

The Early Phoenician City-States on the Mediterranean: Archaeological Elements for their Description

HANS GEORG NIEMEYER

(RESPONDENT: ECKART OTTO)

Preface

It was with no great hesitation that I accepted the task of summarizing our state of knowledge about the Phoenician city-states according to the criteria of the Copenhagen Polis Centre for the group of historians summoned by our symposiarch. I regarded this task as a challenge, especially for an archaeologist. In spite of (or rather due to?) my own experience in Phoenician research I had not expected too many difficulties. However, problems quickly emerged as soon as I commenced the task, and they pervade the whole of this presentation to such an extent that a lengthy preface is called for.

First we must remember that for most aspects of Phoenician culture the written tradition of antiquity is insufficient and distorted. The reasons for this are what M. Szynger once rightly called the two reefs (“écueils”) on which tradition about the Phoenicians had “shattered”.¹ Neither the history of Classical, i.e. Graeco-Roman, antiquity, nor the history of the Old Testament – still our two main sources – ever had a specific interest in reporting correctly or in detail on Phoenician matters. On the contrary, the Phoenicians were always just “the others”, most often the enemy. Therefore inexactness or falsification is usual in the surviving literary record. I attempted 20 years ago to demonstrate this using the example of the allegedly farthest Western Greek colony, Mainake, whose attribution as “Greek” by Strabo still continues to pervade the modern literature despite the historical reality that it was a Phoenician settlement.²

For the exploration and reconstruction of the Graeco-Roman world we have available a huge amount of literary, historical, juridical and economic texts, and in addition a six-figure, and still steadily growing, number of inscriptions in stone, which, despite intensive investigation and cataloguing over the centuries, have never been completely registered. Supplementing these sources are smaller groups of records like the extremely important and inex-

haustible Graeco-Egyptian papyri dealing with social and economic matters. Similarly, the history of the Ancient Near East is being revealed by a steadily increasing corpus of cuneiform texts. But from the home of Phoenician urban civilization on the Levant coast of the Mediterranean, or from Carthage and the settlements in the West, there is nothing remotely comparable; only a few thousand inscriptions and graffiti are preserved.³

These remarks sufficiently demonstrate the impediments which every attempt to write a history of Phoenician civilization has to face. All the more important, therefore, is the archaeological evidence. But here, too, the situation is worse than it seems at first glance. In the cities of the Near East, with their continuity of settlement, the intensive building activity of Hellenistic rulers, Roman emperors and, not least, crusader knights has severely destroyed or even erased the strata of the Early and Middle Iron Age by re-using the precious building materials.⁴ The city of Carthage was, as is well known, razed to the ground in an act of vandalism; and the settlements in the West, mostly located at superb natural harbours, are often buried deep under modern towns, as at Cádiz (*Gdr*) and Almuñécar (*Sks*), Ibiza (*'ybsm*) and Palermo (*Sys*).

For this reason the following exposé can inevitably present only a very incomplete picture. The answers to many of the symposiarch's questions are rather presumptive; some aspects can only be elucidated by analogy. Only on rare occasions is it possible to present a detailed investigation, e.g. of the historical development of the Phoenician cities, or their economic resources, or the size of their territory, or the outlines of their government and administration, or the ethnic make-up and social structure of the population.

The way in which modern research has been influenced or even shaped by the special “disposition” of the written record is not our concern here.⁵ It may suf-

face to quote two authorities on the subject. About 40 years ago Donald Harden wrote, “... of all the major peoples of Antiquity the Phoenicians remain today the least well served by archaeological discoveries.”⁶ And, sadly, the comment by N. Vella in the introduction to his report on the Fourth International Congress for Phoenician and Punic Studies 1995 in Cádiz remains true: “The Phoenicians remain the forgotten people of the ancient Mediterranean world.”⁷ Nevertheless archaeological research in the last three or four decades has shed much new light on Phoenician settlements and their early urban development, and this will receive special attention. At the same time, a chronological focus is required: the first half of the first millennium, the centuries of expansion and colonization, when for the first time the Mediterranean became a unity, though one with many facets, and had begun to develop common cultural patterns.

The Bronze Age

The particular importance of the Phoenician city-states (Fig. 1) in the Iron Age history of city culture can only be understood when their Bronze Age past is taken into account too. In this respect the harbour-city of Byblos/Gubla takes pride of place. Its history can be documented from the third millennium onwards and reaches even further back into the Neolithic.⁸ A frequently documented economic dependence on Egypt, as well as an increasing political dependence since the Middle Bronze Age, was obviously never a serious threat to the rise and bloom of the city; on the contrary, it guaranteed additional security and was, for instance, a source of inspiration for the extraordinary funerary splendour of the city-kings of the 19th and 18th centuries.⁹

The political status of the city-kings in relation to the Egyptian empire cannot be exactly defined. They were named “vassal-kings” or even just “High Commissioners” by the leading expert in the field, William Culican.¹⁰ Indeed, the letters from “prince” Rib-Addi of Byblos to Pharaoh Amenophis IV (ca. 1350) preserved at El-Amarna demonstrate not only military dependence on the power on the Nile, but in fact a certain humility, admittedly in politically unstable times.¹¹ With few exceptions this is without doubt the general attitude of the city-kings or vassal-kings of the Canaanite city-states under Egyptian rule. In a further letter the same Rib-Addi, in a revealing comparison, mentions Tyre, because its ambitions could endanger the interests of the Pharaoh, and equally Ugarit, which

lay outside the political (and military?) reach of Egypt: “See, there is no magnificent town of residence comparable with Tyre. It is like that of Ugarit. Extraordinary wealth is stored there!” (EA 89).¹² Besides Byblos, it therefore seems that Ugarit and Tyre were the powerful cities at that time, perhaps more so than the other city-states documented by the Amarna letters along the Phoenician-Canaanite coast: Arwad, Sumur/Simyra, Beruta/Berytos and Sidon.¹³

Just as Byblos in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages had to recognize the supremacy of Egypt, the great power to the south, the city-kingdom of Ugarit further north was subject to foreign rule. Apparently, Ugarit’s overlord was first the Pharaoh, but later the Hittite kings, especially towards the end of the Late Bronze Age.¹⁴ Hammurapi, the last recorded sovereign of Ugarit, was hardly the first to become a vassal to the Anatolian power.¹⁵

The approximate extent of the territory it controlled is estimated at between 2,200 and 5,000 km², and is thus quite considerable.¹⁶ We also know something of the settlement pattern. Besides isolated farms which had a high agricultural output, there were villages and smaller towns belonging to the “kingdom” of Ugarit, from which additional population and new troops were recruited. Minet el-Beida provided the city with a splendid Mediterranean port. Here was the first great entrepôt for international overseas trade with the Aegean and beyond, and with the central Mediterranean.

As befits the role and the rank of this city, Mycenaean, Cretan and Cypriot traders’ guilds are documented, besides those from Egypt, from Canaan (to which the people of Ugarit notably did not count themselves!) and from neighbouring Cilicia in southern Asia Minor. Conversely, external Ugaritic trading posts can be deduced from the correspondence preserved on clay tablets in the Ugaritic archives, e.g. in Arwad, Byblos, Tyre and Sidon.

For the two cities of Ugarit and Byblos political and social patterns can be discerned. As in the Phoenician city-states of the early first millennium, at the top stands the king; he is independent of his “neighbours” of equal rank, but obliged to pay tribute and subjected to, or under the rule of, the kings of the Great Powers like Hatti or Egypt or, later, Assur. Besides the civil service essential for administration, an old chariot-warrior aristocracy (*maryannu*) is attested in Ugarit. After the introduction of new fighting techniques it was changed into a caste of landowners. It is worth noting that traders, *tamkaru*, are also explicitly mentioned as a distinct caste. During the Late Bronze Age,

Fig. 1. Map of the Levant, with indication of Phoenician cities and city-states (●) and other important sites of the late 2nd/early 1st millennium (redrawn after Aubet [1994]).



as is well documented by clay tablet archives, they began to organize themselves in partly autonomous corporations.

Distinguishing features of the urban structure are the dominant palaces, temples and other sacrificial buildings of sometimes monumental size and form, which lie next to tightly knit living quarters traversed by an irregular network of streets. In Byblos there is evidence of a functional segmentation (by division of labour) combined with a hierarchical social structure, which is often regarded as an important indicator of a highly developed city;¹⁷ but according to the latest research it is not so clear for Ugarit,¹⁸ even though the roughly 20 ha area of the city is about twice that of Byblos. Strong fortifications are also a feature of a city, and they are documented for Byblos from the end of the third millennium.

The focus on these two typical coastal city-states is

due to their exceptionally fine preservation and to the respective state of research. This should not, however obscure the fact that these cities may have been among the most important of the region, though they were certainly not the only important ones. In recent years this fact has been duly stressed by A. Kuhrt.¹⁹ Accordingly it can be presumed that in the centuries around 1000, there was a mosaic of smaller and larger city-kingdoms or city-principalities in the Syrian half of the fertile crescent. It was located between the empires of Hatti, Mitanni, Assur and Egypt and comprised the western and northern Semitic political communities situated along the coast. Both structurally and ethnically they may well be regarded as the immediate predecessors of the Phoenician city-states of the Iron Age, even if they are commonly called Canaanite, following the terminology of the ancient Near East, Egypt and the Bible.²⁰

The Invasion of the “Sea Peoples” and the “Dark Age”

The crisis commonly described as the “sea-people-catastrophe” is a historically well-documented event dating to around 1200. It marks the end of the Bronze Age *koiné* in the Eastern Mediterranean, the downfall of the prosperous world in the Aegean as well as of Anatolia and of the Levantine coast. Even Egypt was profoundly affected. This crisis has been the subject of intensive research for the past fifteen years, and has stimulated quite a number of colloquia and monographs, which have not, however, sufficiently clarified the reasons for the event, or the identity and heritage of the “sea people”.²¹ Nevertheless, there are no doubts about the event having taken place. In this context, it suffices to draw attention to the dramatic and, in recent debates, frequently invoked cry for help which was raised by king Hammurapi of Ugarit when faced with the attacks from the sea.²²

To what degree the Phoenician cities themselves suffered from the event is hardly recorded or particularly well documented in archaeology; but, overall, we have adequate archaeological and historical sources, of which the well-known report of Wen-Amun is but one. The results of recent research into this question suggest a historical probability that the Phoenician core region between Arwad and Akko was largely spared any severe destruction.²³

The “Dark Ages”, largely resulting from the “sea-people-catastrophe”, has undergone a revaluation in Near Eastern archaeology. Overall, the break in continuity is considered to be less clear-cut, and the length of the discontinuity less long-lasting, as recently stated by S. Mazzoni at the city colloquium in Halle in 1996.²⁴ Useful evidence comes from Tell Kazel (Sumur/Simyra), where, in the living quarters of this great northern Phoenician town, the excavators observed in several areas destruction levels between the Late Bronze Age stratum 6 and the Early Iron Age stratum, archaeologically associated with the “sea-people-assault”. Nevertheless, they observed an overall undisrupted continuity of building structure as well as of ceramic types,²⁵ a circumstance remarkably paralleled in Ras el-Basît to the north of Ugarit.

As I shall show later, the historical probability is that in the two centuries following the “sea-people-catastrophe” Sidon as well as other Phoenician city-states on the Levantine coast – and after a certain delay Tyre, too – were soon prospering again. For this we need only refer again to the state of affairs described in the report of Wen-Amun (see below).

Sidon even seems to have increased its influence on Joppa and Dor on the coast of Palestine.²⁶

The Early Iron Age

After the “sea-people-catastrophe” things changed. The report of Wen-Amun, dated around 1075, shows an extraordinarily self-assured city-sovereign in Byblos. Only after a considerable increase in the price of counter-gifts was he willing to grant an Egyptian emissary the cedar-wood from the Lebanon forests (which therefore must, at least in part, have fallen under his jurisdiction)²⁷ that was needed for the Pharaoh’s funeral barge. The extent of Byblos’s jurisdiction cannot be determined exactly, but to judge by this report it seems to have been considerable.

At about the same time, the Middle Assyrian ruler Tiglatpileser I (1114-1076) led his well-known expedition to the Mediterranean and brought back abundant tribute as well as cedar-wood beams for the temples of the gods *Anu* and *Adad* at home.²⁸ Explicitly mentioned in his report are the “countries” of Byblos, Sidon and Arwad! But, regardless of the military hyperbole in the king’s report, the encounter seems to have been more one of peaceful common agreement. This, at least, is the opinion of modern research.²⁹ After the collapse of Hittite and Egyptian supremacy over Syria-Palestine around 1200³⁰ a new orientation, i.e. an arrangement with the rising Assyrian empire, was necessary for the Phoenician city-states.

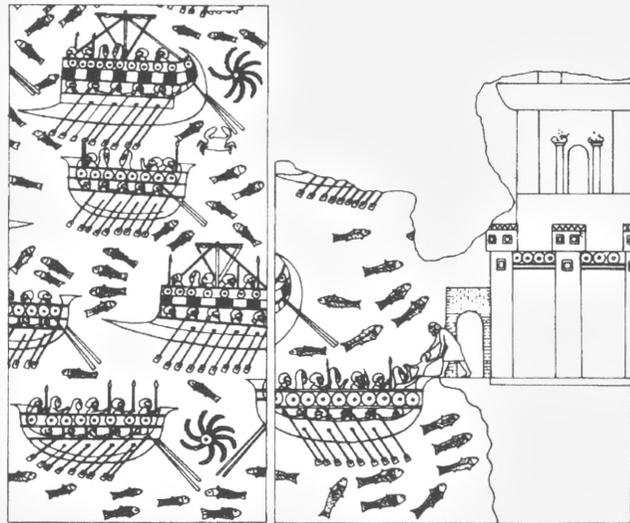
The literary records, though, are not entirely consistent. Justinus (18.3.5) records a new “foundation” of Tyre by Sidon in the year 1184. On the basis of the results from a recent excavation in the centre of the city, E. Gubel has made the plausible suggestion that Tyre must have suffered at least a short period of economic decline, and maybe even the expulsion of part of its population from the city’s island to the mainland (to Ushu/Palaetyros?).³¹ This may also provide an explanation for Homer naming the Phoenicians *Sidonioi* after the city of Sidon,³² provided that the epic tradition includes some survivals from the times of the “sea-people-raids”, or the Dark Ages. But, as far as we know, only Ugarit in the north was completely destroyed and totally abandoned by 1190/80; it was only re-settled, on a smaller scale, in the Late Archaic period.³³ Obviously this city had been especially exposed geographically and strategically, as a gateway to Mesopotamia.

Consequently, it is helpful, and at the same time it seems legitimate, to project the more thoroughly investigated Bronze Age conditions on the Levantine

coast onto the situation in the Levant in the Early Iron Age. Essential here is the undisputed continuity of the Bronze and Iron Age Canaanite-Phoenician cities, connecting the two periods on either side of the sea-people-catastrophe and the so-called Dark Ages. This does not necessarily affect the still controversial problem of where and when we can start to use the terms “Phoenician” and “Phoenicians”.³⁴ Language and writing are undoubtedly constituent elements of a community’s identity, and so they are likely to be relevant in the Levant. But the Levantine communities were apparently defined primarily as the populations of their respective city-states, and had thus already developed their corporate identity by the second millennium. This makes it all the more difficult to solve the problem mentioned above, as is generally admitted by almost all the scholars who have contributed to V. Krings’ recent and valuable handbook (1995). Possible or even plausible answers vary according to how the question is posed. As to language, the oldest known document is still the famous inscription of Ahiiram on his sarcophagus found at Byblos (11th century), though some very few linguistic antecedents have been detected in the Amarna letters (14th century) and in a sporadic pottery inscription (13th century). As to the people and their ethnicity, the predominant if not decisive factor seems to have been whether or not they belonged to one of the city-communities along the Levantine coast. In a given historic situation and for a certain period they rose to what was then world-wide importance. Until his death in 1997 the leading expert in the field was S. Moscati; as he put it succinctly in the introduction to Krings’ volume, “ce sont ces cités qui méritent le nom de ‘phéniciennes’”. Last but not least, in re-assessing the archaeological record we can be in no doubt as to the uninterrupted continuity of the population and its urban life-style in these coastal cities.

The situation in the Canaanite towns and city-states in the coastal zone between Arwad and Akko during the Late Bronze Age is all the more important for an understanding of Early Iron Age conditions in view of the poverty of archaeological evidence, as was stressed recently by A. Kuhrt and J.-Fr. Salles.³⁵ Nonetheless, some common features can be found using the various sources, sometimes assisted for clarification by the richer and better-documented evidence from neighbouring Israel.³⁶

We can assume that all the known cities had strong fortifications as one of their primary elements. The impressive tower-crowned walls of Tyre are shown on the third register of Shalmaneser III’s (858-824)



a



b

Fig. 2a. King Luli’s flight from Tyre. Assyrian relief from the Palace of Sennacherib (705-681) at Nineveh (after Aubet [1994]). – b. Island and city of Tyre on the bronze gates of Balawat (after Aubet [1994]).

bronze gates of Balawat (Fig. 2), and on Assyrian palace reliefs from Nineveh and Nimrud.³⁷ They are described by Arrian, on the occasion of Alexander the Great’s siege of the city, as having a height of 16 metres (*Anabasis Alexandri* 2.21).³⁸ In Beirut an imposing paved glacis several metres high has recently been discovered; Tel Kabri was surrounded by a casemate wall from the 9th century until its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar.³⁹ The competence in planning needed for the construction of such an impressive fortification, the entrepreneurial leadership and the necessary financial potential are most likely to have merged in the person of the city-king.

The king was landlord of pretentious palaces and sacrificial buildings (Fig. 3); in the Canaanite towns of the territory of the later kingdom of Israel these were increasingly integrated into larger units from the Middle Bronze Age onwards.⁴⁰ This process continues directly in the vast acropolis-palaces of the Early Iron Age, well documented among others at Samaria and Lachisch.⁴¹ For the temple-palace com-

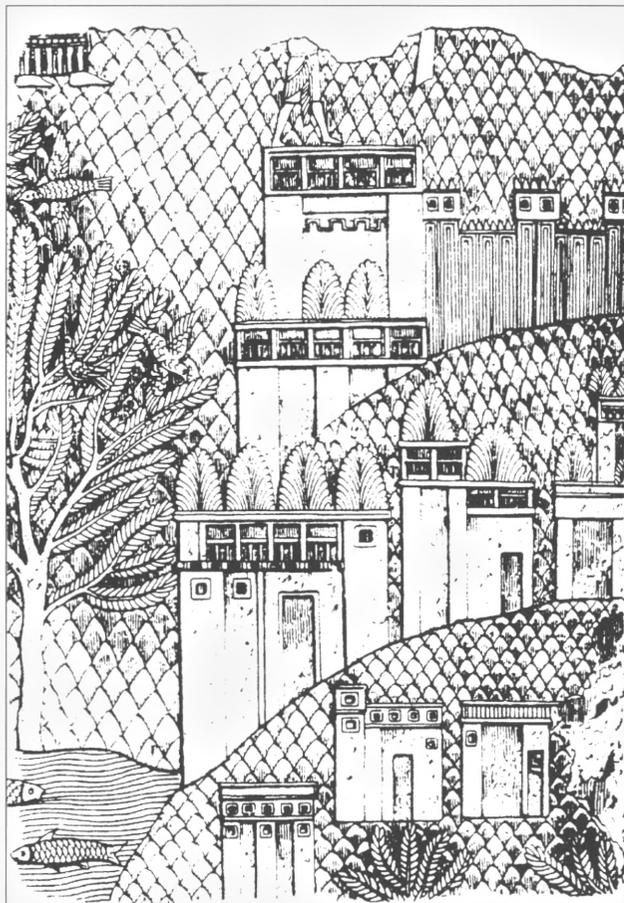


Fig. 3. Relief from the Palace of Sennacherib (705-681) at Nineveh, depicting the sack of a Phoenician town, detail (after Harden [1980]).

plex of Jerusalem, built already in the 10th century with (considerable?) participation by architects and craftsmen from Tyre, the detailed record in the Old Testament (I Kings 6f.; II Chronicles 3) must substitute for the archaeological evidence, which is definitely destroyed. No sacrificial buildings of monumental size are preserved in Phoenicia itself. For this reason the reconstruction of Solomon's Temple has rightly been used as a source of knowledge of Phoenician temple architecture, and has also been used, for instance, in the interpretation of the Phoenician temple at Kition on Cyprus.⁴²

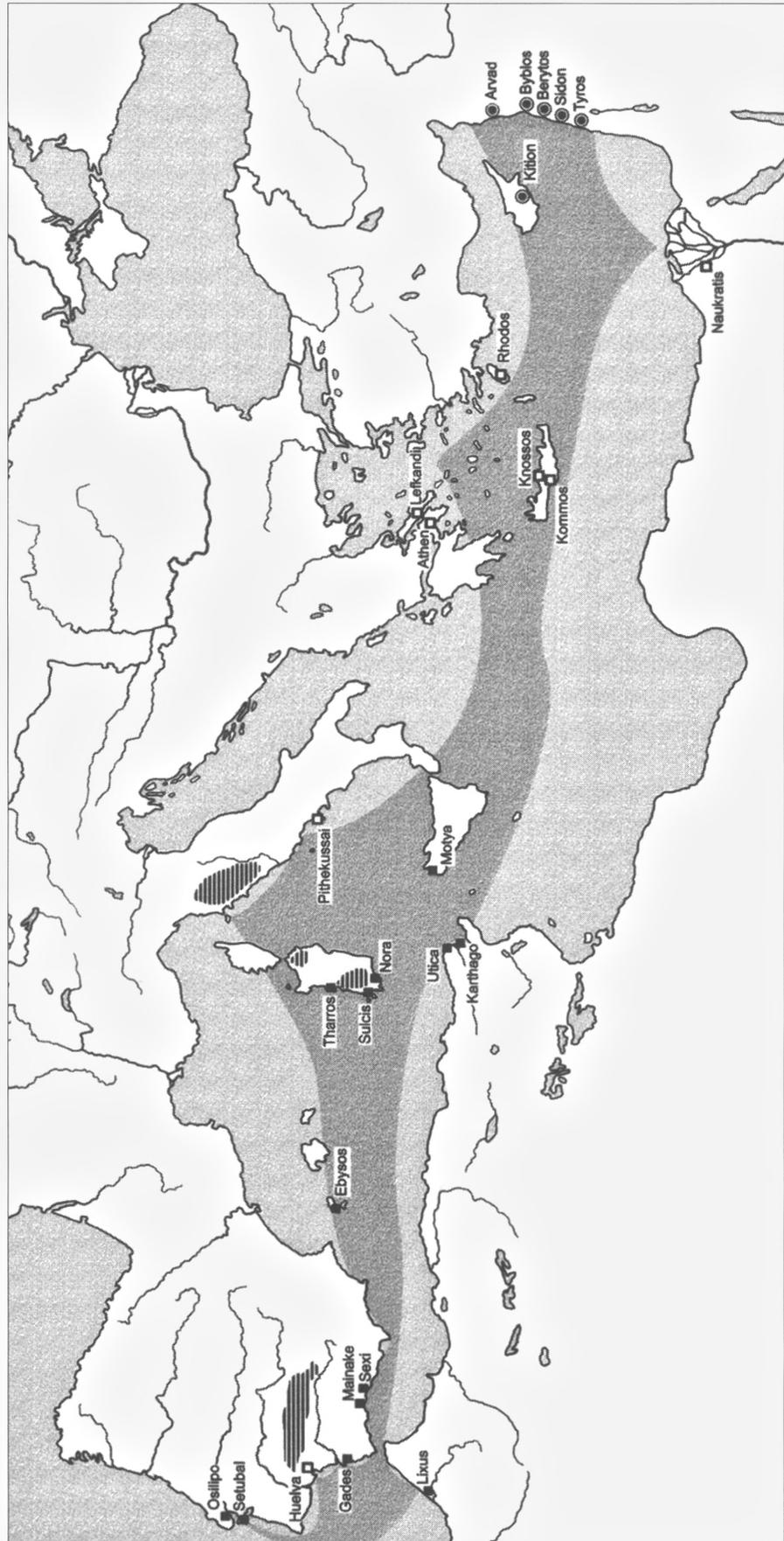
We can confidently imagine the domestic quarters in the Phoenician towns on the Levantine coast as consisting of narrow, compressed urban structures (Fig. 3). To judge from the evidence of P. Bikai's excavations in Tyre, which cover about 160 m² – less than 1% of the settlement area – a comparison of the Early Iron Age (stratum XIII) with the Late Bronze Age (stratum XIV) shows that the rooms and walls are organized orthogonally, most likely in an insula-like

layout.⁴³ A significant parallel is to be found close by, in a later context at Sarepta. Here a craftsmen's quarter, existing since the Late Bronze Age on the highest point of the settlement, was destined for a new function within the settlement (stratum D and stratum C). Within the excavated area of 100 m², again only a small part of the whole settlement, a new urban structure was uncovered, but orthogonality clearly shows even in the first urban rearrangement.⁴⁴ Both cases demonstrate a significant difference from the Late Bronze Age living quarters of Ugarit.⁴⁵ On the other hand, examples of non-orthogonal or only semi-orthogonal town-planning continue, as for instance at Tell Qasile (stratum X, 2nd half of 11th century).⁴⁶

The trend towards regular town-planning cannot be considered general at this early stage. P.J. Riis and J. Lund were probably right in looking to the north-east quarter of Ugarit as the closest parallel for the urban layout of the Early Iron Age strata of Tell Sukas ("period H"), and noted that even around the middle of the 9th century the newly founded port of Al-Mina was organized according to the same pattern: "Die alte Stadt X-VIII hatte architektonisch anscheinend ein ganz orientalisches Gepräge."⁴⁷ On the other hand, a tendency towards orthogonal planning can be observed at other places, as is demonstrated by Megiddo III, which was enlarged to be the residency of the Assyrian province after Tiglatpileser III's Palestine campaigns in the years 734-732.⁴⁸ The city was enriched by two new palaces in this context. How far the chessboard-like road system is to be explained by Assyrian influence, however, can be questioned.

Even earlier, in the 9th century, according to the observation made by A. Chambon regarding stratum VIIId of Tell el Fara'ah, in an epoch of obvious revival of local city-principalities ("principautés locales"), a dominant urban layout with rectangular insulae and "des rues axées suivant les points cardinaux" existed.⁴⁹ Obviously this is different from the organizing patterns of the earlier stratum VIIb (11th/10th centuries), in which this phenomenon nonetheless occurs for the first time; thus it certainly cannot be associated with Assyrian influence at this early stage.⁵⁰ It is not by accident that in stratum VIIb at Tell el Fara'ah the first imports of Phoenician or Cypro-Phoenician pottery are already found. Significantly, a type of *Fine Ware* bowl,⁵¹ for which a Phoenician origin has been proposed and generally accepted,⁵² was found associated with the local *Samaria Ware*. That the north of Palestine was oriented towards the Phoenician city-states at this time seems beyond dispute.

Fig. 4. General map of the Mediterranean, showing the sphere of Phoenician expansion.



There is little evidence for a functional segmentation of the Phoenician cities. Naturally every coastal site had an elaborate harbour, most of them having two in order to be independent of changing wind direction. The known examples show that the construction of harbour-docks was well developed; in this regard the Phoenicians obviously played a leading part.⁵³ The best evidence for the concentration of different trades in distinct quarters comes again from Sarepta, where the excavators have come upon an industrial quarter with several pottery and metallurgical workshops. It is hard to imagine that the ivory furniture, purple fabrics or embossed metal vessels delivered, among countless other things, as tribute to the court of the Assyrian king⁵⁴ should have been manufactured in isolated workshops scattered throughout the urban area. On the contrary, there is much evidence for a tight organization of the different specialized crafts. Hiram of Tyre himself, the son of an oresmith from that city and of a widow from the Naphtali tribe, who worked for Solomon on the Temple of Jerusalem for 11 years, could hardly have mastered at once all those techniques mentioned in the reports of the Old Testament: carpentry, forging, gold- and silver-smithing, purple dyeing and sculpting (I Kings 7: 3-51; s. II Chronicles 2: 6). More likely he is to be understood as an experienced leading contractor



Fig. 5. Map of the Iberian Peninsula, showing Huelva and Phoenician settlements of 8th and 7th century B.C. on the coast: 1 Onoba (Huelva); 2 Gadir (Cádiz); 3 Torre de Doña Blanca; 4 Cerro del Prado; Barbesula (La Montilla); 6 Cerro del Villar (Málaga); 7 Mainake (Toscanos); 8 Morro de Mezquitilla; 9 Chorreras; 10 Sexi (Almuñécar); 11 Abdera (Cerro de Montecristo); 12 Baria (Villaricos); 13 Guardamar; 14 Ebusus (Sa Caleta/Can Petit); 15 Scallabis (Santarem); 16 Olisipo (Sé de Lisboa); 17 Setubal; 18 Lixus. After Pellicer.

or general entrepreneur, under whose supervision work was carried out (I Kings 5:32).⁵⁵

Among important results from recent archaeological work on the layout and structure of Phoenician towns, a final mention may be made of the small shrines or chapels which existed alongside the monumental temples and sanctuaries, and which presumably served their local areas. Such a sanctuary, a simple longroom of modest size (2.56 by 6.40 m) furnished with a *baitylos* (an altar and a bench for the deposit of votives), was unearthed in Sarepta immediately adjacent to the larger potters' quarter. Judging from the finds it was dedicated to the goddess Tanit.⁵⁶ Sanctuaries of this modest kind were certainly common in the Phoenician world; a possible parallel from the 5th/4th century has recently been discovered in Carthage (see *infra*).

The Expansion in the Mediterranean

Culture, history and structural features of the Phoenician city-states and, last but not least, the pre-eminent role they played in the dissemination of urbanism will become more transparent when we consider Phoenician expansion into the western Mediterranean (Fig. 4). Two phenomena, structurally distinct but intersecting in space and time, deserve special attention: on the one hand, there is the expansion of traders, prospectors and agents ("merchant venturers")⁵⁷ as well as artisans from the Phoenician towns; on the other hand, there are permanent settlements in foreign countries, which are difficult to describe. Their special cultural features allow us to speak of "factories". Probably only in rare cases was their "hinterland" politically controlled or administered as a dependent territory, a *chora*, but economically it would have been dependent on the newcomers. A satisfactory general model which takes into consideration all archaeological and historical phenomena has not been developed as yet. The patterns of interpretation approved in modern historiography for Greek and Roman colonization apparently cannot be applied in Phoenician matters.⁵⁸

The Phoenician expansion is, according to the literary sources,⁵⁹ a historical process belonging to the end of the second millennium and the early centuries of the first. This process was first superimposed later superseded by the rise of Phoenician Carthage to economic and political predominance as one of the great Mediterranean powers. In scholarly literature this new phenomenon is often named "Punic", following Roman nomenclature.

The oldest Phoenician settlements were in the farthest West. According to Velleius Paterculus (1.2.1-3) Gades, modern Cádiz, was founded in the year 1104/3, and Utica a few years later. The Elder Pliny records for Utica the year 1101 (*Naturalis historia* 16.216), and on another occasion (*Naturalis historia* 19.63) he implies the foundation date for Lixus on the Atlantic coast of Morocco: its temple of Heracles/Melkart is said to be “somewhat older than that of Gades”. Archaeological research has not as yet confirmed the dates given in any of the three cases. We can only speak of permanent Phoenician settlements from the 8th century onward. And yet the reports from the ancient historians can hardly be figments of their imagination.⁶⁰ They seem, rather, to be attributable to a first stage in which there were quite certainly trade contacts and agreements that would determine future developments. In this context some trading posts of the *enoikismos* or *fondaco* kind would also have been established.

Like the sparse written reports from the Phoenicians’ eastern neighbours, those from the Graeco-Roman world are indispensable;⁶¹ but a further source of imprecision hindering our deliberations is that the Greeks and Romans used the Greek term “Phoenicians” for people patently coming from many different Levantine trading and harbour towns, and employed this rather general label for all those tricky “merchants from the Near East”.⁶² The oldest reports about the Phoenicians come from outside their home area; besides the luxury articles and trade goods they transmitted, they can be found in the historical books of the Bible and in the Homeric epic poems.⁶³ The Phoenicians were regarded as well-versed specialists who were, for instance, involved in the building of the temple and palace of king Solomon (see *supra*). The skilled Sidonian fabric weavers and dyers brought by Paris to the court of his father at Troy fall into the same category (Homer, *Iliad* 6.288-95); likewise the Gephyraeans in Athens, whose Phoenician heritage and role in the transmission of the alphabet to the Greeks Herodotus (5.57-8) claims to have discovered. According to their own account they came from Eretria on Euboea. This matches well the numerous oriental imports among the archaeological finds of Eretria and Lefkandi,⁶⁴ and equally the Euboeans’ prominent role in the adoption of the Phoenician alphabet by the Greeks.⁶⁵

Obviously the expansion to the West followed old routes from the Late Bronze Age, which may never have been entirely forgotten. Isolated oriental luxury imports can be found in the Aegean already during the

“Dark Ages”.⁶⁶ In the 10th/9th century their number grows, especially in the richly furnished graves of the aristocracy, and later in the sanctuaries as well.⁶⁷ As time went by, immigrant oriental workshops (ivory-carvers, goldsmiths, metal artists, perfume blenders, etc.) apparently established themselves in the more important Greek communities like Eretria/Lefkandi, in Knossos, and in other places on Crete, and possibly also on Samos (?) and in Athens, thus forming real *enoikismo*i in foreign surroundings.⁶⁸ The Phoenician sanctuary at Kommos on the south coast of Crete, identified by its shrine with three *baityloi* as objects of worship,⁶⁹ is an unmistakable sign of the high status as well as the duration of such settlements. Such an *enoikismos* is recorded for Pithekoussai as well (see *infra*). A Phoenician colonization, i.e. a founding of larger and permanent self-reliant settlements, as Movers suggested some 150 years ago,⁷⁰ does not take place in the Aegean, however.

In the central Mediterranean there are certainly several roots to the Orientalizing horizon of the early first millennium. On the one hand, there are the Phoenician settlements founded on Sardinia around the middle to second half of the 8th century, which stem from older and quite highly developed “pre-colonial” trade relations between the Levantine cities and that island, which was particularly rich in ores.⁷¹ An earlier intensive copper-ore trade between the East and the Bronze Age Aegean and Sardinia is well documented archaeologically.⁷² Sardinia, with its finds of Mycenaean pottery and above all the typical “oxhide ingots”, reveals itself to be an important province on the margin of the “Mycenaean *koiné*”, aspiring to a high cultural level by the Late Bronze Age.⁷³ On the other hand, an early expansion of Phoenician trade in luxury goods to the rich northern part of Etruria can be assumed; its aim was again to obtain essential raw materials. Silver deposits seem to have played an important part.⁷⁴ The obviously well-beaten path for this trade with distant countries is marked by significant contemporary finds in the Oinotrian cemetery of Macchiabate (Francavilla Marittima) on the southern coast of Calabria,⁷⁵ as well as by the records of an oriental presence (of merchants and metallurgists?) in the form of an *enoikismos* in the Euboean settlement on Pithekoussai/Ischia.⁷⁶

The Iberian peninsula (Fig. 5) is an easily recognizable focal point of Phoenician expansion according to both historical records and archaeological finds; but, compared with Greece and Italy, there are special circumstances. In the south-west the rich ore deposits in the Rio Tinto area and in the Sierra Morena, exploited

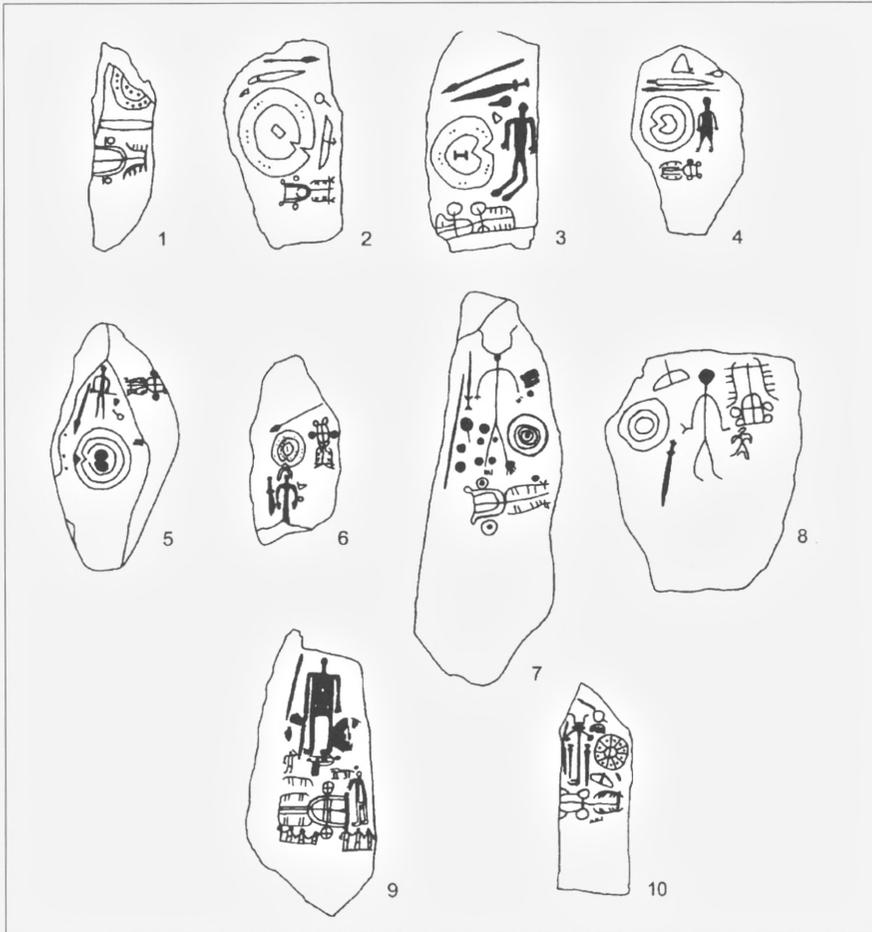


Fig. 6a. Stelai from the “Tartessian” south-west of the Iberian Peninsula, showing the local aristocracy with their funeral adornment (chariots, weapons, cosmetic instruments).

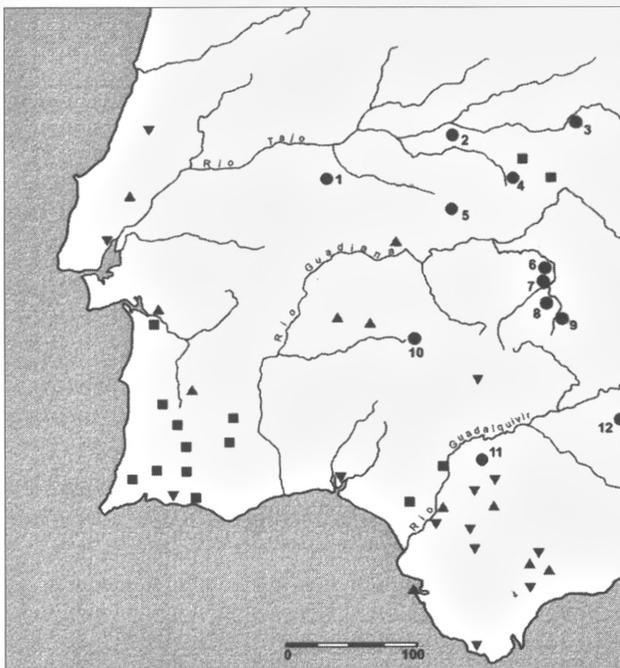


Fig. 6b. Map showing places of discovery, of the stelai depicted on Figure 6a (●) and of “Tartessian” inscriptions (■). After Fernández-Miranda & Olmos (1986) and Untermann (1985).

since the Copper Age, are the dominant factor in cultural and economic developments.⁷⁷ Here, towards the end of the Spanish Bronze Age, i.e. around the beginning of the first millennium, emerges what the Phoenicians and later the Greeks would term the empire of Tartessos, and what biblical sources would term Tarshish.⁷⁸ Especially spectacular are the triennial expeditions to Tarshish, organized jointly by the kings Hiram of Tyre and Solomon of Jerusalem (I. Kings 10:22; Ezekiel 27:12) and directed towards these ore deposits.⁷⁹

Of the many relevant archaeological finds uncovered in the last decades only a few can be listed here.⁸⁰ In Huelva, in the joint estuary of the most important rivers coming from the mining area, the Odiel and the Rio Tinto, a Phoenician *enoikismos* within what seems to have been a true “port of trade” (in the sense in which it is used by Karl Polanyi), of amazing size and cultural influence, can certainly be assumed.⁸¹ An especially significant group of evidence is that of the stelai decorated with carvings and reliefs from the south-west of the peninsula, on which are depicted

wagons with spoked wheels, weapons and cosmetic tools of Eastern origin (mirrors, combs, etc.) belonging to the personal possessions of the deceased (Fig. 6).⁸² The distribution of these stelai almost has the status of “Tartessian” written records,⁸³ as they document the successful start of a process of acculturation. Important finds from the interior may be interpreted in this context.⁸⁴

The Phoenician Settlements on the Mediterranean Coast

The earliest settlements in the central and western Mediterranean of *enoikismos* or *emporion* type document the expansion of early Phoenician trade. The immediately following phase, which saw the establishment of permanent settlements accompanied by continued expansion and trade, is by no means a homogeneous historical event which would have started simultaneously throughout the Mediterranean; it should rather be seen as a multifarious structural change taking place within a certain time-frame.

Individual settlements soon grew to be city-states in their own right. This is true, for instance, of the city of Kition on the south-east coast of Cyprus, probably the oldest Phoenician settlement abroad according to archaeological finds.⁸⁵ The town was built in the 9th century on top of a preceding Late Bronze Age settlement, and belonged, to judge by its cultural facies, rather to an eastern Phoenician *koiné*.⁸⁶ Its particular importance for the early Phoenician expansion is occasioned by its incorporation into the older Phoenician-Euboean route of East Mediterranean long-distance trade, which can be traced from the early 9th

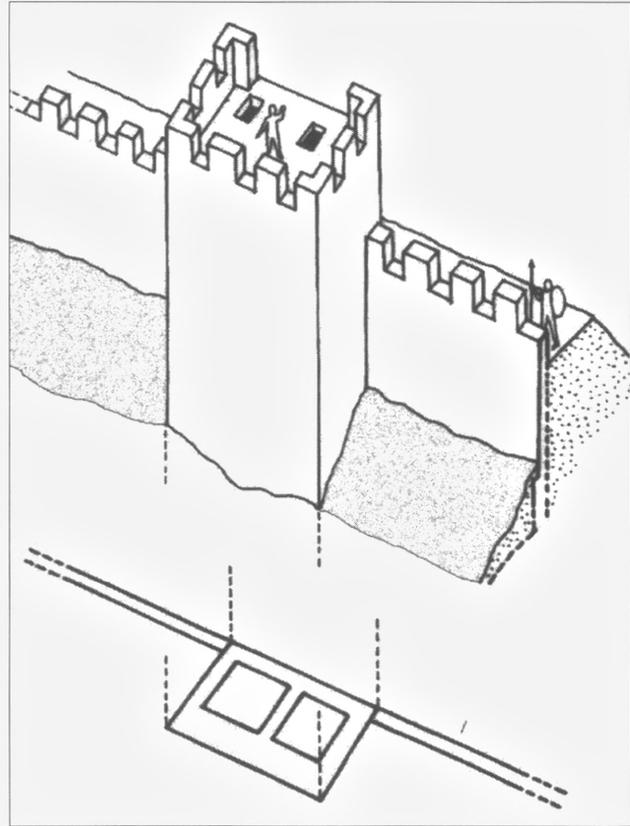


Fig. 7. City-wall of Motye, second half of 6th century, reconstruction by A. Ciasca (redrawn after Krings [1995] 400).

century, e.g. in the archaeological finds from Amathus. From ca. 800 B.C. onwards this route was used for supplying Cretan Knossos with Cypro-Phoenician oil-flasks and perfumes.⁸⁷

According to historical tradition and archaeological



Fig. 8. A reconstructed bird's-eye view of the Phoenician settlement Sks/Almuñécar in its topographical setting (after Aubet 1994).

evidence, Gadir (modern Cádiz) is without doubt the most important foundation in the far West. The well-known chronological problems apart, it can at least be assumed that the town played a prominent part in this initial phase. The fact that the Roman conquerors made Gadir the capital of the *conventus Gaditanus* explicitly underlines its former status.⁸⁸

Most of the many smaller and larger settlements were founded during the period from the 8th to the middle of the 7th century. They are situated along the edge of the target areas for the expansion described above, as well as along the routes of the long-distance trade. They stretch from Mogador and the settlements on the Portuguese Atlantic coast in the far West, along the southern coast of the Iberian peninsula, all the way to Sardinia,⁸⁹ Sicily and Malta; further south, they are found on the Mediterranean coast of Africa (Fig. 4). Again, some of them probably soon developed into urban centres, like the defended site of Motye/*M(w)tw'* (Fig. 7) situated in the lagoon of Marsala off the western coast of Sicily, or Sulcis/*Slky* on the Isthmus between the isle S. Antioco and the south-western part of Sardinia.⁹⁰ Ebysos (Ibiza), too, belongs in this category, to judge from its later development. On the evidence of the literary tradition (Diodorus Siculus 5.16.2-3), until only a few years ago the settlement was considered a Carthaginian foundation, dated to the year 654/3 B.C. However, there is good archaeological evidence for a considerably earlier settlement on the island, founded as another station along the old East-West route by "western" Phoenicians coming from southern Spain.⁹¹ Taking all this into account, some sort of "colonial empire" seems to come into existence. But the modern political-historical term does not adequately describe what happened in antiquity. The basic principle behind the foundation of these settlements was, rather, the fact that they lay on the main trans-Mediterranean sea routes. The following are the decisive criteria for the choice of site (fig. 8):

- a not-too-large settlement area within natural borders;
- the possibility of easy defence, e.g. on an island or a spit of land jutting out into the sea;
- convenient harbour facilities with roadsteads and wharfs protected from as many winds as possible;
- proximity to landmarks visible from a long distance as an aid to navigation (capes, mountains near the coast, etc.); and
- open access to an adjacent and a more distant hinterland.

These criteria significantly reproduce the settlement pattern of the Phoenician homeland on the Levant coast.⁹² Apart from Carthage, which, due to its structural difference, has to be left aside at this point (see *infra*), these criteria show the extent to which the early Phoenician settlements in the western Mediterranean had dramatically different goals from the Greek colonization movement, which mainly focused on the gain of arable land. This makes the Phoenician settlements conform to a more or less uniform and characteristic typology. Moreover, none of the settlements on the Mediterranean coast of the Iberian peninsula seems, right from the beginning, to have had a *chora*, a hinterland under its administration, in contrast to the Greek colonies on Sicily and in southern Italy, whose citizens became *gamoroi*, landowners, straight away.⁹³ Regardless of a later urban development, which did occur at some sites, they cannot therefore be described as urban settlements from the beginning. During the early period this is also valid for the settlements on the coasts of Sardinia and Sicily. Already the choice of the site for settlement, e.g. of Tharros, Sulcis and Nora, Panormus or Motye, can only be understood as a result of the endeavour to consolidate and protect older trade routes⁹⁴ against rival or even hostile powers, i.e. mainly the new western Greek colonization movement.

After this necessarily extremely brief overview of the expansion and settlement of the Phoenicians, we can ask: who were the prime movers and driving forces? who were the agents and supporting institutions? What were the causes for this extraordinary event at the beginning of the first millennium, which swept right over the Mediterranean from the Levant to the Straits of Gibraltar – and even beyond? *Mutatis mutandis*, it can best be compared with Venice reaching out for the Aegean and the Levant in the Late Middle Ages and early modern times. To find an answer, for which the archaeologist has only limited competence, we must look back at the political structure of the old Phoenician city-states on the Levantine coast and their political and economic conditions.⁹⁵

From the literary sources we can deduce that at the head of each political unit stood a hereditary monarch. The king is master of foreign policy, the armed forces, and economic resources. He further has sovereign control over the territory of his city-state, as is shown in the deal between Hiram I and Solomon, where the latter, in return for help in building the temple and palace of Jerusalem, finally adds 20 "towns" in Galilee to the remuneration agreed upon (I Kings 9:11-13).⁹⁶ Besides the king, an advisory council –

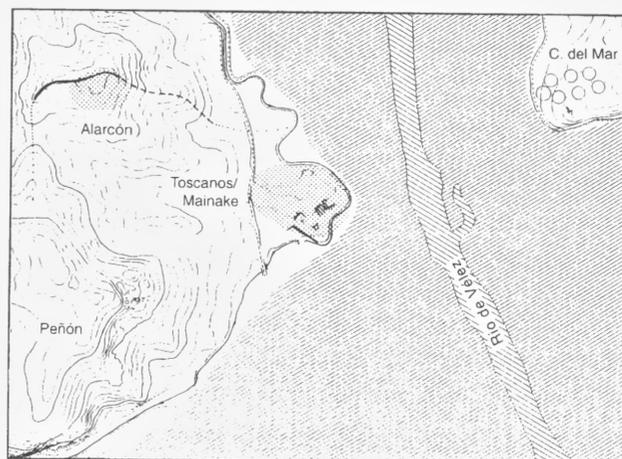
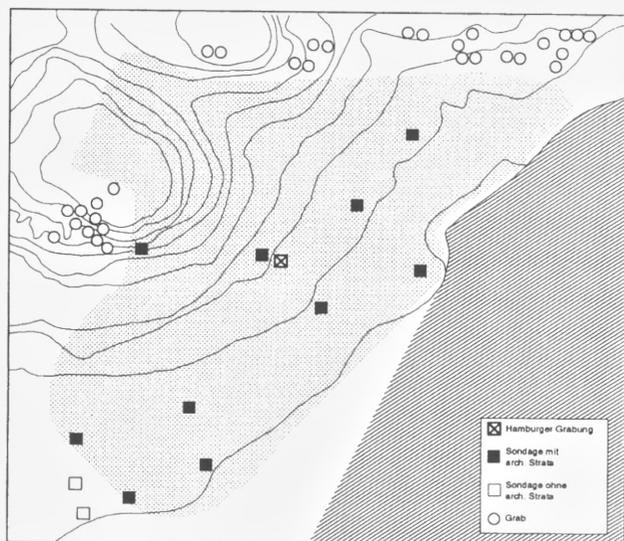


Fig. 9a. Carthage. Map showing the probable extent of the archaic city, with indication of the excavations by Hamburg University. – b. Toscanos (Mainake), map showing the probable extent of the archaic settlement; a and b on same scale (drawings by P. Gerstmeier), see *infra* 104.

presumably a council of elders representing the citizens – is recorded already in the Amarna letters as well as in the report of Wen-Amun for Byblos.⁹⁷

In the treaty of the Assyrian king Assarhaddon with king Baal of Tyre (it reads as a dictate to a vassal), which is known in several cuneiform versions and dated by most scholars to around 675, the “elders” and the “council” are also mentioned as public institutions, and “the people” are explicitly mentioned too.⁹⁸ In Tyre this can be traced down into Alexander’s time, since Arrian (*Anabasis Alexandri* 2.15.6) uses τὸ κοινόν – a term taken from Greek constitutional practice – when he mentions the public assembly, presumably of free citizens. Referring to the same period the historian Curtius Rufus (4.1.16) reports that the “people’s will” in Sidon was more important in the surrender to the Macedonian conqueror than that of king Straton II (Abdashtart).

Y. Tsirkin has argued plausibly, *inter alia* from the deal with the “towns” in Galilee mentioned above, that only in the capital of a Phoenician city-state were such institutions sufficiently important to be taken into account.⁹⁹ Anyway, this episode shows that, especially for smaller or less important communities, territorial allegiance and political dependency could change in an instant, simply on a king’s order. In this way the conqueror Assarhaddon could assign Sarepta, added to the Assyrian empire by his father and originally belonging to Sidon, to its southern neighbour the city-state of Tyre, or rather to its king Baal, though this transfer was accompanied by an increase in

tribute.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless it is hard to imagine that around the time of Sennacherib’s campaign of 701 the towns of Achzib, Akko and Sarepta, still under the reign of king Luli of Sidon, should not have had their own, at least internally autonomous, political head. However, for earlier times there is inadequate evidence for the structure and functions of such urban committees.¹⁰¹ For this reason a closer look will not be attempted here.

The few examples which are sufficiently documented by literary sources, however, show explicitly that in early times the political leaders are above all the city kings. S.F. Bondi has plausibly concluded from this that the Phoenician city-states have to be regarded as “palace societies” well down to the times of Hiram I of Tyre (and, on the evidence of the episodes from the 8th century mentioned above, even later).¹⁰² These “palace societies”, or rather their highest representatives, the city kings, may well have been responsible not only for sending trading expeditions but also for founding and support of the first stable trading posts and trading factories, or *emporía* and *enoikismoí*, far overseas; socio-typologically these are rooted in Bronze Age traditions in the same way as the urban palace societies themselves. The executive staff of this first phase¹⁰³ are emissaries, agents and functionaries (comparable with the Egyptian ambassador Wen-Amun), and specialists like the other Hiram of Tyre mentioned above, who built and completed the furnishing of the Temple of Jerusalem in the service of Solomon. It has to be kept in mind,

though, that, notwithstanding the plausibility of this model for describing and explaining the phenomenon in general, the dependency of respective factories in the West on specific city-states in the Levant cannot be explicitly proven.

The references to Phoenicians or Sidonians in the Homeric poems (*Iliad* 23.741-745; *Odyssey* 14.287-300; *Odyssey* 15.415-484) were taken by Bondi as signs of the rise of a Phoenician trading aristocracy, which from the 8th century onward took over control and leadership of the commercial activities of the factories in the West (Bondi speaks of “colonies”).¹⁰⁴ This theory is supported by the archaeological evidence for the burial of socially high-ranking persons in chamber tombs, e.g. those at Trayamar (Prov. Málaga) on the southern coast of Spain.¹⁰⁵ Their existence may reflect the stronger personal ties between this trading aristocracy and the settlements in the far West. Bondi’s further supposition, that the new class of entrepreneurs moved on the same social level as did the aristocrats of the Greek world,¹⁰⁶ who become active in foreign trade around the same time, is highly probable. Its incorporation into the “symposion horizon” of the Mediterranean elites of peripheral areas, such as the Iberian peninsula,¹⁰⁷ is significant from a socio-historical point of view. This even remains true when one considers that the new development did not replace the traditional structures (i.e. the palace economy) at once or completely.

The question still remains open whether the various Phoenician city-states played different roles in this historical process, which after all was no more than an expansion of their economic range of interaction into the entire Mediterranean; in other words, an expansion of a different kind, not one based on power-politics or territorial control. We know of some fifty Phoenician cities in the Levant. As far as we are informed about their political status, most of them belonged to a small number of more or less powerful city-states, among which at least four stand out: Arvad, Byblos, Sidon and Tyre. Tyre seems to have played a prominent part, if we give credence to the few written sources accepted by modern research. According to Velleius Paterculus, it is the *Tyria classis, tum plurimum pollens mari*, which was, as is well known, responsible for the founding of Gadir.¹⁰⁸ But, of course, the Tyrians were hardly responsible for the foundation of every settlement in the Mediterranean West, where about twenty are documented archaeologically for the 8th century and about forty in the 7th century. In a few cases Sidon is mentioned. By and large, only very few settlements

are recorded in written sources and we know next to nothing about the origin of their settlers.

Recently M.E. Aubet has argued that, especially in the 11th/10th century, active expansion to the Far West had not been possible for Tyre, which according to other literary sources (see *supra*) had been refounded only shortly before the reign of Hiram I. As a further argument she points to the undeniable fact that Tiglatpileser I (1114-1076), in the report of his expedition to the Levant coast, boasts of having received tribute from Arvad, Byblos and Sidon but does not mention Tyre. The city, therefore, would seem not yet to have reached its later importance. Also, judging from the statements made by Wen-Amun in his report, the coast between Gaza and Tyre will have been controlled by the Philistines and by pirates until the conquest by David (around 975).¹⁰⁹

In reply G. Bunnens has argued that Tyre, as one of the southernmost towns, was possibly just out of reach of the Assyrian expedition, which took place in a very peaceful atmosphere, including a cruise in the waters of Sumur (Tell Kazel?), and so did not feel herself under threat. This interpretation had already been put forward by W. Röllig,¹¹⁰ who produced several arguments to show that in the first stage Sidon was the more important city and, thanks to its geographically favourable situation, perhaps the one least affected by the Sea Peoples’ raids. He further rightly remarked that in many of the early Phoenician foundations it was Astarte, the protective deity of Sidon, who was worshipped as the principal goddess.¹¹¹ The evidence from the Homeric poems, in which Phoenicians appear mainly as “Sidonians” (see *supra*), fits well into this picture.

Does this indicate a climate of competition among the Phoenician cities, or at least an advantage on the part of Sidon at this time, which was only later challenged by Tyre when Hiram I ascended the throne? Is it possible that the rival claims of the temple of Lixus – according to Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 19.4.63) somewhat older than the Melkart temple of Tyrian Gadir – indicates a competitive foundation from another city-state, e.g. from Sidon? Neither the fragmentary and sparse literary sources nor the deficient archaeological evidence can provide us with such details.

A glance at the political context in the East offers an alternative reading of the Phoenician expansion. For a long time scholars have agreed that in the early first millennium one of the main tasks of the Phoenician city-states was to supply the Neo-Assyrian empire on the one hand with prestigious luxury goods, on the

other with necessary raw materials, mainly ore and noble metals. Obvious proofs of this are the countless payments of tribute by Phoenician towns or city kings, which are regularly listed in the annals of the Assyrian kings. Consequently, Phoenician expansion and settlement in the Mediterranean should be understood as the outcome of Assyrian oppression, initiated and unleashed simply to serve Assyria's ever-growing demand.

This topic has been treated several times recently, so that a general reference to the bibliography will suffice.¹¹² Here what matters is the following: after the Mediterranean expedition by Tiglatpileser I in the decades around 1100 – which, as mentioned above, was not particularly warlike and so was unlikely to bring about fundamental economic changes – the first campaign in which a list of tribute payments appears in the records is that of Assurbanipal II (883-859). Tyre, Sidon, Byblos and Arwad are explicitly mentioned as contributors, together with some smaller towns.¹¹³ But again this Assyrian expedition seems to have run rather peacefully, and the tribute was probably paid by agreement; subsequently, representatives of Sidon and Tyre were invited to the inauguration of the king's new palace at Nimrud.¹¹⁴ Tyre, Sidon and Byblos also furnished tribute to Shalmaneser III (858-824) in 838, and Tyre and Sidon again to Adadnirari III (810-783). It is not until Tiglatpileser III (744-727) that the Assyrian pressure grew and the northern Syrian region was annexed by the Assyrian empire as a province, with the notable exception of the island of

Arwad, which is still mentioned as paying tribute in the first year of the reign of Assurbanipal (668-627); so are Byblos and Tyre.¹¹⁵

There is no doubt about the sometimes considerable tribute; in the year 732 the Tyrian king Mattan II paid Tiglatpileser III the sum of 150 talents (ca. 4,300 kg!) in gold. But over a long period these tributes were apparently paid in a climate of economic and political symbiosis, which on the one hand gave a certain independence from the great military power of Mesopotamia to the small and comparatively weak border states on the coast, and on the other hand granted Mesopotamia a more or less regular supply of luxury goods, vital raw materials (iron is mentioned explicitly as well) and finally financial means in the form of gold and silver. In other words, the agreement was of mutual benefit, and it is out of well-planned political opportunism and the desire to survive as political communities that the Phoenician city-states had developed into a kind of service society for Assyria. But at all events this cannot be taken so far as to see Tyre as an "instrument" of Assyrian imperialism, expansionism and demand for raw materials. It remains at least highly questionable.¹¹⁶

For an adequate judgement of the reasons and responsible agents or supporting factors of the expansion to the West it is necessary to compare the events in the East, despite the fragmentary sources, with the approximate chronological sequence of the expansion in the West:

Period	Mediterranean trade, expansion	Assyrian relations
12 th -11 th cent.	Revival of Bronze Age trade including expeditions to the Far West.	Syrian campaign of Tiglatpileser I around 1100 (!), establishing of diplomatic contacts, tribute payments; apparently no subsequent campaigns.
10 th cent. (Hiram I)-first half of 9 th cent.	Trading expeditions to the Mediterranean and the Far West well documented by biblical tradition. Corresponding archaeological evidence.	Nothing known about Assyrian pressure or request for tribute.
9 th cent.	Trading expeditions to the Mediterranean and the Far West continue. Corresponding archaeological evidence.	Tribute payments of the Phoenician city states to Assyria starting with Assurnasirpal II (883-859).
8 th -7 th cent.	Settlements are founded along the trade routes (for protection against Greek colonization?); rich archaeological evidence.	More frequent tributes, initially apparently by mutual agreement.

Four main conclusions can reasonably be drawn. First, the Phoenician expansion starts earlier than that of the Neo-Assyrian empire, mainly for reasons which originate in the Phoenician city-states and in their changed economic situation after the breakdown of the Bronze Age world. It is evident that for the highly developed business world as well as for the profitable transit trade – the basis of wealth for the Phoenician city-states – new resources had to be opened up. Second, it was obviously possible in the 9th century for the Phoenician city-states to procure the goods transferred to Assyria as tribute without great difficulty or even effort. No earlier than the 8th century, it obviously became necessary to establish a greater number of permanent factories for the protection of the trade routes through the Mediterranean. But the reason for this is again mainly to be looked for in the Mediterranean itself: the competing Greek colonization in the West, which, according to the tradition, began with the foundation of Syracuse in 734.¹¹⁷ Third, Tyre is especially favoured by the biblical tradition, partly as a close neighbour, but mainly for its role in a last stand of heroic resistance against the Neo-Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II, as recorded in the book of Ezekiel. Fourth, it is possible, even likely, that, alongside Tyre, other Phoenician cities like Sidon or some of secondary political rank took part in the expansion and establishment of settlements. Well down into the 7th century, Assyrian sources record other Phoenician towns besides Tyre as tributary. The Neo-Assyrian empire subsequently seems to have exploited the Phoenician expansion once it had realised how profitable it was, an exploitation which increased in the course of the following centuries. In this context it is not surprising that economic complications, such as a decline of prices, could occur, which could lead to a decline or even an interruption of the long-distance trade.

Carthage¹¹⁸

Carthage is a special historical phenomenon in the Mediterranean. Its foundation by Tyre is dated in the Classical tradition to 814/13. According to the latest excavation results it hardly took place as early as the late 9th century, but is well attested in the first half of the 8th century.¹¹⁹ Seen in the context of the early “trade expansion” phase there is no doubt that the city is situated in a strategically favourable position on the way through the Straits of Tunis, about half-way between the Levantine coast and the Straits of Gibraltar. However, the main purpose of this “new foundation” – until modern times the term has been preserved in the name “Qarthadascht” – was to give one of two conflicting parties in Tyre its own “new city”. Thus, Carthage was a real case of *apoikia*, and this feature makes it fundamentally different in structure from any other Phoenician settlement in the Mediterranean.

Already in the archaic period the urban centre of Phoenician Carthage occupied a territory of at least 25 ha, though other estimates are as high as between 45 and 60 ha (Fig. 9 and 10).¹²⁰ For that very reason it had an exceptional status among early Mediterranean towns. It is not a coincidence that an explicit foundation myth is known for Carthage. Historical *personae agentes* figure in this myth, and its historical core offers the key to understanding Carthage’s distinctiveness. In contrast to other Phoenician settlements in the Far West, a stratified and complex population settled in Carthage, including an upper class willing and ready to govern, and at least for the first 150-200 years with a king at its head.¹²¹

Laid out according to the “typical” Phoenician settlement pattern on a spit of land jutting far out into the sea (*viz.* the Bay of Tunis), and well sheltered from the mainland, the city is oriented towards maritime foreign trade; on the other hand, it had access to a rich

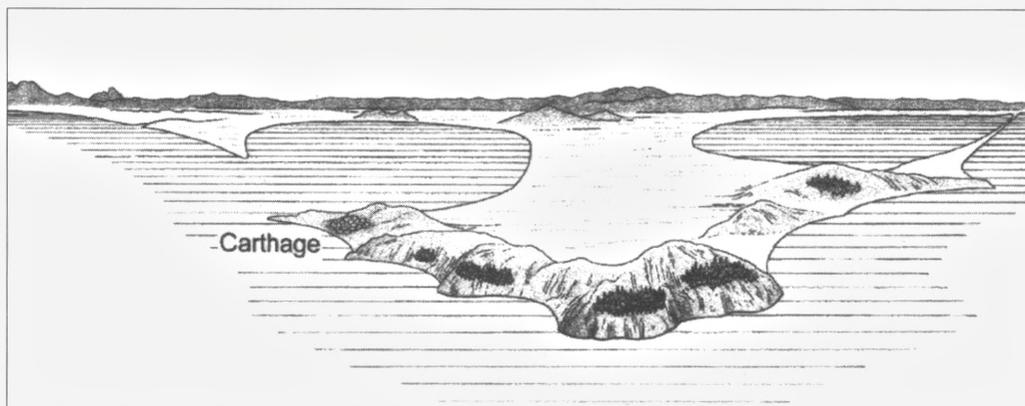


Fig. 10. A reconstructed bird's-eye view of Carthage in its topographical setting (drawing by P.Mlodoch, Hamburg).

agrarian “hinterland” (Fig. 10). The beginning of the process of gaining control of the surrounding territory, the *chora*, is not yet dated with certainty. Two reports by Justinus speak of tribute paid by the Carthaginians to local, i.e. African, authorities (Justinus 18.5.14), an obligation from which they had only been able to rid themselves a few years after the battle of Himera in the second quarter of the 5th century (Justinus 19.2.4). According to archaeological evidence, on the other hand, it is not very likely that Kerkouane, the fortified town on the east coast of Cape Bon,¹²² probably founded as early as the 6th century, could have come into existence independently of Carthage. Also the archaeological traces in the Carthaginian hinterland documented by field surveys begin at the latest in the late 7th or early 6th century and can most likely be assigned to deliberate activity by the “capital city”.¹²³ For the later development the Greek and Latin authors tell us more than can be proved by archaeological evidence in the present state of research. A decision about which finds from the Tunisian hinterland can be called Carthaginian and which ones “Carthaginised”-Numidian can hardly be made at present on archaeological criteria.¹²⁴

About the rise of the city, later so powerful, we are poorly informed. Again all historical reports of any importance are written with the pen of the “others”. Supposedly around the middle of the 7th century Ebusos/Ibiza was founded from Carthage. However, according to the results of the latest archaeological research, Ibiza was at first settled by Phoenicians who probably came from southern Spain, and probably to secure the important long-distance trade route to the south-western Andalusian silver mines.¹²⁵ The “new” foundation of Ibiza by the Carthaginians seems to inaugurate their military-political expansion into the western Mediterranean; even so, mercantile interests, and a desire for an overall expansion of the realm of influence, may still have been predominant. Around 580, when the “condottiere” Pentathlos of Knidos, leading emigrants from Rhodes and Knidos, wished to settle in western Sicily, the western Phoenicians of Motye, Panormus (Palermo) and Soloeis (Solunt), who had settled there for the past 150 years, were able to defend themselves against the invaders with, at most, some help from the Elymians who were settled around Segesta. Carthage was not called on for help, and obviously was not regarded as the hegemonial power.¹²⁶

The political and military balance of power changed rapidly, however, probably shortly after the Pentathlos adventure, with the conquest by the Baby-

lonian king Nebuchadnezzar II of Tyre, the centre of Phoenician expansion, in the year 573/2. The Sicilian Greeks, mainly the powerful *poleis* on the south coast (Akragas and Selinous are mentioned in the sources) must have seen their chance. Now they could threaten the Phoenician cities and their Elymian allies, to an extent that induced them, at the price of their own independence, to call for help from Carthage, which had in the meantime risen to the status of a leading Mediterranean power. The Carthaginian general Malchus defeated the Greeks, as expected. He was also destined to lead the Carthaginian expedition sent to help the Phoenician settlements on Sardinia, such as Nora, Sulcis and Tharros, whose foundations can in some cases be traced back into the 8th century. There the people were faced with the growing threat of an offensive from the local Sards, and after the downfall of Tyre, Carthage had very strong economic interests there as well.¹²⁷

In the West, too, a stronger engagement in foreign policy by the city is evident during the 6th century, as in the auxiliary expedition to Gadir, which was threatened by Turdetanian tribes (Justinus 44.5.2-4; Polybios 2.1.5). For the smaller Phoenician settlements the consequences of the conquest of Tyre are not documented by literary sources.¹²⁸ Nevertheless they must have been immense, and it is evident that at this time several settlements were abandoned or, in some cases, dislocated along the southern Mediterranean coast as well as along the Atlantic coast of the Iberian peninsula.¹²⁹ It was hardly by accident that R.F. Docter could detect a drop in imports from the Levant in the assemblage of transport amphorae from Toscanos and Carthage which closely matches in time the political events in the East. On the other hand, there is a marked rise in Carthaginian imports at Toscanos starting in the second half of the 7th century, which can easily be explained by the beginning of the Carthaginian expansion described above.¹³⁰ The evidence testifies to a slow and gradual development as the city grew into its historical role as the great opponent of the rising Roman empire. This is perfectly matched by the first treaty between Carthage and Rome in 509 (Polybios 3.22-26), which in fact only attempts to define zones of influence, grant protection from piracy and establish a treaty according to trusted and established rules of law.¹³¹

Even if much has to remain guesswork here, in general it is plausible that Carthage in the 6th century, notwithstanding the campaigns to secure its closer foreign trade relationships, did not immediately change from a city-state, following the model of the

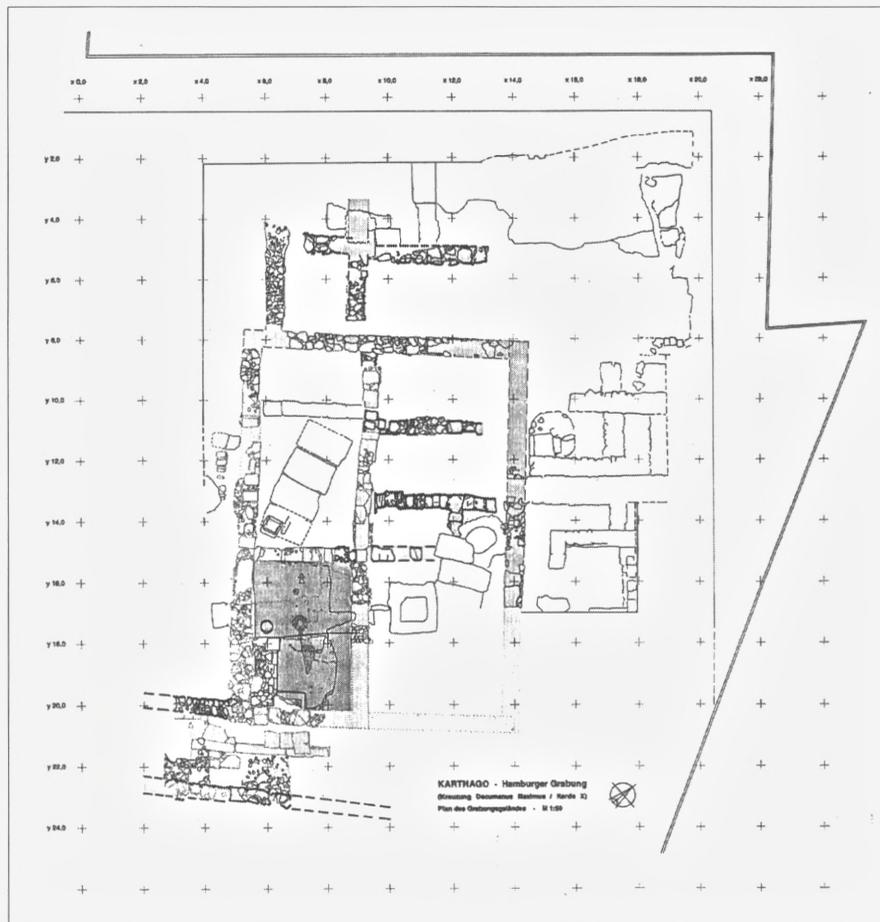


Fig. 11. Carthage. Plan of the area excavated by the Hamburg University.

Ancient Near East, into a territorial power.¹³² However, from this time onward the city more and more grew into the role of a culturally dominant centre for the West.¹³³

Early Carthaginian and Phoenician Cityscape

From the later 6th and early 5th centuries onwards the cultural profile of the Phoenician world underwent a substantial change, the general tendency of which has correctly been described as a process of Hellenization.¹³⁴ In Carthage, Classical Greek forms of decoration have been demonstrated on an otherwise unidentified monumental sacred building of late 5th/early 4th-century date,¹³⁵ and especially the sanctuary (originally dating from Archaic times) found by Fr. Rakob demonstrates Greek forms of decoration in its 3rd-century version.¹³⁶ This Hellenization can equally be seen in the basic features of urbanism. The living quarters of the 5th to the 3rd centuries along the coast and of the 3rd/2nd centuries on the southern slope of the Byrsa hill brought to light in the course of the

UNESCO campaign “Pour Sauver Carthage”¹³⁷ can easily be compared with contemporary quarters of Greek cities such as Olynthos, Priene and Delos, especially in their structural layout. In spite of their typologically distinct plan they were luxuriously furnished according to current standards of the Mediterranean *Koiné*,¹³⁸ particularly regarding interior decoration.

Well in keeping with these observations for the description of the political history, W. Ameling has coined the phrase of the “antike Normalität” of Carthage and suggested that the development of the city should be re-assessed in this light, a suggestion for which he has rightly been complimented by one of his reviewers.¹³⁹ As is well known, for Aristotle (*Politics* 1272b-1273b) Carthage was a *polis* no different from the other *poleis* in the Greek world examined by him. Carthage’s place in the general development of Mediterranean civilization, especially from the 5th century onward, quite naturally must have left some traces in the urban structure. However, the 8th and 7th centuries are in focus, if we want to use the archaeological record to shed light on the cityscape and its

formal features, and investigate a specific Phoenician influence on urbanisation in other Mediterranean civilizations. As I have tried to show elsewhere, apart from Carthage, useful comparative data are provided by the early archaic factory-type settlements on the southern coast of Spain and in the western Mediterranean.¹⁴⁰

In Carthage an ensemble of houses has been discovered by the Hamburg excavation under the Decumanus Maximus. This lay on the eastern slope of the Byrsa hill along an urban street running parallel to the slope. It can be regarded as part of a larger residential quarter, and it provides important insights into the early development of the urban structure of the city, transferred from the East.¹⁴¹ The following observations can be made:

1. After a first phase with a loose building layout, from about the middle of the 8th century onward, that is from phase IIa (750-725), the houses had a compact and insula-like layout with only simple dividing walls. The habit of building the houses back to back is imposed by an orthogonal street grid laid out parallel to the slope, i.e. either towards the street up the slope or to that down the slope. House 1, oriented parallel with the street, shows in the early phases IIa to IIb (ca. 750-700) rooms opening on to a small courtyard. Another courtlike space between house and street may have been covered by a simple sloping roof, and can possibly be interpreted as part of a street bazaar (see below, topic 12).
2. The boundaries of building plots are subsequently maintained through the succeeding phases until the 3rd century with only minor changes, and indicate the existence of some kind of cadastral plan right from the beginning of the city.
3. In the late 6th/early 5th century (Phase V) house 1 was divided in two, its southern part now serving as a sanctuary of Tanit.¹⁴²
4. Building techniques (first mudbrick structure, then from the 7th century onward “pier-and-rubble” technique or *opus Africanum*) and house typology (among others the so-called Palestine “four-room-house”) tell of close traditional ties to the homeland of the Carthaginian settlers.
5. The mainly orthogonal organization of the street grid and the wider urban structure is obviously independent of the fact that the settlement of the semicircular eastern and western slopes of the Byrsa hill demanded a radial setting of some areas (Carthage is not a “tell” like Megiddo).

If the city is regarded as a whole, the following items should be mentioned as further distinctive characteristics:

6. In the archaeological record there are several indications that point to a more or less densely built-up city area of between 45 and 60 ha (see *supra*) already in the early phases,¹⁴³ an area of enormous size compared to the otherwise small areas of the Toscanos-type settlements – as well as contemporary Greek towns. (Fig. 9a-b).
7. This area is limited on the north and south by vast cemeteries. To the south and seemingly also on the beach zone to the east there were metallurgical and ceramic workshops, an “industrial belt”.¹⁴⁴ This corresponds to the professional, i.e. functional segmentation of the city in the ancient Near East (see *supra*). Parallels are to be found even in smaller settlements such as Motye and Toscanos.¹⁴⁵
8. Remains of Archaic monumental buildings or squares – referred to in literary sources describing later periods – are missing due to the total destruction of the urban centre in 146. Of the numerous sanctuaries and temples that no doubt existed formerly, few are represented in the archaeological record (see *supra*). According to Appian, in Hellenistic times there had been an *agora* in Carthage. It remains more than doubtful whether this was also the case in the earlier period. Regarding this, E. Otto has lately recalled that the Ancient Near Eastern town lacks the open-air centre of public life comparable to the Greek *agora* or the Roman *forum*, and that instead it was rather the city gate or the area in front of it which took over the vital functions of a marketplace.¹⁴⁶
9. Concerning the harbours, which presumably existed already in the Archaic period, everything so far suggested is guesswork.¹⁴⁷ The typical Punic Kothon was apparently an innovation of the 5th century, and what can be detected today of the Carthaginian harbour dates back only to the 3rd century at the earliest. In this context a wharf or embankment datable to the turn of the 7th to 6th century at what is most probably the harbour of Toscanos may give us an idea of what existed at Carthage.¹⁴⁸

As far as can be deduced for the early periods, the evidence in the Phoenician settlements in the West is not quite as rich and homogeneous as one would like. However, in this case, too, it becomes increasingly

evident that the houses are arranged “wall to wall” in a densely built-up urban structure. Furthermore, it can be observed that:

10. The road system does not always run straight or have parallel edges, but is “rhythmisized” by house corners or houses jutting out into the (public!) street space.¹⁴⁹ This has obvious parallels in the East (Al Mina, Megiddo III).¹⁵⁰
11. Corresponding are the special mercantile functions of the settlements, where so-called “magazine” buildings, viz. storehouses can be identified (Motye, Toscanos).¹⁵¹
12. In one case M.E. Aubet has now interpreted a room opening onto the street as a bazaar shop.¹⁵² An open room in the area of the Hamburg excavation can be reconstructed similarly (see Fig. 12).¹⁵³

Outlook: the Mediterranean Context

It has become sufficiently clear from the above that soon after its foundation – i.e. around the mid-8th century – Carthage was already the centre of an independent city-state; and in its “townscape”, i.e. in form and structure, it was an “Oriental city” just like contemporary towns in the Near East. It was marked by an organized urban structure with normally orthogonal planning and by the dense building and habitation in a limited space that were typical of these towns. Archaeologically this can no longer be traced

directly in the soil of a city so frequently devastated and reconstructed, but it can at least be extrapolated on the basis of the clear evidence obtained by the excavation under the Decumanus Maximus. Furthermore, it is clear that the Phoenician settlements in the contemporary factory horizon in the West display elements of this Phoenician-Oriental townscape as well, but because of their small size they do not merit the name of “cities” in the same sense as the centres of the homeland. The historical importance of this observation becomes evident when seen in the context of the Phoenician expansion. But in addition to Carthage and the Phoenician settlements themselves it must also be stressed that many other Mediterranean civilizations were affected: Greeks, Etruscans and Italians, Tartessians and Iberians. Within this vast panorama of problems and tasks for further investigation, one aspect must be mentioned here due to its importance for the present project: the relation to the early Greek *polis*.

At least since Aristotle the *polis* – i.e. the city-state of the Greek world, constituted as a community of free citizens – has been described according to definite parameters and criteria. Unlike recently it has been widely accepted among scholars that the philosopher’s experience and practical knowledge of Athens played a decisive role in building up his convictions. Recently, however, M.H. Hansen has questioned that opinion with a number of very reasonable arguments. In any way and regardless of Athens’ role in this story, the city’s name also stands for many

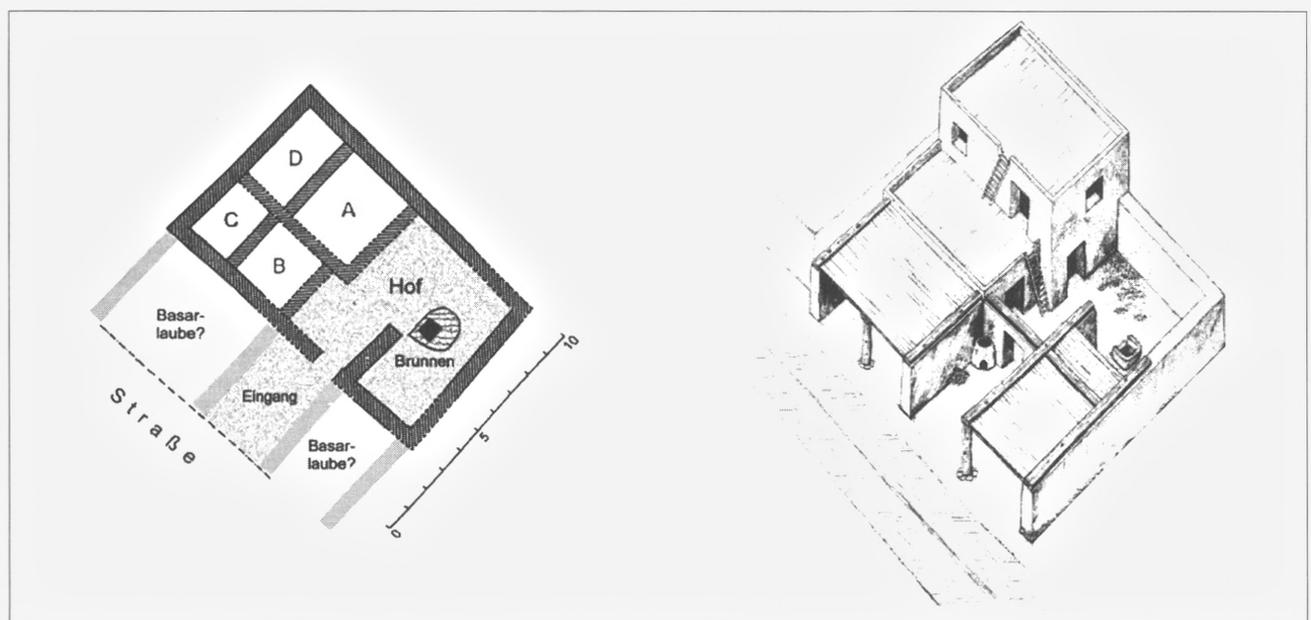


Fig. 12. Carthage. Late 8th century house in the area excavated by Hamburg University, proposed reconstruction (drawing by P.Mlodoch, Hamburg).

others in Greece, as has been clarified by modern research, especially during the past three decades. Further, there is agreement that in general this model of political organization had an enormous historical impact. There seems to be an often tacitly accepted consensus that “living in a *polis* community” can be seen and interpreted as a major contribution of Greek civilization to the formation of political society.

The definition of a *polis* advocated by Aristotle in his *Politics* explicitly covers two main aspects of the term *polis*: that of a geographically delimited segment of persons settled in and around an urban centre (1253b), and that of a political community of free citizens (1276b). What could appear at first sight rather contradictory, or at least divergent, has rather to be understood as two linked and complementary phenomena, as has recently been shown by Hansen in his introduction to the first volume of the *Acts* of the Copenhagen Polis Centre.¹⁵⁴ From my archaeological approach I cannot pursue the judicial or philosophical dimension of these problems. In the context of “the material remains” which I have mainly treated here, I have dealt with the urban character of the *polis* or its centre, and the moulding of the frame for urban life.

This tangible aspect – the form, structure and outward appearance of the *polis* as a city – has been a major topic of interest and research for the present generation of archaeologists. Their efforts have shown that these two aspects of the Greek city-state, i.e. the formation of urban centres on the one hand and the emergence of a body of citizens on the other, in no way developed contemporaneously. The latest investigations by A. Snodgrass and I. Morris have revealed that the creation of urban centres rather took place as a second step. Morris even goes so far as to draw the line between the “not yet urban” and the “urban” *polis* in the late 6th century!¹⁵⁵ As pointed out most recently by F. Lang, even the early, city-like or urban settlements in the Greek world follow the pattern of single-house settlements – with houses detached from each other – as first described by H. Drerup and attested, for example, at ancient Smyrna, Antissa, Emporio, Eretria, Lefkandi, Miletos, and Vitsa; it is only in the early 7th century that the earliest terrace-house settlement is found in Vroulia on Rhodes.¹⁵⁶ Further, M. Sakellariou has made the reasonable point that Homer’s description of Phaiakian society as a state of sailors and merchants (*Odyssey* 6.36f.; 270ff.; 7.35ff.) conflicts with Euryalos’ insult to Odysseus as a trader (Homer, *Odyssey* 8.159-164). Sakellariou has suggested that the poet has imputed to the Phaiakians

a type of society which he knew from elsewhere, “maybe from Phoenicia”.¹⁵⁷ Homeric society, as seems more and more certain, had therefore not yet developed an “urban” form. If we consider the chronological horizon for the descriptions of the Homeric poet to be “around 700”, then this new assessment of the circumstances in the Aegean is of some importance for the present discussion. Certainly it is no coincidence that among some scholars of ancient history in the past decade it has again been proposed that the Greeks took over the idea of the city-state, and perhaps even the idea of the *polis*, from the Phoenicians, a view already expressed by Jacob Burkhardt around the turn of the last century.¹⁵⁸

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my gratitude to Eckhart Otto, my respondent, for inspiring criticism and encouragement, and to Mogens Hansen for many productive questions. Angelika Franz helped me with the manuscript, Claudia Kunze provided the redrawn illustrations. I am indebted to John Collis and Mogens Herman Hansen for improving my English.

Notes

Quotes and referencing of sources have been reduced to a minimum, completeness is in no way attempted. For the years or centuries referring to the time before the birth of Christ, “B.C.” has been omitted.

The following abbreviations have been used in the bibliography and notes:

Abbreviations

<i>BJb</i>	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande</i>
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>DCPP</i>	E. Lipinski (ed.), <i>Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique</i> (Brussels – Paris 1992).
<i>HambBeitrA</i>	<i>Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JbZMusMainz</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz</i>
<i>MM</i>	<i>Madriider Mitteilungen</i>
<i>RDAC</i>	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus</i>
<i>RM</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</i>
<i>RStFen</i>	<i>Rivista di Studi fenici</i>

1. Szyner (1976) 35-43.
2. Niemeyer (1980) 165-89; Niemeyer (1979-80) 279-302; now also Shefton (1994) 72; cf. Rouillard (1991) 296f. and H.G. Niemeyer, *BJb* 195 (1995) 631f. (review of Rouillard).
3. Amadasi Guzzo (1995) 19-30; of an obviously important record-archive in a temple from Carthage only the clay-bulls

- hardened in the firestorm of 146 have been preserved: Berges (1997) 10-214.
4. Lauffray (1958) 7-26 may be recalled here, who then limited himself for good reasons to Hellenistic times only!
 5. Short overviews of a history of research can be found in Gras, Rouillard & Teixidor (1989) 11-24; Lancel (1992) 457-65.
 6. Quoted after Harden (1980) 17f.
 7. Vella (1996) 245-50. But the achievements of the last decades are numerous, as can easily be seen in the bibliography in Krings (1995) 845-904, covering 59 pages (!).
 8. *DCPP* s.v., with bibl.; see esp. Jidejian (1977).
 9. For the well known Egyptian *Keimelia* from the Gublitic royal tombs it might suffice here to point to the good illustrations in Parrot, Chehab & Moscati (1977) 39-46.
 10. Culican (1966) 22.
 11. See esp. the letters *EA* 67-142, in Moran (1992). Cf. Kuhrt (1995) I: 324-9.
 12. Cf. Kuhrt (1995) I: 300.
 13. Cf. Röllig (1982) 16f.
 14. Bronze Age Ugarit cannot be treated here in detail. For general information cf. the article by Courtois, Lipinski & Xella in *DCPP*, 481-4 s.v.; see Kuhrt (1995) I: 300-314 and the contributions to the Colloquium "Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.C." in *Ras-Shamra-Ougarit XI* (1995), especially M. Liverani, "Le royaume d'Ougarit," *ibid.* 47-54.
 15. See the tablets discussed by Lehmann (1985) 28-33: RS 18.38, RS 20.238 and RS 34.129.
 16. Heltzer (1976) 2 takes a territory between 3,000 and 3,600 km² for granted.
 17. Cf. Wirth (1997) 7.
 18. Metalworkers in the eastern part of Byblos: Wein & Opificius (1963) 18; for Ugarit, see Callot & Yon (1995) esp. 162; the existence of craftsmen's quarters (not excavated so far) is not excluded: "l'enquête montre que les artisans ougaritiens étaient nombreux, et leur ateliers probablement dispersés à travers la ville, mais que l'on n'a pas repéré de quartiers spécifiques, s'il y en a eu."
 19. Kuhrt (1995) I: 303.
 20. See *DCPP* s.v. Canaan (G. Bunnens).
 21. The best access to the large literature is through the following works: Lehmann (1985); Thomas (1987); Ward & Joukowski (1992); Noort (1994); Helck (1995) 110-23; cf. generally Kuhrt (1995) II: 385-400.
 22. Especially *Ugaritica* V nos. 22-4.
 23. For Akko cf. A. Hermay, in *DCPP* 13 s.v.
 24. Mazzoni (1997) esp. 307f.; a new assessment of the regionally certainly differing events seems to be necessary for the Hittite empire as well (cf. the preliminary report on recent excavation results in Hattusha by J. Seeher in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* from August 28th, 1998).
 25. Badre *et al.* (1994) 345; cf. for an introduction the first preliminary report: Badre *et al.* (1990) 9-124.
 26. Gubel (1994) 342.
 27. Bunnens (1978) 1-16; Röllig (1982) 18f.
 28. Luckenbill (1926) I §§ 299-303; cf. Kuhrt (1995) I: 360f.
 29. Cf. now the well-considered formulation in Kuhrt (1995) I: 360, from the perspective of the city-states on the coast: "Their specialized manufacturing industries (...) and commercial expertise all depended on supplying a large-scale consumer, such as the Assyrian state now was, in order to maintain their own status quo."
 30. Klengel (1989) 295.
 31. Gubel (1994) 341f.; see already Röllig (1982) 18.
 32. Cf. the remarks of W. Culican in the discussion of Röllig (1982), *ibid.* 28.
 33. Stucky (1983) 151 ("around 500").
 34. Pastor Borgoñón (1988/90) 37-142; Moscati (1993) 9-14.
 35. Kuhrt (1995) II: 401-409; Salles (1995) 553-82; cf. also Yon (1995a) esp. 364: "l'archéologie n'apprend pas grand-chose sur l'organisation urbaine de ces agglomérations, qui nous reste totalement inconnue."
 36. Salles (1995) 559f. pleads for an international perspective – in a diachronic as well as in a cross-cultural and regional sense.
 37. Jacoby (1991) 112-31, Figs. 7-9.13.
 38. City-walls: Cecchini (1995) 390ff.; the illustration of the city and isle of Tyre on one of the registers of the bronze gates of Balawat redrawn in the catalogue "*I Fenici*" (Milano 1988) 559f., of the 1988 exhibition at Venice, Palazzo Grassi; see Yon (1995b) 119-31. – The lost relief from Nineveh, depicting the flight of Luli, now also in Niemeier (1996-97) 135 Fig. 5.
 39. Information kindly provided by the excavator, W.-D. Niemeier.
 40. See Weippert (1988) 237f.
 41. Samaria: Weippert (1988) 535-40; – Lachish: Weippert (1988) 525-8 (for the map Weippert [1988] 527 cf. H.G. Niemeier, *BJb0* 193 [1993] 447 [review]); see also the pertinent interpretation of building 338 in Megiddo by Ussishkin (1993) 78f.
 42. See the treatment of the problem in Harden (1980) 82f.; cf. also Gras, Rouillard & Teixidor (1989) 104; Kition: Karageorghis (1976) 138-92; for the immense secondary literature regarding the Temple of Solomon it suffices here to point to Weippert (1988) 461-5.
 43. Cf. Bikai (1978) Pl. 64.
 44. Pritchard (1975) 47ff. (by W.P. Anderson), cf. *ibid.* 68-70 and the maps Fig. 6.7; see also Yon (1995a) 365f. Fig. 1.
 45. Cf. the maps cited *supra* nn. 43 and 44 with those of the "ilot VI" in the southern part of Ugarit, in Callot & Yon (1995) 160 Fig. 2, or with Riis (1982) 245 Fig. 7 (here compared with Ras Shamra and Al-Mina). Same figure in Lund (1986) 187f. Fig. 160.
 46. Weippert (1988) 385 Abb.4.8; see now also Herzog (1997) 201f.
 47. Riis (1982) 244f., the quotation p. 245.
 48. Riis (1982) 246f. Fig. 10; cf. Niemeier (1995a) 75 Fig. 4. 78 Fig. 7.
 49. Chambon (1984) 39ff., cf. *ibid.* 11.
 50. Cf. the reconstruction of the "*chantier II*" in Chambon (1984) 39ff., map II (Niveau VIIb) and map IV (Niveau VIId).
 51. Chambon (1984) 70f. Pl. 61.31, 32. Pl. 62; Fine Ware (?): *ibid.* Pl. 61.24, cf. *ibid.* 231.
 52. Maass-Lindemann (1990) 169-77, with distribution maps Fig. 2 and 3; see Maass-Lindemann (1995) 242f.
 53. See now Frost (1995) 1-22; – Raban (1995) 139-89; cf. in general the overview by Raban (1981) 39-84.
 54. For a useful overview see Gubel (1983) 25f.
 55. It is almost symptomatic for the extremely conservative attitude of the Biblical research in this field, that the generally useful *Handbuch* of Biblical Archaeology by H. Weippert (1988) entirely omits the participation of Tyrian artists and craftsmen in the lengthy description of the Temple of Solomon and its furnishing, *ibid.* 461-74. Cf. on the other hand e.g. Harden (1980) 137 and Donner (1982) 205-14 (I owe the reference to this important publication to my respondent E. Otto); see also the short pertinent remark in Elayi (1987) 5, n. 24.

56. Pritchard (1975) 13-40; cf. W.P. Anderson, in *DCPP* 395 s.v. Sarepta.
57. This striking name is taken from the title of the inspiring book by Culican (1966).
58. Niemeyer (1990a) 469-89; Niemeyer (1993) 335-44; for the methodological aspects cf. Niemeyer (1995) 247-67.
59. Bunnens (1979).
60. Niemeyer (1981) 9-33; Aubet (1997) 174-9; Moscati (1989) 49-51.
61. Bunnens (1979) *passim*; Mazza, Ribichini & Xella (1988).
62. I cannot address this problem here, which has repeatedly been treated during the last decade; see again Pastor Borgoñón (1988-90) and Moscati (1993) 34 for further references.
63. Latacz (1990) 11-20.
64. Coldstream (1982) 261-72.
65. Burkert (1984) 29-34; Burkert (1992) 25-40; Röllig (1990) 92.
66. Popham, Touloupa & Sackett (1982a) 213-48; Popham, Touloupa & Sackett (1982b) 169-74; Popham, Calligas & Sackett (1989) 117-29; see the updated discussion and bibliography in Bouzek (1997) 160-8, cf. 175.
67. Sakellarakis (1987) 237-63; Röllig & Kyrieleis (1988) 37-75; Strøm (1992) 46-60.
68. Most recently: Maass (1993) 92.
69. Shaw (1989) 165-83; cf. now Shaw & Shaw (1993) 129-90.
70. Movers (1850) 246-86.
71. Bartoloni (1990) 161-7; Bernardini (1993) 39.
72. Matthäus (1989) 244-55; Muhly, Maddin & Stech (1988) 281-98. – For Mediterranean trade in the Bronze Age cf. generally Kopcke (1990).
73. Muhly, Maddin & Stech (1988).
74. Markoe (1990) 61-84; Markoe (1992-93) 11-32.
75. Niemeyer (1984) 14f.; Ridgway (1988) 657-60; Ridgway (1992) 110.
76. Ridgway (1988) 656f.; Ridgway (1992) 111-8; for the metallurgic aspect cf. Niemeyer (1983) 50-8.
77. Blanco Freijeiro & Rothenberg (1981) 165.
78. Cf. Koch (1984) *passim*.
79. Koch (1984) 47-55, 72-8; cf. also Niemeyer (1996-97) 131-48.
80. Blázquez (1975) *passim*; see too the recent bibliography in Aubet (1994).
81. For the recent excavation results see in general: Fernández Jurado *et al.* (1988-89) *passim*; regarding aspects of metallurgy cf. also Bouloumié (1989) 213-21; Fernández Jurado (1989) 157-65.
82. Niemeyer (1984) 82f.; Fernández Miranda & Olmos (1986) 97-103; Culican (1991) 513-17.
83. See the maps in Niemeyer (1984) 83 Fig. 74 and Untermann (1985) 8.6.
84. Schauer (1983) 177-83.
85. Gjerstad (1979) 230-54; – see in general *DCPP* 248f. s.v. (M. Yon).
86. Muhly (1985) 177-91; *DCPP* 248f. s.v. Kition (M. Yon); Bikai (1992) 241-8.
87. Coldstream (1986) 321-9.
88. See the bibliography in *Der Neue Pauly* 4 (Stuttgart 1998) 730f. s.v. (P. Barceló & H.G. Niemeyer).
89. See now as a first synopsis of recent research: Augusto Tavares (1993); – for the obviously Phoenician *emporion* of Abul at the mouth of the Sado river see also Mayet & Tavares da Silva (1994) 171-88.
90. *DCPP* 301-03 s.v. Motyé (G. Falsone), 430 s.v. Sulcis (M.L. Uberti).
91. Ramón (1992) 453-78; Gómez Bellard (1993) 83-107.
92. Niemeyer (1990) 62; cf. also Lancel (1995) 374; – on the general problem see the bibliography cited above, n. 58.
93. Niemeyer (1985) 109-26.
94. Niemeyer (1984) 48-50; Tusa (1985) 38-40.
95. See the useful summary by Tsirkin (1990) 29-43; also Kuhrt (1995) II: 407-10.
96. Tsirkin (1990) 37.
97. Bondi (1995a) 290-302; – cf. also Aubet (1994) 132-6.
98. See the pertinent investigation of the text by Pettinato (1975) esp. 153.
99. Tsirkin (1990) 36f.
100. Pritchard (1975) 9 (quoting testimonies).
101. Bondi (1995a) 294.
102. Bondi (1995b) 345ff.; see too Aubet (1994) 132ff.
103. I have named them “erstes Stratum” of the Phoenician expansion in Niemeyer (1984) 22 Fig. 15, cf. p. 89; see Moscati (1985) 273-82.
104. Bondi (1995b) 346f.; cf. also Liverani (1995), who goes on speaking about the late Bronze Age “corporations autonomes” of Ugaritic and other traders: “c’est ce qui arrive en effet à l’Age du Fer, avec des marchands phéniciens” (53).
105. Niemeyer & Schubart (1975); see also Niemeyer (1984) 48.
106. Bondi (1995b) refers to Mele (1979).
107. See now Almagro Gorbea (1996) esp. 41-4, 55-65.
108. See Niemeyer (1981) 9-33.
109. Aubet (1994) 35f.
110. Bunnens (1995) 223f.; – cf. Röllig (1982) 18.
111. Röllig (1982) 20.
112. Frankenstein (1979) 263-94; Aubet (1994) 70-91 (on p. 70 the author erroneously includes me among those who regard the Phoenician expansion mainly as a result of Assyria’s political pressure on the coastal city-states. Obviously she has not taken note of my statement in Niemeyer [1984] 88f.: “Die Hypothese ... hat demnach wenig für sich”); – cf. further the careful résumé by Culican (1991) 467-70; Bunnens (1995) 227ff.; Kuhrt (1995) II: 408-10.
113. Grayson (1976) § 586.597; cf. Bunnens (1995).
114. Grayson (1976) § 682.
115. Cf. the references in Bunnens (1995).
116. This seems to be valid against Aubet (1994) 89 as well as against Gitin (1997) 77-103; cf. Gitin (1998) 162-83.
117. See above and Niemeyer (1990a). It should be recalled that the founding of Euboean Pithekoussai belongs in another “pre-colonial” context: see Ridgway (1992) 11-31, 107-20.
118. The amount of recent historical research regarding Carthage is best demonstrated by the large bibliography in Huß (1994) 391-430 (!).
119. A very useful bibliography of the recent archaeological research is given by Ennabli (1992) 203-27; on the excavations of the Hamburger Archäologisches Institut in the Archaic living quarters on the Eastern slope of the Byrsa hill, see: Niemeyer & Docter *et al.* (1993) 201-244; Niemeyer (1989); Niemeyer, Docter & Rindelaub (1995) 475-502; Vegas (1989) 213-17; see further Rakob (1987) 333-49; Rakob (1991b) 33-80.
120. Rakob (1987) 349; Rakob (1989) 165; see also Docter (1997) 70.
121. This question for early times seems basically to be agreed upon (for this the real position of Malchus – at the end of the 6th century – is not relevant). Huß has made several remarks in this regard, cf. (1985) 458f.; arguing for the kingship is

- Ameling (1993) 67-71; sceptical, however, is Bondi (1995a) 295, whose argument that Carthage is lacking any archaeological trace of a palace, is not convincing considering the enormous levelling-work proven for the early Roman empire on Byrsa hill, where the palace probably was located together with the temple of the Carthaginian Baal.
122. Fantar (1984-86).
 123. Greene (1983) 130-8; Lund (1988) 44-57.
 124. Culican (1991) 495f.; Lancel (1992) 277-94.
 125. See Markoe (1990) & (1992-93).
 126. Likewise Huß (1985) 58.
 127. Huß (1985) 59-60.
 128. See Lancel (1992) 95-126 ("La cité tentaculaire, ou la formation d'un »empire«").
 129. Aubet (1994) 293-6; Niemeyer (1995b) 362; Niemeyer (1995a) 78.
 130. Cf. Docter (1997) Figs. 536-46; Docter (1994) 123-39.
 131. Lancel (1992) 103f.; Ameling (1993) 141-54.
 132. This is Ameling's opinion; see against, the review by H.G. Niemeyer, *JAOS* 116 (1996) 600f.
 133. This cannot be treated further here. Even in art history a survey of the problem is lacking.
 134. Cf. e.g. Millar (1983) 55-71; concerning aspects of art history, see now Boardman (1994) 49-74 ("The Semitic World and Spain").
 135. Niemeyer (1989b) 67-71; cf. Niemeyer & Docter *et al.* (1993) 237-9 Pl. 59.
 136. Rakob (1991) 58-69ff. Pl. 19-21; Rakob (1995) 420-40.
 137. See the excavation reports in Rakob (1991a), Lancel (1981); cf. Lancel (1992).
 138. Rakob (1991a) 239.
 139. Ameling (1993) 274; cf. J. Debergh (1995) 445f.
 140. See above, n. 129; an explicit revision of Isserlin (1973) 135-52, setting out from the well-known passage in Strabo 3.4.2 and his ἔχνη Ἑλληνικῆς πόλεως is not attempted here; cf. also Isserlin (1982) 113-27.
 141. See n. 119 for the preliminary reports; the final publication of the results is well under way.
 142. See Niemeyer, Docter & Rindelaub (1995) 477-84; for sanctuaries of similar size see Lancel (1995) 382.
 143. See above, n. 120.
 144. Cf. Rakob (1989) 156-64 Fig. 5; Vegas (1990) 33-56; Lancel (1992) 159.
 145. Falsone (1981); Niemeyer *et al.* (1988) 155-71.
 146. Otto (1995) 188-97; see also Isserlin (1982) 127f.
 147. Lancel (1992) 208f. ("Hypothèses sur les plus anciens ports"); cf. Lancel (1995) 383: "Les ports de l'époque archaïque se dérobent presque toujours à l'investigation". The cothon, the brickwall harbour-basin with firm wharf-walls, for which Phoenician harbour engineers were famous, is apparently a technical invention of the 5th century.
 148. Arteaga (1988) 127-41.
 149. See Niemeyer (1995a) 74f.
 150. Cf. Niemeyer (1995a) 75.
 151. See esp. Isserlin (1982) 115f., Fig. 2.
 152. Aubet (1997) 11-22.
 153. Niemeyer & Docter *et al.* (1993) 210f., Fig. 3. The new drawing is due to Peter Mlodoch, Hamburg.
 154. Hansen (1993) 7-29.
 155. Morris (1991) 40, sees "the first clear evidence" not before the 7th century.

156. Lang (1996) 58f., 61; cf. Drerup (1969) 51, 97f.
157. Sakellariou (1989) 377f.
158. Burckhardt (1898/1952) I: 59; cf. Günther (1996).

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