

***Hannibal ad portas!* Fact and Fiction on Carthage and the Punic World**

- ARCH 0530
- MWF 10.00-10.50
- Rhode Island Hall room 008

'Hannibal stands at the gates' are the words that Roman parents used to scare their kids and to conjure up an image of Hannibal as the Roman bogeyman. It were not just Roman kids, however, who were haunted by Hannibal; many centuries later, the Carthaginian general Hannibal Barca still fascinates the European imagination and his trek over the Alps with three dozen elephants has been depicted myriad times in paintings and movies as well as novels, operas and theater plays. This course explores fact and fiction about the Carthaginian general and his life world, holding up historical and mythical records against hard archaeological evidence.



The objectives of this course are to explore fact and fiction about the Carthaginian general and his life world: Carthage famously lost the three Punic Wars from Rome and as its history was written by Roman historians, it should not come as a surprise that Carthage and the wider Punic world of the West Mediterranean were depicted in often less than charitable terms. In this course we will compare the historical record against what archaeological research has revealed: we will examine the city of Carthage itself and its foundation, scrutinizing both the myth of Queen Dido and the actual archaeological evidence; we will investigate whether the Punic *tophet* offers evidence of child sacrifice; and we will consider the city's alleged colonial strategies and economic exploitation - all of this against the background of Hannibal and his world as Europe's bogeyman.



Course Organization

The course is articulated into three parts. The first four weeks examine Hannibal, the Punic world of his time and the Punic Wars. Weeks 5 to 11 then make up the backbone of the course, as we delve deeper into a range of aspects and topics of Carthaginian society and the Phoenician and Punic worlds. Weeks 12 and 13 look at 'what came after' the Punic Wars and the destruction of Carthage, that is Roman conquest and occupation and contemporary perceptions in the West.

Each week is dedicated to a single theme as listed on the course outline, with one of the lectures, usually the Friday one, mostly dedicated to discussion of the course readings. In addition, starting from week 3, three students will be assigned to act as discussants for the discussion and to post comments, questions and ideas on the course blog in preparation (details to be provided).

Practical Information

- Instructor: Peter van Dommelen (peter_van_dommelen@brown.edu)
Office hours: Mondays 2-3 pm and Wednesdays 11-12 am
Office: Rhode Island Hall, room 009 (basement)

Prerequisites: None

Course requirements and assessment:

- 10% quiz (in class, Friday February 13)
- 15% mid-term examination (in class, Friday March 20)
- 25% final examination (early May)
- 40% short writing assignments (three in number, making up respectively 10%, 10% and 20% of the assessment)
- 10% class participation and blogging.

Writing Assignments

1. 10%; due February 23: choose a famous Carthaginian person and write a short portrait of her or him (around 500 words).
2. 10%; due March 9: select a Phoenician or Punic site and describe it in around 750 words, including a number of maps, plans and photos as relevant.
3. 20%; due April 27: write an essay of 1800-2000 words to discuss the nature and intensity of Carthaginian involvement in one of the overseas regions of the Punic world. Make sure to have the topic approved by April 3.

Coursework has to be submitted through Canvas by the specified deadline. Late submission of coursework without prior consultation is likely to lead to a penalty in the form of a reduced grade.

Reading

You are required to read two to three papers every week: these are in part chapters from the two main text books used for this course and in part journal articles and chapters from other books (the latter will be made available as pdfs in Canvas). You are also advised to read the remainder of the two text books in your own time to help you familiarize yourself with the wider contexts of the Phoenician and Punic world. The following two books will be used in particular, which are available in the Brown Bookstore and in the library in the reserve holdings.

Aubet, M.E. 2001: *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies and Trade*. (2nd ed.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Miles, R. 2010: *Carthage Must Be Destroyed: The Rise and Fall of an Ancient Mediterranean Civilisation*. London: Allan Lane.

Course Outline and Reading Assignments

week 1 Introducing Hannibal

The first two lectures introduce both the course itself and the historical person of Hannibal, asking what we know about him and how reliable this information is.

- Jan 21
- Jan 23 Lancel 1998: 35-45; Miles 2010: 226-34

week 2 Hannibal's World

The lectures of this week zoom out from Hannibal himself to his life-world in Carthage and in the wider Punic world beyond.

- Jan 26
- Jan 28 Lancel 1995: 134-92 (ch.5)
- Jan 30 Hoyos 2010: 20-38 (ch.3); Serra Ridgway 1990

week 3 The Punic Wars

This week is dedicated to the three wars between Carthage and Rome, with particular attention to the Second Punic War, which featured Hannibal's crossing of the Alps and campaigning across South Italy.

- Feb 2
- Feb 4 Miles 2010: 235-307 (chs. 10-12)
- Feb 6 Rossi 2004; Mahaney *et al.* 2010

week 4 Carthage Must Be Destroyed

The events leading up to the eventual sack of Carthage are the starting point to reflect on the consequences of the Punic Wars for Hannibal, the Punic World and the West Mediterranean at large.

- Feb 9
- Feb 11 Lancel 1995: 361-95 (ch.9); Lancel 1998: 158-85 (ch.7); Miles 2010: 308-73 (chs.13-15)
- Feb 13 quiz

week 5 Iron Age Connections

Phoenician expansion did not take place in a vacuum but was part of a series of wider and longer-term processes that encompassed the entire Mediterranean.

(University Long Weekend)

- Feb 18
- Feb 20 Aubet 2010; Markoe 2000: 14-67 (ch.1); Nijboer and van der Plicht 2006

week 6 The Rise of Carthage

How did Carthage develop? This week, we track the city's develop from its foundation onwards and follow its expansion in North Africa and overseas.

- Feb 23
- Feb 25 Niemeyer 1990
- Feb 27 Lancel 1995: 35-77 (ch.2); López Castro 2006

week 7 Carthaginian Expansion

These lectures examine in depth how Carthaginian rule and influence were organized overseas, comparing several regions around the West Mediterranean that interacted intensively with Carthage.

- March 2
- March 4 Aubet 2006
- March 6 van Dommelen 2005; Aranegui Gascó and Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez 2014

week 8 Death and Ritual

The *tophet* is a notorious Carthaginian institution that nevertheless remains poorly understood. In this week, we examine it in the broader context of death, funerary customs and ritual traditions.

- March 9
- March 11 Gómez Bellard 2014; Schwartz *et al.* 2012
- March 13 Quinn 2013; López-Bertran 2011

week 9 Everyday Life

What was life like in the Punic World? A number of aspects of everyday life are explored in different parts of the Punic World.

- March 16
- March 18 Delgado Hervás and Ferrer Martín 2011; 2012
- **March 20 mid-term exam**

(Spring Recess: March 23-27)

week 10 Rural Settlement and Agrarian Production

Given the importance of grain for Carthage, where did most agrarian resources come from and how was agriculture organized? This week's lectures examine the evidence for rural life and production in various regions of the Punic World.

- March 30
- April 1 Roppa 2014; van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard 2008: 202-240 (chs.8-9)
- April 3 Roppa and van Dommelen 2012

week 11 Resistance and Romanization

How did the once-Punic regions fare, after they had been conquered by Rome and were incorporated into the Roman Republic? What became of Punic traditions and beliefs?

- April 6
- April 8 Jiménez 2008
- April 10 Quinn 2010; Jiménez 2014

week 12 Representing Carthage

Why is Hannibal so well-known and the Phoenician-Punic world in general so much less? Why are Carthage and the Punic world not seen as part of Classical Antiquity? The concluding lectures explore the 'afterlife' of Punic world and its perception and representation in the (post)modern world.

- April 13
- April 15 Vella 2014
- April 17 Fumadó Ortega 2013; Lafrenz Samuels 2012

week 13 Conclusions

The final week is dedicated to discussion and revisiting of key topics as well as for preparing the final essay and exam.

Reading List

- Aranegui Gascó, C. and J. Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez 2014: More than neighbours. Punic-Iberian connections in south-east Iberia, in J. Quinn and N. Vella (eds), *The Punic Mediterranean. Identities and Identification from Phoenician Settlement to Roman Rule*. (British School at Rome Studies). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 243-56.
- Aubet, M.E. 2006: On the organization of the Phoenician colonial system in Iberia, in C. Riva and N. Vella (eds), *Debating Orientalization. Multidisciplinary Approaches to Processes of Change in the Ancient Mediterranean*. (Monographs in Mediterranean archaeology 10). London: Equinox, 94-109.
- Aubet, M.E. 2010: The Phoenician cemetery of Tyre, *Near Eastern Archaeology* 73.2-3: 144-55.
- Delgado Hervás, A. and M. Ferrer Martín 2011: Representing communities in heterogeneous worlds: staple foods and ritual practices in the Phoenician diaspora, in G. Aranda-Jiménez, S. Montón-Subías and M. Sánchez-Romero (eds), *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner. Feasting Rituals in the Prehistoric Societies of Europe and the Near East*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 184-203.
- Delgado Hervás, A. and M. Ferrer Martín 2012: Life and death in ancient colonies. Domesticity, material culture, and sexual politics in the Western Phoenician World, eighth–sixth centuries BCE, in B. Voss and E. Casella (eds), *The Archaeology of Colonialism: Intimate Encounters and Sexual Effects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 195-213.
- Fumadó Ortega, I. 2013: Colonial representations and Carthaginian archaeology, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 32.1: 53-72.
- Gómez Bellard, C. 2014: Death among the Punics, in J. Quinn and N. Vella (eds), *The Punic Mediterranean. Identities and Identification from Phoenician Settlement to Roman Rule*. (British School at Rome Studies). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 69-75.
- Jiménez, A. 2008: A critical approach to the concept of resistance: new 'traditional' rituals and objects in funerary contexts of Roman *Baetica*, in C. Fenwick, M. Wiggins and D. Wythe (eds), *TRAC 2007. Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference London 2007*. Oxford: Oxbow books, 15-30.
- Jiménez, A. 2014: Punic after Punic times? The case of the so-called 'Libyphoenician' coins of southern Iberia, in J. Quinn and N. Vella (eds), *The Punic Mediterranean. Identities and Identification from Phoenician Settlement to Roman Rule*. (British School at Rome Studies). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 219-42.
- Hoyos, D. 2010: *The Carthaginians*. (Peoples of the Ancient World). London: Routledge.
- Lafrenz Samuels, K. 2012: Roman archaeology and the making of heritage citizens in Tunisia, in D. Totten and K. Lafrenz Samuels (eds), *Making Roman Places, Past and Present. Papers presented at the first Critical Roman Archaeology Conference held at Stanford University in March, 2008*. (Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 89). Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 159-70.
- Lancel, S. 1995: *Carthage. A History*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lancel, S. 1998: *Hannibal*. (Blackwell Ancient Lives). Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- López-Bertran, M. 2011: Where are the priests? Ritual mastery in Punic shrines, in A. Chaniotis (ed.), *Ritual Dynamics in the Ancient Mediterranean: Agency, Emotion, Gender, Representation*. (Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 49). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 43-60.
- López Castro, J.L. 2006: Colonials, merchants and alabaster vases: the western Phoenician aristocracy, *Antiquity* 80.307: 74-88.
- Mahaney, W., P. Tricart, C. Carcaillet, A. Ali, J. Argant, R. Barendregt and V. Kalm 2010: Hanniba's invasion route: an age-old question revisited within a geoarchaeological and palaeobotanical context, *Archaeometry* 52.6: 1096-109.
- Markoe, G. 2000: *Phoenicians*. (Peoples of the Past). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Niemeyer, H.G. 1990: The Phoenicians in the Mediterranean: a non-Greek model for expansion and settlement in Antiquity, in J.P. Descoeudres (ed.), *Greek Colonists and Native Populations (Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology Held in Honour of Emeritus Professor A. D. Trendall, Sydney 9-14 July 1985)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 469-489.
- Nijboer, A. and H. Van der Plicht 2006: An interpretation of the radiocarbon determinations of the oldest indigenous-Phoenician stratum thus far, excavated at Huelva, Tartessos (south-west Spain), *BABesch* 81: 31-36.
- Quinn, J. 2010: Reinventing Lepcis. In A. Jiménez Díez (ed.), 'Colonising a Colonised Territory. Settlements with Punic Roots in Roman Times', in M. Dalla Riva and H. Di Giuseppe (eds), *Meetings between Cultures in the Ancient Mediterranean. Proceedings of the 17th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Rome 22-26 sept. 2008*. (Bollettino di Archeologia Online 0, volume speciale). Rome: Ministero per i Beni e le

- Attività Culturali, 62-69;
http://151.12.58.75/archeologia/bao_document/articoli/8_van%20Dommelen_response.pdf.
- Quinn, J. 2013: Tophets in the Punic world, in P. Xella (ed.), *The Tophet in the Phoenician Mediterranean*. (Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente 30). Verona: Essedue Edizioni, 23-48.
- Roppa, A. 2014: Identifying Punic Sardinia: local communities and cultural identities, in J. Quinn and N. Vella (eds), *The Punic Mediterranean. Identities and Identification from Phoenician Settlement to Roman Rule*. (British School at Rome Studies). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 257-81.
- Roppa, A. and P. van Dommelen 2012: Rural settlement and land use in Punic and Roman Republican Sardinia, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 25: 49-68.
- Rossi, A. 2004: Parallel lives: Hannibal and Scipio in Livy's Third Decade, *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 134.2: 359-81.
- Schwartz, J., F. Houghton, L. Bondioli and R. Macchiarelli 2012: Bones, teeth, and estimating age of perinates: Carthaginian infant sacrifice revisited, *Antiquity* 86.333: 738-45.
- Serra Ridgway, F. 1990: Etruscans, Greeks, Carthaginians, in J.P. Descoeudres (ed.), *Greek Colonists and Native Populations (Proceedings of the first Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology Held in Honour of Emeritus Professor A. D. Trendall, Sydney 9-14 July 1985)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 512-30.
- van Dommelen, P. 2005: Colonial interactions and hybrid practices. Phoenician and Carthaginian settlement in the ancient Mediterranean, in G. Stein (ed.), *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters. Comparative Perspectives*. (School of American Research Advanced Seminars Series). Santa Fe and Oxford: School of American Research Press, 109-41.
- van Dommelen, P. and C. Gómez Bellard 2008: *Rural Landscapes of the Punic World*. (Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology 11). London: Equinox.
- Vella, N. 2014: The invention of the Phoenicians: on object definition, decontextualization and display, in J. Quinn and N. Vella (eds), *The Punic Mediterranean. Identities and Identification from Phoenician Settlement to Roman Rule*. (British School at Rome Studies). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 11-23.