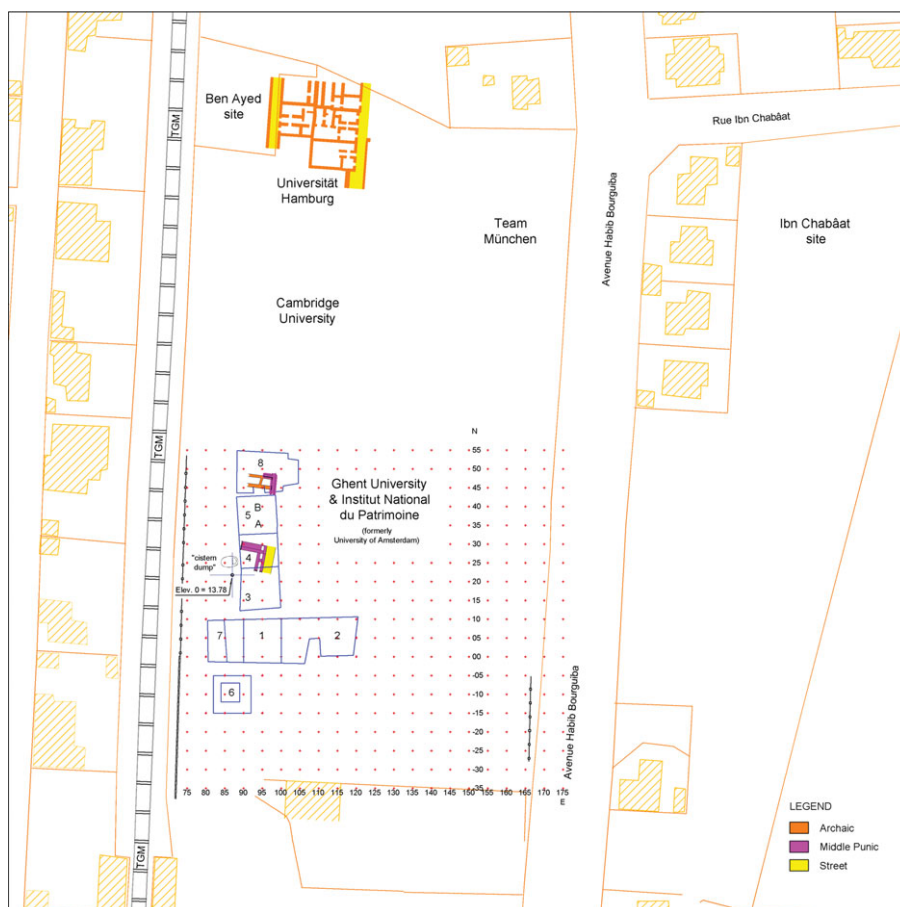
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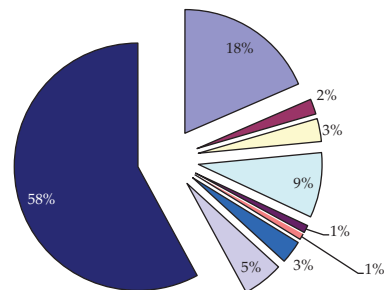
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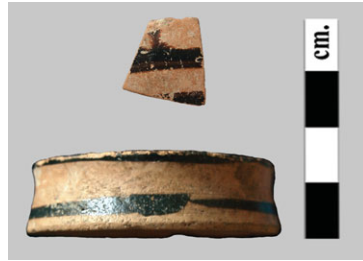

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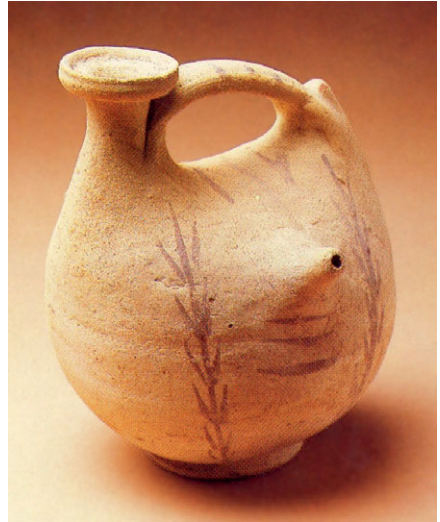

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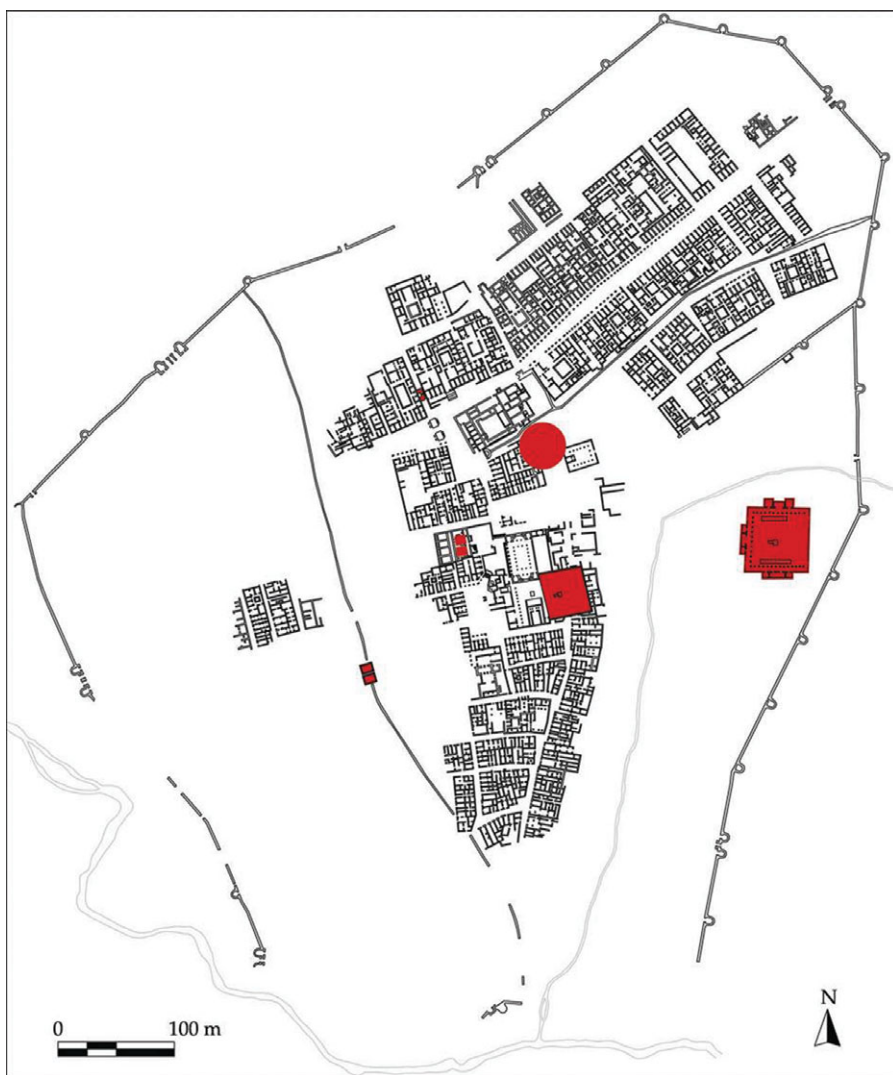
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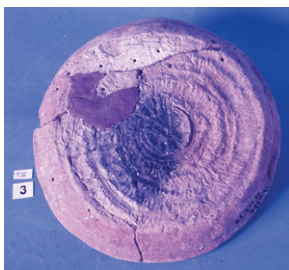
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