

MARITIME ICONOGRAPHY AT PUNIC VOTIVE SITES AT CARTHAGE AND CIRTA: AN ANALYSIS OF WATERCRAFT IMAGERY FROM THE 4TH – 1ST C. BCE

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ABSTRACT

This thesis compiles and analyzes 72 Punic stelae featuring maritime iconography, dated to the 4th – 1st c. BCE, from the so called ‘tophet’ sites in Carthage, in modern-day Tunis, Tunisia, as well as in Cirta (or El Hofra, today Constantine), Algeria. The Punic ‘tophet’ sites (more than 100 of which have been found across North Africa, Malta, Sardinia, and Sicily) are debated as possible sites of child sacrifice or other mortuary rituals. I propose the term ‘Cinerary Votive Site’ to more accurately describe these archaeological sites and the evidence of ritual practice that are agreed upon (the burial of cremated human and animal remains and the inscriptions that confirm the votive nature of the deposits).

The compiled corpus of stelae for this study feature depictions of three categories of iconography: ships (or partial ships), rudders, and anchors. These iconographical elements vary across the corpus, for example, the first category includes images of bows, sterns, or full ships. This study analyzes the maritime symbols, but also examines the stelae according to what other prominent imagery is included, like the ‘Sign of Tanit’ or the raised hand. It lays out the maritime context of the Carthaginian cinerary votive site (very close to the circular military port and rectangular commercial ports of Carthage) and assembles evidence for other contemporaneous

ports around the Mediterranean basin. To provide context for the maritime iconography on the stelae, ship graffiti, model boats, and other images of ships from the 4th – 1st c. BCE Mediterranean world are also discussed.

Previous interpretations of the maritime iconography (though rare) have hypothesized that these symbols may indicate that the families who dedicated the stelae were seafarers, which is possible. This study will reexamine this hypothesis alongside other possible interpretations: that the symbols should be read as representations of Tanit (much like the ‘sign of Tanit’ has been); or that they may indicate the agency of ships and other maritime elements, or an understanding of these features as having their own personhood. Lastly, and most plausibly, I will propose that the symbols are connected to a Punic afterlife myth or set of beliefs that are now lost.

Maritime Iconography at Punic Votive Sites at Carthage and Cirta: An Analysis of Watercraft
Imagery from the 4th – 1st c. BCE

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction

This thesis aims to restudy roughly 72 stone stelae from Carthage dated to the 4th – 1st centuries BCE that depict watercraft¹ in a surprising context: an infant cremation cemetery² or cinerary votive site (or CVS—see below; these are often called ‘tophets’³ in the scholarly literature; **Fig. 1.1**). The cinerary votive site at Carthage was used as a continuous ritual space in antiquity over about six centuries, but excavations beginning in the 1900s have divided the site into three sections (Garnand 2022, 82). There are among about 140 cinerary votive sites (Melchiorri 2019, 74) scattered throughout the central Mediterranean Punic colonies in Sicily, Sardinia, and along the North African coast. The location of the cinerary votive site at Carthage near the harbors, as well as the watercraft iconography on this subset of the stelae from Carthage, will inform this study exploring the appearance of watercraft at this and other cinerary votive sites. This thesis will explore the possible range of interpretations for these Punic watercraft images, through comparative data on harbors as liminal sacred space, divine boat trips and

¹ I will use the term ‘ship’ when the vessel seems larger and capable of carrying significant numbers of people or quantities of goods. I will use ‘boat’ when it’s clear it was a small vessel for personal use. I will use ‘watercraft’ when the vessel is small, ambiguous, or unclear. These words will all be used to describe systems of material that can carry people and trade items from place to place by water without getting wet.

² In the urns, ash and bones from young infants or toddlers, and sheep/goat remains were found.

³ The ‘tophet’ is a site that has religious significance as a place where infants were buried in urns, along with (in some cases) the remains of young sheep. The term ‘tophet’ refers to an “open air enclosure clearly marked out and surrounded by walls which define a space reserved for sacrifice” (Aubert 2001, 245; see below, chapter 2: “Cinerary Votive Site”). Scholars debate whether this site was used for child sacrifice. To circumnavigate this debate, I use the term ‘cinerary votive site’ to encompass all the archaeological elements that are present at the site. ‘Cinerary’ for the cremated remains, ‘votive’ because the stele inscriptions reflect the language of votive gift-giving, and ‘site’ as it is a delineated ritual site.

religious associations between watercraft and afterlife beliefs, as well as other aspects of ancient Mediterranean maritime religion.



Figure 1.1: A view of the cinerary votive site at Carthage (photo by H. Dixon, 2023).

From “Phoenician” to “Punic”

The term “Phoenician” is used to describe a specific group of people that lived on the central Levantine coast, i.e., modern-day Syria, Lebanon, and northern Israel, in the Iron Age who shared linguistic, cultural, and religious features (ca. 1200 – 300 BCE; Markoe 2000, 10).

The related term “Punic” (from Latin *poenus* / *punicus*, a rendering of the Greek “Phoenician”) is today defined as a cultural group descended from the Phoenicians that throughout time developed their own distinct characteristics. “Punic” describes not only people of Phoenician origin living abroad (in colonies in the central and western Mediterranean), but also a dialect of

the Phoenician language that emerged in North Africa (documented most extensively at Carthage) under the influence of Berber and other local languages and circumstances. While the founding of the Phoenician colony at Carthage has been dated to the last third of the ninth century BCE (Ameling 2011, 40), most scholars date the dialectical split no earlier than the 6th century BCE, when Carthage became a dominant colonial force in its own right.⁴

Punic Votive Stelae

The corpus of cinerary votive site stelae consists of 72 stelae with watercraft iconography from at least two Punic cities (Carthage and Cirta / El Hofra / Constantine, Algeria). This study focuses on three types of relevant iconography: ships (19 stelae), rudders (42 stelae), or anchors (11 stelae). Each stele's imagery varies in interpretation and detail, and some have additional iconography (see **1.2** for reference). Ships are depicted either as a bow, stern, or full ship. The full corpus with inscriptions, dimensions, and publication information may be found in Appendix A (referencing the 'Punic Maritime Iconography Stele' or PMIS numbers I assigned, along with an explanation of this numbering system).

⁴ See Markoe (2000, 13) for more information.



Figure 1.2: PMIS–C 29, a stele depicting a rudder (here and below, see Appendix A for stele information and image credits).

Images of watercraft are a small minority of the hundreds of symbols inscribed into the stelae, including what could be flowers, animals, or other symbols that had meaning to the people who commissioned them. Though not all burials were marked with stelae and not all the stelae have both inscriptions and imagery, the ones that do can tell us a lot about the people who are paying for the stelae to be commissioned, likely the family of the infant being buried. The Punic inscriptions from Carthaginian stelae often include at a minimum a dedication to the deities Tanit and Baal Hammon and the name of the person who made the dedication (Mendleson 2001, 46). These inscriptions and motifs added a personal touch to the stelae determined by the person or people paying for them. Inscriptions could range in cost, usually determined by the quality of the stone, cost of quarrying and transport, and size of the text (McLean 2002, 13).

Research Questions

This thesis will address several interrelated research questions:

- What could watercraft iconography on stelae from the Punic cinerary votive sites represent?
- What similar examples of watercraft depictions from around the Mediterranean might inform our understanding of the possible range of meanings?
- Can these similarities inform interpretations of the stelae iconography as realistic vs. divine or symbolic ships?
 - Can artifacts found with the shipwrecks shed light on this question?
- Does the construction and placement of the harbors/ports in Phoenician and Punic cities reflect a maritime connection between their safety and religion?

To explore these research questions, Chapter 2 covers the historical context necessary to understand the site of Carthage, its influence in the Punic world, and its particular religious developments. This includes the history and archaeology of the cinerary votive site, where the stelae were found (see **Fig. 1.3** for reference of other stele imagery). This site was in use for over 600 years, and its placement in the city is significant for understanding the maritime context of the stelae.



Figure 1.3: A stele at the cinerary votive site at Carthage, one of several at the site today without any maritime imagery (photo by H. Dixon in 2023).

Chapter 3 discusses the corpus of 72 stelae with watercraft iconography, organized according to the features depicted: ship, rudder, or anchor. Similarities are outlined between groups and I discuss six iconographical elements that characterize each group of imagery, ships, rudders, and anchors. Chapter 4 then elaborates on the Punic shipwrecks from around the 4th – 2nd c. BCE that were excavated from around the Mediterranean. These wrecks provide data on Punic ship construction. Additionally, I discuss examples of contemporaneous port systems and similarities between the Carthaginian and other Phoenician and Punic harbors and ports. The harbor and ports from the Levant and North Africa represent the safe spaces that would protect

the ships or form a protective place for ships to offload their trade goods. Chapter 5 takes a further look into contemporaneous maritime iconography, including model boats, ship graffiti, figurine deposits, and other data, that was found in religious (funerary or votive) contexts. Lastly, Chapter 6 presents my analyses of this data to synthesize what I see as four possible interpretations of the stelae watercraft, and my evaluation of the four models. The first is that these were dedicated by seafarers or families who had connection to the sea, like merchants. As people who made their living by the sea, they would have a specific understanding and appreciation of ships. Secondly, that the maritime iconography are symbols of a particular deity, likely the goddess Tanit. Divine beings represent an otherworldly power and were often seen as protectors of humankind. Perhaps the imagery should be understood as an attribute of a protective deity. The third interpretation is that the ships, rudders, or anchors were thought of as having their own personhood and agency and may have been honored in that capacity on these stelae. Lastly, it is possible that the iconography could point to a missing myth about Punic, or specifically Carthaginian, afterlife beliefs.

A full appendix of the entire corpus with all the additional information is located after Chapter 6 and will be referenced throughout the thesis. Each stele will be referred to with an abbreviation such as PMIS–C and its respective number, meaning Punic Maritime Iconographic Stelae (PMIS) – Carthage. Four stelae thought to be from the Cinerary Votive Site at Cirta / El Hofra, in modern Constantine, Algeria will be referred to as PMIS–Ci and their respective number. This designation was picked to incorporate all the essential details, but also to emphasize that these stelae depict maritime imagery (see **Fig. 1.4**). As discussed above and in the

next chapter, there are 140 cinerary votive sites, not all of which have well published stelae collections, so I have included the site location, if known, to allow the corpus to grow over time.⁵



Figure 1.4: PMIS-C 5, depicting a representation of a full ship.

⁵ In the present corpus, most stelae come from Carthage, but at least two are confirmed to have come from Cirta / El Hofra in modern Constantine in Algeria, and it is likely that other maritime stelae may emerge as more stelae are published or digitized over time.

Chapter 2. Carthage and Its Cinerary Votive Site: Historical Context

This chapter offers an overview of the historical background of the Punic city of Carthage and one of its most discussed sacred sites, the so-called ‘tophet’ (or cinerary votive site). I will explain the origins of Carthage, including how the Phoenicians (in the case of Carthage, Tyrian settlers; see **Fig. 2.1** for an imagined modern depiction of Carthage’s founding), spread across the Mediterranean, resulting in new material and cultural expressions. It is important to note the transition from Phoenician-dominant culture (centered on Levantine Semitic norms and preferences) to Punic (centered on Carthaginian innovations, including dialectic changes in the language) in the western Mediterranean, and how this is connected to the development of the tophets, which I call ‘cinerary votive sites,’ which do not appear along the Levantine coast. As will be more thoroughly explored below, the ‘tophet’ is a site at Carthage where cremated infant remains were buried in urns, close to the city’s harbors. This chapter discusses the archaeological evidence from the Carthaginian tophet site and the associated stelae—some inscribed, some carved with images, some with both text and iconography—that were used to mark the location of most of the urns. The imagery on these stelae will be the primary focus of this thesis, but it is necessary to provide historical context to understand why these stelae were used in these spaces.



Figure 2.1: “Dido Building Carthage,” by Joseph Mallord William Turner (1815;
<https://www.arthistoryproject.com/artists/joseph-mallord-william-turner/dido-building-carthage/>)

From “Phoenician” to “Punic”

As mentioned in chapter 1, the term ‘Phoenician’ is a term used by scholars to describe a specific group of Semitic-speaking people that lived on the central Levantine coast, i.e., modern-day coastal Syria, Lebanon, and northern Israel, in the Iron Age (ca. 1200 – 300 BCE; Markoe 2000, 10). They did not call themselves Phoenicians (an anachronistic Greek term), but instead defined their political affiliation by the city-state that they lived in or nearby. The central Levantine coast was home to several important Phoenician city-states (e.g., Arwad, Byblos, Sidon, Tyre, etc.) that operated separately from their neighbors, each ruled by a single king. Today, we use the term ‘Phoenicians’ to describe these first millennium BCE people of the Levantine coast who shared linguistic, cultural, and religious features. The related term ‘Punic’

(from Latin *poenus* / *punicus*, a rendering of the Greek “Phoenician”) is defined as a cultural group descended from the Phoenicians, who over time developed their own distinct characteristics, but also a dialect of Phoenician (as discussed above). Phoenicians outside the homeland carried their religious beliefs with them while creating new settlements, which were likely tied to established trade networks in raw materials like metals, as well as in finished luxury goods like carved ivory. These new colonies (ca. 900 – 800 BCE) show evidence of the worship of gods from the Phoenician pantheons and material culture that we recognize from archaeological evidence in the Levant.

By the 5th c. BCE, areas outside the homeland start to show a change in beliefs and culture that are distinct from those in the Levant, a process referred to as ‘Punicization.’ As Richard Miles puts it, ‘Punic’ culture refers to “...an umbrella term for a whole series of diffuse cultural experiences that took place over the western Mediterranean” (2010, 89).⁶ These changes were by no means uniform in the Phoenician colonies; in fact, local trajectories created larger diversification among them. Certain practices connected the Punic sites, like the use of the so-called cinerary votive sites, in use throughout most of the central Mediterranean Punic world.⁷ It would not be until the 5th century BCE that Carthage had significant economic and political control, but with little cultural uniformity site-to-site (Miles 2010, 89).

Carthage’s Mother City: Tyre

The city-state of Tyre is located in modern-day southern coastal Lebanon (on the site of the modern city of Şur) and was founded as a Canaanite urban center in at least the second

⁶ See Miles (2010, 88-90) for more information on the Punicization of western Mediterranean and the role of Carthage in the Mediterranean.

⁷ No tophets have been discovered in Punic Spain; it is worth noting that this was not the only practice that connected the Phoenician colonies.

millennium BCE (see **Fig. 2.2**). Their commerce was facilitated by advancements in navigation and ship construction which provided support for trade beyond the Levantine coast. By the late 2nd millennium BCE, Tyre established trade relations with Crete, Rhodes, the Ionian Islands, the kingdom of Israel, and many regions (Miles 2010, 12). Each of these locations had certain items to offer that were important to places that could not produce items locally. For example, the Lebanese inland forests are known for cedar, which was sought after for its strength and religious significance, and Cyprus for its copper (an ingredient in Bronze-making). Both of these items were sought after by kings in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and various Mycenaean cities. For Carthage itself, the North African coast had sufficient rainfall to provide a good environment for forests of trees like cork-oak and Aleppo pine (Meiggs 1982, 142).⁸



Figure 2.2: Map of the Mediterranean with Tyre and other Levantine Phoenician cities labeled on the eastern coast (Noureddine and Mior 2018, 96).

⁸ See Meiggs (1982) for further information. Similarly, Meiggs discusses that both Herodotus (484 – 425 BCE) and Strabo (64 or 63 BCE – 23 CE) mention the wealth of trees on the coast. It is unlikely that either historian visited Carthage, so their writings cannot be confirmed, however, authors like Meiggs (1982) confirmed similar reports.

Beginning in the 10th – 9th centuries BCE, Tyrians set out to establish settlements in areas of the Mediterranean that could be used as places to refresh supplies while voyaging, meet with other traders, or to set up new colonies (Ameling 2011, 40). Many colonies across the Mediterranean were set up as trade centers, used as bases for merchants to meet and barter with their items, but not originally established to support a large population. But many colonies eventually became cities in their own right. Carthage was not the only autonomous city; others include Cadiz in Spain, Tharros in Sardinia, and Palermo in Sicily. In 573 BCE, Tyre lost significant resources and influence after paying heavy tribute to the Babylonians (Miles 2010, 73). As Dixon (2022) points out, the siege of Tyre under the 6th c. BCE reign of Nebuchadnezzar II was likely not as drastic as described by Josephus. Analyzing the primary textual data, manuscript transmission, and archaeological evidence (or lack thereof) that has been credited with supporting a 13-year siege of Tyre revealed that shorter incursions or short-term blockades were much more likely. Certainly, Tyre was targeted by the Babylonians and their trade activities were weakened, but the city was likely not destroyed (Dixon 2022, 166). It was this lessened control over trade in the western Mediterranean that may have given Carthage more influence over other existing Phoenician colonies.

Archaeological evidence shows Carthaginians were pushing into the hinterland, expanding their borders within Africa (Ameling 2011, 42). By 500 BCE, Carthage had its own colonial presence in Libya, Sardinia, and Sicily (Ameling 2011, 44), expanding its scope and trading abilities. At this time, there was a wide-spread trend toward fortification of Tunisian coastal communities during the 6th – 5th centuries BCE including sites at the Gulf of Tunis, Cape Bon, Ras Fortas, Kelibia, and Ras el-Drek (Aubet 2001, 230). Carthage continued to expand into the 4th century BCE (Ameling 2011, 48), and became a noticeable political and

economic presence in the western Mediterranean with wide reach to other Phoenician colonies. At its height, Carthage's reach extended into northern Libya and west to Morocco. In the Hellenistic Period (ca. 300 – 65 BCE),⁹ North Africa became prominent in the political dynamics of the Mediterranean, and Carthage began slowly acquiring political control "...over the old Phoenician centers in the central Mediterranean," which would eventually "lead to the 'Punic' period, implying the cultural and political unification of the whole zone" (Aubet 2001, 213). In other words, Carthaginian territory was eventually not contained within modern-day Tunisia; its borders crossed most of northern Africa and into Sicily and Sardinia.

The Early History of Carthage

From archaeological evidence, researchers can date Carthage's founding to the last third of the ninth century or early eighth century BCE (Ameling 2011, 40; Pappa 2013, 149). Later literary stories tell the story of a myth behind Carthage's foundation,¹⁰ namely that the royal woman Elissa of Tyre sailed across the Mediterranean and selected the location of the new Tyrian colony (Ameling 2011, 40). The founder is referred to as either Elissa or Dido, sometimes interchangeably. Aubet (2001) explains that Elissa is what she was called in Tyre, but given the name Dido, meaning "wanderer" by the Libyan tribe she encountered when landing at what was

⁹ Carthage would be razed by the Roman general Scipio Aemilianus in 146 BCE. The most ancient occupation levels lie over 5 meters under the Roman city (Aubet 2001, 219). After the burning, the site was abandoned for about 100 years before being re-occupied (Docter 2002-2003, 113). Between the mid-6th – 3rd c. BCE, a sophisticated urbanism developed at Carthage and it is suggested that from the Archaic Age to the mid-3rd c. BCE they had cultural and commercial influence over the central Mediterranean. I will discuss the fall of Carthage further below.

¹⁰ Note that this is not the only story about the founding of Carthage. Appian (ca. 95 – 165 CE; *Roman History*) claims it was founded by "Zorus and Carchedon," but these names may be corrupted versions of "Tyre" and "Carthage." Another version of the Virgil story is preserved by Justin (2nd c. CE; *Epitome of Trogus' Philippic Histories* 18.4-6), paraphrasing Gnaeus Pompeius Trogus (1st c. BCE)'s *Philippic Histories and the Origin of the Whole World and the Places of the Earth* (now lost). Flavius Josephus (ca. 37 – 100 CE) also mentions that Elissa founded Carthage during the rule of Menandros of Ephesus.

Carthage (216).¹¹ When referred to in scholarly research, both names, Elissa or Dido,¹² are used. Two ancient historians, Virgil (ca. 70 – 19 BCE; *Aeneid* I: 335-371) and the earlier Timaeus of Taormina / Tauromenium in Sicily (ca. 350 – 264 BCE; surviving only in fragments quoted by later Greek authors), describe the story of Elissa/Dido's founding of Carthage, relaying that it took place in the seventh year of the reign of Pygmalion, her brother, king of Tyre (traditionally calculated as 814 BCE).¹³ These sources relate how she fled from her brother and set across the Mediterranean with several other Tyrians (López-Ruiz 2018, 365). We may be skeptical of Dido as a historical person, since the sources for this story lived 500 – 700 years after the founding of Carthage. More likely, this legend created a dramatic origin story for a colony that had, by their time, taken over trade in the western Mediterranean and become rival to Rome. Carthage was founded with ideas and structures derived from its founding city of Tyre, but over time its institutions evolved on their own trajectory. The Phoenician name of the site was *Qart-Hadasht* or 'New City' (Miles 2010, 62). For many centuries, Carthage paid tribute to Tyre annually as an honor to the god of the city, Melqart (Ameling 2011, 40).

¹¹ See Aubet 2001, 215-217 for a timeline of events from the myth of Elissa/Dido.

¹² See Brett 1997 and Ameling 2011 for examples.

¹³ On Timaeus, see Ameling 2011, 40. On Virgil, see for example Gildenhard 2021. For more on the foundation of Carthage, see López-Ruiz 2018, 364.

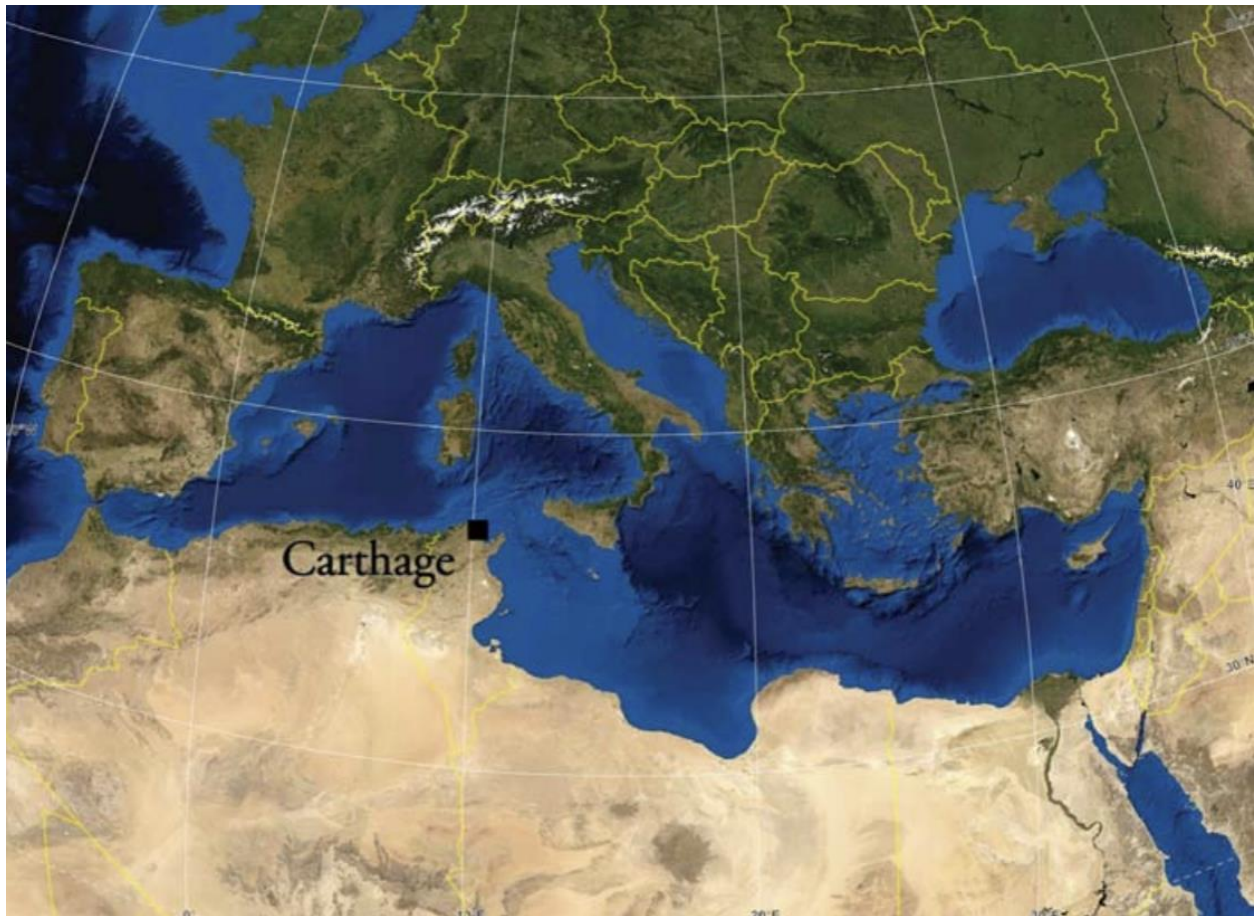


Figure 2.3: Map of the Mediterranean with Carthage's location marked (Hunt 2009, 139).

Carthage was established on the Gulf of Tunis, a double gulf with an inner and outer protected body of water (Hunt 2009, 146). Phoenicians often settled in coastal areas that were natural ports, like Arwad, Byblos, Sidon, Tyre, Carthage, and many colonies in Sardinia and Sicily (Hunt 2009, 140).¹⁴ Carthage's specific location was ideal: in the center of the Mediterranean, on a double gulf to better protect it from storms and prevailing winds (see **Fig. 2.3**), and located in an area where the main funneling of currents meet, where Carthaginians could take advantage of the anticlockwise patterns of the sea (Hunt 2009, 141 and 144-145).

¹⁴ See Hunt 2009.

Finally, the original colony was set up on what is today called Byrsa Hill, the highest point along the Tunisian coastline, which is clearly visible from the gulf (Hunt 2009, 147).

It has been suggested by Brett (1997) and Ameling (2011; 2013) that Carthage was ruled by elected magistrates¹⁵ (Brett 1997, 44), assisted by a Council of Elders (Ameling 2013, 370). But there is little textual evidence from Carthage itself to explain the governing body and how they interacted with other citizens. The Carthage Administration Inscription¹⁶ (KAI 303), found in the 1960s, is an example of what little information we do have today that informs us about some government positions. Much of what we know of Carthaginian rule comes from ancient authors, like the Greek geographer Strabo (ca. 64/65 BCE– 24 CE), and the historians Diodorus of Sicily (1st c. BCE) and Appian (ca. 96 – 165 CE), that write about the rights of Carthaginian citizens, governing bodies, and Carthage's relationship with other Phoenician colonies, but who had never set foot in Carthage, or who write several decades/centuries after the destruction of Carthage in 146 BCE. This leaves many modern scholars skeptical of these etic written texts.

Carthaginians seem to have continued to worship Melqart, the patron deity of Tyre, as a connection to their Tyrian roots, among other deities. One inscription, ca. 3rd – 2nd c. BCE, from the Punic cinerary votive site inscription (CIS 264) suggests a temple of Melqart “Abdmilkot son of Astatyaton, a member of the personnel of the temple of Melqart” (Krahmalkov 2009, 234), but there is limited evidence to support a large role in the Carthaginian pantheon. Gradually the western Mediterranean began to develop its own distinct Punic socio-cultural dynamic (Aubert 2001, 227). Throughout the Iron Age, Levantine Phoenician city-states were taxed and exploited

¹⁵ These magistrates were called *suffete* (Brett 1997, 44; Ameling 2011, 47). This position was the chief official of the assembly. Ameling explains that the term is derived from the Phoenician root *spt* meaning “to judge” (2013, 369).

¹⁶ The Carthage Administration Inscription is on limestone written in the Punic language, currently located at the National Museum of Carthage. Its dating is debated by scholars ranged between the 4th-2nd c. BCE. The inscription discusses institutions and town planning.

by several other groups, including the Neo-Assyrians (ca. 911 – 609 BCE), Neo-Babylonians (ca. 626 – 539 BCE) and Achaemenid Persians (ca. 550 – 330 BCE), and over time this weakened Phoenician influence in its colonies.

While Phoenician colonies were founded around the Mediterranean, often neighboring colonies were set up by other groups of people. On Sicily, Phoenician sites included Motya, Palermo,¹⁷ and Solunto,¹⁸ on the eastern coast, and Greek colonies on the western side, like Naxos (founded by settlers from Naxos and Chalcis) and Syracuse (founded by Corinthians and Teneans; Aubet 2001, 231). Ameling explains that the Phoenicians and Greeks lived close by to one another without problems (2011, 43). There are multiple other Phoenician settlement sites in the central Mediterranean, including Cagliari and Tharros on Sardinia and Sulcis, Sardinia (Aubet 2001, 238). From the 7th c. BCE onwards, military installations were created at some of these colonies to ensure direct control over local resources, like lead and silver (Aubet 2001, 240).

As the Carthaginians expanded their reach in the mid-first millennium BCE, they began to enter into conflicts with Rome, which was starting its own colonies at the time (Scardigli 2011, 29). On the other hand, when Hieron I of Syracuse (ca. 478 – 467 BCE), defeated the Mamertines in battle, the Italian mercenaries called upon both Rome and Carthage for military help (Abulafia 2011, 178). After Carthage set up a garrison in Messina/ Messana in Sicily ostensibly to offer assistance, the Mamertine mercenaries turned to Rome for assistance, eventually bringing Rome and Carthage into conflict (Abulafia 2011, 178). Minor territorial conflicts in their respective areas of colonial control eventually pushed Carthage and Rome into a

¹⁷ Also referred to as Ziz (Phoenician) and Panormos / -us in ancient sources.

¹⁸ Today it is located near Santa Flavia. Also referred to as Soluntum, Solus, or Soloeis in ancient sources.

series of peace treaties. The treaty in 279/8 BCE was the last one (though different historians have their own views as to who broke the rules; Scardigli 2011, 31) and resulted in the First Punic War in 264 – 241 BCE, followed by the Second Punic War in 219 – 201 BCE, after which the Carthaginian empire was considered “dismantled” (Brett 1997, 44).¹⁹ Archaeological evidence shows that despite these two wars, the first half of the 2nd c. BCE had brought economic, demographic, and urban boom to Carthage (Fumado Ortega 2022, 94).

Ultimately, from 149 – 146 BCE, the Carthaginians and Romans were engaged in the Third Punic War, at the end of which the Romans were able to capture and (reportedly) raze most of the city of Carthage in 146 BCE (Brett 1997, 45). On the western slopes of the Punic Byrsa, excavations turned up a burnt layer nearly two feet deep, with a similar layer, only a few inches thick, in the cinerary votive site (Harden 1939, 12), likely dating to this destruction.

The Romans continued to use the harbor, most likely the commercial harbor, from the 1st c. BCE – 6th c. CE (Stager 1975-76, 31). Major reconstructions of the harbor were completed by building on already existing quay walls using the destruction debris from nearby buildings (Stager 1975-76, 31).²⁰ To build their own city, Romans took stones from already constructed buildings to reconstruct Carthage (Harden 1939, 1). The southwestern area of the city was later occupied by the Roman circus (Fumado Ortega 2022, 89).

As an archaeological site, the city of Carthage has been excavated for nearly two centuries, beginning in the 1830s.²¹ From excavations and surveys completed in the 1970s, archaeologists have determined there were two harbors at Carthage, one commercial and the

¹⁹ In the Second Punic War (219 – 201 BCE), the Carthaginian leader Hannibal was defeated by Rome, leading to the breakdown of the Carthaginian ‘empire’.

²⁰ Sometime into the Byzantine Period (ca. 550–650 CE) the use of the wall and harbor installations came to a halt. Debris from pottery kilns filled in the 15 m or more east of the Roman quay wall (Stager 1975-76, 32).

²¹ The site was first surveyed in 1838 by Danish consul Christian Tuxen Falbe.

other military, that are now somewhat silted up, forming lagoons (Stager 1977, 34). Excavations have also revealed an extensive area directly west of the commercial harbor (Harden 1927, 297) that was dedicated to the burial of cremated infant human (and animal, especially young sheep) remains. First discovered in 1921, there are two excavated areas at Carthage (referred to in the archaeological literature as the “precinct of Tanit,” excavated by Kelsey starting in the early 1920s, also called a sanctuary, and the “tophet of Salambô / Salammbô”; Harden 1927, 297 and Garnand 2022, 81) comprising what was likely one cinerary votive site in antiquity. This site seems to have been continually in use from the earliest founding of Carthage until at least a few decades after the destruction of the city in 146 BCE.

Cinerary Votive Sites

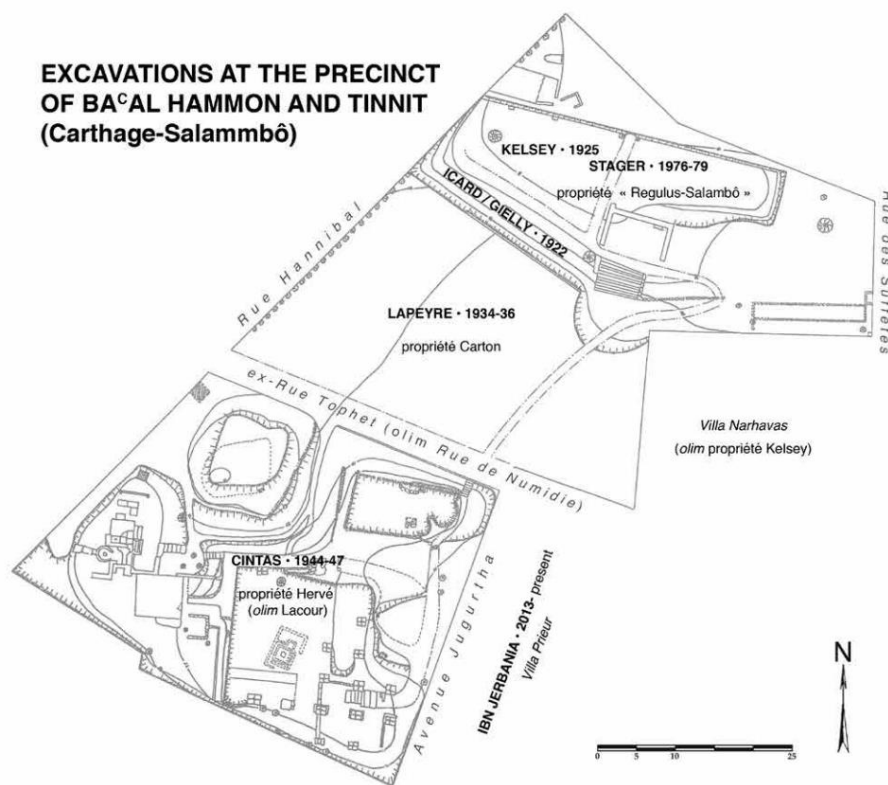


Figure 2.4: Map of the excavations of the cinerary votive site at Carthage (Garnand 2022, 82).

Through a series of excavations (see **Fig. 2.4**) at Carthage beginning at the turn of the twentieth century, various teams of archaeologists have discovered approximately 20,000 urns containing cremated infant remains, the remains of cremated sheep, or mixed cremated remains. Similar sites have been discovered in Sicily, Sardinia, and Malta (Aubet 2001, 255) as well as at other sites across coastal North Africa (McCarty 2019, 314; see below). These cemeteries have been given the name ‘tophet’ by researchers, defined as an “open air enclosure clearly marked out and surrounded by walls which define a space reserved for sacrifice” (Aubet 2001, 245). The Hebrew term *tophet* appears eight times in the Hebrew Bible (2 Kings 23:10, Isaiah 30:33, and Jeremiah 7:31-32 and 19:11-13): “...derived from the Hebrew word *tpt*, vocalized *Tophet*, the name of a place which the Old Testament situates in the valley Ben Hinnom near Jerusalem, where children were sacrificed in honor of Baal” (Aubet 2001, 245). These ‘tophets’ have become widely recognized based on two elements in the archaeological record: 1) a field of buried urns containing burnt human and animal bones and 2) the use of carved monuments in various forms (McCarty 2019, 313), but the term itself never appears in Phoenician or Punic language inscriptions. Though these areas are commonly referred to as ‘tophets’ among scholars, often because of the belief that these sites were used for sacrificial rites, as briefly discussed in chapter 1, I will refer to them as “cinerary votive sites” throughout this study. This term was chosen for its neutral stance on the question of child sacrifice, but also because it specifically identifies the two distinguishing archaeological elements of the areas as described by McCarty (2019).

The reason for picking each of the three elements of my proposed term is as follows: “cinerary” describes the condition of the remains, both human and faunal, that are found in the urns excavated from the archaeological location. “Votive” represents the idea and verbiage used

in the inscriptions that are carved into the stelae. In the inscriptions, the verbal root *ndr* is used by those commissioning the stelae. Much of the debate surrounding these sites comes from the thinking that this term *ndr*, “to give,” or “to dedicate,” may indicate a promise made to the gods, Baal Hammon and Tanit, in exchange for some blessing or assistance. Regardless of the scholarly debate around what is being given and why, *ndr* is a commonly used verb in the inscriptions and the idea of giving something over to the gods is the agreed upon semantic meaning of the verbal root. Lastly, “site” refers to the area that encases the urns, stelae, and monuments. Cinerary votive site is, therefore, a term that encapsulates all the elements that occur repeatedly in the archaeological record, at each of these Punic sites throughout the central Mediterranean world.

Archaeologists have been able to locate over a hundred sites that fit the above two criteria, ranging from Morocco to Libya along the North African coast, including several on Sicily, Sardinia, and Malta (McCarty 2019, 313). These cinerary votive sites were founded by Phoenician colonists as they spread across the central Mediterranean (a few dating as early as the 8th or 7th century BCE), and then continued in use, with some abandoned and others newly established, until the 2nd c. CE (McCarty 2019, 313). The present study will limit itself to the cinerary votive site in the city of Carthage because the subset of stelae with watercraft iconography come almost exclusively from this cinerary votive site (but note that there as many as four relevant stelae from Cirta / El Hofra, a Punic site in modern Constantine, Algeria, which will also be addressed in this study). The Carthaginian cinerary votive site is located around 45 meters west of the commercial harbor (Stager 1980, 3). It is likely that the harbor could have been seen from the cinerary votive site, and they are easily walkable today even with the built infrastructure obscuring a direct line of sight.

The urns were dated in various strata from the 8th – 2nd centuries BCE by early excavators (Harden 1927, 297), and this chronology has been largely retained. Brown provides a comprehensive synthesis of the archaeological work done at the Carthaginian cinerary votive site by each team (1991), but most scholars reference Stager's 1970s excavation data. Stager determined there were at least nine phases of urn burials, dating from ca. 700 BCE – 146 BCE, established according to the level where the pits were dug (Stager 1979, 56). In the 1976 – 77 excavation seasons, Stager and his team discovered four hundred urns, studying 130 in detail (Stager 1980, 4). Fifty urns from this group were dated to the fourth century BCE and eighty dated to the 7th century BCE on the basis of their ceramic typology and the depth at which they were buried, in relation to others around them (Stager 1980, 4). Generally speaking, the urns were buried vertically in a pit that was lined with and then capped with stones (Stager 1977, 38). Stager does not specify the placement of the urns in the cinerary votive site, so he does not explain how fifty urns and an additional 80 are dated 300 years apart. As seen below, in **Figure 2.5** urns vary in placement in association with stelae. The urns were not placed by consistent measurements away from other urns, and not all urns seem to have been marked by stelae. Brown elaborates that when the site became overcrowded, stelae were removed, and the area was loosely filled with sandy soil to make room for new urns (1991, 72).



Figure 2.5: An uninscribed stele from the Harvard excavations at Carthage (Stager 1978-79, 55).

Bonnet, also side-stepping the debate surrounding either ancient child sacrifice or requests for replacement children for stillborn or other infant mortality cases, hypothesizes that the sites were a critical place “for negotiating individual and collective identity with the gods as well as welfare and continuity and for displaying social values and hierarchy” (Bonnet 2011, 373). This idea is interesting because it suggests the value of this site lies in establishing collective identity in relationship with the gods. Whether or not a scholar sees this area as a place of child sacrifice, they can agree that this area has a religious and social purpose and is evidence for Punic ritual practice of some kind. The cinerary votive site is not a feature of the Levantine Phoenician homeland but is a unifying feature of much of the Punic world (Garbati 2012-2013, 49-50).

Punic Deities: Tanit and Baal Hammon

Phoenicians worshipped a polytheistic pantheon of gods and goddesses that varied according to local preferences and changed over time. The pantheon differed slightly and the

preferences of a specific deity varied across the Levantine coast, as well as across Phoenician colonies. In particular, two gods appear most often in the Punic pantheon at Carthage: Tanit and Baal Hammon (a simplified transcription of the Punic *Ba'al Hammon*). Tanit (or Tinnit, Tanith, *tnt*) was highly revered in Punic North Africa but is not as prominent on the Levantine coast. Scholars commonly associate Tanit with a specific symbol (referred to as the “sign of Tanit,” see **Figure 2.6**): a circle placed at the top of a triangle with a horizontal line just under where the circle and triangle meet (Brett 1997, 45).

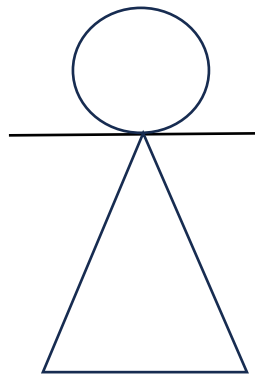


Figure 1.6: Line drawing of the sign of Tanit.

The earliest appearance of the sign of Tanit can be found in a small object made of copper alloy²² from Megiddo, Israel, possibly used as an amulet, and dated to the 11th century BCE (Arie 2017, 61-62). This is not the only example of the sign of Tanit found at a Levantine Phoenician site. There is also a Phoenician-inscribed ivory plaque from Sarepta near Sidon (modern Saida, Lebanon), dated sometime in the 7th – 6th centuries BCE, which mentions “Tanit-Ashtart” (Amadasi Guzzo 1990, 58). Off the coast of Shavei Zion in northern Israel, several hundred votive figurines were found under water, a handful of which bear the sign of

²² The term ‘alloy’ indicates that the object is not made purely of copper (and instead copper mixed with another metal or ore).

Tanit (see **Fig. 2.7**; Edrey, Erlich, and Yasur-Landau 2020, 4).²³ Though Tanit is talked about in some scholarly literature as a possible fertility goddess, she also seems to have been worshipped by sailors as a protector (Brody 2002, 197).



Figure 2.7: Two figurines from the underwater deposits off the coast of Shavei Zion, featuring the sign of Tanit (Edrey, Erlich, Yasur-Landau 2020, 4). The left figurine has the sign in the center, across the woman's middle, while the right figurine has the sign of Tanit near the base (see the accompanying line drawing of the symbol).

²³ Found along with the figurines were pieces of pottery that were dated to between the 7th – 3rd c. BCE. Since the figurines and pottery were intermixed, it may be possible to assign similar dates to the figurines. The original hypothesis was that this assemblage was from a single shipwreck in the 5th c. BCE, but current thinking is that these votive gifts were the result of repeated ritual. See Edrey, Erlich, and Yasur-Landau (2020) for more information.

The other prominent god worshipped in Carthage was Baal Hammon. The term *Ba'al* is a Northwest Semitic term meaning “lord” (Brett 1997, 46), and is frequently modified by the addition of a place name or attribute to specify the lord of a specific place, like Baal Hammon in Carthage (Brett 1997, 46). There is significant debate surrounding the origins or referent of the term ‘Hammon,’ which may indicate a place or be a qualifier (see Brody 2002, 189-194). Across the North African coast and the Phoenician Levantine city-states, gods called Ba'al take many forms depending on place and period. These two deities, Tanit and Baal Hammon, are the only gods mentioned in the stelae that are associated with the cinerary votive site at Carthage.

This study evaluates 72 stelae with depictions of maritime iconography, including representations of ships, rudders, and anchors. As discussed above, many of the early excavated stelae were not carefully documented *in situ* and I was unable to find any stelae in my corpus that had been associated with a specific urn(s) or cremated remains. All the stelae from this corpus date to the 4th – 1st c. BCE, the last two centuries before Carthage was at least partially destroyed by the Romans. Brown suggests that the discovery of fragments of inscriptions from Carthage’s cinerary votive site dedicated to the Roman god Saturn were connected to continued Roman use of the site as a religious area (1991, 46). Although scholars tend to talk about this site in terms of its Punic significance, there was continued use by the Romans (and Carthaginians still living in the area after 146 BCE), as they most likely recognized the site as sacred.

The next chapter will present my analysis of the corpus of stelae (see Appendix A for the full data) and the various iconographical elements that appear.

Chapter 3. Analysis of the Punic Stelae Featuring Watercraft or Maritime Imagery

This study analyzes the corpus of 72 carved Punic stelae featuring maritime iconography, consisting of ships (or parts of ships), rudders, and anchors.²⁴ Most of the corpus was found through excavations at the cinerary votive site at Carthage, and many are housed in the Carthage National Museum near Tunis, Tunisia. Four of the stelae (PMIS-Ci 61, 62, 67, and 69) are thought to be from Cirta / El Hofra (modern Constantine), Algeria and are now located at the Louvre in Paris, France. Two of these stelae from Cirta were purchased, which means that in a technical sense they are unprovenanced (PMIS-U 67 and 69); they have been compared with others known from excavated contexts at Cirta / El Hofra on stylistic grounds. It should be noted that these two are, of course, not the only Punic cinerary votive sites in the western Mediterranean but they are the only ones published or publicly available stelae feature maritime iconography, as far as I could determine. For this reason, in the following catalogue of these stelae, it should be assumed that the stele being discussed is from Carthage unless mentioned otherwise. Out of the thousands found at cinerary votive sites, the maritime iconography is a minority of the total imagery found. As discussed in chapter 2, the sites were in use mainly from the 8th – 2nd centuries BCE (although some continue into the first centuries CE) around the western and central Mediterranean,²⁵ however, the specific stelae discussed in this thesis have been dated to the 4th – 1st centuries BCE, largely on paleographic²⁶ grounds.

²⁴ Terminology like “maritime iconography” and “watercraft iconography” will be used interchangeably in this thesis to describe these elements on the stelae. I have not included the handful of stelae that depict wave patterns or dolphins/fish. While these would be considered marine, they are beyond the scope of this thesis, but would be an interesting study for future research (see chapter 6).

²⁵ The founding of the cinerary votive site at Carthage dates to the 8th century BCE, but many of the others seem to have been established within the 7th century BCE or later.

²⁶ Paleography is the study of ancient handwriting and is used to roughly date inscriptions since Punic letter shapes, loan words, and spelling patterns saw collective change over time.

In terms of my methods of analysis, I divided the full corpus of 72 stelae into three groupings (see below): I. stelae featuring ships, II. those featuring rudders, and III. those with anchors (see **Fig. 3.1**²⁷ for an example of each). I then worked with each grouping to determine some basic patterns and suggested some categories of analysis on the basis of recurring choices evidenced within the group. Some of the stelae are only fragments and are therefore likely missing elements that are found on full sized stelae, like inscriptions.

In this chapter, I will describe these groupings and the significant variation within them, culminating in a discussion of the overall numbers of image types, groupings, and other features within the whole corpus. Because most of the stelae are held by the Carthage National Museum (currently closed while they are undergoing a new inventory) or the Bardo Museum (with no published catalogue of the stelae), I was unable to obtain photographs of all the stelae that have been reported to feature maritime iconography; I included only those I could confirm in my corpus (see Appendix A).



²⁷ Note that all photograph credits for the stelae and figures in this chapter can be found in Appendix A.

Figure 3.1: From left to right, examples of the three categories: PMIS-C Numbers 13 (ship), 41 (rudder), and 63 (anchor).

Challenges in Gathering the Data

The main place of publication of the stelae featuring Punic inscriptions remains the multi-volume *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. Pars Prima: Inscriptiones phoenicias continens* (referred to as CIS in this thesis; published 1881-1962), in which brief descriptions of the stelae were published along with transcriptions of the Punic inscriptions in Hebrew characters with Latin translations (these in *texte* volumes), alongside images of most (but not all) of the stelae (in *tabulae*, or “plates” volumes). This publication is difficult to work with. East Carolina University’s Joyner Library does not own copies of CIS, and because of the volumes’ age and size, they do not circulate (so interlibrary loan is not possible). Some digitized copies are available online, but the quality of the images in the *tabulae* (plates) volumes is very poor, since they were printed on textured linen paper in sepia-toned ink. I myself do not read Hebrew characters, Punic, or Latin, so my advisor Dr. Helen Dixon has offered working translations into English to aid my analysis.

Finally, many of the photographs are not of the stelae themselves, but of “squeezes,” papier mâché molds or impressions of the stelae faces that were made by staff of the 1920s excavations. Of course, all those without inscriptions (and a few with) were not included in the CIS project at all. Therefore, in a few cases, drawings of only the images (sometimes omitting the inscription altogether) are the clearest images available. Appendix A contains a full catalogue of the corpus, including Dr. Dixon’s English translation of the inscriptions, proposed dates for the stele’s creation (when known), its provenance and current location as far as could be obtained, CIS number, etc., along with pictures of each stele (when available) for reference.

While I will outline three simple groupings below, within these groups it is interesting to see the

personalized variation stele to stele. It seems likely that those commissioning the stelae, or the artists carving them, wanted to emphasize the parts of the ship, rudder, or anchor(s) that were most significant to them, putting them in dialogue with other symbols. For example, if the apotropaic eye (sometimes called *oculi*, Latin for “eyes”) at the bow of a ship, or the shape of a particular style of anchor, was memorable or meaningful, it was emphasized.

To show the variety within the corpus, I looked at each group individually to notice patterns among the representations. Further categories for analysis were determined to show the tendencies among and across the groups. The imagery likely was selected by the person who commissioned the stelae. As an example, there is one stele that shows the stern of a ship, but the rudder is almost bigger than the ship (**Fig. 3.2**). While previous generations of scholars may have considered this the work of an inferior craftsman, today most scholars working on the corpus emphasize the agency of the artists and purchasers. In my view a symbolic interpretation is more likely: that the rudder is just as important as the ship, whether for religious or other emphatic purposes. Of course, rudders are the guiding mechanism of most ancient ships, and it seems likely that they became important symbols (as the size of group II below indicates). The stele in Fig. 3.2 is one example of how maritime iconography can be the center focus on some of the cinerary votive site stele.

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Figure 3.2: A stele showing the stern of a ship with a rudder in place: PMIS-C 4.

I. Stelae featuring ships

Stelae featuring ships were the easiest to identify, and therefore constitute the first group in this chapter, with a total of nineteen stelae fitting this description. I developed five categories of analysis to highlight the patterns within this group. The categories are as follows:

- | |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">a. Depiction of a bow, stern, or the full shipb. Presence of an eyec. Presence of an inscriptiond. Presence of the sign of Tanite. Additional symbols and notable miscellaneous iconography |
|---|

a. Depiction of a bow, stern, or the full ship

There are ten stelae that seem to depict only the bow of a ship (PMIS-C 2), two sterns (PMIS-C 18), six full ships (PMIS-C 8) and one unknown because all the iconography left is the sail and mast (PMIS-C 9). The bows tend to feature details like upturned figureheads, signs of deities, hints of rams or reinforced noses, and *oculi* in some cases. These are usually tell-tale signs that this area is the bow instead of the stern. The sterns tend to include a stylized image of a rudder, and the whole boats are the simplest to recognize.

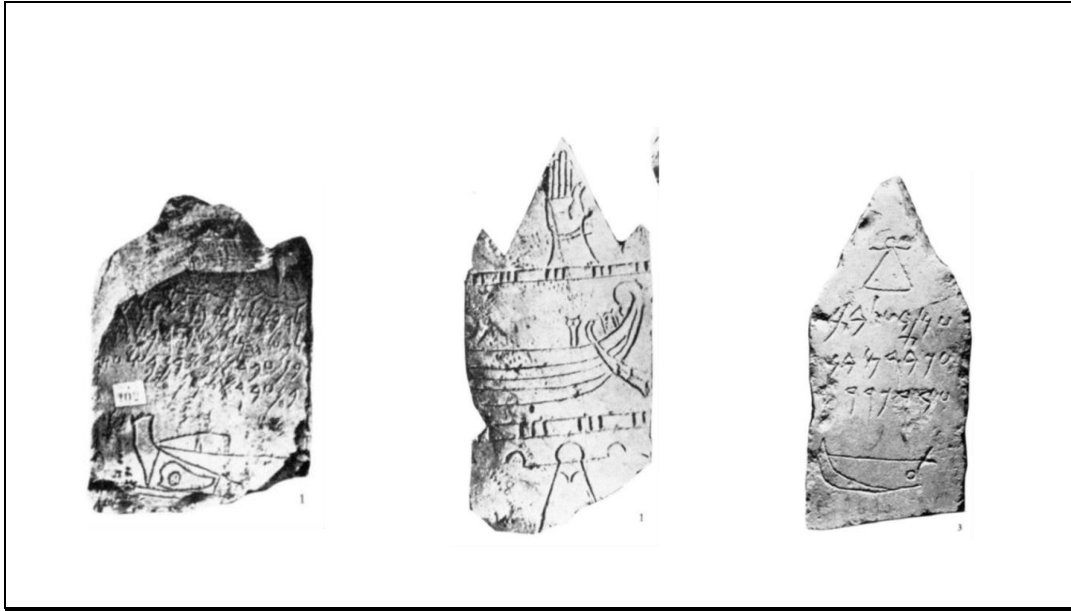


Figure 3.3: Examples of the stelae featuring ships. Left to right: PMIS-C 2 (bow), 16 (stern), and 8 (full ship).

The three-example stelae (see **Fig. 3.3**) are a good introduction to the corpus, as they show the variation in the size of the Punic inscriptions. As seen in the images of the bow (abaft²⁸ the raised figurehead) and stern (abaft the rudder) examples, there is a raised component or platform that resembles an altar, a feature thought to have been found on most, if not all, real ships at this time (see chapter 4). Not all the examples of stelae featuring a full ship or the stern of a ship include a rudder; only four of the sixteen in this category feature an image of a rudder.

b. Presence of an eye

The eye(s) or *oculi* affixed or painted on the bows of some ancient ships may have had several overlapping purposes (see **Fig. 3.4**). It may have been protective, serving to ward off the evil eye in an apotropaic function. It might also have been that an expression of a divine spirit within the vessel, or they may have been imagined to have been used by a deity that could be

²⁸ Meaning 'behind.'

called upon to help guide or protect the people aboard.²⁹ There are eleven stelae featuring ships with an eye, and five without. There are therefore only three stelae featuring bows or full ships that do not seem to have an eye (although it is still possible that this detail was painted onto the stelae, now lost).



Figure 3.4: Three photographs and a line drawing illustrating the full ship with eye on PMIS-C 10.

c. Presence of an inscription

As seen in several examples above, inscriptions were often included on the stelae. The inscription is not always in a defined box, but sometimes it is written prominently in the center of the stele above the majority of the symbols.

²⁹ See Brody 1998, 63 for more information.

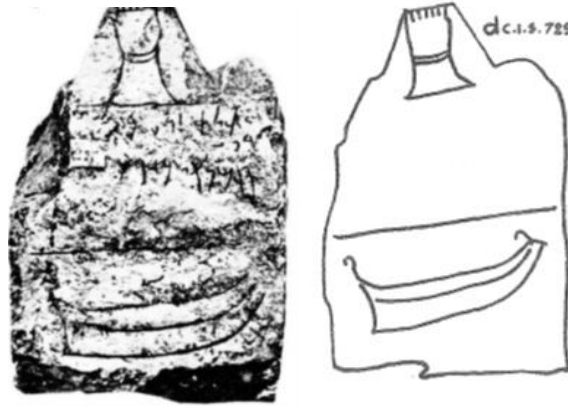


Figure 3.5: The central inscription placement on the full-ship stele PMIS-C 1.

Some stelae have no defined box or borders around the inscription (see **Fig. 3.5**), but it has been placed between two iconographical elements (a ship below and the raised hand above). The translation of this text is “To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Baal, and to the Lord, to Baal Hammon. (This is) what [...] offered.”³⁰ Though the name of the dedicant is illegible, this inscription illustrates the most common dedicatory formula in the corpus. Each of the inscriptions first addresses the deities the dedicants are calling upon. In this corpus, both Tanit and Baal Hammon or solely Baal Hammon (see PMIS-Ci 61 and PMIS-C 69) are being offered the gift / vow. Next is the name and a patrilineal genealogy of the person who dedicated the stele (see chapter 2 for more description about the how inscriptions are ordered). Three examples will be explained below to show the variety among the stelae featuring ships.

Longer genealogies or other added phrases are found on a minority of stelae in this corpus; they would have been more expensive to commission (as customers likely paid by the letter for inscriptions) and therefore represent important decisions on the part of the person commissioning the stele. The first example is from the stele with a full ship in Figure 3.1, where

³⁰ Translated by Dr. H. Dixon.

the inscription was dedicated by “Shaphat, a man of Sidon, house servant .”³¹ As explained in chapter 2, the term ‘Phoenicians’ was not used by the people inhabiting the Levantine Phoenician coast. Instead, these communities referred to themselves according to the closest city-state where they were from. In this case, Shaphat who is making a dedication in the cinerary votive site at Carthage self-identifies as a “man from Sidon,” a rare occurrence where both community of origin and title are given. Another example is from the full-ship stele in Figure 3.3. This inscription was dedicated by “Amatbaal, daughter of ’Akbaram, son of ’Abdkarar.” Out of all the inscriptions on the stelae featuring ships, there are two that were commissioned by women instead of men. This may seem surprising to those who argue for an interpretation of these stelae as dedicated by sailors (although we know little about the gender makeup of Punic seafarers, it seems likely that most professional sailors were men), so it is unlikely that that these women were sailors. Further information and hypotheses are explained in chapter 6.

Lastly, **Figure 3.7**, below, (more thoroughly discussed as featuring a sign of Tanit) has an inscription that includes the additional phrase “because They heard his voice. Bless him!” Other stelae with additional phrasing of this nature include, PMIS-C 42, 61, 69, and 70, but these stelae depict rudders and anchors.

Some of the stelae are broken, with traces of the inscription preserved, but some stelae could also have had text that was completely broken off. There are six that have no text at all, for reasons that we can only hypothesize about. For example, the person who commissioned the stele would have had to pay more for an inscription. Other stelae may have once featured a

³¹ Here and elsewhere in the chapter, all inscriptions were translated by Dr. Helen Dixon. In this case the translation “house servant” is unsure but given the cost of the stele and its inscription, this title may have indicated a civic or religious official of some kind (e.g., House Servant of [a deity]).

painted inscription, now lost. The stele in **Figure 3.6** features a full ship, but no inscription. It may be an example in which the dedicant decided not to include inscribed text (though it is also broken at top and bottom).



Figure 3.6: The full ship (but no inscription) on PMIS-C 18.

d. Presence of the sign of Tanit

As described in chapter 2, the goddess Tanit is considered the most important goddess, consort to Baal Hammon in the Punic pantheon. One of the symbols associated with her is a circle above a triangle, with a horizontal line where the two shapes meet (see Fig. 3.7). Occasionally, at the ends of the ‘arms’ of Tanit there could be an addition of half circles (like forearms or large hands). Six stelae featuring ships also depict the sign of Tanit whereas ten do not. This symbol can be seen as a symbol for Tanit, but one could argue that it also could be a way to call upon Tanit. That is not to say that where there is no sign of Tanit, Tanit is not being worshipped or invoked. She may also have had other symbols that could evoke her in another way.



Figure 3.7: The sign of Tanit at the top of a bow-stele, PMIS-C 11.

On two stelae (e.g., **Fig. 3.8**), Tanit is depicted twice, on either side of a ‘caduceus,’ another category discussed below. Possible hypotheses for two signs of Tanit could include an interest in iconographic symmetry, or as emphasis, perhaps for extra power while calling upon Tanit. However, the latter is unlikely; if several iterations of a deity’s symbol could generate extra power, then we might expect all stelae to be covered in signs of Tanit.



Figure 3.8: Twin signs of Tanit on either side of a ‘caduceus’ on the full-ship stele, PMIS-C 3.

e. Additional iconography and notable miscellaneous iconography

As figures 3.1-3.9 indicate, there is plenty of variation among the iconography on the stelae featuring ships. On six, the only imagery is the bow, stern, or full ship, whereas ten stelae include additional iconographical elements. Cost, the specific interests of the dedicant, or a particular belief might all be possible hypotheses for only selecting ship iconography (e.g., in **Fig. 3.9**, only a detailed bow is depicted).



Figure 3.9: The elaborate bow of a ship, the only imagery preserved on PMIS-C 15.

Among the ship-stelae that feature additional images, there are three additional iconographical elements that are noteworthy considering the scope of my study. Both the first and the second (shown below in **Fig. 3.10**) present marine imagery in association with the ship. In the first case, illustrated below a full ship are waves that appear to be carrying the ship. The bottom of the boat sits directly on the crests of the waves. The second example of marine imagery features a dolphin or fish that is below a full ship. A dolphin is the most likely interpretation because the tail bends up behind the creature. In Greek mythology, dolphins were seen as benevolent, helpful creatures that were in service of gods and goddesses, like Poseidon

and Aphrodite (Galili and Rosen 2015, 75). These two stelae are the only ones that depict any additional marine elements in the entire corpus.

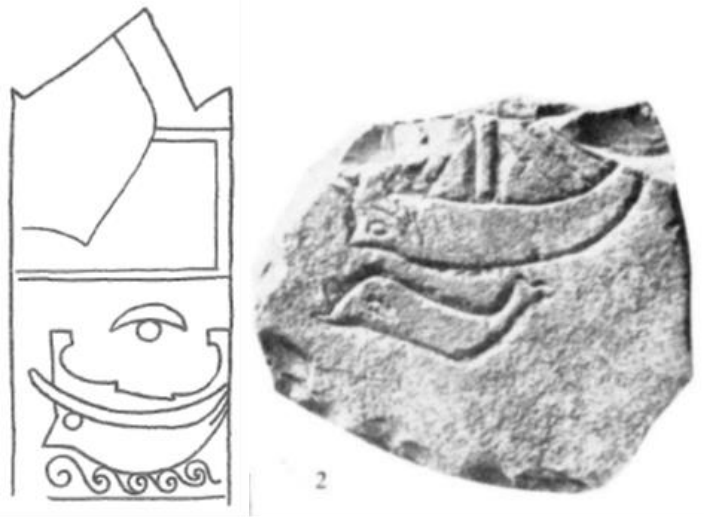


Figure 3.10: The additional marine images of PMIS-C 5 (featuring waves) and 19 (with a dolphin or other marine animal).

Another significant but rare feature is an altar at one end (either bow or stern) of the ship. Altars would be where offerings could be made while on a journey, before and after a battle, or as thanks for a safe voyage (Brody 1998, 74 - 75). On four stelae (**Fig. 3.11**) there is a platform or structure that rises above the rest of the gunwale of the vessel. Three of these show what could be an altar at the bow, and the last shows it at the stern. Both areas of the ship have specific meaning to seafarers: the bow goes through the water first (leading the way), while the rudder is connected to the stern (giving the ship guidance and direction). While an altar is one interpretation, it is possible that this raised platform had more than one use.



Figure 3.11: The four stelae featuring raised platforms or altars on the bow or stern of the ship: PMIS-C 2 (bow), 7 (bow), 11 (bow), and 16 (stern).

II. Stelae featuring rudders

A majority of the stelae in this corpus feature images of rudders,³² the largest of the three groupings. A total of 42 stelae with rudders in varying shapes and orientations are illustrated. These rudders are depicted in a highly stylized manner, but **Figure 3.12** illustrates a reconstruction based on an Egyptian shipwreck that gives a sense of how the rudder and tiller would have been positioned, next to a Carthaginian stele that shows a ship with the rudder in place.

³² Note that symbols of rudders like those I am discussing have been found on carved stone anchors recovered from off the Levantine coast. A large stone anchor, in the Hecht Museum, has a steering oar depiction with a defined tiller from the Late Bronze Age (Galili, Rosen, and Zemer 2016, 124). While these are challenging to date, it seems likely that some were in use in the Late Bronze Age and first millennium BCE. These stone anchors are beyond the scope of this study but show that the rudder symbol has a longer life with apotropaic or religious significance. Chapter 5 references a divine figure, Egyptian goddess Hathor, controlling a rudder.

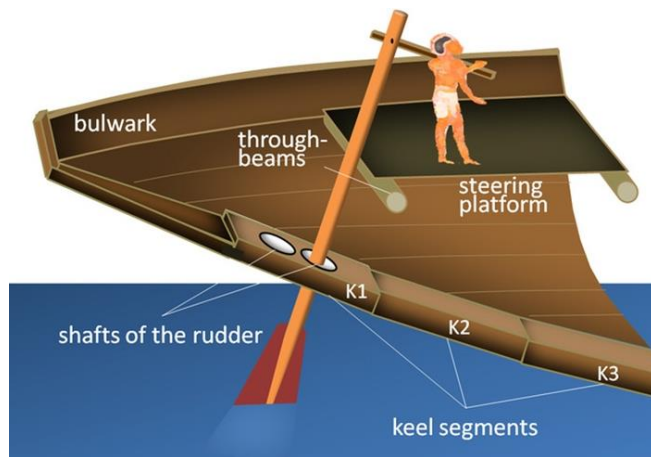


Figure 3.12: The diagram to the left (Belov 2013, fig. 10) shows a reconstruction of an Egyptian rudder or steering oar, to give a sense of how the Punic rudder iconography was likely intended to be understood. The reconstruction is based on the excavated remains of a shipwreck from Thonis Heracleion, dated to the Egyptian Late Period (664-332 BCE). On the right, PMIS-C 10 shows a similar depiction of a rudder/steering oar and tiller as that featured in the diagram.

Looking at the whole corpus of rudder-stelae, their positioning varies more than the images of ships and anchors. Many of the rudders are portrayed within the zone of the inscription or very close to it. Images of ships and anchors are found either below or above, instead of next to or within, a box around the inscribed text. **Figure 3.13** shows the variety of the state of preservations, additional iconography, and depictions of rudders within this grouping. Despite the differences, most of the rudders feature a flat wide end (that would be oriented underwater when in use) that narrows where it attaches to the tiller,³³ depicted as a line that comes off the head of the rudder, sometimes turning 90 degrees. This tiller is often depicted with a curl at one end, probably indicating the point where the tiller was held. It is the most common rudder shape

³³ A tiller is a lever used to steer a boat or ship to starboard or port.

within the corpus, and this is how the reader can tell where the “head” (the tiller end) of the rudder is, informing my discussion below. The categories are as follows:

- a. Presence of the sign of Tanit
- b. Presence of a raised hand
- c. Presences of a ‘caduceus’ (bull with horns on a stick/pole)
- d. Additional iconography
- e. Orientation of the rudder



Figure 3.13: Three examples of stelae depicting rudders, illustrating some of the variation in this grouping: PMIS-C 22, 53, and 57.

a. Presence of the sign of Tanit

A minority of the stelae that feature images of rudders are whole; instead, the corpus is dominated by broken or fragmentary stelae. This limits the analysis that is possible, both in terms of confidently identifying certain images or working with only partial symbols. In the case of the sign of Tanit, many of these symbols are not fully preserved but I included these partial images in my analysis nonetheless. Out of the 42 stelae, there are eighteen showing the sign of Tanit, and like the ship-stelae grouping, several feature two signs of Tanit.



Figure 3.14: A partial sign of Tanit above the rudder symbol on PMIS-C 59.

As **Fig. 3.14** shows, the bottom of a triangle is visible at the top of the stele, and it seems most likely that this is part of a sign of Tanit. While not quite half the rudder-stelae feature this symbol in addition, it nevertheless presents a strong pattern of correlation within the corpus.

b. Presence of a raised hand

Like the stelae with ship iconography, the ones with rudder imagery frequently also depict a raised hand. This symbol of prayer or blessing is found on twelve rudder stelae. As seen below in **Fig. 3.15**, the raised hand is placed in different areas of the stelae. The meaning of the raised hand likely did not change according to the placement on the stele (though we cannot know for sure) but the variety of positions it takes shows that its inclusion was important to the commissioner of the stele. Mendelson suggests the hand is raised in prayer or blessing (2001, 46)

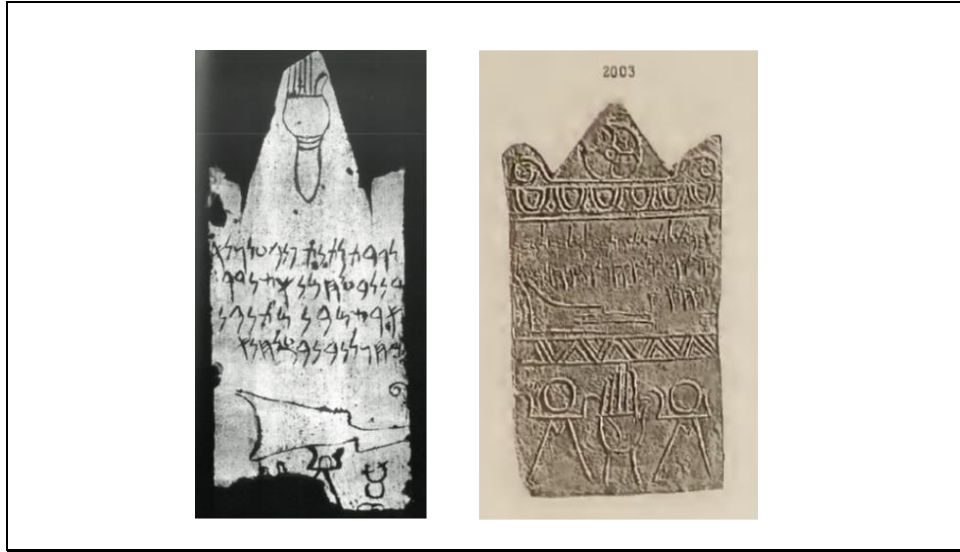


Figure 3.15: Two stelae featuring both images of raised hands and rudders, in different spatial positions: PMIS-C 43 and 30.

Interestingly, all the raised hand symbols that show fingers (some stelae are broken off mid-hand or below the hand) are right-handed, assuming as most scholars do that the palm of the hand is facing the viewer³⁴. This might have meant something specific to the families selecting this image or to Carthaginian culture and religious practice more broadly. For example, today, we call someone our “right-hand man” to indicate that they are the person we got for assistance. On the other hand, the raised right hand may be a reflection of a common gesture of prayer or blessing used by Carthaginian worshippers or priests (see **Fig. 3.16**). In this case, the raised hand symbol may emphasize the request for blessing the dedicant is making.

³⁴ Most people are right-handed, that is the hand commonly used to hold the tiller and thus on ships with quarter rudders are typically found on the starboard side.

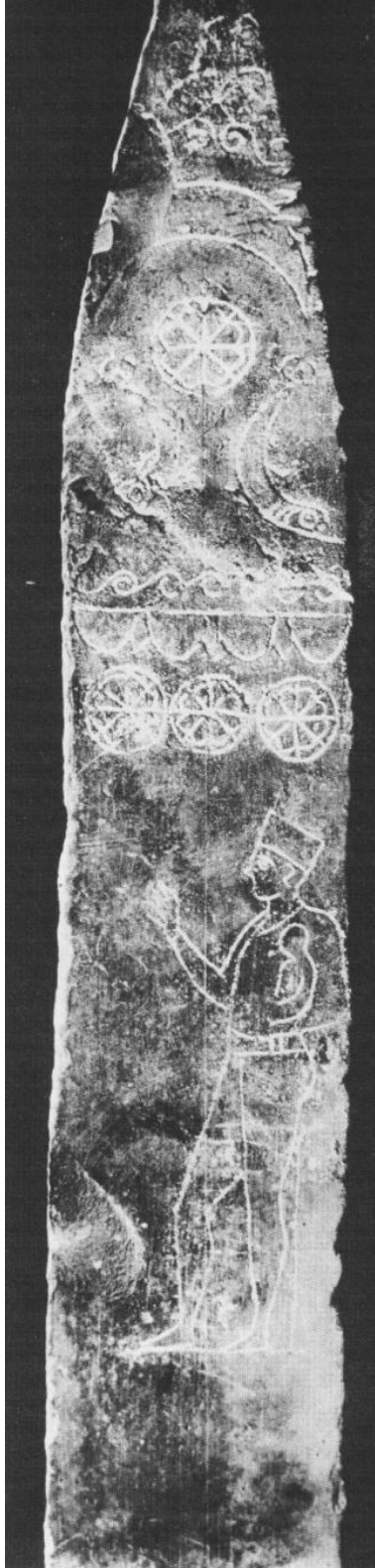


Figure 3.16: Punic stele with priest holding child and right hand raised (a recurring gesture in the cinerary votive site iconography; Brett 1997, 49).

c. Presence of a ‘caduceus’

The ‘caduceus’ is a symbol largely known from Greek iconography and mythology, consisting of two snakes wrapped around a scepter,³⁵ often appearing as a symbol of Hermes, the messenger god, guide of souls (also associated with travelers, merchants, and other groups). ‘Caduceus,’ though somewhat anachronistic, is the term commonly used to describe the symbol on the Carthaginian (and other Punic sites) stelae (see **Fig. 3.17**), consisting of a pole topped with a circle, with a half circle turned upwards above it (like horns). I will use the term here to be consistent with the scholarly literature, but it seems more likely that the full and half circles together are meant to represent a bull’s head on a staff, pole, or stick (a common animal associated with Near Eastern male deities, like El at Ugarit). Among the stelae in the rudder grouping, some of the poles also feature two wavy lines that start near the top of the vertical straight line and move down diagonally, likely representing stylized ribbons or other iconographic emphasis.

³⁵ Although there are Near Eastern precedents for a staff with two intertwined snakes, including imagery associated with the Sumerian god Ningishzida (late 4th – early 3rd millennium BCE). See for example the “libation vase of Gudea” (ca. 2100 BCE) from Girsu / Tello, Iraq (Louvre AO 190): <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010143800>.



Figure 3.17: An example of a stele featuring both a rudder (beneath the inscription panel) and two 'caducei' on either side of a wreath: PMIS-C 48.

At Carthage, this symbol has traditionally been interpreted by scholars as representing the god Baal Hammon, a kind of equivalent symbol to the sign of Tanit. Other interpretations are possible; perhaps it represents a symbol of prayer or worship. Much like the sign of Tanit represents the goddess, perhaps the caduceus is something similar for another deity. If not, a deity then perhaps a similar idea of what a deity represents, a divine power.

d. Additional iconography

Out of 42 rudder-stelae, there are twelve with no additional iconography (other than the rudder) in their current state of preservation. As mentioned before (and seen by a few examples) there are several broken stelae that limit my analysis of the original iconography. **Figure 3.18** is an example of a stele with a rudder above the inscription at the top, but with the bottom portion of the stele missing.



Figure 3.18: Two images of a stele featuring only a rudder at the top of the stele (with no additional iconography): PMIS-C 29.

Despite the imperfect data, it seems clear that the rudder was a sufficient symbol to mark the votive stelae found at Punic cinerary votive sites. Other iconography depicted include a raised hand, some kind of plant or vine, and on one stele there is a marine creature, like a fish or dolphin.

e. Orientation of the rudder

On actual ships and boats, the rudder is located on the stern, so that the boat can be steered from the back. As seen above in Figure 3.16, in the symbolic rudders in this grouping, there is often a straight line that curls at the end, located at the “head” of the rudder. The direction of the rudder on an actual ship would be oriented such that the steering mechanism (tiller) would hang over the boat, like a handle pointing towards the rudder’s vertical axis and the bow. As the following figure shows, those who commissioned the rudder-stelae chose different directions for the rudders to face, something that was personalized, despite the fact that several of these orientations do not reflect how they were actually attached to or used on the boat. The

rudder orientations include a horizontal rudder (tiller pointing upwards), the rudder “upside down” (with tiller under the rudder), and proper vertical orientation (with the steering mechanism at the top), as shown in **Figure 3.18**. There are 36 rudders that are horizontal, they are placed around different parts of the stele, including within the defined border around the inscription. Only two stelae have rudders that are upside down. Two stelae show double upside down rudders. Lastly, two stele depict rudders in a properly vertical position. Most of the rudders are illustrated horizontally in different places on the stelae.



Figure 3.19: Three different orientations of the rudder symbol: PMIS-C 44 (horizontal), 46 (“upside down” relative to a working ship), and 33 (proper vertical orientation).

This variety seems to indicate that the rudder was a recognizable symbol even out of context, orientated in ways they might never have been used. They can appear alone or in pairs and seem prominently displayed on several stelae (near the inscription, larger than other symbols). It seems likely that rudders had some kind of religious significance. Other interpretations include sailors using this iconography for what it represents to them, a guiding mechanism or something that saved them. Even if rudders were not depicted by sailors, the rudder is seen as the steering/ guiding mechanism to steer at all. Chapter 6 elaborates on divine

figures at the tiller steering ships, so it is possible to suggest a divine connection between rudders and deities.

III. Stelae featuring anchors

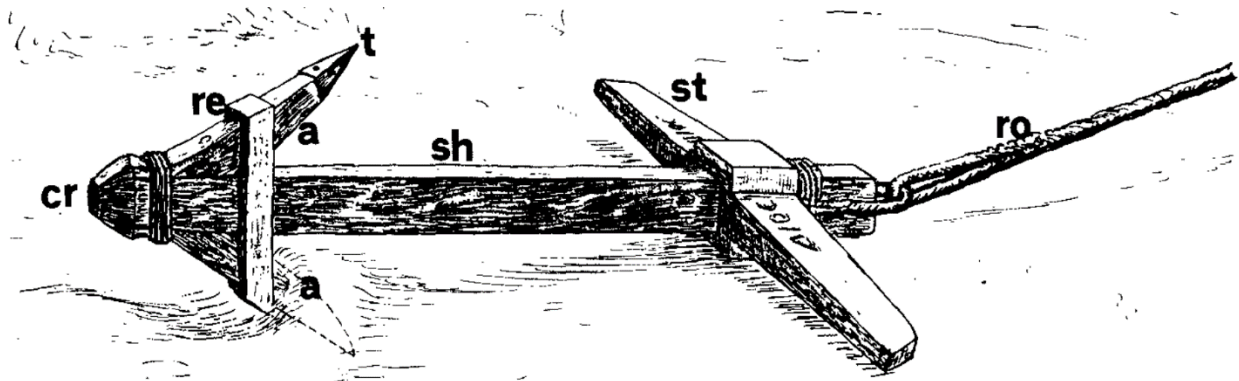


Figure 3.20: An early stock anchor diagram (Kapitän 1984, 33). The abbreviations describe the parts of the anchor. Ro: rope, st: stock, sh: shank, a: arm, t: arm tip, re: repair, and cr: crown.

The last group of maritime imagery depicted on the cinerary votive site stelae are anchors, a total of eleven. For reference, see **Fig. 3.20** as a diagram of anchor parts. The anchors were divided into four categories of analysis to describe most of the symbol patterns depicted on the stelae. The categories are as follows:

- | |
|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">a. How much of the anchor is depictedb. Presence of the sign of Tanitc. Additional iconographyd. Orientation of the anchors |
|--|

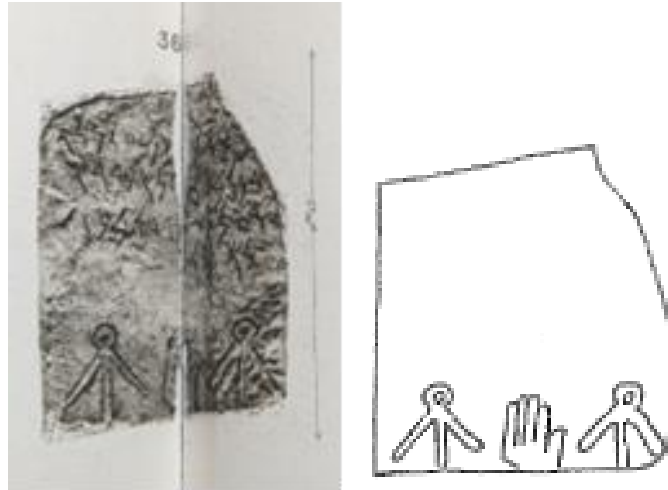


Figure 3.21: Two anchors at the bottom of the fragmentary stele PMIS-C 62.

a. How much of the anchor is depicted

In several stelae featuring anchors, only a portion of the anchor is visible. In some cases, this led to their being identified as tools (like hammers or ritual implements), and it likely that further examples of anchor-stelae would be recognizable with more and better published photos from Carthage and other Punic cinerary votive sites. It seems unlikely that the anchors would have been depicted cut off at the edge of the stelae, so it is more likely that some of these partial anchors were lost in the breaking of the stele (see **Fig. 3.21** and **3.22**).



Figure 3.22: Two examples of likely images of anchors, broken with damage to the stele: PMIS-C 64 and 71.

b. Presence of the sign of Tanit

Three anchor-stelae also feature the sign of Tanit. Many of the other stelae in this group are broken, so it is possible that the sign of Tanit was also originally carved onto other anchor-stelae. The stelae show the different variations of Tanit, like in **Figure 3.23**, where two signs of Tanit can be seen, one above the other. In the topmost symbol Tanit appears to have raised arms (an upturned crescent moon shape). In the lower sign of Tanit, her arms are bent at a right angle, whereas other stelae have a horizontal line indicating her arms. Here too, the use of repeated symbols does not seem to be a problem for the dedicant. It is possible that several symbols may have overlapping meaning, referring to similar concepts or aspects of a deity. Due to breakage on

a few of the stelae, the sign of Tanit is not complete on most of the stelae, like Fig. 3.21. The other two have breakage above the sign of Tanit(s) at the top of each stele, PMIS-U 68 has a break in the imagery (see fig. 3.21) and PMIS-C 69 has a small break at the top of the point (see fig. 3.22).



Figure 3.23: A broken stele featuring both a large sign of Tanit (broken at the top) and an anchor with rounded arms: PMIS-U 64. Also at the top are the raised hand (left) and ‘caduceus’ (right, with streamers or ribbons) symbols.

c. Additional Iconography

Three stelae from the anchor group featured only an anchor (though some are broken, as discussed above), whereas seven have additional iconographic elements. One stele (PMIS-C 63, on the right in **Fig. 3.25**) has the only representation of an urn, vase, or krater in the entire maritime corpus in this study. While images of urns are known from other stelae from cinerary votive sites, and it could represent the urn containing human and/or animal remains buried when the stele was erected, or it may have other ritual significance.



Figure 3.24: This stele depicts additional iconography, like the circles, two versions of the sign of Tanit, 'caduceus' heads above the anchors (resembling chains), and the flower at the very top: PMIS-C 69.

d. The orientation of anchors

The orientation of the images of anchors varies among the 11 stelae in this grouping. In our modern context, typically anchors are pictured with the stock at the top and the arms at the bottom (see Fig. 19 for partial example; in the position they take when dropped from a ship). Within the group of eleven anchor-stelae, there are three images of anchors that are positioned in this expected manner. There are five that are upside down relative to the expected orientation (Fig. 3.24), and two which are horizontally positioned (see Fig. 3.25). These different orientations seem to mirror the different orientations found in the larger rudder grouping (independent of the way the object depicted was most often used). Just like in our contemporary

contexts, the anchor could be a symbol of stability or represent safety and protection. possible interpretations are discussed in chapter 5.



Figure 3.25: Three examples showing the three orientations of images of anchors as they appear on the anchor-stelae: PMIS-C 67 (expected position), PMIS-U 68 (upside down relative to the expected position), and PMIS-C 63 (horizontal orientation).

Conclusions

These categories of analysis are not the only ones that could be used to evaluate the iconography on the stelae featuring ships, rudders, and anchors. It is clear that the symbols were recognizable regardless of orientation or level of detail, and it is likely that they had religious significance like the other range of symbols in the corpus seem to (and as the inscriptions indicate was key to the commissioning of the stelae in the first place). While each stele is unique in its combination of elements, common images occur in every group. It is worth noting that rudders, anchors, caducei, and signs of Tanit are doubled on many stelae, for example PMIS-C 46 and 52, both of which are upside down. I have focused on three commonly occurring images: the sign of Tanit symbol, the so-called ‘caduceus’ (or staff of Baal Hammon), and the upraised hand of prayer or blessing. It may also be significant that all the maritime stelae are dated ca. 4th

– 1st c. BCE in terms of evoking a particular set of beliefs in circulation at that time. While this analysis focused on describing and sorting the imagery and patterns that recur in the corpus, chapter 6 discusses my interpretations of the maritime iconography and the possible hypotheses that connect these images to Punic religion or culture. First, evidence for both actual and symbolic elements of maritime material culture in the 4th – 1st c. BCE Mediterranean world will be brought into the discussion (chapters 4 and 5).

Chapter 4. Phoenician and Punic Watercraft and Harbors (ca. 4th – 2nd c. BCE)

To better understand the maritime iconography from the Punic cinerary votive sites, it is important to look at examples of the original objects (e.g., actual ships and anchors) that dedicants may have been trying to depict. This chapter discusses our evidence for shipwrecks and the remains of ports or harbors that are roughly contemporaneous with the stelae in this study (ca. 4th – 1st centuries BCE).³⁶

Around the Mediterranean, hundreds of shipwrecks from various time periods have been studied. Wooden wrecks, like those from the first millennium BCE, are more likely to deteriorate under water unless they were quickly covered by silt and sediment, protecting the wood from organisms that would eat it. If none of the wood remains from the wreck, typically the ship's cargo will leave an impression (often including ceramic and other material remains) that scholars can interpret to roughly determine the size of the lost ship. The following examples of shipwrecks from the 4th – 2nd c. BCE offer evidence of the types of Punic ships in use at the time these stelae were erected, in order to inform the study of the ship and anchor iconography they include.

Punic Ship Features

The study of the Punic ship iconography from cinerary votive site stelae is made more complicated because these images of ships (along with Assyrian and Babylonian reliefs) have been used to reconstruct the look of actual Punic ships, potentially creating a circular logic to trying to interpret the ship images anew. For example, Bartoloni describes the Phoenician

³⁶ Cirta (the Latinized version of the Punic name, modern Constantine), Algeria was the capital of the kingdom of Numidia. The neighbor of Punic Carthage that was a key ally of Rome during the Punic Wars (264 – 146 BCE). Russicada (modern Skikda) was the port city Cirta relied on for their commerce. The cinerary votive site at Cirta is called El-Hofra with Punic votive stelae.

commercial ships as having a rounded stern that culminated in a fishtail or spiral decoration (2001 [1988], 86). The spiral or curl is also depicted in ancient images of Carthaginian ships (see PMIS-C 18 in **Fig. 4.1**). The corpus of maritime stelae that have imagery of the stern of a ship (see chapter 3) show the rounded stern spiral. The stern of the Carthaginian ships seems to have been the same whether it was a warship or a commercial vessel, but the prow was quite different between these two categories (Bartoloni 2001 [1988], 86). Among the warships, the bow was used as a weapon, fitted with a *rostrum*, a bronze beak that could act as a ram to break through the sides of enemy vessels (Bartoloni 2001 [1988], 87). This feature might be evident in some of the ships from the cinerary votive site stelae corpus (see Fig. 4.1).



Figure 4.1: Details from three ship-stelae, showing the rostra from two bows and a curved stern (from left to right): PMIS-C 11 (bow), 15 (bow), and 16 (stern; here and below, see Appendix 1 for more on the stelae images).

Similarly, in terms of rudder technology, Bartoloni illustrates the rudder as being an oar with broad, asymmetrical blades, likely based on the stelae iconography (2001 [1988], 87). He goes on to argue that, as a larger ship compared to smaller merchant ships, it likely had two rudders on either side of the stern to support them in turning (Bartoloni 2001 [1988], 87). Much

of what we think we know about rowing in ancient ships is debated by scholars. These ships were well-known to Greek and Roman authors, and their construction was attributed to the Carthaginians as the descendants of the Phoenicians, who were also known to the Greeks for the creation of the trireme (Bartoloni 2001 [1988], 88). Though we don't have emic Phoenician or Punic textual evidence to support these claims, they illustrate the reputation that Phoenician and Punic shipbuilding had in the eyes of their Mediterranean neighbors. Scholars today can test these reconstructions by looking at underwater archaeological evidence to try to determine construction methods and decorative features of Punic ships.

Punic Shipwrecks

Over the last century, at least a dozen Phoenician and Punic shipwrecks from the first millennium BCE have been found and documented around the Mediterranean. Punic colonies from Spain to Sicily and throughout North Africa had access to several sought-after resources, like lead and silver from Spain (Abdelhamid 2011, 3), which they regularly traded alongside finished products. The ideal commercial travel period across the Mediterranean was March through October, though often the winds were able to take ships throughout the Mediterranean despite the season (Bartoloni 2001 [1988], 85).

Two of the most famous are Phoenician wrecks discovered off the coast of Ashkelon, Israel, which have been dated to the 8th – 6th c. BCE. Today scholars call these wrecks *Tanit* and *Elissa*, but this is not a recommended practice by maritime archaeologists, so they will not be referred to by these names instead Ashkelon 1 and 2. While these two are older than the time period of the stela corpus, they are important to note as they are currently the earliest shipwrecks associated with Phoenician material culture (Abdelhamid 2011, Ballard 2009, Stager 2003). Both wrecks are thought to have been commercial trade ships since they contained

hundreds of amphorae, leaving an imprint roughly in the shape of a ship (an elongated oval). Ashkelon 1, based on the remains, is 4.5 x 11.5 meters whereas Ashkelon 2 is over 5 x 12 meters (Abdelhamid 2011, 1). As stated above, the remains of the wrecks are the amphorae that were being transported by both ships.



Figure 4.2: Amphorae pile from shipwreck of “Tanit” (called Ashkelon 1 here) off the coast of Ashkelon, Israel (Ballard 2009, 15).

I was unable to determine if there are any pieces of the wooden ship left, but Abdelhamid suggests that the reconstructed ships are 6.5 x 14 meters in the case of Ashkelon 1, and Ashkelon 2 is 7 x 14.5 meters large using the remains of the cargo to estimate the size (2011, 1). Stager suggests the length of the ships would be roughly 14 – 14.5 meters in length and 5.5 – 6 meters

in width (2003, 233-234). Stager references other wrecks of similar sizes, like Uluburun (ca. 1300 BCE) and Ma'agan Michael (ca. 400 BCE).

In Xlendi Bay, Gozo, a small island off the coast of Malta, multiple shipwrecks have been located, with Phoenician pottery dating to the 7th c. BCE and Punic amphorae dating to the 3rd c. BCE (Emanuel 2019, 5). Azzopardi discusses the fact that the archaeological finds were in a narrow bay that would have been difficult for a big vessel to navigate (2013, 287). Originally found by divers from the HMS *Falcon*, there has been some debate on how many wrecks and their dates of origin (Azzopardi 2013, 288).³⁷

Other shipwreck sites include Marsala (ancient Lilybaeum), Sicily, dating to the 3rd c. BCE, where two Punic vessels were found in shallow water near Isola Grande, although only the stern of one ship and the bow of the other remain (Emanuel 2019, 7). Additionally, there are two wrecks that have been excavated at Mazarrón and Bajo de la Campana in southern Spain. The partial wrecks at Mazarrón were carrying ceramics dated to the latter half of the 7th c. BCE (Abdelhamid 2011, 4). While these wrecks are not dated within the time period of the stelae corpus, they are evidence of the flow of trade around the western Mediterranean. Three wrecks have been found at Bajo de la Campana, one Phoenician (dated to the late 7th c. BCE), one Punic (dated to the 2nd c. BCE), and one Roman (Emanuel 2019, 7). Unfortunately, no full figurehead, bow, or stern preserved from a Punic ship has yet been found among the relevant shipwrecks, although bronze rams was found at Egadi. One of the best contemporaneous parallels of the stelae are the Egadi rams, now totaling around twenty-nine found off Sicily. In his thesis Polakowski (2016) discusses the Egadi 10 ram, an example of the ships and rams used during the Punic Wars by the Romans. Polakowski explains that rams were placed at the waterline and

³⁷ See Azzopardi 2013 for more information on the number and dating on the wrecks.

would deliver a devastating damage at or below the waterline (2016, 6).³⁸ Some stelae possibly depict rams on the bow of the ship.



Figure 4.3: PMIS-C 2 (left) and 11 (right). Both bows of ships possibly depict rams.

Shipwrecks are a key source of evidence for reconstructing how ancient ships were built. The region corresponding to the modern state of Lebanon has considerable cedar forests that were likely harvested for ship construction. At present there is no direct archaeological evidence for shipyards or for the shipbuilding industry (Sader 2019, 309). The constant supply of timber was essential for ship building and maintaining a fleet. The archaeological remains of the military harbor at Carthage provide evidence of 170 ship sheds. This does not mean that there would be only 170 ships or that 170 ships could be built at the same time. But it does provide a relative sense of scale for the maintenance of the Carthaginian fleet. Although scholars cannot know the exact number of Carthaginian ships that were maintained (since it would have varied

³⁸ See Polakowski (2016) for more information about Egadi 10 ram, including purpose, function, and reconstruction.

over time), we do know that to keep any number of ships usable, Carthage would have needed to have steady access to high quality timber to keep up with repairs and maintenance (something they likely would have acquired through trade with the Levant or Anatolia, another source of cedar wood, or from western North Africa). Not only are shipwrecks found around the Mediterranean, but other tools and equipment used by seafarers, like anchors.

Anchors

In addition to the examples of relevant Phoenician and Punic shipwrecks either preceding or contemporaneous to the 4th – 1st c. BCE, there are also examples of stock anchors dating to this period that have been discovered underwater, either alone or associated with a Phoenician or Punic shipwreck. Anchors were essential pieces of equipment required on every ship or boat that set sail, whether it was a small fishing vessel or a large military ship. Ships often carried several anchors, since they often had to cut them loose to begin sailing again. This is true for antiquity through the Age of Sail (ca. 16th – 19th centuries CE). As pointed out by Carlson, anchors are usually found far away from the ship that they were originally holding in place, and solitary anchors found on the seabed are more challenging to date (2011, 391 – 92). Anchors were originally made out of stone, usually in the shape of a rectangle or with a rounded top and square bottom with 1-5 holes through the stone for rope. Over time, additional elements were added to the large stones (and, later, wooden elements) that increased the probability that the anchor would hold in the seafloor (Kaptiän 1984, 33).³⁹

An early stock anchor consists of a wooden shank with a lead stock as the horizontal bar closest to the top of the anchor.⁴⁰ Following the shank down (toward the seabed if it were in use)

³⁹ For more information on the development of the anchor from stone to stock see Kapitän 1984 or Frost 1963.

⁴⁰ For a more thorough description refer to chapter 3 on anchors or see Kapitän 1984.

two wooden arms were reinforced by a lead repair or band, to add strength. Since the stock and repair are metal, they do not deteriorate in the water like wood. Off the coast of modern Israel, several lead stocks have been discovered (Galili, Rosen, and Zemer 2016, 123).



Figure 4.4: Above: lead stock from the Hellenistic – Roman Periods found off the coast of Israel; below: lead stock featuring three dolphins from the Hellenistic – Roman Period. Both located at the National Maritime Museum, Haifa, Israel (photo by M. Elsner, 2023).

While the shank and arms are gone, the stock can provide researchers with an idea of the size of the anchor. “One particularly diagnostic feature of ancient wooden anchors is the stock, since this is often all that survives centuries underwater” (Carlson 2011, 391). Archaeologically, shipwrecks and anchors are found all across the Mediterranean seafloor. The ports and harbors where ships were moored also left lasting marks on the landscape and were shaped by the tides and winds.

Physical examples of rudders have yet to be found. As ships were largely wooden, including the rudders, unless they were closely trapped under the sediment of the seafloor, no examples of steering oars or rudders are likely to be preserved. While in general the information gleaned from shipwrecks sheds light on ship construction, this also means we know little about the size or construction of actual rudders or steering oars in Punic contexts. Although this is not the focus of this thesis, it would serve to inform another study of ship construction depicted in iconography.

Ports and Harbors

Maritime commercial trade connected many groups around the first millennium BCE Mediterranean. Travelling by land was costly and would take much longer. The shipwrecks discussed above are evidence for the continual movement of goods and ideas. While they are not the only shipwrecks thought to have originated along or traded with the Levantine coast, for example the Uluburun shipwreck although from a different millennium⁴¹, they do show the expansive Phoenician (and later, Punic) trade network over different time periods. It was important for there to be a safe place for ships to be stored when not in use, as the Mediterranean has strong seasonal winds. Bases were built around the Mediterranean that became “vital elements in maritime power, providing protection and points of supply for naval personnel and ships...” (Rawlings 2010, 262), but also provided important repair services and protection for commercial or state ships of other kinds.

In the following sections I will discuss ports and harbors around the Mediterranean. Ports and harbors are often confused as the same thing, and they serve similar functions. Ports are strictly man-made, and harbors can be natural or man-made. A port is an area where ships can

⁴¹ The Uluburun wreck is dated to the last years of the fourteenth c. BCE see Emanuel 2019, 2 for more information.

moor to offload goods and people, often consisting of built structures to make this more efficient. A harbor is an area where ships can anchor for safety (sometimes naturally occurring), that has been protected by a built mole⁴² or breakwater.⁴³ This is an important distinction because both ports and harbors will be discussed where they can be distinguished. Unfortunately, the field of Punic studies seems to use these terms interchangeably or in idiosyncratic ways depending on the author. To fully reassess these structures' functions is beyond the scope of the current study.

Ports at Carthage

Ancient Carthage had two ports, one circular, thought to be used for state and military purposes, and the other rectangular, seemingly used as a commercial port. These two ports, as they are currently preserved, seem to have been founded in the 4th – 3rd c. BCE (Hurst and Stager 1978, 334). The dating of monumental structures like this is difficult archaeologically, as there is significant disturbance of the surrounding terrain when digging, widening, or building structures near ports. Hurst suggests that the entrance to the ports was at the south end of the rectangular one (1974, 17). This could mean that the ports were linked in antiquity. There was a channel between the ports and the sea going ships, the ability to enter and leave a single port (Hurst 1974, 17).

⁴² A mole is a massive stone or earth structure that extends from the shore into the water.

⁴³ A breakwater is a barrier built out into the water to protect the coast or a harbor from waves.

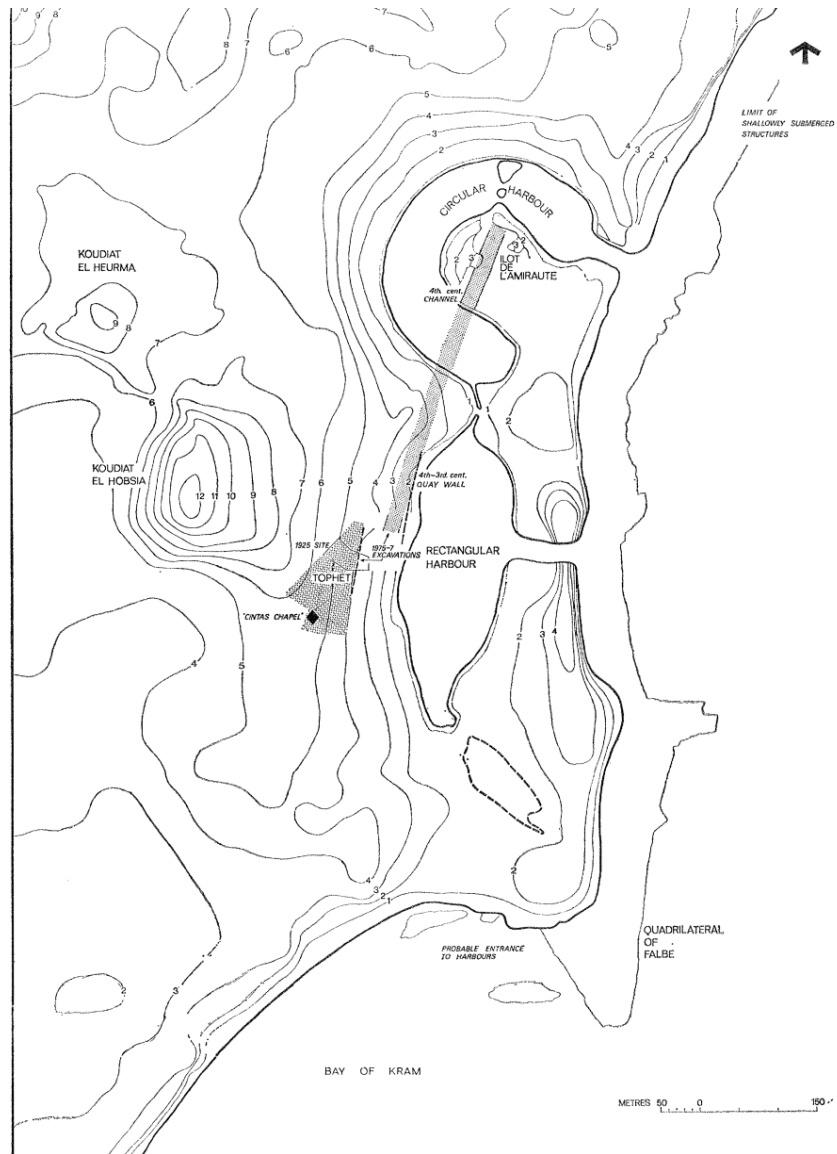


Figure 4.5: Map of circular and rectangular ports at Carthage (Hurst and Stager 1978, 336)

As discussed above, Carthage was founded in the late ninth century BCE and would have had an earlier port or harbor system to bring goods from other Mediterranean locations. The location or size of the original harbor is unknown but can be hypothesized based on known archaeological sites from these early strata.⁴⁴ For example, Hurst and Stager measure the rectangular port as 50 meters west of the cinerary votive site which has been dated to the 8th c.

⁴⁴ See Hurst and Stager (1978) for a more detailed description of evidence for this original port (or harbor).

BCE (1978, 337 – 38).⁴⁵ Since the original placement of a harbor, that ships anchored at, is unknown, it could have been on the outer edge of Carthage. Stager and Hurst suggest that originally there would have been a harbor where ships anchored. When the ports, we know today, were built, they were placed closer to the center of the city.

The construction of the two-port system would have been a massive undertaking given that the area was once a marshland over an estimated 235,000 m³, with 120,000 m³ excavated for the rectangular port and 115,000 m³ for the circular harbor (Hurst and Stager 1978, 341). Any work on this scale would have taken multiple years and hundreds of people to accomplish. Although the placement of the original harbor is still unknown, the military (circular) and commercial (rectangular) ports were constructed towards the center of Carthage.

⁴⁵ It is common to place the dead outside the or edge of the city limits.

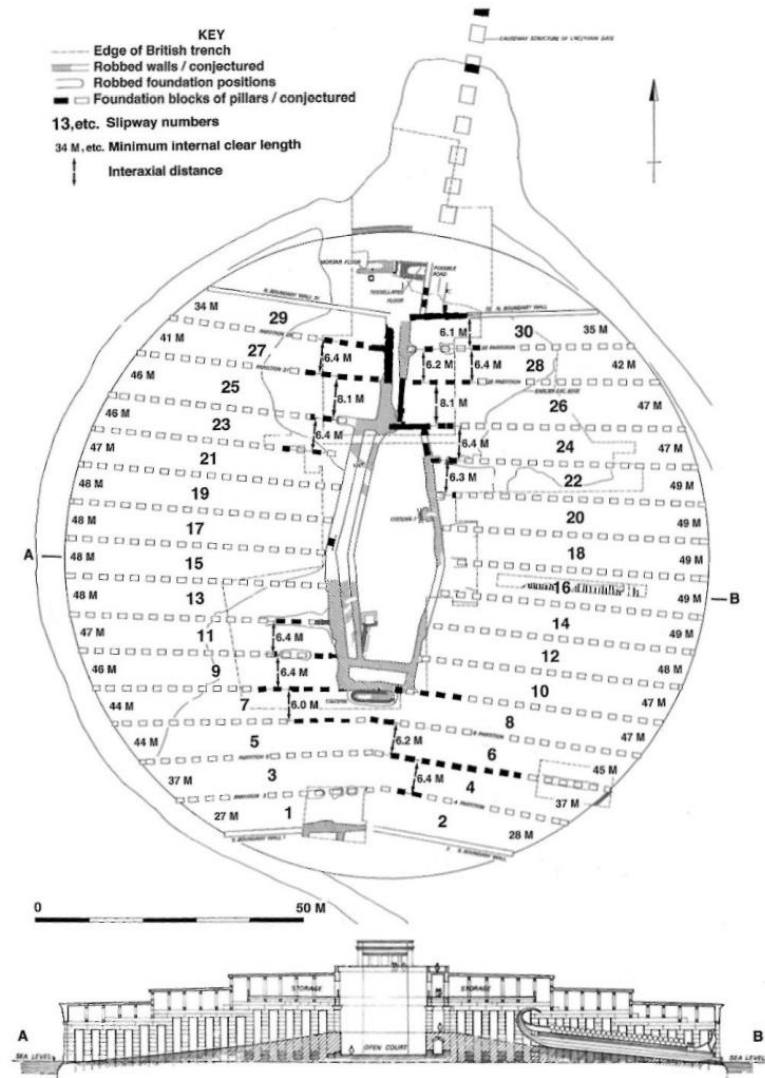


Figure 4.6: A reconstruction of the Carthaginian Ilôt de l'Amiraté, (within the circular port) based on the archaeological plans (Gerding 2013, 314).

The military and commercial ports were set slightly inland. The commercial one lead into the military through a large passageway (Gerding 2013, 307). This concept has been carried on by archaeologists continuing to use the same terminology. There are no Carthaginian inscriptions explaining their uses. It is possible that the circular harbor was used to solely store ships when in need of maintenance. Excavations uncovered the quayside of the merchant port, several ship sheds, and a central building within the military port (Hurst and Stager 1978, 341). The circular

port produced the remains of several ship sheds with ramps for ships to enter the water (Hurst and Stager 1978, 341) built around the outer edge of the port and island (see below) to keep ships inside during the non-sailing season. The island in the center of the circular port is called Ilôt de l'Amirauté, "Islet of the Admiralty," most likely the housing center for the admiral of the navy.

L' amiraute had a series of excavations that provided more information about the formation of the ship sheds. Excavations (see **Fig. 4.6** for a reconstruction based on the excavation plan) show that there was a causeway ca. 2.7 meters wide that would have made the island accessible from the outer circle (Gerding 2013, 308). Approximately 30 ship sheds would have been possible around the island and 140 around the perimeter of the circular port (Gerding 2013, 309). Along with classical sources, this gives scholars a sense of the scale of the Carthaginian fleet.⁴⁶

The Utica Harbor

Utica is a city north of Carthage, also in modern-day Tunisia. Ancient sources, like Appian (ca. 95 – 165 CE), suggest that Tyre founded Utica three centuries before Carthage, however no archaeological remains have been dated before the 9th c. BCE (Pleuger et al. 2019, 140). While at that time, Utica was a coastal site with its own harbor, the shoreline has changed significantly over the last millennia, and the site is now located inland (see **Fig. 4.7**).⁴⁷ Pleuger and colleagues (2019) describe the analysis of core samples taken around Utica. A core drilled to the north of the promontory showed the harbor likely had a depth of ca. 15 meters during the Punic and Roman periods (Pleuger et al. 2019, 146). This depth would have been plenty deep enough for ships to enter and leave the area. Pleuger and colleagues estimate that a depth of 3.6

⁴⁶ Polybius (ca. 200 – 118 BCE) says there was a fleet of 350 Carthaginian ships in the year 256 BCE, see Shuckburgh 1962 [1889], *Histories* 1.25.

⁴⁷ Located 10 kilometers from the shoreline (Pleuger et al. 2019, 141).

meters would accommodate a merchant ship of 300 – 500 tons and 2.3 meters would accommodate a ship of around 150 tons (2019, 144).

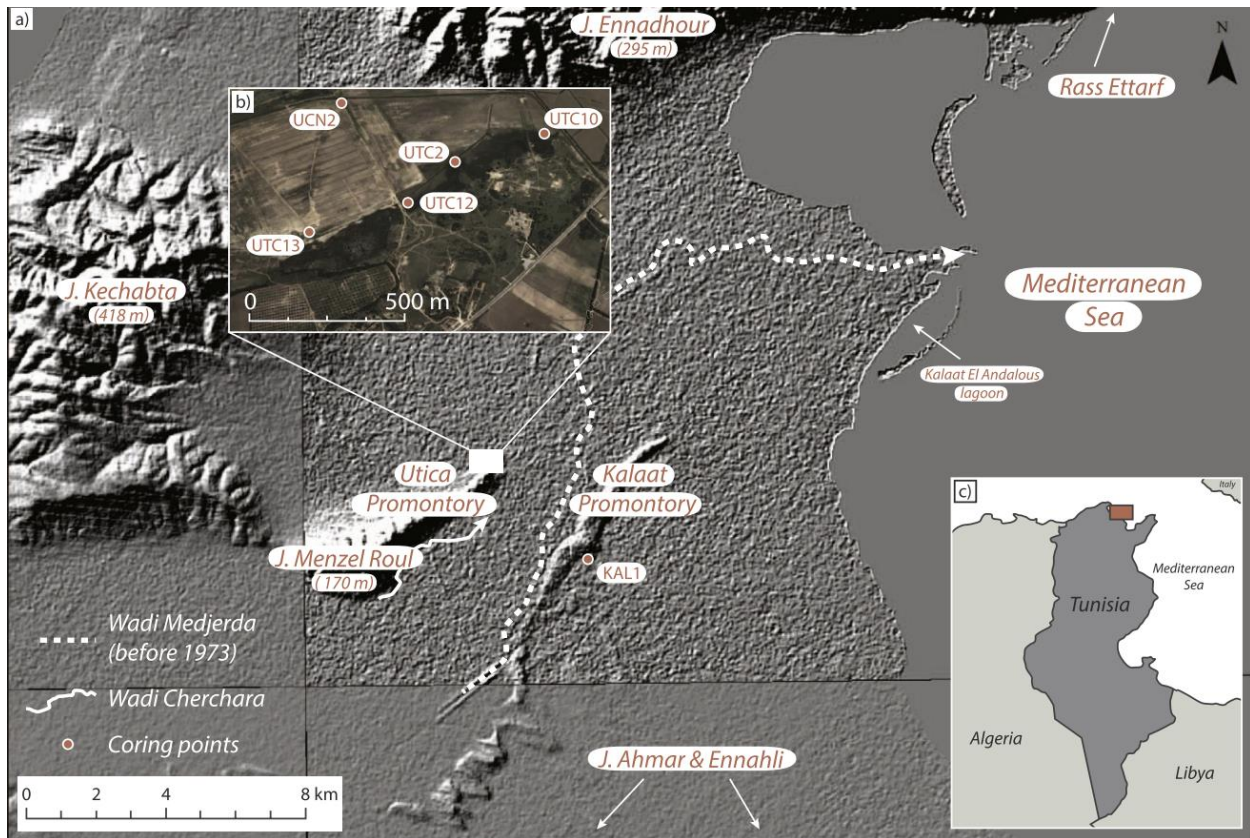


Figure 4.7: Map of Utica and the coring samples taken by Pleuger et al 2019, 141.

Currently there is no archaeological evidence for a built port structure at Utica, but it is unlikely this was not made more efficient with built structures (Pleuger et al. 2019, 147). This means that archaeologists could not find a man-made structure that resembled a port. That is not to say that there could have been man-made moles to protect a harbor, specifically an area in front of water near shore. Utica is approximately 100 km from Carthage, meaning the two may have had similar silting and wind patterns. After the end of the Punic Wars (146 BCE), Utica became the capital of the Roman Province of Africa (Pleuger et al. 2019, 140), likely increasing the use of its harbor system.

The Atlit Harbor

In the first millennium BCE, Atlit was a Phoenician site along the Levantine coast about 20 km south of Haifa, in modern Israel. Discovered and surveyed throughout the early to late 20th century CE, a survey and excavation of the area were conducted in the early 21st century (Haggi 2009, 278). The focus of the underwater excavations was at the northern and south-eastern moles (Haggi 2009, 278). These structures were man-made and would have been purposely built to enclose or protect a space around the beach. Evidence from the excavation reveals Phoenician maritime construction techniques that enabled them to build moles, using the ‘pier-and-rubble’ construction method, to create a harbor (Haggi 2009, 278). The location of this bay and therefore the settlement of Atlit were in a good position for trade between the Levant and the western Mediterranean, as well as inland.

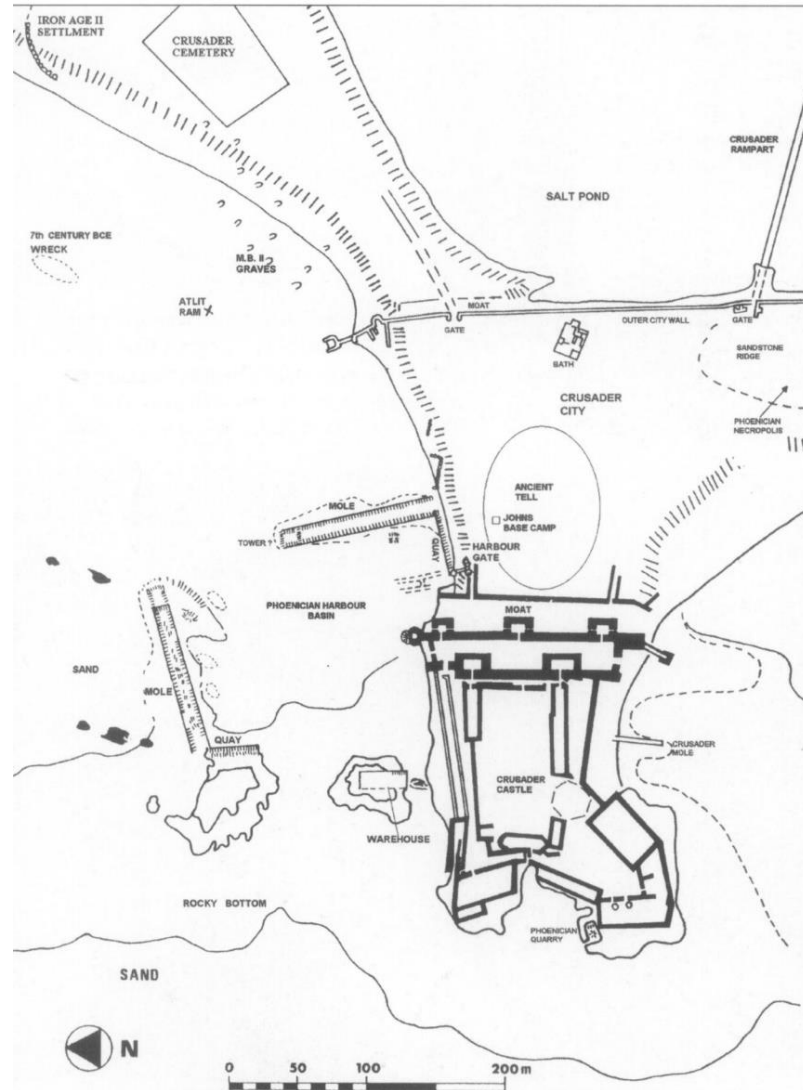


Figure 4.8: Plan of the site of Atlit and its harbor (S. Zagorski, adapted from A. Raban, see Haggi and Artzy 2007, 75).

The harbor (see **Fig. 4.8** for reference) would have been able to support the anchorage of large vessels due to its depth of 1.5 – 6 meters below sea level (Haggi and Artzy 2007, 76). A geological analysis of the stones found in the harbor show many made of basalt, ophiolite, and gabbro, which are not found in Israel; they most likely would have been brought as ballast from northern Syria and Cyprus (Haggi and Artzy 2007, 79). The protected area was likely used as an anchorage for vessels, and its construction is similar to others that Phoenicians created along the

central Levantine coast (see Haggi and Artzy 2007 for other examples). The creation of the offshore moles would be shaped to direct the entrance to the harbors with the wind, so that the ships had the aid of the wind into the harbor.⁴⁸ Much like at Carthage, Atlit's harbor seems to have been located centrally to the settlement.

Sidonian Harbors

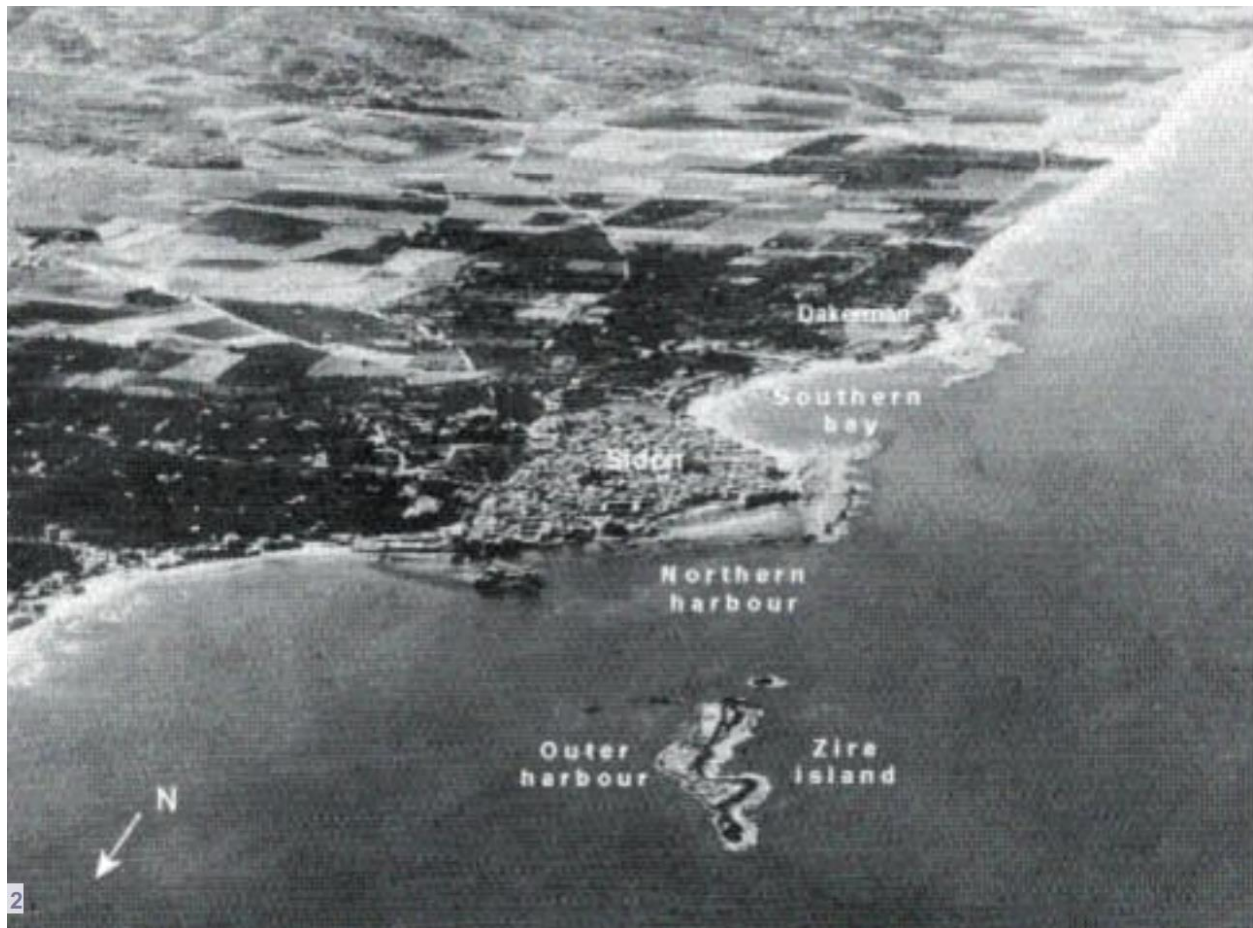


Figure 4.9: Aerial view of Sidon with harbors and island of Zire labelled.

⁴⁸ The entrance of the harbor was 140 – 150 meters wide. The area to the west was considered too narrow so the water flowed in through this entrance it exited through the entrance (Haggi and Artzy 2007, 79).

Sidon, located in modern-day Saida, Lebanon, was one of the most active harbors on the Levantine coast (Carayon et al. 2011-12, 433). Another well-known city-state in the Phoenician Levant, Sidon was situated on a rocky promontory with a low coastline (Carayon et al. 2011-12, 434). Carayon, Morhange, and Marriner provide a detailed analysis of the geomorphology and archaeology of not only the two harbors, but also an island to the north of the city, called Zire (Carayon et al. 2011-12). This island acts as a breakwater between the open sea and the rest of the coastal harbor at Sidon. Zire could have been used as an additional harbor, but is located several hundred meters from land, which makes it difficult to offload any trade goods without the aid of other vessels. However, Carayon and colleagues believe that it would have been an anchorage for smaller boats, like fishing vessels (2011-12, 441).

The coastal site of Sidon features both a northern and southern harbor. The northern harbor was likely of more military and economic value (Marriner et al. 2006, 1517). This harbor is at the very center of the ancient city that would have absorbed the majority of the trade goods (Marriner et al. 2006, 1517). Marriner and colleagues (2006) discuss the geological drill cores that this team took in the harbors, including samples from off the island of Zire, and in the (possible) southern harbor. It is unclear whether the southern harbor was enclosed at any point (Morhange et al. 2006, 1517). These cores established a chronology of the harbors and, based on the organisms revealed in the samples, provided insight into the formation of the harbors. One of the cores from the northern harbor revealed that “the environment was consistent with a harbor sheltered by an offshore sand bar” dated to roughly 1700 – 1450 BCE (Morhange et al. 2003, 75). Cores from the southern harbor revealed that “species representing biocenoses from different depths implies significant transport and reworking of shells and therefore an active current system,” meaning it was likely an open harbor (Morhange et al. 2003, 80).

The structure of the harbors in the Phoenician Levant seems to follow a similar pattern. Moles are built to form a protective barrier against the winds and tides at Sidon, Atlit, and Tyre (see below). The city of Sidon was built on a promontory with the harbor at the very end. The third anchorage location, off Zire, makes this site unique compared to the other Levantine harbors (Marriner et al. 2006, 1517). This area could have offered more support and space for an expanding naval military force, or for more goods to be offloaded. The harbors of Carthage roughly resemble the harbors at Sidon, in that there is an inner and outer harbor. At Sidon, these harbors were separated by an inner mole. While Carthage's ports are not separated by a mole, the military and commercial ports were both dug inland, with a kind of isthmus offering some protection from the Gulf of Tunis. The small inlet between the circular and rectangular ports

Tyrian Harbors

Originally an island (before its conquest by Alexander the Great in 332 BCE),⁴⁹ the ancient city of Tyre had significant power, resources, and wealth. It also had two harbors in the first millennium BCE, a northern ("Sidonian") and southern ("Egyptian") harbor⁵⁰ (Haggi and Artzy 2007, 81-82). The more northern harbor seems to have been dominant (Haggi and Artzy 2007, 81). Like the Atlit harbor, this northern Tyrian harbor had two moles (see **Fig. 4.10**), one curving west to east and the other on the eastern side (Haggi and Artzy 2007, 81-82).

⁴⁹ In 332 BCE, Alexander the Great created a land bridge from the mainland to the island during the siege of Tyre, permanently altering its geography.

⁵⁰ See Haggi and Artzy 2009, 81-82 and Nouredine 2010, 176 for further information about the harbors of Tyre.



Figure 4.10: Modern peninsula of Tyre, Lebanon with a harbor on the northern shore of the former island (Noureddine and Mior 2018, 98).

Frost (1971) reassessed early claims made by Ernest Renan (d. 1892) and Antoine Poidebard (d. 1955) about the construction of the Tyrian harbors after new underwater and coastal surveys. In 1936, Poidebard described seeing walls underwater, which could have been the outer parts of the two harbors of Tyre (Frost 1971, 105-6). Frost dove the same site 35 years later, and determined the formations of rock were not nearly as tall or wide as Poidebard had estimated (Frost 1971, 105-6)⁵¹.

Much like Carthage, Tyre had two harbors that were used for the trade goods that went to and came from all points of the Mediterranean. Tyre, as the mother of the colony of Carthage, may have been the inspiration for its two-port system.

⁵¹ Frost talks about the rock layers that were ‘deposited’ in layers (Frost 1971, 105). It is unclear if she argues these were deposited by the sea or man-made, but I think it is likely these were man-made to protect the area around the shore.

Conclusions

Carthage's two ports differ in significant ways when compared to the other Phoenician and Punic examples discussed here. Carthage's ports as we have them today (likely established or rebuilt in the 4th – 3rd c. BCE) are permanently built structures that seem to have significantly reshaped the natural landscape to maximize military and commercial efficiency. While the other Phoenician and Punic harbors have been recovered, we don't currently have evidence for shipsheds to store ships for repair or during the off-season. Harbors were meant for ships to anchor in, with moles constructed to protect the harbor from significant waves. It is likely that major maritime city-states had significant harbor or ports to receive trade goods from a large number of ships. However, "housing" ships would require significant space (see the section about Carthage's ports above, specifically shipsheds). Therefore, it is likely that harbors were safe places to keep ships at anchor for enough time to offload goods.

The evidence of shipwrecks, anchors and ports and harbors presented in this chapter indicates the centrality of watercraft to the layout of Phoenician and Punic cities, their trade networks and economies, and their integrated maritime landscapes. Most cities had not one but two harbors, with specialized functions, and the view from Carthage's cinerary votive site would have encompassed both the shipsheds as well as ships in the water at the nearby port sites. While perhaps only specialized seafarers served on larger or state-commissioned vessels, it is reasonable to assume that images of ships, anchors, and other maritime equipment would have been recognizable and salient to most people living in these coastal cities built around their ports and harbors. In the next chapter, I will explore the evidence for maritime imagery (ships, parts of

ships, and anchors) from religious settings, to further contextualize the images of ships from the cinerary votive site stelae in my corpus.

Chapter 5. Maritime Iconography in other first millennium BCE Mediterranean Votive

Contexts

In order to understand the maritime iconography on the Punic stelae from the cinerary votive sites discussed in chapter 3, I will offer a brief survey of similar iconography from votive contexts around Mediterranean, focusing on the 4th – 1st c. BCE.⁵² This chapter discusses nine sites from the eastern Mediterranean, Greece, and the southern Iberian coast. Examples of relevant votive objects include clay models of ships and other miniature maritime elements, figurines, and carved scenes depicting maritime rituals or ships in religious contexts.⁵³ These examples show that the maritime imagery on the stelae from Carthage and Cirta are not unique during this time period, and that they often appear in religious or ritual contexts.

As stated in chapter 2, iconographic interpretation is challenging, especially in contexts where accompanying texts are not descriptive (as is the case of the cinerary votive site stelae). Wachsmann argues that while ancient ship iconography can offer some insight into ship construction, not all elements may be included in images of ships (2019, 42). In the case of the stelae corpus, the ship, rudder, and anchor iconography do not depict completely accurate construction. Some elements are left out and others are heavily stylized, but what is included on the stelae shows which parts of the ship were important to those who commissioned them.

⁵² Stone anchors, ship or boat graffiti, and boat models are also found in mortuary contexts in the first millennium BCE Mediterranean world. While these could also have relevance for the present study, I have chosen not to include most of them since scholars are divided about whether the cinerary votive sites should be interpreted as sites of infant sacrifice or as burial grounds. Since the field agrees that these sites were ritual sites where gifts were given to Tanit and Baal Hammon, I have limited my comparanda to iconography from votive contexts.

⁵³ This chapter represents a selection of examples. More images of ships from Phoenician and Punic contexts can be found in Brody 1998, but these represent more examples of the same general types of evidence.



Figure 5.1: Stylized rudders (likely not representing actual rudder shapes and proportions) as found on PMIS-C 34 and 32.

For example, **Figure 5.1** illustrates some of the variety of stylized rudder depictions. While neither of these likely represent an accurate rudder (in terms of its overall length, proportions, or positioning) in Punic ship construction, they both show a similar idea of the symbol of the rudder. In the following discussion, images of ships, parts of ships, or anchors from contemporaneous contexts will be similarly assessed – not as evidence of ship construction, but as stylized references or symbols with votive relevance to the people who dedicated or commissioned them.

Eastern Mediterranean

Tel Akko

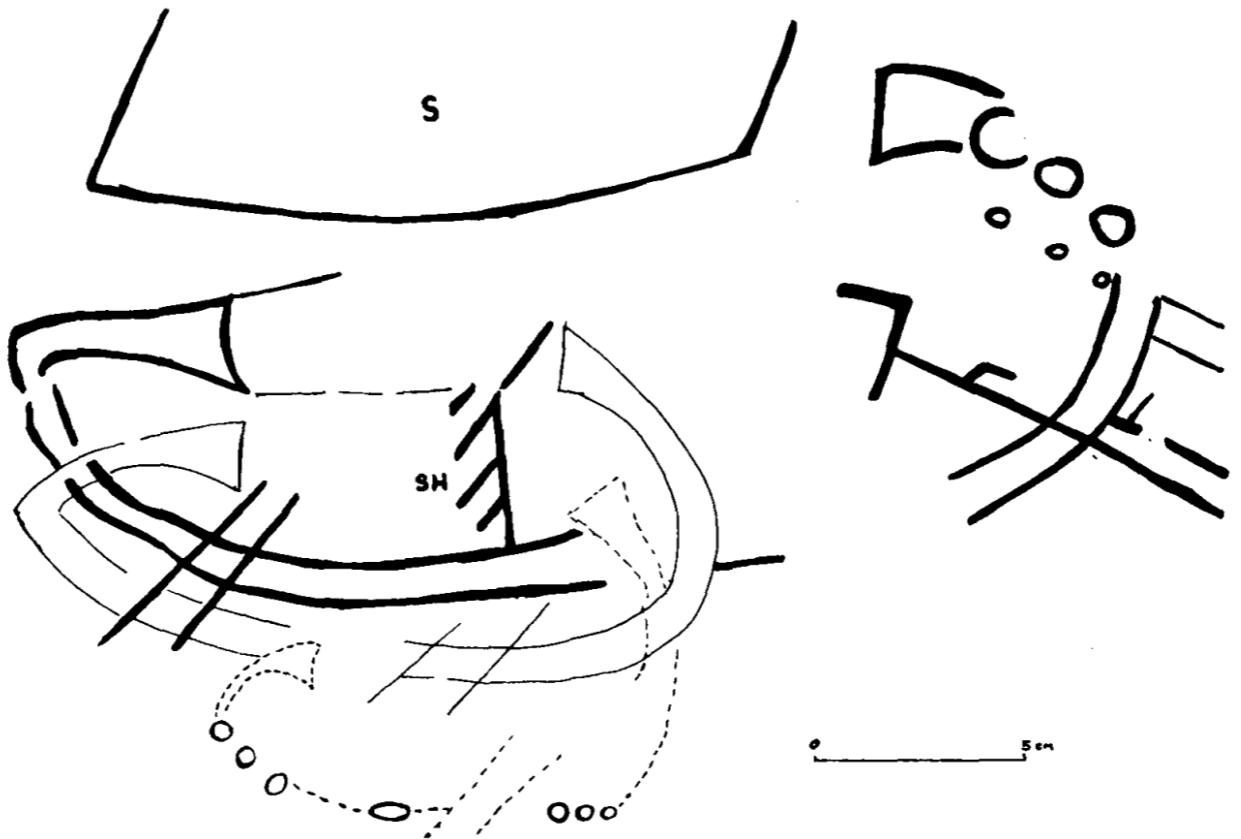


Figure 5.2: Drawings of the three ships carved into the side of a portable limestone altar found at Tel Akko (drawing by M. Artzy and L. Basch; Artzy 1984, 60).

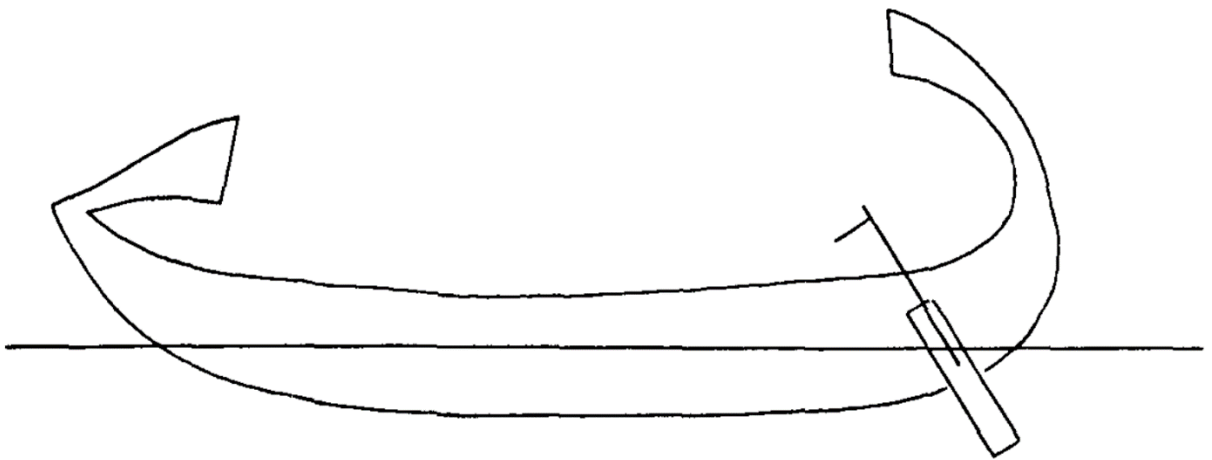


Figure 5.3: Hypothetical reconstruction of a ship the 'Akko type' (drawing by L. Basch; Artzy 1984, 61).

Tel Akko, a coastal site located north of Haifa in modern-day Israel, has been an archaeological site since 1980. In a Late Bronze Age context, associated with a stone-lined pit containing ash and stones, a portable limestone altar was found (0.3 x 0.24 x 0.26 m) with four ships cut into one of the sides, dated to ca. 1200 BCE (Artzy 1984, 59; Artzy 1987, 75).⁵⁴ The largest ship features a mast and shrouds,⁵⁵ oars, a sail, and two rudders or steering oars with an attached tiller (Artzy 1987, 76). The stones in the pit also were engraved with images including examples of a small ship, a dolphin, and another sea creature (either a dolphin or a large fish; Artzy 1987, 75-76). Though this altar and the ritual deposit of stones are early for my purposes, the three engraved ships show the continuous importance of maritime iconography in religious contexts. Each ship on the altar features a different-shaped stern and all are of ancient 'round ship' class (Artzy 1984, 60).⁵⁶ It seems that the engraver attempted to integrate the three ships, all imposed onto the first, larger one, with emphasis on the decoration of fans in the sterns (Artzy 1984, 59-60).⁵⁷ Artzy concludes that these may have been ritual implements used by settled Sea Peoples (1987, 82) but does not go further to suggest an interpretation of the specific purpose of the engraved ship altar and pit.

Although this example is early, from the end of the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1200 BCE), the ships engraved into the altar show a connection between votive iconography selected by Phoenician/Punic communities and earlier cultural groups. Maritime iconography is not entirely rare in ancient Mediterranean religious contexts and is not isolated to one time period or cultural context. These images of ships are stylistically quite different from those found on Punic cinerary

⁵⁴ Note that Artzy suggests it may have been a ship altar (1987, 76), though this is speculation.

⁵⁵ Shrouds are pieces of standing rigging which hold the mast up from side to side.

⁵⁶ A 'round' ship is known for its rounded hulls and curved stern.

⁵⁷ Fans are a type of ship decoration found on the stern, see Artzy (1984, 62) for further information. Artzy discusses this type of decoration on Egyptian vessels.

votive site stelae, but they indicate a long-standing interest in placing images of ships on ritual equipment and in votive contexts.

Shavei Zion and other underwater deposits



Figure 5.4: Sample of figurines found at Shavei Zion (Edrey, Erlich, and Yasur-Landau 2020, 4). Note the sign of Tanit on multiple figurines. Currently at National Maritime Museum in Haifa, Israel.

The site of Shavei Zion is located five kilometers north of Tel Akko along the coast of modern Israel. An underwater survey about a kilometer offshore revealed over 300 figurines representing a goddess in a depth of 5 – 11 meters of water (See **Fig. 5.4** for sample, Edrey, Erlich, and Yasur-Landau 2020, 1-2). Originally hypothesized to be the remains of a shipwreck carrying these figurines (Edrey, Erlich, and Yasur-Landau 2020, 1-2), it has now been

reinterpreted as a site where figurines were deliberately thrown into the water as votive offerings. Based on ceramic typology, the site seems to have been in use throughout the 7th – 4th/3rd c. BCE (Edrey, Erlich, and Yasur-Landau 2020, 3). There are no inscriptions on the figurines that aid our interpretation, but the fact that 300 of them were preserved in roughly the same location is significant. These were likely gifts of thanksgiving or request of a goddess (often identified as Tanit, since some of them feature the sign of Tanit on the base or abdomen of the figure).



Figure 5.5: Clay boat model (H-3134) currently found at the Hecht Museum. The top picture is of the clay model from the port side, bottom from the starboard (Raban and Kahanov 2003, 62).



Figure 5.6: Clay boat model (H-3296) currently found at the Hecht Museum. The top pictures are of the ship from the port, bottom from the starboard (Raban and Kahanov 2003, 64).

Two model boats (H-3134 and H-3296, see **Figs. 5.5** and **5.6**) from the Hecht Museum in Haifa, Israel are also of interest. Although Raban and Kahanov consider them to be round-bottom hulls with no keel, the models are so simplistic that it is impossible to say for certain (Raban and Kahanov, 2003, 66). While these were not found in scientific excavation, the museum reports they are confident in their authenticity and likely come from off the coast of southern Lebanon. Raban and Kahanov make the argument that these are much like two other model boats from offshore locations south of Tyre, and they use the patterns of scattered figurines found at Shavei Zion to inform their study of the Hecht Museum boat models. The model boats seem to emphasize the basic shape of the vessel and the oarsmen (3-5 pairs) onboard. Wachsmann

discusses several common distortions in ancient representations of ships, arguing that “the most common of these seems to be a distortion of the prototype vessel’s length-to-beam ratio” (Wachsmann 2019, 44). Wachsmann’s point is relevant in interpreting the Hecht Museum model boats, which are not properly scaled. Raban and Kahanov conclude that “the representation signifies the boat’s duties, by stressing the propelling power (the oarsmen),” and they explore the model boats as connected to ideas like ceremonial voyages carrying shrines or votive symbols (2003: 70-71).

Edrey and colleagues argue that the Shavei Zion figurines should be interpreted as “votive offerings cast into the sea as part of a maritime cult” (Edrey, Erlich, and Yasur-Landau 2020, 10). This congregation of votive objects, individually dedicated in repeated ritual actions, is similar to the stelae from the cinerary votive sites. The general location of this ritual site, perhaps marked by a natural landmark or man-made monument now missing, had meaning to the people who placed all the figurines, much like the designated sacred locations of the cinerary votive sites. The fact that the location is in the sea itself is interesting. It suggests that a goddess (Tanit, Ashtart, or other goddesses depending on the individual dedicant’s intent) had some cultic relationship to the sea. If worshippers had to use a boat or ship to venture out to the votive site, it shows a deliberate choice to deposit these offerings into the sea rather than at the shoreline.

Yavneh-Yam (and Ashkelon)



Figure 5.7: Cat. No. 1 ceramic handmade ship which is one of two full ceramic models found at Yavneh-Yam (Fischer et al. 2023, 343).

From Yavneh-Yam, 15 km south of Tel Aviv on the Levantine coast, several ceramic boat models (two complete (**Fig. 5.7**) and three fragmentary were studied, though other rim fragments were also found) have been excavated from the Persian and Hellenistic period harbor site (ca. 6th – 2nd c. BCE; Fischer et al. 2023, 339 and 342). Fischer and colleagues review evidence from studies of model boats in the Aegean world and suggest several possible interpretations of the Yavneh-Yam model boats, including the dedication of model boats as votive offerings, as suggesting their owner’s connection to seafaring as part of their burials, as vessels for libations, or as oil lamps (Fischer et al. 2023, 348-49). In their discussion of the range of possible interpretations for these and other model boats from religious contexts, Fischer and colleagues add that “since some of these models came from tombs (although not in our case), their use as burial goods might as well hint at the occupation of the deceased or suggest a symbolic function in connection with the afterlife” (Fischer et al. 2023, 249). This range of interpretations is also relevant for the maritime iconography found at the Punic cinerary votive sites. These boat models could have been offered by seafarers as a request or thanks for a safe voyage. This

hypothesis seems to be frequently suggested because boats or ships are usually associated with seafarers alone. I find this an understandable hypothesis but suggest others in my next chapter.

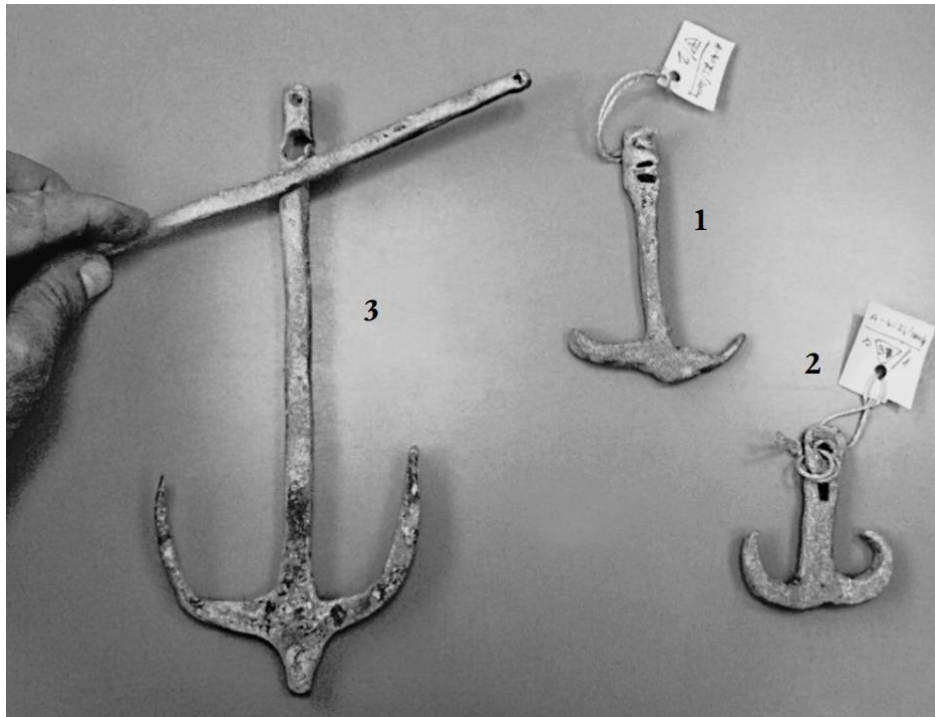


Figure 5.8: Miniature anchors found off Ashkelon roughly 100 meters off the beach for votive purposes (Galili and Rosen 2015, 56).

Off the coast of Yavneh-Yam and Ashkelon (50 km south of Tel Aviv), nine miniature lead anchors (see **Fig. 5.8** for a few examples) were found on the seabed, dated roughly to the Hellenistic –Byzantine periods (late 4th c. BCE – first few centuries CE; Galili and Rosen 2015, 54).⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Two from Yavneh-Yam anchorage, two from Assemblage A at Ashkelon North, two from Assemblage B at Tell Ashkelon, and one from Assemblage C at Ashkelon South (Galili and Rosen 2015, 54-58).



Figure 5.9: Steering oar found off coast of Ashkelon as a possible apotropaic or votive artifact (Galili and Rosen 2015, 60).

One miniature rudder or steering oar was also found off the south part of Tell Ashkelon (see **Fig. 5.9**, 11.6 cm long, though the tiller is broken off) may also have been an apotropaic item or part of a model boat (Galili and Rosen 2015, 60). The steering oar was found off the coast of Ashkelon, and one of the assemblages of miniature anchors was found 30 – 40 meters east of the rudder findspot (Galili and Rosen 2015, 60). The fact that the steering oar was not found with additional artifacts is interesting. The steering oar was found 80 meters from the beach (Galili and Rosen 2015, 60) a distance that indicates it was likely dropped from a boat. It could be a votive offering like the figurines off Tek Akko, used for protection during a sea voyage. Of course, this miniature rudder bears significant resemblance to the rudders that were carved into maritime stelae from Punic cinerary votive sites. On the maritime stelae from Punic cinerary votive sites, more feature rudders than depict ships and anchors combined. Some of the engraved ships also feature rudders or steering oars attached to the stern.



Figure 5.10: Stone anchors with carved rudder symbols found off the coast near Tell Megadim, today at Maritime National Museum, Haifa, Israel (photo by M. Elsner in 2023).

Finally, full size anchors also frequently feature carved symbols or inscriptions (Galili and Rosen 2015, 60).⁵⁹ Galili and Rosen provide numerous examples of different symbols, perhaps most notably the pair of stone anchors from off the shore near Tell Megadim (2 km north of Atlit) marked with a rudder symbol (see **Fig. 5.10**, interpreted as the Egyptian hieroglyph for steering oar⁶⁰ [Galili and Rosen 2015, 65], *ḥmw* or P10 in Gardiner's sign list). These have been dated to the Late Bronze Age on the basis of their shape, but we now know stone anchors were in use throughout the first millennium BCE as well. In any case, the rudder symbol engraved into a

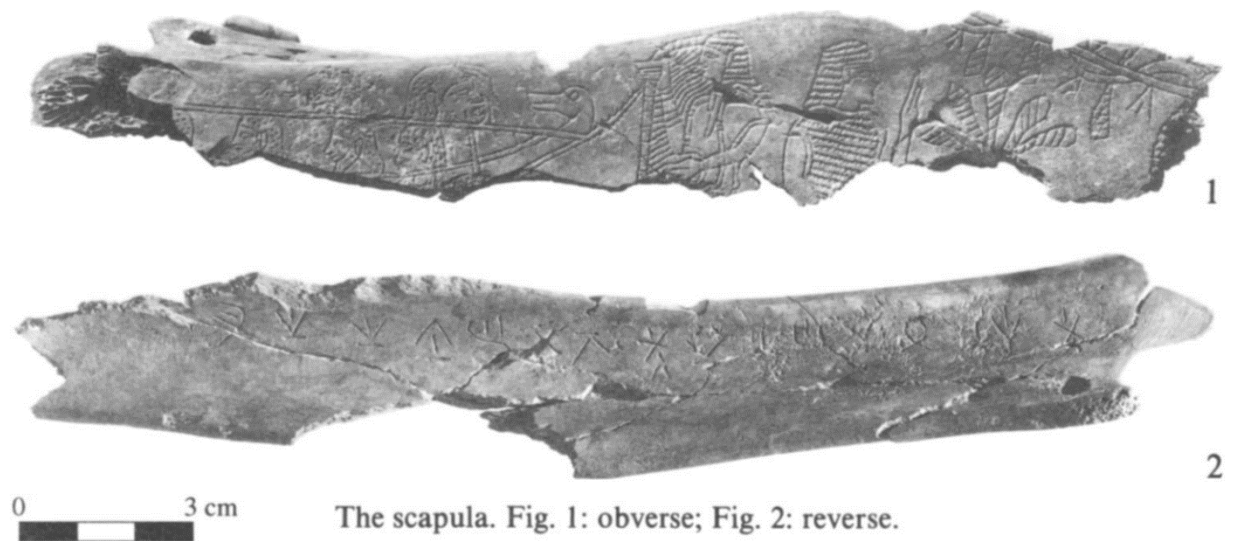
⁵⁹ Galili and Rosen point out that the engraved anchors seem to cluster in two underwater contexts off the coast of Israel (the northern Carmel coast and the coast of Ashkelon; 2015, 60). The two from Megadim south are some of several exceptions to this pattern.

⁶⁰ These anchors possibly originated from Egypt dating to the Middle Kingdom (1580 – 1350 BCE).

functional stone anchor represents an intriguing intersection of actual maritime equipment and apotropaic or votive maritime symbols.

Tel Dor

At Tel Dor, 30 km south of Haifa on the coast of modern Israel, an animal scapula with a maritime scene engraved onto it was found. This image of a maritime ceremony or celebration (see **Fig. 5.11**, on the right side, a man worshipping a goddess in a sacred space; on the left side, a woman or goddess near a ship) has been dated to the mid-first millennium BCE (Sauvage 2015, 69). An inscription on its reverse is a later dedication written in Paphian Cypro-Syllabic, dated to the 5th – 4th c. BCE, while the engraved scene likely dates to the 7th – 6th c. BCE (Sauvage 2015, 69). Iconography from this scapula, like the palm tree, are associated with the worship of the Great Goddess on Cyprus and with goddesses in the Levant like Anat, Asherah, and Astarte / Ashtart (Sauvage 2015, 70). Sauvage calls the engraved scene a “celebration.” While it is not certain that the female depicted is a goddess (she could be a lyre player or priestess), the gesture of benediction or prayer (her raised hand) could be either the goddess offering her blessing, or a priestess thanking the gods for her protection over navigation (Sauvage 2015, 85).



The scapula. Fig. 1: obverse; Fig. 2: reverse.

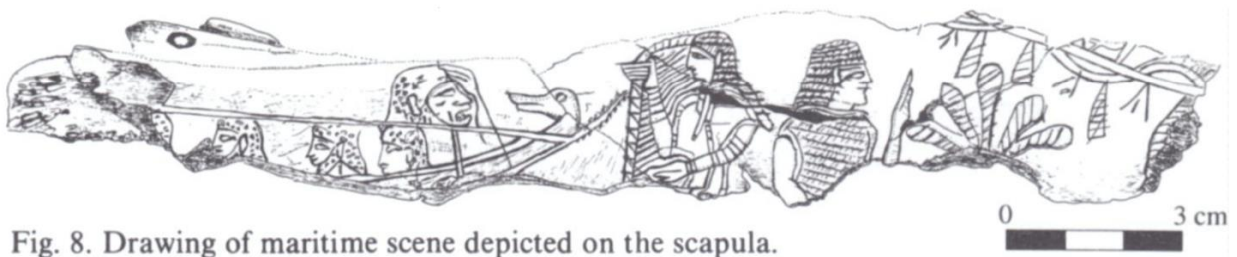


Fig. 8. Drawing of maritime scene depicted on the scapula.

Figure 5.11: Scapula with maritime scene carved into it, a votive object, from Tel Dor. The upper image is a picture of the scapula and carving itself (Stern 1994, 1). The lower picture is the drawing of the carving itself (Stern 1994, 8).

Although Tanit, the goddess mentioned in the Punic inscriptions from the cinerary votive sites, is not mentioned here, this example is important as a dedication to a goddess and her incorporation into a maritime scene. A maritime celebration in relation to a goddess could suggest a level of protection or guidance that the goddess, Astarte/Aphrodite, can provide relative to the sea, as goddesses likely had a role in seafarers' lives as protector.

Greece

Johnston (1985) offered an analysis of different ship and boat models from Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic Greece. Three model boats from Hellenistic votive or funerary contexts are discussed, while a majority of the remaining Hellenistic corpus are of unknown provenance.

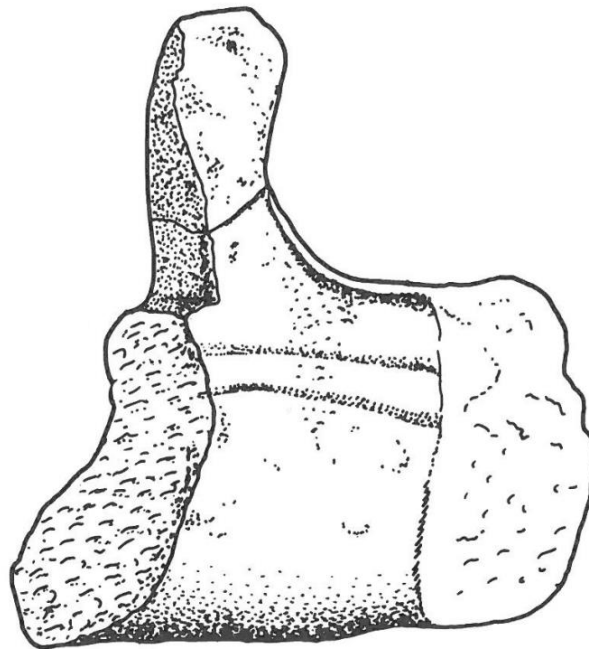


Figure 5.12: Funerary monument in the shape of a warship prow from Rhenia, dated to the late 2nd – early 1st c. BCE (Johnston 1985, 105; Hell. 9).

Two larger monuments offer more detailed ship iconography. The first is a funerary monument (Hell. 9) in the form of a warship prow that was found in a necropolis on Rhenia (near Mykonos and Delos) and dated to the late 2nd – 1st c. BCE (Johnston 1985, 105). A votive statue base (see Fig. 5.13, Hell. 8) from the 2nd c. BCE in the form of a ship's prow was found in the Athenian Agora (Johnston 1985, 104-105). It may be significant that the prow is emphasized in this representation, though why this is emphasized is more difficult to determine. Comparatively, these examples show the maritime iconography appears in religious contexts

outside of Punic cinerary votive sites at this time, though Johnston offers little interpretive analysis. The few votive artifacts he discusses are unprovenanced watercraft representations.

Several of the Aegean monuments show maritime iconography in funerary contexts. These artifacts were used to mark graves, much like the stelae at the cinerary votive sites mark human remains. The fact that both types of iconography include examples that emphasize the prow of a ship may also be religiously (or professionally) significant.

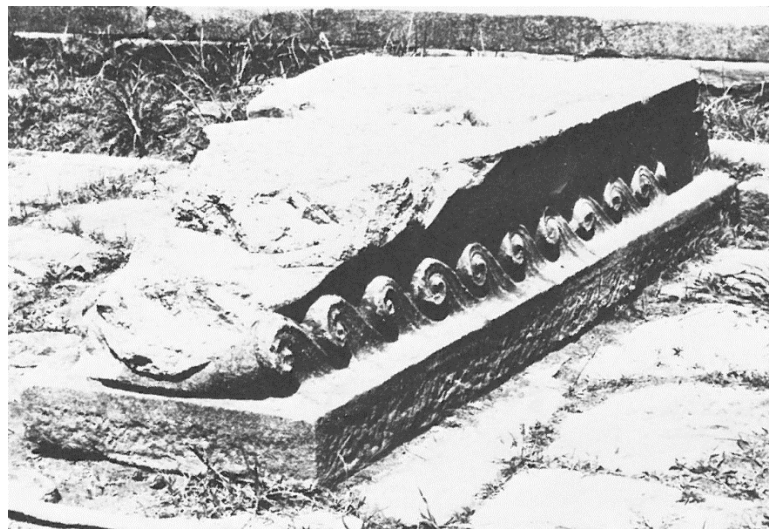


Figure 5.13: Ship's prow as a votive statue base in Thasos, Agora, called Hell. 8 (Johnston 1985, 104).

The Iberian coast

Off the coast of Cadiz and Huelva in southern Spain, Phoenician bronze figurines were discovered, all representing male figures wearing Egyptian-looking attire (possibly representing the Tyrian god Melqart; Álvarez-Martí-Aguilar 2023, 323). These figurines were most likely produced between the 8th and 7th centuries BCE in Levantine Phoenician workshops before being exported to Spain (Álvarez-Martí-Aguilar 2023, 325). Álvarez-Martí-Aguilar posits that the artifacts may be votive offerings that were cast into the sea during rituals, a religious

response to what he calls “extreme marine events,” like sea floods caused by storm surges or tsunamis (Álvarez-Martí-Aguilar 2023, 326 and 332). This collection of bronze (and therefore very valuable) votive objects shows another way that those in Phoenician / Punic colonies saw the sea as the realm of the gods and used it as a place for ritual action.

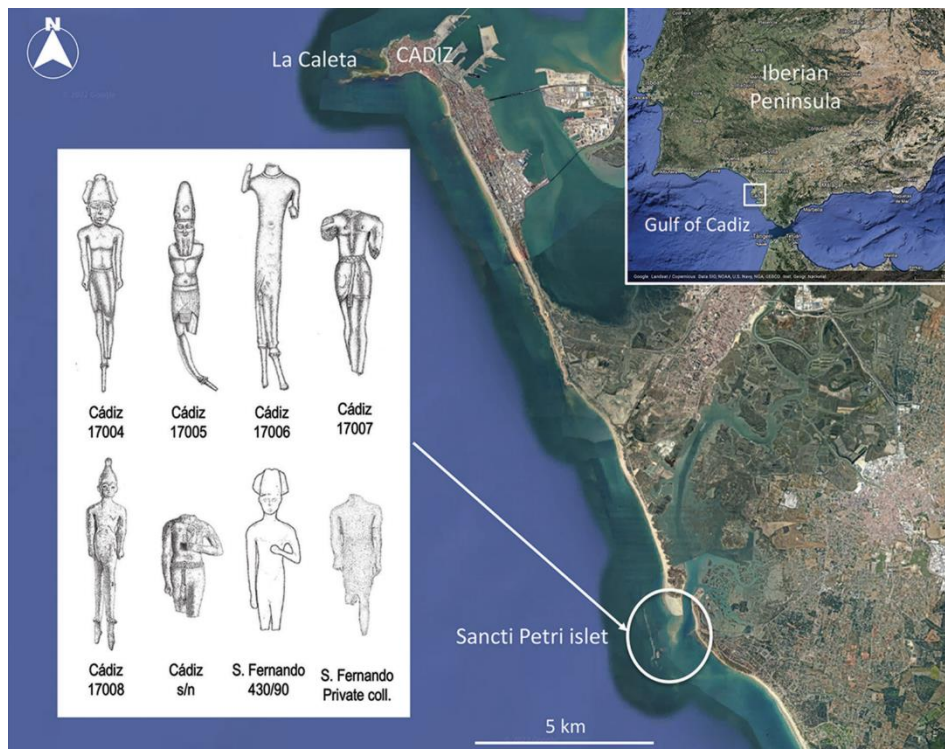


Figure 5.14: Map of the Bay of Cadiz, where the bronze figurines were found. Also showing an additional sample of the bronze figurines that were found underwater (Álvarez-Martí-Aguilar 2023, 325).

Conclusions

This brief overview indicates that parallels for each of the categories of maritime iconography from the Punic cinerary votive site stelae are available, and there is significant evidence for the worship of both male and female deities in connection with maritime imagery or through votive deposits into the sea. While the examples above do not represent all the available images of ships, rudders, or anchors from the first millennium BCE Mediterranean world, they

do provide a survey of the types of available evidence and their functional context as best we can reconstruct it.

Ship iconography is the most common (or perhaps the most recognizable). Ships can be found in many scenes representing religious rituals, a practice that precedes Phoenician cultural distinctiveness in the Levant. The prow seems to have been emphasized in some Aegean monuments (funerary and votive), perhaps as a sign of leadership, bravery, or to represent the personhood of the ship itself (see below).

Rudder iconography is rarer. I was able to find only one steering oar or rudder (the miniature rudder from Ashkelon) in any votive context, although the rudder symbol appears inscribed into actual stone anchors. This part of the ship is seen as a guiding mechanism that directs the boat or ship to safety. The overall lack of examples of apotropaic steering oars or rudders may be telling. Sometimes, steering oars are attached to clay models, or they may be painted onto ships in different media. The lack of examples could suggest that the importance of a rudder was tied more closely to the ship itself. On the other hand, perhaps there is just a limited amount of literature that focuses solely on the representation of the steering mechanisms of ships or boats, so these symbols are overlooked by scholars.

As for anchors, miniature votive anchors seem to have been deposited into the sea, but anchors could also be inscribed with other maritime iconography (like the rudder sign in the example from Tel Megadim). Stone anchors (different in shape but not in function from the iconography of stock anchors on the cinerary votive site stelae) also appear in many Phoenician temples and tombs (Brody 1998, 89-92), further underscoring the likelihood that anchors had become religious symbols in the Phoenician and Punic world. With this comparative evidence in

mind, I will outline what I see as the most likely interpretations of the cinerary votive site stelae with maritime imagery in the following chapter.

Chapter 6. Analysis of Maritime Iconography on Stelae from Punic Cinerary Votive Sites

Reviewing the Phoenician and Punic evidence for maritime landscapes and symbols, along with comparative first millennium BCE examples, allows several possible interpretations for the ships (19 stelae), rudders (42), and anchors (11) on cinerary votive site stelae (a total of 72 stelae with maritime iconography).⁶¹ The vast majority of these (68 stelae) come from Carthage, where the cinerary votive site itself is within 100 meters of the rectangular, merchant port, which in turn is connected to the military port by a small channel.⁶²

In my view, four hypotheses that are the most plausible. Namely that the maritime imagery (1) indicates sailors were the dedicants, (2) represents symbols of the goddess Tanit, (3) indicates the personhood of ships (perhaps a divine ship), and (4) points to an afterlife belief involving a journey by water. These four hypotheses are not necessarily mutually exclusive but they deserve independent consideration. I will review each of these hypotheses in turn and then point to some directions for future research.

Hypothesis 1: Maritime Iconography Indicates Sailors

The first hypothesis is that maritime imagery indicates that the dedicant of these stelae were professional sailors, fisherman, or naval officers (**Fig. 6.1**). This argument is particularly made by Aaron Brody and supported by other scholars, based on the idea the cinerary votive site is where sacrificed, cremated infants were buried; Brody suggests that sailors, in times of turbulence at sea, would promise or offer something, possibly a child, in return for help and protection by a deity, specifically Tanit and Baal Hammon (the deities mentioned in the

⁶¹ See chapter 3 or appendix A for all the stelae imagery.

⁶² See chapter 2 to review the layout of the ancient city of Carthage.

inscriptions on the stelae; Brody 1998, 77-78). The sailor(s) would then commission a maritime symbol that reflected the nature of the intervention made for the sailor's protection, as a reminder of the time it was necessary to call upon the gods. Galili and Rosen acknowledge that mariners knew that the sea was dangerous, acting as its own entity, and knew they had little physical means to protect themselves (2015, 85). They suggest that "...that entity had to be approached and appeased by non-material, spiritual, avenues" (Galili and Rosen 2015, 86), including perhaps making promises to other divine beings for help in navigating it. Personally, I think that the cremated infant remains from cinerary votive site have no connection to sacrifice. However, it is more likely that this site is an infant cemetery.



Figure 6.1: Model of a trireme at the National Maritime Museum, Haifa, Israel. The model has a symbolic or apotropaic eye (see below), ram at the bow, with a steering oar at the stern. This representation was modeled after the Atlit ram and its reconstructed ship (photo by M. Elsner in 2023).

All of the maritime items represented on the stelae are essential to a sailor: ships carry sailors from place to place around the Mediterranean, protecting them from the dangers of the sea. A rudder is the mechanism that steers and guides the ship in the proper direction. Lastly, the anchor is the grounding element that can keep the watercraft from blowing into rocks or the

beach in a storm. The symbolic meaning behind each of these elements might therefore be found in how they protect sailors. A ship (see **Fig. 6.1** as example of trireme) separates the sailors from the sea and keeps them off the water. Rudders can steer the ship away from danger, and anchors can be the last resort to keep a ship from being crushed against the rocks.

This interpretation argues that maritime iconography, like votive anchors or model ships, are symbols of the sailors' concerns and their needs. Other archaeological remains have also been brought into this discussion; for example, Brody suggests that model ships placed as offerings in sacred buildings represent ships whose hull (perhaps under divine order) guarded sailors from the dangers of water (1998, 76). These kinds of artifacts may reveal that sailors had specialized religious practices which they enacted at points of transition (Brody 1998, 74).

There are several issues with this hypothesis: first is that while Brody assumes maritime iconography would be uniquely important to seafarers, it is clear that many people in these coastal communities would be familiar enough with ships that they would understand their importance and likely see them as having symbolic or mythological importance. Secondly, if these votive offerings were promised by sailors, it seems likely that there would be more than the 72 stelae with maritime imagery found at the cinerary votive sites. Would only 72 stelae out of an estimated 10,000 cinerary votive site stelae seem proportionate to represent those who faced life-in-death peril at sea? As Blakely argues, "maritime rituals were neither restricted to the gods most often associated with the sea, nor to individuals whose primary source of livelihood was seafaring" (2017, 362). A third issue with this hypothesis is that it is based on an interpretation of the cinerary votive sites as places where child sacrifice was practiced as the ultimate gift to the gods, which is far from certain. While it is not impossible that some of the maritime stelae were commissioned by sailors, three other interpretations seem more likely.

Hypothesis 2: Ships, rudders, and anchors as symbols of divinity

Divine figures are often represented as symbols. These divine symbols can range from objects from everyday life, to celestial symbols like stars and crescent moons, to food items, like pomegranates representing Persephone to animals or ritual objects. Divine figures can also be represented through the expression of ideas, like protection or safety. Most religions associate their deities with features that serve key purposes to the people that pray to them. For Carthage, deities like Melqart, Baal Hammon, and Tanit were intertwined into the everyday life of the city (as well as its self-ascribed identity on coins and other media). The goddess Tanit and the god Baal Hammon are the primary gods addressed in the cinerary votive site stelae inscriptions, as the inscriptions make clear.



Figure 6.2: The sign of Tanit under a crescent moon symbol on an uninscribed stele at the cinerary votive site at Carthage (photo by H. Dixon in 2023).

The sign of Tanit is one of the most common symbols placed on stelae at Carthage. This representation of Tanit is found not only on the maritime stelae in this corpus, but also on many others like that in **Figure 6.2**. Tanit is often described by scholars as the patron deity of Punic sailors; Brody argues that when sailors were in peril, they would call upon their specific deities to assist them in their journey, especially during storms or war (Brody 1998, 82). Seafarers also attributed success and safety to their respective deities. Much like discussed above, it is hypothesized that sailors often sacrifice one of their children as a thanks to Tanit or another deity for their protection (Brody 1998, 77-78). Possibly that a prayer to a respective piece of

equipment was similar to a prayer to the deity itself. As Blakely argues, “the maritime aspects of these gods linked their cosmic and political functions to the control of the seaways” (Blakely 2017, 366). One interpretation of the maritime iconography from the cinerary votive sites is that the symbolic ship, rudder, or anchor came to be used more generally as symbols of Tanit. In this view, Tanit might have been seen as acting in the lives of many from Punic coastal communities like the protective ship, the reliable rudder, or the safe haven of the anchor. If these maritime images don’t represent Tanit, specifically, the symbols could be representations of what Tanit (and perhaps Baal Hammon) offer, like protection. In Punic and Phoenician contexts, it’s likely there are various examples of deities being honored as or through symbols rather than through an anthropomorphic portrait or explicitly saying their names. This hypothesis seems likely to underline some of the symbols in the maritime cinerary votive site stelae corpus, but it may not be mutually exclusive with other hypotheses. While this hypothesis is plausible, the connection to a sacrificial element of the cinerary votive sites is unlikely. It is more likely that that iconography are symbols of divinity.

Hypothesis 3: Symbols of the ‘personhood’ of ships and maritime equipment

Ships or watercraft equipment may have come to be seen as their own entities, as if they were themselves beings with agency in the world. This has been discussed in scholarly literature using the term ‘personhood;’⁶³ not a belief that these watercraft were literally alive, but that they were seen as spiritually animated entities. Perhaps one type of evidence for this personhood is the painted circles or marble disks (called an *oculus* in Latin or *ophthalmos* in Greek) that were attached to the bow of ships, attested in iconography and archaeological finds, that may have

⁶³ See for example López-Bertan, García-Ventura, and Krueger 2008.

been thought to serve as the ship's eyes. From the anchorage at Yavneh-Yam, one such disk with a hole in the center was recovered, that would have served as the eye on the prow (Galili and Rosen 2015, 53; **Fig. 6.3**).⁶⁴ “The ship itself may be imagined to bear a divine spirit” (Blakely 2017, 365). This is not the only possible explanation for the oculi—these ‘eyes’ may have served a protective function by scaring off enemy ships (like the “evil eye” in other amuletic contexts), but it’s likely that even if these were designed apotropaically, they eventually were interpreted as offering the ship the power to ‘see’ through the waters. The *ophthalmos* give the impression that the ship had a face and therefore the ability to think and make decisions on behalf of its crew. The ship may have been thought of as a kind of family member or semi-divine being that offered support for seafarers.

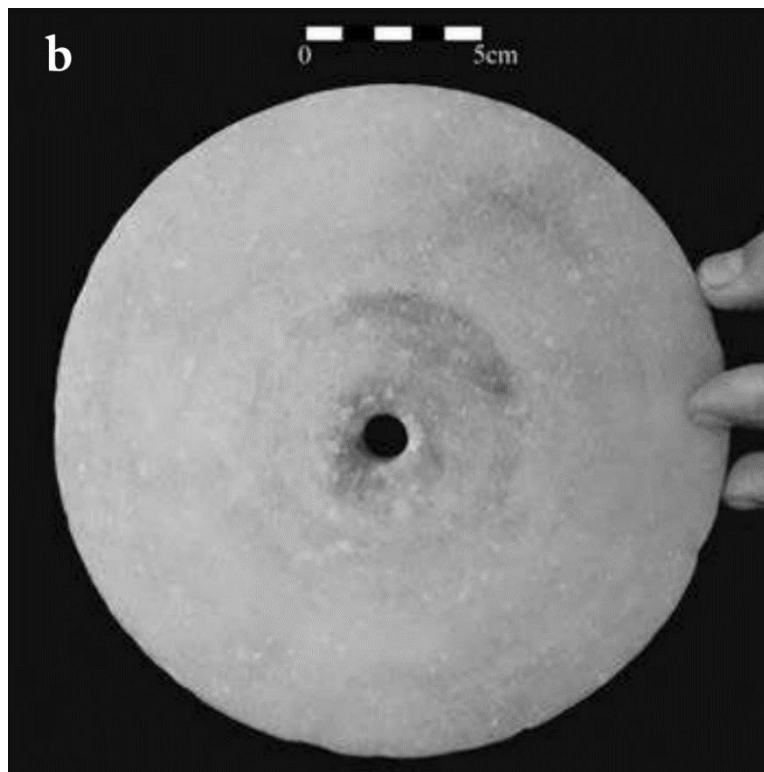


Figure 6.3: Marble Oculus / Ophthalmos from the anchorage at Yavneh-Yam (Galili and Rosen 2015, 52-53).

⁶⁴ This is by no means the only such example. The Tektas Burnu shipwreck (5th c. BCE) found off the coast of Turkey also produced ophthalmoi, for example (Carlson 2003).

Brody (2008) discusses that seafarers performed special religious ceremonies before and during voyages to please divine figures to ensure safety for the crew (449). This suggests that priests or religious specialists may not have been allowed on board ships. Although priests were left on land, religion entered the ship through the seafarers themselves. Rituals, traditions, and superstitions travelled with the sailors from their homeland while aboard ships at sea. Seafaring is notoriously dangerous. Once sailors left port or a harbor, they were at the mercy of the divine beings that controlled the sea, a considerably unknown realm; perhaps the notion that the boat was ‘on their side,’ so to speak, offered some comfort to sailors.

Hypothesis 4: Maritime iconography points to an afterlife belief about a journey by water

This hypothesis suggests that the cinerary votive site stelae with maritime iconography may be referencing a missing story about the Punic afterlife—perhaps a story about the dead person needing to take a journey by water, or a myth about a divine boat trip. For example, in Greek mythology, Charon is the “ferryman” who steers a boat carrying the newly dead to the afterlife.⁶⁵ By the 5th c. BCE, Charon’s association with the afterlife and its rivers (in some cases, the River Styx) was relatively widespread in the Aegean world, and it’s very possible a similar story was borrowed from, adopted by, or adapted for the Phoenician and Punic communities they traded with.

But this likely wasn’t a new development of the first millennium BCE. Elayi’s discussion of the long history of the relationship between Byblos (modern Gbail), a city on the northern coast of Lebanon, and Egypt shows a strong connection dating back to the third millennium

⁶⁵ See the page for “Kharon” at [theoi.com](https://www.theoi.com/Khthonios/Kharon.html) for relevant textual and iconographic primary sources on Greek conceptions of Charon (<https://www.theoi.com/Khthonios/Kharon.html>).

BCE. At Byblos, several iterations of a temple dedicated to Baal Gebal or “the Divine Lady of Byblos” were discovered through excavation in the 1920s. In the third phase (ca. 2345-2181 BCE), a relief refers to the goddess Hathor with the epithet Baalat Gebal, equating the head goddess of Byblos with the Egyptian goddess Hathor (Elayi 2018, 38-39; **Fig. 6.4**).



Figure 6.4: A Relief from the Temple of Baalat at Byblos, ca. 2345-2181 BCE. Hathor is described as the “Lady of Byblos” in its inscription (Louvre Museum AO 4811).

With this Egyptian context for worship at Byblos in the Bronze Age, it may be valuable to look at further Egyptian evidence to seek context for the connection between goddesses and maritime afterlife beliefs. Hathor, at the side of Ra (the Egyptian sun god), was described as taking part in royal funeral rites under the 4th/5th dynasties (ca. 2600 - 2300 BCE; Elayi 2018, 39). A Middle Kingdom (ca. 2030 – 1650 BCE) Coffin Text (spell 61) describes her as a tiller in the context of texts used to prepare for entering the afterlife: “Hathor, Lady of Byblos, is holding

the rudders of your boats” (Elayi 2018, 39; see also Faulkner 1973, 56). This connection between Hathor and the boats that would bring the deceased to the afterlife (with the help of the goddess) may indicate a deeper connection between Phoenician and Egyptian beliefs, communicated through the regular trade between Byblos and Egypt in this early period. Hathor (or the Lady of Byblos?) is thought to offer divine assistance by boat to cross into the afterlife by river. Her role is to work the rudder or steering oar, that steers the boat on its voyage and is vital to the safety of the boat.

The maritime iconography on the stelae from the cinerary votive sites could suggest a relationship between the maritime world and the afterlife. As suggested by Charon “the ferryman”, there are maritime elements in afterlife myths. Frendo and colleagues examine the locations of several Phoenician and Punic burial sites relative to the living populations they served (2005, 427). Cemeteries were often placed outside the settlement, often close to or facing the coast, and often on the opposite side of a body of water from the inhabited city. For example, Frendo and colleagues describe the ancient city-state of Tyre before Alexander’s alterations, where many of the dead were buried on the mainland (at the excavated site of Tyre al-Bass): “a body of water would have clearly demarcated island from the mainland, settlement from cemetery, and the death ritual would have involved a boat that conveyed the corpse over a short stretch of water” (Frendo et al. 2005, 429). This idea of separating the burial grounds from the settlement (across a body of water) could suggest ideas about travel to the afterlife across water.

In addition to the example of the island-state of Tyre, there are several examples of burial sites being placed across a body of water from settlements that were situated at the mouth of river estuaries on the coast of southern Spain (Frendo et al. 2005, 428). At sites like Toscanos and Morro de Mazquitilla, they placed their dead across the Río Vélez and Río Algarrobo, at the

burial sites of Cerro del Mar (Vega de Mena), and Trayamar (Frendo et al. 2005, 429). Although not all Phoenician and Punic cities were arranged this way, there is a strong pattern of separation using water as a barrier between the living and dead.

Water could be seen as a boundary between not only the living and the dead, but also this life and the afterlife. Comparing a hypothetical Phoenician cosmology to the documented Egyptian one, Frendo and colleagues summarize that “while the funeral procession passes over the Nile, the deceased’s spiritual journey to the afterlife took place along the heavenly counterpart of the Nile and its canals” (Frendo et al. 2005, 438).

Perhaps these interrelated elements support a Punic idea that the dead would need to get to the afterlife by boat, and that the goddess Tanit would help them arrive there safely. This may have been a long-standing connection dating back to the Middle Bronze Age, as the evidence of “Hathor, Lady of Byblos,” who “is holding the rudders of your boats” (Elayi 2018, 39; **Fig. 6.6**) might indicate.

While we have no preserved Phoenician or Punic texts conveying such afterlife beliefs, other scholars have proposed a lost myth or series of stories about the afterlife, that may be evident from the Orphic traditions (preserved in Greek texts and inscribed grave goods). López-Ruiz talks about the possible Phoenician roots of Orphic literature, which “concerning the destiny of souls included at least four different kinds of compositions” (López-Ruiz 2010, 133). López-Ruiz discusses these four classifications of literature, one of which is “ritual texts” – sometimes mythic stories designed to accompany ceremonies that ensured salvation of souls (López-Ruiz 2010, 134).

The idea that deities could control rudders or steering oars as a symbolic act of protection and guidance for people in both this life and the next seems plausible. Particularly in the context of the cinerary votive sites, it's possible that Tanit was seen as particularly capable of getting the infants buried in that ritual site through safely to the other side, guiding them over a mythological body of water (like a ship), hand steadily on the tiller (like the rudder), until they could safely rest in their new home (like an anchor). While other families may have wanted to emphasize other aspects of the goddess's protection (through symbols like the sign of Tanit, raised hand, etc.), a subset of the stelae might have been emphasizing the deceased child's afterlife journey, perhaps preserving evidence of this additional role Tanit played. In my eyes, this is the most likely hypothesis for their presence at the cinerary votive sites, although we need not select only one of these four.

As mentioned above, these interpretations are not mutually exclusive – they might have overlapping value, or different maritime imagery may have meant different things to different dedicants. For example, stelae from both Carthage and Cirta / El Hofra feature the set of double rudders, both upside down; see **Figure 6.7**. Much like the double set of caducei or signs of Tanit, this symmetrical emphasis likely implies the symbols have religious significance and may indicate they represent a specific deity. They also likely conveyed the notion of a clear path and safe journey, and if they were commissioned on the stelae to mark the burial of an infant who had died soon after birth, they probably also signified that the child was being safely conveyed to the afterlife, just as a request for a new or replacement child was being made to the deities Tanit and Baal Hammon.

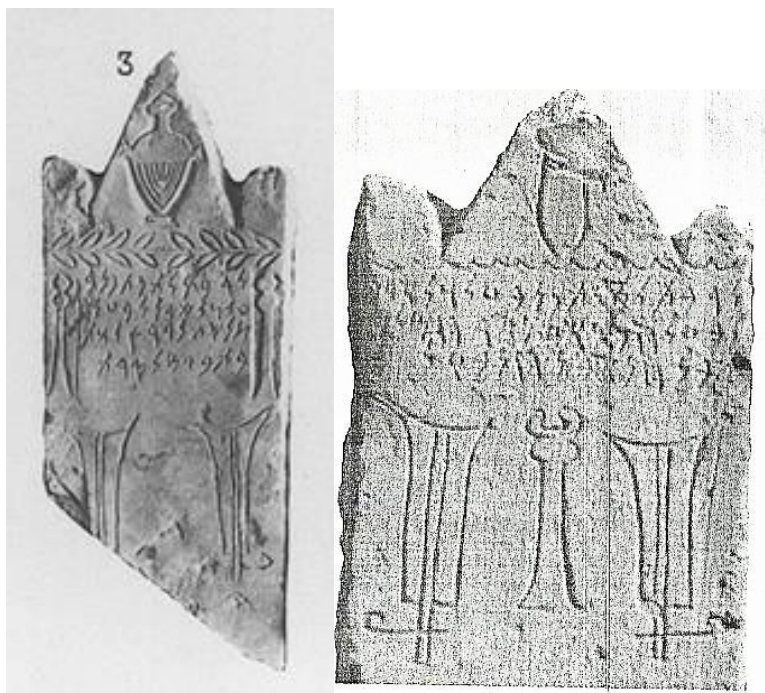


Figure 6.7: The double-rudder iconography as featured on PMIS-C 46 and 52.

While these are not the only hypotheses that could explain the use of maritime iconography at the cinerary votive sites, I believe that these four cover the widest range of possibilities. Most of these are not new interpretations. For example, Raban and Kahanov discuss several Levantine clay boat models and their relationship to similar examples from the wider Mediterranean world (to exploring a similar list of possible interpretations 2003, 70-72).

It is worth returning to the paradox of the cinerary votive sites. The inscriptions are nearly all the same in terms of the dedicatory formula and the verbal force.⁶⁶ But across nearly 10,000 stelae, no two are the same. The iconography was an important moment of agency in terms of how each dedicant or family expressed themselves.

⁶⁶ Of course, there is variation in the inscriptions, in terms of the names of the dedicants and any genealogical connections they include, the gender markers of the dedicant, or the addition of a city of origin or a profession.

Future Research

Several further studies, beyond the scope of this thesis, could shed additional light on this corpus.

1. Additional maritime or marine iconography not included in this corpus

Several images were excluded from my corpus to make it manageable. These include images of dolphins and other marine creatures, implements that have received multiple identifications in the literature (like the object that may be a hand plow, structure, or a part of the prow of a warship, see Fig. 6.8). Further research could add these stelae to the catalogue I have begun and evaluate them according to the hypotheses laid out in this chapter.

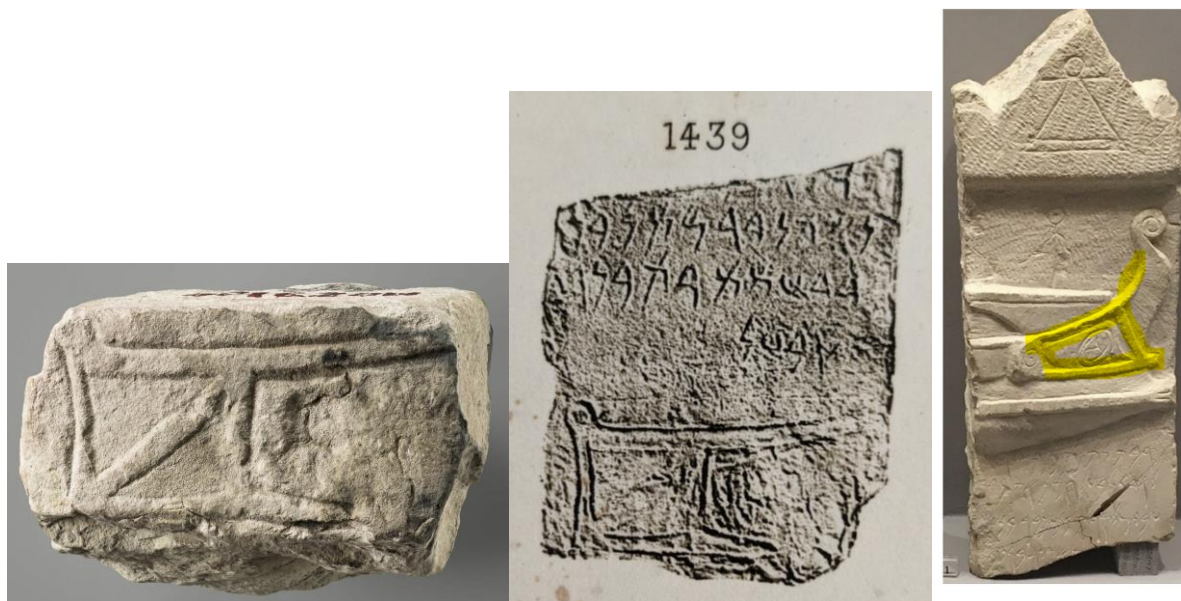


Figure 6.8: Two stelae possibly depicting a hand plow, a ram, or another piece of equipment (left: CIS 1439; center: Louvre Museum AO 23106). The yellow highlighted area on the third picture (PMIS-C 11, depicting a bow) shows a similar shape to the iconography shown on the two stelae on the left.

2. Further work on the stelae and cinerary votive site at Cirta / El Hofra, Algeria

Though the size and scope of the cinerary votive site at Carthage is incredible, one of the primary challenges of working with this material is that the site has been excavated for over one hundred years and was not as scientifically documented as it could have been. For example, for the most part, the bulk of the stelae were not documented *in situ*, thus limiting knowledge about their placement within the site, their relative placement to one another, and any partnering in terms of clusters of similar iconography that might indicate whether specific social groups played a part in shaping the landscape of the cinerary votive site. Both the new ongoing inventory of the stelae in the Carthage National Museum and further research on the site of Cirta and the stelae from that cinerary votive site might offer additional insight into the distribution of maritime stelae at each location.

3. Additional cinerary votive sites beyond Carthage and Cirta

Stelae from Carthage and Cirta are likely not the only cinerary votive sites that feature stelae that depict maritime iconography. Since there are nearly 140 cinerary votive sites known from North Africa and the central Mediterranean, it is possible that this iconography travelled to other sites (that are less well published). The relationship between the cinerary votive sites and their positions relative to the city settlements would also be informative to undertake on a larger scale. Typically, cinerary votive sites are studied and published individually, rather than collectively because of the scope of the available evidence. A comprehensive study of the sites and their placement in the landscape (relative to bodies of water, for example) would require synthesizing hundreds of articles, in several languages, into a single study. This cross-site study may be able to contribute to our understanding of their function and purpose (as sites of sacrifice

or mortuary dedications) since the dead are often placed at the edge of city limits (but, for example, the cinerary votive site at Carthage is not).

4. More concerted work on the Punic port and harbor systems

The field is also in need of more comprehensive studies of the port and harbor systems of the Phoenician and Punic Mediterranean. These structures have not been studied as comprehensively, but instead are often published as individual survey reports or of diachronic studies of specific sites. Since the sea was likely considered a sacred (and dangerous) entity, ports and harbors are liminal spaces. There is plenty of research on trade between different populations, like the Greeks and Tyrians, based on archaeological evidence. However, looking at the Punic ports and harbors in terms of their locations and structures could better inform our understanding of Punic trade, cities, and possibly religion.

5. Deeper investigation of Egyptian influence on Punic cosmology

As stated above, Egyptian Middle Bronze Age texts refer to Hathor as “holding the rudders of your boats” in a mortuary context, at a time when Hathor had been identified with the Canaanite “Lady of Byblos.” While we do not have evidence of any explicit connection between the Egyptian goddess and Tanit from Punic cities, this does represent a precedent for a connection between goddesses and ships in afterlife myths. A closer examination of the history of this story in Egypt and further afield would be productive but is beyond the scope of the present study. Additionally, a deeper look into the images of divine barques and Nile journeys

depicted in the Later period versions of the Book of the Dead would be worthwhile, to see if first millennium BCE Egyptian iconography is likely to have influenced Carthaginian or other Punic North African cosmologies.

These are just a few of the possible new lines of research that could expand our understanding of the interrelationship between Punic maritime technology, culture, and religious beliefs.

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Appendix A. Catalogue of Stelae in the Corpus

With the help of Dr. Helen Dixon (East Carolina University), Dr. Bruno D'Andrea (Universidad Carlos III de Madrid), and with the support of Dr. Brien Garnand (Universiteit Leiden), Dr. Imed Ben Jerbania (Institut National du Patrimoine Tunisie, or INP), and Dr. Ahmed Ferjaoui (INP), the following list of Punic stelae, photographs and other images, inscription translations⁶⁷ and descriptive data has been gathered together. From this master list, I then conducted my own analysis, beginning with a new numbering system for those relevant to the present study. Since not all the stelae are in CIS (either because they were missed, discovered too late, or have no inscription), and many stelae have not been studied outside their initial place of publication or holding institution, I suggest this new numbering system to standardize the corpus and make them easier to refer to throughout my thesis.

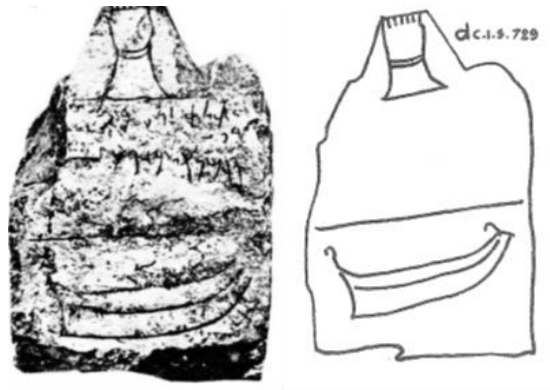
I assigned each relevant stele a Punic Maritime Iconography Stele (PMIS) number so they could be referenced in each chapter. The prefix PMIS-x, Punic Maritime Iconography Stele – [Location], is used to describe the main criteria of these stelae. ‘Punic’ is used to emphasize that these stelae come from outside Levantine Phoenicia and feature inscriptions in the Punic dialect and script. ‘Maritime Iconography’ refers to the specific images of ships, rudders, and anchors that characterize this corpus. There is a wide range of iconography found at cinerary votive sites from around the Mediterranean, so this acronym could be modified by future studies to describe any type of iconography under analysis. ‘Stelae’ refers to the medium on which the iconography is found; each stele in the corpus gets a single PMIS number.

⁶⁷ As previously mentioned, the translations were in large part done by Dixon on the basis of the transcriptions of the Punic inscriptions (and their Latin translations) provided in CIS (with a few exceptions taken from the Louvre’s online catalogue, without attribution).

The final letters of each prefix represent the origin of the stele, since there are numerous cinerary votive sites around the Mediterranean (and I expect the corpus to grow over time): C = ‘Carthage,’ the origin site of the largest proportion of stelae. This corpus also includes two stelae excavated from the cinerary votive site at Cirta / El Hofra, in modern Constantine, Algeria = PMIS-Ci. Two of the stelae in the corpus were purchased, and are therefore unprovenanced (though thought to have come from Cirta), so they are given numbers with the prefix PMIS-U.

I have only included stelae for which some image could confirm the maritime iconography (however poorly). Some of the images in this catalogue are actually photographs of the original “squeeze,” a papier-mâché impression of the stele face, and many are from digital scans of the original CIS *tabulae* (or plates, printed in sepia-toned ink) that compressed the images and made them very difficult to study. I was unfortunately not able to consult many CIS volumes in person since they rarely circulate (and my home library does not have copies). The INP is currently undertaking a new inventory of the Carthage National Museum, which may in time produce new photographs (as well as clear museum accession numbers) that will make further study more possible.

I. Stelae with Ship Iconography



PMIS-C number	1
Date	N/A
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	In Paris, unknown collection
CIS number	729
Measurements	0.23 m tall
Cited in	CIS 1.2.1 (1890, see Tab. VIII); Hours-Miedan 1950, Bartoloni 1979
Image credits	Bartoloni 1979, Tav. LVII, 2 (left); Hours-Miedan 1950: Pl. XXXVIII, d (right)
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what [...] offered.” (CIS 1.2.1 p. 72)

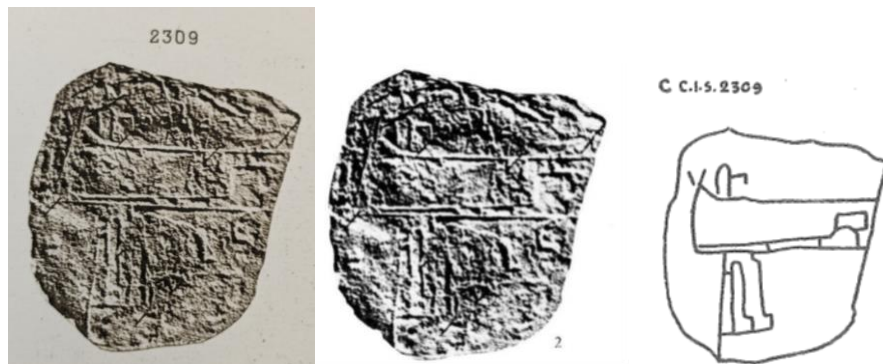


PMIS-C number	2
Date	Ca. 3rd – 2nd c. BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	In Paris, unknown collection
CIS number	805
Measurements	0.25 x 0.135 m

Cited in	CIS 1.2.1 (1890), Hours-Miedan 1950, Bartoloni 1979, Hafiane Nouri 2017
Image credits:	Bartoloni 1979, Tav. LVI, 1 (left); Hours-Miedan 1950: Pl. XXXIX, b (center); Hafiane Nouri 2017: fig. 13a (right)
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what Ba‘alsalak, son of ‘Abd‘arash, son of Ba‘alazari, son of ‘Abd‘eshmun offered.” (CIS 1.2.1 p. 89)



PMIS-C number	3
Date	N/A
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	In Paris, unknown collection
CIS number	1310
Measurements	0.19 x 0.13 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.2 (1899) Tab. XXII; Bartoloni 1979
Image credits	Bartoloni 1979, Tav. LIX, 3
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥam[mon...] offered.” (CIS 1.2.2 p. 177)



PMIS-C number	4
Date	N/A

Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	2309
Measurements	0.14 x 0.15 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.3 (1908), Hours-Miedan 1950, Bartoloni 1979
Image credits	CIS 1.2.3 (1908) Tab. XLVIII (left); Bartoloni 1979, Tav. LVIII, 2 (center); Hours-Miedan 1950: Pl. XXXVIII, c (right)
Inscriptions	"[...] -ba'al, son of Ba'alhanno" (CIS 1.2.3 p. 361)



PMIS-C number	5
Date	N/A
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	2604
Measurements	0.28 x 0.15 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.4 (1911), Hours-Miedan 1950, Bartoloni 1979
Image credits	Bartoloni 1979, Tav. LVII, 1 (left); CIS 1.2.4 Tab. LV (second to the right); Wikimedia commons (third to the right); Hours-Miedan 1950: XXXIX, e (right).
Inscription	"To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba'al, and to the Lord, to Ba'al Hammon. (This is) what Arash, son of H[...] offered." (CIS 1.2.4 p. 419)



PMIS-C number	6
Date	N/A
Found in	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	2625
Measurements	0.15 x 0.13 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.4 (1911)
Image credits	CIS 1.2.4 Tab. LV
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what AdoniBa‘al, son of Hanno, a man of Kition [Cyprus], offered.” (CIS 1.2.4 p. 423)

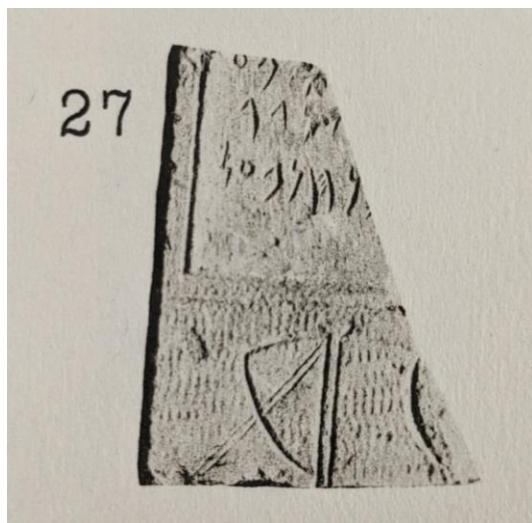


PMIS-C number	7
Date	Ca. 3rd-early 2nd c. BCE
Found in	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	2627
Measurements	0.25 x 0.16 m

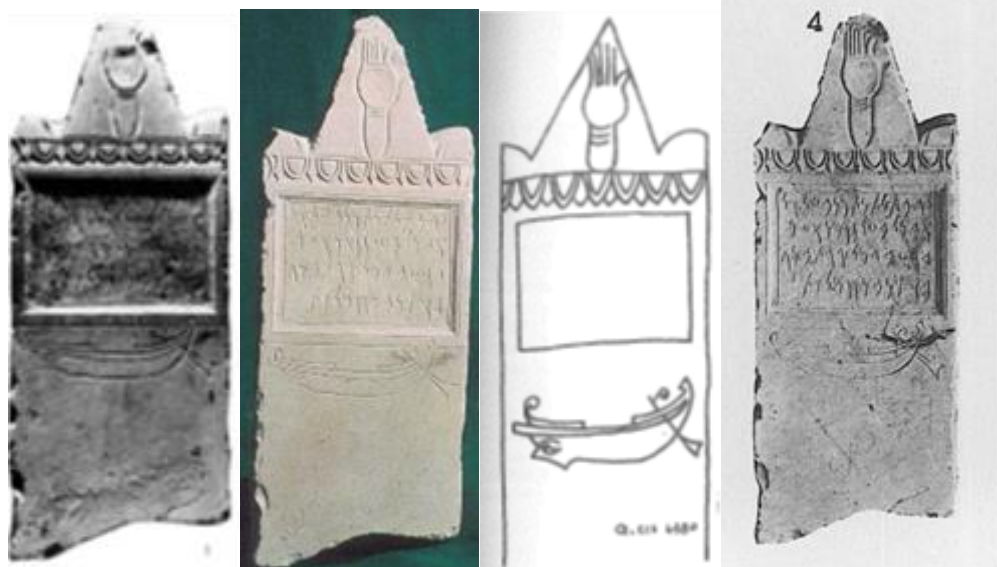
Cited in	CIS 1.2.4 (1911); Bartoloni 1979, Hafiane Nouri 2017
Image credits	Bartoloni 1979, Tav. LVII (left); CIS 1.2.4 Tab. LV (right)
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba ‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what Ba‘alyaton, son of Ba’alḥanno, son of ShamarBa‘al offered.” (CIS 1.2.4 p. 424)



PMIS-C number	8
Date	N/A
Found in	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	2630
Measurements	0.315 x 0.13 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.4 (1911); Hours-Miedan 1950, Bartoloni 1979
Image credits	Bartoloni 1979, Tav. LVI, 3 (left); Hours-Miedan 1950: pl. XXXVIII, h (right)
Inscription	“AmatBa‘al, daughter of ‘Akbaram, son of ‘Abdkarar” [no dedication] (CIS 1.2.4 p. 425)



PMIS-C number	9
Date	N/A
Found in	Carthage
Currently located	Unknown (likely Carthage National Museum)
CIS number	[Unknown CIS number between 3914-5260]
Measurements	N/A
Cited in	CIS 1.3.2 (1947)
Image credit	CIS 1.3.2 Tab. LXXX, 27
Inscription	"[...] Nahanba'al" (CIS 1.3.2; unknown page)



PMIS-C number	10
Date	N/A
Found in	Carthage

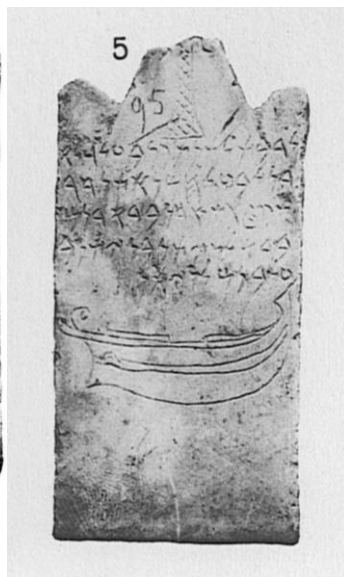
Currently located	Carthage National Museum (no. 161)
CIS number	4380
Measurements	0.46 x 0.18 m
Cited in	CIS 1.3.1 1926; Hours-Miedan 1950; Bartoloni 1979
Image credits	Bartoloni 1979, Tav. LV, 1 (left); Hours-Miedan 1950, pl. XXXIX, a (second to the right); CIS Tab. XXVII, 4 (right)
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what ‘Abdmelqart, son of Geraskon, son of Himilkat, offered.” (CIS 1.3.2 p. 246)



PMIS-C number	11
Date	Ca. 3rd – early 2nd c. BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	4394
Measurements	0.44 x 0.17 m
Cited in	CIS 1.3.1 (1926); Hours-Miedan 1950, Bartoloni 1979
Image credits	Wikimedia commons (left); Bartoloni 1979, Tav. LV, 2 (second to the right); Hours-Miedan 1950: pl. XXXIX, d (third to the right); CIS 1.3.1 Tab. XXVII, 10 (right)
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what ‘Abdmelqart, son of ‘Akbar, son of [‘Abdmelqart(?)], offered, because they heard his voice. Bless him!” (CIS 1.3.2 p. 248)



PMIS-C number	12
Date	N/A
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Unknown (likely Carthage National Museum)
CIS number	4406
Measurements	0.3 x 0.12 m
Cited in	CIS 1.3.2 (1947, texte) and 1.3.1 (1926, tabulae)
Image credits	CIS 1.3.1 Tab. XXVII, 14
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what ‘Azruba‘al, son of Ba‘alḥanno, son of Hamil[k] offered” (CIS 1.3.2 p. 250)



PMIS-C number	13
Date	N/A
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Unknown (likely Carthage National Museum)
CIS number	4901
Measurements	0.33 x 0.18 m
Cited in	CIS 1.3.2 (1947, texte) and 1.3.1 (1926, tabulae); Bartoloni 1979
Image credits	Bartoloni 1979, Tav. LVIII, 1 (left); CIS 1.3.1 Tab. XXVII, 5 (right)
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammon. Shaphat, a man of Sidon, house servant(?), servant of Malkyatan, son of Yatanba‘al, son of Malkyatan” (CIS 1.3.2 p. 340)



PMIS-C number	14
Date	N/A
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Utica Museum? (likely Carthage National Museum)
CIS number	5811
Measurements	N/A
Cited in	CIS 1.3.2 (1947); Bartoloni 1979
Image credits	CIS 1.3.2 Tab. CIV
Inscription	“[...] ‘Abdeshmun, son of [Mel]qarthilleši, son of Bodmelqart offerd.” (CIS 1.3.2 p. 489)



PMIS-C number	15
Date	N/A
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Unknown (likely Carthage National Museum)
CIS number	N/A
Measurements	N/A
Cited in	Bartoloni 1979
Image credits	Bartoloni 1979, Tav. LVIII, 3
Inscription	N/A



PMIS-C number	16
Date	N/A
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Unknown (likely Carthage National Museum)
CIS number	N/A
Measurements	N/A

Cited in	Hours-Miedan 1950, Bartoloni 1979, Brown 1991
Image credits	Bartoloni 1979, Tav. LIX, 1 (left); Hours-Miedan 1950, pl. XXXIX, c (right)
Inscription	N/A



PMIS-C number	17
Date	Post 5th c. BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	N/A
Measurements	N/A
Cited in	Bartoloni 1979, Fantar 1970; Brown 1991
Image credits	Bartoloni 1979, Tav. LIV, 1 (left); Fantar 1970, pl. XIII, pl 271 (right)
Inscription	N/A



PMIS-C number	18
Date	Post 5th c. BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	N/A
Measurements	N/A
Cited in	Fantar 1970, Bartoloni 1979
Image credits	Bartoloni 1970, Tav. LVI, 2 (left); Fantar 1970, pl. XIII, p. 271 (right)
Inscription	N/A



PMIS-C number	19
Date	Ca. 300-100 BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Louvre Museum (AO 23022)
CIS number	N/A
Measurements	0.133 x 0.14 x 0.06 m
Cited in	Bartoloni 1979
Image credits	Louvre ⁶⁸ (left); Bartoloni 1979, Tav. LIX, 2 (right)
Inscription	N/A

⁶⁸ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010147768>

II. Stelae with Rudder Iconography

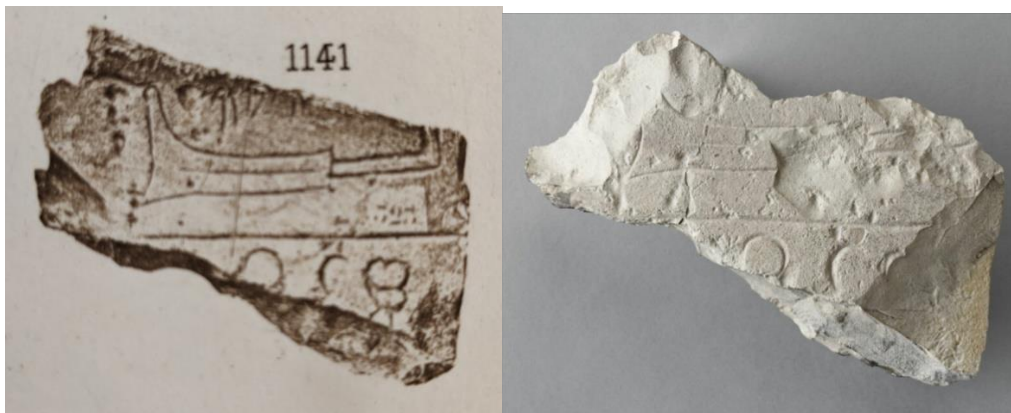


PMIS-C number	20
Date	Ca. 3rd – early 2nd c. BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	In Paris; unknown collection
CIS number	847
Measurements	0.2 x 0.13 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.1 (1890)
Image credits	CIS 1.2.1 Tab. X
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what Ḥamilk, son of Ḥanno, son of Ḥamilk, offered.” (CIS 1.2.1 p. 99)



PMIS-C number	21
Date	N/A

Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	1032
Measurements	0.13 m wide
Cited in	CIS 1.2.2 (1899)
Image credits	CIS 1.2.2 Tab. XIV
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what Ba‘alḥanno, son of ‘Abdmelqart, son of Ba‘alḥanno offered.” (CIS 1.2.2 p. 135)



PMIS-C number	22
Date	Ca. 250–200 BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Louvre Museum (AO 23873)
CIS number	1141
Measurements	0.12 x 0.152 x 0.04 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.2 (1899); Hafiane Nouri 2017
Image credits	CIS 1.2.2 Tab. XVII (left); Louvre ⁶⁹ (right)
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what ‘Arash, son of ‘Arash offered.” (CIS 1.2.2 p. 151)

⁶⁹ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010148720>



PMIS-C number	23
Date	N/A
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	In Paris; unknown collection
CIS number	1265
Measurements	0.15 x 0.13 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.2 (1899)
Image credits	CIS 1.2.2 Tab. XX
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, Ba‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what ‘Arash, son of Hamilkat, son of Hamilkat, son of ‘Abd‘eshmun offered.” (CIS 1.2.2 p. 170)



PMIS-C number	24
Date	Ca. 3rd-2nd c. BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	In Paris; unknown collection
CIS number	1318
Measurements	0.19 x 0.15 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.2 (1899), Hafiane Nouri 2017
Image credits	CIS 1.2.2 Tab. XXII

Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, Ba‘al Hammon. (This is) what Bodashtart, son of Gerashtart, son of Shallum offered.” (CIS 1.2.2 p. 178)
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PMIS-C number	25
Date	Unknown (likely 4th – 2nd c. BCE)
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Unknown (likely Carthage National Museum)
CIS number	1318a
Measurements	Unknown
Cited in	CIS 1.2.2 (1899)
Image credits	CIS 1.2.2 Tab. XXII
Inscription	[Missed in CIS text volume]



PMIS-C number	26
Date	N/A
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	In Paris; unknown collection
CIS number	1340
Measurements	0.17 m x 0.075 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.2 (1899)
Image credits	CIS 1.2.2 Tab. XXIII
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Baal, and to the Lord, to Baal Hammon. (This is) what ‘Abdmelqart, son of Bodashtart, son of B[...] offered.” (CIS 1.2.2 p. 182)



PMIS-C number	27
Date	N/A
Found at	Carthage

Currently located	In Paris; unknown collection
CIS number	1401
Measurements	0.09 x 0.1 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.2 (1899)
Image credits	CIS 1.2.2 Tab. XXIV
Inscription	"[... and to the] Lord, to Ba'al Hammon. (This is) what 'Abd'eshmun, son of Shafat offered." (CIS 1.2.2 p. 192)



PMIS-C number	28
Date	N/A
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	In Paris; unknown collection
CIS number	1520
Measurements	0.18 x 0.13 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.2 (1899)
Image credits	CIS 1.2.2 Tab. XXVII
Inscriptions	"To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba'al, and to the Lord, to Ba'al Hammon. (This is) what Naamgadda, daughter of Hanniba'al, son of Hamilk offered." (CIS 1.2.2 p. 211)



PMIS-C number	29
Date	Ca. 300–200 BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Louvre Museum (AO 1082)
CIS number	1987
Measurements	0.181 x 0.125 x 0.08 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.3 (1908)
Image credits	CIS 1.2.3 Tab. XXXIX (left); Louvre ⁷⁰ (right)
Inscription	“To the Lady, To Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Baa[l Hammon...]” (CIS 1.2.3 p. 291)



PMIS-C number	30
Date	Ca. 3rd – 2nd c. BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	In Vienna; unknown collection
CIS number	2003
Measurements	0.24 x 0.15 x 0.14 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.3 (1908)

⁷⁰ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010135512>

Image credits	CIS 1.2.3 Tab. XXXIX
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what Hanno, son of Hanniba‘al, son of Hanno offered.” (CIS 1.2.3 p. 295)



PMIS-C number	31
Date	Ca. 260–240 BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Louvre Museum (AO 23043)
CIS number	2158
Measurements	0.208 x 0.129 x 0.053 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.3 (1908), Hafiane Nouri 2017
Image credits	CIS 1.2.3 Tab. XLIV (left), Louvre ⁷¹ (right)
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to our Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what ’Arishat, daughter of Bodmelqart, son of Hanniba‘al, offered.” (CIS 1.2.3 p. 331)



PMIS-C number	32
Date	Ca. 250–200 BCE

⁷¹ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010147782>

Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Louvre Museum (AO 23548)
CIS number	2200
Measurements	0.08 x 0.144 x 0.045 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.3 (1908)
Image credits	CIS 1.2.3 Tab. XLV (left); Louvre ⁷² (right)
Inscription	"...Hamilkat." (CIS 1.2.3 p. 339)



PMIS-C number	33
Date	Ca. 260-240 BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Louvre Museum (AO 23745)
CIS number	2215
Measurements	0.277 x 0.19 x 0.093 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.3 (1908), Hours-Miedan 1950, Hafiane Nouri 2017
Image credits	CIS 1.2.3 Tab. XLVI (left), Louvre ⁷³ (center), Hours-Miedan 1950, pl. XXXVIII, g (right)
Inscription	"[To the Lad]y, to Tanit Face of Ba'al, and to the Lord, [to Ba]al Hammon. (This is) what Bod'ashtart, son of Ba'alhanno, son of Hamilkat offered." (CIS 1.2.3 p. 342-43)

⁷² <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010148352>

⁷³ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010148581>



PMIS-C number	34
Date	N/A
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	2603
Measurements	0.24 x 0.12 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.3 (1908) and 1.2.4(1911)
Image credits	CIS 1.2.3 Tab. LIV
Inscription	“[To] the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and t[o the Lord, to Ba‘al H]ammon. (This is) what [...]mon, son of ‘Azarba‘al offered.” (CIS 1.2.4 p. 419)



PMIS-C number	35
Date	Ca. 300 – 250 BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Louvre Museum (AO 23473)
CIS number	2970
Measurements	0.226 x 0.163 x 0.075 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.4 (1911), Hafiane Nouri 2017
Image credits	CIS 1.2.4 Tab. (left), Louvre ⁷⁴ (right)
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what Mattan, son of Magnam, son of ‘Abd’arash offered.” (CIS 1.2.4 p. 494)



⁷⁴ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010148276>

PMIS-C number	36
Date	N/A
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	3125
Measurements	0.3 x 0.16 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.4 (1911), Hafiane Nouri 2017
Image credits	CIS 1.2.4 Tab.
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what ‘Adirba‘al, son of Hanniba‘al, son of ‘Arash offered.” (CIS 1.2.4 p. 528)



PMIS-C number	37
Date	N/A
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	3127
Measurements	0.19 x 0.14 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.4 (1911), Hafiane Nouri 2017
Image credits	CIS 1.2.4 Tab.
Inscription	“...-ba‘al, daughter of Mattan’alam.” (CIS 1.2.4 p. 428)



PMIS-C number	38
Date	N/A
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	2619
Measurements	0.28 x 0.16 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.4 (1911), Hafiane Nouri 2017
Image credits	CIS 1.2.4 Tab. LV
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord to Ba‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what ‘Abd‘eshmun, son of ‘Abdmelqart, son of ‘Alashy offered.” (CIS 1.2.4 p. 422)



PMIS-C number	39
Date	Ca. 3rd – early 2nd c. BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	2667

Measurements	0.28 x 0.15 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.4 (1911), Hafiane Nouri 2017
Image credits	CIS 1.2.4, Tab.
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what Hamilkat, son of Bodmelqart offered.” (CIS 1.2.4 p. 433)

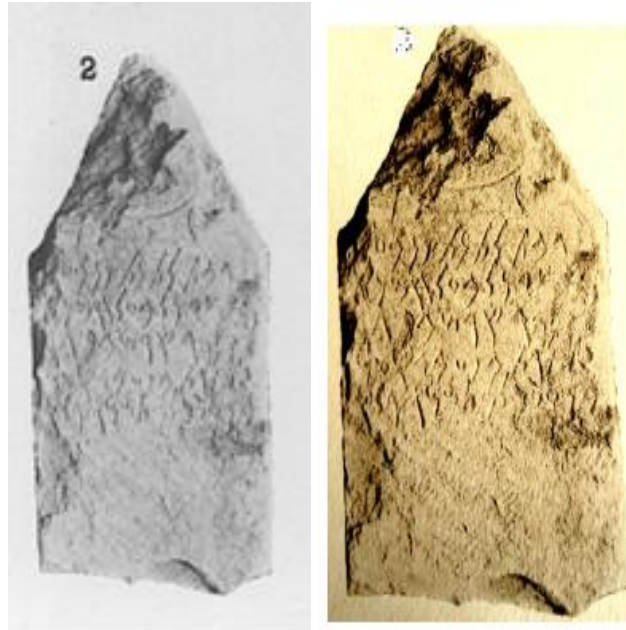


PMIS-C number	40
Date	Ca. 3rd – early 2nd c. BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	2736
Measurements	0.23 x 0.13 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.4 (1911)
Image credits	CIS 1.2.4 Tab.
Inscription	“[T]o the Lady, to Tani[t F]ace of Ba‘al, and [to the Lord, to Ba‘al] Ḥammon. (This is) what [...]m, son of Ḥalaṣba‘al offered.” (CIS 1.2.4 p. 447)

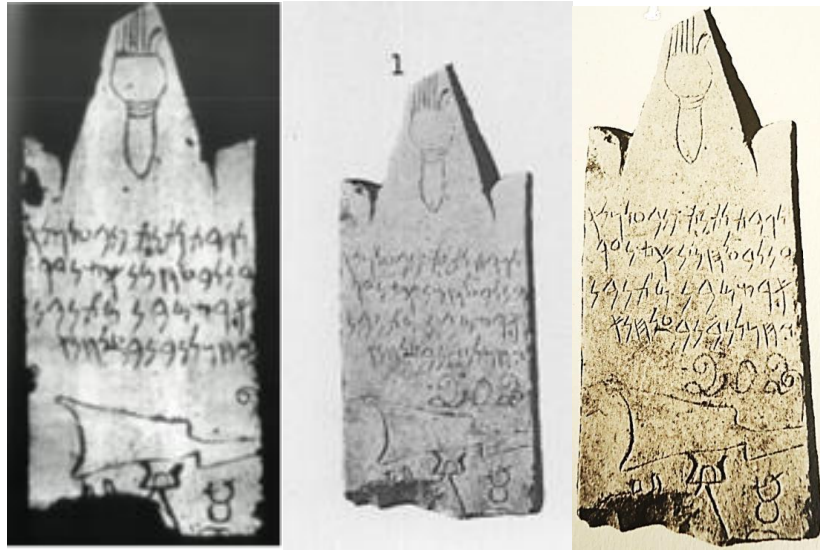


PMIS-C number	41
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Date	N/A
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	3881
Measurements	0.46 x 0.15 m
Cited in	CIS 1.3.1 (1926)
Image credits	CIS 1.3.1 Tab. XXIII
Inscription	“[...]eshmun, son of Bod‘ashtart, son of Ba‘alḥanno.” (CIS 1.3.1 p. 152)



PMIS-C number	42
Date	Ca. 300 – 200 BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	3976
Measurements	0.38 x 0.16 m
Cited in	CIS 1.3.2 (texte, 1947) and 1.3.1 (1926, tabulae); Hafiane Nouri 2017
Image credits	CIS 1.3.1 Tab. XXVII, 2 (left); Hafiane Nouri 2017, fig. 15 (right)
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what ‘Arsham, son of Ger‘ashtart, son of ‘Abd‘eshmun, son of ‘Ozmilk offered. Let Him hear his voice! Bless him!” (CIS 1.3.2 p. 177-178)



PMIS-C number	43
Date	Ca. 3rd-2nd c. BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	4011
Measurements	0.34 x 0.15 m
Cited in	CIS 1.3.2 (1947, texte) and 1.3.1 (1926, tabulae), Dubal and Larrey 1995, Hafiane Nouri 2017
Image credits	Dubal and Larrey 1995, 25 (left); CIS 1.3.1 Tab. XXVII, 1 (center); Hafiane Nouri 2017, fig. 47
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what ‘Arash son of Mattan son of Yehulan son of Ba‘alḥanno offered.” (CIS 1.3.2 p. 183)



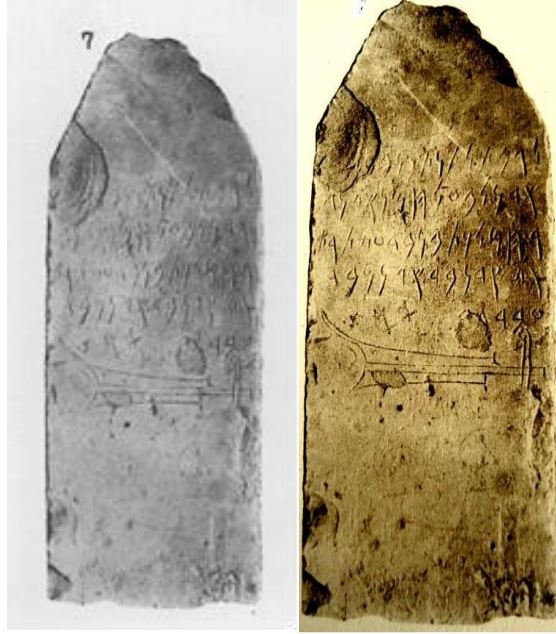
PMIS-C number	44
Date	Ca. 3rd-early 2nd c. BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Unknown (likely Carthage National Museum)
CIS number	4035
Measurements	0.39 x 0.14 m
Cited in	CIS 1.3.2 (1947, texte) and 1.3.1 (1926, tabulae)
Image credits	CIS 1.3.1 Tab. XXVII, 6
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Hammon. (This is) what Bodmelqart son of ’Adiri, son of Bodmelqart offered.” (CIS 1.3.2 p. 187-188)



PMIS-C number	45
Date	N/A
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	4288
Measurements	0.58 x 0.2 m
Cited in	CIS 1.3.2 (1947, texte) and 1.3.1 (1926, tabulae)
Image credits	CIS 1.3.1 Tab. XXVII, 8
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what Ḥanniba‘al son of Bod‘ashtart, son of [Ḥanniba‘al] offered.” (CIS 1.3.2 p. 231)



PMIS-C number	46
Date	Ca. 3rd – early 2nd c. BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	4761
Measurements	0.38 x 0.16 m
Cited in	CIS 1.3.2 (1947, texte) and 1.3.1 (1926, tabulae)
Image credits	CIS 1.3.1 Tab. XXVII, 3
Inscription	“To our Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what `Alishat daughter of Bodmelqart offered...” (CIS 1.3.2 p. 312)



PMIS-C number	47
Date	Ca. 300-200 BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Unknown (likely Carthage National Museum)
CIS number	4902
Measurements	0.53 x 0.3 m
Cited in	CIS 1.3.2 (1947, texte) and 1.3.1 (1926, tabulae); Hafiane Nouri 2017
Images credit	CIS 1.3.1 Tab. XXVII, 7 (left); Hafiane Nouri 2017, fig. 17 (right)
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Hammon. (This is) what Hamilkat son of Bod‘ashtart, a man of Sidon, house servant(?), servant of ‘Abdisi offered.” (CIS 1.3.2 p. 340)



PMIS-C number	48
Date	Ca. 3rd – 2nd c. BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Unknown (likely Carthage National Museum)
CIS number	5731
Measurements	Unknown
Cited in	CIS 1.3.2 (1947, texte) and 1.3.1 (1926, tabulae); Hafiane Nouri 2017
Image credits	CIS 1.3.1 Tab. CI
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what Ba‘alḥanno, son of Arish, son of Qanzan, son of Ba‘alyaton offered.” (CIS 1.3.2 p. 476)

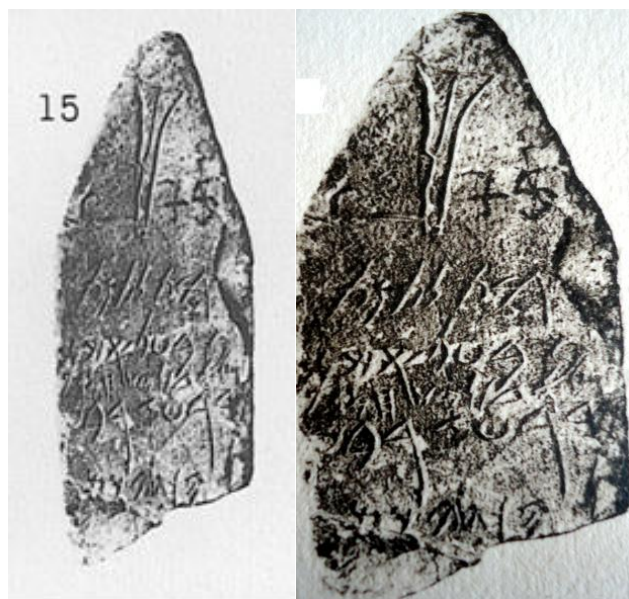


PMIS-C number	49
Date	N/A

Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Unknown (likely Carthage National Museum)
CIS number	N/A
Measurements	Unknown
Cited in	Hours-Miedan 1950
Image credits	Hours-Miedan 1950, pl. XXXVIII, f
Inscription	N/A



PMIS-C number	50
Date	N/A
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	5205
Measurements	0.23 x 0.12 m
Cited in	CIS 1.3.2 (1947, texte) and 1.3.1 (1926, tabulae)
Image credits	CIS 1.3.1 Tab XXVII, 11
Inscription	“...[Ba‘al]hanno [...because He he]ard his voice.” (CIS 1.3.2 p. 393)

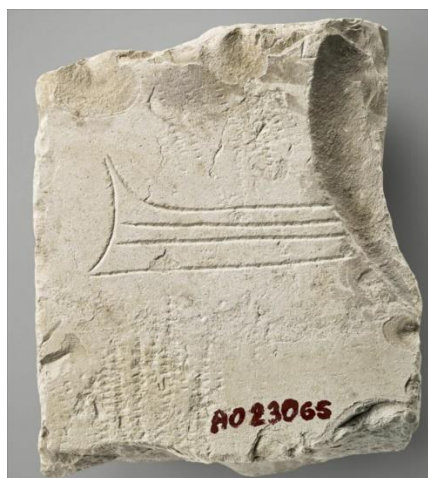


PMIS-C number	51
Date	N/A
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	Unknown number between 3252-3913
Measurements	N/A
Cited in	CIS 1.3.1 (tabulae), Hafiane Nouri 2017
Image credits	CIS 1.3.1 Tab. XXVII (left); Hafiane Nouri 2017, fig. 16 (right)
Inscription	[Cannot find this stele in the texte volumes]



PMIS-C number	52
Date	Ca. 3rd – 2nd c. BCE

Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	[Unknown if in CIS]
Measurements	N/A
Cited in	Hafiane Nouri 2017
Image credits	Hafiane Nouri 2017, fig. 48
Inscription	[Cannot find this stele in the texte volumes]



PMIS-C number	53
Date	Ca. 250 – 200 BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Louvre Museum (AO 23065)
CIS number	N/A
Measurements	0.195 x 0.165 x 0.077 m
Cited in	N/A
Image credits	Louvre ⁷⁵
Inscription	N/A

⁷⁵ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010147828>



PMIS-C number	54
Date	Ca. 260 – 240 BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Louvre Museum (AO 23082)
CIS number	N/A
Measurements	0.195 m x 0.14 m x 0.065 m
Cited in	N/A
Image credits	Louvre ⁷⁶
Inscription	N/A

⁷⁶ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010147847>



PMIS-C number	55
Date	Ca. 300-200 BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Louvre Museum (AO 23258)
CIS number	N/A
Measurements	0.175 x 0.115 x 0.07 m
Cited in	N/A
Image credits	Louvre ⁷⁷
Inscription	N/A

⁷⁷ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010148022>



PMIS-C number	56
Date	Ca. 260 – 240 BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Louvre Museum (AO 23275)
CIS number	N/A
Measurements	0.266 x 0.159 x 0.104 m
Cited in	N/A
Image credits	Louvre ⁷⁸
Inscription	N/A

⁷⁸ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010148040>



PMIS-C number	57
Date	Ca. 300 – 250 BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Louvre Museum (AO 23386)
CIS number	N/A
Measurements	0.279 x 0.134 x 0.075 m
Cited in	N/A
Image credits	Louvre ⁷⁹
Inscription	N/A

⁷⁹ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010148163>



PMIS-C number	58
Date	Ca. 250 – 200 BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Louvre Museum (AO 23586)
CIS number	N/A
Measurements	0.201 x 0.132 x 0.078 m
Cited in	N/A
Image credits	Louvre ⁸⁰
Inscription	N/A



PMIS-C number	59
Date	Ca. 250 – 200 BCE

⁸⁰ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010148384>

Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Louvre Museum (AO 23833)
CIS number	N/A
Measurements	0.21 x 0.15 x 0.105 m
Cited in	N/A
Image credits	Louvre ⁸¹
Inscription	N/A



PMIS-Ci Number	60
Date	Ca. 225-50 BCE
Found at	Cirta / El Hofra in Constantine, Algeria
Currently located	Louvre Museum (AO 5208)
CIS number	N/A
Measurements	Unknown
Cited in	N/A
Image credit	Louvre ⁸²
Inscription	N/A

⁸¹ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010148676>

⁸² <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010120771>



PMIS-Ci Number	61
Date	Ca. 225 – 50 BCE
Found at	Cirta / El Hofra in Constantine, Algeria
Currently located	Louvre Museum (AO 5243)
CIS number	N/A
Measurements	0.32 x 0.195 x 0.072 m (9 kg with the added modern base)
Cited in	N/A
Image credits	Louvre ⁸³
Inscription	“To the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammon, what Hanniba‘al, son of Bodmelqart, offered. Because he heard his voice. Bless him!”

⁸³ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010121307>

III. Stelae with Anchor Iconography



PMIS-C number	62
Date	Ca. 3rd - early 2nd c. BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Unknown (likely Carthage National Museum)
CIS number	360
Measurements	Unknown
Cited in	CIS 1.1.1 (1888), Hours-Miedan 1950, Hafiane Nouri 2017
Image credits	CIS 1.1.1 Tab. LIV (left and center, two scans), Hours-Miedan 1950, pl. XXXVIII, a (right)
Inscription	“To the Lady, To Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammpn. (This is) what Arish, son of YatanBa‘al, son of Hanno [of]fered.” (CIS 1.1.1 p. 405)



PMIS-C number	63
Date	Ca. 250 – 200 BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Louvre Museum (AO 23671)

CIS number	2187
Measurements	0.1 x 0.129 x 0.035 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.3 (1908), Hafiane Nouri 2017
Image credits	CIS 1.2.3 Tab., Louvre ⁸⁴
Inscription	"[...] Ba'alhanno, son of [...] son of Shadby" (CIS 1.2.3 p. 337)



PMIS-C number	64
Date	Ca. 250 – 100 BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Louvre Museum (AO 23575)
CIS number	N/A
Measurements	0.181 x 0.161 x 0.08 m
Cited in	N/A
Image credits	Louvre ⁸⁵
Inscription	N/A

⁸⁴ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010148474>

⁸⁵ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010148372>



PMIS-C number	65
Date	Ca. 275 – 100 BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Louvre Museum (AO 23932)
CIS number	735
Measurements	0.14 x 0.15 x 0.044 m
Cited in	CIS 1.2.1 (1890)
Image credits	Louvre ⁸⁶
Inscription	“To the Ladu, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Hammon. (This is) what Bodashtart, son of Ba‘almilk offered.” (CIS 1.2.1 p. 74)



PMIS-U Number	66
Date	Ca. 225 – 50 BCE

⁸⁶ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010148781>

Found at	Unprovenanced (purchased); possibly from Cirta / El Hofra in Constantine, Algeria
Currently located	Louvre Museum (AO 5075)
CIS number	N/A
Measurements	0.242 x 0.235 x 0.115 m
Cited in	N/A
Image credits	Louvre ⁸⁷
Inscription	N/A



PMIS-C number	67
Date	Ca. post-5th c. BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	N/A
Measurements	Unknown
Cited in	Fantar 1970
Image credits	Fantar 1970, pl. XIII, p. 270
Inscription	N/A

⁸⁷ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010120938>



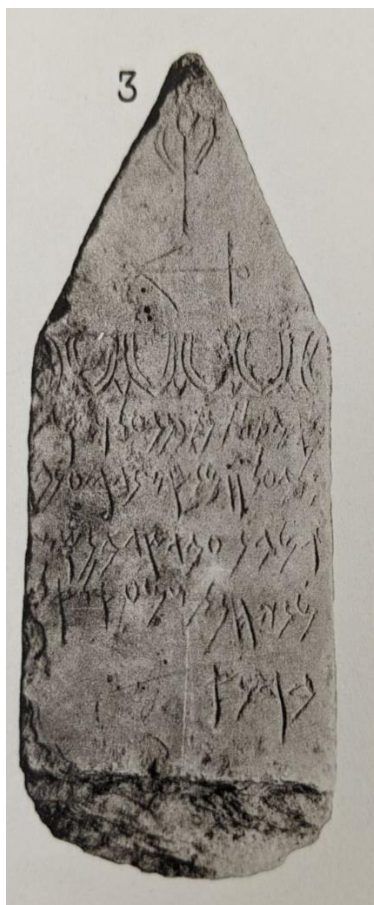
PMIS-U Number	68
Date	Ca. 225-50 BCE
Found at	Unprovenanced (purchased); possibly from Cirta / El Hofra in Constantine, Algeria
Currently located	Louvre Museum (AO 5260)
CIS number	N/A
Measurements	0.288 x 0.24 x 0.11 m
Cited in	N/A
Image credits	Louvre ⁸⁸
Inscription	N/A

⁸⁸ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010121324>

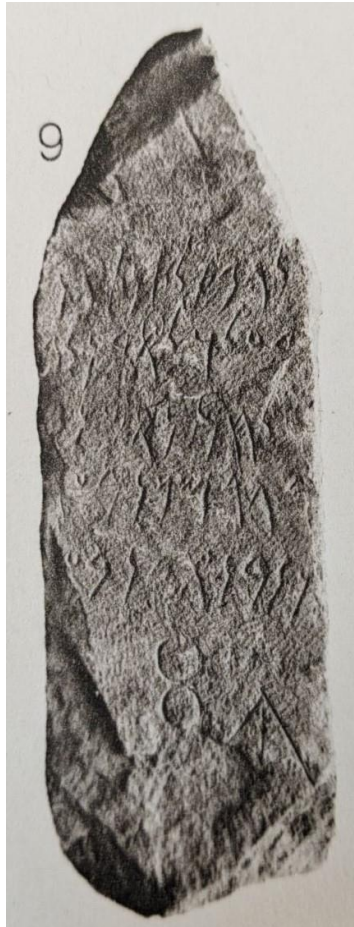


PMIS-C number	69
Date	Ca. 2nd – 1st c. BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	British Museum (BM 125117)
CIS number	N/A
Measurements	0.75 x 0.38 m
Cited in	Mendleson 2003 (p. 37)
Image credits	British Museum online catalogue ⁸⁹
Inscription	“To the lord to Baal an offering which Gaius Julius Arish son of Adonibaal son of Addirbaal offered for he heard his voice, and he blessed him.”

⁸⁹ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1857-1218-44



PMIS-C number	70
Date	Ca. 4th c. BCE
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	4579
Measurements	0.36 x 0.15 m
Cited in	CIS 1.3.2 (1947), Hafiane Nouri 2017
Image credits	CIS 1.3.2 Tab. XXXVII, 3
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al and o the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what ‘Akboram son of ‘Abdšidi, son of Eshmunyaḥon. Because he heard his voice. Bless him!” (CIS 1.3.2 p. 280)



PMIS-C number	71
Date	N/A
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	4488
Measurements	0.39 x 0.13 m
Cited in	CIS 1.3.2 (1947)
Image credits	CIS 1.3.2 Tab. XXXVII, 9
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba ‘al, and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Ḥammon. (This is) what Gersakon son of Adoniba‘al offered.” (CIS 1.3.2 p. 264)



PMIS-C number	72
Date	N/A
Found at	Carthage
Currently located	Carthage National Museum
CIS number	4546
Measurements	0.54 x 0.15 m
Cited in	CIS 1.3.2 (1947 texte and 1952 tabulae), Hafiane Nouri 2017
Image credits	CIS 1.3.2 Tab. XXXVII, 6
Inscription	“To the Lady, to Tanit Face of Ba‘al and to the Lord, to Ba‘al Hammon. (This is) what Namel son of Ba‘al‘azari, son of Karualis offered.” (CIS 1.3.2 p. 274)