An Archaeological History of Carthaginian Imperialism

Nathan Pilkington

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

2013

ABSTRACT

An Archaeological History of Carthaginian Imperialism

Nathan Pilkington

Carthage is the least understood imperial actor in the ancient western Mediterranean. The present lack of understanding is primarily a result of the paucity of evidence available for historical study. No continuous Carthaginian literary or historical narrative survives. Due to the thorough nature of Roman destruction and subsequent re-use of the site, archaeological excavations at Carthage have recovered only limited portions of the built environment, material culture and just 6000 Carthaginian inscriptions.

As a result of these limitations, over the past century and half, historical study of Carthage during the 6th- 4th centuries BCE traditionally begins with the evidence preserved in the Greco-Roman sources. If Greco-Roman sources are taken as direct evidence of Carthaginian history, these sources document an increase in Carthaginian military activity within the western Mediterranean during the 6th and 5th centuries BCE. Scholars have proposed three different dates for the creation of the Carthaginian Empire from this evidence: c. 650, c.550 or c. 480 BCE. Scholars have generally chosen one of these dates by correlating textual narratives with 'corroborating' archaeological evidence. To give an example, certain scholars have argued that destruction layers visible at Phoenician sites in southwestern Sardinia c. 550-500 represent archaeological manifestations of the campaigns of Malchus and Mago's sons recorded in the sources.

In contrast to previous studies of Carthaginian imperialism, my presentation begins with the evidence preserved in the archaeological and epigraphic records of Carthage, its colonies and dependencies. By switching evidentiary focus and interpretive method, I establish in this dissertation that the Carthaginian Empire of the 6th-4th centuries BCE, as recovered archaeologically and epigraphically, bears little resemblance to the narratives of the Greco-Roman sources. More importantly, I demonstrate that Carthaginian imperial power leaves archaeological manifestations very similar to those of Athenian or Roman imperial power. Colonization, the establishment of metropolitan political institutions at dependent polities and the reorganization of trade into a metropolitan hub and spoke system are traceable for each of these imperial systems.

Table of Contents

List of Charts, Graphs and Illustrations

Acknowledgments

For Cynthia and Kathy

Introduction

<u>The Carthaginian Empire: Current Reconstructions</u>

Carthage is the least understood imperial actor in the ancient western Mediterranean. The present lack of understanding is primarily a result of the paucity of evidence available for historical study. No continuous Carthaginian literary or historical narrative survives. Due to the thorough nature of Roman destruction and subsequent re-use of the site, archaeological excavations at Carthage have recovered only limited portions of the built environment, material culture, and just 6000 Carthaginian inscriptions. In addition, though the Greco-Roman sources allege that the Carthaginian Empire was vast, archaeologists have only completely excavated one Carthaginian colony, Kerkouane. All other Carthaginian colonies or dependencies are known from limited excavations, mostly focused on necropoleis.

As a result of these limitations, over the past century and half, historical study of Carthage during the 6th- 4th centuries BCE traditionally begins with the evidence preserved in the Greco-Roman sources.[1] If Greco-Roman sources are taken as direct evidence of Carthaginian history, these sources document an increase in Carthaginian military activity within the Western Mediterranean during the 6th -5th centuries BCE. Scholars have proposed three different dates for

---

[1] Hoyos (2010), 40-43, 56 124-134 for the most recent example. See also: Manfredi (2003); Moscati et al. (1997); Moscati (1994); Fantar (1993); Ameling (1993); Huss (1985), for various examples of these types of presentations. In each of these presentations, Greco-Roman sources, even when critiqued at various points, remain the fundamental and structuring narratives for the historical development of Carthage. Moscati et al. (1997), 63: "Si può ritenere ormai acquisita la certezza che un sistematico processo di espansione politica e militare in Nord Africa sia stato attuato da Cartagine non prima del VI seconlo a.C. e che la costituzione di un grande Stato territoriale...sia stata l'espressione compiuta di tale disegno. La testimonianza delle fonti archeologiche e letterarie appare a a questo proposito concorde. Vari scrittori antichi indicano nel VI secolo l'inizio della politica espansionistica di Cartagine nella regione. Si apprende di Giustino..." In chapter 1, I demonstrate that Justin, the primary source for the early history of the Carthaginian Empire, does not in fact record the creation of a Carthaginian Empire in North Africa, Sicily or Sardinia in this period. For a more general discussion of these narratives and scholarly reconstructions employing them, see: Krings (1998). Krings considers the major episodes of Carthaginian history with a critical approach that had not been previously part of Carthaginian studies. Her conclusions about certain episodes (discussed individually in Chapter 1) have not penetrated fully into more general reconstructions of Carthaginian history.

the creation of the Carthaginian Empire from this evidence: c. 650[2], c.550[3], or c. 480 BCE.[4] The most regularly discussed events in current reconstructions include: the colonization of Ibiza (c. 650)[5], the Pentathlos Affair (c. 580)[6], the campaigns of Malchus in Sicily and Sardinia (c. 550)[7], the Battle of Alalia (Mare Sardonio)(c. 535)[8], the Doreius Affair (c. 520)[9], the campaigns of Mago and his sons in Sardinia (c 520-510)[10], the First Treaty between Carthage and Rome (c. 509)[11], and the Battle of Himera (c.480).[12] Scholars have generally chosen one of these events or some combination of them as the starting point for Carthaginian imperialism by correlating textual narratives with 'corroborating' archaeological evidence. To give an example, certain scholars have argued that destruction layers visible at Phoenician sites in southwestern Sardinia c. 550-500 represent archaeological manifestations of the campaigns of Malchus and Mago's sons recorded in the sources.[13]

Irrespective of the date which any individual scholar assigns to the beginning of the Carthaginian Empire, the majority of scholars agree about its main lines of historical

---

[2] Barkaoui (2003), 294. Fantar (1993) II, 7

[3] Manfredi (2003), 329; Moscati (1994), 48; Ameling (1993), 250.

[4] Lancel (1992), 97.

[5] Diodorus Siculus 5.16

[6] Diodorus Siculus 5.9; Pausanias 10.11;

[7] Justin 18.7; Orosius. *Histories*. 4.6.

[8] Herodotus 1.165-167; Thucydides 1.13; Justin 18.7; 43.5.

[9] Herodotus 5.39-48; Diodorus Siculus 4.23; Justin 19.1

[10] Justin 19.1

[11] Polybios 3:22-23.

[12] Pindar. *Pythian Odes* 1. 137; Herodotus 7.165-167; Frontinus. *Strategemata* 1.11-18

[13] Bernardini (2004); Moscati et al. (1997); Moscati (1994) for examples.

development after the Battle of Himera in 480 BCE. These developments include the conquest of the territory around Carthage in Africa in the 5th century, the expansion of the Carthaginian Empire along the North African coast and into the interior of Sicily and Sardinia in the 5th and 4th centuries, and expansion into the Iberian Peninsula in the 5th and/or 4th centuries. Scholars disagree about the causes for each of these periods of expansion and to some degree differ over the degree of control exercised by Carthage over subordinated areas. However, the majority of studies conclude that Carthage ultimately developed a geographically extensive empire in North Africa, the Iberian Peninsula, Sardinia and Sicily during the 5th-4th centuries BCE. [14]

Problems with Current Reconstructions: Evidence and Method

Present reconstructions of Carthaginian history in the 6th-4th c. BCE regularly fuse the evidence of Justin's *Epitome of Trogus*, a continuous discussion of early Carthaginian history, with notices in Herodotus, Thucydides, Aristotle, Polybios, Appian, Diodorus Siculus, and even Virgil.[15] Though this range of authors may give the appearance of depth and breadth in the Greco-Roman source tradition, none of these narratives is substantial. Even Justin's continuous history of Carthage occupies no more than three modern printed pages, and this in fact is the

---

[14] Hoyos (2010); Manfredi (2003); Moscati (1994); Fantar (1993); Ameling (1993); Huss (1985). Only Lancel (1992) stands outside this trend.

[15] Hoyos offers a somewhat curious description about the sources of extant Greco-Roman narratives as part of a broader discussion about the 'existence' of Carthaginian literature. Hoyos (2010), 106: "It is also hard to tell whether Polybius', Diodorus', Justin's and other authors' sporadic but sometimes detailed reports of events in Carthaginian history go back to Carthaginian accounts (in Punic or Greek). Hannibal certainly wrote of his own campaigns in seeming detail…While he is the only Carthaginian known as writing on historical events, one or two other items may offer glimpses of a narrative tradition. A Punic inscription set up two centuries before his time briefly reports military actions in Sicily." This inscription, CIS 1.5510 is extensively discussed in Chapters 4-6. He concludes on 107: "It seems likely enough, then, that at least military-historical and biographical writing was well established at Carthage at any rate from the 5th century on.…If written works in these fields have not survived to any extent, probably it is because Greeks and Romans were uninterested in reading or preserving Punic-language literature, not because literary composition was rare at Carthage." Such a fact would seem attested, as Hoyos himself notes on 105: "When Carthage was sacked in 146, its libraries were handed over to the 'minor kings of Africa' (so Pliny the Elder writes)."

longest continuous historical narrative that any source provides for the 9th-4th centuries BCE. A Greco- Roman historiographic tradition that seeks to emphasize aspects of Carthaginian society that may or may not have even existed (*Fides Punica*, mercenary armies, and child sacrifice) dominates many of the extant narratives.

Momigliano, in *Alien Wisdom*, argued nearly a half century ago that Greco-Roman writers leave partially misleading historical records when approaching external civilizations such as Jews, Persians, and Celts. He would have included Carthage in his work but noted, "Carthaginian culture, on the other hand, did not decline: it was murdered by the Romans…Vilification of the character of the Carthaginians was to be found in the Sicilian-born historian Timaeus even before some Roman orators and writers made 'Punica Fides' into a catchword."[16] More importantly, the study of Carthaginian history does not benefit from any evidence comparable to Josephus, the New Testament or Achaemenid-style tablets.[17] Thus no internal or even 'friendly' voice exists to challenge the record of Carthaginian history presented in the Greco-Roman sources.[18] However, no scholar of Carthaginian history has applied Momigliano's (or more generally, deconstructionist[19]) critiques to the Greco-Roman sources.

---

[16] Momigliano (1975), 4.

[17] For examples of Achaemenid tablets, see: Hallock (1969).

[18] That such voices did exist is well known. Philinus of Agrigentum wrote a history of the Punic Wars from a favorable Carthaginian perspective. See Chapter 6 for further discussion.

[19] Much could be gained from a thorough study of the Greco-Roman sources from a subaltern perspective, though the project requires a separate monograph from the presentation here, which might be better thought of as establishing the need for a subaltern reading of the Greco-Roman sources. In describing the narratives of Indian colonial history, subaltern scholars have illuminated particularly important structures that lead historians, multiple generations after the events under question, to produce discourses that accept the dominate narratives of the victorious (British colonizers). Prakash (1994), 1479: "Guha begins by distinguishing three types of discourse-primary, secondary, and tertiary. These differ from one another in terms of the order of their appearance in time and the degree of their acknowledged or unacknowledged identification with the official point of view." Primary discourses are those immediate records of the event as produced by the victorious. These, in turn, are processed into secondary discourses, which may include official reports or memoirs of the event. The historian, at a tertiary level of discourse, assumes and incorporates the perspective of the primary and secondary discourses. In this process, any agency is removed from those that were defeated and any 'voice' lost in the textual evidence. Subaltern studies

In addition, no scholar has noted that the Carthaginian Empire of the 6th-4th centuries BCE, as reconstructed from Greco-Roman source evidence, would in fact be unique from a comparative historical standpoint. Empires, in all chronological periods and geographic locations, begin with the establishment of a large home territory. Bauer and Covey have described this process generally, "One condition for imperial expansion is a well-integrated heartland region. Emerging empires incorporate new territory rapidly, in part, because they can mobilize large numbers of people and large amounts of resources from a unified core area, including an army that is prepared to engage in extended campaigns."[20]

With reference to Carthage, Justin and other Greco-Roman sources provide very little information on the development of a home territory in North Africa. In Justin's narrative, there are short notices related to the conquest of Africa, dated to the mid-6th century BCE, but they begin at the same time as the conquests of Sicily and Sardinia. Malchus, a Carthaginian king, is said to have accomplished "adversus Afros magnas res". However, Justin provides no further information by which to interpret this evidence, neither indications of colonization nor any further description of the actual peoples involved. In addition, Malchus quickly departs to

---

have set an explicit program of recovering these lost voices. Prakash (1994), 1479: "Thus, while reading records against their grain, these scholars have sought to uncover the subaltern's myths, cults, ideologies and revolts that colonial and nationalist elites sought to appropriate and that conventional historiography has laid waste by the deadly weapon of cause and effect." For Carthaginian history, there are five levels of discourse. The primary and secondary are lost to us, excepting a small number of inscriptions which constitute official historical records of events and thus secondary levels of discourse. However, these inscriptions are Carthaginian and not Greco-Roman. Thus there is no method by which this secondary level of discourse can be integrated with the tertiary level, Greco-Roman historians writing contemporary to the events they describe. A quaternary level of discourse is made of up of the Greco-Romans historians who lived remotely from the events they describe and base their work on existing tertiary levels of discourse. These quaternary level discourses seek to resolve ambiguities between various tertiary discourses. However, the production of quaternary discourses often led to the end of textual transmission for tertiary discourses. Finally, a quinary level is made of modern reconstructions based on the tertiary and quaternary discourses of antiquity that have survived.

[20] Bauer and Covey (2002), 847. As archaeologists working in South America, their use of the same concept goes some way to showing its universal acceptance and cross-cultural as well as diachronic relevance. In the Mediterranean, known core territories for emerging empires are demonstrated textually and archaeologically for both Athens (Attica) and Rome (Latium/Campania).

conquer Sicily and Sardinia in this narrative before any actions are taken to secure gains in North Africa.[21] Accepting Justin's presentation as representative of Carthaginian history, scholars have argued that Carthage was able to start its imperial expansion with a simultaneous campaign that included conquests in North Africa and overseas conquests.[22] How this was possible has yet to be explained, as every other recorded empire begins with the establishment of control over a home territory before developing the necessary infrastructure for extended campaigns at distance from the metropole.

In contrast to the narratives of the Greco-Roman sources (as currently interpreted), archaeologically, nothing recovered in Sicily or Sardinia indicates that the Carthaginians exerted imperial power outside of North Africa before 410 BCE. Even at Carthage, archaeologists cannot locate the majority of the physical infrastructure required to support such an overseas expansion before 350 BCE. Archaeological evidence, however, does support the identification Carthaginian imperial power in various parts of North Africa during the 6th and 5th centuries BCE, as Carthaginian colonies appear in this geography from 550 BCE. No scholar has argued that this disjunction in geography and chronology between the Greco-Roman sources and archaeological evidence of Carthaginian imperialism for the period before the 3rd century should necessitate consideration of the archaeological evidence as an independent line of evidence. Rather, the majority of archaeological evidence recovered at Carthage or its empire has been 'interpreted' with reference to the Greco- Roman source narratives.[23]

---

[21] Justin 18.7

[22] Moscati et al. (1997), 66: "Possiamo dunque considerare l'irradiazione nel Nord Africa e la conquista della Siclia occidentale e della Sardegna come parti di un unico progetto, realizzato in un tempo relativamente breve, che conduce Cartagine, entro la fine del VI secolo a.C., a ricoprire un ruolo internazionalmente reconsosciuto di grande potenza mediterranea."

[23] Moscati et al. (1997), 71: "Nell'estrema varietà del ipotesi in campo, una serie di elementi emersi da ricerche archeologiche recenti fornisce un contributo apprezzabile al chiarimento del quadro storico. Come si è visto..., è ora

By trying to 'fit' the archaeological evidence of the 6th and 5th centuries to the evidence of Greco-Roman sources, archaeologists of the Carthaginian Empire have created a unique interpretive approach to material remains, when compared to archaeologists of Athenian or Roman imperialism. 'Punic' wall types, Carthaginian ceramics, Tophets, and destructions layers serve as the primary indications of Carthaginian imperial power in current archaeological reconstructions of Carthaginian imperialism in the 6th- 4th centuries. In contrast, archaeologists (and historians) of the Athenian or Roman Empire have instead focused on the total evidence of built environments of colonies, their geographic placement and effects on settlements in their vicinities, the epigraphic record of imperial administration at colonies and dependent polities, and the spread of metropolitan land use systems, methods of production, and other economic structures to newly acquired territories. Differences in the type, condition or availability of archaeological or epigraphic evidence are not responsible for these differences in interpretive approach between Carthaginian and Classical archaeologists. Rather, there is simply no archaeological evidence for Carthaginian colonies, Carthaginian institutions, or a Carthaginian imperial economy in Sardinia or Sicily before the 4th century. From the 4th century, all of these classes of evidence begin to appear regularly. Thus to 'fit' Greco-Roman narratives of the 6th and 5th centuries BCE to material remains and to 'prove' the existence of a Carthaginian Empire in

---

possibile attribuire all'azione di Malco una serie di distruzioni individuate nel corso di recenti scavi a Mozia, in Sicilia; e dunque l'attività militare di Cartagine in Sardegna può rientrare in quella medesima logica di assoggettamento delle antiche colonie fenicie posta in essere nell'altra grade isola italiana. In tal senso, appaiono di grande rilevanza i dati relativi a distruzione violente in alcuni centri fenici della Sardegna quali Monte Sirai e Cuccureddus...La cronologia degli eventi distruttivi individuati archeologicamente nei due siti potrebbe suggerire che l'assalto cartaginese a Villasimius...e quello di Monti Sirai...siano avvenuti in fasi distinte della guerra e forse siano da ascrivere l'uno all'opera di Malco e l'altro all'attività di Magonidi." Moscati et al. (1997), 68: "Quanto al versante tirrenico, l'autentico interesse di Cartagine per quell'area e la sua effettiva capacitàdi condizionare gli assetti politici ed economici risultono con evidenza, oltre che dal citato episodio della battaglia di Alalia, dalla politica di ampio respiro condotta nella regione...Ne rendono esplicita testimonianza le clausole del primo trattato con Roma...e, qualche decennio più tardi, il chiaro atteggiamento filopunico del governante ceretano Thefarie Velianas, riflesso nella celebre iscrizione fenicia di Pyrgi." For one example of criticism, see Krings (1998), 86: "On peut se demander si la foi en une intervention en Sardaigne, dont on fonde la réalité sur des sources latines tardives, n'a pas largement influencé l'interprétation archéologique."

Sicily and Sardinia, Carthaginian archaeologists have created a separate set of archaeological evidence by which they identify imperial activity in the archaeological record.

An Archaeological History of Carthaginian Imperialism

In sum, this dissertation is motivated by one central question: How would we view the archaeological evidence of Carthaginian imperialism in the 6th-4th centuries BCE if we reject the present reliance on the Greco-Roman sources to structure interpretations?

To answer this question, I take a distinct approach to evidence compared to previous reconstructions of Carthaginian history. In previous studies, important internal transitions in Carthaginian economics, politics or society always occur with direct reference to Greco-Roman-Carthaginian interactions. The history of Carthage and its empire becomes the history of Carthage as viewed by the Greeks and Romans.[24] Due to the influence of present historical reconstructions on archaeological interpretation, archaeological excavations at Phoenician or Carthaginian sites often find evidence of the Carthaginian Empire in the exact geographies and chronologies related by the Greco-Roman narratives, a pattern and approach whose soundness we have good reason to doubt.

In contrast, in this study, I consider all forms of evidence (Greco-Roman and archaeological) independently and subject each source of evidence to methods of interpretation specific to that type of evidence. At no point do I introduce the narratives or chronological

---

[24] Sanders (1988), 72: "Despite the paucity of literary material available to the historian seeking to discover the character of Punic internal politics from the sixth to the fourth century B.C., one clear central fact can be established. At some point between the battle of Himera of 480 B.C. and the mid-fourth century B.C. when Aristotle described the Carthaginian state in the Politics, a major revolution occurred which brought to an end the quasi monarchical dominance exercised by the Magonid family over Punic affairs. Our only text for the revolution is Justin XIX.2.1-6"

structure of Greco-Roman texts in order to date or interpret archaeological or epigraphic finds (or vice versa). To interpret archaeological evidence without reference to the narratives of Greco-Roman sources, this investigation focuses on three primary classes of recovered evidence: the archaeological record at occupied sites, trade and other evidence of economic systems, and inscriptions. I consider all forms of archaeological evidence over the longue durée and universally, an approach that is especially important when considering transitions in material culture at various sites in the western Mediterranean.[25]

I use inscriptions in this study to help structure archaeological interpretation. Rather than consider these epigraphs in relation to narratives in the Greco-Roman sources, I focus on their archaeological context, the information they directly reveal about the structure of political power in various polities and how that information may be integrated with other archaeological remains in order to understand the creation and maintenance of Carthaginian imperial power in the 6th-4th centuries BCE.

Presently, certain reconstructions of the Carthaginian Empire minimize the importance of the epigraphic record for establishing the history of Carthaginian imperialism.[26] Due to the fact that the vast majority of inscriptions from Carthage and its dependencies are dedications from Tophets, the uniformity of these inscriptions had led to pessimistic assessments of their utility. Amadasi comments, " On a souvent insisté sur l'uniformité des sources écrites directes

---

[25] To give an example, present reconstructions assume that an increase in Carthaginian ceramic imports at multiple sites in Sicily and Sardinia during the 6th century must be related to Carthaginian imperial campaigns recorded in the Greco-Roman sources. However, a longue durée and universal perspective on ceramic evidence of trade indicates that this perceived increase in Carthaginian ceramics also coincides with a general increase in Athenian ceramics within the same archaeological contexts. Contemporaneously, Corinthian style ceramics begin to decrease at these same sites. Additionally, extant trade routes collapse in various parts of the Western Mediterranean. Transitions in Southern Iberia result in the development of new classes of pottery and the first evidence of long distance transport from Iberia to mainland Greece. The universality of these transition cautions against accepting present reconstructions or ascribing these economic changes to Carthaginian military campaigns.

[26] Hoyos (2010), xxxiii: "Inscriptions written in Punic, the Carthaginians' language, may only be partially legible, and the meaning of words is often debated."

concernant Carthage : les milliers de dédicaces provenant du Tophet, dont le formulaire est très uniforme, ne nous fournissent que des connaissances onomastiques, quelques noms de fonction et de métier, quelques renseignements d'ordre grammatical. La banalité des textes- de même que le manque d'index dans le *CIS*- fait de l'étude et du classement systématique des inscriptions de Carthage un travail particulièrement ingrat. " [27]

For the purposes of an archaeological history of Carthaginian imperialism, the corpus of Carthaginian inscriptions provides sufficient evidence to allow for a reconstruction of Carthaginian political, religious, and military institutions when considered with other relevant archaeological evidence.[28] These inscriptions provide the basis for a comprehensive reconstruction of the organization of power within the city and the Carthaginian Empire. Most importantly, inscriptions from the periphery attest to the spread of Carthaginian political institutions into previously independent polities in North Africa, Sicily and Sardinia. Through these inscriptions, therefore, it is possible to distinguish Carthaginian imperial power from Carthaginian trade.

<u>Empires in the Archaeological and Epigraphic Record</u>

How do we detect an imperial power in the archaeological and epigraphic record? How can we structure the interpretation of archaeological data in combination with recovered inscriptions to produce historically relevant conclusions that may assist in understanding the development of the Carthaginian Empire? The approach used in this dissertation is partly theoretical and partly comparative history. Theoretically, empires constitute a particular form of

---

[27] Amadasi (1988), 143.

[28] Only 20-25 Carthaginian inscriptions are studied intensively in this dissertation.

power organization. Comparatively, multiple empires may similarly express this particular form

of power organization when they operate within the same geography and relatively proximate

chronology, due to limitations on the organization of power created by the external environment

and absent any general technology advances.[29] Particular limitations of the ancient

Mediterranean include its fractured geographies (physical and political), varied micro-ecologies,

and inherent difficulties in communications technology created by these geographies (physical

and linguistic).[30] In response to these constraints, ancient Mediterranean imperial systems,

specifically Athens and Rome, developed similar methods by which they extended and

maintained imperial control over newly acquired territories. Given these conditions, ancient

Mediterranean imperial systems leave similar archaeological records of their imperial power and

its operation. Carthage, if it achieved imperial power in the ancient Mediterranean, should leave

an archaeological record comparable to those of Athens and Rome. Absent an archaeological

record comparable to other Mediterranean empires, the putative imperial history of Carthage

either requires powerful evidence for an alternative form of imperial power and expansion, or

---

[29] For a study of the Atlantic World and the Spanish and British Empires from a comparative perspective, see Elliott (2006). Elliott (2006), 28: "If then- as the Cortés and Jamestown expeditions suggest- many of the same aspirations attended the birth of Spain's and Britain's empires in America, accidents both of environment and timing would do much to ensure that they developed in distinctive ways. But in the early stages of settlement, the creators of these Spanish and British transatlantic communities found themselves confronted by similar problems and challenges. They had to take 'possession' of the land in the fullest sense of the word; they had to work out some kind of relationship with the peoples who already inhabited it…At once liberated and constrained by their American environment, their responses would be conditioned by both the Old World from which they came, and by the New World which they now set out to master and make their own." He compares these empires (pp. 29-183) with respect to their methods of colonization/ occupation of space, their initial confrontations with indigenous inhabitants, their establishment of colonial, extractive economic systems, the relationship between colony and metropole, and the subsequent integration of subordinated populations into colonial political, social and religious institutions.

[30] Though these issues of Mediterranean geography have a long history of discussion beginning with Herodotus, two presentations have dominated recent debate: Braudel (1949), primarily the first part and Horden and Purcell (2000). The line of thought followed here is that of Horden and Purcell (2000), 287: "Over two long chapters, we have so far attempted in this Part to present a picture of the conditions of production in Mediterranean history. The operations of a distinctive ecology, we have argued, enable the historian to make constructive comparisons across apparently widely divergent Mediterranean societies. Such comparisons are made possible by the fact of omnipresent risk, and by the recurrent ways in which both that risk and its remedies are patterned by the fragmented landscape and the connectivities which help resolve the fragmentation."

our current historical understanding of the rise and expansion of Carthaginian imperialism must be radically revised to fit the archaeological record and our comparative knowledge of the course of empires.

<div align="center">Imperial Power and Imperialism</div>

When does Carthage become an empire? Even with the narratives available in the Greco-Roman sources, historians have long debated the exact point at which Carthage acquired imperial power as opposed to hegemony (or on an even lesser scale, an advantageous position in the balance of military and specifically naval power within the western Mediterranean). Therefore, the identification of an empire, be it a textual or archaeological identification, partially rests on an initial definition of what constitutes imperial power and its expression when compared to evidence for other forms of domination.

In this dissertation, I employ Doyle's arguments concerning the creation and maintenance of an empire, slightly modified for the conditions of antiquity. Doyle's model tries to correct perceived deficiencies in previous discussions of empires, which he generally views as too focused on only any one of four actors or historical conditions that he believes are necessary to precipitate the creation of an empire: the strength of the metropole, the weakness of the periphery, transnational forces or the structure of the international system.[31] He tries to unite all four concerns in his discussion and argues that all of these factors interact to generate any given imperialism. Doyle defines empire and imperialism thusly, "Empires are relationships of political control imposed by some political societies over the effective sovereignty of other political societies…Imperialism is the process of establishing and maintaining an empire. To

---

[31] Doyle (1986), 19-22.

explain empire and understand imperialism, we need to combine insights from several sources. Both the opportunities that give rise to imperialism and the motives that drive it are to be found in a fourfold interaction among metropoles, peripheries, transnational forces, and international systemic incentives." [32]

Doyle, due to his focus on modern empires, gives equal weight to power inequalities (metropole/periphery) and the roles that 'transnational forces' and 'international systemic incentives' play in the creation of modern imperial systems. While 'transnational forces' and 'international systemic incentives' existed in antiquity and do play some role in creation and maintenance of imperial systems, these factors are less influential than power inequalities in the creation of ancient imperial systems.[33] Moreover, both of these categories of analysis are relatively stable in antiquity when compared to later periods of history. As such, I have reduced these factors to a single category, which I label the 'structure of the international system.' Under this category, I consider not only the structure of incentives created by the international system in the ancient Mediterranean (a consistently anarchic, multi-polar world) but also transnational forces, such as they existed for this period.[34]

---

[32] Doyle (1986), 19

[33] For Doyle, 'international systemic incentives' denotes the modern concepts of polarity and international systems theory and their influence on the actions of metropoles. Scholars of the Roman Empire tend to avoid discussion of international systems theories in their studies, though Eckstein (2006) and (2008) has made attempts to integrate these concepts into studies of ancient empires. Most scholars have avoided this approach not out of ignorance or neglect. Rather, the reason is that studies of ancient empires appear to gain little from systems theory. All systems theory contributes is the understanding that for most, if not all, of antiquity we witness a fundamentally multi-polar, anarchic world that promoted competition and violence for all polities involved. No mediating institutions were ever created to limit anarchy nor do we ever possess a bi-polar/uni-polar world.

[34] The most notable 'transnational force' affecting this study is widespread colonization movements in the 8th-5th centuries BCE. Colonization movements occurred in both Greek and Phoenician city-states. Outside of this single 'transnational force', there are no other ideologies or movements that could be considered trans-national for this period. Doyle, in his study, is trying to account for the rapid succession of ideologies developed in the 19th and 20th centuries that had a direct effect on imperialisms (communism, fascism, the non-aligned movement or even commercialism) as well as those already extant ideologies that had previously affected empires (Christianity, Islam, etc…).

The sources of imperial power for any potential metropole are centralized government, a differentiated economy, and shared political loyalty.[35] These sources of imperial power create a process of imperialism when a well developed entity, a potential metropole, interacts economically, militarily, politically, culturally, and socially with the institutions of a less well developed entity, which constitutes a potential periphery. Interaction creates incentives for domination and cooperation. Thus the study of empires can neither focus on the weakness of the periphery nor the strength of the metropole exclusive of the other because empires do not result from a mere imbalance of power. Rather, the development of an empire occurs when an existing inequality, be it economic, political and/or military, provides the basis for the extension of imperial control.[36] The metropole must have an incentive to act, and incentives emerge from the internal needs of the metropole, instability in the periphery, and the structure of the international system.[37]

Empires consist of territories where the metropole exercises imperial control over the external and internal politics of subordinated entities.[38] Imperial control distinguishes itself from

---

[35] Centralized government and shared political loyalty may be created by any form of political organization within the metropole. History has shown that kingdoms, democracies, and autocracies can all serve as sources for the generation of imperial power.

[36] Maier, in his recent comparative study of Rome and the USA, has argued for a greater focus on the process of cooption in our understanding of the creation of imperial systems. Maier (2006), 7: "Empire does not mean just the accumulation of lands abroad by conquest. And it does not mean just the imposition of authoritarian regimes on overseas territories. Empire is a form of political organization in which the social elements that rule in the dominant state- the "mother country" or the "metropole"- create a network of allied elites in regions abroad who accept subordination in international affairs in return for the security of their position in their own administrative unit (the "colony" or, in spatial terms, the "periphery"). Some colonies are remote and overseas, some are spatially contiguous to the core territory. Sometimes the elites are only recruited after military conquest."

[37] Doyle (1986), 12-45, especially 19-20.

[38] I deliberate avoid the term 'sovereignty' in this context, as references to sovereignty in definitions of imperialism have come under criticism. Harris (1979), 4 footnote #1: "overly tendentious". Doyle (1986), 32-33 argues for the term "political control" which he views as equivalent to "effective sovereignty" and its inclusion in his definition of empire because it "precludes neither empire considered as formal territorial conquest nor relations that have all the features of conquest but lack a conqueror's flag."

other types of power (hegemony, dependence) by the degree of its penetration into the conquered society. Doyle comments, "In sum, the scope of imperial control involves both the process of control and its outcomes. Control is achieved either formally (directly or indirectly) or informally through influence over the periphery's environment, political articulation, aggregation, decision making, adjudication and implementation, and usually with the collaboration of local peripheral elites. The scope of outcomes covers both internal and external issues- who rules and what rules. Hegemony, by contrast, denotes control over external policy alone."[39]

I argue in Chapter 4 of this dissertation that Carthaginian imperialism emerged as a result of the weakness of it near periphery, the Cap Bon and Tunisian Sahel, when combined with the internal needs of the metropole. While possessing the attributes of a potential metropole, Carthage's peripheral position in trade routes of the 7th and 6th century constrained Carthaginian economic growth and development relative to other Phoenician polities in the western Mediterranean (as argued in Chapters 2 and 3). In order to grow economically, Carthage needed to develop new trading relationships that did not depend on transshipment through other Phoenician polities. Archaeological evidence indicates that Greek colonization in the Cyrenaica, when combined with emerging Athenian trade routes, coupled to provide Carthage a new market for agricultural exports in the early 6th century. Needing increased agricultural output to meet demand from Athens, and the eastern Mediterranean more generally, Carthage built its first colony at Kerkouane. Carthaginian imperialism developed over the next century as further colonial expansion resulted in increased penetration into native territories in Tunisia. Carthage successfully subordinated most of the Numidian population of Tunisia and Algeria by the 4th century BCE.

---

[39] Doyle (1986), 40.

I further argue in Chapter 5 of this dissertation that Carthaginian overseas imperialism only begins in the last decade of the 5th century BCE. I again posit that the impetus for expansion was weakness in the periphery, combined with the internal needs of Carthage. The Athenian Expedition, while defeated, drew Sicilian Greek polities directly into the Peloponnesian War and diverted resources from Sicily to the eastern Mediterranean. Carthage seized on the weakness of Greek polities in Sicily, allied itself with Elymian populations in western Sicily and conducted a brilliant military expedition that nearly resulted in the destruction of Syracuse and complete conquest of the island. Colonization followed quickly at Selinunte in order to establish a permanent base for future territorial expansion. In the early 4th century, Carthage established a second colony at Lilybaeum. By creating a space of permanent imperial control in Sicily, Carthage acquired direct access to grain producing populations on the island as well as control over the main transshipment point for east-west commerce in the western Mediterranean.

Once in possession of important transshipment points in Sicily, Carthage during the 4th and 3rd centuries developed a sphere of economic power that ultimately infringed upon every remaining independent Phoenician polity in the western Mediterranean. For Phoenician polities in Sardinia, proximity to Sicily and developing Carthaginian economic interests in Italy and Gaul resulted in formal incorporation of multiple Sardinian cities into the Carthaginian Empire during the 4th century. No destruction layers or any indications of violence accompany the appearance of Carthaginian political institutions (and the epigraphs commemorating these institutions) in the archaeological record of Sardinia. Rather, it appears that through direct colonization in Sardinia (at Olbia), Carthage established a territorial claim in Sardinia and a space of imperial power. From this colony, Carthage co-opted the cities of Sardinia into accepting formal incorporation

into the Carthaginian Empire during the fourth century BCE. Once Carthage incorporated

Sardinia into the empire, it gained the ability to increase its economic interests in Iberia[40] and

Gaul, areas that were never formally incorporated into the Carthaginian Empire during the 6-3rd

centuries BCE.[41]

Comparative Imperial Histories: Athens and Rome

Comparatively, the geography of the ancient Mediterranean and the technological

capabilities of its peoples imposed certain structural limitations on transportation and

---

[40] Carthaginian colonization in Iberia in the late 3rd century BCE lasted only two decades. To label this a space of Carthaginian imperial power is incorrect. Though the colonies represented extensions of power, the duration of the Carthaginian presence was too brief to have any direct effects on the institutions of the polities near it or those Phoenician city-states in southern Iberia.

[41] While the archaeological record can suggest plausible reasons for each of these periods of expansion, when combined with a theoretical perspective on imperialism, the archaeological record cannot substantiate why the Carthaginians and their dependents were willing to expend such great efforts in nearly continuous expansion from 6th-4th centuries BCE. We can, therefore, only guess. Though the Greco-Roman sources would alleged that Carthaginian citizens were immune from war, due to Carthage's reliance on mercenaries, the existence of Carthaginian mercenaries has never been confirmed. Rather, all the evidence indicates that Carthage, like Athens or Rome, fought primarily with its own citizens and subjects of its dependencies. See Fariselli (2002) and Chapter 6. In all of these empires, the economic benefits of imperialism for metropolitan citizens are evident in the archaeological record. Athenian, Roman, and Carthaginian citizens benefitted from land acquisition and colonization schemes, as well as imperial economic growth. Expansion allowed those within the core of these empires to improve their socio-economic position through conquest and colonization. See Harris (1979), 41-104 for a discussion of the economic benefits of Roman Imperialism. Why the Carthaginian state, as controlled by its political elites, was willing to engage in such campaigns may be answered by comparative evidence. A limited number of epigraphs, when viewed collectively, may suggest that the most important offices at the center of the Carthaginian Empire, the Shofet (2 civil officers) and Rab (2 military officers) were held only for year. In turn, from the information recorded on these inscriptions, it is possible to argue that the certain families held these offices once or more per generation, while others did not. Such an organization of office holding is most similar to that witnessed in Rome, where Harris has demonstrated that aristocratic competition for offices promoted the Roman elites' willingness to engage in annual military campaigns. Harris (1979), 17: "Military success was not only highly advantageous to the Roman state, it was of vital importance to the personal aims and interests of many, probably most, Roman aristocrats…Military success allowed them to lay claim to, and to a considerable extent win, the high esteem of their fellow-citizens." Esteem matters due to the electoral nature of Roman politics, in which "prestige was indispensible to them." We know very little about electoral politics at Carthage from the archaeological record. At Athens, we can identify a physical space, ostraka that attest to the workings of the Athenian electoral system, and inscriptions listing office holders. At Rome, we can reconstruct the forum as physical political space and use consular lists to debate the relative weight of aristocratic power on consular elections. At Carthage, we lack archaeological evidence of an assembly or forum area. Further, inscriptions do not record the existence of an electoral process, even indirectly. Comparatively, it is possible to suggest that Carthaginian office holding may have created a similar willingness to pursue regular military campaigns. However, this is ultimately a conjecture. Extant evidence is not sufficient to provide confirmation.

communication. These limitations conditioned the methods by which empires acquired and developed imperial control over new territories. Therefore, comparative archaeological histories of Athens and Rome demonstrate certain similarities in the archaeological manifestations of imperial control: the use of colonies to establish physical control over newly conquered/co-opted territories, the subsequent establishment of metropolitan institutions (political, judicial, economic, social, religious and military) at peripheral polities near colonial foundations, and the reorientation of economic systems to support metropolitan needs, which is often accompanied reorganization of pre-existing trade routes into a metropolitan hub-spoke system. Taken collectively, these changes identify the presence of imperial control within a defined geographic space and time period.[42]

In addition, the archaeology of the metropole must possess the necessary physical infrastructure to support the maintenance of imperial power. Thus empires which rely on naval fleets as part of their military power must have the facilities to support standing navies, most notably ship sheds for winter storage. Metropoles also must possess developed harbors, warehousing facilities, and other archaeological manifestations of economic control to support extraction from the periphery and redirect commerce through the metropole. Finally, in order to

---

[42] The study of population movements, colonization and its effect on the development of the Roman Empire has been extensively discussed by Scheidel (2004). Scheidel (2004), 1: "From military mobilization, urbanization, slavery and the nexus between taxation and trade to linguistic and religious change and shifting identifies, the most pervasive consequences of empire all had one thing in common: population movements on an unprecedented scale. " and Scheidel (2004) 21: " It is striking to see that relative to the size of the base population, both the colonization programmes in the late fourth and early third centuries B.C. and state-run resettlement from the 80s to the 20s B.C. were of the same scale. While the former cemented Roman control over the central peninsula, the latter coincided with the incorporation of formerly only weakly integrated parts of Italy into a unified state." In sum, Scheidel (2004), 22 and 23 concludes: "Massive population transfers were a function of intense war-making and accelerating state formation. Colonization may also have been causally connected to culture change in general…The injection of large numbers of organized privileged settlers into subject territories provides a tangible proximate mechanism for 'Romanization' that is missing from every alternative explanation…In economic parlance, centrifugal colonization dramatically reduced information costs: under pre-modern conditions of communication, replicative emulation is *a priori* more likely to unfold over relatively small distances than between a physically remote 'centre' and an intensely fragmented periphery. "

support the establishment of imperial control at dependent polities, the empire must possess a regular series of 'exportable' institutions it employs in these contexts.

The Athenian Empire represents the best possible comparative evidence for the study of the Carthaginian Empire, as these empires were contemporaneous and operated within the same constraints of technology and communication imposed by the geography of the ancient Mediterranean. The evidence of the Roman Empire, during its 4th and 3rd century Republican phase, provides the necessary comparative evidence for conclusions about the expression of imperial power derived from the archaeology of the Athenian Empire. Though these imperial systems operated in slightly different geographies and chronologies, the primary archaeological manifestations of imperial power are the same. Colonization, centuriation, building projects at Rome, and the epigraphic record all attest to the spread of Roman imperial control.

Athens

The Athenian Empire of the 5th century benefitted from the considerations of men who participated in the events directly or lived within a generation of the events being described. Even so, and perhaps interestingly, Thucydides and Herodotus do not extensively discuss the construction of the Athenian Empire during the *pentekontaetia* (480-430 BCE), though it is covered in Diodorus Siculus, who wrote four centuries after the events.[43] More importantly, absent the narrative of any Greco- Roman source, it is possible to establish that Athens acted as the metropole of an empire in the 5th century, to discuss how it was administered centrally, to chart its growth and to discuss the exercise of Athenian imperial control over its dependents in

---

[43] Though often maligned by scholars, Peter Green has attempted a rehabilitation of Diodorus Siculus' narrative of the Pentekontaetia. See Green (2006).

various peripheries. In point of fact, the majority of advances in the study of the Athenian

Empire over the past 60 years have been the result of epigraphic finds and other archaeological

remains recovered at Athens. Inscriptions attest to events or institutions that are not otherwise

explored in detail or even mentioned by any ancient author. These inscriptions offer an important

corrective to interpretations of the Athenian Empire based solely on the Greek historical record.[44]

Meiggs comments:

> When I studied Greek history as an undergraduate at Oxford nearly fifty years ago it was
> reasonable to think that nothing significantly new could be written about the Athenian Empire.
> Thucydides' dark picture of the character of Athenian control was generally accepted, and what
> little could be gleaned from the sources about the methods employed by Athens had been
> exhausted…The first signs of new life came with the masterly work of Merritt and West, who in a
> series of brilliant studies succeeded in determining the relative positions of all the fragments of
> the pre-war tribute lists…Their reconstruction of the first two stelai marked the beginning of an
> epoch and became even more fruitful when the American excavations in the Agora yielded an
> unexpected crop of inscriptions, many of which threw new light on Athenian imperialism.[45]

Though many questions remain about the first 20 years of the *pentekontaetia*, including the exact

dates of certain events, the epigraphic record at Athens details the development of Athenian

imperial power and its operation from the 450s BCE.[46] The Athenian tribute lists and their

chronological reconstruction provide confirmation of a geographically expansive Athenian

Empire from at least 454/453 BCE, the date of the first preserved list.[47] Inscriptions document

the creation of Athenian settlements outside of Attica, whether in the form of kleruchies

---

[44] Rhodes (2001), 36: "Athens took to publishing documents on a large scale from the 450's onwards, and I tell my
students every year that by the end of the classical period the Athenian Acropolis will not have been the romantic
sight we like to imagine but will have looked like a cemetery, with stelai set up wherever there was room." See:
Meiggs and Lewis (1969); Rhodes and Osborne (2007) for catalogues of inscriptions from this period.

[45] Meiggs (1999), Preface vii.

[46] Unz (1986) provides an extensive discussion of certain episodes that occurred during the period 482-450 BCE,
when inscriptions are less common and events remain particularly difficult to reconstruct.

[47] See: IG I^3 259-62; Meritt (1972); Lewis (1994). For more full discussion of the Tribute Lists, see also: Meritt et al.
(1950).

(κληρουκια) or colonies (αποικια).[48] Other inscriptions record Athens' interactions with subordinated city-states. Of particular interest to scholars are those inscriptions that appear to record revolts from and/or reincorporation into the Athenian Empire.[49] The epigraphic record also provides the basis for detailed reconstructions of Athenian imperial finance and the annual income/expenditures of the state.[50] Finally, the Athenians went so far as to erect casualty lists for particular years and areas of combat.[51]

Athens ruled its areas of imperial control through a combination of colonization and the establishment of imperial magistrates and garrisons sent to colonies or subordinated city-states. Three primary magistracies responsible for the exercise of Athenian imperial control have been identified in epigraphic evidence: Archons, Episkopoi ('Overseers'), and Phrourarchoi ('Garrison Commanders'). The earliest epigraphic record of such a magistrate appears in 453/52, only one year after the first preserved Athenian Tribute List. The inscription records the regulations established by the Athenians at Erythrai after the city had revolted from the Athenian Empire: "The Episkopoi and Phrourarchos (shall supervise) the drawing of lots (for the selection of the Bouleutai) and the establishment of the present Boule. In the future, the Boule (then about to retire) and the Phrourarchos (shall supervise the drawing of lots) not less than thirty days before the (existing) Boule goes out of office.[52] The decree goes on to further specify the exact duties of the resident Phrourachos: "The Athenian Phrouarchos shall establish the necessary

---

[48] See Zelnick- Abramovitz (2004) for a recent discussion.

[49] For the much debated significance of the Chalcis Decree dated traditionally to 446 (IG I^3 40= Meiggs and Lewis 52), see Mattingly (2002); Ostwald (2002).

[50] Balmaire (2001).

[51] IG i^2 928, Thasos in 465 BCE. See: Meiggs (1966), 86.

[52] IG i^2 10: 13-16; Balcer (1976), 259

occupation forces everywhere in Erythrai."[53] The Kleinias decree of 447 BCE gives a more

general description of the Episkopoi with respect to all the subordinated city states of the empire:

"The Boule and the Archons in the cities and the Episkopoi are to be in charge (of the following

matters) in order that the tribute might be collected year by year and brought to Athens."[54]

Inscriptions also provide evidence of Athens' imperial economic power. In 423/422

BCE, the Athenians enacted a treaty with the King of Macedon, Perdiccas.[55] In this agreement,

the Athenians oblige Macedonia to export timber only to Athens, essentially binding the

economy of an independent kingdom to Athenian interests. The Macedonians, however, had few

other options. Another inscription demonstrates that the Athenians exercised economic control

over Methone, the most developed port in the immediate area and the likely harbor through

which most Macedonian exports would pass.[56]

Archaeological evidence recovered from Athens, outside of inscriptions, provides further

evidence of Athenian imperial history and has provided material evidence for the naval

infrastructure of Athenian power. Excavations at Zea have uncovered extensive ship sheds

designed to hold triremes for winter storage. In the late 19th century, the ship sheds at Zea were

first excavated, but only recovered in their early 4th century form.[57] It was not until the start of

the 21st century that the 5th century ship sheds at Zea were located.[58] The military installations at

Zea appear to be contemporaneous to the development of Athenian imperialism in the 5th century

---

[53] IG i² 10: 38-39; Balcer (1976), 277.

[54] IG i² 66:5-10; Balcer (1976), 260

[55] IG i3 89 and 117; Erickson (2005), 649.

[56] IG i3 61; Erickson (2005), 649.

[57] Dicks (1968), 143-144.

[58] Lovén (2012); Lovén and Schaldemose (2012)

BCE. That is, the construction of a permanent navy required the construction of permanent dry docks. At the same time, archaeological evidence indicates that Athens completed the construction of the long walls between Athens and the Piraeus. Therefore, physically, the Athenians acquired the necessary physical facilities to support a permanent navy and protect it from attack while in storage.

The presence of dedicated port facilities and warehouses for warships represents an important archaeological manifestation of a standing navy. Ship sheds are also known from 5th century Naxos (Sicily)[59] and 4th century Kition (Cyprus)[60]. In both of these cases, as at Athens, the complete excavation and interpretation of these facilities was not undertaken until the very late 20th or early 21st century. These comparative examples are important because they illustrate that those polities which maintained a standing navy, no matter how small, required the necessary facilities to store the boats from their inception. At Naxos, only four covered slipways have been excavated.[61] The length of each storage area appears to be between 35-40m, and the sheds are between 5.24- 5.74m in width (essentially the dimensions of a trireme).[62] The sheds date to the 5th century (constructed c. 470 BCE) and appear to have been destroyed at the end of the period, likely during an attack on the city state by Dionysius of Syracuse in 403 BCE.[63] It is not yet known if Naxos had any other facilities.

---

[59] Lentini et al. (2008).

[60] Yon (2000).

[61] Lentini et al. (2008), 301

[62] Lentini et al. (2008), 310.

[63] Lentini et al. (2008), 351-353. On pg. 352: The excavators note that earlier phases may have existed. See also: 314-315: "the clearest evidence was found for the final phase of the fifth-century BC dockyard: a mass of fallen tiles of the end of the century and considerable traces of burning and ash-perhaps the first indications of a violent destruction of the dockyard."

At Kition, the ship sheds were constructed in the late 5th century as part of increasing naval competition between the cities of Kition and Salamis.[64] In plan, the docks were 38-40 m in length and c. 5.2 meters in width. Only six sheds in one complex have been recovered. The full extent of the sheds is unknowable due to destruction from later constructions.[65] The sheds remained in use for a century (late 5th- late 4th), when Kition was conquered by Ptolemy and the sheds fell out of use.

At the time of their use, the sheds were an important symbol of naval power for Kition. Upon his victory over Salamis and its allies in 392 BCE, the King of Kition, Milkyaton, erected a commemorative stele at the facility: [66]

... תרפי אש יתן מלך מלכיתן מלך כתי ואדיל בן בעלרם וכל עם כתי

'This trophy, which Milkyaton has erected, King of Kition and Idalion, son of Baalrom, and the people of Kition…..'[67]

The inscription goes on to tell the story of a combat against the 'enemies of Kition and their allies', a campaign that occurred during the first year of Milkyaton's reign over Kition and

---

[64] See Yon and Sznycer (1991), 794-795.

[65] Yon (2000), 106.

[66] MLA 1513= Yon and Sznycer (1991), 805

[67] Yon and Sznycer (1991), 805

Idalion. Milkyaton and his forces were victorious in the campaign, which is denoted in lines 4-5 of the inscription as the reason for its creation.[68]

Recent archaeological research has also further clarified the relationship between Athens, the city, and Attica, the geographic territory. The 'unification of Attica' under Athenian political control necessitated the integration of formerly independent villages and populations into Athenian political institutions. Scholars have normally argued that Athens and Attica were synonymous with reference to territorial sovereignty by the late-8th century BCE. However, Anderson has noted that exiled oligarchs who led defeated parties in 6th century 'civil' wars most often established their families in 'exile' within Attica. For example, archaeological research on artifacts of the Alkmeonid family, suggests that in the 6th century the family was able to use the south of Attica (near Sounion) as its residence during its 'exile in perpetuity' from Athens.

---

[68] The Greco-Roman sources preserve few notices of Kition in this period. The one complete reference from Diodorus Siculus only accords in part with the basic evidence derived from the archaeological record of Kition. Diodorus Siculus 14.98. 1-2:κατὰ δὲ τὴν Κύπρον Εὐαγόρας ὁ Σαλαμίνιος, ὃς ἦν μὲν εὐγενέστατος, τῶν γὰρ κτισάντων τὴν πόλιν ἦν ἀπόγονος, πεφευγὼς δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις διά τινας στάσεις, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κατελθὼν μετ᾽ ὀλίγων, τὸν μὲν δυναστεύοντα τῆς πόλεως Ἀβδήμονα τὸν Τύρσιον ἐξέβαλε, φίλον ὄντα τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν πόλιν κατασχὼν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Σαλαμῖνος, μεγίστης οὔσης καὶ δυνατωτάτης τῶν ἐν Κύπρῳ πόλεων: ταχὺ δὲ χρημάτων πολλῶν εὐπορήσας καὶ δύναμιν προχειρισάμενος ἐπεχείρησεν ἅπασαν τὴν νῆσον σφετερίσασθαι. τῶν δὲ πόλεων ἃς μὲν βίᾳ χειρωσάμενος, ἃς δὲ πειθοῖ προσλαβόμενος, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων πόλεων ταχὺ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρέλαβεν, Ἀμαθούσιοι δὲ καὶ Σόλιοι καὶ Κιτιεῖς ἀντέχοντες τῷ πολέμῳ πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέα περὶ βοηθείας: καὶ τοῦ μὲν Εὐαγόρου κατηγόρουν, ὅτι τὸν Ἄγυριν βασιλέα σύμμαχον ὄντα Περσῶν ἀνεῖλε, τὴν δὲ νῆσον ὡμολόγησαν αὐτῷ συγκατακτήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς, οὐ βουλόμενος ἅμα μὲν τὸν Εὐαγόραν ἐπὶ πλεῖον προκόπτειν, ἅμα δὲ διανοούμενος τὴν Κύπρον εὐφυῶς εἶναι κειμένην καὶ ναυτικὴν δύναμιν μεγάλην ἔχειν, ᾗ δυνήσεται προπολεμεῖν τῆς Ἀσίας, ἔκρινε συμμαχεῖν, καὶ τούτους μὲν ἐξέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἐπιθαλαττίους πόλεις καὶ τοὺς ἀφηγουμένους τῶν πόλεων σατράπας ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολὰς ναυπηγεῖσθαι τριήρεις καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν στόλον χρήσιμα ὄντα κατὰ σπουδὴν παρασκευάζεσθαι, Ἑκατόμνῳ δὲ τῷ Καρίας δυνάστῃ προσέταξε πολεμεῖν τῷ Εὐαγόρᾳ. Diodorus represents the Persians as the actors who quelled Evagoras' power in Cyprus. While he does note that local polities were involved, he argues that local polities could only resist Evagoras. Milkyaton's inscription from Cyprus claims a personal victory and does not note a Persian presence or assistance. While this may appear to be a minor distinction, it is part of a pattern that emerges in many Greco-Roman texts. Phoenician city-states or kingdoms, who may have acted independently of any larger empire, become subordinated cities to whatever large empire may have been active in a particular period. Most notably, such an approach has infected interpretations of the Pyrgi Tablets. These Tablets, though not even in the Carthaginian dialect, are taken as symbols of Carthaginian imperialism in this period.

Archaeological, epigraphic and textual evidence also reveal that other oligarchic families "in exile' settled on the east coast of Attica and its northern borders during this same time period.[69]

In addition to the evidence of exiled oligarchic families, Anderson notes that other factors militate against the unification of Attic in the 8th-6th centuries. A unified Attica was in fact quite a large territory: "For it is clear that the classical Athenian polis was of a scale wholly untypical of such entities. Indeed, small as the territory of Attica may seem to us today…it was perhaps as much as fifty times larger than the average Greek polis."[70] Furthermore, internal geography within Attica created natural geographic separations, which promoted separation rather than political unity. In the 8th and 7th centuries, peripheral religious and social institutions already existed in multiple parts of Attica in which "there seem to have been well-established traditions of local autonomy."[71]

Anderson ultimately concludes that it is only with the establishment of deme structure over the entirety of Attica in the 509/508 that the entire peninsula came under the sovereign control of Athens. Unification was the result of conflicts the 6th century, during which oligarchic families sent to the peripheries of Attica, through their actions to regain power, drew the entirety of the peninsula directly into Athenian affairs, creating the basis for the unification of Attica under Cleisthenes.[72]

---

[69] Anderson (2000).

[70] Anderson (2000), 405.

[71] Anderson (2000), 407: "Reinforcing this hierarchy seems to have been a range of socio-religious associations, the most significant of which were probably the phratries, each dominated by one or more influential genos, whose origins are perhaps best explained as an attempt to sanction existing relationships between these families, their retainers and a particular locality through claims of kinship, whether real or invented"

[72] Anderson (2000), 411-412.

Outside of inscriptions which attest directly to tribute payments and expenditures on ships, buildings and other activities, the archaeological record can also attest to an Athenian imperial economic system that reorganized trade in the Aegean Sea. To give an example, Erickson has argued that Crete, due to its Peloponnesian trading connections in the 6th century BCE, suddenly found itself with external trading partners in the 5th century BCE. During the 6th century, the island possessed a Samian and later Aeginetan trading station at Kydonia. This ensured a fairly regular flow of imports (Laconian and Attic) into the area during last quarter of the sixth century BCE and the first quarter of the fifth century. Imports disappear from the archaeological record c. 460 BCE and do not reappear for the rest of the fifth century. Erikson sought to explain this decline with reference to universal transitions visible in the ceramic record of the archaeology of trade in this period: "The Athenians took action to isolate Sparta and Peloponnesian belligerents from North African grain markets by the time of the First Peloponnesian War (ca. 460 B.C.). Crete, as a key stopping point along this major enemy trade artery, suffered as a result."[73]

Though Erickson indicates that this process was the result of Athenian actions, it must be noted that the North African grain market in question primarily means Carthage and its dependencies in North Africa. Greek colonization in Libya did create grain production in the Cyrenaica, but the Cyrenaica was less densely populated than the Carthaginian Empire in North Africa and the territory under cultivation was not as extensive. In addition, ceramic evidence recovered at Carthage reveals a dramatic augmentation in the number of Athenian imports to Carthage during the 5th century BCE suggesting an increased Athenian interest in Carthaginian

---

[73] Erickson (2005), 651

grain exports. The benefits acquired from this trading relationship and its relevance to Carthaginian imperialism are discussed fully in Chapter 4.

Rome

The history of the early Roman Empire is recorded in Polybios and Livy as well as a variety of ancillary notices in antiquarians and fragments of other annalists, none of whom were contemporaries to the events they purport to describe.[74] The veracity (or historicity) of this material has long been subject to debate and extensive *Quellenforschung*. In the preserved narratives, the unification of Latium under Roman rule occurred just a decade before the period of initial Roman expansion outside of Latium. As Cornell has it, "The settlement which the Romans imposed after 338 established a pattern for the future development of Roman expansion in Italy. It combined a number of constitutional innovations and created a unique structure which made possible the rise of the Roman Empire."[75] Present reconstructions date the beginning of Roman imperialism outside of Latium to c. 327 BCE and the 2nd Samnite War. From this date, the sources begin to record a continuous series of annual military campaigns against various populations in Italy.[76] The geography of early Roman expansion primarily concerns Oscan and Greek city-states to the south and east and Etruria, though colonization did extend as far as the Adriatic coast. The textual sources allege that as part of this early phase of Roman imperialism in Italy, the Romans achieved territorial acquisition and the establishment of imperial control

---

[74] See Ogilvie and Drummond (1989) for a full list of the sources for the history of Rome.

[75] Cornell (1995), 348

[76] For a full description of these events and causes of Roman imperialism, see Harris (1979).

through two different forms of colonization: Latin and Citizen.[77] Rome created 19 'Latin'

colonies and 10 'Citizen' colonies in Italy during the period 338-241 BCE, according to the

sources.[78]

As late as the 1980's, the archaeological record for early Roman imperialism remained

limited. Ogilvie and Drummond comment, "by contrast, so far the fourth and early third

centuries have produced little significant archaeological material, either inside Rome or outside.

It might be expected, for instance, that some of the Roman campaigns in Samnium could be

traced by forts and marching camps, but the discoveries so far are negligible."[79]

In point of fact, many significant archaeological discoveries were made during the 20th

century in Italy, which directly attest to early periods of Roman imperialism. However,

publication has been slow for many sites and information has only recently reached a sufficient

point that scholars can create synthetic arguments from the archaeological records of multiple

sites. Mourtisen notes:

> Over the last five decades our knowledge of the large Roman (so-called Latin) colonies in
> Italy has been advanced greatly through the excavations of Alba Fucens, Cosa, Paestum
> and, most recently, Fregellae. Although the results in several cases still await final
> publication, it is now possible to study Roman Republican colonization in much greater
> depth and detail than before, and crucially the archaeological material enables us to
> venture far beyond the scattered literary references that traditionally have provided the
> basis for modern studies of the phenomenon.[80]

---

[77] Cicero leaves the most direct statement on any ancient author on the inherent importance of colonization to imperialism. *De Lege Agraria*, 2.73: qui colonias sic idoneis in locis contra suspicionem periculi conlocarunt ut esse non oppida Italiae, sed propugnacula imperi viderentur. Hi deducent colonias in eos agros quos emerint; etiamne si rei publicae non expediat?

[78] See Salmon (1955); Salmon (1970) for a discussion of these colonies as they appear primarily in the textual evidence. For a more recent reappraisal of pre-241 BCE citizen colonies, see Mason (1992).

[79] Ogilvie and Drummond (1989), 16.

[80] Mouritsen (2004), 37

The most important discovery has been the recognition of a repeated design (of political space) for early Roman colonies in Italy. Excavations at Fregellae, Alba Fucens, Cosa and Paestum indicate that all of these early 'Latin' colonies developed nearly identical architecture in their central public spaces, characterized by a complex of buildings that has traditionally been interpreted as a Curia and Comitium complex.[81]

The archaeological remains of Cosa in Southern Etruria date from the early 3rd century BCE, the same period in which the sources record its creation (273 BCE).[82] Cosa was not founded on a previously occupied site. [83] Rather, the natural harbor at Cosa was put into use for the first time with the advent of the Roman colony, documented by the presence of 3rd century BCE Greco-Italic Amphora sherds located at the harbor.[84] At the same time, only parts of the 3rd century colony have been recovered archaeologically even after more than 50 years of excavation: "So far, the only certain constructions of the third century are the walls, the curia, the small enclosure to the southeast of it, and the carcer."[85] The territory of Cosa has also been investigated via field survey techniques. These surveys have shown that the area was sparsely populated before the arrival of the Roman colony and appears to have remained so for most of the 3rd century BCE, as little evidence for Roman farmsteads have been recovered for this early

---

[81] Mouritsen (2004), 37- 39; Coarelli (2005) for a reply to Mourtisen's specific interpretations of certain features within these colonies. See also Scheidel (2004) for a discussion of the population figures involved in the creation of these foundations.

[82] Vellius Paterculus 1.14; Livy. *Periochae* of Book 14.

[83] For the history of excavations at Cosa, see: Brown (1951) which constitutes the first publication of the American excavations at the site and Brown (1980) for his definitive interpretation of the site. See also Taylor (2002) and Fentress et al. (2003), which provide syntheses of the excavation history and updates to Brown's interpretation of the site.

[84] McCann (1979), 392 and 397; Fentress et al. (2003), 13.

[85] Fentress et al. (2003), 14.

period.[86] While limited, the archaeological record does preserve evidence of a Roman colony, Roman political institutions and Roman forms of land tenure.[87]

Fregellae is located in at an important crossing of the Liri River in the foothills of the Apennine Mountains.[88] In the 4th century, the area was in the possession of Volscians, who fell to Roman conquest c. 330 BCE. In 328 BCE, Rome created a colony at Fregellae, which is archaeologically detectable from this period. While the site was located in Volscian territories, it was immediately adjacent to the borders of Samnium. That the 2nd Samnite War followed in the next year is an indication that Samnite populations viewed the colony as direct threat to their territories.[89] Near the colony, field surveys have recovered evidence for numerous small occupations outside the city-state. The pottery from these sites dates their occupation to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE. Interestingly, these surveys produced no pottery that would suggest an occupation of the countryside around Fregellae before the advent of the Roman colony.[90]

Outside of early colonies in or near Campania, Samnium and Etruria, evidence for Roman imperialism also appears in Picenum. Here, at Potentia, the absence of occupation after Late Antiquity allowed for the use of excavation and field survey techniques in order to better understand the history of the site.[91] This area was first subjected to Roman conquest in the 260s BCE. Colonization in the area followed for over the next 70 years. Potentia, according to the literary sources, was created as a Roman colony in 184 BCE, the same period in which

---

[86] Dyson (1978), 258-259.

[87] For more general discussions of Rome in Etruria see: Harris (1965); Harris (1971).

[88] A comprehensive history of Fregellae is provided in Coarelli and Monti (1998).

[89] Crawford and Keppie (1984), 21.

[90] Crawford et al. (1986).

[91] Vermeulen and Verhoeven (2006), 396

archaeological remains first appear at the site.[92] The colony received its earliest permanent walls

c. 174 BCE. These enclose almost 18 hectares.[93]

Inscriptions attest to the spread of Roman imperial control over areas dominated by its

colonial foundations. The well known S.C. de Bacchanalibus of 186 BCE is an example of

Roman control over the religious activities of its territories in Southern Italy.[94] Another

inscription, written in Oscan, the Cippus Abellanus, preserves one of the earliest documentary

indications of Rome's administration of dependent cities.[95] The inscription records the settlement

of a dispute between two cities over a communal Sanctuary of Heracles by the Roman Senate in

the mid 2nd century BCE (Nola and Avellino in Campania).[96] The dispute arose due to the fact

the temple sat exactly on the border of the territories of the two city-states. The Roman solution

was to provide both parties with half of the sanctuary (and half of its revenue) that was enclosed

within the present walls and to grant the land of the sanctuary and its territories to both parties

jointly, while establishing a series of provisions for further development of the site.[97]

Archaeological excavations have also clarified the development of a Roman imperial

economy. Though many scholars have argued that the Roman economy of the 4th and 3rd

centuries was highly primitive and subsistence focused, archaeological evidence indicates that

Rome of this period developed the necessary physical infrastructure to support extraction from

---

[92] Livy 39.44

[93] Vermeulen and Verhoeven (2006), 404.

[94] The S.C. de Bacchanalibus is the first attested S.C. in Latin. See Kupfer (2004) for discussion of the text in relation to other S.C. of the Republic. See Walsh (1996) for a discussion of the events and Livy's record of them.

[95] Pulgram (1960).

[96] Pulgram (1960), 16: "The ordinance concerns the legal status of a sanctuary of Hercules, consisting of the temple and sacred precinct proper, and some land around it, located between the two villages and straddling …the boundary dividing the two townships from one another."

[97] Pulgram (1960), 19-21.

its peripheries. Moreover, other evidence indicates that during this period, Rome for the first time began to widely export its ceramics into the western Mediterranean.

Excavations at Rome's river port, the Portus Tiberinus, have shown a proliferation of building activities in this period. Most notably, the excavations have recovered multiple temples, which are traditionally associated with foreign commerce. To protect access to the Tiber, Rome also built a colony at Ostia in the fourth century. Though excavations have not located any early port facilities at Ostia, it is possible that transshipment occurred at this point in order to enable products to reach the Portus Tiberinus.[98]

Once in possession of colonial foundations and a developed metropolitan port, archaeological evidence indicates that Rome gained the necessary surplus and infrastructure to begin regular overseas exports. Roman ceramics begin to appear at multiple western Mediterranean sites in the 3rd century BCE. Cornell noted that one particular type of fine-ware was produced in mass quantities and appears to have derived from single a workshop: 'Atelier des petites estampilles'. Cornell writes, "The significant point about this high-quality ware…is that it was widely exported; examples have been found not only in many parts of central Italy, but also along the coasts of southern France and north-east Spain, in Corsica and the Punic part of Sicily, and in the Carthaginian territory in North Africa."[99]

In sum, a brief review of comparative imperial systems in the ancient Mediterranean indicates that the most visible and most readily identifiable manifestations of imperial control within the archaeological record are the establishment of colonies, the reorganization of

---

[98] Cornell (1995), 385

[99] Cornell (1995), 388

institutions at dependent polities within the geographic area of newly founded colonies, the implantation of metropolitan land use patterns and the economic reorganization of trade routes along lines that most benefit imperial extraction from various subordinated peripheries. Inscriptions provide evidence of institutional change at dependent polities. In these inscriptions, metropoles either substitute metropolitan institutions for existing political, economic, religious and social institutions, or existing institutions continue to function but are subordinated to the final power of the metropole.

Because Carthage confronted the same external constraints as Rome and Athens, the motivating thesis of this dissertation is that it must leave similar archaeological manifestations of imperial control. As evidenced in Chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation, it did. The Carthaginian system, like the Athenian or Roman, fundamentally depended on its ability to acquire new territory through direct colonization. Once colonial foundations had been established, the epigraphic and archaeological records attest to the spread of Carthaginian economic, political and religious institutions into dependent polities. Thus we can find a Carthaginian Empire in the archaeological record. More importantly, by finding the Carthaginian Empire archaeologically and epigraphically it can be shown that it was not unique in its form of imperial power or its expression of it.

The Structure of the Dissertation

In Chapter 1, I present the basic reconstruction of Carthaginian imperialism as preserved in the Greco-Roman sources. I demonstrate how previous scholars have used the textual record as the basis for archaeological interpretation and historical reconstruction. Within these

discussions, I offer initial criticisms of the current reconstructions, especially their failure to consider archaeological and textual material as independent lines of evidence. The archaeological evidence presented in this section is brief and rudimentary. Detailed discussions are contained in subsequent chapters.

Chapters 2 and 3 present an archaeological history of Phoenician expansion and discuss Carthage's role in it. These chapters are used to establish a universal and *longue durée* perspective on western Mediterranean archaeology. In contrast to previous studies of this period, I argue that archaeological evidence indicates that Carthage was a small and unimportant Phoenician foundation during the 8th-7th centuries BCE. Gadir, Tharros, Sulcis, Mozia, and other Phoenician city-states in Sicily, Sardinia, and Iberia colonized agricultural territories and developed local trading networks that precipitated economic and physical development at these sites. Carthage does not undergo a similar process of expansion until c. 550 BCE, when it began to colonize the Cap Bon in North Africa. Carthage developed later than other Phoenician city-states in the Western Mediterranean, a fact essential to understanding the start and chronology of its imperialism.

Chapters 4 and 5 study the development of the Carthaginian Empire through archaeological evidence. Chapter 4 begins with a discussion of the causes of Carthaginian expansion in North Africa. I demonstrate that Carthaginian imperialism began with the conquest of the Cap Bon peninsula in North Africa during the second half of the 6th century BCE. I argue that Carthaginian imperialism results from a need to acquire new agricultural territory in order to meet demand for grain from the eastern Mediterranean, particularly Athens. Subsequent sections are dedicated to the development of imperial infrastructure within the city state. I show that

Carthage lacked the facilities and resources to develop a standing navy before the mid 5th century.

Chapter 5 considers the chronology and geography of Carthaginian imperialism overseas. The archaeological record indicates that Carthage began its first overseas campaigns in the late 5th century, after it had established imperial control over the Cap Bon and Tunisian Sahel. I present evidence that Carthaginian expansion overseas only gains momentum in the 4th century BCE. Although the Greco-Roman sources argue that Carthage began its overseas campaigns at a much earlier date, archaeological evidence, if interpreted independently, does not accord with these narratives.

Chapter 6 considers the institutions of the Carthaginian Empire as recovered in inscriptions. The chapter demonstrates that Carthaginian institutions appear stable during its imperial period. Inscriptions attest to the permanence of three offices at the center of power in the city-state: Shofet, Rab and Chief Priest. Other sections of Chapter 6 are devoted to the composition of the Carthaginian army and navy, Carthaginian manpower, and trade in imperial Carthage.

In the Conclusion, I unite the presentations of earlier chapters in order to present a narrative archaeological history of Carthaginian imperialism and a description of the Carthaginian Empire before the First Punic War.

Chapter 1: Greco-Roman Sources and

Scholarly Reconstructions of the Carthaginian Empire

Justin's *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* has structured and influenced nearly all of the extant reconstructions of Carthaginian history during the period 600-480 BCE. In general, scholarly reconstructions follow Justin's narrative and illustrate places where other Greco-Roman writers or archaeological evidence accord with his framework. As an example, take Van Dommelen: "The accounts of Polybius (III.22-25) and Justin (XVIII.7-XIX.1), that Carthage conducted various military campaigns in Sicily and Sardinia and concluded several treaties with Rome, make it clear that Carthage regarded North Africa and Sardinia as being an integral part of its territory." [1]

Justin begins his account of Carthaginian history with an extended discussion of the origins of Carthage and the history of its foundation. He next discusses the start of child sacrifice at Carthage, which Justin establishes as the central religious institution of the Carthaginian city-state. Justin then provides a narrative history of early Carthaginian campaigns: Malchus in Sardinia and Sicily, Mago, Mago's sons in Sicily and Sardinia, and the Battle of Himera. [2] Scholars have dated these events to 550- 480 BCE. To these episodes, scholars have added Herodotus' narrative of the Battle of Alalia (c.535 BCE), which is the only major 'event' in early Carthaginian history that Justin neglects, and the First Treaty of Rome and Carthage recorded by Polybios (509/508 BCE).

---

[1] Van Dommelen (1997), 311. See also, Hoyos (2010), 18: "By the end of the 6th century it [Carthage's control of the Cap Bon] seems to have been complete: for the text of Carthage's treaty with the newly-formed Roman Republic…bans from Roman merchants from sailing down its western coast."; Acquaro (2001), 119: "La obra de Justino es fundamental para la comprensión de la historia de Cartago."

[2] Justin 18.3-19.2

Taken collectively, these texts form the basis for the belief in an early and extensive

Carthaginian Empire in Sicily and Sardinia.

> Un tornante fondamentale nella storia della penetrazione fenicia e punica in Sardegna è
> costituito dal VI secolo a. C, con la seconda metà del quale irrompe nell'isola una nuova
> protagonista, Cartagine, che in capo a qualche decennio giunge a sottomettere…l'intero
> territorio. Il fenomeno, destinato a trasformare radicalmente gli assetti territoriali, il
> quadro economico e il modo del militare nell'isola, s'iscrive in un contesto assai più
> ampio, caratterizzato dall'emergere e dal consolidarsi della Potenza cartaginese nell'area
> centro-occidentale del Mediterraneo.[3]

Furthermore, Justin's narrative has led certain scholars to argue that child sacrifice, and

by extension the presence of a Tophet, represent a key indication of early Carthaginian

Imperialism.[4]

<div align="center">Re-Thinking the Sources: Evidence and Method</div>

<div align="center">Justin and the *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus*.[5]</div>

During the Augustan period, Pompeius Trogus produced a universal history that took as

its central theme the history of the Macedonian Empire and the peoples that came under its

dominion. Trogus was born into a well-connected, elite family in Gaul. His family had been

involved in Roman military campaigns from the Sertorian wars and had been granted citizenship

---

[3] Moscati et al. (1997), 63

[4] Lipiński (1988), 151; Picard, G.-Ch. (1988), 122-123; Manfredi (2003), 409.

[5] Otto Seel has conducted the most comprehensive studies of the text. He produced the Teubner edition for Justin's *Epitome* in 1935 and a second edition in 1972. See: Seel (1972). He also collected together all of the fragments that are preserved in any source for Pompeius Trogus' original work. See: Seel (1956). Furthermore, he produced two studies of the text: Seel (1955) and Seel ((b)1972).

in this period. His intention appears to have been to produce a Latin universal history to compete with extant Greek writings, such as Diodorus Siculus.[6]

Trogus' text survives primarily in an epitome produced by Justin during the 3rd or 4th century CE, though he is mentioned or excerpted in a variety of other works (Valerius Maximus, Frontinus, Velleius Paterculus, and Rufus).[7] As a result, scholars have expended much energy in trying to elucidate the original sources behind Pompeius Trogus' history as well as Justin's method of epitomization. In assessing the history of scholarship, Syme comments, "Minor writers have their uses, and they serve diverse purposes. Justin made a selective abridgement of the world history of Pompeius Trogus that comprised forty four books. The product brings up in the first place the sources of that work; and erudite investigations went of preference to the pair of books Trogus assigned to the history of Alexander. Hence much torture or tedium of 'Quellenforschung'."[8]

Though tedious to Syme, from these investigations, scholars were able to determine the basic sources for the information that Trogus recorded, though generally with reference to certain sections of the work for which there is the most surviving external evidence.[9] The clearest evidence for prior source material appears to derive from Hellenistic historians, who provide the only access to the geographies in which Trogus was interested. Therefore, the original text of the *Philippic Histories* was an amalgamation of extant source material stitched together into a universal history by Trogus. For Books 7-9, with reference to the rise of Macedonia, Hammond

---

[6] Yardley and Heckel (1997), 3-19; Alonso- Núñez (1987), 56-58

[7] See Syme (1988) for a full discussion of the author and date of the *Epitome of Trogus*. Yardley and Heckel (1997), 1 comment that the date of the *Epitome*, which they believe is c. 200 CE, is "reasoned hypothesis". Further discussion follows on pg. 10-11. For notations of Trogus in other sources, see Yardley and Heckel (1997), 19-20.

[8] Syme (1988), 358.

[9] See for example: Yardley and Heckel (1997) on Books 11-12 and Hammond (1991) on Books 7-9.

identified four likely sources: Marsyas the Macedonian, Satyrus of Callatis, Theopompus of Chios, and Cleitarchus.[10]

Trogus did have access to an interesting variety of viewpoints and evidence from these disparate sources. Marsyas was contemporary of Alexander the Great. Satyrus produced a *Life of Philip* c. 250 BCE. Ultimately, the majority of the information contained in Books 7-9 derives from Theopompus' *Philippic History*. Theopompus lived at Pella and was a contemporary to the events he describes. In comparing the sources for Books 7-9 chosen by Trogus, Hammond noted that they differ from those used by Diodorus Siculus (Book 16) to describe the same events. Hammond's solution was to posit that each writer selected those sources which best accorded with the viewpoint of each respective audience (Greeks in Sicily v. Romans in Italy).[11]

The textual sources for the sections which cover Carthaginian history (Books 18.3-19 of Justin's *Epitome*) are less clear than the narratives of Macedon. In addition to Theopompus, scholars have suggested a variety of sources, most often Timaeus of Tauromenium. However comparison with extant fragments of Timaeus indicates that while he may have played an important role in the formation of Trogus' text, other sources were included to produce Trogus' final narrative.[12] Certain scholars have argued that the other source text was Carthaginian, likely via a translation in Greek.[13]

---

[10] Hammond (1991), 501-504 and 506-507.

[11] Hammond (1991), 506-508.

[12] Justin begins his narrative of Carthaginian history as a result of the events of the Pyrrhic Wars (18.1). The dispatch of a Carthaginian naval fleet to assist Rome prompts Justin to digress on its history. Given that Polybios records a treaty between Carthage and Rome that dates to the time of the Pyrrhic Wars which promises mutual assistance, it is possible to argue that a potential source for Justin narrative is Timaeus. Polybios (1.5) notes that he starts his history where Timaeus ends, suggesting a sympathy between the two authors. Therefore it is possible to argue that Timaeus recorded both a treaty between Carthage and Rome during the time of the Pyrrhic Wars and also the actual dispatch of a Carthaginian fleet as a result of the treaty. Polybios preserves evidence of the treaty, whereas Justin preserves evidence of its results, both dependent on the narrative of Timaeus.

[13] Krings (1998), 46-48.

Other studies have focused more on Justin's role in the formation of the final text.

Formerly, scholars argued that the *Epitome* was a mere 'shortened' version of Trogus. Justin's

method of epitomization simply substituted his vocabulary for that of the original text. More

recently, certain scholars have argued that this presentation of Justin's role in the text is too

facile.[14] Justin makes deliberate decisions in how and what he chooses to include in his narrative,

a position which he announces in the Praefatio of the *Epitome*: "omissis his, quae nec

cognoscendi voluptate iucunda nec exemplo erant necessaria." Yardley and Heckel note, "But

perhaps he has been judged by the wrong criteria. What was it that he thought he was doing?

Simply preserving for future historians the most important parts of the history of the famous

Gaul? Surely not…Justin thought he was creating something, not just putting together a

florilegium, as he so modestly asserts in the preface."[15]

Scholars have identified that an important feature of Justin's historical method is a

tendency to explain military defeats or setbacks in moral terms. As such, he selects and retells

narratives from Trogus which most support his thesis. Alonso- Núñez comments, "For instance,

degenerate customs are responsible for the defeat of the Lydians by Cyrus (1.7.13), Persian gold

corrupts the Greeks (2.14.6), while Alexander adopts bad customs after the conquest of Persia

(12.3.8-12) and consequently is criticized by his army (12.4.1)."[16]

To this list I would add Justin's description of the Tophet and its associated rituals at

Carthage. Immediately after describing the date of the foundation and his version of the Dido

legend, Justin describes its early history. His presentation begins with a description of sacrifice at

---

[14] Krings (1998), 38-45; Yardley and Heckel (1997), 7-19; For an example of this position, see Hammond (1991), 504: "It is evident that Justin himself was not adding anything over and above the work of Trogus."

[15] Yardley and Heckel (1997), 16.

[16] Alonso- Núñez (1987), 66.

Carthage followed by the explanation that their early defeats suffered in Sicily and Sardinia were

the result of immoral sacrificial rites. Justin 18.6- 7:

> Cuius virtus sicut bello clara fuit, ita domi status variis discordiarum casibus agitatus est. Cum inter cetera mala etiam peste laborarent, cruenta sacrorum religione et scelere pro remedio usi sunt ; quippe homines ut victimas immolabant et inpuberes, quae aetas etiam hostium misericordiam provocat, aris admovebant, pacem deorum sanguine eorum exposcentes, pro quorum vita dii rogari maxime solent. Itaque adversis tanto scelere numinibus, cum in Sicilia diu infeliciter dimicassent, translato in Sardiniam bello amissa maiore exercitus parte gravi proelio victi sunt. Propter quod ducem suum Mazeum cuius auspiciis et Siciliae partem domuerant et adversus Afros magnas res gesserant, cum parte exercitus quae superfuerat, exulare iusserunt.[17]

The same fate was not met by Malchus' successor, Mago, but Justin seems to have no record of

what Mago actually accomplished.[18] Rather, he opines that Mago laid the foundations of

Carthaginian power and extended Carthage's territory but does not actually specify the manner

or location.[19] The next series of campaigns that Justin records completely are those of Mago's

sons in Sardinia and Africa. These two campaigns also result in defeats. Carthage pays the

Africans tribute to stop the wars, while one of Mago's sons dies in Sardinia. Justin 19.1 records,

"His ducibus Sardiniae bellum inlatum; adversus Afros quoque vectigal pro solo urbis multorum

annorum repetentes dimicatum. Sed Afrorum sicuti causa iustior, ita et fortuna superior fuit,

---

[17] "While the bravery of its inhabitants made it famous in war, it was internally disturbed with various troubles, arising from civil differences. Being afflicted, among other calamities, with a pestilence, they adopted a cruel religious ceremony, an execrable abomination, as a remedy for it; for they immolated human beings as victims, and brought children (whose age excites pity even in enemies) to the altars, entreating favour of the gods by shedding the blood of those for whose life the gods are generally wont to be entreated In consequence of the gods, therefore, being rendered adverse by such atrocities, after they had long fought unsuccessfully in Sicily, and had transferred the war into Sardinia, they were defeated in a great battle with the loss of the greater part of their army; a disaster for which they sentenced their general Malchus, under whose conduct they had both conquered a part of Sicily and achieved great exploits against the Africans, to remain in exile with the portion of his army that survived." (Watson Translation).

[18] Malchus appears to be a creation of one of Justin's sources. The name would literally be MLK, King, in Phoenician which is the same office that Malchus holds in Justin's reconstruction of these events. See Krings (1998), 33-91 for full bibliography of scholarly discussion on the Malchus legend.

[19] According to present reconstructions, Mago's victories allowed him to create a dynastic line that essentially 'ruled' Carthage for the next two centuries (the Magonids). Justin's descriptions of subsequent campaigns provide the requisite evidence.

bellumque cum his solutione pecuniae, non armis finitum. In Sardinia quoque Asdrubal graviter vulneratus imperio Hamilcari fratri tradito interiit."[20]

While Carthaginian generals are alleged to have achieved successes based on Justin's narrative, Justin only describes their defeats. It is only when Hasdrubal dies in Sardinia that Justin records (19.1): "cuius mortem cum luctus ciuitatis, tum et dictaturae undecim et triumphi quattuor insignem fecere."[21] However, Justin never specifies against whom he earned these four 'triumphs'. In addition, for Justin, 'triumphs' do not appear to result in permanent military conquest or lasting territorial gains for Carthage during the 6th century BCE.

In Justin's narrative, Carthage is in fact a complete failure during this period as a result of its immoral customs. Thus a point of transition in Justin's narrative emerges with arrival of Persian envoys, who request Carthaginian assistance in their war against Greece. The named king is Darius, whose death in 486 leaves the exact dating of these events ambiguous. In Justin's narrative, Carthage ultimately declines to aid Darius. However, they do change their customs as a result of a Persian edict. Justin 19.1 records:

> Dum haec aguntur, legati a Dario, Persarum rege, Karthaginem venerunt adferentes edictum, quo Poeni humanas hostias immolare et canina vesci prohibebantur mortuorumque corpora cremare potius quam terra obruere a rege iubebantur, petentes simul auxilia aduersus Graeciam, cui inlaturus bellum Darius erat. Sed Karthaginienses

---

[20] "Under their generalship war was made upon Sardinia; and a contest was also maintained against the Africans, who demanded tribute for many years for the ground on which the city stood. But as the cause of the Africans was the more just, their fortune was likewise superior, and the struggle with them was ended—not by exertions in the field—by the payment of a sum of money. In Sardinia Hasdrubal was severely wounded, and died there, leaving the command to his brother Hamilcar" (Watson Translation)

[21] "[Hasdrubal] whose 11 dictatorships and 4 triumphs made his death notable and a cause of grief for the city-state." (Watson Translation with slight changes). This extended quote highlights significant problems with Justin's narrative. Asdrubal wields 'imperium' and was noted for his 'triumphi'. These terminological problems are not just confined to this single quote. Nothing about Justin's narrative bears any relationship to the Carthaginian city-state or its institutions. Moreover, in this entire narrative, Justin never defines the enemies of the Carthaginians. They attack places 'Sardiniae bellum inlatum' or entire continents personified as peoples 'aduersus Afros quoque'. Both uses from Justin. 19.1

auxilia negantes propter adsidua finitimorum bella ceteris, ne per omnia contumaces viderentur, cupide parvere.[22]

For the structure of Justin's narrative, the change in customs brought about by a Persian edict leads a change in luck with reference to military affairs. The generation of Carthaginian generals after 490 BCE meets with success in Africa. Justin 19.2, "Per hos res Karthaginiensium ea tempestate regebantur. Itaque et Mauris bellum inlatum et adversus Numidas pugnatum et Afri conpulsi stipendium urbis conditae Karthaginiensibus remittere…In Sicilia in locum Hamilcaris imperator Himilco succedit, qui cum navali terrestrique bello secunda proelia fecisset multasque ciuitates cepisset." [23]

Importantly, this passage provides the first indications of Carthaginian imperialism rather than military activity in Justin's narrative. Here, Carthage succeeds in establishing some form of control over indigenous populations in North Africa. For Justin, in an epitome, this is simply represented as a reversal in the direction of monetary payments.

---

[22] In retelling this narrative, Trogus appears to have included multiple traditions, which have subsequently been presented by Justin, though incoherently. First, Carthage appears as part of the Persian Empire in this reconstruction and they alter their customs as a result of a Persian edict. However, they do not appear to have acquiesced to Persian requests for military assistance, a resistance that requires explanation if they were part of the Persian Empire, especially since other sources allege that Carthage initiated its invasion of Sicily in 480 BCE at Persian request. Using this narrative, certain scholars have tried to argue that Carthaginian imperialism was an extension of Persian imperialism and may have in fact been part of the Persian Empire. See Manfredi (2003), 367-371 and 488:"L'egemonia dei Magonidi si sviluppa in concomitanza con l'affermarsi, in oriente, del dominio achemenide. Cartagine, forse legata alla V satrapia per il suo status coloniale, sembra assurgere al ruolo di capoluogo dei domini occidentali nell'ambito della strategia interessata a consolidare il versante ovest dell'imperio. " Translation of passage: "During the course of these transactions, ambassadors came to Carthage from Darius king of Persia, bringing an edict, by which the Carthaginians were forbidden to offer human sacrifices, and to eat dog's flesh, and were commanded to burn the bodies of the dead rather than bury them in the earth; and requesting, at the same time, assistance against Greece, on which Darius was about to make war. The Carthaginians declined giving him aid, on account of their continual wars with their neighbours, but, that they might not appear uncompliant in everything, willingly submitted to the decree." (Watson Translation).

[23] "By these the affairs of the Carthaginians were managed at this period. War was made upon the Moors, a contest was maintained with the Numidians, and the Africans were compelled to remit the tribute paid for the building of the city…In Sicily, Himilco succeeded as general in the room of Hamilcar, but, after fighting several successful battles, both by land and sea, and taking many towns." (Watson Translation).

However, Justin's narrative does not allege a similar degree of success in Sicily. Though Justin records that the Carthaginians captured multiple city-states, the successful army was afflicted with a pestilence. The Carthaginians thus retreated from Sicily. On the return of the army to Carthage, Justin presents an extended speech presented by the Carthaginian general. Justin 19.3, "Ipse quoque manus ad caelum tendens nunc sortem suam, nunc publicam fortunam deflet nunc deos accusat, qui tanta belli decora et tot ornamenta victoriarum, quae ipsi dederant, abstulerint ; qui captis tot urbibus totiensque hostibus terrestri navalique proelio victis exercitum victorem non bello sed peste deleverint."[24]

Justin, in turn, opens Book 20 of his narrative with a succinct synopsis of the results of these Carthaginian campaigns, "Dionysius e Sicilia Karthaginiensibus pulsis occupatoque totius insulae imperio grave otium regno suo periculosamque desidiam tanti exercitus ratus, copias in Italiam traiecit."[25] Thus ends Justin's retelling of Carthaginian history from its foundations through the end of the 5th century. Justin, it is evident, intended the Carthaginian 'Empire' to serve as a cautionary tell about how customs affect military success. What emerges from the narrative is not a successful or developing Carthaginian Empire in Sicily or Sardinia but rather a history of catastrophic defeats or reversals that ultimately rendered any previous military victories or conquests null. There is no overseas Carthaginian Empire in Justin, just Carthaginian armies that campaign overseas.

---

[24] "He, lifting up his hands to heaven. sometimes bewailed his own lot, sometimes the misfortune of the state, and sometimes complained of "the gods, who had deprived him of such honours obtained in the field, and the glory of so many victories, who, after he had taken so many cities, and had defeated the enemy by land and sea, had destroyed his victorious army, not by war, but by a pestilence." (Watson Translation)

[25] "Dionysius, after expelling the Carthaginians from Sicily, and making himself master of the whole island, thinking that peace might be dangerous to his power, and idleness in so great an army fatal to it, transported his forces into Italy" (Watson Translation)

Up to the present, scholars have neglected to approach Justin's narrative from a critical perspective. Rather, most reconstructions of Carthaginian history employ Justin's narrative to structure the interpretation of other textual as well as archaeological evidence. Consequently, though Justin does not describe the successful creation of a Carthaginian overseas empire, present reconstructions have 'found' Carthaginian imperial activities within the narratives of Herodotus and the archaeological records of Sicily and Sardinia during 6th-4th centuries BCE. In turn, scholars elide over the notices of Carthaginian defeats and reversals in Justin, preferring to argue instead that the combined weight of Greco-Roman narratives and archaeological evidence indicate the creation of a Carthaginian Empire in Sardinia and Sicily during the 6th and 5th centuries BCE.

Did Carthage conquer Sardinia in the 6th century?

According to present scholarly reconstructions, the Carthaginian Empire began with a series of military conquests in Sicily and Sardinia. The first invasion of these areas happened in a continuous series of land battles led by a general Malchus.[26] In Justin's reconstruction, Malchus' initial attempts at conquest were only partially successful. Malchus conquered part of Sicily in his campaigns before he met disaster in Sardinia. Consequently, his campaigns were followed by the campaigns of Mago in an undefined area but one which Justin claims increased the size of the empire. Mago's sons, a third generation of Carthaginian conquerors, build on their father's successes and invade Sardinia for a third time. Justin describes the death of one of them thusly,

---

[26] Justin 18.7.

"In Sardinia quoque Asdrubal graviter vulneratus imperio Hamilcari fratri tradito interiit, cuius mortem cum luctus civitatis, tum et dictaturae undecim et triumphi quattuor insignem fecere."[27]

In trying to match archaeological finds to this information, scholars have focused on the evidence of destruction layers at Phoenician sites in Sardinia c. 550-500. These sites include Monte Sirai and Cucurredus. For certain scholars, these destruction layers confirm Carthage's imperial campaigns in the area during this period. [28] Scholars seeking to further substantiate this evidence have argued that new burial customs appear in Sardinia at this point, specifically 'tombe a camera', which they relate to the introduction of Carthaginian colonies.[29] In addition, certain scholars argue that Carthage's involvement in the Battle of Alalia combined with the first treaty with Rome further 'prove' Carthaginian military conquest of Sardinia in this period. Ameling comments, "Die Bildung des karthagischen Reiches in Sizilien, Sardinien und Afrika begann im 6. Jhrdt., was durch den ersten römisch-karthagischen Vertrag deutlich bewiesen wird."[30]

As I demonstrate in chapter 5, direct archaeological evidence for Carthaginian imperialism (colonies, institutions, etc…) in Sardinia is confined to the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE.[31] It is therefore probable, and argued in this dissertation, that destruction layers at

---

[27] Justin 19.1.

[28] Bernardini (2004), 38; Moscati (1994), 96

[29] Bernandini (2004), 47; Van Dommelen (1998), 124; Moscati (1994), 97.

[30] Ameling (1993), 257. See also Moscati (1994), 99; Colozier (1953), 69: "Les Carthaginois assumèrent leur succession et défendirent jalousement leur monopole en protégeant leurs comptoirs des côtes méridionales de l'Espagne, soit au moyen de traités — tels que ceux qu'ils conclurent avec les Romains en 508 et 348, dans lesquels ils fixent des limites à la navigation de leurs alliés, — soit grâce à leur police maritime, qui interdisait le passage des Colonnes d'Hercule aux vaisseaux étrangers."

[31] Van Dommelen (1997), 311 argues that Neapolis and its surrounding farms were the first Carthaginian occupations in Sardinia. He dates this occupation to the mid 6th century BCE. Van Dommelen demonstrates that the Carthaginian presence in the 6th and 5th centuries is minimal even in his reconstruction. He further notes (p.313) that

Sardinian sites c. 550 BCE are likely either the result of local skirmishes or controlled

destruction as part of abandonment by Phoenician colonists. More generally, only a few sites in

Sardinia remain vigorous in this period, primarily the earliest Phoenician foundations. I present

evidence that these transitions were related to economic factors. As shown in Chapter 3, the

ceramic evidence recovered at Sardinian sites demonstrates extensive commerce between

Phoenician city-states in Sardinia and Etruscan polities during late 7th- 6th century BCE.[32]

Beginning in the mid-6th century, the development of long distance trade routes appears to have

precipitated an abandonment of pre-existing secondary foundations as models of economic

exchange began to favor redistribution over direct production. For colonies such as Sulcis, this

economic transition rendered secondary foundations at Monte Sirai and Nuraghe Sirai

superfluous.

The Battle of Alalia c. 535

     The first indication of Carthaginian sea power, the Battle of Alalia is a central event in

many histories of early Carthaginian imperialism. Krings comments, "Dans les travaux relatives

à la Méditerranée occidentale archaïque, le combat naval qui, vers 540-535, mit aux prises les

Phocéens d'Alalia, en Corse, et une coalition d'Etrusques et de Carthaginois constitue souvent

---

"The major expansion of Punic settlement, however, dates from the fourth century." In my discussion of Sardinia in Chapter 5, I argue that this 4th century expansion represents the beginning of Carthaginian colonization in the area.

[32] Becker (2006), 137-196 for a study of Etruscan trade; Turfa (1977), 369 listed 86 Etruscan imports in the archaic tombs at Carthage. In contrast, not a single securely identified Carthaginian export has been recovered in Etruria. Turfa (1977), 369 attempts to argue that certain objects may be evidence of Carthaginian exports, however, he acknowledges that none of the artifacts are securely Carthaginian. The earliest clearly Carthaginian artifacts recovered in Etruria are 4th and 3rd century BCE coins. See also: Colozier (1953), 67, who argued that Carthaginian-Etruscan trade occurred primarily in metals, which leave no archaeological trace.

un moment-pivot."[33] Unlike many of the other events in early Carthaginian history, Justin makes

no reference to a Battle of Alalia.[34] Instead, the evidence comes from Herodotus, "ἐπείτε δὲ ἐς

τὴν Κύρνον ἀπίκοντο, οἴκεον κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν πρότερον ἀπικομένων ἐπ᾽ ἔτεα πέντε, καὶ ἱρὰ

ἐνιδρύσαντο. καὶ ἦγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔφερον τοὺς περιοίκους ἅπαντας, στρατεύονται ὦν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς

κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι Τυρσηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι, νηυσὶ ἑκάτεροι ἑξήκοντα."[35]

In present reconstructions, scholars argue that Marseille and Phocaean colonization

played an important part in destabilizing relationships between Phoenicians, Etruscans and

Greeks in the central Mediterranean.[36] The foundation at Marseille precipitated a wave of Greek

colonization in southern Gaul during the first half of the 6th century BCE. Greek colonists

constructed new foundations at Monaco, Antibes, and Nice.[37] Corsica, which was not colonized

at the time, received a colony c. 550 BCE. In turn, the Greek foundation on Corsica finally

---

[33] Krings (1998), 93. It should be noted that Krings ultimately concludes that the textual basis for the Battle of Alalia is insufficient for it to play any important role in reconstructions of early Carthaginian history. See pg. 139 for her argument. For an example of previous interpretations of Alalia, Wells (1920), 500: "The first step in this offensive-defensive was the fortification of Ivica in 654. Phocaea replied by setting up a naval base at Aleria in Corsica in 652. Then, doubtless after due prompting, the three Phoenician settlements which still remained in western Sicily appealed formally to Carthage for protection, which was given so vigorously that for the moment the Greeks were excluded from that part of Sicily and from Sardinia as well. Then, in shrewd alliance with the Etruscans, they engaged the Phocaeans in the first recorded naval battle in the West at Aleria and forced their withdrawal to Massilia, where their descendants doubtless added vigor to the anti-Carthaginian policy of that city in after time."

[34] See Krings (1998), 136-138 for attempts to connect Justin 18.7 and 46.5 to the Battle of Alalia, a position to which I do not assent.

[35] Herodotus 1.166: "And when they arrived at Corsica, they dwelled in communion, for five years, with those having arrived earlier, and they built temples. But then they harassed and they plundered all those living near them, with the result that the Etruscans and the Carthaginians, having agreed to a common purpose, campaigned against them, each with sixty ships." (Godley translation with changes); See also Strabo 6.1. Strabo, however, does not note a specific sea battle. He gives the same general outline of Phocaean colonization in the area: φησὶ δ᾽ Ἀντίοχος Φωκαίας ἁλούσης ὑφ᾽ Ἁρπάγου τοῦ Κύρου στρατηγοῦ, τοὺς δυναμένους ἐμβάντας εἰς τὰ σκάφη πανοικίους πλεῦσαι πρῶτον εἰς Κύρνον καὶ Μασσαλίαν μετὰ Κρεοντιάδου, ἀποκρουσθέντας δὲ τὴν Ἐλέαν κτίσαι. He does note violence but not one specific instance. See Krings (1998), 95-160 for the study of other texts similar to Strabo's. Five other notices occur in the ancient sources of an unnamed sea battle that some scholars have identified with The Battle at Alalia.

[36] See Krings (1998), 150-160 for the history of debate surrounding the significance of the Battle of Alalia in traditional scholarly interpretations. Lancel (1992), 96.

[37] Van Dommelen (1998), 118

provoked a reaction from the Carthaginians and the Etruscans, according to the Greco-Roman sources. The site threatened their hegemony in the Tyrrhenian Sea.[38] The result was the Battle of Alalia and the subsequent abandonment of Corsica by the Greeks. For many scholars, the Pyrgi Tablets confirm the Carthaginian-Etruscan alliance in this period as they are traditionally dated to the late 6th century BCE.[39]

However, the archaeology of the city-state at Alalia does not indicate the presence of a Greek colony in the 6th century. The earliest urban indications, walls at the site, date to the 5th century BCE. [40] Excavations at the necropolis have recovered the majority of ceramics known from the site. The earliest burials date to 500 BCE. In form and custom, these burials share much with those in coastal Etruria. The primary imports of the period 500-340 BCE are Attic. Vases recovered at Alalia, either painted by the same individual or the same workshop in Athens, are also found in significant quantities at Spina and Ampurias.[41]

As for the role of Carthage in the Battle of Alalia, nothing yet recovered archaeologically supports Herodotus narrative that the Carthaginians participated in the Battle of Alalia. Carthage lacks any man-made port facilities or ship sheds to support a standing navy in this period. As demonstrated in Chapter 4, Carthage began to develop the facilities to support a standing navy in the 5th century with the creation of its first man made shipping channel. In the mid-4th century, the shipping channel was replaced by the man-made circular and rectangular harbors. At the center of the circular harbor stood a series of ship sheds, designed to hold 170-180 warships of

---

[38] Herodotus 1. 166-167

[39] Van Dommelen (1998), 119; Lancel (1992), 100-102

[40] Jehasse (1961), 364.

[41] Jehasse and Jehasse (1973).

the period. The construction was first in wood and then in stone. The monumental form of the harbor, as described by Appian, was achieved c. 250 BCE.

In conjunction with the construction of manmade port facilities at Carthage during the 4th century BCE, archaeological evidence for Carthaginian colonization and epigraphic evidence concerning the establishment of Carthaginian institutions in Sicily and Sardinia appears for the first time. The coherence of this process in the 4th century, both archaeologically and militarily, cautions against accepting Herodotus' argument that the 'Carthaginians' were able to supply sixty ships for an expedition to Corsica nearly 150 years before. The facilities to house sixty ships would leave an archaeological record. Archaeologists have excavated extensively the port areas at Carthage during the last three decades. No evidence has yet emerged that Carthage had the necessary infrastructure to support a standing navy of sixty ships before the mid to late 5th century, and even at this point no ship sheds have yet been identified.

Though the archaeological evidence does not support Carthaginian participation in the Battle of Alalia, many scholars attribute the Pyrgi Tablets to Carthage. Furthermore, certain scholars have tried to argue that the Pyrgi Tablets should be understood within the same context as the First Treat of Carthage and Rome recorded by Polybios. Cornell comments:

> When the Pyrgi inscriptions were discovered in the early 1960s, historians immediately realized that they injected a decisive new element into the debate about the Polybian treaty. Aristotle was already on hand to show that the Carthaginians were interested in making agreements to protect their traders operating in Tyrrhenian waters; the Pyrgi finds now made it clear that this trade was being carried on around 500 BC- at the very time when, according to Polybios, they made a similar treaty with Rome. The discovery also gave substance to a story in Herodotus, who records that around 535 BC the Carthaginians and Etruscans joined forces to defeat the Phocaean Greeks in a naval battle in the Sardinian Sea.[42]

---

[42] Cornell (1995), 212.

The Pygri Tablets, however, are not Carthaginian. Moreover, they do not indicate a military alliance nor do they even record a treaty. Rather, the text represents the normal operation of a Phoenician trading colony in a foreign city-state. The dedication of a temple, the central matter of the Pyrgi Tablets, represents the primary archaeological indication of Phoenician trading stations in foreign-city states.[43] The Pyrgi Tablets, as I demonstrate in Chapter 5, are therefore a record of a Phoenician trading station in Etruria, likely derived from the Phoenician colony at Tharros. They have no relevance to political or military affairs, but rather relate to economic developments of the 6th century.

Finally, when considered independently and critically, the narrative of Herodotus and the archaeological evidence for the Battle of Alalia emerge as highly limited compared to specific evidence for other events of this period and in this geography. Archaeologically and textually, the most well attested sea battle in this period occurred between the Etruscans and Syracuse off the coast of Cumae. A dedication on an Etruscan helmet found at Olympia records : "Hieron Son of Deinomenes and the Syracusans (dedicated these) Etruscan spoils from Cumae to Zeus."[44] Diodorus records a battle between Hieron, the Tyrant of Syracuse, and the Etruscans, which occurred near Cumae in 474 BCE.[45] In Diodorus' narrative, Syracuse allied itself with Cumae in order to defend the area from Etruscan aggression. No mention is made of Carthage or Phoenicians participating in this battle in Diodorus' narrative. Pindar (Pythian I. 71-75) states

---

[43] Van Bercham (1967).

[44] Meiggs and Lewis #29= *SIG* [3] 35 B, a.

[45] Diodorus 11.51: "ἐπ᾽ ἄρχοντος δ᾽ Ἀθήνησιν Ἀκεστορίδου ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν διεδέξαντο Καίσων Φάβιος καὶ Τίτος Οὐεργίνιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἱέρων μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Συρακοσίων, παραγενομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεων ἐκ Κύμης τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ δεομένων βοηθῆσαι πολεμουμένοις ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν θαλαττοκρατούντων, ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτοῖς συμμαχίαν τριήρεις ἱκανάς. οἱ δὲ τῶν νεῶν τούτων ἡγεμόνες ἐπειδὴ κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Κύμην, μετὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων μὲν ἐναυμάχησαν πρὸς τοὺς Τυρρηνούς, πολλὰς δὲ ναῦς αὐτῶν διαφθείραντες καὶ μεγάλῃ ναυμαχίᾳ νικήσαντες, τοὺς μὲν Τυρρηνοὺς ἐταπείνωσαν, τοὺς δὲ Κυμαίους ἠλευθέρωσαν τῶν φόβων, καὶ ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Συρακούσας."

that Phoenicians participated in the Battle of Cumae as allies of the Etruscans.[46] Due to the fact

that Hieron commissioned Pythian 1, it is likely that Pindar had access to correct information.

Furthermore, as I argue in Chapter 2, the Pyrgi Tablets appear to result from contact between

Phoenician cities in Sardinia and Etruscans. Thus Pindar's addition of Phoenicians is plausible in

this context. When the record of the Battle of Cumae is compared to that of the Battle of Alalia,

it is clear that the record of Cumae presents a more coherent record of early combat in the

Western Mediterranean.

So what are we to think of Herodotus' narrative of Alalia? His reference to when this

combat occurred appears to be exact, as he states it was specifically five years after the second

wave of Phocaean colonists arrived that the Battle of Alalia occurred. He further notes in 1.165

that Alalia was already 20 years old when Phocaea was destroyed by Harpagus c. 545-540 BCE

thus placing the foundation of Alalia in the period 565-560.

Yet, Herodotus is the only author to record a specific battle between the Phocaeans and

Carthaginians/Etruscans at Alalia. Other Greco-Roman sources imply that conflict occurred in

this area and between these peoples, however, the references are not chronologically specific and

the focus is the colonization of Marseille. For example, take Thucydides 1.13.6, "Φωκαῆς τε

Μασσαλίαν οἰκίζοντες Καρχηδονίους ἐνίκων ναυμαχοῦντες."[47] Pausanias and Strabo appear to

follow Thucydides' general understanding of these events.[48] Therefore, Herodotus account

remains the only record that specifically identifies a Battle of Alalia.

---

[46] "λίσσομαι νεῦσον, Κρονίων, ἅμερον ὄφρα κατ᾽ οἶκον ὁ Φοίνιξ ὁ Τυρσανῶν τ᾽ ἀλαλατὸς ἔχῃ, ναυσίστονον ὕβριν ἰδὼν τὰν πρὸ Κύμας οἷα Συρακοσίων ἀρχῷ δαμασθέντες πάθον."

[47] "The Phocaeans, while colonizing Marseille, defeated the Carthaginians fighting a sea battle."

[48] Pausanias 10.8; Strabo 6.1.

In sum, like many narratives in Herodotus, the Battle of Alalia may simply constitute a case of bad information. Herodotus regularly recounts oral histories of certain events for which he otherwise had no external information. When multiple oral accounts are present, he often provides all accounts and not an authoritative synthesis. Absent multiple accounts or external sources of information, Herodotus sometimes relies on single statements for certain events, especially if the significance of an event meets his standard for historical importance, as he defines it in 1.1: "ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά".[49] Herodotus does caution his readers about his sources and method in 7.152: "ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαί γε μὲν οὐ παντάπασιν ὀφείλω, καί μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα τὸν λόγον· ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα λέγεται". However, a reader must be careful to distinguish the subtle ways in which Herodotus conveys authority on certain accounts, while subtly suggesting he doubts the veracity of others (as discussed in detail in the next section concerning the Battle of Himera).

Did Carthage conquer Sicily in 6th-5th centuries BCE?

According to Justin, Malchus conquered part of Sicily in his campaigns before he met disaster in Sardinia. In Justin's reconstruction, these events occurred in the mid-6th century BCE and represent Carthage's first campaign of overseas conquest. Between the campaigns of Malchus and the Battle of Himera in 480 BCE, Justin does not give specific notices of Carthaginian activities in Sicily. The focus of the narrative in these sections is Sardinia. When

---

[49] Thucydides makes an oblique criticism of Herodotus' method in 1.22. For a discussion of Herodotean sources and method with reference to his extended Egyptian history (the most extended test case for an external culture), see Lloyd (1988). Lloyd (1988), 31: "To conclude, Herodotus' history of Egypt is based on oral tradition supplemented by autopsy, but these oral sources differ in two sections of the narrative…The activity of rational assessment of material (gnome) is not explicitly recognized by Herodotus but is, nevertheless, in evidence. None of these sources or techniques can be expected to yield a reliable account of Egypt's past. These data are then processed by Herodotus on the basis of his perception of the nature of historical experience and his own view of the role and obligations of the recorder of the past."

Justin returns to combat in Sicily, he does not provide the name of a battle. Rather, Justin notes

that Hamilcar, a general and one of Mago's sons, was killed in Sicily in combat.[50] Justin's brief

notice can be connected with a number of accounts of Hamilcar in other Greek sources.[51] Both

Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus offer extended descriptions of the Carthaginian general and his

activities in Sicily. Unlike the earlier actions of the Carthaginians, the First Battle of Himera in

480 BCE is widely attested in the Greco-Roman sources. Consequently, no scholar has yet

questioned the veracity of the event.

However, Herodotus' presentation of this battle is part of what appears to constitute a

counter-factual section of his narrative. Moreover, Thucydides has no mention of such an event.

In one part of an extended narrative concerning the Persian invasion of Greece, Herodotus

provides a description of the Battle of Himera in Sicily and focuses and Hamilcar's activities in

it.

> πρὸς δὲ καὶ τάδε λέγουσι, ὡς συνέβη τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης ἔν τε τῇ Σικελίῃ Γέλωνα καὶ Θήρωνα νικᾶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὸν Πέρσην. τὸν δὲ Ἀμίλκαν Καρχηδόνιον ἐόντα πρὸς πατρός, μητρόθεν δὲ Συρηκόσιον, βασιλεύσαντά τε κατ᾿ ἀνδραγαθίην Καρχηδονίων, ὡς ἡ συμβολή τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ὡς ἑσσοῦτο τῇ μάχῃ, ἀφανισθῆναι πυνθάνομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ζῶντα οὔτε ἀποθανόντα φανῆναι οὐδαμοῦ γῆς· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἐπεξελθεῖν διζήμενον Γέλωνα.
>
> ἔστι δὲ ὑπ᾿ αὐτῶν Καρχηδονίων ὅδε λόγος λεγόμενος, οἰκότι χρεωμένων, ὡς οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐν τῇ Σικελίῃ ἐμάχοντο ἐξ ἠοῦς ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι δείλης ὀψίης (ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γὰρ λέγεται ἑλκύσαι τὴν σύστασιν), ὁ δὲ Ἀμίλκας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μένων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐθύετο καὶ ἐκαλλιερέετο ἐπὶ πυρῆς μεγάλης σώματα ὅλα καταγίζων, ἰδὼν δὲ τροπὴν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ γινομένην, ὡς ἔτυχε ἐπισπένδων τοῖσι ἱροῖσι, ὦσε ἑωυτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ· οὕτω δὴ κατακαυθέντα ἀφανισθῆναι.[52]

---

[50] Justin 19.2

[51] Krings (1998), 186 does not connect this notice directly to Himera, though she assumes the line does represent an indication of conflicts between Carthaginian and Greeks.

[52] Herodotus 7.166-167: "And they say these things also: that it happened on the same day in Sicily that Gelon and Theron defeated Hamilcar, the Carthaginian, the Greeks defeated the Persians at Salamis, that Hamilcar was the son of a Carthaginian father and a Syracusean mother, who became King of the Carthaginians on account of his courage, that when the battle happened and when he was defeated in the battle, it was discovered that he disappeared from sight for Gelon looked for him everywhere but was not able to find him anywhere on earth, dead or alive. There is

Diodorus Siculus provides a similar account:

> μεταβιβάσομεν τὴν διήγησιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἑτερογενεῖς πράξεις. Καρχηδόνιοι γὰρ συντεθειμένοι πρὸς Πέρσας τοῖς αὐτοῖς καιροῖς καταπολεμῆσαι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Ἕλληνας, μεγάλας παρασκευὰς ἐποιήσαντο τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον χρησίμων…
>
> συνέβη γὰρ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν Γέλωνα νικῆσαι καὶ τοὺς περὶ Θερμοπύλας μετὰ Λεωνίδου διαγωνίσασθαι πρὸς Ξέρξην, ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες τοῦ δαιμονίου περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ποιήσαντος γενέσθαι τήν τε καλλίστην νίκην καὶ τὴν ἐνδοξοτάτην ἧτταν.[53]

Diodorus believed that the first Battle of Himera occurred ten years earlier than Herodotus and was synchronous with the Battle of Thermopylae. He is explicit about the connections between Persia and Carthage. While both accounts give descriptions of Hamilcar's death, they are not exactly the same. In Herodotus' narrative, Hamilcar dies through self-immolation. Diodorus has Hamilcar die at the hands of an enemy cavalry force. Yet, his death still comes while he is preparing a sacrifice and not in battle: "καὶ προσδεχθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάκων ὡς συμμάχων, οὗτοι μὲν εὐθὺς προσδραμόντες τῷ Ἀμίλκᾳ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν γινομένῳ, τοῦτον μὲν ἀνεῖλον, τὰς δὲ ναῦς ἐνέπρησαν."[54]

---

an account, having some truth, told by the Carthaginians themselves: The Barbarians fought with the Greeks in Sicily from dawn until the late afternoon for it is said that the battle was drawn out to such an extent. During this time, Hamilcar, remaining in the fortified camp, was sacrificing, and burning whole bodies on a huge pyre, he wanted to gain favorable omens. Seeing the reversal happening of his own men, he cast himself into the fire where he was pouring libations on the sacrifice; he was consumed thusly and was not seen any more." (Godley Translation with slight changes).

[53] Diodorus Siculus 11:20 and 11.24: "We will switch our narrative to different events. The Carthaginians, having made an agreement with the Persians to bring war down upon the Greeks in Sicily at the same time, undertook preparations of the things necessary for war…For it happened on the same day that Gelon was victorious that also those at Thermopylae with Leonidas fought with Xerxes, just as if the design of the god made it so that the best victory and most honorable defeat happened at the same time." (Oldfather Translation with slight changes).

[54] Diodorus Siculus 11.22.1: "At sunrise the cavalrymen rode up to the naval camp of the Carthaginians, and when the guards admitted them, thinking them to be allies, they at once galloped to where Hamilcar was busied with the sacrifice, slew him, and then set fire to the ships." (Oldfather Translation)

Are these differences significant? Provided that important Greek polities in Sicily were involved, no reason exists for the record of Himera to differ so greatly. Not even Diodorus Siculus' general chronological imprecision explains the disjunction. He describes Himera as contemporaneous to Thermopylae but notes its military importance was equivalent to that of the Battle of Plataea. More importantly, he states, "διὸ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν συγγραφέων παραβάλλουσι ταύτην τὴν μάχην τῇ περὶ Πλαταιὰς γενομένῃ τοῖς Ἕλλησι."[55] The notice that he had read of the battle in many other writers indicates that there were various traditions about the Battle of Himera in the 1st century BCE. Furthermore, the length of his account, when compared to that of Herodotus, highlights the degree of embellishment that occurred in the intervening centuries.

One known source of expansion from the Herodotean account is recorded in the Scholiasts on Pindar, *Pythian* 1: 146. From two entries, it is known that Ephorus expanded the original Herodotean story and was highly explicit about connections between Persia and Carthage in his account of the Battle of Himera.[56] Another possible addition was the history of Timaeus. The Scholiasts on Pindar Pythian 2.2 preserve notices of Timaeus' history and its description of these events.[57]

Irrespective of the sources which Diodorus consulted[58], the intellectual inheritors of Herodotus were poor readers of his account and failed to understand his method of historical presentation. Herodotus carefully places his description of the Battle of Himera within a series of clauses that present what Herodotus believes is a counter-factual narrative. As with many other

---

[55] Diodorus Siculus 11.23: "Because of this achievement many historians compare this battle with the one which the Greeks fought at Plataea." (Oldfather Translation)

[56] Ephorus, FGH 70 F 186. See also Krings (1998), 284-5.

[57] Timaeus, FGH 566 F 20. See also, Krings (1998), 293.

[58] See Krings (1998), 261-326 for all possible ancient sources related to the Battle of Himera.

narratives in *The Histories*, Herodotus provides multiple accounts for a single event. In this case, the event under consideration is the absence of Sicilian Greeks at the Battles of Salamis and Plataea. The actual events in Sicily are recorded in a direct history that Herodotus presents in 7.161-4, whereas the Battle of Himera is part of a counter-factual history that occupies 7.165-7.

To provide an explanation for the absence of Sicilian Greeks, Herodotus first presents what he considers an authoritative account. In 7.161-164, Herodotus describes the interaction of Gelon, the Tyrant of Syracuse, and envoys from Athens and Sparta who came to request troops for the defense of Greece against Xerxes. In this narrative, Gelon demands a leadership position if he is to contribute his forces to the defense of Greece. After the Spartan and Athenian envoys refuse his request, they leave Sicily without any assistance from Gelon. Throughout these sections, Herodotus pretends to record the speeches of each party directly:

> 7.160: πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Γέλων, ἐπειδὴ ὥρα ἀπεστραμμένους τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Συάγρου, τὸν τελευταῖόν σφι τόνδε ἐξέφαινε λόγον…
>
> 7.161: Γέλων μὲν δὴ ταῦτα προετείνετο, φθάσας δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἄγγελος τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀμείβετό μιν τοῖσιδε…
>
> 7.162: ἀμείβετο Γέλων τοῖσιδε…

He concludes this first narrative with a succinct statement.

> 7.163: οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄγγελοι τοιαῦτα τῷ Γέλωνι χρηματισάμενοι ἀπέπλεον

Herodotus, then, considers alternative oral histories of these events. Rather than using the direct speech of the earlier narrative, Herodotus begins each section of this part of the narrative with a careful statement of his sources.

7.165: λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σικελίῃ οἰκημένων…

He thus sets up an alternative history. Within this alternative history, the Sicilians argue that internal conflict in Sicily prevented Gelon from coming to the aid of the mainland Greeks. Thus instead of a conflict over honor between elites, the Sicilians argue that Gelon could not spare the manpower due to threats to his kingdom.

> 7.165: λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σικελίῃ οἰκημένων, ὡς ὅμως καὶ μέλλων ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ Γέλων ἐβοήθησε ἂν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ Θήρωνος τοῦ Αἰνησιδήμου Ἀκραγαντίνων μουνάρχου ἐξελασθεὶς ἐξ Ἱμέρης Τήριλλος ὁ Κρινίππου τύραννος ἐὼν Ἱμέρης ἐπῆγε ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Φοινίκων καὶ Λιβύων καὶ Ἰβήρων καὶ Λιγύων καὶ Ἐλισύκων καὶ Σαρδονίων καὶ Κυρνίων τριήκοντα μυριάδας καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Ἄννωνος, Καρχηδονίων ἐόντα βασιλέα.[59]

Terillos invitation of the Carthaginian army results in the Battle of Himera, which is presented as an addition to the original account of why Gelon could not send his forces to Greece.

> 7.166: πρὸς δὲ καὶ τάδε λέγουσι, ὡς συνέβη τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης ἔν τε τῇ Σικελίῃ Γέλωνα καὶ Θήρωνα νικᾶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὸν Πέρσην. τὸν δὲ Ἀμίλκαν Καρχηδόνιον ἐόντα πρὸς πατρός, μητρόθεν δὲ Συρηκόσιον, βασιλεύσαντά τε κατ᾽ ἀνδραγαθίην Καρχηδονίων, ὡς ἡ συμβολή τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ὡς ἑσσοῦτο τῇ μάχῃ, ἀφανισθῆναι πυνθάνομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ζῶντα οὔτε ἀποθανόντα φανῆναι οὐδαμοῦ γῆς· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἐπεξελθεῖν διζήμενον Γέλωνα.[60]

---

[59] "There is, however, another story told by the Sicilians: even though he was to be under Lacedaemonian authority, Gelon would still have aided the Greeks had it not been for Terillus son of Crinippus, the tyrant of Himera. This man, who had been expelled from Himera by Theron son of Aenesidemus, sovereign ruler of Acragas, at this very time brought against Gelon three hundred thousand Phoenicians, Libyans, Iberians, Ligyes, Elisyci, Sardinians, and Cyrnians, led by Amilcas son of Annon, the king of the Carthaginians." (Godley Translation)

[60] "They add this tale too—that Gelon and Theron won a victory over Amilcas the Carthaginian in Sicily on the same day that the Greeks defeated the Persian at Salamis. This Amilcas was, on his father's side, a Carthaginian, and a Syracusan on his mother's and had been made king of Carthage for his virtue. When the armies met and he was defeated in the battle, it is said that he vanished from sight, for Gelon looked for him everywhere but was not able to find him anywhere on earth, dead or alive." (Godley Translation)

To confuse matters further, Herodotus presents a Carthaginian account of Hamilcar's death.[61]

This narrative acts as a counter-factual to 7.166. In the Sicilian narrative of these events,

Hamilcar disappears and the implication is that he abandoned his forces once their defeat was

imminent. Herodotus narrates that while the Carthaginians agree broadly with course of the

battle, they disagree over the cause of Hamilcar's disappearance.

> 7.167: ἔστι δὲ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν Καρχηδονίων ὅδε λόγος λεγόμενος, οἰκότι χρεωμένων, ὡς οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐν τῇ Σικελίῃ ἐμάχοντο ἐξ ἠοῦς ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι δείλης ὀψίης (ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γὰρ λέγεται ἑλκύσαι τὴν σύστασιν), ὁ δὲ Ἀμίλκας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μένων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐθύετο καὶ ἐκαλλιερέετο ἐπὶ πυρῆς μεγάλης σώματα ὅλα καταγίζων, ἰδὼν δὲ τροπὴν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ γινομένην, ὡς ἔτυχε ἐπισπένδων τοῖσι ἱροῖσι, ὦσε ἑωυτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ· οὕτω δὴ κατακαυθέντα ἀφανισθῆναι. ἀφανισθέντι δὲ Ἀμίλκᾳ τρόπῳ εἴτε τοιούτῳ ὡς Φοίνικες λέγουσι, εἴτε ἑτέρῳ ὡς Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Συρηκόσιοι, τοῦτο μέν οἱ θύουσι, τοῦτο δὲ μνήματα ἐποίησαν ἐν πάσῃσι τῇσι πόλισι τῶν ἀποικίδων, ἐν αὐτῇ τε μέγιστον Καρχηδόνι. τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ Σικελίης τοσαῦτα.[62]

Herodotus thus ends the narrative of the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily. As is clear, he does not

believe that these events occurred as described by the Sicilians. He presents their narrative as an

excuse provided by those who live in Sicily in order to account for their absence from the

defense of Greece against the Persian Invasion of 480 BCE. In the Sicilian retelling of these

events, they faced an army similar to that of the Persians in terms of size and composition. In

---

[61] Picard (1988), 121 and Huss (1985), 95 argue that the Carthaginian account is the only account of these events which is 'vraisemblable'. Picard justifies this position based on the fact that he believes Hamilcar was a king-priest and thus the Carthaginian version of events accords best with the office which Hamilcar held. As I demonstrate in Chapter 6, such an office never existed at Carthage. Religious, political, and military authority at Carthage were divided between three distinct offices.

[62] "The story told by the Carthaginians themselves seems to have some element of truth. They say that the barbarians fought with the Greeks in Sicily from dawn until late evening (so long, it is said, the battle was drawn out), during which time Amilcas stayed in his camp offering sacrifice and striving to obtain favorable omens by burning whole bodies on a great pyre. When he saw his army routed, he cast himself into the fire where he was pouring libations on the sacrifice; he was consumed by this and was not seen any more. [2] Whether he vanished as the Phoenicians say, or in the manner related by the Carthaginians and Syracusans, sacrifice is offered to him, and monuments have been set up in all the colonists' cities, the greatest of which is in Carthage itself." (Godley Translation)

turn, Herodotus presents the Carthaginian version of events as agreeing with those of the

Sicilians, but again explicitly distances himself from the veracity of the narrative, "ἔστι…ὅδε

λόγος λεγόμενος."

In support of this reading of Herodotus, it should be noted Thucydides has no record of a

First Battle of Himera. As discussed in Chapter 5, Thucydides views Carthage as nothing more

than a powerful city-state whose interests are concentrated in North Africa during the fifth

century. Throughout his description of the Sicilian Expedition of Athens (415-413 BCE), he

presents Carthage as an Athenian trading partner and supporter. They appear from his narrative

to have no extant interests or colonies in Sicily.[63]

To conclude, it must be noted that no archaeological evidence exists to support the

narratives preserved in Herodotus. In point of fact, the only archaeological evidence that scholars

have ever mustered to support a late 6th or early 5th century BCE invasion of Sicily by Carthage

is the Cothon at Mozia, a purpose built harbor. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, the Cothon is not a

military harbor. Its dimensions are too small to accommodate warships of the period.

Furthermore, it lacks any associated dry docks, other than a sandy beach.

In contrast, the evidence for a Carthaginian invasion of Sicily between 410-397 is

abundant and discussed in detail in Chapter 5. When compared to the evidence for earlier

periods, it is evident that Carthage was not an imperial force in Sicily before 410 BCE. After

410, Carthage remained an important imperial power until the First Punic War. During the period

of its control, Carthage constructed two colonies on the island, Selinunte and Lilybaeum, which

are attested archaeologically and epigraphically. It is also possible that Carthaginian control

spread to other pre-existing Phoenician city-states on the island, such as Panormus. Presently, the

---

[63] Thucydides 6.88.6 : "καὶ ἔπεμψαν μὲν ἐς Καρχηδόνα τριήρη περὶ φιλίας, εἰ δύναιντό τι ὠφελεῖσθαι, ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ ἐς Τυρσηνίαν, ἔστιν ὧν πόλεων ἐπαγγελλομένων καὶ αὐτῶν ξυμπολεμεῖν."

identification of all Carthaginian colonies on the island is constrained by modern development. Certain sites, particularly Panormus, have remained occupied since their foundation. The sheer accumulation of development greatly limits the available archaeological evidence from these sites and constrains the complete identification of all Carthaginian colonies in Sicily.

The Tophet and Child Sacrifice

In Justin's narrative of early Carthaginian history, the Tophet and the rituals associated with it constitute a major factor in his interpretation of Carthaginian defeats and reversals in Sicily and Sardinia. As with events in Carthaginian history, present scholarly reconstructions have accepted the basic structure of Justin's narrative without endorsing the details. Thus, rather than assume that a change of customs occurred in the 5th century, as alleged by Justin, most reconstructions assume that child sacrifice and its attendant cemeteries represent an important manifestation of Carthaginian religious beliefs and thereby constitute an archaeological manifestation of the presence of Carthaginian citizens resident at archaeological sites where Tophets have been located. Manfredi comments, "L'esistenza del tofet in un sito può considerarsi come segno evidente della presenza di cittadini punici di diritto cartaginese identificabili negli appartenenti allo *'m* delle città, gli unici ammessi al rito durante tutta la storia punica."[64]

Presently, the Tophet and the role of child sacrifice in Carthaginian religion remain under active debate. Below, I first present the traditional viewpoint that Carthaginians and other

---

[64] Manfredi (2003), 409.

Phoenician populations in the Central Mediterranean regularly sacrificed their infants.[65] As I

demonstrate in this section, the basis for this belief derives from the Greco-Roman sources,

practices recorded in the Hebrew Bible and the interpretation of a repeated phrase found on

inscriptions in the Carthaginian Tophet Scholars have further argued that the Tophet is a

characteristic Carthaginian institution; therefore, the presence of a Tophet provides a direct

indication of Carthaginian citizens at an overseas location. In turn, a large population of resident

Carthaginian citizens may represent a proximate measurement of Carthaginian political

expansion and thus some indication of Carthaginian colonization.[66]

Having established the traditional argument, I demonstrate that archaeologically, no

evidence recovered from the Carthaginian Tophet supports the identification of the infants as

victims of sacrificial rituals.[67] From this evidence, it is possible argue that the Tophet was an

infant cemetery dedicated primarily to aborted (miscarried) or still born infants, though older

infants and children were occasionally included. Based on studies of these skeletons, scholars

have argued that the skeletons in the Tophet all died of natural causes rather than sacrifice.

Furthermore, these scholars have shown that the age distribution of skeletons from the Tophet

---

[65] For arguments from this position see: Rundin (2004); Brown (1991); Lipiński (1988); Stager and Wolf (1984);

[66] Manfredi (2003), 409 and 466. Picard argues that the Tophet derives from the events of the Dido/Elissa legend. Picard, G.-Ch. (1988), 122-123: "Le légende du suicide était d'autant plus certainement une élément fondamental du mythe que son centre était sûrement le *tophet*, et qu'un *tophet* est un élément indispensable de toute cité punique, tandis qu'il fait défaut dans les villes phéniciennes qui ne se rattachent pas à cette série, à commencer par Utique." Picard however neglects the evidence from Sardinia and Sicily. At many city-states on these islands, a Tophet existed centuries before any Carthaginian involvement. In point of fact, as I argue in this Introduction, the Tophet was likely invented in Sardinia or Sicily. Moreover, Utica is poorly excavated. Only the ancient necropoleis are known. Utica very likely had a Tophet, which has yet to be found in excavations. Tophets are not centrally located in most Phoenician city-states, but they are not located outside the city-walls like necropoleis. As a result of the fact that most archaeological excavations focus on city centers and burials grounds, excavated Tophets normally lie in the zone between these areas. The discovery of a Tophet at a particular site often occurs many years after excavations have commenced at a site. The central position of the Carthaginian Tophet, as I demonstrate in Chapter 1, was likely a result of the size and growth of Carthage. What was once peripheral became central as part of this growth.

[67] For arguments from this position see: Schwartz et al. (2010); Schwartz (1998); Moscati (1987); Wood (1910)

accords with expected patterns of infant mortality in antiquity. To conclude, I argue that the

Tophet represents a far less sinister institution than that presented by the Greco-Roman sources.

Furthermore, I demonstrate that Tophets existed at multiple cities in Sicily and Sardinia long

before Carthage developed any interest in conquering these islands. Once Carthage does arrive in

the 4th century, archaeological evidence indicates that Carthaginian colonies and subordinated

city-states adopt Carthaginian rituals associated with the Tophet, most notably the Cult of Tanit.

Justin's *Epitome* records the institution of human sacrifice at Carthage during its early

history, and he notes clearly that children were included.[68] The same information is elaborated

upon in other Greco-Roman sources.[69] The discovery of walled children's cemeteries with

cremated infants (denominated a 'Tophet' by modern scholarship) had led certain scholars to

argue that archaeological and epigraphic evidence recovered within these cemeteries supports the

narratives of the Greco-Roman sources.[70]

In order to establish a precedent for child sacrifice at Carthage, scholars originally

believed that the practice derived from a ritual recorded in the Hebrew Bible, the MLK sacrifice,

once thought to be dedicated to a god Molech.[71] The MLK sacrifice involved passing children

through fire according to the Hebrew Bible.[72] Scholars have identified the presence of the MLK

sacrifice in a common formula found on inscriptions recovered at Tophets throughout the central

---

[68] Justin 18.6

[69] Diodorus Siculus 20.14; Plutarch. *On Superstition* 13

[70] Lipiński (1988), 151: "Les récentes fouilles américaines du Tophet du Salammbô, dirigées par L.E. Stager, ont montré de manière, nous semble-t-il, irréfutable que la pratique de sacrifier des enfants a persisté à Carthage depuis la seconde moitie du VIIIe siècle jusqu'à la chute de la ville."

[71] Cooke (1903), 104; R.E.S. 307 (published contemporaneous to Cooke's work) argued that MLK represented a god who acted as the divine envoy, similar to Hermes.

[72] 1 *Kings* 11:7; 2 *Kings* 23:10; *Jeremiah* 7:31; *Jeremiah* 19:5; *Jeremiah* 23:35; *Isaiah* 33:33

Mediterranean: 'נצב מלך בעל' , 'a pillar of MLK Baal'. [73] One of the earliest examples of this formula from Carthage dates to the 6th or 5th century BCE. The inscription reads:

נצב מלך בעל אש יתן מגן בן חנא לבעל חמן

'A pillar of MLK B'L which Magon, the son of Hanno, gave to Baal Hammon'[74]

When Cooke interpreted the formula, נצב מלך בעל, in 1903, he argued that this combination indicated the presence of a combined god, MLK-Baal.[75] He based this belief on the fact that we meet other gods in combination with MLK. An inscription found south of Tyre records מלכעשתרת.[76] MLK-Astarte is recorded again in another inscription from the same area.[77] Cooke concluded, "Milk-ba'al and Ba'al-hamman were prob. only different aspects of the same god." The standard formula, according to Cooke's reconstructions is translated thus: 'a pillar of Milk-Baal which [name] vowed to Baal Hammon.'[78]

After Cooke, Eissfeldt noted that the god Molech/MLK is never in evidence in the Hebrew Bible. Rather, he argued that the term MLK is used only in reference to a sacrificial ritual.[79] Therefore, scholarly research turned in a different direction. Alt argued that MLK was a

---

[73] CIS I. 123a=KAI 61A (Malta); CIS I. 147 (Sulcis); CIS I. 194; CIS. I.195CIS I. 380; KAI 98; KAI 99 (Hadrumetum/Sousse);

[74] CIS I. 5685

[75] Cooke (1903), 104.

[76] KAI 19=Cooke (1903) Phoenicia #10. His interpretation of the text can be found on page 49 in note for Line 3.

[77] CIS I.8

[78] Cooke (1903), 104

[79] Eissfeldt (1935) followed by Dussaud (1946) and Février (1953).

substantive derived from the h/yiphil of the verb YLK.[80] Used in this way, MLK would have the

meaning of 'offering.'[81] The interpretation became generally accepted and served as the

translation presented in *KAI*.[82] Under this interpretation, the formula is normally translated as: 'a

pillar of offering for Baal.'

That MLK represents a specific type of sacrifice associated with the Tophet appeared to

be supported by an inscription from Malta, which appears on the obverse side of a stele

containing an MLK-Baal inscription.[83] In this inscription, the formula is:

‏"נצב מלך אמר אש שם ארש לבעל חמן אדן"‎,

Translated under this interpretation as:

'a stele of offering of a lamb which Arash placed (here) to Baal Hammon, the Lord'.

The Marseille Tariff document[84], which contains a list of sacrifices and fees for them, has ' ‏באמר‎ '

'for a lamb' as part of its sacrificial tariff list. Because the Marseille Tariff is dated by Shofet, the

origin of the text is generally thought to be Carthaginian. Consequently, the regularly used term

for a sacrificial lamb would appear to be represented by 'MR. In turn, this identification appears

to demonstrate the MLK must represent a type of sacrifice.

Yet, complete consensus did not develop around this interpretation of the formula.

Février argued that it was unusual for the 'MLK B'L' inscriptions not to include a '‏ל‎' in front of

---

[80] Alt (1949), 282-283.

[81] Février (1953), 17.

[82] Donner and Röllig (1962-64) II, 76. For a full bibliography see Amadasi (1967), 20-21

[83] CIS I. 123b= KAI 61 B= Amadasi (1967), Malta #5

[84] CIS I. 165= KAI 69=Amadasi (1967), Appendix #3.

the god, which would denote 'to.' He concluded, "MLK B'L n'a donc rien à voir avec le dieu Ba'al: c'est "l'offrande (= sacrifice) en échange d'un enfant."[85] He based this on, "le mot 'L (= hébreu 'ul, littéralement 'nourrisson')," which by metonymy would mean child.[86] B'L would thus mean 'for or in place of a child.' 'MLK 'MR' would be another term for the same type of sacrifice. Other scholars have suggested different etymological roots for MLK, including the verbs HLK (הלך) and L'K (לאך) in order to provide every possible basis for the interpretation of MLK as a sacrificial ritual.[87]

Even after the debates of the mid-20th century, Amadasi refused to assent to any position in her work. In her description of a MLK B'L inscription from Malta, she noted, "espressione di significato incerto."[88] She renders her translation of this phrase as, "Stele di *mlk* a Ba'al (?)."[89] Her uncertainty was justified. The confirmation of MLK as a sacrifice provided by the inscription containing 'MLK 'MR' from Malta is not secure. The inscription itself, CIS I.123 b, is lost; therefore, all arguments about the text derive from copies. The Malta inscription is 6th century BCE. While analogous texts do exist, the exact formula of CIS I.123 b is not always used.[90] Moreover, the majority of these analogous inscriptions date to the 3rd or 2nd century BCE. An inscription from Constantine illustrates the differences[91]:

---

[85] Février (1953), 16.

[86] Février (1953), 16.

[87] Fantar (1993), 278

[88] Amadasi (1967), 20

[89] Amadasi (1967), 20. Question mark and italics are in the original.

[90] CIS 1.307; KAI 109; KAI 110

[91] KAI 109

לאדן לבעל חמן מלך אמר נדר אש נדר אכברת

In order to interpret MLK 'MR as the sacrifice of a lamb, the translation of the text would be: 'to the Lord, to Baal Hammon, a sacrifice of a lamb, a vow which (name) vowed."

To conclude, while it is possible to support a textually based argument that defines MLK B'l and MLK 'MR as sacrificial rituals associated with the Tophet, the textual evidence is not conclusive.[92] Confirmation of these sacrificial rites, if they did exist, should be found in the archaeological record of the Tophet [93] However, no confirmation exists. The practice of child sacrifice cannot be substantiated based on the archaeological record. None of the infant skeletons recovered present evidence of sacrificial deaths, and incisions are not found on the bones that would be indicative of slaughter.[94]

For many of the skeletons, sacrifice would not have been possible, as they are pre-natal. This evidence was first demonstrated by Schwartz.[95]

---

[92] It should be further noted that MLK as a term for sacrifice does not occur in the MarseilleTemple Tariff document (CIS I. 165= KAI 69). In this document, the terms for sacrifice are: "שלם כלל" "צועת" "כלל"

[93] Vance (1994), 118: "Some, mostly American and British, scholars are convinced that child sacrifice was actually practiced. There is textual evidence from several areas and the remains of burned children have been found. Other scholars, particularly French and Italian, are equally convinced that the practice was only the means of handling the corpses of children who died very young or who were still- born. For these scholars, the legends of child sacrifice are the product of xenophobic imaginations of those outside Phenicio-Punic culture. The prudent position would seem to be to wait until the publication of Stager's osteological evidence from Carthage and see if it supports his conviction that children were indeed the victims of an insidious rite."

[94] Schwartz et al. (2010), 3: "All bones were inspected for evidence of cut marks and other signs of trauma but none was discovered."; Schwartz (1998), 28-56. See also Richard (1961).

[95] Schwartz et al. (2010); Schwartz (1998), 28-56. The argument was put forward first with less scientific evidence by Moscati (1987). For the entire archaeological history of the Tophet at Carthage, see Lancel (1992), 247-276. Lance provides an extended discussion of the MLK sacrifice, the evidence, and scholarly positions in addition to his review of the archaeological evidence.
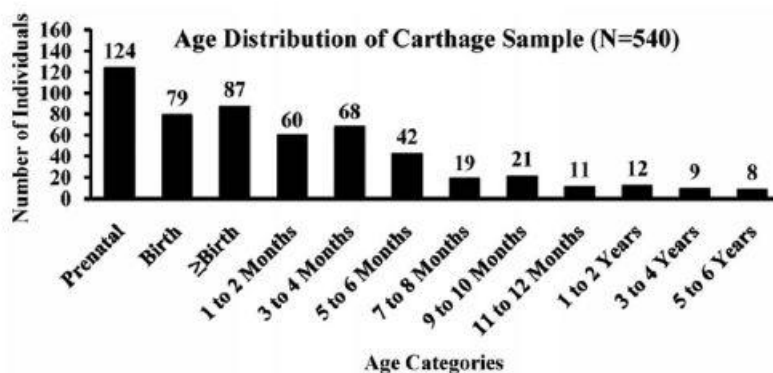
Figure 1: Distribution of Infants in the Carthaginian Tophet from Schwartz et al. (2010), 10.

More than 20% of the skeletons recovered in these urns are evidence of miscarriages and premature births. The next two age cohorts, birth and neo-natal, can be taken as a single age cohort. The concentration of skeletons within this age cohort accords with expected patterns of infant mortality in antiquity, where incidence of death is concentrated in the late third trimester and the immediate post-partum period. Complicated demographic models derived from studies of historical demography in early modern and modern Europe have led certain scholars to estimate that still births and neo natal (through the first week) deaths claimed up to 20% of all infants born in 17th century England. [96] In the Carthaginian sample, still births and neo-natal skeletons, when taken collectively, constitute slightly more than 30% of the skeletons recovered, which reflects the high incidence of mortality expected in this age cohort. Overall, 94% of all human remains in the Carthaginian Tophet derive from the period between the third trimester and the first year. Given that demographic models predict the highest incidence of morbidity and

---

[96] Woods (2005), 147-162. Moreover, the causes of neo-natal mortality vary. A recent modern study in Pakistan found that neo-natal mortality resulted from immaturity/development complications in only 26% of cases. Asphyxia (26%), infections (23%) and congenital abnormalities (8%) constitute other major causes of neo-natal deaths. Jehan (2009), 130-138.

mortality during this period, the evidence from the Carthaginian Tophet demonstrates that the infant skeletons recovered were the result of natural deaths and follow the expected patterns of infant mortality in antiquity (see Appendix B for extended discussion).[97]

In sum, if considered without reference to Greco-Roman/Biblical sources and modern reconstructions based on them, the Tophet as archaeologically recovered is a sacred burial ground to a god primarily for aborted fetuses and young infants. The Tophet, in comparison with other discovered burials of this type from the classical world, represents a distinct method of dealing with high infant mortality in antiquity. In 2nd century BCE Athens, one midwife appears to have dealt with still births and infants who died through disease or as a result of other congenital abnormalities by depositing bodies within a well. Archaeologists have uncovered 450 newborn skeletons. Of the deposited bodies, 33% are premature births, 33% have pathological indications of disease and 33% show evidence of clear disfigurations or other birth defects for which antiquity possessed no remedy (such as cleft lip).The deposition pattern within the 'baby well' at Athens indicates that all of these bodies may have been deposited by a single midwife over a 20-30 period.[98]

With reference to Carthaginian imperialism, archaeological evidence indicates that Tophets appear throughout the central Mediterranean before Carthage began any overseas campaigns. Most Tophets date at their lowest levels to the $8^{th}/7^{th}$ century BCE. More importantly, each Tophet has its own iconography in the 7th-5th centuries BCE; however, the basic physical form of the sanctuary is the same at all locations. That many of these city-states develop a similar religious institution, though with local differences, seems to result from the

---

[97] Schwartz et al. (2010).

[98] See Liston (forthcoming).

regular economic interaction between these polities in the 7th and 6th century BCE. The spread of

the Tophet is likely explainable through the harsh demographic regime faced by the earliest

colonists and the resulting value placed on every infant. Population growth is difficult to achieve

in antiquity, and proceeds slowly due to the absence of any ameliorating factors for disease or

injury.

Though the first city-state to develop a Tophet is unknowable, the Cult of Tanit

associated with the Tophet at Carthage appears to be late 5th century development.[99] Her cult is

concentrated in North Africa. The Tophet at Mozia (destroyed in the early 4th century BCE) does

not yield any evidence of the cult of Tanit.[100] At Tharros, only one inscription attests to her

cult.[101] At these sites, the Tophet appears to have been dedicated to Baal Hammon without the

addition of Tanit. At Lilybaeum, dedications to Baal Hammon (alone) and dedications to Baal

Hammon and Tanit have been recovered, suggesting an admixture of religious beliefs, likely

resulting from Carthaginian colonization and the addition of the population of Mozia after its

destruction in 397 BCE. Carthage's attempt to amend the deities associated with the cult in the

late 5th century, though the addition of Tanit represents an attempt to claim agency over the cult

during the period of Carthaginian expansion and imperialism. The cult of Tanit is only common

at Carthage and Carthaginian colonies in the western Mediterranean. It thus provides an indirect

indication of Carthaginian imperialism or colonization outside of North Africa. However,

attestations of the cult must be numerous in order to demonstrate the presence of the cult of

---

[99] Bisi (1967), 65: "Nelle stele della fine del V-inizio del IV secolo appaiono ora per la prima volta I segni di Tanit." Some evidence indicates that a goddess Tanit was known in the Near East beginning in the 7th or 6th centuries BCE. However, the specific Cult of Tanit associated with the Tophet and Baal Hammon was a 5th century Carthaginian development; See Amadasi (2000), 2

[100] Ciasca et al. (1964), 92: "In primo luogo colpisce la totale assenza da Mozia del cosiddetto simbolo di Tanit." See also Amadasi (2000), endnote #13.

[101] Fantar (1993), 251; Amadasi (1986), 45.

Tanit. A single dedication could have been made by a resident Carthaginian at nearly any city-state in the western Mediterranean. Therefore, the cult of Tanit only demonstrates Carthaginian imperialism in contexts where other evidence indicates the implantation of Carthaginian political institutions, such as the Shofet

<center>Conclusions:</center>

As demonstrated in the preceding sections, Justin's *Epitome of Trogus* provides an incomplete and potentially misleading record of early Carthaginian history. The addition of narratives from Herodotus and other ancient sources does not ameliorate the general lack of textual evidence or provide solutions for the problems inherent in Justin's narrative. Though Greco-Roman sources have structured interpretation of archaeological remains for more than a century, when taken collectively and critically considered, the Greco-Roman sources do not record the creation of a Carthaginian Empire in Sicily or Sardinia during the 6th century BCE. These sources provide no indications of colonization or any other form of Carthaginian imperial control. Instead, Carthaginian armies act, often disastrously.

In order to study the foundation of Carthaginian imperialism, therefore, I consider the extant archaeological evidence without reference to the structures of the Greco-Roman sources. Instead, I conduct an independent archaeological investigation employing methods of archaeological interpretation used for other ancient imperial systems. Archaeologically, the first Carthaginian colony that can be securely dated is Kerkouane. Its foundation dates to the mid-sixth century BCE. Thus the archaeological record does indicate a developing Carthaginian imperialism from at least 550 BCE; however, all of this archaeological evidence is confined to

North Africa and more specifically the Cap Bon peninsula. The development of a home territory occupied Carthage for the remainder of the 6th century and most of the 5th century.

As I demonstrate in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation, the creation of the Carthaginian Empire in North Africa was not brought about by military competition with Greeks or other Phoenician populations. Rather, the establishment of a large home territory was the result of economic exigencies brought about by increased trade opportunities with the eastern Mediterranean. Carthaginian Imperialism, in its earliest phase, was focused on the domination and control of land and native populations residing in the Cap Bon peninsula. Colonization in this area led to transfers of population from the metropole. These populations, in turn, began a process of acculturation and integration of native populations in the area. The resulting Libyo-Carthaginian population was the central manpower reserve of the Carthaginian state and central to its ability to project force overseas c. 400 BCE.

In the mid to late 5th century BCE, Carthage constructed its first man made port improvements. A large north- south channel was cut from the later Ilôt de l'Amirauté to the west side of the later rectangular harbor.[102] With these improvements, Carthage developed the infrastructure to support overseas expansion. If Carthaginian participation in the First Battle of Himera is an uncertain event, the Second Battle of Himera and the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily in 409-405 is more securely attested. The city of Himera ceased to exist in the late 5th century BCE. The site was completely destroyed by an invading army, to the degree that even the temples were torn down. The late 5th century BCE invasion of Sicily by Carthage is attested epigraphically at Carthage and at Athens.[103] CIS I 5510 records:

---

[102] Hurst and Stager (1978), 338-339.

[103] Schmitz (1994); Schmitz (1990); Krahmalkov (1974)

וטנת אמתנת ז בחדש פעלת שת אשמנעמס בן אדנבעל הרב וחנא בן בדעשתרת בן חנא הרב וילך רבם אדנבעל בן

גרסקן הרב וחמלכת בן חנא הרב עלש ותמך המת אית אגרגנת

'And this mtnt was erected at the new moon of (the month) P'LT, year of Esmunamos son of Adnibaal the rab and Hanno son of Bodastart son of Hanno the rab. And the rabbim Adnibaal son of Gerskon the rab and Himilcat son of Hanno the rab went to Halaisa. And they seized Agragant.'[104]

This inscription records the names for the generals who led the Carthaginian expedition into Sicily in 406 BCE: Adnibaal and Himilcat. These same general's names recur on an inscription recovered at Athens. This inscription commemorates an Athenian expression of gratitude for Carthaginian actions in Sicily.[105] To conclude, the first Carthaginian overseas imperial action that can be securely attested in multiple sources of evidence dates to the late 5th century, the same period in which the archaeology of the metropole demonstrates the creation of the infrastructure necessary to support overseas expansion. The focus of this dissertation is to elucidate how the Carthaginians arrive at this point, to show how the Carthaginian developed forms of control and subordination in North Africa which led them to grow to such heights in power that they were able to conquer a significant portion of Sicily and Sardinia in the 4th century BCE.

Though I do not use Greco-Roman sources to structure the interpretation of archaeological evidence at any point in this presentation, I must note that the last decade of the

---

[104] Schmitz (1994), 11 with slight differences.

[105] Meritt (1940); Stroheker (1954)

5th century BCE is also the point at which Greco-Roman sources and archaeological evidence begin to display agreement concerning the geography and chronology of Carthaginian imperialism. To return to the events of 406, Diodorus Siculus provides the same names and genealogies for the generals named in both the Carthaginian and Athenian inscriptions concerning these events: Ἀννίβαν and Ἰμίλκωνα τὸν Ἄννωνος.[106] Greco-Roman sources and archaeology also accord broadly on the course of certain events over the next three centuries. Greco- Roman sources record that the First Punic War occurred in the mid 3rd century and primarily consisted of a series of important sea battles in and around western Sicily. Archaeologically, destroyed warships, identified as Carthaginian due to their markings and construction, have been found off the coast of Sicily and dated to this period. Other important events, such as the liberation of Numidia from Carthaginian control at the end of the Second Punic War, are noted in the Greco-Roman sources and supported by epigraphic evidence from the Numidian kingdom. The ultimate destruction of Carthage in 146 BCE is recorded in carbon layers at the city. Near Carthage, Etruscan inscriptions attest to 1st century BCE colonists in the immediate area, indicating the establishment of Roman control.

However, the reasons behind the agreement between sources of evidence are also the same reasons why an independent archaeological history remains necessary even after the 4th century. Timaeus, Ephorus, and Theopompus, whose now mostly lost works form the core of later Greco-Roman narratives, lived in the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE. Though these men possessed enough proximity chronologically and geographically to record directly the operation of the Carthaginian Empire during this period, they are also responsible for the establishment of biased Greco-Roman historiographic traditions. The biases of these narratives (as now visible in

---

[106] Diodorus 13.80

Diodorus and Justin) caution against an integrated interpretation of archaeological and textual evidence from the 4th century BCE until the destruction of Carthage. While Greco-Roman sources and archaeological evidence may relate to the same events, it remains probable that understanding by the parties involved was not always the same. The goal of an archaeological history of the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE is to capture to whatever degree possible the Carthaginian perspective of these events, to see to what degree we can reconstruct the First Punic War as the First Roman Invasion.[107]

---

[107] Excellent histories of the 4th and 3rd centuries using the Greco-Roman sources as the primary source of evidence can be found in Hoyos (2010); Ameling (1993); Huss (1985). More archaeologically influenced, but still structured by Greco-Roman narratives: Fantar (1993), Lancel (1992). Finally, Goldsworthy (2000)/ (2012) for the Punic Wars from a Greco-Roman perspective.

Chapter 2: Phoenician Expansion

Due to limited archaeological remains for its early history, any interpretation of the settlement at Carthage requires placing its history within the broader context of Phoenician expansion. In this chapter, I provide a general discussion of the major issues involved in Phoenician occupation of the western Mediterranean: the geography of expansion, the development of trade and evidence of violence. In all of these sections, I present synthetic arguments based on archaeological evidence more fully presented in Chapter 3.

Here, I demonstrate that interpretations of Phoenician expansion have undergone noticeable changes since the 1970s. Previously, scholars viewed all Phoenician foundations in the western Mediterranean as colonies with economies directed towards supplying metropoles with resources. However, recent excavations, particularly those in Southern Spain, have called this approach to Phoenician expansion into question. Due to archaeological finds, the emphasis previously placed on long distance trade as the main economic activity at Phoenician sites has been replaced by models that articulate economic development through local and regional agricultural trade with indigenous populations as well as other foundations in the western Mediterranean. Such a major reorientation in interpretation necessarily affects any interpretation of early Carthage.

Scholars have traditionally argued that Carthage was the most important Phoenician colony in the western Mediterranean, which acted as an essential transshipment point for all commerce between east and west in the 8th and 7th centuries BCE.

> Eventually, the economy of Carthage became multifarious but, originally, trade was the basic occupation of her inhabitants. Though Carthage had been founded by a party of oppositional aristocracy, her foundation corresponded to the general direction of Tyre's

trade interests and, from the dawn of her existence on, the city developed as a center of mediatory commerce.[1]

I recenti studi archeometrici eseguiti su materiale ceramico arcaico di Cartagine, Toscanos, Sulcis, Tharros, e Monte Sirai sembrano, in effetti, confermare per la città africana una posizione commerciale e culturale preminente nell'area del Tirreno meriodionale.[2]

While the archaeology of Carthage does show evidence of some trade between Southern Spain, Sicily, Sardinia, North Africa and the even eastern Mediterranean in this period, the volume of this trade is limited. Previous interpretations of this evidence have ignored the fact that scale matters more than mere presence.

At Carthage, archaic necropoleis often provide evidence of Corinthian style ceramics in addition to other imports, yet the vast majority of recovered ceramics are local productions. Quantification of imports and exports has long been delayed for Carthage, but a synthesis of the evidence for transport amphora has finally appeared for the excavations of the Bir Massouda Site.[3] During the period 675- 430 BCE, 80-85% of all recovered transport amphora are objects of Carthaginian local production, either in the city or its developing colonial sphere in the Cap Bon.[4]

---

[1] Tsirkin (1988), 125.

[2] Manfredi (2003), 488.

[3] Bechtold and Doctor (2010).

[4] Bechtold and Doctor (2010), 88. The site was initially a necropolis, as such, the proportion of imports recovered from 760-675 BCE in this excavation represent a different use of the site from the later domestic or industrial occupation contexts. When used as a necropolis, the Bir Massouda site reveals that 70-80% of its pottery was imported. Bechtold and Doctor read this evidence very differently on pg. 91. They argue that this steep increase in locally produced pottery should be related to the development of an agricultural chora in this period. The problem with this interpretation is basic logic. If Carthage was importing 80% of its transport amphora from 760 BCE until 675 BCE, the colony would have ceased to exist unless the charity of nearby colonies or its mother city had intervened. There is no recognized coinage in this period, so the only option is that the original colonists brought with a massive quantity of silver, if the model proposed by Bechtold and Docter is to be sustained. In actuality, it was likely that the Carthage, like Huelva maintained a balance in its exchanges with other populations during its

The same evidence is also found at other Phoenician occupations in the western Mediterranean. At Huelva, of the 8000 ceramic fragments that date to the 9th or 8th century BCE, 99.9% are Phoenician or local fabrics in a nearly 50/50 division. Less than 50 Greek fragments exist for this period.[5] At Gadir, excavations have recovered 38 inscribed ceramics from the 8th and 7th centuries BCE. Of these, only a very few are on imports.[6] The same evidence recurs at Phoenician foundations in Sicily and Sardinia. In 7th and 6th century BCE strata recovered during a recent excavation at Mozia, Phoenician amphoras are the most common ceramics recovered. Nearly all of the examples recovered in this excavation were of local production, excepting a single amphora from the southern Iberian Peninsula.[7]

In brief, Phoenician occupations in the western Mediterranean do not appear to have engaged in long distance trade (at a level sufficient to sustain a population) until at least the 5th century. Rather, the Phoenicians were agriculturalists of the highest caliber. Through territorial occupation, they imported new agricultural products into areas in which these crops had yet to be cultivated. Through trade with indigenous populations, Phoenician sites developed economies based on local exchanges. By the seventh century, many of these occupations were self sustaining economic entities and appear to have developed into independent cities (autonomous and sovereign polities). Contact with mother-cities was sporadic at best and no evidence exists in the archaeological record to suggest that Tyre, Sidon or any other 'mainland' Phoenician polity

---

earliest history. The contexts of the Bir Massouda site, before 675, cannot therefore be used to discuss the earliest period of Carthaginian colonization with reference to its trading interests. On pg. 93, they correctly note that Carthage was exporting its own amphora in the 8th and 7th centuries to sites in Sardinia.

[5] Wagner (2008), 15; Pellicer Catalan (2006), 27; Gonzalez de Canales et al. (2004), 29; Cabrera Bonet (2000), 47.

[6] Cunchillos Ilarri and Zamora López (2004), 121.

[7] Famà and Toti (2000), 459-461.

exercised any form or political, economic, social or military control over polities in Sicily, Sardinia, North Africa or the Iberian Peninsula.

Secondary foundations in the 7th century allowed certain Phoenician polities in the Iberian Peninsula and Sardinia to grow greatly in terms of size and economic complexity. With these new foundations, certain polities gained direct access to wheat growing areas, new fishing territories as well as metal resources. Furthermore, secondary foundations also increased Phoenician penetration into native territories, allowing for the development of economic relationships with a wider array of potential actors. Thus by the year 600 BCE, Gadir, Tharros, Sulcis, and Mozia had developed into important centers for regional redistribution of agricultural products produced in their respective hinterlands and the territories of indigenous populations near these cities. All of these polities used this surplus to engage in trade with Greek and Indigenous actors regionally. In turn, regional demand reinforced the economic logic of Phoenician secondary occupations and led a development of the countryside in this period.

Carthage was peripheral to all of these developments. Unlike Phoenician populations in Sardinia, Sicily or Iberia, it was not positioned geographically to establish itself as an important center for local or regional trade. In addition, North Africa possessed limited resources when compared to Sicily or Sardinia. Perhaps more importantly, the native populations of North Africa were primarily pastoral and migratory. When compared to the Elymians of Sicily or Nuraghic population of Sardinia, native populations in Tunisia were far less developed economically and politically. Thus Carthage of the 8th and 7th centuries BCE was and remained a small Phoenician foundation, which through trade with local populations was able to sustain itself and produce just enough surplus to engage in limited regional trade with Sicily and Sardinia.

Phoenician Expansion: Geography and Chronology

The exact city-states that founded Phoenician occupations in the western Mediterranean are unknown, though the Greco-Roman sources ascribe the majority of the activity to Tyre.[8] The proximity and density of foundations in places like the Iberian Peninsula suggest that more than one Near Eastern polity was active.[9] Phoenician populations in Cyprus may have also been participants in occupations further west.[10] The archaeological record can establish that Phoenician overseas foundations began at Kition in Cyprus, likely in the 10th c BCE.[11] During the 8th century BCE, Phoenicians established foundations at Carthage and Utica in North Africa as well as Sulcis, Mozia, and Tharros in Sardinia and Sicily. Gadir and Huelva were likely founded in the 8th century BCE, but these foundations are slightly later than those in Sicily and Sardinia.[12] The foundation of Lixus (Morrocco) occurred in the 8th century and was not chronologically separated from the foundation at Gadir by more than a few decades.[13] Though archaeologists have indentified the general periods when these sites were created, the exact

---

[8] See: Fletcher (2006), 190; Mederos Martín (2003-2004), 125.

[9] Mederos Martín (2003-2004), 125.

[10] Bisi (1988). As will become clear throughout the dissertation, there is archaeological evidence that connects Phoenician colonies in Sardinia to those in Cyprus. This is particularly evident in inscriptions. Both the Nora Stone and the Prygi Tablets (though separated by 3 centuries chronologically) evince grammatical features consistent with those evidenced in Cyprus. See also: Mederos Martín (2003-2004), 125.

[11] See Yon and Childs (1997) and Yon (2000) for the archaeology and history of Kition, modern Larnaca. See Bikai (1989) for evidence of Phoenician trading activities in Cyprus as early as the 11th century BCE.

[12] Yon and Childs (1997); Moscati (1994), 7; Arteaga et al. (2001), 381-383; Wagner (2008), 15.

[13] López Pardo (1996), 254-255.

foundation dates of these occupations remains unclear. Archaeologically, the earliest artifacts at these sites are datable to the mid- 8th century BCE.[14]

However, the dating of early Phoenician pottery is not precise and most Phoenician ceramic styles remain in use for centuries.[15] As a result, the archaeological record at early Phoenician necropoleis in the western Mediterranean presently depends on the evidence of Greek imports, specifically Corinthian wares, to provide dates for recovered burials.[16] To complicate matters further, the majority of early Phoenician burials contain locally produced ceramics and transport jugs but lack Greek imports. The chronological relationship between burials containing only Phoenician style ceramics and the burials containing both Phoenician and Corinthian ceramics is unclear.[17]

DeVries has noted the proliferation of Corinthian style ceramics in the Western Mediterranean was likely the result of extensive production at Pithekoussai:

> It is ironic, however, that the Corinthian ware was the much more important of the two at the time both were current. Attic Late Geometric has a notoriously narrow distribution, not being traded much outside of Attica itself. In contrast, Corinthian LG pottery, which Coldstream dates between 750 and 720 B.C., had already come to occupy the position all Corinthian pottery was to hold for the next two centuries, becoming by far the most extensively traded Greek fineware of all. Beyond the Aegean, where it is commonly found, Corinthian LG pottery was imported to the non-Greek Anatolian interior and has turned up at both Sardis and Gordion. It is conspicuous in the new, developing colonial sphere in Italy and Sicily, and nowhere more so than at Pithekoussai (on the island of Ischia), the site in the West with the most fully re- covered deposits of

---

[14] Moscati et al. (1997), 33 have used this evidence to argue that the archaeological record supports the Greco-Roman sources narratives about Tyrian colonization.

[15] See Pellicer Catalan (2007), 55- 57 for a discussion of forms in the Near East and Central Mediterranean.

[16] Pellicer Catalan (2007), 57: "La cerámica griega, con su detallada evolución de formas, tratamientos y motivos decorativos y con su variedad de estilos, inexistentes en las cerámicas fenicias, ha servido como utilísimo fósil – guía para la cronología de los yacimientos protohistóricos mediterráneos, particularmente la colonización fenicia y griega."

[17] Moscati et al. (1997), 33.

this period. Buchner, the excavator at Ischia, has stated that if we did not have the explicit literary testimony that Pithekoussai was a Euboian foundation, we would suppose that it must have been a Corinthian settlement, so pervasive are the Corinthian LG and Protocorinthian imports and the local imitations of them.[18]

The earliest of these wares date to c. 750. Consequently, Phoenician necropoleis cannot presently be dated earlier than the mid-8th century BCE using imported ceramic evidence.

Outside of ceramic evidence and other forms of material culture, the epigraphic record has been important for establishing the chronology and geography of Phoenician expansion and for sustaining the belief that Tyre, actively and intentionally, colonized the western Mediterranean. Cross dated the earliest attested Phoenician inscription found in Cyprus to the end of the 11th century BCE. The inscription reads[19]:

כס שמע[] בן לבנן 'Cup of Shama'[] son of Labanan'[20]

Outside of this very early example, all other early Phoenician inscriptions date to the 9th or 8th century BCE. Two further inscriptions from Cyprus have been dated to the 9th and 8th century BCE.[21] In Sardinia, the Nora Stone[22] is the earliest legible inscription.[23] Paleographic criteria

---

[18] DeVries (2003), 141

[19] The text and translation presented here is the emendated version presented in Cross (2003), 227 [Emendation of Cross (1980), 15].

[20] In Cross' translation, 'לבנן' is treated as a patronymic. The same letters are attested on the 8th century Baal Lebanon Inscription: CIS I.5=KAI 31, where it is commonly interpreted as a geographic designation. Sznycer (1979) dated the cup inscription from Cyprus to c. 900 BCE. Cross (2003), 229 argued that the date must be earlier.

[21] KAI 30: The Archaic Cyprus Inscription (9th century) and KAI 31: The Baal Lebanon Inscription (8th century).

[22] CIS I. 144=KAI 46

[23] Two very fragmentary inscriptions may pre date it: CIS I. 145 and CIS I. 162. See Cross (2003), 256

date it to the late-9th or early-8th century BCE. The earliest inscription recovered at Carthage[24] as well as the earliest Phoenician inscription recovered in Iberia[25] date to the 8th century BCE.

Within this corpus of early inscriptions, there is no uniformity. These inscriptions include graffiti on objects of trade, dedications to gods or goddess, or monumental inscriptions that commemorate the establishment of Phoenician occupations in certain geographic areas. However, the epigraphic record does demonstrate the slow progression of Phoenician foundations across the Mediterranean during the 9th and 8th centuries BCE and confirms the general picture created by the archaeological record. The most relevant archaic Phoenician inscriptions are discussed below in sections dedicated to specific archaeological sites. Of the corpus currently recovered, the Nora Stone and the Douimès Pendant inscription have been the most extensively studied.

Pre-colonization, Colonization or simply Expansion?

Scholars have proposed viewing the history of Phoenician expansion as a series of distinct phases defined with reference to the nature of habitations which the Phoenicians built: pre-colonial (11th-9th c. BCE), initial colonization (9th-8th c. BCE), and second-wave colonization (8th-6th c. BCE).[26] Pre-colonization, as I argue below, is a misnomer for trade. Moreover, this volume of this trade is minimal and the carriers unknown. The distinction between initial colonies and second-wave colonies is somewhat more valuable, but it obscures an intermediate

---

[24] See Krahmalkov (1981).

[25] Amadasi (1967), Spain #16

[26] Fletcher (2006), 191.

stage of development at initial foundations. It also assumes that Phoenician expansion was a centrally directed colonial enterprise.

Whether or not the Phoenicians previously traded at sites they occupied is difficult to ascertain. The presence of artifacts with Near Eastern provenance in the Iberian Peninsula, North Africa, and Sicily from at least the 10th century, has served to support arguments for 'pre-colonization' by Phoenicians in the western Mediterranean.[27] However, the evidence is very thin.[28] The majority of the finds are single examples or small groups of finds. Often, the finds are concentrated in elite, indigenous burials in which the objects are clearly prestige goods. Pre-colonization, on a methodological level, seeks to imbue these recovered artifacts with agency. Rather than view Near Eastern goods in Aegean or western Mediterranean contexts neutrally, i.e. as trade, pre-colonization ascribes responsibility for that trade to the Phoenicians. In turn, Phoenician traders and their pre-colonial contacts form the basis for subsequent Phoenician colonization.[29]

Pre-colonization, as a method of interpretation, takes its impetus from the information recorded in the Greco-Roman sources, which often ascribe great antiquity to Phoenician foundations in the western Mediterranean.[30] For Pellicer Catalan, "El concepto de la precolonizacion fenicia surgió apriorísticamente por la necesidad de rellenar un vacio

---

[27] Pellicer Catalan (2007), 34- 37; Pellicer Catalan (2006); Moscati et al. (1997), 7-9; Lopez Castro (1995), 23-4;Fantar (1993) I, 45-46; Negbi (1992).

[28] Nor do pre-colonial finds coincide geographically with later colonies. See Van Dommelen (1998), 71-85.

[29] "La colonización propiamente dicha, [es] consecuencia y culmen de la precolonización." Pellicer Catalan (2006), 9

[30] See Bunnens (1979) for an extensive discussion of the evidence contained in the written sources. See: Velleius Paterculus I. 2; Pliny. *Natural History*. 16.216; Pliny 19.63; Diodorus 5. 20 for ancient foundation dates.

cronológico cultural de unos tres siglos entre los datos aportados por las fuentes escritas orientales y clásicas y los presentados, desde hace medio siglo, por la arqueología."[31]

The problems inherent in this construction are evident. A notation in Velleius Paterculus that Tyre founded Utica and Gadir eighty years after the fall of Troy does not have equal evidentiary value to more than a century of archaeology at these sites.[32] No artifacts yet recovered at Utica predate the 9th century BCE. At Gadir, archaeologists have undertaken a series of deep trenches reaching to the bedrock in the areas in which archaeologists presume an early Phoenician presence. The artifacts recovered at the lowest levels of Phoenician occupation date to the 8th century BCE, though some may have 9th century BCE dates.[33] Near Gadir, at Huelva, the same dates were obtained for the earliest levels of Phoenician occupation.[34] Radiocarbon dates from Phoenician and Indigenous sites in the southern Iberian Peninsula indicate that the earliest Phoenicians likely arrived c. 800-780 BCE.[35] Notably, the majority of the artifacts recovered at early Phoenician occupations are of local production, which suggests that these sites were not pre-colonies, but rather functioning towns that were supporting year round populations engaged in agriculture for subsistence and trade. Evidence from recovered amphora at Huelva suggests local wine and salt fish production had already commenced by the 8th century BCE.[36]

---

[31] Pellicer Catalan (2006), 9;

[32] Velleius Paterculus. *Historia Romana*. 1.2-4.

[33] Arteaga et al. (2001), 381-383.

[34] González de Canales et al. (2004).

[35] Lopez Castro (1995), 31-33

[36] Pellicer Catalan (2006), 27.

The search for evidence of 'pre-colonial' Phoenician activities distorts the interpretation of artifacts already recovered.[37] If the data is viewed without the lens of 'pre-colonization', the archaeological record demonstrates a steady but slow movement of Phoenician occupations across the Mediterranean. Permanent sites were from their foundation engaged in agricultural pursuits and developed agricultural territories. Agriculture, livestock and aquaculture were the basis for Phoenician commerce in the western Mediterranean and thus the basis for continued Phoenician expansion across the Mediterranean.[38] Prestige goods and long distance transport are less important and poorly documented when compared to the evidence for local trade in bulk agricultural commodities.[39] While certain scholars continue to maintain that Phoenician sites in the western Mediterranean existed to conduct trade in metals,[40] little archaeological evidence supports this belief.[41] The majority of the metals available in the western Mediterranean can be found in the eastern Mediterranean. Tin is the only resource that is exclusive to the western Mediterranean. However, the only attested shipment of tin recovered in the western Mediterranean comes from a recovered Gaditean shipwreck, dated to the period 625-575 BCE.

The ship was found near Cartagena (Bajo de la Campana, Murcia).[42] Based on the provenance of artifacts within the shipwreck, clear evidence points to the ship's origin at Gadir.

---

[37] Fantar (1993) I, 46 provides an excellent example of previous approaches to this evidence.

[38] Alvar and Wagner (1988); Whittaker (1974).

[39] Hodos (2009), 231; Pellicer Catalan (2006), 27; López Pardo (1996), 251; Alvar and Wagner (1988), 174.

[40] Pellicer Catalan (2007), 37-38; Picard, C. (1988).

[41] Lopez Castro (1995), 27.

[42] Mederos Martín and Ruiz Cabrero (2004), 278 argue that the ship came from Malaga based on the ceramic evidence. I remain unconvinced. The most important objects in the cargo are tin and ivory. Both these goods have origins outside of the Mediterranean. Before these goods could reach Malaga, they would have had to pass through Gadir and be joined into a single cargo. The site at Santa Olaia is dominated by Gaditean manufactures suggesting that the most likely origin of tin in this period was a Gaditean foundation. While Ivory could have been acquired on

4 ingots of tin were found in the cargo. Of these ingots, only one has been analyzed to determine its composition. This particular example was 99.5% tin with some impurities of zinc. The tin likely originated in Portugal, the primary source of tin in the western Mediterranean. [43] The shipwreck also contained thirteen ivory tusks, four of which possessed Phoenician inscriptions. The tusks likely originated at Lixus, where elephant bones have been recovered in excavations.[44] A series of R1 amphora found in the wreck were produced at Malaga. Malaga was the first major port east of Gadir. Due to the absence of other transport amphora in the ship's cargo, it is likely that these amphorae held drinking water and were taken on by the crew at their first port of call.

In order to determine the destination of this cargo, the ivory cargo is key evidence. The Phoenician inscriptions on the ivory tusks indicate a Phoenician port as the ship's destination. No economic reason exists to ship ivory to the Near East, as more proximate sources of ivory were available to Phoenician polities in Lebanon. The only Phoenician occupied areas without access to ivory that could lie on the ship's route east (from Cadiz-Malaga- Cartagena) are in Sardinia and Sicily. Therefore, the cargo recovered in this shipwreck likely represents a medium distance shipment from the Iberian Peninsula to Sardinia/Sicily. The tin in the shipment was destined for local trade on one of these islands. Given the known history of bronze casting by

---

the Mediterranean coast of Morocco, no major archaeological sites appear in this area until 6th century BCE. The most likely source of ivory was the Atlantic coast of Morocco. See Wachsmann et al. (2009), Cabrera Bonet (2000) for Portugal; Mederos Martín and Ruiz Cabrero (2004), López Pardo (1996) for Morocco.

[43] The colony at Santa Olaia, in Portugal, shows its maximum period of activity in the sixth century based on Phoenician ceramics recovered at the site. Santa Olaia sat at the mouth of the Mondego river, which was the primary artery for tin export at this period. See Wachsmann et al. (2009) and Cabrera Bonet (2000).

[44] Mederos Martín and Ruiz Cabrero (2004), 272-275. The authors review the probable sources of elephant tusks in this cargo. They note the presence of elephants in North Africa in this period, primarily forest elephants of the type now found in Senegal.

Nuraghic populations in Sardinia, I would argue that the cargo likely had as its destination

Tharros or Sulcis.

The only other evidence for tin trading in the 9th- 7th centuries BCE is a small set of

Phoenician settlements along the Atlantic coast of Iberia. None of these settlements was

permanently inhabited and no settlement yields a necropolis. If tin was so central to the

economic health of Phoenician colonies in the western Mediterranean, then Phoenician colonies

should concentrate in the areas with access to this resource. However, Phoenicians never settled

these areas permanently and peacefully abandon most of their trading stations in modern

Portugal during the mid-6th century BCE.[45]

In addition, some scholars have argued that silver and the large silver deposits of the

Sierra Morena in the Iberian Peninsula were an integral part of early Phoenician economies.

Archaeological evidence indicates that silver smelting was occurring during the 8th and 7th

centuries BCE at Huelva and Toscanos as well as a few other small Phoenician sites. However,

the implication that these goods were destined for markets in the Near East cannot be

corroborated by the archaeological record. In contrast, the evidence for extensive trade in jewelry

between Phoenician and Indigenous populations can be documented at Indigenous and

Phoenician necropoleis in Iberia.[46]

Finally, the distances involved in this trade route rendered it economically unviable as a

model for colonial expansion. According to estimates provided by the ORBIS software, the

voyage between Tyre and Gadir, when made as directly as possible, would have taken 27- 31

---

[45] Wachsmann et al. (2009). In chapter 3, I argue that these abandonments were related to Iberian expansion that ultimately rendered Phoenician trading stations superfluous.

[46] Ortega Feliu et al. (2007); Pellicer Catalan (2007), 38.

days in the settled sailing conditions of the Roman Empire (depending on the month in which the voyage occurred) and covered a distance of more than 4500km. Thus only one voyage was likely possible during an average Mediterranean sailing season. That objects of Near Eastern provenance are sparse in the western Mediterranean further supports this contention. For every import from the Near East, archaeologists have recovered thousands of examples of local or regional production at Carthage, Huelva, Gadir, Mozia and Tharros.

Image 1: Voyage from Tyre to Gadir. Source: *ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World*[47]

In sum, little archaeological evidence supports the belief that metals, specifically tin, were important resources in the development of Phoenician occupations. Rather, the evidence demonstrates that Phoenician settlers were agricultural traders. Phoenician settlements imported new agricultural products into areas where indigenous populations lacked access to these resources. Wine and oil, not metals, were the basis for Phoenician expansion into the western Mediterranean. Local and regional trade, not long distance shipments, constituted the basis for Phoenician overseas economies.

The Role of Agriculture in the Phoenician Colonization

---

[47] Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). *ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World*. Retrieved 24 Jun, 2012, from http://orbis.stanford.edu.

Due to the stereotypes of the Greek sources, scholars have traditionally viewed

Phoenician foundations as trading posts (emporia) with little agricultural basis.[48] Lopez Pardo

comments, "Hasta los años 70 nadie se cuestionaba el carácter totalmente comercial de la

colonización fenicia en el Extremo Occidente. El modelo dominante en la época se articulaba

sobre un esquema simple de intercambios de materias primas por manufacturas importadas de

Oriente."[49] Extensive excavations in Iberia and Sardinia have altered this viewpoint. It is clear

that permanently inhabited Phoenician sites in the western Mediterranean developed agricultural

territories. These territories were essential in providing agricultural commodities for local and

regional trade. Lopez Castro notes, "sin embargo, y paradójicamente, los asentamientos

coloniales excavados hasta la fecha responden más por sus características a colonias en las que

las actividades agrícolas y subsistenciales fueron las más importantes."[50]

In many cases, Phoenicians bypassed excellent harbors because the areas lacked

sufficient space to develop a chora.[51] In addition, as demonstrated by the distribution of

Phoenician occupations, the regular placement of stop-over stations was not essential to

Phoenician sailing routes. Phoenician traders regularly crossed long stretches of open water.

Therefore, in areas with abundant agricultural land, Phoenicians clustered to harness these

---

[48] Tsirkin (1988), 129 argues that "In the early years of Carthage's history, agriculture did not exist in the city." The only evidence adduced to support this position is a notation in Diodorus Siculus 13.81 that Carthage imported wine and olive oil from Agrigentum in the 5th century. Tsirkin's reconstruction, which ignores archaeological evidence completely, represents a maximalist text first approach to the history of Carthage.

[49] Lopez Pardo (1996), 215; See also: Alvar and Wagner (1988); Moscati et al. (1997), 36.

[50] Lopez Castro (1995), 33.

[51] See Vuillemot (1965) for the distribution of Phoenician occupations in one area of the western Mediterranean.

resources. From these agricultural foundations, Phoenician traders developed new markets in agricultural products in the Iberian Peninsula, Sardinia, and Sicily.[52]

Locally produced transport amphorae, particularly the R1 in the Iberian Peninsula, are widely evidenced at Phoenician and indigenous sites in the 8th and 7th centuries BCE.[53] Indigenous ceramics, in turn, appear in significant quantities at all Phoenician sites in the southern Iberian Peninsula.[54] This evidence indicates the development of local and regional exchange networks in which locally produced agricultural products served as the basis for trade with indigenous populations. At the indigenous site of Crevillente in Alicante, a number of 7th century inscribed Phoenician amphoras and other ceramics have been recovered in excavations.[55] Thus it is evident that by the 7th century BCE, Phoenician wine and the Phoenician methods of wine consumption had already penetrated populations located geographically distant from Phoenician settlements. Similar evidence for the growth of Phoenician wine trading activities also appears in the archaeological records at indigenous sites in Sardinia, Etruria, and even Latium.[56]

Through these local networks of exchange, Phoenician occupations began to grow in size during the 7th century. As a result, certain city-states founded secondary occupations to further harness agricultural resources. This process is particularly evident in the Iberian Peninsula and

---

[52] See Sardà Seuma (2008), 97 for the extensive evidence from Iberia; Moscati et al. (1997), 36: "La scoperta di insediamenti di altissima antichità nel Sulcis…mostra che la concentrazione dei Fenici non avviene exclusivamente sulle coste, né solo nei centri tradizionalmente indicati come primari; essa, piuttosso, appare già all'inizio intesa a una diffusione nel territorio, in forme che, per la frequenza degl'insediamenti e per loro vicinanza reciproca, si riscontrano esclusivamente, in area coloniale, sulla costa andalusa."

[53] R1 amphora are Phoenician in style but produced in the Iberian Peninsula. See: Alvar and Wagner (1988), 174.

[54] Lopez Castro (1995), 45-46.

[55] De Hoz (2002), 77-78.

[56] Vives-Ferrándiz (2004).

Sardinia. In the Iberian Peninsula, Cerro del Villar and Toscanos both founded multiple dependent colonies in their hinterlands.[57] In Sardinia, Sulcis developed the sites at Monte Sirai and Nuraghe Sirai in addition to a number of other foundations. The Phoenicians also settled at Bitia for the first time in mid-7th century.[58]

In Sicily, trade was conducted with local Elymian populations and nearby Greek city-states on the island. For example, reciprocal trade between Phoenicians and Greeks in Sicily is demonstrated by the distribution of amphorae produced at Mozia. These amphoras are found at Selinunte, Camarina, and other Greek sites in Sicily.[59] Phoenician trade with Selinunte was motivated by its intensive contacts with Elymians populations. The Greek colony at Selinunte appears to have acted as a local aggregation point for trade in free-threshing wheat produced by Elymian communities along the Belice River valley.[60] Therefore, amphoras and other ceramics from Selinunte appear regularly at Elymian sites in western Sicily as part of this reciprocal trade.

The development of agricultural territories to create wine and oil markets in the west was an extension of economic models already developed in the east.[61] Due to recent research on Phoenician cities in the Near East, the agricultural history of these polities has become clearer. Two deep water shipwrecks of the 8th century BCE recovered off the coast of Israel illustrate potential cargos of Phoenician ships.[62] As a result of sampling survey techniques and not a

---

[57] Lopez Castro (1995), 54.

[58] Moscati et al. (1997), 35.

[59] Isserlin et al. (1958), 24.

[60] Sitka et al. (2008), S141

[61] Lopez Castro (1995), 34.

[62] Ballard et al. (2002). The ships were found off the coast of Ashkelon.

complete excavation, the exact number of amphora located in the cargo holds of each ship is not known. Three hundred eighty five visible amphorae were recorded for one wreck; three hundred ninety six were recorded in the other wreck. Each amphora held on average 17.8 liters, and their size and shape was highly standardized. The excavators comment, "The complete amphorae that were recovered had a standard deviation of less than 2 cm in height and around 1 cm in width. This narrow range indicates considerable standardization in manufacture, a characteristic typical of every aspect of these amphorae."[63] All of the amphoras were lined with resin to prevent leaking and showed traces of wine residues. The weight of the cargo adds up to more than 10 tons of wine per ship. In addition, these shipwrecks demonstrate that Phoenician traders made off shore deep water crossings as part of their trade route with Egypt.[64] The shipwrecks were found 33 miles off the coast of Ashkelon, Israel in over 400 meters of water.[65]

To support international commerce, as early as the 9th century BCE, polities in Lebanon and modern Israel developed the ability to construct protected harbors using ashlar masonry.[66] Such a building technique was essential to convert marginal harbors into regular trading ports. At Atlit, 20 km south of modern Haifa, builders constructed ashlar moles to enclose a partially

[63] Ballard et al. (2002), 159.

[64] While it is possible to argue that these ships sank due to their distance from the coast, I would argue that the ship's location results from the desire to avoid piracy and unsafe ports in Southern Israel. 33 miles off the coast is insufficient distance to dramatically reduce the sail between Atlit and the Nile Delta. However, it is enough distance to ensure that coastal pirates cannot locate these ships. As I argue in Chapter 3, the geography of Phoenician expansion in the western Mediterranean indicates that these sailors were capable of making extensive open water sails as early as the 8th century BCE. This skill was developed, likely, via trade with Egypt and colonization in Cyprus. Both of these sails required open water crossings, though for different reasons.

[65] Ballard et al. (2002), 151-152. On p. 159, Ballard suggests that these ships were bound for Carthage, due to the fact that the same ceramic types are found in archaic Carthaginian tombs. I would argue that these ships were bound for Egypt. Carthage, c. 750 BCE, was small Phoenician foundation, likely only recently founded. The cargoes would have had to pass through a largely uninhabited Libya with no known Phoenician ports after Egypt. Furthermore, the economic utility of shipping 20 tons of wine to Carthage at this point in its history is unclear.

[66] Haggi (2010), 283 provides a list of all Phoenician ports with similar structures as well as relevant bibliography. Tyre, Sidon, Arwad, Tabbat el- Hammam all have similar structures.

protected harbor space. The stones used in the construction of the Atlit harbor were quarried in Cyprus and Syria. Around the harbor border, the inhabitants constructed a warehouse and a watchtower. [67] Wine trade with Egypt and other international commerce, as documented by the shipwreck evidence, required the development of protected anchorages to protect against piracy and storms. Although not documented by shipwreck evidence, it is likely that olive oil trade was also a large component of Phoenician trade in this period. Contemporaneous to the development of the protected harbor at Atlit, the agricultural areas near the city show evidence of an increase in olive oil production, best documented by the development of industrial scale oil presses and warehouses excavated at Shiqmona (Haifa) that date to the 8th century BCE.[68]

Trade Routes in the Western Mediterranean

Scholars have argued that long distance trade routes connected Phoenicia to its far western 'colonies' from their foundation in the 9th century BCE.[69] In order to encounter all of the occupations in a single voyage, scholars have suggested that merchant ships from Lebanon followed a northern route from Phoenicia to the Iberian Peninsula (Cyprus, Greece, Sicily, Sardinia, Iberia) and a southern route from the Iberian Peninsula to Phoenicia (Iberia, North Africa, Egypt). [70] The belief in such a circuitous route has become so accepted as to form the

---

[67] Haggi (2010) , 278-281

[68] Haggi (2010), 283.

[69] Fantar (1988)(b), 4.

[70] Aubet (2001), 185-191.

basis for interpretations of archaeological evidence from supposed port of calls along this

voyage. Erickson, discussing the geography of Crete, comments:

> In the Orientalizing period, its [Crete's] geographic position ensured the island's importance in a great east-west trade artery that linked Phoenicia to its western colonies…The primary northern route from Phoenicia to Gadir followed a general counterclockwise motion through the Mediterranean. Phoenician ships traveled west through the Ionian Sea, with a probable stop on Crete…The next stopping point along the route to Spain was the south coast of Sicily and Sardinia. The return voyage skirted the coast of North Africa and bypassed Crete.[71]

Between 800-500 BCE, no Phoenician foundations existed in large stretches of North

Africa (primarily modern Algeria and Morocco).[72] The sail from Gadir to Utica on the return

voyage would have been nearly impossible in this period.[73] Consequently, as I will demonstrate

in this section, only one primary east-west shipping route existed in the Mediterranean. Though it

developed with Phoenician occupation in the 9th century BCE, the volume of traffic sailing the

length of this route was minimal until the late 6th century BCE.

Instead of long distance trade, the majority of trade conducted in the 8-6th centuries was

local. Local trade with indigenous populations, over time, began to produce sufficient surplus in

certain agricultural commodities that regional trade routes developed between polities located in

different geographic areas within the western Mediterranean. These exchanges involved

---

[71] Erickson (2005), 625.

[72] Lancel (1992), 29 argued that Carthage developed the necessary foundations along this sailing route in the 7th and 6th centuries BCE. As I illustrate below, Carthaginian interests were always minimal in this area.

[73] A route across North Africa does develop in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE. Foundations in Southern Iberia colonized Morocco. In turn, Carthage developed a series of colonies in Algeria. By the 5th century BCE, it was possible to sail across North Africa, encounter regular ports of call, and exchange goods at each of these ports. These colonies drew nomadic native populations towards coastal settlements and provided the basis for the later Numidian kingdom.

Phoenician, Corinthian, East Greek and later Phocaean settlers. It is ultimately through these

developed regional networks of exchange that commodities begin to move from the western to

eastern Mediterranean in the 6th century BCE. Long distance shipments likely began as

supplementary cargos on regional trade routes, essentially 'piggy backing' on multiple regional

cargos to reach far away destinations. By the 5th century, demand from the eastern Mediterranean

for certain agricultural products was sufficient to produce regular direct trade between polities in

the western and eastern Mediterranean.

Regional Trade Routes (8th-6th centuries BCE)

Image 2: Trade Routes in the Western Mediterranean:

Image © Google.

Black Line- Phoenician Trade Routes (8th Century);
Pink Line – Corinthian and Greek Colonial Networks (8th Century);
Red Line- Corinthian Trade route to Magna Graecia (8th century);

The first Phoenician regional trade route to develop was a connection between Sardinia, Sicily, and North Africa, at some point in the 8th century BCE. Carthage and Utica depended on redistribution through Sulcis or Mozia in order to access external markets in Sardinia and Sicily. An essential stop over point for trade between North Africa and Sicily was the Phoenician colony on Pantelleria, where amphoras exported from Mozia dated to the late 8th and 7th centuries BCE have been recovered.[74]

	Start	Destination	Month	Distance	# Days
1	Carthago	Caralis	January	306	2.2
2	Carthago	Panormus	January	379	2.2
3	Caralis	Panormus	January	516	2.9
4	Carthago	Cossyra	January	231	1.4
5	Cossyra	Panormus	January	267	1.6

Image 3: Carthaginian Regional Trade Networks

---

[74] Bechtold (2011).

The volume and variety of Greek imports that reached Carthage during its early history depended on the following trade routes: Carthage- Pantelleria- Mozia, Carthage-Mozia or Carthage- Sulcis. Mozia served as the primary Phoenician entrepôt for Greek products emanating from Greek colonies in Sicily and Magna Graecia, as well as their mother cities in the eastern Mediterranean. At Mozia, Corinthian and East Greek pottery represent the main imports during the 7th and 6th BCE. Isserlin comments, "They [i.e. Ceramics] also underlined what was known before about the important foreign trade of Motya: besides the Corinthian connection there was a strong link with the region producing East Greek pottery; Attica entered the picture much less. Contacts with the Greek world in Italy, and occasionally with the Etruscans, were to be expected, and do occur."[76]

Concomitant with the development of this trade route, Phoenician populations in the Iberian Peninsula and the Balearic Islands began to collect and produce sufficient surplus to engage in regional trade with other Phoenician polities in Sardinia. In Sardinia, Sulcis acted as the essential port of exchange between the two Mediterranean basins in this period. Products that moved west from Magna Graecia through Mozia could be exchanged at Sulcis for products moving east from Iberia and Ibiza. It is for this reason that Sulcis became one of the most dynamic colonies in the western Mediterranean. Its centrality in trade routes appears to have precipitated a population increase (likely through immigration) that led to secondary colonization throughout its hinterland during the 7th century BCE. Evidence from multiple Nuraghic

---

[75] Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). *ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World*. Retrieved 24 Jun, 2012, from http://orbis.stanford.edu.

[76] Isserlin et al. (1958), 4.

settlements in the area appears to demonstrate that rather than trading with the local population, Sulcis forcible removed the native inhabitants in order to increase its own territorial claims.

A third regional trade route connected Phoenician polities in Sardinia to Etruscan polities in Italy. This route appears to have developed during the late 7th century BCE and became fully developed during the 6th century BCE. In Sardinia, excavations at Tharros and Oristano have recovered Etruscan Bucchero oinochoai, kantharoi, chalice, and amphoras as well as several ceramics in Etruscan-Corinthian styles: alabastron, aryballoi, and cups. Bucchero wares, though fragmentary, were also found at Monte Sirai. The majority of these imports date c. 600-500.[77]

In addition to these Phoenician regional trade routes, Greek colonization precipitated an expansion of Greek trade routes in Italy and southern Gaul in the late 7th and 6th centuries BCE. Phocaean colonists settled at Marseille, Nice, Antibes, and Emporion and established a new regional trade route in Gaul and Catalonia.[78] An Etruscan and Greek bilingual inscription attests to commerce between the newly founded colonies at Marseille and Emporion and their Etruscan neighbors.[79]

Phocaean colonists founded Marseille c. 600 BCE.[80] For the first 70 years of its existence, the majority of imported amphoras at Marseille are Etruscan, especially amphoras related to the transport of wine. A small percentage, c. 10%, comes from other Greek city-states throughout the Mediterranean. A very small number of Phoenician amphora types have been

---

[77] See Gras (1974) for the history of imports at the necropoleis at Tharros. See Turfa (1977), 371 for a more general view of the evidence. See Gras (1985) for a useful study of commerce in the Tyrrhenian Sea and Becker (2006) for a more recent study of Etruscan commerce.

[78] See Dietler (1997), 288- 289 for a discussion of the early history of Emporion, which appears to have been founded within twenty years of the colony at Massilia.

[79] Becker (2006), 176- 177; Perkins (1999), 178.

[80] See Euzennat (1980) for the earliest excavations of the archaic city-state.

recovered.[81] Beginning the 550s, Marseille develops its own amphora types in order to export

wine. Amphoras from Marseille have been discovered at all the indigenous Gallic foundations

near Marseille, where they replace Etruscan imports in the ceramic record. Marseille's amphoras

dominate the ceramic record of these sites and bear witness to a developed local trading

network.[82] Local trade allowed Marseille to grow quickly during the first century of its existence.

By late sixth century, the city-state enclosed 40 hectares within its walls.[83]

The same Massilian wine amphoras found at Gallic sites appear for the first time in the

ceramic record at Huelva c. 550 BCE attesting to Marseille's ability to produce sufficient surplus

to become a supplier for regional exports.[84] Concomitant with the establishment of exports from

Marseille, the archaeological record of certain sites in the southern Iberian Peninsula bears

witness to a new regional trade route between Greek colonies in Gaul and Phoenician settlements

in the Iberian Peninsula. At Huelva, the sixth century witnessed a massive increase followed by a

---

[81] Bats (1998), 618. The Giglio shipwreck provides possible evidence of these connections, as the cargo contained Etruscan, East Greek and Carthaginian amphoras as well as fine ware ceramics in Corinthian and Etruscan bucchero styles. Long (1992), 229. A possible destination for the ship may be the newly founded Phocaean colony at Marseille. Interestingly, the ship was carrying a number of iron spear point and ingots of lead and copper. It is on this evidence that I would suggest that the destination is Marseille, as both Sardinia and Etruria are producers of these metals, whereas Marseille would have lacked access to these metals due to its location. A different Etruscan shipwreck, possessing a cargo of 100 Etruscan amphoras as well as other bucchero ceramics, has been discovered near Marseille (6th c. BCE), which also seems to be indicative of this trade route. Dietler (1997), 295. See also Long et al. (1992), 229: "Esteu dou Miet" wreck.

[82] Bats (1988), 620. See also Dietler (1997), 277-279, 283-285.

[83] Dietler (1997), 282.

[84] Cabrera Bonet (2000), 72; Another shipwreck near Marseille, a Greek merchant ship (known as 'Epave Pointe-Lequin l A') contained a cargo which has been dated to the end of the 6th century BCE (most probably c. 515 BCE). The majority of the cargo was East Greek with some ceramics from the Corinthian Koine as well as Ionian/Massilian ceramic types. In addition, Athenian products constitute an important percentage of the ceramics. The late 6th century, as argued in Chapter 3, is the point at which Athenian products more generally begin to appear more regularly in this geographic area. Athenian goods constitute c. 12% of the amphoras and 29% of the other ceramics recovered in this wreck. Long et al.. (1992), 204-225. A similar cargo is also found in the Gela Shipwreck (dated to c. 500 BCE) off the coast of Sicily. The cargo of this ship contained a mix of amphoras from Chios and Lesbos, Attic SOS, Corinthian A and B, and Carthaginian examples. In addition to amphoras, the ship held Attic black and red figure ceramics. Long et al. (1992), 229

subsequent collapse in Greek imports to the site. Cabrera Bonet demonstrated that multiple phases are visible in the ceramic record of these imports. The first phase (630-580 BCE) is characterized by the presence of East Greek imports, which constitute 87% of all the ceramics recovered. East Greek imports were produced at Samos and northern areas of Ionia. The majority of these imports are associated with trade in luxuries: perfumes, oil, and wine (drinking vessels). The remaining ceramics are imports from Attica.[85]

A second phase (580-560 BCE) is characterized by a dramatic increase in the quantity of imported Greek pottery. Whereas the volume of trade in the first phase is sporadic, the second phase appears to demonstrate regular commercial interactions between Huelva and Greek polities. For example, the excavation at c/ Puerto 9 uncovered 15 imported fragments for the first phase and 172 for the second phase. The provenance of ceramics in the second phase is similar to that of the first, as 80% of imports are East Greek. Attic ceramics remain the second most attested types. However, new pottery imports occur in this period. Corinthian, Laconian, and Massilian wares are found, and imports from Marseille equal the number of imports from Attica. The Attic pottery found at Huelva is otherwise found in significant quantities at Gravisca and Naucratis. The same painters and potters encountered at Huelva can be identified in the ceramics at these other ports as well.[86] The East Greek pottery of the second phase derives primarily from Samos (36% of the total) and continues to be primarily ceramics associated with trade in oil, perfume and wine (again drinking vessels).[87] However, second phase ceramics also

---

[85] Cabrera Bonet (2000), 51-52.

[86] Cabrera Bonet (2000), 53-56.

[87] Cabrera Bonet (2000), 59. Cabrera Bonet (2000), 61 notes that the majority of East Greek pottery from Huelva cannot be given a secure provenance. 35% of the total can only be described as East Greek without a more specific attribution.

contain the first evidence of Greek transport amphora.[88] Based on the contents and provenance of the recovered amphora, it appears that ¾ of the imports to Huelva were oil imports whereas only 24% were wine.[89]

In the third phase at Huelva (560-530), Greek imports to Huelva slow and the composition of the imports undergoes subtle changes. Most notably, imported luxury ceramic vases disappear. They are replaced by inferior vase types with simpler decoration. Of the imported ceramics, Attic imports increase to 28% of the total, while East Greek imports decrease to 52%. Bucchero pottery from Etruria and Massilian transport amphorae appear regularly in the third phase. Corinthian A and B transport amphoras along with other Corinthian ceramics constituted 11% of the ceramics in phase 3.[90]

In the fourth and final phase at Huelva (530-500), Greek imports at Huelva nearly cease (only six fragments have been found). East Greek wares completely disappear. The only ceramics recovered are Attic vases and Massilian amphorae.[91] Based on the pattern of this trade and the provenance of the objects, when combined with evidence of reciprocal trade at Marseille,

---

[88] Cabrera Bonet (2000), 64. 44% come from East Greece, 35% from Attica, 13% from Corinth, and 8% Massilian.

[89] Cabrera Bonet (2000), 65 felt this finding was interesting given that 56% of the total imports are actually Greek wine drinking cups. While she notes that Phoenicians in southern Iberia produced both products from the 8th century, she argues that the domination of oil imports at Huelva was a Greek adaptation to an existing market, i.e. Greek oil harnessed existing markets established by the Phoenician oil trade. Wine cups, she argues, were widely exported and therefore require no independent explanation. Cabrera Bonet, in general, believes that Phocaean goods competed with Phoenician products in the markets of Southern Iberia. This position conditions her entire interpretation. In contrast, I would argue that Phoenician traders are incorporating Greek products into existing markets. The archaeological record of Iberia suggests that the Phoenicians were exporting quantities of wine to the eastern Iberia in the 7th century. As a result, the colonies at Huelva, Gadir, and Sexi were regularly exporting wine and wine drinking implements. Greek wine and wine cups could only serve to add to the volume of this trade with indigenous peoples. Oil imports, I would argue, were likely compensatory for a low production of oil in southern Iberia. The indigenous peoples of southern Iberia were primary herders, and thus likely had access to a variety of fats. Oil, therefore, was a smaller market than wine in Iberia. Phoenician city-states in Iberia could import oil and preserve land for vineyards.

[90] Cabrera Bonet (2000), 69-72.

[91] Cabrera Bonet (2000), 74.

it is likely that the majority of these imports were transshipped through Phocaean colonies in Gaul.

Thus, by 550 BCE, it is evident that regional trading networks connected major transshipment points for local trade in Gaul, Italy, Sardinia, and Sicily. Through these networks of exchange, grain, oil, wine, silver, metals, timber and a whole host of other products were redistributed from areas of production to areas of consumption. However, the market was also highly competitive and unstable in this period. Furthermore, as the example of Huelva demonstrates, regional trading networks did collapse. As certain foundations increased their own territorial claims, local trading networks, and agricultural foundations, regional trade begins to slow between certain polities.

Concomitant to these transitions in the archaeology of trade, c. 550-525 BCE, patterns of occupation in the southern Iberian Peninsula and Sardinia begin to show evidence of contraction. Toscanos and Cerro del Villar are abandoned in Iberia.[92] Monte Sirai and Nuraghe Sirai as well as Cuccureddus and Villasimius are destroyed in Sardinia.[93] In addition, many sites appear to demonstrate a cessation of occupation for a century of more. Sites abandoned in the mid- to late-6th century are not reoccupied until the 4th century. Though certain scholars have tried to connect the abandonment of sites in Sardinia to the eruption of Carthaginian conquest on the island,[94] the universality of these changes in occupation patterns across the Phoenician foundations of the western Mediterranean militates against any such explanation (in addition to the total absence of archaeological evidence for Carthaginian imperialism in Sardinia before the 4th century). Lopez

---

[92] Lopez Castro (1995), 57 explained these transitions in a similar manner.

[93] Piga et al. (2010), 144-5; Perra (2005), 196; Moscati (1997), 71.

[94] See Moscati et al. (1997), 70-71.

Castro adopts a more universal perspective in his reconstruction, "Cabría decir que la sociedad

fenicia del Extremo Occidente estaba sufriendo una profunda reestructuración, un proceso de

adaptación a la nueva realidad política y económica que se estaba configurando en la península

ibérica y en el Mediterráneo centro-occidental."[95]

What were causes of this reorganization? A major development was the solidification of

state level political organization at multiple indigenous sites in the Iberian Peninsula, Sardinia

and Sicily. Upon their arrival in the 8th century BCE in these geographies, Phoenician settlers

encountered small indigenous polities, structured as chiefdoms. These polities were

technologically still in the Late Bronze Age. Though economic exchange, noticeable changes

occur in the sociopolitical organization at indigenous polities near Phoenician colonies during the

8th-6th centuries BCE. Indigenous populations begin to aggregate at certain occupations, which in

turn show a strengthening of defenses and the development of class divisions between

inhabitants of the occupation.[96] By the 6th century, many of these indigenous communities had

created higher order political organizations in order to administrate their territories. For the

Phoenician settlers of the western Mediterranean, the economic and political development of

these polities likely reduced the potential profits from local trade and began to have an effect on

the surplus necessary for regional trade. Lopez Castro:

> La debilidad del comercio colonial radicaba precisamente en el factor que favorecía la
> acumulación de riqueza por los fenicios: las diferencias de todo tipo que les separaban
> ventajosamente de las sociedades autóctonas. Estas diferencias comenzaron a desaparecer
> conforme las poblaciones autóctonas experimentaban en periferia tartésica el final del

---

[95] Lopez Castro (1995), 57.

[96] Webster (1996) for Sardinia; Lopez Castro (1995), 58-59 for Iberia; For Sicily, see Appendix A (Morgantina) and Chapter 5 (The Elymians).

proceso conduciría a la formación de las organizaciones estatales ibéricas a comienzos del siglo VI a. C.[97]

Thus city-states, such as Gadir (the Iberian Peninsula), Sulcis (Sardinia) or Mozia (Sicily) that had previously benefitted from advantageous trading relationships now confronted more powerful indigenous actors. For the largest Phoenician polities, the archaeological record indicates that many faced increased violence in this period or at minimum the threat of increased violence. Throughout the Iberian Peninsula, southwestern Sardinia and western Sicily occupation patterns undergo extensive changes at Phoenician polities. Populations abandon small foundations and retrench to the largest sites.

Archaeological evidence suggests that a reduction in the profits derived from local and regional trade coincided with the development of increased demand in the eastern Mediterranean for certain agricultural products. Certain Phoenician polities of the western Mediterranean appear to have reoriented their exports towards new markets that now offered potential profits. In the mid- to late- 6th century, the archaeology of trade within the western Mediterranean begins a process of transition. Agricultural exports, which had been previously confined to local and regional trade, develop into long distance exports between the western and eastern Mediterranean. Markets develop in salted fish, oil, wine, and grain.

For Phoenicians in the Iberian Peninsula, the development of long distance trade routes in salted fish led to a major transition in ceramic production. In the 5th century BCE, many Phoenician sites in Iberia record the development of highly standardized amphora, the Mañá-Pascual A4.[98] The proliferation of MP A4 amphoras throughout various pottery production

---

[97] Lopez Castro (1995), 58-59.

[98] MP A4= T-11.2.1.3

centers has given rise to theories about Gaditean hegemony over other Phoenician foundations in

this period. Tarradell has argued that the destruction of Tyre in 573 led Gadir to create a zone of

economic activity in which Gadir and its foundations prospered. Ultimately, he devised a model

called the 'Círculo del Estrecho' to describe his position. Central to his thesis was the ubiquity of

the A4 amphora type at all pottery production facilities during the 5th -3rd centuries BCE. Known

production centers are located at Gadir, Kouass (Morocco), Cerro del Mar (Malaka).[99] Because

the pottery type was developed at Gadir and produced in mass quantities at its facilities in San

Fernando, Tarradell believed the spread of A4 production highlighted the growing economic

dominance of Gadir.[100] Arteaga, augmenting the 'Circulo des Estrecho' thesis, argued that Gadir

developed a cooperative league in which it served as hegemon over the city-states at Huelva,

Malaca, Lixus, and Sexi.[101] Sáez Romero et al. have tried to confirm this argument through in

depth study of all the ceramic evidence and not just the MP A4 amphora. They conclude, "En

cuanto a la formación de una Liga Gadirita, con el establecimiento de fuertes lazos

socioeconómicos y alianzas políticas con Gadir al frente, los datos que aquí presentamos podrían

sevir para confirmar esta tesis."[102]

However, the 'Circulo del Estrecho' thesis ascribes political control to Gadir without

reason. The development of highly standardized MP A4 amphora was an economic reality

brought about by the distance involved in the long distance transport of salted fish. Long distance

transport requires specialized cargo holds based on amphora types. Therefore, the only

---

[99] Lopez Castro (1995), 64.

[100] Tarradell (1967).

[101] Arteaga (1994).

[102] Sáez Romero et al. (2004), 55.

information that can be derived from the A4 amphora and its development is that the fifth century witnessed a massive increase in salted fish industries to provide the basis for long distance exports. Ships, their holds, and ceramic containers were all redesigned to allow for the maximum allowable amount of MP A4 amphora in a single cargo hold.

This increase in salted fish production was not compensatory for a loss of metals markets or a decline in metals production, as has been alleged.[103] Rather, given the reorganization of occupation patterns in the Iberian Peninsula, Gadir had few other options for productive exports. Constrained in their potential for territorial growth by indigenous polities, at the end of the 6th century, all evidence indicates that Gadir and other polities developed salt-fishing industries as their primary economic activity. At Gadir, numerous installations dedicated to salted fish production (warehouses and potteries) are built during the fifth century in order to meet ever increasing demand.[104] Gadir's success led other polities to become participants in this economic activity.

The distribution of MP A4 amphora and other ceramics related to salted fish suggests that a northern trade route was followed. The only significant Phoenician settlements outside of the Iberian Peninsula that benefitted from this trade were Ibiza and Sulcis, where MP A4 amphoras have been located in excavations.[105] Based on the near absence of the MP A4 outside of Sulcis

---

[103] See Lopez Castro (1995), 63 for this argument. Pérez Macías (1996-97), 93 demonstrates that silver and other metals remained accessible in this period; Cabrera Bonet (2000), 76, in contrast, argues that Huelva exhausted the accessible supplies of metals in its geographic area. Consequently, the city-state could no longer supply Greek demand. Pérez Macías' argument, I would argue, is more correct. He demonstrates that specific mines continued in use until the 4th century. These same mines were then used by the Romans. Consequently, an exhaustion of supply cannot explain these changes. To support his argument, I would add that Greek city-states began to develop extensive new supplies of silver between 550-480 through trade with the Black Sea, the discovery of the Laurion mines in Attica, and the development of trade routes in central Gaul and central Europe. Even easily mined metals have little value if there is no market for them.

[104] Lopez Castro (1995), 63.

[105] For Ibiza, see Costa and Fernandez (1997), 420.

in Sardinia, it is likely that the fish were repackaged at this point for regional distribution into Sardinia.[106] Thus Sulcis again found itself occupying a central position in trade routes. Other finds of amphoras dedicated to salted fish have been located at Gravisca (Etruria), Kaulonia (S. Italy), and Olympia (Greece).[107] A major and likely the final market for these amphoras was Corinth. A building, known as the "Punic Amphora Building" or "Punic Fish House"[108] contained the remains of thousands of amphora originating from Gadir. The "Punic Amphora Building" was first constructed in the 460's BCE and enlarged in over the next three decades until it fell into disuse at the time of the Peloponnesian War. Based on the renovations to the structure, the excavators concluded that it was originally a house with limited commercial operations. Over two decades, it developed into a completely commercial space. Of all the transport amphoras recovered from this structure, forty percent were Mañá-Pascual A4 and Mañá Type D, both of which are used to transport salted fish from the southern Iberian Peninsula to Corinth.[109]

Concomitant with the development of salted fish exports from the Iberian Peninsula to Greece, the quantity of Corinthian imports at Gadir increases.[110] In addition, the pottery factories at San Fernando, just across the Bay from Cadiz from Gadir, began to produce imitation

---

[106] Zimmerman Munn (2003), 204- 210.

[107] Lopez Castro (1995), 64-65.

[108] It should be noted that contrary to the evidence presented, many historians and archaeologists maintain that Carthage played a central role in this economic system. For this reason, the building is known as the "Punic Fish House" rather than "Gaditean Fish House".

[109] Zimmerman Munn (2003), 198-200.

[110] Mederos Martín and Escribano Cobo (2000), 95 note that Gaditean coins are struck on weight standards used at Greek colonies in Magna Graecia and Sicily, and by extension those of Corinth. The Gaditean Shekel, therefore, facilitated trade with its primary partners through a reduction in the need for money exchanges. Pindar. *Nemean* 4.69; Zimmerman Munn (2003), 210.

Ionian-Massilian and Corinthian amphoras in the 5th century BCE.[111] The production of imitation pottery types is not nearly as substantial as the MP A4 Amphora; however, these types could take advantage of the design of Greek cargo holds. Therefore, Greek ships that brought cargoes of Corinthian or Ionian amphoras could leave with imitations of these amphoras filled with Gaditean fish.

<u>Violence and Conquest in Phoenician Expansion</u>

The most common method of identifying violence at archaeological sites is the identification of destruction strata within archaeological stratigraphy. Other indications of violence can be found in necropoleis, especially in areas that have a clear delineation of burial customs for warrior elites. Further direct archaeological indications of violence include mass graves and preserved weapons. Outside of these direct archaeological indications, the evidence for violence is often indirect and unclear. City walls, which are often taken as indications of violent environments, are not in and of themselves indications of active campaigns or militarization of a polity. While they may indicate violence within the geo-political system, they do not directly indicate when, where and between whom this violence occurs.[112] Iron working facilities are a similar indirect indication to city walls. Iron working facilities can indicate the production of arms within a polity; however, the archaeological evidence recovered at iron-working facilities rarely allows for the exact identification of the products made at the facility.

---

[111] Sáez Romero and Díaz Rodríguez (2007), 196.

[112] Contra: Moscati (1994), 105: "La cinta muraria e uno dei segni piu imponenti della nuova politica di Cartagine." City walls, their construction and architecture, are often introduced into arguments in order to support the expansion of Carthaginian Imperialism. To suggest that a 'Punic' wall type exists and that its presence denotes the imposition of Carthaginian control over a territory is an intellectual fallacy.

In order to ascertain what role violence played in the process of Phoenician colonization, it is necessary to review briefly the evidence of violence before and at the start of the colonial period. The most interesting evidence from the 11th and 10th centuries BCE is a series of inscribed arrowheads from the Levant.[113] Inscriptions on the arrowheads normally record the individual to whom the arrow belonged, a patronymic, and occasionally a military title and/or a geographic identifier. Cross presumed that the arrowheads related to archery competitions.[114] However, archery competitions would likely be controlled environments, in which the determination of who fired a particular arrow would be clear. The utility of inscribing arrows in this situation is unlikely. Rather, I would argue, the arrowheads were used in warfare. They allowed for the correct identification of who killed after the conflict had ended.[115] Presumably, this relates directly to despoiling dead enemies or simply to the recovery of these rather expensive bronze arrowheads after the conflict ended. The relationship between the arrowheads and war appears furthered by the content of some of the inscriptions. An arrowhead now stored in the Israeli Museum records:

הץ בניא רב אלף, 'The Arrowhead of Banaya', commander of a thousand'.[116]

---

[113] Cross (2003), 254 dates the entire corpus of 30 recovered arrowheads to the period 1100-950 BCE.

[114] Cross (2003), 212

[115] Cross (2003), 212 asserts: "If the arrowheads were inscribed to permit identification of the archer who made kills in battle, we should expect all to be inscribed." In contrast to Cross' reasoning, I would argue that we lack enough knowledge about Phoenician combat to make sweeping conclusions. Perhaps only the elites were entitled to despoil enemies. Consequently, only elite arrowheads are inscribed. Common archers who made kills lacked the same entitlement.

[116] Cross (2003), 210: Arrowhead No. 22; Israeli Museum Number 86.59.88

Cross noted that the name 'Banaya'' and the title 'rab' relate to Phoenician and not Hebrew onomastics and grammar.[117] In the early Iron Age arrowhead, the title is used for a specific command position within an army, as 1000 men constitute a division rather than an army. At Tel Shiqmona (Haifa, Israel), excavations uncovered an amphora with a similar inscription that dates to the 10th-8th centuries BCE.

'בעלי רב מאת' 'Ba'ali[118], Commander of One Hundred'[119]

This amphora bearing this inscription was discovered in carbon layer that resulted from a fire in the location of its deposition.

Between the evidence of military organization in early Iron Age Near East and the development of Carthaginian military institutions in the 5th century BCE, very little is known about the organization of violence during the colonial period of Phoenician expansion. Krahmalkov and Cross, eminent Semitic philologists, have interpreted two separate inscriptions as evidence of Tyrian directed military campaigns in the western Mediterranean, suggesting that Phoenician expansion was an active program of centrally directed colonization.

Cross believed that the Nora Stone showed that Pygmalion, a known King of Tyre, had sent his commander Milkaton to conquer Sardinia.[120] Krahmalkov has argued that the Douimès Pendant inscription should be interpreted as an ancient 'dog tag' on which the Tyrian battle cry is

---

[117] Cross (2003), 210.

[118] Possibly 'My Lord', as a title.

[119] Pisano and Travaglini (2003), 53-54 (Palestina #13).

[120] Cross (1972).

recorded: 'For Astarte, For Pygmalion.'[121] When taken collectively, these inscriptions would appear to suggest two different military expeditions sent directly by the same King of Tyre, Pygmalion, to the western Mediterranean in order to conquer Sardinia and North Africa. Cross dated Pygmalion's period of rule to 831-785 BCE.[122] The foundation dates for most initial wave Phoenician colonies concentrate in the period c.850-750, which provides some support for Cross' and Krahmalkov's epigraphic arguments.

However, as I present below, their interpretations of these inscriptions have not been fully accepted. Neither author successfully dismisses the alternative position that the PMY (Nora Stone) and Pygmalion (Douimès Pendant) named in these inscriptions may represent the well-known Cypriot deity instead of the King of Tyre.[123]

Phoenician and Indigenous Inhabitants in the Western Mediterranean

Reason dictates that it would be highly unlikely for a colony not to provoke to some response from indigenous inhabitants. It was once believed that the Phoenicians settled on islands or peninsulas just to avoid violence; however, it is now evident that island settlements developed agricultural chora even if it required secondary settlements on the mainland. Secondary foundations in 7th century BCE only increased the penetration of Phoenician populations and their proximity to indigenous peoples. Moscati et al.:

---

[121] Krahmalkov (1981), 185-186.

[122] Cross (1972), 17.

[123] See Krahmalkov (1981), 179-183 for his discussion of the present scholarly consensus concerning the deity and his attempt to demonstrate problems with present reasoning.

> La scoperta di insediamenti di altissima antichità nel Sulcis…mostra che la
> concentrazione dei Fenici non avviene exclusivamente sulle coste, né solo nei centri
> tradizionalmente indicati come primari; essa, piuttosso, appare già all'inizio intesa a una
> diffusione nel territorio, in forme che, per la frequenza degl'insediamenti e per loro
> vicinanza reciproca, si riscontrano esclusivamente, in area coloniale, sulla costa
> andalusa.[124]

More potential indications of violence are found in Sardinia than in the Iberian Peninsula or Sicily during the period 800-500 BCE.[125] The site at Monte Sirai, a walled fort of Sulcis, showed multiple levels of expansion, renovation, destruction, and ultimately abandonment. Unlike secondary foundations in the Iberian Peninsula, where an economic function is evident, Monte Sirai was a military stronghold with a developed wall and a central keep. Nothing about its location or construction indicates an purely economic function. Rather, as the name indicates, Monte Sirai is a hilltop fort with more than 1000 feet of vertical descent on all sides.[126]

The evidence for violent interactions between Phoenicians and Nuraghic population in southwestern Sardinia is also evidenced on The Nora Stone[127]

---

[124] Moscati et al. (1997), 36.

[125] Fantar (1993) I, 50-51.

[126] For the initial field reports, see: Amadasi et al. (1966); Amadasi et al. (1965); Barreca and Garbini (1964). For a contrary interpretation of the site see: Moscati et al. (1997).

[127] CIS I. 144= KAI 46. This discussion of the Nora Stone was originally published in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 365 (2012). See Pilkington (2012) for the original.
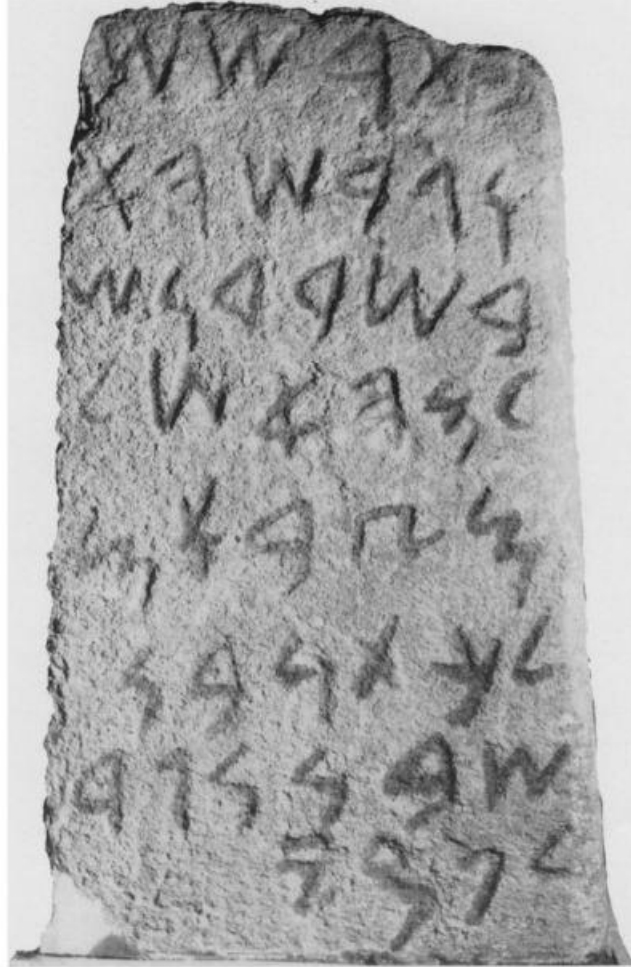
Image 4: Nora Stone from Delcor (1968), 329

The Nora Stone was found outside of its original archaeological context, and no

information provided by the discovery of the stone can clarify its proper reading. As a result of

the circumstances of its discovery, the stone has only been dated with reference to its

paleography. Most scholars have settled on a date in the 9th or 8th century based on analogies

with letter forms in more securely dated inscriptions. [128] The text constitutes the longest

continuous inscription discovered from the earliest period of Phoenician colonization in Sardinia.

---

[128] Dussard (1924), 147; Albright (1941), 20; Delcor (1968), 352; Cross (1972), 18; Shea (1991), 244.

Due to its unique nature, interpretation of the Nora Stone conditions any further analysis of

Phoenician colonization in Sardinia.

The completeness of the Nora Stone has been a matter of debate since its discovery.

Amadasi, who studied the stone visually, concluded that the stone appears intact on its left and

right hand sides. However, she failed to express a firm conclusion over the top of the stone:

"potrebbe, eventualmente, essere spezzata"[129]. The inability to achieve a scholarly consensus

about the Nora Stone's completeness results from difficulties in reconstructing the syntax and

meaning of the first line of preserved letters.

Currently, interpretation of the Nora Stone divides into two positions. The division is

based on different translations of the first line of extant text: "בתרשש".[130] A first group of

scholars sees the text as a religious document that deals with the foundation of a temple in

Sardinia, based on the presence of 'בת' at the start of the text.[131] Though these scholars have

argued that the text is complete as preserved, none of the 'temple' translations have been able to

provide a complete reading of the extant text without providing internal emendations. A second

group of scholars has argued that the text is a military document that records a Phoenician

conquest in the area or some other form of military activity based on a reading of "from/at

Tarshish" for the first line.[132] Military interpretations of the text have been able to provide

complete readings of the extant letters on the stone but most reconstructions require a

---

[129] Amadasi (1967), 85.

[130] See Del Castillo (2003), 3-19 for a discussion of all proposed transcriptions and translations of the text since its discovery.

[131] Dupont-Sommer (1948); Février (1950); Ferron (1966); *KAI* 46; Amadasi (1967), with reservations; Delcor (1968); Del Castillo (2003).

[132] Peckham (1972); Cross (1972); Shea (1991).

hypothetical emendation before the start of the preserved letters in order to provide a correct syntax for the first two lines of extant text.[133]

The extant text of the Nora Stone as reconstructed by Cross[134] (spaces indicate line divisions on the original stone):

<div dir="rtl">בתרשש וגרשהא בשרדנש למהאשל מצבאמ לכתנבנ שבננגד לפמי</div>

Dupont-Sommer, who proposed that document dealt with temple construction, translated the text: "Temple de Cap de Nogar qui est en Sardaigne. Prospère soit Tyr, mere de Kition (et) Narna[ka] (?)! Lequel (temple) a bâti Nogar en l'honneur de Pumaï."[135] Ferron argued that Kition and Narnaka are not evident in the text. Rather he proposed the reading: "(Ce) temple (est) le premier qui a été consacré en Sardaigne. Qu'il soit (conservé) intact! Que soit (conservée) intact l'oeuvre de maçonnerie et d'architecture qu'a édifiée Nora en l'honneur de Poumaï." [136]

When Peckham proposed his military interpretation of the text, he argued that the Nora stone was complete: "From Tarshish he was driven; in Sardinia he found refuge; his forces found refuge: Milkuton, son of Subon, the commander. To [the God] Pmy." [137] Both Cross and Shea, who have argued for a military interpretation of this text, add lines to the start of the inscription. Cross: " [He fought with the Sardinians (?)] at Tarsis and he drove them out. Among the Sardinians, he is [now] at peace, (and) his army is at peace: Milkaton son of Subna (Shebna), a

---

[133] Other scholars have argued that the stone has nothing to do with either of these two possibilities Albright (1941), 19; Sanna (2009).

[134] Cross (1972).

[135] Dupont-Sommer (1948), 15

[136] Ferron (1966), 285

[137] Peckham (1972)

general of (King) Pummay."[138] Shea disagreed with the reconstruction of the missing text by

Cross. Shea argued for "[He drove out] at Tarshish and he drove out in Sardinia. He is safe. His

troops are safe. Milkaton, son Shubon the previous commander." [139]

In contrast to previous interpretations of the text, I believe that it is possible to reconstruct

a military interpretation of the text by dividing the first line into two words: בת רשש. 'בת', in

Phoenician, can denote a house, a royal house/dynasty or a temple.[140] The variety of possible

meanings is due to the fact that genitive constructions, such as 'House of the God' 'בת אלם' and

'Father's House' 'בת אב', are shortened in inscriptions to 'בת' only.[141] In contemporaneous

Phoenician inscriptions concerned with military or political matters, 'בת' is most commonly used

to reference a royal line and by extension the territory and people who are subject to it. The 9th

century BCE Kilamuwa inscription contains two instances of its use: 'כן בת אבי במתכת מלכם אדרם'

'my father's house was in the midst of mighty kings'[142] and 'בעל בת' 'the Baal of the Royal

House'[143]. In the 8th century BCE Azatiwada Inscription from Karatepe, Azatiwada records:

'ויטנא אנך בת אדני', 'I established my royal house'.[144] He further notes that he built his new city,

Azatiwadiya, "so that it might be a protection for the plain of Adana and for the House of

Mopsos (ולבת מפש)".[145]

---

[138] Cross (1972), 16

[139] Shea (1991), 243

[140] Krahmalkov (2000), 129; Tomback (1978), 58

[141] Krahmalkov (2000), 131

[142] *KAI* 24: 5-6

[143] *KAI* 24:16

[144] *KAI* 26: A i 9-10

[145] *KAI* 26: A ii 14-15; Avishur (2000), 188-9

'בת' serves as the object of the verb 'רשש'.[146] The translation of 'רשש' as a verb, 'to beat down or shatter', has yet to be argued for this inscription.[147] In the Nora Stone, the third singular masculine perfect רשש ('he beat down/shattered') is denoted not only by its form but also by position within the clause. In Phoenician, the suffixed forms of verbs, when they act as the main verb of an independent clause, cannot occupy the initial position of the clause.[148] The incantation inscription from Arslan Tash, dated to the 7th century BCE, evinces the same construction (*KAI* 27: 5-6): 'בת אבא בל תבאן', 'the house I enter, you do not enter'. רשש is not otherwise attested in Phoenician inscriptions.[149] The verb does occur in Ugaritic with the meanings: 'to be ruined, to be left ruined' and 'to break, to smash'.[150] It also occurs twice in the Hebrew Bible, in which its use refers to the destruction of cities.[151]

In the Nora Stone, the verbs 'רשש' and 'גרש' 'to drive out' are linked by a coordinating ו-conjunction.[152] In Phoenician, the infinitive absolute followed by a personal pronoun is used to express the perfect tense.[153] Thus the second line of the Nora stone, 'וגרש הא', can be translated: 'And he drove out.' The same periphrastic construction is used in the Kilamuwa Inscription (*KAI* 24: 7/8: 'ושכר אנך עלי מלך', 'And I hired against him the king') and extensively in the Azatiwada

---

[146] Krahmalkov (2001), 171 (Section 1a-2)) gives other examples in which direct objects precede verbs.

[147] In temple interpretations, these letters are taken to mean 'principle/first' or 'peninsula' 'רש' and 'ש' as a relative pronoun: "temple of the peninsula of Nogar which" or "the first temple which". In military interpretations, these letters form part of 'in Tarshish/from Tarshish'.

[148] Krahmalkov (2001), 152.

[149] No entry is found in Krahmalkov (2000).

[150] Halayqa (2008), 290.

[151] Jer. 5:17: יְרֹשֵׁשׁ עָרֵי מִבְצָרֶיךָ 'And they will destroy your fortified cities.' and Mal. 1:4.

[152] Krahmalkov (2001), 272 for the use of the coordinating conjunction in Phoenician.

[153] Krahmalkov (2001), 46, 211-13.

Inscription.[154] 'גרש' is recorded in one other inscription in the Western Mediterranean, a neo-Punic example from North Africa.[155] It is also used in the Hebrew Bible to denote the removal of populations by an invading or conquering force.[156] The individual represented by the pronoun (Milkyton) is not named until later in the inscription.

In sum, the first two lines of the Nora Stone can be translated: "A house he beat down and he drove out." For the remaining six lines of the Nora Stone, the translation proposed here accords with translations already proposed by Cross and Shea though with slight variations. [157] Line three gives the location of the actions: 'In Sardinia'. This is followed by two predicate adjective constructions: 'הא' follows its predicate adjective in line four, and similarly, 'צבא' follows its predicate adjective 'שלמ' in line five. Lines six and seven provide a name for the pronoun used earlier in the inscription, identify his father and provide his title. For Cross, the last line of the Nora Stone ("For Pummay") constituted a direct reference to a known King of Tyre, Pygmalion, from the late 9th century B.C.E.[158] He concludes, "the identity of the names is clear enough. Moreover, the date of the activity of Milkaton in Sardinia, to judge from palaeographic evidence, is some time in the ninth century B. C., preferably in the second half of the ninth

---

[154] *KAI* 26; see Krahmalkov (2001), 212 for all instances of use

[155] Krahmalkov (2000), 144

[156] Exod. 34:11: הִנְנִי גֹרֵשׁ מִפָּנֶיךָ 'Behold, I drive out before thee'; Judges 9:41. The word is also attested in Ugaritic and Moabite inscriptions Halayqa (2008), 139.

[157] Cross (1972); Shea (1991)

[158] Cross (1972), 17: "We must understand Pummay to be the hypocoristicon of a longer name pmy(y)tn or p'mytn, the Phoenician personal name standing behind the name of the well-known king of Tyre who ruled in the years 831-785 as we know from the Tyrian annals."

century. Hence we are led to the supposition that Tyre had placed an army in Sardinia toward

825 B. C. to pacify the native tribes and to protect her mining interests."[159]

The symmetry proposed by Cross would be unique in the western Mediterranean. The

Nora Stone would be the only known inscription that attests to direct Tyrian involvement in the

foundation of a colony in the western Mediterranean.[160] Though Cross provides an excellent

philological argument to support the equivalence of Pummay and Pygmalion based on the

development of the name over time, other interpretations are possible for the last line which

require less extensive philological reconstruction.[161] Furthermore, there is no reason to discard

the simplest and most straightforward translation of the last line, "For (the God) Pummay".[162]

Pummay, a deity known from Cyprus, appears as part of the name of a King of Kition,

Pummayaton, from the end of the 4th century BCE. Other attestations of the divinity as part of

names occur at Kition and Idalion.[163] Cyprus was settled by Phoenician populations in the 10th

century B.C.E. and may represent one of the most likely origins for populations moving further

west.[164]

A complete translation for the Nora Stone would thus be: "A house he beat down. And he

drove out. In Sardinia, he is at peace; his army is at peace. Milkyton, son of Shubon, the

Commander. For Pummay." Having settled on a translation for the Nora Stone, it remains

---

[159] Cross (1972), 18.

[160] Krahmalkov (1981) has argued that an inscription recovered at Carthage may provide further evidence of Tyrian directed campaigns in the Western Mediterranean.

[161] Cross (1972), 18; Shea (1991) proposed reading LPNY in the last line with the meaning "before me".

[162] Delcor (1968), 349-350.

[163] *KAI* 32-33 = *CIS* I. 10-11; Yon and Childs 1997: 10; CIS I. 88 (Idalion): עבדפמי ; CIS I. 55 (Kition): אמתפמי Dupont-Sommer (1948), 19-20; Berger (1880).

[164] Yon and Childs (1997); Yon (2000); Bikai (1989).

necessary to contextualize it. The socio-political organization of Nuraghic society provides a

plausible context for this interpretation of the Nora Stone, as the language of the first two lines

can be interpreted with reference to the destruction of a Nuraghic chiefdom (the 'בת').

Nuraghic towers were constructed over a millennium, 1800 -800 B.C.E., and more than

7000 examples have been recovered. Nuraghic towers began as single structures and served as

fortified homes for single families in the Middle Bronze Age. In the Late Bronze age, certain

nuraghi were surrounded by other towers to form a complex of towers. Other Nuraghic tower

complexes were constructed deliberately in this fashion. Complex, multi-tower nuraghi

constitute 28% of all known Nuraghic occupation sites. They are clustered primarily in the south

and west of Sardinia.[165]

Multi-tower nuraghi often possess an associated village, which indicates the development

of social and economic divisions in Nuraghic society. Those who lived in the central towers

acted as the chief household for the settlement, while those in the village huts were dependents

of this household.[166] Blake comments: "the construction of residential huts around nuraghi as

well as independently of them introduced a concrete distinction between those who lived in the

nuraghi and those who did not." [167] Though little more can be directly proven from

archaeological evidence, comparative studies have led certain scholars to argue that the

inhabitants of complex multi-tower nuraghi were likely "polygynous, patrilocal, herd-owning

---

[165] Cavanagh et al. (1987), 3; Gallin and Tykot (1993), 335; Blake (2001), 148-149; Blake (2005), 59-62; Russell (2010), 108-109.

[166] Webster (1996), 126.

[167] Blake (2005), 61.

household [s]."[168] In terms of size, complex Nuraghic settlements with associated villages could

support between 75-125 individuals on average.[169]

The nearest Nuraghic tower complex and village to Nora is located at Nuraghe Antigori,

a site occupied from the 14th-8th centuries B.C.E.[170] Antigori was a large settlement, which

Webster labeled as one of 14 known Class III settlements in Sardinia.[171] Class III settlements are

the most highly developed Nuraghic settlements. They possess castle-like central structures,

heavy multi-towered walls, and associated villages. Based on the distribution of Nuraghic class

III settlements, Webster has conjectured that Class III settlements served as the administrative

centers for complex chiefdoms in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age.[172] Complex

chiefdoms are "more centralized than petty chiefdoms, with regional-level jurisdictional

inclusiveness and authority concentrated within a single administrative center which is also the

residence of the paramount chieftain."[173] As the seat of a complex chiefdom, Antigori controlled

a hinterland that encompassed multiple dependent sites.[174] Thus it is plausible that the

Phoenician colonists of Nora identified the occupants of Nuraghe Antigori with the most

applicable term for a chieftain's house and it dependents: 'בת'. The Kilamuwa and Azatiwada

---

[168] Webster (1996), 108.

[169] Webster (1996), 113 and 122.

[170] Russell (2010), 113-114; Balmuth (1992), 678-679.

[171] Webster (1996), 117.

[172] Webster (1996), 130 and 167.

[173] Webster (1996), 130.

[174] See Moscati et al. (1997), 48 for a slightly different reconstruction of Antigori's position in Nuraghic political organization.

inscriptions use the same language to denote an analogous, though more evolved, form of political organization.

Therefore, the house destroyed in the Nora Stone is not just a physical structure. Rather, the family and its inhabitants were the chief family of complex chiefdom. Though no direct archaeological evidence indicates violence at Nuraghe Antigori, the Nuraghic inhabitants of Antigori abandoned the site in the 8th century BCE contemporaneous to the establishment of Nora and the inscription on the Nora Stone.[175]

Furthermore, the abandonment of Nuraghe Antigori in the 8th century BCE and its reoccupation by Phoenician populations in the 6th century BCE represent part of a larger re-organization of Nuraghic settlements in southwestern Sardinia.[176] In addition to Nuraghe Antigori, the Nuraghic Class III settlements at Serrucci and Nuraghe Sirai, near the Phoenician colony at Sulcis, are destroyed and abandoned in this period.[177] At Nuraghe Sirai, in the 7th century BCE, a Phoenician fortress was constructed on the site of the abandoned Nuraghic village.[178] From this evidence, it appears that Phoenician occupations at Nora and Sulcis, both founded in the mid 8th century BCE, precipitated an abandonment of important Class III settlements in the southwest of Sardinia. Though Phoenician expansion in the 8th century has been interpreted as a relatively peaceful process, based on the continuity of occupation at the vast majority of Nuraghic sites in interior and Northern areas of Sardinia and evidence of Nuraghic

---

[175] Russell (2010), 113; Moscati et al. (1997), 46-9.

[176] Russell (2010), 113; Bartolini (1983), 172.

[177] Webster (1996), 157-8.

[178] Perra (2005).

population integration at certain Phoenician sites, the evidence from southwest Sardinia suggests a major disruption in socio-political organization.[179]

To conclude, I would argue that the Nora Stone describes the physical destruction of a Nuraghic tower complex removal of its inhabitants. The inscription is dedicated to the God most revered by the colonists, Pummay. The stone does not commemorate the foundation of Nora itself, as the settlement at Nora was located on an uninhabited peninsula.[180] Rather, it is more likely that the Nora Stone commemorates a secondary conquest in the area of Nora, perhaps at Nuraghe Antigori, in order to drive native populations farther away from the newly established Phoenician settlement.

In the Iberian Peninsula, evidence of violence between Phoenician and indigenous populations is more limited. There are no epigraphs that attest to violent interactions in this area. Moreover, the archaeology of Huelva, as discussed in Chapter 3, may indicate that Phoenician and indigenous populations successfully coexisted at the site in the 8th century. At the same time, recent excavations in the southern Iberian Peninsula have noted that most early Phoenician settlements and even small secondary foundations are walled.[181]

In Sicily, where Phoenicians failed to penetrate inland due to Elymian populations, a single and unique example of a warrior burial has been recovered from the cemetery at Panormus (dated 600-550 BCE). Very little is otherwise known about the early history of this colony, as modern build up has prohibited the excavation of the ancient colony. However, the unique evidence of a warrior burial when coupled with extensive Elymian populations in the vicinity

---

[179] Moscati et al. (1997), 46-56; Bartolini (2005), 26; Webster (1996), 157-9.

[180] Moscati et al. 1997: 46-49.

[181] Lopez Castro (2008), 159.

suggests that the citizens of Panormus at minimum possessed some form of army to defend itself from attack.[182]

Violence between Phoenicians and Greeks

The Greco-Roman sources contain multiple indications of violence between Greek and Phoenician colonists in the western Mediterranean. Curiously, the start of this violence occurs long after the majority of these territories were settled.[183] The Pentathlos affair, the Battle of Alalia, and the Dorieus Affair all date to the 6th century.[184] The geographical scope of these narratives includes Sicily, Corsica, and by extension southern Gaul. Scholars have sought to involve Carthage in these events, though not even the ancient narratives attribute all of these interactions to Carthage.[185] For the 9th – 6th centuries BCE, the archaeological record manifests no indications of violent interactions between Phoenicians and Greeks in the western Mediterranean. Rather, all indications point to intense economic interaction. As demonstrated in

---

[182] Di Stefano (2000), 437-439.

[183] Hoyos (2010), 17-18 notes the absence of conflict during the earliest period of colonization, when violence between Phoenicians and Greeks would be most likely to occur.

[184] See Krings (1998), 1-32 (Pentathlos); 95-160 (Alalia); 161-215 (Dorieus) for a full history of scholarly debate over each of these events.

[185] Van Dommelen (1998), 117: "The entire period under discussion has traditionally been characterized as being dominated by an enduring conflict between Carthaginians and Greeks… While this representation has largely, if not exclusively been based on literary evidence and is in need of revision, it remains undisputable that both Carthage and other Punic cities recurrently came into conflict with various Greek and south Italian city states during these centuries."

Chapter 1, the majority of these early 'military' events are not sufficiently documented to demonstrate conclusively that they occurred.[186]

Conclusions

When the above reconstructions are synthesized, it is possible to produce a general description of the process of Phoenician expansion in the western Mediterranean. Phoenician expansion began in the late-9th century, as Phoenician settlers first began to occupy sites in Sicily, Sardinia and North Africa. These early settlers dedicated themselves to the establishment of new agricultural resources in the western Mediterranean, most importantly viticulture. During the 8th century, Phoenician settlers in Sicily, Sardinia and the Iberian Peninsula developed local networks of exchange with certain indigenous populations. In establishing these networks, it is evident that Phoenician polities experienced a period of violence in southwestern Sardinia. At the end of this period, tribal political structures in southwestern Sardinia appear to have been broken, allowing Phoenician polities to establish trade relationships with multiple indigenous foundations rather than the seat of a complex chiefdom.

By the 7th century, many primary Phoenician foundations had established secondary foundations in the interior of Sardinia and the Iberian Peninsula. Through these foundations, certain polities began to act as regional exporters of agricultural products. As regional trade grew, Phoenician occupations in Iberia, Sicily, and Sardinia developed regular networks of

---

[186] Van Dommelen (1998), 120 argues that these events likely occurred. However, he notes that they did not necessarily involve Carthage. He believes the battles did involve localized city-state level skirmishes over border issues.

imports and exports with Greek colonies and Etruscan city-states. In the mid-6th century, disruptions begin to occur in these regional networks of trade. Likely brought about by difficulties in maintaining advantageous trading relationships with indigenous populations, certain Phoenician polities re-arranged their occupation of the countryside and began to focus their economies on long distance exports. In turn, by the late-6th century, certain cities began to export products regularly to the eastern Mediterranean, establishing for the first time a long distance network of direct exchange between the two Mediterranean basins.

Carthage and North Africa are notably peripheral to this entire history. Unlike Phoenician foundations in Sicily, Sardinia, and Iberia, no archaeological evidence can demonstrate Carthaginian secondary foundations in North Africa before the 6th century. In point of fact, as I demonstrate in Chapter 3, the archaeological history of archaic Carthage is limited. Gadir, Tharros and Mozia were notably larger, more economically sophisticated, and more fully urbanized in this period. These foundations, and not Carthage, were the most important Phoenician polities in the western Mediterranean until the 6th century BCE.

<u>Chapter 3: The Archaeology of Archaic Carthage and Phoenician Expansion</u>

The foundation of Carthage and its early history have been reduced often to only the information contained in the Greco-Roman sources.[1] Scholars have dedicated exhaustive philological and historical efforts to the foundation myths surrounding Elissa (Dido) and the nature of the colony at Carthage.[2] Archaeologically, nothing has been uncovered that would assign Carthage a special position in the history of Phoenician expansion, though this belief still persists.[3] More importantly, Carthage is one of the least represented foundations in the archaeology of early Phoenician expansion. While scholars have argued that Carthage was an essential transshipment point for trade between the eastern and western Mediterranean, no archaeological evidence can support this reconstruction.

Carthage was thus only a minor participant in a larger movement. The special place accorded to it at its foundation in the Greco-Roman sources appears largely a product of its later success. The early history of Phoenician expansion is that of the dynamic colonies in Sardinia, Sicily and Iberia. Gadir, Sulcis, and Tharros and other Phoenician foundations appear to have developed a process of expansive territorial occupation and pioneered the physical form necessary to protect secondary foundations placed farther inland than primary settlements.

<u>The Foundation and Early History of Carthage</u>

---

[1] Lancel (1988); Alvar and Wagner (1985), 87: "El texto más coherente sobre la fundación de Cartago es, indudablemente, el de Justino (XVIII, 4 y 5), que tras una lectura crítica permite obtener conclusiones de validez histórica."

[2] Fantar (1993) I, 83-87; Hoyos (2010), 7-12.

[3] Lancel (1992), 51: "Affirment [les textes] que Carthage fut dès l'origine une colonie officiellement 'déduite' par Tyr. Carthage assumait donc dès le départ un destin particulier: ni "tête de pont" …ni "comptoir" ou "factorerie.";￼ Fantar (1993) I, 110: "Dans sa genèse, Carthage portait en elle-même les caractéristiques d'une metropole." See Also: Picard, C. (1988), 44 who argues that Carthage was one of the main stopover points for metals shipments.
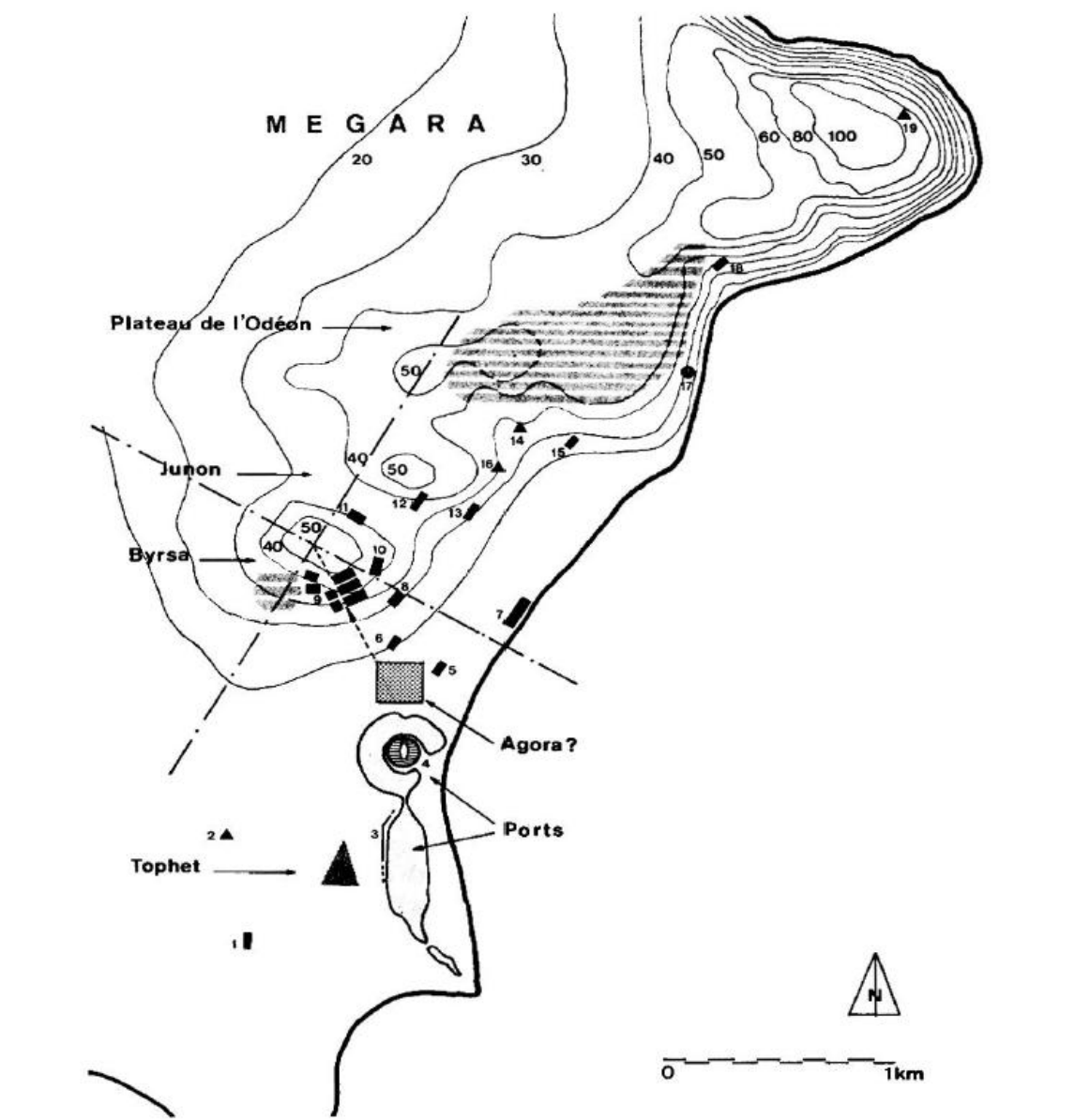
Image 5: Carthage: History of Excavations[4]

---

[4] Image and key from Lancel (1981), 191: "1 : fouille tunisienne (1978) en face du stade ; 2 : « Chapelle Carton » à côté de la gare de Salammbô ; 3 : fouille américaine (1975-1978) le long du quai ouest du port marchand ; 4 : fouille britannique (1974-1979) dans l'îlot du port circulaire ; 5 : fouille dans le terrain Clariond ; 6 : fouille tunisienne (1978) près du Supermarché; 7 : fouille allemande (1974-1980) en face du Palais Beylical ; 8 : fouille tunisienne, rue Astarté (1976) ; 9 : fouilles françaises (1950-1959, puis 1974-1980), pente sud de la colline de Byrsa ; 10 : fouilles Ch. Saumagne, pente est de Byrsa (1923-1926) ; 11 : fouille suédoise, pente nord de la colline de Byrsa (1978-1980) ; 12: fouille Ch. Saumagne, pente sud delà colline de Junon (1930-1931) ; 13: fouille P. Cintas, pente est de la colline de Junon; 14 : fouille Delattre à Douimès; 15 : fouille Ch. Saumagne de la « maison du Paon » (BCTR, 1934-35, p. 51-58.)., 16- : fouille tunisienne (1978), rue Florus, flanc sud-est de la colline de Junon ; 17 : fontaine « aux mille amphores » ; 18 : fouille J. Renault; 19 : fouille A. Merlin à Sidi-bou-Saïd."

Excavations have uncovered very little of the early history of Carthage. The primary source of evidence for the early history of occupation at the site remains the necropoleis, though the most recent excavations at Carthage have discovered an increasing number of archaic occupation contexts.[5] A. L. Delattre excavated many of the Carthaginian necropoleis, and he published his findings in the late-19th and early-20th century.[6] The early date of these excavations means that Delattre recovered all of this data without the benefit of modern scientific archaeology.[7] As a result, one of the goals of the UNESCO excavations (in the late 20th century) at Carthage was to provide context for the previously excavated necropoleis through the excavation of a series of previously undiscovered archaic tombs. The UNESCO campaign also excavated a section of the Tophet with similar results.[8] In addition, one new section of archaic occupation was found in the area between Byrsa hill and the coast.[9] However, the stratigraphy and remains recovered were such that no firm conclusions could be established.[10] Excavations in the early 21st century have sought to expand the number of recovered archaic occupation contexts and have succeeded in recovering more information than previous excavations.[11]

---

[5] Docter et al. (2003).

[6] Delattre (1897); Delattre (1899) Delattre (1905); Delattre (1906).

[7] Fantar (1993) I, 115-117; Ennabli (1988), 51: "Ce type d'archéologie sélective, privilégient l'objet ou le monument intact au détriment du contexte archéologique ou historique fut très préjudiciable à Carthage."

[8] For a full history of the UNESCO excavations, see: Ennabli (1987).

[9] See Niemeyer (1989); Niemeyer 1989 (b) ; Niemeyer et al. (1996) for the most comprehensive exposition of artifacts and material culture recovered in that series of excavations at Carthage.

[10] Debergh (1988), 91.

[11] Docter et al. (2003); Docter et al. (2006).

The Necropoleis of Carthage

The earliest necropoleis at Carthage contain tombs from the 8th-6th centuries BCE. The cemeteries are arranged along the flanks of a series of small hills that surround a lowland area near the ports (Brysa, Juno, Douimès, and Dermech). Late- 8th century BCE tombs are rarely recovered when compared to later periods. This appears to be due to the fact that the flanks of the Byrsa Hill served as the earliest necropolis at Carthage. This area eventually became the central, occupied core of Carthaginian urbanization, at which point the Carthaginians removed many of the early burials. Some of the earliest 8th century burials appeared to have been removed from parts of the Byrsa as part of urban growth in Carthage during the 7th century. Other areas were simply built over in time with no removal. Normally, the burials are in cremation urns placed in small pits. However, there is also evidence of inhumation burials in the earliest necropoleis.[12]

The Byrsa Hill

Excavations in the early-21st century have uncovered parts of an archaic necropolis on the Byrsa Hill (Bir Massouda Site). The burials lay below a stratum that contained pottery of the 8th and 7th centuries BCE and evidence of 7th century iron working facilities. The 8th century burials were found in pits cut into the bedrock and were cremation burials. In the archaeological strata associated with the burials and the subsequent re-use of the site as a metal-working facility, a variety of imported and local ceramics have been recovered. The early burials contained a large number of regionally produced ceramic forms. Aetos 666 type kotyle imitations produced at Carthage (c. 750-715 BCE) are common. This type of Corinthian style ware was also produced

---

[12] Docter et al. (2006), 44.

in export quantities at Pithekoussai in Italy. Pithekoussan kotyle imports are regularly found in other archaic contexts at Carthage suggesting a diffusion of the Corinthian style ware through Italy to Carthage.[13] The long distance imports discovered also included transport amphoras from the southern Iberian Peninsula,[14] Corinthian wares and a single Attic SOS transport amphoras dated to the 8th and 7th centuries BC.[15] After the transition at the site from a necropolis to an iron working quarter, most of the recovered ceramics are Carthaginian amphoras of local production. 84% of all transport amphoras recovered from this zone dated to the period 675-530 BCE are of local manufacture.[16]

As part of the UNESCO excavations, Lancel excavated parts of the Byrsa Hill in order to uncover a sample of archaic burials.[17] 28 tombs were uncovered in the first seven years of excavation. The burials were primarily in dug out trenches ('inhumation à fosses excavées') and were inhumation burials.[18] Mixed in with inhumation burials were one group of cremation burials.[19] All of the tombs and burials date to the period between 660-620.[20] Many of the tombs possess a similar ceramic assemblage, including imported Proto-Corinthian sub-geometric kotyle, of which 9 examples were excavated. One of the burials was an *enchytrismos* infant

---

[13] Docter et al. (2003), 50.

[14] Circulo del Estrecho 1 transport amphora (=Ramon T- 10.1.1.1). They are found in other archaic contexts at Carthage as well. Their period of importation appears to concentrate in the period 700-650 BCE. Docter et al. (2003), 53.

[15] Docter et al. (2003), 47.

[16] Bechtold and Docter (2010), 88-90; Docter et al. (2003), 52.

[17] Lancel (1981), 157- 165; Lancel (1978), 323-327

[18] Lancel (1981), 158.

[19] Lancel (1981), 160: Lancel believed that these three burials constituted a group, which he argued possessed a more Near Eastern or Phoenician material culture when compared to other contemporaneous burials.

[20] Lancel (1981), 164-165.

burial in a Canaanite style amphora. [21] Several ivory plaques were found as part of the grave goods. These are done in styles faithful to Near Eastern precedent but appear to be objects of local manufacture, as certain plaques were recovered in grave goods that also contained un-worked or unfinished ivories.[22] From these 28 tombs, only one Etruscan bucchero ware was recovered. The tomb in which it was discovered appears to be the most recent of the burials recovered by the UNESCO excavations, as the burial dates to c. 620 BCE.[23]

Before these recent excavations, the majority of reconstructions of imports and exports to archaic Carthage were based solely on the museum collections at Carthage, which housed the ceramics recovered in the earliest excavations at the site. From these samples, it was already known that Carthage imported Corinthian wares, Etrusco-Corinthian wares, and Etruscan bucchero during the period 700-550 BCE. Attic and Laconian wares are only represented by a few examples in contemporaneous burials.[24]

When taken collectively, all of this evidence demonstrates an impressive geographic range for Carthaginian imports. However, the evidence also indicates that imports are rare when compared to locally produced ceramics. In Lancel's excavation on the Byrsa Hill, he recovered only ten Proto-Corinthian imports and a single Etruscan example. Given that he sampled 28 previously undisturbed graves, the sheer lack of imports is striking. For the excavators, this

---

[21] Lancel (1981), 158-165. By Canaanite, archaeologists intend to denote a ceramic form which has precedent in Near Eastern forms.

[22] Lancel (1981), 162-164.

[23] Lancel (1981), 165.

[24] Picard, C. (1988), 43-46. A sample of the evidence: 27 Proto-Corinthian wares, 12 Transitional Corinthian Wares, 38 Early Corinthian, 49 middle Corinthian, and 38 Late Corinthian I and II. Of the Etruscan imports recovered in the same set of tombs, 25 examples are Etrusco-Corinthian, while 49 are Etruscan bucchero wares

paucity of diagnostic ceramics meant that they could date only fifteen of the tombs.[25] Excavations at the Bir Massouda site have shown that locally produced transport amphora averaged 80-90% of all amphora recovered for the period 675-146 BCE, i.e. the entire history of Carthage.

Excavations at other necropoleis in archaic Carthage have in general confirmed the impressions derived from the Byrsa Hill. None of the 8th century burials at Carthage are rock cut chamber tombs.[26] Grave goods were buried with the corpse or in a small hole next to the corpse.[27] Both inhumation and cremation burials have been recovered in the necropoleis at Carthage. Cremation burials are few in number and occur in groups on each of the three hills used for 8th-6th century burials.

At the end of the 7th century, rock cut chamber tombs appear for the first time carved into the hillside around Carthage.[28] Rock cut chamber tombs constitute less than 10% of the tombs recovered from archaic Carthage.[29] In general, the earliest burials display a disproportionate number of imported ceramics when compared to later burial and occupation contexts.

Archaic Occupation Levels

---

[25] Lancel (1981), 164.

[26] Picard, C. (1988), 45.

[27] Lancel (1992), 63-65.

[28] Picard, C. (1988), 45.

[29] Lancel (1992), 63.

Outside of the necropoleis, finds relating to archaic Carthage were scarce until the

1980s,[30] when the German Archaeological Institute undertook a series of excavations in order to

better discover the archaic city.[31] At the lowest excavated levels, they encountered mud brick

construction techniques. The ceramics recovered were 8th-6th centuries. The archaic strata are

covered by a 5th century re-alignment of the city's urban plan. The excavated zone is c. 300

meters from the coast, which the excavators interpreted as an indication that the city extended

inland at an early date. Niemeyer estimated that archaic Carthage encompassed 40 hectares based

on his excavation and other soundings in the area.[32] Niemeyer believed, therefore, that archaic

Carthage was an important urban site from its early history. To support this contention, he turns

to the ancient sources and the evidence of foundation myths for Carthage. "El núcleo histórico de

esta leyenda, adornado con rasgos románticos y de fábula, ofrece la clave para la comprensión

del rango especial de Cartago —lo que más tarde se podrá detectar en la destacada importancia

histórica de la ciudad."[33] He further argues that Carthage benefitted from geographical

positioning and nautical topography.[34]

Very few of the artifacts recovered from Niemeyer's excavation support his maximalist

reconstruction. In the archaic levels he excavated, the construction technique is rudimentary mud

brick. Excavations have recovered no temples or other monumental architecture for this period.

---

[30] Niemeyer (1989), 18: "Solo en 1983, al realizar una excavación de urgencia en la zanja cavada para una piscina particular, Rakob logró por fin confirmar la existencia de estratos de hábitat arcaicos en el área de la ciudad, situados a medio camino entre la línea de la costa y la colina de la Byrsa. Los fragmentos de cerámica allí hallados… fueron la primera cerámica fenicia arcaica encontrada en el suelo de Cartago fuera de las necrópolis y el Tophet. "

[31] Niemeyer (1989); these excavations were carried out in the area between the Byrsa hill and later Circular Harbor. See Lancel (1992), 56 for a map of the excavated areas.

[32] Hoyos (2010), 13 argued that by c. 600 BCE, archaic Carthage grew to encompass an area of 55 to 60 hectares.

[33] Niemeyer (1989), 27.

[34] Niemeyer (1989), 29.

The ceramic evidence is no different from that found at any other Phoenician occupation.[35] The nature of the habitation in this period cannot be determined from the results of the excavation. No identifiable structures were recovered. Consequently, the density of the early city remains unknown. The division of space into industrial, residential, and commercial spaces has yet to be determined. Though Niemeyer concedes these points,[36] he still argues that Carthage was a large and important foundation early in its history based on a teleological view of the evidence.[37]

Excavations at the Bir Missouda Site (on the side of the Byrsa Hill) were conducted two decades after Niemeyer's excavations. The excavators actively sought the most archaic occupation contexts on the Byrsa Hill in order to extend the conclusions derived from earlier excavations. At the Bir Missouda Site, excavations have uncovered evidence of an archaic wall. Its construction can be tentatively dated to the period 675-645.[38] Coupled with the construction of this wall, the excavations demonstrated the creation of a metal working quarter during the same period, which led to the removal of the necropolis on the site.[39] The archaic wall is the first evidence for a monumental structure at Carthage.

The Tophet at Carthage

---

[35] Niemeyer (1989), 25: "Según se puede apreciar hasta ahora, éste corresponde, en su composición y tipología, a lo que conocemos también de otros asentamientos fenicios de los siglos VIII a VI a. C. situados en la costa mediterránea; predominan las formas sencillas, de superficie poco cuidada, pero también encontramos la caracteristica cerámica «Red Slip» y la igualmente típica «Cerámica polícroma»."

[36] Niemeyer (1989), 24-25.

[37] See also Lancel (1992), 60. Lancel terms the deficiencies in the evidence, "considérables zones d'ombre." He identifies these zones as: "Les plans des ces maisons, et partant les aménagements et les modes de vie…les ports, la citadelle, et les défenses de la ville… monuments publics."

[38] Docter et al. (2006), 39-41.

[39] Docter et al. (2006), 39-42.

The Tophet at Carthage has been subjected to nearly constant excavation during the 20th century. Each excavation has occurred in different areas of the sanctuary.[40] Initial excavations at the Tophet dated its use from the 8th-2nd centuries BCE. Harden, who worked on part of the site in the early 20th century, divided the stratigraphy into three main phases: Tanit I, II, III. Tanit I, the lowest strata, was in contact with bedrock.[41] His basic outline of the strata has been maintained through present excavations, though subsequent excavations have refined these broad strata into sub-strata. The dates for each of the strata are: Tanit I (730-600), Tanit IIa (600-400), Tanit IIb (400-200), Tanit III (200-146).[42]

Burials in Tanit I are sparse. In the excavations of the 1920s, over 2000 urns were recovered; however, only 33 urns were found in Tanit I. In Tanit I burials, the urns are often covered by cairns.[43] The most common types of pottery recovered were an ovoid amphora with flaring lips and vertical handles on the shoulder and a type with the same shape but with horizontal handles (Harden Tanit Class C). These amphoras are also found in tombs dated to the

---

[40] Lancel (1992), 248-273 contains a full history of the excavations.

[41] Harden (1937), 59.

[42] Lancel (1992), 266. Harden (1937), 86 believed that Tanit I was primarily an 8th century layer. He argued that it ended in c.700/650. He dated Tanit II to 700/650-350/300 and Tanit III from 350/300 to 146 BCE. Stager, who conducted the most recent series of excavations, has wavered on his dating of the Tophet In some of his initial publications he proposed a radical dating down of the sanctuary. Stager initially argued that the Tophet developed at a later point in Carthaginian history than previously proposed. He felt that cult activities in the area during the 8th and early 7th centuries BCE were not the same rituals as those that were later practiced in the Tophet Furthermore, he argued that during the 7th and 6th centuries BCE, there is no archaeological evidence of ritual activity at the site. In his excavations in the Tophet, the earliest Tophet burials are associated with 5th or 4th century ceramics, which led Stager to conclude that the sanctuary developed at this late date. Hurst and Stager (1978), 338: "The middle 'stratum' of sanctuary burials (Tanit II), dated by Harden in his pioneering study of the chronology to seventh-fourth centuries B.C., is dated in the present excavations not earlier than the fourth century." In subsequent publications, Stager has returned to the traditional chronology of the Tophet See Stager and Wolf (1984). Ennabli (1987), 419 has commented: "Après avoir trop abaissé la chronologie établie par ses prédécesseurs, L. Stager est revenu à la chronologie traditionnelle. Sa fouille très minutieuse lui a permis de distinguer huit phases stratigraphiques qui correspondent aux trois grandes divisions de Tanit I, II et III."

[43] Harden (1937), 59-62.

8th-7th centuries at Mozia.[44] Harden identified multiple Tanit I Class C amphoras in 7th century tombs at Carthage as well,[45] most notably an example found by Delattre in the Douimès cemetery.[46] Between the strata of Tanit I and Tanit II, Harden encountered a layer of yellow clay. He conjectured that the clay layer had been purposely placed due to its uniformity, c. 5cm in all excavated areas.[47]

The Earliest Ports at Carthage

The famous rectangular and circular ports at Carthage were a development of the mid-4th century BCE. At its foundation, the areas that became the later ports were lagoons or marshes. Because complete excavations have not occurred throughout the harbor area, the exact areas that remained open water at the foundation of Carthage are unknown. However, excavations have demonstrated that a decrease in relative sea level occurred during the period that preceded the arrival of Phoenician colonists.[48] No man made changes occurred to the harbors at Carthage until the 5th century.

Consequently, Carthage appears to have relied on the natural lagoons to provide safe anchorages for ships until the mid-5th century BCE. This places Carthage within the general pattern evidenced at all Phoenician occupations in the western Mediterranean. Constructed

---

[44] Harden (1937), 65-70 and 86: "It is not possible to perceive any chronological development within the series of Tanit I pots. The large majority-all, in fact, except those of Class G-are of soft, fine red ware, covered with a white slip or burnished, and decorated with simple geometrical patterns in red or black paint."

[45] Tanit I Class C amphorae have vertical zig zag/ wavy lines that distinguish their decoration from other forms. Moreover, the handles on these amphorae are affixed differently from other amphorae of the period. See Harden (1937), 67-68.

[46] Harden (1937), 86; Delattre (1897), 71-73 for the tomb; Lancel (1992), 54 argues that this necropolis was active as early as the 8th century.

[47] Harden (1937), 60.

[48] Hurst and Stager (1978), 337.

harbors are not found at early Phoenician colonies. Phoenician colonies in the archaic period

sought natural and often tidal anchorages for their earliest ports: estuaries, river deltas, lagoons.

The lagoons at Carthage, therefore, offered a regularly used type of port for a Phoenician colony.

The earliest example of a purpose built harbor is located at Mozia and was constructed in the

mid-6th century.

<u>Early Inscriptions recovered at Carthage</u>

     In a tomb located in the Douimès necropolis, excavations uncovered the oldest

inscription known from Carthage. The inscription is inscribed on a gold pendant. The letter

forms of the inscription are 9th century; however, the pendant was recovered in a 7th or 6th

century BCE tomb. Consequently, scholars have debated whether the pendant constitutes an

heirloom or if the inscription is merely an archaizing script.[49] The inscription reads[50]:

לעשתרת לפגמלין ידעמלך בן פדי חלץ אש חלץ פגמלין

The original translation proposed for the inscription was,'To Astarte, to Pygmalion. Jadamelek,

son of Puday, save he whom Pygmalion saved.'[51] Ferron subsequently suggested that the first

'חלץ' formed part of the patronymic. Consequently, he proposed the translation, 'To Astarte, To

Pygmalion, YD'MLK, son of PDYHLS, whom Pygmalion saved.'[52] Ferron's inclusion of the

---

[49] Krahmalkov (1981), 177-182. See Berger (1894) for the history of the find and the original transcription, translation of the text. It should be noted that unlike many other early inscriptions, the transcription of the Douimes Pendant Inscription has been agreed upon since its discovery.

[50] R.E.S. 5=CIS I. 6057=KAI 73.

[51] R.E.S. 5: "A Astarte à Pygmalion, Jademelek, fils de Padaï; délivre qu'il délivre Pygmalion."

[52] Ferron (1958-9), 49.

first 'חלץ' in the patronymic was followed by the editors of *KAI*.[53] Most recently, Krahmalkov has proposed an entirely new reading of the inscription. He has argued that the initial formula is not a dedicatory formula for an ex-voto inscription even though it closely parallels these types of dedications. Rather, based on parallels with *Judges* 7, Krahmalkov believes that the initial formula of the pendant represents a Tyrian battle cry: "For Astarte, For Pygmalion."[54] Pygmalion, in Krahmalkov's formulation, represents the Tyrian king of the late-9th and early-8th centuries BCE thus dating the inscription to period of his rule. Provided the apparent military context of the inscription, Krahmalkov argued further that both 'חלץ' constitute individual words within the inscription and derive from the verb 'to equip , to arm' rather than the traditional 'to save, to rescue.'[55] He translated the inscription: 'For Astarte; For Pygmalion! Yada'milk son of Pidiya, a soldier who was equipped by Pygmalion.'[56] Krahmalkov believed, therefore, that the pendant could be connected to the foundation of Carthage.

Krahmalkov's translation is logical and philologically possible. If coupled with the translation of the Nora Stone proposed by Cross,[57] the epigraphic record would thus demonstrate that Tyre initiated two military campaigns to establish colonies in the western Mediterranean during the period of Pygmalion's rule. In sum, Carthage would thus be a foundation, like Nora, that was directly decided on and colonized by the metropole at Tyre.

---

[53] KAI 73

[54] Krahmalkov (1981), 184-186. Judges 7 has: "For Yahweh and For Gideon."

[55] Both verbs have the same root 'חלץ'. See entries in Brown et al. (1906), 322-323. It should be noted that both uses of the verb have military connotations in the Hebrew Bible.

[56] Krahmalkov (1981), 186.

[57] Cross (1972). See Pilkington (2012) for further discussion of Cross' position.

However, as argued also concerning the Nora Stone, it remains most likely that the individual named in the inscription, Pygmalion, is a reference to the Cypriot deity.[58] Carthage appears to have had multiple religious institutions from its foundation. While Baal Hammon was central to the Carthaginian Pantheon, multiple other deities are known from the epigraphic record of the city.[59]

An Ancient Acropolis at Carthage?

In the foundations legends associated with Carthage, the Byrsa hill plays a central role.[60] Excavations on the Byrsa Hill, as described above, have demonstrated that the flanks of the hill served as a necropolis in the earliest period of Carthaginian history.[61] The only evidence of the use of the Byrsa as an acropolis comes from the Roman occupation at Carthage. Excavations in the 1930s uncovered a large Roman structure, which was interpreted at the time as a Proconsul's residence. A Roman period wall surrounding the entire top of the hill was also located. Excavations underneath the Roman wall encountered a Phoenician tomb of the 7th or 6th century BCE at a depth of 8 meters. The majority of the grave goods in this tomb are Egyptian objects: a statue of Horus and pyramid containing a small statue of Bes. Subsequent excavations in the same area located 15 more tombs of the same period.[62]

---

[58] A position also argued by Amadasi (2001-2002), 50.

[59] Amadasi (2001-2002), 50-51.

[60] Lancel (1988) provides a general discussion of the archaeological excavations on the Byrsa Hill and their relationship to the information contained in the Greco-Roman sources. Debergh (1988), 91-93 considers various theories about the history of use on the Byrsa Hill with considerations about the topography of ancient Carthage.

[61] Lancel (1981), 157- 165; Lancel (1978), 323-327; Lapeyre (1939), 300.

[62] Lapeyre (1939), 301-302.

The archaeological stratigraphy at the top of the Byrsa Hill suffered greatly from the Roman period intervention. Nearly ten feet of earth was removed in order to provide a flat surface for Roman Imperial administrative buildings. As such, the role of the plateau at the top Byrsa Hill in early Carthaginian history remains unclear.[63] Based on analogous Phoenician foundations, city walls and peripheral locations, rather than elevation, served as the primary method of defense for most early Phoenician colonies.

Conclusions: Archaic Carthage

Present reconstructions of Carthaginian history make extensive conclusions based on limited evidence. For example, the imports found in Carthaginian tombs have been used as evidence to demonstrate extensive Carthaginian commercial enterprises early in its history. Hoyos comments, "By 750, the New City was doing business with her Phoenician homeland, Egypt and Greece, as well as with her North African neighbors."[64] However, the evidence derived from Carthaginian tombs only indicates that ceramics produced in these areas (or their artistic traditions) were reaching Carthage at this point. Their relative importance in Carthaginian commerce, when compared to local trade, is limited. In archaic occupation contexts, locally produced transport amphoras predominate. Of the 981 recovered amphora fragments at Bir Massouda for the period 675-530 BCE only 157 are imported. Furthermore, the majority of imported objects recovered in archaic tombs were produced regionally, either in Sicily, Sardinia or Italy.

---

[63] Lancel (1988), 76-80.

[64] Hoyos (2010), 17.

The evidence, therefore, can be used to argue for a different history of archaic Carthaginian trade. In the 8th and 7th centuries BCE, Carthaginian commerce was focused on local production and local consumption. Trade did occur with multiple polities in Sicily and Sardinia. However, as a share of the Carthaginian economy, trade was of limited importance to the sustainability of the early foundation. The most interesting evidence that can be derived from the imports recovered at Carthage and the record of its exports found at other sites in the Mediterranean is a progressive growth in the geography of Carthaginian trade. Much of this activity appears to have depended on Carthage's existing relationships with Phoenician polities in Sicily and Sardinia. At Nora, Carthaginian imported amphora constitute 50% of the recovered amphoras that date to late 7th- mid 6th centuries BCE. Through these redistribution points, Carthaginian transport amphora reached Toscanos in the Iberian Peninsula in the 7th century, though they remained a very small percentage of the site's imports (2.9%).[65]

In addition, the present state of the archaeological record does not support current reconstructions of Carthage as a large and important occupation during the archaic period. From the few archaic occupation contexts recovered, it is evident that Carthage remained a small and underdeveloped site when compared to other Phoenician occupations in the western Mediterranean. Until the mid-7th century, the Carthaginians do not appear to have developed monumental public spaces or construction techniques that went beyond rudimentary mud-brick architecture. In contrast, multiple Phoenician polities in the western Mediterranean reveal evidence of more highly developed urban environments, clearer evidence of urban growth, and also indications of secondary foundations from these initial occupations during the archaic period.

---

[65] Bechtold and Doctor (2010), 91-92 for the record of Carthaginian exports at multiple sites.

The Archaeology of Phoenician Expansion in Iberia and Morocco

The Indigenous Inhabitants

Although Phoenicians only settled permanently in the southern Iberian Peninsula, the trading networks they developed extended throughout the entire geographic area. Therefore, Phoenician traders were in contact with nearly all of the early Iron Age Iberian peoples. The majority of scholarly attention has focused Phoenician-Native interactions in modern Andalucía. The Greco-Roman sources contain several disconnected narratives about an indigenous kingdom in this area, traditionally known as 'Tarshish' or 'Tartessos'.[66] Some scholars have even argued that 'Tarshish' refers specifically to a kingdom based at Huelva.[67]

The study of indigenous populations in the southern Iberian Peninsula was primarily based on notices in Greco-Roman sources until the development of scientific archaeology.[68] Both archaeological evidence and textual sources indicate that the mining and smelting of metals was a central focus of the economy in this area before the arrival of Phoenician colonists. Archaeologists have demonstrated that Iberian peoples developed techniques in the Bronze Age to work and smelt complicated ore deposits that included silver, gold, lead, iron, and zinc.[69]

After the arrival of Phoenicians in Iberia, native mining sites continue in use. The ceramics recovered at these sites allow for general dating. The Pico del Oro mining area (Tharsis, Huelva) was in continuous use from the 7th-4th centuries BCE.[70] The same history of

---

[66] Herodotus 4.152; Strabo 3.2; Pliny, *Natural History* 4.120 (4.36).

[67] Chamorro (1987); Gonzalez de Canales et al. (2004).

[68] Gómez Toscano (2002), 151 and 157.

[69] Pérez Macías (1996-97), 96-98.

[70] Pérez Macías (1996-97), 98-100.

occupation occurred at Aznalcóllar , Niebla, and Tejada la Vieja.[71] Other mining areas went

through different phases of use. At Cerro Salomon and Cerro de Quebrantahuesos (Riotinto), the

majority of ceramic material dates to the 7th century BCE. The use of the site was sporadic and

minimal in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE.[72] Though certain scholars have argued that Phoenician

and indigenous populations exhausted readily accessible sources of metals by the end of the 6th

century, the evidence indicates that many mining areas remained in use nearly continuously

during the entire 1st millennium BCE.[73]

Phoenician settlers established new agricultural resources in this area during their

expansion. The R1 amphora carried these new products to indigenous sites and is widely attested

at indigenous foundations. In addition to trade in agricultural products, there is evidence for

Phoenician- Indigenous trade in the southern Iberian Peninsula in certain luxury goods. The same

types of bronze objects, jewelry, alabaster vases and decorated ostrich eggs that are found in

Phoenician tombs are also found in indigenous elite burials.[74]

Through interactions with Phoenician populations, Iberian populations began to

experience economic, technological and political innovations. After the arrival of Phoenician

colonists, certain Iberian populations start to extend their territories throughout the interior of the

---

[71] Pérez Macías (1996-97), 102.

[72] Pérez Macías (1996-97), 101 notes that the history of occupation at Cerro Salomon and Cerro de Quebrantahuesos have conditioned the majority of interpretations about mining and metallurgy in the Iberian Peninsula because these mines were the earliest to have been systematically excavated. Their history of occupation is not shared by all mines in the area.

[73] Lopez Castro (1995), 58.

[74] Lopez Castro (1995), 51.

peninsula during the 7th century, a process described by Spanish archaeologists as 'internal' colonization.[75] Almagro Gorbea:

> La arqueología evidencia ulteriores procesos de expansión Tartésica para controlar la Vía de la Plata y el Valle del Tajo por el interior y las desembocaduras de los ríos de la costa atlántica. Desde Olisipo, la expansión atlántica tartesio-turdetana hacia el norte llegó hasta Santa Olaia en el Mondego, Gaia en la desembocadura del Duero y la Gallaecia, mientras que, por el interior, desde Conisturgis como ciudad-estado tartesia más importante del Guadiana, alcanzaron la zona media del Tajo y, quizás, la Meseta Norte meridional, como indicaría Lippo y los hallazgos de Augustobriga.[76]

The geography of indigenous expansion infringed directly on Phoenician coastal trade routes. Many of the sites colonized by Iberian populations along the coast, such as Santa Olaia, also attest to a pre-existing seasonal Phoenician trading presence. In the 6th century, the Phoenician populations of the Iberian Peninsula abandoned permanently their seasonal trading stations on the Atlantic coast of Portugal, which was the primary source of tin in this period. Phoenician abandonment of these trading stations was originally poorly understood, especially given models of Phoenician colonization that emphasize the metals trade.[77] However, recent discoveries of indigenous 'colonies' in Spain and their geographical extension north towards these metal producing regions suggests that Phoenician colonists abandoned direct acquisition of tin in favor of mediated transactions through Iberian populations.

Indigenous writing appears at the Phoenician colony of Gadir from the 7th century BCE, the same century in which it begins to appear regularly at indigenous occupations. Its use on objects of trade appears to indicate a process of economic cooperation between existing Iberian

---

[75] Almagro Gorbea (2010), 187-190.

[76] Almagro Gorbea (2010), 193.

[77] See Wachsmann et al. (2009) for a history of these sites.

polities and the newly founded Phoenician colonies.[78] By the 6th century, the results of economic interactions with Phoenician populations manifest themselves in noticeable changes in the socio-political organization of Iberian polities.[79]

Phoenician Colonial Foundations

Gadir was the most important colonial foundation in the western Mediterranean. The colony started on a peninsula that forms the barrier between the ocean and Bay of Cadiz. However, it very quickly expanded inland, as the peninsula on which it was original founded had no suitable agricultural territory. Gadir, c. 800 BCE, secured an agricultural territory through the foundation of a new urban site at Castillo de Doña Blanca, just north of Cadiz across the Bay of Cadiz.[80] Taken together, the two sites enclosed 5 hectares within their walls by 800 BCE.[81] Because of the constraints on space at Gadir, the majority of growth in the earliest period of occupation occurred at Castillo de Doña Blanca. During the 8th century BCE, Castillo de Doña Blanca grew to encompass 7 hectares within its city-walls.[82]

Through these two foundations, Gadir developed a well-rounded economy that supported seasonal occupations for mining and trade in metals, permanent agricultural foundations near the urban sites, pastoral lands, and salt fishing industries. In the 6th century BCE, various small but nucleated sites begin to develop near the original foundation. The majority of this activity in the

---

[78] Zamora (2010), 218-219.

[79] Lopez Castro (1995), 58-59 .

[80] Lopez Castro (2008), 154-155; Pellicer Catalan (2007), 38; Cunchillos Ilarri and Zamora López (2004), 113; López Pardo (1996), 254-255.

[81] Mederos Martín and Ruiz Cabrero (2004), 264.

[82] Cunchillos Ilarri and Zamora López (2004), 114.

countryside appears related to wine production, especially at Campin Bajo, Venta Alta, Villarana and Pastrana.[83] The degree of agricultural labor required to support agricultural operations at Gadir in the 6th and 5th centuries has led some scholars to suggest the use of indigenous labor, perhaps servile, or the constant immigration of Phoenician settlers from the eastern Mediterranean.[84] Archaeobotanical remains from the site at Doña Blanca demonstrate an advanced state of agricultural at the site in the 7th and 6th centuries BCE. Remains of grapes are especially prominent. Wheat is the most common cereal recovered, but barley is also present. Finally, the site preserves a host of legumes and other staples of the Phoenician diet: beans, lentils, peas, and chickpeas.[85]

Salt-fishing industries, as has become clearer in recent studies, were part of the economic foundation at Gadir from its beginnings. Scholars have argued that Gadir is ideally located to take advantage of yearly tuna runs from the Atlantic Ocean into the Mediterranean.[86] Its strategic position would have given it the ability to fish both the northern and southern runs through the Strait of Gibraltar, as tuna adhere closely to the coast and travel in columns. The concentration of tuna between May-June created an instant economy of scale, as tuna are not known to school in such large numbers anywhere else in the Mediterranean. While this migration certainly occurs, recent research on tuna populations in the Mediterranean have illustrated that not all tuna are migratory. Many remain in the Mediterranean. The majority of those that have been tagged in off of the Iberian Peninsula, travel along the southern Iberian coast and out to the Balearic Islands,

---

[83] Lopez Castro (2008), 155.

[84] Alvar and Wagner (1988).

[85] Lopez Castro (2008), 166-167.

[86] Carrera Ruiz et al. (2000), 44-45.

often making cyclical journeys between the areas.[87] Therefore, Gadir always had access to tuna stocks as they are present year round near the city. Tuna are not the only fish available for export in the area. Research conducted on the remains of scales and fillets from Gaditean amphora found at Corinth (5th century) showed that the remains of Tuna are less common than the Sea Bream/Gilthead Sea Bream.[88] Sea Bream remain common in the area around Gadir to the present day. They are known to migrate along the Atlantic coast of the Iberian Peninsula up to the British Isles. Those that remain in the Mediterranean congregate in estuarial areas and use tidal flows for hunting; therefore, they were easy targets for coastal fisherman. The salted fish were likely carried in R1 amphorae which dominated the ceramic record of the Iberian Peninsula in the 8th and 7th centuries BCE. By the late 6th century, a specialized amphora, known as the Mañá-Pascual A4, was developed to support long distance exports of salted fish.

Carrera Ruiz et al. argue that the earliest salt fishing operations at Gadir were not commercial in scale. They base this conclusion on the fact that early Phoenician amphora in the western Mediterranean are not differentiated by the type of product they carry. R1 amphorae carry all agricultural produce. It is not until the end of the 6th century, when the Mañá-Pascual A4 amphora is developed, that the authors believe salt fish production reaches a commercial scale, as the MP A4 was exclusively used for salted fish. As argued in Chapter 2, the transition from R1 to MP A4 amphoras is a direct result of an increase in long distance shipping in the 6th century. The R1 was an excellent vessel for local and regional trade. The highly standardized MP A4 is designed to match a specific cargo hold and carry shipments from point to point.[89]

---

[87] Hidas (2010).

[88] Zimmerman Munn (2003), 201.

[89] Carrera Ruiz et al. (2000), 67.

The production of salted fish and other agriculture exports was essential to the development of pottery facilities near Gadir. Due again to geography, Gadir had to seek an inland territory in which to erect its pottery producing facilities. Pottery kilns have been excavated within the modern town of San Fernando, located southeast of Gadir. The archaeological remains attest to extensive production of Mañá- Pascual A4 amphoras throughout the area beginning in the 5th century BCE. For the 7th and 6th centuries BCE, pottery production is not as extensive as later periods but has been detected within one area. It is likely that much of the pottery production in the earliest period occurred at Gadir itself, as evidence of pottery production has been found within its urban core. [90]

Several necropoleis have been discovered around Gadir. Archaic jewelry from the 7th and 6th centuries BCE from several cremation burials has been subjected to scientific analysis in order to determine its composition, origins and techniques of manufacture. The jewelry can be divided into two groups based on the main metal that constitutes each piece. A portion of the jewelry was primarily gold, while another portion was electrum (i.e. gold with addition of silver). The electrum jewelry was produced by artificial alloying as silver percentages reached 50% in some examples.[91]

At Castillo de Doña Blanca, seventy inscriptions have been recovered on various ceramics. The inscriptions date to the 8th -3th centuries BCE. All were found in modern excavations and thus in scientifically excavated strata. Consequently, the dates for the inscriptions are secure.[92] The inscriptions are numbered by year of find and sequence of find

---

[90] Sáez Romero et al. (2004), 34 for a full bibliography of the excavations; 34-7 for a discussion of results.

[91] Ortega Feliu et al. (2007).

[92] Cunchillos Ilarri and Zamora López (2004), 111.

within that year, preceded by TDB for Tell Doña Blanca.[93] 52 of the inscriptions, dated to the 8th-3rd centuries, were found near the archaic port. Of these, 38 of the inscriptions were found in 8th -7th century BCE contexts, primarily a series of houses located near the port. A further 9 inscriptions from the 8th century were found in a rubbish pit located near the city wall. The remaining inscriptions were found scattered throughout the site and in the necropolis.[94] The inscriptions occur primarily on products of local manufacture, and only a few inscriptions are attested on imported ceramics.[95]

The majority of inscriptions are names (and given the fragmentary nature of the evidence only parts of names). The developed formula of "ל + Personal Name", used to denote possession on ceramics, is found completely in one inscription: TDB 91001 (לאשמנה, Belonging to Eshmunah).[96] TDB 87002 possibly records the name of the Phoenician city-state Acre (עכי) on an imported ceramic. The inscription dates to the mid 8th century BCE.[97]

In sum, the archaeological record of Gadir indicates that a small Phoenician population took up residency on the Gaditean peninsula in the 8th century BCE. This population, whether augmented by natural population growth or continued immigration, progressively occupied the entire area around the Bay of Cadiz during the 8th and 7th centuries BCE. It introduced extensive production of wine and salted fish into the local economy. By the end of the 7th century, Gadir

---

[93] Cunchillos Ilarri and Zamora López (2004), 115:"En vista de los hallazgos crecientes y de las posibilidades del yacimiento, se dio una específica numeración epigráfica a las piezas. A cada documento le correspondía la sigla TDB (de Torre, luego Tell, de Doña Blanca) a la que se añadía un número de cinco cifras. Se iniciaba por las dos últimas cifras del año de su hallazgo, seguidas de un número correlativo de tres cifras más (ej. TDB 89001). Tal numeración permitía identificar sin problemas hasta 999 epígrafes por año."

[94] Cunchillos Ilarri and Zamora López (2004), 117-118.

[95] Cunchillos Ilarri and Zamora López (2004), 121.

[96] Cunchillos Ilarri (1993), 19-20.

[97] Cunchillos Ilarri (1992), 81-83.

had created multiple small secondary urban areas in order to support its economic activities and

trade with indigenous populations. Ceramic inscriptions and other archaeological evidence

reveal a regular exchange of goods between Phoenician and indigenous populations in bulk

agricultural commodities and luxury goods.

Phoenician Colonies to the East of Gadir

Cerro del Villar, just southwest of modern Malaga, was sited at the mouth of the

Guadalhorce river in Spain. The site possessed an urban core likely founded in the 8th century.

The occupation was abandoned c. 550 when the pottery facilities were still fully in use.[98] At its

abandonment, the population appears to have transferred itself to the present location of Malaga

and founded ancient Malaka. After the abandonment of Cerro del Villar c.550, the production of

MP A4 amphoras at the pottery facilities for salted fish is the only activity at the site.[99]

While occupied, Cerro del Villar grew to nearly five hectares of occupied space within its

walled, urban core. Excavations at multiple small farmsteads in the area have demonstrated an

agricultural territory that extended for c. 18 sq. km. around the city state. The area was

particularly suited to cereal cultivation. During the 7th century BCE, barley appears to have

constituted half of the production with the remaining half split between wheat and oats. Grape

seeds, suggesting wine production, are also found in relative abundance.[100]

Toscanos (modern Velez-Malaga) was founded c. 740 BCE and was located in the next

river valley (Rio Velez) to east of Cerro del Villar. The site has metal working facilities that are

---

[98] Carrera Ruiz et al. (2000), 72-73.

[99] Sáez Romero et al. (2004), 49; Lopez Castro (1995), 37.

[100] Lopez Castro (1995), 34-5.

likely associated with the mineral resources located in the mountains proximate to the site.[101] A 7th century building excavated at the site may be evidence of a warehouse facility. Within the building, archaeologists have recovered a large cache of transport amphoras. The building encompasses 150-250 m^2 in plan.[102]

As Toscanos grew, it expanded from its original hilltop to a second adjacent hilltop. Both areas were walled. Phoenician populations abandoned the site in the 5th century. The only later activity in the area is at the salt fishing facilities near Cerro del Mar.[103] During the 8th and 7th centuries, the remains of fauna found at the site indicate an ever increasing share of cows in the diet (80% of all remains recovered 650-600 BCE).[104] When combined with evidence for the extensive cultivation of barley and oats at Cerro del Villar, it is possible to suggest that herds played an increasingly important role in the diet and trade of these two communities.

Sexi, located near Almuñecar (Granada), supported a permanent colony from its foundation in the early-8th century BCE. Excavations at the site have uncovered multiple burial grounds, of which the Laurita necropolis is the most important for the early history of Sexi.[105] The Laurita necropolis was only in use for 75 years and appears to have been dedicated to the wealthy individuals who lived at Sexi (700-625 BCE).[106] All of the burials are cremations, normally in cut out pits, and the urns for the ashes are often made of Egyptian alabaster.[107]

---

[101] Lopez Castro (1995), 38-39.

[102] Lopez Castro (1995), 41.

[103] Moscati (1994), 127.

[104] Lopez Castro (1995), 35.

[105] Pellicer Catalan (2007).

[106] Pellicer Catalan (2007), 63 notes that the whole complex of burials at Laurita was dated based on two Proto-Corinthian Kotylai located in one burial.

[107] Pellicer Catalan (2007), 26-27.

Egyptian alabaster vases are only used regularly in this necropolis. A few sporadic examples are known from other sites in the Iberian Peninsula as well as Carthage. Taken collectively, the Laurita examples constitute more than 50% of the total number of recovered Egyptian alabaster vases that were re-used for burials outside of Egypt proper. At the Laurita necropolis, the Pharaoh's cartouches on the alabaster vases date their production to 874-773 BCE. The limited period of deposition in the Laurita necropolis, only 75 years, when combined with the density of alabaster vases, led the excavators to argue that the Laurita necropolis contained the burials of the highest social class, who served as the founders of the original settlement.[108] A third of the alabaster vases are inscribed. Interestingly, one of the inscriptions is a Phoenician attempt to 'fake' hieroglyphic writing on a vase.[109] The presence of this inscription suggests that these vases passed through the Phoenician homeland before their subsequent transshipment west.[110]

Archaeologists have discovered later burial grounds at other areas around the urban core of Sexi. The Cerro del Velilla necropolis appears to have been in use during the 6th century BCE. The necropolis at Puente de Noy was in use from the late 7th through the 3rd century BCE. At this necropolis, excavations have uncovered rock cut chamber tombs that date from the late 7th century and were in continuous use until the 5th century. Inhumation burials first appear in these necropoleis in the 5th century BCE, which certain excavators related to the introduction of Carthaginian burial customs at the site.[111]

---

[108] Pellicer Catalan (2007), 47-54.

[109] Pellicer Catalan (2007), 52.

[110] Pellicer Catalan (2007), 54.

[111] Pellicer Catalan (2007), 29-31.

The urban area at Sexi has been subjected to more limited excavations than the surrounding cemeteries. According to various test trenches and soundings in the urban area, it grew to encompass 3 hectares during the 8th century BCE and 6 hectares by the 7th century BCE. The population was likely 1000 in the 7th century.[112] Before the arrival of Phoenician colonists, the site was inhabited by an indigenous population. The excavators conjecture that this population was integrated into the colony and became part of the settlement.[113]

The Sexi settlement precipitated a series of small settlements north towards modern Granada. At Granada, archaeologists have recovered 7th century Phoenician ceramics, though little else is known about Phoenician activities at this site. Outside of Granada proper, excavations have found R1 amphoras at Cerro de la Mora, about 40 km west of Granada. In addition, surface surveys have shown that nearly the entire area around Granada is dotted with Phoenician artifacts in the 7th and 6th centuries. To what degree these represent small to medium size Phoenician foundations remains a matter of debate. The area is ecologically suited to intensive pastoral activities, as a result of elevation changes created by Sierra Nevada mountain range. Indigenous pastoralists appear to have dedicated the majority of their efforts to the development of extensive pasturages for horses and cows, evidenced by the high incidence of these types of bones at indigenous sites. [114] The penetration of Phoenician pottery into the area around Granada may represent evidence of trade with indigenous pastoralists. At the same time, it could be an indication of an early and quite extensive population of the area by Phoenicians,

---

[112] Pellicer Catalan (2007), 19 and 75.

[113] Pellicer Catalan (2007), 30-31.

[114] Mederos Martín and Ruiz Cabrero (2002).

who took over the land and pastoral activities from indigenous populations or mixed in with them.

Villaricos was inhabited by Phoenician populations from the 7th -2nd centuries BCE. Excavations at the city-state have indicated a high level of agricultural development. The site preserves evidence of wine, olive and cereals cultivation. Barley and wheat both appear to have been grown in the area. In addition, multiple fruits have been found in the excavated remains, plums and cherries being the most notable.[115]

Phoenician Colonies To the West of Gadir

An indigenous population inhabited Huelva before the arrival of Phoenician colonists. They located their primary settlements on small hills near the coast during the Bronze Age. On these hills, circular walls enclose occupied spaces and contain groups of small structures. These walls have two phases of construction. The first is clearly pre-Phoenician; the second shows influence from Phoenician building techniques.[116] Ultimately, the population of Huelva abandoned these small hills at some point during the 8th century BCE. At this time, the center of occupation at Huelva shifts to the port area and the population created a new walled occupation.[117]

---

[115] Lopez Castro (2008), 166.

[116] Gómez Toscano and Campos Carrasco (2000), 163-4.

[117] Gómez Toscano and Campos Carrasco (2000), 165.

A debate remains active as to whether Huelva remained an indigenous occupation or became a Phoenician colony in the 9th-4th centuries BCE.[118] The archaeological history of the site indicates, I believe, the implantation of a Phoenician colony at the modern site of Huelva in the 8th century BCE. Whatever indigenous population remained at Huelva, it had been incorporated into the Phoenician colony thoroughly by the 8th century BCE.[119]

The earliest Phoenician ceramics found at the site date to the 9th century BCE.[120] The abundance of metal ores in the area led to rapid growth of the colonial foundation. Huelva appears to have engaged in intensive agriculture and aquaculture in order to provide the basis for its trade relationships very early in its history. From nearly 8000 ceramic fragments recovered at the site (from the 9th/8th c.), more than half are manufactures in indigenous styles. Nearly all the remaining examples are Phoenician, and less than 50 are Greek in this earliest period. [121]

The importation of Greek wares directly to Huelva began in the 7th century. Excavations underneath the modern Calle del Puerto revealed that Huelva received an extensive quantity of Greek exports from East Greek Islands, Athens, Sparta, Corinth and Marseille likely carried by Phocaean traders based out of Marseille and Ampurias during the period 630-520 BCE. After 520 BCE, Greek imports at Huelva diminish rapidly.[122]

---

[118] See Gómez Toscano (2009), 38; Gómez Toscano and Campos Carrasco (2000), 165 for the viewpoint that Huelva was always an indigenous foundation and remained under indigenous control. Pellicer Catalan (2007). 36 - 37 argues that Huelva was a Phoenician colony by 870 BCE.

[119] Gómez Toscano (2009), 38 for the ceramic evidence.

[120] Gómez Toscano (2009), 38.

[121] Wagner (2008), 15; Pellicer Catalan (2006), 27; Gonzalez de Canales et al. (2004), 29; Cabrera Bonet (2000), 47.

[122] Cabrera Bonet (2000). See also: Gómez Toscano and Campos Carrasco (2000), 165; Bats (1998), 622; Blazquez (1988), 14.

Phoenician Colonization in Modern Portugal

In modern Portugal, by 700, the Phoenicians had developed some form of seasonal presence at Setubal, Almaraz, Lisbon, and Santarem. Expansion continued throughout the 7th century with foundations at Abul, Santa Olaia, and Cerro de Rocha.[123] It must be noted that none of the sites in Portugal have yet to produce a necropolis, a fact which suggests some dependence on larger colonies in the southern Iberian Peninsula. Moreover, no Phoenician site in Portugal has yielded Greek pottery.[124]

Archaeologists often label these Phoenician sites as 'seasonal', though the terminology is perhaps misleading. Seasonally occupied sites in the Iberian Peninsula often have manufacturing functions, and some occupations maintained permanent buildings or quays. They are inhabited for set periods during which trade in agricultural products and metals are most active. For example, Abul consisted of a large enclosed square structure. It was likely a seasonal trading post, but one that was quite regularly visited. Phoenicians were active at the site for just under a century, mid 7th – early 6th century. From geo-physical surveys, it appears that the stone structure opened directly to the estuary. It likely possessed a wooden quay.[125]

All of these Phoenician sites in Portugal were ultimately lost during the period of indigenous expansion in the 7th and 6th centuries BCE. Indigenous populations occupied these sites permanently, often converting existing Phoenician structures into the core of the new foundation. Phoenician populations continued to visit these sites for trade until the end of the 6th

---

[123] Pellicer Catalan (2000), 106.

[124] Pellicer Catalan (2000), 122.

[125] Wachsmann et al. (2009), 233-234.

century, when indigenous populations appear to have taken over transshipment of these products

and moved them internally to Phoenician colonies in the southern Iberian Peninsula.

Phoenician Colonization in Modern Morocco

At Lixus, the earliest occupation of the 8th century BCE covered an area of 12-14

hectares and possessed a defined urban core.[126] Excavations at Lixus are presently limited and

the exact history of the site's development is unknown. More information has been recovered

from excavations at sites near to and likely dependent on Lixus.

The site at Mogador dates to c.700. Scholars have conjectured that it was a trading post

from Lixus due to the fact that it lacks a built environment. Mogador, therefore, was not

permanently inhabited, but was clearly regularly visited.[127] Mogador, in contrast to other

seasonal sites, is different because it represents a point of exchange rather than a manufacturing

center. It is an emporion in the most restricted sense.

The site at Kouass was likely a 6th century foundation from Lixus.[128] It is unclear if it was

a permanently occupied colony. The four archaic kilns at Kouass produced Maña Pascaul A4

amphoras from the site's foundation along with other ceramic types. The kilns and associated

facilities were clearly yearly active in fifth century BCE, but nothing indicates whether

production at these kilns was limited to a seasonal expansion at the site. Seasonal expansion to

Kouass would have given the colonists at Lixus a second fishing ground to take advantage of fish

migrations. Pottery facilities would have been required to ship the catch to Gadir or other

---

[126] Mederos Martín and Ruiz Cabrero (2004), 264; López Pardo (1996), 254-255.

[127] Mederos Martín and Escribano Cobo (2000), 93.

[128] Sáez Romero et al. (2004), 42; López Pardo (1996), 258-259.

redistribution centers. As yet, no salt fish facilities are known from Kouass. Their presence of lack thereof is central to the correct interpretation of the site's economic history.[129]

Relationships between Gadir and Other Foundations

Certain scholars have argued that Gadir was the most powerful Phoenician colonial foundation in the western Mediterranean and exerted some form of political and economic control over the other polities in the area. The thesis was named the 'Circulo del Estrecho' and developed in the 1960s by Tarradell. Proponents of the Circulo del Estrecho thesis have argued that Gadir's control was solely economic until the fall of Tyre in the early 6th century BCE. At this point, Gadir assumed more direct political control over the other Phoenician polities of southern Iberia.[130]

At present, from the archaeological record, the political relationships between Phoenician settlements cannot be directly determined. No evidence exists that demonstrates political or economic subordination during 9th - 7th centuries BCE. At Huelva, Lixus, Malaca, and Sexi, the same pattern of growth experienced at Gadir is evident. Consequently, it is likely that by the 7th century BCE, all independent colonial foundations had extended their trading reach through the foundation of secondary occupations.[131] Pellicer Catalan, building from the earlier terminology, has argued that the proper terminology is 'Subcírculos del Estrecho', each with its own trading interests and dependent foundations. At the same time, it does remain clear that Gadir was an exceptionally large and powerful sub-circle in this area. Its sheer physical size and the scale of its

---

[129] Carrera Ruiz et al. (2000), 74.

[130] Pellicer Catalan (2007), 38.

[131] Gómez Toscano and Campos Carrasco (2000), 155; Blazquez (1988), 14.

economic activities exerted a strong influence on the economic direction which other polities in the area chose to pursue.

The Archaeology of Phoenician Expansion in Sardinia

The Nuraghic Inhabitants of Sardinia

Phoenician expansion in Sardinia brought Phoenician colonists into contact with the indigenous inhabitants of Sardinia. The socio-economic basis and political organization of Nuragic society are only partially clear. Based on the physical form of Nuraghic settlements and their development over time, it has been argued that Nuraghic society experienced a period of socio-political and economic development during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age. During the Late Bronze Age, Nuraghic villages appear for the first time. These villages are concentrated around pre-existing Nuraghic towers. Concomitant with the creation of the villages, the Nuraghic towers at these sites are renovated and enlarged. By the Early Iron Age, certain Nuraghic sites had grown powerful enough to develop into the centers of complex chiefdoms that exerted dominance over multiple dependent sites.[132]

---

[132] Blake (2005); Webster (1996), 108-167.

Image 6: The Archaeological Remains of Su Nuraxi (Class III Settlement).

Image © 2012 Google Earth

During the Late Bronze Age, certain Nuraghic settlements in coastal Sardinia were in regular trade contact with Italy, most notably Nuraghe Antigori. At Antigori, excavations uncovered a series of Mycenaean imports in the refuse area of a Nuraghic tower.[133] Though the number of imports is limited at Antigori, it is possible that techniques of manufacture and artistic styles gained through this trade created an advantageous position for the Nuraghic village at Antigori, which may assist in explaining its development into an important political center and the seat of a complex chiefdom. Trade was likely conducted in agricultural products. Nuraghic settlements in Sardinia demonstrate little evidence of viticulture. Rather, Nuraghic society in the Late Bronze Age appears to have focused on the development of large herds as well as grain production to support these herds. Another potential vector for trade was the need for metals.

---

[133] Russell (2010).

Recent research on metal working in Sardinia has shown that bronze casting, specifically lost wax casting, was used at Nuraghic sites. At Nuraghe Santa Barbara, casting molds have been found for pestles, hammers, picks, sword handles, and votive objects.[134] Tin is not native to the island. Thus the production of bronze required the acquisition of tin from an external source.

Scholars have normally argued that the arrival of Phoenician settlers in Sardinia during the 9th and 8th centuries BCE was a peaceful process. During these centuries, most Nuraghic villages continue to evince settled occupation patterns and show no evidence that Phoenician colonization greatly disturbed existing socio-political or economic organization.[135] However, the number of early Phoenician colonies in Sardinia is limited. Phoenician colonists only founded new colonies at Nora, Caralis, Sulcis, Tharros and secondary sites related to these primary foundations during the 8th and 7th centuries BCE. The limited geography of Phoenician expansion means that a universal perspective of Nuraghic occupation patterns is of limited utility. Instead, focus is necessary on those areas in which the Phoenicians settled (southwestern and central-western Sardinia).

Through the study of occupation patterns at Nuraghic villages near these early Phoenician colonies, scholars have demonstrated a consistent pattern of abandonment at the most important settlements, notably Webster Class III settlements that acted as the principle seats of complex chiefdoms. In southwestern Sardinia, Nuraghic populations abandoned the sites at Nuraghe Antigori, Serrucci, and Nuraghe Sirai (all class III settlements) in the 8th century.[136] All three of these sites are located in close proximity to the Phoenician colonies at Nora and Sulcis. For the

---

[134] Gallin and Tykot (1993), 336.

[135] Bartolini (2005), 26; Webster (1996), 157-9.

[136] Webster (1996), 117, 130, 167 for a discussion of Class III settlements and their history in Sardinia. See Russell (2010) for the abandonment of Antigori. See Webster (1996), 157-8 and Perra (2005) for the abandonment of Serrucci and Nuraghe Sirai and their reoccupation by Phoenicians.

dependents of these complex chiefdoms, the removal of the principle site and its associated chief family set off a process of political and economic reorganization. Phoenician colonies, as their growth suggests, may have assumed the economic role previously occupied by Class III settlements.

In central-western Sardinia, Phoenician populations constructed Tharros on top of two Nuraghic towers.[137] From this foundation, Phoenician populations began to spread out into the countryside and directly affected the occupation patterns of Nuraghic populations in the area. Near Tharros, Nuraghe Santa Barbara offers an example of the general history of occupation for a Nuraghic site that had the misfortune to be located near a Phoenician colony. The original Nuraghic towers date to the Middle Bronze Age, c. 1500 BCE. By the 12th century, a village had developed around the Nuraghic towers. Over the next three centuries, the village grew to cover a 2 hectare area. The village was walled, and the walls have observation towers. Structures within the walls include semi-rectangular houses, circular towers, and other structures of unclear design and function. The village at Nuraghe Santa Barbara appears to have been abandoned c. 800 BCE. The structures were left intact and the population removed all portable goods that could be carried away from the site. A Phoenician colony subsequently employed the abandoned towers to develop a fortress.[138]

Phoenician Colonization in Sardinia

---

[137] Webster (1996), 157.

[138] Gallin and Tykot (1993), 336-338.

The most important area of early Phoenician expansion in Sardinia was the southwest of the island. Phoenician settlers populated the area between the modern island of Sant'Antioco (ancient Sulcis) and Cagliari between 800-650 BCE. The most dynamic foundation during this period was Sulcis. Excavations have uncovered four secondary occupations in its immediate hinterland. These sites are Portoscuso, Monte Sirai, Panilonga, and Bitia.[139] Outside of this area, Phoenician settlers also founded Tharros on the west coast of Sardinia during the late 8th century.[140]

Excavations at Sulcis have recovered artifacts dated to the mid-8th century BCE. However, excavations are very limited at Sulcis. Modern urbanization occupies the same space as the ancient site. The majority of Sulcis' earliest history of occupation remains unexplored archaeologically. More information is available at dependent sites near Sulcis, as these sites were unoccupied after antiquity. They provide more complete and more easily accessible archaeological records.[141]

Monte Sirai is the most important excavation in Sardinia. Nearly all conclusions about Phoenician expansion into Sardinia depend on its stratigraphy. Monte Sirai was a secondary occupation founded c. 700 BCE by the population of Sulcis. [142] It overlay a Nuraghic tower site, and the original Phoenician foundation reused much of the Nuraghic tower complex to provide masonry for the Phoenician fort.[143] Nuraghic inhabitants were living at the site as late as the 8th

---

[139] Moscati et al. (1997), 52.

[140] Moscati et al. (1997), 33-35.

[141] Balmuth (1992), 692.

[142] Piga et al. (2010), 144 argue for a slightly earlier foundation date.

[143] Moscati et al. (1997), 55 argue that Monte Sirai was never intended as a fortress complex. Rather, they argue, that the Phoenicians only constructed an urban habitation in the area.

century, indicated by the ceramic finds at lowest levels of the Phoenician occupation. The

Nuraghic inhabitants were violently uprooted to make way for the Phoenician settlers. The

archaeological levels underneath the earliest Phoenician fort are characterized by the presence of

ash and carbon concentrations.[144] At its foundation the Phoenician fort was surrounded by

wall.[145]

Tharros was founded in the 8th century BCE.[146] Due to extensive Roman remains,

Phoenician Tharros is known only through excavations at various necropoleis.[147] The earliest

excavations at Tharros began in the middle of the 19th century. Because these excavations were

essentially treasure hunting expeditions, ceramics recovered in early excavations were sold to

various museums and private collectors, scattering the archaeological record of early Tharros.[148]

Acquaro conducted the only recent and scientific excavation of the site the 1980s. However,

Acquaro's excavations focused on the Tophet within the city walls and not the necropoleis.[149] As

such, the archaeological history of Tharros divides into two distinct classes of evidence. [150] The

recent excavation offers a better record of excavated strata and properly contextualized finds.

However, these excavations occurred primarily in the Tophet at Tharros. Throughout the Tophets

of the central Mediterranean, ceramic forms used in burials at Tophets are different from those

ceramic forms used in contemporaneous necropoleis. Most Tophet burials are in locally

---

[144] Amadasi et al. (1966), 9-15; 26-35.

[145] Barreca and Garbini (1964), 14.

[146] Gras (1974), 79.

[147] Moscati (1987) (b), 484.

[148] Gras (1974), 80.

[149] Moscati et al. (1997), 60; Moscati (1987) (b), 484.

[150] Moscati (1987) (b), 483 and Gras (1974), 79-81.

produced jars, normally in a generic Phoenician type. Archaic necropoleis, in contrast, most often

yield evidence of imported ceramics. As a result, the results from the excavations at the Tophet

cannot be fully integrated with the earlier finds in the necropoleis.

In the 1980's, Acquaro and his team excavated the Tophet at Tharros. Located in

northernmost part of the urban zone, the Tophet abutted the city wall. The Tophet at Tharros was

located on top of a complex of Nuraghic towers. The archaeological stratigraphy divides into

four phases of use that cover the 7/6th-2nd centuries BCE. The Tophet excavations discovered

nearly 300 steles, primarily with geometric designs. The Symbol of Tanit is rare on these steles.

When used, the symbol appears associated with two staffs similar those borne by Hermes or

Isis.[151]

The best example of a museum based study of the finds from Tharros is the work of Gras,

who collected and analyzed the 6th century imported material from early excavations in the

necropoleis. He identified 56 imported vases now stored in museums in Cagliari and Oristano.[152]

More than half of the identified imported vases are bucchero wares. 22 of the vases are Etruscan

bucchero canthares. The oldest example dates to c. 600 BCE, while the majority of the recovered

examples appear to date c. 590-560 BCE.[153] 11 of the vases are oinochoe in bucchero. Their

production occurred in the first half of the 6th century BCE.[154] Other recovered bucchero wares,

though minimal in quantity, include small amphorae (four examples), an olpe, and a kylix.

---

[151] Moscati et al. (1997), 61 dates the start of the Tophet at Tharros to the late 8th or early 7th century; Moscati (1987) (b), 483-488 dates the Tophet to a later period.

[152] Gras (1974), 81. These are not the only vases recovered from Tharros. Other museums hold significant collections. Gras' study is thus only a small sample of the total variety of imports recovered at Tharros. Gras does not present evidence to demonstrate that his constitutes a representative sample nor was this his intention.

[153] Gras (1974), 81-93.

[154] Gras (1974), 97-106. The forms derive from Ramage Type 9D oinochoe.

Corinthian style ceramics produced in Etruria are also found as imports at Tharros. The ceramic

forms include five cups and eight perfume vases (aryballoi). Collectively, Etruscan ceramics

represent 53 of the 56 vases studied by Gras. Only one import from Corinth and two imports

from Laconia attest to indirect connections between Greece and Tharros in this period. A

Corinthian aryballos recovered at the site dates to c. 580-570 BCE. The vase is most similar to

Corinthian exports that have been recovered at Megara Hyblaea, Syracuse, Gela, Agrigentum,

Selinunte and Himera, which demonstrates their broad distribution through Corinth's regular

trading partners in Sicily. Two Laconian aryballoi (type B) date to the period 575-550 BCE.

Within the western Mediterranean, this type of Laconian aryballos is primarily found in Sicily,

Magna Graecia, and Etruria. [155]

From this evidence, Gras concluded that imports from Greece arrived at Tharros through

Etruscan intermediaries.[156] He further noted that the Etruscan pottery recovered at Tharros is

nearly identical to assemblages recovered in the Cap d'Antibes shipwreck and the necropoleis

near Vulci in Etruria.[157] After Gras' publication, a tomb at Panormus yielded the same ceramic

assemblages.[158]

Excavations at Cagliari, the main Phoenician settlement on the southern coast, are

complicated by modern urbanization. As such, of all the early Phoenician colonies in Sardinia,

Cagliari reveals the least amount of its early history through excavation. A few Proto-Corinthian

vases have been discovered in the area, which suggests that the site may have been occupied in

the 8th and 7th centuries BCE. Though the number of finds increases for 6th century artifacts,

---

[155] Gras (1974), 106-121

[156] Gras (1974), 124.

[157] Gras (1974), 132.

[158] See Di Stefano (2000).

archaeologists have yet to locate an urban core for this period.[159] The later history of the occupation is known through inscriptions, where it is identified as Caralis. As argued in Chapter 5, Caralis became a dependent city of Carthage by the fourth century BCE.

Cuccureddus (near Villesimus, Cagliari) was only in use during the 7th and 6th centuries BCE. The pottery recovered at the site is Etruscan bucchero, Corinthian and Laconian wares.[160] The site appears to have consisted of a central temple complex with a low surrounding wall during this period. No materials have been recovered that date after 550 BCE.[161]

Nora may represent the earliest Phoenician foundation in Sardinia. The Greco-Roman sources ascribe great antiquity to the site.[162] The antiquity of the site appears to be confirmed by the discovery of the Nora Stone, an early Phoenician inscription which dates to the 9th or 8th century BCE (discussed supra). The earliest pottery recovered at Nora dates to the mid 8th century and includes Proto-Corinthian wares found at other Phoenician colonies of the period. Remains of Phoenician structures have been located throughout the small peninsula on which the city was located.[163]

Phoenician Colonization in Sicily

The Elymians

---

[159] Moscati et al. (1997), 46-48

[160] Balmuth (1992), 691

[161] Moscati et al. (1997), 44.

[162] Pausanias 10.17

[163] Moscati et al. (1997), 48

The Elymian populations of western Sicily were the primary indigenous inhabitants with whom Phoenician settlers interacted. As a native population living between Greek and Phoenician occupations, Elymian communities were affected by cultural contact with both groups. Outside of their main population center at Segesta, Elymian villages occupy a number of hilltops in western Sicily.[164] For the early history of Phoenician colonization, the site at Monte Polizzo demonstrates that Phoenician colonization in western Sicily did little to upset the patterns of occupation at sites inland. However, as in Sardinia, Phoenician colonies replace indigenous occupations at multiple sites on the coast.

Phoenician Colonies

Mozia was one of the earliest Phoenician colonies in Sicily.[165] It sits on a small island that was likely linked by a small causeway to the mainland in antiquity. Mozia is today on private property. The Phoenician remains were originally excavated by the owner at the start of the 20th century.[166] These excavations were followed by a brief series campaigns by English archaeologists at Motya.[167] In the early 1960s, a team of Italian archaeologist undertook a new series of excavations at the site that would last for four decades.[168] Finally, recent excavations

---

[164] In Western Sicily, the best known sites are Segesta, Montagne Grande, Monte Polizzo, and Salemi. In sampling of the 5th century BCE pottery recovered from these sites, the composition of the ceramics has been shown to derive from a common source of clay. See Kolb and Speakman (2005).

[165] Lancel (1992), 105: The oldest recovered Proto Corinthian vases in the necropoleis at Mozia date to the period 730/720, which suggest the colony was founded in the mid 8th century BCE.

[166] Whitaker (1921).

[167] Isserlin et al. (1958); Isserlin (1971).

[168] Ciasca et al. (1964).

have been allowed by the property owners when undertaking renovations of the modern buildings at the site.[169]

Mozia was originally inhabited by a native Sicilian population. The lowest archaeological levels yield indigenous pottery and evidence of agriculture. Phoenician colonists arrived at Mozia in late-8th or early-7th century. The island appears to have been inhabited at the time of the Phoenician arrival. Whether or not this contact resulted in violent displacement or integration is unclear. As demonstrated by the site at Huelva, Phoenician colonists could co-exist with native populations in close proximity.[170]

The Tophet at Mozia was dedicated exclusively to Baal Hammon. Burials at the Tophet began in the 8th century BCE.[171] Inscriptions at the Tophet at Mozia begin in the 6th century BCE.[172] Examples recovered from the 6th- 4th century maintain dedications exclusively to Baal or Baal Hammon without the addition of Tanit: 'לאדן לבעל נדר' 'to the Lord, to Baal, vowed…'[173] 'לאדן לבעל חמן נצב' 'to the Lord, to Baal Hammon, a stele…'.[174] The majority of the ceramics recovered at the Tophet date to the 6th and 5th centuries BCE. The ceramics include black glaze wares, particularly Ionic cups, as well as 'Massilian' amphora types.

Excavations in front of the Museum of Mozia, as part of modern renovations to wine storage facilities, constitute the most recent series of excavations at the site.[175] Most importantly,

---

[169] Famà and Toti (2000).

[170] Isserlin et al. (1958), 4.

[171] Caruso (2000), 235.

[172] Amadasi (2000), 1.

[173] Amadasi (1967), Sicily #16. 2nd half of the 6th century BCE.

[174] Amadasi (1967), Sicily #17. End of the 4th century BCE.

[175] Famà and Toti (2000).

none of the stratigraphy recovered in this excavation had been previously uncovered. Both Greek

and Phoenician ceramics were found in the excavations. Due to advances in archaeological

methods, these excavations are particularly important for the archaeological record of Mozia.

 In Period II strata in this excavation (8th-6th centuries BCE), archaeologists have found Proto-

Corinthian imported skyphoi from the period 710-625 BCE. These wares are similar to those

recovered at Megara Hyblaea and were likely produced there or a nearby Greek colony.[176] A

SOS amphora was recovered from the period 625-575 BCE. These amphorae are most often

produced at Athens and the majority of exports recovered in the western Mediterranean are

Athenian, though other production centers are known at Pithekoussai and Chalkis.[177] Ionic Cups

(style B2) become c. 50% of total imported ceramic remains recovered c. 550 BCE. Attic black

glaze wares appear at the end of the 6th century BCE.[178]

30% of the recovered ceramics were Phoenician amphoras. In Period II strata, the 7th and

6th centuries BCE, Ramon T 3.1.1.2 amphorae represent the vast majority of the recovered

fragments. All of the examples found in this excavation were of local manufacture. These

amphorae are also found in significant numbers in the necropoleis at Mozia. The amphora type

was in use during the 7th and 6th centuries BCE. Only one imported Phoenician amphora was

found in Period II strata in this excavation, a Circulo del Estrecho 1B amphora produced in the

Iberian Peninsula.[179]

The evidence of ceramic imports and production at Mozia discovered in the most recent

excavation was also found in early excavations with some slight variation. An earlier excavation

---

[176] Famà and Toti (2000), 454.

[177] Famà and Toti (2000), 455; See Johnston and Jones (1978) for a discussion of the SOS amphora.

[178] Famà and Toti (2000), 457-458.

[179] Famà and Toti (2000), 459-461.

dug six text trenches throughout the site. It thus had the advantage of a wide capture in its pottery

samples. In his comprehensive analysis of the local ceramics recovered from the six test

trenches, Culican argued:

> In so far as a general impression of the Motyan pottery can be formed, it seems that
> throughout its existence the Motyan forms and fabrics are closer to those of Utica than of
> Carthage. This suggests the independent Phoenician foundation of both sites, each with
> its commercial ties to Greece independent of those of Carthage…In the course of the
> sixth century, however, Carthaginian fabrics become common on the island, and by the
> fifth century Motya shares a great many forms and fabrics with other North African Punic
> sites, while still producing her own distinctive deep-pink wares.[180]

In sum, excavations at Mozia demonstrate a history of ceramic imports and production

that indicate early exchanges with Corinthians dependents, East Greeks and their dependencies

coupled with locally distinctive production during the 8th-6th centuries BCE. In the 6th century,

ceramics indicate increasing imports from Athens with a concomitant increase in Carthaginian

forms used in local manufacture.

In the mid-6th century BCE, the inhabitants of Mozia constructed a purpose built harbor

slightly inland from a natural lagoon on the south side of the island. The purpose built harbor,

denominated a Cothon by Servius, was connected to the lagoon by a channel. The channel

possessed an hour glass shape, narrowing in it central section to 5.38m in width. The depth of the

channel in the central section is c. 1.78m. The entire central section contains a stone-paved

bottom and quay facilities on the sides. The channel ran through the town walls in order to

connect the external lagoon to the newly constructed interior harbor. The developed central

section of the channel is short, only 7.5 meters. The facilities on each side likely served to unload

a boat or as a partial dry dock area, at low tides, for repairs. The channel was constructed in the

second half of the 6th century BCE. By the end of the 5th century, the channel was not in regular

---

[180] Isserlin et al. (1958), 25.

use. The bottom of the channel is silted and contains numerous artifacts. A large stone to block

the channel was inserted on top of this fill at some point near to or after the city's destruction in

397 BCE.[181]

Image 7: The Cothon at Mozia.

Image © 2012 Google Earth

The rectangular harbor at the end of the channel, the Cothon proper, measures 35.5 by 51

meters. The harbor was an improvement of a natural basin and was lined with stones once dug.

The northern end of the basin was left as a sandy area in order to beach ships. The Cothon was

closed near the end of its history, likely contemporaneous to the accumulation of deposits within

the channel.[182]

Certain scholars have tried to argue that Mozia became a Carthaginian colony c.550 BCE

and that the Cothon at Mozia was a Carthaginian military harbor.[183] The evidence for this

---

[181] Isserlin (1971), 181-183.

[182] Isserlin (1971), 183-185.

[183] Barkaoui (2003), 146.

argument is negligible, primarily confined to the development of new walls at the site and the construction of the Cothon.[184] More importantly, the oldest sections of the city walls at Mozia have been dated to the late 7th century BCE.[185] Their reconstruction in the mid 6th century is part of a general pattern of renovation across the island that coincides with the construction of the Cothon and bears no relationship to Carthage or a Carthaginian invasion of Sicily. Furthermore, the dimensions of the Cothon would have it made a poor military harbor. Given its width and length, it would have accommodated very few warships, even if some were partially beached. Moreover, it is unclear if a Carthaginian warship from the period 500-400 BCE would have been able to pass through the channel that connected the Cothon to the outer lagoon, as it narrows to 5.8 m. in width at is central section. Once inside the Cothon, a single warship would have consumed nearly its entire length.[186]

Instead of a military harbor, it is more probable that the Cothon was a protected port, likely used by small ships that brought cargos from larger ships moored in the neighboring lagoon. That its construction coincides with renovations to the city walls indicates that Mozia felt the need to construct a protected anchorage due to some external development which is at present unknown. However, the wide geography of its trading connections in the 6th century alone may account for these protective measures.

---

[184] See Moscati (1994), 89-90 who argues for a colony. See Lancel (1992), 106 who argues that Carthage merely protected the area from foreign encroachment. He believes that the first Carthaginian colonies in Sicily were those at Selinunte and Himera.

[185] Lancel (1992), 105.

[186] The development of Carthaginian and Phoenician naval vessels is particularly obscure for the archaic period. The harbor facilities at Kition, built to accommodate warships of the very late 5th and 4th centuries, are composed of hangers with measurements equal to those found at Athens (Zea, Pireus). Consequently, it has been determined that these hangers were designed for Triremes of the Classical Greek type. At both Zea and Kition, the average length is 37 or 38 meters for each dock with a width of c. 6m. See Yon (2000). It should be noted that the construction at Kition was purpose built military harbor. A trophy of commemorating the victory of Milkyaton over Salamis was found in the same harbor (392 BCE). See Yon and Sznycer (1991).

Panormos

Excavations at Panormos are hindered by the history of occupation at Palermo. Comprehensive excavations of the site are not possible. Rather, the majority of finds have been recovered as part of building renovations, at which time archaeologists have been able to excavate underneath modern structures.

A necropolis located to the southeast of the modern city center (under the Caserma Tukory) has been excavated in two different sets of excavations, at the end of the 19th and 20th centuries respectively.[187] Archaeologists have uncovered a total of 78 tombs in the area. These tombs include rock cut burial chambers with access stairs, individual cremation burials, and inhumation burials in stoned lined pits.[188] All of individual cremation burials recovered in the excavation (i.e. those found outside of chamber tombs) have been dated to the 6th century BCE. Grave goods associated with these burials include Corinthian ceramics, Ionic B2 cups, Etruscan bucchero oinochoe, and Etrusco-Corinthian cups. One of the Etrusco-Corinthian cups is from the 'Gruppo a Maschera Umana' productions.[189] Most of the burials in stoned line pits are of infants or young children. The infants are accompanied by grave goods, including necklaces and amulets. Some of the stone pit burials contain older individuals, who are not always buried individually. Tomb no. 73 contained two individuals in a stone cut pit measuring 2.6 x 1 m. The two women, c. 30 years of age, appear to have been buried at different points during the period

---

[187] Located near the intersection the Corso Calatafimi and Via Quarto dei Mille, near the modern University of Palermo. See Di Stefano (2000), 437.

[188] Di Stefano (2000), 437

[189] Di Stefano (2000), 439-440. See also Gras (1974), 132-134. Cups done in the Gruppo a Maschera Umana also appear in the shipwreck at Cap d'Antibes

500-480 BCE. The second body was placed on top of the first in the same alienation.[190] Certain rock cut chamber tombs recovered in this excavation have similar grave goods to the incineration burials, dating them to the period 600-550 BCE.[191]

Other recovered chamber tombs show a extend history of use. Tomb no. 50 contained 13 burials, which include examples of inhumation and incineration. The earliest burial in the tomb was a 6th century stone sarcophagus, which contained the remains of an adult male and female. Incineration burial urns and amphorae were placed on top of this sarcophagus at a later date. The incineration burials include adult males (3 examples) and females (1 example), infants (3 examples) and a mixed burial of an adult male and infant. Two of the infant incineration burials contained only the bones of the deceased, while one example contained the bones of an infant mixed with a goat. All of the incineration burials were contained in jugs or amphoras of local production that could date the burials to any point in the 5th or 4th centuries BCE. A Ramon 1.4 amphora of local production, dated to the period 500-480 BCE, held the remains of two infants in an *enchytrismos* burial (inhumation burial in a ceramic). The first skeleton was between 1-2 months old, while the other skeleton was a little more than a year of age. Ultimately, the tomb continued in the use through the 4th-3rd century. Later burials are primarily inhumations, either in wood sarcophaguses or on top of wooden planks.[192]

The excavation of this necropolis results in two primary pieces of evidence for this study. Most importantly, the excavations have uncovered evidence of an inhumation burial with weapons. Of secondary importance is the history of Tomb no. 50, which provides evidence of

---

[190] Di Stefano (2000), 442.

[191] Di Stefano (2000), 443.

[192] Di Stefano (2000), 443- 445. Ramon 7.1.2.1 amphorae are also used to hold burials in this tomb.

nearly every type of burial recovered at Phoenician sites in the western Mediterranean, including

Tophet burials.

Tomb no. 66 represents the most important burial recovered in this excavation. This

burial the only known burial in the Phoenician western Mediterranean were weapons have been

found as part of the grave goods. The adult male in Tomb no. 66 was accompanied by an iron

dagger and iron spear point. Four rings, two of bronze and two of iron, were found associated

with the skeleton. Above the head of the deceased, a mushroom lipped jug and oinochoe were

placed. Based on the ceramics and similarities with other tombs at Panormos, Tomb no. 66 likely

dates to the period 600-550 BCE.[193] The weapons represented are those of heavy infantry in the

6th century and are similar to the armament of a Greek hoplite.

Tomb no. 50 contains burials that demonstrate similarities with Tophet burials. For the

archaeological history of Panormos, this discovery is particularly important. At present, no

evidence of a Tophet has been found in the excavations at the city.[194] In Tomb no. 50, infants are

incinerated and placed into common storage jars or transport amphoras. Burials can contain

multiple infants as well as infant bones mixed with animal bones. The age range represented by

the skeletons corresponds to that found at other Tophets. Due to the absence of stratigraphy

within Tomb no. 50, it remains difficult to reconstruct the chronological sequence of infant

burials within the tomb. It is possible that the mixed infant-animal burial and the *enchytrismos*

burial date to the same period, the early 5th century, which would demonstrate that multiple

burial customs could exist contemporaneously for deceased infants. Exact dates for the locally

produced jugs which contain the infants are not possible due to the use of these forms over

---

[193] Di Stefano (2000), 437-439.

[194] Caruso (2000), 234. Many scholars have tried to link R.E.S. 525, an ex voto to Baal Hammon and Tanit found at Pellegrino to the Tophet at Palermo. This position is not accepted by most scholars. See also Amadasi (2000), 4.

extended periods of time. Consequently, it is equally possible that the *enchytrismos* burial predates the incineration burials.

Conclusions: Carthage and Early Phoenician Colonization

From the 9th-6th centuries BCE, archaeological evidence demonstrates that the most dynamic Phoenician settlements in the western Mediterranean were located in the Iberian Peninsula, Sicily and Sardinia. Gadir, Tharros, Sulcis and Mozia were important agricultural and aqua-cultural colonies. Early in their histories, these polities focused on developing intensely local networks of exchange with indigenous populations. These trading and agricultural activities led to the development of secondary occupations within their respective hinterlands. In turn, the surplus produced at secondary foundations led to the development of regional networks of exchange.

Carthage was notably peripheral to this entire process. Carthage, the city, reveals little evidence of its early history. The artifacts that have been recovered suggest a peripheral foundation that developed slowly in the 8th and 7th centuries BCE. Unlike foundations in Sardinia, Sicily and Iberia, early Carthaginian tombs do not reveal extensive evidence of regional trade with Greeks or Etruscans. Moreover, Carthaginian export ceramics are not widely distributed in the western Mediterranean.

However, these early Phoenician networks of trade and colonization become essential to Carthage during its imperial period. Building from the foundations created by Tharros, Sulcis, and Mozia, Carthage was able to colonize the interior of Sardinia and Sicily and in the 4th century BCE.

<u>Chapter 4: Control of Africa and the Birth of the Carthaginian Empire</u>

In this chapter, I argue that Carthaginian imperialism began with the imposition of Carthaginian imperial control over the Cap Bon peninsula. Carthage built is first colony c. 550 BCE at Kerkouane in the Cap Bon. After the foundation of Kerkouane, Carthaginian expansion into the Cap Bon was extensive. Known Carthaginian sites are located at: Kerkouane, Aspis, el Harouri, Menzel Bouzelfa, Beni Khiar, Menzel Temime, Korba, Menzel el-Horr, and many other small and unnamed foundations. Archaeological excavations have recovered Carthaginian necropoleis at colonial foundations and fortresses/military posts as well as on land associated with villas.[1] A line of fortresses associated with Carthaginian colonization in the Cap Bon yields small quantities of artifacts with 5th century dates, but the most well studied fortresses indicate that the greatest period of development and habitation at these sites occurred during the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE.[2]

The evidence presented in this chapter argues for a simple thesis. Carthaginian imperialism was a direct result of economic growth brought about by increased trade with Athens and Ionian city-states in the Aegean Sea. Through this trade, I argue, Carthaginian and Greek traders created a permanent southern sailing route across the eastern Mediterranean. This sailing route included stops in the Cap Bon, Pantelleria, Malta, Leptis Magna, and the Pentapolis before sailing to Crete and the mainland. Although the foundations for this route develop in the early 6th century, it becomes increasingly important by the end of the century. Carthage, unlike Phoenician cities in Sicily or Sardinia, was geographically positioned to establish itself as the

---

[1] Fantar (1988), 502.

[2] Manfredi (2003), 429. The evidence for occupation is best contained in the necropoleis recovered near the fortresses and colonial foundations. In general, these burials are concentrated in the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE. For the necropolis at Kelibia near Kerkouane, see Moscati (1994), 54.

main redistribution point for this trade route for polities to the north and west of its location.

Thus Carthaginian exports and ceramic forms in the western Mediterranean increase in number

and distribution concomitant with the increase of Athenian exports to these same markets. The

relationship between economic growth and the extension of Carthaginian imperial control is

straightforward in this model. The necessities of increased economic opportunities led Carthage

to create its first colonies in Cap Bon peninsula. These colonies were not transshipment points or

emporia. Rather, they extended the agricultural chora of Carthage. The desire for land was a

direct result of increased demand for grain at Athens and the eastern Mediterranean more

generally. Expansion came at the expense of already settled populations. The conquest and

control of the Cap Bon, therefore, required Carthage to develop the foundational institutions of

its empire.

Though I confine the majority of discussion related to Carthaginian imperial institutions

to Chapter 6, two institutions are essential for identifying the geography of Carthaginian

imperialism using epigraphic evidence: the Rab and the Shofet. The Rab was the general in

charge of a Carthaginian army on campaign. The Shofets, at Carthage, acted as chief the civil

officers. In Carthaginian colonies or dependencies, Shofets served as the primary administrators

of a dependent polity. Colonial/Subordinate Shofets begin to appear in inscriptions during the 4th

century BCE.

At Carthage itself, evidence for civil, religious and military officers enters into the

epigraphic record in the 5th century.[3] From this point forward, Carthaginian inscriptions regularly

record three offices in dedications and funerary inscriptions: the Shofet, the Rab, and the Chief

Priest. The centrality of these offices at Carthage is best evidenced by their combination into a

---

[3] Schmitz (1994).

single dating formula in certain Carthaginian inscriptions. From the 3rd or 2nd century BCE, an

inscription relating to temple construction was found in the Bordj-Djedid necropolis at Carthage.

(Lacunae within each line of the text complicate the translation of the inscription. Each [] here

represents missing letters at the end of each line of the inscription):

לרבת לעשתרת ולתנת בלבנן מקדשם חדשם כם כל אש בן [] והחרטית אש במקדשם אל ודל מלכת החרץ ודל כל מנם
א []ודל כל מנם במאזנם המקדשם אל ודל העלם אש פן המקדש [] אש יבא עלת החרז שמקדשם אל כם שחגר השמרת
להר הא [] אדרנם ועד צערנם למבירח חיר שפטם עבדמלקרת ו [] י שפטם שפט וחנא בן אדנבעל ורב עבדמלקרת בן
מגן ב [] תן בן עבדלאי בן בעליתן בן אשמנפלס ועבדארש בן עבד [] ן עבדמלקרת הרב ורב כהנם עזרבעל בן שפט רב
כה [] לשלך רב כהנם ובעל חרש עכברם הפלס בן חנבעל

> 'To the Great Ones, To Astarte and to Tanit from Lebanon; New sanctuaries as well as all which
> …And the engravings(?) which are in these sanctuaries and their works of gold and all their
> things which… And all their things which are in the scales of these sanctuaries and their offerings
> (?) which are in front of these sanctuaries…who enter into the fences of these sanctuaries as also
> the protective wall for that hill…their important and their minor things. From the month of Hiyar,
> being Shofets Abdmelqart … being Shofets, Shafat and Hanno, son of Adonibaal and the Rab
> was Abdmelqart, son of Magon…son of Abdelai son of Baalyaton son of Eshmunpilles and
> Abdarash son of … Abdmelqart the Rab. And the Chief of Priests was Azarbaal son of Shafat the
> Chief of Priests… Chief of Priests. And the Master of Works was Akboram, the architect, son of
> Hanibaal.' [4]

The dating formula of the inscription represents two sets of dates. The first commemorates the

start of construction: "From the month of Hiyar, being Shofets Abdmelqart….". The next set of

names which begins "being Shofets, Shafat and Hanno,…" commemorates the completion of the

two sanctuaries and their subsequent formal dedication by the Shofets, the Rab, and the Chief of

Priests.[5]

More importantly for this study, subordinated populations within the Carthaginian

Empire possessed the same office for local administration, the Shofet, and the same formulas for

dating inscriptions: "שפטם מגן ובדעשתרת", "Being Shofets, Magon and Bodastart (From Eryx,

---

[4] R.E.S. 17= CIS I. 3914= KAI 81.

[5] See R.E.S. 17.

Sicily)".[6] While it is possible to argue that the attested proliferation of Shofets in the epigraphic record of North Africa, Sicily and Sardinia during the 4th century BCE resulted from mere influence from Carthage, one inscription strongly indicates that the office of Shofet and its use in dating formulas is an archaeological manifestation of Carthaginian imperialism. In an inscription from Tharros (Sardinia), the name of the local Shofet "Hamy, the Shofet" is combined with, "שפטם בקרתחדשת אדנבעל והמלכת", "Being Shofets at Carthage, Adonibaal and Himicat" in order to date a temple dedication.[7]

What Motivated Expansion in North Africa?

Many scholarly reconstructions of Carthaginian history argue that Carthaginian imperialism began at some point in the 6th century BCE. Under these reconstructions, Carthage became a developed imperial power by 500 BCE, controlling territories in North Africa, Sardinia and Sicily. Moreover, these reconstructions assume continuous military interactions between Greeks and Carthaginians, particularly over the islands of Sicily and Sardinia.[8] Picard comments, "Vers 500 av. J.-C., Carthage est une cité impérialiste. Elle contrôle, sur le territoire de la Tunisie actuelle, au moins un certain nombre villes côtières, comme Kerkouane dans le Cap Bon. Elle s'efforce de soumettre l'hinterland, sans qu'on puisse dire précisément à quel point elle y est

---

[6] CIS I. 135= Amadasi (1967), Sicily #1

[7] Amadasi (1967), Sardinia #32

[8] The First treaty of Carthage and Rome and the colony at Kerkouane form the basis for these reconstructions. Hoyos (2010), 18: "Effective Carthaginian control over the peninsula probably grew in stages as Phoenician and Carthaginian settlers grew in numbers and productivity. By the end of the 6th century, it seems to have been complete: for the text of Carthage's treaty with the newly-formed Roman Republic, dated by the Greek historian Polybios to 509, bars Roman merchants from sailing down its western coast."

arrivée. D' autre part, elle dispose d'une flotte considérable, lui permettant d'intervenir dans tout

le bassin occidental de la Méditerranée, et même dans l'Atlantique."[9]

Based on this widely accepted reconstruction, Moscati interpreted Kerkouane, the first

colony in Africa, as part of the larger process of Carthaginian militaristic expansion in the middle

of the sixth century.[10] In his reconstruction, Kerkouane was a necessary staging point for

Carthaginian armies destined for Sardinia and Sicily. Fantar and Manfredi argued that the site

and its associated forts served as a defensive installation, one which was directed at the Greek

inhabitants of Sicily and Italy.[11] The majority of these historical reconstructions derive from the

narratives preserved in the ancient sources and not the archaeological evidence recovered from

Kerkouane itself.[12] Central to the textual reconstruction is the First Treaty between Rome and

Carthage, which Polybios claims to have recorded.[13] Scholars have often identified the 'καλοῦ

ἀκρωτηρίου' recorded in the treaty with the Cap Bon peninsula and the site at Kerkouane.[14]

When considered without reference to the Greco-Roman sources, the archaeological

record of Kerkouane is suggestive of alternative conclusions. Within the earliest ceramic

assemblages recovered from Kerkouane, two notable features emerge. First, the majority of

---

[9] Picard, G. Ch. (1988), 119.

[10] Moscati (1994), 53.

[11] "Dans le cadre de toute une stratégie, elle fortifia la façade africaine soumise à ce danger latent." Fantar (1993) II, 115. Manfredi (2003), 429.

[12] Few of the fortresses within the 'system' have received a systematic excavation. As such, the archaeological record of Kerkouane is determinative for the broader pattern of the associated sites. See Fantar (1993) II, 114-115 for a discussion the sites.

[13] Polybios 3.22-23.

[14] Garbini (2003), 429-430 for a full discussion; Hoyos (2010), 18; Moscati (1994), 87; Lancel (1992), 103-105. I deal directly with the treaties in Chapter 6.

pottery is Greek. Second, the examples of local production are imitative of Greek styles.[15] The heavy incidence of Greek pottery and imitations of Greek pottery indicate that Kerkouane was primarily focused on trade rather than serving as a military colony or staging point. The site does possess defensive walls but shows none of the other characteristic features that would be expected of a military foundation. Most importantly, no wall was present where Kerkouane abuts the sea, and no internal keep or fort has been found.[16] In point of fact, the vast majority of excavated remains are houses or temples.[17] Nothing about the archaeological record of the site suggests a special military function or design. The volume and variety of fifth century Greek imports at Kerkouane and in the necropoleis near Kerkouane indicates an intense economic focus on trade with mainland Greece. The largest cohort of imports comes from Attica in this period.[18] Morel comments:

> C'est la grande abondance des importations de céramique grecque, et notamment attique. Les types les plus divers de cette dernière sont représentés: vases à figures rouges ou à rehauts blancs, céramiques à décor incisé ou estampillé, vases et lampes à vernis noir. La quantité et la variété de ces importations helléniques du Ve siècle posent, si l'on considère les idées désormais reçues sur la fermeture du monde punique au commerce grec après la bataille d'Himère, un problème particulier.[19]

---

[15] Morel (1969), 497.

[16] Lancel (1992), 288: "Suffisamment défendue sur sa façade maritime par une petite falaise accore, la ville antique l'était du côté de la terre par un rempart semi-circulaire." How this type of defensive system would work against an invasion from Sicily is unclear. Moreover, it should be noted that Carthage, which was once open to the sea as well, built a defensive wall on its sea side during the 5th and 4th centuries in order to permanently enclose the city-state.

[17] Fantar (2003), 817

[18] Morel (1969), 499-501. Moscati (1994), 54 notes the incidence of Greek artifacts in burials but chooses not to follow up on the explanatory potential of this evidence, as it contradicts his thesis. "Centinaia di tombe scavate nella roccia hanno rivelato abbondante materiale greco di importazione, che richiama il forte influsso della grecità su questo centro punico, dalle strutture urbanistiche ai commerci"

[19] Morel (1969), 499.

Due to a lack of reliable historical sources to explain this expansion, the archaeological record serves as the only reliable indication of what the inhabitants of the site did and thus by extension the intentions behind the foundation of the site. What emerges from the evidence is a clear focus on Greek markets. Specifically, Carthage was interested in trade with Attica and Ionia based on the ceramic evidence. The Carthaginian export was grain, and the site is an average day's sail from Carthage in favorable conditions.[20] Moreover, Carthage was clearly cognizant that the site's foundation would spark conflict with local inhabitants, as the defensive walls were carefully constructed to ensure that landward approaches to the city were as onerous as possible. Rather than part of an already extant imperialism, Kerkouane thus represents the impetus for Carthaginian imperialism. The foundation at Kerkouane constitutes the first direct extension of Carthaginian imperial control in North Africa. At the point of its creation, the site was dedicated to trade and agriculture. The large and complicated defensive installations were directed landward and intended to provide protection against the native inhabitants of the Cap Bon peninsula.[21] A ring of fields, if we can accept Phoenician precedent, surrounded these walls and provided an agriculture basis for the foundation. In sum, the archaeological record indicates that Carthage was cognizant that this extension of power into the Cap Bon would create local territorial conflicts. However, it is likely that the economic benefits of such an expansion outweighed the cost of conquest in the area. Carthage and Athens developed extensive trade relations during the late 6th century. By the 5th century, Athenian and Carthaginian ceramics enjoy a wide distribution in the western Mediterranean. Such economic success was only

---

[20] See Casson (1951) and Morrison et al. (2000).

[21] Lancel (1992), 288: "Un première enceinte, dont le développement dépasse un kilomètre, est flanquée de tours et percée de deux portes dont celle de l'ouest, coudée et insérée parallèlement à deux courtines, elles-mêmes parallèles."

accomplished by bypassing the existing network of Greek (Corinthian and Phocaean) and Phoenician colonies that dominated trade in the western Mediterranean during the 7th and 6th centuries BCE.

Carthage and Athens

As demonstrated in Chapters 2 and 3, Carthage was peripheral to the main trade routes of 7th century BCE. In order to grow economically, therefore, Carthage either needed to seize control of important Phoenician polities in Sardinia or Sicily or develop a new market in the 6th century. Under the influence of the Greco-Roman sources, scholars have traditionally argued that Carthage opted for the first of these options and initiated invasions of Sicily and Sardinia in 550 BCE. However, no archaeological evidence supports this thesis. The second option, the development of a new market, is in fact substantiated by the archaeological record. The growth of Athens in the sixth century BCE created a second major mainland Greek market for agricultural exports. Unlike the Corinthian and Phocaean markets, Carthage was geographically positioned to take advantage of direct trade with Athens. Carthage, furthermore, represented the best access for Athenian traders and Athenian products into the western Mediterranean.[22]

By the middle of the 6th century, the volume of trade was sufficient to lead Carthage to found colonies to support the production and export of goods to Athens, first in the Cap Bon and subsequently at other sites in Tunisia and North Africa. Though colonization and trade, Carthage thus created an independent economic sphere from other Phoenician and Greek polities in the western Mediterranean. The establishment of Carthaginian colonies in the Cap Bon increased

---

[22] According to Thucydides (1.108) and Diodorus (11.84), any Athenian attempt to sail around the Peloponnese would have encountered hostile ports. Tolmides in c. 456 literally fought his way to Naupactos. Passage through Corinth was expensive and constrained by the absence of friendly ports in the Gulf of Corinth through to Sicily.

Carthaginian agricultural output and provided a necessary stop over point for ships bound for

Athens. Once established, Kerkouane offered traders the option of sailing via the Cap Bon,

Malta, and Leptis Magna, all Phoenician inhabited sites.

Moreover, the archaeology of 5th and 4th century Leptis Magna is quite similar to the

finds at the Carthaginian colony at Kerkouane. In the excavations at Leptis, "the bulk of

unstratified pottery from our two seasons of work consisted of Attic imports of the fifth and

fourth centuries B.C. or imitations thereof."[23] These developments indicate the establishment of

a new trade route in the 6th and 5th centuries that bypassed earlier Corinthian and Phocaean

networks of exchange.[24] Carthage, therefore, flourished in the 6-4th centuries BCE due to

increased trade with Attica and the Aegean.[25] The Cap Bon was rapidly populated. Grain was

central to Carthaginian exports from the beginning.[26] Wine and oil exports developed at later

point for export to markets in Sardinia and Sicily, likely in exchange for more grain.

---

[23] Carter (1965), 127.

[24] The geography of this trade route may be reflected in a passage of Hermippus' *Basket-Bearers*, which was written in the period c. 430 BCE (Preserved in Athenaeus. Deipnosophistes 1.27 e- 28a): "Now tell me, Muses, dwellers on Olympus, which goods Dionysus brought here for men on his black ship, … From Cyrene, the silphium- stalk and ox-hide … and fine Crete provides cypress for the gods, and Libya ivory in plenty for sale; …Carthage, carpets and cushions of many colors." In the passage Hermippus provides a list of luxury imports to Athens. The style of the passage reflects similar boasts about Athenian commerce found in Pericles Funeral Orations (Thucydides 2.38). Very little about bulk trade can be deduced from the list (wine, oil and grain are not listed). Interestingly, the luxury foods discussed as imports to Athens include apples, pears, figs, acorns, almonds, flour, and fruit.

[25] Bechtold and Docter (2010), 96 note a significant increase in the percentage of import amphoras recovered at the Bir Massouda site c. 430 BCE, which they attribute to an increase in Athenian trade in this period. Gill (1988), 9: "The 'Phoenicians' were clearly involved in the distribution of Attic and other 'fine' pottery in the western Mediterranean from the Archaic period down until the middle of the fourth century B.C. This trade involved more valuable and luxurious commodities such as perfumed-oil, silver, gold and ivory, and the extant pottery serves as a tracer of this other trade." Gill based his argument on the evidence of shipwrecks. In this Chapter, I argue that this trade and its increase in the Archaic period should be attributed to Carthage and not 'Phoenician' polities generally. Furthermore, the majority of the shipwrecks surveyed in Gill's study illustrate Carthaginian redistribution into the Central Mediterranean. These cargoes, therefore, are not reflective of the trade in grain between Athens and Carthage.

[26] For an extensive discussion of Athenian sources of grain, see Braund (2007). Braund successfully problematizes the embedded scholarly conception that the Black Sea was the most important region for the production of grain exported to Athens in the 5th and 4th century BCE. Extant interpretations are generally based on scattered notices in the ancient sources and the pattern of Athenian colonization during the first half of the fifth century. In this period,

Image 8: Athens and Carthage[27]

Black Line= Primary trade route developed c. 600 BCE.

Orange Line=Secondary trade route developed c.450 BCE

The Greco-Roman sources argue that the relationship between Carthage and Athens was one of hostility in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE. Because of these indications in the sources, archaeologists once interpreted finds at Carthage and other Phoenician sites with reference to this proposed historical context. As such, the majority of ceramics that could be identified as Attic at Phoenician sites in the western Mediterranean were identified as Southern Italian imitations of Attic forms in order to assure that the archaeological and textual evidence were in accord. Stager

---

Athens settled populations on Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros. The geography of these colonial settlements would seem to indicate a series of stop over points for grain exported to Athens from the Hellespont and Black Sea area. Braund demonstrates successfully that these island were themselves likely producers of grain. Furthermore, he argues, I believe correctly, that more proximate agricultural territories in the Hellespont were likely Athens focus during the 5th century BCE. He further notes that Black Sea grain reached Athens but that its scale within Athenian grain imports cannot be quantified. Braund ultimately divides Athenian grain imports into two periods for analysis: 500-413 BCE and 413- 300 BCE, using the Spartan occupation of Decelea as a dividing point in the history of grain imports.

[27] Map base: *Europe, North Africa and West Asia: Regions* © Tom Elliot, Ancient World Mapping Center. UNC-Chapel Hill.

notes that this approach to the archaeology of Carthage had confused previous interpretations of archaeological finds:

> Because of political hostilities between Athens and Carthage during the 5th-4th centuries b.c, archeologists, following the lead of historians, generally see a sharp decline in Attic imports to Carthage at that time, and often consider the black-glazed ware to be manufactured in Italy. In the light of the above evidence, this view should be reconsidered.[28]

The above evidence, to which Stager refers, was the discovery of Attic pottery in sealed 5th and 4th century BCE layers near the rectangular harbor at Carthage. He describes the finds thusly:

> Their fabric is light red to pink in color. There are few inclusions in the well-levigated clay. The pottery was well-fired. Most of the sherds have a thick, lustrous black "glaze," with little or no sealing. The closest parallels to these imports date ca. 400 b.c. and come from the Athenian agora.[29]

Contemporaneously, Morel concluded from his study of undecorated black vases recovered in earlier excavations at Carthage that these vases were Attic.[30] By way of conclusion, Lancel has noted in reference to the totality of Attic imports in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, "On y trouve en fait beaucoup plus qu'on n'avait cru de vases attiques à vernis noir sans décor, et même à figures rouges."[31]

These discoveries as part of the UNESCO excavations in the 1970-80s have been confirmed by more recent excavations. From septic pits recovered in residential contexts at the

---

[28] Stager (1978), 169.

[29] Stager (1978), 169.

[30] Morel (1980).

[31] Lancel (1992), 153.

Bir Massouda site on the Byrsa hill, indications can be gained of Carthaginian trade in the late 5th

and first half of the 4th centuries BCE. Figure 1 illustrates the pottery recovered within a

residential septic pit. The majority of the pottery dates to the period 425-340 BCE and it

concentrates in the period 360-340 BCE.[32]
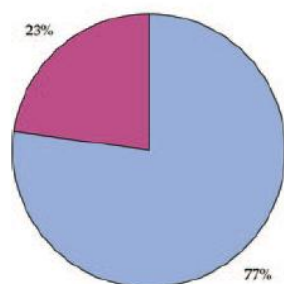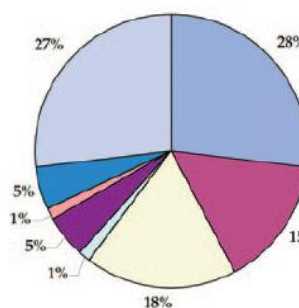
Figure 2: Ceramic Finds at Carthage

From Docter et al. (2006), 50

In interpreting these finds, Docter et al. comment:

> In fact, it is remarkable that a third of the Attic imports centered between the end of the 5th and the middle of the 4th century BC. On the other hand, the imports from Sicily and South Italy are mainly grouped in the second and third quarters of the 4th century BC, the South Italian and Siciliote productions enter the repertoire of Greek imports in Carthage, with a marked concentration in the last quarter of the 4th century BC…In conclusion, it should be stressed that the horizon of imported pottery in Carthage between the end of the 5th and the middle of the 4th century is characterized by the predominance of Attic pottery.[33]

---

[32] Docter et al. (2006), 52.

[33] Docter et al. (2006), 54. See also Docter et al. (2006), 52. The breadth of imports in this sample must also be stressed. Transport amphoras in this sample originated in Corcyra, Samos, Malta, Sardinia, Sicily and Iberia None of these transport amphoras are widely attested in this sample; however, the fact that a single latrine from a domestic context contained such a wide range of imported pottery merits attention.

Through this trade, beginning in the sixth century and intensifying in the fifth, Carthage

began to act a major redistribution point for Athenian products into the western Mediterranean.

After the establishment of the Carthaginian colony at Kerkouane and the clear solidification of

regular trade between the two polities, Athenian products begin to appear in ever greater

numbers in the western Mediterranean, at sites which had previously been characterized by a

predominance of Corinthian or Corinthian *Koine* imports. On Ibiza, Attic imports appear in

significant quantities at the necropoleis on Ibiza for the first time c. 500 BCE.[34] In the Iberian

Peninsula, "en líneas generales, en Andalucía, se produce un aumento considerable de las

importaciones áticas de figuras rojas y barniz negro después de mediados del siglo V a. C. hasta

llegar a una autentica explosión en la primera mitad del siglo IV a.C."[35] Fifth and fourth century

BCE Attic ceramics are found at Phoenician and indigenous sites in significant quantities, which

would suggest their redistribution through Carthage and then Gadir.[36]

---

[34] Costa and Fernandez (1997), 420.

[35] Lopez Castro (1995), 70.

[36] Fariselli (2002), 211; Lopez Castro (1995), 69-71 believes that these Attic imports came through Gadir. He thus argues that Carthage had no direct role to play in this process.; García-Gelabert and Blázquez Martínez (1996), 15: "Nosotros pensamos que los vasos los traían a la Península Ibérica los cartagineses, pero ya dentro del país eran los indígenas los que los distribuían. La helenización del mundo ibero se debería al factor cartaginés, sobre todo en la alta Andalucía y en el sureste. Para los oretanos e iberos estas imágenes poseerían un nuevo contenido simbólico. El Ps Scylas (95 F-112 M), en el siglo IV a. C., afirma precisamente que los fenicios eran los que distribuían la cerámica ática en las zonas atlánticas; por fenicios hay que entender los cartagineses, pues en el siglo IV a. C., éstos eran los que navegaban por tales rumbos."
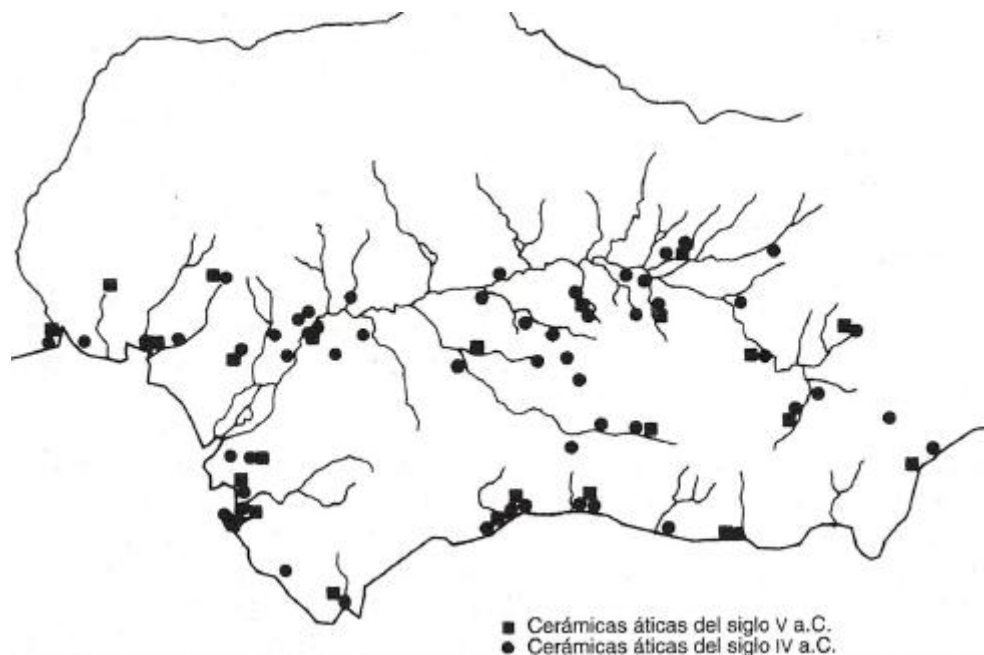
Image 9: Attic Ceramic Distribution in Southern Iberia.

From Lopez Castro (1995), 69

Carthaginian colonies in coastal Algeria supported exchanges with Phoenician populations in the

Iberian Peninsula, most importantly the site at Tipasa (discussed in the next chapter). Here, Attic

ceramics, Carthaginian ceramics, and ceramics from southern Iberia are all found in the

necropoleis of the city during the 5th and first half of the 4th century BCE.[37]

From the archaeology of Carthage, it is evident that the primary period of economic

interaction between Athens and Carthage concentrates in the period 550- 300 BCE. Evidence of

this trade trade can be found at multiple Phoenician sites. For example, certain attic black glaze

bowl styles recovered at Carthage are also found at Tharros (dated to c. 400 BCE).[38] At Mozia,

Attic black glaze wares appear at the end of the 6th century BCE. In 5th century BCE strata, Attic

---

[37] Lancel (1992), 113-115.

[38] Docter et al. (2006), 57.

black glaze wares represent 70% of the imported ceramics. Ceramic forms include cups and skyphoi.[39] Carthaginian imports to the island follow this same pattern.[40]

At Gravisca, Attic imports become the majority after 525 BCE. Previously, the port had imported wares from the Aegean Islands, Corinth and Laconia. These imports nearly cease after 525.[41] From shipwrecks recovered in the central Mediterranean, it is clear that Attic ceramics begin their primary period of integration into Etruscan trade routes during the second half of the 6th century. The Giglio Shipwreck and other examples of Etruscan or Greek ships sailing the Tyrrhenian Sea all lack any identifiable Attic imports until mid-late-6th century BCE.[42] In contrast, the Gela shipwreck, dated to 500 BCE, contained a mix cargo of East Greek and Attic transport amphoras, as well as a Carthaginian transport amphora. The majority of ceramic fine wares were also Attic. The ship's cargo, especially the presence of a Carthaginian transport amphora, indicates a likely stop in Carthage before the ship sailed to Gela.[43] A shipwreck from the late-5th century BCE recovered near Marseille contained a mixed cargo of amphoras produced at Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy, Marseille, and Carthage as well as a cargo of

---

[39] Famà and Toti (2000), 457-458.

[40] Isserlin et al. (1958), 25.

[41] Bats (1998), 621-622.

[42] Other examples in Long (1992), 229: 'La Love'- Etruscan shipwreck with c. 175 Etruscan amphoras as well as some ceramics from Carthage. It sank off the coast of Italy in the mid 6th century BCE. The 'Esteu dou Miet' which contained a uniform Etruscan ceramic cargo and sank off the coast of southern France in the early 6th century BCE. Attic imports are found in the 'Circeo' wreck, a Greek ship found off the coast of Italy, which has been dated to the 2nd half of the 6th century as well as the 'Gela' wreck (c. 500).

[43] See Long (1992), 229 for the evidence from the wreck.

Attic fine wares.[44] The same evidence is also found at Etruscan settlements and in Etruscan

tombs. The majority of recovered Attic ceramics date from 550/525-400/375 BCE.[45]

Concomitant with the emergence of Attic products in Etruria, it appears that a new site

was created at Alalia (Corsica) by Etruscan populations (c. 500BCE). From its foundation until

340 BCE, this site was dedicated to trade in Athenian products.[46] Tharros and Etruria had

extensive trading connections from 600 BCE. Initially, this trade route seems to have been

supported by a possible anchorage at Lavezzi on the northern coast of Sardinia.[47] The arrival of

Athenian products into the western Mediterranean during the second half of the 6th century only

served to increase these interactions. More importantly, the geography of Etruscan expansion can

only be explained with reference to Carthaginian and Phoenician commerce. Etruscan

populations founded the site at Alalia due to its proximity to Tharros and other Phoenician

colonies in Sardinia, though which Athenian products depended on transshipment after their

arrival at Carthage.

At the same time, Phoenician traders gained a permanent presence in Etruria, as

demonstrated on the Pyrgi Tablets, to support these economic interactions.[48] Correctly

interpreted, the Pyrgi Tablets are an indication of the establishment of a permanent Phoenician

---

[44] Dietler (1997), 295

[45] Becker (2006), 188- 192. Recent field surveys have shown that these imports penetrated far down the social scale and were widely distributed.

[46] See Jehasse and Jehasse (1973) for the excavations; Allegrini- Simonetti (2004) for a brief synopsis of the site. A similar history of Attic imports is also present in the ceramic record of Ibiza. Their period of importation is also 500- 350 BCE. After 350 BCE, the number of finds is limited and reduced to a few lamps. By 300 BCE, Attic imports no longer appear in the ceramic record. See Costa and Fernandex (1979), 420- 421.

[47] Long (1992), 229-230.

[48] Becker (2006), 179- 180 for a discussion of Etruscan ports in general.

trading colony in Etruria c. 500 BCE.[49] The logic behind their creation was simple. Temples

represented the primary physical structure which Phoenicians used to establish trading stations in

foreign territories.[50]

At present, interpretation of the Pyrgi Tablets divides into two groups. Some scholars

believe that the Pyrgi Tablets represent a Carthaginian-Etruscan alliance or agreement. The

nature of this agreement was political, military, commercial or a combination of these options.[51]

Scholars, who argue for a Carthaginian-Etruscan agreement in this text, rely on the ancient

sources, specifically the First Treaty of Carthage and Rome, to substantiate their belief that the

unnamed Phoenicians who inscribed this text were from Carthage. However, other scholars have

noted that nothing contained in the text hints at any form of alliance or even agreement. Rather,

the text only records the dedication of a temple by an Etruscan king.

As such, a second group of scholars argue that the Pyrgi Tablets have nothing to do with

any form of alliance nor do the Pyrgi Tablets relate to Carthage.[52] These scholars view the text as

the dedicatory inscription for a new temple or as a funerary inscription.[53] These scholars further

argue for the text's origination in Sardinia or Cyprus, based on the grammar and paleography of

the text. These scholars have noted that the demonstrative pronoun 'אז' is not used in

---

[49] The texts were recovered in the excavations of Temple B at Pyrgi which was constructed c. 500 BCE. See Knoppers (1992), 108; Heurgon (1965), 89-90.

[50] Lopez Castro (1995), 29.

[51] Egan (2004), 83 does not specify specifically whether he believes it was a military, political, or commercial alliance, but he believes the document must represent one of the three. Turfa (1977), 374 for a commercial interpretation of the documents. Heurgon (1965), 93-96 provides an extensive review of all the available evidence that attests to relationships between Etruscan and Carthaginians in the Greco-Roman evidence. He felt that the Etruscans needed support in their continued wars with the Lipareans during this period.

[52] Fitzmyer (1966), 296

[53] Knoppers (1992).

Carthaginian epigraphy of this period.[54] The pronoun 'אז' is most regularly attested at Cyprus[55],

though it also occurs in texts from Lebanon, Syria, Sardinia, Sicily and Iberia.[56] Other

morphological and syntactical features further distinguish the text of the Pyrgi Tablets from

Carthaginian inscriptions. Most commentators have noted that the phrase 'אבבת' contains a

prothetic alep on the preposition 'ב', a feature also characteristic of Cyprian-Phoenician

inscriptions.[57] Due to these differences, scholars have suggested a variety of dialects for the text:

Tyrian-Sidonian, Cypriot, and Punic.[58] Schmitz has argued that the Phoenician text of the Pyrgi

tablets represents a dialect termed 'Mediterranean Phoenician'.[59]

The text of the Pyrgi Tablets:

לרבת לעשתרת אשר קדש אז אש פעל ואש יתן תבריא ולנש מלך על כישריא בירח זבח שמש במתן אבבת ובנתו כ

עשתרת ארש בדי למלכי שנת שלש בירח כרר בים קבר אלם ושנת למ אש אלם בבתי שנת כם הככבם אל

'To the Great One, to Astarte, this is the Holy Place which Thefariei Velianas, King over
Kaisarie (Caere), made and gave in the month of ZBH SMS, as a gift in the Sanctuary. And I
built it because Astarte requested (it) from me, in the third year of my rule, in the month of KRR,
on the day of the burial of the Gods. And may the years to those who are gods in my temple be
like the years of these stars.'

---

[54] Schmitz (1995), 563; Fitzmyer (1966), 296. See Cross and Freedman (1951).

[55] Segert (1976), 106: "The form אז with a prothetic vowel was frequent in the Cyprus dialect."

[56] Schmitz (1995), 563.

[57] Knoppers (1992), 112.

[58] Schmitz (1995), 560

[59] Schmitz further argues that Punic is a derivation of Tyrian. Punic and Mediterranean Phoenician can be
distinguished, in his reconstruction, by a small group of morphological and syntactic features. Schmitz (1995), 560-
561.

The translation presented above is similar to that of Knoppers, who followed Février in certain parts of his transcription.[60] The main difference these scholars proposed from the standard transcription is the separation of 'למאש' (normally translated as 'statutes') into two words 'לם' and 'אש'.[61] The problem with the interpretation of 'למאש' as a single word is that in brings a Neo-Punic form, מאש with the medial Alep, into a text that is clearly archaic. In contemporaneous Phoenician texts, the word 'statue' always occurs as 'מש'. The only attestation of 'statues' as 'מאש' comes from a Neo-Punic inscription recovered at Tripolitania.[62]

The basic problem with Knoppers' and Février's proposed separation is the considerable doubt some scholars have expressed over the existence of 'לם'as a preposition (meaning 'after' or 'during'), which some scholars consider to be unattested in any Phoenician inscription.[63] In my translation, I have translated this phrase as preposition ('ל') with a suffixed 3rd plural masculine pronominal suffix ('to those' but literally 'to them') followed by the standard relative pronoun 'אש' ('who')

From this reconstruction of the text, I would argue that Tharros was the likely origin of the Phoenician traders based at Pyrgi. Though no contemporaneous inscription from Tharros contains the necessary comparative evidence (as suffixed pronouns are not found in archaic inscriptions recovered from the site), the inscriptions recovered from the 6th-5th century Tharros show a number of peculiarities, particularly with reference to onomastics. CIS I. 159 (5th or 4th c.

---

[60] Knoppers (1992), 106; Février (1965), 11. Knoppers' translation (p.106): "To the Lady Astarte. As for this shrine which Thebariye Velinas, king over Kaysriye, completed and dedicated in the month of the sacrifices to the Sun on (the day of the) oblation in the temple, I built it because Astarte requested it from my hand in the third year of my kingship in the month KRR on the day of the burial of the deity. As to the years during which the god (resides) in his temple, (may they be as many) years as these stars."

[61] Knoppers (1992), 117.

[62] KAI 118.

[63] Schmitz (1995), 569.

BCE) records two names in the dedication of a funerary inscription: כתם and ישבעל.[64] Neither of

these names is attested in other Phoenician inscriptions.[65] The same is true of the name פתחא in

CIS I. 154 (5th-4th c. BCE).[66] CIS I. 154, furthermore, provides an indication that Tharros may

have had an official scribe or guild of scribes. Bodeshmun, the deceased and son of פתחא, is

described as הספר, the Scribe. Thus the city-state appears to have possessed the necessary scribes

to create the Pyrgi Tablets. Finally, Tharros and Etruria engaged in trade for much of the

previous century. As the Phoenician colony most geographically proximate to Etruria, Tharros

represents the most likely origin of the Pyrgi Tablets, especially given the geography of trade

described above.

The increased volume and greater geographic distribution of Attic imports in the western

Mediterranean occurs at the same time as Carthaginian exports begin to appear in greater

numbers in Sardinia, Sicily, and Iberia in addition to the western Mediterranean more generally.

At Pantelleria, Carthaginian transport amphoras constitute more than half of amphoras recovered

for the period 675- 425 BCE. At Nora, in Sardinia, Carthaginian transport amphora dominate the

ceramic record of the period 600-550 BCE (50-60 % of all amphora) only to recede to 30% of

the total during the period 550-500. At Camarina, a Greek colony in southern Sicily,

Carthaginian imports appear in burials during the period 610- 510 BCE.[67] More generally, two

types of Carthaginian transport amphora (Karthago 1 and 2) were in use during the period 760-

530 BCE. These transport amphoras have been recovered in excavations at:

---

[64] CIS I. 159= Amadasi (1967), Sardinia #7.

[65] Amadasi (1967), 90.

[66] CIS I. 154= Amadasi (1967), Sardinia #12.

[67] Bechtold and Doctor (2010), 91-93

Utica, Ghajn Qajjet, Rabat (Malta), Motya, Gela, Megara Hyblaea, Milazzo, Metaurus, Capraia, Punto Clementino, Port'Ercole, Pyrgi, Monte San Mauro, Torrela Sal, Sulcis, Bithia, Tharros, Monte Sirai, Cuccuredus, Castel di Decima, Laurentina,Málaga, Morro de Mezquitilla, Castillo de Doña Blanca, Huelva, El Bajo de la Campana,Aldovesta, and Sa Caleta.[68]

In sum, the archaeological evidence recovered at Carthage and other Phoenician sites in the western Mediterranean demonstrates increasing trade connections between Carthage and Athens from the 6th century BCE. By the 5th century, Athenian imports occupied the most important position in Carthaginian long distance trade. When coupled with the epigraphic evidence for Carthaginian-Athenian interactions, the archaeological and epigraphic records attest to a period of intense economic and political interaction between the two polities from 410-350 BCE.

Two epigraphs indicate direct, political contacts between Athens and Carthage in the late 5th and late 4th centuries BCE, respectively. The first of these inscriptions is the most important. It attests to political interactions between Carthage and Athens during the last decade of the 5th century. The events described in the inscription, furthermore, record individuals and events noted in Carthaginian inscriptions on the same subject matter, the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily. The second epigraph is less direct in its importance. The inscription makes an oblique reference to a Carthaginian embassy, which is noted at Athens from other inscriptions.

In 1940, Meritt united a newly discovered fragment on the Athenian acropolis with IG I[2] 47.[69] Merrit argued that the text represented the presentation of a Carthaginian Embassy at Athens during the Archonship of Antigenes 407/ 406 BCE.[70] In his reconstruction, the embassy

---

[68] Bechtold and Doctor (2010), 93.

[69] Meritt (1940). Later SEG X 136. See also Stroheker (1954).

[70] Merritt (1940), 250

brought news of the Carthaginian invasion in Sicily during this year. Lines 6-8 of the inscription concern an expression of gratitude towards the Carthaginians. This is followed in lines 8-10 by the dispatch of an embassy to the Carthaginian generals in Sicily.[71] Meritt reconstructed lines 6-11 as:

Ἀναγράφσαι δὲ Καρχεδονίος εὐεργέτας Ἀθεναίον τὸ[] γραμματέα τες βολες ἐμ πόλει ἐστέλει λιθίνει. Κέρυκας δὲ Ἀθεναίον αὐτίκα μάλα ἐς Σικελίαν πέμφσαι πρὸς στρατεγὸς Ἀννίβαγ Γέσκονος καὶ Ἱμίλκονα Ἄννονος αἰτέσοντας αὐτὸς φιλίαν καὶ χσυμμαχίαν.[72]

'That the Secretary of the Boule recorded on a Stele in the city that the Carthaginians had acted well for Athens. That the Athenians sent a Herald at once to the Generals Hannibal, son of Gescon and Himilcon, son of Hanno seeking friendship and alliance.'

CIS I 5510 records:

וטנת אמתנת ז בחדש פעלת שת אשמנעמס בן אדנבעל הרב וחנא בן בדעשתרת בן חנא הרב וילך רבם אדנבעל בן

גרסקן הרב והמלכת בן חנא הרב עלש ותמך המת אית אגרגנת

'And this mtnt was erected at the new moon of (the month) P'LT, year of Esmunamos son of Adnibaal the rab and Hanno son of Bodastart son of Hanno the rab. And the rabbim Adnibaal son of Gerskon the rab and Himilcat son of Hanno the rab went to Halaisa[73]. And they seized Agragant.'[74]

---

[71] Meritt (1940), 252.

[72] Meritt (1940), 250.

[73] Krahmalkov (2000), 31 prefers: 'marched at dawn' to 'went to Sicily'.

[74] Schmitz (1994), 11 with slight differences.

The information recorded in these inscriptions pertains to the same events, the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily in last decade of the 5th century BCE. Communications between Carthage and Athens in this period derive from the extensive history of contact between the polities beginning in the 6th century. The Carthaginians were surely aware that the Athenian invasion of Sicily had failed. Their success in destroying Himera and placing pressure on Syracuse was essential in distracting Sicilian Greek attention from the Peloponnesian War. For Carthage, instability in mainland Greece provided the opportunity to attack Sicily just after it had been weakened by the Athenian invasion and at a point in the Peloponnesian War when Syracuse/Corinth were unable to provide assistance (See Chapter 5 for a full discussion of these events).

A second Carthaginian embassy appears to have been present at Athens in late 4th century, which provides some attestation for the length of close contact between the two polities. Walbank joined two inscription fragments, published as IG ii[3] 342, with a fragment first published in the early 1970s. The combined inscription, in his reconstruction, represents a proxeny-decree in honor of two Tyrian traders. Walbank dated the text to 350-320 BCE.[75] The text honors Apses and his son Hieron. Their trade involved commodities originating from the western Mediterranean. Italy, Sicily, and Carthage are all named at the start of the inscription. The activities of the Tyrian traders at these stops are unknown, though other inscriptions indicate that they were involved in the grain trade.[76] Walbank argued that the Tyrian traders stopped at Carthage in order to collect a Carthaginian embassy, which is recorded at Athens c.330 BCE in a separate inscription.[77]

---

[75] Walbank (1985), 107.

[76] IG ii 170.

[77] IG ii[2] 418; Walbank (1985), 109: "I suggest that, in fact, Hieron and Apses, trading in grain between Athens and the West, also offered passage to this embassy in their ship, and were honoured by Athens for this service."

The most interesting evidence derived from this inscription is the geography of the trade route supplied by the voyages of the Tyrian trades. Their voyage from the central Mediterranean through Carthage to Athens provides a documentary attestation of the trade route argued for in the previous section. Moreover, the Tyrian traders were grain traders, which as previously argued was the most important commodity in Athenian-Carthaginian trade.

A further series of inscriptions have been recovered that may provide indirect indications of political, military and religious relationships between Athens and Carthage. From the 360s, when Athens played a central role in the liberation of Thebes and Boeotia, a stele recovered at Thebes records the establishment of a Carthaginian 'Noban son of Axioubo' as proxenos in Thebes.[78]

[θ]εός· τύχα. [. .]οτέ[λι]-
ος ἄρχοντος. ἔδοξε
τôι δάμοι. πρόξενον
εἶμεν Βοιωτῶν καὶ εὐε-
5   ργέταν Νώβαν Ἀξι-
ούβω Καραχαδόνιον· καὶ
εἶμεν ⟨F⟩οι γᾶς καὶ Ϝοικία-
ς ἔπ⟨π⟩ασιν καὶ ἀτέλιαν
καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ κατὰ γᾶν
10   καὶ κατ θάλατταν καὶ πο-
λέμω καὶ ἰράνας ἰώσας.
[Β]οιωταρχιόντων Τίμων[ος],
[Δ]αιτώνδαο, Θίωνος, Μέ[λ]-
ωνος, Ἱππίαο, Εὐμαρί[δ]αο,
15   Πάτρωνος.

Image 10: Reconstructed Proxenos Decree for Noban the Carthaginian.

Source: Rhodes and Osborne (2007), 216

---

[78] IG 7.2407= SIG^3 179= Rhodes and Osborne (2007), #43.

The inscription has often been interpreted with reference to Carthaginian politics in this period, though the decree is directed at an individual rather than the general population. Some scholars have suggested that Nobas assisted Thebes and Boeotia with the creation of its first navy in the 360s.[79]

Two inscriptions discovered off of the coast of Mahdia in Tunisia may further attest to relationships between Athenians and Carthage. The first of these inscription is a decree of the Paraloi in honor of Μειξιγένης [Μι ()]κωνος Χολλείδης. The inscription is dated to 322/321 BCE. A second inscription lists a series of deeds undertaken by the Athenian people (δημος ο Αθηναιων) on behalf of Ammon during the year 363/362.[80]

Finally, there is the enigmatic evidence of KAI 58. KAI 58 was found in a private collection in Athens' Piraeus and has been dated to the 3rd or 2nd century BCE.[81] Unlike the other known Phoenician and Phoenician-Greek inscriptions from the Piraeus (KAI 53-57 and 59-60), there is no accompanying Greek text. In addition, a city identifier is common in all the other inscriptions for both the Greek and Phoenician texts (KAI 53, 54, 59, 60: 'Σιδώνιος' 'הצדני' and KAI 55, 57: 'Κιτιεύς' 'כתי'), but is absent from KAI 58. KAI 58:

מזבח ז אש ינח בנחדש בן בעליתן השפט בן עבדאשמן החתם לאסכן אדר יברך

'This the is the altar that Benhodesh, son of Baalyatan the Shofet, son of Abdeshmun, the Seal-Keeper , erected to Sakkun the Powerful, may he bless.'[82]

---

[79] Huss (1985), 145.

[80] Merlin (1909), 661.

[81] Teixidor (1980), 458.

[82] See Krahmalkov (2000), 200 and 273 for a slightly different translation.

The only other governmental institution mentioned in any of the other Phoenician inscriptions references the 'year of the people of Sidon' in KAI 60. Therefore KAI 58 stands out from the rest of the series for its lack of accompany Greek translation and the content recorded. Though the information provided is too limited to link the information directly to Carthage, the use of seals in legal matters is known from one other Carthaginian inscription.[83] Furthermore, as demonstrated in subsequent sections of this chapter and the next, Shofets occupied the central administrative position at Carthage and its dependent city-states. In contrast to other Phoenician populations who appear to have developed legislative assemblies by the late 4th century, the office of Shofet remained the central institution of Carthage and its imperial dependencies until the Roman conquest. Therefore, it is possible that the individual in KAI 58 descended from a Shofet at Carthage or one its dependencies.

At the same time, the office of Shofet may be attested at Sidon in a 2nd century BCE inscription. Though the text is partially unclear, the inscription denotes a Rab whose power bears some relationship to a following series of words: rb 'br lspt. As such, the inscription has been interpreted as making a reference to a Rab whose power functioned in a territory where there is no Shofet (i.e 'for the Shofet') or as verb denoting the function of the Rab ('for governing'). Thus, KAI 58 may be part of the same series of Sidonian inscriptions located throughout the Piraeus.[84]

Cyrenaica: The Transshipment Point

---

[83] CIS I. 5522. See Krahmalkov (2000), 200.

[84] See Teixidor (1979), 381- 382 for the possible attestation of Shofet or the concept of a Shofet in an inscription from Sidon.
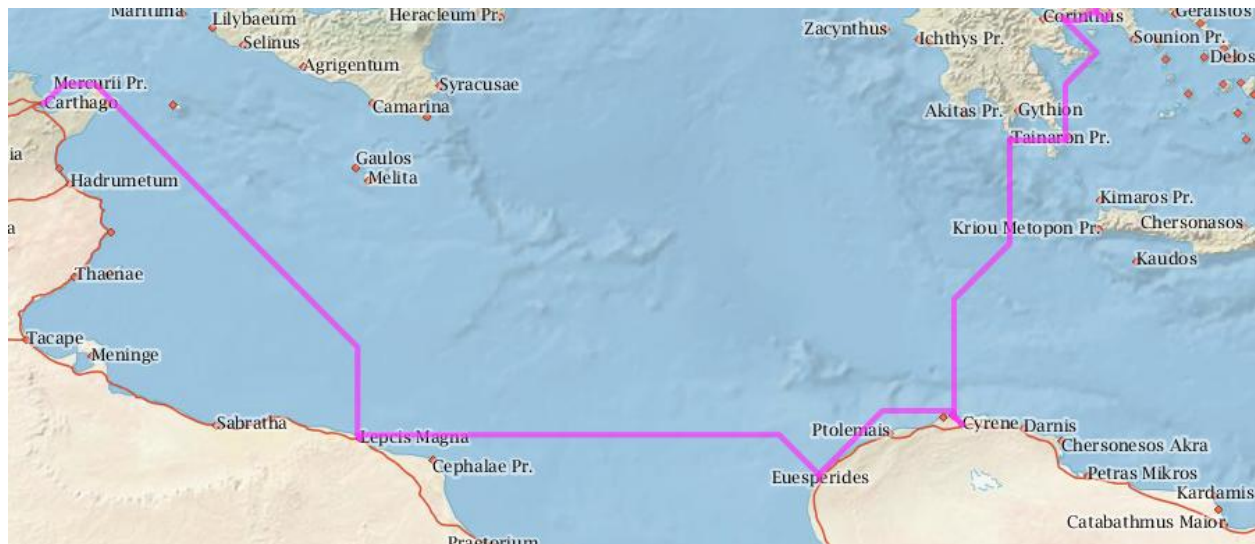
	Start	Destination	Month	Distance	# Days
1	Carthago	Lepcis Magna	July	672	4
2	Lepcis Magna	Cyrene	July	812	5
3	Cyrene	Athenae	July	781	7.1

Image 11: Trade Route from Carthage to Athens

From *ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World*[85]

In Cyrenaica, excavations have uncovered evidence of Attic imports of all types. The

dates at which these imports appear and the period of duration during which Attic imports are

important in Cyrenaican commerce are contemporaneous with the period during which trade

between Athens and Carthage was at its peak. Cyrene itself was found c. 630. The earliest

imports at the site are Rhodian, Laconian, and early Corinthian pottery types. The earliest Attic

black figure vases appear c. 575 BCE.[86] In the southwestern corner of the city, excavations

uncovered a necropolis from which fifteen tombs were excavated. The tombs are 4th century in

---

[85] Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). *ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World*. Retrieved 24 Jun, 2012, from http://orbis.stanford.edu.

[86] Boardman (1966), 152.

date. Coins recovered in these tombs include a silver stater minted at Tyre in use during the period 400-332 BCE, a late 4th century bronze coin from Barca, and a silver obol of Cyrene in use from 480-435 BCE.[87] Excavations at Apollonia, Cyrene's port, have uncovered a Greek colony, which by the 4th century was surrounded by a 1km defensive wall and equipped with two harbors to handle different sized ships.[88] At Apollonia, a 4th century necropoleis was uncovered in a salvage excavation. The finds included a variety of Attic ceramics: panathenaic amphorae, a red figure hydria, two pelike, and twelve other types. In this necropolis at Apollonia, Attic ceramics are the only evidence of imported pottery. The other ceramics are of local manufacture.[89]

At the modern town of Benghazi, the Greeks built two settlements. Euhesperides, the first settlement, quickly lost its access to the sea as an inland lagoon dried up. The site was moved to the sea coast and re-founded as Berenice. The initial foundation dates to the 6th century, while the move to Berenice happened in the 3rd century.[90] Euhesperides was first identified and excavated in the mid-20th century.[91] The most recent campaigns at this site began in 1999. In these excavations, the foundation of the city-state was confirmed to be c. 600.[92]

The archaeology of 4th century Euhesperides is similar to that of Apollonia. In the most recent series of excavations at the city-state, Wilson uncovered extensive evidence of Attic imports for the 4th century:

---

[87] White (1966), 264.

[88] White (1966), 260.

[89] Maffre (2001); Chamoux (2001) for a history of excavations at Apollonia.

[90] Jones and Little (1971), 65-66.

[91] Wilson (2003), 1647 for a history of the excavations and the resulting publications.

[92] Wilson (2003), 1650.

> Mais la plupart des céramiques fines sont des céramiques vernissées noires attiques. La quasi-totalité des céramiques fines sont importés - plus de 90 % -, dont 80 % viennent d'Athènes ou de l'Attique, ce qui est une proportion très importante. Les importations arrivaient en si grand nombre que les productions locales ne pouvaient pas même atteindre 10 % du marché.[93]

Attic dominance in the ceramic record does not last beyond the 4th century at Euhesperides. By the third century, fine wares imported from Southern Italy begin to replace Attic imports, a process also witnessed in the archaeology of Carthage.[94]

Transport amphoras imported to Euhesperides derive from a wider geographic distribution. The primary imports of wine and oil at Euhesperides came from city-states in the Aegean, such as Samos and Rhodes, or Corinth. Although Corinthian amphora types are some of the most well represented transport amphoras at Euhesperides, Wilson noted that they are of uncertain provenance. The specific ceramic form, Corinthian B Transport Amphora, is used by all those city-states in the Corinthian *koine*. Thus these amphoras could have originated in Southern Italy, Sicily, or even Corcyra. Carthaginian transport amphoras are also found, most of which appear related to the transport of salted fish.[95]

Euhesperides was also exporting its own products in this period. Locally produced transport amphoras, similar in form to types Riley 1 and 2, have been found at Sabratha, just west of Modern Tripoli, Libya. The products contained in these amphoras are unknown. Based

---

[93] Wilson (2003), 1644-1645.

[94] Docter et al. (2006), 54: "On the other hand, the imports from Sicily and South Italy are mainly grouped in the second and third quarters of the 4th century BC, the South Italian and Siciliote productions enter the repertoire of Greek imports in Carthage, with a marked concentration in the last quarter of the 4th century BC."

[95] Wilson (2003), 1665-1666. The Carthaginian Amphoras are (Ramón) T 4.2.1.2, T 4.2.1.5, T 6.1.1.2, T 7.1.2.1, T 7.2.1.1.

on similarities with identified ceramic types from other city-states, Wilson deduced that

Euhesperides Class 1 amphora likely carried wine, though perhaps silphium.[96]

The majority of common ceramics at the site (i.e. those for daily use) are local

manufactures. However, a third of these ceramics are imported. Of these imported ceramics,

almost half are manufactured at Carthage or Carthaginian colonies in North Africa. When taken

collectively, Carthaginian ceramics constitute 14.6% of all daily use ceramics recovered in the

excavations.[97] When comparing these fabrics to local manufactures and other imports, Wilson

noted:

> Les formes de tradition punique contrastent fortement avec les formes grecques locales de Cyrénaïque, qui sont arrondies et lissées avec les doigts. Les formes taillées au couteau et les jonctions angulaires entre corps et bord montrent que les potiers puniques se servaient beaucoup plus d'outils que leurs collègues grecs. Les Puniques ont cuit leurs céramiques à des températures beaucoup plus élevées et leurs productions sont techniquement de très bonne qualité ; les productions réduites dénotent un contrôle précis des conditions de cuisson, ce qui est techniquement assez difficile. Certains caractères des techniques utilisées ainsi que l'emploi d'outils suggèrent une production rapide en masse, en partie pour un marché d'exportation.[98]

The Archaeology of Carthaginian Imperialism: The Development of an Empire

Carthage, the City-State

The metropole of an imperial system, archaeologically, develops the infrastructure to

support the needs of peripheral dominance. The archaeology of Carthage, therefore, ought to

---

[96] Wilson (2003), 1666-1668

[97] Wilson (2003), 1669-1670: "Mais les deux groupes les plus importants sont constituées des grands groupes de fabriques puniques, l'une oxydée- rougeâtre -, l'autre réduite (cuite en conditions anoxydisantes) avec une surface grisâtre. Elles sont certainement d'origine nord-africaine, mais pas de Cyrénaïque ; les argiles sont très semblables à celles des amphores puniques, et les formes se confondent avec les formes de céramique commune connues à Sabratha et Carthage. L'ensemble des deux groupes puniques constitue 14,6 % de la céramique commune à Euhespérides. Les vases comprennent chytrai, lopadia, askoi et bols."

[98] Wilson (2003), 1670.

show transitions that begin in the mid- to late- 6th century BCE and indicate an increasing size of the city, a growing economic basis and evidence of increasing militarization. As I demonstrate in Chapter 5, Carthage's overseas empire did not develop until the late 5th century. As part of this development, we should expect to find port improvements and other facilities to support a permanent navy. By the 4th century, Carthage was an imperial power, and the archaeology of the city should reflect the wealth acquired through its status as a metropole, in addition to a fully developed imperial infrastructure.

The Byrsa Hill was incorporated into the urban core of the city in the 7th century, which indicates important growth. It went through two phases of use after it ceased to be a necropolis. In the first phase, Docter et al. discovered the establishment of an archaic city wall c. 650 at the Bir Massouda site. Coupled with the construction of this wall, the excavations demonstrated the creation of a metal working quarter during the same period.[99] This evidence furthered the impression of urban growth onto the Byrsa Hill discovered by Lancel and his French team in earlier excavations near the Bir Massouda site. Lancel uncovered evidence of extensive metal working facilities dating to the 4th century. The ceramics associated with this phase date from the 4th-2nd centuries BCE. By the mid 4th century, the spaces had been converted into enclosed workshops.[100]

In a second phase of reconstruction, the Byrsa hill was gradually converted into a residential area. This process begins in the late-5th century with the construction of new walls in the area. Excavations of the Bir Massouda site have shown a strengthening of the defensive system on the Byrsa Hill in the late-5th century. A double-faced wall of the casemate type was

---

[99] Docter et al. (2006), 39-42.

[100] Lancel (1981), 165-169.

added to the defensive system (oriented north-south) and joined the existing archaic walls

(oriented east-west) near the edge of Byrsa hill. Evidence indicates that the new wall was likely

provisioned with bastions or towers. Concomitant with the implantation of a new casemate wall,

the existing archaic wall was renovated and strengthened.[101] Lancel's excavations, conducted

two decades earlier and higher on the hill, demonstrated that the full reorganization of the Byrsa

hill was complete by the second century. Ultimately, the Byrsa became a densely packed

residential area by this period.[102] The grid layout gives the appearance of 'belts' of houses that

run in ever narrower circles around the hill as one ascends.[103] The exact date at which the Byrsa

hill was converted into a designed and planned residential quarter has been dated differently by

various excavations. At the Bir Massouda site, it appears that the transition may date to the c.

340 BCE whereas Lancel argued that the transition occurred c. 200 BCE.[104]

Physical growth at Carthage is also attested epigraphically. An inscription from the 3rd

century BCE commemorates the construction of a new road in Carthage leading to a New Gate.

The inscription is fragmentary and is broken off at the end of each line. Though plausible

reconstructions have been argued for the missing letters, the text presented here represents only

those letters that can be determined from the stone.[105]

(L.1) פתח ופעל אית החץ ז למקם שער החדש אש כן ...
(L.2) שפטם שפט ואדנבעל עת ר אדנבעל בן אשמנחלץ בן ...
(L.3) קרת בן חנא וחברנם תנאם על ממלכת ז עבדמלקרת ...

---

[101] Docter et al. (2006), 45-46.

[102] Lancel (1981), 169; Lancel (1978), 300-317

[103] Lancel (1981), 169

[104] Docter et al (2006), 50 Lancel (1981), 169; Lancel (1978), 300-317

[105] See Dupont-Sommer (1968) for a complete reconstruction of the text. He bases his reconstructions on the letters which begin lines using known formula for Phoenician inscriptions. The text was originally published by Fantar (1966).

(L. 4) בדמלקרת בן בעלחנא בן בדמלקרת פלס יהואלן אח ...

(L.5) שחרת נסת המכסאם אש בעמק קרת שקל מחתת ואש אי ...

(L.6) אש לם נסך חרץ ומאננם ובת תנרם ופעל סדלם אהדי ...

(L.7) וענש המחשבם אש לן אית האדם הא כסף אלף ...

Dupont-Sommer translated the inscription[106]:

(L.1) A ouvert et fait cette rue-ci, en direction de la place de la Porte Neuve qui se trouve dans le…
(L.2) des suffètes Safat et Adoniba'al, au temps de la magistrature (?) de Adoniba' al fils de Eàmounhillès fils de…
(L.3) qart fils de Hanno et de leurs collègues.(Furent) préposés à ce travail-ci : 'Abdmelqart…
(L.4) Bodmelqart fils de Ba'alhanno fils de Bodmelqart, (en tant qu') ingénieur des routes ; Yehawwi'élôn frère
(L. 5) les marchands, les porteurs, les emballeurs (?) qui sont dans la plaine de la ville, les peseurs de petite monnaie (?), et [ceux] qui n'ont point…
(L.6) ceux qui (en) ont, les fondeurs d'or, et les artisans du vase (?), et (le personnel) des ateliers à fours, et les fabricants de sandales (?), (tous) ensemble…
(L.7) nos comptables puniront cet homme-là d'une amende de mille (sicles d') argent …

I propose[107]:

(L.1) This street was opened and made to the place of the New Gate which…
(L.2) Being Shofets, Shafat and Adonibaal. At the time of the Rab[108], Adonibaal, son of Eshmounhilletz, son of …
(L. 3) qart, son of Hanno and their associates. Appointed over this work were Abdmelqart…
(L.4) Bodmelqart, son of Baalhanno, son of Bodmelqart, the Architect, Yehawelon…
(L.5) Merchants, dock workers[109], the shippers[110] who are in the valley[111] of the city: a shekel[112] of payment[113]. And those who…

---

[106] Dupont-Sommer (1968), 117. I present only the section visible on the text and not his complete reconstruction.

[107] In my reconstruction of the inscription, I have interpreted the text under the belief that the information contained therein represents the record of a public works project funded by a private individual, an act of euergetism. Consequently, in reconstructing the record of professions recorded in the text, I have opted for interpretations which are consistent with the logistics involved in supplying workmen who were involved in the construction of a road. In contrast to previous interpretations, which view the end of the text as establishing a fine for anyone who defaces the inscription, I read the last line as a qal perfect with coordinating conjunction and not a waw-consecutive. Moreover, I would argue that the 'fine' noted in the last line of the text represents the cost of the project for which a single individual, whose name has been lost, paid. I think this belief is reinforced by the strength of the construction in the last line: 'אית האדם הא'. The name of the individual was likely contained in the lost portion of the first line. Dupont-Sommer (1968), 122-3 argued that the 'people of Carthage' should be restored into the missing space of the text. His argument is based only on available space and proposed historical reconstruction for the text, as no traces of letter forms remain. 1000 shekels of silver is 7.6 kg if the coins were pure metals. Coins from Phoenician and Carthaginian contexts average about 90% base metal content, as such the likely expenditure was slightly less than less than 7 kg of silver (or c. 1750 Athenian Drachmae/1690 Roman Denarii post-211 BCE). 1000 Shekels is thus not a lot of money. However, the preserved text does not note expenditures for common workmen, who would have constituted the bulk of the expense. Rather the inscription seems to commemorate the purchase of supplies necessary to keep supplied personally during the period of their work.

[108] Tomback (1978), 259 argued that the "ר" in L.2 was an abbreviation for רב. Dupont-Sommer (1968), 123 argued that reference was being made to political or religious position based on the position of the word within the formula but he chose not to specify a specific office. A similar construction is found in CIS. I. 3919 and CIS I. 132=KAI 62=Amadasi (1967), Malta #6. In CIS I. 132, the preposition 'ב' is attached, thus the phrase is 'בעת ר'. The title 'ר' is followed by a description of its function in CIS I. 132: ' אדר ערכת'. The position may refer to a 'Chief of Estimations' in the Malta inscription. See Amadasi (1967), 24-25

(L.6) which to them, the Goldsmiths (Coin Makers?) and the Potters[114] and the Bakers[115] and the Sandal makers, together…

(L.7) And our[116] Accountants fined (indemnified?)[117] that man 1000 [Shekels] of Silver…

---

[109] 'נסת'has an unclear etymology and meaning. Tomback (1978), 214 and 223. He believed that the word derived from 'נשא' which has the meaning of 'chief, officer or prince'. Thus he thought the term denoted 'clan representatives'. Dupont Sommer (1968), 126-127 argued that the form is an active fem. Participle from the verb 'נשא'with the sense of 'to elevate'. Thus he thought the term referred to porters or dock workers.

[110] Tomback (1978), 176 translates this as 'chair makers'. Dupont Sommer (1968), 127 argues that the form derives from the verb 'כסה', 'to cover'. The form presented here is a participial form of the piel meaning 'those who cover'.

[111] Though normally translated as 'plain' (see Dupont-Sommer (1968), 127-128), I believe that reference is being made to the area between the Byrsa/ Juno Hills and the Ports or more specifically a route through this area. The Byrsa was redeveloped in the 4th-2nd centuries BCE, which provides an excellent context for new road construction.

[112] Shekel as a term for paid money occurs on the Marseille Temple Tariff Document (CIS I.165 = KAI 69). Line 7:

'שלם כלל לכהנם כסף שקל ', 'For a SLM KLL, a shekel of silver to the priests.'

[113] 'מחתת'is of uncertain etymology. Dupont Sommer (1968), 117 translated the phrase 'שקל מחתת' as a description of a profession: 'peseurs de petite monnaie'. Tomback (1978), 172 also argued for a profession: 'weighers of the coal pans'. The noun in Tomback's reconstruction derives from the Hebrew noun 'מַחְתָּה', 'Fire-Holder, Fire Pans'. Dupont-Sommer (1968), 128 offers a similar etymology to Tomback as one possible solution. However, he settles on the meaning 'petite' derived from Arabic. He adds the comment: 'Nous retiendrions volontiers ce second sens, qui n'est évidemment que conjectural'. The verb at the root of the noun 'חתה' has the basic meaning of to snatch up. Used as a participle in the Pi'el and Pu'al the root takes a prefixed 'מ'. Thus in Hebrew, a thing seized is: 'מַחְתָה'. See Brown et al. (1906), 367. I would argue therefore that the idea in this inscription is a 'shekel snatched up' or more elegantly 'a shekel of payment'.

[114] There are two potential roots for the word: 'אנה' 'vessel' and 'אני' 'Fleet, Ships propelled by oars' (See Brown et al. (1906), 58. See Dupont-Sommer (1968), 129

[115] The phrase is complicated and the translation unclear. 'בת' can be understood as physical structure, likely in plural construct form preceding 'תנרם'. For 'תנרם', the best translation appears to derive from 'תַּנּוּר' (See Brown et al. (1906), 1072). The word refers to a portable stove or fire pot, sometimes specified for baking (See Hosea 7:4). Thus the phrase taken collectively appears to refer to a 'House of Baking Ovens' which likely refers to a group or groups of Bakers. Also suggested by Dupont-Sommer (1968), 130 though he argues for makers of bricks or ceramics.

[116] 'אש לן' literally 'who are to us' with 'us' having the sense of the 'people of Carthage'. See Dupont-Sommer (1968), 131.

[117] Dupont-Sommer (1968), 131 argues that the verb 'וענש' represents a Waw-Consecutive (also known as Waw-Conversive). The Waw-Consecutive is attested in the Marseille Temple Tariff Document (KAI 69: line 20): 'וענש' 'and he will be fined'. However, it must be remembered that that the Waw- Consecutive is not widely attested in Phoenician inscriptions. Segert (1976), 194 (Section. 64.44): "The situation is closer to Ugaritic, where only a few consecutive perfects are known, than to Hebrew, where the consecutive forms are frequent." Here , I think a single individual paid for the new road. Thus I think the text notes that this individual paid 1000 shekels of money to the city-state to indemnify it for the road, an act of euergetism.

In terms of the scale of consumption and the density of occupation at Carthage, excavations at the Bir Massouda site would appear to attest to a period of rapid growth within the city that coincides with the creation of the Carthaginian Empire in North Africa.

Figure 3: Imported Amphoras versus Local Amphoras at Carthage

Source: Adapted from Bechtold and Docter (2010), 88-89

Dates	Total # of Pottery finds	Total # of Amphora	# of Local Amphora
675- 530 BCE	2876	981	824
530- 400 BCE	6507	2784	2390

The advent of Carthaginian overseas imperialism in the 4th century brought about further changes in the archaeology of Carthaginian imports and exports. During the period 425- 300 BCE, Carthage's role as the metropole of an imperial system becomes evident in the ceramic record at Carthage and its dependencies. Imported amphoras increase to the highest percentage they ever reach (c. 30% of all recovered amphoras) in the ceramic record at Carthage. Many of these imported amphoras were produced in Corcyra, Calabria, and Sicily. This geography indicates their likely transshipment through Lilybaeum or Selinunte, both Carthaginian colonies in the 4th century. In addition to Greek imports, a large percentage of all imported transport amphoras from Phoenician city-states recovered at Carthage were produced at Phoenician city-states in Sardinia. This evidence suggests Carthaginian extraction from the fertile agricultural territories near Sulcis and Tharros in Sardinia. These city-states had been incorporated into the Carthaginian Empire during the early 4th century. Finally, Attic black glaze wares greatly augment in numbers in Carthaginian deposits and reach their highest percentages.[118]

---

[118] Bechtold and Docter (2010), 96.

Carthaginian exports also slow in the 4th century BCE. In contrast to their wide distribution in previous periods, 4th century Carthaginian transport amphoras are only found in limited quantities in Sicily (Lilybaeum, Monte Polizzo and Selinunte) and on Pantelleria. Though Bechtold and Docter have interpreted this increase in imports and the decrease of Carthaginian exports as an indication that "whatever commodity would have been traded against these imported foodstuffs, local or regional amphora-packed food products from the Carthaginian hinterland did not figure prominently amongst them,"[119] these authors neglect the fact that the majority of this evidence supports an interpretation of Carthaginian extraction from its colonial periphery. Carthage, as the largest city in its imperial system, depended on extraction from the periphery to support its population. Thus the metropole had become a net consumer by the 4th century. The absence of reciprocal exports during the 4th century is likely an indication that Carthaginian dependencies owed the city-state some form of agricultural tribute. Moreover, the fact that the limited number of exports discovered have all been recovered at Carthaginian colonies in Sicily indicates that Carthage depended on populations in its periphery to conduct trade with external populations in the central Mediterranean.

In turn, the loss of the Carthaginian overseas empire by 200 BCE resulted in a significant reduction of imports and subsequent increase in the incidence of locally produced transport amphoras at Carthage. Amphoras recovered at Carthage dated to 200-146 BCE demonstrate the heaviest concentration of locally produced amphora of any period (86%) and the fewest number of imports. Moreover, the limited geography of Carthaginian trade in this period (only Campania

---

[119] Bechtold and Docter (2010), 97.

and Rhodes are represented) indicates an intense focus on the agricultural resources that were produced near the metropole and in its still extant colonial sphere in North Africa.[120]

The Ports at Carthage

The American excavators who participated in the UNESCO excavation focused their efforts on the northern extent of the Tophet and the area between it and the rectangular harbor (between the Rue des Suffetes and the water). The excavations in this area uncovered a Roman vaulted building. The foundations for the vaults were sunk into Punic layers underneath. A variety of Carthaginian ceramics were uncovered in the strata underneath the vault. Due to incomplete pottery sequences, the excavators dated archaeological strata with reference to ceramic imports. The majority of these imports are Athenian vases, which date to c. 400-350 BCE.[121] They appear to relate to a shipping channel uncovered by the same excavation team at Carthage.

The earliest man made port facilities at Carthage consist of a shipping channel cut in a north-south orientation. The channel was 15-20m wide and 2m deep. The earliest phases of construction date to the 5th century BCE, and the channel remained in use until the mid-4th century BCE. The excavated sections of the channel consist of portions on the later Ilôt de l'Amirauté and the area next to the later rectangular harbor. Consequently, the complete length and the ultimate connection of the channel to the sea remain unknown.[122] In the section of the channel next to the later rectangular harbor, the excavation uncovered a block of Cap Bon

---

[120] Bechtold and Docter (2010), 99-100.

[121] Stager (1978), 169.

[122] Hurst and Stager (1978), 338-339.

sandstone sitting on the bottom of the channel. Underneath the block were a series of logs that

presumably served as a barge. The channel itself was a muddy, saline environment. Few remains

of marine mollusks have been encountered within the channel, although the remains of human

waste are common.[123] The area alongside the channel appears to have served as an area for metal

working facilities. Hurst and Stager comment:

> Just west of the silted channel, on the rectangular harbourside site, was an occupational
> level dated to 400-350 B.C. producing evidence of iron smelting and/or processing:
> fragments of terracotta tuyeres, slags rich in iron oxide, pieces of fired mud-brick and
> fused sandstone - probably furnace walls - were all present in some quantity. A similar
> range of material in a contemporary context was found on the Ilot de l'Amiraute above
> the east side of the channel.[124]

For the excavators of this area, the sudden change from a natural lagoon/marsh to the man-made

channel of the 5th- 4th centuries BCE was striking:

> Suddenly, then, we have Carthage the metropolis: a polluted stretch of man-made
> waterway in an urban site with international trade connections set in a countryside where
> advanced agriculture was being practised. The fourth-century archaeological evidence
> richly confirms the picture which can be made of the city at this date from historical
> sources, but its very abundance only serves to emphasize the lack of evidence for earlier
> historically attested periods. How is such an abrupt change to be explained both for the
> port and for the city as a whole?[125]

The changes evident at the port facilities and in the city as a whole were the result of the

development of Carthaginian imperialism during the course of the 5th century BCE. The process

appears abrupt to archaeologists due to the complete reorganization of the city's urban plan and

port facilities in the 5th century BCE. Through this redesign, the Carthaginians nearly completely

re-developed their city topography between 450-400 BCE.

---

[123] Hurst and Stager (1978), 338

[124] Hurst and Stager (1978), 339.

[125] Hurst and Stager (1978), 340.

However, the processes that led to this urban redesign were more long term and resulted

from Carthaginian colonization of the Cap Bon peninsula during the previous century. As

evidenced by the faunal remains from the shipping channel, Carthage had developed a large

agricultural basis by the 5th century BCE. Hurst and Stager note:

> A view of the wider landscape around Carthage at this time as well as an idea of the
> Carthaginian's daily fare is given by the seeds found in the channel. The fruits included
> pomegranate, fig, grape, olive, peach, plum, melon, Cyrenean lotus; there were also the
> remains of almonds, pistachios and filberts and the cereals were also present in small
> quantities. Particularly striking is the horticultural component, including many fruits
> which are best propagated by grafting. This is testimony to the advanced state of Punic
> agriculture.[126]

This process began with the establishment of Kerkouane in the 6th century BCE. For the

development of agricultural production, the Cap Bon peninsula provided a variety of micro-

climates suited to the cultivation of olives, grapes and grain in addition to other vegetables and

fruits.[127] The subsequent conquest and settlement of the entire Cap Bon created a diversified

agricultural territory. Through trade in these products, Carthage developed a highly diversified

import-export economy by late 5th century BCE. Concomitant with this colonization, Carthage

experienced a great increase in its international trade connections. As a redistribution center for

Carthaginian agricultural produce, the city-state became an important exporter of goods in this

period. At Euhesperides, where large quantities of Carthaginian exports ceramics have been

found, their method of production attests to near industrial scale production at Carthage by the

4th century BCE.[128]

---

[126] Hurst and Stager (1978), 340.

[127] Ghalia (2007), 23.

[128] Wilson (2003), 1670.

To support this ever increasing trade in the Cap Bon and increasing international trade connections, Carthage initially constructed the late 5th century shipping channel, which was sufficient to support Carthaginian economic and military activities in this period. However, Carthaginian conquests in Sardinia and Sicily, when coupled with the development of a standing navy during the same period, rendered the shipping channel obsolete by the mid-4th century. Simply put, the channel was of insufficient scale to support the Carthaginian Empire. The city required a man made port of a scale sufficient to allow for both military and commercial activities within the same space.

The final harbor construction at Carthage was a massive man-made intervention into the natural geography. In the mid-4th century, the extant shipping channel was filled and two new harbors were cut. The construction required the removal of c.120,000 m^3 of earth for the rectangular harbor and another c.115,000 m^3 of earth for the circular harbor.[129] The circular harbor offers 6 hectares of water surface and had a depth of c. 2m. The rectangular harbor is larger than the circular harbor (7 ha of surface area) and was surrounded by commercial buildings.[130] Alongside the rectangular harbor, the excavation uncovered a quay wall built of ashlar blocks of Cap Bon sandstone. The depth in the rectangular harbor based on the quay wall and other indications was between 1.5-1.8 meters.[131]

---

[129] Hurst and Stager (1978), 341.

[130] Lancel (1992), 201

[131] Hurst and Stager (1978), 342; See also Lancel (1992), 201. Lancel argued that the depth was 2.5m.

Image 12: Late Punic Ports at Carthage.

Image © 2012 Google Earth

The Military Harbor at Carthage

The development a specific military harbor in the mid-4th century is clearest indication of

Carthaginian overseas imperialism that can be recovered from the archaeology of the metropole.

Previously, scholars have tried to dismiss the importance of this evidence. Prior reconstructions argued that Carthage likely used overseas ports to house its navy during the 6th-5th centuries BCE in order to support arguments for Carthaginian imperialism in Sardinia and Sicily during this period. Scholars have identified the Cothon at Mozia as one such harbor. However, as demonstrated in Chapter 3, the Cothon at Mozia bears no resemblance to a military harbor. Its small size would have made the Cothon nearly useless as a permanent base for a navy.

When compared to other ancient empires that maintained permanent navies in this period, such as Athens and Kition (as discussed in the Introduction), it is clear that Carthage developed the required infrastructure to support a permanent navy during the late 5th or 4th century. Ship sheds are a basic requirement for ancient navies, as naval warships require a winter dry dock. Unlike merchant ships, warships are not in use for most of the year. As such, both Athens and Kition constructed ship sheds to house permanent navies.

As part of the UNESCO excavations, archaeologists systematically excavated the island that sits in the center of the circular harbor. The Carthaginians constructed the island artificially using the soil taken from the space for the harbor. Hurst and Stager estimated that 10,000 m³ of earth was required to form the island.[132] The excavation uncovered ship sheds and a central building. Six phases of construction were identified on the island. The first phases were in wood, subsequently replaced by stone constructions. Successive phases of wood constructions on the island of the circular harbor indicate a period of rapid development. The stone ship sheds that replaced the wooden structures on the island in the center of the circular harbor were constructed in the mid to late 3rd century. The stone structures appear to follow in plan the earlier wooden

---

[132] Hurst and Stager (1978), 341.

constructions.[133] Lancel estimated that the ship sheds would hold between 170-180 warships in their most developed phase.[134]

Carthaginian Warships

The best evidence for Carthaginian warships comes from the discovery of two wrecked ships off the coast of Marsala, Italy, which the excavators denominated the 'Marsala Punic Ship' and 'Sister Ship'. From pottery recovered in the wrecks, the ships appear to date to the mid-3rd century (the period of 1st Punic Wars). Both ships also contained similar ballast stones harvested from Pantelleria. The ships appear to have no commercial cargo, which has led to their identification as warships. [135]

The Marsala ship was between 25-30 meters in length. Frost described its construction thusly:

> The ship is carve1 built; its garboard strakes being attached to the keel and to the other strakes above them in the manner common to all classical ships, i.e. they are joined by tenons, inserted in mortises and held firm on either side by dowels [136]… The keel-cum-sternpost and a floor-timber are both *Acer* (maple). The wood is red and its structure consistent with Syrian *Acer* as well as with more northerly species of the tree; no clear distinction between the two could be drawn from the samples. The longest frame is *Quercus* (oak) of a species common in most parts of the Mediterranean. The pinewood planking is either *Pinus nigra* or *Pinus sylvestris*…Tenons and dowels were oak; on other ancient wrecks such things are made of an even harder wood such as olive.[137]

---

[133] Hurst and Stager (1978), 341-344

[134] Lancel (1992), 197.

[135] Frost (1973), 33; Culican and Curtis (1974), 43: "Admittedly the excavation is still in progress and much more pottery may be found, but I this had been a vessel carrying an amphora cargo when it sank it is likely that we should already have collected many more amphora pieces. Rather, the present corpus seems to represent a collection of vessels gathered together, perhaps in various ports, by the crew of the ship for their personal needs."

[136] Frost (1973), 40.

[137] Frost (1973), 41.

The ship possessed a number of markings that may relate to its construction. Some are simple carpenter's marks, probably used to assist in the spacing of keels and planks. Archaeologists uncovered a more complicated set of markings on the outside of the hull. In the first season of excavation, excavators discovered what initially appeared to be a cross and roughly drawn Z. Similar markings, sometimes alphabetic in appearance were painted on the inner surface of the keel.[138] In the second season of excavation, archaeologists established that the alphabetic signs were prolific. A total of 16 different Phoenician letters are represented in addition to other markings.[139] Frost concluded that the Phoenician letters inscribed on individual pieces of the hull may provide evidence of prefabrication.[140] Bonino describes their use in a slightly different manner, "l'unico elemento certo relativo alle tecniche costruttive puniche è dato dei segni alfabetici dipinti dai construttori sullo scafo dell nave di Marsala: sono segni di riferimento per allineare e montare correttamente le strutture sul guscio portante."[141]

Burial Grounds

The Tophet enters in main phase of use c. 600 BCE. Between the strata of Tanit I (730-600 BCE) and Tanit IIa (600-400 BCE), Harden encountered a layer of yellow clay. He conjectured that the clay layer had been purposely placed due to its uniformity, c. 5cm in all

---

[138] Frost (1973), 44

[139] Frost (1974), 38: "Until the relationship of the signs to the structure of the ship has been recorded and they can be considered as a coherent group, comment would be misleading. All that should be observed now is that some of the 16 kinds of sign recorded to date (not counting the guide-lines) resemble letters from the Phoenicio-Punic alphabet "

[140] Frost (1998), 162.

[141] Bonino (2010), 19. See Pisano and Travaglini (2003), Si 74 for examples of the graffiti.

excavated areas.[142] Concerning the form of the Tophet during Tanit II, Harden commented on

visible changes from Tanit I:

> Tanit II was of quite different aspect from Tanit I. The urns were here four or five times as numerous, and instead of being covered with rough cists or cairns, they were laid singly or in small groups in the soil and each group was topped by a stele or headstone. It was plain that these headstones, unlike the cairns of Tanit I, were left visible above ground-level, so that this stratum, in its original aspect, partook of the form of a closely packed cemetery. [143]

A pathway ran through the middle of the cemetery, c. 2m in width, and the steles faced this

pathway. Over time, the Tanit II stratum grew in depth to 1.75 meters. Steles appear for the first

time in Tanit II.[144] Normally, a single stele accompanies a single urn. However, certain steles

have two urns beneath them.[145] The remains are primarily buried in two types of amphoras,

which Harden labeled Tanit II Class C and Class F. Class C is a low bellied amphora with a plain

lip and angular or convex shoulder. Vertical handles are attached to the shoulder. The same type

of amphora is found in the necropoleis of the 7th-5th century BCE.[146] Class F amphoras are nearly

identical to Class C with a slightly different shape. These amphoras are found in burials in the

necropoleis of the 7th- 4th centuries BCE.[147]

---

[142] Harden (1937), 60.

[143] Harden (1937), 60

[144] Harden (1937), 61

[145] Lapeyre (1939), 295

[146] Harden (1937), 72-73

[147] Harden, (1937), 76

Image 13: Excavations in Tanit II. Image from Harden (1937), plate 9b

The necropoleis at Carthage also undergo important transitions. The hills around the urban core were burial grounds until the end of the 6th century, at which point the Carthaginians incorporated many of the archaic necropoleis into the city's urban plan.[148] The closure of certain necropoleis (Byrsa, Junon, Dermech, and Douimès) coincided with a transition in the primary method of burial at Carthage from inhumation to cremation. By the end of the 5th century, burials at Carthage become predominately incineration burials. There is also a notable absence of grave goods that accompany these remains.[149] 4th-2nd century burials concentrate in a few necropoleis, all of which were also active during the archaic period (l'Odeon and Sainte-Monique). Consequently, Lancel argued that changes in burial customs at Carthage in the 5th century appear to be a response to a need for space in the urban core of the city.[150] He felt this contention

---

[148] Fantar (1993) I, 154-155.

[149] Lancel (1992), 241. See Berger (1903) (b) for the archaeological history of some of these finds in the Ste. Monique necropolis. The remains are primarily deposited in urns that only rarely contain a painted inscription identifying the deceased on the outside.

[150] Lancel (1992), 241-242

bolstered by the fact that inhumation burials in monumental tombs continued to occur in the necropolis at Kerkouane and other Carthaginian colonies in Africa during this period.[151] Even though cremation urns replace sarcophaguses, the inscriptions on the urns continue the established patterns and formulas of earlier inscriptions.[152]

In reference to burial arrangements, Carthage appears to have developed a separate cemetery for its office holders and other important families. Delattre initially titled the Ste. Monique Necropolis at Carthage as 'the Necropolis of Rabs, Priests and Priestesses' when he excavated it.[153] Inscriptions regularly accompany burials in this necropolis. More importantly, these inscriptions often record metropolitan office holders and their genealogies.

Residential quarters for such wealthy families have also been recovered for this period. Between the later ports and the Byrsa Hill, excavations uncovered a regularly planned residential quarter that developed during the 5th century. By the 3rd century, the owners of many of these houses renovated and enlarged them.[154] In Mago's quarter the average house size is 400 m^2 – 600 m^2.[155]

Resident Foreigners at Carthage: Phoenicians and Greeks

---

[151] Lancel (1992), 247. Tomb VIII at Kerkouane (4th-3rd c. BCE), due to its painted walls, has stimulated much discussion on the iconography represented.

[152] See R.E.S. 517. 'Tomb of Bodashtart' was painted on a large amphora used to hold the cremated remains.

[153] Delattre (1905) and (1906).

[154] Ennabli (1988), 53

[155] Fantar (1993) I, 138.

As the metropole of an imperial system, Carthage attracted a variety of resident foreigners who functioned to facilitate commerce within the Carthaginian Empire as well as exports and imports with independent polities. In the 6th-3rd centuries BCE, bilingual Greek-Phoenician inscriptions appear in Carthaginian archaeological contexts. Excavations have uncovered a highly decorated lead disk of the 5th or 4th century BCE in a tomb.[156] The inscription sits at the center of the disk:

ΑΕΟΛΣΙΦΗΑΜΥ לאלם,[157]

The inscription is difficult to interpret The Phoenician inscription is clear: 'to the Gods'. The Greek letters, however, offer a variety of potential reconstructions. Berger thought it likely that the inscription constituted a single sentence with parts in Greek and Phoenician based on analogous examples.[158] He cites CIS I. 191 which records: 'ΕΥΚΛΕΑ אש נדר', 'That which Euklea vowed'. In this inscription, the Greek and Punic inscriptions form a single sentence.

A few inscriptions appear to indicate that Greeks may be buried in Carthaginian necropolis.

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ	Apollodorus
ΙΚΕΤΑ	Son of Hiketas
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΩΤΑΣ [159]	Of Heraclea Minoa

---

[156] Berger (1903), 197 dated the inscription to the 4th century at the time of initial publication. The dating offered by R.E.S. 508 was "nearly archaic", which suggests a wider dating of the inscription to the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, which accords with the general dating of the Ste. Monique necropolis where the inscription was found.

[157] R.E.S 508.

[158] Berger (1903) describes the find and initial interpretation of the text.

[159] Chabot (1926), 41.

The above inscription was found on a slab of grey limestone of the same type used in the Punic funerary inscriptions found in the Ste. Monique necropolis. The inscription likely dates to the 4th or 3rd century BCE. As noted in the next chapter, trade with western Sicily was an increasingly important part of Carthaginian commerce in this period due to its colony at Selinunte, which serves to explain the resident Greek from Heraclea Minoa.

In addition to Greek populations resident at Carthage, there were also Phoenicians from both subordinated and free city-states. At the Tophet, individuals from Tyre, Sardinia, and Eryx made dedications during 5th-3rd centuries BCE.[160] Other inscriptions appear to attest to a resident Sidonian and also a Kitian at Carthage (both from the 3rd century BCE).

‘אש נדר ערשת בת עבדס הצדני’ 'That which Arishat, daughter of Abdis the Sidonian, vowed.'[161]

‘בן אשממנאדני אש כתי’ 'Son of Eshmounadony, a man of Kition.'[162]

Both of these inscriptions were uncovered in the cemetery of Rabs and Priests excavated by Delattre at the start of the 20th century.[163]

The Expansion of Carthage into North Africa

---

[160] Lapeyre (1939), 296.

[161] CIS I 308; Ferjaoui (1993), 176-177.

[162] RES 1225; Ferjaoui (1993), 178.

[163] Ferjaoui (1993), 176-178; See also Delattre (1905), 22-23.

One of the most complicated problems with reconstructions of the Carthaginian Empire is the absence of inscriptions that attest to the spread of Carthaginian institutions into North Africa before the end of the 3rd century BCE.[164] The majority of the inscriptions that do exist, furthermore, date to the period of Roman rule in North Africa. The early Roman Empire in North Africa continued to operate in the language and terminology of the previous Carthaginian Empire. Zucca comments:

> Alla rarità delle attestazioni del titolo di *sufes* nelle fonti letterarie, si contrappone la frequenza del termine *špt-sufes* nelle iscrizione prevalentemente pubbliche sia neopuniche, sia latine dei territori dell'*epikrateia* punica in Africa, e Sardegna, soprattutto per l'epoca successiva alla constituzione della *provincia Africa*.[165]
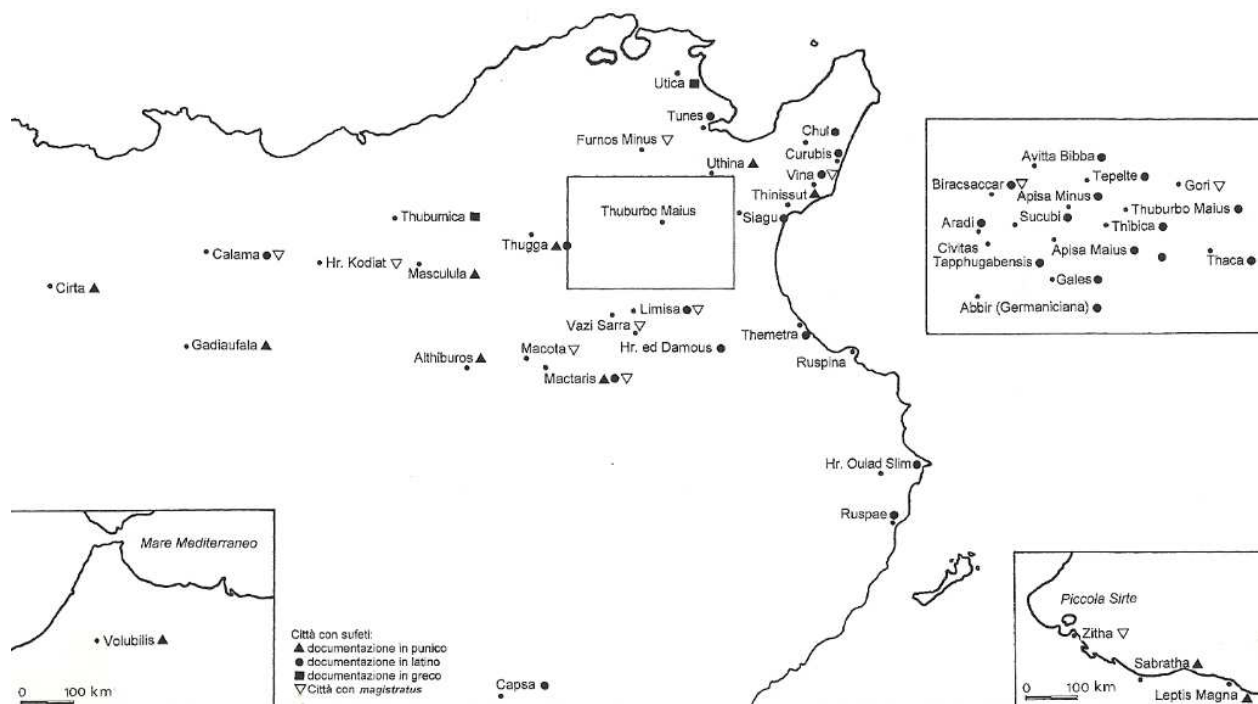

Image 14: Epigraphic attestations of the Shofet. From Manfredi (2003), 376.

---

[164] Manfredi (2003), 427.

[165] Zucca (2004), 12

In this chapter, I have integrated these inscriptions into my discussion of Carthaginian

expansion. While it remains possible that the Romans may have extended the use of the office of

Shofet to new conquests in North Africa, such a possibility is unlikely for two reasons. First, in

areas the Roman colonized, it appears that they imported forms of governance and land tenure

from Italy. Between the River Meliane and modern Zaghouan, Tunisia, archaeologists have

recovered a series of Etruscan inscriptions. The inscriptions, based on their paleography, date to

the 3rd-1st centuries BCE. The inscriptions are located on large stones that appear to serve as

boundary markers. Excavations have recovered similar examples in Etruria that date primarily to

the 3rd century BCE. Heurgon dated the North African examples to the 1st century BCE. He

proposed that their placement related to Roman colonization of the area during the period 122-80

BCE.[166] Second, during the course of the 1st century BCE-2nd century CE, multiple polities in

North Africa received promotions in city status within the Roman Empire. This results in a loss

of the existing Shofet organization and replacement by Roman offices.

Absent epigraphic evidence, emphasis is given to the development of new cities that

appear economically linked to Carthage. While no epigraphs exist to prove that Kerkouane,

Aspis, and other sites in Tunisia were Carthaginian colonies, the preponderance of

archaeological evidence favors this identification.

Carthaginian Colonization in the Cap Bon

---

[166] Heurgon (1969); See specifically Heurgon (1969), 542-543 for his discussion of the letter forms.

Image 15: The Carthaginian Colony at Kerkouane

Image © 2012 Google Earth

At Kerkouane, the earliest securely dated fragments of Greek pottery are mid- 6th century examples.[167] Archaeologists uncovered these fragments in the lowest levels of human occupation under which lay undisturbed earth or bedrock. As already noted, the majority of Greek imports at Kerkouane are Attic. Based on the recovered ceramics, J. P. Morel, who excavated the site in the late 1960's, assigned a foundation date of c. 550 to Kerkouane. In addition, Morel excavated a

---

[167] Morel (1969), 494-497.

single '*insula*' located near the center of the foundation in addition to various test trenches scattered throughout the site. Morel was unable to substantiate equal antiquity for the two structures he excavated. Within the 'insula', a house/workshop was constructed c. 500 BCE. The temple located next to it was constructed c. 400 BCE . Within the foundations of the temple, Morel found 5th century pottery, which indicated to him that the temple overlay an existing structure.[168]

The original walls at Kerkouane were a semi-circular wall design that left the city-state open to the sea. The walls were over a kilometer in length and constructed contemporaneous to the foundation of the city. Only two gates allowed landward access to the colony. At some point in the 4th century BCE, a second wall constructed further out from the earlier wall and separated by only a small interval of distance.[169] Excavations have recovered multiple necropoleis outside the walls of Kerkouane. The tombs recovered at Kerkouane are similar to those at Carthage. Multiple burial types were in use including chamber tombs, inhumation burials and cremation urns. All of these burial customs coexisted in the 5th and 4th centuries at Kerkouane.[170]

While the imports from Kerkouane demonstrate a notable incidence of Greek imports during the 5th century, primarily Attic, these imports begin to decrease in the 4th century BCE. Morel: "il est évident aussi que le début de ce siècle marque à Kerkouane une brusque raréfaction des importations en provenance du monde hellénique."[171] In the late 4th century, the city was destroyed by fire. Morel dated this destruction to c. 320 BCE. The city was

---

[168] Morel (1969).

[169] Lancel (1992), 288

[170] Gallet de Santerre and Slim (1983), 44-47; Fantar (1972), 348.

[171] Morel (1969), 500

subsequently reconstructed but the plan of the entire habitat was reworked.[172] The final

occupation at Kerkouane did not last long. The site was abandoned c. 250 BCE permanently.[173]

Image 16: Modern Agriculture in the Area of Kerkouane

Image © 2012 Google Earth

Aspis, later Roman Clipea, is located underneath modern Kelibia. Excavations have

located a Carthaginian necropolis at the site on the flanks of a hill which at present is capped by

---

[172] Morel (1969), 501. He chose to connect this destruction layer to the invasion of Agathocles.

[173] Morel (1969), 513.

the Islamic Fort of Kelibia.[174] Located only steps from the modern port and the sea, the hill at Kelibia was an ideal location to set up a colonial foundation. No other high point is found in the area. The necropolis at Kelibia began in the late 5th century and was in continuous use until the 2nd century. [175] Inscriptions located in the Carthaginian necropolis at Kelibia date from the late 4th century-3rd century BCE. These inscriptions do not reveal any directly relevant information concerning Carthaginian institutions at the site, though their style and content is clearly Carthaginian.[176] One of the inscriptions, dated to the 4th or 3rd century identifies the family located in the burial chamber over which the inscription was placed: 'ש מגנים' 'Of the Magonim'[177]

Ras ed- Drek, located on the northern tip of the Cap Bon, consisted of a few small buildings. It represents one of many Carthaginian 'fortresses' located on the peninsula. The site was inhabited from the late 5th century BCE until the destruction of Carthage. The buildings are constructed on a rocky outcropping that emerges from the sea. The complex was provisioned with five large cisterns and had space for perhaps as many 20 occupants.[178] The exact function of the site is unclear. Lancel argued that it provided a watch point for the inhabitants of the Cap Bon as the site could have been inter visible with the colony at Kelibia.[179] In contrast, I would argue that it served as a navigational beacon. The northern tip of the Cap Bon peninsula is dominated by a small escarpment that rises abruptly from the sea. It creates a sparsely inhabited

---

[174] Fantar (1988), 504

[175] Fantar (1988).

[176] Pisano and Travaglini (2003), 124 (Tu #1 and #2).

[177] Pisano and Travaglini (2003), Tu 2.

[178] Lancel (1992), 284.

[179] Lancel (1992), 284

area due to the steep vertical descent of the land and the lack of appropriate ports.[180] Ras ed

Drek sits at the southernmost limit of the escarpment and was likely the first/last visual land

contact in North Africa for ships traveling to and from Sicily. Additionally, Ras ed Drek sits at

the exact point at which a ship sailing around the peninsula would need to change its direction of

sail in order to complete a voyage around the Cap Bon peninsula (i.e. the voyage from Kelibia to

Carthage). The rocky nature of the coastline in this area makes it unlikely that ships adhered too

closely to the coast. A manned outpost would have been a necessary aid for survival in poor

visibility.[181]

Korba was known in antiquity as Curubis. A necropolis and temple from the Carthaginian

period have been recovered. The site became a stronghold of the Pompeians during the Roman

civil war and was subsequently colonized by the Romans.[182] An inscription from the mid-1st

century BCE records the office as Shofet as part of the local dating formula at the site: 'sufetes,

Muthunilim Hi….'[183] To the west of Korba, about 25 km inland from the coast, the site at Chul

preserves evidence of the use of the Shofet, though again from the Roman period. One example:

'Saturno Aug (usto) sacr (um) Civitas Chul, Sufet(atus)'[184]

Neapolis, modern Nabeul, was a 5th century Carthaginian colony. It has yet to receive a

significant excavation in its earliest levels, though the Roman colony at the site is partially

known. Modern agricultural territories in the area demonstrate its fertility and inscribe the colony

---

[180] Ghalia (2007), 111

[181] I do not intend to cast the outpost as a lighthouse, for which there is no evidence. Rather, its elevated position gave it the ability to act as a lighthouse when necessary. The 'temple' identified as one of the buildings at the site, I would argue, relates more to the maintenance of fires in poor visibility situations.

[182] Ghalia (2007), 99

[183] CIL 8.10525= ILS 6094 = Zucca (2004), Inscription #22 Africa.

[184] Zucca (2004), Inscription #24 Africa

within the broader pattern of Carthaginian agricultural territories. Roman salt fishing installations were likely built on those early used by the Carthaginian inhabitants of the site.[185]

Image 17: Modern Agriculture at Nabeul. Image from Vogiatzakis and Cassar (2007), 47

Near modern Hammamet, the site of Thinissut preserves a characteristic Carthaginian inscriptional formula, though the text is dated to the 1st century BCE. *KAI* 137:

' לאדן לבעל ולתנת פן בעל מקדשם שנם אש פעל בעל תנסמת בשת שפטם חמלכ והמלכ '

'To the Lord, to Baal and to Tanit face of Baal. Two sanctuaries which the Citizens of Tinusmat constructed in the year of the Shofets, Himilcat and Himilcat.'[186]

---

[185] Ghalia (2007), 109

[186] Zucca (2004), Inscription #21 Africa

The clearest evidence of Carthaginian-Libyan integration in the Cap Bon derives from the recovered rural necropoleis of the Cap Bon peninsula. These sites are characterized by the presence of Haouanet style tombs that precede the introduction of Carthaginian colonies in the area but also continue to be used after Carthaginian populations were established. El- Harouri, a site 6km to the west of Aspis, contained a Libyan necropolis. The design of the tombs is similar to Haouanet-style tombs found in other parts of North Africa. Twelve were excavated at el-Harouri.[187] The tombs demonstrate that Indigenous populations continued to exist in the area after the period of Carthaginian colonization and continued to live near Carthaginian colonies. Thus it is not possible to conjecture a full removal or slaughter of these peoples. Rather, the evidence would appear to indicate that native populations continued to live in the areas of Carthaginian colonies.

<div align="center">Coastal Colonization to the South of the Cap Bon</div>

Hadrumentum/Sousse was founded in the 6th century BCE.[188] This site was likely the most important Carthaginian foundation in this area and acted as the primary point of economic interaction for a number of smaller settlements located in its near hinterland. No inscriptions attest directly to Carthaginian institutions at the site, but a number of recovered inscriptions from the necropoleis do indicate a resident Carthaginian population.[189] One dedication is the standard type of dedication found at the Tophet of Carthage: לרבת לתנת פנע בעל' 'To the Great One, To

---

[187] Fantar (1988), 509-518.

[188] Moscati (1994), 56. For the excavation of the Tophet at Sousse, see Cintas (1948). For some of the inscriptions recovered in this excavation, see Dussaud (1946), 384-387.

[189] See Pisano and Travaglini (2003) Tu 4-38 for some of the inscriptions recovered at the site. See also KAI 97-99

Tanit, the Face of Baal'.[190] In another dedication, an individual identifies himself as ' בעם איתנם אש' 'A man of the people of Etnim.', while also providing his father and grandfather's names.[191] In the necropoleis at Carthage and at Carthaginian colonies in Sicily and Sardinia, a similar identifier is regularly employed.

South of Sousse, an inscription found at Henchir Bou Chebib records the title Shofet [192] At Chebba, located north of Sfax, the office of Shofet is attested in a mid 2nd century AD inscription.[193] In the same region and from the same time period, a dedicatory inscription of the Shofet at Halk el Menzel has been recovered: "quos pro honor (e) sufetatus debebat."[194] In the far south of the Tunisian Sahel, a neo-Punic inscription has been located at Gafsa (likely ancient Capsa). Here, the office of Shofet is attested in the Trajanic period: "sufetibus Attico et Frontone Maslae."[195]

Colonization in the Medjerda River Valley and Its Environs

In the Tunisian Sahel to the southwest of Carthage, the Medjerda River valley and its tributaries were heavily colonized by Carthaginian populations. As the longest river in this area of North Africa, when coupled with the varied terrain that surrounds the River valley, the topography creates a highly diversified agricultural territory, which today receives more rainfall than areas in the Cap Bon. The territories near Beja, Dougga, and Bou Arada received multiple

---

[190] KAI 97.

[191] KAI 99.

[192] R.E.S. 886

[193] Zucca (2004), Inscription #17 Africa.

[194] Zucca (2004), Inscription #18 Africa.

[195] CIL 8:22796= Zucca (2004), Inscription #16 Africa.

Carthaginian colonies in this period. More importantly, the extension of Carthaginian interests throughout the river valley and its tributaries allowed Carthage to develop imperial control over the Numidian populations of western Tunisia and eastern Algeria.

<h2 style="text-align:center">Utica</h2>

As the only other Phoenician colony in North Africa, the foundation at Utica and its relationship to the Carthaginian Empire is of great interest for the history of Carthaginian imperialism. Utica was likely colonized in the 8th century, at about the same time as the foundation at Carthage. Its original location placed it at the mouth of the Medjerda River, and it is likely that the site benefitted from trade brought down the river valley. Though the ancient sources record a 12th century BCE foundation, archaeology cannot substantiate a 12th century BCE occupation of the site.

In the record of the Second Treaty of Carthage and Rome, Polybios notes that Utica, though not mentioned in the First Treaty, had become a dependent city state of Carthage. Polybios 3.24: εἰσὶ δὲ τοιαίδε τινές: ἐπὶ τοῖσδε φιλίαν εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχοις καὶ Καρχηδονίων καὶ Τυρίων καὶ Ἰτυκαίων δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς τούτων συμμάχοις. Modern reconstructions regularly include Polybios' record of Utica's integration into the Carthaginian Empire. However, the city itself is very poorly excavated and too little of its archaeological record is known.[196] Due to its clear importance for the history of Carthage and North Africa more generally, a new series of excavations has started at the site. Hay et al.:

> After poorly documented excavations in the nineteenth century, twentieth-century excavation focused on tombs in the Phoenician and Punic cemeteries, and then, in the 1950s, on the urban centre: a few rich houses with elaborate mosaics, courtyard fountains

---

[196] Cintas (1951) and (1954) for earlier excavations.

and architectural decoration. These excavations were controlled poorly and published incompletely, with little reporting of finds, and insecure chronological foundations.[197]

The recent excavations have not yet had sufficient time to produce any synthesis of the excavations at the site relevant to its early history. As such, the relationship between Carthage and Utica cannot be directly determined. Inscriptions have yet to be published from the site and thus no direct indications of Utica's governmental institutions have been discovered.

The Indigenous Population of North Africa: The Numidians of the Medjerda and Siliana River Valleys

Carthaginian populations heavily colonized the area around modern Bou Arada. The territory is located 60- 90 km southwest of the metropole in a varied agricultural territory, part of the wider Medjerda and Miliane River valley systems. Desertification has rendered the area less productive than in antiquity, but vestiges of the rivers, terrain, and climate remain. The most important tributary in the area was the Siliana River, which extended all the way from the Medjerda River to Mactaris, a site settled by Carthaginian populations, as demonstrated by the presence of Shofets at the site.[198]

---

[197] Hay et al. (2010), 325-326.

[198] Manfredi (2003), 383.

Image 18: Bou Arada and it Agricultural Territories

Image © 2012 Google Earth

Small foundations near Bou Arada attest to the spread of Carthaginian institutions to multiple polities in this geographic area. A neo-Punic inscription recovered at Tepelte demonstrates that the office of Shofet remained in use during the Roman Period: "Maximus, Saturni f(ilius) et L (ucius), Lucisci f(ilius) sufetes curaverunt."[199] At Avitta Bibba, the same evidence exists until 137 C.E., when the city was converted into a municipium and lost its existing institutions. "Manlius Honoratus et Iulius Metellus, sufetes, faciundam curaverunt."[200] At Biracsaccar and

---

[199] CIL 8.12248= Zucca (2004), Inscription #29 Africa

[200] CIL 8.797 = ILS 6798= Zucca (2004), Inscription #30 Africa

Aradi, inscriptions record a Latin translation of the standard Carthaginian dating formula: "anno sufetum".[201] Similar evidence exists at Thaca, 30 km to the east of Bou Arada. Dating by Shofet is used in an inscription from the 2nd century CE: "suf(etibus) Felice (et) Ae…"[202]

The Numidians of western Tunisia were the most important population with whom the Carthaginians interacted in the Tunisian Sahel. Dougga (Thugga) was the main population center for the community and ultimately served as an important city-state of a kingdom, once the community achieved independence from Carthage.

---

[201] Biracsaccar= CIL 8.12286= Zucca (2004), Inscription #31Africa/ Aradi= CIL 8.23867= Zucca (2004), Inscription #32 Africa.

[202] CIL 8.11193= Zucca (2004), Inscription #38 Africa

Image 19: Dougga, Tunisia: The Archaeological Remains

Image © 2012 Google Earth

Though the exact date at which the Numidians began to be incorporated into the

Carthaginian Empire is unknown, an epigraph attests to their liberation from Carthaginian

imperial control during the 2nd Punic War.[203] In 139/138 BCE, the community decided to

construct a temple to Masinissa, the founder of their kingdom (ruled 206-148 BCE). The

dedication of the temple is preserved in a bilingual Punic-Libyan text. *KAI* 101:

‘ת מקדש ז בנא בעלא תבגג למסנסן הממלכת בן געיי הממלכת בן זללסן השפט’

---

[203] Manfredi (2003), 440 conjectures that the process began in the 4th century based on archaeological evidence from the necropoleis.

'This Sanctuary, The Citizens of Thugga built to Masinissa the King, son of Gaio the King, son of Zilalsan, the Shofet…'

From the inscription, it is evident that Numidia established its independence from Carthage during the 2nd Punic War, as Masinissa's father, who died in 206 is denominated a king in this inscription, whereas his grandfather possesses the title Shofet Similar inscriptions from the area around Dougga also attest to Carthaginian imperialism at smaller communities in the area. At Althiburos, the settlement had three Shofets per year in contrast to the normal custom of two.[204] The same was true at Mactaris further to the east in the Siliana River valley, which indicates that the same Numidian populations were resident in both areas.[205]

North of this area, near the modern city of Beja, Carthaginian colonization was also extensive. The area provides an excellent agricultural territory with varied climates and geography. Cereals are easily grown in the plains of the area.[206] The majority of ancient occupations in this area are located on hilltops or elevated above flat agricultural plains.[207] The most important site for Carthage was its colony at Beja (ancient Vaga), which later became an important Roman colony.[208]

Carthaginian Colonization in Algeria and Morocco

[204] KAI 159= Zucca (2004), Inscription #49 Africa

[205] KAI 146= Zucca (2004), Inscription #50 Africa

[206] Mahjoubi (1978), 13-15.

[207] Mahjoubi (1978), 24-25.

[208] Mahjoubi (1978), 43

Carthaginian expansion into Algeria occurred at some point between 500 BCE and 400 BCE. However, the archaeology of most of the Carthaginian foundations in this area is limited. The most important foundation in the area was at Cirta (modern Constantine, Algeria). Here, more the 850 steles, both Punic and Neo-Punic, have been recovered from the Tophet at the city-state.[209]

Cirta became the capital of the Numidian Kingdom upon its independence from Carthage. However, the city preserved a record of its Carthaginian origins after independence. A coin from the 2nd or 1st century BCE, records the Shofets of the year: 'שפטם' 'בדמלקרת' and "הנא" 'Being Shofets, Bodmelqart and Hanno'.[210] Another inscription from the same period preserves a dedication to Baal and Tanit.[211] Cirta was the most western extension of Carthaginian colonization along the Medjerda River Valley. Therefore, it represented an extension of the same process of colonization that occurred at Dougga and other sites in Western Tunisia.

In contrast, Carthage also founded coastal colonies in Algeria, which were connected to the metropole through coastal transshipment rather than rivers. One of the most well known sites is Tipasa, where evidence of Carthaginian occupation is concentrated in the 5th-1st centuries BCE. However, excavations at the site have only focused on two separate necropoleis. Furthermore, 2 kilometers separate the necropoleis, which suggest that more than one urbanized area may have existed in the region. In the necropolis excavated by Lancel in the 1960s, the earliest tombs date to the very end of the 6th century. Attic and Ionian ceramics are found in the

---

[209] Manfredi (2003), 466.

[210] Zucca (2004), Inscription #60 Africa.

[211] Zucca (2004), Inscription #61 Africa.

earliest tombs as well as ceramics from Phoenician polities in Iberia. Both classes of artifacts disappear from the tombs at Tipasa by the mid 4th century BCE.[212]

Organization by Shofet is also attested as far west as Morocco. At Volubilis, a series of inscriptions from the period 150-50 BCE indicate that the office of Shofet was in use at the city-state. One inscription from a tomb lists multiple generations of Shofet as part of a genealogy. The inscription appears to record six generations of antecedents for the deceased. Of these six generations, four of his ancestors held the position of Shofet, going back to the fifth generation.[213]

Conclusions

From the evidence presented above, it is possible to demonstrate an extensive Carthaginian colonial penetration into North Africa during the 6th-4th centuries BCE. In the Cap Bon, the sites at Kerkouane, Ras ed Drek, Aspis, and Korba were initial permanent colonies that supported expansion into the interior of the Peninsula. The majority of these developments in the Cap Bon occurred between 550-400 BCE. By 400 BCE, Carthage had converted the inhabitants of the area into dependents of the Carthaginian Empire. Control of the Cap Bon peninsula was complete by this period and the 4th century witnessed an efflorescence of villas and other unprotected agricultural sites.

Colonization also occurred to the south of the Cap Bon, as Carthage developed the sites at Sousse, Sabratha, and Leptis Magna (see next chapter for discussion of Leptis). In

---

[212] Lancel (1992), 113-115.

[213] Zucca (2004), Inscription #64 Africa.

constructing this colonial network, Carthage not only increased its agricultural territories but also developed a series of reliable ports to support trade with Athens via the Cyrenaica. It is likely, based on the agricultural nature of these colonies, that products were added to shipments emanating from Carthage. Aspis, later Clipea, and Leptis Magna played important roles in this trade route. Ships had a variety of possible routes by which they could move between these two Carthaginian colonies creating a network of branches that united a great variety of resources at these two sites.

In the 5th and 4th centuries, Carthage expanded to the west and southwest. They appear to have intensely occupied the areas around modern Bou Arada and Dougga in the Sahel. These sites served to draw Numidian populations in the area into permanently occupied sites. Carthaginian institutions appear at multiple Numidian population centers in addition to Carthaginian colonies. Colonization at Cirta and Tipasa in the 5th century expanded Carthaginian control further to the west. The Numidian populations in this area were related to the population resident in western Tunisia. Thus colonization in Algeria further served to hem in this Numidian population and ensure its subordination to Carthaginian control. When Masinissa founded the Numidian Kingdom in the very late 3rd century, the former Carthaginian colony at Cirta became his capital and Dougga the second most important city-state of the kingdom. The infrastructure of Carthaginian control thus became the power basis for the newly founded Kingdom of Numidia.

Chapter 5: The Archaeology of Carthaginian Expansion Overseas

The First Carthaginian Overseas Colony

Many scholars argue that Carthage was a participant in the general process of Phoenician secondary colonization beginning in the 7th century.[1] More importantly, these scholars argue that Carthage's first colonies were located overseas, either in Ibiza or Sardinia. Carthage's first colony, in reconstructions that are maximally dependent on the ancient sources, was located on Ibiza.[2]

From excavations in the 1970s and 1980s, archaeologists determined that the foundation on Ibiza had two distinct phases of material culture. The first phase of occupation shares similarities with the material culture of Phoenician foundations in Iberia and Sardinia. It dates to the 7th and 6th centuries BCE. The site was likely as secondary foundation from a colony in Sardinia or Iberia.[3] Carthaginian ceramics become common at the site in the late 6th century, which has led certain scholars to argue that Ibiza was conquered at this time by Carthage.[4] For Costa and Fernandez, the increase in Carthaginian ceramics, when combined with evidence of new burial customs and architecture indicated the establishment of a Carthaginian colony at the site.[5] However, the ceramic evidence at Ibiza is reflective of an increase in Carthaginian trade and has no relationship to Carthaginian colonization. No other evidence indicates the

---

[1] Fantar (1993) II, 7: "L'historiographie contemporaine est quasi unanime à reconnaître qu'à partir du VIIe siècle avant J.C., Carthage devint, en Méditerranée occidentale, responsable de la pérennité et de la sécurité d'un vaste empire."

[2] Primarily Diodorus Siculus 5.16

[3] See Barceló (1983-84) and (1985).

[4] Costa and Fernandez (1997); Moscati (1994), 63.

[5] Costa and Fernandez (1997), 410: "A partir del último tercio del siglo VI a.C., la arqueología refleja una serie de cambios que se han podido documentar principalmente en la necrópolis del puig des Molins…En primer lugar la introducción del ritual de la inhumación."

establishment of a Carthaginian colony at Ibiza outside of the ceramic record.[6] The introduction

of new burial customs is likely explained by the increased wealth of the Phoenician settlement on

Ibiza in this period. Ceramic production and other evidence of productive agriculture for export

also begin to emerge in the archaeological record at this time. This increase in productive

activities resulted from the extension of Phoenician sites throughout the island in the 6th- 4th

centuries BCE.[7]

Whether or not scholars believe the first Carthaginian colony was at Ibiza, the present

scholarly consensus argues that Carthaginian colonialism began in the mid-6th c BCE as part of

the development of the Carthaginian Empire in Sardinia and Sicily. Moscati has argued that the

ancient sources describe Carthaginian military campaigns which are corroborated

archaeologically in Sardinia from mid-6th century.[8] In this reconstruction, Carthage either

directly attacked existing Phoenician city states and/or their dependent colonies or forced these

city-states to submit to Carthaginian imperial control with the threat of violence. Destruction

layers at Cucurredus and Monte Sirai have been important to Moscati's reconstruction.[9]

Monte Sirai, near Sulcis in Sardinia, has often been employed as conformational evidence

for the Carthaginian invasion of Sardinia. In the mid 6th century, the walls at the site shows

evidence of destruction as do multiple structures within the walls. Two theories have been put

forward by the excavators at Monte Sirai in order to explain the destruction layer and the events

---

[6] The only possible indication of Carthaginian institutions on the island is dated after the 5th century BCE. KAI 72= Amadasi (1967), Spain #10 is bronze plaque that was related to a temple complex on the island. The original dedication of the temple to Reshep-Melqart was made in the 5th century BCE. In the first decades of the 2nd century BCE, a rededication was made at the site to Tanit by a priest of Tanit. The rededication is too late to suggest Carthaginian colonization of the island. However, it may serve as evidence of Carthaginian trading colony on Ibiza after the 2nd Punic War.

[7] Costa and Fernandez (1997), 411-413 and 417-418

[8] Moscati (1994)

[9] Krings (1998), 87-91 notes the problems with Moscati's reconstruction, but ultimately decides not to pursue the archaeological issues in her study. 91: "il n'entre pas dans mes intentions de mettre en doute sur le fond la théorie de S. Moscati, notamment dans ses aspects archéologiques, dont la prise en compte dépasse le cadre de cette étude."

that followed.[10] Certain excavators have argued the mid-6th century destruction layer was

evidence of a Sardinian attack on the fort. They believe the restoration of the wall was the result

of arrival of Carthage and the implantation of a Carthaginian garrison in the late 6th century.[11]

Other excavators have argued that the destruction of the fort was the result of Carthaginian

conquest; however, they argue that Carthage did not reoccupy the site until the mid 4th century

BCE. Piga et al. comment:

> It is documented that around the year 540 BC, Carthago decided to subject the island to
> military occupation, but a coalition of Phoenician cities in Sardinia, certainly involving
> Sulcis and Mount Sirai, firmly resisted this expansion. However, a few years later
> Carthago organised a second military expedition that defeated the Phoenician alliance.
> The population of Mount Sirai was massacred and the city almost completely destroyed.
> It is estimated that after this event only a dozen families were inhabiting the village. This
> situation remained approximately the same until 360 BC, when Carthago decided to
> strengthen various Sardinian sites, including Mount Sirai.[12]

The basis for these differences of scholarly opinion is the near absence of 5th century

artifacts at Monte Sirai. M.H. Fantar recognized this fact in the third season of excavation. In

order not to upset the existing interpretation of the site, he argued that the absence of securely

dated 5th century remains was the result of only garrisoning at the site and not a permanent

reoccupation by Carthage.[13] He based this belief on Barreca's report from the keep and the

ancient sources. Barreca believed he had uncovered 5th century evidence.[14] However, his

evidence amounts to a single lamp and potsherds with dates anywhere from the 6th-3rd centuries

BCE.[15]

---

[10] Amadasi et al. (1965), 70
[11] Amadasi et al. (1965), 70
[12] Piga et al. (2010), 144-145
[13] Amadasi et al. (1966), 70.
[14] Amadasi et al. (1966), 10; Amadasi et al. (1967), 23-25
[15] Amadasi et al. (1966), 15 and 28. It must be noted that Barreca hides his doubts about the dates of the potsherds
within a footnote. He extends their chronological range by a century from the dates he gives in the body of the text.
In subsequent seasons of excavation, Barreca continued to assign artifacts to the fifth century BCE. See Amadasi et
al. (1967), 13.

In sum, it is clear that Monte Sirai was effectively abandoned during the 5th century BCE. The small quantity of artifacts which have possible 5th century dates is exiguous when compared to the evidence for occupation in the 7th-6th and 4th-3rd centuries BCE. Furthermore, the evidence from the Tophet, which is often used to prove a 5th century occupation at Monte Sirai, does not yield a single artifact which can be securely dated to the 5th century. All finds fall into broad chronological ranges which include the 4th and often 3rd centuries. The original excavators of Monte Sirai argued that the Tophet had two archaeological strata. The first dates to the 5th -4th centuries BCE. The second and last phase dates to the 3rd- 1st centuries BCE.[16] However, this periodization was based on 10 recovered funerary urns.[17] Bondì demonstrated that no chronological conclusions could be drawn from the excavations of the Tophet. In his study of the stele recovered from the Tophet, he notes: "Alla risoluzione del complesso problema della datazione delle stele di Monte Sirai nessun contributo può venire dalle modalità del ritrovamento: tutti gli esemplari, infatti, sono stati rinvenuti fuori strato…il terreno archeologico nella zona del Tophet non supera la profundità di cm. 50."[18]

All of the archaic steles from the Tophet are also anepigraphic at Monte Sirai, which prohibits paleographic dating methods.[19] The only method thus far proposed to date the recovered examples is through stylistic comparisons with other Tophets.[20] Consequently, the fifth century occupation of the Tophet at Monte Sirai cannot be proven. It remains, furthermore, unlikely that any activity occurred at the Tophet while the rest of the site was abandoned.

---

[16] Barreca and Garbini (1964), 22
[17] Barreca and Garbini (1964), 21
[18] Bondì (1972), 38.
[19] The epigraphic record at Monte Sirai is primarily confined to later periods. See Amadasi (1967), Sardinia #39 (4th-3rd century); Sardinia #42 (3rd-2nd century).
[20] Bondì (1972), 39-40.

When the archaeological evidence is viewed in its totality, it is clear that there are two distinct phases of occupation at Monte Sirai. The first phase dates to the 7th-6th centuries BCE and the second to the 4th-3rd centuries BCE.[21] Major transitions in the use of the site are visible in both of these periods. The walls at Monte Sirai were constructed in the 7th century and then renovated in the 4th/3rd century BCE.[22] The necropoleis offer the same evidence. One phase of burials dates to the 7th-6th centuries, the other to the 4th-3rd centuries. In the second phase, the majority of ceramic evidence comes from the 3rd century BCE.[23] The excavators of the necropolis took note of the absence of 5th century ceramics from the first season of excavations.[24]

---

[21] Piga et al. (2010) argue that certain tombs may date to 500-480 BCE. However, no tombs are securely attested for the period between 480- 350 BCE. See also Barreca and Garbini (1964), 60.
[22] Barreca and Garbini (1964), 14-17.
[23] Barreca and Garbini (1964), 46; Amadasi et al. (1965), 102; Amadasi et al. (1966), 64-70.
[24] Barreca and Garbini (1964), 44-46. Of the three tombs excavated by the team in the first season, only one artifact had a probable date of 5th-4th centuries BCE (Scarab find no. 61/155: Barreca and Garbini (1964), 52).

Image 20: Monte Sirai

Confirmation of the 5th century abandonment of Monte Sirai is best evidenced by the

archaeological history of other Phoenician sites in the geographic vicinity. To the southeast of

Monte Sirai, about 1km, archaeologists have investigated a Nuraghic tower complex that became

a Phoenician fortress.[25] 8th century pottery is found throughout the site; however, it is not

associated with the Phoenician occupation but rather appears to have been an indication of trade

---

[25] Perra (2005). It should be noted that the excavation of Nuraghe Sirai constitutes a much better archaeological record of Phoenician/Carthaginian activities in the area. The site was left untouched until the end of the 20th century. As such, the archaeological intervention at the site benefitted from all of the current advances in archaeological and scientific techniques. Nuraghe Sirai was published after excavations had been completed, and unified interpretations agreed to. In contrast, the excavations at Monte Sirai were published annually. Furthermore, Monte Sirai was excavated by committee. It is clear from the excavations reports that unified interpretations of Monte Sirai were not agreed to before the publication of excavation reports. Disjunction results from the fact that archaeological techniques in the 1960s and 1970s were inferior to those used today. Constant references are made to the ancient sources in the excavation reports at Monte Sirai, a practice no longer undertaken.

between Sulcis and the Nuraghic inhabitants at the site. The Phoenician fortress subsequently

incorporated the existing Nuraghic towers into its designs. The artifacts associated with the

fortress indicate that it was constructed in the late-7th century BCE. The primary transport

amphora types are T-3.1.1.1., which are produced in Sardinia. The examples from this site

appear to originate at Sulcis. The entire fortress was surrounded with a perimeter wall enclosing

c.1 hectare. Between the central complex of the fortress and the walls, archaeologists have

uncovered a variety of structures. At present, no analogous site has been found in Sardinia. The

site does not appear to be a simple fortress, such as Monte Sirai. Though it is the size of a small

urban center, no other urban center in Sardinia has a central fortress.[26] Nuraghe Sirai was

abandoned in the very late-6th century BCE and remained uninhabited during the 5th century. The

excavators concluded, "Sono stati rinvenuti materiali più recenti (V secolo a.C.), in una quantità

proporzionalmente esigua a fronte di un orizzonte omogeneo di VI secolo a.C., che testimoniano

dunque una sporadica frequentazione della zona dell'insediamento, certamente come riparo

estemporaneo, anche nel secolo successivo." [27] Thus the example of Nuraghe Sirai confirms

what was already demonstrated at Monte Sirai. The Phoenician inhabitants of both sites had

abandoned these areas in the 5th century BCE. Because both sites appear to have derived from

Sulcis, it is likely that the colonists returned to this site in the late 6th century.

In addition to the evidence from Monte Sirai, Moscati has argued that general transitions

in certain activities or constructions techniques support the identification of Carthaginian

colonies from the mid 6th century. First, the majority of Phoenician sites in Sardinia adopt

inhumation burials in rock cut tombs during the mid-6th century.[28] Second, steles begin to appear

at Tophets in Sardinia, a change that is chronologically contemporaneous with what occurs at

---

[26] Perra (2005), 196
[27] Perra (2005), 196.
[28] Moscati (1994), 97

Carthage.[29] Finally, Moscati has argued that the appearance of walled sites indicates the

establishment of Carthage in a particular area.[30]

However, all of Moscati's indications of change are not 'per se' evidence of conquest or

imperial activity. The only reason to ascribe these changes to Carthaginian conquest remains the

alleged campaigns of Carthaginian armies in Sardinia and Sicily recorded in Justin's *Epitome*.[31]

Archaeological evidence indicates that sites were always walled in the western Mediterranean,

and city-states regularly reworked their walls to deal with expansion. Lopez Castro:

> Quizás ha llegado el momento de abrir el debate sobre la fortificación de los territorios de las ciudades fenicias. Algo que no debe parecer extraño *a priori*, toda vez que sabemos que los fenicios occidentales fortificaban sus ciudades, como sucede en Doña Blanca, *Malaka*, o *Carteia*, por citar tres ejemplos de murallas urbanas datadas en los siglos VI-IV a.C. También sabemos que durante el Periodo Colonial llegado el caso protegían el territorio con asentamientos fortificados, como demuestra el asentamiento del Cabezo del Estaño en relación con La Fonteta, en Alicante.[32]

Changes in burial customs have no relationship to imperialism or Carthage. Carthaginian

burial customs are not uniform in any period. As discussed in Chapter 4, transitions in burial

customs at Carthage appear related to space constraints rather than religious beliefs. Moreover,

in Sardinia, changes in burial customs begin to occur in the 7th century before any scholar

proposes Carthaginian involvement in the area.[33] Finally, as argued in the introduction, the

Tophet develops at all sites in Sardinia in the 7th and 6th century. Each Tophet has slightly

different rituals and practices. The cult of Tanit, which actually was a Carthaginian invention,

shows little penetration into foreign Tophets. Thus none of Moscati's proposed archaeological

indications of Carthaginian imperialism actually relate to the imposition of imperial control.

---

[29] Moscati (1994), 105

[30] "La cinta muraria e uno dei segni piu imponenti della nuova politica di Cartagine." Moscati (1994), 105

[31] Krings (1998), 87-91 discusses how the Malchus legend was fitted to the archaeological record by S. Moscati.

[32] Lopez Castro (2008), 159.

[33] Van Dommelen (1998), 124. See the Graph at the top of the page.

Evidence of Carthaginian imperialism in Sicily and Sardinia cannot be found before the very late

5th century, when the epigraphic and archaeological records begin to attest to Carthaginian

colonization and the establishment of Carthaginian institutions at dependent polities in Sicily and

Sardinia.

Carthaginian Imperial Expansion

Pre-existing Phoenicians foundation occupied the best ports on well-developed trade

routes. Carthaginian expansion into Sicily, Sardinia, or Iberia would have required the cooption

of one of these city-states into the Carthaginian Empire. Integration into the Carthaginian Empire

meant the substitution of existing city-state institutions for those developed in Carthage. In this

chapter, I argue that epigraphic evidence reveals the spread of Carthaginian imperial control to a

number of important pre-existing Phoenician city-states in Sardinia and certain polities in Sicily,

both Greek and Phoenician. The archaeological and epigraphic records do not yield any evidence

of Carthaginian imperial control in the Iberian Peninsula.

Carthage invaded southern Sicily in the late-5th century BCE. Its attacks were directed at

Greek city-states in the area. The most important conquest was at Selinunte, a site which

Carthage converted into a colony in last decade of the 5th century. The destruction of Himera and

the conquests of Akragas and Naxos followed in short order; however, the archaeology of these

city-states shows less evidence of Carthaginian colonization or the exertion of imperial control.

Through these events, Carthage managed to bring about the destruction of Mozia in 397 BCE,

which Syracuse attacked as part of its retaliation against Carthaginian invasions. Mozia, though

Phoenician, was a major impediment to Carthaginian economic development in Sicily, as it

occupied the most important transshipment point. Subsequent to the Greek destruction of Mozia, Carthage seized the opportunity to replace Mozia with its own colony at Lilybaeum (located on the mainland across from Mozia). Through colonization at Lilybaeum, Carthage gained effective control of all trade that moved around the southern half of Sicily.

In Sardinia, the archaeological and epigraphic records attest to Carthaginian imperial control over Tharros, Sulcis and Caralis. From these co-opted city-states, Carthage was able to found a series of secondary foundations in inland Sardinia. Also, Carthage appears to have created a single new colony in Sardinia at Olbia. This site, which is the nearest port to mainland Italy, was essential in the development of Carthaginian trade with Marseille and Northern Italy.

Unlike the evidence from Sardinia, no inscriptions indicate the establishment of Carthaginian colonies or imperial control over existing polities in the Iberian Peninsula. Absent any epigraphic evidence to support Carthaginian expansion into the peninsula, I propose in this chapter that most Phoenician city-states maintained their independence until the Roman conquest of the area. Carthage constructed two colonies at Cartagena and Akra Leuke; however, the Carthaginian occupations of these sites was so short lived that almost nothing remains archaeologically to attest to their presence.

The Carthaginian Invasion of Sicily: The Start of Overseas Imperialism

The 6th century BCE, in Sicily, begins a period of military and political instability on the island that would last until the Roman conquest. Scholars have traditionally focused their attention on Greek v. Carthaginian violence, as recorded in the Greco-Roman sources. Krings comments, " Les entreprises du Lacédémonien Dorieus ont été considérées comme une

illustration de l'incessant conflit qui, à la fin du VIe et au Ve s., aurait oppose les Grecs aux Carthaginois pour l'hégémonie de la Sicile, voire de la Méditerranée occidentale." [34]

Archaeologically, the evidence from multiple city-states in Sicily reveals indications of violent interactions between polities in western Sicily (see Appendix A for Central Sicily). Warfare appears to have broken down economic exchange networks, which led to a period of relative impoverishment. Multiple Sicilian city-states are destroyed or abandoned between 500-450 BCE.[35] Certain scholars have argued that this period of instability in Sicily resulted from the Battle of Himera and the introduction of Carthaginian imperial power into Sicily (480 BCE), though other scholars maintain that this violence began in the 6th century BCE.[36] During the period 550-450 BCE, the archaeological record at many Sicilian city-states, Elymian and Greek, demonstrates a cessation of new building activities and by extension physical growth at these colonies.

In this section, I argue that violence in Sicily does not depend on incessant conflicts between Greeks and Carthaginians until the 4th century. The Carthaginians, in point of fact, do not undertake the conquest of Sicily until the end of the 5th century. In contrast to previous reconstructions, I demonstrate in this section that the primary sources of instability in the late 6th and 5th century are the Sicilian and Greek city-states in Sicily. In western Sicily, it appears that Elymian populations and the Greek colony at Segesta engaged in a protracted series of conflicts throughout the late-6th and early-5th centuries BCE (See appendix A for a similar process near

---

[34] Krings (1998), 161. See also: Herodotus 5.39-48

[35] See Vassallo (2000) for a list of all the relevant sites in central Sicily.

[36] Vassallo (2000), 983 ascribed this transition to the Battle of Himera in 480 and the introduction of foreign imperial powers. "In particolare, ciò che pare emergere con sempre maggiore nitidezza, in numerosi abitati di quest'area dell'isola, sono i segni di una fase critica, e in alcuni casi di distruzione o di abbandono, a partire dal secondo ventennio del V sec. a. C."

Morgantina in central Sicily). [37] Through this constant warfare, multiple polities in western Sicily began to search for external sources of military power.

External sources of violence enter Sicily at the end of the 5th century. Athenian interests in the island culminated in two series of campaigns: 427-425 (in aid of Leontini) and 415-413 (the Sicilian Expedition). The Carthaginian conquest of Sicily began after the end of the Athenian expedition. In a series of campaigns, Greek city-states appear to have fallen under attack as the Carthaginians slowly moved east. Himera and Selinunte were the first Greek cities to be destroyed in 409 BCE. In 406, the Carthaginians captured Agrigentum, followed by the conquest of Gela and Kamarina in 405.[38]

During the 4th and 3rd centuries, conflicts between Carthage, Syracuse, and finally Rome supplant Greek and indigenous violence as the primary source of instability in Sicily. For native populations of Sicily, the introduction of foreign imperial powers in late 5th century led to a steady decline at Sicilian polities resulting in their ultimate incorporation into the Roman Empire after the 1st Punic War.

The exact motives behind the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily in 410-409 BCE are unclear. Under the influence of the Greco-Roman sources, scholars have argued that Carthage was already active in Sicily for more than a century by 410 BCE. The First Battle of Himera in 480 BCE serves as pretext for the later Carthaginian invasion, as the Carthaginians sought revenge for their earlier defeat. In contrast, in this chapter, I present evidence that Carthage had never invaded Sicily, constructed colonies or taken any direct interest in Sicily before 409 BCE.

---

[37] Diodorus Siculus 5.9, followed by many modern reconstructions, argues that Segesta and Selinunte were at war as early as 580 BCE. He introduces this story in order to discuss the Pentathlos Affair and his involvement in the conflict. See Krings (1998), 1-32 for a complete discussion.
[38] Diodorus Siculus 13.54-63 and 13.80-96.

I argue that Carthaginian interest in the conquest of Sicily was brought about by multiple factors, some immediate and others long-term.

The immediate pretexts for the Carthaginian invasion were the instability caused by the Athenian Expedition when combined with the loss of Syracusean forces to the Peloponnesian War. Xenophon notes Syracusean vessels had become involved in naval battles as part of the Peloponnesian War, most notably at Cyzicus in 410 BCE, where Syracuse lost 30 ships.[39]

Over the long-term, western Sicily had been greatly weakened by conflicts over the past century as a result of warfare between inhabitants of the island. Most importantly, in western Sicily, the Elymian community based at Segesta had been constantly threatened by the Greek colony at Selinunte for more than a century. These factors, when combined, placed Sicily in a particularly weak position to defend itself against a foreign invasion by 409 BCE. Carthage thus seized on the pretext of its relationship with Segesta in order to advance its armies against Himera and Selinunte.

Sicily in the 6th- 4th centuries BCE

The Elymians

The composition of ceramics produced at Elymian sites allows for the identification of five separate groups of Elymian populations in western Sicily. Each of these areas consists of a group of villages, sometimes with a developing city serving as the central point of redistribution and exchange. A well excavated example of an Elymian population comes from the archaeological record of Segesta and its dependent villages. Segesta sits c. 40 km east of Mozia in a mountainous area. Elymian populations founded sites at nearly all the important hill tops

---

[39] Xenophon, *Hellenica*: 1.2

near Segesta: Monte Polizzo, Salemi, and Montagna Grande. The ceramics recovered from excavations at these sites indicate a single source of clay and other evidence of economic cooperation. [40] It is likely that Monte Polizzo, Salemi, and Montagna Grande were dependent villages of Segesta. Outside of this area, pottery from Segesta and its dependent villages has been recovered at Montagnoli, located to the southeast of Segesta near the Greek foundation at Selinunte. Montagnoli was a separate Elymian population center, which was not part of Segesta's area of influence. It served as a center of indigenous exchange in products destined for Selinunte in the 5th century BCE, due to its geographic proximity to the Greek colony.[41]

Because of subsequent occupations at Segesta and other major Elymian population centers, the history of primary Elymian settlements is largely unknown.[42] The most comprehensive excavations have occurred at villages/towns associated with these urban centers. Monte Polizzo, a village located to southwest of Segesta near Montagna Grande, is the most thoroughly excavated of all the Elymian sites in the Segesta area.[43]

On the acropolis of Monte Polizzo, a team from Stanford University undertook an excavation to determine the entire history of the site's use. Multiples zones for excavation, labeled A, B, C…, were identified. Excavations began in Zones A and B. A building in Zone A revealed no securely dated artifacts for its first strata of use. In the destruction layers of the building, which contains mixed rubble from its collapse, excavations uncovered: an Attic black glaze cup (525-500 BCE), a Phoenician bead (11th-3rd centuries BCE), a Phoenician style

---

[40] Kolb and Speakman (2005), 801: "Interestingly, the spatial distribution of EL-1(N=35) includes the settlements of Segesta, Montagne Grande, Monte Polizzo, and Salemi, all located west of the Belice valley. This western distribution appears to correspond with epigraphic data regarding the presence of an Elymian ethic identity (ca. 5th century BCE) centered at Segesta. Although the majority of samples were found at Monte Polizzo (due to a sampling bias), it appears that all five settlements shared a common clay source, although at this point the geographic extent of this source is unknown. This suggests strong economic ties."
[41] Kolb and Speakman (2005), 801.
[42] Morris (2003), 289-290
[43] Morris et al. (2001), (2002), (2003), (2004).

cooking pot (7th-6th centuries BCE). The Phoenician style cooking pot shows parallels to

examples recovered at Panormus and Mozia. Outside of archaeological strata but associated with

the same structure, the excavators recovered Attic black glaze sherds.[44] A building in zone B, at

the other end of the Acropolis, revealed similar finds including Attic black glaze sherds and

Phoenician ceramics.[45] The black glaze wares date to c. 500 BCE.[46] Building from this

foundation, the Stanford team used subsequent field seasons to clarify the ceramic sequences

recovered from the acropolis. Ultimately, the archaeologists divided the stratigraphy into periods

that broadly reflect changes in archaeological culture at the site: Period I (Bronze Age), Period II

(Iron Age), Period III (Late 4th century BCE), Period IV (Medieval Period) and Period V (20th

century). For this study, only the evidence of Periods II and III is relevant. Period II was

subdivided into four different sub-periods using distinct ceramic assemblages on the acropolis to

provide chronological divisions. The excavators denominated these sub-periods: IIa, IIb, IIc, and

IId. Of these strata, Subperiod IIc was found in all areas excavated on the acropolis.[47] The

periods per the excavators:

> Subperiod II.a: Little or no Greek pottery. Probably dates ca. 650-600 B.C.
> Subperiod II.b: Corinthian with some East Greek pottery. Probably ca. 600-575 B.C.
> Subperiod IIc: East Greek with some Corinthian pottery. Probably ca. 575-525 B.C.
> Subperiod IId: East Greek with some Attic black glaze pottery. Probably ca. 550-525 B.C. [48]

The faunal remains recovered at Monte Polizzo (c.650-525 BCE) indicate that the

population residing in this area had access to barley, free-threshing wheat and emmer during the

7th and 6th centuries BCE.[49] At its population peak in the mid 6th century, Monte Polizzo likely

---

[44] Morris et al. (2001), 260-262.
[45] Morris et al. (2001), 265-266.
[46] Morris et al. (2002), 175.
[47] Other subperiods are only evidenced in certain areas. See Morris et al. (2004), 201-204
[48] Morris et al. (2004), 201.
[49] Morris et al. (2003), 304-305. Sitka et al. (2008).

housed 1500 occupants.[50] The predomination of grain in the faunal remains indicates an intense

focus on the cultivation of these crops during the period 650-525 BCE. The soils located in the

valleys near Monte Polizzo are fertile enough to produce these three types of grain and receive

enough rain during the period October-March to ensure production. Excavations at Monte

Polizzo demonstrate a high barley share in the local diet, though the community produced free-

threshing wheat and emmer. [51] Due to the absence of vineyards or wine presses, it is clear that all

of the wine at the site was imported. In addition, few grape seeds have been uncovered in the

faunal remains. The same is true of olive oil production, as no olive stones have been found.[52]

Moreover, olive oil does not appear to have been a desired commodity at the site. All storage

vessels recovered and subjected to gas chromatography show that the vessels contained animal

or milk fats.[53]

From pottery samples recovered at Monte Polizzo, it is evident that Greek imports were

increasing over the course of the 6th century. Morris et al. comment:

> These preliminary data suggest that quantities of imported pottery were low in the sixth
> century and that to call Elymian material culture "Hellenized" around 550-525 B.C.
> would be an exaggeration. However, quantities were increasing at an average rate of 1-2
> percent per annum, meaning that the proportion of Greek material in use would double in
> roughly forty years. If this rate of change continued across the sixth and fifth centuries,
> the ceramic assemblage would have been overwhelmingly Greek by 400 B.C.[54]

Evidence from archaeobotanical remains at Selinunte indicates that Elymian communities

likely exported much of the free-threshing wheat that they grew during the 7th-6th centuries. Free-

threshing wheat is the most common grain recovered at Selinunte; however, the soils around

---

[50] Morris et al. (2004), 198
[51] Sitka et al. (2008), S 141
[52] Morris et al. (2003), 308
[53] Morris et al. (2004), 242; Sitka et al. (2008), S146 note that after the abandonment of Monte Polizzo c. 525, other
Elymian towns do develop olive cultivation in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, most notably at Salemi.
[54] Morris et al. (2004), 241.

Selinunte are insufficiently fertile to support widespread cultivation of the crop. Moreover, the

area receives only half of the precipitation of Monte Polizzo.[55]

Selinunte was founded c. 625 BCE. Its first major phase of urban development occurred

c. 580-570 BCE, when the city-state began to develop public spaces and monumental

architecture. By 550 BCE, Selinunte had grown sufficiently that a new colony was needed for

the city-state. A secondary foundation was thus created at Heraclea Minoa, between Selinunte

and the Greek colony at Agrigentum.[56] The acropolis at Selinunte received monumental

structures c. 500 BCE. In the early fifth century, post 480 BCE, Selinunte reworked it walls and

extended them to it ports facilities. The period of growth during the 6th and early 5th century BCE

should be connected to the evidence of trade between Selinunte and Elymian populations in

western Sicily.[57] The archaeology at Monte Polizzo bears witness to this trade route during the

6th century: "Seventy percent of the Greek sherds have a fabric we are calling Siceliote, generally

firing to a greenish buff color, with sandy inclusions. The fabric is common at Selinous."[58]

No activity appears to have occurred on the acropolis at Monte Polizzo between 500-350

BCE.[59] The abandonment of Monte Polizzo concurs with a general pattern of Sicilian population

aggregation at large urban areas in western Sicily during the 5th century. Thus Segesta, Eryx, and

Entella show evidence of growth concurrent to the abandonment of smaller sites.[60] It is likely

that this development is related to the outbreak of violence between Selinunte and Elymian

---

[55] Sitka et al. (2008), S141
[56] Wilson and Leonard (1980), 224-225.
[57] Martin (1977), 51-58. It should be noted that in the original report, Martin inscribes her entire interpretation of the archaeological record within the narratives provided by the Greco-Roman sources. The archaeological record itself does not provide direct evidence linking the Pentathlos Affair or the Doreius Affair directly to the growth of the city-state. Martin further argues that Selinunte did not participate in the Battle of Himera in 480 BCE due to its attempts to maintain relationship with both Greek and Phoenician city-states. The destruction of Selinunte by Carthage less than 70 years later militates against such an explanation. See Sitka et al. (2008), S141 for evidence of trade between Elymian populations and Selinunte in the archaic period.
[58] Morris et al. (2004), 241
[59] Morris et al. (2004), 217; Morris et al. (2002), 190.
[60] Vassallo (2000)

communities c. 500 BCE, when the archaeological record begins to record a series of destructions and abandonments at Elymian sites.

<u>Segesta and Selinunte: Violence in Western Sicily</u>

Population aggregation at Segesta was the result of violence between the Greek colony at Selinunte and the indigenous populations living in the Belice River Valley. The abandonment of Monte Polizzo, c. 500 BCE, is the first indication of violence near Segesta.[61] At about the same time, the indigenous foundation at Montagnoli (Menfi, Sicily) is abandoned. It represented the most geographically proximate Elymian occupied city-state to Selinunte (just east of the modern mouth the Belice River).[62] The center had acted as the primary aggregation point for Elymian imports and exports to and from Selinunte in the 6th century.[63] Further north along the Belice River, the archaeological strata at Castellazzo di Poggioreale include a destruction layer dated to the 470s BCE followed by the abandonment of the site.[64] When taken collectively, the evidence indicates a period of violence along the Belice River that led to a major reorganization in settlement patterns.

The cause of this violence may be an attempt by the Greek colony at Selinunte to conquer wheat producing areas, as a result of a reorientation of Elymian trading interests in the late 6th century and also competition with other Greek imports. Athenian imports begin to appear in the area during the very late 6th century. At Monte Polizzo, their import is confined to the period just before the destruction of the site. At the same time as Attic imports begin to increase, the

---

[61] Morris et al. (2004), 217; Morris et al. (2002), 190.
[62] Vassallo (2000), 985
[63] Kolb and Speakman (2005), 801
[64] Vassallo (2000), 986.

number of Siceliote style wares with fabric that indicates a likely place of production at

Selinunte begins to decrease.[65] This suggests that Monte Polizzo, and by extension Segesta,

began to reorient its grain exports towards new markets.

Table 2. *Main pottery types, trench OX79–80 (as percentages of the total assemblage within each layer or group of layers)*

Categories	1–2	3	4	5	6–8	9	Total sherds
Greek:							
Attic	1	1	0	0	0	0	37
Ionic	3	1	1	1	0	0	123
Corinthian	0	2	1	3	1	0	239
?Siceliote	7	13	10	9	2	2	913
Total	11	17	12	13	3	2	1312
Indigenous:							
Incised	6	6	5	7	6	7	669
Painted	0	0	0	4	11	18	403
Plain	65	56	50	53	50	28	5728
Total	71	62	55	64	67	53	6800
Amphora	3	3	2	4	1	2	293
Pithos	1	2	2	2	1	2	203
Cooking ware	14	17	33	25	29	42	2559
Total sherds	1122	3024	1364	2894	1979	391	11,171

Based on preliminary analysis in 2003 by Jeanette Cooper, University of Buffalo

Layer 1: modern tree trench
Layer 2: topsoil
Layer 3: clayey accumulation, late sixth century B.C. (subperiod II.d)
Layer 4: stony accumulation, mid sixth century B.C. (subperiod II.c)
Layer 5: silty accumulation, early sixth century B.C. (subperiod II.b)
Layers 6–8: pit, probably late seventh century B.C. (subperiod II.a)
Layer 9: clay surface with charcoal flecks, seventh century B.C. (subperiod II.a)
See figs. 2, 53, and 54 for the position of the deposit, and fig. 56 for the profile.

Figure 4: Pottery Types at Monte Polizzo

Source: Table from Morris et al. (2004), 240

In addition, Segesta began to mint its own coinage in the 5th century BCE in order to deal

with new trading partners. Issues from the 1st half of the 5th century BCE include didrachmae

with a nymph represented.[66] By the second half of the 5th century, following Syracusean

---

[65] Morris et al. (2004), 241 for a description of these pots.
[66] Cutroni Tusa (2000), 319

precedent, Segesta began to mint a series of tetradrachmae.[67] The standardization by Syracusean weights was common to nearly all polities on the island and greatly facilitated trade due to uniformity.

Thus it is plausible that Selinunte responded to a loss of wheat markets by attempting to directly conquer wheat producing areas. Through a series of conquests, this violence ultimately touched Segesta and its dependent city-states in the period 500-450 BCE. Segesta responded to Greek violence by making alliances with foreign powers, which are recorded textually and epigraphically.

The Alliance of Athens and Segesta

In either 458/457 or 418/417, Athens entered into an alliance with the Sicilian polis of Segesta. The two dates reflect over 30 years of careful consideration by scholars of the evidence preserved in an inscription recording the founding of the alliance.[68] Due to the extreme wear on the face of the inscription, most of the top half of the stone is worn away. In line 3, however, ON EPXE, remains visible. Given the known dating system for Athenian inscriptions of the second half of the 5th century, the omicron nu clearly represent the last two letters of the ruling archon for the year in which the inscription was set up. Of all the known Athenian Archons of the 5th century, scholars have identified two possible candidates to supply the missing name: Habron or Antiphon, the archons of 458/457 and 418/417 respectively.

Beginning in the 1960s, a consensus began to develop around a one of these candidates, Habron. Scholars came to this conclusion due to two paleographic features of the inscription: the

---

[67] Cutroni Tusa (2000), 321. Syracusean standards were highly common for trade during this period in the Western Mediterranean. The coinage at Massilia also adopted Syracusean standards in the fifth century. Dietler (1997), 304.

[68] Meiggs and Lewis (1969), #37; IG i^2. 19 or IG. i^3.11.

three bar sigma and the tailed rounded rho. Meiggs, through his vast study of Greek inscriptions

known at the time, proposed two rules for Athenian inscriptions that lack clear dates. First, in all

known and firmly dated inscriptions from 5th century Athens, the three bar sigma disappears

from use around 445. Second, the tailed rounded rho disappears after 438. Having devised these

rules, Meiggs argued that they require dating the alliance between Athens and Segesta, which

contains three bar sigma as well as the tailed rounded rho, to 458/457 instead of 418/417.[69] In

addition, Meiggs believed that his paleographic evidence derived further support from the

narrative of Thucydides.[70]

However, 458/457 appeared to be an unusually early date for Athenian involvement so

far west in the eyes of certain scholars. Athens' intense focus during this period on wars in

mainland Greece reinforces this imporession. Mattingly initiated the main challenge to Meiggs'

date for the Alliance of Athens and Segesta. He focused on a rider that had been attached to the

Athens-Segesta alliance. The text of the rider, he believed, indicated a later date for the original

text. After a clear *vacat* space, the rider begins "Ευφε". Scholars have traditionally restored this

phrase as: "Ευφε[μος ειπε]." A Ευφεμος was known to have been in Sicily attempting to create

an alliance between Athens and Camarina during the first year of the Sicilian Expedition. For

Mattingly, the symmetry was too great, and he proposed dating the alliance between Athens and

Segesta down to the 418/417 due to temporal proximity with the rider and the probability that

Antiphon as archon of 418/417 could supply the required omicron nu of the inscription.[71]

In addition, Mattingly considered the historical context in order to arrive at this

conclusion. Two other treaties are known between Athens and Sicilian/Southern Italian polities.

In 433/432, Athens entered into agreements with Rhegion (in Magna Graecia) and Leontini, both

---

[69] Meiggs and Lewis (1969), 81.
[70] Thucydides 6.6.
[71] Mattingly (1996), 100-106 and 473.

Greek colonial foundations.[72] The clear strategic nature of these two later arrangements led Mattingly to ask the following question: "What could have made the Athenians concern themselves with this remote Elymite community so many years before their alliances with Rhegion and Leontini [if Meiggs' dating is used]?"[73]

In the early 1990s, Mortimer Chambers proposed a scientific solution to the problem. If the letters before omicron nu in line 3 cannot be firmly identified by the human eye, then perhaps another solution was possible. He devised two methods for attempting a more firm reconstruction of the archon's name. First, Chambers measured the letter groups preserved in full on the stone and compared the results to the possible size of Habron versus Antiphon. Second, Chambers employed laser technology in an effort to look at the micro cracking caused by the striking of the chisel within the crystal structure of the marble. When these techniques were applied, both yielded the ιφ as the only possible letters which could be place in front of the ov in line 3.[74]

It is interesting to note that the Alliance between Segesta and Athens is also recorded textually, though the specific treaty of 418 may not be directly referenced. Thucydides records that an embassy from Segesta was present at Athens during 416 BCE in order to appeal to the terms of their alliance with Athens in aid against Selinunte. Thucydides 6.6.2:

> τοσαῦτα ἔθνη Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων Σικελίαν ᾤκει,καὶ ἐπὶ τοσήνδε οὖσαν αὐτὴν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι στρατεύειν ὥρμηντο, ἐφιέμενοι μὲν τῇ ἀληθεστάτῃ προφάσει τῆς πάσης ἄρξαι, βοηθεῖν δὲ ἅμα εὐπρεπῶς βουλόμενοι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ξυγγενέσι καὶ τοῖς προσγεγενημένοις ξυμμάχοις. μάλιστα δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐξώρμησαν Ἐγεσταίων [τε] πρέσβεις παρόντες καὶ προθυμότερον ἐπικαλούμενοι. ὅμοροι γὰρ ὄντες τοῖς Σελινουντίοις ἐς πόλεμον καθέστασαν περί τε γαμικῶν τινῶν καὶ περὶ γῆς ἀμφισβητήτου, καὶ οἱ Σελινούντιοι Συρακοσίους ἐπαγόμενοι ξυμμάχους κατεῖργον αὐτοὺς τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν: ὥστε τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ Λάχητος καὶ τοῦ προτέρου πολέμου Λεοντίνων οἱ Ἐγεσταῖοι ξυμμαχίαν ἀναμιμνήσκοντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐδέοντο σφίσι ναῦς πέμψαντας

---

[72] Meiggs and Lewis (1969), # 63 and # 64.
[73] Mattingly (1996), 99.
[74] Chambers et al. (1990). See also Chambers (1992).

ἐπαμῦναι, λέγοντες ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ κεφάλαιον, εἰ Συρακόσιοι Λεοντίνους τε
ἀναστήσαντες ἀτιμώρητοι γενήσονται καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔτι ξυμμάχους αὐτῶν
διαφθείροντες αὐτοὶ τὴν ἅπασαν δύναμιν τῆς Σικελίας σχήσουσι, κίνδυνον εἶναι μή ποτε
μεγάλῃ παρασκευῇ Δωριῆς τε Δωριεῦσι κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς καὶ ἅμα ἄποικοι τοῖς
ἐκπέμψασι Πελοποννησίοις βοηθήσαντες καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων δύναμιν ξυγκαθέλωσιν:
σῶφρον δ' εἶναι μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων ἔτι ξυμμάχων ἀντέχειν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις, ἄλλως τε
καὶ χρήματα σφῶν παρεξόντων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἱκανά. ὧν ἀκούοντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν ταῖς
ἐκκλησίαις τῶν τε Ἐγεσταίων πολλάκις λεγόντων καὶ τῶν ξυναγορευόντων αὐτοῖς
ἐψηφίσαντο πρέσβεις πέμψαι πρῶτον ἐς τὴν Ἔγεσταν περί τε τῶν χρημάτων
σκεψομένους εἰ ὑπάρχει, ὥσπερ φασίν, ἐν τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, καὶ τὰ τοῦ
πολέμου ἅμα πρὸς τοὺς Σελινουντίους ἐν ὅτῳ ἐστὶν εἰσομένους.

Thucydides retelling of these events indicates political contacts between Athens and Segesta

from at least the 1st Sicilian Expedition in 427 BCE and a treaty dated to that time. While this

treaty has never been located, an alliance of Athens and Leontini is extant from 433/432.[75]

Though the Athens- Segesta treaty likely dates to the Archonship of Antiphon, the

alliance did not yield the desired results. The Athenians remained focused on their own interests

in their campaigns during the Sicilian Expedition, most notably the destruction or reduction of

Syracuse. In turn, the Elymian populations of western Sicily remained confronted with a difficult

war with Selinunte.

The Sicilian Expedition and Carthage

As a trading partner of Athens, it is unclear why the Carthaginians did not involve

themselves in any manner in the Athenian expedition of 415-413 BCE. The Greco-Roman

---

[75] Meiggs and Lewis (1969), no. 64. Translation from Fornara (1977), 174-175: "Gods. The envoys from Leontini by whom the alliance was concluded and who took the oath: Timenor, son of Agathocles, Sosis, son of Glaucias, Gellon, son of Execestus, with the secretary being Theotimus, son of Tauriscus. In the archonship of of Apseudes and in the boule for which Critiades was the first secretary. Resolved the boule and people, Alcamantis held the prytany, Charias was secretary, Timoxenus was prytanis, and Callias made the motion. Alliance shall be made between the Athenians and Leontinians, and the oath shall be given and taken. The oath shall be sworn by the Athenians as follows: "As allies we shall be to the Leontinians forever guileless and reliable. The Leontinians likewise shall swear: "As allies we shall be forever to the Athenians guileless and reliable. As to…"

sources note that various appeals were made to the Carthaginians during this period from both sides. Interestingly, the extant Greek accounts present two very different perspectives of Carthaginian power in this period. Thucydides views Carthage as a city-state, potentially capable of intervening in Sicily but with no direct interests on the island. In contrast, Diodorus Siculus views Carthage as an overseas empire by this period.

Thucydides does not mention Carthaginian interests or Carthaginian colonies in his description of the inhabitants of Sicily at the start of Book 6. Thucydides 6.2.6:

> ᾤκουν δὲ καὶ Φοίνικες περὶ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν Σικελίαν ἄκρας τε ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἀπολαβόντες καὶ τὰ ἐπικείμενα νησίδια ἐμπορίας ἕνεκεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Σικελούς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες πολλοὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπεσέπλεον, ἐκλιπόντες τὰ πλείω Μοτύην καὶ Σολόεντα καὶ Πάνορμον ἐγγὺς τῶν Ἐλύμων ξυνοικήσαντες ἐνέμοντο, ξυμμαχίᾳ τε πίσυνοι τῇ τῶν Ἐλύμων, καὶ ὅτι ἐντεῦθεν ἐλάχιστον πλοῦν Καρχηδὼν Σικελίας ἀπέχει. βάρβαροι μὲν οὖν τοσοίδε Σικελίαν καὶ οὕτως ᾤκησαν.[76]

His understanding of Carthage is reinforced by his narrative once the Athenian expeditionary forces arrive in Sicily. During a winter break in the campaign, he notes that the Athenian commanders sent to Carthage an offer of friendship in exchange for assistance: "καὶ ἔπεμψαν μὲν ἐς Καρχηδόνα τριήρη περὶ φιλίας, εἰ δύναιντό τι ὠφελεῖσθαι, ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ ἐς Τυρσηνίαν, ἔστιν ὧν πόλεων ἐπαγγελλομένων καὶ αὐτῶν ξυμπολεμεῖν."[77] Thucydides narrative gains some validity from the existence of *SEG* X 136:

> Ἀναγράφσαι δὲ Καρχεδονίος ἐυ εργέτας Ἀθεναίον τὸ[] γραμματέα τˉ˘ες βολˉˉες ἐμ πόλει ἐστˉελˉˉει λιθίνˉˉει. Κέρυκας δὲ Ἀθεναίον αὐτίκα μάλα ἐς Σικελίαν πέμφσαι πρὸς στρατεγὸς Ἀννίβαγ Γέσκονος καὶ Ἱμίλκονα Ἄννονος αἰτέσοντας αὐτὸς φιλίαν καὶ χσυμμαχίαν.[78]

[76] "They fortified headlands on the sea-coast, and settled in the small islands adjacent, for the sake of trading with the Sicels; but when the Hellenes began to find their way by sea to Sicily in greater numbers they withdrew from the larger part of the island, and forming a union established themselves in Motyè, Soloeis, and Panormus, in the neighbourhood of the Elymi, partly trusting to their alliance with them, and partly because this is the point at which the passage from Carthage to Sicily is shortest. Such were the Barbarian nations who inhabited Sicily, and these were their settlements." (Jowett Translation).
[77] Thucydides 6.88.6: "In the hope of obtaining assistance they sent a trireme to Carthage with a proposal of friendship; likewise to Tyrrhenia, since some of the cities there were offering of themselves to join them in the war." (Jowett Translation).
[78] Meritt (1940), 250.

This epigraph would seem to support Thucydides contention that Athens was willing to seek formal alliances with Carthage during the last decade of the 5th century. The method of contact and the sending of an embassy also appear to indicate the absence of any formal political connections between the polities. Such an impression gains credence from Thucydides contention that Syracuse also sought assistance from Carthage during the Athenian invasion. He records that Hermocrates, a Syracusean general, wanted to dispatch an embassy to Carthage in order to seek assistance in the coming war with Athens. Thucydides 6.34.2:

> δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἄμεινον εἶναι πέμψαι: οὐ γὰρ ἀνέλπιστον αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ᾽ αἰεὶ διὰ φόβου εἰσὶ μή ποτε Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔλθωσιν, ὥστε τάχ᾽ ἂν ἴσως νομίσαντες, εἰ τάδε προήσονται, κἂν σφεῖς ἐν πόνῳ εἶναι, ἐθελήσειαν ἡμῖν ἤτοι κρύφα γε ἢ φανερῶς ἢ ἐξ ἑνός γέ του τρόπου ἀμῦναι. δυνατοὶ δὲ εἰσὶ μάλιστα τῶν νῦν, βουληθέντες: χρυσὸν γὰρ καὶ ἄργυρον πλεῖστον κέκτηνται, ὅθεν ὅ τε πόλεμος καὶ τἆλλα εὐπορεῖ.[79]

Furthermore, the language of the passages reinforces Thucydides general description of Carthage as an Athenian trading partner. Hence, Hermocrates assumes that any assistance from Carthage will likely be secret and in the form of currency rather than troops.

For Thucydides, an Athenian general, Carthage represents an important trading partner for Phoenician populations in western Sicily, but not their most important political or military partner. This position is occupied by the Elymian populations with whom the Phoenician colonies have an alliance. More generally, he lists the Phoenicians of western Sicily amongst the

---

[79] "And I think that we should send to the Carthaginians; the idea of an Athenian attack is no novelty to them; they are always living in apprehension of it. They will probably feel that if they leave us to our fate, the trouble may reach themselves, and therefore they may be inclined in some way or other, secretly, if not openly, to assist us. If willing to help, of all existing states they are the best able; for they have abundance of gold and silver, and these make war, like other things, go smoothly." (Jowett Translation)

barbarians in his description of the inhabitants of Sicily: "βάρβαροι μὲν οὖν τοσοίδε Σικελίαν καὶ

οὕτως ᾤκησαν"[80].

Diodorus Siculus offers a different narrative about the Sicilian expedition that is more

focused on the causes of war and the possibility that Carthage may play an active role in Sicily.

Diodorus Siculus 12.82-83:

> περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Ἐγεσταῖοι πρὸς Σελινουντίους
> ἐπολέμησαν περὶ χώρας ἀμφισβητησίμου, ποταμοῦ τὴν χώραν τῶν διαφερομένων
> πόλεων ὁρίζοντος. Σελινούντιοι δὲ διαβάντες τὸ ῥεῖθρον τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῆς
> παραποταμίας βίᾳ κατέσχον, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῆς προσκειμένης χώρας πολλὴν
> ἀποτεμόμενοι κατεφρόνησαν τῶν ἠδικημένων. οἱ δ' Ἐγεσταῖοι παροξυνθέντες τὸ μὲν
> πρῶτον διὰ τῶν λόγων πείθειν ἐπεβάλοντο μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν τῆς ἀλλοτρίας γῆς: ὡς δὲ οὐδεὶς
> αὐτοῖς προσεῖχεν, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν χώραν, καὶ πάντας ἐκβαλόντες
> ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν αὐτοὶ τὴν χώραν κατέσχον. γενομένης δὲ διαφορᾶς μεγάλης ἀμφοτέραις
> ταῖς πόλεσι, στρατιώτας ἀθροίσαντες διὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐποιοῦντο τὴν κρίσιν. διόπερ
> ἀμφοτέρων παραταξαμένων ἐγένετο μάχη καρτερά, καθ' ἣν Σελινούντιοι νικήσαντες
> ἀπέκτειναν τῶν Ἐγεσταίων οὐκ ὀλίγους. οἱ δ' Ἐγεσταῖοι ταπεινωθέντες καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς
> οὐκ ὄντες ἀξιόμαχοι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Ἀκραγαντίνους καὶ Συρακοσίους ἔπειθον
> συμμαχῆσαι: ἀποτυχόντες δὲ τούτων ἐξέπεμψαν πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα,
> δεόμενοι βοηθῆσαι: οὐ προσεχόντων δ' αὐτῶν, ἐζήτουν τινὰ διαπόντιον συμμαχίαν: οἷς
> συνήργησε ταὐτόματον. Λεοντίνων γὰρ ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως μετῳκισμένων
> καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀποβεβληκότων, οἱ φυγάδες αὐτῶν συστραφέντες ἔκριναν
> πάλιν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους προσλαβέσθαι συμμάχους, ὄντας συγγενεῖς. περὶ δὲ τούτων
> κοινολογησάμενοι τοῖς Ἐγεσταίοις συνεφρόνησαν καὶ κοινῇ πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψαν πρὸς
> Ἀθηναίους, ἀξιοῦντες μὲν βοηθῆσαι ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτῶν ἀδικουμέναις, ἐπαγγειλάμενοι
> δὲ συγκατασκευάσειν αὐτοῖς τὰ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν πράγματα. παραγενομένων οὖν εἰς
> τὰς Ἀθήνας τῶν πρέσβεων, καὶ τῶν μὲν Λεοντίνων τὴν συγγένειαν προφερομένων καὶ
> τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν συμμαχίαν, τῶν δ' Ἐγεσταίων ἐπαγγελλομένων χρημάτων τε πλῆθος
> δώσειν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ συμμαχήσειν κατὰ τῶν Συρακοσίων, ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις
> ἐκπέμψαι τινὰς τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν καὶ διασκέψασθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον καὶ τοὺς
> Ἐγεσταίους. παραγενομένων οὖν τούτων εἰς τὴν Ἔγεσταν, οἱ μὲν Ἐγεσταῖοι χρημάτων
> πλῆθος ἐπέδειξαν, τὰ μὲν οἴκοθεν, τὰ δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων χρησάμενοι φαντασίας
> ἕνεκεν.[81]

---

[80] Thucydides 6.2.6

[81] "About the same time in Sicily war broke out between the Egestaeans and the Selinuntians from a difference over territory, where a river divided the lands of the quarrelling cities. The Selinuntians, crossing the stream, at first seized by force the land along the river, but later they cut off for their own a large piece of the adjoining territory, utterly disregarding the rights of the injured parties. The people of Egesta, aroused to anger, at first endeavoured to persuade them by verbal arguments not to trespass on the territory of another city; however, when no one paid any attention to them, they advanced with an army against those who held the territory, expelled them all from their fields, and themselves seized the land. Since the quarrel between the two cities had become serious, the two parties, having mustered soldiers, sought to bring about the decision by recourse to arms. Consequently, when both forces were drawn up in battle-order, a fierce battle took place in which the Selinuntians were the victors, having slain not

Differences in understanding about Carthage's role in Sicily are also evident in each historian's records of speeches at Athens concerning the Sicilian Expedition. In Nicias speeches in Thucydides, no mention is made of Carthage, though Thucydides ascribes to Alcibiades a personal plan to invade and conquer it.[82] The logic of Nicias arguments is rather that Athens has failed to secure it empire in the eastern Mediterranean and should not embark on a quest for empire in Sicily at this period. He further adds that if they must undertake the expedition, they should do so with as large a force as possible.[83] In Diodorus Siculus, Nicias first makes the same argument in Thucydides, namely that war on two fronts is undesirable. However, Diodorus adds to Nicias speech a statement that the Carthaginians have not been able to subdue the island; therefore, any Athenian attempt to conquer Sicily is futile.[84] Diodorus Siculus 12.83.6:

> μὴ γὰρ δυνατὸν ὑπάρχειν ἅμα τε Λακεδαιμονίοις διαπολεμεῖν καὶ δυνάμεις μεγάλας ἐκπέμπειν διαποντίους, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μὴ δυναμένους κτήσασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐλπίζειν τὴν μεγίστην τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην νήσων περιποιήσασθαι, καὶ Καρχηδονίους μέν, ἔχοντας μεγίστην ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τῆς Σικελίας πεπολεμηκότας, μὴ δεδυνῆσθαι κρατῆσαι τῆς νήσου, τοὺς δὲ Ἀθηναίους, πολὺ

---

a few Egestaeans. Since the Egestaeans had been humbled and were not strong enough of themselves to offer battle, they at first tried to induce the Acragantini and the Syracusans to enter into an alliance with them. Failing in this, they sent ambassadors to Carthage to beseech its aid. And when the Carthaginians would not listen to them, they looked about for some alliance overseas; and in this, chance came to their aid. Now since the Leontines had been forced by the Syracusans to leave their city for another place and had thus lost their city and their territory,1 those of them who were living in exile got together and decided once more to take the Athenians, who were their kinsmen, as allies. When they had conferred with the Egestaeans on the matter and come to an agreement, the two cities jointly dispatched ambassadors to Athens, asking the Athenians to come to the aid of their cities, which were victims of ill treatment, and promising to assist the Athenians in establishing order in the affairs of Sicily. When, now, the ambassadors had arrived in Athens, and the Leontines stressed their kinship and the former alliance and the Egestaeans promised to contribute a large sum of money for the war and also to fight as an ally against the Syracusans, the Athenians voted to send some of their foremost men and to investigate the situation on the island and among the Egestaeans. When these men arrived at Egesta, the Egestaeans showed them a great sum of money which they had borrowed partly from their own citizens and partly from neighbouring peoples for the sake of making a good show" (Oldfather Translation)

[82] Thucydides 6.8-15.

[83] Thucydides 6.20-23

[84] Diodorus Siculus

λειπομένους τῇ δυνάμει τῶν Καρχηδονίων, δορίκτητον ποιήσασθαι τὴν κρατίστην τῶν νήσων.[85]

Diodorus retelling of these events clearly imports the evidence of sources written later than Thucydides, who appears to have no cognizance of a Carthaginian Empire.

In sum, the narratives presented by the Greek sources do differ in important details. While Thucydides does not conceive of Carthage as an empire that has direct Carthaginian interests in Sicily, Diodorus views Carthage as a fully developed empire in this period. This difference between these two accounts relates to each historian's understanding of the 1st Battle of Himera. For Thucydides, this event never occurred. For Diodorus, under the influence of Ephorus, the Carthaginian Empire was a prominent force in Sicily from the early 5th century.

The Archaeological and Epigraphic Evidence for Carthaginian Imperialism in Western Sicily

From 409 BCE, archaeological and epigraphic manifestations of Carthaginian imperialism appear regularly at multiple sites in western Sicily. Though the archaeological evidence cannot indicate the exact causes motivating Carthaginian conquest, the targets of Carthaginian conquest and colonization were primarily Greek polities. At no point does Carthaginian imperial control infringe on Segesta or its dependent polities. In addition, I believe that the archaeological record likely indicates cooperation between Elymians at Segesta and Carthaginians during Carthage's initial invasion of Sicily. Carthage's targets were in fact the

---

[85] "They were in no position, he declared, at the same time both to carry on a war against the Lacedaemonians and to send great armaments overseas; and so long as they were unable to secure their supremacy over the Greeks, how could they hope to subdue the greatest island in the inhabited world? even the Carthaginians, he added, who possessed a most extensive empire and had waged war many times to gain Sicily, had not been able to subdue the island, and the Athenians, whose military power was far less than that of the Carthaginians, could not possibly win by the spear and acquire the most powerful of the islands." (Oldfather Translation)

enemies of Segesta, most notably Selinunte. Evidence of Carthaginian-Elymian trade and other forms of economic contact further support this argument.

Archaeologically, Carthage's initial period of conquest is visible through destruction layers at Himera, Selinunte and other Greek cities. Material remains indicate a period of intense violence in the last decade of the fifth century BCE. Carthaginian destruction at certain sites was total. In addition, archaeological evidence indicates that only a few the cities that fell to Carthaginian conquest were incorporated into the empire.

Selinunte

Image 21: The Remains of Selinunte

Image © 2012 Google Earth

In 408 BCE, Carthage destroyed Selinunte, according to Greco-Roman sources. In archaeological excavations of the acropolis, a uniform destruction layer has been found which dates to the late 5th century BCE. Temples, houses, and walls were all destroyed and reduced to rubble at this point.[86] When the Carthaginians reoccupied the acropolis, only the plan of the area

---

[86] Martin (1977), 58

was left intact. The Carthaginian colony employed the remaining foundation walls and rubble to create the basic structures of the colony on the acropolis.[87] Tusa, from his excavations on the acropolis, believed that the Carthaginian colonization of the area began at the start of the 4th century BCE, likely within a decade or two after the initial destruction Selinunte.[88] The city remained under Carthaginian control until the First Punic War.

On the acropolis, the Carthaginians constructed a large complex covering 250 m^2 immediately after their conquest of the city-state. The complex was divided into various rooms. The artifacts recovered in the complex, which date to the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE, indicate that it was likely used for sacrificial rituals and also the burial of sacrificial victims. Fourth century Carthaginian coins were also found in the complex.[89]

Archaeological excavations at Selinunte and other cities in Sicily have recovered a series of silver tetradrachmae from the period 350-300 BCE. These coins all contain the legend: 'ראשמלקרת'. Scholars have interpreted the inscription as a place name, a body of priests at a temple of Melqart or the name of a brigade within the Carthaginian Army, 'Melqart's Division'.[90] Coins bearing this legend have been found in hoards at Caltanissetta, Cefalu, Selinunte, Megara Hyblaea, Cammarata, Mineo, and Leoforte in Sicily. Based on the distribution of these finds, Cutroni Tusa commented, "Questi ripostigli interessano un'area geografica molto estesa documentando una diffusion della serie in questione più consistente e capillare rispetto ad altre serie puniche autonome contemporanee o precedenti. È questo il segno di una produzione monetaria più intense e di più lunga durata che evidenzia l'importanza della zecca di

---

[87] Martin (1977), 58

[88] Ciasca et al. (1966), 149. For a different presentation of the archaeology see Martin (1977). Martin argued that the period 320-250 BCE contains the greatest concentration of Carthaginian artifacts recovered at the site, which he felt indicated a later date for the establishment of a Carthaginian colony. Martin (1977), 61.

[89] Excavated by V. Tusa, who published his findings as part of the excavation reports dedicated to Mozia. See Ciasca et al. (1966), 143-148.

[90] Amadasi (2000), 5-7 for a full discussion.

appartenenza."[91] In respect to iconography, the coins are similar to Sicilian indigenous and Syracusean examples. They bear a chariot on one side and a female head on the other.

Cutroni Tusa argued that RSMLQRT should be identified as the Carthaginian name for its colony at Selinunte.[92] Consequently, he believed that these coins derive from a mint at the Carthaginian colony. Perhaps the most convincing evidence of his position is the presence of the city name on inscriptions at Carthage[93] and Tharros[94]. At Tharros, an architect, Baalshillek indentifies himself as a citizen of RSMLQRT. He built the Temple of Melqart at Tharros in the 3rd century BCE. [95] In the same inscription, the dating is by Shofet at Tharros and Carthage. The Tharros Melqart temple inscription and its dating formula indicate the incorporation of the city-state into the Carthaginian Empire during the 4th century, the same period during which Selinunte was conquered by Carthage. The attestations of RSMLQRT at Carthage link the colony to its metropole in the same period. An inscription from Carthage records:

'אש בעם ראשמלקרת', 'A man of the people of Rosh Melqart'.[96]

While no evidence confirms the identification of Selinunte as RSMLQRT, the preponderance of evidence argues in favor of this identification. From the geographic distribution of RSMLQRT coins, it is clear that they were minted in Sicily. Due to the fact that the names of most Carthaginian colonies in Sicily are attested epigraphically, only a few

---

[91] Cutroni Tusa (1995), 237
[92] Cutroni Tusa (1995), 238
[93] CIS I. 264 and CIS I. 3707
[94] Amadasi (1967), Sardinia #32
[95] Cutroni Tusa (1995), 238
[96] CIS I. 264 and CIS I. 3707

candidates exist with which to identify RSMLQRT. Of these candidates, Selinunte demonstrates the best evidence of Carthaginian colonization and extended occupation of the site.

Panormos

An ex-voto inscription to Tanit was found at the base of Mount Pellegrino, Sicily just outside of modern Palermo. It reproduces the standard dedicatory formula used at Carthage[97]:

'לרבת לתנת פן בעל ולאדן לבעל חמן'

'To the great one, to Tanit face of Baal, and to the Lord, to Baal Hammon…'

Scholars have tried to link the inscription with the city-state at Panormos. They have argued that the inscriptions formula, the standard ex-voto to Tanit and Baal Hammon, demonstrates the presence of a Tophet at Panormus in the 4th or 3rd century.[98]

Mozia

During the 5th century, Mozia maintained extensive trade relationships with Greek and Elymian polities in Western Sicily. Carthaginian ceramic forms do begin to appear in increasing numbers during the 5th century; however, this development should be related to trade growth at Mozia and the value of its Cothon, which provided a protected harbor for international commerce. In 480 BCE, Mozia began to mint coinage for the first time. Prag comments:

---

[97] R.E.S. 525
[98] See Amadasi (2000), 4-5.

The interaction visible between the Motyan coinage and that of Greek (e.g. Himera) and Elymian (e.g. Segesta) communities in western Sicily, and even with, e.g., Populonia in Etruria, as suggested by the affinity of the coin types, is so close that scholars have often suggested shared workshops, or the physical transfer of dies. The patterns implied by the coinage compare well with the material evidence for the cultural autonomy of Motya from Carthage.[99]

In 397 BCE, Syracuse and allied Greek-city states the city-state destroyed the settlement on the island. Certain inscriptions indicate that Phoenician populations returned to the site after its destruction. However, the archaeological evidence also indicates that the population at the site was greatly reduced. The Cothon completely fell out of use in this period and was sealed with a large stone.[100] Inscriptions attest to a small population at the site, who continued to use the Tophet and make dedications exclusively to Baal Hammon.[101] Carthage does not appear to have directly colonized the site, preferring to colonize at nearby Lilybaeum located on the Sicilian mainland.

Lilybaeum (Marsala)

Carthage founded Lilybaeum as a direct result of the attack on Mozia in 397 BCE. Though occupation continued at Mozia during the 4th and 3rd century, the colony at Lilybaeum became the primary economic hub for Carthaginian activities in western Sicily. Burials at the site begin in the 4th century contemporaneous to the colony's foundation. Several early necropoleis appear to have been used in 4th and 3rd centuries BCE. Because the majority of excavations have occurred in the necropoleis, little remains known about the urban center of the colony. The necropoleis reveal evidence of extensive Carthaginian amphora imports to Lilybaeum during the

---

[99] Prag (2010), 2
[100] Isserlin (1971), 181-183.
[101] See Amadasi (1967), Sicily #17 and #18.

first half of the 4th century. These are subsequently replaced by amphoras of local production between 320-300 BCE.[102]

The Tophet at Lilybaeum would appear to indicate the incorporation of the population from Mozia into the new Carthaginian colony. At the Tophet, dedications are made during the 4th-2nd centuries to Baal Hammon as well as Baal Hammon and Tanit: 'לרבת לתנת פן בעל' 'To the Great One, to Tanit, the Face of Baal'[103] versus ' לאדן לבעל חמן אש נדר' 'to the Lord, to Baal Hammon, a vow which…'[104] The reason for this admixture of practices at the Tophet is likely the integration of the population from Mozia into the new Carthaginian colony. [105]

Eryx

Eryx was originally an Elymian settlement in Western Sicily. Its incorporation into the Carthaginian Empire appears to have occurred as part of Carthaginian expansion in Sicily during the 4th century. Whether or not the original Elymian population remained at the site when the Carthaginians established their colony is a matter of debate. The events of the late 5th and early 4th century had been traumatic for Eryx according to the ancient sources. Multiple battles, both on land and sea, were fought at or near Eryx in this period.[106] According to Diodorus, the Elymians of Eryx made a series of decisions that allied the city-state with Dionysios. Diodorus Siculus 14.47 and 14.48:

> Διονύσιος δ᾽ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς Συρακοσίους καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς συμμάχους, ἀνέζευξεν ἐκ Συρακουσῶν, ἐπ᾽ Ἔρυκος τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενος. οὐ μακρὰν γὰρ τοῦ λόφου τούτου Μοτύη πόλις ἦν ἄποικος Καρχηδονίων, ἣ μάλιστα ἐχρῶντο κατὰ τῆς

---

[102] Caruso (2000), 219-224; Bechtold (2011), 3-4.
[103] Amadasi (1967), Sicily #4. 4th-2nd centuries BCE.
[104] KAI 63= Amadasi (1967), Sicily #5. 3rd-2nd centuries BCE. See also Amadasi (1967), Sicily #10 which reproduces the same formula.
[105] Amadasi (1967), 57 notes this fact but did not attempt to establish a reason for these differences.
[106] Diodorus Siculus 13.80; Diodorus 14.47-48. Diodorus 14.55

Σικελίας ὁρμητηρίῳ· ταύτης γὰρ κρατήσας ἤλπιζεν οὐκ ὀλίγα προτερήσειν τῶν πολεμίων…

τηλικαύτης δὲ τῆς παρασκευῆς οὔσης, Ἐρυκῖνοι μὲν καταπλαγέντες τὸ μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ μισοῦντες Καρχηδονίους προσεχώρησαν τῷ Διονυσίῳ, οἱ δὲ τὴν Μοτύην κατοικοῦντες προσδεχόμενοι τὴν ἐκ Καρχηδονίων βοήθειαν οὐ κατεπλήττοντο τὴν Διονυσίου δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν παρεσκευάζοντο· οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόουν τοὺς Συρακοσίους ὅτι πρώτην τὴν Μοτύην πορθήσουσι διὰ τὸ πιστοτάτην εἶναι τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις.[107]

In the course of these conflicts, Diodorus arges that Eryx ultimately fell to the Carthaginians under whose power it appears to have remained until the 1st Punic War. Diodorus 14.55: "Ἰμίλκων δὲ καταπλεύσας εἰς Πάνορμονκαὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκβιβάσας ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τὰς μὲν τριήρεις παραπλεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐν παρόδῳ διὰ προδοσίας ἑλὼν Ἔρυκα πρὸς τὴν Μοτύην κατεστρατοπέδευσεν."[108]

Though these events cannot be confirmed from the archaeological record, it does appear from the epigraphic record that Carthage colonized the site at some point before the 1st Punic War. A 3rd or 2nd century BCE inscription recovered at the site records a dedication to the Astarte of Eryx as part of a new construction. The dating of the inscription and the construction is by Shofet: 'שפטם מגן ובדעשתרת' 'Being Shofets, Magon and Bodastart.'[109]

The Phoenician goddess Astarte, in a syncretized form 'The Astarte of Eryx', is recorded on several inscriptions recovered at Eryx.[110] The creation of a specific expression of this goddess

---

[107] "Dionysius with the Syracusans, the mercenaries, and his allies marched forth from Syracuse and made his way towards Eryx.5 For not far from this hill lay the city of Motye, a Carthaginian colony, which they used as their chief base of operations against Sicily; and Dionysius hoped that with this city in his power he would have no small advantage over his enemies…Since the armament was on the great scale we have described, the people of Eryx were awed by the magnitude of the force and, hating the Carthaginians as they did, came over to Dionysius. The inhabitants of Motye, however, expecting aid from the Carthaginians, were not dismayed at Dionysius' armament, but made ready to withstand a siege; for they were not unaware that the Syracusans would make Motye the first city to sack, because it was most loyal to the Carthaginians." (Oldfather Translation)

[108] "After Himilcon had put in at Panormus and disembarked his army, he advanced toward the enemy, ordering the triremes to sail along beside him; and having himself taken Eryx by treachery as he passed, he took up quarters before Motye." (Oldfather Translation)

[109] CIS I. 135= Amadasi (1967), Sicily #1

[110] CIS I. 135= Amadasi (1967), Sicily #1

with a geographic identifier is also common in the Near East.[111] CIS I. 3776, recovered at Carthage, also includes a dedication to the Astarte of Eryx, which assists in identifying this city-state as a subordinated city-state of the Carthaginian Empire.

Carthage's Relationships with Indigenous Foundations

In late 4th century BCE Period III strata on the acropolis at Monte Polizzo, a stele and Carthaginian coins have been found associated with a small structure.[112] The stele recovered is similar to those found at Tophets in Sicily and Sardinia. The four Carthaginian coins are 1.5 cm in diameter and weigh less than 4g. The coins depict a young woman on the front and horse in front of a palm tree on the obverse. The coins are dated to the period 350-300 BCE.[113] The same coins are found scattered throughout the topsoil layers in the same area.[114] The area was only in use until c.300 BCE when it was again abandoned.[115]

Outside of excavations at Eryx and Monte Polizzo, numismatic evidence provides the only other archaeological indications of Carthaginian and Elymian interactions. As I have argued above, the archaeological evidence indicates cooperation between Carthage and Segesta in the late 5th century BCE. Though scholars have argued that Carthaginian coins at Elymian sites represent mercenary payments, Elymian populations based at Segesta willingly assisted in the campaigns of the late 5th and early 4th century. Therefore, the record of Carthaginian coinage recovered at Elymian sites should be understood as part of Carthaginian- Elymian trade rather than mercenary payments.

---

[111] She is identified as the Baalat Gebal (The Goddess of Byblos) in KAI 5-7.
[112] Morris et al. (2002), 158
[113] Morris et al. (2002), 165 and 193.
[114] Morris et al. (2003), 259.
[115] Morris et al. (2004), 218.

Did Carthaginian Coinage start in Sicily to Pay Mercenaries?

The earliest Carthaginian coins produced in Sicily, and perhaps the earliest Carthaginian coins of any type, coincide with the start of Carthage's extended conquest of the island in the last decade of the 400s BCE. As a result, scholars have argued that Carthage began to produce coinage as a result of need to pay mercenary soldiers for these campaigns. However, this interpretation has recently come under criticism. Prag comments:

> This coinage is associated with the major expedition to reassert Carthaginian control in western Sicily, and with the installation of (often Campanian) mercenary garrisons, with the result that it is understood above all in the context of political and military decisions. In other words, the traditionally mercantile Carthage enters the world of monetary production for apparently political and military reasons, rather than primarily economic motives. However, the paradox should be rejected. Quite apart from the obvious response that political and military decisions can be motivated by economic considerations, 'mercantile' Carthage is a very worn topos. The paradox exists by virtue of the stereotype (hence 'apparently'). Since the evidence points in a different direction, and the contradiction arises purely from the stereotype, if we abandon the stereotype (as being a literary construct of Carthage's detractors), then the paradox simply disappears.[116]

Prag's solution to the problem is to argue that Carthaginian coinage was in fact both a political statement directed at Syracuse and also a result of economic processes already underway in Sicily before the arrival of Carthage. Phoenician communities in Sicily all developed coinage at the start of the 5th century. The first issues from Mozia date to c. 480 BCE. Coinage from Mozia is struck with dies and weights identical to those found at Himera and Segesta.[117]

---

[116] Prag (2010), 1 for a discussion.
[117] Prag (2010), 1-4.

Image 22: Didrachmae of Segesta (a) and Mozia (b).

Late 5th century. From Prag (2010), 2

The first Carthaginian coins issued in Sicily follow the established iconographic patterns of other coinage types on the island, both Sicilian and Syracusean. The most regularly used images include a female head one side with a horse or chariot team on the other side. Carthaginian features are inserted into regularly used motifs. For example, a palm tree is added behind the horse or Phoenician letters are inserted under the horse.

In contrast to the iconography, Carthaginian colonial coins are equivalent in weight and shape to the Attic tetradrachma. The coinage from Carthaginian colonies focuses on these issues and the accompanying bronze derivations. In contrast, Mozia and Segesta continued to issue didrachmae in the late 5th century whereas Syracuse, who initially minted tetradrachmae, moved on to different denominations c.400 BCE. Syracuse, in point of fact, ceased minting tetradrachmae concomitant with the appearance of Carthaginian colonial tetradrachmae. [118]

The Attic tetradrachma ('Owl') was the international currency of the ancient Mediterranean world. Xenophon comments that merchants who imported goods to Athens had

---

[118] Prag (2010), 2-4. See p. 4: "The coincidence of the cessation of tetradrachms at Syracuse has even led to suggestions of a monetary accord between Carthage and Syracuse."

the option of leaving with silver instead of a return cargo.[119] Its consistency and easily

identifiable iconography ensured a wide distribution of the coinage. 'Owls' have been found in

coin hoards in Italy, Sicily and North Africa as well as the entire eastern Mediterranean.[120]

Provided that Carthage maintained regular trade connections with Athens, especially in

agricultural products such as grain, it is likely that a regular supply of the Athenian coinage

served as the basic Carthaginian coinage for trade. That Carthage began to produce coinage at

the same time as Athens reached its nadir during the Peloponnesian War is not merely

coincidence. The events of 411-404 destabilized Athenian economy through constant naval

warfare and political revolution. For Carthage, these events likely represented an important

disruption in coin supply during a period of Carthaginian expansion. Though not persistent, the

interruption of commerce brought about by the Peloponnesian war led Carthage to mint its own

coinage for the first time in order to deal with its own expansion into Sicily. Prag comments,

"These Siculo-Punic issues clearly compete with Syracuse in laying claim to dominance in

Sicily; but they also, for example, fill a clear economic gap on the island in the absence of

Syracusan tetradrachms for much of the fourth century and in the face of the steady exhaustion

of the circulating Attic silver on the island in the same period."[121]

The coinage was not used to pay mercenaries. Elymian populations had access to grain

that would have been essential for any continual armed campaigns in Sicily. It is for this reason

that Carthaginian coins minted at Rosh Melqart/Selinunte are found primarily at Carthaginian

colonies and indigenous foundations (Caltanissetta, Cefalu, Cammarata, Mineo, and Leoforte)

instead of Greek colonies (Megara Hyblaea). Furthermore, there was no need to pay Elymian

populations. These city-states were themselves at war with the Greek colony of Selinunte. As

---

[119] Xenophon. *Poroi* 3.2
[120] See Engen (2005), 363 for a complete list of Attic Owls recovered from Coin Hoards and relevant bibliography.
[121] Prag (2010), 5.

such, the appearance of Carthaginian colonial coinage in significant quantities at Elymian sites represents evidence of trade (grain-silver).

Sardinia in the 5th- 3rd centuries BCE

The extent of Carthaginian colonization and the extension of Carthaginian control in Sardinia remain under active debate. Even scholars who believe in a 6th century Carthaginian invasion of the island are often hesitant to accord a great degree of Carthaginian penetration into the interior. [122] In contrast to previous interpretations of the archaeological evidence, I confine this examination of Carthaginian colonization in Sardinia to those areas that demonstrate a proliferation of Carthaginian institutions rather than material culture. As demonstrated in this section, Carthaginian institutions are prevalent at the most important Phoenician city-states in Sardinia, including Tharros and Cagliari (Caralis). Whether or not Carthage ultimately settled the interior of the island will remain a matter of active debate until more archaeological evidence is available. At present, only a few inland foundations reveal evidence of Carthaginian institutions and even in these instances the expressed institutions are religious rather than political.

In this section, I demonstrate that at Tharros, Caralis, and Sulcis Carthaginian institutions likely appeared c. 400-350 BCE. The appearance of Carthaginian institutions in Sardinia resulted from a process of cooption into the Carthaginian Empire. No archaeological evidence indicates any violence in Sardinia that accompanies the implantation of Carthaginian institutions. I believe that this transition relates to Carthaginian successes in Sicily and the development of a Carthaginian colony at Lilybaeum in order to replace Mozia, which was destroyed in 397 BCE. The creation of a Carthaginian colony on the west coast of Sicily allowed Carthage to establish

---

[122] Moscati et al. (1997), 50.

itself as the primary transshipment point for export goods from Sardinia. In excavated strata of the period 430-300 BCE at Carthage, imported amphoras produced at Phoenician city-states in Sardinia constitute half of the recovered imports from Carthaginian dependencies.[123]

Furthermore, Carthage displays a clear interest in establishing trade with Marseille and Phocaean networks of redistribution in Gaul during this period. In order to further these interests, Carthaginian colonists built a new colony at Olbia on the northeastern coast of Sardinia. From this port, Carthaginian colonists were able to act as the primary redistribution point for trade from Marseille and Italy. The Carthaginian Temple Tariff Document found at Marseille demonstrates the establishment of a permanent trading facility in Marseille during the 4th and/or 3rd century BCE. Through these activities, Carthage weakened the economic foundations of pre existing Phoenician city-states in Sardinia. Olbia superseded Tharros as the most important center for trade with Italy. In turn, Tharros was incorporated into the Carthaginian Empire during this period. Stripped of its economic base, it lacked any ability to resist Carthaginian imperialism.

Tharros

At Tharros, a very fragmentary 3rd century BCE inscription has been recovered that relates to construction of a sanctuary[124]:

(L. 1) לאדן לאלם הקדש מלקרת ...
(L. 6-7) חמי השפט בן ... השפט בן מהרבעל השפט בן גרסכן השפט בן עזרבעל השפט בן חמי השפט ...
(L.9-10) ... השפט בן ת ... שפטם בקרתחדשת אדנבעל וחמלכת ...

(L.1) To the Lord, to the God of this holy place, Melqart…
(Lines 6-7) Hamy, the Shofet, son of… the Shofet, son of Maharbaal, the Shofet, son of Gersoken, the Shofet, son of Azarbaal, the Shofet, son of Hamy, the Shofet…
(Line 9)… the Shofet, son of T…, being Shofets in Carthage, Adonibaal and Himilcat…

---

[123] Bechtold and Doctor (2010), 96.
[124] Amadasi (1967), Sardinia #32

The inscription was found in the collection of a private individual in the early 20th century. It came from the excavation of the necropolis at Tharros (and was found near 7th/6th century BCE tombs). [125] In his initial assessment of the inscription, Berger noted: "Nous avons donc, à ce qu'il semble, une double désignation : d'abord par les suffètes locaux, ensuite par les suffètes de Carthage."[126] Though scholars have dated the inscription on paleographic grounds to the 3rd or 2nd century BCE, I would argue that the content of the inscription requires a date before 238 BCE, at which point Carthage lost imperial control over Sardinia.[127]

The most interesting information in this inscription is the extensive list of ancestors provided for Hamy, the Shofet at Tharros, who appears to have initiated the construction of a new temple to Melqart (Lines 6-7).[128] The inscription preserves five preceding generations, though Hamy's father's name is lost. All of Hamy's ancestors also served as Shofets at Tharros. Even if the inscription dated to the absolute last year of Carthaginian rule in Sardinia, this inscription indicates that Carthaginian rule over Tharros had existed from at least the mid 4th century BCE. Given that any temple construction likely occurred before the First Punic War, I would argue that this inscription indicates the establishment of Carthaginian political institutions in Tharros c. 400-375 BCE.

Caralis and Neapolis

---

[125] Berger (1901)

[126] Berger (1901), 579. Amadasi (1967), 112 questions whether Qarthadasht in this inscription refers to Carthage: "Non si tratta necessariamente della Cartagine d'Africa"

[127] Bartolini and Garbini note that epigraphs after 238 BCE no longer record the use of the office of Shofet in dedications, which confirms the earlier date of this inscription. Bartolini and Garbini (1999), 89

[128] Berger (1901), 577.

Van Dommelen has argued that two sites, Caralis and Neapolis, represent late 6th century BCE Carthaginian colonial foundations.[129] The history of Phoenician Neapolis is known only from surface finds. Neapolis' 6th century foundation date derives from the evidence of these chance, surface finds and not systematic archaeology. Excavations have never reached the Phoenician strata.[130]

Near Neapolis, the majority of expansion into the interior occurred in the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE. Phoenician colonization at Nuraghe Ortu Comidu, Van Dommelen has argued, dates from the very end of the 5th century. It is the oldest secondary site located near Neapolis. Here, the Nuraghic towers became houses. The primary ceramic assemblages are domestic storage and cooking vessels. At other sites near Neapolis, surface finds provide evidence of farmhouse/villa constructions that do not reuse earlier buildings. One example, near Sedda Sa Caudeba, dates to the 3rd century BCE. Finally, some sites in the area are temples. At Genna Maria of Villanovaforru the use of the sanctuary dates to the 4th century.[131] Surface surveys of the area around Neapolis confirm a proliferation of small farms in the 4th century. The oldest grave good recovered in any cemetery associated with these farms dates to the 4th century BCE.[132]

In sum, absent any systematic excavation at Neapolis, it remains difficult to identify the site as an early Carthaginian colony of the 6th century. The proliferation of activity in the

---

[129] Van Dommelen (1998), 125.

[130] Van Dommelen (1998), 133: "Unlike all other colonial towns in Sardinia, however, it is only known from surface finds. Although it has never been surveyed systematically and its long occupation from the 6th century BC until the 7th or 8th century AD may have deeply hidden the oldest remains, the frequently repeated explorations over a long period and the relatively favourable visibility and accessability of the site can be assumed to have resulted in a fairly reliable investigation." I would dissent from this position. The oldest levels of all Phoenician sites are difficult to recover archaeologically. Even at Gadir, it required the extensive use of modern machinery to reach the levels located on bedrock. The use of modern archaeological techniques at other sites has revealed previously unknown levels of occupation and re dated the foundation of many sites in Iberia.

[131] Van Dommelen (1998), 130

[132] Van Dommelen (1998), 131

countryside near Neapolis in the 4th century accords with patterns of Carthaginian material culture proliferation at small domestic sites in other areas of Sardinia during this period. However, material culture does not demonstrate evidence of political control nor can a 6th century Carthaginian colonization of the area be proven from this evidence.

Caralis: Evidence of Carthaginian Institutions

In finds from the temple complex at Antas (discussed in more detail below), certain inscriptions attest to the adoption of Carthaginian institutions at Caralis during the 4th century BCE.

Antas Inscription #2:[133]

' אש בעם הכרלא בן... השפט ישמע קלא יברכא '

'A man of the people of Caralis, son of…the Shofet May he hear his voice and may he bless him.'

Antas Inscription #28:[134]

'...השפט אש בעם כ...'

'…The Shofet, a man of the people of C…'

At Caralis, similar evidence comes from an inscription related to the construction of a new sanctuary. In line five of the inscription, the text records the name of the Shofet for the year:

'...אשמניתן השפט בן עבד...'[135]

'Eshmunyatan, the Shofet, son of Abd…'

---

[133] Acquaro et al. (1969), 61.
[134] Garbini (2000), 118-119
[135] Amadasi (1967), Sardinia # 36= KAI 65.

These inscriptions, I believe, indicate that Carthaginian governmental institutions were in use at Caralis during the 3rd century BCE. Though some scholars have doubted the straight forward translation of the term 'a man of the people of' 'אש בעם' in inscriptions dated to the 4th- 3rd centuries BCE, it appears to serve as nothing more than a geographic identifier for dependent populations within the Carthaginian Empire.[136]

North of Caralis, near the town of San Nicolo Gerrei, excavations uncovered a trilingual inscription dated to the Roman period. The dedication is made to Asclepius in the Latin and Greek versions, to Eshmun in the Punic text. The dedicant bears a Greek name, Kleon. The inscription was located at the base of a bronze column. None of the texts are faithful reproductions of the format contained in any of the others, though they all convey the same basic information about the dedicant. Interestingly, only one of the three inscriptions provides a date, the Punic version. *KAI* 66:

Cleon salari(us) soc(iorum) s(ervus) Aescolapio Merre

Donum dedit lubens merito merente.

Ἀσκληπίω Μηρρη Αναθεμα Βωμον εστησε Κλεων ο επι

Των αλων κατα προσταγμα

לאדן לאשמן מארח מזבח נחשת משקל לטרם מאת 100 אש נדר אכלין שחסגם אש בממלהת שמע קלא רפיא בשת

שפטם חמלכת ועבדאשמן בן חמלך [137]

---

[136] Acquaro et al. (1969), 67 for a discussion.
[137] =CIS I. 143= Amadasi (1967), Sardinia #9.

Translation of the Punic: 'To the Lord Eshmun Merre. The Altar of Bronze, in weight 100 pounds, which Kleon of HSGM, who is over the salt mines vowed. He heard his voice and he healed him. In the year of the Shofets, Himilcat and Abdeshmun, son of Himilk.'[138]

Unfortunately, the city-state to which the Shofets belonged is not specified in the inscription. A necropolis with Phoenician and Carthaginian remains has been uncovered at Monte Luna near Senorbi. The necropolis appears to be located near the borders of an urban settlement, as walls were detected near the excavation of the tombs.[139] The original excavators dated the tombs from the 5th-3rd centuries and argued based on funerary customs that the population of Monte Luna was Carthaginian.[140] However, the excavators made this identification solely on tomb types. Furthermore, clandestine excavations destroyed the majority of the necropolis at Monte Luna. Thus the scientific excavations of the late 20th century recovered very few diagnostic artifacts. All that can be established directly from these excavations is that Phoenician populations were living as far as 60km north of Cagliari during the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE.

Sulcis

The Antas temple inscriptions also provide evidence of the spread of Carthaginian institutions to Sulcis. The dedicant of Antas Inscription #3[141], who came from Sulcis, lists multiple generations of Shofets in his genealogy:

' אנח ... בשת הסלכי עם ... בן השפט דרבעל ...השפט בעליתן בן ... חמלכת נדר אש'

---

[138] Cooke (1903), 109.
[139] Costa (1983), 22.
[140] Costa (1983), 32.
[141] Acquaro et al. (1969), 65.

'…which Himilcat vowed…son of Baalyatan, the Shofet…drbaal, the Shofet, son of ….the people of Sulcis, in the year of… Hanno.'

Antas Inscription #3 appears to employ the standard dating formula found in Carthaginian inscriptions: '…בשת'. At Carthage and other dependencies, 'in the year' is followed by 'שפטם''being Shofets'. [142] However, due to the fracture on this inscription, the phrase after 'in the year' is lost. Fantar identified the inscription as Punic, which includes the 5th-3rd centuries, but offered no more precise dating of the inscription.[143]

An inscription from Sulcis offers a potential reconstruction of the missing portions of this dating formula. Scholars have dated this inscription to the mid-3rd century BCE.[144]

'בשת שפטם בסלכי אדרבעל ומלכיתן'[145]

'In the year of the Shofets in Sulcis Adrbaal and Milkyaton'.

When taken collectively, these two inscriptions attest to the presence of the office of Shofet at Sulcis from the at least the 3rd century BCE.[146] Using the extensive genealogy of Antas Inscription #3, it is likely that this institution dates from the 4th century BCE at Sulcis.

In Chapter 2, I argued that Sulcis created multiple dependent colonies in its hinterland over the 7th and 6th centuries BCE. The abandonment of these sites, I conjectured, was controlled

---

[142] CIS I. 3920
[143] Acquaro et al. (1969), 64-68.
[144] This inscription was found on a silver cup in a private collection, thus outside of archaeological stratigraphy. The date is based on paleography. See Bartolini and Garbini (1999), 79. Bartolini and Garbini also note that epigraphs after 238 BCE no longer record the use of the office of Shofet in dedications, which confirms the earlier date of this inscription.See Bartolini and Garbini (1999), 89
[145] Bartolini and Garbini (1999), 84.
[146] Bartolini and Garbini (1999), 89.

and intentional in the very late 6th century due to a process of economic reorganization. The integration of Sulcis into the Carthaginian Empire during the 4th century precipitated a reoccupation at previously abandoned sites.

Monte Sirai was permanently re-occupied in the 4th century BCE. The necropoleis at the site again come into regularly use.[147] The site, however, does not appear to have a served as military fortress for an extended period of time. Rather, the inhabitants converted the main keep at the center of the site into a temple.[148] Near this temple, excavations recovered an inscription that attests to its newly sacral character. The inscription was found on a small bronze plate[149]:

לאדן ל....בח אש נדר עבדמלקרת ב....בן חמי בן עבדתנת כשמע קל דברי ובעל חרש עבדא עבד גרמלקרת בן יתנצד

Garbini translated the text: "Al Signore [.Alt]are che ha dedicato Abdmelqart, fig[lio di   ] figlio di HMY figlio di Abdtanit poiché ha ascoltato la voce della sue parole. E l'incisore (é) Abdo servo di Germelqart figlio di Iatonsid."[150] The only controversial part of the translation is the text: 'ובעל חרש', which Garbini rendered 'L'incisore'. The term appears in three other Phoenician inscriptions.[151] It is normally translated as 'architect' or builder. Garbini has argued that the term connotes the works of artisans in general; therefore, the term can indicate either a sculptor or inscriber in addition to its other meanings.[152] Garbini dated the inscription on paleographic criteria to the 4th-3rd centuries BCE, most likely the 4th century.[153]

---

[147] Barreca and Garbini (1964), 46; Amadasi et al. (1965), 102; Amadasi et al. (1966), 64-70.
[148] Amadasi et al. (1965), 51. Barreca's chronology should be ignored. There is no 5th century phase at the fort. Rather it appears that the area may have served briefly as a fort in the 4th century and subsequently was converted into a sacred area in the 3rd century.
[149] Amadasi et al. (1965), 80.
[150] Amadasi et al. (1965), 80
[151] CIS I. 3943= KAI 81; CIS I. 5510; KAI 72b
[152] Amadasi et al. (1965), 84-85.
[153] Amadasi et al. (1965), 89.

M.H. Fantar excavated a 4th-3rd century house near the old central fortress at Monte Sirai. The house is irregular in shape and plan.[154] The house was built with shaped stones on visible exteriors wall and with rubble construction on interior walls.[155] The majority of the recovered ceramics are domestic wares. Amphoras are the most commonly recovered ceramics in these assemblages.
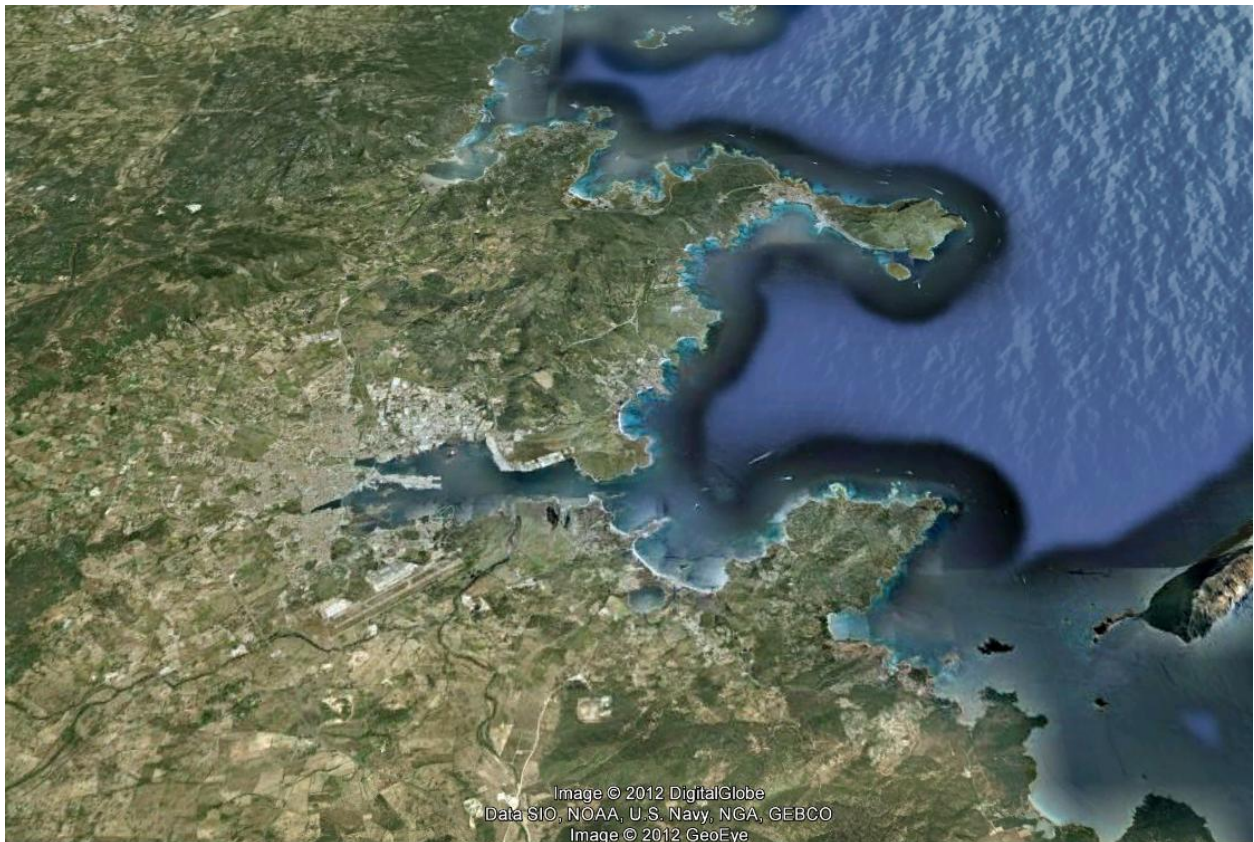
Olbia: A New Colony

Image 23: Modern Olbia in Northeastern Sardinia

Image © 2012 Google Earth

---

[154] Amadasi et al. (1967), 35: "Après avoir dégagé tout l'édifice, nous avons remarqué l'absence de toute symétrie."
[155] Amadasi et al. (1967), 35-37

Olbia was a Carthaginian colony on the northeastern coast of the island. Prior to Carthaginian colonization, during the 7th and 6th centuries, the site had served as a marketplace for exchange with Greek traders. The majority of ceramic remains recovered from this early period are Greek wares.[156] However, no permanent buildings were constructed in the area until the development of a Carthaginian colony in the 4th century BCE. The founder of the colony, I believe, left a record of his actions in an epigraph preserved at the site. The stele preserves a dedicatory inscription and was found within the city-walls at the site.[157] The inscription preserves five lines, the first of which is heavily damaged. The first line records the dedication. The next three lines provide an extended genealogy for the dedicant. The dedicant lists sixteen generations of paternity. On a conservative estimate, his genealogy encompasses at minimum 400 years. KAI 68[158]:

1 לֹא ... אדן ח...נדר... עם
2 קרתחדשת בן (Genealogy)
5 כ שמע קלא עד פעמת ברבם

1. To the L(ord)….the Lord….dedicated…..the people
2. of Carthage, son of…….
5. who heard his voice many[159] times[160]. With the Rabbim.

The phrase 'עד פעמת ברבם' is not otherwise attested in Phoenician or Carthaginian inscriptions. Krahmalkov has interpreted the entire phrase as an adverbial phrase meaning 'many times or often'. The basis for this interpretation is the use of 'ברבם' in the Azatiwada inscription (KAI 26). However, in this inscription, ברבם is not contained within a longer phrase; rather it appears as a stand-alone adverb. Consequently, it is possible to propose an alternative explanation of this phrase. Here 'עד פעמת' acts to denote iteration: 'again, times' literally but

---

[156] Moscati et al. (1997), 36
[157] Amadasi (1967), 113.
[158] =RES 1216=Amadasi (1967), Sardinia #34
[159] Used adverbally…Again. Krahmalkov (2000), 360
[160] Krahmalkov (2000), 404. Plural to denote multiplicatives

with the broader meaning of 'multiple times'. ברבם, I believe, constitutes a separate phrase, denoting with whom the dedicant made the dedication, i.e. 'with the Rabbim'.

When restituting partial letters in this inscription, Amadasi argued that it was possible to read the first line more fully as "Al s[ignore]? .... signore .... [che] ha dedicato...... [che appartiene al] popolo di."[161] Under this reconstruction, the individual who made the dedication identifies himself as a citizen of Carthage. When combined with the length of the genealogy that he offers and the identification of the Rabbim at the end, I would argue that the document records the foundation of a new colony at Olbia. It is likely that the object of dedication was a new temple, constructed as part of the foundation of the colony. The founder, sent from Carthage, accomplished the colonial foundation with the assistance of the Rabbim, generals who were responsible for Carthaginian military affairs in Sardinia.

The Carthaginian colony at Olbia relates to increased trade with Phocaean populations in S. Gaul. An inscription recovered at Marseille establishes a series of tariff payments due for a sacrifice at the Temple of Baal Tzaphon.[162] The document is dated with reference to the Shofets of the year in lines 1-2. Lines 3-15 of the inscription establish a series of payments due for different sacrifices performed by the priests of the temple. The remaining six lines establish various procedures for amending the tariff list as well as injunctions towards the priests against deviation from the payments established on the document.

The document dates to the 3rd century BCE. Though it may have been inscribed at Carthage, it records a series of procedures for a Carthaginian trading colony at Marseille, where the document was found. As noted previously, temples served as the primary point of exchange between Phoenician/Carthaginian populations and foreigners. Carthaginian interests in Marseille

---

[161] Amadasi (1967), 114.
[162] CIS I. 165= KAI 69= Amadasi (1967), Appendix # 3.

during the late 4th and 3rd centuries BCE were the result of a reorientation in Carthaginian trading interests. Due to decreased trade with Athens and the eastern Mediterranean in this period, the Carthaginian sought new markets for their exports. It is likely that the Carthaginians founded a permanent trading colony at Marseille as part of this general transition.

At Avignon, a burial inscription records the internment of a priestess. The stone was found outside of its original archaeological context. Thus it remains impossible to know its exact provenance. Given the presence of a Carthaginian trading colony at Marseille and the fact that the dedicant was priestess, it is likely that this inscription relates to the Carthaginian population resident at Marseille. The inscription begins with her name and title ' קבר זיבקת הכהנת ' ''Tomb of Zyabqot, the Priestess…' and lists the names of her father, grandfather, and great-grandfather. Her husband is then named along with his title 'אשת בעלחנא מקם אלם' 'wife of Baalhanno, Awakener of the Gods.' Finally, the names of his father, grandfather and great-grandfather are provided. [163] This inscription would therefore seem to confirm the establishment of a permanent Carthaginian trading station in southern Gaul during the late 4th and 3rd centuries BCE.

The Carthaginian Empire and the Indigenous Population of Sardinia

Antas was a temple complex constructed in the mountainous area north of modern Iglesias. Italian archaeologists excavated the site in the 1960s.[164] The excavators argued that the site was originally founded in the 5th century BCE and continued in use until the Roman period. Excavations uncovered more than twenty Phoenician inscriptions associated with the temple. [165]

In initial excavations at Antas, the Italian team identified three main phases of ancient occupation. Strato A contained the remains of a Late Roman period occupation at the site. Strato

---

[163] KAI 70 =RES 360= Amadasi (1967), Appendix #4.
[164] Acquaro et al. (1969)
[165] Moscati (1969), 23

B, dating to the Hellenistic period, included ceramics from the 4th-2nd centuries BCE. Strato C was defined by the presence of carbonized remains within the soil, which likely represent evidence of sacrifices during the temple's earliest period of use. The ceramics from this stratum date from the 5th-3rd centuries BCE. Most notably, these ceramics include indigenous examples.[166] Using this stratigraphy, Barreca argued that the temple at Antas had three main periods of use: Archaic Punic (6th- 5th centuries BCE), Late Punic (3rd century BCE), and Roman (2nd-3rd c AD).[167]

Barreca's interpretation, however, should be carefully considered with reference to the actual history of excavation at the site. Excavations only uncovered archaeological stratigraphy in one area of the site, the stairs in front of the temple. Excavation into the temple podium revealed a complete absence of archaeological strata and remains. At all other areas of the site, though archaeological strata may have existed, the absence of recovered strata is a result of the method of excavation. Instead a careful excavation, the Italian team removed the topsoil and collected artifacts from the area around the entire temple. These activities were more akin to pillage than modern scientific excavation.[168] Consequently, the majority of artifacts recovered at Antas are not assigned to properly excavated strata. The inscriptions, ceramics, amulets and jewelry recovered from the area around the temple may only be interpreted with reference to

---

[166] Acquaro et al. (1969), 29-33

[167] Acquaro et al. (1969), 33

[168] Acquaro et al. (1969), 29 and 47. It should further be noted that Barreca very often argues for interpretations of archaeological strata that cannot be supported by the data recovered. As a proponent of the theory of early Carthaginian imperialism, Barreca always interprets 6th and 5th century archaeological remains with reference to Carthage. Though he often concedes that archaeological remains are not present to substantiate his reconstructions, he still offers authoritative interpretations. In reference to the reconstruction of the archaeological history of Antas, he notes (p.34): "Premesso che nessuna traccia dell'edificio cartaginese è stata trovata fuori dell'area ove poi I Romani costruirono la gradinata, ecco dunque alcune proposte per la ricostruzione della planimetria e dell'aspetto del tempio in ciascuna delle tre fasi edilizie." Subsequently, Moscati published Barreca's reconstruction of the site in an English language publication without any notice that the stratigraphy at the site was extremely uncertain and confined to a single area. See Moscati (1969).

artistic styles. For these artifacts, such a method of interpretation creates inherent problems, as many of these objects occur in styles used for centuries.[169]

For the history of Phoenician and native interaction, therefore, the evidence from Antas is limited by chronological precision. What emerges from the distorted archaeological record is an area of economic interaction. The temple complex does not appear to be associated with any known settlement, either Phoenician or Nuraghic, in the area.[170] The evidence derived from the inscriptions indicates that Phoenicians visited the site and often made dedications to the god Sid, specifically Sid the Powerful (Sid Addir).[171] From the general chronology of inscriptions at the site, scholars have argued that the majority of dedications in the temple at Antas occurred during the 5th- 3rd centuries BCE.[172] During this period, the temple served as market for exchanges between Phoenician and Indigenous inhabitants. No single Phoenician city-state appears to have controlled the site. Phoenician inscriptions record dedicants from Caralis (Antas Inscriptions #1, 2) and Sulcis (Antas Inscription #3).

Antas Inscription #1 contains the dedication:[173]

‘... לאדן לצד אדר באבי מש נחשת אש’,

‘To the lord, to Sid the Powerful B'BY, bronze statues which…’

In his original interpretation of the inscription, Fantar argued that B'BY likely represented a locative: "à Sid, puissant de Abi."[174] The word ‘באבי’ occurs in Antas Inscriptions #8, #9 (with

---

[169] Acquaro et al. (1969), 47

[170] Acquaro et al. (1969), 147- 159. Excavations in the Village near the temple showed only activity in the Late Roman period.

[171] Acquaro et al. (1969), 47-93 for the Phoenician inscriptions. These were published by M.H. Fantar.

[172] Acquaro et al. (1960), 60 and 68. Garbini (1997), 67 dates some newly recovered fragments at Antas to the 3rd century. These newly recovered fragments were found as part of an excavation in the 1990s. He offers fewer paleographic dates for the inscriptions published in Garbini (2000).

[173] Acquaro et al. (1969), 51. Antas Inscription #1

omitted 'א'in 'באבי'), #11 ('באבי'only partial 'בא…'), and #14 as part of the standard dedicatory

formula used at the temple. While it is possible for באבי to serve as a locative, the word contains

the consonantal root אב (father). Consequently, I would argue that the ב in באבי acts as *bet*

essentiae, which indicates the substance or function of the noun, here meaning 'in his role as

(my) father'.[175] The identification of 'באבי' as a preposition with the word 'father' appears

confirmed by the content of Antas Inscription # 5.[176] Due to the loss of the start of the text, only

the object of dedication is recorded. The inscription reads: 'מש אבן חרץ אש…', which is most

properly translated as 'a gold statue of our father which…'.[177] Latin inscriptions at the site,

which date to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, make their dedications to Sardus Pater. Provided this

evidence, it appears most likely that B'BY in the Antas Inscriptions denotes the syncretism of

Sid Addir and a local deity during the 4th century BCE. This local deity, the Father of Sardinia,

was represented in Phoenician syncretism as a particular manifestation of Sid the Powerful.

Under this interpretation, Antas Inscription #1 can be translated, 'To the Lord, to Sid Addir, my

Father, bronze statues which…'. The dedicant of the bronze statues identifies himself as a man

from Caralis ('אש בם אכרלי') in the last line of the inscription.

Within the corpus of Antas Inscriptions, the content of Antas Inscription #1 is the most

often represented inscription recovered from the site. In general, the inscriptions from Antas

begin with the same dedicatory formula, to Sid the Powerful, and denote that the specific

dedication constitutes a statue. In Antas Inscription #1, the statue is bronze (נחשת). In Antas

Inscription #5, the statue is gold (חרץ). Very few of the inscriptions are complete. In the complete

examples, the dedicant is normally identified, often with a genealogy and/or offices held at the

---

[174] Acquaro et al. (1969), 60
[175] Segert (1976), 208 (Section 66.35).
[176] Acquaro et al. (1969), 74-75.
[177] Literally… 'A statue of our father, a gold one, which… 'Acquaro et al. (1969), 75: Fantar attempts to justify the translation… "Statue en pierre sculptèe…"

end of the inscription. A few inscriptions include city identifiers as part of the dedicant's identification. The majority of the inscriptions are too fragmentary to offer historically significant information. Antas Inscription #12 contains only the first two words of the dedicatory formula in line 1: '... לאדן לצד'. Line two begins: '...השפט'.[178] The rest of the inscription is lost prohibiting any identification of the city to which the Shofet belonged.

Based on the repeated dedication of metal statues at the site, when combined with the geographic position of Antas, it is likely that the temple served as a marketplace for Phoenician traders to acquire indigenous metals. The content of the inscriptions reveal that Phoenician/Carthaginian elites involved themselves directly in this trade.

The End of Carthaginian Control in Sardinia

Carthage lost possession of Sardinia after the 1st Punic War. The ancient sources record that the Romans demanded the island in 238 BCE, when a mercenary revolt confronted Carthage in Africa. Without the manpower to mount any defense of the island, Carthage ceded the territory to Rome. The Romans, as in North Africa, allowed Carthaginian offices to continue to serve as the basic institutions for dependent polities on the island. Shofets are known from the coinage of Caralis in 38 BCE: 'ARISTO MVTVMBAL RICOCE SVF'[179] At Bitia, an inscription from the 2nd century AD records the renovation of a temple at the site. The dating of the work is by Shofet: '... בשת שפטם בבעל הראי' 'In the year of the Shofets, Bobaal the Roman...'[180] A Neo-Punic inscription from Sulcis dating to the 1st century CE records a dedication in both Latin and Punic: 'Himilconi. Idnibalis'/ ' חמלכת בן אדנבעל'.[181]

---

[178] Acquaro et al. (1969), 83
[179] Zucca (2004), Sardinia # 5.
[180] Amadasi (1967), Sardinia Neo-Punic #8
[181] CIS I. 149= KAI 172= Amadasi (1967), Sardinia Neo-Punic #5.

The city-states of Sardinia appear to have acquiesced to Roman rule in the same manner that they earlier acquiesced to Carthaginian rule. Carthaginian institutions and the Phoenician/Punic language continued in use at these sites for three to four centuries after Carthage lost control over the island.

Malta, Pantelleria and Leptis Magna

At present, the island of Pantelleria is experiencing its first set of extended scientific excavations, which began in 1996. Therefore, much of the information about the site remains preliminary and the epigraphic record remains limited.[182] However, certain conclusions can be established about Phoenician colonization of the island. The Phoenician colony on the island was founded in the 8th century BCE.[183] Pantelleria was an important shipping point for Carthaginian trade with Attica as well as Magna Graecia. During the sixth century, over 50 % of the transport amphoras recovered at Pantelleria are of Carthaginian manufacture (early 7th- late 5th century BCE).[184] As yet, it remains unknown if Carthage exerted imperial control over the island.

It is possible that the Carthaginians established a colony on Malta at some point during the imperial period. However, there are no direct attestations of Carthaginian institutions. CIS I. 124[185], a 4th/3rd c. BCE inscription records: בשת חנבעל 'In the year of Hannibal.' Though the office of Shofet is not directly mentioned, the formula used follows that of dating by Shofet in other Carthaginian imperial contexts.[186] At the same time, certain epigraphs would appear to indicate that some cities within the Maltese islands retained their independence. A 2nd century

---

[182] See Acquaro and Cerasetti (2006). Capozzoli and Osanna (2009), 197: "Ovviamente allo stato attuale della documentazione è impossibile stabilire se Cartagine sia piuttosto intervenuta solo in un secondo momento a riqualificare in senso "punico" uno spazio già frequentato da genti fenice."
[183] Capozzoli and Osanna (2009), 195.
[184] Bechtold and Doctor (2010), 91-92.
[185] =Amadasi (1967), Malta # 2
[186] See Ferjaoui (1993), 183 for further discussion of this text.

BCE inscription records the renovation of a temple by the 'עם גול' 'the people of Gaulo'.[187] The tenor of the inscription makes it appear that at least at Gaulo, the people acted as the basic sovereign institution, as the 'the people of Gaulo' are mentioned twice in this inscription.

It is therefore possible that Malta possessed both independent Phoenician colonies and a Carthaginian colony on the island. Most of the inscriptions from Malta derive from the sanctuary at Tas Silg. Over 1000 inscriptions dating to the 4th-1st centuries BCE have been recovered at the site (which included Phoenician, Punic and Neo Punic paleography). The preponderance of evidence indicates that the Sanctuary at Tas Silg was likely dedicated to Astarte, whose name appears in 136 dedications. Three dedications to Tanit are known from the site, which suggests that Carthaginian merchants were doing business in the area. When taken collectively, Ferjaoui indicated, "On peut ajouter que cette île est restée, tout au long de son histoire phénico-punique, un lieu de rencontre, de contact et d'échange entre Phéniciens et Puniques."[188]

At Leptis Magna, the earliest attestation of the Shofet dates to the first half of the 1st century BCE. Here, the office is used as part of a dating formula to denote when a dedication occurred. Two Shofets are named for the year, in accordance with earlier Carthaginian precedent.[189] Leptis was an important transshipment point for Carthaginian commerce with Athens. It is therefore probable that Leptis was once a Carthaginian dependency. Absent extensive epigraphic evidence, it is not possible to date when Leptis was under Carthaginian imperial control.

---

[187] CIS I. 132= KAI 62= Amadasi (1967), Malta #6
[188] Ferjaoui (1993), 182.
[189] Zucca (2004), Inscription #1 (pg. 19)

Iberia: Evidence for Carthaginian Colonization before the First Punic War

Carthaginian material culture appears in Iberia in increasing quantities from the 6th century BCE. [190] Traditionally, scholars have interpreted this development as the start of a process by which Carthage began to develop control over polities in the Iberian Peninsula. Lopez Castro comments:

> La visión historiográfica tradicional daba como segura la existencia de un imperialismo territorial cartaginés en la península ibérica desde el siglo VI a.C. Sin embargo se está desarrollando en los últimos años una tendencia alternativa a partir del modelo de imperialismo cartaginés propuesto por Whitaker, que niega tal dominio territorial en la península, a la vez que mantiene que las relaciones entre Cartago y las ciudades fenicias peninsulares se habrían establecido en términos de progresiva dependencia política y económica a partir de tratados de alianza desiguales.[191]

At present, no evidence of treaties between Carthage and Phoenician city-states in Iberia have been found in the archaeological record. The only evidence for these relationships is textual. Moreover, the evidence is only indirectly related to Iberia.[192] Rather than treaties between Carthage and polities in Iberia, Polybios preserves a record of treaties between Carthage and Rome. From the geography described in these treaties, scholar have argued that Iberia fell under Carthaginian economic control by 348 BCE.[193] However, the textual evidence is indirect and highly interpreted by modern scholars to reach these conclusions. Polybios actual renderings of the treaties of 509/508 and 346 BCE preserve no information about Iberia.

---

[190] Fariselli (2002), 147-156; Pellicer Catalan (2007), 37.

[191] Lopez Castro (1995), 60. See Huss (1985), 68- 69 for an example.

[192] The treaties of Carthage and Rome in Polybios 3.22-25; A single notation in Livy that Gadir possessed Shofets is often assumed to demonstrate Carthaginian Imperial penetration into that city-state. Livy, 28.37: "Mago cum Gades repetisset, exclusus inde ad Cimbios—haud procul a Gadibus is locus abest—classe adpulsa, mittendis legatis querendoque quod portae sibi socio atque amico clausae forent, purgantibus iis multitudinis concursu factum infestae ob direpta quaedam ab conscendentibus naues militibus, ad conloquium sufetes eorum, qui summus Poenis est magistratus, cum quaestore elicuit, laceratosque uerberibus cruci adfigi iussit."

[193] García-Gelabert and Blázquez Martínez (1996), 21: "Por los tratados entre Roma y Cartago de los años 348 y 306 a. C., el sur de la Península Ibérica era zona de comercio púnico."

Polybios 3.22 (Treaty of 509/508):

εἰσὶ δ' αἱ συνθῆκαι τοιαίδε τινές: "ἐπὶ τοῖσδε φιλίαν εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις καὶ τοῖς Καρχηδονίων συμμάχοις: μὴ πλεῖν Ῥωμαίους μηδὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Καλοῦ ἀκρωτηρίου, ἐὰν μὴ ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἢ πολεμίων ἀναγκασθῶσιν: ἐὰν δέ τις βίᾳ κατενεχθῇ, μὴ ἐξέστω αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἀγοράζειν μηδὲ λαμβάνειν πλὴν ὅσα πρὸς πλοίου ἐπισκευὴν ἢ πρὸς ἱερά, ἐν πέντε δ' ἡμέραις ἀποτρεχέτω. τοῖς δὲ κατ' ἐμπορίαν παραγινομένοις μηδὲν ἔστω τέλος πλὴν ἐπὶ κήρυκι ἢ γραμματεῖ. ὅσα δ' ἂν τούτων παρόντων πραθῇ, δημοσίᾳ πίστει ὀφειλέσθω τῷ ἀποδομένῳ, ὅσα ἂν ἢ ἐν Λιβύῃ ἢ ἐν Σαρδόνι πραθῇ. ἐὰν Ῥωμαίων τις εἰς Σικελίαν παραγίνηται, ἧς Καρχηδόνιοι ἐπάρχουσιν, ἴσα ἔστω τὰ Ῥωμαίων πάντα. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ μὴ ἀδικείτωσαν δῆμον Ἀρδεατῶν, Ἀντιατῶν, Λαρεντίνων, Κιρκαιῶν, Ταρρακινιτῶν, μηδ' ἄλλον μηδένα Λατίνων, ὅσοι ἂν ὑπήκοοι: ἐὰν δέ τινες μὴ ὦσιν ὑπήκοοι, τῶν πόλεων ἀπεχέσθωσαν: ἂν δὲ λάβωσι, Ῥωμαίοις ἀποδιδότωσαν ἀκέραιον. φρούριον μὴ ἐνοικοδομείτωσαν ἐν τῇ Λατίνη. ἐὰν ὡς πολέμιοι εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσέλθωσιν, ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ μὴ ἐννυκτερευέτωσαν.[194]

Polybios 3.24 (Treaty of 346 BCE):

εἰσὶ δὲ τοιαίδε τινές: ἐπὶ τοῖσδε φιλίαν εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχοις καὶ Καρχηδονίων καὶ Τυρίων καὶ Ἰτυκαίων δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς τούτων συμμάχοις. τοῦ Καλοῦ ἀκρωτηρίου, Μαστίας Ταρσηίου, μὴ λήζεσθαι ἐπέκεινα Ῥωμαίους μηδ' ἐμπορεύεσθαι μηδὲ πόλιν κτίζειν. ἐὰν δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι λάβωσιν ἐν τῇ Λατίνη πόλιν τινὰ μὴ οὖσαν ὑπήκοον Ῥωμαίοις, τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐχέτωσαν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἀποδιδότωσαν. ἐὰν δέ τινες Καρχηδονίων λάβωσί τινας, πρὸς οὓς εἰρήνη μέν ἐστιν ἔγγραπτος Ῥωμαίοις, μὴ ὑποτάττονται δέ τι αὐτοῖς, μὴ καταγέτωσαν εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων λιμένας: ἐὰν δὲ καταχθέντος ἐπιλάβηται ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, ἀφιέσθω. ὡσαύτως δὲ μηδ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ποιείτωσαν. ἂν ἔκ τινος χώρας, ἧς Καρχηδόνιοι ἐπάρχουσιν, ὕδωρ ἢ ἐφόδια λάβῃ ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, μετὰ τούτων τῶν ἐφοδίων μὴ ἀδικείτω μηδένα πρὸς οὓς εἰρήνη καὶ φιλία ἐστὶ Καρχηδονίοις. ὡσαύτως δὲ μηδ' ὁ Καρχηδόνιος ποιείτω. εἰ δέ, μὴ ἰδίᾳ μεταπορευέσθω: ἐὰν δέ τις τοῦτο ποιήσῃ, δημόσιον γινέσθω τὸ ἀδίκημα. ἐν Σαρδόνι καὶ Λιβύῃ μηδεὶς Ῥωμαίων μήτ' ἐμπορευέσθω μήτε πόλιν κτιζέτω, εἰ μὴ ἕως τοῦ ἐφόδια λαβεῖν ἢ πλοῖον ἐπισκευάσαι. ἐὰν δὲ χειμὼν κατενέγκῃ, ἐν πένθ' ἡμέραις ἀποτρεχέτω. ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἧς Καρχηδόνιοι

---

[194] "The treaty is as follows:—There shall be friendship between the Romans and their allies, and the Carthaginians and their allies, on these conditions: Neither the Romans nor their allies are to sail beyond the Fair Promontory, unless driven by stress of weather or the fear of enemies. If any one of them be driven ashore he shall not buy or take aught for himself save what is needful for the repair of his ship and the service of the gods, and he shall depart within five days.Men landing for traffic shall strike no bargain save in the presence of a herald or town-clerk. Whatever is sold in the presence of these, let the price be secured to the seller on the credit of the state—that is to say, if such sale be in Libya or Sardinia.If any Roman comes to the Carthaginian province in Sicily he shall enjoy all rights enjoyed by others. The Carthaginians shall do no injury to the people of Ardea, Antium, Laurentium, Circeii, Tarracina, nor any other people of the Latins that are subject to Rome. From those townships even which are not subject to Rome they shall hold their hands; and if they take one shall deliver it unharmed to the Romans. They shall build no fort in Latium; and if they enter the district in arms, they shall not stay a night therein." (Shuckburgh Translation).

ἐπάρχουσι καὶ ἐν Καρχηδόνι πάντα καὶ ποιείτω καὶ πωλείτω ὅσα καὶ τῷ πολίτῃ ἔξεστιν. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὁ Καρχηδόνιος ποιείτω ἐν Ῥώμῃ.[195]

Most importantly, no archaeological evidence recovered from Iberia demonstrates the spread of Carthaginian institution to Phoenician city-states in Southern Iberia at any point in their histories. There are no attestations of Shofets in inscriptions or any other record of Carthaginian institutions in Iberia (not even at Cartagena as the foundation was so briefly occupied). All archaeological evidence appears to indicate that Gadir maintained its complete independence from Carthage until its incorporation into the Roman Empire. At Gadir, dating in inscriptions and on coinage is by the 'year of the people of Gadir'.[196] KAI 71 records: "לעם אגדר" 'to the people of Gadir'.[197] This custom stands in stark contrast to dating by Shofet at Carthage and its dependencies in the Western Mediterranean.

From the archaeological record, all that can be demonstrated are increasing Carthaginian economic interests in Iberia from the 6th century until the foundation of Cartagena after the 1st Punic War.[198] Rather than conquest, Carthage relied on its foundations in Algeria in order to

---

[195] "The treaty is as follows: There shall be friendship between the Romans and their allies, and the Carthaginians, Tyrians, and township of Utica, on these terms: The Romans shall not maraud, nor traffic, nor found a city east of the Fair Promontory, Mastia, Tarseium. If the Carthaginians take any city in Latium which is not subject to Rome, they may keep the prisoners and the goods, but shall deliver up the town. If the Carthaginians take any folk, between whom and Rome a peace has been made in writing, though they be not subject to them, they shall not bring them into any harbours of the Romans; if such an one be so brought ashore, and any Roman lay claim to him,1 he shall be released. In like manner shall the Romans be bound towards the Carthaginians.If a Roman take water or provisions from any district within the jurisdiction of Carthage, he shall not injure, while so doing, any between whom and Carthage there is peace and friendship. Neither shall a Carthaginian in like case. If anyone shall do so, he shall not be punished by private vengeance, but such action shall be a public misdemeanour.In Sardinia and Libya no Roman shall traffic nor found a city; he shall do no more than take in provisions and refit his ship. If a storm drive him upon-those coasts, he shall depart within five days. In the Carthaginian province of Sicily and in Carthage he may transact business and sell whatsoever it is lawful for a citizen to do. In like manner also may a Carthaginian at Rome." (Shuckburgh Translation)
[196] Manfredi (2003), 379.
[197] KAI 71=Amadasi (1967), Spain #12. Dated to the early 2nd century BCE.
[198] García-Gelabert and Blázquez Martínez (1996), 15: "Es interesante resaltar que este comercio e influjo cartaginés en la alta Andalucía es anterior a la colonización de época bárquida." Trade does not require colonization. Thus there is nothing inherently interesting about the fact that trade precedes colonization in Iberia. Carthage was the primary re-distributor of Athenian goods into the Western Mediterranean. Its colony in Tipasa provided excellent

conduct commerce with polities in Southern Iberia. Attic and Carthaginian ceramics were carried

to the farthest west Carthaginian colony in Algeria, Tipasa, where traders from southern Iberia

travelled to acquire these products. Thus the necropoleis of Tipasa reveal evidence of ceramics

from all three geographic locations for the period 500-350 BCE.[199] Therefore, Carthaginian

ceramic forms increase in geographic distribution concomitant with Attic ceramic forms

throughout southern Iberia.

      As a result of these archaeological finds, few scholars still argue that Carthage exerted

any imperial control over Iberia before the Barcid invasion of 237 BCE. Most have settled on a

model of Carthaginian economic control absent political intervention before 237 BCE.[200] In turn,

scholars continue to argue that Carthage actively sought to conquer and integrate southern Iberia

formally into its imperial system during the Barcid period. As part of these activities, Carthage

successfully subjugated both pre-existing Phoenician city-states and indigenous populations to

Carthaginian rule.[201]

      However, the history of Barcid Iberia is complicated by its brevity. Simply put, the

Carthaginians were active for too short of a time period to leave much of an archaeological trace,

even at their colonial foundations of Akra Leuke and Cartago Nova. At Cartago Nova, there is

evidence of a typical Carthaginian colonial foundation engaged in trade and redistribution of

goods. Salted fish production appears to have occurred at the site. Metals were also important in

the early economy of the colony.[202] Destroyed structures from the Carthaginian occupation show

an important amount of exchange occurred with Ibiza and resident indigenous populations in the

---

access to Southern Iberia from the 5th century. Carthage had no economic or political reason to attempt settlement in Southern Iberia before the loss of Sardinia.

[199] Lancel (1992), 113-115.

[200] Lopez Castro (1995), 77: "Hasta la llegada del ejercito cartaginés en el 237 a.C., la formación social fenicia occidental había vivido ajena al dominio directo de Cartago."

[201] Lopez Castro (1995), 75-77.

[202] Bellón Aguilera (2009), 165-166; Marín Baño (1997-98), 136.

area.[203] Excavations into the walls of the colony have shown that the fortified site was erected in the last twenty years of the 3rd century.[204]

The most notable change to occur in the archaeological record of southern Iberia is the development of coinage during the 3rd century BCE at Gadir and many of the other pre-existing Phoenician city-states. As such, certain scholars have interpreted this evidence as a direct result of Carthaginian imperialism. These scholars argue that Gadir, now part of the Carthaginian Empire, gained direct access to silver mines for the first time. Lopez Castro further argues, "Al disponer de cierta cantidad de este metal, Gadir acuñó monedas de este metal por primera vez en su historia."[205]

This interpretation, however, ignores basic logic. Coinage is first and foremost a method of payment for exchange. Gadir had successfully conducted its exchanges in either pure metals or barter until the 3rd century. When it does finally turn to coinage, the first Gaditean coins announce their independence by reference the 'year of the people of Gadir'. As such, it is more probable that introduction of Carthaginian colonies at Akra Leuke and Cartago Nova introduced monetization into the economy of southern Iberia. Carthage and its dependencies in Sicily had been using coinage since the 5th century. As a result, polities in southern Iberia adopted coinage as its use became more prevalent at indigenous communities and necessary for exchanges with Carthaginian colonies.

Conclusions: The Carthaginian Empire Overseas

---

[203] Lopez Castro (1995), 78-79.
[204] Marín Baño (1997-98), 136.
[205] Lopez Castro (1995), 80.

In the late 5th century, Carthage undertook its first overseas campaigns in Sicily. Though economically involved with Sicily from the 8th century, Carthage had yet to attempt any form of conquest or colonization on the island before 410 BCE. In the last decade of the 5th century, through a series of successful campaigns, Carthage destroyed multiple Greek colonies in western Sicily and appears to have conquered the Elymian population based at Eryx. The earliest Carthaginian colonies in Sicily were located at Selinunte, Lilybaeum and Eryx. Mozia was destroyed by a Greek attack in the early 4th century. Thus by 397 BCE, Panormus remained the only pre-existing Phoenician city-state on the island that had not fallen subject to Carthaginian or Greek conquest. The history of this city-state remains unknown as the archaeology of the site does not reveal enough evidence to demonstrate its incorporation into the Carthaginian Empire. At the same time, a single inscription recovered near Panormus hints at the institution of Carthaginian religious rituals at the Tophet, which does indicate that Carthaginians were resident at the site.

Though Greek sources allege that Carthage threatened Syracuse with destruction on multiple occasions, the archaeological record only demonstrates evidence of Carthaginian colonization and imperialism in western Sicily. Any gains made in central Sicily were military only and served to create buffer zones between Greek and Carthaginian interests, such as the archaeologically substantiated attacks on Naxos and Agrigentum. Carthage appears to have traded heavily with the Elymian city-state at Segesta on whose behalf Carthage likely initiated its invasion of Sicily. Evidence for Carthaginian-Indigenous interaction emerges from the site at Monte Polizzo in this period, where remains of a small temple and Carthaginian coinage have been found.

Carthaginian success in Sicily led to the incorporation of all of the pre-existing city-states of Sardinia into the Carthaginian Empire. No evidence of violence accompanies these transitions, therefore, it is likely that coercion rather than force precipitated this transition. The exact reasons why Phoenician city-states in Sardinia incorporated themselves into the Carthaginian Empire remains uncertain. Carthaginian colonization in Sicily positioned the empire as the primary transshipment point for commerce between Sardinia and the eastern Mediterranean. Carthaginian colonization at Olbia and Carthaginian interests in trade with Marseille further increased imperial activity on the island.

In the 4th century, Caralis, Sulcis, Tharros and Neapolis all became Carthaginian dependent city-states. Through this network of dependencies, Carthage succeeded in helping these polities re establish control over the countryside and increased greatly the inland penetration of Phoenician/Carthaginian settlements in this period. Sites that had been previously abandoned are now reoccupied including Monte Sirai. Carthage and its access to different networks of exchange than those that previously existed in Phoenician Sardinia likely provided the basis for this reoccupation of the Sardinian countryside. The record of activities at Antas demonstrates that Carthaginian dependencies and Nuraghic populations in southwestern Sardinia developed regular networks of exchange, likely in metals and agricultural products.

Though the Carthaginian Empire included a extensive geographic range, the population subject to Carthaginian rule in Sicily and Sardinia was minimal, especially when compared to the number of Carthaginian dependencies in North Africa. Sicily and Sardinia were integral parts of the Empire by 300 BCE but represent also its periphery of direct subordination. Phoenician and Indigenous polities in Ibiza and Iberia remained outside the Empire. Important for Carthaginian trade, these polities show no direct evidence of the penetration of Carthaginian institutions.

Chapter 6: The Institutions of Carthage and Its Empire

Previously, scholars have studied the development of civil and military institutions at

Carthage through the evidence contained in the Greco-Roman sources.[1] Greco-Roman writers

offer a number of different descriptions of Carthaginian officers, though always in Greek or

Latin terminology. When the Greco-Roman sources record an office, such as Βασιλευς, certain

scholars have argued that further attestations of the same title, even if located in different ancient

sources, refer to the same office. Picard comments:

> Nous voyons donc clairement que le basileus punique, du VIe siècle au début du IVe
> siècle au moins, possède un pouvoir de longue durée, s'appliquant essentiellement à la
> politique extérieure, et fondé sur un charisme religieux.[2]…Tous les *basileis* que nous
> connaissons, du milieu du VIe siècle au début du IVe, appartiennent à une même famille,
> celle des Magonides…D'autre part, il est clair, grâce a Hérodote, que le pouvoir ne se
> transmettait pas héréditairement , mais qu'il y avait un choix entre divers
> candidats…Malheureusement nous ne savons pas qui effectuait ce choix. À l'époque
> barcide, il est tout à fait certain, grâce à Polybe, que c'était l'armée, dont la décision était
> ensuite avalisée par l'assemblée populaire.[3]

In addition, other scholars have sought to connect offices recorded in the Greco-Roman sources

to Carthaginian offices recorded epigraphically.[4] Ruiz Cabrero notes:

> Los reyes de los autores clásicos son los sufetes, como lo confirma el empleo habitual del
> plural, Βασιλεις, la referencia a su elección (Aristóteles, *Política*, II, 11,4; Diodoro de
> Sicilia, *Bibliotheca historica*, XIII, 43, 5) y sobre todo la mención de los *bini reges* en
> Cornelio Nepote (*Hanibal*, VII, 4). Sabemos por Herodoto (*Historias*, VII, 166) que los
> griegos no distinguen adecuadamente entre el sufete anual y el mandato militar.[5]

On a more general level, Greco-Roman writers are presently treated as chronological

markers for changes in Carthaginian institutional history. Justin's *Epitome of Trogus* provides

---

[1]See Sanders (1988) for a particularly clear example of this approach.
[2] Picard, G.-Ch. (1988), 121
[3] Picard, G.-Ch. (1988), 122
[4] See Picard, G.-Ch. (1988) and Huss (1985) for examples of this approach.
[5] Ruiz Cabrero (1998), 91.

the basic narrative of Carthaginian institutions and records multiple changes to the Carthaginian

constitution. The comments of Herodotus and Thucydides provide additional access to 5th

century Carthage, Aristotle's Politics to 4th century Carthage, Polybios and Appian for the 3rd

and 2nd centuries BCE. From these disparate sources of evidence, scholars have argued that

Carthage began as a monarchy or dependent colony with a governor, developed into a restricted

and closed oligarchy dominated by the Magonid family, and finally morphed into a democratic

system with the people's assembly as the basic sovereign institution. Sanders comments:

> Despite the paucity of literary material available to the historian seeking to discover the
> character of Punic internal politics from the sixth to the fourth century B.C., one clear
> central fact can be established. At some point between the battle of Himera of 480 B.C.
> and the mid-fourth century B.C., when Aristotle described the Carthaginian state in the
> Politics, a major revolution occurred which brought to an end the quasi monarchical
> dominance exercised by the Magonid family over Punic affairs.[6]

Polybios is the most explicit of all the ancient sources about the institutional changes at

Carthage. He describes Carthage during the Punic Wars as a degraded political system in which

the democratic element had grown too powerful to be restricted by the elite. For Polybios, this

was mark of decline. Carthage's destruction was the expected result of such of a decline, and one

key difference he proposes to explain Rome's victory.

Polybios 6.51:

> τὸ δὲ Καρχηδονίων πολίτευμα τὸ μὲν ἀνέκαθέν μοι δοκεῖ καλῶς κατά γε τὰς ὁλοσχερεῖς
> διαφορὰς συνεστάσθαι. καὶ γὰρ βασιλεῖς ἦσαν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ γερόντιον εἶχε τὴν
> ἀριστοκρατικὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἦν κύριον τῶν καθηκόντων αὐτῷ· καθόλου δὲ
> τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἁρμογὴν εἶχε παραπλησίαν τῇ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων. κατά γε μὴν
> τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους, καθ᾽ οὓς εἰς τὸν Ἀννιβιακὸν ἐνέβαινε πόλεμον, χεῖρον ἦν τὸ
> Καρχηδονίων, ἄμεινον δὲ τὸ Ῥωμαίων. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ παντὸς καὶ σώματος καὶ πολιτείας καὶ
> πράξεώς ἐστί τις αὔξησις κατὰ φύσιν, μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἀκμή, κἄπειτα φθίσις, κράτιστα δ᾽
> αὐτῶν ἐστι πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀκμήν, παρὰ τοῦτο καὶ τότε διέφερεν ἀλλήλων τὰ
> πολιτεύματα. καθ᾽ ὅσον γὰρ ἡ Καρχηδονίων πρότερον ἴσχυε καὶ πρότερον εὐτύχει τῆς
> Ῥωμαίων, κατὰ τοσοῦτον ἡ μὲν Καρχηδὼν ἤδη τότε παρήκμαζεν, ἡ δὲ Ῥώμη μάλιστα
> τότ᾽ εἶχε τὴν ἀκμὴν κατά γε τὴν τῆς πολιτείας σύστασιν. διὸ καὶ τὴν πλείστην δύναμιν ἐν

---

[6] Sanders (1988), 72.

τοῖς διαβουλίοις παρὰ μὲν Καρχηδονίοις ὁ δῆμος ἤδη μετειλήφει, παρὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἀκμὴν εἶχεν ἡ σύγκλητος. ὅθεν παρ᾽ οἷς μὲν τῶν πολλῶν βουλευομένων, παρ᾽ οἷς δὲ τῶν ἀρίστων, κατίσχυε τὰ Ῥωμαίων διαβούλια περὶ τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις. ᾗ καὶ πταίσαντες τοῖς ὅλοις τῷ βουλεύεσθαι καλῶς τέλος ἐπεκράτησαν τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν Καρχηδονίων.[7]

As is evident from this brief review, current methods of historical reconstruction view Carthage as a Greco-Roman polis.[8] However, Carthage was a Phoenician polity. Phoenician polities do not share the same history of development as Greco-Roman polities.[9] Most were solidly monarchic, especially the Phoenician city-states of the eastern Mediterranean. Moreover, the city-states of the eastern Mediterranean ultimately came under Persian power in the sixth century.[10] Thus negotiation with an imperial authority conditioned the history of institutional development in the east. In the western Mediterranean, outside of Carthage, very little is known about the governmental institutions of Phoenician colonies.

The epigraphic record does not preserve any notices of governing institutions that preceded the Shofets, the Rab and the Chief Priest at Carthage. Some scholars have suggested that Carthage was originally a monarchy at its foundation. Ruiz Cabrero comments:

> El título de rey de Cartago (Elisa o Malchus) es creado por la exégesis moderna a partir de una enmendación del texto de Justino (*Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum*, XVIII, 7,

---

[7] "Now the Carthaginian constitution seems to me originally to have been well contrived in these most distinctively important particulars. For they had kings, and the Gerusia had the powers of an aristocracy, and the multitude were supreme in such things as affected them; and on the whole the adjustment of its several parts was very like that of Rome and Sparta. But about the period of its entering on the Hannibalian war the political state of Carthage was on the decline, that of Rome improving. For whereas there is in every body, or polity, or business a natural stage of growth, zenith, and decay; and whereas everything in them is at its best at the zenith; we may thereby judge of the difference between these two constitutions as they existed at that period. For exactly so far as the strength and prosperity of Carthage preceded that of Rome in point of time, by so much was Carthage then past its prime, while Rome was exactly at its zenith, as far as its political constitution was concerned. In Carthage therefore the influence of the people in the policy of the state had already risen to be supreme, while at Rome the Senate was at the height of its power: and so, as in the one measures were deliberated upon by the many, in the other by the best men, the policy of the Romans in all public undertakings proved the stronger; on which account, though they met with capital disasters, by force of prudent counsels they finally conquered the Carthaginians in the war." (Shuckburgh Translation)

[8] See Manfredi (2003), 349-50 for a discussion of previous scholarly approaches to this question.

[9] See Seston (1967) for an earlier argument from this position, though with less epigraphic evidence.

[10] Manfredi (2003), 350-351.

2.7) y de Orosio (*Historia adversum paganos*, IV, 6, 7-8). Ningún texto púnico menciona la existencia de un rey en Cartago.[11]

That monarchies existed at other city-states in the Phoenician colonial sphere is demonstrated by the 9-8th century BCE Azatiwada, Kilamuwa and Çineköy inscriptions from Syria and Turkey as well as the 5th and 4th century epigraphic record at Kition.[12] However, no evidence from Carthage identifies the presence of monarchy.

In contrast, other scholars have argued that Phoenician colonies may have been governed by the mother city, at least during the earliest colonial period. The position is based on the interpretation of *KAI* 31, an 8th century BCE inscription found in Cyprus. The text records:

'סכן קרתחדשת עבד חרם מלך צדנם'

'Governor of the New City, servant of Hiram, the King of the Sidonians.'

From this inscription, therefore, it is possible to argue that the Tyrian King possessed a regular system of colonial administration that centered on the presence of a designated Soken/Governor.[13] It must be noted that KAI 31 is the only inscription of this type. No similar inscription has been found in the Phoenician colonies in the western Mediterranean. Because Cyprus was the most proximate colonial sphere to the Phoenicia, it is possible that Phoenician polities exercised forms of direct administration in Cyprus that were not possible in more distant colonial foundations.

---

[11] Ruiz Cabrero (2008), 91.

[12] See KAI 1; KAI 13; KAI 15 for examples of Phoenician Royal Inscriptions from Lebanon. See Avishur (2000), 103- 200 for a discussion of the following Phoenician Royal Inscriptions: Ahiram from Byblos (KAI 1); Tabnit from Sidon (KAI 13); Eshmunazar from Sidon (KAI 14); Kilamuwa (KAI 24); Azatiwada (KAI 26). For Kition see: KAI 32-33; Yon and Sznycer (1997); Yon (2000). For the Çineköy inscription see: Tekoglu et al. (2000).

[13] See Manfredi (2003), 340 and 348 for discussion.

Ultimately, none of these hypotheses can be confirmed. It is unknown how any Phoenician colony in the western Mediterranean organized politically at its foundation. Any reconstruction of Carthaginian institutions before the 5th century is therefore merely a scholarly hypothesis which presently can find no confirmation in any extant evidence.[14]

Civil Institutions

The Shofet

Previous interpretations of the office of Shofet have been highly dependent on the information preserved in the Greco-Roman sources. Diodorus Siculus (25.16) and Livy (30.7; 34.61) indicate that Shofet was the president of a Carthaginian Senate, convened the Carthaginian people's assembly, acted as a judge, and finally nominated military commanders. Certain scholars have argued that the Shofets were likely elected by the people's assembly during the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE, based on general descriptions of the organization of power provided by the ancient sources.[15]

From inscriptions, only certain information can be directly determined about the Shofet, none of which pertains to the information contained in the Greco-Roman sources. First, Carthage used the names of Shofets to provide identification for the year in Carthaginian inscriptions from at least the 5th century. Second, many Shofets, both at Carthage and in the Empire, provide genealogies in which multiple generations of ancestors also served as Shofet However, this is not always the case. Finally, the officers who held the position often also served as important religious officials at Carthage.

---

[14] Lopez Castro (1995), 47-48.
[15] Ruiz Cabrero (2008), 94; Manfredi (2003), 378.

The Shofets served as the eponymous officials for dating the year at Carthage. One of the earliest records of the Shofet is CIS I. 5632 in which the dating formula 'שפטם בקרתחדשת' 'being Shofets in Carthage' is used. The inscription dates to c. 450 BCE.[16] The same dating phrase is used in KAI 81: 'שפטם'. KAI 77 and KAI 80 preserve a slightly different formulation for the same information: בשת שפטם 'In the year of the Shofets…'.[17]

The record of the Shofet at Carthage during the 4-2nd centuries BCE is extensive and encompasses nearly 100 inscriptions. Ruiz Cabrero collected all of the known inscriptions in which an individual bears the title 'השפט', as well as the office holder's position in the family relationships recorded in these inscriptions ((f) denotes a female dedicant):

> CIS I. 199 dedicante, 200 padre, 201 dedicante, 202 dedicante, 203 dedicante, 204 dedicante y padre… 205 bisabuelo, 206 padre, 207 (f) padre, 208 dedicante y abuelo, 209 abuelo, bisabuelo y tatarabuelo, 210 padre, abuelo y bisabuelo, 211 dedicante?, 212 (f) padre, 213 padre y abuelo, 214 dedicante, 215 padre, 216 (f) abuelo y bisabuelo, 217 dedicante, 218 dedicante, 219 padre y bisabuelo, 220 padre, 222 (f) padre, 223 dedicante y padre, 224 padre, 225 padre, 227 dedicante y padre, 228 (f) padre, 262 dedicante y abuelo, 278 patron, 367 padre y tatarabuelo, 368 dedicante, 369 padre y abuelo, 370 dedicante, padre y (abuelo), 371 (f) abuelo, 2647 (f) abuelo, 2743 dedicante, 2952 bisabuelo?, 2994 padre?, 3026 (f) padre, 3217 abuelo?, 3222 dedicante, 3321 (f) abuelo, 3351 dedicante y padre, 3352 dedicante, padre y abuelo, 3353 abuelo, 3432 padre, 3523 bisabuelo, 3732 padre, 3778 tatarabuelo, 3788 tatarabuelo…, 3825= 5883 (f) padre, 3833 (f) padre, abuelo y bisabuelo, 3914, 3920, 3921, 4792 abuelo, 4793 abuelo y bisabuelo, 4794 bisabuelo, 4795 bisabuelo, 4796 (f) padre, 4797 dedicante, 4798 padre, 4799 dedicante, 4800 padre, 4801 padre y bisabuelo, 4802 padre y abuelo, 4803 padre y abuelo, 4804 (f) padre, 4805 padre, 4806 padre, 4807 dedicante y padre?, 4808 (f) padre, 4809 bisabuelo, 4810 bisabuelo, 4811 padre y abuelo, 4812 padre, 4814 (f) abuelo, 4815 padre, 4815bis (f) padre y abuelo, 4816 (f) abuelo, 4817 padre, 4818 padre?, 4864 dedicante y padre, 4865 padre, 4866 abuelo, 4867 padre, 4868 padre, 4869 padre, 4870 dedicante, 4898 abuelo, 5655 bisabuelo, 5670 bisabuelo, 5697 = 5886 (f) padre y abuelo, 5903 dedicante, padre y abuelo,5907 dedicante, 5910 solo dedicante. En cuanto a las inscripciones funerarias: CIS I 5950 (f) esposo…, padre…, 5977, 5985,5988 (f) esposo, padre y abuelo. [18]

---

[16] Ruiz Cabrero (2008), 93
[17] Ruiz Cabrero (2008), 93
[18] Ruiz Cabrero (2008), 91-92/

In the vast majority of these inscriptions a single Shofet is named with no reference made to prior or subsequent office holders. (67 examples). Twenty of the inscriptions note two generations of Shofet in the family line. Of these 15 of the inscriptions show direct descent either from father to son, grandfather to father, or great-grandfather to grandfather. Five of the examples record two generations of Shofet with a generation of separation between office holders. Finally, five of the inscriptions record three generations of Shofet In all of the examples, the office was held by successive generations (grandfather-father-son).

Interestingly, the dedicant in many of these inscriptions could not hold the office of Shofet due to the fact that they are females (27 individuals).[19]

'אשת חנא השפט רב כהנם בן עבדמלקרת השפט רב כהנם'[20]

'Wife of Hanno, the Shofet, Chief Priest son of Abdmelqart, the Shofet, Chief Priest.'

For the study of Carthaginian office holding, these inscriptions are particularly important. Individuals who held the office of Shofet often served as Chief Priests; however, it is rare that a Shofet also served as a Rab. Thus the majority of inscriptions from male dedicants preserve a single genealogy that records iterations of the office of Shofet or Rab. In contrast, aristocratic females often record personal genealogies and those of their husband's. From these inscriptions, it is clear that marriages occurred across office holding lines. Perhaps the most famous inscription is that of Batbaal. CIS I.5988 records[21]:

---

[19] Ruiz Cabrero (2008), 92-93.
[20] R.E.S. 553=CIS. I. 5950=KAI 93
[21] R.E.S. 786= CIS I. 5988=KAI 95; See also Berger (1907), 180.

קבר בתבעל רב כהנם בת חמלכת הרב בן מגן בן בדעשתרת אשת חמלכת השפט בן בדעשתרת השפט בן אדנבעל
השפט בן עזמלך השפט

"The Tomb of Batbaal, the Chief of Priests, the daughter of Hamilcat the Rab, the son of Magon, the son of Bodashtart; the wife of Hamilcat the Shofet, son of Bodashtart the Shofet, son of Adonibal the Shofet, son of Ozmelek the Shofet "

When taken collectively too little is known about Carthaginian epigraphic habits to make any firm conclusions from inscriptions about access to the office of Shofet The vast majority of inscriptions record a single office holder, but not all inscriptions preserve family genealogies. Those that do record multiple generations attest to the fact that the office of Shofet was normally held by successive generations when compared to evidence for generational skipping.

In addition, there is evidence that certain families lost access to the office. Dedicants identify great-grandfathers and even great-great grandfathers in these inscriptions without reference to any Shofets in the intervening generations. The inability of successive generations to reproduce power militates against any interpretation of Carthage as a closed oligarchy. While certain inscriptions do make it clear that power families existed at Carthage, especially the Batbaal inscription, the majority of inscriptions attest to more limited family histories for most Shofets. When reference is taken to the other office with which the Shofet most commonly appears, the Chief Priest, the evidence suggests that Carthaginian families who lost access to the highest offices often found power in subsidiary roles.

[22]'קבר המלכת כהן בעל שמם בן עזרבעל השנא בן אשמנעם השנא בן מהרבעל רב הכהנם בן עבדמלכת רב הכהנם'

---

[22] R.E.S 249. See Berger (1901) (b) for the find and its original publication. Found in the Ste. Monique Necropolis.

'Tomb of Hamilcat, Priest of Baal of the Heavens, son of Asdrubaal, the Teacher[23], son of Esmounamar, the Teacher, son of Maharbaal, the Chief of Priests, son of Abdmilcat, the Chief of Priests.'

Concepts of Identity: Geography

Carthaginian dependents in the western Mediterranean self identify through their city. Most commonly, inscriptions record the phrase "a man of the people of", 'אש בעם'. Whether or not this denotes a form of political identification is unclear from the epigraphic records. However, the use of this phrase at Carthage and its dependencies does differ from other Phoenician methods of self identification. Inscriptions suggest that external populations used different constructions, such as 'The Tyrian' 'צרי'.[24]

Collegial Legislative Bodies

One of the most difficult facts to determine about the history of Phoenician colonies is the role of the 'people' in government. The earliest attestation of an 'עם' comes from the Karetepe Inscription (KAI 26). However, in the 9th century BCE, it is clear that the term refers to the subjects of a monarchy and makes reference only to those who inhabit his territory. By the 4th century in certain city-states, the 'עם' appears to have developed into a legislative body, and the use of 'עם' to denote a collegial political institution appears in inscriptions for the first time.[25] The 4th century use of the term is primarily a result of Hellenistic conquests, and many of the inscriptions make reference to Hellenistic Kings. In *KAI* 43, the inscription is dated by reference

---

[23] Tomback (1978), 326. The root 'שנא' or 'שנה' relates to repetition, iteration (i.e. second, again), and studying/teaching. The translation chosen here is 'The Teacher' in belief that this likely represents some form of religious office. See also CIS I. 359.
[24] Fantar (1993) I, 167-172.
[25] Manfredi (2003), 355.

to the year of Ptolemy's reign and also to the year of the people of Lapethos. Similar dating formulas have also been found near Tyre.[26] Outside of the Hellenistic Kingdoms, the 'people of Gadir' is used on coinage from the city-state, which may represent the only independent attestation of a collegial legislative body at a Phoenician state.[27]

No documentary evidence attests to a restricted body of oligarchs, who may have acted as senate or counsel of nobles, though the Greco-Roman sources provide narratives related to the existence of a senate at Carthage. Certain scholars have tried to argue that the title 'baal' or 'baalim' found in certain inscriptions from the city and its dependencies may indicate a restricted oligarchy, though all of the epigraphic evidence comes from the Roman period of rule in North Africa.[28]

Do we have Baalim at Carthage?

Baal literally means lord or master. In inscriptions from the western Mediterranean individuals are often noted at Baal (male) or Baalat (female). When described collectively, the term Baalim is used. The presence of Baalim in inscriptions has led some scholars to argue that this was a characteristic title of the Carthaginian Empire. Baalim denoted the important Carthaginian elites who lived at subordinated city-states within the Carthaginian Empire. The term was subsequently adopted into the Roman system of governance after Rome's conquest.[29] Yet, no inscription from Carthage or any of it dependencies has produced the title Baal/Baalim for the period of Carthaginian imperial control.[30] The title is primarily found in Neo-Punic

---

[26] KAI 18 and 19.
[27] Manfredi (2003), 379
[28] See Manfredi (2003), 391-392.
[29] Manfredi (2003), 356- 361 for a complete discussion of the term and its history.
[30] Fantar (1993) I, 182.

inscriptions from the Roman period. The inscriptions are most often recovered from funerary contexts. An example from Maktar[31]:

'טנע עבן ז ליעלתם בן מתנבעל בעל המכתערם '

'This pillar was erected by Ioltam, son of Mattanbaal, citizen of the Mactarim.'

The excavations of the Roman-Punic necropolis at Maktar have uncovered other inscriptions that follow the same formula.[32] The only earlier attestation of the term in the Western Mediterranean comes from the coinage of Panormus. Fifth century examples record: ' ש בעל ציצ ' 'which pertains to the citizens of Tziyitz'.[33]

If the title Baal was in use at Carthage, it would have been regularly recovered in the necropoleis dedicated to higher officials at Carthage. No attestations of the term have been found in these inscriptions. Therefore, it remains probable that the use of the term "Baal/at" to denote a citizen is a function of the Roman period.

Religious Institutions

Because the Chief Priests at Carthage often served as Shofets, a brief review of religious institutions at Carthage offers further access to patterns of Carthaginian office holding. The title Chief Priest is recorded in many inscriptions. When used without a qualifier to denote a specific college of priests, Rab Cohanim appears to denote the highest religious official at Carthage.

---

[31] R.E.S. 163
[32] R.E.S. 164; R.E.S. 936
[33] Manfred (2003), 358.

Descent from a Rab Cohanim was often noted even if the holder of the office was a distant ancestor:

 קבר המלכת כהן בעל שמם בן עזרבעל השנא בן אשמנעם השנא בן מהרבעל רב הכהנם בן עבדמלכת רב הכהנם'[34]

'Tomb of Hamilcat, Priest of Baal of the Heavens, son of Asdrubaal, the Teacher[35], son of Esmounamar, the Teacher, son of Maharbaal, the Chief of Priests, son of Abdmilcat, the Chief of Priests.'

Thus the title would appear to be a rotating office held annually by a priest or priestess. When the office is held by a priestess, it should be noted that the title is not changed to reflect the gender of the occupant.CIS I.5988 records[36]:

קבר בתבעל רב כהנם בת המלכת הרב בן מגן בן בדעשתרת אשת חמלכת השפט בן בדעשתרת השפט בן אדנבעל השפט בן עזמלך השפט

"The Tomb of Batbaal, the Chief of Priests, the daughter of Hamilcat the General, the son of Magon, the son of Bodashtart; the wife of Hamilcat the Shofet, son of Bodashtart the Shofet, son of Adonibal the Shofet, son of Ozmelek the Shofet

Batbaal was a female chief of priests.[37] Other priestesses are denominated as 'רב כהנת' 'Chief of Priestesses' which appears to denote a distinct office from the Chief of Priest.

קבר חנבי רב כהנת בת חנבעל ...'[38], 'Tomb of Hanbi, the Chief of Priestesses, daughter of Hannibal'

Priestesses are common in the epigraphic record at Carthage.[39] The uncertain dating of most Carthaginian inscriptions means that the majority of recorded priestesses cannot be dated with

---

[34] R.E.S 249. See Berger (1901) (b) for the find and its original publication. Found in the Ste. Monique Necropolis.

[35] Tomback (1978), 326. The root 'שנא' or 'שנה' relates to repetition, iteration (i.e. second, again), and studying/teaching. The translation chosen here is 'The Teacher' in belief that this likely represents some form of religious office. See also CIS I. 359.

[36] R.E.S. 786= CIS I. 5988=KAI 95; See also Berger (1907), 180.

[37] Berger (1907), 182: "Faut-il voir là un simple fait d'attraction, et donnait-on, par analogie, le même titre aux hommes et aux femmes? J'ai quelque peine à le croire, et il me semble plus vraisemblable d'admettre que nous avons affaire à une femme qui était à la tête d'un collège de prêtres."

[38] R.E.S. 540: The inscription was discovered in the Ste. Monique necropolis at the entrance to a funerary chamber.

chronological certainty. Instead, the majority of the inscriptions are dated with reference to their paleography or the ceramics associated with burials. The evidence indicates that in the 4th-2nd centuries BCE, priestesses were important religious officials in many cults at Carthage. One inscription records that the wife of a Chief Priest through her marriage became a priestess. The inscription on which her genealogy and marriage is recorded is constructed similarly to that of Batbaal:[40]

קבער צפנבעל הכהנת בת עזרבעל בן מגן בן בדעשתרת אשת חנא השפט רב כהנם בן עבדמלקרת השפט רב כהנם

'The tomb of Siphonbaal, the Priestess, daughter of Azarbaal son of Magon son of Bodashtart; wife of Hanno the Shofet and Chief Priest son of Abdmelqart the Shofet and Chief Priest.'[41]

Carthaginian priestesses were not confined to the city-state. They could serve Carthaginian temple trading stations in overseas locations. A 3rd/2nd century BCE inscription recovered at Avignon records the marriage and genealogy of Zaybaqat, a priestess.[42] She was married to Baalhanno, who served as a 'מקם אלם'.

The office of 'מקם אלם' is also recorded on inscription in the Sainte Monique necropolis at Carthage as the sole title held by a deceased individual.

---

[39] For priestesses not discussed infra. See: R.E.S. 501: Hatalit, the Priestess (Ste. Monique Necropolis); R.E.S. 502: Arashtbaal, the Priestess (Ste. Monique Necropolis); R.E.S. 509: Amastoret, the Priestess (Ste. Monique Necropolis);

[40] R.E.S. 553=CIS. I. 5950=KAI 93

[41] It may be possible to connect the Siphonbaal recorded in KAI 93 with another inscription. R.E.S. 341 is a dedication to Tanit. The find has no archaeological context, but is similar in design, iconography, and wording to inscriptions recovered from the Tophet The Siphonbaal of R.E.S. 341 has a similar genealogy but in a different order from KAI 93. R.E.S. 341: ' צפנבעל בת מגן בן עזרבעל'. 'Siphonbaal, daughter of Magon son of Azarbaal'. A different Siphonbaal, apparently unrelated to the priestess, appears in another inscription, R.E.S. 554, from the same cemetery. She appears to have married her brother who has the same genealogy.

[42] R.E.S. 360

'קבר בעלחנא ... מקם אלם', 'Tomb of Baalhanno…MQM ELIM'[43]

Though genealogies are common in these inscriptions, certain Chief of Priest do not record any previous office holders.

'קבר רב כהנם מתנבל' 'Tomb of the Chief of Priests Mattanbaal'[44]

In sum, a review of the extant religious institutions at Carthage indicates a great degree of continuity with the evidence of civil institutions. It is clear that certain individuals served as both the chief civil officer at Carthage and also held the role of chief priest. Furthermore, there is evidence of intergenerational office iteration within certain inscriptions. However, not all chief priests possessed office holding ancestors. Moreover, not all families were able to maintain their hold on the office, in common with the evidence already demonstrated for civil institutions.

Military Institutions

The Greco-Roman sources offer a variety of descriptions of Carthaginian military institutions and their integration within the power structures of the city-state. By combining accounts of Carthaginian military institutions and their interactions with civil authorities in Aristotle (Politics 2.3/2.11) and Justin (19-20), Barkaoui argued, "Les institutions militaires vont dépendre directement du conseil des Anciens, le Gérousia d'Aristotle y compris la nomination

---

[43] R.E.S. 537
[44] R.E.S. 538. Found in the Ste. Monique Necropolis. See Delattre and Berger (1904), 507-508: Inscription #3 with photos.

des généraux des armées. Le Sénat est appuyé par un tribunal militaire ou Conseil des cent

devant lesquels les officiers devaient se présenter au retour de chaque mission."[45]

The archaeological record does not leave any indication of these mediating civil

institutions at Carthage. The Senate and the Council of 100 are are solely evident in the ancient

sources.

The Rabs (Rabbim)

The Rabs served as the generals in charge of a Carthaginian army on campaign. Their

power was limited to the colonial sphere and appears to constitute a different political and social

career choice for Carthaginians. Whereas those individuals recorded in inscriptions as Shofet or

Chief Priest appear to move between both spheres, Rabs are normally attested only as Rabs.

They do not appear to occupy the position of Shofet or Chief Priest as part of this career. The

existence of this office from the 5th century in the epigraphic record is likely a development of

Carthaginian colonization in the Cap Bon peninsula during the 6th and 5th centuries BCE. Though

no direct inscriptions attest to a Rab's presence in the Cap Bon, the inscription from Olbia in

Sardinia (as presented in Chapter 5) appears to indicate that the Rab played an important role in

later colonial foundations.

In Carthaginian Inscriptions, the title Rab first appears in securely dated inscriptions of

the late 5th century. *CIS* I 5510[46]:

וילך רבם אדנבעל בן גרסקן הרב וחמלכת בן חנא הרב עלש ותמך המת אית אגרגנת

---

[45] Barkaoui (2003), 216.
[46] Schmitz (1994)

'And the Rabbim Adnibaal, son of Gerskon the Rab and Himilcat, son of Hanno the Rab, went to Halaisa. And they seized Agragant.'[47]

Though genealogies are common in Rab dedications, they are not always present. Some inscriptions give the name and title only:

'בעלשלך הרב' 'Baalshillek, the Rab'[48]

Even when genealogies are given, some do not specify titles for the ancestors.

'קבר שפט הרב בן אשמניתן בן גרמלקרת בן אדרבעל'[49]

'Tomb of Shafat, the Rab, son of Eshmounyaton, son of Germelqart, son of Aderbaal '

It is evident from the dating formulas of Carthaginian inscriptions that the office was only held for a year, in common with all other chief offices at Carthage. In turn, therefore, it is probable that the post could be held on multiple occasions. A funerary amphora from the Bordj-Djedid necropolis records a Hanno, who held the title: 'רב שלשא'.[50] The title may denote the number of times that Hanno held the Rab position: 'Rab, Three Times'.[51]

Ruiz Cabrero collected all the known inscriptions that record the title, 'הרב', at Carthage and the individual's position within any provided genealogy:

> CIS I: 229 padre y abuelo, 230 abuelo, 231 (f) abuelo, 232(f) esposo), 233 dedicante, 234 abuelo, 235 padre, 236 padre, 237 tatarabuelo, 260 abuelo, 372 (f) abuelo, 373 padre y abuelo, 374 padre?, 377 abuelo, 2952 padre?, 3059 abuelo, 3078 abuelo, 3110 dedicante?, 3217 dedicante, 3293 abuelo, 3351 abuelo y bisabuelo, 3353 padre, 3523

---

[47] Schmitz (1994), 11

[48] R.E.S. 8. The inscription was found in the Bordj-Djedid necropolis. Likely dating it to the 4th-3rd centuries BCE.

[49] R.E.S. 239

[50] R.E.S. 910

[51] See Brown et al. (1906), 1026.

padre y abuelo, 3588 padre y abuelo, 3610 bisabuelo, 3731 padre, 3778 bisabuelo, 3788 propietario y padre, 3794 padre y abuelo, 3895 dedicante?, 3899 padre?, 3914, 3919, 4797 padre, 4816 (f) bisabuelo, 4818 dedicante?, 4819 padre y abuelo, 4820 padre, 4821 tatarabuelo, 4822 dedicante, padre, abuelo y tatarabuelo, 4823 padre y tatarabuelo, 4824 padre y bisabuelo, 4825bisabuelo, 4826 bisabuelo, 4827 dedicante, 4828 padre, 4829 abuelo, 4830 padre?,4831 padre, 4864 padre, 4869 abuelo y bisabuelo, 4870 padre, 5510 ver, 5654 dedicante,5693 padre, 5694 padre, 5695 dedicante y padre, 5696 padre, 5701 padre y abuelo, 5702 padre (f?), 5854 abuelo, 5882 abuelo? En cuanto a las inscripciones funerarias de Cartago: CIS I 5954, 5979 (f) padre y abuelo, esposo, padre y abuelo, 5988 (f) padre, 5994 (f) abuelo del esposo, 6012.[52]

In many of these dedications, there is clear evidence for regeneration of power by families who held the Rab. 11 instances of fathers and sons who both held the office are recorded. At the same time, few of the genealogies count more than two successive generations of Rabs. That these inscriptions do exist, for example CIS I. 4822, cautions against any over interpretation of the evidence. It is possible that most dedicants preferred to record only two previous generations. Thus inscriptions with a father and grandfather recorded as Rab, CIS I. 229 or 3523, may mask earlier generations due to commemorative habits or personal preference.

The Carthaginian Navy

The Ship Sheds at Carthage, as previously noted, were likely constructed during the 4th/ 3rd century BCE. In their final form, 170-180 docking ports were available to boats. These vary in length between 30-50m and in width between 5.8-7.4m. It is clear from their final form that they were intended to accommodate multiple types of warships and/or multiple ships within a single dock.[53]

---

[52] Ruiz Cabrero (2008), 95.
[53] Barkaoui (2003), 87-89.

As already described in Chapter 4, the best evidence for Carthaginian warships comes from the wrecks off of the coast of Sicily that date to the period of the 1st Punic War.[54] Very little is known about Carthaginian or Phoenician ships of any type (military or merchant) before this period. The majority of information comes from artistic representations on coins or steles as well as short descriptions in various ancient authors. Finally, some clay models of ships have been recovered.[55] Descriptions in the ancient sources describe a Carthaginian navy that progressively increased the size of its ships during the 5th and 4th centuries BCE. The trireme was superseded by the quadrireme which itself was superseded by the quinquereme. Polybios notes that the Romans used a Carthaginian quinquereme to develop their naval force during the 1st Punic War:

> θεωροῦντες δὲ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς τριβὴν λαμβάνοντα, τότε πρῶτον ἐπεβάλοντο ναυπηγεῖσθαι σκάφη, πεντηρικὰ μὲν ἑκατόν, εἴκοσι δὲ τριήρεις. τῶν δὲ ναυπηγῶν εἰς τέλος ἀπείρων ὄντων τῆς περὶ τὰς πεντήρεις ναυπηγίας διὰ τὸ μηδένα τότε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν κεχρῆσθαι τοιούτοις σκάφεσιν, πολλὴν αὐτοῖς παρεῖχεν τοῦτο τὸ μέρος δυσχέρειαν…ἀλλὰ παρὰ Ταραντίνων καὶ Λοκρῶν ἔτι δ᾽ Ἐλεατῶν καὶ Νεαπολιτῶν συγχρησάμενοι πεντηκοντόρους καὶ τριήρεις ἐπὶ τούτων παραβόλως διεκόμισαν τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἐν ᾧ δὴ καιρῷ τῶν Καρχηδονίων κατὰ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐπαναχθέντων αὐτοῖς, καὶ μιᾶς νεὼς καταφράκτου διὰ τὴν προθυμίαν προπεσούσης, ὥστ᾽ ἐποκείλασαν γενέσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὑποχείριον, ταύτῃ παραδείγματι χρώμενοι τότε πρὸς ταύτην ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τοῦ παντὸς στόλου ναυπηγίαν, ὡς εἰ μὴ τοῦτο συνέβη γενέσθαι, δῆλον ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν εἰς τέλος ἂν ἐκωλύ.[56]

Pliny in the Natural History (7.207) provides a history of the development of naval vessels that identifies Carthage as the developer of the quadrireme:

---

[54] Frost (1973) and Culican and Curtis (1974).

[55] Bonino (2010), 12.

[56] Polybios 1.20: "It was, then, because they saw that the war they had undertaken lingered to a weary length, that they first thought of getting a fleet built, consisting of a hundred quinqueremes and twenty triremes. But one part of their undertaking caused them much difficulty. Their shipbuilders were entirely unacquainted with the construction of quinqueremes, because no one in Italy had at that time employed vessels of that description…but they borrowed quinqueremes and triremes from Tarentum and Locri, and even from Elea and Neapolis; and having thus collected a fleet, boldly sent their men across upon it. It was on this occasion that, the Carthaginians having put to sea in the Strait to attack them, a decked vessel of theirs charged so furiously that it ran aground, and falling into the hands of the Romans served them as a model on which they constructed their whole fleet And if this had not happened it is clear that they would have been completely hindered from carrying out their design by want of constructive knowledge." (Shuckburgh Translation)

> longe nave Iasonem primum navigasse Philostephanus auctor est, Hegesias Parhalum, Ctesias Samiramin, Archemachus Aegaeonem, biremem Damastes Erythraeos fecisse, triremem Thucydides Aminoclen Corinthium, quadriremem Aristoteles Carthaginienses.

Based on the varied size of the ship sheds at Carthage, it is likely that as late as the 1st Punic War, the Carthaginian navy employed all three types of warships: trireme, quadrireme and quinquereme.[57] Reconstructions of triremes, quadriremes, and quinqueremes indicate that these ships on average measured 35m x 5.5/6m, 35/40m x 5.5/6m and 47m x 7m and required 150, 160 and 250/ 300 rowers respectively.[58]

Any reconstruction of the size of the Carthaginian navy is therefore complicated by the use of a variety of ships. Because each of these warships requires a different number of rowers (150, 160, 250/300 respectively), the total number of rowers in the Carthaginian navy varies depending on the proportions of these warships as part of the total fleet Polybios provides a proportion of 5:1 for quinqueremes: triremes in the Roman navy. Carthage also likely possessed a fleet of quadriremes not used at Rome. Using the size of the ship sheds at Carthage and Polybios' reconstruction, it is possible to conjecture a fleet of 100 quinqueremes, 50 quadriremes and 20 triremes for Carthage during the 1st Punic War. This would have required circa 40,000 active rowers at any given time in order to move the entire fleet. Assuming that only half of the navy was active at any given time, the Carthaginian fleet still required about 20,000 rowers in addition to 5,000 marines who served on the decks of the quinqueremes.

The Carthaginian Army

The earliest description of a Carthaginian army recorded in the Greco-Roman sources is Herodotus' account of the Sicilian Greek's description of Hamilcar's forces at the Battle of

---

[57] Bonino (2010), 41.
[58] Bonino (2010), 42-45.

Himera.[59] The Sicilian Greeks, according to Herodotus, provided the outstanding figure of 300,000 men as the strength of Hamilcar's army. They further narrated that the Carthaginians secured forces from other Phoenician city-states in the western Mediterranean as well as indigenous peoples from Sardinia, Iberia, Corsica, and Libya. In interpreting this evidence, scholars previously have accepted Herodotus' reconstruction of the composition of the army while dismissing its fantastic size.[60] Herodotus' narrative, in present reconstructions, creates the belief that Carthage employed primarily mercenary soldiers in its armies from the earliest period of its imperial expansion.[61]

As noted in the Introduction, Herodotus' narrates the Battle of Himera as an alternative history created by the Sicilian Greeks to explain their absence at the Battles of Salamis and Plataea. Though later Greco-Roman sources also argue that a Battle of Himera occurred, these narratives clearly derive from Herodotus' account. Each of these subsequent accounts added alternative events to the story. By the 1st century, Diodorus was able to uncover multiple accounts of the Battle of Himera, which disagreed on the date of the battle and its course. Based on the fact that Herodotus presents the Battle of Himera as an alternative history, it is necessary to dismiss any description of the Battle of Himera as evidence for early Carthaginian armies.[62]

<u>The Use of Mercenary Armies at Carthage?</u>

---

[59] Herodotus 7.165-167.

[60] Picard, G.-Ch. (1988), 119: "Le chiffre total est probablement très excessif, mai on ne peut contester que l'armée ait été très nombreuse et qu'elle ait compris une majorité de mercenaires barbares."

[61] Picard, G-Ch. (1988), 120: Huss (1985), 93-95.

[62] Even scholars who accept the alternative history presented by Herodotus have noted that the narrative of the Sicilian Greeks results in a strangely composed army for this period and geographic location. Picard, G. Ch (1988), 119: "Une armée ainsi composée est sans équivalent à cette époque. La plupart des cités, grecques ou italiques, utilisent des phalanges de citoyens." Picard only justification for the difference in the composition of Carthaginian armies is that it was already an empire by 500 BCE.

From Herodotus initial description of a Carthaginian army through the destruction of the Carthage, the Greco-Roman sources are unanimous that Carthage employed mercenary soldiers in their armies. Based on descriptions of Carthaginian armies in these sources, scholars have posited a gradual increase in the number of mercenary soldiers with each Carthaginian campaign in the 5th century. As a result, by the 4th century, Carthaginians citizens are believed to have acted primarily as officers and religious leaders for the armies. Mercenary soldiers, in Greco-Roman and modern reconstructions, do the actual fighting.[63]

Fariselli, in her recent re-estimation of the data from the ancient sources, concluded simply, "Dal V sec. a.C. … fino all metà del II sec. a.C. …le populazaione africane sono una presenza costante e maggioritaria nelle file cartaginesi."[64] Given this fact, it remains necessary to determine exactly how Carthage acquired the services of its own population and those of subordinated populations in North Africa. The distinction between a mercenary and a tribute soldier is particularly important for the history of Carthaginian imperialism. By definition, a mercenary works for pay and agreed upon contract of service. A tribute soldier is required to serve in the army of the metropole, due to the subordination of his city to the metropole.[65]

Fariselli argued that an intensive restudy of Carthaginian armies as they appear in the ancient sources indicated, "L'esistenza innegabile di un legame dialettico tra potere centrale ed etnie africane nel senso più ampio del termine, che in certi casi si esprime in un controllo istituzionalizzato, induce quindi, a non ritenere del tutto corretta l'applicazione della semplicistica qualifica di 'mercenari' *tout court* alle milizie libiche in assenza di un

---

[63] See Fariselli (2002), XVII-XIX for discussion.
[64] Fariselli (2002), 1.
[65] As noted by Fariselli (2002), 9.

soddisfacente supporto storico."[66] For Carthage, the exact dependents that were required to send soldiers to support the army are unknown from the Greco-Roman writers. Archaeology does not preserve any direct indications, outside of Carthaginian institutional control, by which sites may be identified as subject populations. Thus the only proximate measurement is those city-states in North Africa, Sicily and Sardinia that attest to organization by Shofet.

From this evidence, it is clear that the primary manpower base of the Carthaginian Empire was its colonies and subordinated populations in North Africa. Carthaginian colonies at Kerkouane, Kelibia, Korba, Neapolis, Thugga, Cirta, Sousse, and Beja provided the basic infrastructure of Carthaginian power in the Cap Bon and Tunisian Sahel. From these sites, Carthage acculturalized and incorporated native populations into the Carthaginian Empire. It is clear that Numidians in western Tunisia were subjects of the Carthaginian state in the 3rd century and subject to military service in Carthaginian armies. It is likely that Carthage colonized Dougga in the 4th century, inculcating the office of Shofet at the site. From this base, Numidian villages in the area were incorporated into the Carthaginian Empire. The Shofet is attested at Athiburos and Mactaris in the vicinity of Dougga. The pattern evidenced around Dougga is also present at Constantine further west in modern Algeria. Here, Carthaginian colonization engendered a similar process of integration at native sites.

Carthage's ability to extract manpower from its overseas dependencies is likely; however, there is no evidence of the incorporation of Elymian or Nuraghic populations into the Carthaginian state (excepting possibly the population of Eryx). Thus the manpower basis for Carthage overseas was primary concentrated in a few new colonies (Lilybaeum, Rosh Melqart,

---

[66] Fariselli (2002), 48-9. She studies the evidence from Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Polybios, Appian, Livy, and Silius Italicus. See Fariselli (2002), 9-49.

and Olbia) while also depending on the existing Phoenician population of subordinated city states (Tharros, Sulcis, Nora, Caralis, Panormus, etc.)

The Greco Roman sources allege that Carthage was able to successfully recruit mercenaries from indigenous populations in Sicily, Sardinia, Italy and Iberia.[67] However, all of this evidence is textual. No inscription exists that directly attest to any individual's service as a mercenary in the Carthaginian army. In contrast, a few inscriptions attest to indigenous Libyan populations serving in the Carthaginian army during the 1st Punic War. Inscriptions have been found in Sicily, written in native Libyan, all of which date to the mid-3rd century BCE.[68]

Perhaps most importantly, mercenaries work for pay and pay must be portable. Previous scholars have theorized that Carthage developed its coinage to pay mercenaries in Sicily. Thus these scholars interpret the coinage from Rosh Melqart in Sicily as evidence of mercenary pay. In contrast, I argued above that this was evidence of trade between these polities in the highly monetized economy of 4th and 3rd century BCE Sicily. In contrast to evidence for coinage in Sicily, Carthaginian coinage is not found in indigenous contexts in 5th or 4th century Iberia. Scholars have tried to explain this as a lack of focus in archaeological excavations. Fariselli comments, "Nello specifico, il mancato rilievo in Iberia di attestazioni in quantita significativa di monete di zecca Punica dei tipi impiegati, dalla fine del V e soprattutto nel IV sec. a.C. per il finanziamento dell truppe di spedizione in Sicilia...potrebbe dipendere da lacune di tipo investigativo."[69] In addition, other scholars have argued that Iberian populations were not

---

[67] See Fariselli (2002), 139-382 for complete study of all the evidence preserved in the Greco-Roman sources. It should be noted that nearly all of the information about Carthaginian armies in the 5th and 4th centuries is preserved in Diodorus Siculus (primarily books 13-15), who maintains constantly that the Carthaginians recruited mercenaries wherever and whenever possible. Access to Carthaginian armies of the 3rd and 2nd century comes from Polybios, Livy and Appian.

[68] Fariselli (2002), 56

[69] Fariselli (2002), 210

monetized until the late 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE. Therefore, the Carthaginian offered objects of trade instead of coinage to Iberian mercenaries.[70]

As demonstrated throughout this dissertation, the Iberian Peninsula is the most well excavated and documented area of Phoenician occupation. The archaeological sources of information include not only the main settlements but also hundreds of smaller sites.[71] By comparison, the archaeology of Phoenician and Carthaginian settlements in Sicily and Sardinia remains decades behind what has already been discovered in the Iberian Peninsula. In sum, to suggest the absence of investigation as reason for the absence of Carthaginian coinage is an untenable position. The suggestion that Iberian populations were not monetized is true. However, there is no way to prove or disprove suggestions that these mercenaries were compensated in kind, as pottery indicative of such compensation is equally likely to be evidence of trade.

In contrast to these above interpretations, it is possible to suggest an alternative solution. It remains likely that any contingent of Iberian, Sicilian, or Celtic soldiers recruited into the Carthaginian army would have been small and specialized. These soldiers, in common with other attested armies in the ancient world, fulfilled a function not normally occupied by Carthaginian or North Africa soldiers. As such, any contingent of recruited overseas mercenaries would have been small for any given campaign. Because the basis of the Carthaginian army was its own population and subordinated populations in North Africa, mercenaries in the Carthaginian army were likely limited.[72]

---

[70] Fariselli (2002), 210; Lopez Castro (1995), 79-80
[71] Lopez Castro (2008).
[72] I do not intend to discuss the 'Mercenary War' in this dissertation at any length. The 'Mercenary War' of 241-238 BCE represents another extended example of scholarly reliance on the information contained in the Greco-Roman sources. To corroborate the ancient sources narratives about these events, scholars have argued that Carthage transported its defeated armies into the Tunisian Sahel after the 1st Punic War. As demonstrated in this dissertation, the basis for Carthaginian manpower was the population of the Tunisian Sahel. Therefore, these individuals were not mercenaries, but rather the regular soldiers of the Carthaginian army, who served in Carthaginian armies due to subordination of their home city-states. The 'Mercenary War' is thus not a war but a rebellion. Similar events in the

Carthaginian Manpower

Any estimate of the size of the Carthaginian population is highly parametrical. Unlike the study of the Roman population, the Greco-Roman sources provide no figures on which to base a reconstruction for the population of Carthage or its dependencies.[73] At the same time, any parametric reconstruction is particularly important. In reference to sheer geographic extent, the Carthaginian Empire of the 3rd century was far more extensive geographically than the Roman Empire of the same period. Lancel comments, "si l'on compare avec les dimensions bien restreintes de l'*ager Romanus*…la disproportion apparaît flagrante et la comparaison très en faveur des Puniques."[74] However, scholars often neglect certain factors in these comparisons, especially the density of occupation in North Africa and Italy. Carthage may have had a far greater geographical extension but lacked population densities comparable to those of Roman Italy. The Ager Romanus was at this period a continuous agricultural territory in Italy. It encompassed the densely populated regions of Umbria, Etruria, and Magna Graecia in addition to its central territorial heartland in Latium. Rome had already founded nearly 20 colonies by the time of the First Punic War, a number likely greater than that founded by Carthage.

The extent of Carthage, the city, is unknown for the period before Roman conquest. The excavated areas demonstrate an area of habitation concentrated between the ports and the surrounding hills, which when taken collectively cover c. 3 sq. km or about 300 hectares. It is possible that Carthage extended far beyond the discoveries of modern excavations. There are indications that occupation quarters existed as far south as the Bay of Kram and beyond the hills

---

history of the Roman Empire are numerous. The alliance of Italian states with Hannibal and the Social War are the best comparative examples. See Loreto (1995) for a similar argument, but with a focus on the ancient sources and not the archaeological evidence. He correctly titles his work *La Grande Insurrezione Libica contro Cartagine*.

[73] See Brunt (1971) and Hopkins (1978) for the Roman data and reconstructions.

[74] Lancel (1992), 290.

that flank the city on its western and northern edges. If these areas are included, then it is possible that Carthage covered c. 8 sq. km or 800 hectares. With respect to the size of Carthaginian colonies, Kerkouane in its most developed phase encompassed 7-8 hectares within its double walls. The same size has been estimated for the site at Tipasa.[75]

Population density estimates from other ancient city-states provide some indication of the potential population densities at these sites. Zorn estimated a population density of 250-450 persons per hectare for a small Bronze- Iron Age foundation in the Near East depending of the amount of space used for public facilities and the size of houses/structure of families.[76] Storey estimated population densities of 166 persons per hectare at Pompeii and 317 persons per hectare at Ostia.[77] In the Iberian Peninsula, archaeologists working with early Phoenician colonies generally estimate an average density of 200 people per hectare.[78]

Assuming a population density of 250 people per hectare, the population of Carthage before the first Punic War was potentially 75,000 or 200,000 (3 km^2 v. 8 km^2). The Carthaginian colonies at Kerkouane and Tipasa, assuming a lower population density of 200, contained 1500 inhabitants within the city-walls. If higher population densities of 350 and 300 were experienced at these sites, then Carthage maintained a population of 105,000 or 280,000, while Kerkouane and Tipasa possessed c. 2000 inhabitants.

Based on these figures, it is possible to suggest a Carthaginian population living within colonial foundations in the Cap Bon on the order of 10,000 inhabitants total in the sites at Kerkouane, Aspis, Korba, Neapolis, and Thinissut. The archaeologies of the remaining

[75] Lancel (1992), 303. Roman military colonies of the period seem to have been about the same size. Cosa measures 8.83 hectares within its walls. See Bruno and Scott (1993), 1-10. Only 90 houses were constructed at Cosa, though space existed for up to 300.
[76] Zorn (1994), 44.
[77] Storey (1997), 973.
[78] Pellicer Catalan (2007), 75.

Carthaginian foundations and other urbanized areas of the peninsula are poorly known. Though certain sites may be large sites, it is likely that most were small villages on the order of 100-500 inhabitants.

The Cap Bon offers 2822 km2 of territory.[79] Sallares estimated that Attica encompassed 2400 km2, which depending on grain yields per hectare, could support a population density from direct grain production of 35-52 people per sq. km absent any imports.[80] The Cap Bon is two thirds cultivated at present, and was intensely cultivated in antiquity. Moreover, the Cap Bon is more fertile than Attica and receives more rainfall.[81] This is essential because the difference in rainfall is actually sufficient to allow for fairly widespread cultivation of cereals in the Cap Bon. Data from the past 121 years collected at Kelibia shows a concentrated seven month winter wet season in which an average of c. 400mm of precipitation falls.

---

[79] Vogiatzakis and Cassar (2007), 18-19. Of this 2822 km2, two-thirds is cultivatable. Thus the agricultural territory of the Cap Bon is 1860 km2. The total population of the Cap Bon in 2004 was 650,300. The precipitation varies yearly from 330mm to 670 mm depending on exact location.
[80] Sallares (1991), 73-79.
[81] It also receives about 100 mm more average precipitation than Attica.
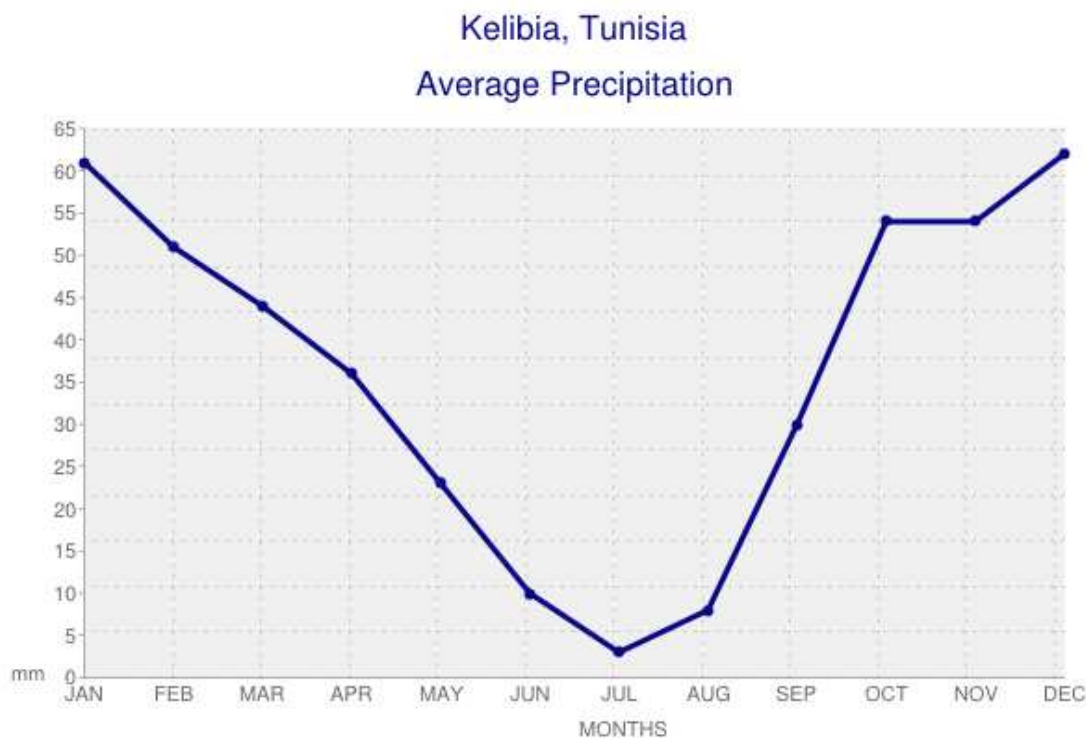
Kelibia, Tunisia
Average Precipitation

Image 24: Rainfall at Kelibia, Tunisia.

Image source: www.weatherbase.com

Consequently, if we assume that land in the Cap Bon was capable of supporting 50-60 people per sq. km. and we assume 2/3 cultivation (1860 km), then the Cap Bon alone was capable of supporting a population of 90,000- 110,000. Given the ubiquity of exports from the Cap Bon at Carthage, it is likely that the countryside was not at its carrying capacity in order to support exports, thus the population of the Cap Bon was likely on the order of 50,000 outside of Carthaginian colonies and other smaller occupations. In total, the population of the Cap Bon was likely 70,000- 80,000 when Carthaginian colonies are included.

In addition to the Cap Bon, Carthage possessed a series of primary colonial foundations at Sousse, Beja, Dougga, and Cirta, each of which likely supported a population of 5000-10000. All of the colonies served to subject indigenous populations to Carthaginian control in the

Medjerda River valley and its tributaries. These areas became dotted by smaller cities on the order of 500-2000 inhabitants. In western Tunisia and eastern Algeria, precipitation follows a similar pattern to the Cap Bon, but occurs in greater quantities.
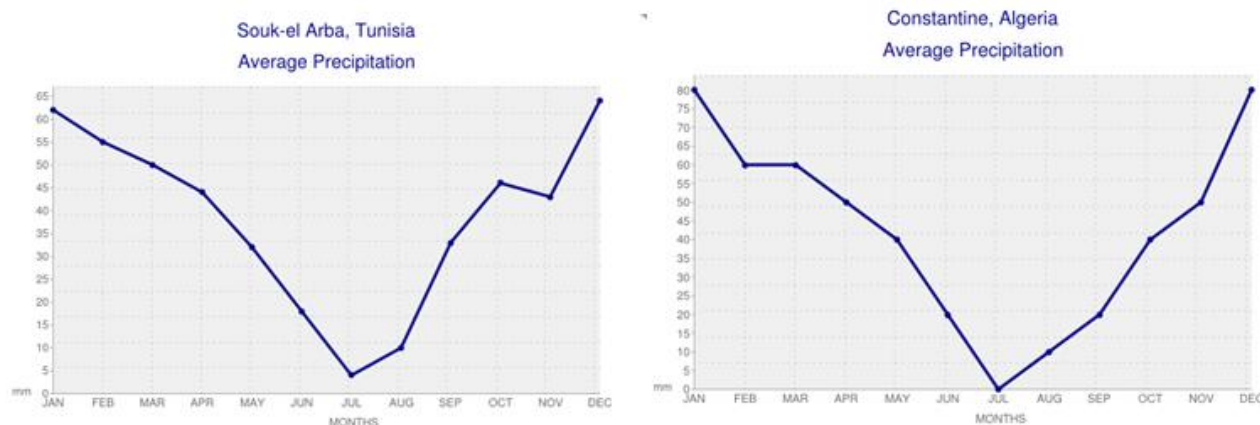

Image 25: Precipitation in Modern Western Tunisia and Algeria.

Source:www.weatherbase.com

Considered collectively, the Sahel of Tunisia likely had multiple pockets of 50,000-70,000 individuals in conglomerations of agricultural towns located near a major Carthaginian Colony. The total population of these areas was likely 300,000- 400,000.

In sum, modern Tunisia and eastern Algeria, the territorial heartland of the Carthaginian Empire, possessed a total population of 750,000- 900,000. 200,000- 300,000 individuals resided in the metropole. The agricultural areas near the metropole likely supported another 50,000- 100,000. Carthaginian colonization and conquests in the Cap Bon likely resulted in the addition of 70,000 dependents. South of the Cap Bon, Carthage possessed colonies at Sousse, Sfax and occupied a number of smaller foundations in the area, which added another 50,000- 100,000 individuals to the Carthaginian Empire. The Sahel and eastern Algeria, the territorial heartland of Numidian populations, added another 300,000 dependents to the Carthaginian Empire.

Therefore, the Carthaginian Empire c. 300 BCE could depend on c. 150,000- 175,000 men of military age from its North African territory.[82] To this can be added the small figure of 20,000 men of military age it is overseas colonies in Sicily and Sardinia (assuming a total population of 100,000- 120,000 dependents. Therefore, it is unlikely that Carthage possessed direct access to more than 200,000 men of military age at any point in its history.

By way of comparison, Cornell estimated that Rome fielded an army of 36,000 at Sentinum in 295 BCE, by no means a complete demonstration of its manpower but an indication of its scale before the consolidation of conquests in Italy during the early 3rd century.[83] The conquests of the next 30 years greatly augmented Roman manpower in the period 300- 264 BCE. The invasions of Pyrrhus precipitated a persistent period of Roman conquests and colonization in central Italy, which led to foundations at Paestum, Beneventum, and Aesernia. Rome had further concluded treaties with 150 defeated city-states in Italy, all of which required military service in Roman campaigns.[84] Polybios alleges that Roman dependents could produce an army of 360,000 in 218 BCE, perhaps not a correct figure but an indication of the growth of the Roman Empire by the time of the 2nd Punic War.[85] Therefore, Rome had bridged the manpower gap that separated it from Carthage in the early 3rd century. At the time of the 1st Punic War, Rome was likely able, in point of fact, to draw its soldiers and sailors from a larger manpower base than Carthage.

Evidence for Carthaginian International Relations.

---

[82] Loreto (1995), 121 concluded that there were likely 70,000 men of military age that participated in the insurrection of 241- 238 BCE from the indigenous populations of North Africa. Based on the indigenous population of the Cap Bon and Sahel, such a figure is certainly possible. See also Polybios 1.74-76.
[83] Cornell (1995), 361.
[84] Cornell (1995), 364-365.
[85] 2.24

<u>The Treaties of Carthage and Rome:</u>

The treaties of Carthage and Rome recorded by Polybios have long been important in reconstructions of Carthaginian imperial history. Because of Polybios' authority and the manner in which he describes the treaties, historians have accepted his renderings of these texts as legitimate evidence for the reconstruction of the Carthaginian Empire during the late 6th-3rd centuries BCE.[86] Furthermore, Polybios emphasis of the geographic spread of theses empires in his discussions of the treaties lends itself directly to the concerns of modern reconstructions.

Polybios in a continuous section of his history describes a series of treaties which he claims to have seen in Rome: "τούτων δὴ τοιούτων ὑπαρχόντων, καὶ τηρουμένων τῶν συνθηκῶν ἔτι νῦν ἐν χαλκώμασι παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Καπετώλιον ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀγορανόμων ταμιείῳ."[87] His discussion of the treaties occurs as part of the general description of the build up to the 2nd Punic War. The issue at hand is the fall of Saguntum and the validity of Carthage's actions according to the established treaties between Carthage and Rome. Polybios explicitly notes his reasoning behind this extended presentation.

Polybios 3.21:

> οἱ μὲν οὖν καθολικώτερόν πως ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς λόγοις. ἡμῖν δ᾽ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ μὴ παραλιπεῖν ἄσκεπτον τοῦτο τὸ μέρος, ἵνα μήθ᾽ οἷς καθήκει καὶ διαφέρει τὸ σαφῶς εἰδέναι τὴν ἐν τούτοις ἀκρίβειαν, παραπαίωσι τῆς ἀληθείας ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις διαβουλίοις, μήθ᾽ οἱ φιλομαθοῦντες περὶ τούτων ἀστοχῶσι, συμπλανώμενοι ταῖς ἀγνοίαις καὶ φιλοτιμίαις τῶν συγγραφέων, ἀλλ᾽ ᾖ τις ὁμολογουμένη θεωρία τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπαρξάντων δικαίων Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἕως εἰς τοὺς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς καιρούς.[88]

---

[86] The most intensive studies of the treaties recorded in Polybios have been done by Hoyos: Hoyos (1985) and Hoyos (2010). See also: Ameling (1993), 257; Moscati (1994), 99; Colozier (1953), 69 for other examples of the use of treaties in the reconstruction of Carthaginian imperialism.

[87] Polybios 3.26.

[88] "The question of treaties between Rome and Carthage was referred to in general terms in the course of this debate: but I think a more particular examination of it will be useful both to practical statesmen, who require to know the exact truth of the matter, in order to avoid mistakes in any critical deliberation; and to historical students, that they

He then gives a record of the treaties, interspersed with his own comments about the significance of each. Polybios' focus in his interpretations is primarily the geography of imperial expansion.

Polybios 3.22 (Treaty of 509/508):

> εἰσὶ δ᾽ αἱ συνθῆκαι τοιαίδε τινές: "ἐπὶ τοῖσδε φιλίαν εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις καὶ τοῖς Καρχηδονίων συμμάχοις: μὴ πλεῖν Ῥωμαίους μηδὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Καλοῦ ἀκρωτηρίου, ἐὰν μὴ ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἢ πολεμίων ἀναγκασθῶσιν: ἐὰν δέ τις βίᾳ κατενεχθῇ, μὴ ἐξέστω αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἀγοράζειν μηδὲ λαμβάνειν πλὴν ὅσα πρὸς πλοίου ἐπισκευὴν ἢ πρὸς ἱερά, ἐν πέντε δ᾽ ἡμέραις ἀποτρεχέτω. τοῖς δὲ κατ᾽ ἐμπορίαν παραγινομένοις μηδὲν ἔστω τέλος πλὴν ἐπὶ κήρυκι ἢ γραμματεῖ. ὅσα δ᾽ ἂν τούτων παρόντων πραθῇ, δημοσίᾳ πίστει ὀφειλέσθω τῷ ἀποδομένῳ, ὅσα ἂν ἢ ἐν Λιβύῃ ἢ ἐν Σαρδόνι πραθῇ. ἐὰν Ῥωμαίων τις εἰς Σικελίαν παραγίνηται, ἧς Καρχηδόνιοι ἐπάρχουσιν, ἴσα ἔστω τὰ Ῥωμαίων πάντα. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ μὴ ἀδικείτωσαν δῆμον Ἀρδεατῶν, Ἀντιατῶν, Λαρεντίνων, Κιρκαιῶν, Ταρρακινιτῶν, μηδ᾽ ἄλλον μηδένα Λατίνων, ὅσοι ἂν ὑπήκοοι: ἐὰν δέ τινες μὴ ὦσιν ὑπήκοοι, τῶν πόλεων ἀπεχέσθωσαν: ἂν δὲ λάβωσι, Ῥωμαίοις ἀποδιδότωσαν ἀκέραιον. φρούριον μὴ ἐνοικοδομείτωσαν ἐν τῇ Λατίνῃ. ἐὰν ὡς πολέμιοι εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσέλθωσιν, ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ μὴ ἐννυκτερευέτωσαν.[89]

Polybios's Interpretation of the Treaty of 509/508 (3.22-3):

> ἐκ δὲ τούτων τῶν συνθηκῶν περὶ μὲν Σαρδόνος καὶ Λιβύης ἐμφαίνουσιν ὡς περὶ ἰδίας ποιούμενοι τὸν λόγον: ὑπὲρ δὲ Σικελίας τἀναντία διαστέλλονται ῥητῶς, ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων ποιούμενοι τὰς συνθήκας, ὅσα τῆς Σικελίας ὑπὸ τὴν Καρχηδονίων πίπτει

---

may not be led astray by the ignorance or partisan bias of historians; but may have before them a conspectus, acknowledged to be accurate, of the various compacts which have been made between Rome and Carthage from the earliest times to our own day." (Shuckburgh Translation)

[89] " The treaty is as follows:—There shall be friendship between the Romans and their allies, and the Carthaginians and their allies, on these conditions:Neither the Romans nor their allies are to sail beyond the Fair Promontory, unless driven by stress of weather or the fear of enemies. If any one of them be driven ashore he shall not buy or take aught for himself save what is needful for the repair of his ship and the service of the gods, and he shall depart within five days. Men landing for traffic shall strike no bargain save in the presence of a herald or town-clerk. Whatever is sold in the presence of these, let the price be secured to the seller on the credit of the state—that is to say, if such sale be in Libya or Sardinia.If any Roman comes to the Carthaginian province in Sicily he shall enjoy all rights enjoyed by others. The Carthaginians shall do no injury to the people of Ardea, Antium, Laurentium, Circeii, Tarracina, nor any other people of the Latins that are subject to Rome. From those townships even which are not subject to Rome1 they shall hold their hands; and if they take one shall deliver it unharmed to the Romans. They shall build no fort in Latium; and if they enter the district in arms, they shall not stay a night therein." (Shuckburgh Translation)

δυναστείαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι περὶ τῆς Λατίνης αὐτῆς χώρας ποιοῦνται τὰς συνθήκας, τῆς δὲ λοιπῆς Ἰταλίας οὐ μνημονεύουσι διὰ τὸ μὴ πίπτειν ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν.[90]

Polybios' interpretation is particularly seductive to scholars who have argued for an early Carthaginian Empire in Sicily and Sardinia. Polybios would appear to confirm the geography of Carthaginian conquest recorded also in Justin.[91] However, as demonstrated previously, no archaeological information can confirm Carthaginian institutional penetration into Sicily or Sardinia before the 4th century nor was Carthage, the metropole, capable of supporting a permanent overseas navy in this period.

In addition, Polybios' reconstruction of Roman geography (which is never considered in reconstructions of Carthaginian history) indicates a similar amplification of Roman imperial control. Though scholars have alleged that Rome was an imperial actor during the 6th century in Latium, no archaeological evidence has yet emerged to support this reconstruction. Rather, all reconstructions of the Roman city-state of the 6th and 5th centuries depend on the evidence preserved in texts. Therefore, many of the same problems that complicate reconstructions of early Carthaginian expansion are also present in the reconstruction of Roman imperialism.

Accepting the traditional accounts of the annalists and the antiquarians, Cornell reconstructed Rome at the end of the 6th century as an important and growing metropolis. Based on accounts in the sources, it is possible to conjecture that Rome grew to a population of c.

---

[90] "It is clear from this treaty that the Carthaginians speak of Sardinia and Libya as belonging to them entirely; but, on the other hand, make a distinction in the case of Sicily, and only stipulate for that part of it which is subject to Carthage. Similarly, the Romans also only stipulate concerning Latium; the rest of Italy they do not mention, as not being under their authority." (Shuckburgh Translation)

[91] Ameling (1993), 257: "Die Bildung des karthagischen Reiches in Sizilien, Sardinien und Afrika begann im 6. Jhrdt., was durch den ersten römisch-karthagischen Vertrag deutlich bewiesen wird."

20000 by the 6th century and territory that encompassed some 822 sq. km, a total of 35% of the land in Latium.[92]
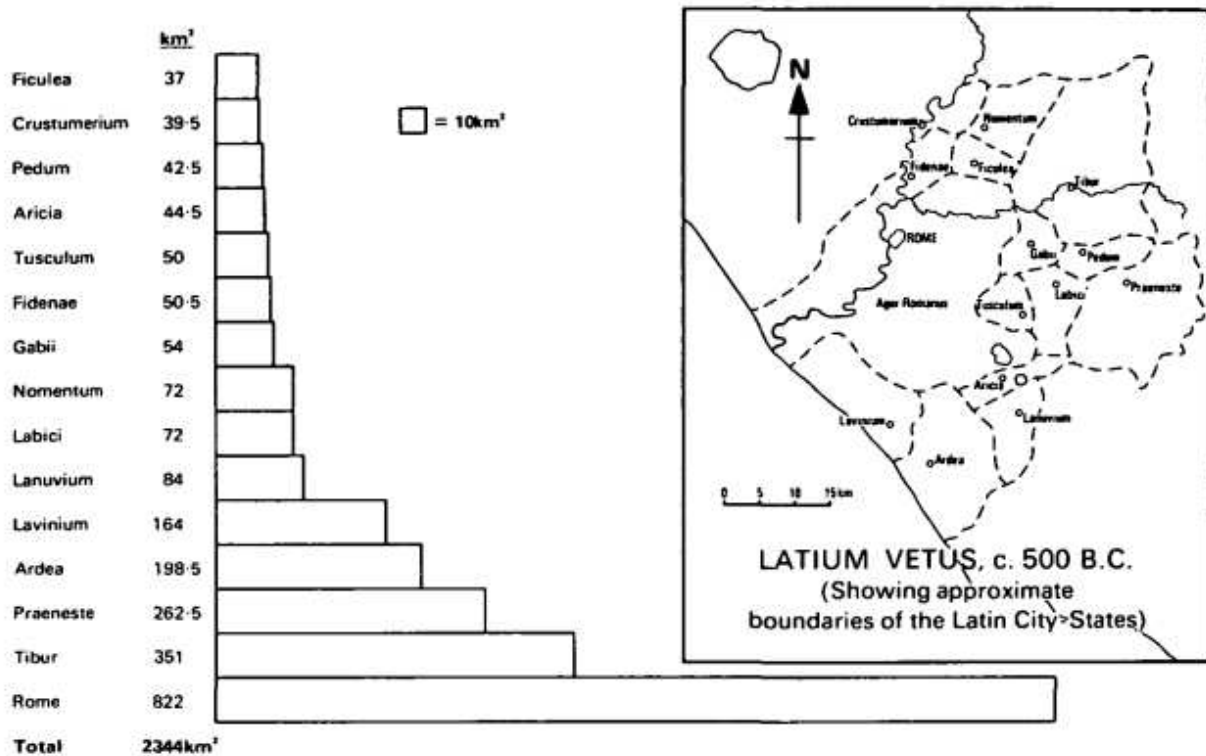

Image 26: Latium in Antiquity

Source: From Cornell (1989), 246. After Beloch.

In general, Cornell has argued that archaeological evidence would appear to confirm the impression derived from the sources. There are multiple indirect indications at Rome that the city was growing in size and power during the sixth century. Archaeologically, the area around the Roman forum begins to develop monumental architecture, likely an indication of increasing wealth. However, no archaeological evidence has yet been located that would attest to Roman dominance over Latin communities in this period. Furthermore, many of the source descriptions

---

[92] Cornell (1995), 204- 208; Cornell (1989), 246-248.

concerning the topography of the archaic city-state have never been substantiated in the archaeological record.[93] Cornell argues:

> The archaeological evidence, such as it is, is consistent with the traditional picture of Rome as a flourishing urban centre in the sixth century B.C. It is important, however, not to exaggerate the force of this argument, and to be clear about precisely what archaeological evidence can prove, and what it cannot prove. The material that has been unearthed in recent excavations has greatly increased our knowledge of the cultural development of early Rome and the conditions of its material life; but it can hardly be expected to provide much direct information about the external relations of the city… It is indeed hard to imagine what kind of archaeological evidence, short of an explicit inscription, would be adequate to prove or disprove the claim of our sources that the Romans conquered as far as the coast and the Alban hills in the sixth century B.C. Archaeology has not yet been able to confirm that the urban area of Rome extended as far as the line of the 'Servian' pomerium in the sixth century; nor is there any archaeological proof that the city was surrounded by defensive fortifications in the late regal period.[94]

The absence of systematic excavations at most of the city-states in Latium means that very little evidence has been recovered about Rome's neighbors. Cornell comments:

> Archaeology has shown that Rome underwent dramatic changes and developed into an urbanized community in the years around 600 B.C.; but it has not so far made it clear whether the same process was simultaneously taking place elsewhere in Latium. Our sources imply that Rome outstripped its Latin neighbours during the last century of the monarchy, but this alleged fact cannot yet be demonstrated archaeologically.[95]

Cornell accepts the Treaty of Carthage and Rome dated to 509 BCE as valid only because it confirms to other textual records of Rome's history in this period.[96] Cornell states:

> The principal argument in favour of Polybius' date is precisely the fact that the contents of the treaty accord with the historical circumstances of the late sixth century B.C. The treaty makes Rome the overlord of a miniature 'empire' in Latium extending down the coast as far as the Pomptine plain. This conforms precisely to the situation described in the sources as obtaining under Tarquinius Superbus, whose control of the region is implied by his capture of Pometia and his foundation of a colony (whatever that precisely means) at Circeii.[97]

---

[93] Cornell (1995), 208-209.
[94] Cornell (1989), 250:
[95] Cornell (1989), 251.
[96] Cornell (1995),210- 211.
[97] Cornell (1989), 255.

In assessing this approach to the early history of Rome, Wiseman commented:

> And what is the prima facie presumption here? Not, I think, that authors writing five hundred years later, in a tradition of written history no more than two hundred years old, are likely to have reported the events accurately, or even recognisably. In such circumstances, to treat 'Why shouldn't it be true?' as a no less valid question than 'Why should it?' comes pretty close to abdicating the historian's responsibility.[98]

What therefore are we to make of the treaty of 509 BCE? Polybios is explicit that treaties between Carthage and Rome were in fact in discussion in other authors which he consulted. Polybios claim that he had recorded these treaties first hand in the temple of the Aediles at Rome is only brought up in order to argue that another author, Philinus of Agrigentum, erred when he alleged that the Carthaginians and Romans had made a treaty in 306 BCE. Polybios 3.26:

> τούτων δὴ τοιούτων ὑπαρχόντων, καὶ τηρουμένων τῶν συνθηκῶν ἔτι νῦν ἐν χαλκώμασι παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Καπετώλιον ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀγορανόμων ταμιείῳ, τίς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως θαυμάσειεν Φιλίνου τοῦ συγγραφέως, οὐ διότι ταῦτ᾽ ἠγνόει — τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οὐ θαυμαστόν, ἐπεὶ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἔτι καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων οἱ πρεσβύτατοι καὶ μάλιστα δοκοῦντες περὶ τὰ κοινὰ σπουδάζειν ἠγνόουν ἀλλὰ πόθεν ἢ πῶς ἐθάρρησε γράψαι τἀναντία τούτοις.[99]

Polybios has achieved considerable authority in modernly scholarly accounts.[100] However, in this particularly section, his biases become most apparent, which cautions against accepting his reconstruction completely. Here, Polybios offers this information for a single purpose, namely, to discuss other historians' reconstructions of the history of Carthaginian-Roman relationships.

---

[98] Wiseman (1998), 25.

[99] "Seeing that such treaties exist and are preserved to this day, engraved on brass in the treasury of the Aediles in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the historian Philinus certainly does give us some reason to be surprised at him. Not at his ignorance of their existence: for even in our own day those Romans and Carthaginians, whose age placed them nearest to the times, and who had the reputation of taking the greatest interest in public affairs, were unaware of it. But what is surprising is, that he should have ventured on a statement exactly opposite" (Shuckburgh Translation)

[100] Cornell (1995), 211: "That the document is genuine is accepted by all serious scholars…We need not spend time on establishing the authenticity of text that was accepted without question by Polybios." Cornell (1989), 255: "Polybius is a reliable authority whose statements cannot be lightly cast aside".

Polybios intends to claim authority by arguing that he personally saw these treaties, though he is also forced to admit that the Romans and Carthaginians were themselves ignorant of them. Moreover, Polybios is the only source that records such an early treaty. The other annalists and antiquarians were ignorant of its existence. The first treaty mentioned by Livy dates to 348/346 BCE. The first treaty recorded by Diodorus Siculus is of the same date.[101] Polybios too records this treaty immediately after his presentation and discussion of the first treaty. Polybios 3.24 (Treaty of 346 BCE):

> εἰσὶ δὲ τοιαίδε τινές: ἐπὶ τοῖσδε φιλίαν εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχοις καὶ Καρχηδονίων καὶ Τυρίων καὶ Ἰτυκαίων δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς τούτων συμμάχοις. τοῦ Καλοῦ ἀκρωτηρίου, Μαστίας Ταρσηίου, μὴ λήζεσθαι ἐπέκεινα Ῥωμαίους μηδ᾽ ἐμπορεύεσθαι μηδὲ πόλιν κτίζειν. ἐὰν δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι λάβωσιν ἐν τῇ Λατίνῃ πόλιν τινὰ μὴ οὖσαν ὑπήκοον Ῥωμαίοις, τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐχέτωσαν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἀποδιδότωσαν. ἐὰν δέ τινες Καρχηδονίων λάβωσί τινας, πρὸς οὓς εἰρήνη μέν ἐστιν ἔγγραπτος Ῥωμαίοις, μὴ ὑποτάττονται δέ τι αὐτοῖς, μὴ καταγέτωσαν εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων λιμένας: ἐὰν δὲ καταχθέντος ἐπιλάβηται ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, ἀφιέσθω. ὡσαύτως δὲ μηδ᾽ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ποιείτωσαν. ἂν ἔκ τινος χώρας, ἧς Καρχηδόνιοι ἐπάρχουσιν, ὕδωρ ἢ ἐφόδια λάβη ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, μετὰ τούτων τῶν ἐφοδίων μὴ ἀδικείτω μηδένα πρὸς οὓς εἰρήνη καὶ φιλία ἐστὶ Καρχηδονίοις. ὡσαύτως δὲ μηδ᾽ ὁ Καρχηδόνιος ποιείτω. εἰ δέ, μὴ ἰδίᾳ μεταπορευέσθω: ἐὰν δέ τις τοῦτο ποιήσῃ, δημόσιον γινέσθω τὸ ἀδίκημα. ἐν Σαρδόνι καὶ Λιβύῃ μηδεὶς Ῥωμαίων μήτ᾽ ἐμπορευέσθω μήτε πόλιν κτιζέτω, εἰ μὴ ἕως τοῦ ἐφόδια λαβεῖν ἢ πλοῖον ἐπισκευάσαι. ἐὰν δὲ χειμὼν κατενέγκῃ, ἐν πένθ᾽ ἡμέραις ἀποτρεχέτω. ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἧς Καρχηδόνιοι ἐπάρχουσι καὶ ἐν Καρχηδόνι πάντα καὶ ποιείτω καὶ πωλείτω ὅσα καὶ τῷ πολίτῃ ἔξεστιν. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὁ Καρχηδόνιος ποιείτω ἐν Ῥώμῃ.[102]

---

[101] Livy 7.27: "et cum Carthaginiensibus legatis Romae foedus ictum, cum amicitiam ac societatem petentes venissent." and Diodorus Siculus 16.69: "ἐπ᾽ ἄρχοντος δ᾽ Ἀθήνησι Λυκίσκου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκον Οὐαλέριον καὶ Μάρκον Ποπίλιον, Ὀλυμπιὰς δ᾽ ἤχθη ἑκατοστὴ καὶ ἐνάτη, καθ᾽ ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἀριστόλοχος Ἀθηναῖος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ῥωμαίοις μὲν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πρῶτον συνθῆκαι ἐγένοντο."

[102] "The treaty is as follows: There shall be friendship between the Romans and their allies, and the Carthaginians, Tyrians, and township of Utica, on these terms: The Romans shall not maraud, nor traffic, nor found a city east of the Fair Promontory, Mastia, Tarseium. If the Carthaginians take any city in Latium which is not subject to Rome, they may keep the prisoners and the goods, but shall deliver up the town. If the Carthaginians take any folk, between whom and Rome a peace has been made in writing, though they be not subject to them, they shall not bring them into any harbours of the Romans; if such an one be so brought ashore, and any Roman lay claim to him,1 he shall be released. In like manner shall the Romans be bound towards the Carthaginians. If a Roman take water or provisions from any district within the jurisdiction of Carthage, he shall not injure, while so doing, any between whom and Carthage there is peace and friendship. Neither shall a Carthaginian in like case. If any one shall do so, he shall not be punished by private vengeance, but such action shall be a public misdemeanour. In Sardinia and Libya no Roman shall traffic nor found a city; he shall do no more than take in provisions and refit his ship. If a storm drive him upon those coasts, he shall depart within five days. In the Carthaginian province of Sicily and in Carthage he may transact business and sell whatsoever it is lawful for a citizen to do. In like manner also may a Carthaginian at Rome." (Shuckburgh Translation)

Even in this case, Polybios is still the only historian to provide an explicitly recorded text of the treaty of 348/346. The other sources simply note that a treaty was struck in the year.

Polybios' goal in this entire section is to counter Philinus's claim that the Romans broke a treaty when they invaded Sicily during the 1st Punic War, as Polybios finally states in 3.26:

> τούτων δὴ τοιούτων ὑπαρχόντων, καὶ τηρουμένων τῶν συνθηκῶν ἔτι νῦν ἐν χαλκώμασι παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Καπετώλιον ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀγορανόμων ταμιείῳ, τίς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως θαυμάσειεν Φιλίνου τοῦ συγγραφέως, οὐ διότι ταῦτ' ἠγνόει τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οὐ θαυμαστόν, ἐπεὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔτι καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων οἱ πρεσβύτατοι καὶ μάλιστα δοκοῦντες περὶ τὰ κοινὰ σπουδάζειν ἠγνόουν ἀλλὰ πόθεν ἢ πῶς ἐθάρρησε γράψαι τἀναντία τούτοις, διότι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ὑπάρχοιεν συνθῆκαι, καθ' ἃς ἔδει Ῥωμαίους μὲν ἀπέχεσθαι Σικελίας ἁπάσης, Καρχηδονίους δ' Ἰταλίας, καὶ διότι ὑπερέβαινον Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς συνθήκας καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους, ἐπεὶ ἐποιήσαντο τὴν πρώτην εἰς Σικελίαν διάβασιν, μήτε γεγονότος μήθ' ὑπάρχοντος παράπαν ἐγγράφου τοιούτου μηδενός. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ λέγει βύβλῳ διαρρήδην. περὶ ὧν ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ἰδίας πραγματείας μνησθέντες εἰς τοῦτον ὑπερεθέμεθα τὸν καιρὸν κατὰ μέρος περὶ αὐτῶν ἐξεργάσασθαι διὰ τὸ καὶ πλείους διεψεῦσθαι τῆς ἀληθείας ἐν τούτοις, πιστεύσαντας τῇ Φιλίνου γραφῇ. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰ κατὰ τοῦτό τις ἐπιλαμβάνεται Ῥωμαίων περὶ τῆς εἰς Σικελίαν διαβάσεως, ὅτι καθόλου Μαμερτίνους προσέλαβον εἰς τὴν φιλίαν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δεομένοις ἐβοήθησαν, οἵτινες οὐ μόνον τὴν Μεσσηνίων πόλιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Ῥηγίνων παρεσπόνδησαν, εἰκότως ἂν δόξειεν δυσαρεστεῖν. εἰ δὲ παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ὑπολαμβάνει τις αὐτοὺς πεποιῆσθαι τὴν διάβασιν, ἀγνοεῖ προφανῶς.[103]

Philinus is one of Polybios' favorite targets. He deliberately attacks Philinus' work in this passage and at the start of his history. Polybios 1:14:

> οὐχ ἧττον δὲ τῶν προειρημένων παρωξύνθην ἐπιστῆσαι τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐμπειρότατα δοκοῦντας γράφειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, Φιλῖνον καὶ Φάβιον, μὴ δεόντως ἡμῖν

---

[103] "Seeing that such treaties exist and are preserved to this day, engraved on brass in the treasury of the Aediles in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the historian Philinus certainly does give us some reason to be surprised at him. Not at his ignorance of their existence: for even in our own day those Romans and Carthaginians, whose age placed them nearest to the times, and who had the reputation of taking the greatest interest in public affairs, were unaware of it. But what is surprising is, that he should have ventured a statement exactly opposite: "That there was a treaty between Rome and Carthage, in virtue of which the Romans were bound to keep away from the whole of Sicily, the Carthaginians from the whole of Italy; and that the Romans broke the treaty and their oath when they first crossed over to Sicily." Whereas there does not exist, nor ever has existed, any such written compact at all. Yet this assertion he makes in so many words in his second book. I referred to this in the preface of my work, but reserved a more detailed discussion of it to this place; which was necessary, because the assertion of Philinus has misled a considerable number of people on this point. I have nothing to say if a man chooses to attack the Romans for crossing into Sicily, on the grounds of their having taken the Mamertines into alliance at all; or in having thus acted in answer to their request, after these men's treachery to Rhegium as well as Messene: but if any one supposes that in so crossing they broke oaths or treaties, he is manifestly ignorant of the truth." (Shuckburgh Translation)

ἀπηγγελκέναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ἑκόντας μὲν οὖν ἐψεῦσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνω, στοχαζόμενος ἐκ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς αἱρέσεως αὐτῶν: δοκοῦσι δέ μοι πεπονθέναι τι παραπλήσιον τοῖς ἐρῶσι. διὰ γὰρ τὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ τὴν ὅλην εὔνοιαν Φιλίνῳ μὲν πάντα δοκοῦσιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι πεπρᾶχθαι φρονίμως, καλῶς, ἀνδρωδῶς, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τἀναντία.[104]

In his reconstruction, Polybios sets up his own writings as synonymous with truth, whereas Philinus is too overcome with bias to be believed. Polybios continues his critique of Philinus in the next passage and actually gives an example of where he believes that Philinus' history is most incorrect, as demonstrated by the absence of logic or reason for the events described.

Polybios 1:15:

> ἡμῶν εἰρημένα σκοπεῖν ἐκ τούτων πάρεστιν. ὁ γὰρ Φιλῖνος ἀρχόμενος ἅμα τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς δευτέρας βύβλου φησὶ προσκαθῆσθαι τῇ Μεσσήνῃ πολεμοῦντας τούς τε Καρχηδονίους καὶ τοὺς Συρακοσίους, παραγενομένους δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Συρακοσίους: λαβόντας δὲ πολλὰς πληγὰς ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Μεσσήνην: αὖθις δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐκπορευθέντας οὐ μόνον πληγὰς λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζωγρίᾳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἱκανοὺς ἀποβαλεῖν. ταῦτα δ᾽ εἰπὼν τὸν μὲν Ἱέρωνά φησι μετὰ τὴν γενομένην συμπλοκὴν οὕτως ἔξω γενέσθαι τοῦ φρονεῖν ὥστε μὴ μόνον παραχρῆμα τὸν χάρακα καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἐμπρήσαντα φυγεῖν νυκτὸς εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ φρούρια πάντα καταλιπεῖν τὰ κείμενα κατὰ τῆς τῶν Μεσσηνίων χώρας: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους μετὰ τὴν μάχην εὐθέως ἐκλιπόντας τὸν χάρακα διελεῖν σφᾶς εἰς τὰς πόλεις, τῶν δ᾽ ὑπαίθρων οὐδ᾽ ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τολμᾶν ἔτι: διὸ καὶ συνθεωρήσαντας τοὺς ἡγουμένους αὐτῶν ἀποδεδειλιακότας τοὺς ὄχλους βουλεύσασθαι μὴ κρίνειν διὰ μάχης τὰ πράγματα: τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἑπομένους αὐτοῖς οὐ μόνον τὴν χώραν πορθεῖν τῶν Καρχηδονίων καὶ Συρακοσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς Συρακούσας αὐτὰς προσκαθίσαντας ἐπιβαλέσθαι πολιορκεῖν. ταῦτα δ᾽, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τῆς πάσης ἐστὶν ἀλογίας πλήρη καὶ διαστολῆς οὐ προσδεῖται τὸ παράπαν. οὓς μὲν γὰρ πολιορκοῦντας τὴν Μεσσήνην καὶ νικῶντας ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς ὑπέθετο, τούτους φεύγοντας καὶ τῶν ὑπαίθρων ἐκχωροῦντας καὶ τέλος πολιορκουμένους καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀποδεδειλιακότας ἀπέφηνεν: οὓς δ᾽ ἡττωμένους καὶ πολιορκουμένους ὑπεστήσατο, τούτους διώκοντας καὶ παραχρῆμα κρατοῦντας τῶν ὑπαίθρων καὶ τέλος πολιορκοῦντας τὰς Συρακούσας ἀπέδειξε. ταῦτα δὲ συνᾴδειν ἀλλήλοις οὐδαμῶς δύναται: πῶς γάρ; ἀλλ᾽ ἀναγκαῖον ἢ τὰς ὑποθέσεις εἶναι τὰς πρώτας ψευδεῖς ἢ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν συμβαινόντων ἀποφάσεις. εἰσὶ δ᾽ αὗται μὲν ἀληθεῖς: καὶ γὰρ ἐξεχώρησαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ

---

[104] "But it was not these considerations only which induced me to undertake the history of this war. I was influenced quite as much by the fact that Philinus and Fabius, who have the reputation of writing with the most complete knowledge about it, have given us an inadequate representation of the truth. Now, judging from their lives and principles, I do not suppose that these writers have intentionally stated what was false; but I think that they are much in the same state of mind as men in love. Partisanship and complete prepossession made Philinus think that all the actions of the Carthaginians were characterised by wisdom, honour, and courage: those of the Romans by the reverse." (Shuckburgh Translation)

Συρακόσιοι τῶν ὑπαίθρων, καὶ τὰς Συρακούσας ἐπολέμουν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ πόδας, ὡς δ᾽ οὗτός φησι, καὶ τὴν Ἐχέτλαν, ἐν μέσῃ κειμένην τῇ τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἐπαρχίᾳ.[105]

Polybios' passages are the only record of Philinus of Agrigentum's writing. Thus it must be assumed by historians who trust the validity of Polybios reconstruction that his critiques of Philinus were balanced and fair. To a great degree, however, the above passage reveals Polybios biases against Philinus without demonstrating any problems with Philinus' history. There is, in point of fact, nothing inconsistent about the events as asserted by Philinus.

In 264 BCE, the Carthaginian and Syracuseans were disputing a single city-state which was occupied by a relatively small mercenary force. There is no reason to suspect that armies on either side were prepared to engage in an extended conflict with a foreign force invading from Italy or had any cognizance that such an event may occur. Syracuse and Carthage had long disputed control of Sicily and were operating according to the normal force necessary for these engagements. Thus the advent of Roman power in Sicily in 264 BCE likely caught both parties by surprise. Even if victorious in the initial engagement, neither Carthage nor Syracuse was

---

[105] "The writers whom I have named exemplify the truth of these remarks. Philinus, for instance, commencing the narrative with his second book, says that the "Carthaginians and Syracusans engaged in the war and sat down before Messene; that the Romans arriving by sea entered the town, and immediately sallied out from it to attack the Syracusans; but that after suffering severely in the engagement they retired into Messene; and that on a second occasion, having issued forth to attack the Carthaginians, they not only suffered severely but lost a considerable number of their men captured by the enemy." But while making this statement, he represents Hiero as so destitute of sense as, after this engagement, not only to have promptly burnt his stockade and tents and fled under cover of night to Syracuse, but to have abandoned all the forts which had been established to overawe the Messenian territory. Similarly he asserts that "the Carthaginians immediately after their battle evacuated their entrenchment and dispersed into various towns, without venturing any longer even to dispute the possession of the open country; and that, accordingly, their leaders seeing that their troops were utterly demoralised determined in consideration not to risk a battle: that the Romans followed them, and not only laid waste the territory of the Carthaginians and Syracusans, but actually sat down before Syracuse itself and began to lay siege to it." These statements appear to me to be full of glaring inconsistency, and to call for no refutation at all. The very men whom he describes to begin with as besieging Messene, and as victorious in the engagements, he afterwards represents as running away, abandoning the open country, and utterly demoralised: while those whom he starts by saying were defeated and besieged, he concludes by describing as engaging in a pursuit, as promptly seizing the open places, and finally as besieging Syracuse. Nothing can reconcile these statements. It is impossible. Either his initial statement, or his account of the subsequent events, must be false. In point of fact the latter part of his story is the true one. The Syracusans and Carthaginians did abandon the open country, and the Romans did immediately afterwards commence a siege of Syracuse and of Echetla, which lies in the district between the Syracusan and Carthaginian pales. " (Shuckburgh Translation)

provisioned or positioned to deal with an invasion from Italy. Their decision to retreat from Messene and solidify both of their positions within their primary city-states makes perfect sense given the situation.

Polybios' record of Roman-Carthaginian treaties and his claim to knowledge of their authentic location is nothing more than a sustained attack against a historian who held a contrary viewpoint about the history of Carthaginian-Roman relations. In contrast to Polybios, Philinus actually lived during the 1st Punic War and was from Agrigentum in Sicily. In addition, the terms of the treaty that Philinus records also makes sense given the known historical facts about the late 3rd century. The simple provision that Rome and Carthage maintain distance from each other's territories appears to have in fact been maintained in this period. In contrast, the treaty which Polybios records during the invasion of Pyrrhus of Epiros is little corroborated by historical evidence.

Polybios 3.25 (Treaty of 279 BCE):

> ἔτι τοιγαροῦν τελευταίας συνθήκας ποιοῦνται Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ τὴν Πύρρου διάβασιν πρὸ τοῦ συστήσασθαι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τὸν περὶ Σικελίας πόλεμον: ἐν αἷς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τηροῦσι πάντα κατὰ τὰς ὑπαρχούσας ὁμολογίας, πρόσκειται δὲ τούτοις τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα. ἐὰν συμμαχίαν ποιῶνται πρὸς Πύρρον ἔγγραπτον, ποιείσθωσαν ἀμφότεροι, ἵνα ἐξῇ βοηθεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐν τῇ τῶν πολεμουμένων χώρᾳ: ὁπότεροι δ᾽ ἂν χρείαν ἔχωσι τῆς βοηθείας, τὰ πλοῖα παρεχέτωσαν Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄφοδον, τὰ δὲ ὀψώνια τοῖς αὑτῶν ἑκάτεροι. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν Ῥωμαίοις βοηθείτωσαν, ἂν χρεία ᾖ. τὰ δὲ πληρώματα μηδεὶς ἀναγκαζέτω ἐκβαίνειν ἀκουσίως.[106]

If the Romans and Carthaginians had agreed to a mutual defense arrangement as Polybios

alleges, then both parties should have activated this agreement at multiple points during the

Pyrrhic Wars. However, no such cooperation is documented by Polybios, though it is noted by

Diodorus (22.7). In Diodorus narrative, the extent of the cooperation is a single raid on Rhegium,

which may include a contingent of 500 Roman soldiers.

Conclusions

The epigraphic record indicates that the Carthaginian Empire of the 5th-3rd centuries BCE

possessed stable civil, military and religious institutions. The Shofets served as the chief

administrators of city-states within the Carthaginian Empire. This office was also employed at

both Carthaginian colonies and subordinated city-states within the empire for local

administration. Many Shofets descended from prior office holders, though the epigraphic record

also reveals evidence of 'new men' who attained the office. The office was held for a year and its

responsibilities appear confined to the city-state administration. It is for this reason that Shofets

also hold the highest religious offices at Carthage. The Rabs were the generals of Carthaginian

armies on campaign. In common with the Shofet, the office was held for a year. The office was

held by both aristocratic families, though many of the office holders have leave no record of

ancestors or descendents who held the office. One inscription notes that an individual held the

Rab on three separate occasions, suggesting the possibility of multiple iterations in office.

The epigraphic record does not record any subordinate civil or military offices at

Carthage. It is unknown whether preliminary offices existed or how one achieved either the

position of Shofet or Rab. From inscriptions related to religious matters, it is possible to denote a

variety of priesthoods that were subordinated to the chief priest, in addition to a variety of administrative offices, such as the MQM ELIM. Consequently, it is possible to conjecture that a similar number of subordinate offices likely existed in both civil and military administration.

The epigraphic record further indicates that Carthaginian institutions were stable. No new offices or titles appear in the epigraphic record during the 5th- 3rd centuries BCE. There is no attestation of a people's assembly, though certain inscriptions suggest that Carthaginian populations, in common with other Phoenician populations in the western Mediterranean, possessed a concept of self identity that referenced a city origin: 'אש בעם' 'a man of the people of'.

<u>Conclusions: An Archaeological History of Carthaginian Imperialism</u>

At its foundation, Carthage was a small Phoenician agricultural colony in North Africa. Like all other colonies in the western Mediterranean, it was dedicated to the development of agriculture to support trade with indigenous populations. As a result of the limited resources in North Africa, Carthage remained a small foundation during its early history. In contrast, other Phoenician colonies in Sicily, Sardinia and the Iberia Peninsula experienced important periods of growth. The colonies became functioning city-states through the development of progressive larger agricultural territories. Agricultural territories precipitated the development of local networks of exchange and the subsequent emergence of regional trading networks between various geographies within the western Mediterranean. The most important Phoenician city-states during the 7th and 6th centuries BCE were sites that developed into important agricultural producers and developed mediation roles for regional commerce. These sites include Gadir, Sulcis and Mozia.

In 600 BCE, Carthage began a period of growth. Trade from Athens and its penetration into the western Mediterranean opened a new market for Carthaginian commerce. Extant trade routes in the western Mediterranean depended on Corinthian and Phocaean colonial networks in the Magna Graecia and Sicily. Therefore, Athenian traders needed to seek a different point of entry into this marketplace. Greek foundations in Cyrenaica and their proximity to Carthage allowed for the development of an agricultural trade route between Carthage and Athens. In turn, Athenian goods began to penetrate markets in the western Mediterranean that had previously been dominated by Corinthian style ceramics and networks of trade during the second half of the 6th century.

As trade connections developed between the two city-states, Carthage began to develop its first indications of monumental architecture and increased evidence of trading connections with Sicily and Sardinia. In response to demand from Athens for grain and other agricultural resources, Carthage founded its first colony at Kerkouane c. 550 BCE. This site not only created a new agricultural territory, far richer in resources than Carthage itself, but also brought Carthage into contact with indigenous populations in North Africa. From the archaeological remains at Kerkouane, it is evident that the site was intensely focused on trade with the eastern Mediterranean from its foundation. It is likely that the site further served as the initial port of call for Carthaginian ships bound for Cyrenaica as well as subsidiary exchange point for commerce from Sicily to enter into this newly founded trading route. As a result, Kerkouane experienced a period of rapid growth which led to the creation of exterior bands of walls to protect the ever growing population of the colony. Carthaginian colonies were subsequently constructed at multiple coastal sites in the Cap Bon. By 400 BCE, Carthage had pacified the Cap Bon to the extent that habitation spreads out into the countryside. Thus Carthage developed one of the richest and most fertile agricultural territories in the western Mediterranean. The varied climates and geography of the Cap Bon allowed for the production of wheat, wine, oil and various fruits. The development of integral home territory in the Cap Bon provided the basis for a rapid expansion of the Carthaginian population, though colonization and acculturalization of indigenous populations.

Coupled with the development of agricultural colonies in the Cap Bon, Carthage created agricultural colonies at other agricultural territories in western Tunisia and eastern Algeria. The sites at Dougga, Beja and Cirta allowed Carthage to develop imperial control over the Numidian populations in this area. The proliferation of small sites, farms, and other indications of

agricultural intervention is abundant in these geographies. Nearly the entire Medjerda River valley and its important tributary, the Siliana, were developed into an extensive agricultural territory in this period. Further evidence of colonization emerges from the archaeological records at sites along Algerian coastline. In the fifth century, the Carthaginian foundation at Tipasa became an essential transshipment and exchange point for trade with populations in the southern Iberian Peninsula.

Expansion in North Africa and increased international trade connections required physical changes at the metropole. In the mid to late 5th century, Carthage created its first permanent man-made shipping facilities. Remains from the bottom of the shipping channel indicate that the primary sources of Carthaginian wealth came from the Cap Bon and Carthage's agricultural territories in North Africa. Contemporaneous to Carthaginian expansion in the Cap Bon and Tunisian Sahel, the epigraphic record begins at Carthage. Three offices occupy the center of power in the Carthaginian metropole: the Shofets, the Rabs, and the Chief Priest. Burial grounds at Carthage reflect the high status accorded to these offices. The majority of these officers were buried in the same cemetery during the 5th-2nd centuries BCE.

Thus by 410 BCE, Carthage possessed the necessary infrastructure, both physical and institutional, to begin a process of overseas expansion. Carthage erupted into international affairs with a massive invasion of Sicily in the last decade of the 5th century. In contrast to the earlier Athenian expedition, the Carthaginians focused their efforts on those Greek colonies located nearest to Phoenician and Elymian interests in Sicily. Their successful campaigns brought about the destruction of the Greek colonies at Selinunte and Himera. Furthermore, there is evidence that the Carthaginians attacked the Elymian population based at Eryx as part of this expansion. Carthage's intense focus on western Sicily resulted in the subsequent foundation of a

Carthaginian colony at Selinunte in order to secure military gains in the area. However, Carthage did not stop with success in western Sicily. By 406, Carthaginian armies began to push further east and attacked or subjugated the Greek colonies at Agrigentum and Naxos. Successes in these locations were recorded epigraphically at Carthage: "And the rabbim Adnibaal son of Gerskon the rab and Himilcat son of Hanno the rab went to Halaisa. And they seized Agragant."[1]

In their response to these attacks, the allied Greek city-states of Sicily ultimately succeeded in destroying the Phoenician colony at Mozia in 397 BCE. For Carthage, this destruction allowed for the creation of a new Carthaginian colony in the area without having to exert violence upon a fellow Phoenician city-state. Throughout its history, Carthage assiduously avoided direct attacks on Phoenician polities. Rather, Carthage preferred to act through colonization in previously unoccupied territories. The goal of these colonies is to re-direct existing shipping networks through Carthaginian dependencies. Thus Olbia in Sardinia, Lilybaeum and Selinunte in Sicily, Kerkouane and Leptis Magna all act to redirect commerce away from existing networks of exchange in Sicily, Sardinia and North Africa. Even in their final desperate bid for empire after the 1st Punic War, Carthage erected its only colonies in the Iberian Peninsula at Cartagena and Akra Leuke, far distant from Cadiz and other Phoenician city-states. However, these sites did act as essential transshipment points between polities in the Iberian Peninsula and Ibiza. Thus the logic of Carthaginian colonization always remained the same in every period and geographic location.

By 350 BCE, Carthage had attained its maximal territorial expansion. Carthage controlled a network of cities and colonies in Tunisia, Algeria, western Sicily, and western Sardinia. Carthage ruled its Empire in the 5th- 2nd centuries BCE through the creation of colonies and through the establishment of Carthaginian governmental institutions at subordinated polities.

---

[1] CIS I 5510; Schmitz (1994), 11.

The ceramic record of imports and exports indicates that the metropole had developed into a large consumer of products produced in its subordinated periphery by the 4th century. During this century, Carthaginian exports are minimal and imports to the city-state reach their highest percentage within the ceramic record. Thus the fifth century economy of redistribution is replaced by an imperial system of economic exchange.

The manpower basis for Carthaginian expansion overseas came from Carthaginian colonization in North Africa. Able to draw from a likely base of 200,000 military aged men, the Carthaginian Empire possessed extensive manpower resources when compared to all other polities in the central Mediterranean, excepting the developing Roman Empire. Through the deployment of its armies, Carthage was able to subdue western Sicily and the Phoenician parts of Sardinia during the period 410- 300 BCE. The growth of the Carthaginian Empire appears to have ceased at this point, as there is no evidence to support the penetration of Carthaginian colonization or institutions into Iberia, Ibiza, Gaul, or Peninsular Italy.

On the eve of the 1st Punic War, the Roman Empire had eclipsed the Carthaginian Empire in terms of size and population. Carthage's only advantage remained its developed navy and the port facilities to support it. Through more than twenty years of warfare, Rome gradually weakened Carthaginian manpower and naval resources through continuous, annual campaigns. The destruction the Carthaginian fleet at the Aegates Islands in 241 brought an end to the Carthaginian Empire in Sicily and Sardinia. Rome achieved naval supremacy in the central Mediterranean and Carthage was forced to retreat to its foundations in North Africa. By 238 BCE, Rome had taken Sardinia. Carthage's loss of Sicily and Sardinian, however, did limited damage to the overall resources of the Carthaginian Empire. As only 100,000 dependents lived in these areas, Carthage remained an important and powerful imperial system after the 1st Punic

War. Attempted expansion in Iberia between 235- 218 BCE by the Barcid generals would have compensated for the territories lost in Sicily and Sardinia had not the 2nd Punic War intervened.

The events of the 2nd Punic war were disastrous for Carthage. Roman invasions of North Africa from 205 BCE led to a reduction in the Carthaginian home territory. By the 3rd century, Numidian populations were heavily acculturalized in respect to language, material culture, and governmental institutions. The Numidian populations of western Tunisia and their leader Masinissa successfully switched sides from Carthage to Rome at this point in the conflict. Ultimately, Numidian support for the Roman invasion was crucial in the resulting Roman victory at Zama in 202 (near Mactaris, a Carthaginian colony). It is through this victory that the Romans, for the first time, inflicted major damage on the manpower and economic basis of the Carthaginian Empire. Masinissa founded the Numidian Kingdom at Cirta, and stripped Carthage of control over the areas between Dougga and Cirta. With the loss of the western half of its territories in North Africa, Carthage still possessed a large amount of territory in the immediate hinterland of the city-state and on the Cap Bon Peninsula, in addition to any remaining colonies between the metropole and Dougga along the Medjerda River valley.

Ultimately, revenge for more than three centuries of extraction was visited upon the Carthaginian state in the 2nd century, when the Numidians established an independent kingdom and caused the 3rd Punic war through their agitation in North Africa. Masinissa subjected any remaining Carthaginian colonies and dependencies in Tunisia were subjected to a continuous series of raids and attacks during the 150's BCE. In an attempt to protect their remaining territory, Carthage initiated a war against Numidia, an action that resulted in the return of Roman armies to North Africa.

During the 3rd Punic War, Rome successfully dismantled any remaining Carthaginian colonial networks in Tunisia. In turn, the metropole became progressively weaker. In 146, Roman armies destroyed Carthage and slaughtered the surviving inhabitants or sold them into slavery. Carthage itself became Ager Publicus, while Utica assumed its temporary position as the administrative center of Roman Africa. Carthaginian institutions served as the basis for Roman administration outside of its colonial foundations. Therefore, the Shofet and other Carthaginian offices continued in use until the 3rd century AD. The Punic language remained in written use for at least three centuries after the metropole's destruction. Dedications continued at many Tophets, where the god Baal Hammon came to be equated with Saturn. Roman control of North Africa lasted for just over 600 years. Carthage became the second or third largest city in the Roman Empire during the imperial period. The networks of production and exchange created by Carthage helped make the Africa Proconsularis into one of Rome's most important grain production territories.

Even after the fall of the Roman Empire, vestiges of the Carthaginian Empire remained. The Vandal kingdom of the 5th and 6th centuries occupied almost the same geography as the earlier Carthaginian Empire, a capital at Carthage in North Africa with overseas possessions in Sicily and Sardinia (during the reign of Geiseric in the 440s- 460s AD). It is ultimately not until the Arab conquest of the 7th century that the last vestiges of the Carthaginian imperial system disappear, as the city itself was finally abandoned for two centuries. Arab rulers, in contrast to all earlier conquerors, focused their efforts on the construction of inland colonial foundations, most notably Kairouan (founded in 670 BCE). It is through these actions that the economic, political, and social networks created by the Carthaginian Empire are finally extinguished in North Africa and the imperial *Nachleben* of Carthage reaches its ultimate end.

Bibliography for Dissertation

Acquaro, E. "Karthalo…ornatusque purpura et infulis sacerdotii" *Gerión* 19 (2001), 119-125.

Acquaro, E. and Cerasetti, B. (eds.) *Pantelleria punica. Saggi critici sui dati archeologici e riflessioni storiche per una nuova generazione di ricerca* (Rome, 2006).

Acquaro, E. et al. *Ricerche Puniche ad Antas* (Studi Semitici 30) (Rome, 1969).

Albright, W.F. "New Light on the Early History of Phoenician Colonization." *BASOR* 83 (1941), 14-22

Albright, W.F. The Phoenician Inscriptions of the Tenth Century B.C. from Byblus. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 67 (1947), 153-160.

Alexandropoulos, J. "L'Influence de Carthage sur les Monnayages Phenico-Puniques d'Espagne." *Melanges de la Casa de Velazquez* 23 (1987), 5-29.

Allegrini-Simonetti, F. *Site Archéologique. Aleria, le Site Antique* (Ajaccio, 2004).

Allen, H. L. "Excavations at Morgantina (Serra Orlando) 1967-1969: Preliminary Report X." *American Journal of Archaeology* 74 (1970), 359-383.

Almagro Gorbea, M. "La Colonización Tartésica: Toponimia y Arqueología." *Palaeohispanica* 10 (2010), 187-199.

Alonso- Núñez, J. M. "An Augustan World History: The 'Historiae Philippicae' of Pompeius Trogus." *Greece and Rome, Second Series* 34 (1987), 56-72.

Alt, A. *Die Welt des Orients* 1 (1949), 282-283.

Alvar, J. and C.G. Wagner. "Consideraciones Históricas sobre la Fundación de Cartago." *Gerión* 3 (1985), 79-95.

Alvar, J. and C.G. Wagner. "La Actividad Agrícola en la Economía Fenicia de la Península Ibérica." *Gerión* 6 (1988), 169-185.

Amadasi Guzzo, M.G. *Le Inscrizioni Fenicie e Puniche delle Colonie in Occidente* (Rome, 1967).

Amadasi Guzzo, M.G. *Scavi a Mozia. Le Iscrizioni* (Rome, 1986).

Amadasi Guzzo, M.G. "Dédicaces de Femmes à Carthage." in ed. E. Lipinski. *Studia Phoenicia VI: Carthago* (Leuven, 1988), 143-149.

Amadasi Guzzo, M.G. "Note di Epigrafia Punica in Sicila." *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull'area Elima. Atti*. v.1 (Pisa, 2000), 1-12.

Amadasi Guzzo, M.G. "Astarte Fenicia e la sua Diffusione in Base alla Documentazione Epigrafica." *Estudios Orientales* 5-6 (2001-2002), 47-54.

Amadasi Guzzo, M.G. et al. *Monte Sirai II (Studi Semitici #14)* (Rome, 1965).

Amadasi Guzzo, M.G. et al. *Monte Sirai III (Studi Semitici #20)* (Rome, 1966).

Amadasi Guzzo, M.G. et al. *Monte Sirai IV (*Studi Semitici #25) (Rome, 1967).

Ameling, W. *Karthago. Studien zu Militar, Staat, und Gesellschaft* (Munich, 1993).

Anderson, Greg. "Alkemonid 'Homelands', Political Exile, and the Unification of Attica." *Historia* 49 (2000), 387-412.

Antonaccio, C. "Siculo-Geometric and the Sikels: Ceramics and Identity in the Eastern Sicily." in ed. K. Lomas. *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean. Papers in Honour of Brian Shefton* (Leiden, 2004), 55-82.

Anziani, D. "Nécropoles puniques du Sahel Tunisien." *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 32 (1912), 245-304.

Arteaga, O. "La liga púnica gaditana. Aproximación a una visión histórica occidental, para su contrastación con el desarrollo de la hegemonía cartaginesa en el mundo mediterráneo. "*VIII Jornadas de Arqueología Fenicio-Púnica* (Ibiza, 1994)

Arteaga, O. et al. "El puerto de Gádir. Investigación geoarqueológica en el casco antiguo de Cádiz." *Revista Atlántica-mediterránea de Prehistoria y Arqueología Social* 4 (2001), 345-415.

Aubet, M.E. "From Trading Post to Town in the Phoenician-Punic World," in *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia from the Copper Age to the Second Century A.D.* eds. Cunliffe, B. and S. Keay (Oxford, 1995), 47-65.

Aubet, M. E. *Tiro y Las Colonias Fenicias de Occidente* (Barcelona, 1997). Reprinted in English as *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies, and Trade* (Cambridge, 2001).

Avishur, Y. *Phoenician Inscriptions and the Bible*. (Tel Aviv, 2000).

Balcer, J. M. "Imperial Magistrates in the Athenian Empire." *Historia* 25 (1976), 257-287.

Balmaire, A. "Athenian Finance, 454-404 B.C." *Hesperia* (2001), 99-126.

Balmuth, M. "Archaeology in Sardinia." *American Journal of Archaeology* 96 (1992), 663-697

Barceló, P.A. "El Comienzo de la Presencia Cartaginesa en Ibiza" *Studia Histórica*, II-III, 1, (1983-4), 73-80

Barceló, P.A. "Ebusus: Colonia Fenicia o Cartaginesa?" *Gerión* 3 (1985), 271-282.

Barkaoui, A. *La Marine Carthaginoise: Approche des Activites Militaires des Carthaginois sur Mer depuis Origines jusqu'en 146 av. J-C.* (Tunis, 2003)

Barreca, F. and G. Garbini. *Monte Sirai I (Studi Semitici 2)* (Rome, 1964).

Bartolini, P. "Ceramicia fenicia e punica dal Nuraghe Antigori." *Rivista di Studi Fenici*. 11 (1983), 167-175.

Bartolini, P. "La Sardegna Fenicia e Punica." in ed. A. Mastino. *Storia della Sardegna Antica* (Nuoro, 2005), 25-62.

Bartolini, P and G. Garbini. "Una Coppa d'Argento con Iscrizione Punica da Sulcis." *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 27 (1999), 79-91.

Bats, Michael. "Marseille Archaique. Etrusques et Phoceens en Mediterranee Nord-Occidental." *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Antiquité* 110 (1998), 609-633.

Bauer, B.S. and R.A. Covey "Processes of State Formation in the Inca Heartland (Cuzco, Peru)." *American Anthropologist* 104 (2002), 846-864.

Bechtold, B. "Una Necropoli Ellenistica a Segesta (SAS 15). Rapporto Preliminare della Campagne di Scavo 1996 e 1997." *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull'area Elima. Atti*. v.1 (Pisa, 2000), 79-89.

Bechtold, B. "Amphorae Production in Punic Sicily (7th-3rd/2nd Centuries B.C.E.)." FACEM 6.6.11 (www.facem.at).

Bechtold, B. and R. Docter. "Transport Amphora from Punic Carthage: An Overview." in *Motya and the Phoenician Ceramic Repertoire between the Levant and the West: 9th-6th century BC* (Rome, 2010), 85-116.

Becker, H.W. Production, *Consumption and Society in North Etruria during the Archaic and Classical Periods: The World of Lars Porsenna* (Ph.D. Diss: UNC-CH, 2006).

Bell, M. and R. Holloway. "Excavations at Morgantina, 1980-1985: Preliminary Report XII." *American Journal of Archaeology* 92 (1988), 313-342.

Bellón Aguilera, J. "Minería y Metalurgia en el área de Carthago Nova: Modelos de ocupación del territorio desde la Republica hasta el Principado de Augusto en Finca Peten (Mazarrón, Murcia)." *@rqueología y Territorio* 6 (2009), 165-177.

Ben-Tor, A. "Hazor and the Chronology of Northern Israel: A Reply to Norman Finkelstein." *BASOR* 317 (2000).

Bénichou-Safar, H. "Sur l'incinération des enfants aux tophets de Carthage et de Sousse." *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 205 (1988), 57-67.

Bénichou-Safar, H. "Le rite d'entrée sous le joug. Des stèles de Carthage à l'AncienTestament" *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 210 (1993), 131-143.

Berger, P. "Le Mythe de Pygmalion et le Dieu Pygmée." *Comptes-rendus de Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 24 (1880), 60-68.

Berger, P. "Note sur Trois Cents nouveaux Ex-Voto de Carthage." *Comptes-rendus de Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 30 (1886), 381-387.

Berger, P. "Note sur un Pendant de Collier en Or avec Inscription Punique." *Comptes-rendus de Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 38 (1894), 453-458.

Berger, P. "Une Inscription Phénicienne de la Collection Pischedda." *Comptes-rendus de Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 45 (1901), 576-579.

(b) Berger, P. "Note sur une nouvelle Epitaphe Sacerdotale de Carthage." *Comptes-rendus de Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 45 (1901), 847-849.

Berger, P. "Vase de Plomb avec Inscription Bilingue découvert à Carthage." *Comptes-rendus de Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 47 (1903), 194-198.

(b)Berger, P. "Deux nouvelles Urnes à Inscriptions découverte par le R. P.Delattre à Sainte-Monique." *Comptes-rendus de Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 47 (1903), 311-313.

Berger, P. "Inscriptions Funéraires de la Nécropole de Bordj-Djedid à Carthage." *Comptes-rendus de Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 51 (1907), 180-185.

Bernardini, P. "Cartagine e la Sardegna: Dalla Conquista al l'Intergrazione (540-238 A.C.)." *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 32:2 (2004), 35-56.

Bernardini, P. "Recenti Scoperte nella Necropoli Punica di Sulcis." *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 33(2005), 63-79.

Bikai, P.M. "Cyprus and the Phoenicians." *Biblical Archaeologist* 52 (1989), 203-209.

Bisi, A. M. *Le Stele Puniche* (Studi Semitici #27) (Rome, 1967).

Bisi, A. M. "Chypre et les premiers Temps de Carthage." in ed. E. Lipinski. *Studia Phoenicia VI: Carthago* (Leuven, 1988), 29-41.

Blake, E. "Constructing a Nuragic Locale: The Spatial Relationship between Tombs and Towers in Bronze Age Sardinia." *American Journal of Archaeology* 105 (2001), 145-161.

Blake, E. "Sardinia's Nuraghi: Four Millennia of Becoming." *World Archaeology* 30 (2005), 59-71.

Blazquez, J.M. "Los Griegos en la Peninsula Ibérica. Siglos VII-V." *Añejos de Gerión* 1 (1988), 9-18.

Blössner, M. and M. de Onis. *Malnutrition: quantifying the health impact at national and local levels.* (Geneva, 2005). (WHO Environmental Burden of Disease Series, No. 12)

Boardman, J. "Greek Archaeology on the Shores of the Black Sea." *Archaeological Reports* 9 (1962-1963), 34-51.

Boardman, J. "Evidence for the Dating of Greek Settlements in Cyrenaica." *Annual of the British School at Athens* 61 (1966), 149-456.

Boardman, J. "Early Euboean Settlements in the Carthage Area." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 25 (2006), 195-200.

Bondì, S.F. *Le Stele di Monte Sirai* (Rome, 1972).

Bonino, M. *Navi Fenicie e Puniche* (Lugano, 2010).

Bound, M. and R. Vallentine. "A Wreck of Possible Etruscan Origin of Giglio Island." *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 12 (1983), 113-122.

Bordreuil, P. and A. Ferjaoui. "A Propos des "Fils de Tyr" et des "Fils de Carthage."" in ed. E. Lipinski. *Studia Phoenicia VI: Carthago* (Leuven, 1988), 136-142.

Braudel, F. *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen a l'Epoque de Philippe II* (Paris, 1949).

Braund, D. "Black Sea Grain for Athens? From Herodotus to Demosthenes." in eds. V. Gabrielsen and J. Lund. *The Black Sea in Antiquity: Regional and Interregional Economic Exchanges* (Aarhus, 2007), 39-68.

Brody, A. "From the Hills of Adonis through the Pillars of Hercules: Recent Advances in the Archaeology of Canaan and Phoenicia." *Near Eastern Archaeology* 65:1 (2002), 69-80 .

Brown, F. et al. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Cambridge, 1906).

Brown, F.E. "Cosa I: History and Topography." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 20 (1951), 5- 113.

Brown, F.E. *Cosa, the Making of Roman Town* (Ann Arbor, 1980).

Brown, S. *Late Carthaginian Child Sacrifice and Sacrificial Monuments in their Mediterranean Context* (Sheffield, 1991).

Bruno, V.J. and R.T. Scott. "Cosa IV: The Houses." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 38 (1993), 1-211.

Brunt, P.A. *Italian Manpower: 225 B.C.- A.D. 14* (Oxford, 1971).

Bunnens, G. *L'Expansion Phénicienne en Méditerranée* (Brussels and Rome, 1979).

Cabrera Bonet, P. "El Comercio Foceo en Huelva: Cronologia y Fisionomia." *Huelva Arqueológica* 10-11 (2000), 41-100.

Capozzoli, V. and M. Osanna. "Nuovi dati su Cossyra ellenistica: dalla ridefinizione urbanistica di III sec. a.C. alla fortezza di Sesto Pompeo." *Studi e Richerche della Scuola di Specializzazione in Archeologia di Matera* 10 (2009), 169-209.

Carrera Ruiz, J.C. et al. "La Pesca, la Sal, y el Comercio en el Círculo del Estrecho. Estado de la Cuestión." *Gerión* 18 (2000), 43-76.

Carter, T.H. "Western Phoenicians at Lepcis Magna." *American Journal of Archaeology* 69 (1965), 123-132.

Caruso, E. "Documenti e Problemi di Topografia Storica nelle Città Fenicio-Puniche della Sicilia Occidentale: La Necropoli ed il Tofet di Lilibeo (Marsala)." *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull'area Elima. Atti*. v.1 (Pisa, 2000), 217-262.

Casson, L. "Speed under Sail of Ancient Ships." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 82 (1951), 136-148.

Chabot, J.B. "Punica" *Journal Asiatique* 10 (1917), 5-80.

Chabot, J.B. "Une Inscription Funéraire Grecque d'époque Punique découverte à Carthage par le R. P. Delattre." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 70 (1926), 41

Chambers, M. "Photographic Enhancement and a Greek Inscription." *The Classical Journal* 88 (1992), 25-31.

Chambers, M. et al. "Athens' alliance with Egesta in the Year of Antiphon." *ZPE* 83 (1990), 38-63.

Chamorro, J. G. "Survey of Archaeological Research on Tartessos." *American Journal of Archaeology* 91 (1987), 197-232.

Chamoux, F. "Cinquante ans de recherches archéologiques françaises sur la Libye grecque." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 145 (2001), 1081-1111.

Ciasca, A. et al. *Mozia I* (*Studi Semitici #12*) (Rome, 1964).

Ciasca, A. et al. *Mozia II* (*Studi Semitici #19*) (Rome, 1966).

Cintas, P. *Le Sanctuaire Punique de Sousse* (Algiers, 1948).

Cintas, P. "Deux Campagnes de Fouilles à Utique." *Karthago* 2 (1951), 5-88.

Cintas, P. "Nouvelles recherches à Utique." *Karthago* 5 (1954), 89-154.

Clifford, R. J. "Phoenician Religion." *BASOR* 279 (1990), 55-64

Coarelli, F. "Pits and Fora: A Reply to Henrek Mourtisen." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 73 (2005), 23-30.

Coarelli, F.and P.G. Monti. *Fregellae I: Le fonti, la storia, il territorio*. (Rome, 1998).

Cogan, M. "Tyre and Tiglath-Pileser III: Chronological Notes." *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 25 (1973), 96-99.

Colozier, E. "Les Étrusques et Carthage." *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 65 (1953), 63-98.

Cooke, G.A. *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903).

Cornell, T.J. "Rome and Latium to 390 B.C." *Cambridge Ancient History* 7:2 (1989), 243-308.

Cornell, T.J. *The Beginnings of Rome* (New York, 1995).

Costa, A.M. "La Necropoli Punica di Monte Luna. Tipologia Tombale." *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 11 (1983), 21-38.

Costa, B. and J. H. Fernandez. "Ebusus Phoenissa et Poena. La Isla de Ibiza en época fenicio-púnica." *Prehistoria y Arqueología* 10 (1997), 391-445.

Crawford, M.H. and L. Keppie "Excavations at Fregellae, 1978-1984: An Interim Report on the Work of the British Team." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 52 (1984), 21-35.

Crawford, M.H. et al. "Excavations at Fregellae, 1978-1984: An Interim Report on the Work of the British Team." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 53 (1985), 75-82.

Crawford, M.H. et al. "Excavations at Fregellae, 1978-1984."*Papers of the British School at Rome* 54 (1986), 40-68.

Cross, F.M. "An Interpretation of the Nora Stone." *BASOR* 208 (1972), 13-19.

Cross, F. M. *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, 1973).

Cross, F.M. "Newly Found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite and Early Phoenician Scripts." *BASOR* 238 (1980), 1-20

Cross, F. M. "Phoenicians in the West: The Early Epigraphic Evidence." in ed. M.S. Balmuth. *Studies in Sardinian Archaeology II* (Ann Arbor, 1986), 116-130.

Cross, F.M. "Newly-Discovered Inscribed Arrowheads of the Eleventh Century B.C.E." in eds. A. Biran and J. Aviram. *Biblical Archaeology Today , 1990: Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology* (Jerusalem, 1993), 533-542

Cross, F.M. "The Arrow Suwar, Retainer of 'Abday." *Erezt-Israel* 25 (1996), 9-17

Cross, F.M. *Leaves from an Epigrapher's Notebook: Collected papers in Hebrew and West Semitic Palaeography and Epigraphy* (Winona Lake, 2003).

Cross, F.M. and D. N. Freedman. "The Pronominal Suffixes of the Third Person Singular in Phoenician." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 10 (1951), 228-230.

Cucina, A. et al. "The Necropolis of Vallerano: An Anthropological Perspective on the Ancient Romans in the Suburbium." *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 16 (2006), 104-117.

Culican, W. and J.E. Curtis. "The Punic Wreck in Sicily: The Pottery from the Ship." *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 3 (1974), 42-54.

Cunchillos Ilarri, J.L. "Las Inscripciones Fenicias del Tell de Doña Blanca (IV)." *Sefarad* 52 (1992), 75-83.

Cunchillos Ilarri, J.L. "Las Inscripciones Fenicias del Tell de Doña Blanca (V)." *Sefarad* 53 (1993), 17-24.

Cunchillos Ilarri, J.L. and J.A. Zamora López. "La Epigrafía Fenicia del Yacimiento del Castillo de Doña Blanca (El Puerto de Santa María, Cádiz)." *Palaeohispanica* 4 (2004), 111-134.

Cutroni Tusa, A. "RSMLQRT è Selinunte?" *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 42 (1995), 235-240.

Cutroni Tusa, A. "Un Incisore Monetale a Segesta nell' Ultimo Ventennio del V sec. A.C." *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull'area Elima. Atti*. v.1 (Pisa, 2000), 317-325.

Day, J. *Molech: A God of Human Sacrifice in the Old Testament* (Cambridge, 1989)

Dayton, J.E. "The Problem of Tin in the Ancient World." *World Archaeology* 3 (1971), 49-70.

Debergh, J. "Ombres et Lumières sur la Topographie de la Carthage Punique: Les Errances de Byrsa." in ed. E. Lipinski. *Studia Phoenicia VI: Carthago* (Leuven, 1988), 91-99.

De Hoz, J. "Grafitos Cerámicos Griegos y Púnicos en la Hispania Pre Romana." *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 75 (2002), 75-91.

De Ste. Croix, G.E.M. "Herodotus." *Greece and Rome* 24 (1977), 130-148.

Del Castillo, A. "Tarsis en la Estela de Nora: Un Topónimo de Occidente?" *Sefarad* 63 (2003), 3-32.

Delattre, R.P. A.L. *La Nécropole Punique de Douïmès* (Paris, 1897).

Delattre, R.P. A.L. *Carthage: La Nécropole Punique Voisine de la Colline de Sainte-Monique.* (Paris, 1899).

Delattre, R.P.A.L. *La Nécropole des Rabs, Prêtres et Prêtresses de Carthage* (Paris, 1905).

Delattre, R.P.A.L. *La Nécropole des Rabs, Prêtres et Prêtresses de Carthage* (Paris, 1906).

Delattre, A.L. and P. Berger . "Épitaphes Puniques et Sarcophage de Marbre." *Comptes-rendus de Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 48 (1904), 505-512.

Delcor, M. "Reflexions sur l'Inscription Phenicienne de Nora en Sardaigne." *Syria* 45 (1968), 323-352.

DeVries, K. "Eigth-Century Corinthian Pottery: Evidence for the Dates of Greek Settlement in the West." *Corinth* 20 (2003), 141-156.

Di Stefano, C. A. "Nuove Scoperte nella Necropoli Punica di Palermo." *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull'area Elima. Atti*. v.1 (Pisa, 2000), 437- 449.

Dicks, T.R.B. "The Port of Athens." *Town Planning Review* 39 (1968), 140-148.

Dietler, M. "The Iron Age in Mediterranean France: Colonial Encounters, Entanglements, and Transformations." *Journal of World Prehistory* 11 (1997), 269- 358.

Docter, R.F. et al. "Carthage Bir Massouda: Preliminary Report on the First Bilateral Excavations of Ghent University and the Institut National du Patrimoine (2002-2003)." *BABesch* 78 (2003), 43-70.

Docter, R.F. et al. "Carthage Bir Massouda: Second Preliminary Report on the Bilateral Excavations of Ghent University and the Institut National du Patrimoine (2003-2004)." *BaBesch* 81 (2006). 37-89.

Donner, H. and W. Röllig. *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1962-64).

Doyle, M.W. *Empires* (Ithaca, 1986).

Dupont-Sommer, A. "Nouvelle Lecture d'une Inscription Phénicienne Archaïque de Nora." *Comptes-Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 92 (1948), 12-22

Dupont-Sommer, A. "Une Nouvelle Inscription Punique de Carthage." *Comptes-Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 112 (1968), 116-133

Dussaud, R. "Les Inscriptions phéniciennes du tombeau d'Aḥiram, roi de Byblos." *Syria* 5 (1924), 135-157.

Dussaud, R. "Précisions épigraphiques sur les sacrifices puniques d'enfants." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 90 (1946), 371-387.

Dyson, S. L. "Settlement Patterns in the Ager Cosanus: The Wesleyan University Survey, 1974-1976." *Journal of Field Archaeology* 5 (1978), 251-268.

Eckstein, A. *Mediterranean Anarchy, Interstate War, and the Rise of Rome* (Berkeley, 2006).

Eckstein, A. *Rome Enters the Greek East: From Anarchy to Hierarchy in the Hellenistic Mediterranean, 230-188 B.C.* (Oxford, 2008)

Egan, R. B. "Carthage, KKB, KAKKABH, and the KKBM at Pyrgi (KAI 227, 10F.)." *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 32:1 (2004), 79-85

Egberts, A. "The Chronology of 'The Report of Wenamun'." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 77 (1991), 57-67.

Engen, D.T. "'Ancient Greenbacks': Athenian Owls, The Law of Nikophon, and the Greek Economy." *Historia* 54:4 (2005), 359-381.

Ennabli, A. "La campagne internationale de sauvegarde de Carthage. Fouilles et recherches archéologiques 1973-1987. Premiers bilans." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 131 (1987), 407-438.

Ennabli, A. "Carthage. La Campagne Internationale: Aspects Puniques." in ed. E. Lipinski. *Studia Phoenicia VI: Carthago* (Leuven, 1988), 51-59

Erickson, B. "Archaeology of Empire: Athens and Crete in the Fifth Century B.C." *American Journal of Archaeology* 109 (2005), 619-663.

Euzennat, M. "Ancient Marseille in the Light of Recent Excavations." *American Journal of Archaeology* 84 (1980), 133-140.

Famà, M.L. and M.P. Toti. "Materiali dalla 'Zona E' dell'Abitato di Mozia. Prime Considerazioni." *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull'area Elima. Atti*. v.1 (Pisa, 2000), 451-478.

Fantar, M.H. "Une nouvelle Inscription Carthaginoise." *Academia nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 21 (Serie 8) (1966), 201-210.

Fantar, M.H. "Un sarcophage en bois à couvercle anthropoïde découvert dans la nécropole punique de Kerkouane." *Comptes-Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 116 (1972), 340-354.

Fantar, M.H. "Presence Punique et Libyque dans les Environs d'Apsis au Cap Bon." *Comptes-Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 132:3 (1988), 502-518.

(b) Fantar, M.H. "L'impact de la presence phénicienne et de la fondation de Carthage en Méditerranée occidentale." in ed. E. Lipinski. *Studia Phoenicia VI: Carthago* (Leuven, 1988), 3-14.

Fantar, M.H. *Carthage: Approche d' une Civilisation*. vls.1-2 (Tunis, 1993).

Fantar, M. H "Espaces culturels à Kerkouane." *Comptes-rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 147:2 (2003), 817-824.

Fariselli, A. C. *I Mercenari Di Cartagine* (La Spezia, 2002).

Fentress, E. et al. *Cosa V: An Intermittent Town, Excavations 1991-1997. Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes. II* (Ann Arbor, 2003)

Ferjaoui, A. *Recherches sur les Relations entre l'Orient Phenicien et Carthage* (Freibourg, 1993).

Fernandez Jurado, J. "Economia Tartesica: Mineria y Metalurgia." *Huelva en su Historia* 1 (1986), 149-170.

Fernandez Jurado, J. "Metalurgia y Comercio de la Plata Tartésica: importancia socio-económica y secuelas sanitarias de su producción", in *V Jornadas del Patrimonio de la Sierra de Huelva* (Almonaster la Real, 1993), 25-34

Fernandez Jurado, J. and D. Ruiz Mata. "La Metalurgia de la Plata en época Tartésica en Huelva." *Pyrenae* 21 (1985), 23-44.

Fernandez Jurado, J. and R. Olmos. "Un Inscripción Jonia Arcaica en Huelva." *Lucentum* 4 (1985), 107-113

Fernández Jurado, J. and J. A.Correa, "Nuevos grafitos hallados en Huelva", *Huelva Arqueológica* 10-11 (v.3) (1988-1989) 121-142.

Ferron, J. "Le Medaillon de Carthage." *Cahiers de Byrsa* 8 (1958-1959), 46-49.

Ferron, J. "La pierre inscrite de Nora" *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 41(1966), 281- 288

Février, J-G. "L'inscription archaïque de Nora" *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* 44 (1950), 123-126.

Février J.-G. "Molchomor." *Revue de l'histoire des Religions* 143 (1953), 8-18.

Février J.-G. "L'Inscription punique de Pyrgi." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 109 (1965), 9-18.

Finkelstein, I. "State Formation in Israel and Judah: a Contrast in Context, a Contrast in Trajectory." *Near Eastern Archaeology* 62:1 (1999), 35-52.

Fletcher, R. "The Cultural Biography of a Phoenician Mushroom-Lipped Jug." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 25 (2006), 173-194.

Fornara, C. *Archaic Times to the End of the Peloponnesian War. Translated Documents of Greece and Rome 1* (Cambridge, 1977).

Frost, H. "First Season of Excavation on the Punic Wreck in Sicily." *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 2 (1973), 33-49.

Frost, H. "The Punic Wreck in Sicily: Second Season of Excavation." *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 3 (1974), 35-42.

Frost, H. "Simulated clinkers in the 3rd century BC Mediterranean." Archaeonautica 14 (1998), 161-163.

Gallet de Santerre, H. and L. Slim. *Recherches sur les Necropoles Puniques de Kerkouane* (Tunis, 1983).

Gallin, L. J. and R. H. Tykot. "Metallurgy at Nuraghe Santa Barbara (Bauladu), Sardinia." *Journal of Field Archaeology* 20 (1993), 335-345.

Garbini, G. "Isrizioni Fenicie a Tharros." *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 19 (1991), 223-31.

Garbini, G. "Nuove Epigrafi Fenicie da Antas." *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 25 (1997), 59-67.

Garbini, G. "Nuove Iscrizione da Antas." *Rivista di Studi Punici* 1 (2000), 115-122.

García-Gelabert, M.P. and J.M. Blázquez Martínez. "Los Cartagineses en Turdetania y Oretania." *Historia Antigua* 20 (1996), 7-21.

Ghalia, T. *Le Cap Bon: El Watan el Qibli* (Tunis, 2007).

Gilboa, A. and I. Sharon. "An Archaeological Contribution to the Early Iron Age Debate: Alternative Chronologies for Phoenicia and their Effects on the Levant, Cyprus, and Greece." *BASOR* 332 (2003), 7-80

Gilboa, A. and I. Sharon. "Between Carmel and the Sea: Tel Dor's Iron Age Reconsidered." *Near Eastern Archaeology* 71:3 (2008), 146-170.

Gill, D. W. J. "Silver Anchors and Cargoes of Oil: Some Observations on Phoenician Trade in the Western Mediterranean." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 56 (1988), 1-12.

Godley, A.D. *Herodotus*. Four Volumes (London, 1930).

Goedicke, Hans. *The Report of Wenamun* (Baltimore, 1975).

Goldsworthy, A. The Punic Wars (London, 2000) republished as The Fall of Carthage (London, 2012).

Gómez Toscano, F. "La Ocupación Protohistórica entre el Guadiana y el Guadalquivir: Del Mito a la Realidad." *Spal* 11 (2002), 151-159

Gómez Toscano, F. "Huelva en el año 1000 a. C un puerto cosmopolita entre el Atlántico y el Mediterráneo." *Gerión* 27 (2009), 33-65.

Gómez Toscano, F. and J.M. Campos Carrasco. "Arqueología Urbana en Huelva: Las Ultimas Evidencias." *Anales de Arqueología Cordobesa* 11 (2000), 155-176.

Gonzalez de Canales, F. et al. *El Emporio Fenicio Precolonial de Huelva (ca. 900-770 a. C.)*, (Madrid, 2004).

Gras, M. "Les importations du VIe siècle avant J.-C. à Tharros (Sardaigne). Musée de Cagliari, Antiquarium Arborense d'Oristano." *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome* 86 (1974), 79-139.

Gras. M. *Trafics tyrrhéniens archaïques.* B.E.F.A.R. 258 (Rome, 1985).

Green, P. *Diodorus Siculus, Books 11- 12.37.1* (Austin, 2006).

Hadlock, F.P. et al. "The Relation of Fetal Femur Length to Neo-natal Crown-Heel Length." *Journal of Ultrasound Medicine* 3 (1984), 1-3.

Hallock, R. T. *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (Chicago, 1969).

Haggi, A. "Report on Underwater Excavation at the Phoenician Harbour at Atlit, Israel." *International Journal for Nautical Archaeology* 39 (2010), 278-258.

Haggi, A. and M. Artzy. "The Harbor of Atlit in Northern Canaanite/ Phoenician Context." *Near Eastern Archaeology* 70 (2007), 75-84.

Hammond, N.G.L. "The Sources of Justin on Macedonia to the Death of Philip." *Classical Quarterly, New Series* 41 (1991), 496-508.

Hansen, M.H. *Studies in the Population of Aigina, Athens and Eretria* (Copenhagen, 2006).

Harris, W.V. "Foedera in Etruria." *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 14 (1965), 282-292;

Harris, W.V. *Rome in Etruria and Umbria* (Oxford, 1971)

Harris, W.V. *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome* (Oxford, 1979).

Hay, S. et al. "Utica." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 78 (2010), 325- 329

Heider, G.C. *The Cult of Molek: A Reassessment* (New Haven, 1985).

Heurgon, J. "Les Inscriptions de Pyrgi et l'alliance étrusco-punique autour de 500 av. J.-C." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*109 (1965), 89-104.

Heurgon, J. "Inscripthions étrusques de Tunisie." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*113 (1969), 526-551.

Hidas, E. "On the Med Tuna Trail: Linking Science with Conservation." (2010) World Wildlife Fund.

Hodos, T. "Colonial Engagements in the Global Mediterranean Iron Age." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 19 (2009), 221-241.

Hopkins, K. *Conquerors and Slaves* (Cambridge, 1978).

Horden, P. and N. Purcell. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford, 2000).

Hoyos, D. "Treaties True and False: The Error of Philinus of Agrigentum." *Classical Quarterly* 35 (1985), 92-109.

Hoyos, D. *The Carthaginians* (New York, 2010).

Hurst, H. and L. Stager. "A Metropolitan Landscape: The Late Punic Port of Carthage." *World Archaeology* 9:3 (1978), 334-346.

Huss, W. *Geschichte der Karthager* (Munich, 1985)

Isserlin, B.S.J. "New Light on the 'Cothon' at Motya." *Antiquity* 45 (1971), 178-186.

Isserlin, B.S.J. et al. "Motya: 1955: Report of the 1955 Trial Excavations at Motya near Marsala (Sicily) Undertaken by the Oxford University Archaeological Expedition to Motya" *Papers of the British School at Rome* 26 (1958), 1-29

Jehan, I. et al. "Neo-natal Mortality, Risk Factors, and Causes: A Prospective Population Based Cohort Study in Urban Pakistan." *Bulletin of the WHO* 87 (2009), 130-138.

Jehasse, J. "Les fouilles d'Aléria." *Comptes-rendus de Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 105 (1961), 363-379.

Jehasse, J. and L. Jehasse. *La Necropole Preromaine d'Aleria* (Paris, 1973).

Jiménez Flores, A. M. "El Sacerdocio Femenino en el Mundo Fenicio-Punico." *Spal* 11 (2002), 9-20.

John, A.M. *The Plantation Slaves of Trinidad, 1783- 1816: A Mathematical and Demographic Enquiry* (Cambridge, 2002).

Johnston, A. and R.E. Jones "The SOS Amphora." *Annual of the British School at Athens* 73 (1978), 103-141.

Jones, G.D.B. and J.H. Little. "Coastal Settlement in Cyrenaica." *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971), 64-79.

Kaufman, S.A. "The Enigmatic Adad-Milki." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 37 (1978), 101-109.

Knoppers, G. N. ""The God in His Temple": The Phoenician Text from Pyrgi as a Funerary Inscription." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 51 (1992), 105-20.

Kolb, M. J. and R. J. Speakman. "Elymian Regional Interaction Iron Age Western Sicily: A Preliminary Neutron Activation Study of Incised/Impressed Tablewares." *Journal of Archaeological Science* 32 (2005), 795-804

Krahmalkov, C.R. "A Carthaginian Report of the Battle of Agrigentum 406 B.C. (CIS I 5510.9-11)," *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 2 (1974), 171-77.

Krahmalkov, C.R. "The Foundation of Carthage, 814 B.C.: The Douïmès Pendant Inscription." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 26 (1981), 177- 191.

Krahmalkov, C.R. *Phoenician- Punic Dictionary* (Leuven, 2000).

Krahmalkov, C.R. *A Phoenician- Punic Grammar* (Leiden, 2001).

Krings, Veronique. *Carthage et Les Grecs (c. 580- 480 av. J.-C.): Texts et Histoire* (Leiden, 1998).

Kupfer, K. "Anmerkungen zu Sprache und Textgattung des Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus (CIL I² 581)." *Glotta* 80 (2004), 158-192.

Lancel, S. "Fouilles de Carthage 1976-1977: la Colline de Byrsa et l'Occupation Punique." *Comptes-Rendus des Seances de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 122:2 (1978), 300-331.

Lancel, S. "Fouilles Francaises a Carthage. La Colline de Byrsa et l'Occupation Punique (VII Siecle-146 av. J.C.): Bilan de Sept Annees de Fouilles." *Comptes-Rendus des Seances de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 125:2 (1981), 156-193.

Lancel, S. "La Renaissance de la Carthage Punique. Réflexions sur quelques Enseignements de la Campagne internationale Patronnée par l'Unesco." *Comptes-Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 129:4 (1985), 727-751.

Lancel, S. "Les Fouilles de la Mission Achéologique Française à Carthage et le Problème de Byrsa." in ed. E. Lipinski. *Studia Phoenicia VI: Carthago* (Leuven, 1988), 61-89.

Lancel, S. *Carthage* (Paris, 1992).

Lapeyre, G.G. "Les Fouilles du Musée Lavigerie à Carthage de 1935 à 1939." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 83 (1939), 294-304.

Lentini, M.C. et al. "The Shipsheds of Sicilian Naxos: A Second Preliminary Report." *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 103 (2008), 299-366.

Lewis, D.M. "The Athenian Tribute-Quota Lists, 453-450." *Annual of the British School at Athens* 89 (1994), 285-301.

Lipiński, E. "Sacrifices d'enfants à Carthage et dans le Monde Sémitique Oriental." in ed. E. Lipinski. *Studia Phoenicia VI: Carthago* (Leuven, 1988), 151-185.

Liston, M. "Short Lives and Forgotten Deaths: Infant Skeletons from the 'Baby Well' in the Athenian Agora." (Forthcoming).

Lloyd, A. B. "Herodotus' Account of Pharaonic History." *Historia* 37 (1988), 22-53.

Long, L. et al. "Les épaves archaïques de la pointe Lequin (Porquerones, Hyères, Var). Des données nouvelles sur le commerce de Marseille à la fin du VIe et dans la première moitié du Ve s. av. J.-C." in. *Marseille grecque et la Gaule, Actes du Colloque international d'Histoire et d'Archéologie et du Ve Congrès archéologique de Gaule méridionale (Marseille, 18-23 novembre 1990)= Etudes Massaliètes* 3 (Aix en Provence, 1992), 199-234.

Lopez Castro, J.L. *Hispania Poena: Los Fenicios en la Hispania Romana* (Barcelona, 1995).

Lopez Castro, J.L. "El Poblamiento Rural Fenicio en el Sur de la Peninsula Ibérica entre los siglos VI a III a.C." *Gerión* 26 (2008), 149-182.

Lopez Pardo, F. "Los Enclaves Fenicios en el Africa noroccidental: del Modelo de las Escalas Náuticas al de Colonización con Implicaciones Productivas." *Gerión* 14 (1996), 251-288.

Loreto, L. *La Grande Insurrezione Libica contro Cartagine del 241- 237 A.C.: Una Storia Politica e Militare* (Rome, 1995).

Lovén, B. *The Ancient Harbours of the Piraeus – I.1. The Zea Shipsheds and Slipways: Architecture and Topography* (Aarhus, 2012)

Lovén, B and M. Schaldemose. *The Ancient Harbours of the Piraeus – I.2. The Zea Shipsheds and Slipways: Finds, Area 1 Shipshed Roof Reconstructions and Feature Catalogue* (Aarhus, 2012).

Lund, J. "Two Late Punic Amphora Stamps from the Danish Excavations at Carthage." in ed. E. Lipinski. *Studia Phoenicia VI: Carthago* (Leuven, 1988), 101-112.

Maffre, J-.J. "Céramique attique récemment découverte à Apollonia de Cyrénaïque." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 145 (2001), 1065-1079.

Mahjoubi, A. *Recherches d'Histoire et d'Archéologie a Henchir El-Faouar* (Tunis, 1978).

Manfredi, L. I. *La Politica Amministrativa di Cartagine in Africa* (Roma, 2003).

Mann, M. *The Sources of Social Power* v. 1 (Cambridge, 1986).

Marín Baño, C. "Un Modelo Estratigráfico de la Cartagena Púnica: La Muralla de Quart-Hadast." *Anales de Prehistoria y Arqueología. Universidad de Murcia.* 13-14 (1997-98), 121-139.

Martin, R. "Histoire de Sélinonte d'après les fouilles récentes." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 121 (1977), 46-63.

Mason, G.G. "The Agrarian Role of Coloniae Maritimae: 338-241 BCE." *Historia* 41 (1992), 75-87.

Mattingly, H. *The Athenian Empire Restored: Epigraphic and Historical Studies* (Ann Arbor, 1996).

Mattingly, H. "The Athenian Decree for Chalcis (IG 13.40)." *Classical Quarterly. New Series* 52 (2002), 377-379.

Mazza, F. "Su Alcune Epigrafi de Cartagine." *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 5 (1977), 131-137.

McCann, A. M. "The Harbor and Fishery Remains at Cosa, Italy." *Journal of Field Archaeology* 6 (1979), 391-411.

Mederos Martín, A. "Una Colonización Competitiva. TKR, MSWS y Las Tradiciones de Fundación de Massia (Murcia) y Sexi (Granada)." *Anales de Prehistoria y Archaeologia* 19-20 (2003-2004), 125-141

Mederos Martín, A. and G. Escribano Cobo. "El Periplo Norteafricano de Hannon y la Rivalidad Gaditano-Cartaginesa de los Siglos IV-III a.C." *Gerión* 18 (2000), 77-107.

Mederos Martín, A. and L.A. Ruiz Cabrero. "La Fundación de Sexi-Laurita (Almuñécar, Granada) y los Inicios de la Penetración Fenicia en la Vega de Granada." *Spal* 11 (2002), 41-67.

Mederos Martín, A. and L.A. Ruiz Cabrero. "El Pecio Fenicio del Bajo de la Campana." *Zephyrus* 57 (2004), 263-281.

Meiggs, R. *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford: Sandpiper Books edition, 1999).

Meiggs, R. and D. Lewis. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1969)

Meritt, B.D. "Athens and Carthage." in *Athenian Studies Present to William Scott Ferguson* (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology Supplement* #1) (1940), 247-253.

Meritt, B.D. "The Tribute Quote List of 454/3 B.C." *Hesperia* 4 (1972), 403-417.

Meritt, B.D. et al. *The Athenian Tribute Lists*. Vol. III (Princeton, 1950).

Merlin, A. "Découverte d'un vase égyptien portant le cartouche du pharaon Amasis à Carthage." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 51 (1907), 280-287.

Merlin, A. "Les Recherches sous-marines de Mahdia (Tunisie) en 1909." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 53 (1909), 650-671.

Morel, J.P. "Kerkouane, Ville Punique du Cap Bon." *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* (*Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire)* 81 (1969), 473-518.

Morel, J.P. "Les Vases à Vernis Noir et à Figures rouges d'Afrique avant la deuxième Guerre Punique et le Problem des Importations de Grande-Grèce." *Antiquités Africaines* 15 (1980), 29-90.

Morris, I. et al. "Stanford University Excavations on the Acropolis of Monte Polizzo, Sicily, I: Preliminary Report on the 2000 Season." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 46 (2001), 253-271.

Morris, I. et al. "Stanford University Excavations on the Acropolis of Monte Polizzo, Sicily, II: Preliminary Report on the 2001 Season." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 47 (2002), 153-198.

Morris, I. et al. "Stanford University Excavations on the Acropolis of Monte Polizzo, Sicily, III: Preliminary Report on the 2002 Season." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 48 (2003), 243-315.

Morris, I. et al. "Stanford University Excavations on the Acropolis of Monte Polizzo, Sicily, IV: Preliminary Report on the 2003 Season." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 49 (2004), 197-279.

Morrison, J.S. et al. *The Athenian Trireme*. 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2000).

Moscati, S. *The World of the Phoenicians.* trans. A. Hamilton (London, 1968).

Moscati, S. "Antas: A New Punic Site in Sardinia." *BASOR* 196 (1969), 23-36

Moscati, S. "Il sacrificio punico dei fanciulli: realta or invenzione?" *Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei* 261 (1987), 3–15.

(b) Moscati, S. "Découvertes phéniciennes à Tharros." *Comptes-rendus de Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 131 (1987), 483-503.

Moscati, S. *Introduzione alle Guerre Puniche: Origine e Sviluppo dell'Impero di Cartagine* (Turin, 1994).

Moscati, S. et al. *La Penentrazione Fenicia e Punica in Sardegna: Trent'Anni Dopo* (Rome, 1997).

Mouritsen, H. "Pits and Politics: Interpreting Colonial Fora in Republican Italy." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 72 (2004), 37-67.

Mullen, E.T. "A New Royal Sidonian Inscription." *BASOR* 216 (1974), 25-30

Negbi, Ora. "Early Phoenician Presence in the Mediterranean Islands: A Reappraisal." *American Journal of Archaeology* 96:4 (1992), 599-615.

Niemeyer, H. G. "Los Comienzos de Cartago y la Expansión Fenicia en el área Mediterránea." *Gerión* 7 (1989), 11-40.

(b) Niemeyer, H.G. *Das frühe Karthago und die phönizische Expansion im Mittelmeerraum* (Hamburg, 1989).

Niemeyer, H.G. et al. *Karthago: Die alte Handelsmetropole am Mittelmeer* (Hamburg, 1996).

Ogilvie, R.M. and A. Drummond. "The Sources for Early Roman History." *Cambridge Ancient History* 7 (1989), 1- 29.

Oldfather, C.H. *Diodorus Siculus*. Loeb Classical Library, vols. 375, 384, and 399 (Cambridge, 1946, 1950, and 1954).

Orsi, P. "Le Necropoli di Licodia Eubea ed i Vasi geometrici del quarto periodo siculo." *Römische Mitteilungen* 13 (1898), 305-366

Ortega Feliu, I. et al. "Gold and Electrum Jewelry in the Strategic Area of Gadir in the Phoenician Period." *Nuclear Instruments and Methods in Physics Research B* 260 (2007), 329-335.

Ostwalt, M. "Athens and Chalkis: A Study in Imperial Control." *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 122 (2002), 134-143.

Papadopoulos, J.K. "Archaeology, Myth-History, and the Tyranny of the Text: Chalkide, Torone and Thucydides." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 18 (1999), 377- 394.

Pardee, D. "The Ugaritic Text 2106: 10-18: A Bottomry Loan?" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 95 (1975), 612-619.

Parker, B.J. "Archaeological Manifestations of Empire: Assyria's Imprint on Southeastern Anatolia." *American Journal of Archaeology* 107 (2003), 525-557.

Peckham, J.B. "The Nora Inscription." *Orientalia* 41 (1972), 457-468.

Pedley, J.G. and M. Torelli. "Excavations at Paestum 1983." *American Journal of Archaeology* 88 (1984), 367-376.

Pellicer Catalan, M. "El Proceso Orientalizante en el Occidente Ibérico." *Huelva Arqueológica* 16 (2000), 89-134.

Pellicer Catalan, M. "Momentos Precoloniales y Precolonizacion en Iberia: Nuevos Datos." *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 34:1 (2006), 9-37.

Pellicer Catalan, M. *La Necrópolis Laurita (Almuñécar, Granada) en el Contexto de la Colonización Fenicia (Cuadernos de Arqueología #15)* (Barcelona, 2007).

Pérez Macías, J. A. "Pico del Oro (Tharsis, Huelva)" *Arx* 2-3 (1996-1997), 93-106.

Perkins, P. *Etruscan Settlement, Society and Material Culture in Central Coastal Etruria* (Oxford, 1999).

Perra, C. "Una Fortezza Fenicia presso il Nuraghe Sirai di Carbonia. Gli Scavi 1999-2004." *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 33 (2005), 169-204.

Picard, C. "L'Essor de Carthage aux VIIe et VIe Siècles." in ed. E. Lipinski. *Studia Phoenicia VI: Carthago* (Leuven, 1988), 43-50.

Picard, G.-Ch. "Le Pouvoir Suprême à Carthage." in ed. E. Lipinski. *Studia Phoenicia VI: Carthago* (Leuven, 1988), 119-124.

Piga, G. et al. "A Funerary Rite Study of the Phoenician-Punic Necropolis of Monte Sirai." *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 20 (2010), 144-157.

Pilkington, N. "A Note on Nora and the Nora Stone." *BASOR* 365 (2012), 45-51.

Pisano, G. and A. Travaglini. *Le Iscrizioni Fenicie e Puniche Dipinte* (Rome, 2003).

Prag, J.R.W. "Poenus Plane Est- But Who Were the 'Punickes'? *Papers of the British School at Rome* 74 (2006), 1-37.

Prag, J.R. W. "Siculo-Punic Coinage and Siculo-Punic Interactions" *Bolletino di Archeologia On Line* 1 *Volume Speciale* (2010), 1-10. www.archeologia.beniculturali.it/pages/pubblicazioni.html

Prakash, G. "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism." *The American Historical Review* 99 (1994), 1475-1490.

Richard, J. *Étude médico-légale des urnes sacrificielles puniques et de leur contenu* (Dissertation in Medicine, Lille, 1961).

Rhodes, P.J. "Public Documents in the Greek States: Archives and Inscriptions, Part I." *Greece and Rome, Second Series* 48 (2001), 33-44.

Rhodes, P.J. and R. Osborne (eds.). *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404-323 BC* (Oxford, 2007).

Ruiz Cabrero, L.A. "Dedicantes en los Tofet: La Sociedad Fenicia en el Mediterráneo." *Gerión* 26 (2008), 89-148.

Rundin, J.S. "Pozo Moro, Child Sacrifice, and the Greek Literary Tradition." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 123 (2004), 425-447.

Russell, A. "Foreign Materials, Islander Mobility, and Elite Identity in Late Bronze Age Sardinia." in eds. P. van Dommelen and A. Bernard Knapp. *Material Connections in the Ancient Mediterranean: Mobility, Materiality and Identity* (New York, 2010).

Sáez Romero, A.M. et al. "Nuevas Aportaciones a la Definición del *Círculo de Estrecho*." *Gerión* 22 (2004), 31-60.

Sáez Romero, A.M. and J. J. Díaz Rodríguez. "La Producción de Ánforas de Tipo Griego y Grecoitálico en Gadir y el área del Estrecho. Cuestiones Tipológicas y de Contenido." *Zephyrus* 60 (2007), 195-208.

Sallares, R. *The Ecology of the Ancient Greek World* (Ithaca, 1991).

Sallares, R. *Malaria and Rome: A History of Malaria in Ancient Italy* (Oxford, 2002).

Salmon, E.T. "Roman Expansion and Roman Colonization in Italy." *Phoenix* 9 (1955), 63-75.

Salmon, E.T. *Roman Colonization under the Republic* (Ithaca, 1970).

Sanders, L.J. "Punic Politics in the Fifth Century B.C." *Historia* 37 (1988), 72-89.

Sanna, G. *La Stele Di Nora* (Mogoro, 2009).

Sardà Seuma, S. "Servir el Vino: Algunas Observaciones sobre la Adopción del Oinochoe en Curso Inferior del Ebro (s. VII-VI aC)." *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 65 (2008), 95-115.

Scheidel, W. "Roman Age Structure: Evidence and Models." *Journal of Roman Studies* 91 (2001), 1-26.

Scheidel, W. "Human Mobility in Roman Italy I: The Free Population." *Journal of Roman Studies* 94 (2004), 1-26.

Scheidel, W. "Demography." in *Cambridge Economic History of the Greco Roman World* (Cambridge, 2007), 38-86.

Schmitz, P.C. *Epigraphic Contributions to a History of Carthage in the Fifth Century B.C*. (Diss. Univ of Mich, 1990).

Schmitz, P.C. "The Name 'Agrigentum' in a Punic Inscription (CIS 1 5510.10)" *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 53:1 (1994), 1-13

Schmitz, P.C. "The Phoenician Text from the Etruscan Sanctuary at Pyrgi." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115:4 (1995), 559-575.

Schwartz, J.H. *What the Bones Tell Us* (Tucson, 1998)

Schwartz, J.H. et al. "Skeletal Remains from Punic Carthage do not Support the Systematic Sacrifice of Infants." *PLoS ONE* 5 (2010).

Seel, O. *Die Praefatio des Pompeius Trogus* (Erlangen, 1955).

Seel, O. *Pompei Trogi fragmenta; collegit Otto Seel* (Leipzig, 1956). Teubner ed.

Seel, O. *Justinus. Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi* (Stuttgart, 1972) 2nd ed. Teubner.

(b). Seel, O. *Eine römische Weltgeschichte; Studien zum Text der Epitome des Iustinus und zur Historik des Pompejus Trogus* (Nuremberg, 1972).

Segert, S. *A Grammar of Phoenician and Punic* (Munich, 1976).

Seston, W. "Des « portes » de Thugga à la « Constitution » de Carthage." *Revue Historique* 237 (1967), 277- 294.

Shaw, J.W. "Phoenicians in Southern Crete." *American Journal of Archaeology* 93 (1989), 165-183.

Shea, W.H. "The Dedication of the Nora Stone." *Vetus Testamentum* 41 (1991), 241-245.

Sitka, H. P. et al. "Plant remains from the early Iron Age in western Sicily: differences in subsistence strategies of Greek and Elymian sites." *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 17 (Supplement #1) (2008), S139-S148.

Sjöqvist, E. "Excavations at Serra Orlando (Morgantina) Preliminary Report II." *American Journal of Archaeology* 62 (1958), 155-164

Sjöqvist, E. "Excavations at Morgantina (Serra Orlando) 1959: Preliminary Report IV." *American Journal of Archaeology* 64 (1960), 125-135.

Sjöqvist, E. "Excavations at Morgantina (Serra Orlando) 1961: Preliminary Report VI." *American Journal of Archaeology* 66 (1962), 135-143.

Sjöqvist, E. "Excavations at Morgantina (Serra Orlando) 1963: Preliminary Report VIII." *American Journal of Archaeology* 68 (1964), 137-147.

Smith, P. et al. "Aging Cremated Infants: The Problem of Sacrifice at the Tophet at Carthage." *Antiquity* 85:329 (2011), 859- 874.

Stager, L. "Excavations at Carthage 1975. The Punic Project: First Interim Report." in (ed.) Freedman, D.N. *Preliminary Excavation Reports: Bad edh-Hhra, Sardis, Meiron, Carthage (Punic). Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 43* (Cambridge, 1978), 151-190.

Stager, L. and S. Wolf, "Child sacrifice at Carthage: Religious Rite or Population Control." *Biblical Archaeology Review* 10 (1984), 31–51.

Stewart, A. and S.R. Martin. "Attic Imported Pottery at Tel Dor, Israel: An Overview." *BASOR* 337 (2005), 79-94.

Stieglitz, R. R. "The Geopolitics of the Phoenician Littoral in the Early Iron Age." *BASOR* 279 (1990), 9-12.

Stillwell, R. "Excavations at Serra Orlando 1958: Preliminary Report III." *American Journal of Archaeology* 63 (1959), 151-159

Stillwell, R. and E. Sjöqvist. "Excavations at Serra Orlando: Preliminary Report." *American Journal of Archaeology* 61 (1957), 151-159.

Storey, G.R. "The Population of Ancient Rome." *Antiquity* 71:274 (1997), 966-978.

Stroheker, K.F. "Die Karthagergesandtschaft in Athen 406 v. Chr." *Historia* (1954), 163-171.

Suriano, M. J. "The Apology of Hazael: A Literary and Historical Analysis of the Tel Dan Inscription." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 66 (2007), 163-176.

Sznycer, M. "L'emploi des termes 'phénicien', 'punique', 'néopunique' (problèmes de méthodologie)." In *Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Linguistica Camito-semitica* (Florence, 1978), 261-268.

Sznycer, M. "L' Inscription Phénicienne de Tekke, près de Cnossus." *Kadmos* 18 (1979), 89-93.

Tarradell, M. "Los Fenicios en Occidente: Nuevas Perspectivas." in ed. D. Harden, *Los Fenicios* (Barcelona, 1967).

Taylor, R. "Temples and Terracottas at Cosa." *American Journal of Archaeology* 106 (2002), 59-83.

Tekoglu R, et al. "La bilingue royale louvito-phénicienne de Çineköy." *Comptes-rendus de Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 144 (2000), 961-1007.

Teixidor, J. "Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique 1978-1979." *Syria* 56 (1979), 353- 405.

Teixidor, J. "L'assemblée législative en Phénicie d'après les inscriptions." *Syria* 57 (1980), 453-464.

Terrenato, N. "Tam Firmum Municipium: The Romanization of Volaterrae and its Cultural Implications." *Journal of Roman Studies* 88 (1998), 94- 114.

Tocheri et al. "Roman period fetal skeletons from the East Cemetery (Kellis 2) of Kellis, Egypt. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 15 (2005), 326-341.

Tomback, R.S. *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages* (Missoula, 1974).

Tsirkin, Yu. B. "The Economy of Carthage." in ed. E. Lipinski. *Studia Phoenicia VI: Carthago* (Leuven, 1988), 125-135.

Turfa, J. M. "Evidence for Etruscan-Punic Relations." *American Journal of Archaeology*. 81:3 (1977), 368-374.

Unz, R. K. "The Chronology of the Pentekontaetia." *Classical Quarterly. New Series* 36 (1986), 68-85.

Van Bercham, D. "Sanctuaires d'Hercule-Melqart. Contribution a l'Etude de l'Expansion Phénicienne en Méditerranée." *Syria* 44 (1967), 73-109.

Van Dommelen, P. "Colonial Constructs: Colonialism and Archaeology in the Mediterranean." *World Archaeology* 28 (1997), 305-323.

Van Dommelen, P. On Colonial Grounds. *A Comparative Study of Colonialism and Rural Settlement in the First Millennium BC West Central Sardinia* (Leiden, 1998).

Van Gervan, D.P. et al. "The Health and Nutrition of a Medieval Nubian Population: The Impact of Political and Economic Change." *American Anthropologist* 97 (1995), 468-480

Vance, D.R. "Literary Sources for the History of Palestine and Syria: The Phoenician Inscriptions." *The Biblical Archaeologist* 57 (1994), 2-19.

Vance, D.R. "Literary Sources for the History of Palestine and Syria: The Phoenician Inscriptions." *The Biblical Archaeologist* 57 (1994), 110-120

Vassallo, S. "Abitati Indigeni Ellenizzati della Sicilia Centro-Occidentale dall Vitalità tardo-archaica alla Crisi del V sec. A.C." *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull'area Elima. Atti*. v.II (Pisa, 2000), 984-1008.

Vives-Ferrandiz, J. "Tripodes, Anforas, y Consumo de Vino: Acerca de La Actividad Comercial Fenicia en La Costa Oriental de La Península Ibérica." *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 32:2 (2004), 9-33.

Vogiatzakis, I.N. and L.F. Cassar. *Coastal Landscapes of Tunisia – A Proposed Landscape Character Assessment* (Reading, 2007).

Vuillemot, G. *Reconnaissances aux Echelles Puniques d'Oranie* (Autun, 1965).

Wachsmann, S. et al. "The Palaeo-Environmental Contexts of Three Possible Phoenician Anchorages in Portugal." *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 38 (2009), 221-253

Wagner, C. G. "Tiro, Melkart, Gadir, y la Conquista Simbólica de los Confines del Mundo." in eds. Gonzalez Antón, R. et al. *Los Fenicios y el Atlántico* (Madrid, 2008), 11-30.

Walbank, M. "Athens, Carthage and Tyre (IG ii^{2}342+)." *ZPE* 59 (1985), 107-111.

Walsh, P.G. "Making a Drama out of a Crisis: Livy on the Bacchanalia." *Greece and Rome. Second Series* 43 (1996), 188-203.

Watson, J.S. *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* (London, 1853).

Webster, G.S. *A Prehistory of Sardinia: 2300-500 BC* (Sheffield, 1996).

Weingreen, J. *A Practical Grammar for Classical Hebrew* (Oxford, 1959) 2nd ed.

Wells, B. W. "Business and Politics at Carthage." *The Sewanee Review* 28 (1920), 499-519.

Whitaker, J.I.S. *Motya. A Phoenician Colony in Sicily* (London, 1921).

White, D. "Excavations at Apollonia, Cyrenaica Preliminary Report." *American Journal of Archaeology* 70 (1966), 259-265.

Whittaker, C.R. "The Western Phoenicians: Colonisation and Assimilation." *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 200 (1974), 53-79.

Wilson, A. "Une cité grecque de Libye : fouilles d'Euhespéridès (Benghazi)." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 147 (2003), 1647-1675.

Wilson, R.J.A. and A. Leonard Jr. "Field Survey at Heraclea Minoa (Agrigento), Sicily." *Journal of Field Archaeology* 7 (1980), 219-239.

Wiseman, T.P. "Roman Republic, Year One." *Greece & Rome* 45 (1998), 19-26.

Wonder, J.W. "What Happened to the Greeks in Lucanian-Occupied Paestum? Multiculturalism in Southern Italy." *Phoenix* 56 (2002), 40-55.

Wood, W.H. "Jar-Burial Customs and the Question of Infant Sacrifice in Palestine." *The Biblical World* 36 (1910), 166-175

Woods, R. "The Measurement of Historical Trends in Fetal Mortality in England and Wales." *Population Studies* 59 (2005), 147-162.

Xella, P. *Baal Hammon : Recherches sur l'identité et l'histoire d'un Dieu Phénico-punique* (Rome, 1991).

Yardley, J.C. and W. Heckel. *Justin. Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus, Books 11-12: Alexander the Great* (Oxford, 1997).

Yerushalmy, J. "Infant and Maternal Mortality in the Modern World." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 237 (1945), 134-141.

Yon, M. "Les Hangars du Port Chypro-Phénicien de Kition. Campagnes 1996-1998." *Syria* 77 (2000), 95-116

Yon, M. and M. Sznycer. "Une inscription phénicienne royale de Kition, Chypre." *Comptes-rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 135 (1991), 791-823.

Yon, M. and W. A. P. Childs. "Kition in the Tenth to Fourth Centuries B.C." *BASOR* 308 (1997), 9-17.

Zamora, J. A. "De Orfebres, Fenicios e Indígenas: La nueva inscripción sobre molde de joyería del Castillo de Doña Blanca (Puerto de Santa María, Cádiz) y el conocido grafito bilítero del Cabezo de San Pedro (Huelva)." *Palaeohispanica* 10 (2010), 219-230.

Zelnick-Abramovitz, R. "Settlers and Dispossessed in the Athenian Empire." *Mnemosyne* 57 (2004), 325-345.

Zimmerman Munn, M.L. "Corinthian Trade with the Punic West in the Classical Period." *Corinth* 20 (2003), 195-217.

Zorn, J.R. "Estimating the Population Size of Ancient Settlements: Methods, Problems, Solutions and a Case Study." *BASOR* 295 (1994), 31-48.

Zucca, R. *Sufetes Africae et Sardiniae* (Rome, 2004).

Appendix A: Violence in Central Sicily: The Archaeology of Morgantina

In Carthage's conquest of Sicily in the late 5th century BCE, the Carthaginians eventually campaigned in the areas near Syracuse. In central Sicily, the history of violence is less clear than in western Sicily. The most well excavated site in this area is Morgantina, which has been subjected to more than four decades of archaeological intervention. The history of the site was originally interpreted with reference to the ancient source evidence, specifically the indications in multiple Greek sources that Morgantina was a Greek colony from at least the 6th century BCE.

Morgantina

Based on the excavations of the 1960s-1980s at Morgantina, the excavators argued that Morgantina was a Bronze Age indigenous foundation on the Cittadella Hill. Indigenous occupation continued on this hill through the early Iron Age. The Cittadella Hill, according this reconstruction, was colonized by the Greeks at some point in the early 6th century. A Sicilian attempt to re-conquer the Cittadella Hill was successful in the mid 5th century but short lived. As part of this Sicilian conquest, the Cittadella Hill foundation was destroyed and the city-state moved to new occupation at Serra Orlando. At some point after the mid- 5th century, Greeks established control over the new foundation at Serra Orlando. The city-state remained a Greek colony until Roman conquest during the Second Punic War.[1]

This reconstruction of Morgantina's history derives primarily from notices in the Greco-Roman sources that describe a series of political transitions at Morgantina between 460-396 BCE. For the excavators at Morgantina, the record of the Greco-Roman sources acted as a

---

[1] Bell and Holloway (1988), 314-316 and 320-321.

control on archaeological interpretation. Attempts to fit the extant archaeological remains to the

textual record at Morgantina, however, obscure the proper interpretation of its archaeology.[2]

The earliest textual reference is that of Diodorus Siculus, who offers an extended narrative about

the conquest of Morgantina by a Sicilian General, Douketios, c. 460 BCE. In Diodorus'

narrative, Douketios is described as a King of the Sicilians. According to Diodorus, he founded

the city-state of Menainon (modern Mineo, Sicily). Subsequent to this foundation, he attacked

and destroyed the city-state at Morgantina.[3] Douketios continued to pursue other conquests in

Sicily over the next several years, ultimately leading to a series of battles between his armies and

those of Akragas and Syracuse. c. 451 BCE, Syracuse inflicted a debilitating defeat on

Douketios' army. Subsequent to this defeat, Douketios surrendered his lands and his person to

Syracuse, who sent him into exile at Corinth.[4]

Douketios' role in the archaeology of Morgantina was suggested during the first season

excavations at the archaic settlement on the Cittadella Hill. A uniform destruction layer of the

mid-5th century led the excavators to argue that Douketios was responsible for the destruction.[5]

The excavators of Morgantina believed that Diodorus' narrative represented a Sicilian attack on

a Greek colony. More than three decades of subsequent excavations at the site have been

interpreted with reference to this narrative. Bell and Holloway, who led the most recent

---

[2] For example, Bell and Holloway (1988) argue that imported Attic pottery traditionally dated to 475-450 BCE should actually be read as evidence of occupation at Morgantina only after c.458 due to a perceived lag of decades in the appearance of these pots in Sicily. Bell and Holloway (1988), 320: "The Attic sherds belong in the second quarter, but their arrival and use in central Sicily could have occurred somewhat later." The necessity for this argument rests on their belief that Diodorus' record of Douketios' campaign should be reflected in the archaeological record of the city-state c. 458-450 BCE. Because the excavation team attributes the foundation of Serra Orlando to Douketios, the pottery discovered at the site must fit within the dates provided by Diodorus' narrative.

[3] Diodorus Siculus 11.78: "Δουκέτιος ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν βασιλεὺς, ὠνομασμένος τὸ γένος, ἰσχύων δὲ κατ᾽ ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, Μέναινον μὲν πόλιν ἔκτισε καὶ τὴν σύνεγγυς χώραν τοῖς κατοικισθεῖσι διεμέρισε, στρατευσάμενος δ᾽ ἐπὶ πόλιν ἀξιόλογον Μοργαντῖναν, καὶ χειρωσάμενος αὐτήν, δόξαν ἀπηνέγκατο παρὰ τοῖς ὁμοεθνέσι."

[4] Diodorus Siculus 11. 91-92.

[5] Sjöqvist (1958), 156: "Thus the end of the archaic settlement is approximately dated. It should be remembered that this date coincides very well with the historical tradition of the capture and destruction of Morgantina by the indigenous Siculan forces under the leadership of Ducetius in 459 BC."

excavations, connected the mid-5th century abandonment of the Cittadella Hill and perceived re-location of the urban core of the city-state to the Serra Orlando with the conquest of Douketios.[6] These archaeologists further argue that the original foundation at Serra Orlando may represent a Sicilian occupation of the site under Douketios' leadership, which later fell to a second Greek conquest and colonization of the area.[7]

Diodorus' narrative does not specify who lived on the Cittadella Hill in the archaic period. The belief that a Greek colony existed, as I demonstrate in the next section, cannot be substantiated based on the archaeological record. In point of fact, the Cittadella Hill was a Sicilian city-state. If Douketios' attack did occur, then it represents intra-Sicilian violence. Menaion and Morgantina are in close proximity (c.45 km). Each foundation occupies an elevated area that dominates an agricultural valley. Competition between the city-states was certainly possible. Due to the nature of the geography of Sicily, both agricultural valleys connect to the same river, the Gornalunga. The Gornalunga, in turn, connects both city-states to Catania. In addition, Menaion's proximity to Syracuse and Gela provided it with access to multiple Greek foundations, which could have allowed the city-state to become more powerful than the foundation at the Cittadella Hill. Consequently, while Diodorus' narrative of a 5th century BCE attack on Morgantina may be reflected in the archaeological record, I argue that there is no reason to believe that Greek colonists were involved. In addition, I demonstrate that the exact date of this destruction stratum is unclear. The events could have occurred at any point between 475-450 BCE.

---

[6] Bell and Holloway (1988), 314.

[7] Bell and Holloway (1988), 316: "Not long after-ward the second city was founded on the adjacent Serra Orlando ridge, perhaps also as a result of Douketios's political authority over the site …Although the new city plan belongs to the fifth century, and possibly to the "Douketian" decade 459-450 B.C., the buildings that were shaped by its regular design are mostly much later in date, products of Morgantina's great moment in the third century B.C."

Diodorus does not specify what happened at Morgantina after Douketios' sack of the city-state. If incorporated in Douketios' kingdom, it should have become Syracusean property after his surrender, based on Diodorus' narrative of this event.[8] Yet, Diodorus' narrative makes it appear that Morgantina remained a Sicilian city-state during the period 450-400 BCE. He records that Syracuse conquered the city-state in 396 BCE, as part of Dionysius' campaigns against Sicilian populations: 'εἰς τὴν τῶν Σικελῶν χώραν πλεονάκις στρατεύσας Μέναινον μὲν καὶ Μοργαντῖνον εἷλε'.[9] No 4th century destruction layer has been discovered at Morgantina. Though incorporation may have been peaceful, as I demonstrate in the next section, a Greek presence at Morgantina is best attested from the mid 4th century.

The only other important notice of events at Morgantina during this period is recorded by Thucydides. As part of the Congress at Gela in 424 BCE, he records that Kamarina gained political authority over Morgantina. Thucydides notes that Syracuse sold the territory of Morgantina to Kamarina.[10] Thucydides narrative would thus appear to be a continuation of the situation described by Diodorus after Douketios' surrender c. 451 BCE.

In his attempt to unite Diodorus' and Thucydides' narratives, Slöqvist argued that Morgantina lost importance after Douketios' sack. As a result, the city-state lost the ability to protect its independence. Consequently, the city-state became so unimportant that it could be transacted for a fee. He felt that this was reflected in the archaeological record of the Cittadella Hill between 450-400. Slöqvist described this period as one of decay.[11] Bell and Holloway, in turn have argued that the main area of occupation at the Serra Orlando was begun by Douketios,

---

[8] Diodorus Siculus 11. 91-92.

[9] Diodorus 14.78: "Making frequent military campaigns into the territory of the Sicilians, he took Menaion and Morgantion."

[10] Thucyides 4.65: "ὥστε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου ἔχοντες ἃ ἕκαστοι ἔχουσι, τοῖς δὲ Καμαριναίοις Μοργαντίνην εἶναι ἀργύριον τακτὸν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις ἀποδοῦσιν."

[11] Sjöqvist (1958), 156

thereby explaining the abandonment of the Cittadella Hill. After Douketios' surrender, in their reconstruction, Greek colonists slowly begin to develop the site over the next century.[12]

However, both of these solutions are unsatisfactory and not reflected in the archaeological record. In point of fact, very little appears to have occurred at both the Citadella Hill and the Serra Orlando during the second half of the 5th century. The creation of a new Greek colony in the area begins in the mid 4th century, when new city walls are constructed at the Serra Orlando. A separate foundation existed on the Cittadella Hill, which was started in the early 4th century. In the third century BCE, each of these foundations was independently walled.[13] Consequently, while Diodorus' narrative of a 5th century sack of the site can be demonstrated from the archaeological, none of the subsequent events recorded by the Greco-Roman sources finds a similar manifestation in the archaeological record.

The Archaeology of Morgantina

In this section, I present the archaeological evidence recovered from the excavation of Morgantina without the controlling narratives of the ancient sources. In contrast to the previous interpretations of the archaeology at Morgantina, the history of the occupation at the site is more complex than the narratives of the Greco-Roman sources.[14] I demonstrate that Morgantina was an indigenous city-state in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE. No evidence supports the identification of an archaic Greek colony at the site. Furthermore, I argue that the archaeological record of Morgantina is particularly important in the proper reconstruction of Sicilian history during this

---

[12] Bell and Holloway (1988), 316
[13] Sjöqvist (1960), 127-128
[14] See Antonaccio (2004). Antonaccio is now a principle in the excavation at Morgantina. She has undertaken in multiple publications to begin the process of revising archaeological interpretations of the site based on the modern anthropological theory and not adherence to the ancient sources.

period. It shows similarities to other indigenous foundations in respect to the occupation of space and the creation of an urban core. In addition, I consider the archaeological record of Morgantina as two different archaeological sites. Though in close proximity, the 1.4 km that separates the Cittadella Hill and the Serra Orlando foundation necessitates a local focus on the archaeology of each.

The Cittadella Hill

Over three decades of excavation, the Cittadella Hill has been extensively explored. Due to erosion and precipitous geography, the majority of areas which were not terraced do not yield archaeological stratigraphy. However, excavations in terraced areas have demonstrated occupations from the Bronze Age through the Roman period. The most productive area of exploration concerns a series of terraces located to the northeast of the of Cittadella Hill's peak. The peak itself is a conically shaped vertical rise known as the 'Farmhouse Hill' due to a modern construction. Limited excavations were carried out in this area. Stratigraphy is limited due to erosion and the majority of the evidence is post- Antiquity. Other excavations occurred to the west of the 'Farmhouse Hill' (in the direction of the later settlement at Serra Orlando).
 On the northeast terraces, excavations uncovered extensive remains attesting to a residential occupation on the terraces from the 11th-1st centuries BCE. Nucleated habitation in houses rather than huts began at the start of the 6th century on the northeast terrace. From this point forward, the site appears to have two main phases of occupation: c. 580-450 BCE and 400-200 BCE.[15] The earliest habitation at the site is known from finds in archaeological strata under the 6th century fortification walls and houses. The earliest discover of these layers occurred immediately under the archaic constructions on the northeast terrace. The excavations uncovered a uniform

---

[15] Sjöqvist (1958), 155

debris layer. The debris layer appeared to have been deliberately constructed in order to provide the foundation for the 6th century urbanization at the site. In the debris layer, the recovered ceramics are indigenous examples of the 10th-7th century BCE. Underneath the debris layer, the excavation discovered the floor of a hut. The archaeological stratigraphy continued even further. A strata beneath the floor of the hut included 12th and 11th century BCE ceramic forms.[16] The Bronze Age and Iron Age settlements are attested at other parts of the northeast terrace and other areas of the Cittadella Hill.[17] The early Iron Age community appears to have lived in longhouses built of wattle and daub. The longhouses were irregularly distributed throughout the northeast terrace. In the 8th century, local pottery productions begin to show influences from Greek designs; however, the earliest documented imports at the site are mid to late 7th century Corinthian ceramics.[18]

One 8th century hut, located on the northeast side of the Cittadella was C-14 dated to c. 745 BCE (+/- 70 years). It was destroyed by fire and abandoned after this destruction. An amphora recovered on the floor is local wheel made 'plumed' amphora.[19] A similar hut, though much larger, was discovered on the western slope of the Cittadella Hill. Based on the ceramics recovered within the hut, the site dates to the mid- 9th century BCE, when it was also destroyed by fire. At this hut, the fire preserved the arrangement of domestic space and the division of the hut into two unequally sized areas. The larger of the two spaces appears dedicated to storage. It contained a number of locally produced amphoras and pithoi, two of which contained 'plumed' decoration.[20]

---

[16] Sjöqvist (1958), 157
[17] Stillwell (1959), 171; Sjöqvist (1964), 146; Allen (1970), 369-375.
[18] Antonaccio (2004), 67
[19] Sjöqvist (1964), 146 gives a firm date. The range of dates from the C-14 samples is only provided by Allen (1970), 373.
[20] Allen (1970), 373-375

The earliest nucleated occupation of the northeast terrace in the 6th century is demonstrated by the excavation of a series of houses and the presence of a necropolis in multiple terraced areas of the Cittadella Hill.[21] Construction of the new residential zone began c. 580 BCE. The houses appear rectangular in shape and were arranged in a rough rectangular system, which may provide evidence of a planned construction on the terrace. The houses were built with rubble foundations, mud brick walls and wooden support beams. As already noted, the entire area was walled about 30 years after the creation of the houses, although the terrace sits on an escarpment with a steep descent to the valley below. Diagnostic ceramics date the construction of the houses on the terrace to the early 6th century BCE. Occupation of these houses appears to have continued until the mid 5th century BCE. Imported ceramics from the archaic period of occupation include Attic and Late Corinthian examples. Locally produced ceramics include Sicilian mat-painted wares and other examples of Orsi Siculan III and IV pottery.[22]

Antonaccio, following Orsi, groups the Siculan III and IV productions into a single class of design which she terms 'Siculo-Geometric' pottery. She dates the production of these wares to the 8th-6th centuries BCE.[23] Orsi originally dated Siculan IV period productions to the 7th-5th centuries BCE.[24] However, he was unsure of the exact point at which local Sicilian productions ceased. He argued that the end of period IV likely occurred at the start of the 5th century, as

---

[21] Allen (1970), 369-370: Based on his excavations of the area between upper and lower occupations of the Cittadella Hill, Allen argued that archaeological strata on the Cittadella should be divided thusly: Morgetian II and IIa, Siculo-Geometric I and Ia, Archaic I, Ia, and II. He labeled the strata associated with the earliest nucleated housing settlement as AI, and he associated the strata with Greek colonization.

[22] Sjöqvist (1958), 155-156. For a description of P. Orsi's classification of Sicilian made pottery, see Antonaccio (2004), 59: "His Siculan I corresponds roughly to the Early Bronze Age, Siculan II is encompassed by the periods of Middle and Late Bronze Age, Siculan III can be assigned to the early Iron Age including the period of first contact with Greeks and Siculan IV belongs to the period of colonization." The periodization for Siculan IV derives from Orsi's work in necropoleis during the 19th century. See Orsi (1898).

[23] Antonaccio (2004), 59

[24] Orsi (1898), 327.

native Sicilians abandoned locally produced styles.[25] However, as I demonstrate below, a pottery making facility at the Serra Orlando site was making mat-painted Sicilian wares in period IV styles until the period 475-450 BCE. Based on the recovery of similar Period IV wares in the archaic strata at the Cittadella Hill, I believe the pottery kiln on the Serra Orlando represents one of the centers for local productions during the archaic period.

The area possessed a central open space at its core. Surrounding this open space, excavations uncovered a series of buildings oriented around the open space. Each of these buildings contained a series of square rooms. Diagnostic ceramics, especially Middle Corinthian wares, date the construction of these buildings to 575-550 BCE.[26]

The Cittadella Hill was walled in the mid- 6th century BCE. Sjöqvist described the topography thusly:

> The north and southeast sides of this triangle [i.e. the occupation of the Cittadella] are more than adequately defended by nature. Fallen blocks lying on the steep slope below the plateau and occasional foundation blocks in situ show that even this seemingly impregnable natural rampart was strengthened by a stone parapet where it was deemed necessary. This rampart follows roughly the contour level curve 530 m. above sea-level. The west side of the city, facing the valley which separated it from the Serra Orlando ridge, was its vulnerable part. Here extensive remains of the city wall were found.[27]

The construction of the wall used cut blocks on its outermost layers. The inside of the wall was filled with rubble. On its side facing the facing the later Serra Orlando foundation, there appears to have been no city gate. Rather, the main entrance to the Cittadella Hill was on the northern side of the occupation, in the location furthest from the Serra Orlando. The wall remained in use until the sack of the city in the mid 5th century.[28]

---

[25] Orsi (1898), 364: "E qui sta appunto 1' inferiorita del geometrico siculo; monotona, immobile, incapace di progresso coi primi lustri del sec. V la ceramica sicula scompare interamente, cedendo il posto a quella greca, che ha invaso tutti i mercati barbarici dell' isola."
[26] Sjöqvist (1960), 133-134
[27] Sjöqvist (1960), 126.
[28] Sjöqvist (1960), 126.

During its phase of construction, the wall of the Cittadella Hill appears to have planted itself directly over numerous hut houses from the Iron Age period. In describing this transition, Sjöqvist believed that a Greek colony at the site forcibly displaced any remaining native populations in order to develop its city-walls.[29] However, as I argue below, this transition is just the solidification of trends already underway in early 6th century BCE within the Sicilian occupation of the site.

A necropolis (known as Necropolis II) was discovered cut into the steepest part of the Cittadella Hill during the third season of excavations at Morgantina. Most of the tombs were plundered before excavation. One tomb left partially intact produced diagnostic ceramics from the period 530-500 BCE. The ceramics include Attic Black Figure, Late Corinthian, Sicilian Greek, and locally produced wares. 6 burials were found in this tomb associated with c. 230 grave goods.[30] Excavators returned to the area in subsequent campaigns.[31] Other tombs appear to match the general information derived from the initial excavations. In the seventh season of excavations, two excavated tombs produced Attic Black figure vases, Greek pottery produced in Sicily, and Siculan wares.[32]

The archaic necropolis from the Cittadella Hill, when the tombs are considered collectively, reveal evidence of a wide distribution for Attic imports in the grave goods, which are found in nearly half of the archaic tombs. Other imports in the tombs are Laconian, Corinthian and East Greek wares. In total, wares imported from mainland Greece and the Aegean constitute 26% of the pottery recovered in the archaic necropoleis. 25% of the recovered pottery

---

[29] Sjöqvist (1960), 135: "The chronological evidence forces us to conclude that, while the main acropolis area in the second quarter of the sixth century saw the rise of a small but well organized Greek city, the outskirts of the lower Cittadella were still occupied by indigenous huts which were not destroyed until the third quarter of the century."
[30] Sjöqvist (1958), 158
[31] Sjöqvist (1962), 143
[32] Sjöqvist (1962), 143

imitates mainland Greek and Aegean pottery types but was produced in Sicily. Based on the finds at archaic pottery kilns near Morgantina, it does not appear possible that the Greek imitation wares were produced at the site. The kilns show evidence of Siculo-Geometric pottery production. Taken collectively, therefore, nearly 50% of the recovered pottery in the tombs is imported from Greece or Greek colonies. The remaining pottery is Siculo-Geometric. Due to an absence of chemical analysis for these samples, it is not possible to determine their exact provenance.[33]

In interpreting this archaeological record, the excavators at Morgantina argued that the extensive finds of Greek ceramics at the site, when combined with the evidence of a newly constructed residential zone on the northeast terrace indicate the presence of a Greek colony on the Cittadella hill c. 580 BCE. In turn, they have further argued that these Greek colonists were Ionian (more specifically Phocaeans) based on the Ionic architectural styles present in some of the 6th century BCE buildings and archaic tombs.[34] Antonaccio has rightly condemned but only partially corrected this interpretation of the finds on the Cittadella Hill:

> These interpretations, however, suffer from the fallacy identified earlier, wherein artefact style is taken as an indicator of ethnicity, in this case of Ionian Greek ethnicity, and even a specific Phokaian identity. This remains a possibility, but need not be the case. It also assumes that Greeks were directly responsible for the transformation of the settlement, whereas they may have only been the craftsman who produced the decoration.[35]

> The deliberate construction of hybrid assemblages, including a great variety of Greek shapes and styles and even locally varied types in the earliest period, and the creation with the indigenous tradition of hybrid forms, suggests a complex negotiation and renegotiation of identities over time, engendered by Greek colonization.[36]

---

[33] Antonaccio (2004), 67-68. Antonaccio estimates the imports as 26% but she only includes the pottery produced overseas in this total. She does not include the 25% of the pottery which she deems 'Sikeliote' or 'colonial'.
[34] Antonaccio (2004), 69: "Yet despite the prevalence of Siculo-Geometric pottery, the increasing amount and diversity of the imports have been taken as evidence for the presence of Greek settlers who are responsible for the Greek style settlement which grew up second quarter of the 6th century directly on top of the indigenous one."
[35] Antonaccio (2004), 70.
[36] Antonaccio (2004), 75

In contrast, I would argue that the Greek ceramics and architectural styles present on the Cittadella are evidence of trade. Moreover, like many other native sites in the 6th and 5th century BCE, the Sicilian settlement on the Cittadella Hill experienced a period of economic growth as the polity established a regular exchange of grain with Greek colonies in Eastern Sicily. The transformation on the Cittadella Hill, therefore, should be inscribed within a process of economic growth at the site.

Economic growth, as a result of direct contact with Greek polities, also implies the transfer of technologies to indigenous foundations. The community on the Cittadella adopted those technologies that provided the greatest internal and external protection for their newly discovered wealth. Thus wattle and daub longhouse construction techniques give way to rubble foundation and mud brick houses. Outside of their derivation from Greek techniques, the archaic residential area does not result from Greek colonization. Rather, the replacement of longhouses with hardened houses suggests the end of mostly communal practices at the site, the development of restricted family designations, and the acquisition of personal property in significant quantities that its protection became a central focus of architecture. Even though the terraced area of the Cittadella Hill benefitted from natural geography which would have made access difficult, the entire area was enclosed with an earthwork wall (using ashlar masonry as its base) between 550-525 BCE. Such a construction suggests not only the desire to protect the physical space of the community, which indicates an internal conception of political unity, but also served to delimit the physical space of the community visually to all who visited. The wall was thus a visual expression of city-state formation at the polity.

Though such transformations are often presented in theoretical anthropological models as 'hybrid' spaces resulting from Greek colonization, I do think that the modern theory of

'hybridity' bears any applicability to the situation at the Cittadella Hill. The theory of hybridity derives primarily from early modern and modern colonial situations. The placement of a foreign colony within the territory of an existing polity is a pre requisite to engender a process of hybridity in these models. In contrast, 8th and 7th century Sicily still contained open spaces. Greek colonies, therefore, do not create a dichotomy between colonizers and colonized. Rather, Greek colonies import agricultural and exchange models that allow these colonies to occupy previously unused agricultural territories.

The conclusion derived from the archaic settlement on the Cittadella Hill accord with the patterns evinced elsewhere in Sicily. Greek foundations were small and littoral in this period. No evidence indicates any penetration in the already settled areas of Sicily. Greek populations, furthermore, depended on Sicilian populations for the regular provision of grain in order to maintain growth at their colonies. Therefore, unlike modern colonial situation from which the theory of hybridity derives, there is no evidence that the arrival of Greek colonists in Sicily required the displacement of native sites or the incorporation of native populations into Greek colonies. The geography of eastern Sicily is such that Greek littoral foundations had no impact on the territorial claims of native populations. Their location in the interior of Sicily, as noted previously, is a result of geography and climate. The arrival of Greek colonists and agricultural models that could harness the resource poor areas of Sicily allowed Greek colonists to occupy primarily empty spaces.

The northeast terrace was destroyed by fire in the 5th century BCE. Slöqvist described the archaeological stratigraphy thusly:

> This early settlement went through a complete and violent destruction by fire, traceable all over the site in the form of heavy layers of ash, carbonized matter, and half-baked

mud brick. The fact that several well preserved vases were found in the corner of the rooms bears witness to the suddenness of the catastrophe.[37]

The date of the destruction layer on the Cittadella Hill is not completely clear. Sloqvist argued that Attic red figure fragments dating c. 460 BCE are the latest diagnostic ceramics recovered that the destruction stratum.[38] However, once these vessels were cleaned and reconstructed, one of the vessels had a much earlier date.[39] An Attic Red Figure volute krater was the work of Euthymides and was made c. 515 BCE.[40] Excavation of a destroyed house uncovered three Syracusean tetradrachmae. The coins were minted c. 490-480 BCE.[41] The archaic walls were also destroyed at this time and fell into a period of disuse.[42]

After a period of c. 50 years, houses on the northeast terrace were reconstructed. The new houses are larger than earlier examples and feature a central courtyard around which rooms are arranged. The construction technique remained rubble foundations and mud brick walls. Two houses were restored in the late 4th or 3rd century BCE. These floor levels were raised and the stucco walls renovated. Ultimately, these houses remained in continuous use until their abandonment in the early 2nd century BCE.[43]

The Serra Orlando

The construction of a new urban core began at Serra Orlando at some point in the late 5th century. Prior to the construction of a new urban core, this area served as an indigenous pottery

---

[37] Sjöqvist (1958), 156.
[38] Sjöqvist (1958), 156.
[39] Stillwell (1959), 172 for the discover of the krater.
[40] Antonaccio (2004), 55
[41] Sjöqvist (1958), 156
[42] Sjöqvist (1960), 126.
[43] Sjöqvist (1958), 157.

making facility. In their excavations at Serra Orlando, Bell and Holloway uncovered an early 5th group of kilns. The facility itself was cut into a hillside and lined with mud brick. The ceramic remains recovered in the excavation indicate a native Sicilian operation. Bell and Holloway comment, "Important as dating evidence for the group of kilns are matt-painted sherds with pale brown concentric circles and wavy lines, found on the floor of kiln B…Such pottery is typical of the local Sikel ware of the late archaic period."[44] Near the kilns, the excavations uncovered a series of Attic imports from the second quarter of the 5th century (Skyphoi, Kylixes, Stemless Kylixes).[45]

The earliest building activity related to a new urban core in the area is the construction of North Stoa I, c. 400 BCE. The main phase of development at Serra Orlando began in the 4th century.[46] In the 4th century, the West Granary, the Central Sanctuary, and the South and Central shops were constructed. However, these 4th century constructions were not left in their original forms. Excavations in Serra Orlando area most often encounter extensive evidence of 3rd century Greek architecture at the site, particularly the period related to Hieron II's rule in Syracuse. c. 275, During the early 3rd century, Serra Orlando begins its period of most intense development. The East Stoa, the Central Steps, a Naiskos, and the West Stoa were built between 275-211 BCE. At that same time, several existing structures were enlarged and/or renovated.[47]

During the period c.450-275 BCE, the earliest structures at Serra Orlando do not appear to reflect a planned urbanization of the area. The buildings are not constructed following an orthogonal plan. The site was walled in this period. The walls at Serra Orlando are independent of those at the Cittadella Hill, and have a different history of use. The Serra Orlando ridge wall

---

[44] Bell and Holloway (1988), 319.
[45] Bell and Holloway (1988), 319.
[46] Sjöqvist (1960), 127.
[47] Bell and Holloway (1988), 338

was constructed in the mid 4th century BCE. The wall is constructed in the same manner as the archaic wall on the Cittadella Hill, masonry cut blocks on the outer layers with a rubble interior. The wall had four gates corresponding to the cardinal directions. These walls were renovated in the early 3rd century, likely at the same time the walls on the Cittadella Hill were reconstructed.[48]

The constructions and renovations of 275-211 do show evidence of an attempt to rationalize the use of space in the urban center at Morgantina. An orthogonal plan was imposed on the urban area. Stoa were constructed or renovated in order to facilitate the use of public spaces. New constructions are in monumental Greek architectural styles that are sited to "create visual relationships on a monumental scale".[49]

The houses of the foundation at Serra Orlando include large examples in with Greek peristyle construction. For example, the House of Ganymede included a peristyle with a length of 17m. The house was two stories, had tiled floors and was decorated with mosaics. The house was provisioned with internal bathrooms that functioned with two cisterns and a series of drainage pipes. Finally, the walls were stucco and painted. Due to the fact that one of the mosaics in the house depicted the myth of Ganymede, the house was assigned its name. Based on the finds in the house, it appears that it was constructed in the 250s BCE. The house was destroyed as part of the Roman conquest of Serra Orlando in 211 BCE.[50] Even larger examples of the same Greek style house construction techniques are found in the same area. The House of the Arched Cistern contained 13 rooms around its large peristyle.[51]

Excavations within the courtyard of the House of the Arched Cistern uncovered earlier house construction in this part of the Serra Orlando. Due to the extensive construction in the area

---

[48] Sjöqvist (1960), 127.
[49] Bell and Holloway (1988), 339.
[50] Sjöqvist (1960), 131-132.
[51] Sjöqvist (1962), 138-139.

during the 3rd century BCE, it is particularly difficult to uncover the earliest occupation at Serra Orlando. Underneath the House of the Arched Cisterns, three walls associated with a house were uncovered. Diagnostic ceramics from this house indicate that it was in use during the period 425-375 BCE.[52]

An early third century BCE kiln facility was located outside of the city-walls. In contrast to the Late Archaic example described above, the third century facility produced no evidence of pottery making. Rather, the ceramics associated with the kilns are used for making tiles and bricks. The products from this kiln are the same materials as those used in 3rd century constructions at Serra Orlando.[53]

The majority of the numismatic evidence from Serra Orlando concentrates in the 3rd century. In the first season of excavations, more than 3000 coins were recovered. c. 33 % were issued at Syracuse, and the majority of the Syracusean issues date to the period of Hieron II. Coins from Catane occupy the second largest portion of finds, c. 12%. Roman and Mamertine coins appear in late 3rd century BCE strata as well as a number of coins (6% of the total) that are inscribed, 'HISPANORUM'.[54]

Necropoleis I and III are associated with the mid 4th century settlement at Serra Orlando. Necropolis I, located to the west of Serra Orlando, began its use in the late 4th century.[55] Necropolis III, a crowded burial ground just outside the mid 4th century walls, contained graves dating from 330-210 BCE. The burials in Necropolis III are mixed cremation and inhumation

---

[52] Sjöqvist (1962), 140.
[53] Stillwell and Sjöqvist (1957), 158.
[54] Stillwell and Sjöqvist (1957), 158. Coin evidence received less systematic studies in subsequent excavation seasons. Sjöqvist (1958), 162 for one example.
[55] Stillwell and Sjöqvist (1957), 158.

burials during the 4th century. However, third century burials appear to be exclusively inhumations.[56]

---

[56] Sjöqvist (1960), 128-129.

Appendix B: The Tophet

Debates about the role of skeletal evidence in assessing the history of the Carthaginian Tophet remain active. In this appendix, I build on the presentation started in Chapter 1 in order to provide a full account of recent scholarly debates.

The small number of skeletons with ages 1-6 has been a source of debate since the aging of skeletons was first used on the samples from the Carthaginian Tophet While certain scholars readily admit that the infants skeletons represent natural deaths, these scholars question the presence of older children contained in the cemetery. Lancel stated his position succinctly, "Dira-t-on qu'eux aussi ont été "offerts" *post mortem*…?"[1] Lancel believed that infant mortality was primarily confined to the first year. However, this position is incorrect. In all societies without access to antibiotics, vaccines, and antiseptics, the period of infant and childhood mortality extends into the sixth year. However, the number of deaths decreases quickly after the first year of life.[2] Thus the older skeletons represent the expect pattern of mortality in a pre-modern population, as each successive age group contains a smaller number of skeletons.[3]

In attempt to counter to counter the argument that many of the skeletons in the Tophet are pre-natal, proponents of infant sacrifice at the Tophet have very recently proposed a reassessment of the aging of the skeletons in the Tophet [4] Smith et al.:

> Using tooth length, corrected for shrinkage, we found that the age profile of the Tophet infants peaked between 1 and 1.49 months and differed from that found for infant burials in other archaeological sites or that reported for census data for populations without

---

[1] Lancel (1992), 273.

[2] Blössner and de Onis (2005); See also: Scheidel (2008), 40; Scheidel (2001), 8-9

[3] No clear interpretation exists for the presence of the child burials in the Carthaginian Tophet outside of individual religious devotion to Baal Hammon and Tanit. Children of the same ages found in the Tophet are also found in necropoleis burials. When buried in a necropolis, the child burial often uses one of the ceramic vessel types found in the Tophet Consequently, I would argue that Carthaginians, the city-state population, do not all share similar religious beliefs. Such a position is confirmed by the number of gods and goddesses (and their associated temples) recorded in Carthaginian inscriptions.

[4] Smith et al. (2011).

access to modern medical care. This age profile, as well as the preferential mortuary treatment accorded Tophet infants, supports textual and iconographic evidence that the Phoenicians practiced infant sacrifice.[5]

Schwartz et al. and Smith et al. both used the same data sets, but arrive at different conclusions. The conclusions argued for by Smith et al., however, must be taken with caution. Significant methodological problems complicate the reconstruction proposed by Smith et al., which by contrast at not present in the early study of Schwartz et al.[6]

The primary method by which Smith et al. re-age the skeletons is a new method of identifying tooth age, based on estimates of tooth shrinking as part of a cremation. Smith et al. establish an estimate of tooth shrinking through examples from modern studies in which cremation is conducted in ovens and not on open funeral pyres. Even under modern oven cremation conditions, there is variation. To deal with this variation, Smith et al. employ an average of 6mm of shrinking due to cremation. They then argue that this shrinking represents about four to six weeks of growth using an average of 0.015mm for daily tooth development. Therefore, Smith et al. conclude: "These findings suggest that a minimum of four weeks should be added to age estimates of the cremated teeth from Carthage to compensate for shrinking due to cremation."[7] Smith and his co-authors use this shrinkage rate to re-age to post-natal what were previously identified as pre-natal skeletons by Schwartz et al.[8]

Methodologically, Smith et al.'s method of age reconstruction is dubious. Schwartz et al. note that at Carthage: "Bones and teeth from the same individual were rarely uniformly charred or calcined, and many were only minimally affected by heat. This irregular burning pattern is

---

[5] Smith et al. (2011), 860.
[6] There is also a significant bias issued involved. J.H. Schwartz is a physical anthropologist whose work does not directly involve Carthage or its history. His interest in Carthage stems from his interest in what bones are capable of revealing about past human populations. In contrast, Stager who appears as a co-author for the Smith et al. has long argued for infant sacrifice at Carthage, previously absent any arguments from osteoarchaeology.
[7] Smith et al. (2011), 863.
[8] Schwartz et al. (2010).

consistent with a body a on a funeral pyre in which tinder and hot ash were unequal in size and uneven in distribution."[9] Therefore, the establishment of regular rate of shrinking due to cremation is not possible.

In addition, Schwartz et al. previously considered the possibility that bone shrinking from cremation may have affected their sample:

> Although experiments on heat-induced bone shrinkage were not done in the manner of Carthaginian cremation, we nonetheless thought it prudent to consider them. Most of these studies used ovens rather than fire as well as dry and defleshed green rather than fleshed bone. In all cases, bone shrinkage was minimal…
>
> Although some Carthaginian perinates' bones were barely charred–and thus their exposure to heat minimal –we increased all of our measurements by 5, 10 and then an extreme 25% in order to account for any possible shrinkage (Figure 4). Even at 25% increase in size, most of our analyses still classified some individuals as prenates and thus not available for sacrifice.[10]

In an attempt to confirm their conclusions, Smith et al. compare their reconstruction of the remains recovered at Carthage with other known infant cemeteries from the ancient Mediterranean (in addition to modern evidence). One of their samples is the evidence recovered from Kellis 2, a Roman late antique cemetery in Egypt. Smith et al.: "Similarly the age distribution for infants from the Late Roman cemetery at Kellis 2 includes a high frequency of foetal-sized individuals. These mortality patterns are significantly different from that seen at Carthage where our study…indicates that very few infants could be classified as foetal-size."[11] To visualize these differences, Smith and his co-authors produce a graph:

---

[9] Schwartz et al. (2010), 6.
[10] Schwartz et al. (2010), 9-10.
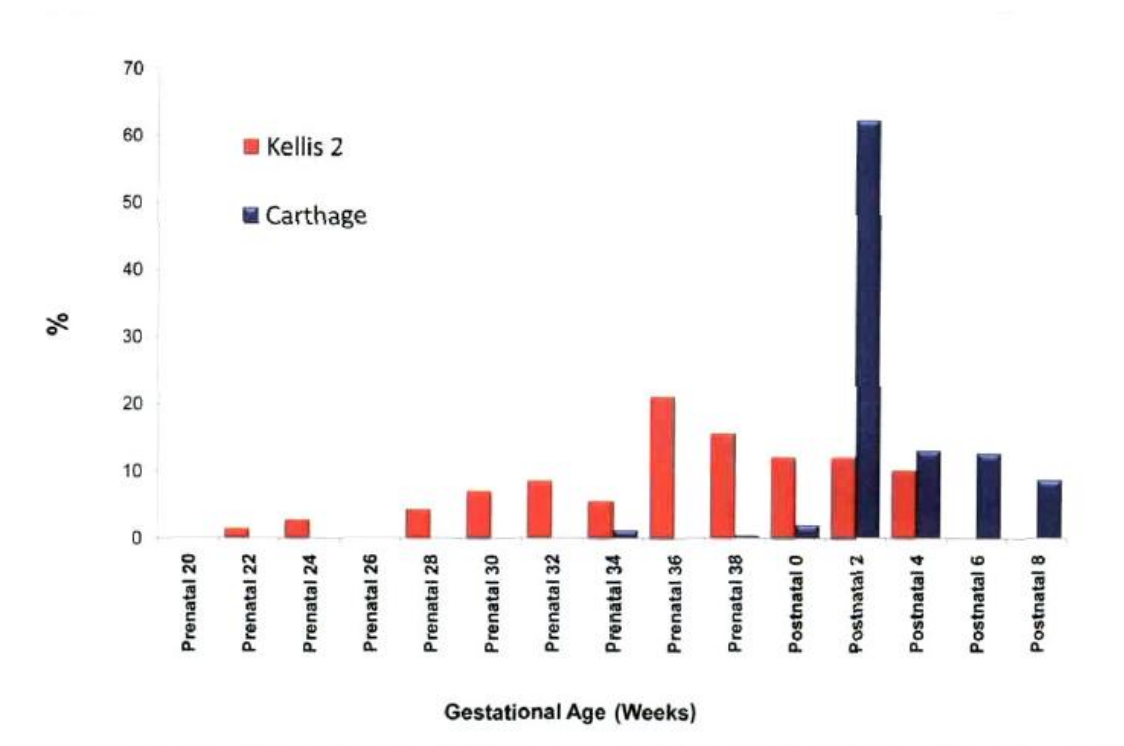[11] Smith et al. (2011), 871.

Figure 5. Frequency distribution of the youngest infants identified from the cemetery at Kellis 2, Dakhleh Oasis, Egypt (Tocheri et al. 2005) compared to the youngest infants from Carthage. Note that in the Kellis 2 sample most infants fall into size categories that indicate a gestational (foetal) age of ≤38 weeks in contrast to the Carthage sample where the majority fall between four and six weeks after birth.

Figure 5: Gestational Age of Tophet Skeletons
Source: Smith et al. (2011), 869

Important differences militate against any comparison of these cemeteries. Most importantly, dental age as a method for aging pre-natal skeletons was not used in the Kellis study. The excavators comment:

> When ageing post-natal subadult skeletons, dental age is considered to be the best proxy for determining chronological age; however, variations in dental formation and eruption exist both within and between populations. Skeletal age indicators, such as long bone diaphysis length, are considered even more variable than dental development. As such, researchers may attempt to correlate long bone diaphysis lengths with dental ages to generate a population-specific skeletal growth profile which can be used when dental evidence is lacking. Unfortunately, using dental evidence to age fetal material is more problematic. The calcifying tooth buds are small and easily damaged or fragmented, contributing to their infrequent recovery during archaeological excavation. This fact, combined with fewer published studies examining the relationship between gestational

age and dental development in utero, currently limit the value of using dental remains to establish the age of fetal skeletons.[12]

In point of fact, the only reliable method for identifying the age of a fetus is crown-heel length measurements conducted on complete skeletons. In the absence of a complete skeleton, femur measurements offer the best possible proximate indication of gestational age, though other long bones can be used.[13] This was the method that Tocheri et al. employed at Kellis 2. The excavators note:

> The posterior probabilities of age given femur length were also calculated assuming the model prior probabilities of age presented by Gowland & Chamberlain. This Bayesian approach assigns a probability of age given femur length to each individual. For example, a fetus with a mean femoral length between 35.0 and 39.9 mm has a 0.01 posterior probability of age 18 weeks, 0.48 of age 20 weeks, 0.41 of age 24 weeks, and 0.11 of age 26 weeks, assuming model prior probabilities of age.[14]

Such an approach to fetal skeletons requires the absence of cremation. The fetal skeletons must be compared against known reference populations and need to be in an exceptional state of preservation. At Kellis 2, the skeletons are "a large sample of exceptionally preserved skeletons buried in individual graves."[15] At Carthage, the conditions of preservation were notably different. From studies of the contents of Tophet urns, it appears that the rituals associated with it normally involve a communal funeral pyre on which multiple pre-deceased human infants were burned with sacrificial offerings. Many of the infants in the Carthaginian Tophet are not buried in single urns. Rather, remains spread across multiple urns. Certain urns contained the remains of more than five infants. Animal bones were haphazardly mixed in with these human remains. It is

---

[12] Tocheri et al. (2005), 327.
[13] Tocheri et al. (2005), 327. See also Hadlock et al. (1984) for a modern study of crown-heel length and its relationship to femur length.
[14] Tocheri et al. (2005), 331.
[15] Tocheri et al. (2005), 329.

likely that as part of the funeral ritual, animals were sacrificed and added to the funeral pyre along with the human corpses. [16]

Therefore, the comparison between Kellis and Carthage proposed by Smith et al. cannot be used to establish the aberrance of Carthaginian infant remains recovered in the Tophet from normal demographic patterns represented by other ancient cemeteries. The sample at Kellis is aged and sexed with reference to established methods. In contrast, Smith et al. use data augmented by their own estimates of bone shrinkage.

Finally, Smith et al. fail when assessing the previous study by Schwartz et al., Smith et al. opine:

> The one divergent opinion is that of Schwartz et al. who examined many of the same Carthage Tophet infants described in this study, but used cranial bones for age estimations. This may have caused them to err by underestimating the extent of shrinkage, especially in the youngest individuals with the most fragile bones, since they are less reliable for age estimation than teeth.[17]

However, the intent of Schwartz et al.'s study was not to establish the exact age of the infant skeletons at Carthage. Rather, these researchers focused primarily on the evidence preserved in skeletons that assists in determining whether or not an infant was brought to full term.

Age estimation in this study thus focused on those characteristics that most distinguish fetuses from neonates: the development of the skeleton (in the cranial and hip areas), the state of tooth formation and finally the presence of neo-natal line in teeth.[18] From the measurements, Schwartz et al developed age estimations for the skeletons:

---

[16] See Benichou (1988) for an extensive study of the ritual associated with burning the skeletons. Benichou takes no position on whether the infants were deceased or alive at the time of the ritual. She does however note that the recovered bodies appear to have been burned in the same position and did not shift during the cremation process. If the infants were alive, they would have to have been bound.

[17] Smith et al. (2011), 868.

[18] Schwartz et al. (2010), 3.

An NL was absent in 26 Carthaginian specimens, which suggests that these individuals were either stillborn, spontaneously aborted, or died during the first extra-uterine week. Unambiguous counts and measurements of daily enamel cross-striations, which provide information on the timing and rate of enamel deposition and thus indirect evidence of gestation length, could not be obtained on this sample. However, because other analyses in our study indicate the presence of individuals who had not reached full term, we suggest that individuals lacking an NL probably fall into the prenatal category because comparison of morphological/metric and NL age estimates demonstrates that when they differed, the histological (NL) age more frequently over-aged individuals than did morphological age. Consequently, if we include with the prenates those individuals who did not survive beyond one or even two weeks postpartum, we must conclude that a significant number of individuals could not have been sacrificed because they were either not alive or not yet old enough to be considered viable sacrificial entities.[19]

To conclude, the method used by Smith et al. to reconstruct the ages of these skeletons based on standardized estimates of tooth and bone shrinking is not an appropriate methodological approach to the skeletons in the Carthaginian Tophet In turn, their conclusion that the majority of the infants in the Tophet fall within the ages 1-1.49 months cannot be substantiated. Finally, Smith et al.'s comparisons of their data with that of other ancient sites ignore differences in evidence and method are that particularly important. In sum, no osteoarchaeological evidence can support current textually based interpretations of the Carthaginian Tophet as a burial ground for sacrificed infants. In actuality, the skeletons and their age distributions accord with normal patterns of infant and childhood mortality in pre-modern populations.

To these previous approaches to the Tophet, I add one final note. The debate has been conducted on terms established by the ancient sources. Thus the goal of previous studies of the Tophet was to prove or disprove the information contained in the sources. The question of the

---

[19] Schwartz et al. (2010), 10.

Tophet has never been approached as a strict demographic problem.[20] Simply put, if the early Phoenician colony at Carthage regularly sacrificed its infants, would the colony have survived?

The question of infant mortality rates in antiquity has recently improved due to new clarity from osteoarchaeological studies and improved understanding of childhood growth patterns in pre-modern and modern populations.[21] From this evidence, it has been established that infant mortality rates were high in antiquity, and 35-55% of births died before age 5 depending on environment and disease context.[22] In unhealthy populations, i.e. those with a life expectancy of birth at 20, a single female must produce 6.3 children to reproduce herself and her spouse (if the life expectancy at birth is 35, then each female must have 3.7 children).[23] Maternal mortality is also a significant issue in pre-modern populations. Each birth increases the relative risk that the mother will develop a complication or infection as part of the pregnancy.

The table below presents a list of infant mortality rates and maternal mortality rates for various countries at the start of the 21st century. The highest infant mortality rates (defined here as the number of death during the 1st year), as experienced in Chile and Mexico, are within the range experienced by Phoenician populations in the Western Mediterranean (250-300 deaths per 1000).

---

[20] Stager and Wolf (1984) made a step in this direction but with significant biases in their perspective.

[21] For osteoarchaeology, see Cucina et al. (2006); Tocheri et al. (2005); Van Gervan et al. (1995). For modern populations, particularly with reference to infants, see Blossner and De Onis (2005); For a comparative pre-modern population that is both better documented and more intensely studied, see John (2002). See also Woods (2005) for the evidence from early modern England and Wales.

[22] Scheidel (2007), 38-41.

[23] Scheidel (2001), 26. The estimate is standardized in Scheidel (2007). 41 to 4.5-6.5 children.

TABLE 1—Infant and Maternal Mortality Rates Per 1,000 Live Births
in Selected Countries, 1919–21, 1929–31, 1938–40, and 1941

Country	Infant				Maternal			
	1919–21	1929–31	1938–40	1941	1919–21	1929–31	1938–40	1941
Australia	68.0	47.0	38.3	39.7	4.80	5.28	4.27	3.64
Belgium	107.7	93.6	76.7	84.2	6.29	5.52	4.25ª	—
Canada	91.7ᵇ	88.7	60.1	59.7	5.35ᶜ	5.51	4.14	3.53
Ceylon	198.5	173.1	161.8ᵈ	129	20.5	20.8	19.4ᵈ	—
Chile	282.7	230.0	225.6	200.2	8.28	7.35	8.40	7.75
Denmark	86.0	81.4	55.6	55.0	2.11ᵇ	3.68	2.84	—
England and Wales	83.4	66.9	52.9ᵉ	58	4.20	4.29	3.39ᶠ	—
Estonia	102.6ᵍ	104.4	85.8ᶠ	—	4.09ʰ	4.60	3.11ª	—
France	111.4	83.3	65.8ᶠ	73ⁱ	4.83	2.71	2.44ʲ	—
Germany	128.5	86.9	61.0ᵉ	63	4.96	5.26	4.85ᵏ	—
Hungary	186.6	164.5	147.3	117ᵉ	3.03	3.56	3.71ᵈ	—
British India	205.3	179.3	165.8ˡ	—	—	—	—	—
Northern Ireland	86.3ᵇ	75.5	76.5ᶠ	77	5.63	5.12	5.52ª	—
Irish Free State	73.2ᵇ	69.1	66.3	73.5	4.84	4.39	3.73	3.21
Italy	128.3	114.2	102.4ᶠ	116	2.76	2.79	2.72ᶠ	—
Japan	168.1	132.6	112.2ᶠ	—	3.52ᵇ	2.75	2.65ª	—
Mexico	225.9ᵍ	144.1	125.5	122.5ª	8.70ᵍ	6.14	5.52	5.23ᵉ
Netherlands	75.0	53.0	36.2	41.8ª	2.59	3.29	2.81ª	—
New Zealand (excluding Maoris)	48.1	33.6	32.2	29.8	5.58	4.89	3.51	3.36
Norway	57.6	48.8	38.8ᵈ	—	2.71	3.12	2.68ᶠ	—
Palestine	176.3ᵍ	169.9	115.8	116.3	—	1.68	1.75ª	—
Scotland	94.2	83.9	72.1	82.7	6.25	6.58	5.09ᶠ	—
Sweden	65.4	56.6	40.4	36.7	2.83	3.65	2.58ᵈ	—
Switzerland	80.0	50.8	43.9	41.4	5.74	4.40	3.71	—
Union of South Africa (Europeans)	83.0	64.7	50.3	52	4.03	5.07	3.89ᵈ	—
United States	82.3	64.6	48.7	45.3	7.37	6.77	4.05	2.89
Uruguay	108.3	100.7	89.1	82.8	2.99	2.63	2.79	2.05

**Figure 6: Infant Mortality at the start of the 20ᵗʰ Century
Source: From Yerushalmy (1945), 135.[24]**

Though scholars have tried to argue that ancient populations could achieve 2-3% growth per annum based on isolated population statistics from the 19ᵗʰ century, the totality of the evidence indicates that population growth was in fact difficult to achieve in antiquity and likely proceeded slowly (0.05- 0.1%).[25]

In addition to high infant mortality, it is probable that Phoenician colonies in the western Mediterranean experienced elevated levels of adult mortality. Early Phoenician colonies are both

---

[24] Infant mortality defined by this table as the 1st year of life.
[25] See Scheidel (2001) and (2007); For the argument that ancient populations could achieved 2-3 % growth, see Sallares (1991), 85-88.

coastal and often located near estuaries or wetlands; therefore, they are located in endemic malarial geographies. In malarial geographies, individuals aged 20- 60 experience significantly higher mortality rates when compared to geographies that lack the requisite disease vectors.[26] Malaria begins to have significant effects on a population's age structure at 20, when populations in malarial areas begin to deviate from expected mortality patterns. In 19th century Italy, communities separated by small difference in altitude could evince distinct patterns of mortality, which could skew life expectancy at birth from 20 to 37 years of age depending on the effects of malaria.[27] In Sermoneta, Italy, the eradication of malaria in the early 20th century resulted in a reduction of mortality from 41 to 20 per 1000 per annum (Crude Death Rate).[28] In Kent, the crude death rate in marshy areas was on average 70 per 1000 versus a crude death rate of 24 per 1000 in neighboring non-malarial areas that were above 100 m in altitude.[29]

Therefore, adults in early Phoenician colonies were subjected to higher mortality regimes than they would have experienced if settled away from malarial areas. If we assume that 10- 50 individuals per 1000 died each year in these geographies solely as a result of malaria, Phoenician colonists may have lost a significant percentage of their original adult populations over the first ten years of a foundation's history. The table below illustrates three possible scenarios based on differing estimates of crude annual death rates directly caused by malarial infection.

---

[26] Scheidel (2001), 8.
[27] Sallares (2002), 3; Scheidel (2001), 15.
[28] Sallares (2002), 119
[29] Scheidel (2001), 15. See also: Sallares (2002), 154-155.

420

Figure 7: Deaths Caused by Malaria. Three Possible Outcomes

Crude Death Rates from Malaria in a Phoenician Colony			
	50 per 1000	*30 per 1000*	*10 per 1000*
Year	# of Adults	# of Adults	# of Adults
1	2000	2000	2000
2	1900	1940	1980
3	1805	1882	1960
4	1715	1825	1940
5	1630	1770	1921
6	1548	1717	1902
7	1470	1665	1882
8	1397	1615	1864
9	1327	1567	1845
10	1260	1520	1827

Given these general contexts, of both high infant and elevated adult mortality, any instance of infant sacrifice would have put the survival of Phoenician colonies at great risk of depopulation absent constant migration and resettlement.