

THE TOMB OF YADAMELEK
A new approach to its architecture, burial rite and grave goods¹

Claudia Kunze

1. Introduction

At the end of the 19th century, the Pères Blancs, French missionaries, conducted excavations all over Carthage, mainly in the necropolis. During an excavation in 1894, Père Delattre found a grave with two skeletons in it, having an outstanding structure and assemblage.

The grave goods and the tomb's design characterise it as a Phoenician grave of the 7th century BC.

The name of the tomb stems from an inscription on a medallion recovered by sieving the grave deposits. The pendant is of a common Phoenician shape², but singular is the inscription engraved on one side. The Phoenician text consists of six lines and mentions a person called YD'MLK – Yadamelek who is to be protected by Astarte. Even if no direct link was established with one of the inhumations, the name Yadamelek was given to the tomb³.

The Tomb of Yadamelek is situated in the Douimès necropolis, within the ring of burial areas surrounding ancient Carthage⁴. In 1909, shortly after its discovery, the grave was built over by the T.G.M.-Line, a light railway connecting Carthage and other villages with Tunis (Fig. 1)⁵.

With a culture like the Phoenician one, where literary sources are limited, burials are important means of investigating social and religious life. At Carthage, some different grave types have been established, ranging from simple pits to exceptional chambers built of massive stone blocks, such as

¹ This article is the short version of my Magister Artium thesis, handed in to the University of Hamburg in spring 2000. In this place I would like to thank my supervisor Hans Georg Niemeyer, as well as Roald Docter, Abdelmajid Ennabli (by the time of writing my thesis Directeur du site et du Musée de Carthage), Helge Mundt (Photographer) and many others, who made all this possible.

² Quillard 1979, 81-6, pl. XXVI, tab. I.

³ Also in this paper the commonly used name 'Tomb of Yadamelek' has been retained.

⁴ Gras/Rouillard/Teixidor 1991, 132; Rakob 1989, 155-208.

⁵ Tiatli 1978, 212-4; Delattre 1897a, 485.



Fig. 2. Delattre's plan of the excavations in the Douimès necropolis (Ennabli 1989, 23-5). The tomb of Yadamelek had been identified by Delattres report (Delattre 1897c, 14-7) by the author.

remains without literary sources. Mistakes could be made, for example, by interpreting a grave without grave goods as the burial of a poor person, if the unknown ritual required such a practise⁸. However, if a tomb was furnished with certain objects one can assume that their selection and deposition is on purpose instead of by accident. I will try to get as much information as possible out of the inventory and suggest what is possible to say and what not in this paper. To understand the meaning of the grave goods better, it is also

⁸ d'Agostino/Schnapp 1982, 17-20; Gras/Rouillard/Teixidor 1991, 132.

beneficial to look at comparable objects found in settlements and see what they were used for in daily life. That might help to explain certain aspects of Phoenician eschatology.

Only few attempts have been made to investigate the context in which the Tomb of Yadamelek and other similar graves have to be seen in the light of our knowledge about Carthaginian social structures during the 7th and 6th centuries BC. In this paper it is argued that the structure of the tomb rather than the inventory indicates the rank of the buried person.

Beside the actual grave goods in some tombs, other objects have been found such as ropes, nails, iron handles or loops as well as wooden remains⁹. In looking at these finds and their position in the tomb in combination with the grave goods, a reconstruction of part of the burial rites will be suggested.

2. History of research

After excavating at the hills of Byrsa, Junon and Odeon¹⁰ since 1878, A.L. Delattre started his work in the Dermech-Douïmès necropolis. His main interest was to find as many precious things as possible, so that during the years 1892 and 1896 about 1000 graves were opened (Fig. 2)¹¹.

In September 1894 Delattre uncovered a shaft that ended on top of the roof blocks of a burial chamber about seven meters below the surface. On the 2nd of October 1894, he entered the tomb through a hole in the ceiling. Inside he found two human skeletons, preserved in a very poor condition. However, the majority of the grave goods were in a better state. Only one amphora was broken, all the other vessels remained complete and the golden jewellery as well as some of the bronze and iron objects showed only slight damage. Other bronze and wooden artefacts remained only as colour print in the sand¹².

The finds from the tomb were taken to the Musée Lavigerie de Saint-Louis – today the Musée National de Carthage – where some of them are displayed today. The museum possesses three of the amphorae, three jugs, the lamp, the Protocorinthian kotyle, the ostrich egg, a bronze handle, the scarab, the golden case, the golden spherical pendants, the golden rosette and the medallion with the inscription. It is unknown what happened to the silver bowl, the iron handles, one of the jugs, the broken amphora, the two little pots and the other jewellery. They are not inventoried in the first catalogue of the museum¹³.

Since its discovery and the publication of the excavation report, the Tomb of Yadamelek has been the subject of different research projects.

Initial interest focussed on the time the tomb was used. It has been dated by

⁹ Benichou-Safar 1982, fig. 127, 3-6.

¹⁰ Delattre 1890, 22; Benichou-Safar 1973-4, 5; Benichou-Safar 1982, 43-4.

¹¹ Gsell 1898, 80; Audollent 1901, 240-1.

¹² Delattre 1897a, 5-6; Delattre 1897b, 170-7; Delattre 1897c, 13-7; for a reconstruction of the chamber see also Gras/Rouillard/Teixidor 1991, 142, fig. 5.

¹³ Berger 1900.

most scholars to the 7th and 6th century BC¹⁴, but also other dates between the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 6th century BC have been suggested¹⁵, depending on the dating of single grave goods and the assumption on how long after their production they were deposited.

S. Gsell was the first who did research on the social background of the Punic graves, followed by other archaeologists like H. Benichou-Safar, M. Gras, P. Rouillard and J. Teixidor¹⁶. They argued that because of its architecture and rich inventory the Tomb of Yadamelek must be the grave of a member of the aristocracy. This assumption is based on the superficial idea that rich people are buried in extraordinary tombs. Nevertheless, important questions have not been asked, such as, is there an aristocracy in archaic Carthage? Or, how is the society of the city organised anyway?

Another subject of research was the inscription on the medallion, which has caught the interest of many Phoenician language specialists. Since its first publication the exact translation, interpretation and dating of the words have been discussed several times¹⁷.

3. The architecture

Because the burial site has been lost to the development of the modern city, Delattre's report is the only source concerning the architecture of Yadamelek's Tomb¹⁸. He describes a chamber about 2.50 m long, 1.50 m wide and 1.44 m high, which is one of the biggest found in Carthage until now. The entrance was in the southwest wall, 1.34 m high and 0.90 m wide and blocked by a well-finished door made of stone. On its inside a door-panel had been elaborated with a rough surface, 1.03 m high and 0.70 m wide, separated by a 0.03 m high ridge. The chamber lies 9 m below today's surface and was built of massive stone blocks with lengths of about 3 m (Fig. 3).

A white plaster that glittered in the light of Delattre's candle like snow covered the walls and the floor of the tomb. When he entered the tomb, next to the entrance a piece of plaster was hanging towards the inside of the room, "like a big piece of paper"¹⁹. About 0.20 m underneath the top of the wall,

¹⁴ First Delattre 1897c, 29.

¹⁵ Gsell 1924, 324; Ferron 1968, 259; Benichou-Safar 1982, 296; Maaß-Lindemann 1982, 179.

¹⁶ Gsell 1924, 459-60; Benichou-Safar 1982, 138; Gras/Rouillard/Teixidor 1991, 147, 262-4.

¹⁷ Berger 1894, 421, 453-8; Berger 1900, 43-4; Delattre 1897c, 17; Carpenter 1958, 47-8; Ferron 1958-9, 45-6; Ferron 1968, 259; Culican 1970, 35-6; Benz 1972, 208.

¹⁸ The following description is based on Delattre 1897c, 13-7.

¹⁹ Delattre 1897c, 14; one piece of plaster, found in the Douïmès necropolis without an exact location of its findspot, had been analysed. It consists mainly of lime with ferric oxides. C. Picard suggested that the glimmering appearance derives from small marble particles added to the plaster. Cf. Picard 1952, 121. Instead, the plastered pavement in the tomb of Yadamelek is unusual, as most floors are made of stone or mud. There is only one other tomb with plaster on the floor, cf. Gauckler 1915, 6 tomb 232; Benichou-Safar

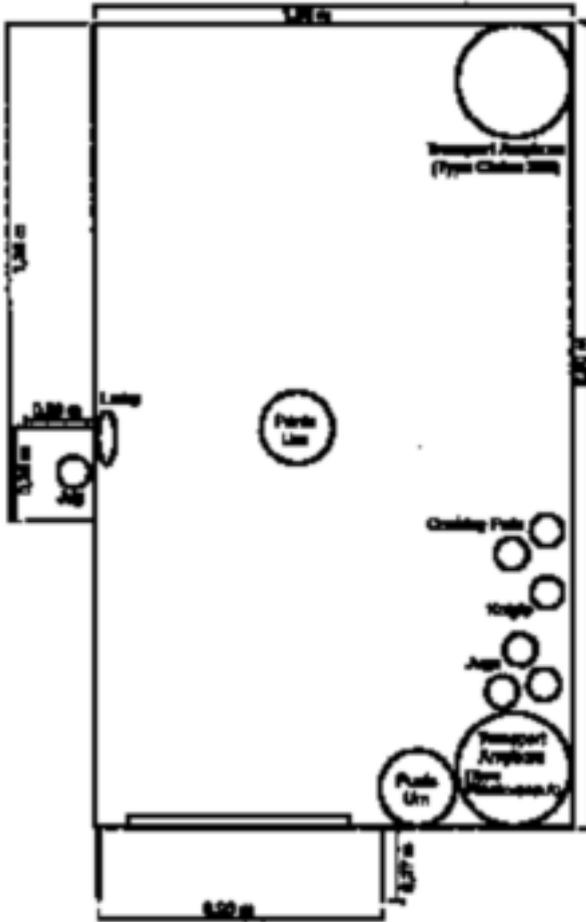


Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the Yadamelek tomb following Delattre's description (Delattre 1897c), Claudia Kunze.

the plaster stopped at a back turning edge. Fragments of stone and mortar were lying on this landing, from which Delattre reconstructed a protruding cornice²⁰. At this height on some segments of the wall, a thin red horizontal line was visible, which was partly covered by plaster. Delattre suggested that this line was a builders mark, necessary during construction, rather than decoration.

The ceiling as well as the upper part of the wall was lined with wood.

²⁰ Known from other graves, cf. Gauckler 1915, 3 (grave 10); Benichou-Safar 1982, 164, fig.

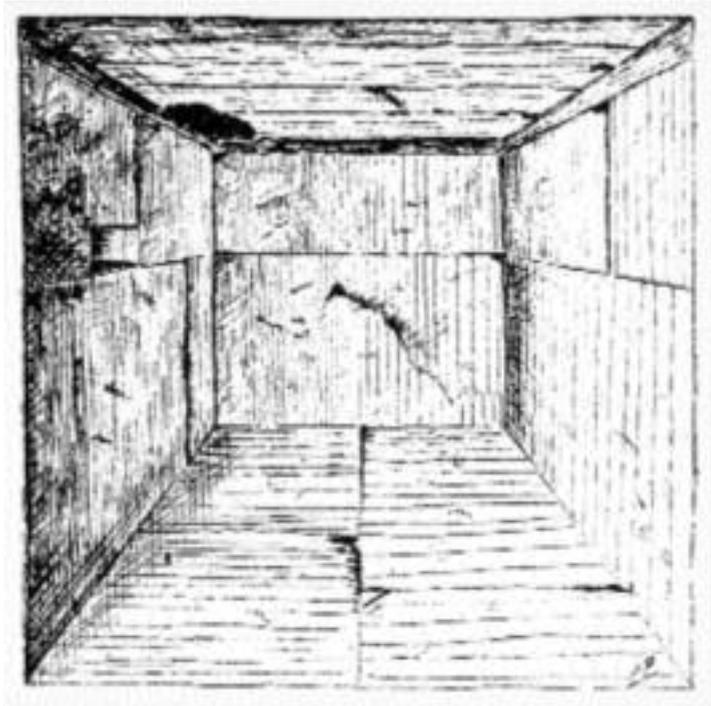


Fig. 4. Inside of the Tomb, drawn by Delattre (1897c, fig. 30).

Fragments of this wainscot remained lying on the floor of the tomb. The kind of wood used was not recorded, but from similar chambers sandalwood and cedar is reported (Fig. 4)²¹.

In the northwest wall, Delattre describes a niche, 1.25 m above the ground, 0.29 m wide and 0.22 to 0.33 m high. The niche was covered with the same plaster as the walls.

About two months after Delattre entered the tomb through the ceiling, he excavated the entrance from the outside and uncovered its facade. Now a doorframe built of massive stone blocks was visible, exactly fitting the door. The outside of the door was only roughly worked. On top of the ceiling slab, two more blocks of the same width as the chamber were stacked. Above them, a rubble wall adjoined, about 0.40 and 0.50 m thick and several meters high, probably part of the shaft to reach the entrance (Fig. 5)²².

The kind of tomb Delattre describes is well known from Phoenician sites all

²¹ Gauckler 1915, 2, 6; Benichou-Safar 1982, 162.

²² Delattre 1897c, 18. A new reconstruction of the grave and description of its architecture has just been published by Gros and Duboeuf 2002, 253-67.



Fig. 5. View from outside, showing the entrance of the tomb, photographed by Delattre (1897c, fig. 31).

over the Mediterranean. The type was named ‘tombeau bâti’ or ‘Kammergrab’. It represents a group of subterranean tombs that are built of big hewn stones constructed without mortar. The size of the chambers vary, they could be between 2.16 m and 2.85 m long while the widths are dependent on the number of inhumations. For single graves, widths of 0.68 m to 0.95 m have been found, for two bodies double sized tombs had been built of 1.50 m to 1.99 m wide²³. Usually the chambers are furnished with one or two niches, often situated close to the ceiling, but there are also tombs without such niches. Only in some niches grave goods have been found, but they were not necessarily built to accommodate such things. No correlation has been established between niches and grave furnishing, so their function remains uncertain (Fig. 6)²⁴.

The origins of the so called ‘tombeau bâti’ type has been always traced back to tombs built in Egypt since the time of the 12th dynasty. Similar subterranean chambers are known from Thebes and other sites where they belong to large grave complexes consisting of many rooms and yards²⁵. In Carthage,

²³ Benichou-Safar 1982, 153.

²⁴ Benichou-Safar 1982, 161-2; Gauckler 1915, 8, pl. 18.

²⁵ Benichou-Safar 1982, 366.

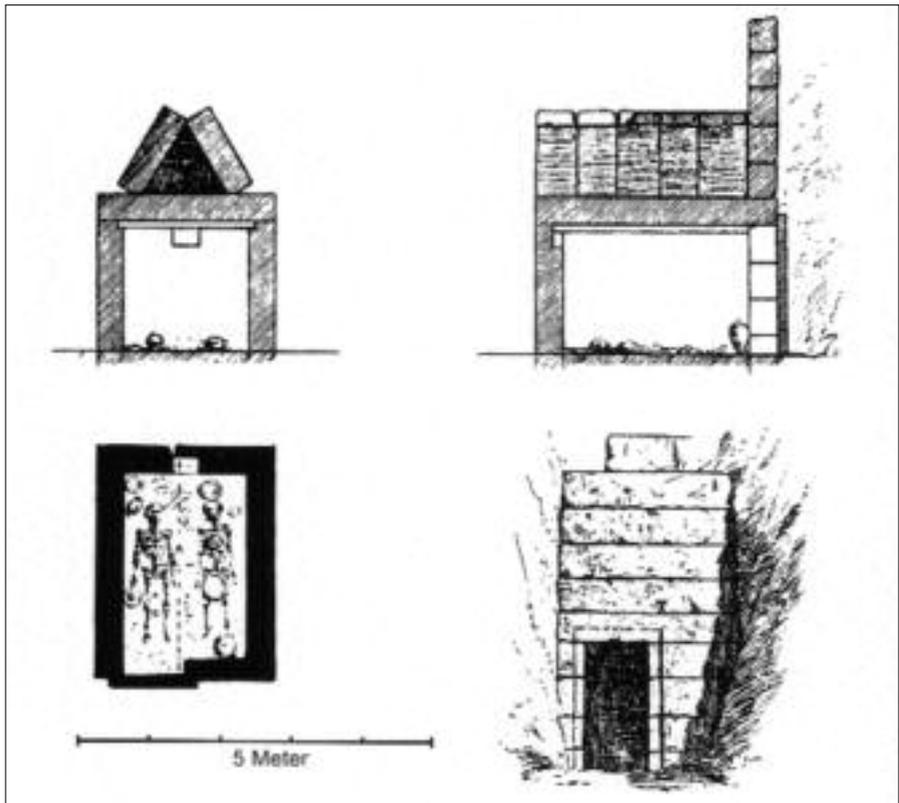


Fig. 6. Tomb excavated in the Dermech necropolis, similar in shape and size to the Tomb of Yadamelek (Gauckler 1915, pl. 113).

no such complexes have been found in connection with the tombs, but the fact that the graves never overlap, suggests the existence of marking above the ground. This could have been a gravestone or grave monument, such as known from Amrith and Arwad on the Levantine coast or from Dougga and Henchir Bourgou in modern Tunisia, as well as amongst other Phoenician burial sites²⁶. In Carthage stelai have been found, but most of them are either from the Tophet or torn from their context so that a connection between the actual graves and stelai can not be traced anymore. Other possible remains of grave markings are unknown, because the levels of ancient surfaces in the Carthage necropoleis were not recorded during early excavations²⁷.

²⁶ Gsell 1924, 441; Will 1949, 282-9; Fantar 1993a, 314-6; Fantar 1995, 56; Elayi/Haykal 1996, 27, figs. 4-10

²⁷ Benichou-Safar 1982, 159.

The ‘tombeau bâti’ was often regarded as a typical archaic Phoenician grave type, built in Carthage during the 7th and 6th centuries BC. This idea should be revised in the light of excavations at the necropoleis at the Odeon Hill, Dar el Mourali, Ard Mourali and Henchir-Beni-Nafa where ‘tombeaux bâtis’ have been dated to the 5th to 2nd centuries BC. This suggests a much longer continuity of this type than previously thought²⁸. Additionally it has to be noted that the number of the known ‘tombeaux bâtis’ is very small, for which reason it could not have been the usual funeral for most of the inhabitants. From the more than 3000 Punic graves excavated in Carthage in total, less than one hundred are built like this²⁹.

The rare appearance of the ‘tombeau bâti’ alone suggest the burial of a special person. The costly construction of this kind of grave also speaks well for its extraordinary rank. The lack of useful building material in Carthage meant that stone blocks from the quarries of El Haouaria at Cap Bon had to be imported to Carthage to construct a chamber several meters deep under the ground. But for whom are these tombs made? A link between the expensive tombs and rich aristocrats was quickly suggested³⁰. S. Lancel in opposition warned to connect the tombs with social classes, because too little is known about the society of ancient Carthage³¹.

The only available literary sources are texts written by Greek and Latin authors. Because the main opus on the Carthaginian constitution composed by Hippagoras is lost, Aristotle’s *Politica* now is the most comprehensive text concerning this question³². According to Aristotle, Carthage started as a tyranny, which passed into an aristocracy³³. By the lifetime of Aristotle, the city had an oligarchic – democratic constitution³⁴. A king who was elected because of his ability reigned over the city. By the king stood a committee called “The 104” or “Geronts”, which consisted of representatives of the noblest aristocratic families³⁵. King and Geronts together decided, on which matter the public had to be consulted.

In some passages Aristotle explains that political systems are connected with social classes. He says that the aristocracy is the government of the rich, so at least in the 4th century BC Carthage a high social class can be postulated. The lack of sources concerning the 7th and 6th centuries BC means that one can only suggest a system comparable to the ones of Phoenician city states at the

²⁸ Gauckler 1915, 114, 151, 191, 198, 204; Tejera Gaspar 1979, 91.

²⁹ Benichou-Safar 1982, 63, 137, 358-9.

³⁰ Gauckler 1915, XIX; more recently Gras/Rouillard/Teixidor 1991, 147.

³¹ Lancel 1982, 361; Bondi 1995, 314.

³² Hippagoras’ opus is mentioned by Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 14, 27; the literary sources concerning Carthage have been collected by Gsell 1924, 183, 233; cf. also Szyner 1975, 47-68; Huß 1991, 117-30; Huß 1992, 239; Ameling 1993, 67.

³³ Aristotle, *Politica* V.12 (1316a).

³⁴ Aristotle, *Politica* II.11 (1273a); IV.4 (1293b); V.12 (1316b).

³⁵ Aristotle, *Politica* II.11 (1272b, 1273a). Also mentioned by Polybius X.18.

Levant. Cities like Tyre were controlled by a king, together with a group of the ‘great’, ‘noblest’ or ‘oldest’, similar to the structures described by Aristotle³⁶. In addition to this, some Phoenician grave inscriptions mention with the name also the title, the relationships and the social class of the deceased³⁷. They suggest that the status of a person was of certain interest even after his or her death, possibly expressed by the way the tomb was built.

The presented arguments show the option of graves for rich aristocrats seen in the ‘tombeau bâti’, but one should always be aware of the possibility that this assumption may still be challenged. Other explanations such as the burial of special people like priests, heroes, etc. could be put forward.

4. The burials

Delattre found two adult skeletons of about the same size, lying next to each other on the floor³⁸. The bones were in very poor condition, but still in anatomic order. A bronze bangle and a golden ring had been observed *in situ* on the arm and the finger of one skeleton. They suggest that the other jewellery found by sieving the soil were actually worn by the deceased. Two iron loops were found left and right of one skull, one with a piece of wood preserved on it. They are probably remains of a bier or stretcher, used to transport the bodies into the tomb.

Delattre describes also a thin brown layer of unknown consistence covering the skeletons, possibly deriving from a chest or shroud³⁹. Excavations of other graves show that sarcophagi made of wood or stone are common in the entire Phoenician world and some finds suggest that bodies could be covered with a thin metal foil⁴⁰.

In many of the ‘tombeaux bâtis’, two people had been buried and they are often regarded as tombs for couples⁴¹. Unfortunately, physical anthropologists have not examined these bones so that this idea cannot be proved. In addition, the grave goods, often indicating the sex of a deceased, are not gender specific. This is the result of investigations made at graves in the Byrsa necropolis⁴². However, even if their sex cannot be ascertained anymore, the size of the ‘tombeau bâti’ shows that they have been planned for a single or a double burial⁴³. One sole tomb in the Dermech necropolis had the size of a double chamber but contained only one skeleton. In this case, the body was

³⁶ Drews 1979, 48; Bottéro 1982, 379; Bondi 1995, 347; Beloch 1907, 19.

³⁷ Benichou-Safar 1982, 180-5; Bottéro 1982, 379.

³⁸ In a tomb near Ghajjn Qajjet on Malta two skeletons were lying on a wooden platform, but no such find is known from Carthage yet, cf. Baldacchino/Dunbabin 1953, 32-3.

³⁹ Delattre 1897c, 14.

⁴⁰ Cintas 1976, 305; Delattre 1897c, 13.

⁴¹ Gauckler 1915, XIX, 6-7, 397, pl. 16, 113; Gsell 1924, 435; Ferron 1968, 259.

⁴² Lancel 1982, 392. The result confirms literary sources describing Phoenician men wearing jewellery, *i.e.* Aristotle, *Politica* VII.2 (1324b).

laid down very close to one wall, suggesting that a second burial actually was expected⁴⁴. An inscription found at Kition, Cyprus, reinforces this point, saying: “I, Abdosir, son of Abd(i)-SSM, son of Hors, have erected a stele in my lifetime above my last resting-place, also for my wife Amot-Astart, daughter of T’Ms, son of Abd(i)-Milks”⁴⁵. A tomb excavated at Trayamar (grave 4) had already been designed for a certain number of people, but its phasing shows that not all burials had been placed at the same time. In this grave of the ‘tombeau bâti’-type, three cremation urns were buried initially, followed by two inhumations⁴⁶.

The tomb in Trayamar also shows a peculiarity of the Phoenicians very clearly: the contemporary occurrence of inhumations and cremations. For Carthage, it was long assumed that the usage of cremations had been brought to the city by Greek immigrants in Hellenistic times. Excavations in the necropoleis, revealing cremations from the earliest strata on, challenged this idea⁴⁷. In addition to this, investigations in the burial sites of Akhziv, ‘Athlit, Hazor, Khaldé, Tell Ajjul, Hama, Tell el Fâti’a, Tell Rachedieh, Soukas, Tell Ruqeish and Sidon as well as texts in the *Old Testament* confirm the coexistence of cremations and inhumations already in the Phoenician mother country⁴⁸.

5. The inventory

NB: The Figures in this paragraph are not to scale.

In the first report about the excavation of the Tomb of Yadamelek, Delattre presented the complete inventory, comprising descriptions, drawings and photographs of the recovered artefacts (Fig. 7)⁴⁹. The following catalogue is based on this first report, because some objects have subsequently been lost (for the position of the objects in the tomb see the reconstructed plan Fig. 3). Often Phoenician grave goods are classed into three groups. The first group includes all objects that identify the dead person. The second group contains things necessary for surviving in the other world, and the third group includes things to protect the deceased in their next life⁵⁰. This classification is an interpretation based on unjustified assumptions about the burial rites. To provide the possibility of a new understanding of the inventory, in this paper the objects have been sorted by their material and secular function first.

⁴⁴ Gauckler 1915, 398, pl. 17.

⁴⁵ Müller 1988, 660.

⁴⁶ Niemeyer/Schubart 1975, 87.

⁴⁷ Merlin 1918, 312-3; Gsell 1924, 442-3; Delattre 1897d, 256; Cintas 1976, 290-4; Benichou-Safar 1982, 334; Lancel 1982, 335, figs. 532, 360.

⁴⁸ Benichou-Safar 1982, 333-4; Vassel 1918, 122; cf. also *Samuel* I,31.12-3; *Samuel* II.18.16-17.

⁴⁹ Delattre 1897c, 13-7.

⁵⁰ Benichou-Safar 1982, 138, 262; Gras/Rouillard/Teixidor 1991, 162.



Fig. 7. First published photograph of the inventory (Delattre 1897c, fig. 24).

5.1. The pottery

Apart from the Protocorinthian kotyle, all the vessels in the Tomb of Yadamelek are locally made household ceramics⁵¹.

5.1.1. The amphorae (Figs. 8-11) (Inv.-Nos. 624 [15] and 75 [18], transport amphorae; 894-21, Punic urn)⁵²

Delattre mentioned four amphorae, of which one was lying broken between the skeletons. The three completely conserved vessels are displayed in the Musée National de Carthage today. Two of these are transport amphorae of a common Phoenician shape. One of these, the Punic urn, was standing in the southerly corner of the tomb, its opening closed by an ostrich egg (Fig. 9; § 5.3.3)⁵³. The ovoid shape of the vessel with its flat base corresponds to the Pithekoussan amphora Type A, found in the settlements and necropoleis of

⁵¹ Pottery kilns still stacked with pots have been found at Carthage, dating to the 146 BC destruction, on the basis of which the locally made pottery could be defined, *cf.* Carthage then and now. Description and Guide 1945, 120-1; Gauckler 1915, 512, pls. 83, 218; Cintas 1950, 32, 24; Vegas 1990, 33-5; Lancel 1992, 366; Rakob 1989, 190, fig. 5; for a definition of the typical Carthaginian clay structure see Docter 1994, 126.

⁵² The inventory numbers refer to the number written on the objects as visible today. On some vessels two numbers have been found, one written with ink, the other one with pencil. The latter is added in square brackets.

⁵³ Delattre 1897c, 15.



Fig. 8. Amphorae of the Yadamelek tomb, photographed by Helge Mundt, 1998.

present-day Ischia and probably also produced there since the 8th century BC⁵⁴. However, the size, the fabric and the surface colour differ from the Pithekoussan ones⁵⁵ and rather suggest a local Carthaginian production. In the easterly corner of the tomb, the second transport amphora was found, also

⁵⁴ Buchner/Ridgway 1993, pls. 194-206; Di Sandro 1986, 106, note 1; Docter 1997, § IX.3 ('subclass ZitA 4' 'pitecusane tipo grezza A'); Buchner 1982, 286; Docter/Annis/Jacobs/Blessing 1997, 46, 51. R.F. Docter confirms the Pithekoussan origin, in: Docter 1998, 365.

⁵⁵ The amphorae of Pithekoussan Type A are about 53 cm high with a capacity of 33.4 to 35.5 l. The amphora in the Tomb of Yadamelek measures only 43.8 cm with a capacity

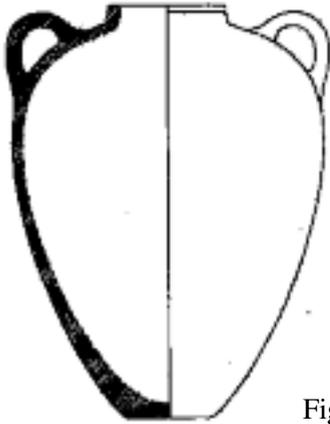


Fig. 9.

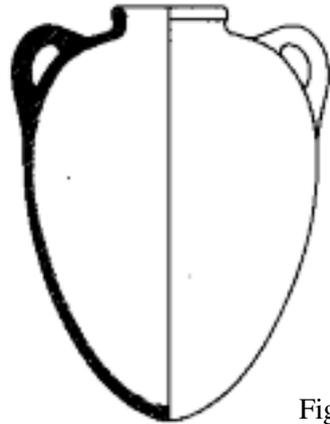


Fig. 10.



Fig. 11.

Fig. 9.

Transport amphora, Inv.-No. 624 [15] (Maaß-Lindemann 1982, pl. 24).

Fig. 10.

Transport amphora, Inv.-No. 75 [18], Claudia Kunze.

Fig. 11.

Punic urn, Inv.-No. 894-21 (Maaß-Lindemann 1982, pl. 24).

displayed in the museum (Fig. 10)⁵⁶. In surface and fabric it looks very similar to the first one, but is formed with a rounded base. Vessels of this shape, produced in Carthage, have been classified as Cintas Type 268⁵⁷, Amphora Type 4⁵⁸, amphore de tradition cananéen⁵⁹ or Vegas Form 74.1⁶⁰, and are dated to the 7th century BC⁶¹. The original content of these amphorae is not known,

18.77 l. Durando 1989, 70; Docter 1997, § IX.3, tab. 73; Lancel 1992, 162; Maaß-Lindemann 1982, 179.

⁵⁶ It was re-discovered in the storerooms in 1996 (see Docter 1997, 205, note 1234) and it has been doubted if it is exactly the same vessel then excavated by Delattre. Anyway, he describes a similar one so that for an interpretation of the grave goods in general this inaccuracy can be accepted.

⁵⁷ Cintas 1950, 139, pl. 21.

⁵⁸ Maaß-Lindemann 1982, 138.

but it can be assumed that the content rather than the vessel itself was the intended grave good.

The third amphora in the Musée National de Carthage is not a transport amphora. It was also found in the south corner of the grave, standing on an amphora stand with its lid lying next to it. This lid is now lost but is shown on a photograph in the original excavation report. Amphora, lid and stand are painted with red and black horizontal lines and made of the orange fabric typical for vessels produced in Carthage (Fig. 11)⁶². Amphorae of this type are classified as Table Amphora and Punic or Tophet urn, because of their frequent use to hold cremations mostly in the Tophet⁶³. After the typology of F.W. Kelsey and D.B. Harden, the urn of the Yadamelek Tomb corresponds with the type Tanit Ic, found in the first burial phase dated to the end of the 8th to the end of the 7th century BC⁶⁴. It has also been classified as Cintas 230/231⁶⁵, Subclass Karthago 3B1⁶⁶ or Vegas Form 20.1⁶⁷, dated from the late 7th to the end of the 6th century BC.

It is unknown whether the amphora found in the Tomb of Yadamelek was used as an urn, because Delattre does not mention any cremation remains. Amphorae of this type have been found in other tombs and sporadically also in settlement sites, so their sole use as urns is unlikely⁶⁸.

The fourth amphora in the Tomb of Yadamelek was described by Delattre as a big vessel of a red ware with black geometric decoration. It was lying between the two skeletons, broken by fallen debris of the panelling⁶⁹. Although the shape is not outlined, the description suggests that this vessel was a 'Punic urn', probably of the same type as the previous one.

⁵⁹ Lancel 1982, 336.

⁶⁰ Vegas 1999, 201-2.

⁶¹ Gras 1985, 260.

⁶² Delattre 1897c, 15; Maaß-Lindemann 1982, 179; Gras/Rouillard/Teixidor 1991, 142, figs. 5-6, number 15; for the Phoenician origin of the decoration see Briese/Docter 1992, 41; Culican 1982, 71.

⁶³ For an overall view on the research done at the Tophet see Lancel 1992, 248; Benichou-Safar 1995, 81.

⁶⁴ Kelsey 1926, 47; Harden 1927, 297-8; Harden 1937, 59-64, 67, fig. 3h; Stager 1982, 157.

⁶⁵ Cintas 1950, 133, pl. 18.

⁶⁶ Docter 1997, tab. 45.

⁶⁷ Vegas 1999, 155, fig. 51.

⁶⁸ Gauckler 1915, 103 grave 232, 205 grave 431, 411-2; Jullé 1975, 47; Vegas 1999, 155.

⁶⁹ The lid of this vessel was complete but also got lost. Delattre 1897c, 15; Maaß-Lindemann 1982, 179, number K 1,11.

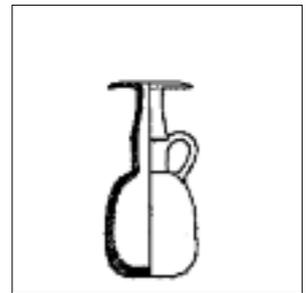


Fig. 12-13. Mushroom jug, Inv.-No. 17 (12: photograph by Helge Mundt, 1998; 13: Maaß-Lindemann 1982, pl. 24)

5.1.2. The jugs (Figs. 12-16) (Inv.-Nos. 17 and 15.47, mushroom jugs; Inv. No. 42 [4], trefoil jug)

Delattre found three jugs deposited closely to the amphorae at the southeast wall of the Yadamelek Tomb. Another one was standing in the niche, its form described as having a wide formed mouth, like a horizontal disc. Three of the jugs can be seen on a photograph in the inventory, published with the excavation report (Fig. 7). It shows two mushroom jugs, one of the local plain ware, the other of painted ware, and a plain ware trefoil jug⁷⁰. The jugs displayed in the Musée National de Carthage today have been identified by this photograph, while one of the trefoil jugs has been published as with provenance unknown⁷¹. Finds from other graves, where a trefoil and a mushroom jug had been often deposited as an ensemble, allow the assumption that the

⁷⁰ Delattre 1897c, 15-6, fig. 24.

⁷¹ Chelbi 1986, 196, number 30.



Fig. 14 Mushroom jug, Inv.-No. 15.47, photographed by Helge Mundt, 1998.

fourth, lost jug from the Tomb of Yadamelek actually was another trefoil jug. Based on the numerous finds of jugs in Phoenician graves, typologies have been set up and the Phoenician origin of the two vessel shapes could be established⁷². Within these, the plain ware mushroom jug of the Yadamelek Tomb has been classed with Cintas Type 65ter, Chelbi Type 3, Peserico Group A and Vegas Form 21 dated to the 7th and 6th centuries BC (Figs. 12-13)⁷³. The other

⁷² For the mushroom jug, cf. Briese/Docter 1995, 46; Briese 1985, 41; Chelbi 1986, 173; Bikai 1978, 47; Gjerstad 1948, 259-60; Pellicer Catalán 1963b, 28; Negueruela 1981, 216; Niemeyer/Schubart 1975, 43. For trefoil jugs, also made of metal, see Delattre 1897d, 285, fig. 88; Culican 1968, 260, fig. 1; Grau-Zimmermann 1978, 161, 185; Gjerstad 1948, 153, 296; Birmingham 1963, 26-7; Pellicer Catalán 1963b, 30-1; Hirschland Ramage 1970, 33; Rasmussen 1979, 75; Prausnitz 1982, 40.

⁷³ Cintas 1950, 87-8, pl. 6; Chelbi 1986, 175, 180-1, 196; Peserico 1996, 63, 210-1, number CA 29; Maaß-Lindemann 1982, 134, 179, number K 1,1; Gras/Rouillard/Teixidor 1991, 142, figs. 5-6, number 5.

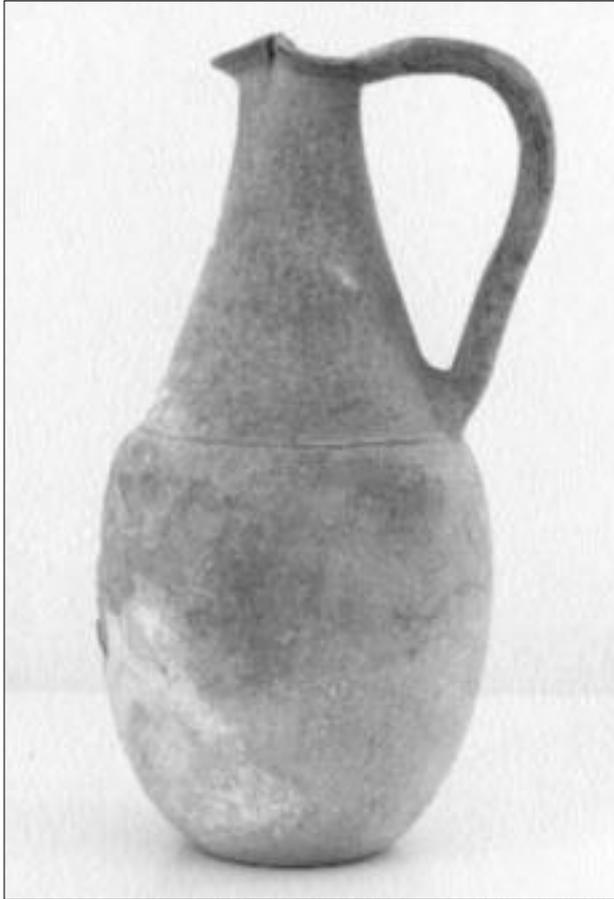


Fig. 15-16. Trefoil jug, Inv.-No. 42 [4] (15: photograph by Helge Mundt, 1998; 16: Maaß-Lindemann 1982, pl. 24).

has a more rounded body, equivalent to Cintas' Type 65 or Chelbi Type 1, also dated to the 7th century BC (Fig. 14)⁷⁴. As most mushroom jugs are found either empty in graves or fragmentary in settlements, their actual use is unknown. Only the shape of the vessel's mouth suggests a liquid or fine-grained content.

Something similar could be said about the trefoil jugs, although their rim is shaped perfectly for pouring liquids. One complete example was excavated

⁷⁴ Cintas 1950, 87-8, pl. 6; Chelbi 1986, 176-7, 189 (number 5), 215; Peserico 1996, 209, CA 5.

from a settlement in Ibiza, deposited together with other vessels of the local kitchen ware, showing burning traces on the outside⁷⁵. The trefoil jug of the Yadamelek Tomb is shaped like Cintas Type 150 or Vegas Form 22 and is also dated to the 7th and 6th centuries BC (Figs. 15-16)⁷⁶.

5.1.3. The kotyle (Figs. 17-19) (Inv.-No. 15.162 [17])

Next to the three jugs Delattre found a Protocorinthian kotyle, described as a small vessel of fine ware, shaped like a mug and painted with geometric decoration. The kotyle is displayed in the Musée National de Carthage. It corresponds in shape and decoration with kotylai produced in Corinth during the first half of the 7th century BC⁷⁷.

The kotyle has to be considered as different from the previously described pottery, because in this case the vessel itself has been donated to the deceased, not the contents. With the appearance of imported kotylai and skyphoi in the Phoenician graves, it was assumed that Greek symposium culture reached Carthage in the 7th century BC⁷⁸. Evidence against this theory are images from the Phoenician mother country, the oldest dated to the 4th/3rd millennium BC, showing people sitting with drinking cups in their hands.⁷⁹ Consequently, it seems that the Carthaginians only imported the new cup variant, but used it in their own traditional way. This is underlined as no banquet rooms, such as known from Greece, have been found in the houses of archaic Carthage.

To understand the presence of the kotylai and skyphoi in Carthaginian graves, another aspect should be considered. Instead of Greek drinking cups in some cases other imported vessels have been found, mainly one in each grave. These include aryballoi, alabastra, and oinochoai⁸⁰. It seems plausible to suggest that the imported fine ware represents a luxury article and expresses a high standard of living. This impression is supported by the existence of local imitations of the drinking cups, probably as a cheaper alternative to the more expensive imports, at least since the 7th century BC⁸¹.

5.1.4. The pots

Next to the kotyle in the Tomb of Yadamelek, two small pots were found. They are now lost, but can be seen on a photograph published in the excava-

⁷⁵ Guerrero 1995, 62, 70.

⁷⁶ Cintas 1950, 115, pl. 12; Vegas 1999, 157-8.

⁷⁷ Brokaw 1964, 49; Ferron 1968, 259; Maaß-Lindemann 1982, 179. Kees Neef has recently dated the kotyle to 660-640 BC, as Roald F. Docter kindly informs me.

⁷⁸ Lancel 1992, 75; Briese/Docter 1992, 42.

⁷⁹ Strommenger 1962, 45, 64, 194-5; Akurgal 1961, pl. 14; Fehr 1971, 9; Dentzer 1971, 215-58.

⁸⁰ Delattre 1897c, 755, 785-6; Boucher 1953, 11.

⁸¹ Briese/Docter 1992, 41-2.

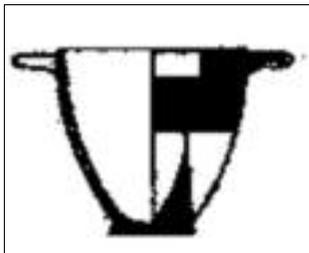


Fig. 17-19. Protocorinthian Kotyle, Inv.-No. 15.162 (17: photograph by Helge Mundt, 1998; 18: photograph by Claudia Kunze, 2000; 19: Maaß-Lindemann 1982, pl. 24).

tion report (Fig. 7)⁸². It shows two small spherical pots with thickened rims, probably made in the local plain ware. Vessels of this shape and of varying sizes were common in graves as well as in settlements during the 7th to 5th centuries BC⁸³. In settlement contexts often traces of burning are visible on the outside, showing that these had been used for cooking. Also some of these pots from the necropoleis are burnt on the outside, but it cannot be ascertained, whether this burning results from the fact they had been used before, or were burnt as a part of burial ritual⁸⁴. In two graves pots have been found together with stands similar to amphora stands but smaller and made of the same plain ware as the cooking vessels⁸⁵. They probably allowed the pot, with a round base, to remain upright.

5.1.5. The lamp (Figs. 20-21) (Inv.-No. 43.23)

On the northwest wall, underneath the niche, Delattre noted a lamp lying upside down on the floor. As lamps in graves are usually found put down upright on top of or beside the deceased, the lamp in the Yadamelek Tomb has probably not been found in its original position⁸⁶. The lamp is shaped like a flat plate with the rim turning inwards and forming two nozzles. The nozzles are burnt, showing that the lamp had been used. This Phoenician lamp shape was very common in the 7th and 6th centuries BC⁸⁷. The lamp, displayed with the inventory of the Yadamelek Tomb, has been identified by G. Maaß-Lindemann, while J. Deneauve published the same object as with unknown provenance in the typology of Carthaginian lamps⁸⁸.

5.2. Jewellery

The jewellery has been preserved in different conditions in the tomb of Yadamelek. One bangle, one finger ring and one cylindrical emerald were found *in situ* on one of the skeletons, while two little spherical golden pendants, one rosette, one golden bead, one scarab, one golden etui and the inscribed medallion were only discovered by sieving the soil taken out of the tomb. The cylindrical emerald, the rosette, the golden bead, the golden etui and the medallion had probably been part of a single chain. Similar chains,

⁸² Delattre 1897c, 15, fig. 24; Maaß-Lindemann 1982, 179, number K 1,8; Gras/Rouillard/Teixidor 1991, 142, figs. 5-6, numbers 17-8.

⁸³ Vegas 1999, 189-91.

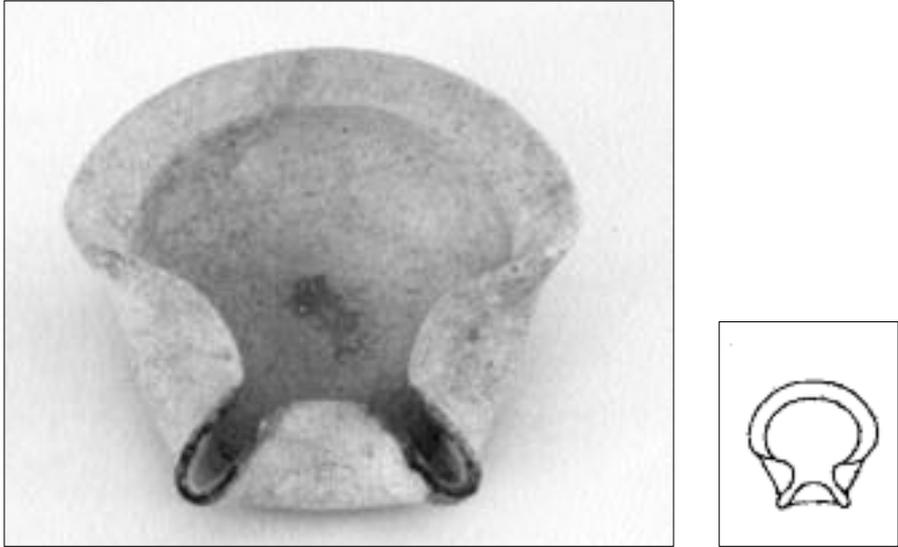
⁸⁴ Maas-Lindemann 1982, 140.

⁸⁵ Gauckler 1915, 431, pl. 104; Cintas 1970, pl. 21, 112; Maaß-Lindemann 1982, 69; Lancel 1982, 275, number 708.5-6, figs. 362-5.

⁸⁶ Delattre 1897c, 15, fig. 24; Lancel 1982, 265; Gauckler 1915, 6, 25; Benichou-Safar 1982, 277.

⁸⁷ Cintas 1950, 175, 520, pls. 15,4-5; Cintas 1976, 306-7; Vegas 1999, 216.

⁸⁸ Deneauve Type III, cf. Deneauve 1969, 26, number 15, 24; also: Maaß-Lindemann 1982, 179, number K 1,6; Gras/Rouillard/Teixidor 1991, 142, figs. 5-6, number 7.



Figs. 20-21. Phoenician Lamp, Inv.-No. 43.23 (20: photograph by Helge Mundt, 1998; 21: Maaß-Lindemann 1982, pl. 24).

consisting of many different pieces were a common grave good in the tombs of 7th and 6th centuries BC Carthage⁸⁹.

Beside these ornaments, some heavily corroded bronze objects had been noticed in the tomb, but due to their bad condition, they were not recovered⁹⁰.

5.2.1. The golden finger ring (Fig. 22)

When Delattre found the burials, the skeleton lying next to the northwest wall was wearing a plain golden ring. Its drawing is published with Delattre's report, but the ring itself was lost after the excavation.

5.2.2. The bronze bangle (Fig. 23)

At the arm of the same skeleton Delattre discovered a bronze bangle, partly corroded. It was an open ring round in section and with thickened ends. Like the golden finger ring, it was published by Delattre but has since been lost⁹¹.

5.2.3. The cylindrical emerald

This object was lying between the two skeletons together with some heavily corroded bronze objects. As it got lost unpublished, one can only assume that

⁸⁹ Quillard 1979, 1-32.

⁹⁰ Delattre 1897c, 15.

⁹¹ Delattre 1897c, 15, fig. 23.



Fig. 22. Golden finger ring (Delattre 1897c, fig. 29).

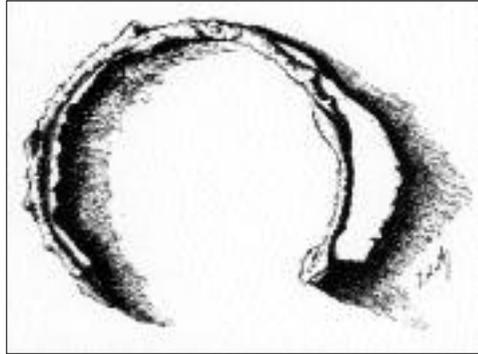


Fig. 23. Bronze bangle (Delattre 1897c, fig. 23).

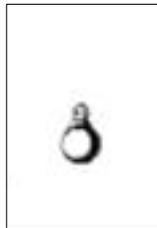
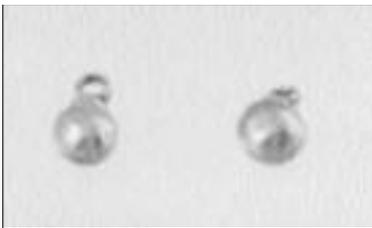


Fig. 24. Spherical golden pendants, Inv.-Nos. 894-2.6.1 and 894.2.6.2 (24 : photograph by Helge Mundt, 1998; 25: Delattre 1897c, fig. 27).

it perhaps looked like a pendant made of turquoise, published by B. Quillard⁹².

5.2.4. The two spherical golden pendants (Figs. 24-25) (Inv.-Nos.: 894-2.6.1 and 894.2.6.2)

The two little spherical pendants, described and drawn with Delattre's report, are still displayed among the inventory of the Tomb of Yadamelek. They are made of a gold silver alloy, with a diameter of 7 mm and a weight of 1.5 g for each bead. A disc with a loop on top is attached to the little balls so that each pendant reaches a total high of 11 mm⁹³. Delattre found similar objects in a tomb opened at the 26th of November 1894, used as earrings⁹⁴.

⁹² Quillard 1987, 4, number 2,K, pl. 3, p. 42; also Delattre 1897c, 15; Gras/Rouillard/Teixidor 1991, 142, number 11.

⁹³ Delattre 1897c, 16, number 1, fig. 27,1; Berger 1900, 231, number 17, pl. 32; Quillard 1979, 17-8, number 14C, pl. 15; Gras/Rouillard/Teixidor 1991, 142-3, figs. 5-6, number 19.

⁹⁴ Delattre 1897c, 23, fig. 41; Quillard 1987, 27, number 100, pl. 9.

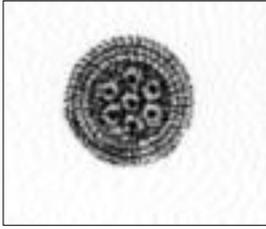


Fig. 26. Golden rosette, Inv.-No. 894-2.4 (Delattre 1897c, fig. 27).

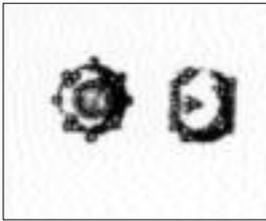


Fig. 27. Golden bead (Delattre 1897c, fig. 29).

5.2.5. The rosette (Fig. 26) (Inv.-No.: 894-2.4)

The rosette is also on display in the Musée National de Carthage. It is made of gold, measures 9 mm in diameter and weighs 1.5 g. The underside is undecorated and bent, while a rosette made of seven little gold rings decorates the upper side⁹⁵. Rosettes like this were often used in colliers, of which complete examples have been found in other graves⁹⁶.

5.2.6. The golden bead (Fig. 27)

In his excavation report Delattre showed a golden bead, which is now lost. It had a diameter of 6.5 mm and was decorated with little golden kernels forming triangles⁹⁷. They are applied to the surface by the so-called granulation technique. The oldest granulated objects derive from Mesopotamia, dating back to the 3rd millennium BC, but during the 7th century BC granulation was used all over the Mediterranean world⁹⁸. Beads like this were often used in the colliers found at Carthage⁹⁹.

5.2.7. The scarab (Figs. 28-30)

This is a 1.7 cm long, 1 cm wide and 0.6 cm thick scarab, still displayed in the museum. It is set in a golden mounting that actually was part of a swivel mount ring. Delattre also mentions a silver ring that was lying next to the

⁹⁵ Delattre 1897c, 16, number 2, fig. 27,2; Berger 1900, 230, number 14, pl. 32; Quillard 1979, 17-8, number 14B, pl. 15; Gras/Rouillard/Teixidor 1991, 142-3, figs. 5-6, number 20.

⁹⁶ Quillard 1979, 14-5, 19-20, 21, numbers 11, C¹-C², 15, A, 16, A, pls. 12-3, 15-6.

⁹⁷ Delattre 1897, 16, number 3, fig. 29, 7-8; Berger 1900, 231, number 15, pl. 32.

⁹⁸ Carroll 1974, 37; Parrini/Formigli/Mello 1982, 118; Nestler/Formigli 1993, 11,

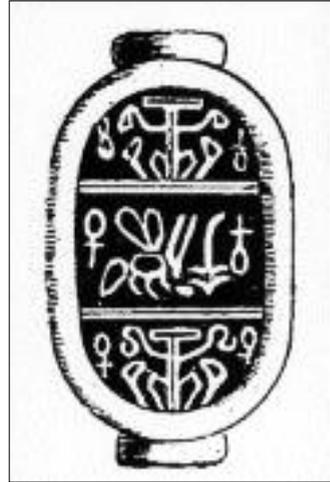


Fig. 28. Scarab, photograph by Claudia Kunze, 2000.

Fig. 29. Scarab underside, photograph by Helge Mundt, 1998.

Fig. 30. Scarab (Delattre 1897c, fig. 28).

scarab but is now lost. The underside of the scarab is decorated with Egyptian hieroglyphs¹⁰⁰. It is part of a seal ring, a common grave good in Phoenician tombs¹⁰¹.

The ring can be dated by the style of the scarab. The beetle's body has an ovoid shape that ends directly with a small head. Following J. Vercoutter's typology for Egyptian artefacts found in Carthage it belongs to Type 1 "sans prothorax ni élytres", dated to the 26th dynasty (663-525 BC)¹⁰²; after A. Feghali Gorton's new typology of scarabs from non Egyptian sites it is classed with Type XI of the second group, dated by the style of the hieroglyphs to the late Egyptian period¹⁰³.

The underside of the scarab is subdivided by two lines into three zones, in which the hieroglyphs are arranged. In the upper and the under zone nearly identical signs are engraved, while the middle shows a different decoration¹⁰⁴. In the corners of the upper zone the sign  - *nfr* is set, standing for "good" and "nice". In the under zone it is replaced by the  sign, the symbol for life. These signs frame a picture based on the hieroglyph  which stands for unity or uniting. Around this sign a lotus and a papyrus plant is bound, symbols for Upper and Lower Egypt. These combined hieroglyphs

¹⁰⁰ Delattre 1897c, 16, number 4, fig. 28.

¹⁰¹ Quillard 1987, 11, 111, numbers 47-51, pl. 6a. For the use of these rings see Redissi 1999, pls. 2,20, 2,23, 8,84, 13,164, 15,174; Rakob 1991, 44; Rakob 1995, 432; Berges 1993, pl. 61; Berges 1997, 12.

¹⁰² Vercoutter 1945, 71, 338.

¹⁰³ Gorton 1996, 31.

¹⁰⁴ For the transcription see Vercoutter 1945, 152, number 236. The translations of the hieroglyphs are following the *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache* II⁴ and III⁴ (1982).

are called **sm#-t#·wj**, symbol for the United Kingdom of Egypt¹⁰⁵.

In the centre of the middle zone one can read . These hieroglyphs are often used in connection with a Pharaoh's name, as they stand for "the King of Upper and Lower Egypt". The signs  on the left and  on the right side surround these hieroglyphs.

Even though this scarab shows royal symbols, its owner was not necessarily a king. More than 460 scarabs have been found in Carthaginian tombs, many of them reveal royal or divine names and titles¹⁰⁶. Since the 8th century BC, Egyptian cities produced scarabs in large amounts and exported them all over the Mediterranean world. Later on, also workshops in Phoenician settlements produced egyptianizing scarabs, which are usually recognizable by their blend of Phoenician and Egyptian iconography. With these scarabs, hieroglyphs are arranged in a new way, but their original meaning was maintained, while other scarabs produced in Greece and Etruria show meaningless combinations¹⁰⁷. The origin of the scarab from the Yadamelek Tomb is unclear, neither an Egyptian nor a Phoenician workshop can be surely assumed. Its style and the sensitive use of hieroglyphs points to its production in Egypt¹⁰⁸, but it may also be a high quality Carthaginian imitation.

5.2.8. The golden etui (Figs. 31-32)

Displayed with the other jewellery there is also a golden cylindrical pendant, 2.2 cm long with an octagonal cross-section. Delattre described this object as containing a "piece of iron" and "a black powder with micaceous particles"¹⁰⁹. Similar pendants are known from other graves and could be elements of the already mentioned colliers. They are usually made of gold, silver or bronze and are hollow. The content was preserved in some cases. This could be either a small metal object or a rolled up sheet of gold, silver or papyrus, decorated with apotropaic, Egyptian, egyptianizing or divine symbols. The origin of these pendants probably lies in Egypt, where the oldest at present have been found, dated to the 12th dynasty (2110-1790 BC). Between the 7th and the 3rd centuries BC the so-called "porte-amulettes" were a common grave good in Phoenician tombs all over the Mediterranean world¹¹⁰.

An extraordinary item shows a gold band found in an etui from the Dermech necropolis. Its inscription consists of Egyptian symbols mixed with

¹⁰⁵ Baines 1981, 252.

¹⁰⁶ Gorton 1996, 185.

¹⁰⁷ Vercoutter 1945, 354; Gorton 1996, 138, 185; Cintas 1946, 26; Hölbl 1989, 320.

¹⁰⁸ Vercoutter 1945, 340.

¹⁰⁹ Delattre 1897c, 16, number 5, fig. 27,3; Berger 1900, 232, pl. 32,18.

¹¹⁰ Almagro Gorbea 1989, pls. 42-3; Quillard 1987, 86, 101, 296, tab. 3-4; Culican 1985, 125-26; Cintas 1946, 66-7; Cintas 1976, 281-2; Ferjaoui 1993, 93-4; Pellicer Catalán 1963a, 22, fig. 19,4; Pellicer Catalán 1963b, 12, 34, fig. 13,4.



Fig. 31. Golden etui, photograph by Helge Mundt, 1998.



Fig. 32. Golden etui (Delattre 1897c, fig. 27).



Fig. 33. Medallion, Inv.-No. 894-2.1, photograph by Helge Mundt, 1998.



Fig. 34. Medallion, Inv.-No. 894-2.1 (Delattre 1897c, fig. 29).

Phoenician letters and proves that at least some of these amulets had been specially produced in the Phoenician world¹¹¹.

5.2.9. The gold medallion (Figs. 33-34) (Inv.-No.: 894-2.1)

Finally, among the jewellery on display in the museum today is a golden medallion. It is a common Phoenician pendant type, often used in colliers¹¹². The Yadamelek medallion measures 1.6 cm in diameter, is about 0.1 cm thick and weights 3 grs.¹¹³. On one side, the centre forms a little omphalos, which

¹¹¹ Gauckler 1915, 92-3, 459, number 212, pls. 65-8, 246; Berger 1894, 205-7; Cintas 1964, 71; Quillard 1987, 8-9, number 44, pls. 2-3; Vercoutter 1945, 317.

¹¹² Quillard 1979, 81, tab. 1,8, see also numbers 2E, 3E, 4B. Gauckler 1915, 9, 32, 428, pl. 124, tomb 28; Almagro Gorbea 1989, 158; Ferjaoui 1993, 251-2.

¹¹³ Delattre 1897c, 16, fig. 29,5; Berger 1900, 43-4; Ben Younes 1982/83, 81, number 107; Quillard 1979, 17, number 14A.

is enclosed by six lines of an inscription. The Phoenician letters are embossed so that their outline is also visible on the other side¹¹⁴. The inscription, written from right to left, runs as follows¹¹⁵:

1 st line:	𐤒𐤍𐤖𐤐𐤌	𐤏𐤓𐤠𐤠
2 nd line:	𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕	𐤕𐤏𐤒𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕
3 rd line:	𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕	𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕
4 th line:	𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕	𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕
5 th line:	𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕	𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕
6 th line:	𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕	𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕

The translation has been the subject of some controversy. One problem is the verb 𐤒𐤓𐤠, which can be translated in different ways. Another one is the unusual combination of the names 𐤏𐤓𐤠𐤠 and 𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕, naming either two equal persons or deities or have to be read as 𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕 attributive to 𐤏𐤓𐤠𐤠. Therefore, since its discovery, discussions go about translation and dating of the inscription, as well as about the provenance of the medallion.

Ph. Berger was the first, who translated and dated the words:

“(1) A Astar – (2)té à Pygmalion (3) Iadamelek, fils de (4) Paddaï; deliver (5) qu’il deliver (6) Pygmalion.”

Following this, Astarte and Pygmalion are pleased to free Yadamelek, son of Paddaï. Berger argues that Astarte and Pygmalion are two different deities because an / (lamet) sign stands before each name and only Pygmalion is mentioned again in the last line. He dates the inscription to the archaic period, because of the unusual spelling of the name Pygmalion. It combines Phoenician and Greek elements and can be traced back to the Phoenician Paam or Poumaï along with the combination of Greek Pygmèe and Èliôn¹¹⁶. J. Ferron agreed to the Greek influence on the spelling of Pygmalion. Also in his opinion Astarte and Pygmalion are two different deities. As opposed to the worshipping of Astarte, no cult for Pygmalion is known of in Carthage to date. However, the late antique writer Hesychius of Alexandria mentions that Pygmalion is the equivalent of Adonis in Cyprus. Therefore, Ferron assumes a Cypriot provenience of the medallion. He first dated the inscription by comparison with other early ones from Cyprus as far back as to the second half of the 9th century BC¹¹⁷.

¹¹⁴ For information about this technique, see Quillard 1979, 43.

¹¹⁵ The transcription is written from left to right and follows Gras/Rouillard/Teixidor 1991, 144; the inscription is catalogued as CIS I 6057.

¹¹⁶ Berger 1894, 453; Berger 1900, 43-4; also published by Delattre 1897c, 17.

¹¹⁷ Ferron 1958/pg, 47-56; Müller 1988, 192.

He revised his dating on the occasion of a new translation by G. Garbini. Garbini interprets the words as follows: “(1) Ad Astart- (2) te di Pigmalione. (3) Iadamilk (acc.), figlio di (4) PDY ha liberato (5) colei che ha liberato (6) Pigmalione.” In other words, an Astarte of Pygmalion is invoked and about Pygmalion it is said that he liberated the one he liberated, namely Yadamelek, son of PDY. Ferron disagreed on the genitive translation of Pygmalion, which is unlikely after the use of the *l* (lamet) sign and he adhered to the idea of two deities. However, he takes the verb HLS as the past tense “has liberated”. Because of this new translation, Ferron supposes that the inscription directly refers to the funeral and derives from the eschatology of that time. Consequently, he now dates the inscription about the same time as the tomb, around 700 BC, comparing it with inscriptions from Karatépe and Malta¹¹⁸. Beyond this briefly referred discussion, agreement consists about the divine connotation of Pygmalion. Its alignment with Astarte makes it very unlikely that a secular Pygmalion, the King of Cyprus for example, is meant¹¹⁹. J.B. Peckham also supports a local Carthaginian production of the medallion, because the name PDY is only known from Punic inscriptions. Peckham suggested that the dating depends on the local provenience and the date of the foundation of Carthage. He proposes a date between 750 and 700 BC¹²⁰.

Another translation is applied in from H. Donner and W. Röllig:

- “(1) Der ‘Astart,
 (2) dem Pygmalion.
 (3) JD’MLK, Sohn des
 (4) PDY HLS [ist es],
 (5) den errettete
 (6) Pygmalion.”

They again assume an early date and suggest that the medallion was made by a workshop in Cyprus¹²¹.

However, the dating of the tomb provides a *terminus ante quem* for the dating of the medallion, rather than that the object could be used to date the burial. The dating of the medallion by its inscription might be doubtful, in view of the fact that the letters are only about one or two millimetres high and were punched into the metal with chisels of few different shapes only. The high ratio with which pendants of this type have been found in graves of the 7th and 6th century BC suggests its production about this time. Alternatively, it is possible that the Yadamelek medallion was kept for several generations before its final deposition as a grave good.

¹¹⁸ Garbini 1967, 8; Ferron 1968, 255-259; Culican supports this dating, see Culican 1970, 35-6.

¹¹⁹ Carpenter 1958, 47; Peckham 1968, 122; Donner/Röllig 1986; Müller 1988, 197.

¹²⁰ Peckham 1968, 121.

¹²¹ Donner/Röllig 1986, 91; Ferjaoui 1993, 179, 245.

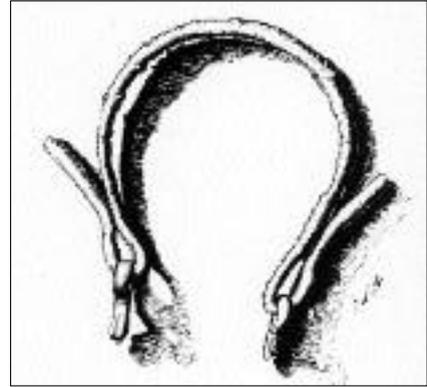


Fig. 35-36. Bronze handle 35: photograph by Helge Mundt, 1998; 36: Delattre 1897c, fig. 26).

Just as unsure as the dating is the location of the workshop in which the object was made. If one assumes its late dating to the 7th century BC, it is likely to have been made at Carthage. An earlier date, in the 9th century BC, would rather imply a production in the Phoenician motherland or in Cyprus, as the earliest finds from Carthage do not date before the 8th century BC.

Beside Astarte and Pygmalion, two other persons are named in the inscription. First, there is YD'MLK., only known from the medallion inscription. The name is composed of the verb YD', – “to know”, and MLK, a constituent part of many names and sometimes used as a royal title. The other name is PDY, which is mentioned in other Phoenician texts. With the order of the words in the Yadamelek-inscription, it is possible that in this case PDY is in conjunction with the verb 𐤇𐤋𐤑– “to deliver” or “to rescue”, but this cannot be proved for sure¹²².

5.3. Other finds

5.3.1. The bronze handle (Figs. 35-36)

Next to the mushroom jug Delattre found a handle made of bronze, also displayed in the museum. On each side their ends are threaded through little bronze loops¹²³. Similar handles have been recovered from other Carthaginian graves, all generally in poor condition¹²⁴. In several Phoenician

¹²² Benz 1972, 208, 216, 311, 344, 389; Half 1965, 77, 114, 121.

¹²³ Delattre 1897c, 16, fig. 26.

¹²⁴ Gauckler 1915, 28-9 (tomb 90), 35 (tomb 103), 40 (tomb 121), 43 (tomb 130), p. 54 (tomb 154), pl. 15.



Fig. 37. Ostrich egg, Inv.-No. 894-2.8, photographed by Helge Mundt, 1998.

tombs outside Carthage, intact movable handles of a similar shape have been found attached to metal bowls and various bins made of either metal or wood¹²⁵.

5.3.2. The silver bowl

A silver bowl was recovered lying between the skeletons, which however never reached the museum. Delattre noted a diameter of 12.5 cm, a height of 7 cm and a weight of 283 gr.¹²⁶. Comparable objects are rarely found in Phoenician tombs. Instead, a funeral inscription of the priest ŠHT from Nērab/Aleppo suggests that such bowls have been donated more often than their rare appearance in the archaeological record shows today. The inscription, dated to the 7th century BC, states that no silver vessel has been given as a grave gift in order to discourage plunderers from opening the tomb¹²⁷.

¹²⁵ Zancani Montuoro 1980-2, 40, number 23, fig. 13.23, pl. 15a; Niemeyer 1984, 14, fig. 11,5; Pellicer Catalán 1963a, 11, fig. 5,5; Pellicer Catalán 1963b, 12, fig. 6,5; Buchner/Ridgway 1993, 63, pl. 21, colour pl. 87; Astruc 1951, 35, pl. 17; Siret 1908, 19, pl. 19,13.

¹²⁶ Delattre 1897c, 15.

¹²⁷ Donner/Röllig 1986, 276.

5.3.3. The ostrich egg (Fig. 37) (Inv.-No.: 894-2.8 [10])

An ostrich eggshell closed the Punic urn (*cf.* Figs. 7-8) found in the southern corner of the tomb. By cutting off its upper part, the egg was converted into a small vessel with an opening of 8 to 10 cm in diameter. A red brown layer covers the inside of the shell, crumbling away in some parts. Delattre noted traces of red painting on its outside, but they have faded today¹²⁸.

Ostrich eggshells of different sizes are frequently found in Phoenician tombs. Their use for funeral donations stands in a long tradition as they are already known from Oriental and Egyptian graves of the 4th millennium BC, while smaller pieces are often painted with faces and were probably worn as pendants or amulets. The use of more complete shells remains indeterminate. The latter could be painted with geometric or floral motives and their use as vessels is assumed, without any further specification about the contents¹²⁹.

For the ostrich egg from the Yadamelek tomb a use for storing liquids can be excluded, as it has a little hole in the base. Other eggs have been found, showing holes around the opening, possibly deriving from a stand attached to the shell¹³⁰. This could be the case for the ostrich egg from the Tomb of Yadamelek, but it is not very likely, as the egg was placed like a lid on top of an amphora.

Ostrich eggs are often taken to symbolize fertility, rebirth and the origin of life and they are meant to enable the resurrection of the deceased¹³¹. However, a secular function should not be excluded. They have also been found in settlements and we know from Pliny that empty ostrich eggs were used as vessels¹³². In addition to this, the egg from the Tomb of Yadamelek was deposited among the pottery, underlining its secular use, while no direct evidence for its sacred meaning is apparent.

5.3.4. The iron handles (Fig. 38)

Two iron handles were found left and right of the head of the skeleton lying next to the northwest wall. They have been lost since, but a drawing is published in Delattre's excavation report¹³³. Visible on that drawing is a bar of rectangular cross section leading to a loop on one side, while the other side is split up in two ends. On this side, traces of wood had been preserved when Delattre found the objects. He suggested the plausible idea that the handles were part of a wooden bier, used to bring the deceased through the shaft into

¹²⁸ Delattre 1897c, 15; Berger 1900, 86.

¹²⁹ Berger 1900, 86; Astruc 1956, 29, 32, 49; Astruc 1951, 101, 123; Gauckler 1915, 506; Caubet 1983, 196; Moscati 1988, 456; Moscati 1996, 58; Cecchini 1995, 530.

¹³⁰ Moscati 1988, 456.

¹³¹ Astruc 1951, 110; Pellicer Catalán 1963, 33; Caubet 1983, 196; Gras/Roulliard/Teixidor 1991, 140; Lancel 1992, 239-240.

¹³² Moscati 1988, 456; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 10.2.

¹³³ Delattre 1897, 15, fig. 25.



Fig. 38. Iron handle (Delattre 1897c, fig. 25).

the chamber. Similar finds from other Phoenician tombs in Carthage as well as from Ghajn Qajjet/Malta and Villaricos, in one case with strings still preserved, confirm his reconstruction¹³⁴.

6. Results

The date of the objects found in the Tomb of Yadamelek suggests that the funeral took place in the 7th or early 6th century BC. While this is confirmed by current pottery dating, questions on the social and religious background of the burial are difficult to answer. This is due to the lack of literary sources concerning Phoenician funeral rituals, religious dogmas or social circumstances. Alternatively, other similar shaped Oriental and Egyptian funeral chambers have been noted, for which we know more about the eschatology of their owners. Nevertheless, even if the subterranean tombs look quite the same, their structure above the ground and therefore probably the customs in honouring the deaths, may vary. On the one hand, several rooms were built on top of the Egyptian burials, serving as locations for bereaved to conduct sacrifices or other ceremonies. On the other hand, massive inaccessible monuments were erected above the oriental chambers, suggesting different rituals. These examples show how similar structures could be used differently and that Phoenician burial rituals cannot be reconstructed only by looking at the architecture of the tombs. Instead, as discussed above, the way a tomb was built may be used better to estimate the social standing of the deceased. More than the architecture, probably the grave goods recorded what happened during a funeral. Looking at the tombs in Carthage it can be shown that the placement of objects seems to follow certain rules. In the graves of the Byrsa necropolis S. Lancel found the pottery placed either next to the head or to the feet of the bodies¹³⁵. H. Benichou-Safar noticed that smaller vessels were often situated next to the body, while jugs and amphorae most-

¹³⁴ Fantar 1995, 64, with further literature in notes 82-3; Baldacchino/Dumbabin 1953, 34; Astruc 1951, 35; Benichou-Safar 1982, 243, 250, fig. 127,4; Siret 1908, 43, fig. 24,1.

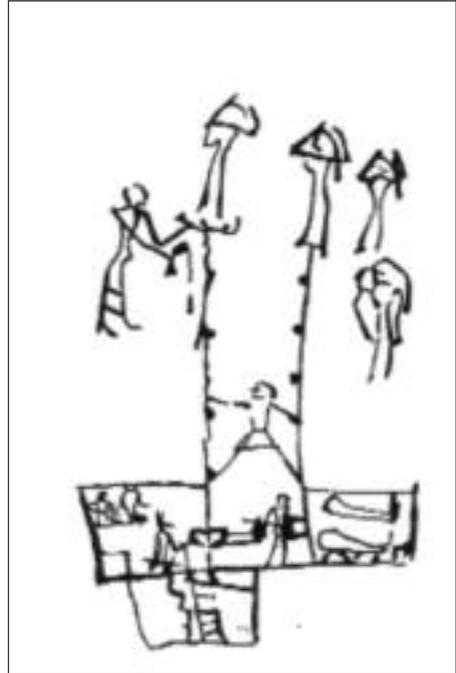


Fig. 39. Egyptian wall graffiti (Benichou-Safar 1982, 86, fig. D).

ly stood at the wall next to the entrance¹³⁶. They have probably been brought into the tomb after the corpse, as in the small chambers not enough space would have been available to deposit the deceased after the grave goods. In addition to this, single pottery objects sometimes have been found on top of the body.

Beside these grave gifts, sometimes objects for technical purposes were left in the graves, such as the iron handles from the Yadamelek Tomb. In this case, they provide information about how the deceased was brought through the shaft into the chamber, a procedure also illustrated on an Egyptian wall graffiti (Fig. 39)¹³⁷.

On the basis of the grave inventories, Benichou-Safar reconstructed the prototype of a burial ritual. She assumes that Phoenician grave goods can be classed in two categories: The first includes objects meant for the deceased, such as tools, seals or weapons to identify the person, food for his next life, perfumes, herbs and imported pottery to express luxury, and finally amulets and other apotropaic objects to protect him or her. The second category consists of objects used to prepare or to perform the burial ceremony. It entails

¹³⁶ Benichou-Safar 1982, 277; see also Delattre 1897, 15; Gauckler 1915, pl. 16, tomb number 25; Baldacchino/Dunbabin 1953, 34; Niemeyer/Schubart 1975, 60-1, 81.

¹³⁷ Benichou-Safar 1982, 86, fig. D.

objects such as razor blades, perfumes and perfume flasks, make-up, little bowls, lamps, statuettes, altars and essences¹³⁸.

Based on this idea she reconstructs the actual burial as follows: First the body was washed and anointed with oil. Make-up was put on the deceased's face, before they laid the corpse down. This preparation was followed by offerings, a banquet and a funeral procession. Evidence for such a ritual has been recorded by the literary sources, in depiction on reliefs such as shown on the sarcophagus of Ahiram and in Greek drinking cups often found in Phoenician graves¹³⁹.

The problem with this idea is that the scene on the sarcophagus of Ahiram as well as the burials described in ancient literature show the funerals of special persons. Therefore, it is unsure if the same ceremonies can be assumed for everybody. Benichou-Safar's theory is also based on the hypothesis that all grave goods were used during the burial ceremony and that all things needed for the funeral were put into the grave, which cannot be proved.

Beside the usual grave goods, some tombs contained small altars, showing traces of burning on top. A similar altar is shown on a wall painting in a funeral chamber at Jebel Melezza. Its place next to a monument suggests its use for offerings during the burial¹⁴⁰. In addition, funeral sacrifices at Carthage are also known from Appian's texts about the Punic Wars¹⁴¹. What had been donated is not known, but drink and food offerings are assumed¹⁴². Grave goods in Phoenician tombs have often been interpreted as an expression of the deceased's status in society¹⁴³. That this cannot be said in general is shown by large and expensive funeral chambers such as the one of Yadamelek, which contain less or at least not more than the standardized range of grave goods. As people could only donate what they owned, the objects hint at what the deceased or the bereaved relations possessed, but at the same time they hint even more at the prevailing ideas on existence after death. All Phoenician grave goods have in common that their functions are not solely funerary, but that they had a function in daily life as well. Therefore, it can be assumed that the Phoenicians expected a life very similar to that they lived on earth, albeit without a body, as no attempts have been made to conserve it. Phoenician grave inscriptions support this theory, speaking of a soul that eats and drinks, and warning everybody against the opening of the grave and disturbing the deceased. Because of these texts, it has

¹³⁹ Benichou-Safar 1982, 272, 283; Tore 1995, 471-93; Fantar 1993, 324.

¹⁴⁰ Gsell 1924, 466; Benichou-Safar 1982, 125, fig. 67; Fantar 1979, 33.

¹⁴¹ Appian, *Punica* VIII.12, 84, 89; Fantar 1993a, 325; Benichou-Safar 1982, 284.

¹⁴² Benichou-Safar 1982, 277, 279-80, 285; Fantar 1993a, 355 (vol. I), 324 (vol. II); Debergh 1973, 241-2; Debergh 1983, 758; Gsell 1924, 457-8; Charles-Picard 1954, 33.

¹⁴³ Gras/Rouillard/Teixidor 1991, 147.

¹⁴⁴ Fantar 1979, 12, 15; Dussaud 1935, 270; Gsell 1924, 457.

¹⁴⁵ Fantar 1979, 18-9, 32.

¹³⁸ Benichou-Safar 1982, 262.

been assumed that the Phoenicians believed in a soul that stayed in the tomb and lived on the grave goods¹⁴⁴.

Other Phoenician texts speak against this idea, telling about a movement of the soul out of the tomb to a world or city of the dead¹⁴⁵. The problem of this contradiction is still much discussed, but has been explained convincingly by Ch. Virolleaud and R. Dussaud. They investigated texts containing the words *néphesh* and *rouaḥ*, which had long been thought to be synonyms for “soul”. Referring to their work, against well-established opinions, both words name different parts of one soul, which split up after a person died. *Néphesh* on the one hand stands for the physical part and stays in the tomb, with needs similar to living men. On the other hand, there is *rouaḥ*, sometimes also called *barlat*, the spiritual part that leaves for the world of the dead¹⁴⁶.

Even if the believe in a dual soul does not appear familiar to our present concept, it is common in ancient Semitic religions. Moreover, it offers a possibility to unite the conflicting sources on the Phoenician eschatology.

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¹⁴⁶ Virolleaud 1931, 355; Dussaud 1935, 269; Dies Cusí 1995, 413-4.

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