Carthage and Roman North Africa

Hannibal's army crossing the Alps

ALRI History 303
Spring Semester 2011

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Introductory Notes:

***Spelling:** The spelling of personal and place names of the Carthaginians (Phoenicians) is only a matter of convention. Our sources are Greek, Roman, and Semitic and involve transliterations among three alphabets, all of which have changed from their ancient forms. This is further complicated by the fact that modern scholarly research and publication has been carried out in several modern languages (mostly French, Italian, Spanish, English [British and American versions), German, Greek, and Arabic with a smattering of others, e.g., Polish) all of which have their own spelling idiosyncracies. You will, therefore, find variant spellings in the readings, with which you will just have to deal – I have neither the time nor the inclination to make them all the same.*

***Elephants:** War elephants were used in the Asia subcontinent long before they were introduced in Mediterranean warfare. The first to use them in the Mediterranean, as far as we know, was Pyrrhus of Epirus, a Greek general and statesman of the Hellenistic era. He was one of the strongest opponents of early Rome. In 281 BC he intervened in southern Italy to help Greek colonies fight off Roman expansion, also fighting the Carthaginians who were expanding their colonies in Sicily also at the expense of Greek colonies. The Romans captured some of his elephants and tried to use them against him, but they abandoned the effort because the elephants were not really manageable. The Carthaginians took the elephant idea and ran with it, incorporating elephants into their armies. In the final analysis, the elephants were more trouble for the Carthaginians than they were worth; the Romans leaned to deal with them, how to panic them into turning back on the Carthaginians, and if necessary how to kill them quite efficiently.*

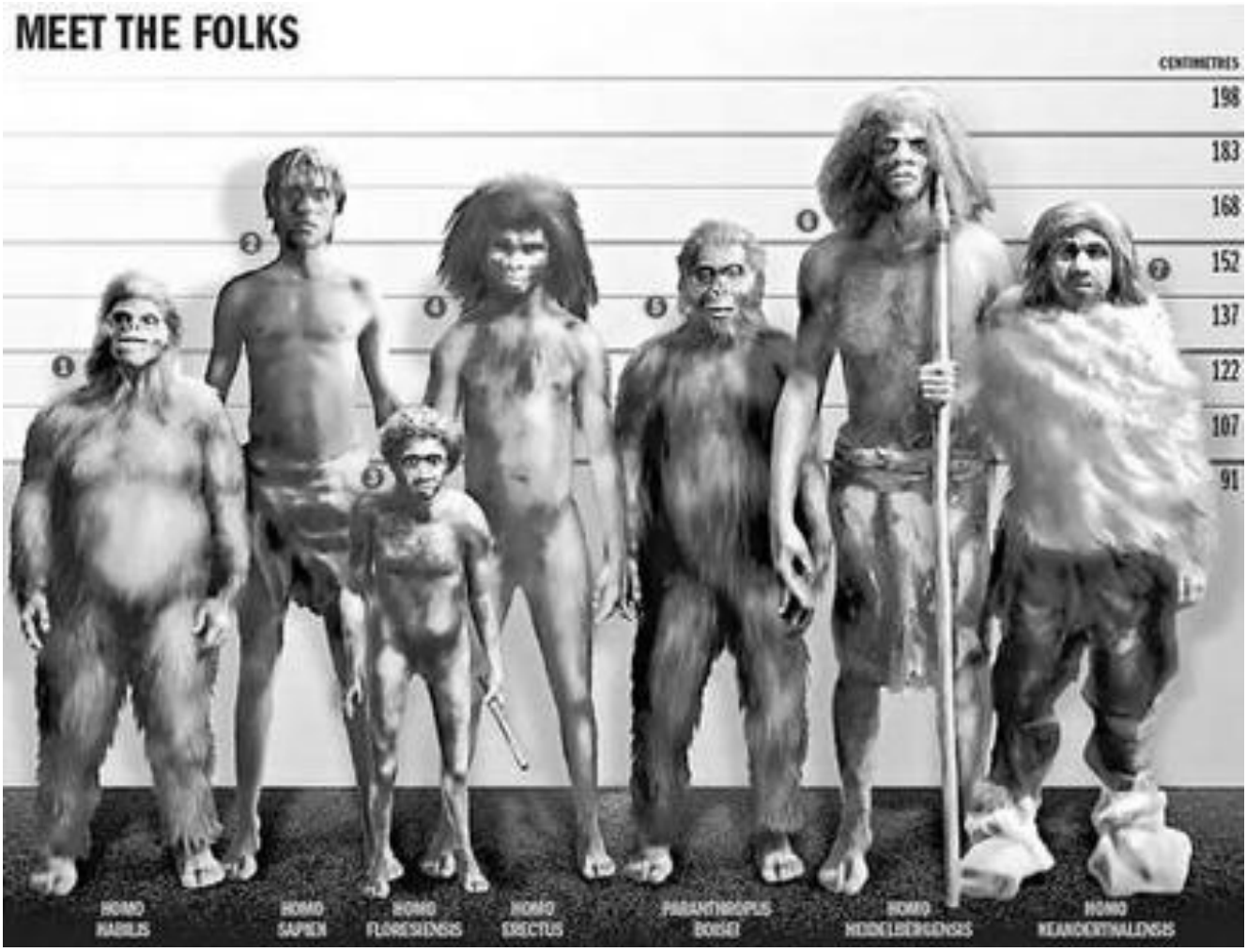
***Armies:** Roman armies -- infantry and cavalry -- at the time of the Punic Wars were citizen armies. Carthaginian armies were almost entirely mercenaries – fore religious and political reasons the Carthaginians never extended citizenship to their cinquerred neighbors. The Roman population advantage proved decisive.*

***Infant sacrifice:** The scholarly majority still believes that the Carthaginians sacrificed their kids. Periodically, individual scholars and university departments publish papers that say otherwise, but they are not widely accepted. Many Tunisian scholars and, to a lesser extent, Lebanese scholars say that stories of infant sacrifice were (and are) enemy propaganda.*

***Tenure:** The ancient Romans held Carthage longer than the ancient Carthaginians did. Neither holds it now.*

I – Autochthons – Prehistory

1



HOMO HABILIS ~ NICKNAME: Handyman LIVED: 2.4 to 1.6 million years ago HABITAT: Tropical Africa DIET: Omnivorous – nuts, seeds, tubers, fruits, some meat

2 HOMO SAPIEN ~ NICKNAME: Human LIVED: 200,000 years ago to present HABITAT: All DIET: Omnivorous - meat, vegetables, tubers, nuts, pizza, sushi

3 HOMO FLORESIENSIS ~ NICKNAME: Hobbit LIVED: 95,000 to 13,000 years ago HABITAT: Flores, Indonesia (tropical) DIET: Omnivorous - meat included pygmy stegodon, giant rat

4 HOMO ERECTUS ~ NICKNAME: Erectus LIVED: 1.8 million years to 100,000 years ago HABITAT: Tropical to temperate - Africa, Asia, Europe DIET: Omnivorous - meat, tubers, fruits, nuts

5 PARANTHROPUS BOISEI ~ NICKNAME: Nutcracker man LIVED: 2.3 to 1.4 million years ago HABITAT: Tropical Africa DIET: Omnivorous - nuts, seeds, leaves, tubers, fruits, maybe some meat

6 HOMO HEIDELBERGENSIS ~ NICKNAME: Goliath LIVED: 700,000 to 300,000 years ago HABITAT: Temperate and tropical, Africa and Europe DIET: Omnivorous - meat, vegetables, tubers, nuts

7 HOMO NEANDERTHALENSIS ~ NICKNAME: Neanderthal LIVED: 250,000 to 30,000 years ago HABITAT: Europeand Western Asia DIET: Relied heavily on meat, such as bison, deer and musk ox

I, a

1. Aterian Industry

The Aterian is the name given to a distinctive stone tool industry made by early modern humans between about 80,000 and 40,000 years ago. The tools are found on sites in northern Africa between the Atlantic coast to the Kharga Oasis and the western edge of the Nile river basin.

"The Aterian industry has been recognized as such since 1919 when Reygasse published the type site of Bir-el-Ater near Tebessa in Tunisia. The following year he gave it the specific name"---1946, G. Canton- Thompson, "The Aterian Industry: Its Place And Significance In The Paleolithic World,"

"The Aterian is one of the most widely distributed Paleolithic industries of North Africa, extending from the Atlantic almost to the Nile Valley and throughout much of the Sahara.".---1975, C. Reid Ferring, "The Aterian In North Africa Prehistory," pp. 113-126.

"By 30,000 years ago a period of increasing desiccation (drying up) in the Sahara led to the abandonment of most Aterian sites.".---1988, Ian Tattersall, Eric Delson & John Van Couvering, "Encyclopedia of human Evolution and Prehistory," p. 62

"(The Aterian) is distinguished by the use of different kinds of tanged, or stemmed, points, suitable for inserting into handles or attaching as heads of spears, and similar projectiles."---1971, J. Desmond Clark, "African Beginnings," p. 29.

[Makers of Aterian artifacts are usually assumed to have been Cro-Magnons, i.e., early modern homo sapiens. Some sources, however, say that late Neanderthals also may have made Aterian artifacts.]

The Aterian industry is a name given by archaeologists to a type of stone tool manufacturing dating to the middle Palaeolithic in the region around the Atlas Mountains and the north west Sahara.

The Aterian Industry was named after the type site called Bir el Ater located in northwestern Africa in the country of Tunisia. The earliest Aterian sites are believed to be well over 40,000 years old. An Aterian kill site called BT-14, located 350 kilometers west of the Nile, produced a carbon date from shell of 44,190 plus or minus 1,380 years. Forty thousand years ago, northern Africa was a green savanna grassland. The Aterian people were spreading out into what is today the Sahara desert. This climatic improvement also brought large numbers of grazing animals. The Aterian site called BT-14 is described as a huge Aterian kill site. Aterian hunters were taking both large and small species such as, white rhinoceros, extinct camel, large bovid, wild ass, gazelle, fox, jackal, warthog, antelopes, ostrich, turtle and birds. Aterian sites end about 30,000 years ago when climate change forced the abandonment of most sites when the grasslands of the Sahara began drying up.

The artifacts were created by ancient humans (crania found in relation to the points do not look anatomically modern). They could have been created by a late Homo Ergaster. There is not enough evidence to know for sure.

The Aterian culture dates to the late middle Paleolithic period, sometime before 40,000 years ago and came to an end about 30,000 years ago. Aterian points were developed out of the Mousterian stone tool industry characterized by Levallois technology. Large numbers of these points were made over a wide area of North Africa. They were used to hunt many different species of grazing animals such as white rhinoceros, extinct camel, gazelle and antelopes.

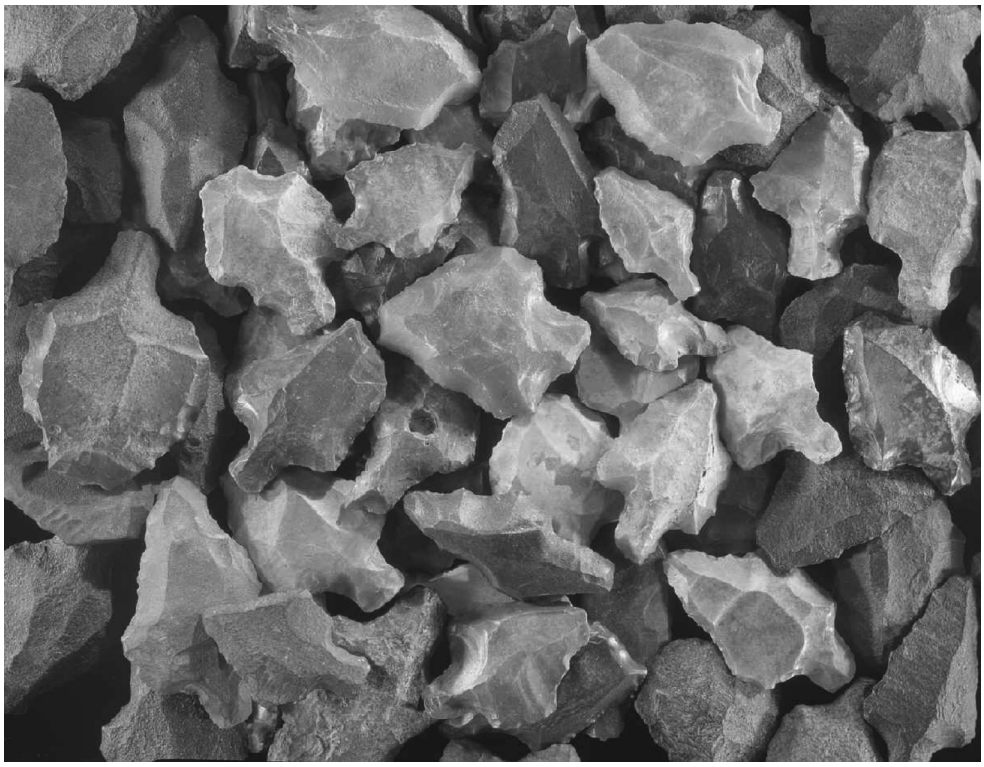
The Aterian industry developed out of Mousterian stone tool technology. Their blades were produced from cores made with Levallois technology. It's interesting to note that most human fossils associated with Mousterian industries are Neanderthals. But archaic modern humans have been found associated with Mousterian sites from Morocco to Israel. The Aterian people were using Neanderthal stone tool manufacturing techniques but they themselves were probably early modern humans. Discoidal and tortoise cores produced by Levallois technology is a more wasteful process if compared to later core and blade technology that developed during the Aurignacian period. But the older technology, as shown in the archaeological record, worked quite well.

Bifacially-worked leaf shaped and tanged projectile points are a common artifact type and so are racloirs and Levallois flakes. Aterian tanged points are one of the oldest types projectile points. The smaller examples are thought to have been used on darts or spears that were thrown by atlatls. The issue has been controversial though. Archaeologist like G. Canton-Thompson suggested, as early as 1946, that Aterian points were used on arrows. But, in recent years, the most accepted device is the atlatl instead of the bow. Archaeologist Michael A. Hoffman wrote in 1984, "----these artifacts (Aterian points) seem at once too big and too bulky to have been used as projectile points on primitive arrows. ----they were probably employed as dart points in spear throwers, certainly not as arrowheads."

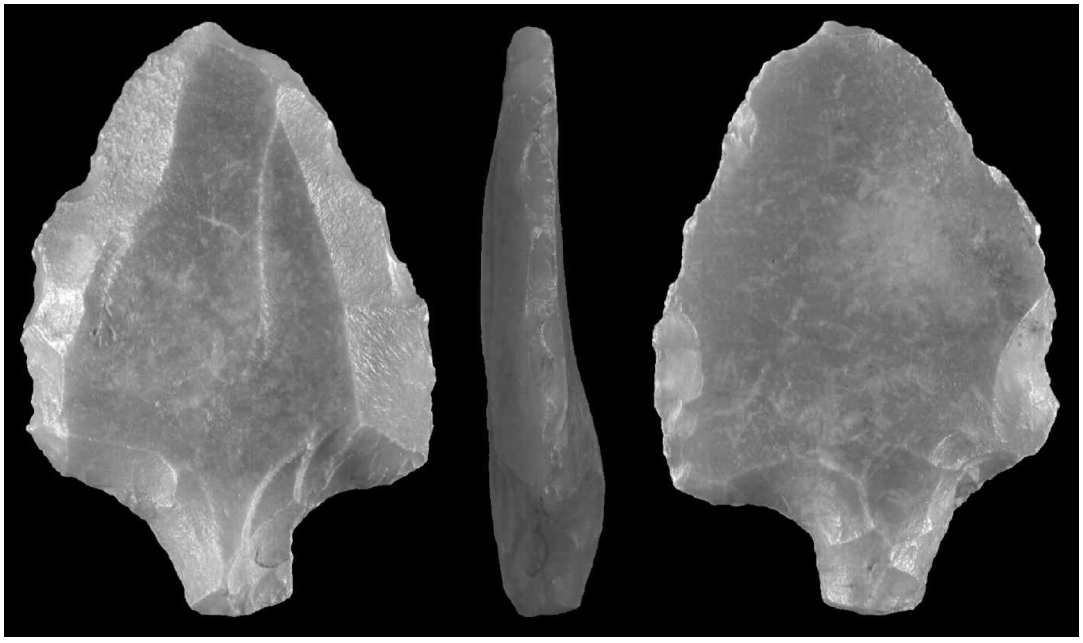
Aterian points vary considerably in size from a little over an inch (3 cm) to about 8 or 9 inches (20 to 22 cm) long. The smaller points were undoubtedly used on darts or spears that were thrown by atlatls. The larger examples may have been used on thrusting spears or as knives.

Tanged or stemmed Aterian points are heavy duty points of simple design. They were made from thick flakes that were flaked to a point on one end and notched on either side of the bulb-of-percussion to form wide shoulders and a tang on the other end. Most examples are bifacially flaked on the stem and one side only. Aterian points are not the most skillfully crafted projectile point but they were obviously a successful design.

Aterian stemmed points were made from a range of high and low quality materials. The majority of the examples in the collection shown here were made from various cherts of fairly good quality. A very few of them are made of a semi-translucent material that might compare to good quality agate or chalcedony. Several others are made from a grainy material that may be basalt. The majority of these points are heavily patinated with a desert varnish caused by wind blown sand.

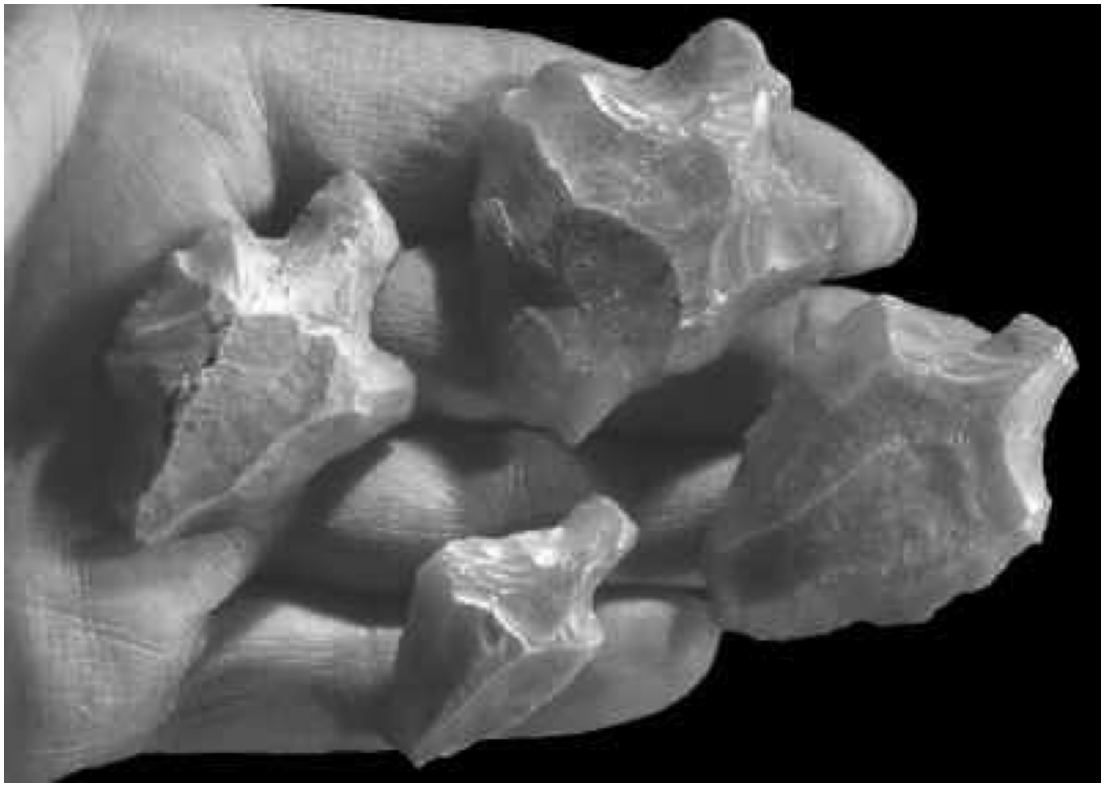


← This picture shows a large number of tanged Aterian points that are reported to have been collected on sites in southern Morocco. They were all made from simple thick flakes struck from cores. Tanged Aterian points are very heavy duty projectile points. The smaller examples (they are reported up to 8 or 9 inches (20 to 22 cm) long) are believed to have been hafted onto darts or spears that were thrown by atlatls (spear throwers). These points were used to hunt large grazing animals such as white rhinoceros, extinct camels and large bovine (ox-like or cow-like). They were also used to hunt smaller animals like gazelle, fox, jackal, warthog, antelopes and ostrich. The points illustrated here were made from a variety of different cherts and some that appear to be Basalt or Rhyolite. They range in size from 2 5/8 inches (6.6 cm) long to1 5/16 inches (3.3 cm) long. Thickness ranges from 1/4 of an inch (5.5 mm) to 9/16 of an inch (1.4 cm).



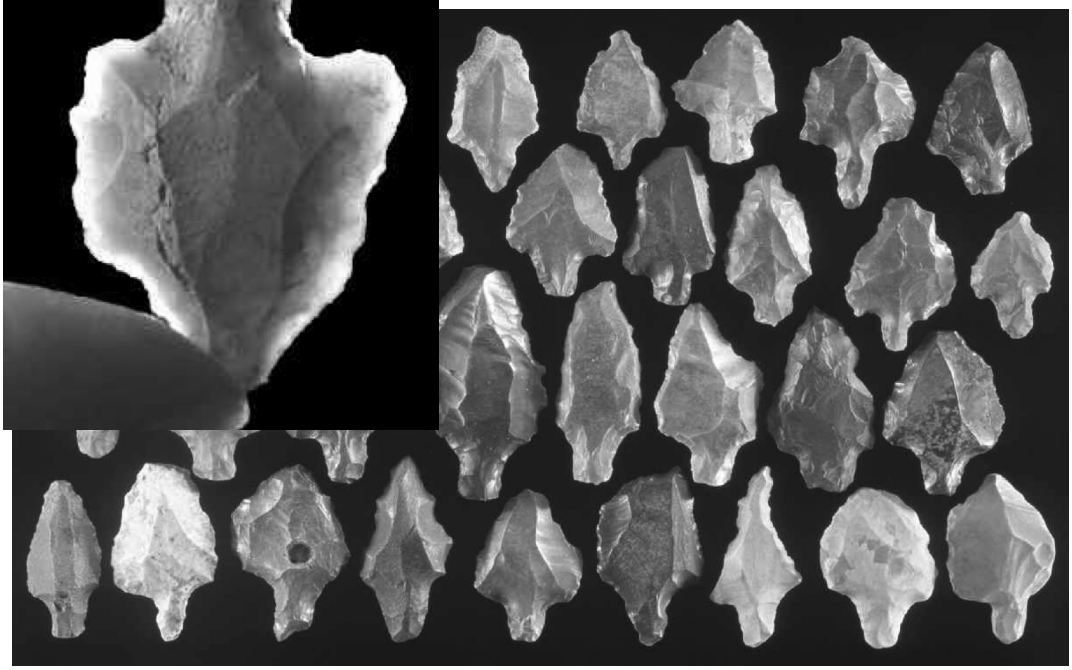
← This picture shows three views of a good representative example of a tanged Aterian point. It was made on a thick flake that was trimmed to a point on one end and notched on both sides of the bulb-of-percussion on the other end to form the tang. The center edge view shows the thicker bulb-of-percussion at the stem or tang hafting element. This point was made from very good quality semi-translucent chert that is represented by only 3.5 percent of the 70 examples illustrated in this article. It's also heavily patinated with desert varnish caused from

wind blown sand. This point measures 1 7/8 inches (4.8 cm) long, 1 1/4 inches (3.2 cm) wide and 3/8 of an inch (9 mm) thick.



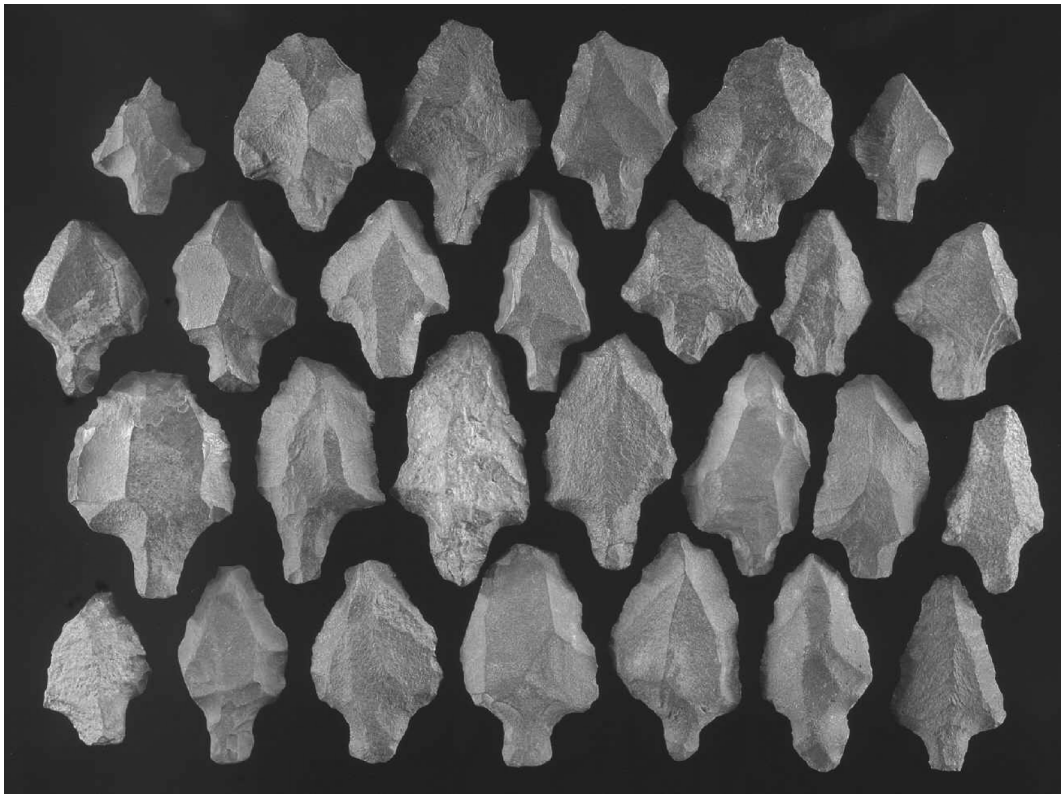
← These four tanged or stemmed Aterian points are made of a very good quality semi-translucent chert. They all have a heavy surface patina and are smoothed on the surface from wind blown sand. The smallest example at the bottom measures 1 3/8 inches (33.5 cm) long.

←This picture shows one of five or six examples of tanged Aterian points, illustrated in this report, that were made from a fine quality semi-translucent chert. This point measures 1 3/4 inches (4.4 cm cm) long, 1 3/16 inches (3 cm) wide and 3/8 of an inch (9 mm) thick.

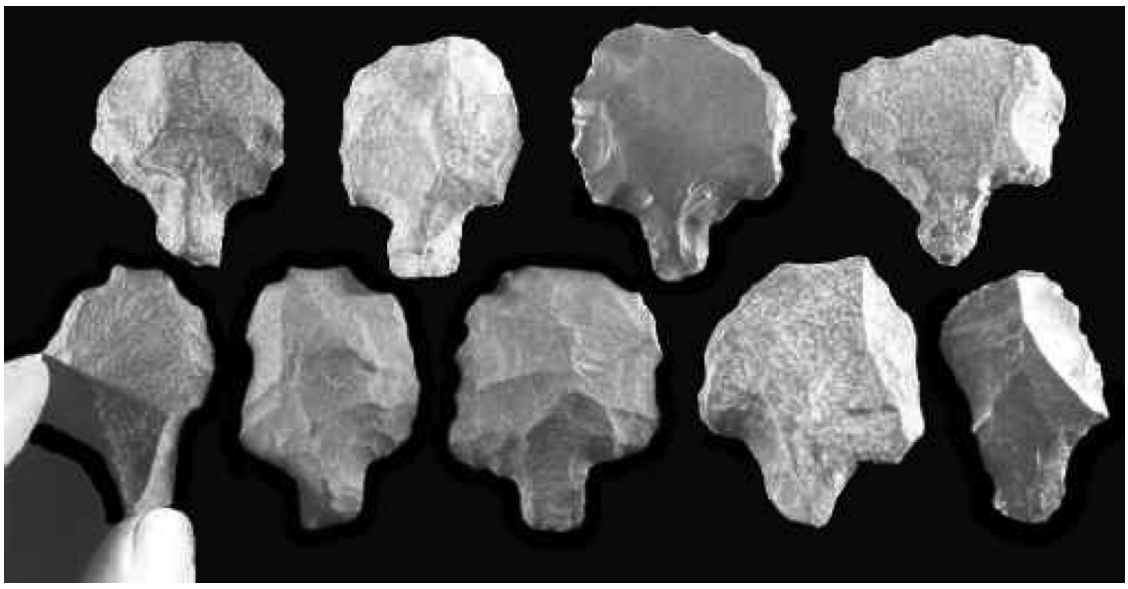


The 33 tanged Aterian points pictured here are

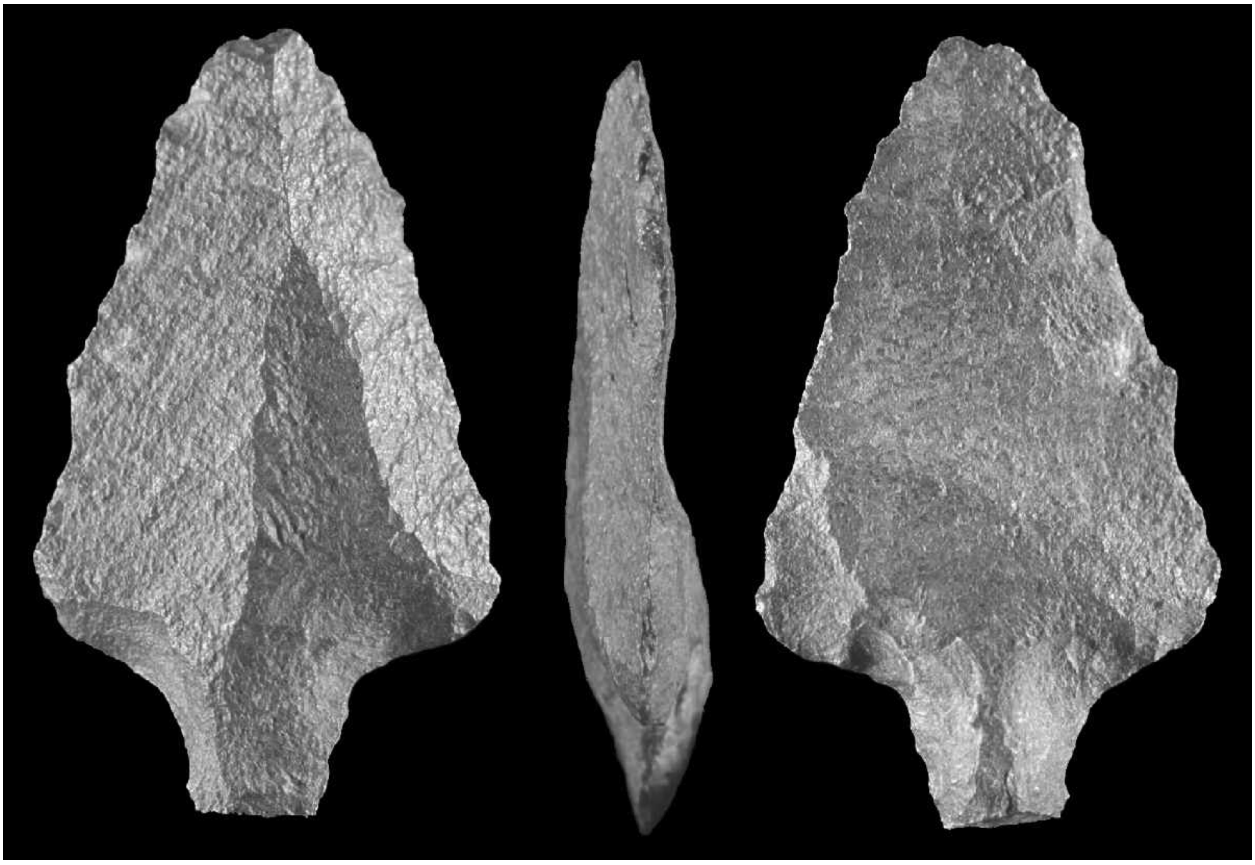
reported to have come from sites located in southern Morocco. They represent typical examples of projectile points from the Aterian stone tool manufacturing industry. These points were made from various types of cherts of good quality. They range in size from the largest example in the center, 2 5/8 inches (6.6 cm) long to the smallest located at far right second row, 1 5/16 inches (3.3 cm) long.



← The 27 tanged Aterian points pictured here are reported to have been collected on sites in southern Morocco. They are all typical examples of Aterian dart or spear points that were made from thick flakes. Their opposite sides remain unaltered except for bifacial flaking to shape the stem or tang hafting element. The points illustrated here were made from a dull grainy material that appears to be basalt. They range in size from 1 1/2 inches (3.8 cm) long to 2 5/8 inches (6.6 cm) long.



←The Aterian lithic complex also contains hafted scrapers. These 9 examples were reported to have been found on sites in southern Morocco. The scraper located at bottom center measures 1 15/16 inches (5 cm) long.



This is an enlarged view of a typical tanged Aterian point. It was reported to have been collected on a site in southern Morocco. This point was made from a flake that was trimmed to a point on one end and notched on both sides of the bulb-of-percussion on the other to form the tang. The edge view in the center gives a good view of the bulb-of-percussion, located on the tang, where the original flake, that was used to make this point, was originally detached from the core. This point is made of a dark grainy material that appears to be basalt. It measures 2 inches (5.1 cm) long, 1 1/8 inches (2.8 cm) wide and 3/8 inch (1 cm) thick.

2. Capsian Culture

The Capsian culture (named after the town of Gafsa) was a Mesolithic culture of the Maghreb, which lasted from about 10000 BC to 6000 BC. It was concentrated mainly in modern Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, with some sites attested in Cyrenaica (Libya). It is traditionally divided into two variants (often contemporaneous): traditional Capsian, characterized by flake and blade tools, and upper Capsian, with a much greater variety of geometric microliths. Bone tools were also used, and shell beads and decorated objects were made. Capsian sites are typically accompanied by shell mounds and dark-colored ash deposits; some involve caves, while others are open-air. They are often near springs or passes.

During this period, the area's climate was open savannah, much like modern East Africa, with Mediterranean forests at higher altitudes. The Capsians' diet included a wide variety of animals - many no longer present in the area - ranging from aurochs and hartebeests to hares and snails; there is little evidence on what plants they ate.

Anatomically, the Capsians (to use a loose expression) were modern Homo sapiens, classed in two "racial" types: Mechta-Afalou and Proto-mediterranean. Some (eg Ferenbach 1985) have argued that they were immigrants from the east, whereas others (eg Lubell et al. 1984) argue for population continuity based on physical skeletal characteristics.

It was in the early Capsian period that the first domesticated sheep and goats appear in the area.

Nothing is known about Capsian religion, but their burial methods suggest a belief in an afterlife. Decorative art is widely found at their sites, including figurative and abstract rock art, and ocher is found coloring both tools and corpses. It has been suggested that several rock paintings from Tassili n'Ajjer depict the shamanic use of hallucinogenic mushrooms [1], however, this interpretation remains controversial. Ostrich eggshells were used to make beads and containers; seashells were used for necklaces. The Iberomaurusian practice of evulsion of the central incisors continued sporadically, but became rarer.

The Capsian culture is often identified by historical linguists as having brought the ancestor of the modern Berber languages to North Africa.

The Eburran culture of the 13th-8th millennia BC in Kenya is also termed the "Kenya Capsian", due to similarities in the stone blade shapes; it is unclear whether this culture is to be linked with the North African Capsian culture.

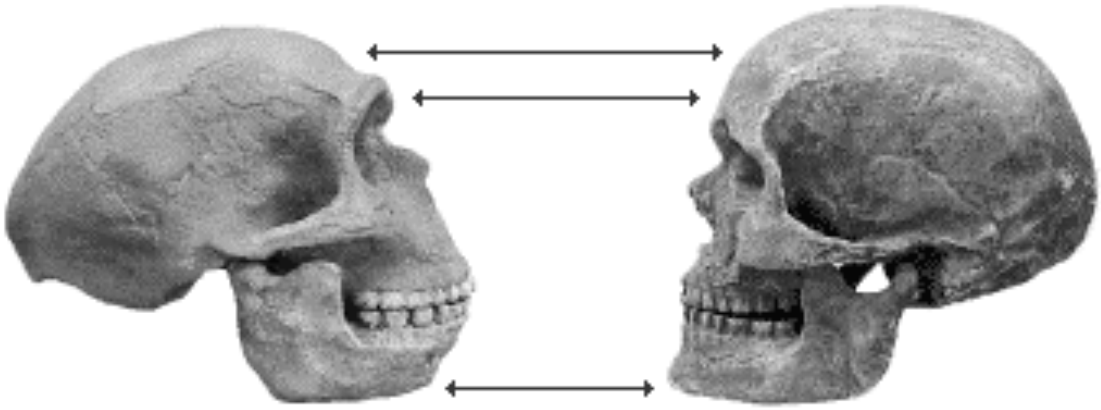
I, b

Early Modern Homo sapiens

From http://anthro.palomar.edu/homo2/mod_homo_4.htm

All people today are classified as *Homo sapiens sapiens*--i.e., the *sapiens* variety of the species *Homo sapiens*. They first began to appear 130,000 years ago or somewhat earlier in association with technologies not unlike those of the early Neandertals. It is now clear that they did not come after the Neandertals but were their contemporaries.

Compared to the Neandertals and other late archaic *Homo sapiens*, modern humans generally have more delicate skeletons. Their skulls are more rounded and their brow ridges protrude less. They also have relatively high foreheads and pointed chins.



Neandertal **modern *Homo sapiens***

The first fossils of early modern humans to be identified were found in 1868 in a 30,000 year old rock shelter site near the village of Les Eyzies in southwestern France. They were subsequently named the Cro-Magnon people. They were very similar in appearance to modern Europeans. Males were 5 feet 4 inches to 6 feet tall (1.6-1.8 m.) That was 4-12 inches (10-31 cm.) taller than Neandertals. Their skeletons and musculature generally were less massive than the Neandertals. The Cro-Magnon had broad, small faces with pointed chins and high foreheads. Their cranial capacities were up to 1590 cm3, which is relatively large even for people today.

Origins of Modern Humans

Current data suggest that modern humans evolved from archaic *Homo sapiens* primarily in East Africa. A 160,000 year old skull from the Herto site in the Middle Awash area of Ethiopia seems to be at the beginning of this transition. It had the rounded skull case of modern people but retained the large brow ridges of archaic *Homo sapiens*. Somewhat more advanced transitional forms have been found at Omo in Ethiopia and Laetoli in Tanzania dating to about 130,000 and 120,000 years ago respectively. By 115,000 years ago, early modern humans had expanded their range to South Africa and into Southwest Asia shortly after 100,000 years ago. Evidently, they did not appear elsewhere in the Old World until 60,000-40,000 years ago. This was during a short temperate period in the midst of the last ice age.

Important Early Modern Homo sapiens Sites

Years Ago (approximate)

East Africa:
Herto, Middle Awash [1]
160,000-154,000
Omo
130,000
Laetoli
120,000
South Africa:
Border Cave
115,000-90,000
Klasies River Mouth
90,000
Israel:
Skhul and Qafzeh
92,000
Australia:
Lake Mungo
60,000-46,000
Europe: [2]
Pes¸tera cu Oase (Romania)
36,000-34,000
Mladeã and Pfiedmostí (Czech Republic)
35,000-25,000
Cro-Magnon (France)
30,000-23,000
Northwest Africa
Before 30,000 [3]

1 The Herto fossils were at the beginning of the transition from archaic Homo sapiens to modern humans and had anatomical characteristics of both.

2 Artifactual evidence indicates that modern humans were in Europe and Asia by at least 40,000 years ago.

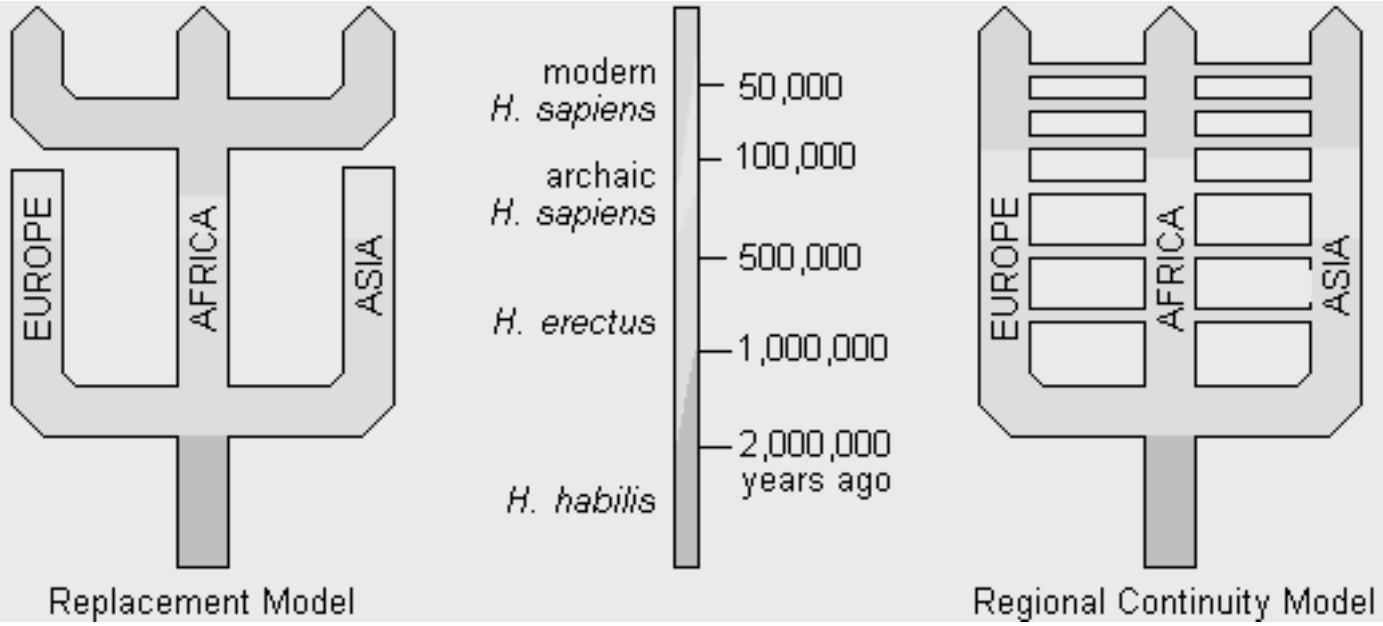
3 Northwest Africa had a large Cro-Magnon (cognate) population and was the probable source of early Homo sapiens population of Iberia and France

It would seem from these dates that the location of initial modern *Homo sapiens* evolution and the direction of their dispersion from that area is obvious. That is not the case. Since the early 1980's, there have been two leading contradictory models that attempt to explain modern human evolution--the replacement model and the regional continuity model.

The replacement model of Christopher Stringer and Peter Andrews proposes that modern humans evolved from archaic *Homo sapiens* 200,000-150,000 years ago only in Africa and then

some of them migrated into the rest of the Old World replacing all of the Neandertals and other late archaic *Homo sapiens* beginning around 100,000 years ago. If this interpretation of the fossil record is correct, all people today share a relatively modern African ancestry. All other lines of humans that had descended from *Homo erectus* presumably became extinct. From this view, the regional anatomical differences that we see among humans today are recent developments--evolving mostly in the last 40,000 years. This hypothesis is also referred to as the "out of Africa", "Noah's ark" and "African replacement" model.

The regional continuity (or multiregional evolution) model advocated by Milford Wolpoff, of the University of Michigan, proposes that modern humans evolved more or less simultaneously in all major regions of the Old World from local archaic *Homo sapiens*. For example, modern Chinese are seen as having evolved from Chinese archaic *Homo sapiens* and ultimately from Chinese *Homo erectus*. This would mean that the Chinese and some other peoples in the Old World have great antiquity in place. Supporters of this model believe that the ultimate common ancestor of all modern people was an early *Homo erectus* in Africa who lived at least 1.8 million years ago. It is further suggested that since then there was sufficient gene flow between Europe, Africa, and Asia to prevent long-term reproductive isolation and the subsequent evolution of distinct regional species. It is argued that intermittent contact between people of these distant areas would have kept the human line a single species at any one time. However, regional varieties, or subspecies, of humans are expected to have existed.



Replacement Model Arguments

There are two sources of evidence supporting the replacement model--the fossil record and DNA. So far, the earliest finds of modern *Homo sapiens* skeletons come from Africa. They date to at least 130,000 years ago on that continent. They appear in Southwest Asia by at least 100,000 years ago and elsewhere in the Old World by 60,000-40,000 years ago. Unless modern human remains dating to 130,000 years ago or earlier are found in Europe or East Asia, it would seem that the replacement model better explains the fossil data for those regions.

Rebecca Cann, of the University of California, has argued that the geographic region in which modern people have lived the longest should have the greatest amount of genetic diversity. She bases this on the premise that the rate of mutation is more or less constant everywhere. Through comparisons of mitochondrial DNA sequences from living people throughout the world, it was concluded that Africa has the greatest genetic diversity and, therefore, must be the homeland of all modern humans. Assuming a specific rate of mutation, it was suggested that the common ancestor of modern humans was a woman living 200,000 years ago. She has been dubbed "mitochondrial Eve."

Critics of this genetic argument say that the rate of mutation is not necessarily constant and that there were flaws in the initial computer program that was used to construct the human family trees. The results varied with the order in which the data were entered. Further genetic studies carried out since the mid 1990's have both supported and undermined an African origin for modern humans. John Relethford, of the State University of New York College at Oneonta, has pointed out that Africa could have had the greatest diversity in mtDNA simply because there were more people living there during the last several hundred thousand years. Researchers from the University of Chicago and Yale University have discovered that variations in the DNA of the Y chromosome and chromosome 12 have the greatest diversity among Africans. This is consistent with the replacement model. However, geneticists from Oxford University have found that the human betaglobin gene is widely distributed in Asia but not in Africa. Since this gene is thought to have originated more than 200,000 years ago, it undercuts the claim that an African population of modern *Homo sapiens* replaced East Asian archaic *Homo sapiens* less than 50,000 years ago.

Regional Continuity Model Arguments

Fossil evidence also is used to support the regional continuity model. Its advocates claim that there has been a continuity of some anatomical traits from archaic *Homo sapiens* to modern humans in Europe and Asia. In other words, the Asian and European physical characteristics have antiquity in these regions going back over 100,000 years. They point to the fact that many Europeans have relatively heavy brow ridges and a high angle of their noses reminiscent of Neandertals. Similarly, it is claimed that some Chinese facial characteristics can be seen in Asian archaic *Homo sapiens* dating to 200,000 years ago. Like *Homo erectus*, East Asians today commonly have shovel-shaped incisors while Africans and Europeans rarely do. This supports the contention of direct genetic links between Asian *Homo erectus* and modern Asians. Alan Thorne of the Australian National University believes that Australian aborigines share key skeletal and dental traits with people who inhabited Indonesia at least 100,000 years ago. The implication is that there was no replacement by modern humans from Africa 60,000-46,000 years ago. However, the evidence does not rule out gene flow from African populations to Europe and Asia at that time and before. David Frayer, of the University of Kansas, believes that a number of European fossils from the last 50,000 years have characteristics that are the result of archaic and modern *Homo sapiens* interbreeding.

Assimilation Model

It is apparent that both the complete replacement and the regional continuity models have difficulty accounting for all of the fossil and genetic data. What has emerged is a new hypothesis known as the assimilation (or partial replacement) model. It takes a middle ground and incorporates both of the old models. Günter Bräuer, of the University of Hamburg in Germany, proposes that the first modern humans did evolve in Africa, but when they migrated into other regions they did not simply replace existing human populations. Rather, they interbred to a

limited degree with late archaic *Homo sapiens* resulting in hybrid populations. In Europe, for instance, the first modern humans appear in the archaeological record rather suddenly shortly before 40,000 years ago. The abruptness of the appearance of these Cro-Magnon people could be explained by their migrating into the region from Southwest Asia and possibly North Africa. They apparently shared Europe with Neandertals for another 12,000 years. During this long time period, it is argued that interbreeding occurred and that the partially hybridized predominantly Cro-Magnon population ultimately became modern Europeans. In 2003, a discovery was made in a Romanian cave named Pes¸tera cu Oase that supports this hypothesis. It was a partial skeleton of a 15-16 year old male *Homo sapiens* who lived about 35,000 years ago. He had a mix of old and new anatomical features. The skull had characteristics of both modern and archaic *Homo sapiens*. This could be explained as the result of interbreeding with Neandertals according to Erik Trinkaus of Washington University in St. Louis. Alan Templeton, also of Washington University, reported that a computer-based analysis of 10 different human DNA sequences indicates that there has been interbreeding between people living in Asia, Europe, and Africa for at least 600,000 years. This is consistent with the hypothesis that humans expanded again and again out of Africa and that these emigrants interbred with existing populations in Asia and Europe. It is also possible that migrations were not only in one direction--people could have migrated into Africa as well.

Expansion Out of the Old World

The global population of modern *Homo sapiens* began to grow rapidly around 50,000-40,000 years ago. It was around that time they began to migrate into regions not previously occupied by people. Their movement into far northern areas coincided with the end of a long cold period that had begun about 75,000 years ago. Modern humans apparently moved into Australia for the first time between 60,000 and 46,000 years ago. Since Australia was not connected to Southeast Asia by land, it is probable that the first Australians arrived by simple boats or rafts. Around 35,000-30,000 years ago, human big game hunters moved into Northeastern Siberia. Some of them migrated into North America via the Bering Plain (or Beringia) 20,000-15,000 years ago or possibly somewhat earlier. That intercontinental land connection appeared between Siberia and Alaska as a result of sea levels dropping more than 300 feet during the last ice age. Until that time, all human evolution had occurred in the Old World. The rate of human population growth has continued to accelerate since then. The current world population is over six billion and intercontinental migration and gene flow are at higher levels than ever before.

A consequence of human migrations into new regions of the world has been the extinction of many animal species indigenous to those areas. By 11,000 years ago, human hunters in the New World apparently had wiped out 135 species of mammals, including 3/4 of the larger ones. Most of these extinctions apparently occurred within a few hundred years. It is likely that the changing climate at the end of the last ice age was also a contributing factor. However, the same cannot be said for the animal extinctions that occurred following the arrival of aboriginal people in Australia and Polynesians in New Zealand. In both cases, humans were instrumental in wiping out easily hunted species. Large vulnerable marsupials were the main victims in Australia. In New Zealand, it was mostly large flightless birds that were driven to extinction by hunters.

It is sobering to realize that the rate of animal and plant extinction has once again accelerated dramatically. During the last century and a half, the explosion in our global human population and our rapid technological development has allowed us to move into and over-exploit most areas of our planet. That exploitation has usually involved cutting down forests, changing the courses of rivers, pushing wild animals and plants out of farm and urban areas, polluting wetlands with

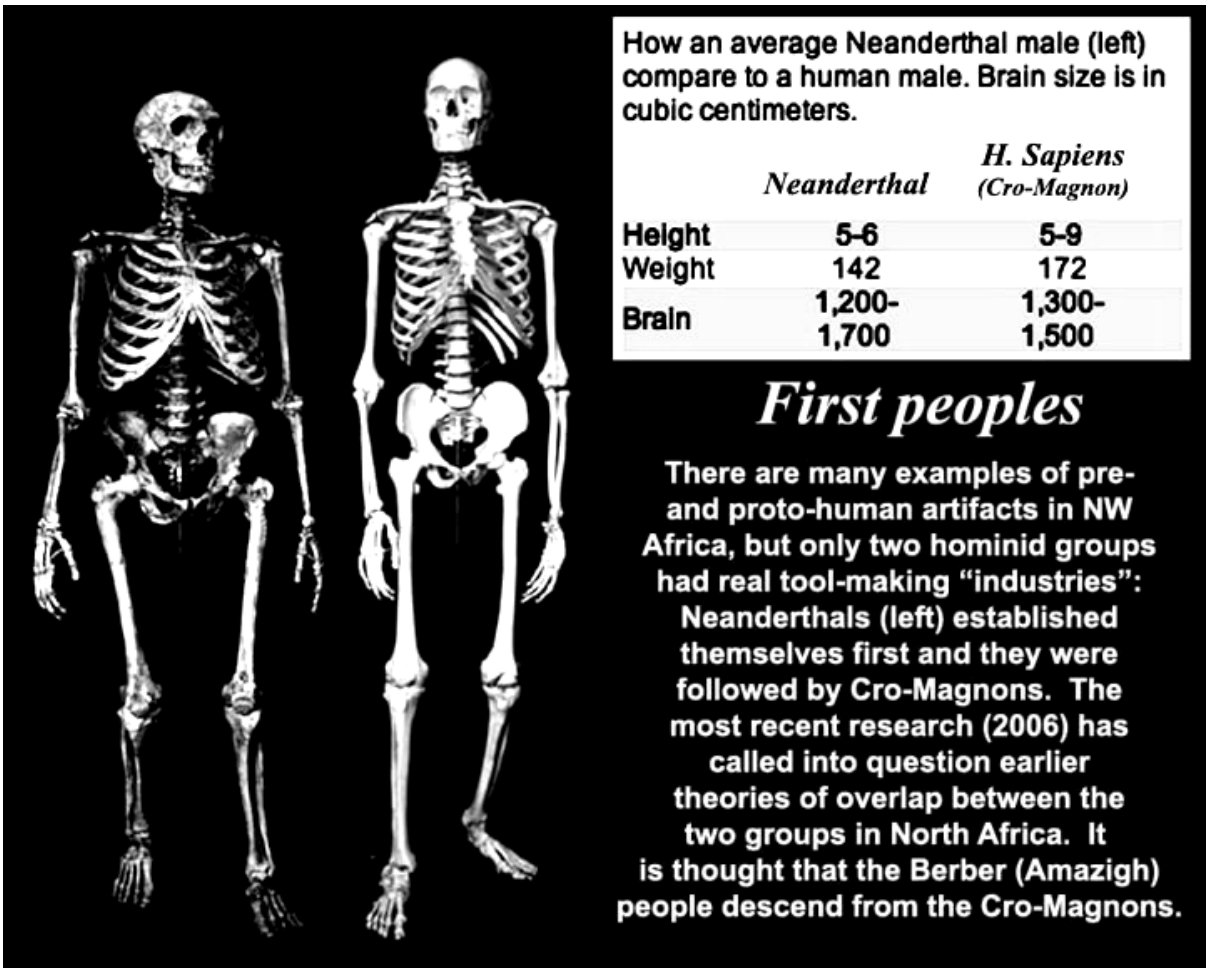
pesticides and other man-made chemicals, and industrial-scale hunting of large land animals, whales, and fish. During the early 19th century, there were at least 40,000,000 bison roaming the Great Plains of North America. By the end of that century, there were only a few hundred remaining. They had been hunted to near extinction with guns. The same fate came to the African elephant and rhinoceros during the 20th century. Likewise, commercial fishermen have depleted one species of fish after another during the last half century. Governments have had to step in to try to stem the tide of these human population effects on other species. However, they have been only marginally successful. The World Conservation Union conservatively estimates that 7,266 animal species and 8,323 plant and lichen species are now at risk of extinction primarily due to human caused habitat degradation. The endangered list includes one third of all amphibian species, nearly half of the turtles and tortoises, one forth of the mammals, one fifth of the sharks and rays, and one eighth of the birds. This list does not include the many millions of species that are still unknown to science. It is likely that most of them will become extinct before they can be described and studied.

NEWS: In a December 2002 report in the Journal of Human Evolution, it was announced that a modern Homo sapiens skull from Liujiang County in Southern China has been tentatively dated to 139,000-111,000 years ago and that modern Homo sapiens teeth from two other sites in the same area have been dated to 94,000 years ago. If these dates are confirmed, it will be a significant blow to the out of Africa replacement model" of modern human evolution.

NEWS: In a February 2006 review in the journal Nature, Paul Mellars announced that recent developments in the calibration of radiocarbon dating have resulted in a revision of the dating for the arrival and spread of modern humans in Europe. The revised dates indicate that they first appeared in Southeast Europe by about 46,000 years ago and spread throughout the ice free areas of the continent over the next 5,000 years. If these revised dates are confirmed, it will mean that the Cro-Magnon colonization of Europe occurred 3,000-6,000 years earlier than previously assumed.

This page was last updated on Monday, May 15, 2006.

I, c
Species differentiation



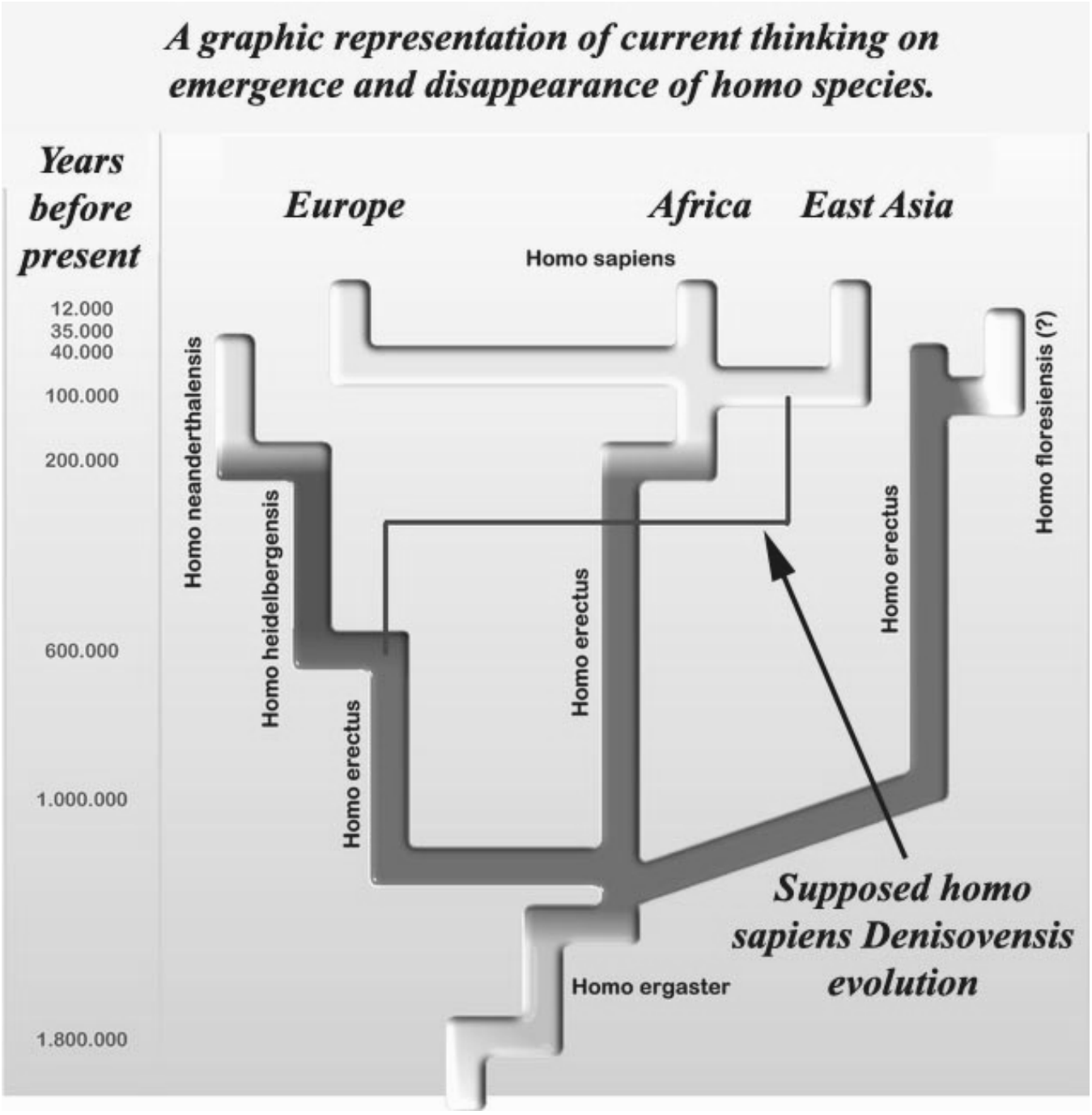
Note that the average brain size of the Neanderthal is larger than that of modern Home Sapiens. But brain scientists maintain that the "thinking" part of the homo sapiens brain is larger and better developed.

Terminology, by the way, is ever shifting; Neanderthal man is now given credit for thinking and is now called "*homo sapiens Neanderthalenis*". What formerly was called simply *homo sapiens* (i.e., us) is now called "*homo sapiens sapiens*". The Cro-Magnon appellation is also no longer politically correct – they are now called "early modern humans". The former designation was based on the apparently false idea that the remains found ith the Cro-Magnon cave in southwest France were the earliest *homo sapiens sapiens* remains in Europe. The Spanish have claimed other finds from earlier times, and to cut of controversy the Cro-Magnon designation was dropped (by all, of course, except the French).

Recent finds (still controversial but mostly accepted) on the Indonesian island of Flores have added a new type of *homo* called *homo Floresiensis*, but it is still to be determined if this might be another *homo sapiens*.

Most recently announced is the extraction of DNA from a fossil finger bone and a tooth found in Denisova Cave in southern Siberia in 2008. The DNA shares characteristics of DNA from *homo sapiens sapiens*, but it is different enough to convince researchers that there was separate evolution from homo erectus. This would have been another *homo sapiens* type called *homo sapiens Denisovensis*. Apparently the *Denisovensis* line merged with *homo sapiens sapiens* in East Asia.

Speciation is a thorny issue. One of the main determiners in species differentiation is the idea that different species cannot interbreed. The question of whether homo sapiens Neanderthalensis and homo sapiens sapiens inderbred is still open, but it does appear that some *homo sapiens Denisovensis* DNA is present in some individual east Asians, i.e., *homo sapiens sapiens*.


A graphic representation of current thinking on emergence and disappearance of homo species.
Years before present
12.000
35.000
40.000
100.000
200.000
600.000
1.000.000
1.800.000
Europe
Africa
East Asia
Homo sapiens
Homo neanderthalensis
Homo heidelbergensis
Homo erectus
Homo erectus
Homo erectus
Homo floresiensis (?)
Homo ergaster
Supposed homo sapiens Denisovensis evolution

I, d

Berbers

(called *Libyans* by the ancient Greeks and *Berbers* by the ancient Egyptians and Romans – they call themselves *Amazigh*)

Berber connections to Prehistoric North Africans

The Berbers (who call themselves *Imazighen*, "free men", singular *Amazigh*) are an ethnic group indigenous to Northwest Africa, speaking the Berber languages of the Afroasiatic family. There are between 14 and 25 million speakers of Berber languages in North Africa (see population estimation), principally concentrated in Morocco and Algeria but with smaller communities as far east as Egypt and as far south as Burkina Faso.

Their languages, the Berber languages, form a branch of the Afroasiatic linguistic family comprising many closely related varieties, including Kabyle, Tachelhit and Central Atlas Tamazight, with a total of roughly 14-25 million speakers.

Origin

There is no complete certitude about the origin of the Berbers; however, various disciplines shed light on the matter.

Genetic Evidence

While population genetics is a young field still full of controversy, in general the genetic evidence appears to indicate that most Northwest Africans (whether they consider themselves Berber or Arab) are of Berber origin, and that populations ancestral to the Berbers have been in the area since the Upper Paleolithic era. The genetically predominant ancestors of the Berbers appear to have come from the east - from East Africa, the Middle East, or both - but the details of this remain unclear. However, significant proportions of the Berber gene pool derive from more recent immigration of Arabs, Europeans, and sub-Saharan Africans.

The Y chromosome is passed exclusively through the paternal line. According to Bosch et al. 2001, "the historical origins of the NW African Y-chromosome pool may be summarized as follows: 75% NW African Upper Paleolithic (H35, H36, and H38), 13% Neolithic (H58 and H71), 4% historic European gene flow (group IX, H50, H52), and 8% recent sub-Saharan African (H22 and H28)", mostly from an "Upper Paleolithic colonization that probably had its origin in eastern Africa". The interpretation of the second most frequent "Neolithic" haplotype is debated: Arredi et al. 2004, like Semino et al. 2000 and Bosch et al. 2001, argue that the H71 haplogroup and North African Y-chromosomal diversity indicate a Neolithic-era "demic diffusion of Afro-Asiatic-speaking pastoralists from the Middle East", while Nebel et al. 2002 argue that H71 rather reflects "recent gene flow caused by the migration of Arabian tribes in the first millennium of the Common Era." Bosch et al. also find little genetic distinction between Arabic and Berber-speaking populations in North Africa, which they take to support "the interpretation of the Arabization and Islamization of NW Africa, starting during the 7th century A.D., as cultural phenomena without extensive genetic replacement." Cruciani et al. 2004 note that the E-M81 haplogroup on the Y-chromosome correlates closely with Berber populations.

The mtDNA, by contrast, is inherited only from the mother. According to Macaulay et al. 1999, "one-third of Mozabite Berber mtDNAs have a Near Eastern ancestry, probably having arrived in North Africa Å`50,000 years ago, and one-eighth have an origin in sub-Saharan Africa. Europe appears to be the source of many of the remaining sequences, with the rest having arisen either in Europe or in the Near East." et al. 2003 analyze the "autochthonous North African lineage U6" in mtDNA, concluding that:

> ***The most probable origin of the proto-U6 lineage was the Near East. Around 30,000 years ago it spread to North Africa where it represents a signature of regional continuity. Subgroup U6a reflects the first African expansion from the Maghrib returning to the east in Paleolithic times. Derivative clade U6a1 signals a posterior movement from East Africa back to the Maghrib and the Near East. This migration coincides with the probable Afroasiatic linguistic expansion.***

A genetic study by Fadhlaoui-Zid et al. 2004 argues concerning certain exclusively North African haplotypes that "expansion of this group of lineages took place around 10500 years ago in North Africa, and spread to neighbouring population", and apparently that a specific Northwestern African haplotype, U6, probably originated in the Near East 30,000 years ago but has not been highly preserved and accounts for 6-8% is southern Moroccan Berbers, 18% in Kabyles and 28% in Mozabites. Rando et al. 1998 (as cited by http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/AJHG/journal/issues/v68n4/002582/002582.html) "detected female-mediated gene flow from sub-Saharan Africa to NW Africa" amounting to as much as 21.5% of the mtDNA sequences in a sample of NW African populations; the amount varied from 82% (Touaregs) to 4% (Rifains). This north-south gradient in the sub-Saharan contribution to the gene pool is supported by Esteban et al.

Archaeological

The Neolithic Capsian culture appeared in North Africa around 9,500 BC and lasted until possibly 2700 BC. Linguists and population geneticists alike have identified this culture as a probable period for the spread of an Afroasiatic language (ancestral to the modern Berber languages) to the area. The origins of the Capsian culture, however, are archeologically unclear. Some have regarded this culture's population as simply a continuation of the earlier Mesolithic Ibero-Maurusian culture, which appeared around ~22,000 BC, while others argue for a population change; the former view seems to be supported by dental evidence.

Linguistic

The Berber languages form a branch of Afro-Asiatic, and thus descended from the proto-Afro-Asiatic language; on the basis of linguistic migration theory, this is most commonly believed by historical linguists (notably Igor Diakonoff and Christopher Ehret) to have originated in east Africa no earlier than 12,000 years ago, although Alexander Militarev argues instead for an origin in the Middle East. Ehret specifically suggests identifying the Capsian culture with speakers of languages ancestral to Berber and/or Chadic, and sees the Capsian culture as having been brought there from the African coast of the Red Sea. It is still disputed which branches of Afro-Asiatic are most closely related to Berber, but most linguists accept at least one of Semitic and Chadic as among its closest relatives within the family (see Afro-Asiatic languages#Classification history.)

The Nobiin variety of Nubian contains several Berber loanwords, according to Bechhaus-Gerst, suggesting a former geographical distribution extending further southeast than the present.

Phenotype and genotype by region

The appearance and the genetic make-up of Berbers are best examined together with that of their fellow Arabic-speaking inhabitants of North Africa; both share a predominant Berber ancestry.

Coastal Northwest Africans
About 75% of Northwest Africans live on the coast. Berber groups such as the Rifains and Kabyles have the least sub-Saharan admixture (~2%) and the highest European admixture (~15%); Arabic-speaking groups have about 7% sub-Saharan admixture overall. Berber groups in this zone include:

* **Kabyles**
* **Chawis**
* **Rifains**
* **Amazighs**
* **Chenwas**

Northwest Africans of the interior
About 20% of Northwest Africans live between the Atlas Mountains and the Sahara; these groups have a moderate sub-Saharan admixture (~20%), including:

* **Mozabites.**
* **Shleuhs.**

Saharan Northwest Africans
About 5% of Northwest Africans live in the Sahara; these groups have the highest sub-Saharan admixture, sometimes reaching 80-90% among the Tuaregs. They include:

* **Touaregs**
* **Saharan Berbers, Oasis Berbers.**

Religions and Beliefs
Berbers are predominantly Sunni Muslim, most belonging to the Maliki *madhhab*, while the Mozabites, Djerbans, and Nafusis of the northern Sahara are Ibadi Muslim. Sufi tariqas are common in the western areas, but rarer in the east; marabout cults were traditionally important in most areas.

Before their conversion to Islam, some Berber groups had converted to Christianity (notably the Donatist heresy) or Judaism, while others had continued to practice traditional polytheism. Under the influence of Islamic culture, some syncretic religions briefly emerged, as among the Berghouata, only to be replaced by Islam.

History
The Berbers have lived in North Africa for as far back as records of the area go. References to them occur frequently in ancient Egyptian, Greek, and Roman sources. Berber groups are first mentioned in writing by the ancient Egyptians during the Predynastic Period, and during the New Kingdom the Egyptians later fought against the Meshwesh and Lebu (Libyans) tribes on their western borders. Many Egyptologists think that from about 945 BC the Egyptians were ruled by Meshwesh immigrants who founded the Twenty-second Dynasty under Shoshenq I, beginning a long period of Berber rule in Egypt, although others posit different origins for these dynasties, including Nubian ones. The Byzantine chroniclers often complain of the *Mazikes* (Amazigh) raiding outlying monasteries, and Berbers long remained the main population of the Western Desert well into the Nineteenth century.

For many centuries the Berbers inhabited the coast of North Africa from Egypt to the Atlantic Ocean. In historical times, they have expanded south into the Sahara (displacing earlier black African populations such as the Azer and Bafour), and have in turn been mainly culturally assimilated in much of North Africa by Arabs, particularly following the incursion of the Banu Hilal in the 11th century.

Berbers and the Islamic invasion

Unlike the invasions of previous religions and cultures, the coming of Islam, which was spread by Arabs, was to have pervasive and long-lasting effects on the Maghrib. The new faith, in its various forms, would penetrate nearly all segments of society, bringing with it armies, learned men, and fervent mystics, and in large part replacing tribal practices and loyalties with new social norms and political idioms.

Nonetheless, the Islamization and Arabization of the region were complicated and lengthy processes. Whereas nomadic Berbers were quick to convert and assist the Arab invaders, not until the twelfth century under the Almohad Dynasty did the Christian and Jewish communities become totally marginalized.

The first Arab military expeditions into the Maghrib, between 642 and 669, resulted in the spread of Islam. These early forays from a base in Egypt occurred under local initiative rather than under orders from the central caliphate. When the seat of the caliphate moved from Medina to Damascus, however, the Umayyads (a Muslim dynasty ruling from 661 to 750) recognized that the strategic necessity of dominating the Mediterranean dictated a concerted military effort on the North African front. In 670, therefore, an Arab army under Uqba ibn Nafi established the town of Al Qayrawan about 160 kilometers south of present-day Tunis and used it as a base for further operations.

Abu al Muhajir Dinar, Uqba's successor, pushed westward into Algeria and eventually worked out a modus vivendi with Kusayla, the ruler of an extensive confederation of Christian Berbers. Kusayla, who had been based in Tilimsan (Tlemcen), became a Muslim and moved his headquarters to Takirwan, near Al Qayrawan.

This harmony was short-lived, however. Arab and Berber forces controlled the region in turn until 697. By 711 Umayyad forces helped by Berber converts to Islam had conquered all of North Africa. Governors appointed by the Umayyad caliphs ruled from Al Qayrawan, capital the new wilaya (province) of Ifriqiya, which covered Tripolitania (the western part of present-day Libya), Tunisia, and eastern Algeria.

Paradoxically, the spread of Islam among the Berbers did not guarantee their support for the Arab-dominated caliphate. The ruling Arabs alienated the Berbers by taxing them heavily; treating converts as second-class Muslims; and, at worst, by enslaving them. As a result, widespread opposition took the form of open revolt in 739-40 under the banner of Kharijite Islam. The Kharijites objected to Ali, the fourth caliph, making peace with the Umayyads in 657 and left Ali's camp (khariji means "those who leave"). The Kharijites had been fighting Umayyad rule in the East, and many Berbers were attracted by the sect's egalitarian precepts. For example, according to Kharijism, any suitable Muslim candidate could be elected caliph without regard to race, station, or descent from the Prophet Muhammad.

After the revolt, Kharijites established a number of theocratic tribal kingdoms, most of which had short and troubled histories. Others, however, like Sijilmasa and Tilimsan, which straddled the principal trade routes, proved more viable and prospered. In 750 the Abbasids, who succeeded the Umayyads as Muslim rulers, moved the caliphate to Baghdad and reestablished caliphal authority in Ifriqiya, appointing Ibrahim ibn al Aghlab as governor in Al Qayrawan. Although nominally serving at the caliph's pleasure, Al Aghlab and his successors, the Aghlabids, ruled independently until 909, presiding over a court that became a center for learning and culture.

Just to the west of Aghlabid lands, Abd ar Rahman ibn Rustam ruled most of the central Maghrib from Tahert, southwest of Algiers. The rulers of the Rustamid imamate, which lasted from 761 to 909, each an Ibadi Kharijite imam, were elected by leading citizens. The imams gained a reputation for honesty, piety, and justice. The court at Tahert was noted for its support of scholarship in mathematics, astronomy, and astrology, as well as theology and law. The Rustamid imams, however, failed, by choice or by neglect, to organize a reliable standing army. This important factor, accompanied by the dynasty's eventual collapse into decadence, opened the way for Tahert's demise under the assault of the Fatimids.

Berbers in Al-Andalus

The Muslims who entered Spain in 711 were mainly Berbers, and were led by a Berber, Tariq ibn Ziyad, though under the suzerainty of the Arab Caliph of Damascus Abd al-Malik and his North African Viceroy, Musa ibn Nusayr. A second mixed army of Arabs and Berbers came in 712 under Ibn Nusayr himself, and are claimed to have formed approximately 66% of the Islamic population in Spain, and supposedly that is the reason why they helped the Umayyad caliph Abd ar-Rahman I in Spain, because his mother was a Berber woman. During the Taifa era, the petty kings came from a variety of ethnic groups; some - for instance the Zirid kings of Granada - were of Berber origin. The Taifa period ended when a Berber dynasty - the Almoravids from modern-day Mauritania - took over Spain; they were succeeded by the Almohad dynasty from Morocco, during which time al-Andalus flourished.

In the power hierarchy, Berbers were situated between the Arabic aristocracy and the Muladi populace. Ethnic rivalries were one of the factors of Andalusi politics.

Initially they settled the Cantabric Mounts, the Central System and the Andalusian mountains.

After the fall of the Caliphate, the taifa kingdoms of Toledo, Badajoz, Mlaga and Granada had Berber rulers.

Modern-day Berbers
The Berbers live mainly in Morocco (between 35%- 80% of the population) and in Algeria (about 15%-33% of the population), as well as Libya and Tunisia, though exact statistics are unavailablehttp://www.ethnologue.com/; see Berber languages#Population. Most North Africans who consider themselves Arab also have significant Berber ancestryhttp://www.journals.uchicago.edu/AJHG/journal/issues/v68n4/002582/002582.text.html. One particularly prominent Berber group are the Kabyles of northern Algeria, who number approximately 4 million and have kept, to a large degree, their original language and culture. Other noteworthy groups include the Shluh (plural of Arabic "Shalh" and Berber "Ashalhi") of south Morocco, the Riffain of north Morocco, the Chaouia of Algeria, and the Tuareg of the Sahara. There are approximately 3 million Berber immigrants in Europe, especially the Riffain and the Kabyles in the Netherlands and France. Some proportion of the inhabitants of the Canary Islands are descended from the aboriginal Guanches - usually considered to have been Berber - among whom a few Canary Islander customs, such as the eating of gofio, originated. (Gofio is the Canary Islands name for flour made from roasted grains (typically wheat or certain varieties of maize) or other starchy plants.)

Although stereotyped in the West as nomads, most Berbers were in fact traditionally farmers, living in the mountains relatively close to the Mediterranean coast, or oasis dwellers; the Tuareg and Zenaga of the southern Sahara, however, were nomadic. Some groups, such as the Chaouis, practiced transhumance.

Political tensions have arisen between some Berber groups (especially the Kabyle) and North African governments over the past few decades, partly over linguistic and cultural issues; for instance, in Morocco, giving children Berber names was banned.

The Arabization of Northwest Africa

Before the 9th century, most of Northwest Africa was a Berber-speaking area. The process of Arabization only became a major factor with the arrival of the Banu Hilal, a tribe sent by the Fatimids of Egypt to punish the Berber Zirid dynasty for having abandoned Shiism. The Banu Hilal reduced the Zirids to a few coastal towns, and took over much of the plains; their influx was a major factor in the Arabization of the region, and in the spread of nomadism in areas where agriculture had previously been dominant.

Soon after independence, the countries of North Africa established Arabic as their official language, replacing French (except in Libya), although the shift from French to Arabic for official purposes continues even to this day. As a result, most Berbers had to study and know Arabic, and had no opportunities to use their mother tongue at school or university. This may have accelerated the existing process of Arabization of Berbers, especially in already bilingual areas, such as among the Chaouis.

Berberism had its roots before the independence of these countries but was limited to some Berber elite. It only began to gain success when North African states replaced the colonial language with Arabic and identified exclusively as Arab nations, downplaying or ignoring the existence and the cultural specificity of Berbers. However, its distribution remains highly uneven. In response to its demands, Morocco and Algeria have both modified their policies, with Algeria redefining itself constitutionally as an "Arab, Berber, Muslim nation".

Currently, Berber is a "national" language in Algeria and is taught in some Berber speaking areas as a non-compulsory language. In Morocco, Berber has no official status, but is now taught as a compulsory language regardless of the area or the ethnicity.

Discrimination
Berbers are not discriminated based on their Ethnic or mother tongue. As long as they share the reigning ideology they can reach high positions in the social hierarchy; good examples are the former president of Algeria, Liamine Zeroual, and the current prime minister of Morocco, Driss Jettou. In Algeria, furthermore, Chaoui Berbers are over-represented in the Army for historical reasons.

Berberists who openely show their political orientations rarely reach high hierarchical positions. However, Khalida Toumi, a feminist and Berberist militant, has been nominated as head of the Ministry of Communication in Algeria.

Famous Berbers In Ancient Times

* **Shoshenq I, (Egyptian Pharaoh of Libyan origin)**
* **Masinissa, King of Numidia, North Africa, present day Algeria and Tunisia**
* **Jugurtha, King of Numidia**
* **Juba II, King of Numidia**
* **Terence, (full name Publius Terentius Afer), Roman writer**
* **Apuleius, Roman writer ("half-Numidian, half-Gaetulian")**
* **Tacfarinas, who fought the Romans in the Aures Mountains**
* **Saint Augustine of Hippo, (from Tagaste, was Berber, although he grew up speaking Punic)**
* **Saint Monica of Hippo, Saint Augustine's mother**

* **Arius, (who proposed the doctrine of Arianism)**
* **Donatus, (leader of the Donatist schism)**
* **Macrinus**

Famous People who were either Berber or Punic

* **Septimus Severus (Roman emperor from the mainly Punic Libyan city of Lepcis Magna, founded by Phoenicians)**
* **Caracalla, his son**
* **Tertullian, an early Christian theologian (born in the highly multiethnic, Phoenician-founded city of Carthage)**
* **Vibia Perpetua (early Christian martyr, also born in Carthage)**
* **Cyprian (also born in Carthage)**

II -- Carthage

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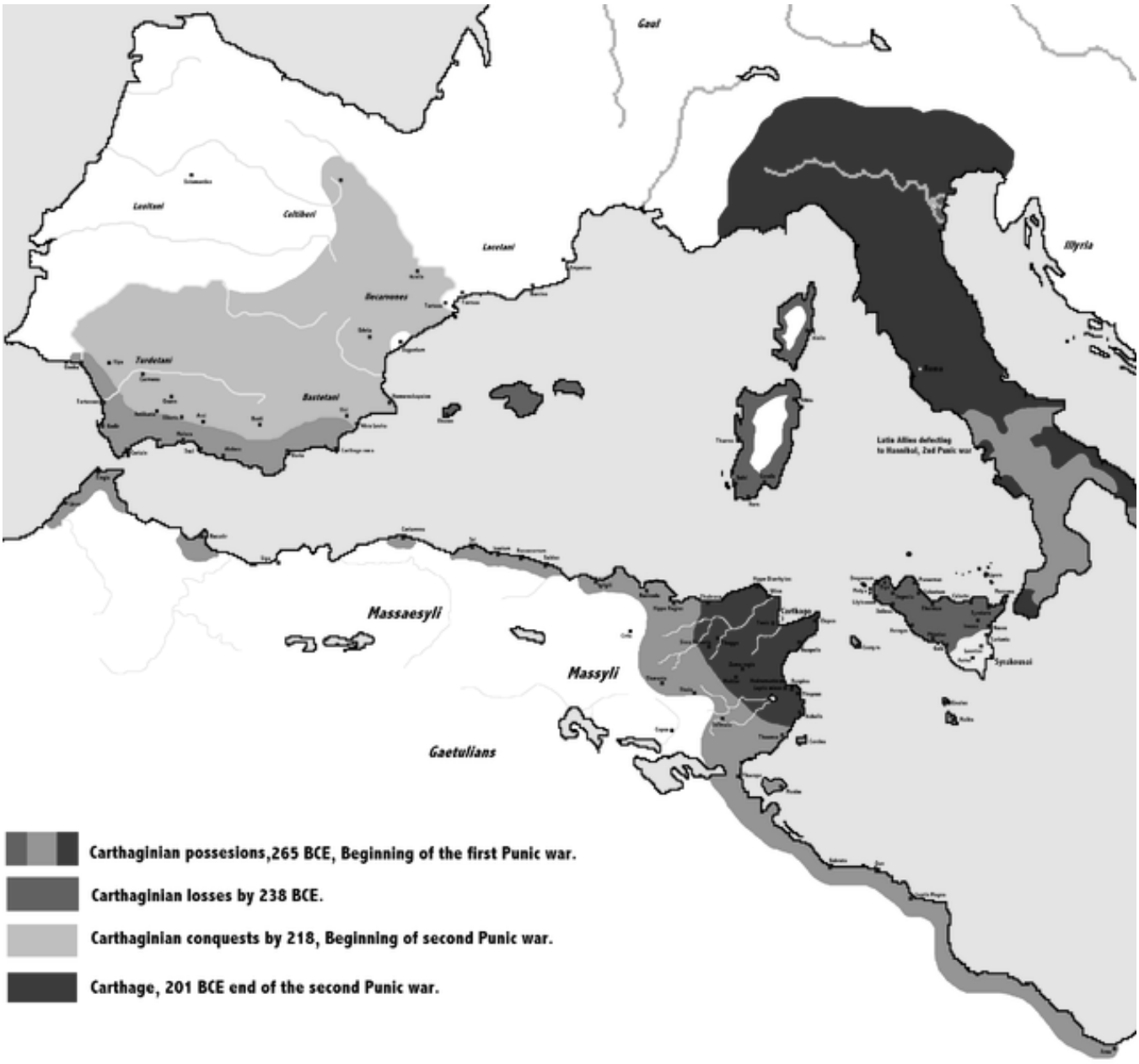


Downfall of the Carthaginian Empire

Carthage (Latin: *Carthago* or *Karthago*, Ancient Greek: Καρχηδών *Karkhēdōn*, Arabic: قرطاج *Qarṭāj*, Berber: *Kartajen*, Hebrew: קרתגו *kartago*, from the Phoenician *Qart-ḥadašt* קַרְתְּ חַדַּשְׁתְּ meaning *New City*, implying it was a 'new Tyre'[1]) is a major urban centre that has existed for nearly 3,000 years on the Gulf of Tunis, developing from a Phoenician colony of the 1st millennium BC which has given place to the current suburb outside Tunis, Tunisia, with a population (2004 Census) of 20,715.

The first civilization that developed within the city's sphere of influence is referred to as Punic (a form of the word "Phoenician") or Carthaginian. The city of Carthage is located on the eastern

side of Lake Tunis across from the centre of Tunis. According to Roman legend it was founded in 814 BC by Phoenician colonists from Tyre under the leadership of Elissa (Queen Dido). It became a large and rich city and thus a major power in the Mediterranean. The resulting rivalry with Syracuse and Rome was accompanied by several wars with respective invasions of each other's homeland. Hannibal's invasion of Italy in the Second Punic War culminated in the Carthaginian victory at Cannae and led to a serious threat to the continuation of Roman rule over Italy; however, Carthage emerged from the conflict at its historical weakest after Hannibal's defeat at the Battle of Zama in 202 BC. After the Third Punic War, the city was destroyed by the Romans in 146 BC. However, the Romans refounded Carthage, which became the Empire's third most important city and the capital of the short-lived Vandal kingdom. It remained one of the most important Roman cities until the Muslim conquest when it was destroyed a second time in 698 AD.

Topography

Carthage was built on a promontory with inlets to the sea to the north and south. The city's location made it master of the Mediterranean's maritime trade. All ships crossing the sea had to pass between Sicily and the coast of Tunisia, where Carthage was built, affording it great power and influence.

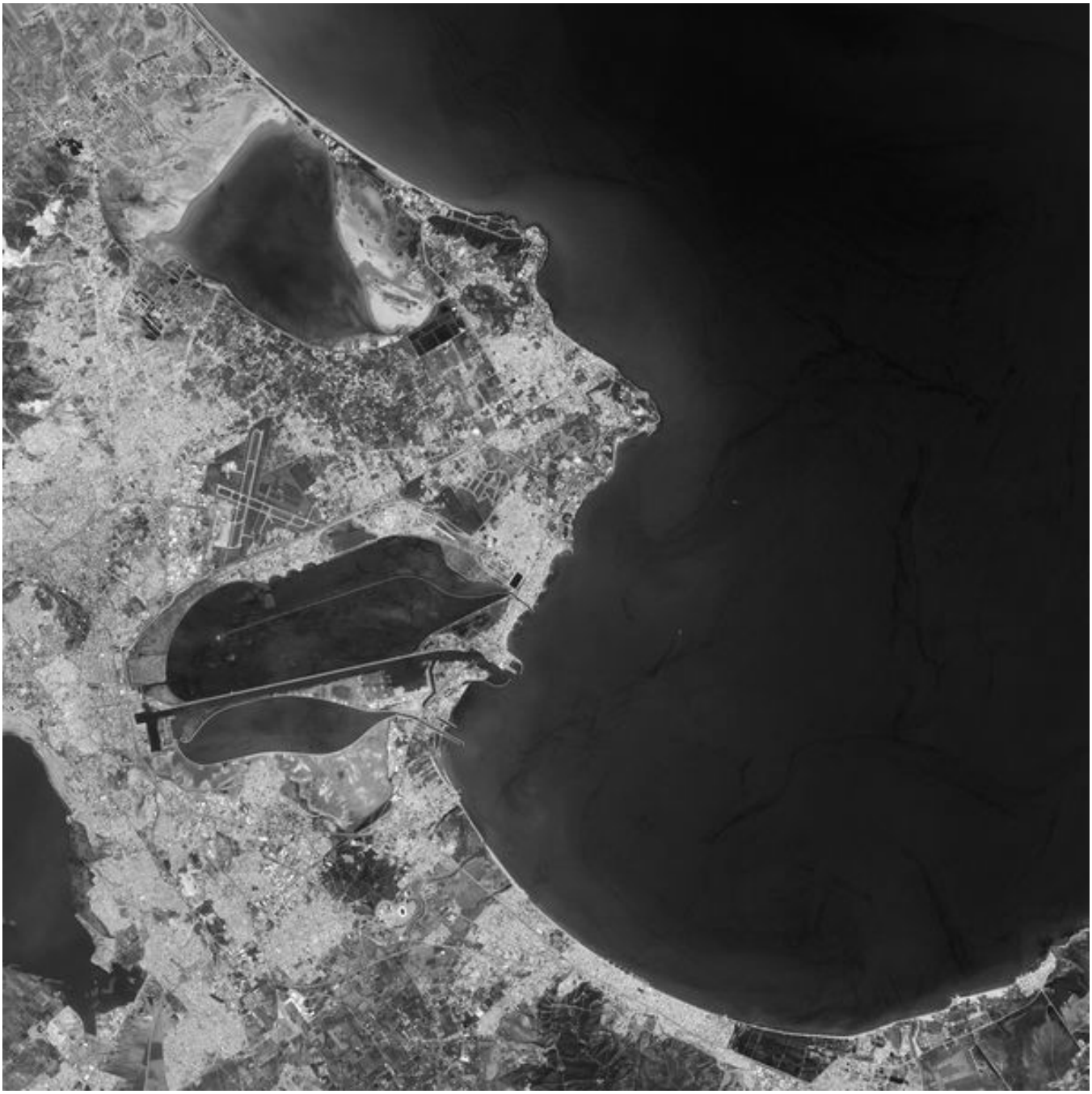
Two large, artificial harbors were built within the city, one for harboring the city's massive navy of 220 warships and the other for mercantile trade. A walled tower overlooked both harbors.

The city had massive walls, 23 miles (37 kilometres) in length, longer than the walls of comparable cities. Most of the walls were located on the shore and thus could be less impressive, as Carthaginian control of the sea made attack from that direction difficult. The 2.5 to 3 miles (4 to 4.8 kilometres) of wall on the isthmus to the west were truly large and, in fact, were never penetrated.

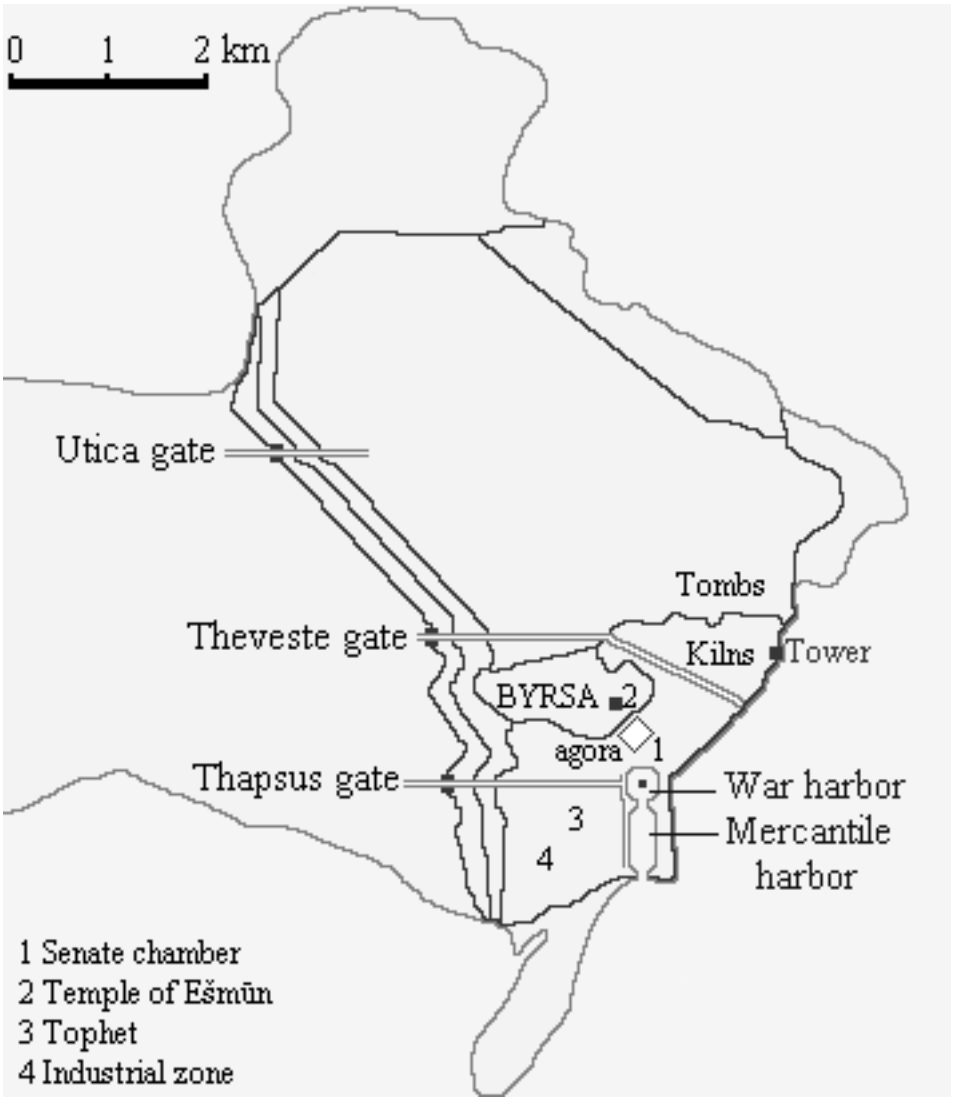
The city had a huge necropolis or burial ground, religious area, market places, council house, towers and a theatre and was divided into four equally sized residential areas with the same layout. Roughly in the middle of the city stood a high citadel called the Byrsa.

Carthage was one of the largest cities in Hellenistic times (by some estimates only Alexandria was larger) and was among the largest cities in pre-industrial history.

History



A satellite view of the Carthage peninsula today. The land formation is actually the delta of the Bagradas River which flows down between the Atlas and Tel Atlas Mountain Ranges.



Layout of the city. The big empty area north of the Byrsa was used for truck farming inside the walls.

The historical study of Carthage is problematic. Because its culture and records were destroyed by the Romans at the end of the Third Punic War, very few Carthaginian primary historical sources survive. While there are a few ancient translations of Punic texts into Greek and Latin, as well as inscriptions on monuments and buildings discovered in North Africa,[2] the main sources are Greek and Roman historians, including Livy, Polybius, Appian, Cornelius Nepos, Silius Italicus, Plutarch, Dio Cassius, and Herodotus. These writers belonged to peoples in competition, and often in conflict, with Carthage.[3] Greek cities contested with Carthage for Sicily,[4] and the Romans fought three wars against Carthage.[5] Not surprisingly, their accounts of Carthage are extremely hostile; while there are a few Greek authors who took a favorable view, these works have been lost.[6]

Recent excavation has brought much more primary material to light.[*clarification needed*] Some of these finds contradict aspects of the traditional picture of Carthage, and much of the material is still ambiguous.[*clarification needed*]

Foundation legends

Queen Elissa (Dido)

According to Roman sources, Phoenician colonists from modern-day Lebanon, led by Queen Dido

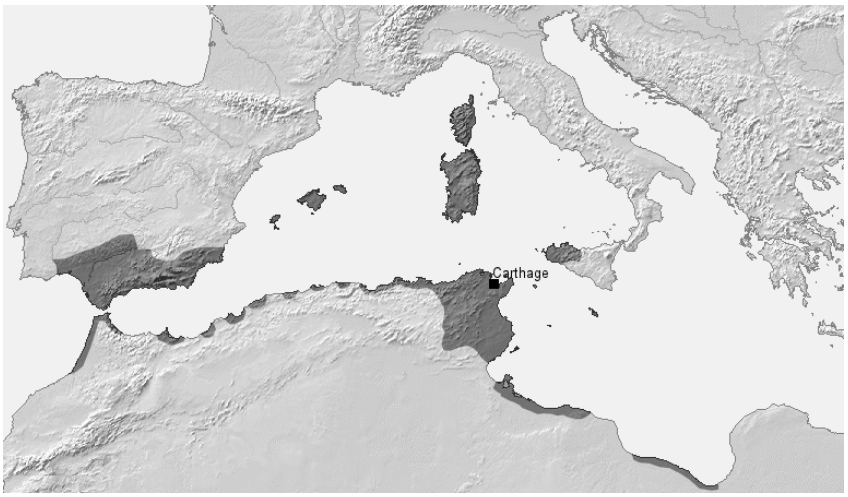
(Elissa) founded Carthage in 814 BC. Queen Elissa (also known as "Alissar"), was an exiled princess of the ancient Phoenician city of Tyre. At its peak, the metropolis she founded, Carthage, came to be called the "shining city", ruling 300 other cities around the western Mediterranean and leading the Phoenician (or Punic) world.

Elissa's brother, King Pygmalion of Tyre, had murdered her husband, the high priest. Elissa escaped the tyranny of her own country, founding the "new city" of Carthage and subsequently its later dominions. Details of her life are sketchy and confusing, but the following can be deduced from various sources. According to Justin, Princess Elissa was the daughter of King Matten of Tyre (also known as Muttoial or Belus II). When he died, the throne was jointly bequeathed to her and her brother, Pygmalion. She married her uncle Acherbas (also known as Sychaeus), the High Priest of Melqart, a man with both authority and wealth comparable to the king. This led to increased rivalry between religion and the monarchy. Pygmalion was a tyrant, lover of both gold and intrigue, who desired the authority and fortune enjoyed by Acherbas.[*citation needed*] Pygmalion assassinated Acherbas in the temple and kept the misdeed concealed from his sister for a long time, deceiving her with lies about her husband's death. At the same time, the people of Tyre called for a single sovereign, causing dissent within the royal family.

The mention of Queen Elissa (Dido) in Virgil's Aeneid

In the Roman epic of Virgil, the *Aeneid*, Queen Dido, the Greek name for Queen Elissa, is first introduced as an extremely respected character. In just seven years, since their exodus from Tyre, the Carthaginians have rebuilt a successful kingdom under her rule. Her subjects adore her and present her with a festival of praise. Her character is perceived by Virgil as even more noble when she offers asylum to Aeneas and his men, who have recently escaped from Troy. A spirit in the form of the messenger god, Mercury, sent by Jupiter, reminds Aeneas that his mission is not to stay in Carthage with his new-found love, Dido, but to sail to Italy to found Rome. Virgil ends his legend of Dido with the story that, when Aeneas tells Dido, her heart broken, she orders a pyre to be built where she falls upon Aeneas' sword. As she lay dying, she predicted eternal strife between Aeneas' people and her own: "rise up from my bones, avenging spirit" (4.625, trans. Fitzgerald) she says, an invocation of Hannibal. The details of Virgil's story do not, however form part of the original legend and are significant mainly as an indication of Rome's attitude towards the city she had destroyed.[7]

Carthaginian Republic



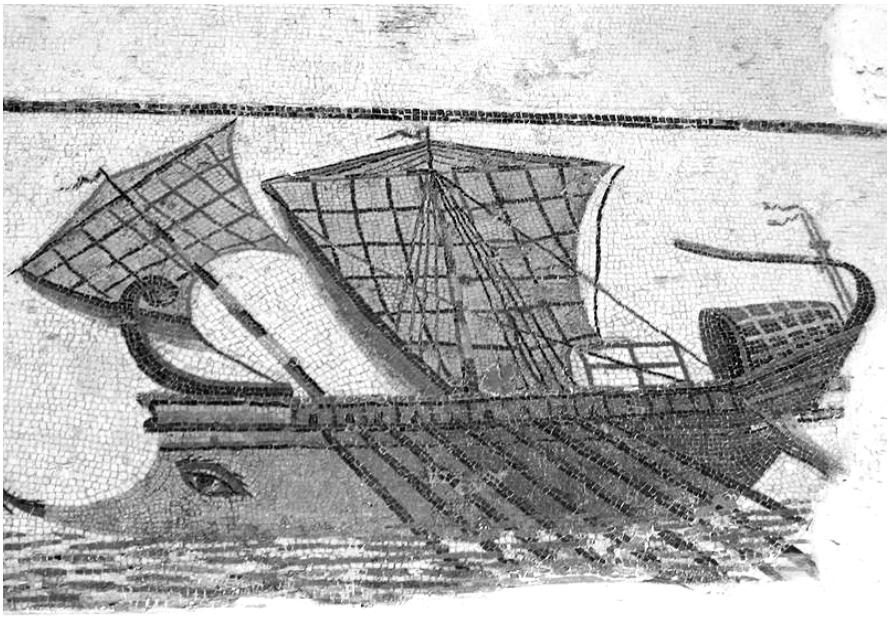
← Carthaginian held territory in the early 3rd century BC

The Carthaginian Republic was one of the longest-lived and largest states in the ancient Mediterranean. Reports relay several wars with Syracuse and finally, Rome, which eventually resulted in the defeat and destruction of Carthage in the third Punic war.

Army

According to Polybius, Carthage relied heavily, though not exclusively, on foreign mercenaries,[8] especially in overseas warfare. The core of its army was from its own territory in north Africa (ethnic Libyans and Numidians, as well as "Liby-Phoenicians" — i.e. Phoenicians proper). These troops were supported by mercenaries from different ethnic groups and geographic locations across the Mediterranean who fought in their own national units; Celtic, Balearic, and Iberian troops were especially common. Later, after the Barcid conquest of Iberia, Iberians came to form an even greater part of the Carthaginian forces. Carthage seems to have fielded a formidable cavalry force, especially in its north African homeland; a significant part of it was composed of Numidian contingents of light cavalry. Other mounted troops included the now extinct North African elephants, trained for war, which, among other uses, were commonly used for frontal assaults or as anti-cavalry protection. An army could field up to several hundreds of these animals, but on most reported occasions fewer than a hundred were deployed. The riders of these elephants were armed with a spike and hammer to kill the elephants in case they charged toward their own army.

Navy



← Roman trireme mosaic from Carthage, Bardo Museum, Tunis

The navy of Carthage was one of the largest in the Mediterranean, using serial production to maintain high numbers at moderate cost. The sailors and marines of the Carthaginian navy were predominantly recruited from the Punic citizenry, unlike the multi-ethnic allied and mercenary troops of the Carthaginian armies. The navy offered a stable profession and financial security for its sailors. This helped to contribute to the city's political stability, since the unemployed, debt ridden poor in other cities were frequently inclined to support revolutionary leaders in the hope of improving their own lot.[9] The reputation of her skilled sailors implies that there was in peacetime a training of oarsmen and coxswains, giving their navy a cutting edge in naval matters. The trade of Carthaginian merchantmen was by land across the Sahara and especially by sea throughout the Mediterranean and far into the Atlantic to the tin-rich islands of Britain and to West Africa. There is evidence that at least one Punic expedition under Hanno sailed along the West African coast to regions south of the Tropic of Cancer, describing how the sun was in the north at noon.

Polybius wrote in the sixth book of his History that the Carthaginians were "more exercised in maritime affairs than any other people."[10] Their navy included some 300 to 350 warships. The Romans, who had little experience in naval warfare prior to the First Punic War, managed to finally defeat Carthage with a combination of reverse engineering captured Carthaginian ships,

recruitment of experienced Greek sailors from the ranks of its conquered cities, the unorthodox corvus device, and their superior numbers in marines and rowers. In the Third Punic War Polybius describes a tactical innovation of the Carthaginians, augmenting their few triremes with small vessels that carried hooks (to attack the oars) and fire (to attack the hulls). With this new combination, they were able to stand their ground against the superior Roman numbers for a whole day.

Fall

The fall of Carthage came at the end of the Third Punic War in 146 BC.[11] Despite initial devastating Roman naval losses and Rome's recovery from the brink of defeat after the terror of a 15-year occupation of much of Italy by Hannibal, the end of the series of wars resulted in the end of Carthaginian power and the complete destruction of the city by Scipio Aemilianus. The Romans pulled the Phoenician warships out into the harbor and burned them before the city, and went from house to house, capturing, raping and enslaving the people. Fifty thousand Carthaginians were sold into slavery.[12] The city was set ablaze, and razed to the ground, leaving only ruins and rubble. After the fall of Carthage, Rome annexed the majority of the Carthaginian colonies, including other North African locations such as Volubilis, Lixus, Chellah, and Mogador.[13] The legend that the city was sown with salt is not mentioned by the ancient sources – it may be that a salt layer under some fields in the neck of the Carthage peninsula led to the legend. That layer is more likely to have been caused by disrepair of dikes around reclaimed farmland, which occurred after the fall of Carthage.

Byrsa

On the top of the Byrsa hill, location of the Roman Forum, was unearthed a residential area from the last century of existence of the Punic city, more precisely from the early 2nd century. It was excavated by the French archaeologist Serge Lancel. This site is an interesting alternative for those who cannot go to the more extensive ruins at Kerkuane (Punic city of Cape Bon). The neighborhood between houses and shops and private spaces is particularly significant.[17]

The habitat is typical, even stereotypical. The street may be used as a store; a tank is installed in the basement to collect water for domestic use, and a long corridor on the right side leads to a courtyard containing a sump, around which various other elements may be found. In some places the ground is covered with mosaics called punica pavement, sometimes using a characteristic red mortar.

The remains have been preserved through the embankments, substructures of the later forum, whose foundation piles dot the district. The housing blocks are separated by a grid of straight streets of a width of approximately six metres, with a roadway consisting of clay. We also note *in situ* stairs to compensate for the fall of the hill. Construction of this type presupposes organization and political will, and has inspired the name of the neighborhood, "Hannibal district", referring to the Punic general or Suffete at the beginning of the 2nd century BC.

Byrsa was the walled citadel above the harbour in ancient Carthage. It was also the name of the hill it rested on. The name is derived from the Phoenician word for citadel. ***In Virgil's account of Dido's founding of Carthage, when Dido and her party were encamped at Byrsa, the local Berber chieftain offered them as much land as could be covered with a single oxhide. Therefore, Dido cut an oxhide into tiny strips and***	

set them on the ground end to end until she had completely encircled Byrsa. This story is considered apocryphal, and was most likely invented because Byrsa sounds similar to the Greek word βυρσα, meaning oxhide.

The citadel dominated the city below and formed the principal military installation of Carthage. It was besieged by Scipio Aemilianus Africanus in the Third Punic War and was defeated and destroyed in 146 BC.

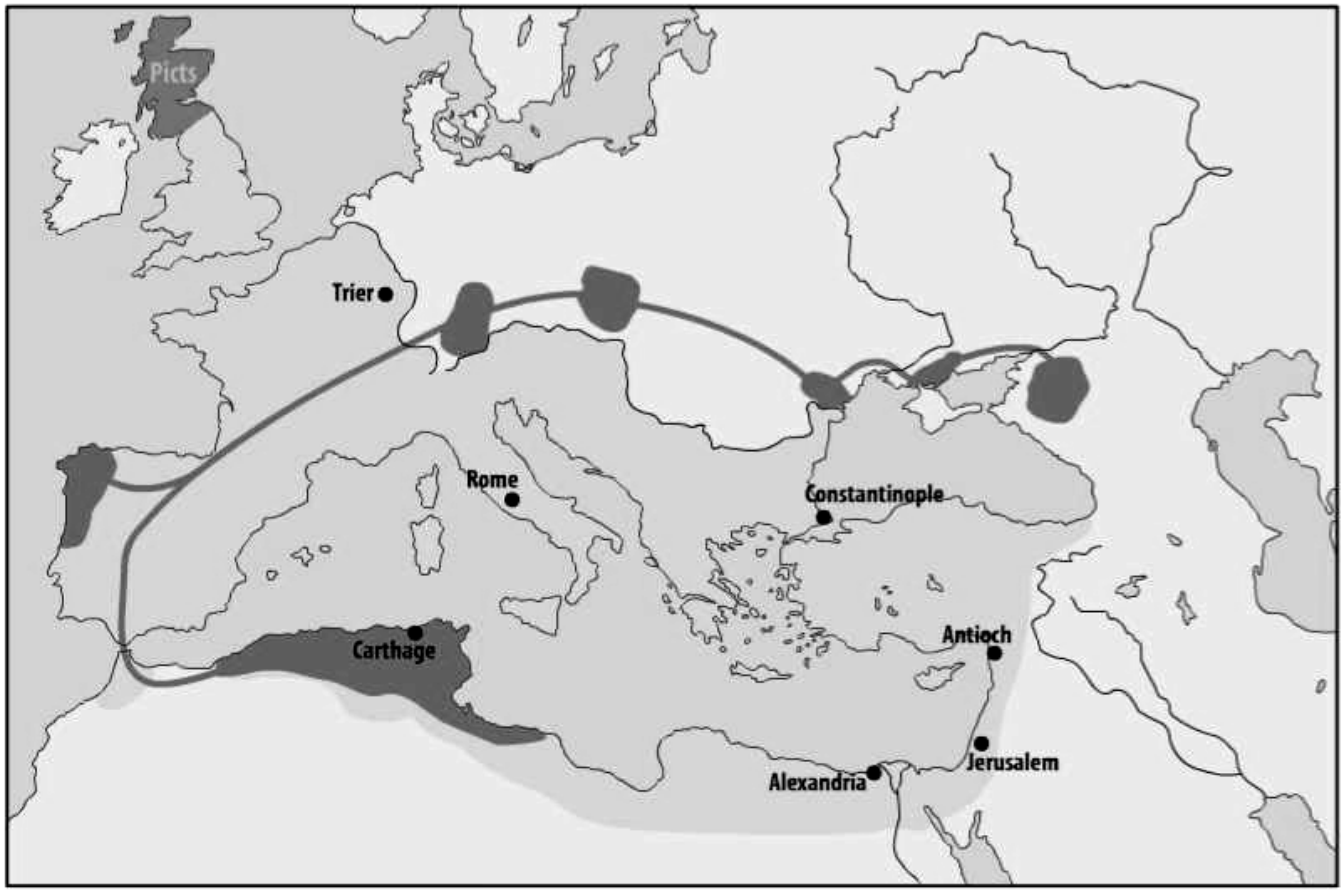
Roman Carthage

← ***Roman Carthage***

When Carthage fell, its nearby rival Utica, a Roman ally, was made capital of the region and replaced Carthage as the leading center of Punic trade and leadership. It had the advantageous position of being situated on the Lake of Tunis and the outlet of the Majardah River, Tunisia's only river that flowed all year long. However, grain cultivation in the Tunisian mountains caused large amounts of silt to erode into the river. This silt was accumulated in the harbor until it was made useless, and Rome was forced to rebuild Carthage.

By 122 BC, Gaius Gracchus founded a short-lived *colonia*, called *Colonia Iunonia*, after the Latin name for the punic goddess Tanit, *Iuno caelestis*. The purpose was to obtain arable lands for impoverished farmers. The Senate abolished the colony some time later, in order to undermine Gracchus' power. After this ill-fated attempt, a new city of Carthage was built on the same land by Julius Caesar in 49-44 BC period, and by the 1st century it had grown to the second largest city in the western half of the Roman Empire, with a peak population of 500,000[*citation needed*]. It was the center of the Roman province of Africa, which was a major breadbasket of the empire.

Carthage also became a centre of early Christianity. In the first of a string of rather poorly reported Councils at Carthage a few years later, no fewer than seventy bishops attended. Tertullian later broke with the mainstream that was represented more and more by the bishop of Rome, but a more serious rift among Christians was the Donatist controversy, which Augustine of Hippo spent much time and parchment arguing against. In 397 at the Council at Carthage, the biblical canon for the western Church was confirmed.



Vandal route to a North African empire in 500 AD, centered in Carthage. They started out in Scandinavia and came down though Europe's internal rivers. The first Roman notice of them was in about 100 AD in what later became Prussia on the North Sea.

The political fallout from the deep disaffection of African Christians is supposedly a crucial factor in the ease with which Carthage and the other centres were captured in the 5th century by Gaiseric, king of the Vandals, who defeated the Roman general Bonifacius and made the city his capital. Gaiseric was considered a heretic too, an Arian, and though Arians commonly despised Catholic Christians, a mere promise of toleration might have caused the city's population to accept him. After a failed attempt to recapture the city in the 5th century, the Byzantines finally subdued the Vandals in the 6th century.

During the emperor Maurice's reign, Carthage was made into an Exarchate, as was Ravenna in Italy. These two exarchates were the western bulwarks of Byzantium, all that remained of its power in the west. In the early 7th century, it was the Exarch of Carthage, Heraclius (of Armenian origin), who overthrew Emperor Phocas.

Islamic Carthage

The Exarchate of Africa was not able to withstand the Muslim conquerors of the 7th century. Umayyad Caliph Abd al-Malik in 686 AD sent a force led by Zuhayr ibn Qais who won a battle over Byzantines and Berbers led by Kusaila, on the Qairawan plain, but could not follow that up. In 695 AD Hasan ibn al-Nu'man captured Carthage and advanced into the Atlas Mountains. A Byzantine fleet arrived and retook Carthage, but in 698 AD Hasan ibn al-Nu'man returned and defeated Tiberios III at the Battle of Carthage. The Byzantines withdrew from all of Africa except

Ceuta. Roman Carthage was destroyed, just as the Romans had destroyed the Carthaginian Republic in 146 BC. Carthage was replaced by Tunis as the major regional centre. The destruction of the Exarchate of Africa marked a permanent end to Roman or Byzantine influence there.

Culture

Language

Carthaginians spoke Punic, a variety of Phoenician, which was a Semitic language originating in the Carthaginians' original homeland of Phoenicia (modern Lebanon).

Economy

Carthaginian commerce was by sea throughout the Mediterranean and far into the Atlantic and by land across the Sahara desert. According to Aristotle, the Carthaginians and others had treaties of commerce to regulate their exports and imports.[18]

The empire of Carthage depended heavily on its trade with Tartessos and other cities of the Iberian peninsula, from which it obtained vast quantities of silver, lead, and, even more importantly, tin ore, which was essential for the manufacture of bronze objects by the civilizations of antiquity. Its trade relations with the Iberians and the naval might that enforced Carthage's monopoly on trade with tin-rich Britain and the Canary Islands allowed it to be the sole significant broker of tin and maker of bronze. Maintaining this monopoly was one of the major sources of power and prosperity for Carthage, and a Carthaginian merchant would rather crash his ship upon the rocky shores of Britain than reveal to any rival how it could be safely approached. In addition to being the sole significant distributor of tin, its central location in the Mediterranean and control of the waters between Sicily and Tunisia allowed it to control the eastern nations' supply of tin. Carthage was also the Mediterranean's largest producer of silver, mined in Iberia and the North African coast, and, after the tin monopoly, this was one of its most profitable trades. One mine in Iberia provided Hannibal with 300 Roman pounds(3,75 talents) of silver a day.[19]

Carthage's economy began as an extension of that of its parent city, Tyre. Its massive merchant fleet traversed the trade routes mapped out by Tyre, and Carthage inherited from Tyre the art of making the extremely valuable dye Tyrian Purple. It was one of the most highly valued commodities in the ancient Mediterranean, being worth fifteen to twenty times its weight in gold. High Roman officials could only afford togas with a small stripe of it. Carthage also produced a less-valuable crimson pigment from the cochineal.

Carthage produced finely embroidered and dyed textiles of cotton, linen, wool, and silk, artistic and functional pottery, faience, incense, and perfumes. Its artisans worked with glass, wood, alabaster, ivory, bronze, brass, lead, gold, silver, and precious stones to create a wide array of goods, including mirrors, highly admired furniture and cabinetry, beds, bedding, and pillows, jewelry, arms, implements, and household items. It traded in salted Atlantic fish and fish sauce, and brokered the manufactured, agricultural, and natural products of almost every Mediterranean people.

← Punic pendant in the form of a bearded head, 4th–3rd century BC.

In addition to manufacturing, Carthage practiced highly advanced and productive agriculture, using iron ploughs, irrigation, and crop rotation. Mago wrote a famous treatise on agriculture which the Romans ordered translated after Carthage was captured. After the Second Punic War, Hannibal promoted agriculture to help restore Carthage's economy and pay the war indemnity to Rome (10000 talents or 800,000 Roman pounds of silver[20]), and he was largely successful.

Carthage produced wine, which was highly prized in Rome, Etruria (the Etruscans), and Greece. Rome was a major consumer of raisin wine, a Carthaginian specialty. Fruits, nuts, grain, grapes, dates, and olives were grown, and olive oil was exported in competition with Greece. Carthage also raised fine horses, similar to today's Arabian horses, which were greatly prized and exported.

Carthage's merchant ships, which surpassed even those of the cities of the Levant, visited every major port of the Mediterranean, Britain, the coast of Africa, and the Canary Islands. These ships were able to carry over 100 tons of goods. The commercial fleet of Carthage was comparable in size and tonnage to the fleets of major European powers in the 18th century.

Merchants at first favored the ports of the east: Egypt, the Levant, Greece, Cyprus, and Asia Minor. But after Carthage's control of Sicily brought it into conflict with Greek colonists, it established commercial relations in the western Mediterranean, including trade with the Etruscans.

Carthage also sent caravans into the interior of Africa and Persia. It traded its manufactured and agricultural goods to the coastal and interior peoples of Africa for salt, gold, timber, ivory, ebony, apes, peacocks, skins, and hides. Its merchants invented the practice of sale by auction and used it to trade with the African tribes. In other ports, they tried to establish permanent warehouses or sell their goods in open-air markets. They obtained amber from Scandinavia and tin from the Canary Islands. From the Celtiberians, Gauls, and Celts, they obtained amber, tin, silver, and furs. Sardinia and Corsica produced gold and silver for Carthage, and Phoenician settlements on islands such as Malta and the Balearic Islands produced commodities that would be sent back to Carthage for large-scale distribution. Carthage supplied poorer civilizations with simple things, such as pottery, metallic products, and ornamentations, often displacing the local manufacturing, but brought its best works to wealthier ones such as the Greeks and Etruscans. Carthage traded in almost every commodity wanted by the ancient world, including spices from Arabia, Africa and India, and slaves (the empire of Carthage temporarily held a portion of Europe and sent conquered white warriors into Northern African slavery.)

These trade ships went all the way down the Atlantic coast of Africa to Senegal and Nigeria. One account has a Carthaginian trading vessel exploring Nigeria, including identification of distinguishing geographic features such as a coastal volcano and an encounter with gorillas (See

Hanno the Navigator). Irregular trade exchanges occurred as far west as Madeira and the Canary Islands, and as far south as southern Africa. Carthage also traded with India by traveling through the Red Sea and the perhaps-mythical lands of Ophir (India/Arabia?) and Punt, which may be present-day Somalia.

Archaeological finds show evidence of all kinds of exchanges, from the vast quantities of tin needed for a bronze-based metals civilization to all manner of textiles, ceramics and fine metalwork. Before and in between the wars, Carthaginian merchants were in every port in the Mediterranean, buying and selling, establishing warehouses where they could, or just bargaining in open-air markets after getting off their ships.

The Etruscan language has not yet been deciphered, but archaeological excavations of Etruscan cities show that the Etruscan civilization was for several centuries a customer and a vendor to Carthage, long before the rise of Rome. The Etruscan city-states were, at times, both commercial partners of Carthage and military allies.

Government

The government of Carthage was an oligarchal republic, which relied on a system of checks and balances and ensured a form of public accountability. The Carthaginian heads of state were called Suffets (thus rendered in Latin by Livy 30.7.5, attested in Punic inscriptions as SPΘM /ʃuftˁim/, meaning "judges" and obviously related to the Biblical Hebrew ruler title *Shophet* "Judge"). Greek and Roman authors more commonly referred to them as "kings". SPΘ /ʃufitˁ/ might originally have been the title of the city's governor, installed by the mother city of Tyre. In the historically attested period, the two Suffets were elected annually from among the most wealthy and influential families and ruled collegially, similarly to Roman consuls (and equated with these by Livy). This practice might have descended from the plutocratic oligarchies that limited the Suffet's power in the first Phoenician cities.[*citation needed*] The aristocratic families were represented in a supreme council (Roman sources speak of a Carthaginian "Senate", and Greek ones of a "council of Elders" or a gerousia), which had a wide range of powers; however, it is not known whether the Suffets were elected by this council or by an assembly of the people. Suffets appear to have exercised judicial and executive power, but not military[*citation needed*]. Although the city's administration was firmly controlled by oligarchs[*citation needed*], democratic elements were to be found as well: Carthage had elected legislators, trade unions and town meetings. Aristotle reported in his *Politics* that unless the Suffets and the Council reached a unanimous decision, the Carthaginian popular assembly had the decisive vote - unlike the situation in Greek states with similar constitutions such as Sparta and Crete. Polybius, in his History book 6, also stated that at the time of the Punic Wars, the Carthaginian public held more sway over the government than the people of Rome held over theirs (a development he regarded as evidence of decline). Finally, there was a body known as the Hundred and Four, which Aristotle compared to the Spartan ephors.[21] These were judges who oversaw the actions of generals[*citation needed*], who could sometimes be sentenced to crucifixion.

Eratosthenes, head of the Library of Alexandria, noted that the Greeks had been wrong to describe all non-Greeks as barbarians, since the Carthaginians as well as the Romans had a constitution. Aristotle also knew and discussed the Carthaginian constitution in his *Politics* (Book II, Chapter 11).

During the period between the end of the First Punic War and the end of the Second Punic War, members of the Barcid family dominated in Carthaginian politics. They were given control of the Carthaginian military and all the Carthaginian territories outside of Africa.

Religion

Carthaginian religion was based on Phoenician religion (derived from the faiths of the Levant), a form of polytheism. Many of the gods the Carthaginians worshiped were localized and are now known only under their local names. It also had Jewish communities (which still exist; see Tunisian Jews and Algerian Jews).

Pantheon

The supreme divine couple was that of Tanit and Ba'al Hammon. The goddess Astarte seems to have been popular in early times. At the height of its cosmopolitan era, Carthage seems to have hosted a large array of divinities from the neighbouring civilizations of Greece, Egypt and the Etruscan city-states. A pantheon was presided over by the father of the gods, but a goddess was the principal figure in the Phoenician pantheon.

Caste of priests and acolytes

Surviving Punic texts are detailed enough to give a portrait of a very well organized caste of temple priests and acolytes performing different types of functions, for a variety of prices. Priests were clean shaven, unlike most of the population. In the first centuries of the city ritual celebrations included rhythmic dancing, derived from Phoenician traditions.

Punic stelae

← *Stelae on the Tophet*

Cippi and stelae of limestone are characteristic monuments of Punic art and religion, and are found throughout the western Phoenician world in unbroken continuity, both historically and geographically. Most of them were set up over urns containing cremated human remains, placed within open-air sanctuaries. Such sanctuaries constitute striking relics of Punic civilization.

Child sacrifice question

Carthage under the Phoenicians was criticized by its neighbors for child sacrifice. Plutarch (*c.* 46–120) mentions the practice, as do Tertullian, Orosius, Philo and Diodorus Siculus.[22] However, Herodotos and Polybius do not. Skeptics contend that if Carthage's critics were aware of such a

practice, however limited, they would have been horrified by it and exaggerated its extent due to their polemical treatment of the Carthaginians.[23] The Hebrew Bible also mentions child sacrifice practiced by the Canaanites, ancestors of the Carthaginians. The Greek and Roman critics, according to Charles Picard, objected not to the killing of children but to the religious nature of it, as in both ancient Greece and Rome children were not uncommonly killed by exposure to the elements. However, the Greeks and Romans engaged in the practice for economic rather than religious reasons.[24]

Modern archaeology in formerly Punic areas has discovered a number of large cemeteries for children and infants. These cemeteries may have been used as graves for stillborn infants or children who died very early.[25] Modern archeological excavations have been interpreted as confirming Plutarch's reports of Carthaginian child sacrifice.[26] In a single child cemetery called the Tophet by archaeologists, an estimated 20,000 urns were deposited between 400 BC and 200 BC, with the practice continuing until the early years of the Christian period. The urns contained the charred bones of newborns and in some cases the bones of fetuses and 2-year-olds. These remains have been interpreted to mean that in the cases of stillborn babies, the parents would sacrifice their youngest child. There is a clear correlation between the frequency of cremation and the well-being of the city. In bad times (war, poor harvests) cremations became more frequent, but it is not possible to know why. The correlation could be because bad times inspired the Carthaginians to pray for divine intervention (via child sacrifice), or because bad times increased child mortality, leading to more child burials (via cremation).

Accounts of child sacrifice in Carthage report that beginning at the founding of Carthage in about 814 BC, mothers and fathers buried their children who had been sacrificed to Ba`al Hammon and Tanit in Tophet.[*citation needed*] The practice was apparently distasteful even to Carthaginians, and they began to buy children for the purpose of sacrifice or even to raise servant children instead of offering up their own. However, Carthage priests demanded the flower of their youth in times of crisis or calamity like war, drought or famine. Special ceremonies during extreme crisis saw up to 200 children of the most affluent and powerful families slain and tossed into the burning pyre.

Skeptics suggest that the bodies of children found in Carthaginian and Phoenician cemeteries were merely the cremated remains of children who died naturally. Sergio Ribichini has argued that the Tophet was "a child necropolis designed to receive the remains of infants who had died prematurely of sickness or other natural causes, and who for this reason were "offered" to specific deities and buried in a place different from the one reserved for the ordinary dead".[27] The few Carthaginian texts which have survived make absolutely no mention of child sacrifice, though most of them pertain to matters entirely unrelated to religion, such as the practice of agriculture.

Modern times

Carthage remains a popular tourist attraction and residential suburb.

In February 1985, Ugo Vetere, the mayor of Rome, and Chedly Klibi, the mayor of Carthage, signed a symbolic treaty "officially" ending the conflict between their cities, which had been supposedly extended by the lack of a peace treaty for more than 2,100 years.[28]

Carthage in fiction

Carthage features in Gustave Flaubert's historical novel *Salammbô* (1862). Set around the time of the Mercenaries' War, it includes a dramatic description of child sacrifice, and the boy Hannibal narrowly avoiding being sacrificed.

In *The Dead Past*, a science fiction short story by Isaac Asimov, a leading character is an ancient historian who is trying to disprove the allegation that the Carthaginians carried out child sacrifice.

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5. **^ Polybius, World History: 1.7–1.60**
6. **^ Warmington, B. H. *Carthage*, p.11.**
7. **^ Carthage and the Carthaginians, R Bosworth Smithp16**
8. **^ Polybius, Book 6, 52. On the *Perseus* project The former (the Romans - editor's note) bestow their whole attention upon this department (upon military service on land - editor's note): whereas the Carthaginians wholly neglect their infantry, though they do take some slight interest in the cavalry. The reason of this is that they employ foreign mercenaries, the Romans native and citizen levies. It is in this point that the latter polity is preferable to the former. They have their hopes of freedom ever resting on the courage of mercenary troops: the Romans on the valour of their own citizens and the aid of their allies.**
9. **^ Adrian Goldsworthy - The Fall of Carthage**
10. **^ Polybius, History Book 6**
11. **^ *Wine: The 8,000-Year-Old Story of the Wine Trade*, Thomas Pellechia (2006)**
12. **^ Ancient History**
13. **^ C. Michael Hogan (2007) *Volubilis*, The Megalithic Portal, ed. by A. Burnham**
14. **^ R.T. Ridley, "To Be Taken with a Pinch of Salt: The Destruction of Carthage", *Classical Philology* 81:2 (1986).**
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16. **^ B. H. Warmington "The Destruction of Carthage, A Retratatio", *Classical Philology* 83:4 (1988). pp308-10**
17. **^ Serge Lancel and Jean-Paul Morel, "Byrsa. Punic vestiges"; *To save Carthage. Exploration and conservation of the city Punic, Roman and Byzantine*, Unesco / INAA, 1992, pp. 43-59**
18. **^ Aristotle, Politics Book 3,IX**
19. **^ Pliny, *Nat His* 33,96**
20. **^ Pliny 33,51**
21. **^ Aristiotle, Politics, Book 2, part 11**
22. **^ Diodorus Siculus. Trans. C.H. Oldfather. *Diodorus of Sicily 1, VI, VIII, IX*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954-1963 (The Loeb Classical Library).**
23. **^ Carthage a History, S Lancel, trans A Nevill, p252**
24. **^ Life in Carthage Gilbert and Colette Charels-Picard pp149-50**
25. **^ Carhtage a History, S Lancel, trans A Nevill, pp251**
26. **^ Kelly A. MacFarlane, University of Alberta, *Hittites and Phoenician***
27. **^ Sergio Ribichini, "Beliefs and Religious Life" in Moscati, Sabatino (ed), *The Phoenicians*, 1988, p.141**
28. **^ http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/198503/delenda.est.carthago.htm written by John Lawton**
29. **^ LacusCurtius • Polybius' Histories**

III – Carthage History

Beginning

Carthage was one of a number of Phoenician settlements in the western Mediterranean that was created to facilitate trade from the cities of Sidon, Tyre and others from Phoenicia, which was situated in the coast of what is now Syria, Lebanon and Israel. In the 10th century BC, the eastern Mediterranean shore was inhabited by various Semitic-speaking populations, who had built up flourishing civilizations. The people inhabiting what is now Lebanon called their language Canaanite, but were referred to as *Phoenicians* by the Greeks. The Phoenician language was very close to ancient Hebrew, to such a degree that the latter is often used as an aid in translation of Phoenician inscriptions.

The Phoenician cities were highly dependent on both land- and seaborne trade and their cities included a number of major ports in the area. In order to provide a resting place for their merchant fleets, to maintain a Phoenician monopoly on an area's natural resource, or to conduct trade on its own, the Phoenicians established numerous colonial cities along the coasts of the Mediterranean, stretching from Iberia to the Black Sea. They were stimulated to found their cities by a need for revitalizing trade in order to pay the tribute extracted from Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos by the succession of empires that ruled them and later by fear of complete Greek colonization of that part of the Mediterranean suitable for commerce. The initial Phoenician colonization took place during a time when other neighboring kingdoms (Greek, Hittite, Cretan) were suffering from a "Dark Age", perhaps after the activities of the Sea Peoples.

Extent of Phoenician settlement

The Phoenicians' leading city was Tyre, which established a number of trading posts around the Mediterranean. Ultimately Phoenicians established 300 colonies in Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, Iberia, and to a much lesser extent, on the arid coast of Libya. The Phoenicians lacked the population or necessity to establish self-sustaining cities abroad, and most cities had fewer than 1,000 inhabitants, but Carthage and a few other cities later developed into large, self sustaining, independent cities. The Phoenicians controlled Cyprus, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Islands, as well as obtained minor possessions in Crete and Sicily; the latter settlements were in perpetual conflict with the Greeks. The Phoenicians managed to control Sicily for a limited time, but Phoenician control did not extend inland and was limited to the coast only.

The first colonies were made on the two paths to Iberia's mineral wealth—along the African coast and on Sicily, Sardinia and the Balearic Islands. The center of the Phoenician world was Tyre, serving as an economic and political hub. The power of this city waned following numerous sieges and its eventual destruction by Alexander the Great, and the role as leader passed to Sidon, and eventually to Carthage. Each colony paid tribute to either Tyre or Sidon, but neither mother city had actual control of the colonies. This changed with the rise of Carthage, since the Carthaginians appointed their own magistrates to rule the towns and Carthage retained much direct control over the colonies. This policy resulted in a number of Iberian towns siding with the Romans during the Punic Wars.

Foundation

Carthage was founded by Phoenician settlers from the city of Tyre, who brought with them the city-god Melqart. Philistos of Syracuse dates the founding of Carthage to *c.* 1215 BC, while the Roman historian Appian dates the founding 50 years prior to the Trojan War (*i.e.* between 1244 and 1234 BC, according to the chronology of Eratosthenes). The Roman poet Virgil imagines that the city's founding coincides with the end of the Trojan War. However, it is most likely that the

city was founded sometime between 846 and 813 BC.[4]

Legends of the foundation of Carthage

According to tradition, the city was founded by Queen Dido (or Elissa or Elissar) who fled Tyre following the murder of her husband in an attempt by her younger brother, the King of Tyre, to bolster his own power. A number of foundation myths have survived through Greek and Roman literature, see Byrsa for one example.

Queen Elissar

Queen Elissar (also known as "Elissa", and by the Arabic name ايسار also ايسا and ايسع) who in later accounts became *Queen Dido*, was a princess of Tyre who founded the city of Carthage. At its peak her metropolis came to be called the "shining city", ruling 300 other cities around the western Mediterranean and leading the Phoenician Punic world.

Elissar was the Princess of Tyre, married to the High Priest of the city, who was wealthy and enjoyed widespread respect and power among the citizens. Details of her life are sketchy and confusing, but the following can be deduced from various sources. According to Justin, Princess Elissar was the daughter of King Matten of Tyre (also known as Muttoial or Belus II). When he died, the throne was jointly bequeathed to her and her brother, Pygmalion. She married her uncle Acherbas (also known as Sychaeus) High Priest of Melqart, a man with both authority and wealth comparable to the king. Pygmalion was a tyrant, lover of both gold and intrigue, and desired the authority and fortune enjoyed by Acherbas. Pygmalion assassinated Acherbas in the temple and managed to keep the misdeed concealed from his sister for a long time, deceiving her with lies about her husband's death. At the same time, the people of Tyre called for a single sovereign, causing dissent within the royal family.

After learning the truth, Elissar fled Tyre with her husband's gold, and managed to trick the Tyrian ships sent in pursuit to join her fleet. When her ship was overtaken by the Tyrian ships, she threatened to throw the gold overboard and let the would-be captors face the wrath of her brother for failing their mission. They opted to join her, and the augmented fleet sailed on towards the West. Elissa eventually sailed to Africa after a brief stop at Cyprus, where she rescued 80 virgins from a temple. She requested land to establish a new city from the king of the Libyan tribe living near Byrsa after reaching Africa. Told that she could have as much land that can be covered by an oxhide, she cut the hide into thin strips and managed to surround the hill of Byrsa. The initial city of Carthage was founded on the spot. When the Libyan king later sought to marry her, which would have caused the city to become part of the king's domain, she chose instead to kill herself.

Queen Dido

In the *Aeneid*, Virgil gives a tale of how Queen Dido of Carthage - which had become a prosperous kingdom under her rule - meets the Trojan hero Aeneas who himself has fled the sack of Troy with a small band of Trojans to settle in the west. Dido and Aeneas fall in love, but when the Trojans depart Carthage for Italy (as is their destiny), Dido commits suicide. At the same time she curses Aeneas and all his future descendants and countrymen - the future Romans.

Colony of Tyre

Little is known of the internal history and dealings of the early Phoenician city. The initial city covered the area around Byrsa, paid an annual tribute to the nearby Libyan tribes, and may have been ruled by a governor from Tyre, whom the Greeks identified as "king". Utica, then the

leading Phoenician city in Africa, aided the early settlement in her dealings. The date from which Carthage can be counted as an independent power cannot exactly be determined, and probably nothing distinguished Carthage from the other Phoenician colonies in Africa during 800 - 700 BC.

It has been noted that the culture of Phoenician colonies had gained a distinct "Punic" characteristic by the end of the 7th century BC, indicating the emergence of a distinct culture in Western Mediterranean.[5] In 650 BC, Carthage planted her own colony,[6] and in 600 BC, she was warring with Greeks on her own away from the African mainland. By the time King Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon was conducting the 13-year siege of Tyre starting from 585 BC, Carthage was probably independent of her mother city in political matters. However, close ties with Tyre still remained, Carthage continued to send annual tribute to Tyre (for the temple of Melqart) at irregular intervals over the centuries. Carthage inherited no colonial empire from Tyre and had to build her own. It is likely that Carthage did not have an empire prior to 6th century BC.

Exactly what social/political/geographic/military factors influenced the citizens of Carthage, and not the other Mediterranean Phoenician colonial members to create an economic and political hegemony is not clearly known. The city of Utica was far older than Carthage and enjoyed the same geographical/political advantages as Carthage, but it opted to be an allied entity, not a leader of the Punic hegemony that came into being probably sometime around the 6th century BC. When the Phoenician trade monopoly was challenged by Etruscans and Greeks in the west and their political and economic independence by successive empires in the east, Phoenician influence from the mainland decreased in the west and Punic Carthage ultimately emerged at the head of a commercial empire. One theory is that refugees from Phoenicia swelled the population and enhanced the culture of Carthage during the time the Phoenician homeland came under attack from the Babylonians and Persians, transferring the tradition of Tyre to Carthage.[7]

Beginning of Carthaginian Hegemony

The mainland Greeks began their colonization efforts in the western Mediterranean with the founding of Naxos and Cumae in Sicily and Italy respectively, and by 650 BC Phoenicians in Sicily had retreated to the western part of that island. Around this time the first recorded independent action by Carthage takes place, which is the colonization of Ibiza. By the end of the 7th century BC, Carthage was becoming one of the leading commercial centers of the West Mediterranean region, a position it retained until overthrown by the Roman Republic. Carthage would establish new colonies, repopulate old Phoenician ones, come to the defense of other Punic cities under threat from natives/Greeks, as well as expand her territories by conquest. While some Phoenician colonies willingly submitted to Carthage, paying tribute and giving up their foreign policy, others in Iberia and Sardinia resisted Carthaginian efforts.

Carthage, unlike Rome, did not concentrate on conquering lands adjacent to the city prior to embarking on overseas ventures. Her dependence on trade and focus on protecting that trade network saw the evolution of an overseas hegemony before Carthage pushed inland into Africa. It may be possible that the power of the Libyan tribes prevented expansion in the neighborhood of the city for some time.[8] Until 550 BC, Carthage paid rent to the Libyans for use of land in the city surroundings[9] and in Cape Bon for agricultural purposes. The Africa dominion controlled by Carthage was relatively small. The payment would be finally stopped around 450 BC, when the second major expansion inland into Tunisia would take place. Carthage probably colonized the Syrtis region (Area between Thapsus in Tunisia and Sabratha in Libya) between 700-600 BC. Carthage also focused on bringing the existing Phoenician colonies along the African coast into the hegemony, but exact details are lacking. Emporia had fallen under Carthaginian influence prior to 509 BC, as the first treaty with Rome indicated. The eastward expansion of Carthaginian

influence along the African coast (through what is now Libya) was blocked by the Greek colony of Cyrene (established 630 BC).

Carthage spread her influence along the west coast relatively unhindered, but the chronology is unknown. Wars with the Libyans, Numidians and Mauri took place but did not end with the creation of a Carthaginian empire like the one the Romans created almost half a millennium later.

Nature of the Hegemony

The degree of control Carthage exerted over her territories varied in their severity. In ways, the Carthaginian hegemony shared some of the characteristics of the Delian League (allies sharing defense expenditure), the Spartan Kingdom (serfs tilling for the Punic elite and state) and to a lesser extent, the Roman Republic (allies contributing manpower/tribute to furnish the Roman war machine).

Conquered People

The African lands near to the city faced the harshest control measures, with Carthaginian officers administering the area and Punic troops garrisoning the cities. Many cities had to destroy their defensive walls, while the Libyans living in the area had few rights. The Libyans could own land[10] but had to pay an annual tribute (50% of agricultural produce and 25% of their town income) and serve in the Carthaginian armies as conscripts.

Tributary Allies

Other Phoenician cities (Like Leptis Magna) paid an annual tribute and ran their own internal affairs, retained their defensive walls but had no independent foreign policy. Other cities had to provide personnel for the Punic army and the Punic navy along with tribute but retained internal autonomy. Allies like Utica and Gades were more independent and had their own government. Carthage stationed troops and some type of central administration in Sardinia and Iberia to control her domain. The cities, in return for surrendering these privileges, obtained Carthaginian protection, which provided the fleet to combat piracy and fought wars needed to protect these cities from external threats.

Citizens and their status

Carthaginian citizenship was more exclusive and the goal of the state was more focused on protecting the trade infrastructure than expanding the citizen body. The Roman Republic, which in the course of her wars created an alliance system in Italy which, in addition to expanding her lands, also expanded her citizen body and military manpower by adding allies (with varying degrees of political rights). Carthage, while she continued to expand until 218 BC, did not have a similar system to increase her citizen numbers. She had treaties in place with various Punic and non-Punic cities (the most famous and well known ones being the ones with Rome), which detailed the rights of each power and their sphere of influence. The Punic cities not under direct Carthaginian control probably had similar treaties in place. The Libyo-Phoenicians, who lived in the African domain controlled by Carthage also had rights similar to those of Carthaginian citizens. The Carthaginian citizens were exempt from taxation and primarily involved in commerce as traders or industrial workers. As a result, Carthage, unlike the other agricultural nations, could not afford to have her citizens serve in a long war, as it diminished her commercial activities.

The reign of "Kings"

Carthage was initially ruled by "kings", who were elected by the Carthaginian "senate" and served for a specific time period. The election took place in Carthage, and the kings at first were war leaders, civic administrators and performed certain religious duties. According to Aristotle,

kings were elected on merit, not by the people but by the senate, and the post was not hereditary. However, the crown and military commands could also be purchased by the highest bidder. Initially these kings may have enjoyed near absolute power, which was curtailed as Carthage moved towards a more democratic government. Gradually, military command fell to professional officers, and a pair of suffets replaced the king in some of the civic functions and eventually kings were no longer elected. Records show that two families had held the kingship with distinction during 550-310 BC. The Magonid family produced several members who were elected kings between 550 BC and 370 BC, who were in the forefront of the overseas expansion of Carthage. Hanno "Magnus", along with his son and grandson, held the kingship for some years between 367 and 310 BC. Records of other elected kings or their impact on Carthaginian history are not available. The suffets, who would ultimately displace the kings, were elected by the people. Suffets would ultimately discard their military duties and become purely civic officials.

The Phoenicians encountered little resistance in developing their trade monopoly during 1100-900 BC. The emergence of the Etruscans as a sea power did little to dent the Phoenician trade. The power of the Etruscans was localized around Italy, and their trade with Corsica, Sardinia and Iberia had not hindered Phoenician activity. Trade had also developed between Punic and Etruscan cities, and Carthage had treaties with the Etruscan cities to regulate these activities, while mutual piracy had not led to full-blown war between the powers. Carthage's economic successes, and its dependence on shipping to conduct most of its trade, led to the creation of a powerful Carthaginian navy to discourage both pirates and rival nations. This, coupled with its success and growing hegemony, ultimately brought Carthage into increasing conflict with the Greeks, the other major power contending for control of the central Mediterranean. In conducting these conflicts, which spanned between 600 - 310 BC, the overseas empire of Carthage also came into being under the military leadership of the "kings". The Etruscans, also in conflict with the Greeks, became allies of Carthage in the ensuing struggle.

Conflict with the Greeks

The nature of the conflict between Carthage and the Greeks was more due to economic factors rather than ideological and cultural differences. The Greeks did not wage a crusade to save the world from *Imperium Barbaricum* but to extend their own area of influence, neither was Carthage interested in wiping out Greek ideals. It was the vulnerability of the Carthaginian economy to Greek commercial competition that caused Carthage to take on the Greeks during the early years of her empire.

Vulnerability of Punic trade

The trade network which Carthage inherited from Tyre depended heavily on Carthage keeping commercial rivals at arm's length. The goods produced by Carthage were mainly for the local African market[11] and were initially inferior to Greek goods. Carthage was the middleman between mineral resource-rich Iberia and the east. She bartered low-priced goods for metals, then bartered those for finished goods in the east and distributed these through their network. The threat from the Greek colonists was threefold:

Undercutting the Phoenicians by offering better products
Taking over the distribution network
Preying on Punic shipping
While the Greek colonies also offered increased opportunities for trade and piracy, their nosing into areas of Punic influence caused the Punic cities to look for protection from their strongest city. Carthage took up the challenge.

Greeks go West

The Greek colonization in the Western Mediterranean started with the establishment of Cumae in

Italy and Naxos in Sicily after 750 BC. Over the next century, hundreds of Greek colonies sprang up along the Southern Italian and Sicilian coastlines (except Western Sicily). There are no records of Phoenicians initially clashing with Greeks over territory; in fact, the Phoenicians had withdrawn to the Western corner of Sicily in the face of Greek expansion. However, the situation changed sometime after 638 BC, when the first Greek trader visited Tartessos, and by 600 BC Carthage was actively warring with the Greeks to curb their colonial expansion. By 600 BC, the once-Phoenician lake had turned into a conflict zone with the Greeks rowing about in all corners. Carthaginian interests in Iberia, Sardinia and Sicily were threatened, which led to a series of conflicts between Carthage and various Greek city-states.

Twenty years after the establishment of Massalia, the Phoenician cities in Sicily repelled an invasion of Dorian Greek settlers in Sicily while aiding the Elymians of Segesta against the Greek city of Selineus in 580 BC. The result was the defeated Greeks establishing themselves in Lipera, which became a pirate hub, a threat to all commerce (Greek included). Shortly after this event, Carthaginians under a "king" called Malchus warred successfully against the Libyan tribes in Africa, and then defeated the Greeks in Sicily, sending a part of the Sicilian booty to Tyre as tribute to Melquart. Malchus next moved to Sardinia, but suffered a severe defeat against the natives. He and his entire army were banished by the Carthaginian senate. They in turn returned to Africa and besieged Carthage, which duly surrendered. Malchus assumed power, but was later deposed and executed. The Carthaginian army, which up to this point had been a predominantly citizen militia, became one primarily made up of mercenaries.[12]

Cyrene and Carthage

No records of any confrontations between the two powers are available, but a legend describes how the powers agreed on a border in Libya.

Two pairs of champions set out for Carthage and Cyrene on the same day, each pair running towards the other city. When the runners met, the Carthaginian pair had covered more ground. Accused of cheating by the Greeks, they consented to be buried alive on the meeting spot, so that the territory between that spot and Carthage would become part of the Carthaginian domain. The Carthaginian champions were brothers, called Philaenus, and the border was marked by two pillars called the "Altars of the Philaeni". The African territorial boundary between the Western and Eastern Roman Empires was later set on this spot.[13]

Mago and the Magonids

Mago I, a general of the army, had assumed power in Carthage by 550 BC. Mago and his sons, Hasdrubal I and Hamilcar I, established the warlike tradition of Carthage by their successes in Africa, Sicily and Sardinia.[14] In 546 BC, Phocaeans fleeing from a Persian invasion established Alalia in Corsica (Greeks had settled there since 562 BC), and began preying on Etruscan and Punic commerce. Between 540 and 535 BC, a Carthaginian-Etruscan alliance had expelled the Greeks from Corsica after the Battle of Alalia. The Etruscans took control of Corsica, Carthage concentrated on Sardinia, ensuring that no Greek presence would be established in the island. The defeat also ended the westward expansion of Greeks for all time.

A war with Phoenician Massalia followed. Carthage lost battles but managed to safeguard Phoenician Iberia and close the Strait of Gibraltar to Greek shipping,[15] while Massalians retained their Iberian colonies in Eastern Iberia above Cape Nao.[16] Southern Iberia was closed to the Greeks. Carthaginians in support of the Phoenician colony Gades in Iberia,[17] also brought about the collapse of Tartessos in Iberia by 530 BC, either by armed conflict or by cutting off Greek trade. Carthage also besieged and took over Gades at this time. The Persians had taken over Cyrene by this time, and Carthage may have been spared a trial of arms against the Persian Empire when the Phoenicians refused to lend ships to Cambyses in 525 BC for an African

expedition. Carthage may have paid tribute irregularly to the Great King. It is not known if Carthage had any role in the Battle of Cumae in 524 BC, after which Etruscan power began to wane in Italy.

Hasdrubal, the son of Mago, was elected as "king" eleven times, was granted a triumph four times (the only Carthaginian to receive this honor - there is no record of anyone else being given similar treatment by Carthage) and had died of his battle wounds received in Sardinia.[18] Carthage had engaged in a 25-year struggle in Sardinia, where the natives may have received aid from Sybaris, then the richest city in Magna Gracia and an ally of the Phocaeans. The Carthaginians faced resistance from Nora and Sulci in Sardinia, while Carales and Tharros had submitted willingly to Carthaginian rule.[19] Hasdrubal's war against the Libyans failed to stop the annual tribute payment.[20]

Carthaginians managed to defeat and drive away the colonization attempt near Leptis Magna in Libya by the Spartan prince Dorieus after a three-year war (514-511 BC).[21] Dorieus was later defeated and killed at Eryx in Sicily in 510 BC while attempting to establish a foothold in Western Sicily. Hamilcar, either the brother or nephew (son of Hanno)[22] of Hasdrubal, followed him to power in Carthage. Hamilcar had served with Hasdrubal in Sardinia and had managed to put down the revolt of Sardinians which had started in 509 BC.

Treaty with Rome

Carthage had concluded treaties with several powers, but those with Rome are the most well known. In 509 BC, a treaty was signed between Carthage and Rome indicating a division of influence and commercial activities. This is the first known source indicating that Carthage had gained control over Sicily and Sardinia, as well as Emporia and the area south of Cape Bon in Africa. Carthage may have signed the treaty with Rome, then an insignificant backwater, because Romans had treaties with the Phocaeans and Cumae, who were aiding the Roman struggle against the Etruscans at that time. Carthage had similar treaties with Etruscan, Punic and Greek cities in Sicily.

By the end of the 6th Century BC, Carthage had conquered most of the old Phoenician colonies e.g. Hadrumetum, Utica and Kerkouane, subjugated some of the Libyan tribes, and had taken control of parts of the North African coast from modern Morocco to the borders of Cyrenaica. It was also fighting wars in defense of Punic colonies and commerce. However, only the details of her struggle against the Greeks have survived - which often makes Carthage seem "obsessed with Sicily".

First Sicilian War

The island of Sicily, lying at Carthage's doorstep, became the arena in which this conflict played out. From their earliest days, both the Greeks and Phoenicians had been attracted to the large island, establishing a large number of colonies and trading posts along its coasts. Small battles had been fought between these settlements for centuries. Carthage had to contend with at least three Greek incursions, in 580 BC, in 510 BC and a war in which the city of Heraclea was destroyed. Gelo had fought in the last war and had secured terms for the Greeks.

The Punic domain in Sicily by 500 BC contained the cities of Motya, Panormus and Soluntum. By 490 BC, Carthage had concluded treaties with the Greek cities of Selinus, Himera, and Zankle in Sicily. Gelo, the tyrant of Greek Syracuse, backed in part by support from other Greek city-states, had been attempting to unite the island under his rule since 485 BC. When Theron of Akragas, father-in-law of Gelo, deposed the tyrant of Himera in 483 BC, Carthage decided to intervene at the instigation of the tyrant of Rhegion, who was the father-in-law of the deposed tyrant of Himera.

Hamilcar prepared the largest Punic overseas expedition to date and, after three years of preparations, sailed for Sicily. This enterprise coincided with the expedition of Xerxes against mainland Greece in 480 BC, prompting speculations about a possible alliance between Carthage and Persia against the Greeks, although no documented proof of this exists. The Punic fleet was battered by storms en route, and the Punic army was destroyed and Hamilcar killed in the Battle of Himera by the combined armies of Himera, Akragas and Syracuse under Gelo. Carthage made peace with the Greeks and paid a large indemnity of 2000 silver talents, but lost no territory in Sicily.

A republican empire

This defeat had far reaching consequences, both political and economic, for Carthage. Politically, the old government of entrenched nobility was ousted, replaced by the Carthaginian Republic. The "King" was still elected, but their power began to erode, with the senate and the "Tribunal of 104" gaining dominance in political matters, and the position of "Suffet" becoming more influential. Economically, sea-borne trade with the Middle East was cut off by the mainland Greeks[23] and Magna Gracia boycotted Carthaginian traders. This led to the development of trade with the West and of caravan-borne trade with the East. Gisco, son of Hamilcar was exiled, and Carthage for the next 70 years made no recorded forays against the Greeks nor aided either the Elymians/Sicels or the Etruscans, then locked in struggle against the Greeks, or sent any aid to the Greek enemies of Syracuse, then the leading Greek city in Sicily. Based on this abstinence from Greek affairs, it is assumed that Carthage was crippled after the defeat of Himera.[24]

How far crippled?

If Carthage was indeed crippled, she was not immobile. Focus was shifted on expansion in Africa and Sardinia, and on the exploration of Africa and Europe for new markets. The grandsons of Mago I, Hannibal, Hasdrubal and Sappho (sons of Hasdrubal), together with Hanno, Gisco and Himilco (sons of Hamilcar) are said to have played prominent parts in these activities,[25] but specific details of their roles are lacking. By 450 BC, Carthage had finally stopped paying tribute to the Libyans,[26] and a line of forts was built in Sardinia, securing Carthaginian control over the island coastline.

Hanno, son of Hamilcar may be the famous Hanno the Navigator,[27] which places was indeed crippled, she was not immobile. Focus was shifted on expansion in Africa and Sardinia, and on the exploration of Africa and Europe for new markets. The grandsons of Mago I, Hannibal, Hasdrubal and Sappho (sons of Hasdrubal), together with Hanno, Gisco and Himilco (sons of Hamilcar) are said to have played prominent parts in these activities,[25] but specific details of their roles are lacking. By 450 BC, Carthage had finally stopped paying tribute to the Libyans,[26] and a line of forts was built in Sardinia, securing Carthaginian control over the island coastline.

Hanno, son of Hamilcar may be the famous Hanno the Navigator,[27] which places his expedition around 460–425 BC, and Himilco may be the same as Himilco the Navigator,[28] which puts his expedition sometimes after 450 BC. Hanno the Navigator sailed down the African coast as far as Cameroon, and Himilco the Navigator explored the European Atlantic coast up to England in search of tin. These expeditions took place when Carthage was at the zenith of its power.[29] If Hanno and Himilco are indeed related to Mago, then Carthage had recovered quite rapidly from her "crippled" state. If Hanno and Himilco are not of the Magoniod family, then these expeditions may have taken place before 500 BC and Cathage might have been crippled for 70 years.

Carthage took no known part in the activities of the Sicilian chief Ducetius in Sicily against Syracuse, nor in the wars between Akrages and Syracuse, or the battles of the Etruscans against Syracuse and Cumae. Carthage's fleet also took no recorded part in the shattering defeat of the

Etruscan fleet at the naval Battle of Cumae in 474 BC at the hands of the Greeks. She sat out the Peloponnesian War, refused to aid Segesta against Selinus in 415 BC and Athens against Syracuse in 413 BC. Nothing is known of any military activities Carthage might have taken in Africa or Iberia during this time. In 410 BC, Segesta, under attack from Selinus, appealed to Carthage again. The Carthaginian senate agreed to send help.

By 410 BC, Carthage had conquered much of modern day Tunisia, strengthened and founded new colonies in North Africa, and had sponsored Mago Barca's journey across the Sahara Desert, Although, in that year, the Iberian colonies seceded — cutting off Carthage's major supply of silver and copper.

The Sicilian see-saw

Second Sicilian War

"King" Hannibal Mago (son of Gisco and grandson of Hamilcar, who had died at Himera in 480 BC), led a small force to Sicily to aid Segesta, and defeated the army of Selinus in 410 BC. Hannibal Mago invaded Sicily with a larger force in 409 BC, landed at Motya and stormed Selinus (modern Selinunte); which fell before Syracuse could intervene effectively. Hannibal then attacked and destroyed Himera despite Syracusan intervention. 3,000 Greek prisoners were executed by Hannibal after the battle to avenge the death of Hamilcar at Himera, and the city was utterly destroyed. The Carthaginians did not attack Syracuse or Akragus, but departed for Africa with the spoils of war, and a three-year lull fell in Sicily.

In retaliation for Greek raids on Punic Sicilian possessions in 406 BC, Hannibal Mago led a second Carthaginian expedition, perhaps aiming to subjugate all Sicily. Carthaginians first moved against Akragas, during the siege of which the Carthaginian forces were ravaged by plague, Hannibal Mago himself succumbing to it. His kinsman and successor, Himilco (the son of Hanno[30]), successfully captured Akragus, then captured the cities of Gela and Camarina while repeatedly defeating the army of Dionysius, the new tyrant of Syracuse, in battle. Himilco ultimately concluded a treaty with Dionysius (an outbreak of plague may have caused this), which allowed the Greek settlers to return to Selinus, Akragus, Camarina and Gela, but these were made tributary to Carthage. The Elymian and Sicel cities were kept free of both Punic and Greek dominion, and Dionysius, who had usurped power in Syracuse, was confirmed as tyrant of Syracuse. The home-bound Punic army carried the plague back to Carthage.

Dionysius the Elder

Dionysius ruled for 38 years and engaged in four wars against Carthage with varying results. In 398 BC, after building up the power of Syracuse while Carthage was suffering from the plague, Dionysius broke the peace treaty. His soldiers massacred the Carthaginian traders in Syracuse, and Dionysius then besieged, captured and destroyed the Carthaginian city of Motya in Western Sicily while foiling the relief effort of Himilco through a brilliant stratagem. Himilco, who had been elected "king", responded decisively the following year, leading an expedition which not only reclaimed Motya, but also captured Messina. Finally, he laid siege to Syracuse itself after Mago, his kinsman, crushed the Greek fleet off Catana. The siege met with great success throughout 397 BC, but in 396 BC plague ravaged the Carthaginian forces, and they collapsed under Syracusan attack. Himilco paid an indemnity of 300 talents for safe passage of Carthaginian citizens to Dionysius. He abandoned his mercenaries and sailed to Carthage, only to commit suicide after publicly assuming full responsibility for the debacle (After his death, the power of "kings" would be severely curtailed, and the power of the oligarchy, ruling through the "Council of Elders" and the newly created "Tribunal of 104," correspondingly increased).[31]

The plague, brought back from Sicily, ravaged Carthage and a severe rebellion in Africa occurred

at the same time. Carthage was besieged and her naval power was crucial in supplying the city. Himilco was succeeded by his kinsman Mago, who was occupied with subduing the rebellion while Dionysius consolidated his power in Sicily. The next clash against Carthage took place during 393 BC. Mago, in an attempt to aid the Sicels under attack from Syracuse, was defeated by Dionysius. Carthage reinforced Mago in 392 BC, but before he could engage the forces of Dionysius the Sicels had switched sides. The Carthaginian army was outmaneuvered by Dionysius, and peace soon followed, which allowed Carthage to retain her domain in Sicily while allowing Syracuse a free hand against the Sicels. The treaty lasted nine years.

Dionysius began the next war in 383 BC, but details of the first 4 years of clashes are unavailable. Carthage sent a force under Mago to Southern Italy for the first time to aid Italian Greeks against Syracuse in 379 BC. The expedition met with success, but during the same year, Libyans and Sardinians revolted, and a plague again swept through Africa. The stalemate in Sicily was broken when Dionysius defeated and killed Mago at the battle of Cabala in 378 BC (Mago was the last "suffet" to lead troops personally in battle. The Magonid dynasty ended with the death of his son Himilco).

Carthage initiated peace negotiations, which dragged for a year but ultimately faltered. Dionysius had consolidated his gains during the lull, and attacked Punic Sicily. He was decisively defeated in the battle of Cronium in 376 BC by Himilco, the son of Mago. Carthage did not follow up the victory but settled for an indemnity payment of 1000 talents and restoration of Carthaginian holdings in Sicily.[32] Nothing is known of how or when Carthage subdued the African and Sardinian rebellion.

Dionysius initiated hostilities again in 368 BC, and after initial successes besieged Lilybaeum, but the defeat of his fleet at Drepanum led to a stalemate and the war ended with his death in 367 BC. Carthaginian holdings west of the Halycas river remained secure. Hanno, a wealthy aristocrat, was in command in Sicily, and he and his family played a leading role in the politics of Carthage for the next fifty years. Carthage had entered into an alliance with the Etruscans, while Tarentum and Syracuse concluded a similar treaty.

Hanno "Magnus"

A power struggle saw Hanno eventually depose his rival Suniatus (Leader of the Council of Elders) through the judicial process and execute him).[33] With Sicily secure, Carthage launched campaigns in Libya, Spain and Mauretania, which eventually earned Hanno the title "Magnus",[34] along with great wealth, while Hamilcar and Gisco, his sons, served with distinction in the campaigns. However, Hanno aimed to obtain total power and planned to overthrow the "Council of Elders". His scheme failed, leading to his execution along with Hamilcar and most of his family. Gisco was exiled.[35]

Treaty with Rome

Carthage and Rome (by now a significant power in Central Italy), concluded a second treaty in 348 BC.[36] Romans were allowed to trade in Sicily, but not to settle there, and Iberia, Sardinia and Libya were forbidden to Roman exploration, trade and settlement activities. Romans were to hand over any settlements they captured there to Carthage. Carthaginians pledged to be friendly with the Latins, and return to Rome cities captured in Latium (The Latin League would be incorporated into the Roman Republic by 338 BC), and not to spend the night in Roman territory under arms. This shows that the Iberian Phoenician colonies were in the Carthaginian "Sphere of Influence" by 348 BC.

Sicily Again

The death of Dionysius ultimately led to a power struggle between Dion, Dionysius II of Syracuse

and other aspirants. The Punic holdings in Sicily were secure as Syracuse had begun to lose its hegemony over other Sicilian cities because of internal political conflict that turned to open warfare. Carthage had done little directly during 366 -346 BC to interfere, but in 343 BC decided to oppose Timoleon. Carthaginian army and fleet activity failed to stop his assumption of power in Syracuse. Mago, the Carthaginian commander, had the advantage of numbers, the support of allied Greeks, and was even admitted into Syracuse. But he bungled so much that he killed himself instead of facing the tribunal of 104 after returning to Carthage.

Timoleon managed to gain support of the tyrants in league with Carthage, and the Punic expedition sent to Sicily in retaliation of Syracusan raids was crushed in the Battle of the Crimissus in 341 BC by the combined Greek force. Gisco, the son of Hanno "Magnus" was recalled and elected as "king", but he achieved little and after Timoleon had captured some pro-Carthaginian Greek cities, a peace treaty was concluded in 338 BC. The accord left the Punic possessions in Sicily unchanged,[37] with Syracuse free to deal with other cities in Sicily.

Alexander and the Diadochi

While Carthage was engaged in Sicily, the rise of Macedon under Philip II and Alexander the Great saw the defeat of Greek city states and the fall of the Achaemenid Empire. All the mainland Phoenician cities had submitted to Alexander except Tyre, which was besieged and sacked in 332 BC, while the Carthaginian citizens present in the city were spared. Carthage sent two delegations to Alexander, one in 332 BC and another in 323 BC, but little was achieved. Alexander was raising a fleet in Cilicia for the invasion of Carthage, Italy and Iberia when he died, sparing Carthage an ordeal. Battles among the Diadochi and the ultimate 3 way struggle between Antagonid Macedon, Ptolemic Egypt and Selucid Syria spared Carthage any further clashes with the successor states for some time. Trade relations were opened with Egypt, giving Carthage sea-bourne access to the Eastern markets, which were cut-off since 480 BC.

Third Sicilian War

In 315 BC, Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuse and considered as one of the Diadochi, seized the city of Messene (present-day Messina). In 311 BC he invaded the Carthaginian holdings on Sicily, breaking the terms of the current peace treaty, and laid siege to Akragas. Hamilcar, grandson of Hanno "Magnus",[38] led the Carthaginian response and met with tremendous success. By 310 BC, he controlled almost all of Sicily and had blockaded Syracuse itself.

In desperation, Agathocles secretly led an expedition of 14,000 men to the mainland, hoping to save his rule by leading a counterstrike against Carthage itself. The expedition ravaged Carthaginian possessions in Africa. Troops recalled from Sicily under the joint command of Hanno and Bomilcar (two political rivals) were defeated by Agathocles, Hanno himself falling in battle. Ophellas, one of the Diadochi, came from Cyrene with 10,000 troops to aid the Syracusans. Agathocles eventually murdered Ophellas and took over his army. Although the Greeks eventually managed to capture Utica, Carthage continued to resist, and Syracuse remained blockaded.

In Sicily, Hamilcar led a night attack on Syracuse, which failed, leading to his capture and subsequent execution by the Syracusans. Agathocles returned to Syracuse in 308 BC and defeated the Punic army, thus lifting the blockade, then returned to Africa. However, Carthage finally managed to defeat the Greeks in Africa, after surviving a coup attempt by Bomilcar. Agathocles abandoned his army and returned to Syracuse, where a treaty divided Sicily between Punic and Greek domains.

Treaty with Rome

Carthage and Rome signed another treaty in 306 BC, according to the Greek historian Philinus.

The main feature of this treaty is the agreement by Rome not to interfere in Sicily and Carthage not to exert influence over events in Italy. The historian Polybius considers this treaty a forgery.

Pyrrhic War

Between 280 and 275 BC, Pyrrhus of Epirus waged two major campaigns in an effort to protect and extend the influence of the Macedonians in the western Mediterranean: one against the emerging power of the Roman Republic in southern Italy, the other against Carthage in Sicily.

The Greek city of Tarentum had attacked and sacked the city of Thruii and expelled the newly installed Roman garrison in 282 BC. Committed to war, they appealed to Pyrrhus, who ultimately arrived with an army and defeated the Romans in the Battle of Heraclea and the Battle of Asculum. In the midst of Pyrrhus' Italian campaigns, he received envoys from the Sicilian cities of Agrigentum, Syracuse, and Leontini, asking for military aid to remove the Carthaginian dominance over that island.[39]

Carthage had attacked Syracuse and besieged the city after seizing Akragus. Mago, the Carthaginian admiral, had 100 ships blockading the city. Pyrrhus agreed to intervene, and sailed for Sicily. Mago lifted the siege and Pyrrhus fortified the Sicilian cities with an army of 20,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry and 20 war elephants, supported by some 200 ships. Initially, Pyrrhus' Sicilian campaign against Carthage was a success, pushing back the Carthaginian forces, and capturing the city-fortress of Eryx, even though he was not able to capture Lilybaeum.[40] After a two-month siege, Pyrrhus withdrew.

Following these losses, Carthage sued for peace, but Pyrrhus refused unless Carthage was willing to renounce its claims on Sicily entirely. According to Plutarch, Pyrrhus set his sights on conquering Carthage itself, and to this end, began outfitting an expedition. The Carthaginians fought a battle outside Lilybaeum in 376 BC, and lost.

The ruthless treatment of the Sicilian cities in his preparations for this expedition, and the execution of two Sicilian rulers whom Pyrrhus claimed were plotting against him, led to such a rise in animosity towards the Greeks that Pyrrhus withdrew from Sicily and returned to deal with events occurring in southern Italy.[41] The fleet of Pyhrrus was defeated by Carthage, the Greeks losing 70 ships in the battle.

Pyrrhus' campaigns in Italy were futile, and Pyrrhus eventually withdrew to Epirus. For Carthage, this meant a return to the status quo. For Rome, however, the failure of Pyrrhus to defend the colonies of *Magna Graecia* meant that Rome absorbed them into its "sphere of influence", bringing it closer to complete domination of the Italian peninsula. Rome's domination of Italy, and proof that Rome could pit its military strength successfully against major international powers, would pave the way to the future Rome-Carthage conflicts of the Punic Wars.

The Punic Wars

When Agathocles died in 288 BC, a large company of Italian mercenaries who had previously been held in his service found themselves suddenly without employment. Rather than leave Sicily, they seized the city of Messana. Naming themselves Mamertines (or "sons of Mars"), they became a law unto themselves, terrorizing the surrounding countryside.

The Mamertines became a growing threat to Carthage and Syracuse alike. In 265 BC, Hiero II, former general of Pyrrhus and the new tyrant of Syracuse, took action against them. Faced with a vastly superior force, the Mamertines divided into two factions, one advocating surrender to Carthage, the other preferring to seek aid from Rome. As a result, embassies were sent to both cities.

While the Roman Senate debated the best course of action, the Carthaginians eagerly agreed to send a garrison to Messana. A Carthaginian garrison was admitted to the city, and a Carthaginian fleet sailed into the Messanan harbor. However, soon afterwards they began negotiating with Hiero. Alarmed, the Mamertines sent another embassy to Rome asking them to expel the Carthaginians.

Hiero's intervention had placed Carthage's military forces directly across the narrow channel of water that separated Sicily from Italy. Moreover, the presence of the Carthaginian fleet gave them effective control over this channel, the Strait of Messina, and demonstrated a clear and present danger to nearby Rome and her interests. The Roman senate was unable to decide on a course of action and referred the matter to the people, who voted to intervene.

The Roman attack on the Carthaginian forces at Messana triggered the first of the Punic Wars. Over the course of the next century, these three major conflicts between Rome and Carthage would determine the course of Western civilization. The wars included a Carthaginian invasion led by Hannibal, which nearly prevented the rise of the Roman Empire. Eventual victory by Rome was a turning point which meant that the civilization of the ancient Mediterranean would pass to the modern world via Southern Europe instead of North Africa.

Shortly after the First Punic War, Carthage faced a major mercenary revolt which changed the internal political landscape of Carthage (bringing the Barcid family to prominence), and affected Carthage's international standing, as Rome used the events of the war to base a claim by which it seized Sardinia and Corsica.

The fall of Carthage

The fall of Carthage was at the end of the third Punic War in 146 BC. In spite of the initial devastating Roman naval losses at the beginning of the series of conflicts and Rome's recovery from the brink of defeat after the terror of a 15-year occupation of much of Italy by Hannibal, the end of the series of wars resulted in the end of Carthaginian power and the complete destruction of the city by Scipio Aemilianus. The Romans pulled the Phoenician warships out into the harbor and burned them before the city, and went from house to house, slaughtering and enslaving the people. The city was set ablaze, and in this way was razed with only ruins and rubble to field the aftermath.

Roman Carthage

Since the 19th century, some historians have written that the city of Carthage was salted to ensure that no crops could be grown there, but there is no ancient evidence for this.[42]

When Carthage fell, its nearby rival Utica, a Roman ally, was made capital of the region and replaced Carthage as the leading center of Punic trade and leadership. It had the advantageous position of being situated on the Lake of Tunis and the outlet of the Majardah River, Tunisia's only river that flowed all year long. However, grain cultivation in the Tunisian mountains caused large amounts of silt to erode into the river. This silt was accumulated in the harbor until it was made useless, and Rome was forced to rebuild Carthage.

A new city of Carthage was built on the same land, and by the 1st century AD it had grown to the second largest city in the western half of the Roman empire, with a peak population of 500,000. It was the center of the Roman province of Africa, which was a major "breadbasket" of the empire. Carthage briefly became the capital of an usurper, Domitius Alexander, in 308–11 AD.

Carthage also became a center of early Christianity. Tertullian rhetorically addressed the Roman governor with the fact that the Christians of Carthage that just yesterday were few in number, now "have filled every place among you —cities, islands, fortresses, towns, market-places, the very

camp, tribes, companies, palaces, senate, forum; we have left nothing to you but the temples of your gods." (*Apologeticus* written at Carthage, c. 197). It is worth noting that Tertullian omits any mention of the surrounding countryside or its network of villas not unlike colonial hacienda society.

In the first of a string of rather poorly reported Councils at Carthage a few years later, no fewer than 70 bishops attended. Tertullian later broke with the mainstream that was represented more and more by the bishop of Rome, but a more serious rift among Christians was the Donatist controversy, which Augustine of Hippo spent much time and parchment arguing against. In 397 at the Council at Carthage, the Biblical canon for the western Church was confirmed.

The political fallout from the deep disaffection of African Christians is supposedly a crucial factor in the ease with which Carthage and the other centers were captured in the 5th century by Gaiseric, king of the Vandals, who defeated the Byzantine general Bonifacius and made the city his capital. Gaiseric was considered a heretic too, an Arian, and though Arians commonly despised Catholic Christians, a mere promise of toleration might have caused the city's population to accept him. After a failed attempt to recapture the city in the 5th century, the Byzantines finally subdued the Vandals in the 6th century. Using Gaiseric's grandson's deposal by a distant cousin, Gelimer, as a pretext, the Byzantines dispatched an army to conquer the Vandal kingdom. On Sunday, October 15, 533, the Byzantine general Belisarius, accompanied by his wife Antonina, made his formal entry into Carthage, sparing it a sack and a massacre.

During the emperor Maurice's reign, Carthage was made into an Exarchate, as was Ravenna in Italy. These two exarchates were the western bulwarks of Byzantium, all that remained of its power in the west. In the early 7th century, it was the Exarch of Carthage, Heraclius (of Armenian origin), who overthrew Emperor Phocas.

The Byzantine Exarchate was not, however, able to withstand the Arab conquerors of the 7th century. The first Arab assault on the Exarchate of Carthage was initiated from Egypt without much success in 647. A more protracted campaign lasted from 670 to 683. In 698, the Exarchate of Africa was finally overrun by Hassan Ibn al Numan and a force of 40,000 men, who destroyed Roman Carthage, just as the Romans had done in 146 BC. Carthage was replaced by Tunis as the major regional center. The destruction of the Exarchate of Africa marked a permanent end to Roman or Byzantine influence there, as the rising tide of Islam shattered the empire.

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IV -- Punic military forces

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

The military forces of the Punic people are all military forces from the State of Carthage in North Africa and troops of Punic ethnicity after the destruction of Carthage in the Third Punic War. The *polis* Carthage had subdued a large region in the Maghreb, roughly resembling modern Tunisia, and controlled the coasts of Tripolitania and today's Morocco with bases along the rest of the Maghreb's shore. The remaining Numidian tribal kingdoms of the Maghreb felt Carthage's influence during its heyday. However, with Roman support after the Second Punic War a short-lived united Numidian kingdom was established, taking over Carthage's former influence in the Maghreb with Punic know-how continuing to play an important role until the Roman conquest.[1] Overseas the Punic people's conquests and political influence covered most of Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia and the Iberian peninsula[2]. Most records about Carthage's military are from conflicts in these regions. Contrary to the usual mode of warfare in Africa there was a stronger reliance on foreign mercenary forces for the land warfare while the fleet was manned with Africans.[3] From the Sicilian Wars and the Punic Wars the records about these troops are almost exclusively from their enemies. However, we do know that in the Pyrrhic War Carthage's navy helped their Roman allies.

Carthaginian military tradition

> ***According to the historian A. Heuss:***
>
> ***"The central problem concerning Carthaginian political institutions is their relation to military aspects." ("Das zentrale Problem des karthagischen Staatslebens ist sein Verhältnis zum Militärwesen.")[4]***

Carthage was founded by nobles from the Phoenician city of Tyre and from Cyprus. From the start it was a complete and independent city on a spot with favorable access to important resources such as clay and sea salt. Carthage in North Africa then became the cradle and center of the Punic state which spread across the Mediterranean. Carthage's military traditions showed its Phoenician roots and reflected native Libyan and Greek influences.

It has traditionally been argued that Carthage was a peaceful city of merchants or a brutal colonial power and both theories were rather dependent upon modern perceptions.[5] Almost all approaches towards Carthage have in common the fact that they do not look at Carthaginian policy-making as such, but rather its structure in a fundamental contrast to that of Rome.[6] However, the *polis* Carthage was over the course of several centuries the dominant power in the Western Mediterranean and could establish its *symmachy* over large territories which were also deeply influenced by the Punic culture. It played a very important role in the urbanization of Northern Africa, where the Punic language was to persist until the 5th century AD.[7]

The idea that mercantile business and warlike spirit are contradictory dates to the Age of Enlightenment[8] and is generally not shared by ancient sources such as Virgil, who writes in *Aeneid* 1,444f. on Carthage: for this reason shall the people be glorious in war and acquire food easily for centuries (*sic nam fore bello / egregiam et facilem victu per saecula gentem*). Livy already points out that Carthage did house a body of professional soldiers until sometime after the Second Punic War. Other sources can be interpreted to refer to a high degree of military professionalism in the small Punic population whose constitution Aristotle groups along with those of Sparta and Crete. So there is an ongoing debate among historians about the extent of Carthage's military spirit.[8] It should be pointed out that the sources on the Punic forces are rare and not easily accessible because they are almost exclusively written by their opponents in war.[9]. An inscription discovered in Carthage seems to confirm the doubts raised by the lack of sources

concerning members of the nobility in the trading business. The translation (which is, like all translations from the Punic, disputed in details) only mentions in the existing parts merchants among the people with little money, while owners of producing facilities are mentioned among those with more money. [1] Similar doubts were raised earlier because our only source on a Punic in the trading business is the play *Poenulus* and the Carthaginian presented there is a rather humble merchant. An important part of the Punic culture seems to have consisted in their devotion to the gods, and their well-known units, called *Sacred Bands* by our Greek sources[*specify*], are regarded as the elite troops of their time. These consisted of infantry troops and cavalry units. The latter were formed by young nobles of the city devoting their life to military training.[*citation needed*]

Mercenaries in the forces of Carthage

Ancient authors such as Polybius tend to stress the reliance of Carthage on foreign mercenaries.[10] However, the term 'mercenary' is misleading when applied to the African and Spanish recruits, i.e. from areas controlled by Carthage. They were comparable to Roman Auxilia though Carthage did also employ mercenaries in the true sense as well.[11] These units were mostly deployed in the expeditionary armies overseas, while in Africa Punic militias formed the backbone of the troops.[*citation needed*]

Units were generally segregated by ethnicity which was also a criterion for the respective specialisation. While within a unit communication in the native tongue was possible, between the units Greek and Punic helped to establish communication. According to Polybius this enabled the insurgents during the Mercenary War, which is also the only recorded large mutiny of Carthage's troops, to communicate with each other on higher levels.

The reported causes for this conflict were that following the First Punic War against Rome, payment of the mercenaries was delayed for over a year. When finally arrangements for payment were made the mistrust between the mercenaries and their employer helped to kindle the war. The native African Libyans, the largest contingent of the 'mercenaries', objected to being paid last while their comrades had been shipped home. Fear had spread that this might be a trap of the Carthaginians to exterminate them without payment and save their silver, after having crippled their army of the specialized supportive arms units. The conditions for the payment were rejected, although their former commander, Gisco, had provided them with his own person and 500 other nobles as hostages to reassure them of Carthage's sincere and honest intentions. The mercenaries and supporting native insurgents began attacking Carthaginian targets and urging the Libyan natives to rise. According to our sources the war was conducted in a particularly brutal fashion and ended, after three years, with the total destruction of the mercenary and insurgent forces.

It would be difficult to say precisely what a typical make-up of Carthage's armies would be, but in the Punic wars, they are reported to have included Iberians (Spanish), Celts (Gauls and Celtiberians), Balearic slingers, Italians (e.g.Ligures), native Sicilian tribesmen, Black Africans, Numidian cavalry, Libyans and Lybophoenicians (also called Africans), Greeks, and naturally Punics from Carthage and its external settlements.

Formation and structure

The Greek sources referred to the commander of Punic forces as strategos or boetarch. The former could at the same time also be a military governor and is known to have had the authority to sign treaties. In areas of conflict we find often dual command and not all of these strategoi seem to be concerned with governing provinces. It seems that Carthage's nobles could afford and were legally allowed to sustain their own armies. Furthermore we tend to find evidence that many individuals from the leading families of Carthage served in the military forces.

Notably the hired units were deployed with their own command structure. As Carthage sent out specific recruiters who bargained contracts with each soldier/corps of soldiers it is possible that these also served as officers responsible for the integration of their units into the army. Polybius noted for the mercenary war that the mercenaries were told to ask their commanding officers for payment, what frustrated them to such an extend that they elected new ones. In the army payment was done per unit with subordinates responsible for the further distribution.

We have no written records of Carthage's military activities from the Punics, only from Greek and Roman writers and these are limited to a few wars.

The Libyans supplied both heavy and light infantry and formed the most disciplined units of the army. The heavy infantry fought in close formation, armed with long spears and round shields, wearing helmets and linen cuirasses. The light Libyan infantry carried javelins and a small shield, same as Iberian light infantry. The Iberian infantry wore purple bordered white tunics and leather headgear. The Iberian heavy infantry fought in a dense phalanx, armed with solid metal javelins called "angon" , long body shields and short thrusting swords called 'falcata".[12] Campanian, Sardinian and Gallic infantry fought in their native gear,[13] but often were equipped by Carthage. Polybius seems to suggest that Hannibal's heavy Libyan infantry was equipped with the sarissa (pike), thus forming a Macedonian style phalanx. Although this account is disputed by many experts and Polybius himself is not clear in his descriptions of the great general's battles, he mentions Hannibal when he makes his famed comparison between the Roman maniple and the Macedonian phalanx.[14]

The Libyans, Carthaginian citizens and the Libyo-Phoenicians provided disciplined, well trained cavalry equipped with thrusting spears and round shields. Numidia provided superb light cavalry, highly skilled in skirmishing tactics, armed with bundles of javelins, a small round shield and riding without bridle or saddle. Iberians and Gauls also provided cavalry, which relied on the all out charge. The Libyans provided the bulk of the heavy, four horse war chariots for Carthage, used before the Second Punic War.[15] Allied cities of the Punic hegemony contributed contingents for the army as well. Carthaginian officer corps held overall command of the army, although many units may have fought under their chieftains.

Carthaginian forces also employed war-elephants both within Africa and during overseas operations, including campaigns in Iberia and most famously Hannibal's invasion of Italy. These beasts were the now-extinct North African elephant (*Loxodonta* [*africana*] *pharaoensis*), probably a subspecies of the African forest elephant (*Loxodonta cyclotis*), which is smaller than the African bush elephant (*Loxodonta africana*) and the Indian elephants (*elephas maximus*) used by the Seleucids. In battle the elephants functioned as a psychological weapon, frightening the opposing men and horses into flight or creating gaps in the enemy line which could be exploited by Carthagianian cavalry and infantry.[16] Modern scholars have disputed whether or not Carthaginian elephants were furnished with turrets in combat; despite frequent assertions to the contrary, the evidence indicates that African forest elephants could and did carry turrets in certain military contexts.[17]

Carthaginian navy

The navy of Carthage was the city's primary security, and it was the preeminent force patrolling the Mediterranean in Carthage's golden age. This was due to its central location, control of the pathway between Sicily and Tunisia, through which all ships must travel in order to cross the Mediterranean, and the skill with which its ships were designed and built.[*citation needed*]

Originally based on Tyrian designs with two or three levels of rowers that were perfected by generations of Phoenician seamanship[*citation needed*], it also included quadriremes and

quinqueremes, warships with four and five ranks of rowers on no more than three levels (see galley). These latter ships were much larger than their predecessors. Archaeological investigations confirm the presence of ship-sheds on the island in the circular harbour reported by ancient sources.

Polybius wrote in the sixth book of his History that the Carthaginians were, "more exercised in maritime affairs than any other people."[19] Their navy included some 300 to 350 warships that continuously patrolled the expanse of the Mediterranean. The Romans, unable to defeat them through conventional maritime tactics, developed the Corvus, or the *crow*, a spiked boarding bridge that could be impaled onto an enemy ship so that the Romans could send over marines to capture or sink the Carthaginian vessels.

Recruitment

The sailors and marines of the fleets were recruited from the lower classes of Carthage itself, meaning the navy was manned in the majority by actual Carthaginian citizens, this is in contrast to the largely mercenary army. The navy offered a stable profession and financial security for its sailors. This helped to contribute to the city's political stability, since the unemployed, debt-ridden poor in other cities were frequently inclined to support revolutionary leaders in the hope of improving their own lot.[20]

Citations

1. **^ Punic religion and culture ended in Christian times, not after the fall of Carthage.**
2. **^ Further cities with the name 'Carthage' were in Sardinia and Iberia.**
3. **^ Africans are natives from Punic Africa in this context no matter what ethnic group.**
4. **^ Ameling, Walter *Karthago: Studien zu Militär, Staat und Gesellschaft* p. 7, quoting A. Heuss *Die Gestaltung des römischen und karthagischen Staates bis zum Pyrrhuskrieg* in: RuK, p. 114**
5. **^ Ameling, 2**
6. **^ Ameling, 3**
7. **^ Ameling, 2f**
8. **^ *a b* Ameling, 7**
9. **^ Ameling, Walter *Karthago: Studien zu Militär, Staat und Gesellschaft* ISBN 3-406-37490-5**
10. **^ Polybius, Book 6, 52. On The Perseus Project The former (the Romans - editor's note) bestow their whole attention upon this department (upon military service on land - editor's note): whereas the Carthaginians wholly neglect their infantry, though they do take some slight interest in the cavalry. The reason of this is that they employ foreign mercenaries, the Romans native and citizen levies. It is in this point that the latter polity is preferable to the former. They have their hopes of freedom ever resting on the courage of mercenary troops: the Romans on the valour of their own citizens and the aid of their allies.**
11. **^ Pyrrhus of Epirus by Jeff Champion, p 107**
12. **^ Goldsworthy, Adrian, *The fall of Carthage*, p 32 ISBN 0-253-33546-9**
13. **^ Makroe, Glenn E., *Phoenicians*, p 84-86 ISBN 0-520-22614-3**
14. **^ Polybius, "Historiai", 18.28-32**
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16. **^ Charles and Rhodan (2007)**
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19. ^ Polybius, History Book 6

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V -- Religion in Carthage

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

The Religion of Carthage was a direct continuation of the Phonecian religion with significant local modifications.

Pantheon

← Stele from the Tophet of Salammbó showing a Tanit symbol

Phoenician Origins

Carthage derived the original core of its religion from Phoenicia. The Phoenician pantheon was presided over by the father of the gods, but a goddess was the principal figure in the Phoenician pantheon. The system of gods and goddesses in Phoenician religion also influenced many other cultures. There are too many similarities to be overlooked. In some instances the names of gods underwent very little change when they were borrowed. Even the legends maintained major similarities. Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Persian and others had their influences on the Phoenician faith system as well as borrowed from it.

As Professor Louis Foucher wrote:

> **"We are comparatively ill informed about the deities worshipped by the early Phoenicians when they came to Carthage from the East to set up trading posts, great and small, along the maritime highway which also took them as far as Caries in Spain. These sailors and salesmen must primarily have invoked the gods who could ensure them a safe voyage, permitting them to defy storms or to evade rocks, and to gain hospitable havens which would shelter them alike from the hostility of nature and of man. Such, doubtless, was the substance of the prayers they addressed to the god Resheph, whose statuette was recovered from the sea near Selinunte in 1961."[1]**

As Salim George Khalaf wrote:

> **"The Phoenicians worshipped a triad of deities, each having different names and attributes depending upon the city in which they were worshipped, although their basic nature remained the same. The primary god was El, protector of the universe, but often called Baal. The son, Baal or Melqart, symbolized the annual cycle of vegetation and was associated with the female deity Astarte in her role as the maternal goddess. She was called Asherar-yam, our lady of the sea, and in Byblos she was Baalat, our lady. Astarte was linked with mother goddesses of neighboring cultures, in her role as combined heavenly mother and earth mother. Religious statues of Astarte in many different forms were left as votive offerings in shrines and sanctuaries as prayers for good harvest, for healthy**

children, and for protection and tranquillity in the home. The Phoenician triad was incorporated in varying degrees by their neighbors and Baal and Astarte eventually took on the look of other deities."[2]

The supreme divine couple was that of Tanit and Ba'al Hammon. The goddess Astarte seems to have been popular in early times. At the height of its cosmopolitan era Carthage seems to have hosted a large array of divinities from the neighbouring civilizations of Greece, Egypt and the Etruscan city-states.

Caste of priests and acolytes

Surviving Punic texts are detailed enough to give a portrait of a very well organized caste of temple priests and acolytes performing different types of functions, for a variety of prices. Priests were clean shaven, unlike most of the population. In the first centuries of the city ritual celebrations included rhythmic dancing, derived from Phoenician traditions.

Punic stelae

Cippi and stelae of limestone are characteristic monuments of Punic art and religion, and are found throughout the western Phoenician world in unbroken continuity, both historically and geographically. The majority was set up over urns containing the ashes of human sacrifices, which had been placed within open-air sanctuaries. Such sanctuaries constitute striking relics of the Western Mediterranean Phoenician or Punic civilisation.

One of the most important stelae was the "Marseilles Tariff" found in the port of Marseille and originally from the temple of Baal-Saphon in Carthage. The tariff regulated the payments to the priests for performing sacrifices,[3] and is close related to the normatives and provisions of the Leviticus.[4]

Child sacrifice

Carthage was described by its competitors as practicing child sacrifice. Plutarch (ca. 46–120 AD) mentions the practice, as do Tertullian, Orosius, Diodorus Siculus and Philo. However, Livy and Polybius do not. The Hebrew Bible also mentions what appears to be child sacrifice practiced at a place called the Tophet ("roasting place") by the Canaanites, related to the Carthaginians, although there is to date no evidence of human sacrifice among the Canaanites.

In former times they (the Carthaginians) had been accustomed to sacrifice to this god the noblest of their sons, but more recently, secretly buying and nurturing children, they had sent these to the sacrifice.[5]

Some of these sources suggest that babies were roasted to death on a heated bronze statue. According to Diodorus Siculus, "There was in their city a bronze image of Cronus extending its hands, palms up and sloping toward the ground, so that each of the children when placed thereon rolled down and fell into a sort of gaping pit filled with fire."[5]

The accuracy of such stories is disputed by some modern historians and archaeologists.[6][7] Nevertheless, several apparent "Tophets" have been identified, chiefly a large one in Carthage, dubbed the "Tophet of Salammbó", after the neighbourhood where it was unearthed in 1921.[8]

Sites within Carthage and other Phoenician centers revealed the remains of infants and children in large numbers; many historians interpret this as evidence for frequent and prominent child sacrifice to the god Ba'al Hammon.

Greek, Roman and Israelite writers refer to Phoenician child sacrifice.[*citation needed*] However, some historians have disputed this interpretation, suggesting instead that these were resting places

for children miscarried or who died in infancy.[*citation needed*] The debate is ongoing among modern archeologists and historians.[*citation needed*] Skeptics suggest that the bodies of children found in Carthaginian and Phoenician cemeteries were merely the cremated remains of children that died naturally.[9] Sergio Ribichini has argued that the Tophet was "a child necropolis designed to receive the remains of infants who had died prematurely of sickness or other natural causes, and who for this reason were "offered" to specific deities and buried in a place different from the one reserved for the ordinary dead".[10]

According to Lawrence and Wolff there is a consensus among scholars is that Carthaginian children were sacrificed by their parents, who would make a vow to kill the next child if the gods would grant them a favor: for instance that their shipment of goods were to arrive safely in a foreign port.[11] They placed their children alive in the arms of a bronze statue of:

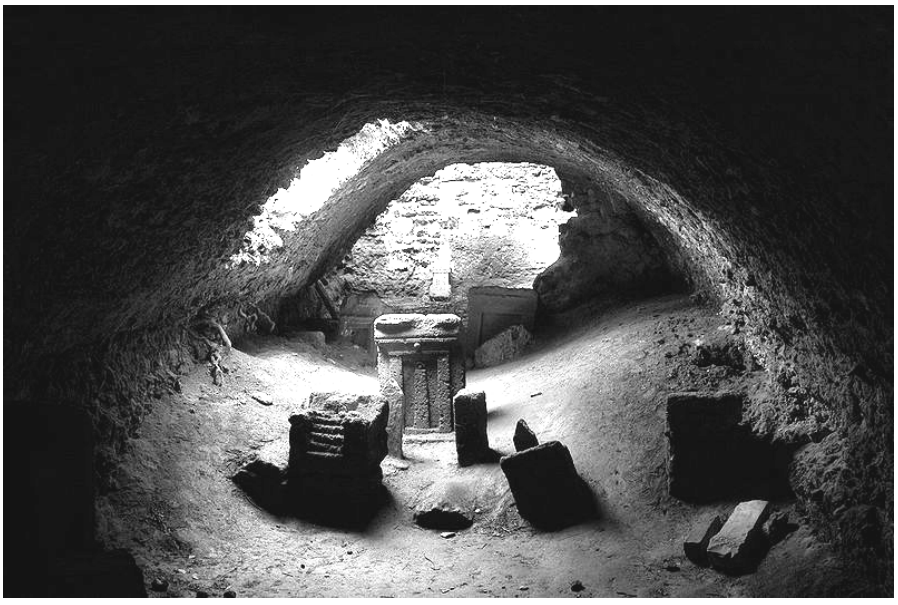
> **the lady Tanit ... . The hands of the statue extended over a brazier into which the child fell once the flames had caused the limbs to contract and its mouth to open ... . The child was alive and conscious when burned ... Philo specified that the sacrificed child was best-loved.[12]**

Later commentators have compared the accounts of child sacrifice in the Old Testament with similar ones from Greek and Latin sources speaking of the offering of children by fire as sacrifices in the Punic city of Carthage, which was a Phoenician colony. Cleitarchus, Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch all mention burning of children as an offering to Cronus or Saturn, that is to Ba`al Hammon, the chief god of Carthage. Issues and practices relating to Moloch and child sacrifice may also have been overemphasized for effect. After the Romans finally defeated Carthage and totally destroyed the city, they engaged in post-war propaganda to make their arch enemies seem cruel and less civilized.

Motivations behind the sacrifices

Some authors, like Stager and Wolff,[11] believe that the real purpose behind children's sacrificies was birth control. The fact that the preferred victims were male, however, exposes the weakness of this theory. The most plausible motivation was, according to available evidence, to establish a way of "cementing the vertical and horizontal power relationship within the social structure".[13]

Evidence from archaeology



← Stelae in the Tophet of Salammbó covered by a vault built in the Roman period

Most archaeologists accept that some sacrifices did occur. Lawrence E. Stager, Professor of Archaeology of Israel and Director of the Semitic Museum at Harvard University, who directed the excavations of the Carthage Tophet in the 1970's, takes the view based on ancient texts that infant sacrifice was

practiced there. Stager is joined by Joseph Greene, Assistant Director of the Semitic Museum, a member of Stager's team in the excavations of Carthage, and author of the American Schools of Oriental Research's "Punic Project Excavations": *Child Sacrifice in the Context of Carthaginian Religion: Excavations in the Tophet.*

According to these scholars, in the Tophet of Salammbó, Carthage, an estimated 20,000 urns were deposited between 400 BC and 200 BC, with the practice continuing until the early years of the Christian period. The urns contained the charred bones of newborns and in some cases the bones of fetuses and 2-year-olds. These double remains have been interpreted to mean that in the cases of stillborn babies, the parents would sacrifice their youngest child. There is a clear correlation between the frequency of sacrifice and the well-being of the city. In bad times (war, poor harvests) sacrifices became more frequent, indicating an increased assiduousness in seeking divine appeasement, or possibly a population controlling response to the reduction of available food in these bad times, or perhaps increased child mortality due to famine or disease.

The area covered by the Tophet was probably over an acre and a half by the fourth century B.C., with nine different levels of burials. Archaeologists have also discovered evidence of child sacrifice in Sardinia and Sicily.

Animal remains, mostly sheep and goats, found inside some of the Tophet urns strongly suggest that this was not a burial ground for children who died prematurely. The animals were sacrificed to the gods, presumably in place of children (one surviving inscription refers to the animal as "a substitute"). It is conjectured that the children unlucky enough not to have substitutes were also sacrificed and then buried in the Tophet.

The Tophet

"Tophet" is a term derived from the Bible, used to refer to a site near Jerusalem in which Canaanites and Israelites sacrificed children. It is now used as a general term for all such sacred sites. In Carthage, it was the location of the temple of the goddess Tanit and the necropolis.

The Bible does not specify that the Israelite victims were buried, only burned, although the "place of burning" was probably adjacent to the place of burial. Indeed, soil in the Tophet of Salammbó was found to be full of olive wood charcoal, probably from the sacrificial pyres. We have no idea how the Phoenicians themselves referred to the places of burning or burial or to the practice itself, since no large body of Phoenician writing has come down to us.[*citation needed*]

Evidence for and against the practice of child sacrifice

It has been argued by some modern scholars that evidence of Carthaginian child sacrifice is sketchy at best and that it is far more likely to have been a Roman blood libel against the Carthaginians to justify their conquest and destruction. M'Hamed Hassine Fantar, Director of Research at the Institute of National Cultural Heritage, Tunisia, argues that the Tophet of Salammbó, Carthage, was a cemetery for stillborns and infants who had died of natural causes, and whose bodies were then cremated. Sergio Ribichini has also argued that the Tophet was "a child necropolis designed to receive the remains of infants who had died prematurely of sickness or other natural causes, and who for this reason were "offered" to specific deities and buried in a place different from the one reserved for the ordinary dead". He adds that this was probably part of "an effort to ensure the benevolent protection of the same deities for the survivors." [14] The few Carthaginian texts which have survived make no mention of child sacrifice, though Carthaginian votive steles (several in Egyptian style) display a priest carrying a living-child,

apparently to sacrifice.

Conversely, work at Motiya, an island off Sicily which was home to a large Phoenician colony, showed that the bones of children buried in the local Tophet belonged to male children under the age of five. There was no evidence of disease in these bones (which survived cremation). This argues against the theory that children buried in the Tophet died of random causes. As effective a tool of anti-Carthaginian propaganda child sacrifice may have been, the Motiyan investigation offered strong evidence to support the classical sources.

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VI -- The Punic Wars

The Punic Wars were a series of three wars fought between Rome and Carthage from 264 to 146 BC.[1] At the time, they were probably the largest wars that had ever taken place.[2] The term *Punic* comes from the Latin word *Punicus* (or *Poenicus*), meaning "Carthaginian", with reference to the Carthaginians' Phoenician ancestry.[3]

The main cause of the Punic Wars was the conflict of interests between the existing Carthaginian Empire and the expanding Roman Republic. The Romans were initially interested in expansion via Sicily (which at that time was a cultural melting pot), part of which lay under Carthaginian control. At the start of the first Punic War, Carthage was the dominant power of the Western Mediterranean, with an extensive maritime empire, while Rome was the rapidly ascending power in Italy, but lacked the naval power of Carthage. By the end of the third war, after more than a hundred years and the deaths of many hundreds of thousands of soldiers from both sides, Rome had conquered Carthage's empire and razed the city, becoming the most powerful state of the Western Mediterranean. With the end of the Macedonian wars — which ran concurrently with the Punic Wars — and the defeat of the Seleucid King Antiochus III the Great in the Roman–Syrian War (Treaty of Apamea, 188 BC) in the eastern sea, Rome emerged as the dominant Mediterranean power and one of the most powerful cities in the classical world.

The Roman victories over Carthage in these wars gave Rome a preeminent status it would retain until the 5th century AD.

Background

During the mid-3rd century BC, Carthage was a large city located on the coast of modern Tunisia. Founded by the Phoenicians in the mid-9th century BC, it was a powerful thalassocratic city-state with a vast commercial network. Of the great city-states in the western Mediterranean, only Rome rivaled it in power, wealth, and population. While Carthage's navy was the largest in the ancient world at the time, it did not maintain a large, permanent, standing army. Instead, Carthage relied mostly on mercenaries, especially Numidian, to fight its wars.[4] However, most of the officers who commanded the armies were Carthaginian citizens. The Carthaginians were famed for their abilities as sailors, and unlike their armies, many Carthaginians from the lower classes served in their navy, which provided them with a stable income and career.

In 264 BC the Roman Republic had gained control of the Italian peninsula south of the Po river. Unlike Carthage, Rome had large standing armies made up almost entirely of Roman citizens. On the other hand, at the start of the First Punic War the Romans had no standing navy, and were thus at a disadvantage until they began to construct their own large fleets during the winter.

VI, a -- The First Punic War (264 to 241 BC) was the first of three major wars fought between Ancient Carthage and the Roman Republic. For 23 years, the two powers struggled for supremacy in the western Mediterranean Sea, primarily on the Mediterranean island of Sicily and its surrounding waters but also to a lesser extent in the Apennine peninsula and North Africa. Carthage, located in what is today Tunisia, was the dominant Western Mediterranean power at the beginning of the conflicts. However, the Roman Republic eventually emerged as the victor, imposing strict treaty conditions and heavy financial penalties against Carthage.[1]

The series of wars between Rome and Carthage were known to the Romans as the "Punic Wars" because of the Latin name for the Carthaginians: *Punici*, derived from *Phoenici*, referring to the Carthaginians' Phoenician ancestry.[2]

Background

By the middle of the 3rd century BC, the Romans had secured the whole of the Italian peninsula, except Gallia Cisalpina (Po Valley). Over the course of the preceding one hundred years, Rome had defeated every rival that stood in the way of their domination of the Italian peninsula. First the Latin league was forcibly dissolved during the Latin War,[3] then the power of the Samnites was broken during the three prolonged Samnite wars,[4] and the Greek cities of Magna Graecia who were unified after Pyrrhus of Epirus finally submitted to Roman authority at the conclusion of the Pyrrhic War.[4]

Carthage considered itself the dominant naval power in the western Mediterranean. It originated as a Phoenician colony in Africa, near modern Tunis, and gradually became the center of a civilization whose hegemony reached along the North African coast and deep in its hinterland, and also included the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, Corsica, a limited area in southern Spain, and the western half of Sicily.[5] The conflict began after both Rome and Carthage intervened in Messana, the Sicilian city closest to the Italian peninsula.[2]

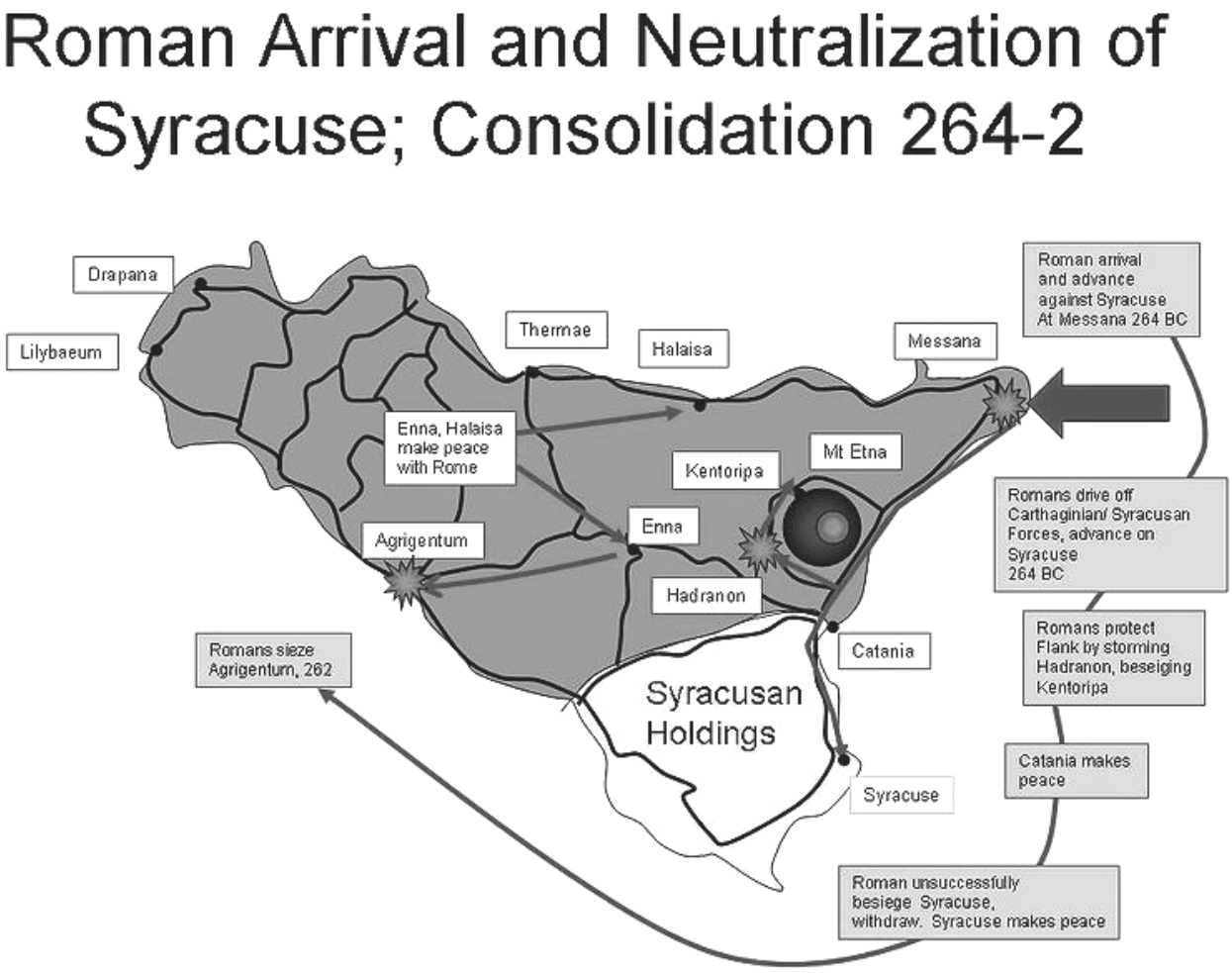
Beginning

In 288 BC the Mamertines—a group of Italian (Campanian) mercenaries originally hired by Agathocles of Syracuse—occupied the city of Messana (modern Messina) in the northeastern tip of Sicily, killing all the men and taking the women as their wives.[6] At the same time a group of Roman troops made up of Campanian "citizens without the vote" also seized control of Rhegium, which lies across the straits on the mainland of Italy. In 270 BC the Romans regained control of Rhegium and severely punished the survivors of the revolt. In Sicily the Mamertines ravaged the countryside and collided with the expanding regional empire of the independent city of Syracuse. Hiero II, tyrant of Syracuse, defeated the Mamertines near Mylae on the Longanus River.[7] Following the defeat at the river Longanus, the Mamertines appealed to both Rome and Carthage for assistance, and acting first the Carthaginians approached Hiero to take no further action and convinced the Mamertines to accept a Carthaginian garrison in Messana. Either unhappy with the prospect of a Carthaginian garrison, or convinced that the recent alliance between Rome and Carthage against Pyrrhus reflected cordial relations between the two, the Mamertines petitioned Rome for an alliance, hoping for more reliable protection. However, the rivalry between Rome and Carthage had grown since the war with Pyrrhus; an alliance with both powers was simply no longer feasible.[8]

A considerable debate took place in Rome on the question of whether to accept the Mamertines' appeal for help, and thus likely enter into a war with Carthage. While the Romans did not wish to come to the aid of soldiers who had unjustly stolen a city from its rightful possessors, and although

they were still recovering from the insurrection of Campanian troops at Rhegium in 271, many were also unwilling to see Carthaginian power in Sicily expand even further. Leaving the Carthaginians alone at Messana would give them a free hand to deal with Syracuse; after the Syracusans had been defeated, the Carthaginian takeover of Sicily would essentially be complete.[9] A deadlocked senate put the matter before the popular assembly, where it was decided to accept the Mamertines' request and Appius Claudius Caudex was appointed commander of a military expedition with orders to cross to Messana.[10][11][12]

Roman Landing and Advance to Syracuse



Roman arrival and neutralization of Syracuse

Sicily is a semi-hilly island, with geographical obstacles and rough terrain making lines of communication difficult to maintain. For this reason land warfare played a secondary role in the First Punic War. Land operations were confined to small scale raids and skirmishes, with few pitched battles. Sieges and land blockades were the most common large-scale operations for the regular army. The main blockade targets were the important ports, since neither Carthage nor Rome were based in Sicily and both needed continuous reinforcements and communication with the mainland.[13]

The land war in Sicily began with the Roman landing at Messana in 264 BC. Despite the Carthaginian pre-war naval advantage, the Roman landing was virtually unopposed. Two legions commanded by Appius Claudius Caudex disembarked at Messana, where the Mamertines had expelled the Carthaginian garrison commanded by Hanno (no relation to Hanno the Great).[14]

After defeating the Syracusan and Carthaginian forces besieging Messana the Romans marched south and in turn besieged Syracuse.[15] After a brief siege, with no Carthaginian help in sight, Syracuse made peace with the Romans.[16] According to the terms of the treaty, Syracuse would become a Roman ally, would pay a somewhat light indemnity of 100 talents of silver to Rome, and, perhaps most importantly, would agree to help supply the Roman army in Sicily.[16] This solved the Roman problem of having to keep an overseas army provisioned while facing an enemy with a superior navy.[16][17] Following the defection of Syracuse, several other smaller Carthaginian dependencies in Sicily also switched to the Roman side.[16]

Carthage prepares for War

Meanwhile, Carthage had begun to build a mercenary army in Africa which was to be shipped to Sicily to meet the Romans. According to the historian Philinus, this army was composed of 50,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry, and 60 elephants, although these numbers may be inflated.[18] According to Polybius this army was partly composed of Ligurians, Celts and Iberians.[19]

In past wars on the island of Sicily, Carthage had won out by relying on certain fortified strong-points throughout the island, and their plan was to conduct the land war in the same fashion. The mercenary army would operate in the open against the Romans, while the strongly fortified cities would provide a defensive base from which to operate.[16]

Battle of Agrigentum

One of these cities, Agrigentum (known to the Greeks as Acragas), would be the next Roman objective. In 262 BC, Rome besieged Agrigentum, an operation that involved both consular armies—a total of four Roman legions—and took several months to resolve. The garrison of Agrigentum managed to call for reinforcements and the Carthaginian relief force commanded by Hanno came to the rescue and destroyed the Roman supply base at Erbessus.[20] With supplies from Syracuse cut, the Romans were now besieged and constructed a line of contravallation.[20] After a few skirmishes, disease struck the Roman army while supplies in Agrigentum were running low, and both sides saw an open battle as preferable to the current situation.[20] Although the Romans won a clear victory over the Carthaginian relief force at the Battle of Agrigentum, the Carthaginian army defending the city managed to escape.[20] Agrigentum, now lacking any real defenses, fell easily to the Romans, who then sacked the city and enslaved the populace.[20][21]

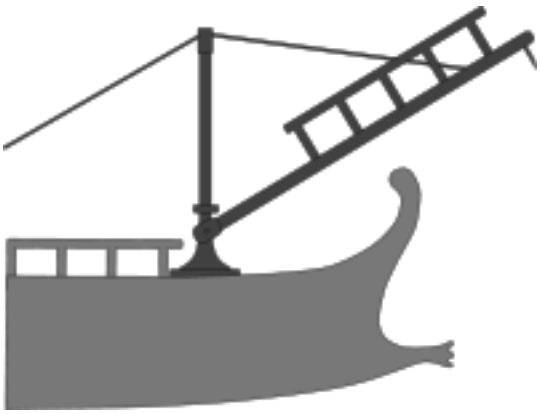
Rome builds a Fleet

At the beginning of the First Punic War, Rome had virtually no experience in naval warfare, whereas Carthage had a great deal of experience on the seas thanks to its centuries of sea-based trade. Nevertheless, the growing Roman Republic soon understood the importance of Mediterranean control in the outcome of the conflict.[22]

Origin of Roman Design

The first major Roman fleet was constructed after the victory of Agrigentum in 261 BC. Some historians have speculated that since Rome lacked advanced naval technology the design of the warships was probably copied verbatim from captured Carthaginian triremes and quinqueremes or from ships that had beached on Roman shores due to storms.[23] Other historians have pointed out that Rome did have experience with naval technology, as she patrolled her coasts against piracy.[24] Another possibility is that Rome received technical assistance from its seafaring Sicilian ally, Syracuse.[24] Regardless of the state of their naval technology at the start of the war, Rome quickly adapted.[25]

The Corvus



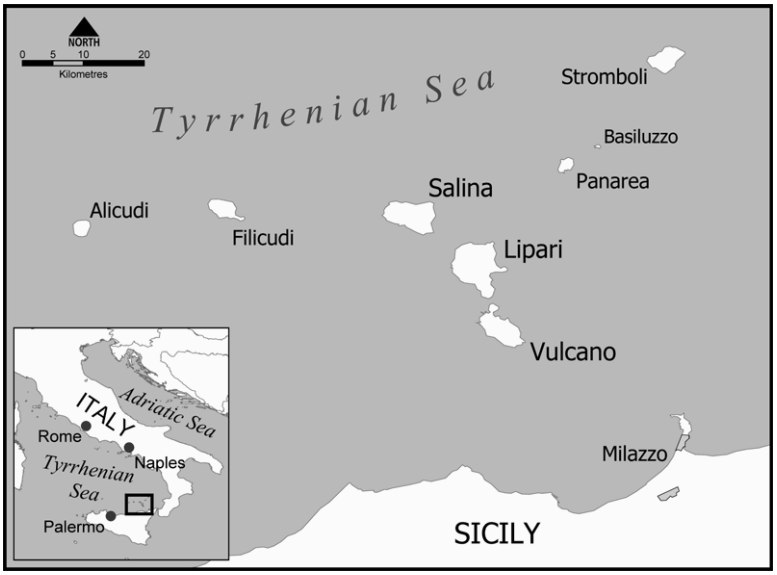
← *Diagram of a corvus boarding device.*

In order to compensate for the lack of experience, and to make use of standard land military tactics on sea,[26] the Romans equipped their new ships with a special boarding device, the *corvus*.[27] The Roman military was a land based army while Carthage was primarily a naval power. This boarding-bridge allowed the Roman navy to cancel out some of Carthage's naval skills by using their marines to board Carthaginian ships and fight in hand to hand combat. Instead of maneuvering to ram, which was the standard naval tactic at the time, corvus equipped ships would maneuver alongside the enemy vessel, deploy the bridge which would attach to the enemy ship through spikes on the end of the bridge, and send legionaries across as boarding parties.[28][29]

The new weapon would prove its worth in the Battle of Mylae, the first Roman naval victory, and would continued to do so in the following years, especially in the huge Battle of Cape Ecnomus. The addition of the *corvus* forced Carthage to review its military tactics, and since the city had difficulty in doing so, Rome had the naval advantage.[30]

[tkw note: The corvus with its high mast and stout bridge made the already top-heavy Roman warships even more unstable. Although everyone "knows" that this weapon was "used throughout the Punic wars", it was, in fact, qujckly abandoned in favor of a powerful catapult that shot a large teathered barbed arrow. The arrow was shot into an enemy ship, which could then be reeled in so that Roman marines could clamber aboard.]

Battle of Mylae



← *Location of Mylae (Milazzo) on the coast of northern Sicily.*

Duilius met Hannibal off northern Mylae in 260. Polybius states that the Carthaginians had 130 ships, but does not give an exact figure for the Romans.[31] The loss of 17 ships at the Lipari Islands from a starting total of 120 ships suggests that Rome had 103 remaining. However, it is possible that this number was larger than 103, thanks to captured ships and the assistance of Roman allies.[32] The Carthaginians anticipated victory, especially because of their superior experience at sea.[31]

The *corvus* were very successful, and helped the Romans seize the first 30 Carthaginian ships that got close enough. In order to avoid the *corvus,* the Carthaginians were forced to navigate around them and approach the Romans from behind, or from the side. The *corvus* were usually still able to pivot and grapple most oncoming ships.[33] Once an additional 20 of the Carthaginian ships

had been hooked and lost to the Romans, Hannibal retreated with his surviving ships, leaving Duilius with a clear victory.

Instead of following the remaining Carthaginians at sea, Duilius sailed to Sicily to retrieve control of the troops. There he saved the city of Segesta, which had been under siege from the Carthaginian infantry commander Hamilcar.[34] Modern historians have wondered at Duilius' decision not to immediately follow up with another naval attack, but Hannibal's remaining 80 ships was probably still too strong for Rome to conquer.[35]

Hamilcar's Counterattack

The Roman advance now continued westward from Agrigentum to relieve in 260 BC the besieged city of Macella,[36] which had sided with Rome and were attacked by the Carthaginians for doing so. In the north, the Romans, with their northern sea flank secured by their naval victory at Battle of Mylae, advanced toward Thermae. They were defeated there by the Carthaginians under Hamilcar (a popular Carthaginian name, not to be confused with Hannibal Barca's father, with the same name) in 260 BC.[37] The Carthaginians took advantage of this victory by counterattacking, in 259 BC, and seizing Enna. Hamilcar continued south to Camarina, in Syracusan territory, presumably with the intent to convince the Syracusans to rejoin the Carthaginian side.[38]

Continued Roman Advance

The next year, 258 BC, the Romans were able to regain the initiative by retaking Enna and Camarina. In central Sicily, they took the town of Mytistraton, which they had attacked twice previously. The Romans also moved in the north by marching across the northern coast toward Panormus, but were not able to take the city.[39]

Invasion of Africa

After their conquests in the Agrigentum campaign, and following several naval battles, Rome attempted (256/255 BC) the second large scale land operation of the war. Seeking a swifter end to the war than the long sieges in Sicily would have provided, Rome decided to invade the Carthaginian colonies of Africa and usurp Carthage's supremacy in the Mediterranean Sea, consequently forcing Carthage to accept its terms.[28][40]

In order to initiate it's invasion of Africa, the Roman Republic constructed a major fleet, comprising transports for the army and its equipment, and warships for protection. Carthage attempted to intervene with a fleet of 350 ships (according to Polybius),[41] but was defeated in the Battle of Cape Ecnomus.[42]

As a result of the battle, the Roman army, commanded by Marcus Atilius Regulus, landed in Africa and began ravaging the Carthaginian countryside.[43] At first Regulus was victorious, winning the Battle of Adys and forcing Carthage to sue for peace.[44] The terms were so heavy that negotiations failed and, in response, the Carthaginians hired Xanthippus, a Spartan mercenary, to reorganize the army.[28][45] Xanthippus defeated the Roman army and captured Regulus at the Battle of Tunis,[46][47] and then managed to cut off what remained of the Roman army from its base by re-establishing Carthaginian naval supremacy.[48][49]

The Romans, meanwhile, had sent a new fleet to pick up the survivors of its African expedition. Although the Romans defeated the Carthaginian fleet and were successful in rescuing its army in Africa, a storm destroyed nearly the entire Roman fleet on the trip home; the number of casualties in the disaster may have exceeded 90,000 men.[49] The Carthaginians took advantage of this to attack Agrigentum. They did not believe they could hold the city, however, so they burned it and

left.[50]

The Romans were able to rally, however, and quickly resumed the offensive. Along with constructing a new fleet of 140 ships, Rome returned to the strategy of taking the Carthaginian cities in Sicily one by one.[51]

Attacks began with naval assaults on Lilybaeum, the center of Carthaginian power on Sicily, and a raid on Africa. Both efforts ended in failure.[52] The Romans retreated from Lilybaeum, and the African force was caught in another storm and destroyed.[52]

However, the Romans made great progress in the north. The city of Thermae was captured in 252 BC, enabling another advance on the port city of Panormus. The Romans attacked this city after taking Kephalodon in 251 BC. After fierce fighting, the Carthaginians were defeated and the city fell. With Panormus captured, much of western inland Sicily fell with it. The cities of Ietas, Solous, Petra, and Tyndaris agreed to peace with the Romans that same year.[53]

The next year the Romans shifted their attention to the southwest. They sent a naval expedition toward Lilybaeum. En route, the Romans seized and burned the Carthaginian hold-out cities of Selinous and Heraclea Minoa. This expedition to Lilybaeum was not successful, but attacking the Carthaginian headquarters demonstrated Roman resolve to take all of Sicily.[54] The Roman fleet was defeated by the Carthaginians at Drepana, forcing the Romans to continue their attacks from land. Roman forces at Lilybaeum were relieved, and Eryx, near Drepana, was seized thus menacing that important city as well.[55]

Following the conclusive naval victory off Drepana in 249 BC Carthage ruled the seas, as Rome was unwilling to finance the construction of yet another expensive fleet. Nevertheless the Carthaginian faction that opposed the conflict, led by the land-owning aristocrat Hanno the Great, gained power and in 244, and considering the war to be over, started the demobilization of the fleet, giving the Romans a chance to again attain naval superiority.[56]

Conclusion

Stalemate in Sicily

At this point, (247 BC[57]), Carthage sent general Hamilcar Barca (Hannibal's father) to Sicily. His landing at Heirkte (near Panormus) drew the Romans away to defend that port city and resupply point and gave Drepana some breathing room. Subsequent guerilla warfare kept the Roman legions pinned down and preserved Carthage's toehold in Sicily, although Roman armies which bypassed Hamilcar forced him to relocate to Eryx, to better defend Drepana.[54]

Battle of the Aegates Islands

Perhaps in response to Hamilcar's raids, Rome did build another fleet paid for with donations from wealthy citizens and it was that fleet which rendered the Carthaginian success in Sicily futile, as the stalemate Hamilcar produced in Sicily became irrelevant following the Roman naval victory at the Battle of the Aegates Islands in 241 BC,where the new Roman fleet under consul Gaius Lutatius Catulus was victorious over an undermanned and hastily built Carthaginian fleet. Carthage lost most of its fleet and was economically incapable of funding another, or of finding manpower for the crews.[58]

Without naval support, Hamilcar Barca was cut off from Carthage and forced to negotiate peace and agree to evacuate Sicily.[59] It should be noted that Hamilcar Barca had a subordinate named Gesco conduct the negotiations with Lutatius, in order to create the impression that he had not really been defeated.[2][60]

The Role of Naval warfare

Before the war, Carthage had the most powerful navy in the western Mediterranean.

Due to the difficulty of operating in Sicily, most of the First Punic War was fought at sea, including the most decisive battles.[13] But one reason the war bogged down into stalemate on the landward side was because ancient navies were ineffective at maintaining seaward blockades of enemy ports. Consequently, Carthage was able to reinforce and re-supply its besieged strongholds, especially Lilybaeum, on the western end of Sicily. Both sides of the conflict had publicly funded fleets. This fact compromised Carthage and Rome's finances and eventually decided the course of the war.[61]

Despite the Roman victories at sea, the Roman Republic lost countless ships and crews during the war, due to both storms and battles. On at least two occasions (255 and 253 BC) whole fleets were destroyed in bad weather; the disaster off Camarina in 255 BC counted two hundred seventy ships and over one hundred thousand men lost, the greatest single loss in history.[62] One theory for the problem is the weight of the *corvus* on the prows of the ships made the ships unstable and caused them to sink in bad weather. Later, as Roman experience in naval warfare grew, the *corvus* device was abandoned due to its impact on the navigability of the war vessels.[63]

Aftermath

Rome won the First Punic War after 23 years of conflict and in the end became the dominant naval power of the Mediterranean. In the aftermath of the war, both states were financially and demographically exhausted.[61] Corsica, Sardinia and Africa remained Carthaginian, but they had to pay a high war indemnity. Rome's victory was greatly influenced by its persistence. Moreover, the Roman Republic's ability to attract private investments in the war effort to fund ships and crews was one of the deciding factors of the war, particularly when contrasted with the Carthaginian nobility's apparent unwillingness to risk their fortunes for the common war effort.

Casualties

The exact number of casualties on each side is always difficult to determine, due to bias in the historical sources, normally directed to enhance Rome's value.

According to sources (excluding land warfare casualties):[64]

Rome lost 700 ships (to bad weather and unfortunate tactical dispositions before battle) and at least part of their crews.

Carthage lost 500 ships (to the new boarding tactics and later to the increasingly superior training, quantity and armament of the Roman navy) and at least part of their crews.

Although uncertain, the casualties were heavy for both sides. Polybius commented that the war was, at the time, the most destructive in terms of casualties in the history of warfare, including the battles of Alexander the Great. Analyzing the data from the Roman census of the 3rd century BC, Adrian Goldsworthy noted that during the conflict Rome lost about 50,000 citizens. This excludes auxiliary troops and every other man in the army without citizen status, who would be outside the head count.[65][66]

Peace terms

The terms of the Treaty of Lutatius designed by the Romans were particularly heavy for Carthage, which had lost bargaining power following its defeat at the Aegates islands. Both sides agreed upon:

- **Carthage evacuates Sicily and small islands west of it (Aegadian Islands).**

- **Carthage returns their prisoners of war without ransom, while paying heavy ransom on their own.**
- **Carthage refrains from attacking Syracuse and her allies.**
- **Carthage transfers a group of small islands north of Sicily (Aeolian Islands and Ustica) to Rome.**
- **Carthage evacuates all of the small islands between Sicily and Africa (Pantelleria, Linosa, Lampedusa, Lampione and Malta).**
- **Carthage pays a 2,200 talent (66 tons) of silver indemnity in ten annual installments, plus an additional indemnity of 1,000 talents (30 tons) immediately.[67]**

Further clauses determined that the allies of each side would not be attacked by the other, no attacks were to be made by either side upon the other's allies and both sides were prohibited from recruiting soldiers within the territory of the other. This denied the Carthaginians access to any mercenary manpower from Italy and most of Sicily, although this later clause was temporarily abolished during the Mercenary War.

Political results

In the aftermath of the war, Carthage had insufficient state funds. Hanno the Great tried to induce the disbanded armies to accept diminished payment, but kindled a movement that led to an internal conflict, the Mercenary War. After a hard struggle from the combined efforts of Hamilcar Barca, Hanno the Great and others, the Punic forces were finally able to annihilate the mercenaries and the insurgents. However, during this conflict, Rome took advantage of the opportunity to strip Carthage of Corsica and Sardinia as well.[2]

Perhaps the most immediate political result of the First Punic War was the downfall of Carthage's naval power. Conditions signed in the peace treaty were intended to compromise Carthage's economic situation and prevent the city's recovery. The indemnity demanded by the Romans caused strain on the city's finances and forced Carthage to look to other areas of influence for the money to pay Rome.[1]

Carthage, seeking to make up for the recent territorial losses and a plentiful source of silver to pay the large indemnity owed to Rome, turned its attention to Iberia, and in 237 BC the Carthaginians, led by Hamilcar Barca, began a series of campaigns to expand their control over the peninsula. Though Hamilcar was killed in 229 BC, the offensive continued with the Carthaginians extending their power towards the Ebro valley and founding "New Carthage" in 228 BC. It was this expansion that led to the Second Punic War when Carthage sieged the Roman protected town of *Saguntum* in 218 BC, igniting a conflict with Rome.[68]

As for Rome, the end of the First Punic War marked the start of the expansion beyond the Italian Peninsula. Sicily became the first Roman province (Sicilia) governed by a former praetor, instead of an ally. Sicily would become very important to Rome as a source of grain.[2] Importantly, Syracuse was granted nominal independent ally status for the lifetime of Hiero II, and was not incorporated into the Roman province of Sicily until after it was sacked by Marcus Claudius Marcellus during the Second Punic War.[69]

Notable leaders

Ad Herbal, Carthaginian leading admiral
Appius Claudius Caudex, Roman consul
Aulus Atilius Calatinus, Roman dictator
Gaius Duilius, Roman consul

Gaius Lutatius Catulus, Roman consul
Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Asina, Roman consul
Hamilcar Barca, Carthaginian leading general
Hannibal Gisco, Carthaginian general
Hanno the Great, Carthaginian leading politician
Hasdrubal, Carthaginian general
Hiero II, tyrant of Syracuse
Lucius Caecilius Metellus, Roman consul
Marcus Atilius Regulus, Roman consul
Publius Claudius Pulcher, Roman consul
Xanthippus, mercenary in the service of Carthage
Hannibal the Rhodian, Carthaginian privateer

Chronology

- **264 BC: The Mamertines seek assistance from Rome to replace Carthage's protection against the attacks of Hiero II of Syracuse.**
- **263 BC: Hiero II is defeated by consul Manius Valerius Messalla and is forced to change allegiance to Rome, which recognizes his position as King of Syracuse and the surrounding territory.**
- **262 BC: Roman intervention in Sicily. The city of Agrigentum, occupied by Carthage, is besieged.**
- **261 BC: Battle of Agrigentum, which results in a Roman victory and capture of the city. Rome decides to build a fleet to threaten Carthaginian domination at sea.**
- **260 BC: First naval encounter (Battle of the Lipari Islands) is a disaster for Rome, but soon afterwards, Gaius Duilius wins the battle of Mylae with the help of the *corvus* engine.[2]**
- **259 BC: The land fighting is extended to Sardinia and Corsica.**
- **258 BC: Naval Battle of Sulci: Roman victory.**
- **257 BC: Naval Battle of Tyndaris: Roman victory.**
- **256 BC: Rome attempts to invade Africa and Carthage attempts to intercept the transport fleet. The resulting Battle of Cape Ecnomus is a major victory for Rome, who lands in Africa and advances on Carthage. The Battle of Adys is the first Roman success on African soil and Carthage sues for peace. Negotiations fail to reach agreement and the war continues.**
- **255 BC: The Carthaginians employ a Spartan general, Xanthippus, to organize their defenses and defeat the Romans at the Battle of Tunis. The Roman survivors are evacuated by a fleet to be destroyed soon afterwards, on their way back to Sicily.**
- **254 BC: A new fleet of 140 Roman ships is constructed to substitute the one lost in the storm and a new army is levied. The Romans win a victory at Panormus, in Sicily, but fail to make any further progress in the war. Five Greek cities in Sicily defect from Carthage to Rome.**
- **253 BC: The Romans then pursued a policy of raiding the African coast east of Carthage. After an unsuccessful year the fleet head for home. During the return to Italy the Romans are again caught in a storm and lose 150 ships.**
- **251 BC: The Romans again win at Panormus over the Carthaginians, led by Hasdrubal. As a result of the recent losses, Carthage endeavors to strengthen its garrisons in Sicily and recapture Agrigentum. Romans begin siege of Lilybaeum.**
- **249 BC: Rome loses almost a whole fleet in the Battle of Drepana. In the same year Hamilcar Barca accomplishes successful raids in Sicily and yet another storm destroys the**

remainder of the Roman ships. Aulus Atilius Calatinus is appointed dictator and sent to Sicily.

- **248 BC: Beginning of a period of low intensity fighting in Sicily, without naval battles. This lull would last until 241 BC.**
- **244 BC: With little to no naval engagements, Hanno the Great of Carthage advocates demobilization of large parts of the Carthaginian navy to save money. Carthage does so.**
- **242 BC: Rome constructs another major battle fleet.**
- **241 BC: On March 10 the Battle of the Aegates Islands is fought, with a decisive Roman victory. Carthage negotiates peace terms and the First Punic War ends.[2]**

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5. ^ Starr, p. 478
6. ^ Warmington, p. 165.
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8. ^ Warmington, p. 167.
9. ^ Polybius, 1:10.7-.9
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14. ^ Polybius, 1:11.2-4
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VI, b -- Interval between the First and Second Punic Wars

According to Polybius there had been several trade agreements between Rome and Carthage, even a mutual alliance against king Pyrrhus of Epirus. When Rome and Carthage made peace in 241 BC, Rome secured the release of all 8,000 prisoners of war without ransom and, furthermore, received a considerable amount of silver as a war indemnity. However, Carthage refused to deliver to Rome the Roman deserters serving among their troops. A first issue for dispute was that the initial treaty, agreed upon by Hamilcar Barca and the Roman commander in Sicily, had a clause stipulating that the Roman popular assembly had to accept the treaty in order for it to be valid. The assembly not only rejected the treaty but increased the indemnity Carthage had to pay.

Carthage had a liquidity problem and attempted to gain financial help from Egypt, a mutual ally of Rome and Carthage, but failed. This resulted in delay of payments owed to the mercenary troops that had served Carthage in Sicily, leading to a climate of mutual mistrust and, finally, a revolt supported by the Libyan natives, known as the Mercenary War (240-238 BC). During this war Rome and Syracuse both aided Carthage, although traders from Italy seem to have done business with the insurgents. Some of them were caught and punished by Carthage, aggravating the political climate which had started to improve in recognition of the old alliance and treaties.

During the uprising in the Punic mainland, the mercenary troops in Corsica and Sardinia toppled Punic rule and briefly established their own, but were expelled by a native uprising. After securing aid from Rome, the exiled mercenaries then regained authority on the island of Sicily. For several years a brutal campaign was fought to quell the insurgent natives. Like many Sicilians, they would ultimately rise again in support of Carthage during the Second Punic War.

Eventually, Rome annexed Corsica and Sardinia by revisiting the terms of the treaty that ended the first Punic War. As Carthage was under siege and engaged in a difficult civil war, they begrudgingly accepted the loss of these islands and the subsequent Roman conditions for ongoing peace, which also increased the war indemnity levied against Carthage after the first Punic War. This eventually plunged relations between the two powers to a new low point.

After Carthage emerged victorious from the Mercenary War there were two opposing factions, the reformist party was led by Hamilcar Barca while the other more conservative faction was represented by Hanno the Great and the old Carthaginian aristocracy. Hamilcar had led the initial Carthaginian peace negotiations and was blamed for the clause that allowed the Roman popular assembly to increase the war indemnity and annex Corsica and Sardinia, but his superlative generalship was instrumental in enabling Carthage to ultimately quell the mercenary uprising, ironically fought against many of the same mercenary troops he had trained. Hamilcar ultimately left Carthage for the Iberian peninsula where he captured rich silver mines and subdued many tribes who fortified his army with levies of native troops.

Hanno had lost many elephants and soldiers when he became complacent after a victory in the Mercenary War. Further, when he and Hamilcar were supreme commanders of Carthage's field armies, the soldiers had supported Hamilcar when his and Hamilcar's personalities clashed. On the other hand he was responsible for the greatest territorial expansion of Carthage's hinterland during his rule as *strategus* and wanted to continue such expansion. However the Numidian king of the relevant area was now a son-in-law of Hamilcar and had supported Carthage during a crucial moment in the Mercenary War. While Hamilcar was able to obtain the resources for his aim, the Numidians in the Atlas Mountains were not conquered, like Hanno suggested, but became vassals of Carthage.

The Iberian conquest was begun by Hamilcar Barca and his other son-in-law, Hasdrubal the Fair, who ruled relatively independently of Carthage and signed the Ebro treaty with Rome. Hamilcar died in battle in 228 BC. Around this time, Hasdrubal became Carthaginian commander in Iberia (229 BC). He maintained this post for some eight years until 221 BC. Soon the Romans became aware of a burgeoning alliance between Carthage and the Celts of the Po river valley in northern Italy. The latter were amassing forces to invade Italy, presumably with Carthaginian backing. Thus, the Romans pre-emptively invaded the Po region in 225 BC. By 220 BC, the Romans had annexed the area as Gallia Cisalpina. Hasdrubal was assassinated around the same time (221 BC), bringing Hannibal to the fore. It seems that, having apparently dealt with the threat of a Gaulo-Carthaginian invasion of Italy (and perhaps with the original Carthaginian commander killed), the Romans lulled themselves into a false sense of security. Thus, Hannibal took the Romans by surprise a mere two years later (218 BC) by merely reviving and adapting the original Gaulo-Carthaginian invasion plan of his brother-in-law Hasdrubal.

After Hasdrubal's assassination, Hamilcar's young sons took over, with Hannibal becoming the *strategus* of Iberia, although this decision was not undisputed in Carthage. The output of the Iberian silver mines allowed for the financing of a standing army and the payment of the war indemnity to Rome. The mines also served as a tool for political influence, creating a faction in Carthage's magistrate that was called the *Barcino*.

In 219 BC Hannibal attacked the town of Saguntum, which stood under the special protection of Rome. According to Roman tradition, Hannibal had been made to swear by his father never to be a friend of Rome, and he certainly did not take a conciliatory attitude when the Romans berated him for crossing the river Iberus (Ebro) which Carthage was bound by treaty not to cross. Hannibal did not cross the Ebro River (Saguntum was near modern Valencia - well south of the river) in arms, and the Saguntines provoked his attack by attacking their neighboring tribes who were Carthaginian protectorates and by massacring pro-Punic factions in their city. Rome had no legal protection pact with any tribe south of the Ebro River. Nonetheless, they asked Carthage to hand Hannibal over, and when the Carthaginian oligarchy refused, Rome declared war on Carthage.

The Barcid Empire

The 'Barcid Empire' consisted of the Punic territories in Iberia. According to the historian Pedro Barceló, it can be described as a private military-economic hegemony backed by the two independent powers, Carthage and Gades. These shared the profits with the Barcid family and were responsible according to Mediterranean diplomatic customs. Gades played a minor role in this field, but Hannibal visited the local temple to conduct ceremonies before launching his campaign against Rome. The Barcid Empire was strongly influenced by the Hellenic Empires of the Mediterranean and for example, contrary to Carthage, it minted many coins in its short time of existence

VI, c -- Second Punic War

The Second Punic War, also referred to as The Hannibalic War and (by the Romans) The War Against Hannibal, lasted from 218 to 202 BC and involved combatants in the western and eastern Mediterranean. This was the second major war between Carthage and the Roman Republic, with the participation of the Berbers on Carthage's side. The two states had three major conflicts against each other over the courses of their existences. They are called the "Punic Wars" because Rome's name for Carthaginians was *Punici*, due to their Phoenician ancestry and their wide involvement with the Berbers.[2]

The war is marked by Hannibal's surprising overland journey and his costly crossing of the Alps, followed by his reinforcement by Gaulish allies and crushing victories over Roman armies in the battle of the Trebia and the giant ambush at Trasimene. Against his skill on the battlefield the Romans deployed the Fabian strategy. But because of the increasing unpopularity of this approach, the Romans resorted to a further major field battle. The result was the Roman defeat at Cannae. In consequence many Roman allies went over to Carthage, prolonging the war in Italy for over a decade, during which more Roman armies were destroyed on the battlefield. Despite these setbacks, the Roman forces were more capable in siegecraft than the Carthaginians and recaptured all the major cities that had joined the enemy, as well as defeating a Carthaginian attempt to reinforce Hannibal at the battle of the Metaurus. In the meantime in Iberia, which served as the main source of manpower for the Carthaginian army, a second Roman expedition under Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus the Elder took New Carthage by assault and ended Carthaginian rule over Iberia in the battle of Ilipa. The final showdown was the battle of Zama in Africa between Scipio Africanus and Hannibal, resulting in the latter's defeat and the imposition of harsh peace conditions on Carthage, which ceased to be a major power and became a Roman client-state.

A sideshow of this war was the indecisive first Macedonian War in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Ionian Sea.

All battles mentioned in the introduction are ranked among the most costly traditional battles of human history; in addition there were a few successful ambushes of armies that also ended in their annihilation.

Background

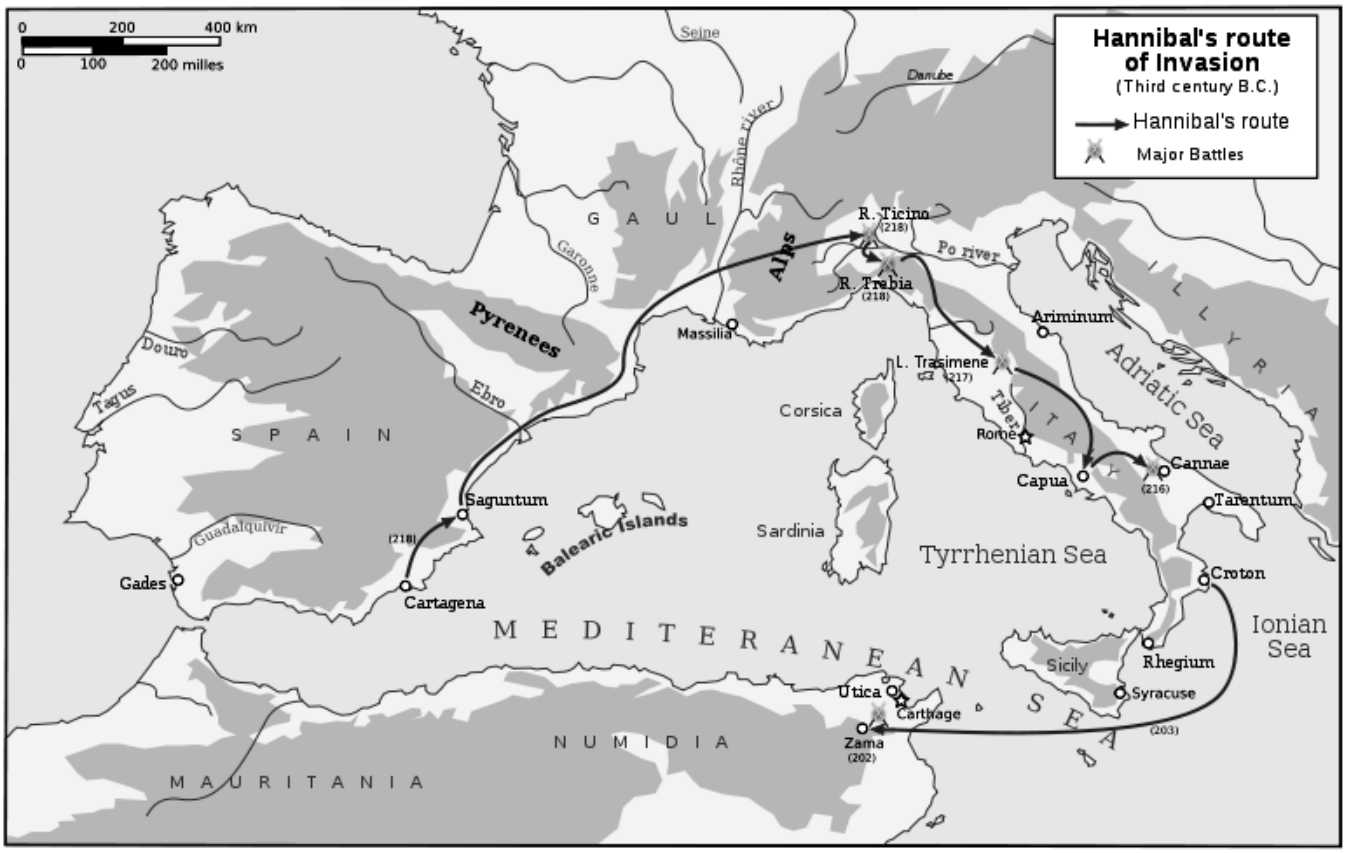
The Second Punic War between Carthage and Rome was ignited by the dispute over the hegemony of Saguntum, a Hellenized Iberian coastal city with diplomatic contacts with Rome. After great tension within the city government culminating in the assassination of the supporters of Carthage, Hannibal laid siege to the city of Saguntum in 219 BC. The city called for Roman aid, but the pleas fell on deaf ears. Following a prolonged siege and a bloody struggle in which Hannibal himself was wounded and the army practically destroyed, the Carthaginians finally took control of the city. Many of the Saguntians chose to commit suicide rather than face the subjugation by the Carthaginians.

Before the war Rome and Hasdrubal the Fair had made a treaty. Livy reports that it was agreed that the Iber should be the boundary between both empires and that the liberty of the Saguntines should be preserved.[3]

Hannibal takes the initiative (218 BC - 213 BC)

Western Mediterranean (218 BC - 213 BC)

Hannibal's overland journey

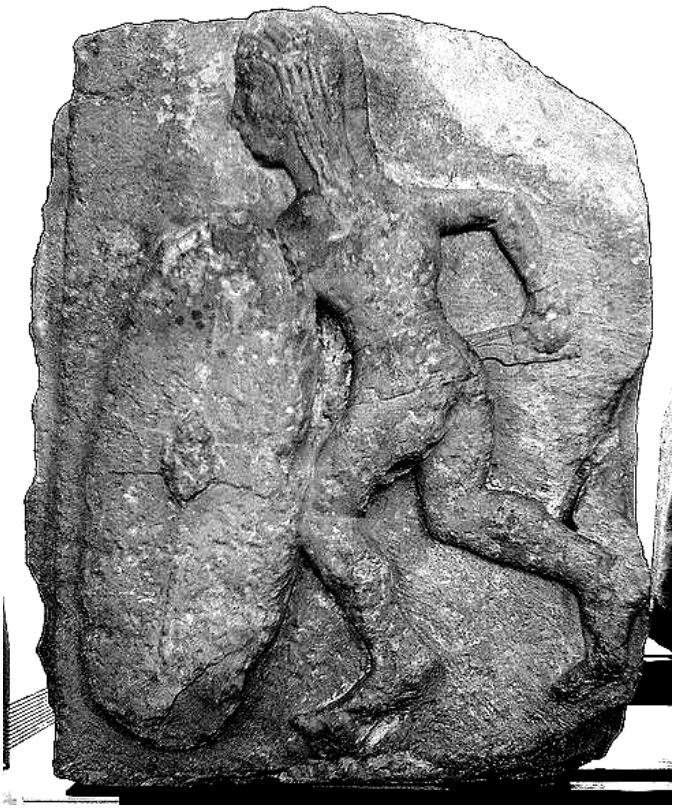


Route of Hannibal's invasion of Italy

The Carthaginian army in Iberia, excluding the forces in Africa, totaled, according to Polybius,[4] 90,000 infantry, 12,000 cavalry and an unknown number of war elephants: it was thus one of the largest in the Hellenistic world and equal in numbers to any that the Romans had yet fielded. Hannibal departed with this army from New Carthage (Cartagena, Spain) northwards along the coast in late spring of 218 B.C. At the Ebro he split the army into three columns and subdued the tribes from there to the Pyrenees within weeks, but with severe losses. At the Pyrenees, he left a detachment of 11,000 Iberian troops, who showed reluctance to leave their homeland, to garrison the newly conquered region.[5] Hannibal reportedly entered Gaul with 50,000 infantry and 9,000 cavalry. He took his army by an inland route, avoiding the Roman allies along the coast. In Gaul negotiations helped him to move unmolested except for the Battle of Rhone Crossing where a force of the Allobroges unsuccessfully tried to oppose his 38,000 infantry (that number may exclude light infantry), 8,000 cavalry, and 37 war elephants from the other shore.[6]

In the meantime, a Roman fleet with an invasion force was underway to northern Iberia. Its commanders, the brothers Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Calvus and Publius Cornelius Scipio, knew that Hannibal had crossed the Ebro, but were surprised by the Carthaginian army's presence at the Rhone upstream of their ally Massalia, where they had landed. A scouting party of 300 cavalry was sent to discover the whereabouts of the enemy. These eventually defeated a Carthaginian scouting troop of 500 mounted Numidians and chased them back to their main camp. Thus, with knowledge of the location of the enemy, the Romans marched upstream, ready for battle. Hannibal evaded this force and by an unknown route reached (the Isère or the Durance) the foot of the Alps in autumn. He also received messengers from his Gaulish allies in Italy that urged him

to come to their aid and offered to guide him over the Alps. Before setting out to cross the Alps, he was re-supplied by a native tribe, some of whose hereditary disputes he had helped solve.



← Iberian warrior from bas-relief ca. 200 BC. The warrior is armed with a falcata and an oval shield. Iberian tribes fought for both sides in the 2nd Punic War, but in reality most wanted to be rid of all foreign domination. National Archaeological Museum of Spain, Madrid

Iberian falcata, 4th/3rd century BC. This weapon, a scythe-shaped sword, was unique to Iberia. By its inherent weight distribution, it could deliver blows as powerful as an axe. The Iberians also invented the gladius, the standard sword used by Roman infantry. National Archaeological Museum of Spain, Madrid

First Roman expedition to Iberia

The first Roman expedition to Iberia was unable to bring the Carthaginian troops in the hinterland of Massalia to a pitched battle, so it continued on its way to northern Iberia under Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Calvus, a move which was to prove decisive for the outcome of the war. Their other commander, Publius Cornelius Scipio, returned to Rome, realizing the danger of an invasion of Italy where the tribes of the Boii and Insubres were already in revolt. After 217 BC he also traveled to Spain.

In Iberia, Carthaginian rule was not popular, but Roman inaction during the siege of Saguntum had made the natives cautious about an alliance against their masters. Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Calvus established his headquarters at Cissa in the midst of Hannibal's latest acquisition, the area between Ebro and Pyrenees. Despite initial setbacks, he was winning increasing support among the natives. This convinced the Carthaginian commander Hanno, the nephew of Hannibal, to accept pitched battle before his troops had been united with the army under Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, despite being outnumbered 2 to 1. The result was a Roman victory in the battle of Cissa in 218 BC. When Hasdrubal finally made it to the scene, he was in no position to fight the Roman army and merely caught their navy personnel off-guard, killing some of them in the process.

The combined Roman and Massalian fleet and army posed a threat to the Carthaginians. Hasdrubal intended to first defeat the fleet. However, his naval forces had a history of failure against the Romans. They had lost all but one major naval engagement in the First Punic War and in 218 BC a naval engagement in the waters of Lilybaeum had been lost despite numerical superiority. For this reason he moved the army and fleet together. The fleet is described as being very disorganized prior to the battle. The army in the meantime provided loud moral support and a safe harbour for the ensuing naval Battle of Ebro River. The 40 Carthaginian and Iberian vessels were severely defeated by the 55 Roman and Massalian ships in the second naval

engagement of the war with about 3/4 of the fleet captured or sunk and the rest beaching their ships with the army on the shore. In the aftermath the Carthaginian forces retreated, but the Romans were still confined to the area between Ebro and Pyrenees.

This position prevented the Carthaginians from sending reinforcements from Iberia to Hannibal or to the insurgent Gauls in northern Italy during critical stages of the war. To deal with this problem, in 215 BC Hasdrubal marched into Roman territory and offered battle at Dertosa. In this battle he used his cavalry superiority to clear the field and to envelop the enemy on both sides with his infantry, a tactic that had been very successfully employed in Italy. But the Romans broke through the thinned out line in the centre and defeated both wings separately, inflicting severe losses; not without, however, taking heavy losses themselves.

While little progress was made in the Iberian theatre, the Scipios were able to negotiate a new front in Africa by allying themselves with Syphax, a powerful Numidian king in North Africa. In 213 BC he received Roman advisers to train his heavy infantry soldiers that had not yet been able to stand up to their Carthaginian counterparts. With this support he waged war against the Carthaginian ally Gala. According to Appian, in 213 BC Hasdrubal left Iberia and fought Syphax, though he may be confused with Hasdrubal Gisco, however, it did bind Carthaginian resources.[7] Hasdrubal Gisco is the son of the Gesco who had served together with Hamilcar Barca, Hannibal's father, in Sicily during the First Punic War and son-in-law of Hanno the Elder who was one of Hannibal's lieutenants in Italy.

Central Mediterranean (218 BC – 213 BC)

Naval raids and expeditions

In 218 BC the Carthaginian navy was busy scouting the Sicilian waters and preparing for a surprise attack on their former key stronghold Lilybaeum on the western tip of the island. Twenty quinqueremes, loaded with 1,000 soldiers, raided the Aegadian Islands west of Sicily and eight ships intended to attack the Vulcan islands, but were blown off-course in a storm towards the Straits of Messina. The Syracusan navy, then at Messina, managed to capture three of these ships without resistance. Learning from their crews that a Carthaginian fleet was to attack Lilybaeum, Hiero II warned the Roman praetor Marcus Amellius there. As a result the Romans prepared 20 quinqueremes to intercept, and defeated the 35 Carthaginian quinqueremes in the battle of Lilybaeum.

In 218 BC preparations were made to launch a Roman expedition from the same Lilybaeum against Africa. Hannibal had anticipated the move and reinforced the defending army in Africa with 13,850 Iberian heavy infantry, 870 Balearic slingers and 1200 Iberian cavalry. In addition, some 4000 Iberian men "of good family were called up who were under orders to be conveyed to Carthage to strengthen its defence, and also to serve as hostages for the loyalty of their people."[8] In return, 11,850 Libyan infantry, 300 Ligurians, and 500 Balearics were sent to Iberia to strengthen the local defence against the other anticipated Roman invasion.[9]

The Carthaginian navy had been defeated in two major encounters by the Romans, but neither side was usually able to interdict the other from raiding each other's coasts. An exception was in 217 BC when a Carthaginian fleet of 70 quinqueremes was intercepted off the coast of Etruria by a Roman fleet of 120 quinqueremes and retreated without giving battle.

The first Carthaginian expedition to Sardinia in 215 BC was under the command of Hasdrubal The Bald with his subordinate Hampsicora. A previous pro-Carthaginian uprising had been defeated while a storm had blown the Carthaginian fleet to the Balearic Islands. When they finally made it to Sardinia, the Romans were aware of their intentions and had reinforced the unpopular garrison under Titus Manlius Torquatus to 20,000 infantry and 1,200 cavalry. These engaged and

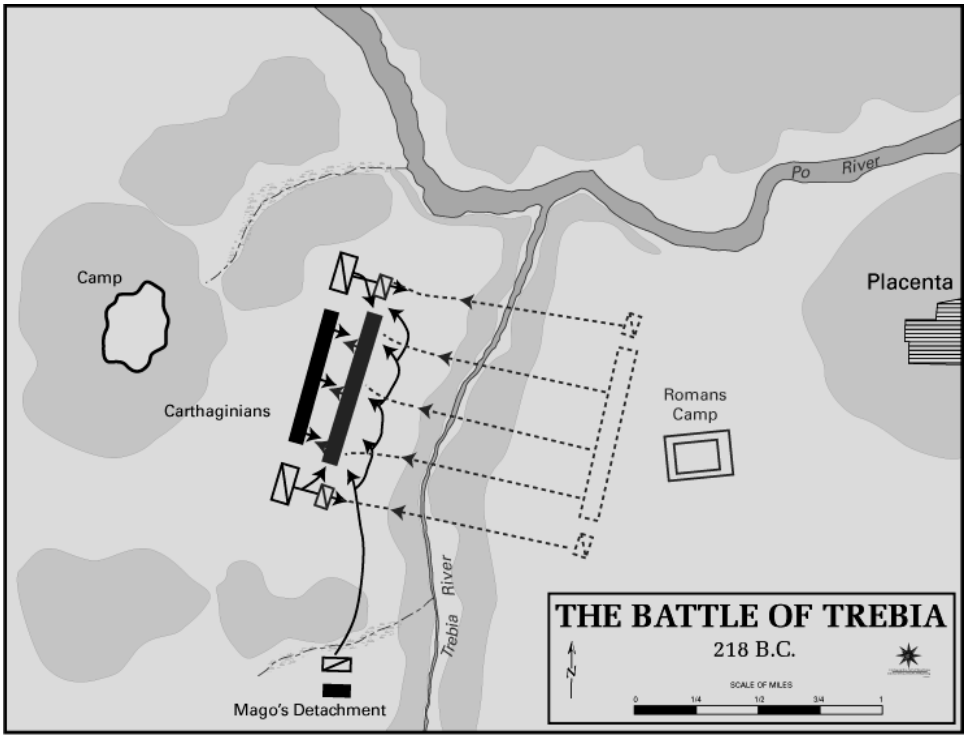
defeated the Carthaginians' 15,000 infantry and 1,500 cavalry (plus an unknown number of elephants) and the remaining insurgent Sardinians at the Battle of Cornus. In the aftermath the defeated expedition of 60 quinqueremes and several transports encountered a Roman raiding party from Africa with 100 quinqueremes. The Carthaginian fleet scattered and escaped save for seven ships. As a result Sardinia, an important grain exporter, remained under Roman occupation.

Gallic uprising

The Romans simultaneously received news of Hannibal's crossing of the Ebro and of an uprising in northern Italy of the Gallic tribes Boii and Insubres.[10] These had established diplomatic contact with the Carthaginians and joined them as allies against their common enemy, Rome. The first objective of the insurgents were the Roman colonies of Placentia and Cremona, causing the Romans to flee to Mutina (modern Modena), which the Gauls then besieged. In response, Praetor L. Manlius Vulso marched with two legions and allies, for a total of 1,600 cavalry and 20,000 infantry, to Cisalpine Gaul. This army was ambushed twice on the way from Ariminium, lost 1,200 men; although the siege of Mutina was raised, the army itself fell under a loose siege a few kilometers from Mutina.[11] This event prompted the Roman Senate to send one of Scipio's legions and 5,000 allied troops to aid Vulso. Scipio had to raise troops to replace these and thus could not set out for Iberia until September of 218 BC, giving Hannibal time to march from the Ebro to the Rhone.

After evading a pitched battle at the Rhone, Hannibal came to the aid of his Gallic allies, who were hard pressed by the Roman reinforcements. He crossed the Alps, surmounting the difficulties of climate and terrain, and the guerrilla tactics of the native tribes. His exact route is disputed. Hannibal arrived with at least 28,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry and 30 elephants in the territory of the Taurini, in what is now Piedmont, northern Italy. His crossing was expected by the enemy, but not such an early arrival, while the Roman forces were still in their winter quarters.[12] This crossing is usually credited as a great achievement since no army before had crossed the Alps in winter with elephants and it led to the termination of Rome's main intended thrust, an invasion of Africa.

The Gauls of the lower Po Valley, Hannibal's allies, were still far away. Hannibal was first obliged to fight with his currently reduced force to be able to reach them and to incite the rest of Gallia Cisalpina to revolt. His first action was to take the chief city of the hostile Taurini. Afterwards the Carthaginians were intercepted by a newly raised Roman force under Publius Cornelius Scipio, whom Hannibal had evaded earlier in the Rhone Valley, and who had not anticipated such an early arrival on the other side of the Alps. In the ensuing Battle of Ticinus the cavalry forces of Hannibal's army defeated the cavalry and light infantry of the Romans in a minor engagement. Scipio, severely injured in the battle, retreated across the River Trebia with his heavy infantry still intact, and encamped at the town of Placentia to await reinforcements. As a result of Rome's defeat at the Ticinus, all the Gauls except the Cenomani were induced to join the Carthaginian cause. Soon the entire north of Italy was unofficially insurgent, with both Gallic and Ligurian troops bolstering Hannibal's army back to at least 40,000 men.



← Battle of the Trebia, plan.

Even before news of the defeat at the Ticinus River reached Rome, the Senate had ordered the consul Sempronius Longus to bring his army back from Sicily, where it had been preparing for the invasion of Africa, to join Scipio and face Hannibal. The latter was blocking Sempronius' way to Scipio's army. But the Carthaginian capture of the supply depot at Clastidium, through the treachery of the local Latin commander, served as a diversion and allowed Sempronius' army to slip through to Scipio, who was still too seriously injured to take the field. After some minor successes, the united and numerically equal Roman force under the command of Sempronius Longus was lured by Hannibal into combat at the battle of the Trebia. The Roman troops were drawn into the engagement without breakfast and had to first cross a cold river, preventing many from putting up much of a fight. Furthermore, a hidden detachment led by Hannibal's younger brother Mago attacked them from the rear. All in all, the Romans suffered heavy losses with only 20,000 men out of 40,000 able to retreat to safety. They left Cisalpine Gaul in the aftermath. Having secured his position in northern Italy by this victory, Hannibal quartered his troops for the winter amongst the Gauls. The latter joined his army in large numbers, bringing it up to 60,000 men, but the Carthaginians living on their land reduced their enthusiasm.

The Roman Senate resolved to raise new armies against Hannibal under the recently-elected consuls of 217 BC, Gnaeus Servilius Geminus and Gaius Flaminius. The latter had long distrusted his fellow senators and feared they would try to sabotage his command by finding excuses to delay his departure. So he quietly left Rome to take over his army at Ariminum without performing the lengthy religious rituals required of an incoming consul.[13] The Senate voted unanimously to recall him but he ignored its orders. This caused widespread dismay among the Romans, who feared that Flaminius' disrespect for the gods would bring disaster on Rome. As it was expected that Hannibal would advance into central Italy, Flaminius moved his army from Ariminum to Arretium, to cover the Apennine mountain passes into Etruria. His colleague Servilius, who had performed the proper rituals and was therefore well behind Flaminius, replaced him with his freshly-raised army at Ariminum to cover the route along the Adriatic coast. A third force, containing the survivors of previous engagements, was also stationed in Etruria under Scipio. Thus both the eastern and western routes to Rome appeared guarded.

In early spring 217 BC Hannibal decided to advance, leaving his wavering Gallic allies in the Po Valley and crossing the Apennines unopposed. Afterwards he avoided the Roman positions and took the only unguarded route into Etruria at the mouth of the Arno. This route was through a huge marsh which happened to be more flooded than usual for spring. Hannibal's army marched

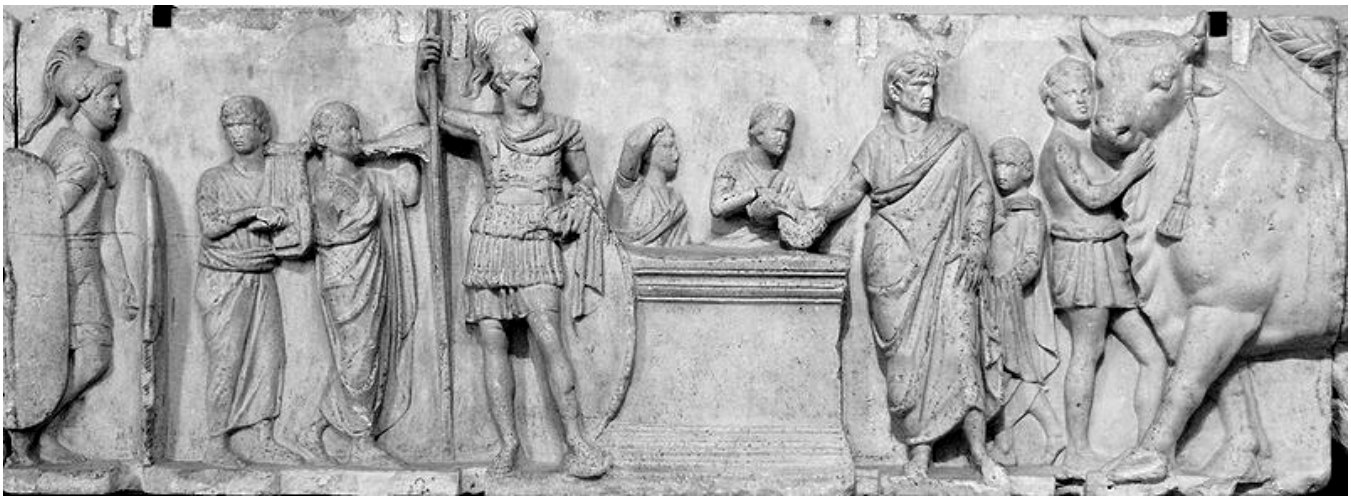
for several days without finding convenient places to rest, suffering terribly from fatigue and lack of sleep. This led to the loss of part of the force, including, it seems, the few remaining elephants.

Arriving in Etruria still in the spring of 217 BC, Hannibal tried without success to draw the main Roman army under Flaminius into a pitched battle by devastating the area the latter had been sent to protect.[14] Then a new stratagem was employed by Hannibal who marched around his opponent's left flank and effectively cut him off from Rome. Advancing through the uplands of Etruria, the Carthaginian now provoked Flaminius into a hasty pursuit without proper reconnaissance. Then, in a defile on the shore of Lake Trasimenus, Hannibal lay in ambush with his army. The ambush was a complete success: in the battle of Lake Trasimene Hannibal destroyed most of the Roman army and killed Flaminius with little loss to his own army. 6,000 Romans had been able to escape, but were caught and forced to surrender by Maharbal's Numidians. Furthermore, Scipio, aware of the fighting, sent his cavalry in support but it was also caught and annihilated. As a result of this victory, the heterogeneous force of insurgent Gauls, Africans, Iberians and Numidians had more military equipment than they could use themselves and sold the surplus via Egyptian traders to the Romans. As after all previous engagements the captured enemies were sorted according to whether they were Romans, who were held captive, or non-Romans, who were released to spread the propaganda that the Carthaginian army was in Italy to fight for their freedom against the Romans. Strategically, Hannibal had now disposed of the only field force which could check his advance upon Rome, but despite the urgings of his generals, did not proceed to attack Rome. Instead he marched to the south in the hope of winning over allies amongst the Greek and Italic population there.

Fabian Strategy

The defeat at Lake Trasimene put the Romans in an immense state of panic, fearing for the very existence of their city. The Senate decided to resort to the traditional emergency measure of appointing a *dictator*, a temporary commander-in-chief who would unite military authority, which was normally divided between the two consuls, under one head for six months. The usual procedure required the presence of a consul to appoint the *dictator*. Since one consul (Flaminius) was dead and the other (Servilius) away with the only army left in Italy, the Senate resolved to elect a dictator itself. As this was unconstitutional, the person appointed, Quintus Fabius Maximus, was given the title of *prodictator* (acting dictator) although he held the same powers as a dictator. The Senate also appointed his *magister equitum* ("master of cavalry", who acted as his second-in-command) instead of allowing the dictator to choose one himself as was the normal rule: M. Minucius Rufus.[16]

Departing from the Roman military tradition of engaging the enemy in pitched battle as soon as possible, Fabius invented the Fabian strategy: refusing open battle with his opponent, but constantly skirmishing with small detachments of the enemy. This course was not popular among the soldiers, earning Fabius the nickname Cunctator ("delayer"), since he seemed to avoid battle while Italy was being ravaged by the enemy. Moreover, it was widely feared that, if Hannibal continued to plunder Italy unopposed, the terrified allies, believing that Rome was incapable of protecting them, might defect and pledge their allegiance to the Carthaginians. As a countermeasure, residents of villages were encouraged to post lookouts, so that they could gather their livestock and possessions in time and take refuge in fortified towns which the enemy could not yet take. Fabius' policy was to shadow Hannibal by moving on the heights parallel to the Carthaginian movements on the plains, to avoid Hannibal's cavalry which was supreme on flat terrain. This demanded great care since the Carthaginian tried with all his skill to ambush the Romans. For this reason a new marching formation with three parallel columns of infantry was developed instead of the single column that had been in use at Lake Trasimene.



Detail of frieze showing the equipment of a soldier in the manipular Roman legion (left). Note mail armour, oval shield and helmet with plume (probably horsehair). The soldier at centre is an officer (bronze cuirass, mantle), prob. a tribunus militum.[15] From an altar built by Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul in 122 BC. Musée du Louvre, Paris

Roman coin issued during the Second Punic war showing (obverse) the god of war Mars and (reverse) a very rare image of a Roman cavalryman of the time. Note plumed helmet, long spear (hasta), small round shield, flowing mantle. Roman cavalry was levied from the equites, or noble knights, until ca. 338 BC and thereafter also from the First Class of commoners under the centuriate organisation. Bronze quincunx from Larinum mint

Fabius' constant harassment of Hannibal's force handicapped the latter's command abilities and gained many prisoners. Both commanders decided that they would exchange prisoners under the same conditions as in the First Punic War. Although the Carthaginians returned to the Romans several hundred more prisoners than they received and were thus expecting monetary compensation, the Senate was reluctant to pay. However, the estates of Fabius had not been touched by the Carthaginian pillage parties in order to incite distrust against him. Fabius now sold these estates to pay the enemy army for the received surplus of prisoners.

Having ravaged Apulia without provoking Fabius into a battle, Hannibal decided to march through Samnium to Campania, one of the richest and most fertile provinces of Italy, hoping that the devastation would draw Fabius into battle. The latter was aware that there were excellent

opportunities to trap the Carthaginian force on the Campanian plain and to force Hannibal to fight in the surrounding mountains on ground of his own choice. As the year wore on, Hannibal decided that it would be unwise to winter in the already devastated plains of Campania but Fabius had ensured that all the mountain passes offering an exit were blocked. This situation led to the night battle of Ager Falernus in which the Carthaginians made good their escape by tricking the Romans into believing that they were heading to the heights above them. The Romans were thus decoyed and the Carthaginians slipped through the undefended pass with all their baggage train. This was a severe blow to Fabius' prestige.

Minucius, the *magister equitum*, was one of the leading voices in the army against the adoption of the Fabian Strategy. As soon as he scored a minor success by winning a skirmish with the Carthaginians, the Senate promoted Minucius to the same *imperium* (power of command) as Fabius, whom he accused of cowardice. In consequence the two men decided to split the army between them. Minucius with his division was swiftly lured by Hannibal into an ambush in the flat country of Geronium. Fabius Maximus rushed to his co-commander's assistance and Hannibal's forces immediately retreated. Subsequently Minucius accepted Fabius' authority and ended their political conflict.

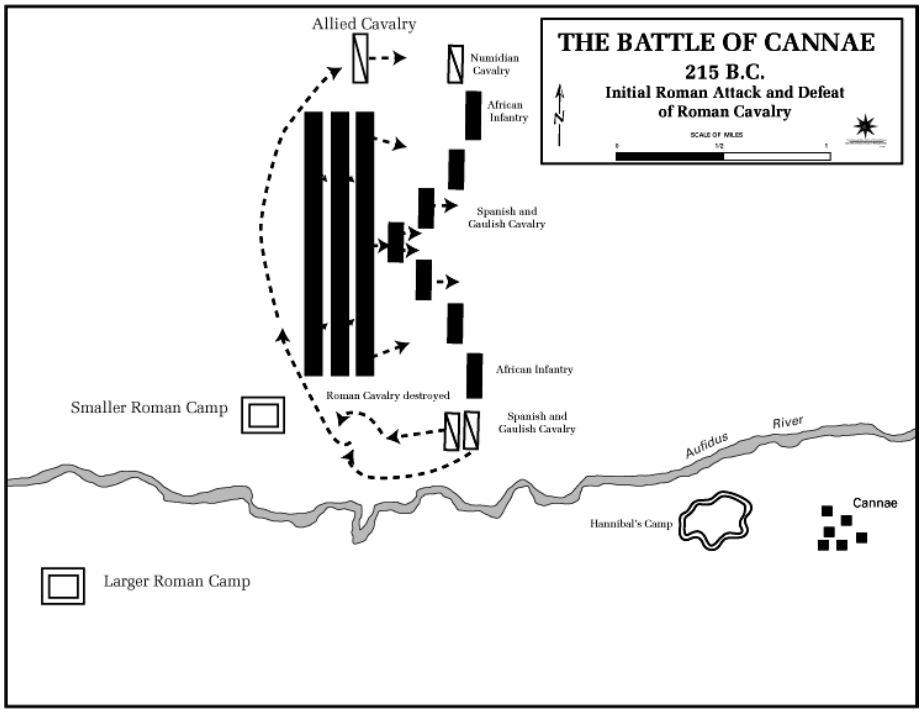
Seeking a decisive engagement

Fabius became unpopular in Rome, since his tactics did not lead to a quick end to the war. The Roman populace derided the *Cunctator*, and at the elections of 216 BC elected as consuls Gaius Terentius Varro and Lucius Aemilius Paullus, both of whom advocated pursuing a much more aggressive war strategy.

In the campaign of 217 BC Hannibal had failed to obtain a following among the Italics. In the spring of 216 BC, he took the initiative and seized the large supply depot at Cannae in the Apulian plain. Thus, by seizing Cannae, Hannibal had placed himself between the Romans and their crucial source of supply. The Roman Senate authorised the raising of double-sized armies by consuls Varro and Aemilius Paullus. By some estimates, the Romans raised a force as large as 100,000 men, though this figure cannot be completely validated.

Consuls Aemilius Paullus and Varro resolved to confront Hannibal and marched southward to Apulia. After a two-day march, they found him on the left bank of the Aufidus River, and encamped six miles (10 km) away. Hannibal capitalized on Varro's eagerness and drew him into a trap by using an envelopment tactic which eliminated the Roman numerical advantage by shrinking the surface area where combat could occur. Hannibal drew up his least reliable infantry in the centre of a semicircle with the wings composed of the Gallic and Numidian horse. The Roman legions forced their way through Hannibal's weak centre but the Libyan Mercenaries on the wings swung around their advance, menacing their flanks. The onslaught of Hannibal's cavalry was irresistible, and Hasdrubal, his brother, who commanded the left, routed the Roman cavalry on the Roman right wing and then swept around the rear of the Roman line and

attacked Varro's cavalry on the Roman left, and then the legions, from behind. As a result, the Roman army was surrounded with no means of escape. Due to these brilliant tactics, Hannibal, with much inferior numbers, managed to destroy all but a small remnant of this force. Depending on the source, it is estimated that 50,000–70,000 Romans were killed or captured at Cannae.



← Opening and decisive phase of the Battle of Cannae, 216 BC. The Punic cavalry (made up of Gauls and Iberians) routed the much smaller Roman cavalry on the Roman right wing, then raced round the rear of the Roman line to attack from behind the Romans' allied Latin cavalry on the Roman left, who were already engaged with Hannibal's Numidian horse. The Latin cavalry was then destroyed. The victorious Punic cavalry were then free to attack the Roman infantry line from the rear. The battle confirmed the superiority of Hannibal's cavalry, in both numbers and training, over the Roman and Latin citizen levies. From this time, the Romans relied heavily on non-Italian allied cavalry and around the start of the 1st century BC legionary cavalry was abolished altogether

As Polybius notes, "How much more serious was the defeat of Cannae, than those which preceded it can be seen by the behaviour of Rome's allies; before that fateful day, their loyalty remained unshaken, now it began to waver for the simple reason that they despaired of Roman power."[17] During that same year, the Greek cities in Sicily were induced to revolt against Roman political control, while the Macedonian king, Philip V pledged his support to Hannibal – thus initiating the First Macedonian War against Rome. Hannibal also secured an alliance with newly appointed King Hieronymous of Syracuse, and Tarentum also came over to him around that time. Hannibal now had the resources and personnel needed to launch a successful attack on the City of Rome. However, he was uncertain of the feasibility of such an attack and spent a great deal of time pondering it. While he hesitated, the Romans were able to regroup, and the opportunity was lost. The Romans looked back on Hannibal's indecision as what saved Rome from certain defeat. The only other notable event of 216 BC was the defection of Capua, the second largest city of Italy, which Hannibal made his new base. Yet even this defection failed to satisfy him as only a few of the Italian city-states which he had expected to gain as allies agreed to join him. Furthermore, the Macedonian navy was no match for the Roman navy, so they were unable to help him directly.

Hannibal sent a delegation to Rome to negotiate a peace and another one offering to release his Roman prisoners of war for ransom, but Rome rejected all offers.

Establishing an allied base

After Cannae several south Italian allies went over to Hannibal at once: the Apulian towns of Salapia, Arpi and Herdonia and many of the Lucanians. Mago marched south with an army detachment and some weeks later the Bruttians joined him. Simultaneously, Hannibal marched north with part of his forces and was joined by the Hirpini and the Caudini, two of the three Samnite cantons. The greatest gain was the second largest city of Italy, Capua, when Hannibal's

army marched into Campania in 216 BC. The inhabitants of Capua held limited Roman citizenship and the aristocracy was linked to the Romans via marriage and friendship, but the possibility of becoming the supreme city of Italy after the evident Roman disasters proved too strong a temptation. The treaty between them and Hannibal can be described as an agreement of friendship since the Capuans had no obligations, but provided the harbour through which Hannibal was reinforced.[18] By 215 BC Hannibal's alliance system covered the bulk of southern Italy, save for the Greek cities along the coast (except Croton that was conquered by his allies), Rhegium, and the Latin colonies Beneventum, Luceria in Samnium, Venusia in Apulia, Brundisium and Paestum. The independent Gaul he had established in northern Italy was still out of Roman control.[19]

Hannibal had been able to win over a major allied base by his tremendous military success. He also regarded it as essential to take the city of Nola, a Roman fortress in Campania, a region that linked his various allies geographically and contained his most important harbour for supply. Prior to his first attempt the pro-Punic faction in the city had been eliminated by the Romans, so there was no chance of the city being betrayed. Hannibal tried three times, by assault or siege, to take this city, which was defended by Marcus Claudius Marcellus in the battle of Nola (216 BC), Battle of Nola (215 BC) and battle of Nola (214 BC), but failed each time. At least in 215 Hannibal was able to take Casilinum, the other important site for controlling Campania.

While it was not directly connected with the Italian peninsula, Syracuse on Sicily was important for securing the searoutes for supply, since Lilybaeum remained in Roman hands. Hannibal was aided by the fact that Hiero II, the old tyrant of Syracuse and a staunch Roman ally, had died and his successor Hieronymus was discontented with his position in the Roman alliance. Hannibal dispatched two of his lieutenants, who were of Syracusian origin; they succeeded in winning Syracuse over, at the price, however, of making the whole of Sicily a Syracusan possession. The Syracusans' ambitions were great, but the army they fielded was no match for the arriving Roman force, leading to the siege of Syracuse from 214 BC onwards. During this siege the ingenuity of Archimedes' machines defeated all Roman attacks.

The essence of Hannibal's campaign in Italy was to fight the Romans by using local resources and raising recruits from among the local population. His subordinate Hanno was able to raise troops in Samnium, but the Romans intercepted these new levies in the Battle of Beneventum (214 BC) and eliminated them before they came under the feared leadership of Hannibal. Hannibal could win allies, but defending them against the Romans was a new and difficult problem, as the Romans could still field multiple armies greatly outnumbering his own forces. Thus Fabius was able to take the Punic ally Arpi in 213 BC.

Eastern Mediterranean and Ionian Sea (218 BC - 213 BC)

- **217 BC – letter from Hannibal after Battle of Lake Trasimene leading to war preparations**
- **217–216 BC – Philip V of Macedon building a fleet of 100 lembi**
- **216 BC – ambassadors to Hannibal after Battle of Cannae**
- **214 BC – First Macedonian War officially starts**
- **214 BC – naval expeditions from Macedonia**
- **213 BC – land expedition to Lissus**

Rome takes key cities (212 BC - 207 BC)

Western Mediterranean (212 BC - 207 BC)

Defeat of the first expedition

← Scipio Africanus, portrait on a gold signet ring from Capua dating from around the time of the Second Punic War

In Iberia, the Scipio brothers had hired 20,000 Celtiberian mercenaries to reinforce their army of 30,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry. Observing that the Carthaginian armies were deployed separately from each other, with Hasdrubal Barca and 15,000 troops near Amtorgis, and Mago Barca, Hasdrubal Gisco with 10,000 troops each further to the West of Hasdrubal, the Scipio brothers planned to split their forces. Publius Scipio decided to take 20,000 Roman and allied soldiers and attack Mago Barca near Castulo, while Gnaeus Scipio took one double legion (10,000 troops) and the mercenaries to attack Hasdrubal Barca. This stratagem resulted in 2 battles, the Battle of Castulo and the Battle of Ilorca which occurred within a few days of each other, usually combined as Battle of the Upper Baetis (211 BC). Both battles ended in clear defeats for the Romans because Hasdrubal bribed the Roman mercenaries to desert and return home without a fight.

As a result of the battle the Romans were forced to retreat to their stronghold of Northern Iberia from which the Carthaginians could not expel them. It is notable that the Roman soldiers decided to elect a new leader since both commanders had been killed, a practice hitherto known only in Punic or Hellenistic armies.

Second Roman expedition to Iberia

In 210 BC Scipio Africanus arrived in Iberia on the Senate's orders to avenge his father and uncle.

In a brilliant assault Scipio succeeded in capturing the centre of Punic power in Iberia, Cartagena, in 209 BC. Battle of Cartagena (209 BC) In the Battle of Baecula (208 BC) he defeated Hasdrubal, but was not able to prevent him from continuing his march to Italy in order to reinforce his brother Hannibal.

In the Battle of Ilipa (206 BC), Scipio defeated a combined army under the command of Mago Barca, Hasdrubal Gisgo and Masinissa, thus bringing to an end the Carthaginian hold in Iberia.

Central Mediterranean (212 BC - 207 BC)

Climax and fall of Hannibal's alliance

The climax of Carthaginian expansion was reached when the biggest Greek city in Italy, Tarentum, switched sides in 212 BC. The Battle of Tarentum (212 BC) was a carefully planned coup by Hannibal and members of the city's democratic faction. There were two separate

successful assaults on the gates of the city. This enabled the Punic army, which had approached unobserved behind a screen of marauding Numidian horsemen, to enter the city by surprise and take all but the citadel where the Romans and their supporting faction were able to rally. The Carthaginians failed to take the citadel, but subsequent fortifications around this enemy stronghold enabled the city to remain under Punic control. However, the harbour was blocked and warships had to be transported overland to be launched at sea.

The Battle of Capua (212 BC) was a stalemate since neither side could defeat the other. The Romans decided to withdraw and break off the siege of Capua. As a result the cavalry of Capua was reinforced with half of the available Numidian cavalry, 2,000 riders.

In the Battle of Beneventum (212 BC) Hanno the Elder was again defeated, this time by Quintus Fulvius Flaccus who also captured his camp. The following battle was the of the Silarus, in the same year, where the Romans under Marcus Centenius were ambushed and lost all but 1,000 of their 16,000 effectives. Also in 212 BC was the Battle of Herdonia, another Roman defeat when only 2,000 Romans out of force of 18,000 survived a direct attack by Hannibal's numerically superior forces combined with an ambush cutting off the Roman line of retreat.

This phase of the war was marked by the fall of major and minor cities to the Romans, although Hannibal was still able to prevail on the battlefield and thus lift some sieges. The Siege of Syracuse from 214 BC onwards was marked by Archimedes' ingenuity in inventing war machines that made it impossible for the Romans to make any gains with traditional methods of siege warfare. A Carthaginian army of 20,000 had been sent to relieve the city, but suffered more heavily than the Romans from pestilence and was thus forced to retreat to Agrigentum. The fall of Syracuse was finally achieved by a Roman attack that was treacherously helped to enter the city by a Syracusan pro-Roman faction and resulted in the death of Archimedes.

In the Battle of Capua (211 BC) Hannibal again tried to relieve his main harbour as in the Previous year, by luring the Romans into a pitched battle. He was unsuccessful, and was also unable to lift the siege by assaulting the besiegers' defences. So he tried a strategem of staging a march towards Rome, hoping in this way to compel the enemy to abandon the siege and rush to defend their home city. However, only part of the besieging force left for Rome and under continued siege Capua fell soon afterwards. Near Rome he fought another pitched battle.

← A section of Rome's Servian Wall at Termini railway station. It was this wall that dissuaded Hannibal from attempting a direct attack on Rome.

The Battle of Herdonia (210 BC) was another battle to lift the Roman siege of an allied city. Hannibal caught the proconsul Gnaeus Fulvius Centumalus off guard during his siege of Herdonia and destroyed his army in a pitched battle with up to 13,000 Romans dead out of less than 20,000. The defection of Salapia in Apulia in 210 BC was achieved by treachery: the inhabitants massacred the Numidian garrison and went over to the Romans.

In 210 BC the Battle of Numistro between Marcellus and Hannibal was inconclusive, but the

Romans stayed on his heels until the also inconclusive Battle of Canusium in 209 BC. In the meantime, this battle enabled another Roman army under Fabius to approach Tarentum and take it by treachery in the Battle of Tarentum (209 BC). Hannibal at that time had been able to disengage from Marcellus and was only 5 miles (8.0 km) away when the city, under the command of Carthalo (who was bound to Fabius by an agreement of hospitality), fell.

Hasdrubal's failed reinforcement

The Battle of Grumentum was an inconclusive fight in 207 BC between Gaius Claudius Nero and Hannibal. In the aftermath of the battle Nero was able to trick Hannibal into believing that the whole Roman army was still in camp. In the meantime Nero marched with a selected corps north and reinforced the Romans there to fight the Battle of the Metaurus against Hasdrubal. The Carthaginian force under Hasdrubal had left Iberia a year before after the defeat at the Battle of Baecula and had been reinforced by Gallic and Ligurian mercenaries and allies. It is notable that they took the same route as Hannibal 10 years previously, but suffered fewer casualties, being rather better supported by mercenaries from the mountain tribes.

Naval raids and expeditions

- **210 BC – second expedition to Sardinia**
- **210 BC – naval expedition to Tarentum**
- **210 BC – Roman raids on Africa**

Eastern Mediterranean and Ionian Sea (212 BC - 207 BC)

In 211 BC Rome countered the Macedonian threat with a Greek alliance of the Aetolians, Elis, Sparta, Messenia and Attalus I of Pergamon, as well as two Roman clients, the Illyrians Pleuratus and Scerdilaidas.[20]

209 BC – Illyrian attack on Macedonia
209 BC – Punic naval expedition to Corcyra
209 BC – First Battle of Lamia
209 BC – Second Battle of Lamia
208 BC – Roman and Pergamese attack on Lemnos

Seeking peace (206 BC - 202 BC)

Western Mediterranean (206 BC - 202 BC)

Carthage's last stand in Iberia

At the Battle of Ilipa large numbers of Celtiberian mercenaries in Carthaginian service confronted a mixed army of Romans and Iberians. Scipio Africanus The elder employed a clever ruse. Every day for several days, he drew up his army for battle with the Romans stationed in the centre of the line and their Iberian on the wings. But when the enemy offered battle, he would eventually decline it. By this stratagem he convinced the Punic commanders Mago and Hasdrubal Gisco that they could expect the Romans to hold the centre of their line. On the day of the battle the Roman force deployed earlier in the day and with the Romans posted on the wings of the line. In the rush to respond, the Carthaginians placed their best forces in the centre as usual, failing to spot the unusual Roman deployment. Thus the inferior Carthaginian mercenaries on the wings were severely beaten by the Romans. The Celtiberians deserted the Carthaginian camp that night. This catastrophic defeat sealed the fate of the Carthaginian presence in Iberia. It was followed by the Roman capture of Gades in 206 BC after the city had already rebelled against Carthaginian

rule. A last attempt was made by Mago in 205 BC to recapture New Carthage while the Roman presence was shaken by a mutiny and an Iberian uprising against their new overlords. But the attack was repulsed. So in the same year he left Iberia, setting sail from the Balearic islands to Italy with his remaining forces.

The Numidian struggle

← Tomb of the Numidian king Massinissa (c.238-c.148 BC). Massinissa, leader of the Massyli Berber tribe, was originally an ally of Carthage and fought against the Romans in Iberia. But after the Battle of Ilipa in 206 BC, he switched sides. His support at the Battle of Zama was critical to the Roman victory. Massinissa remained a staunch Roman ally for the rest of his long life. Site: Shoumaa el-Khroub, near Constantine, Algeria

In 206 BC there was a quick succession of kings in Eastern Numidia that temporarily ended with the division of the land between Carthage and the Western Numidian king Syphax, a former Roman ally. For this bargain Syphax was to marry Sophonisba, daughter of Hasdrubal Gisco. Massinissa, who had thus lost his fiancee went over to the Romans with whom he had already established contact during his military service in Iberia.

Central Mediterranean (206 BC - 202 BC)

Carrying the war to Africa

In 205 Mago landed in Italy. His arrival was followed by the Battle of Crotona (modern Crotone, 204), until he was defeated in the Po Valley Raid in 203.

At the same time Scipio Africanus The elder was given command of the legions in Sicily and was allowed to levy volunteers for his plan to end the war by an invasion of Africa. The legions in Sicily were mainly the survivors of Cannae who were not allowed home until the war was finished. Scipio was also one of the survivors and had served during the siege of Syracuse with them, but unlike the ordinary soldiers he then had been allowed home, had run successfully for public office and had been given command of the troops in Iberia.

Within a year of his landing in Africa, Scipio twice routed the regular Carthaginian forces under Hasdrubal Gisco and his Numidian allies. The main native supporter of the Carthaginians, king Syphax of the Massaesylians (western Numidians), was defeated and taken prisoner. Masinissa, a Numidian rival of Syphax and at that time an ally of the Romans, seized a large part of his kingdom with their help. These setbacks persuaded some of the Carthaginians that it was time to sue for peace. Others pleaded for the recall of the sons of Hamilcar Barca, Hannibal and Mago, who were still fighting the Romans in Bruttium and Cisalpine Gaul respectively.

In 203 BC, while Scipio was carrying all before him in Africa and the Carthaginian peace party were arranging an armistice, Hannibal was recalled from Italy by the war party at Carthage. After leaving a record of his expedition engraved in Punic and Greek upon bronze tablets in the

temple of Juno at Crotone, he sailed back to Africa. These records were later quoted by Polybius. Hannibal's arrival immediately restored the predominance of the war party, who placed him in command of a combined force of African levies and his mercenaries from Italy. But Hannibal was opposed to this policy and tried to convince them not to send the untrained African levies into battle. In 202 BC, Hannibal met Scipio in a peace conference. Despite the two generals' mutual admiration, negotiations floundered, according to the Romans due to "Punic faith", meaning bad faith. This Roman expression referred to the alleged breach of protocols which ended the First Punic War by the Carthaginian attack on Saguntum, Hannibal's perceived breaches of the idealised Roman military etiquette (i.e. Hannibal's numerous ambuscades), as well as the armistice violated by the Carthaginians in the period before Hannibal's return.

Broken armistice and final peace treaty

The decisive battle soon followed. Unlike most battles of the Second Punic War, the Romans had superiority in cavalry and the Carthaginians had superiority in infantry. The Roman army was generally better armed and a head taller than the Carthaginian. Hannibal had refused to lead this army into battle because he did not expect them to be able to stand their ground. There had been very bitter arguments between him and the oligarchy. His co-general Hasdrubal Gisco was forced to commit suicide by a violent mob after he spoke in support of Hannibal's view that such troops should not be led into battle. Before the battle Hannibal gave no speech to his new troops, only to his veterans.

Scipio countered an expected Carthaginian elephant charge, which caused some of Hannibal's elephants to turn back into his own ranks, throwing his cavalry into disarray, the Roman cavalry was able to capitalize on this and drive the Carthaginian cavalry from the field. However, the battle remained closely fought, and at one point it seemed that Hannibal was on the verge of victory. However, Scipio was able to rally his men, and his cavalry returned from chasing the Carthaginian cavalry and attacked Hannibal's rear. This two-pronged attack caused the Carthaginian formation to disintegrate and collapse. After their defeat, Hannibal convinced the Carthaginians to accept peace. Notably, he broke the rules of the assembly by forcibly removing a speaker who supported continued resistance. Afterwards he was obliged to apologize for his behaviour.

Eastern Mediterranean and Ionian Sea (218 BC - 201 BC)

- **206 BC – the Aetolians make peace with Macedonia**
- **205 BC – Rome lands with 11,000 men and 35 ships in Durrës but achieve no military objective**
- **205 BC – the First Macedonian war ends with the peace Treaty of Phoenice**

Aftermath

Carthage lost Hispania forever, and it was reduced to a client state. A war indemnity of 10,000 talents was imposed, her navy was limited to 10 ships to ward off pirates, and she was forbidden from raising an army without Rome's permission. The Numidians took the opportunity to capture and plunder Carthaginian territory. Half a century later, when Carthage raised an army to defend itself from these incursions, it was destroyed by Rome in the Third Punic War. Rome, on the other hand, by her victory, had taken a key step towards domination of the Mediterranean world.

The end of the war was not universally welcomed in Rome, for reasons of both politics and morale. When the Senate decreed upon a peace treaty with Carthage, Quintus Caecilius Metellus, a former consul, said he did not look upon the termination of the war as a blessing to Rome, since he feared that the Roman people would now sink back again into its former slumbers, from which

it had been roused by the presence of Hannibal[21]. Others, most notably Cato the Elder, feared that if Carthage was not completely destroyed it would soon regain its power and pose new threats to Rome, and pressed for harsher peace conditions. Even after the peace, Cato insisted on the destruction of Carthage, ending his speeches with "Furthermore, I think Carthage must be destroyed", even if they had nothing to do with Carthage.[22]

Archeology has discovered that the famous circular military harbour at Carthage, the Cothon, received a significant buildup after this war. It could house and quickly deploy about 200 triremes, and was shielded from external sight. This is a surprising development, as after the war, the Carthaginian fleet was restricted to only ten triremes

Aerial view (1958) of Carthage's cothon-type military harbour. The circular naval base was situated on the central peninsula. The entrance to the harbour has silted up.

as one of the terms of surrender. One possible explanation: as has been pointed out for other Phoenician cities, privateers with warships played a significant role besides trade, even when the Roman Empire was fully established and officially controlled all coasts. In this case it is not clear whether the treaty included private warships. The only reference to Punic privateers is from the First Punic War: one of them, Hanno the Rhodian, owned a quinquereme (faster than the serial production models which the Romans had copied), manned with about 500 men and then among the heaviest warships in use. Later pirates in Roman waters are all reported with much smaller vessels, that could outrun naval vessels, but operated with lower personnel costs. Thus, piracy was probably highly developed in Carthage and the state did not have a monopoly of military forces. Pirates probably played an important role in capturing slaves, one of the most profitable trade goods, but merchant ships with tradeable goods and a crew were also their targets. There is no source about the fate of Punic privateers in the periods between the Punic Wars.

Hannibal became a businessman for several years and later enjoyed a leadership role in Carthage. However, the Carthaginian nobility was upset by his policy of democratisation and struggle against corruption. They persuaded the Romans to force him into exile in Asia Minor, where he again led armies against the Romans and their allies on the battlefield. He eventually committed

suicide to avoid capture.

Carthage and Numidia after the war

Between Carthage and Numidia there was constant low-level warfare, but by the time of the Third Punic War, most of Carthage's African territories had been lost and the Numidians traded independently with Greeks.

Intelligence

In this conflict intelligence played an important role on both sides. Hannibal mastered an intelligence service that enabled him to achieve outstanding victories.[23] Likewise Scipio Africanus the elder's victories were dependant on information. In 217 BC a Carthaginian resident spy in Rome, who was probably a Roman citizen, was caught and had his hands cut off as a punishment.[24]

Opinions on the war

According to Livy it was "the most memorable of all wars that were ever waged: the war which the Carthaginians, under the conduct of Hannibal, maintained with the Roman people. For never did any states and nations more efficient in their resources engage in contest; nor had they themselves at any other period so great a degree of power and energy. They brought into action too no arts of war unknown to each other, but those which had been tried in the first Punic war; and so various was the fortune of the conflict, and so doubtful the victory, that they who conquered were more exposed to danger. The hatred with which they fought also was almost greater than their resources".[25]

List of battles of the Second Punic War

An incomplete list of battles of the Second Punic War, showing the battles on the Italian peninsula and some in Africa, in Sicily and Hispania.

218 BC

- **Battle of Lilybaeum - A Roman fleet of 20 quinqueremes defeated a Carthaginian fleet of 35 galleys.**
- **August - Hannibal conquered Catalonia.**
- **September- Hannibal defeated the Gaul Volcae tribe in the Battle of Rhone Crossing.**
- **October: Hannibal's army defeated Gauls in two battles while crossing the Alps.**
- **November: Battle of the Ticinus - Hannibal defeated the Romans under Publius Cornelius Scipio the Elder in a small cavalry skirmish.**
- **December: Battle of the Trebia - Hannibal defeated the Romans under Tiberius Sempronius Longus, who had foolishly attacked.**
- **Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Calvus defeated Hanno in the Battle of Cissa. Iberia north of the Ebro River came under Roman control.**

217 BC

- **Battle of Lake Trasimene - In an ambush, Hannibal destroyed the Roman army of Gaius Flaminius Nepos, who was killed.**
- **A Roman fleet, aided by ships from Massilia, surprised and defeated the Iberian contingent of the Carthaginian fleet in the naval Battle of Ebro River.**
- **Hannibal was trapped by Quintus Fabius in Ager Falernus, but he managed to escape in**

the Battle of Ager Falernus.

Hannibal trapped and inflicted severe losses on a Roman army under Minucius, at the Battle of Geronium. The timely intervention of the Dictator Quintus Fabius Maximus saved the Romans from another disaster.

216 BC

August: Battle of Cannae - Hannibal destroyed the Roman army led by Lucius Aemilius Paullus and Gaius Terentius Varro in what is considered one of the great masterpieces of the tactical art.

First Battle of Nola - Roman general Marcus Claudius Marcellus held off an attack by Hannibal.

215 BC

Second Battle of Nola - Marcellus again repulsed an attack by Hannibal.

A Roman fleet under Titus Otacilius Crassus defeated a Carthaginian fleet near Sardinia.

Hasdrubal Barca is defeated by the Scipio brothers in Battle of Dertosa. The Romans raided Carthaginian territory south of the Ebro river.

A Carthaginian expedition under Hasdrubal the Bald is defeated near Caralis in Sardinia in Battle of Cornus.

214 BC –

Third Battle of Nola - Marcellus fought an inconclusive battle with Hannibal.

Battle of Beneventum - Tiberius Gracchus' slave legions defeat Hanno (son of Bomlicar) and, therefore, deny Hannibal his reinforcements.

The Siege of Syracuse begins.

212 BC

Hannibal, after careful planning and collaboration from the Greek populance, takes the city of Tarentum in a daring Night Raid on Tarentum. The Romans managed to hold the Citadel at the mouth of the port.

First Battle of Capua - Hannibal defeated the consuls Q. Fulvius Flaccus and Appius Claudius, but the Roman army escaped. Siege of Capua temporarily lifted.

Battle of the Silarus - Hannibal destroyed the army of the Roman praetor M. Centenius Penula in Campania.

First Battle of Herdonia - Hannibal destroyed the Roman army of the praetor Gnaeus Fulvius in Apulia.

The Siege of Syracuse ends with the fall of the city. Archimedes is accidentally slain.

211 BC

Battle of the Upper Baetis - Publius Cornelius Scipio and Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Calvus were killed in battle with Hasdrubal Barca.

Second Battle of Capua - Hannibal was unable to break the Roman siege of the city.

210 BC

Second Battle of Herdonia - Hannibal destroyed the Roman army of Fulvius Centumalus, who was killed.

Battle of Numistro - Hannibal defeated Marcellus once more.

Battle of Sapriportis - The Tarentine Greek navy defeated a Roman squadron trying to reinforce the Citadel.

209 BC

Battle of Asculum - Hannibal once again confronted Marcellus in an indecisive battle. Marcellus was recalled to Rome on charges of bad leadership.

Assault on Cartagena - P. Cornelius Scipio the Younger captured Cartagena, the main base of Carthage in Hispania.

208 BC

Battle of Baecula - Romans in Hispania under P. Cornelius Scipio the Younger defeated Hasdrubal Barca. Hasdrubal managed to save 2/3 of his army, treasures and elephants and retreat.

Battle of Clupea - The Carthaginian navy is defeated in a battle off the African coast.

207 BC

Battle of Grumentum - Roman general Gaius Claudius Nero fought an indecisive battle with Hannibal, then marched north to confront Hasdrubal Barca, who had invaded Italy.

Battle of the Metaurus - Hasdrubal Barca was defeated and killed by Livius and Nero's combined Roman army. Is thought by many as one of the most decisive battles in history.

Naval Battle of Utica - A Carthaginian fleet of 70 ships is defeated by a Roman fleet of 100 ships near Utica.

206 BC - Battle of Ilipa - Scipio destroyed the remaining Carthaginian forces in Hispania.

204 BC

Battle of Crotona - Hannibal fought a drawn battle against the Roman general Sempronius in Southern Italy.

203 BC

Battle of Bagbrades - Romans under Scipio defeated the Carthaginian army of Hasdrubal Gisco and Syphax. Hannibal was recalled to Africa.

Battle of Castra Cornelia - Carthaginian fleet under Hasdrubal plunders the Roman supply convoy sailing to resupply Scipio's army in Africa near Utica.

202 BC

Battle of Zama (October 19) - Scipio Africanus Major decisively defeated Hannibal in North Africa, ending the Second Punic War.

Notes

1. **^ http://www.ucalgary.ca/applied_history/tutor/firsteuro retrieved 13 February 2008**
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VI, d – Third Punic War

The Third Punic War (149 BC - 146 BC) involved an extended siege of Carthage, ending in the city's thorough destruction. The resurgence of the struggle can be explained by growing anti-Roman agitations in Hispania and Greece, and the visible improvement of Carthaginian wealth and martial power in the fifty years since the Second War.

With no military, Carthage suffered raids from its neighbor Numidia. Under the terms of the treaty with Rome, such disputes were to be arbitrated by the Roman Senate. Because Numidia was a favored client state of Rome, Roman rulings were slanted heavily to favor the Numidians. After some fifty years of this condition, Carthage had managed to discharge its war indemnity to Rome, and considered itself no longer bound by the restrictions of the treaty, although Rome believed otherwise. Carthage mustered an army to repel Numidian forces. It immediately lost the war with Numidia, placing itself in debt yet again, this time to Numidia.

This new-found Punic militarism alarmed many Romans, including Cato the Elder who after a voyage to Carthage, ended all his speeches, no matter what the topic, by saying: "Ceterum censeo Carthaginem esse delendam." - "Furthermore, I think that Carthage must be destroyed".

In 149 BC, in an attempt to draw Carthage into open conflict, Rome made a series of escalating demands, one being the surrender of three hundred children of the nobility as hostages, and finally ending with the near-impossible demand that the city be demolished and rebuilt away from the coast, deeper into Africa. When the Carthaginians refused this last demand, Rome declared the Third Punic War. Having previously relied on mercenaries to fight their wars for them, the Carthaginians were now forced into a more active role in the defense of their city. They made thousands of makeshift weapons in a short amount of time, even using women's hair for catapult strings, and were able to hold off an initial Roman attack. A second offensive under the command of Scipio Aemilianus resulted in a three-year siege before he breached the walls, sacked the city, and systematically burned Carthage to the ground in 146 BC.

After Rome emerged as victorious, significant Carthaginian] settlements, such as those in Mauritania, were taken over and aggrandized by the Romans. Volubilis, for example, was an important Roman town situated near the westernmost border of Roman conquests. It was built on the site of the previous Carthaginian settlement, but that settlement overlies an earlier neolithic habitation.[8]

The Third Punic War (Latin: *Tertium Bellum Punicum*) (149 BC to 146 BC) was the Punic Wars fought between the former Phoenician colony of Carthage, and the Roman Republic. The Punic Wars were named because of the Roman name for Carthaginians: *Punici*, or *Poenici*.[1]

The war was a much smaller engagement than the two previous Punic Wars and primarily consisted of a single main action, the Battle of Carthage, but resulted in the complete destruction of the city of Carthage, the annexation of all remaining Carthaginian territory by Rome, and the death or enslavement of the entire Carthaginian population. The Third Punic War ended Carthage's independent existence.

Background

In the years between the Second and Third Punic War, Rome was engaged in the conquest of the Hellenistic empires to the east (see Macedonian Wars, Illyrian Wars, and the Roman-Syrian War) and ruthlessly suppressing the Hispanian peoples in the west, although they had been essential to the Roman success in the Second Punic War. Carthage, stripped of allies and territory (Sicily, Sardinia, Hispania), was suffering under a huge indemnity of 200 silver talents to be paid every year for 50 years.

According to Appian the senator Cato usually finished his speeches on any subject in the Senate with the phrase *ceterum censeo Carthaginem esse delendam*, which means "Furthermore, it is my opinion that Carthage must be destroyed", a position earlier cited by Cicero in his dialogue De Senectute.[2] He was opposed by the senator Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum, who favoured a different course, one that would not destroy Carthage, and who usually convinced the Senate.

The peace treaty at the end of the Second Punic War required that all border disputes involving Carthage be arbitrated by the Roman Senate and required Carthage to get explicit Roman approval before going to war. As a result, in the fifty intervening years between the Second and Third Punic War, Carthage had to take all border disputes with Rome's ally Numidia to the Roman Senate, where they were decided almost exclusively in Numidian favor.

In 151 BC, the Carthaginian debt to Rome was fully repaid, meaning that, in Punic eyes, the treaty was now expired, though not so according to the Romans, who instead viewed the treaty as a permanent declaration of Carthaginian subordination to Rome akin to the Roman treaties with its Italian allies. Moreover, the retirement of the indemnity removed one of the main incentives the Romans had to keep the peace with Carthage - there were no further payments that might be interrupted.

The Romans had other reasons to conquer Carthage and her remaining territories[|]. By the middle of the 2nd century BC, the population of the city of Rome was about 400,000 and rising. Feeding the growing populace was becoming a major challenge. The farmlands surrounding Carthage represented the most productive, most accessible and perhaps the most easily obtainable agricultural lands not yet under Roman control.

The course of war

In 151 BC Numidia launched another border raid on Carthaginian soil, besieging a town, and Carthage launched a large military expedition (25,000 soldiers) to repel the Numidian invaders. As a result, Carthage suffered a humiliating military defeat and was charged with another fifty year debt to Numidia. Immediately thereafter, however, Rome showed displeasure with Carthage's decision to wage war against its neighbour without Roman consent, and told Carthage that in order to avoid a war it had to "satisfy the Roman People."

In 149 BC, Rome declared war against Carthage. The Carthaginians made a series of attempts to appease Rome, and received a promise that if three hundred children of well-born Carthaginians were sent as hostages to Rome the Carthaginians would keep the rights to their land and self-government. Even after this was done, however, the allied city of Utica defected to Rome, and a

Roman army of 80,000 men gathered there.[3] The consuls then demanded that Carthage hand over all weapons and armour. After those had been handed over, Rome additionally demanded that the Carthaginians move at least ten miles inland, while the city itself was to be burned. When the Carthaginians learned of this they abandoned negotiations and the city was immediately besieged, beginning the Third Punic War.

The Carthaginians endured the siege starting c.149 BC to the spring of 146 BC, when Scipio Aemilianus took the city by storm. Though the Punic citizens fought valiantly, they were inevitably gradually pushed back by the overwhelming Roman military force and destroyed.

Aftermath

Many Carthaginians died from starvation during the later part of the siege, while many others died in the final six days of fighting. When the war ended, the remaining 50,000 Carthaginians, a small part of the original pre-war population, were, as was the normal fate in antiquity of inhabitants of sacked cities, sold into slavery by the victors.[4] The city was systematically burned for somewhere between 10 and 17 days; the city walls, its buildings and its harbour were utterly destroyed.

The remaining Carthaginian territories were annexed by Rome and reconstituted to become the Roman province of Africa. A century later, the site of Carthage was rebuilt as a Roman city by Julius Caesar, and would later become one of the main cities of Roman Africa by the time of the Empire.

That Roman forces then sowed the city with salt to ensure that nothing would grow there again is almost certainly a 19th century invention.[5] Contemporary accounts show that the land surrounding Carthage was declared *ager publicus* and that it was shared between local farmers, and Roman and Italian ones. North Africa soon became a vital source of grain for the Romans. Roman Carthage was the main hub transporting these supplies to the capital. The fact that Rome came to rely on North African grain as quickly as she did after conquering Carthage makes any notion that she might have destroyed Carthaginian farmlands quite doubtful.

Numerous significant Carthaginian cities, such as those in Mauretania, were taken over and rebuilt by the Romans. Examples of these rebuilt cities are Volubilis, Chellah and Mogador. Volubilis, for example, was an important Roman town situated near the westernmost border of Roman conquests. It was built on the site of the previous Carthaginian settlement, but that settlement overlies an earlier neolithic habitation.[6] Utica, the Punic city which changed loyalties at the beginning of the siege, became the capital of the Roman province of Africa.[3]

In January 1985, Ugo Vetere, the mayor of Rome, and Chedly Klibi, the mayor of Carthage, signed a symbolic friendship and collaboration pact, "officially" ending the conflict between their cities.[7]

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The Battle for Carthage

The Battle of Carthage was the major act of the Third Punic War between the Phoenician city of Carthage in Africa (a suburb of present-day Tunis) and the Roman Republic. It was a siege operation, starting sometime between 149 and 148 BC, and ending in the spring of 146 BC with the sack and complete destruction of the city of Carthage.

After a Roman army under Manius Manilius landed in Africa in 149 BC, Carthage surrendered and handed over hostages and arms. However, the Romans demanded the complete destruction of the city, and surprisingly to the Romans the city refused, the faction advocating submission overturned by one in favor of defense.

The Carthaginians manned the walls and defied the Romans, a situation which lasted for two years due to poor Roman commanders.[*citation needed*] In this period, the 300,000 Carthaginians inside the wall transformed the town into a huge arsenal. They produced about 300 swords, 500 spears, 140 shields and 1,000 projectiles for catapults daily.

The Romans elected the young but popular Scipio Aemilianus as consul, a special law being passed to lift the age restriction. Scipio restored discipline, defeated the Carthaginians in a field battle, and besieged the city closely, constructing a mole to block the harbor.

In the spring of 146 BC the Romans broke through the city wall but they were hard pressed to take the city. Every building, house and temple had been turned into a stronghold and every Carthaginian had taken up a weapon. The Romans were forced to move slowly, capturing the city house by house, street by street and fighting each Carthaginian soldier who fought with courage born of despair. Eventually after hours upon hours of house-to-house fighting, the Carthaginians surrendered. An estimated 50,000 surviving inhabitants were sold into slavery. The city was then leveled. The land surrounding Carthage was declared ager publicus, and it was shared between local farmers, and Roman and Italian ones.

Before the end of the battle, a dramatic event took place: the few survivors had found refuge in the temple of Eshmun, in the citadel of Byrsa, although it was already burning. They negotiated their surrender, but Scipio Aemilianus expressed that forgiveness was impossible either for Hasdrubal, the general who defended the city, or for the Roman deserters. Hasdrubal then left the Citadel to surrender and pray for mercy (he had tortured Roman prisoners in front of the Roman army). At that moment Hasdrubal's wife allegedly went out with her two children, insulted her husband, sacrificed her sons and jumped with them into a fire that the deserters had started. The deserters then jumped into the fire too.

Scipio Aemilianus reportedly wept at the sight of the destruction of Carthage and recited a line from Homer, a prophecy about the destruction of Troy, that could be applied now to Carthage's end:

> **The day shall come when sacred Troy shall fall, and King Priam and all his warrior people with him.**

Scipio declared that he feared it could be applied to Rome in the future.[1][2]

After the war, Scipio Aemilianus was given the honorific surname "Africanus Minor" (the Younger).

Since the 19th century, a legend has grown that the Romans plowed over the city and sowed salt into the soil after destroying it, but this is not supported by ancient sources.[3]

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VII -- Jugurtha

Jugurtha, King of Numidia. (c. 160 – 104 BC)
From Wikipedia:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jugurtha

Until the reign of Jugurtha's grandfather Masinissa, the people of Numidia were semi-nomadic and indistinguishable from the other Berbers in North Africa. Masinissa established a kingdom (roughly equivalent to modern northern Algeria) and became a Roman ally in 206 BC. After a long reign he was succeeded in 148 BC by his son Micipsa, Jugurtha's uncle. Jugurtha was so popular among the Numidians, that Micipsa was obliged to send him away to Spain.

Unfortunately for Micipsa, instead of quietly keeping out of the way, Jugurtha used his time in Spain to make several influential Roman contacts. He served at the siege of Numantia alongside Gaius Marius and learned of Rome's weakness for bribes. He famously described Rome as "urbem venalem et mature perituram, si emptorem invenerit" ("a city for sale and doomed to quick destruction, if it should ever find a buyer").

When Micipsa died in 118, he was succeeded jointly by his two sons Hiempsal and Adherbal. Hiempsal and Jugurtha quarrelled immediately after the death of Micipsa. Jugurtha had Hiempsal killed, which lead to open war with Adherbal. After Jugurtha defeated him in open battle, Adherbal fled to Rome for help. The Roman officials, allegedly due to bribes but perhaps more likely because of a desire to quickly end conflict in a profitable client kingdom, settled the fight by dividing Numidia into two parts. Jugurtha was assigned the western half. (Later Roman propaganda claimed that this half was also richer, but in truth it was both less populated and developed.)

By 112 Jugurtha resumed his war with Adherbal. He incurred the wrath of Rome in the process, by killing some Italic businessmen who were aiding Adherbal. After a brief war with Rome, Jugurtha surrendered and received a highly favourable peace treaty, which raised suspicions of bribery once more. The local Roman commander was summoned to Rome to face corruption charges brought by his political rival Gaius Memmius. Jugurtha was also forced to come to Rome to testify against the Roman commander, where he was completely discredited once his violent and ruthless past became widely known.

War broke out between Numidia and the Roman Republic and several legions were dispatched to North Africa under the command of the Consul Quintus Caecilius Metellus. The war dragged out into a long and seemingly endless campaign as the Romans tried to inflict a decisive defeat on Jugurtha. Frustrated at the apparent lack of action, Metellus' lieutenant Marius returned to Rome to seek election as Consul. Successfully elected, Marius returned to Numidia and to take control of the war. He sent his Quaestor Lucius Cornelius Sulla to neighbouring Mauretania in order to eliminate their support for Jugurtha. With the help of Bocchus I of Mauretania, Sulla was able to capture Jugurtha and bring the war to a conclusive end. Jugurtha was brought to Rome in chains and was placed in the Tullianum.

Jugurtha was executed by the Romans in 104 BC, after being paraded through the streets in Marius' Triumph.

This 200 meter high plateau, Jugurtha's Table, near Tunisia's border with Algeria, is the main reason why the Jugurthine War dragged on for seven years – even today, the only access up to Jugurtha's wartime stronghold is a narrow path leading to an even more narrow stairway up the side. Part way up is a Byzantine arch (the remains of a gate): the Byzantines, several centuries later, put a garrison on the plateau, mainly to keep the plateau from again becoming a Berber (Amasigh) stronghold. The town in the foreground gives an idea of the size of the plateau. –tkw

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The Roman War with Jugurtha
From http://www.unrv.com/empire/war-with-jugurtha.php

After the destruction of Carthage, the most important kingdom in Africa was Numidia. It contained a number of flourishing towns which were centers of a considerable commerce. Masinissa, the loyal Roman ally from the Punic Wars, left this kingdom to his son Micipsa. The latter had two sons and a nephew, Jugurtha. Jugurtha was a brilliant and ambitious young man, who had served under Scipio in the Spanish Numantine war, and returned to Africa steeped in honors. Gaining a deep knowledge of Roman military tactics and, due to his legionary service, a large number of friendly contacts within Rome and her Senate, Jugurtha was in a prime position

to obtain power. He was named joint heir with his cousins to the kingdom of Numidia. Micipsa died soon after and Jugurtha took matters into his own hands, murdering one of his rival cousins, Hiempsal. He then claimed the whole kingdom of Numidia and launched an attack on his other cousin, Adherbal, who immediately appealed to Rome for help.

Commissioners from Rome were sent to investigate, but Jugurtha cleverly used his influence with various Roman families, and large bribes, to secure support for his position. The envoys returned home without accomplishing anything aside from a loose division of Numidia into two kingdoms between Jugurtha and Adherbal. Jugurtha, however, pressed his advantage and moved against Adherbal anyway. A new delegation was sent to stop the attack but Jugurtha ignored it, and besieged Adherbal in his capital, Cirta. Unfortunately for Jugurtha, Adherbal was heavily reliant on Italian residents of the African nation as the main part of his defense and attacks causing harm to Romans and their allies would surely come to be noticed in Rome. Another senatorial commission, headed by M. Aemilius Scaurus, summoned Jugurtha to stop the attack but once again he pressed on. In 112 BC Adherbal was eventually forced to surrender and he was savagely tortured to death. To make matters worse, Jugurtha not only defied Rome with his attack in the first place, but he put the surviving Italian defenders to the sword.

Due to Jugurtha's wide-spread political contacts and bribery, Rome was still slow to react. After much consternation war was finally declared and L. Calpurnius Bestia, along with M. Aemilius Scaurus, led an army into Africa. Peace was quickly reached however, with little damage to Jugurtha, and new allegations of scandal and bribery echoed throughout Rome. One Tribune of the Plebs, Memmius, led the assault on those who may have been pocketing Numidian gold. He passed a law ordering one of the praetors to bring Jugurtha directly to Rome to be interviewed, under a safe-conduct provision. Jugurtha safe in his position certainly in part due to pre-arranged political maneuvering he agreed to be brought before the Senate. When he arrived however, in essence to reveal those whom he had bribed another tribune vetoed the entire arrangement, rendering Jugurtha free to go without the necessity to finger the men in his political pockets. Clearly buoyed by the Roman political stalement and feeling invulnerable to the corrupt Roman courts, Jugurtha arranged an assassination attempt on another cousin before returning to Africa. However, the assassins were caught and Jugurtha's involvement uncovered, further soiling his reputation, but Jugurtha had long since arrived in his own country.

Rome reacted quickly this time and declared war once again. In 110 BC, Sp. Postumius Albinus led the attack, but was forced to leave his brother Aulus in command, while he attended to personal matters. Aulus, while laying siege to a Numidian town, was completely surprised and surrounded by Jugurthine forces. Apprantly targets of more bribery, the Romans were forced to surrender and agreed to leave Numidia within ten days. Back in Rome, the reaction was violent. Cries of scandal, bribery and incompetence were running rampant. Roman armies were losing to a petty client King without even shedding blood, while the commanders were coming home defeated but rich. The common people, still angry with the Senate for its treatment of the Gracchi, were outraged by this complete lack of Senatorial capability. To top matters off, the Germanic Cimbri and Teutones were on the move in Illyria and Southern Gaul running rampant over the Roman Legions in their way.

In 109 BC, the Senate turned to an old line family of much prestige. The nephew of Metellus Macedonicus, conqueror of Macedonia, was sent to take the war to Jugurtha. Quintus Caecilius Metellus, was a better general and less corruptible Roman than his predecessors, but after 2 years in the field did little but to gain some minor victories. Metellus' chief subordinate, Gaius Marius, a new man from Arpinum, was a brilliant and able young soldier. Frustrated by lack of success

under the command of Metellus, Marius decided to run for the consulship himself. A Plebeian hadn't been elected to the consulship in well over a century, but the people were angry with the Senate and looked to a new man to change the course of events. Running on a platform of opposition to Patrician corruption and failures, and despite many objections from the aristocrats, Marius was elected to the first of seven total consulships, in 107 BC.

With the election of Marius, Metellus was recalled, and given the honor of a triumph by the Senate (a completely political motivated event). Additionally, despite his complete lack of success, he was awarded the agnomen of Numidicus for 'conquering' Numidia. Marius free of the incompetence of his predecessor then set to work reorganizing and training his army. With losses to the Germanic tribes in Gaul and Illyria, Marius was forced to enlist volunteers from among the head count of Rome. He forever altered the political and military landscape, and paved the way for a professional, non land-owning army, in which the urban poor would have opportunities within the army. Additionally men of higher social rank but little wealth took the opportunity to join with Marius as well. One of these men, Lucius Cornelius Sulla, would prove to be Marius' greatest rival in later years, and one of the most famous names of the Late Republic.

In less than 2 years, with near constant victories over a widely spread territory, Marius soon conquered all of the Numidian strongholds. Bocchus, King of Mauretania, and ally of Jugurtha, was growing ever more concerned over the impending approach of Marius and his army. Learning that the Romans were willing to negotiate to end the war, Sulla was sent to treat with the King. A plot was hatched whereby Bocchus would betray his ally, Jugurtha, to the Romans in exchange for peaceful coexistence. Jugurtha was captured and handed over to Sulla, according to plan, who then took his captive to Marius. In 105 BC, the war was over and Marius was honored as victor due to his command, despite claims by Sulla to have been responsible for the capture. This event would mark the beginning of a long-standing rivalry between the two men that would end in violence and murder, many years later. Jugurtha, meanwhile, was sent to Rome to await his death during Marius' triumph. This triumph would be long delayed, however, as the Consul would be forced to save Rome from the serious threat of Germanic Cimbri and Teuton invasion.

VIII -- Africa as a Roman Province

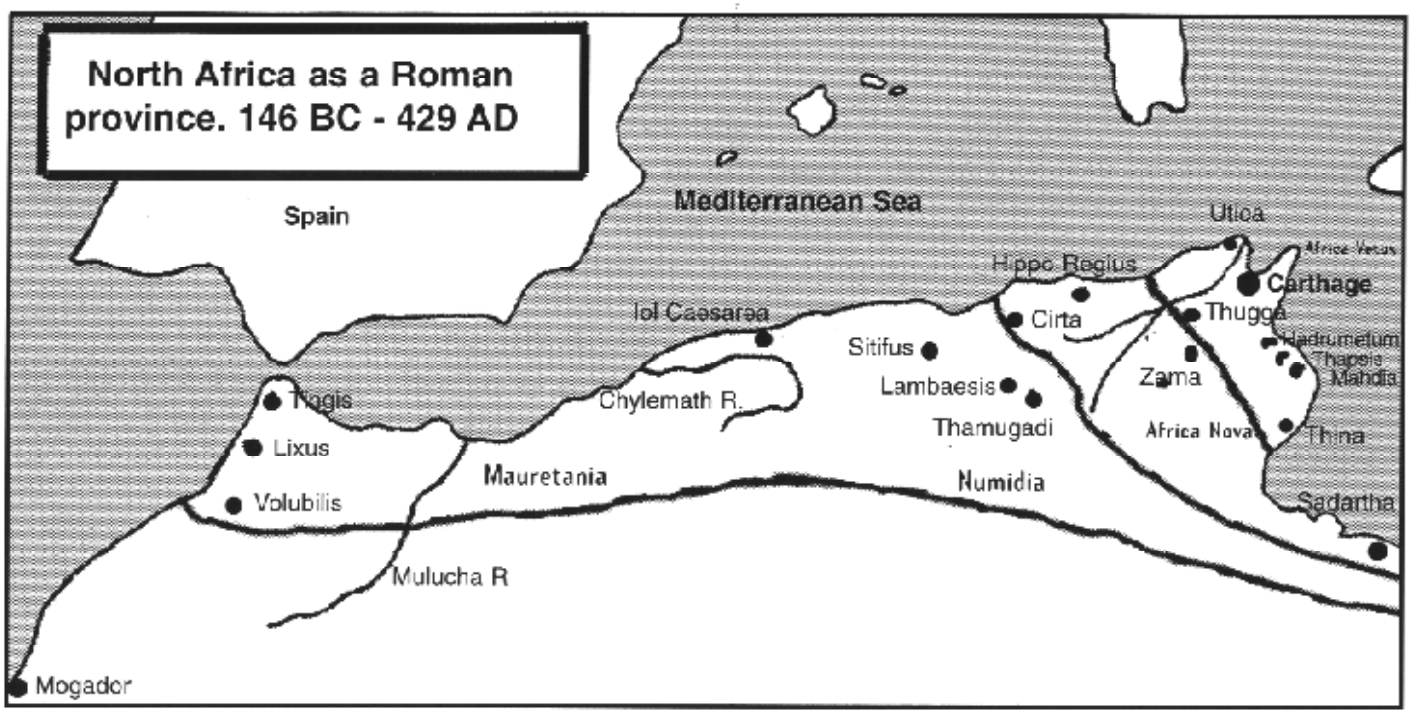
From http://www.usd.edu/~clehmann/pir/numidia.htm
Jarret Fitzloff

Today, northern Africa holds many ruins and remains that pay homage to the longevity of the architectural and cultural achievements of its previous ruler, the Roman empire. The densely packed cities that once stood along the coasts of Tunisia are proof of the great prosperity Africa, as a Roman province, experienced, and also show the willingness of Rome to accept Africa as part of the empire.

Of Africa, Pliny wrote;

> **At the river Ampsaga begins Numidia, a country rendered famous by the name of Masinissa. The Greeks called it Metagonitis and they named its people the Nomads, from their cue>stom of frequently changing their pasturage, and carrying their homes about the country on wagons.**
> **The boundary of Numidia is the river Zaina. The country produces nothing remarkable beside the Numidian marble and wild beasts.**

Pliny did not survive long enough to eat his words regarding a large portion of Africa producing "nothing remarkable." Soon enough, not only would Africa become one of the most prosperous provinces, but also come to be known as the granary of Rome, providing two thirds of the city's food supply.



The Geography of Ancient Northern Africa

Most of the north end of the African continent is desert. There is, however, a stretch of land running from the Atlantic Ocean to the gulf Syrtis Minor, two or three hundred miles deep from the Mediterranean, that people can settle in thanks to a regular supply of water. This water supply is brought on by the winter winds of the Atlantic falling on the mountains surrounding this

Mediterranean basin, causing regular rainfall in the winter, light showers during spring and autumn, and drought in the summer.

Recent archaeological surveys have shown that around one hundred miles of the Saharan border, which is now uncultivated pre-desert, was an extremely prosperous and substantial region during the Roman period. It supported a greater population during the Roman era than either before or since. Water management of the heavy, intermittent rainfall enabled farmers to grow barley and olives and to raise sheep and goats.

The mountains were covered in forests of conifers and evergreens. In the plains grew olives and figs, in the most fertile regions, grain. Animals of the region included snakes, scorpions, ostriches, gnus, antelope, gazelles, elephants, panthers, leopards, lions, and bears.

Who Lived in Africa before the Roman Conquest?

As the desert surrounding them began to dry up around 2000 BC, the people who occupied the plains and mountains of northwest Africa became virtually isolated. They remained at an early form of cultural development, hunting wild animals, herding stock, or settling to simple agriculture. The Greek called them Libyans, Romans referred to them as Africans, Numidians and Moors; the Arabs would dub them Berbers.

The Berber were fair skinned people, closer to Indo-Germanic than Semitic, who gathered in tribes and practiced subsistence economy, either through basic farming or transhumance herding (the movement of flocks and herds from winter and summer pastures, some up to 200 miles apart!). It is thought that loose alliances were formed between farming and herding tribes to avoid the conflict of one tribe bringing their cattle through the crops of another.

Around 1000 BC, the Phoenicians began to use the North African coastline as a trade route to Spain from Syria. The Phoenicians, who preferred to sail by day and in sight of land, began to build coastal settlements for their ships to rest at. These ports were chosen by the ease a small population would have defending it. The Phoenicians had no interest in Africa as a resource (other than murex: a shellfish from which purple dye could be extracted), and thought the interior land to be quite hostile.

To the Berber, however, even the smallest settlement became a fascinating place where they could trade and gain knowledge of settled living. The Phoenicians, never being able to turn down the opportunity to wheel and deal, began interacting with the Berber tribes. It was not long before the Berbers had adapted their own form of writing from their civilized neighbors, and gained their first taste of city living.

By the sixth century BC, the Greek had begun to heavily muscle in on Phoenician trade. Eventually, the Greek city states in Sicily attempted to push the nearby Phoenician settlements off the island. A wholly Greek Sicily was unthinkable, and soon Carthage, the largest of the Phoenician port cities, became the leader and protector of the Phoenician people. The struggle between the Phoenicians and the Greeks lasted over one hundred years.

In the end, it was the Greeks who triumphed. The Phoenicians, having been dealt a heavy blow, and looking for a place of new resource, began exploring their own African backyard. The success of this fifth century exploration becomes apparent in the renaming of the Phoenicians, to the Carthaginians.

It was not long before the Carthaginians implemented Berber manpower in their plans, using their farming as a resource and their manpower in the army. This gave the Berbers a smattering of civilization. Word spread, and not long thereafter, chieftains were organizing their tribesmen into agricultural kingdoms in the Numidian mountains.

Upon this cultural mix eventually landed the heavy hand of Rome.

How Africa Became a Roman Province

By the third century BC, Carthage had become such a large economic force that Rome was both jealous and fearful of it. In 264 BC, the first of a series of wars between Rome and Carthage began; the Punic Wars. In 146 BC, the third Punic War was over and Rome was the undisputed owner of all of known Africa.

Rome formed its first African colony in the most fertile part, soon to be known as Africa Vetus. The rest of the continental territory was left to the descendants of Masinissa, the native king. Rome's goal in forming this colony was not to exploit the land, but just hold the territory to prevent any other power from benefiting from it. Policy held that no power should rise on the far side of Sicily. For the time being, Rome left the province to manage itself except for praetor in Utica. The native kingdoms, which under King Masinissa had taken on a life of their own, were especially left to themselves.

Masinissa (202-148 BC) was succeeded by his three sons, two of whom died soon after him, leaving Micipsa, a loyal ally of Rome, as King of Numidia. One of Micipsa's dead brothers, however, had a bastard son, Jugurtha. Micipsa realized that Jugurtha would become a dangerous rival to his own sons' share of power, so he sent him to command Numidian troops fighting for Rome in 134 BC, hoping he would be killed.

To the contrary, Jugurtha lived, and made many friends among the young Roman noblemen during the campaign. He returned to Numidia more popular than ever with Rome and his troops. Jugurtha also brought with him an enthusiastic letter of recommendation to Micipsa from the Roman commander, Scipio. Micipsa took the hint and made Jugurtha joint heir with his two sons, Hiempsal and Adherbal.

After Micipsa's death in 118 BC, Jugurtha murdered Hiempsal. Then he used his loyal army to defeat Adherbal in battle and seize the throne for himself. This was an illegal practice, but Jugurtha had thought ahead and sent some bribes to his friends in the Roman senate to help them turn a blind eye.

Adherbal fled Africa to rally for support in Rome. He demanded his rightful half of the kingdom of Numidia. Since it was a client kingdom, the senate found themselves unable to ignore the situation, but the bribes did help them to take their time going into action. Jugurtha and Adherbal were soon at war once again.

All was going well for Jugurtha's side until 112 BC, when Jugurtha committed a grievous error when sacking the city of Cirta. Jugurtha ordered all the adult male inhabitants of the city killed, some of which were Roman settlers. Rome was forced to seek vengeance, and in the same year the Jugurthine War commenced.

The Jugurthine War lasted six years, and it was during the latter stages of this war in which the generals Marius and Sulla made their names. The war ended when King Bocchus of Mauretania, Jugurtha's father-in-law, betrayed him and delivered Jugurtha in chains to Sulla. The heartland of Numidia was given to Jugurtha's half brother, Gauda, and King Bocchus was rewarded with the western part of Numidia. Some of Marius' veterans were given land between Africa and Numidia. Jugurtha died while in prison in Rome.

In 60 BC the first triumvirate of Rome was formed between Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus. Pompey recieved control of Africa, and the Numidian king of the time, Juba I, was his supporter. When the triumvirate dissolved in 53 BC, Juba I continued to defend Africa against the forces of Caesar, even after Pompey's death.

This resistance was not especially long lived, however, and by 46 BC, Caesar had defeated the Pompean loyalists. As a sign of victory, Caesar had Juba's young son,

Juba II, taken to Rome to be brought up in his household.

Africa was not left to its own devices anymore. Caesar extended direct Roman rule to include most of the Numidian kingdom, Africa Nova. After the death of King Bocchus in 33 BC, the kingdom of Mauretania fell to direct Roman rule as well. One of Caesar's main African projects was to refound Carthage. He was murdered before this goal was attained.

Octavian, soon to have the title Augustus, achieved this goal in 29 BC, refounding Carthage. Juba II, now 26 years old, returned to Africa to rule Mauretania in 25 BC. Juba II was loyal to Rome for all of his fifty year reign. It was also during this time, under Octavian Augustus, that the flow of African immigrants was at its highest.

Upon Juba II's death, his son Ptolemy took over Mauretania. The Moors (Mauretanian tribesman) revolted almost immediately. The skirmish was put down quickly and efficiently by the Roman general Dolabella, but it was obvious that Rome would have to take direct control here as well. Claudius did just that around AD 40, creating two provinces in Mauretania, and completing the full control of the Roman province of Africa.

Roman Rule and Administration of Africa

The province of Africa was governed as any other senatorial province would be. Senators were chosen to serve one year terms as proconsuls and propraetors, taking the responsibility of governing and taxing the province, with the emperor selecting a procurator to report to him on the affairs of the province.

Africa was deemed a frontier province, and as such, normally would have a legion under imperial rule stationed to maintain control and keep out foreign invaders. The Third Augustan Legion, formed in 27 BC, was the exception to this rule, with its command being given to the senate.

The Third Augustan Legion patrolled the immense area of Africa, and for four hundred years was the only permanently garrisoned military force in Africa. Aside from quelling the occasional tribal revolts, there was not much for the legion to do. They ended up working on many of the roads in Africa, and settling quite a few townships wherever they stayed while traveling. The legion's longevity without conflict is impressive, when compared to a province such as tiny Britain, which had four legions stationed in it during almost the whole Roman period.

For their armies in other provinces, the Romans recruited the famed and formidable Numidian cavalry. By the second half of the first century after Christ, the Third Augustan Legion was raising local recruits for service in Africa when needed.

The Romans had little fear of the native Africans or the settlers therein. Many had settled to sedentary lifestyles in or around the townships, and the prosperous lifestyle of the province left few naysayers to the Roman way.

Mutual Benefits Rome and Africa Shared

Africans took to the colonizing of their land with as much enthusiasm as the Romans. Rule by the Romans here did not translate into subjugation, but opportunity.

By Caesar's day, Africa Nova produced nearly 50,000 tons of grain per year. Regular winter rains, mild springs without frost, long ripening summers with no threat of a sudden storm gave Africa the most reliable harvests of the empire. If there were any bad years, it left no record of widespread famine for there was always wheat in Rome. After a century of direct Roman rule, Africa took over Egypt's former position as the city's principle supplier of corn, producing a half million tons of grain per year, two thirds of the metropolis's requirement. Thus did Africa acquire the title, the "granary of Rome."

Africa also exported woolen and leather goods, apparently manufactured by the natives in Mauretania, marble, wood, precious stones, dyes, and gold dust. Also of special interest were Africa's exotic animals; elephants, leopards, panthers and camels.

Most exports were sent from Carthage, and the city once again became one of the grander in the Mediterranean. To Africa's advantage, the sea journey from the Italian peninsula was much shorter than to Spain or to Egypt. Therefore, it was cheaper to trade with Carthage, thanks to less transport cost and shipwreck liability.

By this time, African natives were themselves enjoying the prosperity of their nation, but also the status of government positions within Rome. In AD 117, Lusius Quietus, a Moorish chieftain, was appointed to the senate by Trajan. AD 143 marks the rise of Marcus Cornelius Fronto of Cirta to the position of consul.

It would seem by this time that Africa had reached its agricultural heights, but sometime in the mid second century after Christ, a new plateau was in sight. Rome's growing population had an ever growing need for olive oil, which was used for cooking, lighting, and a base for perfume. The olive tree, requiring little water (less than a palm tree) and being able to grow in otherwise infertile land, was soon to become Africa's second largest cash crop.

Peasants were encouraged by land owners to work previously uncultivated fringe land that could not be used for wheat to grow olives. Tax concessions were also granted to those taking up the growing of this new type of crop. Since it takes ten years for an olive tree to bear fruit, those planting olive trees in Africa were not taxed for that land for those years. Southern Africa Nova and southern Numidia were to become vast olive orchards.

Despite all that Africa did for the empire, it was never able to overcome the social stigma of having once been the home to the villainous Carthaginians. Speaking the public opinion of the time, Severus Antonius, a ship captain of the fourth century after Christ, wrote,

> **Africa was a fine country but the Africans were not worthy of it, for they were cunning and faithless, and there might be some good people among them, but not many.**

To What Extent Africa Was Romanized

Romanization was not rapid in the first century of Africa's provincial status, with much of the former Punic civilization still flourishing and Rome not taking much interest in its new acquisition. Near the end of the first century after Christ, it was still allowable to erect a temple to the Punic goddess. A Punic sanctuary at Hadrumetum remained in use until the early second century, and the Punic language was still spoken in Numidia until early in the fifth century.

Romanization shows its first major evidence in an inscription from AD 88, which shows the membership of a training hall. None listed were yet Roman citizens, but their names are listed personal name, which is in Latin, and father's name, in Punic or Numidian. The inscriptions therefore show already astrong Roman foothold in African culture. Romanization was rapid thereafter, with Punic names dying out among leading citizens by the end of the first century after Christ.

Trajan expanded the availability of Roman citizenship for all in Africa, and the chance for Africans to take office in Rome. By this time Roman veterans had been given land grants in Africa, native troops had experienced Roman culture by being stationed in foreign lands, and Africa's status as a trade capital kept it abreast of all things Roman. Africa became highly Romanized.

Most cities of Africa, even those surrounding Carthage and Leptis Magna, which were perhaps only a dozen miles apart, all exhibit baths, theaters, arches, extravagant tombs and buildings of luxury in their ruins. All had the requirements Romans needed to live comfortably.

The Economic and Social Life of Roman Africa

Most of the fertile land of Africa Vetus was bought by speculating Roman noblemen after it was confiscated from the Cartheginians. Africa was notorious for having the largest latifundia in Rome. By the first century after Christ, the large estates had been divided into individual holding owned by private landowners, the largest landowner being the emperor. Peasants usually lived on a persons land, farming it at the cost of one third their produce and a few days work at the landowners home farm.

Many cities' ruins seem to contain only comparatively rich houses, suggesting they were used mostly as centers of assembly and entertainment by the country population. One sixth of the population of North Africa lived in a town of some type or another. Most of those who lived in town did so by profiting off the labor of the five sixths who did not.

Even the most modest of cities could provide that which was the hallmark of being a Roman upper class citizen; a good education. The sons of the rich and those lucky enough to have a patron were never wanting for a place to receive a primer in learning. Carthage was the place of higher education in Africa, but most aspired to travel to the Italian mainland or study in Athens.

By the third century after Christ, five to six hundred cities dotted the African province. Most cities could be classified as one of the following:

- **Old Phoenician coast cities: The largest and most cosmopolitan of Africa. Carthage and Leptis Magna are prime examples.**
- **Old native settlements: Former tribal capitals included Volubilis, Siga, Iol Caesarea, Cirta, Dougga, and Zama.**
- **Roman towns that grew from fortresses and strongholds.**
- **Modest cities of the interior: Local market towns grown out of native villages and hamlets.**

Coast cities made up the majority of metropolitan life in Africa. The only large inland cities were Volubilis, Juba's old capital in the far west, Cirta, strategically placed on a major crossroads, and Thysdrus, in the heart of the olive groves of Tunisia.

How Africa Passed Out of Roman Control

Unlike many other Roman provinces, Africa has no official date in which it fell out of Roman hands. Instead, we see the decline of Rome itself, and the city being to busy with its own affairs to try and reclaim what was being lost to the south. Some scholars suggest that Rome's losing Africa, its greatest food resource, was a key factor in its fall. The answer to that query is unfortunately lost to history.

Despite everything that has been said previously about the high life being led by the residents of Africa, there was certainly not a lack of discontent. During the reign of Diocletian, in the late third and early fourth centuries, the prosperous olive fields were being taxed heavily, and the landowners fell upon the peasantry to work harder to support the exorbitant rates.

About this time, the word of Christianity had come to Numidia. It spread faster in Africa than anywhere else, some believe as a revolt against Diocletian, but probably due to the desire for peasants to have something greater waiting for them after their lives of toil and there not having

been a strong religious faith in Africa for centuries. This early Christian movement was not the last religious protest to be staged in Roman Africa.

In AD 312, a group of Cartheginian Christians refused to accept the new bishop, Caecilian, as their own. Their argument was that Caecilian's consecrator, Felix of Aptunga, was impure because he had willingly handed over his copy of the Holy Scriptures to Roman prosecutors during the reign of the Christian persecutor Diocletian. In protest, the bishops of Numidia chose and consecrated a cleric named Majorus, who was soon followed by Donatus. The Donatist schism begins.

Was this schism really about religion, though? The strongest supporters of Donatus were rural Numidia and Mauretania, where civil unrest and social discontent was ever growing since the reign of Diocletian. Thanks to a rise in tribal skirmishes, government authority was in the decline within the province, as well as from without due to troubled Rome. It is interesting to notice too, that the argument comes back to Diocletian, who must have truly been hated by the African continent.

Regardless of its true purpose, it took only one year for Rome itself to take an interest in this controversy. In AD 313, the bishop of Rome officially condemned the Donatists, but local support kept them going strong, even after Donatus died in exile in 355.

Not until AD 405 was the church, both in Rome and in Africa, finally fed up enough to be prepared to get rid of the Donatists, with violence if necessary. In AD 405, Donatism was officially declared a heresy, and in 411, the council of Carthage condemned the heresy. The argument was quickly closed and Donatism brought to an end. Apparently, strict devoutness was not worth one's life after all.

At the beginning of the fifth century, northwest Africa was the only Roman territory of the west that had not suffered barbarian incursions. Even great Rome herself had been looted for three days by the Goths. Some land had been abandoned, but the province still produced huge quantities of goods.

It would be the Vandals, migrating barbarians from northern Spain who would eventually take this illustrious position from Africa. In AD 429, the Vandals began their invasion of Africa.

The Vandals themselves came to Africa to settle, not to destroy. Sure, they killed and looted as any other barbarians would, but they made sure to preserve the land, for they were going to live on it. Its no surprise that the Vandals had such an easy time moving across Africa. There was no standing army since Africa had known nothing but peace. The only thing the local army knew how to do was stop tribesman from rioting, not how to put down a foreign invasion.

Ten years later, the Vandals had made it to Carthage and in AD 439, seized the greatest African city for themselves, bringing to a close Rome's nearly six hundred year reign over Africa.

North African Chronology

> **ca 8000-2000 BC**
> **A people virtually isolated from central Africa occupy the plains of northwestern Africa; tribes of simple farmers and animal herders form**

ca 1000
Phoenicians found ports along the north African coastline, a shipping route to Spain.

Late eighth century
Greek colonists compete with Phoenicians for trade and land; gradually Carthage becomes the protector and leader of west Phoenician colonies

Fifth century
Rome becomes the leading city of central Italy; Carthage explores, conquers and colonizes its surrounding African interior

Fourth century
Numidian kingdoms begin to form beyond Carthaginian frontiers

264-241
First Punic War

218-202
Second Punic War

204
Roman army invades Africa

149-146
Third Punic War. Carthage destroyed. Africa Vetus founded; the rest of Africa is divided between its native kings

123-122
Beginning of Africa's land exploitation by Roman land speculators.

112-105
Jugurthine War; Jugurtha eventually betrayed by King Bocchus of Mauretania; veterans of Roman Army given African land grants.

46
Caesar defeats the followers of dead Pompey and their ally, King Juba of Numidia; Juba's young son is taken to Rome; Africa Nova founded

29
Carthage refounded

25
Octavian Augustus gives Mauretania to Juba II as a client kingdom

Mid first century after Christ
Beginning of high prosperity for Roman Africa

Second century
Spread of olive cultivation and road networks. Africans achieve political influence in Rome

Late third century
Fast spread of Christianity through Numidian countryside

312
Donatist schism begins

355
Donatus dies in exile

405
Donatism officially declared heresy

410
Goths capture and loot Rome for three days

411
Council of Carthage condemns the Donatist heresy officially

429
Invasion of Africa by the Vandals

439
Vandals seize Carthage

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Hands down, as one might ascertain from the title, the best resource I had for putting together this project. A detailed and reader friendly (i.e. mostly jargon free) account of everything, and I mean everything, that had to do with both Rome and Africa's time together.

IX, a

Christian Carthage

From *Hassett, Maurice. "Carthage." The Catholic Encyclopedia. Vol. 3. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908. 23 Jan. 2011 <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03385a.htm>.*

The city of Carthage, founded by Phoenician colonists, and long the great opponent of Rome in the duel for supremacy in the civilized world, was destroyed by a Roman army, 146 B.C. A little more than a century later (44 B.C.), a new city composed of Roman colonists was founded by Julius Cæsar on the site of Carthage, and became the capital of the Roman province of Africa Nova, which included the province of Africa Vetus, as well as Numidia. From this date Roman Africa made rapid progress in prosperity and became one of the most flourishing colonies of the empire.

The history of African Christianity opens in the year 180 with the accounts of two groups of martyrs who suffered at Scillium, a city of Numidia, and Madaura. Twenty years later a flourishing Church existed in Carthage, already the centre of Christianity in Africa. In his "Apology", written at Carthage about 197, Tertullian states that although but of yesterday the Christians "have filled every place among you [the Gentiles] — cities, islands, fortresses, towns, market-places, the very camp, tribes, companies, palaces, senate, forum; we have left nothing to you but the temples of your gods". If the Christians should be in a body desert the cities of Africa, the governing authorities would be "horror-stricken at the solitude" in which they would find themselves, "at a silence so all pervading", a stupor as of a dead world (Apol., xxxvii). Fifteen years later the same author asks the Proconsul Scapula: "What will you make of so many thousands, of such a multitude of men and women, persons of every age, sex and rank, when they present themselves before you? How many fires, how many swords will be required?" And with regard to the Christians of the African capital he inquires: "What will be the anguish of Carthage itself, which you will have to decimate, as each one recognizes there is relatives and companions; as he sees there, it may be, men of your own order, and noble ladies, and all the leading persons of the city, and either kinsmen or friends of those in your own circle? Spare thyself, if not us poor Christians. Spare Carthage, if not thyself" (*To Scapula* 5). It is clear from this that the Christian religion at the beginning of the third century must have had numerous adherents in all ranks of Carthaginian society; Tertullian, if the contrary were the case, would merely have stultified himself by making a claim which could have been so easily disproved. A council of seventy bishops held at Carthage by Bishop Agrippinus at the epoch (variously dated between 198 and 222), substantially corroborates the testimony of Tertullian as to the general progress of Christianity in Africa in the early years of the third century. It is impossible to say whence came the first preachers of Christianity in Roman Africa. It is worthy of note in this regard, however, that from the moment when African Christianity comes into historical prominence, the bishops of Roman Africa are seen in very close relations with the See of Rome. The faithful of Carthage in particular were "greatly interested in all that happened at Rome; every movement of ideas, every occurrence bearing on discipline, ritual, literature, that took place at Rome was immediately re-echoed at Carthage" (Duchesne, Hist. Anc. De l'Église, I, 392; cf. Leclecq, L'Afrique chrét., I, iii). Indeed, during the last decade of the second century the

Roman Church was governed by an African, Pope Victor (189-199).

The two greatest names in the history of the Church of Carthage are those of Tertullian and St. Cyprian. The former comes on the scene, in the troubled days of he persecution of Septimius Severus, as an able and valiant defender of his religion. He was born at Carthage, about the year 160. In his youth he devoted himself to the study of law and literature, and thus obtained the intellectual training which was to prove of the greatest service to his future coreligionists. His conversion appears to have been influenced by the heroism of the martyrs, and one of his earliest treatises was an exhortation to those ready to die for the faith (Ad martyres). His first work was a severe arraignment of pagans and polytheism (Ad nationes), and this was followed in a short time (197) by his "Apologeticus", addressed to the imperial authorities. The latter work was calm in tone, "a model of judicial discussion" (Bardenhewer). Unlike previous apologists of Christianity, whose appeals for tolerance were made in the name of reason and humanity, Tertullian, influenced by his legal training, spoke as a jurist convinced of the injustice of the laws under which the Christians were persecuted. The "Apologeticus" was written before the edict of Septimius Severus (202), and consequently, the laws to which the writer took exception were those under which the Christians of the first and second centuries had been convicted. From the year of the martyrdom of Scillium and Madaura (180) the Christians of Africa were not molested by the authorities for nearly two decades. But in 197 or 198 the governors recommenced the legal pursuit of the followers of Christ, who soon filled the prisons of Carthage. Tertullian encouraged the "blessed martyrs designate" by what he termed a contribution to their spiritual sustenance (Ad martyres, i), and at the same time protested against the unjust measures of which they were the victims. But the magistrates took no heed of his protests. Christians were daily condemned to exile, torture, death, and, in at least one instance, to a still more dreaded fate (Apol., 1). In 202 the new anti-Christian legislation of Septimius Severus appeared in the form of an edict which forbade anybody to become a Jew or a Christian. According to Tertullian the Church at this period was recruited chiefly by conversion (*fiunt, non nascuntur Christiani*, Apol., xviii); the new law, consequently, aimed at cutting off this fertile source of membership, by imposing the death penalty both on converts and on those who were the instruments of their conversion. Among the martyrs executed at Carthage under the law of Severus were the young matron Vibia Perpetua and the slave Felicitas, the Acts of whose martyrdom, which, perhaps, we owe to Tertullian (Duchesne, op. cit., I, 394), is one of the "jewels of ancient Christian literature". Throughout the trying period inaugurated by the new legislation (202-213), during which the law was enforced with more or less severity according to the disposition of the governor of the moment, Tertullian was the central figure of the Church of Carthage. His rigorism indeed drew him, about the opening year of the persecution, into the sect of the Montanists, but in spite of this lapse he appears not to have lost for many years the confidence of the orthodox; as late as 212 he wrote his letter to the Proconsul Scapula in the name of the Christians of Carthage (Leclercq, op. cit., I, 165). It was only in the following year (213) that he broke definitively with the Church and became the head of an obscure sect, called after him "Tertullianists", which maintained a precarious existence till the age of St. Augustine.

From this time to the election of St. Cyprian (249) little is known of the Church of Carthage. The Acts of Sts. Perpetua and Felicitas mention a certain Optatus, who was Bishop either of Carthage or Thuburbo minus. Agrippinus, already mentioned, was Bishop of Carthage about 197, and the immediate predecessor of St. Cyprian was

Donatus, who presided over a council of ninety African bishops which condemned as a heretic Privatus, Bishop of Lambesa. Like Tertullian, Cyprian was a convert to Christianity; he was baptized at Carthage about 246. The period of his episcopate (249-258) is one of the most important, as well as the best known, in the annals of Christianity in Africa. A year after his elevation the edict of the Emperor Decius against the Christians was promulgated, and its appearance was the signal for wholesale apostasy. During the long interval of peace since the persecution of Severus the fervour of the Christians of Carthage had suffered a notable decline. The time was therefore favourable for effecting the emperor's purpose, which was to compel the Christians to renounce their faith and offer sacrifice on the altars of the gods. In the early stages of the persecution capital punishment was not resorted to, except in the case of bishops, but the mere threat of even less severe penalties induced large numbers to comply with the law. Many others, however, proved themselves worthy of their religion and died heroically.

At the beginning of the storm, Cyprian, knowing that as bishop he would be one of the first victims, and judging that in a time so perilous it was his duty for the moment to preserve his life for the good of his flock, retired to a secure refuge. His motives were not, however, correctly construed by some of his people, and even the Roman priests who directed the chief Church of Christendom after the martyrdom of Pope Fabian (236-250) made a rather uncomplimentary allusion, in a letter to the clergy of Carthage, to "the Good Shepherd and the hireling". Cyprian was naturally offended at the tone of this missive, and easily proved to the satisfaction of the Romans that they had misjudged him. But the difficulties which arose in Carthage itself during his retirement were not so easily overcome. In the absence of the bishop five priests hostile to him took it upon themselves to receive back apostates (*lapsi, libellatici*) into communion, merely on the recommendation of confessors awaiting martyrdom in prison. The intercession of confessors for the fallen was then customary, and was always regarded by the bishops as a reason for remitting part of the canonical penance for apostasy. But in Carthage at this time some of the confessors seem to have regarded themselves as having practically superseded the bishops, and issued letters of communion in a tone of command. One of them, for example, gave a note ordering the restoration of the bearer and his friends to communion (*communicet ille cum suis*). Cyprian objected to this usurpation of his authority, which, if not resisted, would destroy the Church's discipline, and he was supported in this attitude by the clergy and confessors of the Roman Church. On this Novatus, one of the rebellious priests, set out for Rome to obtain, if possible, support for his party. But the schismatical envoy at first met with no success. Eventually, however, he won over the priest Novatian and some of the Roman confessors. The object of the alliance was to elect a "confessors' pope", who would support a "confessors' bishop", to be elected in Carthage in opposition to Cyprian. The allies were, however, defeated at the outset by the election of Pope Cornelius, who was on the side of Cyprian. But this check did not at all dispose them to yield; they proceeded to elect an antipope in the person of Novatian. Meanwhile Cyprian had returned to Carthage, where he convened a council of African bishops for the purpose of dealing with the question of the *lapsi*. The decision of the council was moderate: all apostates who repented their fall were admitted to penance, which should last a greater or less time according to the degree of their guilt. The decree to this effect was confirmed by a Roman council under Pope Cornelius. But now, curiously enough, Novatian, who had taken the part of the laxists of Carthage, became a rigorist; he admitted apostates to penance, indeed, but without hope of reconciliation with the

Church, even at the point of death. His views, however, were received with little favour, and eventually, through the efforts of Dionysius of Alexandria, Cyprian, and Pope Cornelius, the Roman confessors from whom he had derived his prestige deserted his party and were admitted to communion. The attempts to organize a schism in Carthage were no more successful. Cyprian was supported by all the bishops of Africa, with five exceptions, three of whom were apostates and two heretics.

The years 255-257 witnessed a controversy between Rome and Carthage on a question of discipline which for a short time produced strained relations between these two great centres of Latin Christianity. The trouble arose over the different modes in vogue in Rome and in Africa of receiving into communion persons baptized in heretical sects. In Rome baptism conferred by heretics was per se admitted to be valid; in Africa such baptism was regarded a wholly invalid. The matter was allowed to drop after the death of Pope Stephen (2 August, 257). Africans and Romans preserved their respective practices till the fourth century, when the former, at the Synod of Arles (314), agreed to conform to the Roman custom (Hefele, Hist. Of the Councils, I, 188). Cyprian died a martyr in the persecution of Valerian, September, 258.

From this date to the outbreak of the last persecution under Diocletian, in 303, very little is known of the history of the Church of Carthage. Two of the bishops who succeeded St. Cyprian, Carpophorus and Lucian, in this period of forty-five years are mentioned by Optatus, but nothing is related of them save their names. The worldly spirit which had been the cause of so many defections in the African Church of St. Cyprian's age was equally in evidence in the early part of the fourth century. A new form of apostasy characterized this persecution. In large numbers Christians betrayed their faith by giving up to the civil authorities copies of the Scriptures and the liturgical utensils. These renegades, who received the name of "traditors", were indirectly the cause of the gravest division that had yet been seen in Christendom. The Donatist schism originated in the consecration of Cæcilian as Bishop of Carthage (311) by Felix of Aptunga, who was falsely accused as having been a traditor. Its effects on the Church of Africa were disastrous. The obstinacy of the Donatists kept the schism alive for more than a century, and it was only the intervention of the Emperor Honorius in 405 that dealt it a death-blow. The civil penalties then inflicted on the schismatics brought them back to the Church in large numbers, although the sect still existed in 429, when Carthage was taken by the Vandals.

The Vandal occupation of Africa, which lasted over a century (429-534), was a period of severe trial to the Catholics of that country. The disorganization of the African Church was arrested by the re-conquest under Justinian of this portion of the empire, but the heresies which, during the sixth and seventh centuries, proved so fruitful in dissensions affected this portion of Christendom like the rest. The final catastrophe came with the fall of Carthage into the hands of the Arabs in 698. From this time the once flourishing church of Africa is rarely heard of. Apostasy became the order of the day, and in 1053 only five bishops remained in the former proconsulate.

Primacy of Carthage

In the time of St. Cyprian the Bishops of Carthage exercised a real though not official primacy in the African Church. Roman Africa at this period consisted of three provinces: (1) the province of Africa proper, which comprised the proconsulate,

Byzacena and Tripoli; (2) Numidia; (3) Mauretania. These three civil divisions formed in the middle of the third century but one ecclesiastical province. In 305 a Primate of Numidia is mentioned for the first time, and in the course of the fourth century Byzacena, Tripoli, and the Mauretanias each obtained an *episcopus primæ sedis*. These later primatial sees were, however, of little importance; their metropolitans presided over the provincial synods, appointed delegates to the annual councils of Carthage, received the appeals of the clergy of their provinces, and gave letters of travel (*litteræ formatæ*) to the bishops of their jurisdiction who wished to visit Italy (Synod of Hippo, 393, can. xxvii). The provincial clergy had the right, if they preferred, to ignore their immediate metropolitan and appeal directly to the Primate of Carthage. At first the provincial primacy devolved *ipso facto* on the senior bishop of the province, but as this method proved a source of dispute the synod of Hippo of 393 (can. iv) decreed that in case of difference of opinion among the provincial bishops the primate should be "appointed in accordance with the advice of the Bishop of Carthage". It was the right of the Bishop of Carthage also to determine, a year in advance, the date for the celebration of Easter.

Councils of Carthage

The earliest council of Carthage of which we know was held about 198; seventy bishops, presided over by the Bishop of Carthage, Agrippinus, were present. According to Cyprian the question of the validity of baptism conferred by heretics came up for discussion and was decided in the negative. Afer this date more than twenty councils were held in Carthage, the most important of which were: (1) those under St. Cyprian relative to the *lapsi*, Novatianism, and the rebaptism of heretics; and (2) the synods of 412, 416, and 418 which condemned the doctrines of Pelagius.

IX, b

From: http://phoenicia.org/staugustine.html

Saint Augustine of Hippo was an icon of the Christian faith and came from a Phoenician Punic stock. He called the Punic language "our own tongue".

Biographical information

Saint Augustine of Hippo was born at Tagaste on 13 November, 354. Tagaste, near ancient Hippo-Regius, was at that time a small free city of proconsular Numidia. Hippo-Regius and the surrounding area were Tyrian Phoenician colonies on the west coast of the bay. It was gaven the name Hipponensis Sinus; the surname Regius was bestowed on it as one of the places where the Numidian kings resided. Later it became a Roman colonia and prospered until A.D. 430, when it was taken by the Vandals.

Hippo had recently been converted from Donatism. Although eminently respectable, his family was not rich, and his father, Patricius, one of the curiales of the city, was still a pagan. However, the admirable virtues that made Monica (Saint Monica) the ideal of Christian mothers at length brought her husband the grace of baptism and of a holy death, about the year 371. Although his mother was a devout Christian, he was not baptized in infancy.

Augustine received a Christian education. His mother had him signed with the cross and enrolled among the catechumens. Once, when very ill, he asked for baptism, but, all danger being soon passed, he deferred receiving the sacrament, thus yielding to a deplorable custom of the times. His association with "men of prayer" left three great ideas deeply engraven upon his soul: a Divine Providence, the future life with terrible sanctions, and, above all, Christ the Saviour. "From my tenderest infancy, I had in a manner sucked with my mother's milk that name of my Saviour, Thy Son; I kept it in the recesses of my heart; and all that presented itself to me without that Divine Name, though it might be elegant, well written, and even replete with truth, did not altogether carry me away" (Confessions, I, iv). In his 'Confessions' Augustine wrote seven chapters about an incident in his early life--stealing pears from a neighbor's tree.

But a great intellectual and moral crisis stifled for a time all these Christian sentiments. The heart was the first point of attack. Patricius, proud of his son's success in the schools of Tagaste and Madaura determined to send him to Carthage to prepare for a forensic career. But, unfortunately, it required several months to collect the necessary means, and Augustine had to spend his sixteenth year at Tagaste in an idleness which was fatal to his virtue; he gave himself up to pleasure with all the vehemence of an ardent nature. This sin troubled him for the rest of his life. He also confessed to immoral behavior at the University of Carthage, where he was sent at the age of 16. Augustine remained in Carthage, teaching rhetoric, until he was 29. At first he prayed, but without the sincere desire of being heard, and when he reached Carthage, towards the end of the year 370, every circumstance tended to draw him from his true course: the many seductions of the great city that was sill half pagan, the licentiousness of other students, the theatres, the intoxication of his literary success, and a proud desire always to be first, even in evil. Before long he was obliged to confess to Monica that he had formed a sinful liaison with the person who bore him a son (372), "the son of his sin" — an entanglement from which he only delivered himself at Milan after fifteen years of its thralldom.

Then he went to Rome, taking with him his mistress and his son, Adeodatus. His religion at this time was Manichaeism, which combined Christianity with Zoroastrian elements. By 386 Augustine was teaching in Milan, where his mother joined him. He came under the influence of the city's great bishop, St. Ambrose, who baptized Augustine and Adeodatus on the following Easter.

Two extremes are to be avoided in the appreciation of this crisis. Some, like Mommsen, misled perhaps by the tone of grief in the "Confessions," have exaggerated it: in the "Realencyklopädie" (3d ed., II, 268) Loofs reproves Mommsen on this score, and yet he himself is to lenient towards Augustine, when he claims that in those days, the Church permitted concubinage. The "Confessions" alone prove that Loofs did not understand the 17th canon of Toledo. However, it may be said that, even in his fall, Augustine maintained a certain dignity and felt a compunction which does him honour, and that, from the age of nineteen, he had a genuine desire to break the chain. In fact, in 373, an entirely new inclination manifested itself in his life, brought about by the reading Cicero's "Hortensius" whence he imbibed a love of the wisdom which Cicero so eloquently praises. Thenceforward Augustine looked upon rhetoric merely as a profession; his heart was in philosophy.

From this time Augustine lived as an ascetic. He returned to Africa and spent three years with friends on his family's estate. He was ordained a priest and five years later, in 396, was consecrated a bishop. He spent the remainder of his life in Hippo (now Annaba, Algeria) with his clergy, encouraging the formation of religious communities. Augustine, who was ill when the Vandals besieged Hippo, died on Aug. 28, 430, before the town was taken.

Augustine's most widely read book is Confessions, a vivid account of his early life and religious development. The City of God was written after 410, when Rome fell to the barbarians. The aim of this book was to restore confidence in the Christian church, which Augustine said would take the place of the earthly city of Rome. During the Middle Ages the book gave strong support to the theory that the church was above the

state. Augustine's writings on communal life form the 'Rule of St. Augustine', the basis of many religious orders.

St. Augustine on Punic Language and Literature

In the Phoenician Punic colonies, espeically around Carthage, the Phoenician language survived till the 5th century and was spoken by people in the rural areas. Saint Augustine knew the language and was well acquanted with Punic literary. He wrote "... there was a great deal of virtue and wisdom in the Punic books". Further, a pagan grammarian named Maximus once wrote to him a hostile letter in which he mocked at the Punic names of some Christian martyrs, and in his reply Augustine rebukes him for having thrown ridicule at the Punic language which he describes as "our own tongue".

The Sinful Saint

St. Augustine's theological works are well known and taught throughout Christendom; however, his sinful early life is known in detail. Reading a selection of his torment and agony over his sinful life maybe a good source of exploring the kind of person he was and became. It may help many to appreciate him more fully, as a man, a bishop, a doctor of the church and as a saint, after his having indulged himself in the pleasures of the flesh with women and men.

Book 3: 1:

> **For this cause my soul was sickly and full of sores, it miserably cast itself forth, desiring to be scraped by the touch of objects of sense. Yet if these had not a soul, they would not be objects of love. To love then, and to be beloved, was sweet to me; but more, when I obtained to enjoy the person I loved, I defiled, therefore, the spring of friendship with the filth of concupiscence, and I beclouded its brightness with the hell of lustfulness; and thus foul and unseemly, I would fain, through exceeding vanity, be fine and courtly. I fell headlong then into the love wherein I longed to be ensnared. My God, my Mercy, with how much gall didst Thou out of Thy great goodness besprinkle for me that sweetness? For I was both beloved, and secretly arrived at the bond of enjoying; and was with joy fettered with sorrow-bringing bonds, that I might be scourged with the iron burning rods of jealousy, and suspicions, and fears, and angers, and quarrels.**

Book 4: 6-8

> **In those years when I first began to teach rhetoric in my native town, I had made one my friend, but too dear to me, from a community of pursuits, of mine own age, and, as myself, in the first opening flower of youth. He had grown up as a child with me, and we had been both school-fellows and play-fellows. But he was not yet my friend as afterwards, nor even then, as true friendship is; for true it cannot be, unless in such as Thou cementest together, cleaving unto Thee, by that love which is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us. Yet was it but too sweet, ripened by the warmth of kindred studies: for, from the true faith (which he as a youth had not soundly and thoroughly imbibed), I had warped him also to those superstitious and pernicious fables, for which my mother bewailed me. With me he now erred in mind, nor could my soul be without**

him. But behold Thou wert close on the steps of Thy fugitives, at once God of vengeance, and Fountain of mercies, turning us to Thyself by wonderful means; Thou tookest that man out of this life, when he had scarce filled up one whole year of my friendship, sweet to me above all sweetness of that my life.

Who can recount all Thy praises, which he hath felt in his one self? What diddest Thou then, my God, and how unsearchable is the abyss of Thy judgments? For long, sore sick of a fever, he lay senseless in a death-sweat; and his recovery being despaired of, he was baptized, unknowing; myself meanwhile little regarding, and presuming that his soul would retain rather what it had received of me, not what was wrought on his unconscious body. But it proved far otherwise: for he was refreshed, and restored. Forthwith, as soon as I could speak with him (and I could, so soon as he was able, for I never left him, and we hung but too much upon each other), I essayed to jest with him, as though he would jest with me at that baptism which he had received, when utterly absent in mind and feeling, but had now understood that he had received. But he so shrunk from me, as from an enemy; and with a wonderful and sudden freedom bade me, as I would continue his friend, forbear such language to him. I, all astonished and amazed, suppressed all my emotions till he should grow well, and his health were strong enough for me to deal with him as I would. But he was taken away from my frenzy, that with Thee he might be preserved for my comfort; a few days after in my absence, he was attacked again by the fever, and so departed.

At this grief my heart was utterly darkened; and whatever I beheld was death. My native country was a torment to me, and my father's house a strange unhappiness; and whatever I had shared with him, wanting him, became a distracting torture. Mine eyes sought him every where, but he was not granted them; and I hated all places, for that they had not him; nor could they now tell me, "he is coming," as when he was alive and absent. I became a great riddle to myself, and I asked my soul, why she was so sad, and why she disquieted me sorely: but she knew not what to answer me. And if I said, Trust in God, she very rightly obeyed me not; because that most dear friend, whom she had lost, was, being man, both truer and better than that phantasm she was bid to trust in. Only tears were sweet to me, for they succeeded my friend, in the dearest of my affections.

Book 4: 10

...Wretched I was; and wretched is every soul bound by the friendship of perishable things; he is torn asunder when he loses them, and then he feels the wretchedness which he had ere yet he lost them. So was it then with me; I wept most bitterly, and found my repose in bitterness. Thus was I wretched, and that wretched life I held dearer than my friend. For though I would willingly have changed it, yet was I more unwilling to part with it than with him; yea, I know not whether I would have parted with it even for him, as is related (if not feigned) of Pylades and Orestes, that they would gladly have died for each other or together, not to live together being to them worse than death. But in me there had arisen some unexplained feeling, too contrary to this, for at once I loathed exceedingly to live and feared to die. I suppose, the more I loved him, the more did I hate, and fear (as a most cruel enemy) death, which had bereaved me of him: and I

imagined it would speedily make an end of all men, since it had power over him. Thus was it with me, I remember. Behold my heart, O my God, behold and see into me; for well I remember it, O my Hope, who cleansest me from the impurity of such affections, directing mine eyes towards Thee, and plucking my feet out of the snare. For I wondered that others, subject to death, did live, since he whom I loved, as if he should never die, was dead; and I wondered yet more that myself, who was to him a second self, could live, he being dead. Well said one of his friend, "Thou half of my soul"; for I felt that my soul and his soul were "one soul in two bodies": and therefore was my life a horror to me, because I would not live halved. And therefore perchance I feared to die, lest he whom I had much loved should die wholly.

IX, c -- Vandals

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

← The Vandals sacking Rome, by Heinrich Leutemann (1824-1904)

The Vandals were an East Germanic tribe that entered the late Roman Empire during the 5th century. The Vandals may have given their name to the region of Andalusia, which according to one theory was originally *Vandalusia*, then Arabic *Al-Andalus*, in the south of Spain, where they temporarily settled before pushing on to Africa.

The Goth Theodoric the Great, king of the Ostrogoths and regent of the Visigoths, was allied by marriage with the Vandals, as well as with the Burgundians and the Franks under Clovis I.

Origins

The Vandals were first identified with Przeworsk culture in the 19th century [*citation needed*]. Controversy surrounds potential connections between the Vandals and another possibly Germanic tribe, the Lugii (Lygier, Lugier or Lygians). Some academics believe that either Lugii was an earlier name of the Vandals, or the Vandals were part of the Lugian federation.

The Przeworsk culture (green) in the first half of the 3rd century. The map shows the extent of the Wielbark culture (Goths) in red, a Baltic culture (probably the Aesti) in yellow, and the Debczyn Culture, pink. The Roman Empire is in purple.

Similarities of names have suggested homelands for the Vandals in Norway (Hallingdal), Sweden (Vendel), or Denmark (Vendsyssel). The Vandals are assumed to have crossed the Baltic into what is today Poland somewhere in the 2nd century BC, and to have settled in Silesia from around 120 BC. Tacitus recorded their presence between the Oder and Vistula rivers in *Germania* (AD 98); his identification was corroborated by later historians: according to Jordanes, they and the Rugians were displaced by the arrival of

the Goths. This tradition supports the identification of the Vandals with the Przeworsk culture, since the Gothic Wielbark culture seems to have replaced a branch of that culture.

In medieval times, there was a popular belief that Vandals were ancestors of Poles. That belief originated probably because of two facts: first, confusion of the Venedes with Vandals and secondly, because both Venedes and Vandals in ancient times lived in areas later settled by Poles. In 796, in the *Annales Alamanici*, one can find an excerpt saying, "Pipinus ... perrexit in regionem Wandalorum, et ipsi Wandali venerunt obvium" ("Pepin went to the region of the Vandals, and the Vandals themselves came out to meet him"). In *Annales Sangallenses*, the same raid (however, put in 795) is summarised in one short message, "Wandali conquisiti sunt" ("The Vandals are sought out"). This means that early medieval writers gave the name of Vandals to Avars.

History

The Vandals were divided in two tribal groups, the Silingi and the Hasdingi. At the time of the War of the Marcomanni (166-181) the Silingi lived in an area recorded for centuries as *Magna Germania*, now Silesia. In the 2nd century, the Hasdingi, led by the kings Raus and Rapt (or Rhaus and Raptus) moved south, and first attacked the Romans in the lower Danube area, in about 271 the Roman Emperor Aurelian was obliged to protect the middle course of the Danube against them. They made peace and settled in western Dacia (Romania) and Roman Hungary.

According to Jordanes' *History of the Goths*, the Hasdingi came into conflict with the Goths around the time of Constantine the Great. At the time, the Vandals were living in lands later inhabited by the Gepids, where they were surrounded "on the east [by] the Goths, on the west [by] the Marcomanni, on the north [by] the Hermanduri and on the south [by] the Hister (Danube)." The Vandals were attacked by the Gothic king Geberic, and their king Visimar was killed. The Vandals then migrated to Pannonia, where after Constantine the Great (about 330) granted them lands on the right bank of the Danube, they lived for the next sixty years.

In 400 or 401, possibly because of attacks by the Huns, the Vandals along with their allies, (the Sarmatian Alans and Germanic Suebians), started to move westward under king Godigisel. Some of the Silingi joined them later. Around this time, the Hasdingi had already been Christianized. Through the Emperor Valens (364-78) the Vandals accepted, much like the Goths earlier, Arianism, a belief that was in opposition to that of the main Trinitarian Christianity in the Roman Empire, which later grew into Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy, yet there were also some scattered orthodox Vandals, among whom was general Stilicho, the minister of the Emperor Honorius.

Gaul

In 406 the Vandals advanced from Pannonia travelling west along the Danube without much difficulty, but when they reached the Rhine, they met resistance from the Franks, who populated and controlled Romanized regions in northern Gaul. Twenty thousand Vandals, including Godigisel himself, died in the resulting battle, but then with the help of the Alans they managed to defeat the Franks, and on December 31, 406 the Vandals crossed the frozen Rhine to invade Gaul, which they devastated terribly. Under

Godigisel's son Gunderic, the Vandals plundered their way westward and southward through Aquitaine.

Iberia

In October 409 they crossed the Pyrenees into the Iberian peninsula. There they received land from the Romans, as foederati, in Gallaecia (Northwest) and Hispania Baetica (South), while the Alans got lands in Lusitania (West) and the region around Carthago Nova. The Suebi also controlled part of Gallaecia. The Visigoths, who invaded Iberia before receiving lands in Septimania (Southern France), crushed the Alans in 426, killing the western Alan king Attaces. The remainder of his people subsequently appealed to the Vandal king Gunderic to accept the Alan crown. Later Vandal kings in North Africa styled themselves *Rex Wandalorum et Alanorum* ("King of the Vandals and Alans").

Africa

From 427 their king was Geiseric (Genseric, Gaiseric), Gunderic's half brother, arguably the greatest Vandal king, who started building a Vandal fleet, landing in 429 in North Africa with about 80,000 of his followers. It is a disputed point whether he was called to Africa by the Roman governor Boniface on account of the intrigues of Aetius. In 429, after becoming king, Geiseric crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and moved east toward Carthage. Peace was made between the Romans who in 435 granted them some territory in Northern Africa, but it was broken by Geiseric, who in 439 made Carthage his capital. The Vandals took and plundered the city without a fight, entering the city while most of the inhabitants were spectating at the races at the hippodrome. Geiseric then built the Kingdom of the Vandals and Alans into a powerful state with a capital at Saldae; he conquered Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica and the Balearic Islands.

Differences between the Arian faith adhered to by the Vandals and Rome's Catholics or Donatists was a constant source of tensions in their African state. Most Vandal kings, except Hilderic, more or less persecuted Catholics. Members of the clergy were exiled, monasteries were dissolved, and general pressure was used on non-conforming Catholics. Although Catholicism was rarely officially forbidden (the last months of Huneric's reign being an exception), they were forbidden from making converts among the Vandals, and life was generally difficult for the Catholic clergy, who were denied bishoprics.

Sack of Rome

During the next thirty-five years with a large fleet Geiseric looted the coasts of the Eastern and Western Empires. After Attila the Hun's death, however, the Romans could afford to turn their attention back to the Vandals who were in control of some of the richest lands of their former empire. Diplomacy between the two factions broke down, and in 455 the Vandals took Rome and plundered the city for two weeks starting June 2. They departed with countless valuables, including spoils of the Temple in Jerusalem brought to Rome by Titus, and the Empress Licinia Eudoxia and her daughters Eudocia and Placidia. It is asserted that the Empress Eudoxia had asked him to free her from her hated marriage with the Emperor Petronius Maximus, the murderer of her husband Valentinian III.

It is said that on 2 June, 455, pope Leo the Great received Geiseric and implored him to abstain from murder and destruction by fire, and to be satisfied with pillage. Whether the pope's influence saved Rome is, however, questioned; moreover, the Vandals had only booty in mind, nor was the plundering as extreme as later tradition and the expression "Vandalism" would imply.

Temporary consolidation

From 462, the Vandal kingdom included North Africa and the islands of the Mediterranean, that is Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica and the Balearic Islands, but like the other Germanic kingdoms on Roman soil, the kingdom of the Vandals in Africa soon began to decay from the lack of unity of religion and of race among the two populations.

In 468 they destroyed an enormous Byzantine fleet sent against them.

The Arian Vandals treated the Catholics more harshly than other German peoples. Catholic bishops were punished by Geiseric with deposition, exile, or death, and laymen were excluded from office and frequently suffered confiscation of their property. It is said of Geiseric himself that he was originally a Catholic and had changed to Arianism about 428; this, however, is probably an invention. He protected his Catholic subjects when his relations with Rome and Constantinople were friendly, as during the years 454-57, when the Catholic community at Carthage, being without a head, elected Deogratias bishop. The same was also the case during the years 476-77 when Bishop Victor of Cartenna sent him, during a period of peace, a sharp refutation of Arianism and suffered no punishment.

Decline

Geiseric, one of the most powerful personalities of the era of the Migrations, had been the terror of the seas. He died at a great age on 25 January, 477. According to the law of succession which he had promulgated, not the son but the oldest male member of the royal house was to succeed to the throne (law of seniority). He was succeeded by his incompetent son Huneric (Hunerich, 477- 484), who at first protected the Christians, owing to his fear of Constantinople. But from 482 Huneric's reign was mostly notable for its religious persecutions of the Manichaeans and Christians in the most terrible manner.

Gunthamund (484–496), his cousin and successor, sought internal peace with the Christians and protected them once more. Externally, the Vandal power had been declining since Geiseric's death, and Gunthamund lost large parts of Sicily to the Ostrogoths, and had to withstand increasing pressure from the autochthonous Moors.

While Thrasamund (496- 523), owing to his religious fanaticism, was hostile to Christians, he contented himself with bloodless persecutions.

The turbulent end

Hilderic (Hilderich, 523–530) was the most Christian-friendly of the Vandal kings, who favoured them and granted religious freedom; consequently Christian synods were

once more held in North Africa. However, he had little interest in war, and left it to a family member, Hoamer. When Hoamer suffered a defeat against the Moors, the Arian faction within the royal family led a revolt, raising the banner of national Arianism, and his cousin Gelimer (530–533) became king. Hilderic, Hoamer and their relatives were thrown into prison. Hilderich was deposed and murdered in 533.

This was taken as an excuse for interference by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I, who declared war on the Vandals. The armies of the Eastern Empire were commanded by Belisarius, who, having heard that the greatest part of the Vandal fleet was fighting an uprising in Sardinia, decided to act quickly, and landed on Tunisian soil, then marched on to Carthage. In the late summer of 533, King Gelimer met Belisarius ten miles south of Carthage at the Battle of Ad Decimium; the Vandals were winning the battle till Gelimer's nephew Gibamund fell in battle; Gelimer then lost heart and fled. Belisarius quickly took Carthage while the surviving Vandals fought on.

On December 15, 533, Gelimer and Belisarius clashed again at Ticameron, some 20 miles from Carthage. Again, the Vandals fought well but broke, this time when Gelimer's brother Tzazo fell in battle. Belisarius quickly advanced to Hippo, second city of the Vandal Kingdom, and in 534 Gelimer surrendered to the Roman conqueror, ending the Kingdom of the Vandals. North Africa became a Roman province, from which the Vandals were expelled. Gelimer was honourably treated and received large estates in Galicia. He was also offered the rank of a patrician but had to refuse it because he was not willing to change his Arian faith.

List of kings

1. **Godigisel (—407)**
2. **Gunderic (407–428)**
3. **Geiseric (428–477)**
4. **Huneric (477–484)**
5. **Gunthamund (484–496)**
6. **Thrasamund (496–523)**
7. **Hilderic (523–530)**
8. **Gelimer (530–534)**

Very little is known about the Vandalic language which was of the East Germanic linguistic branch, closely related to Gothic (known from Ulfilas's Bible translation), both completely extinct. Some traces may remain in Andalusian dialect[*citation needed*], the southernmost group of Spanish dialects, which is however far more strongly permeated with Arabic from the later Moors (711 to 1492, first and last Muslim rule in Iberia).

Modern use of the name *Vandal*

* **The name Andalusia (Spain's southernmost region) is possibly derived from the ethnic name "Vandal", (Vandalusia).**
* **The term "vandalism" has come to mean senseless destruction as a result the Vandals' sack of Rome under King Geiseric in 455. Historians agree that the Vandals were no more destructive than other invaders of ancient times. During the Enlightenment, Rome was idealized, so the Goths and Vandals were disparaged. John Dryden writes: *Till Goths, and Vandals, a rude Northern race,***

Did all the matchless Monuments deface **(1694). The word "goth" has gained architectural and other associations since Dryden's time, but "vandal" has not. The abstract term "vandalism" is from the French *vandalisme* and dates from the French revolution, when it was first used by Henri Grégoire, Bishop of Bloiswho said "I created the word, to kill the thing". The verb *vandalize* is first recorded in 1800.**

Sources and references

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* **Pauly-Wissowa**
* ***This article incorporates text from the public-domain* Catholic Encyclopedia*.***
* **Online Etymology Dictionary: Vandal**
* **Brian Adam: History of the Vandals**
* **Ivor J. Davidson, *A Public Faith*, Chapter 11, *Christians and Barbarians*, Volume 2 of Baker History of the Church, 2005, ISBN 0801012759**
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Vandalic language

From Wikipedia
Spoken in: Spain, North Africa
Language extinction: 6th century AD
Language family: Indo-European: Germanic: East Germanic

Vandalic was a Germanic language probably closely related to the Gothic language. The Vandals established themselves in Southern Spain, following other Germanic and non-Germanic peoples (Visigoths, Alans, etc.), before moving to North Africa around Carthage. Very little is known about the Vandalic language beyond that it was East Germanic, closely related to Gothic. Only a small number of personal names of Vandalic language are known. Some traces may remain in Andalusian, the southernmost Spanish dialect.

A fragment of Vandalic appears in the somewhat snobbish Latin poem *de conviviis barbaris*, dating to ca. 390:

> **Inter *eils* Goticum *scapiamatziaiadrincan***
> **non audet quisquam dignos educere versus.**
> **("among the Gothic *eils scapiamatziaiadrincan*,**
> **one does not dare to produce dignified verse.")**

The Vandalic part is comprehensible, and would correspond to Gothic *hails! skapjam matjan jah drigkan!*, i.e. "Hail! let us get some food and drink!".

The only other known Vandalic phrase is *Froia arme!*, meaning "Lord, have mercy".

tkw note: ***Throughout the Vandal Period -- Persecutions of Roman Christians: The Vandals, who were Arian Christians, deprived the Roman Christian power structure of its churches, its wealth, and its position – often violently. Most of the population acceded to the Vandal program of Arianization, although some (particularly Roman Christians) were undoubtedly scandalized by Vandal methods. It should be remembered that the population was already split between Roman and Donatist Christians, and some modern analysts believe that some of the early "persecutions" were actually instigated by Donatists, who were taking revenge on their oppressors. It is also important to recognize that the Vandal persecutions were no worse than what the Roman and Donatist Christians had been doing to each other for many years.***

The Vandals also dispossessed many of the large land owners – some of whom were of Punic descent, some of Roman colonial descent, and some Roman absentee landlords. For the peasants working the farms, there was apparently no difference – the new Vandal masters wanted, above all, to continue the very profitable production of gran and olive oil. Some marginal land around the fringes appears to have gone out of production, at least from a Vandal viewpoint, but the peasants in those areas continued to farm – and with more freedom than they had under the previous regime.

By the end of the Vandal period, the Vandals had gone soft and, according to Procopius (the Byzantine historian who accompanied Belisarius in his reconquest of North Africa for the Eastern Empire), they were addicted to all the voluptuous pleasures of the baths, the theaters, the arenas, the banquet halls, and the houses of ill repute. Procopius also describes Vandal men, disapprovingly, as being perfumed, bejeweled, and silk clad.

IX, d
Procopius: The Reconquest of Africa, 534
On the Wars IV.9

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> ***Justinian's program of* renovatio *of the Roman Empire, expressed by his building program, his re-organization of the Law, was perhaps clearest in his wars. Directed ar "reconquering" the Western part of the Empire, they were for the most part successful.***
>
> ***Procopius work,* On the Wars *provides an excellent source for this aspect of Justinian's program. Below he recounts the success of Belasarius, Justinian's great general, in overthrowing the Vandal Kingdom in northern Africa. This victory was easy, but marked the first stage in the program of reconquest. The triumph which was accorded Belisarius upon his return is described below by Procopius. Note especially the continuity in the old Roman traditions - as Procopius makes clear, the triumph itself was part of the program or restoration.***

Belisarius, upon reaching Byzantium with Gelimer [last king of the Vandals, captured by Belisarius in 534] and the Vandals, was counted worthy to receive such honours, as in former times were assigned to those generals of the Romans who had won the greatest and most noteworthy victories. And a period of about six hundred years had now passed since anyone had attained these honours, except, indeed, Titus and Trajan, and such other emperors as had led armies against some barbarian nation and had been victorious. For he displayed the spoils and slaves from the war in the midst of the city and led a procession which the Romans call a "triumph," not, however, in the ancient manner, but going on foot from his own house to the hippodrome and then again from the barriers [the starting point for the racers at the open end of the Hippodrome] until he reached the place where the imperial throne is. And there was booty,-first of all, whatever articles are wont to be set apart for the royal service,-thrones of gold and carriages in which it is customary for a king's consort to ride, and much Jewelry made of precious stones, and golden drinking cups, and all the other things which are useful for the royal table. And there was also silver weighing many thousands of talents and all the royal treasure amounting to an exceedingly great sum (for Gizeric [leader of the

Vandals who had sacked Rome in 455] had despoiled the Palatium in Rome) and among these were the treasures of the Jews, which Titus, the son of Vespasian, together with certain others, had brought to Rome after the capture of Jerusalem [70 A.D.]. And one of the Jews, seeing these things, approached one of those known to the emperor and said: "These treasures I think it inexpedient to carry into the palace in Byzantium. Indeed, it is not possible for them to be elsewhere than in the place where Solomon, the king of the Jews, formerly placed them. For it is because of these that Gizeric captured the palace of the Romans, and that now the Roman army has captured that of the Vandals." When this had been brought to the ears of the Emperor, he became afraid and quickly sent everything to the sanctuaries of the Christians in Jerusalem. And there were slaves in the triumph, among whom was Gelimer himself, wearing some sort of a purple garment upon his shoulders, and all his family, and as many of the Vandals as were very tall and fair of body. And when Gelimer reached the hippodrome and saw the emperor sitting upon a lofty seat and the people standing on either side and realized as he looked about in what an evil plight he was, he neither wept nor cried out, but ceased not saying over in the words of the Hebrew scripture: "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity." And when he came before the emperor's seat, they stripped off the purple garment, and compelled him to fall prone on the ground and do obeisance to the Emperor Justinian. This also Belisarius did, as being a suppliant of the emperor along with him. And the Emperor Justinian and the Empress Theodora presented the children of Ilderic [one-time king of the Vandals and friend of Justinian; overthrown by Gelimer] and his offspring and all those of the family of the Emperor Valentinian with sufficient sums of money, and to Gelimer they gave lands not to be despised in Galatia and permitted him to live there together with his family. However, Gelimer was by no means enrolled among the patricians, since he was unwilling to change from the faith of Arius.

A little later the triumph [in honor of his inauguration as consul] was celebrated by Belisarius in the ancient manner also. For he had the fortune to be advanced to the office of consul, and therefore was borne aloft by the captives, and as he was thus carried in his curule chair, he threw to the populace those very spoils of the Vandalic war. For the people carried off the silver plate and golden girdles and a vast amount of the Vandals' wealth of other sorts as a result of Belisarius' consulship, and it seemed that after a long interval of disuse an old custom was being revived. . . .

Procopius, *History of the Wars,* IV, ix, translated by H.B. Dewing (New York: C.P. Putnam's Sons, 1916), pp. 279-283.

X -- Tunisia Archaeology

From http://www.somalipress.com/guides/archaeology/tunisia-archaeology.html

Carthage

The Carthage Museum, Amphitheatre, Theatre & Roman villas

The Byrsa quarter of Carthage, recently discovered by French archaeologists, dates from the time of Hannibal and gives an idea of urban life in the early second century BC. When the Romans returned to rebuild Carthage they covered over the ruins of the 146 BC construction on Byrsa Hill with thick layers of rubble and earth thus preserving the whole site.

Here there is the large cathedral named in honour of St Louis and seminary (now the museum), constructed by the French during the Protectorate which has been made into a cultural centre. On the southern slope are the remains of the Punic residential quarter (second century BC) built in a regular rectangular grid, houses, water tanks, drains, plastered walls, tiled floors. Down the other side of the hill the amphitheatre is on one side of the road and a collection of cisterns on the other. Returning towards the sea down Avenue 7th November on the left is the theatre behind which lie the Roman Villas. If you visit the Basilicas of Damou and St Cyprien next then backtrack to the Baths of Antoninus, you will have visited all the major sites and be back at the TGM station.

The Magon Quarter dating from the fifth century BC is approached down Avenue de la Republique. It was destroyed in 146 BC and rebuilt under Caesar Augustus. Following the excavations by the German Archaeological Institute, the site was turned into a garden and it is possible to walk along the restored Roman road by the sea front. A small museum displays household items, found during excavations. Models and diagrams illustrate the development of the Punic settlement and the rebuilding a century after its destruction.

In the amphitheatre, built during Hadrian's reign and capable of seating 35,000 spectators, early Christians were thrown to the lions and gladiators as entertainment for the audience. There is very little to see since only limited excavation work has been carried out. The cisterns at La Maalga, behind Le Phenix de Carthage entertainment complex, were the main reservoirs for the Carthage water supply. Their very size and complexity is a good indication of the population of the ancient city.

The Odeon Quarter is set to the west of the railway and Avenue Habib Bourguiba. The Roman theatre, which could hold 10,000 spectators, is located in the Odeon area, though most of what can be seen is a restoration. The original pieces exist only in fragmentary form, but at least give an idea of what the entire seating area of the monument was once like. The semicircular orchestra with some of its original marble flooring can still be seen too. The International Carthage Festival is held here every year.

Also on Odeon Hill, north of the theatre, are a series of excavations of Roman villas and

similar buildings, reached via the entrance at the nymphaion with its water feature. The villas are of classical proportions, built around the peristyle or central pillared courtyard giving access to the main living rooms. The famous and now restored fifth-sixth century House of the Aviary has an octagonal garden in the middle of its courtyard. Many of the artefacts on show here in the house, including statues and a bust of Dionysus, are from other sites at Carthage. Other adjacent villas such as the House of the Horse and the Odeon itself are worth a visit. The Odeon was an indoor theatre but only its confused ruins remain - most of the material has long gone, used to construct new buildings. The Antonine Baths, once the biggest baths in North Africa and the third largest in the Roman world, were truly enormous. They are in a splendid position between Avenue Habib Bourguiba and the sea and are one of the best preserved sites in Carthage.

El Jem

Main amphitheatre The size of the remaining monuments at El Djem give a clear indication of the size of the original city. The huge Amphitheatre, 148 metres long by 122 metres wide, has a perimeter of over 425 metres. The long axis of the arena is 65 metres and the shorter axis 39 metres. The tiers rose to more than 35 metres providing seating for a capacity of 45,000 spectators. It was the third largest amphitheatre in the Roman Empire and the most famous and best preserved in Africa. Construction is attributed to Emperor Gordien I and probably began in the second century between 230 and 238 AD. The theatre was used for 'live entertainment' of the gladiator variety and some of the bloodthirsty events are recorded in the mosaics found here.

Later the Amphitheatre was used as a rebel stronghold famed for the underground tunnels leading from El Djem to the sea. In 1695, Mohammed Bey ordered a hole to be made in the amphitheatre's walls to prevent its use during any further uprisings by the local population. This hole was further enlarged in 1850 and after this the theatre became a good source for building stones. The bulk of the original building still remains though and makes an impressive sight. The theatre is open daily from dawn till dusk.

Other excavations El Djem has two smaller amphitheatres, one built on top of the other. These are found to the south of the main amphitheatre on the other side of the road to Sfax. The older one dates from the first century and was cut into the rock. The second one, which was used up to the construction of the large amphitheatre, was built against the hillside on top of the first. Behind the museum there is a group of villas bounded by a Roman necropolis to the south and a well preserved, paved street to the east.

The large number of fine Roman villas excavated at El Djem is an indication of the wealth of the town. The dwellings, built round an inner courtyard and surrounded by a colonnaded gallery, were paved with colourful mosaics depicting mythological themes. Mosaics from the earlier excavations of these villas are now displayed in the Bardo National Museum in Tunis, in Sousse and in the local museum in El Djem. In the more recently discovered villas the mosaics have been left in situ. The baths cover a surface area of over 2,000 square metres and also contain some fine mosaics. The Archaeological Museum, clearly signed is set in a replica of a Roman villa. It contains some lovely mosaics, including one showing Orpheus charming animals with his music. The museum is open 0700-1900 in summer and 0730-1730 in winter.

Music Festival El Djem has hosted an annual International Music Festival since 1986

which takes place in late July/ early August in the Amphitheatre. The festival usually concentrates on European symphony and chamber orchestras and opera.

Sbeitla

Sbeitla contains at least seven religious buildings and is an indication of the strength of early African Christianity in Tunisia. The Arch of Diocletian which formed part of the old walls to the south of the site is the first feature to strike the visitor. The Byzantine quarter consists of the remains of three forts/dwellings and the nearby Byzantine church is dedicated to Saints Gervais, Protais and Tryphon. There are also some baths in pretty poor condition. Towards the central area is a large cistern which supplied water to the city. Close by are the remains of a large public baths, with hot and cold rooms and a mosaic decorating the room. The nearby fountain is one of three public fountains dating from the fourth century. Overlooking the Oued Sbeltla is the theatre - the tiers are in ruins but the orchestra pit is still visible as are the colonnades near the stage.

The capitol The capitol is entered through the Arch of Antonius Pius. This gateway was built in the style of a triumphal arch and formed part of the ancient walls. The arch can be dated between 138 and 161 AD thanks to an inscription which refers to the Emperor Antonius Pius and his two adopted sons, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.

The three temples opposite this gate are assumed to be dedicated to Juno, Jupiter and Minerva. The central temple was the grandest but the temple of Minerva has the more elegant columns. The Forum, paved with huge stone slabs, is a highly impressive sight.

The 'Episcopal group' The episcopal group of buildings to the northeast, comprises two churches, a baptistery, a chapel and small baths. The Basilica Bellator. excavated in 1907 is named after a fragment of inscription found there. Measuring 34 metres by 15 metres, the building has a central nave, two side aisles and a double apse. The mosaic floor in the choir still remains. The adjacent Basilica Vitalis is a later, larger building. It has five naves and double apses. A marble table decorated with biblical themes found here is now in the Bardo Museum.

The museum The recently constructed museum contains exhibits from the Libyan period, the early Roman period, and Christian, Muslim and Byzantine times. There are also many items from Sufetula and Sbiba.

Visiting the site Open 0830-1730 winter and 0600-2000 in summer. Closed Monday, entrance 2Dt, photo fee 1Dt.

Dougga

Dougga, one of the most important sites of the country has a Libyco-Punic mausoleum, a capitol, a theater, thermal baths, monumental arches, temples and extremely well preserved houses. Of Numidian origin, Dougga is representative of the Romano-Africa civilizations, an original and brilliant civilization which witnessed the birth of numerous cities and developed its own architectural style as well as the flourishing art of mosaïcs.

History The Roman ruins are spread out across a plateau and on to the steep side of the djebel overlooking the Cued Khaled. It was originally a Numidian town allied with Rome

against Carthage. As a consequence, after the downfall of Carthage, the town was granted a certain degree of independence. Romanization only started towards 150 AD, after two centuries of coexistence. By the time Carthage had been rebuilt by the Romans, Dougga had become the economic and administrative centre of a very rich agricultural area. It also controlled the route to the coast, and enjoyed great prosperity. Having become a Roman colony by the end of the second century, the town reached the height of its wealth under the rule of Septimius Severus. Its downfall in the fourth century was caused by the heavy duties paid to the Romans and religious quarrels. When the Vandals invaded, most of the population had moved to Teboursouk.

The ruins Dougga, at 25 hectares, is one of the largest of the Roman sites in Tunisia and certainly one of the most dramatic. The ruins are on a sloping site, a superficial visit takes an hour or so. The concentration of well preserved or well restored Roman buildings makes Dougga stand out. The site is open 0830-1730 winter and 0700-1900 summer, closed Monday.

The Theatre The Theatre was originally built in 168/9 AD, and is a typical example of a Roman theatre. It could seat 3,500 people on its 19-semicircular tiers, in three stages, cut into the hill slope. The seating was closed off at the top by a portico, since destroyed. Some of the columns have been re-erected on the stage, but now that the back wall of the stage has disappeared the seating area provides a panoramic view of the plain below.

The central area At the heart of the Ancient Thugga was the capitol, with the Temples of Augustan Piety and Mercury adjoining. The Forum and the Market were close by. The Temple of Augustan Piety was a small raised sanctuary with an even smaller vestibule entered from the west by a small stair. The engraving on the architrave supported by columns with Corinthian capitols indicated its name and use.

Approaching the forum and the great mass of the main temple, the visitor comes to the Square of the Winds, which is named after a compass-based inscription naming 12 winds cut into the paving. This square has in fact a semicircular wall at its East End, behind which stands the Temple of Fortune and Temple of Augustan Piety.

Temple of Mercury The Temple of Mercury was constructed between 180 and 192 AD and composed of three chapels, the rectangular central one being larger; the lateral chapels, much smaller, are almost hemispherical in plan. All three are dedicated to the same god, Mercury. This temple, dedicated to the god of, among other thing trade, faces towards the market.

The Market is bordered on its two longer sides by a series of small shops which were built under the portico - now vanished. Each shop was exactly the same size, 2.8 metres by 2.7 metres. In the centre stood a fountain. The south end held a large alcove, which probably held a statue of Mercury. To the right and the left of this alcove, a doorway leads out to separate stairways which descended to rooms below.

The Capitol has an impressive set of steps and six huge fluted monolithic columns over eight metres high on the edge of the portico. It was built between 166 and 169 AD and dedicated to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. The Corinthian capitols on these huge columns support an architraved frieze, bearing a dedication to the Triad for the salvation of the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Behind the portico is a cellar 13 metres by

14 metres, entered by a central doorway and divided into three parts, each with a niche in the end wall. The central, largest niche once held a white marble statue of Jupiter and the smaller side niches statues of the other two deities. Beneath the podium constructed to lift this capitol to its elevated position is a crypt, in three compartments and used at one time as a fort.

The open piazza in front of the Capitol at the base of the staircase opens on the West Side into an open space which is the Forum, also dating from the end of the second century. It was the centre of public life and administration. Few of the original 35 columns (red veined marble from Chemtou with white capitals) and base remains. The floor beneath the porticos which once surrounded three sides of the building was mosaic tiles. At the Forum, traces of the Byzantine fortifications can be seen to the north and south of the Forum. The fort covering some 2,800 square metres in fact enclosed both the Forum and the Capitol and the gateways to the north and south. Much of the stone used to construct this fort was taken from older buildings on this site.

Also close to the central area is the small Temple of Tellus, the goddess of crop fertility. Close by are the remains of a building referred to today as the Dar el Acheb. It was probably a temple originally. The four rectangular basins enclosed in the larger rectangular building were accessed from a door to the north.

The Arch of Severus Alexander and around Close to the central area are the Arch of Severus Alexander and the Temple of Juno Caelestis. Close to the Arch is the Temple of Caelestis, also constructed during the reign of Alexander Severus, a few years before Christianity began to gain a hold in this part of North Africa. The rectangular sanctuary, once entirely enclosed by columns, is approached by an elegant flight of steps. There is a large, closed semi-circular courtyard with a portico on the curved side.

Licinian Baths and around This third-century gift to the city by the Licinii family is a very large and complicated building. The furnace room, the hot room with the pipes visible in the walls, the cold room and the palaestra or exercise room remain.

The Temples of Concordia, Frugifer and Bacchus were constructed between 128-38 AD. The Temple of Bacchus is the largest and has a large square central area flanked by porticos, while at the northwest side are five rooms, the largest in the centre, while in the opposite direction was a small theatre, seats still present.

Below the Licinian baths, heading away from the Forum, is a complex area of ruined housing where you can also see sections of the ancient Numidian walls, part of the same fortifications running north of the Theatre and west of the Temple of Saturn. In this neighborhood is the well-preserved House of Dionysus and Ulysses, where part of the first floor still survives.

The lower residential area Below the Licinian Baths is an area where city homes and a further, smaller, bath complex have been excavated. The House of the Trifolium dates from the third century and is the best-conserved and largest house discovered on the site. It is built on two levels with the entrance at street level and the rooms a floor below. The stairs on the north side of the house lead to a rectangular central garden or viridium. There was a small semicircular pool at one end, surrounded by a portico with a mosaic floor.

Next to the House of the Trifolium, the Cyclops' Baths are named after the magnificent mosaic taken from the floor of the cold room here and now on display at the Bardo Museum. The baths are not in a very good state, except for the communal latrine. The mosaic, dated as fourth century, shows the three giants, the Cyclops, working at the forge in the cavern belonging to Vulcan who was the god of Hell. Further down towards the Libyco-Puriic Mausoleum is the House of the Gorgon, named after the mosaic discovered here showing the Gorgon's head held in the hand of Perseus.

The Numido-Punic Monument In the lower part of the city is the Numido-Punic Mausoleum one of Tunisia's most famous pre- Roman ruins. Dating from the second century BC, the monument hints at a faint influence of Hellenistic models. The mausoleum is dedicated to the Numidian Prince Ateban who was a contemporary of Massinissa. The three-storey tower rises from a plinth of five steps and culminates in a pyramid. The central section is reminiscent of a Greek temple.

The Arch of Septirnius Severus (193-211 AD) was built in this emperor's honour in 205 AD after Thugga was made a municipium at his command, giving the community at Thugga partial rights of Roman citizenship. The arch marked the eastern entrance to the city, sitting astride the main road to Carthage.

Theatre to the Temple of Caelestis Moving away from the theatre, there are views on your right towards Teboursouk and the ground drops away in a steep cliff. You will come to the Sanctuary of Neptune, a small rectangular sanctuary down off the plateau built near the now non-existent road that led to the Temple of Saturn.

Further on is the Temple of Saturn (195 AD), its dominant position overlooking the valley, signaling the importance of the cult. Apparently it was built over the site of an earlier Baal- Hammon-Saturn sanctuary. It is aligned almost east-west. The outer vestibule leads into the rectangular central courtyard, which originally had a gallery on three sides. At the west end are three equal-sized chapels. The central chapel once contained a marble statue of Saturn and that to the left a statue of a man dressed in a toga, the benefactor. Approaching the Sanctuary of Neptune from the Theatre, there is a small Christian cemetery in which stands the Christian basilica (fourth-fifth century AD).

The Cisterns of Ain Mizeb were made up of seven long reservoirs (each 35 metres by five metres) set one metre apart, which stored water from the spring to the west. The method of construction and the lining to prevent leakage can still be examined where these cisterns are exposed. Having separate compartments prevented total loss if one part was damaged and permitted cleaning and repairs without cutting off the supply. The Cisterns of Am el Hammam are five parallel reservoirs (each 34 metres by three metres) and one short one across the end all fed from a spring a distance to the southwest. After the cisterns, the Arch of Severus Alexander is clearly visible. The Temple of Caelestis is on your right, and turning left, you head back towards the central part of the city.

Kerkouane

Kerkouane is listed as a UNESCO World Heritagesite and dates from Punic times. In Kerkouane, the outlay of an entire city can be viewed and gives an amazing insight into the town planning of the times. It is thought to have been built in the sixth century BC and probably abandoned after the Romans conquered Carthage in 146 BC. The ruins of

Kerkouane were discovered in 1952 by Charles Saumagne and Pierre Cintas, and it has been excavated ever since

Arg el Ghazouani 500 metres northwest of the ancient town lies a burial area with vaults carved into a hill side looking out over the sea. This necropolis was discovered by chance by a local teacher, in 1929. The tombs contained scarabs, jewellery, and black-figure ceramics, which the teacher took full advantage of by ransacking the tombs and selling most of the treasure. More cumbersome items and were broken up to fill in already ransacked tombs.

After the finds at Arg el Ghazouani became common knowledge, archaeologist Cintas began to research tombs elsewhere in the region. Some tombs survived the pillaging and remained unopened into the 1960s and later. In July 1970, a tomb at Arg el Ghazouani was found to contain a wooden sarcophagus, its lid carved with the bas-relief image of a woman. This piece can be viewed today in the site museum.

The site museum The vast majority of exhibits were discovered in the burial grounds near Kerkouane. Many of the finest tomb finds, discovered before Punic archaeology took off in the 1950s, found their way abroad. The Fragonard museum at Grasse, for example, has a fine collection of perfume flasks.

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