



Phoenician Architecture and Funeral Customs in North Africa. A Comparison of Utica and Carthage

Marie De Jonghe

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Frerich Schön und Hanni Töpfer (Hrsg.)

KARTHAGO DIALOGE

Karthago und der punische Mittelmeerraum –
Kulturkontakte und Kulturtransfers
im 1. Jahrtausend vor Christus



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KARTHAGO DIALOGUE



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Punische Siedlung (»Quartier Hannibal«) auf dem Byrsa-Hügel, Karthago.
(Photo H. Töpfer)

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MARIE DE JONGHE

Phoenician Architecture and Funeral Customs in North Africa A Comparison of Utica and Carthage

1. Introduction¹

What do we know about Phoenician necropolises of the Occidental Mediterranean?

Current research, which spans from ancient excavations, sometimes at a massive scale, to the more recent works of compilation and material studies, provides us with an overview of how death was substantiated by Phoenician people. This research covers many aspects of practices surrounding death; from the construction of the grave to its closure and the burial of the deceased.

However, if such a panorama exists, homogeneity is harder to find. Diagrams exist and have been identified, mostly on regional scale. We decided to develop this theme, and more precisely in the North African context of Carthage and Utica².

¹ I would like to thank professor P. Rouillard for the encouragement and the reading of this paper. And also to the entire team of the French-Tunisian excavation in Utica directed by J. Y. Montchambert (Université Paris IV – Sorbonne) and I. Ben Jerbania (Institut National du Patrimoine, Tunis).

² This work takes place in our Ph. D. in progress at Université Paris I – Panthéon Sorbonne, supervised by P. Rouillard. We started to catalogue Phoenician graves documented in the Occidental Mediterranean. The restart of excavations in Utica with the French-Tunisian mission and the discovery of a new grave of the 6th century BC has allowed us to highlight new information and to consider this work for comparisons. We would like to thank both directors of

Of the several Phoenician sites known in North Africa, only Algeria and Tunisia have documented the necropolises attached to the site settlements in Rachgoun, Carthage and Utica, but we will focus here on the two Tunisian sites (*Fig. 1*).

Both sites share common ancient foundations in the form of the culture and the beliefs of the Phoenician people. However, from the Punic period their histories took different paths, especially with regards to politics during the Punic wars.

These two sites are very close geographically, with only 32 kilometres separating them. This seems particularly close when compared to the 160 kilometres between Carthage and Sousse/Hadrumète, the third Phoenician site known in Tunisia.

Since the excavations undertaken in the past century, the necropolises of these two sites are well known (*Fig. 3, 4; Pl. I, 1*) despite the pooriness of some documentation resulting from old and low quality excavations³. These necropolises have

the excavation: J. Y. Montchambert and I. Ben Jerbania, may they find here the expression of my sincerest regards. My thanks go also to my colleagues on the excavation: S. de Laminat and A. Tekki.

³ About ancient excavations of archaic tombs in Carthage: Delattre 1897a; Delattre 1896; Ferron – Pinard 1955; Gauckler 1915; Merlin 1918. About ancient excavations of Archaic tombs in Utica: Cintas 1951; Cintas 1954; Colozier 1954; Février 1956; Moulard et al. 1924.



Fig. 1. Phoenicians settlements in Tunisia (map by the author).



Fig. 2. Carthage – Location map of the necropolis – Gras et al. (after: Chelbi et al. 2006; Bénichou Safar 1982).

been published in monographs, allowing a better understanding of the structures excavated during the 20th century⁴. Since then, more recent excavations have revealed additional data concerning the Phoenician funeral rites⁵.

The chronological and geographical closeness of the sites as well as the large data collection make these two sites interesting examples for the study of Phoenician necropolises in the Occidental Mediterranean in more depth.

Studying these two sites, we will document the characteristics of their funeral practices and show if these characteristics are more intrinsic than regional. Is there homogeneity in the concept of Phoenician funerals? Can it be pinpointed? If a norm exists, do Carthage and Utica have their own funeral customs? Can external influences be noticed?

To do so we will draw a parallel between funeral spaces and archaic graves (8th – 6th century BC) for both these sites from the point of view of architecture, rites and funeral objects.

2. Funeral architecture

There are eighteen architectural types in Phoenician funeral architecture in the Occidental Mediterranean⁶. They range from common tombs, shaft tombs to *dromos* tombs⁷. Not all of these types are

⁶ Typology realised within the framework of a Master's thesis at Paris 1 – Panthéon Sorbonne: De Jonghe Marie, *Architecture funéraire phénicienne en Méditerranée Occidentale* (Master's thesis University Paris 1 – Panthéon Sorbonne 2010) supervised by P. Rouillard. *Common tombs*: (1) simple pit, (2) pit with canal, (3) pit with lateral projections, (4) pit lined with stone masonry, (5) pit lined with mud-brick, (6) simple pits accommodating a stone sarcophagus, (7) geminate pit, (8) trough tomb, (9) natural *pozzi*, (10) retouched *pozzi*, (11) artificial *pozzi*, (12) lithic cist. *Shaft tombs*: (13) chamber excavated laterally of the shaft access, (14) excavated chamber at the bottom of the shaft, (15) the shaft serves multiple excavated chambers, (16) built tombs with one chamber served by a shaft, (17) built tombs with a compartmented chamber served by a shaft. *Dromos tombs*: (18) built tombs served by a *dromos*.

⁷ We have chosen here to present a typology based on the architectural data of the grave, without taking the rite into consideration. Meaning that the shape of the grave does not depend on the rite it takes in, as C. Doumet proposes it: »Ce ne sont point les rites d'inhumation ou d'incinération en usage dans le monde phénicien qui déterminent en général la forme de la sépulture. Toute forme de tombe peut accueillir des rites différents d'inhumation ou d'incinération, soit simultanément soit successivement«. Notice de C. Doumet et H. Bénichou Safar in: Lipinski 1992, 457–461.

⁴ Bénichou Safar 1982; Khelifi 2008a.

⁵ Docter et al. 2003; Lancel et al. 1982; Monchambert et al. 2013.

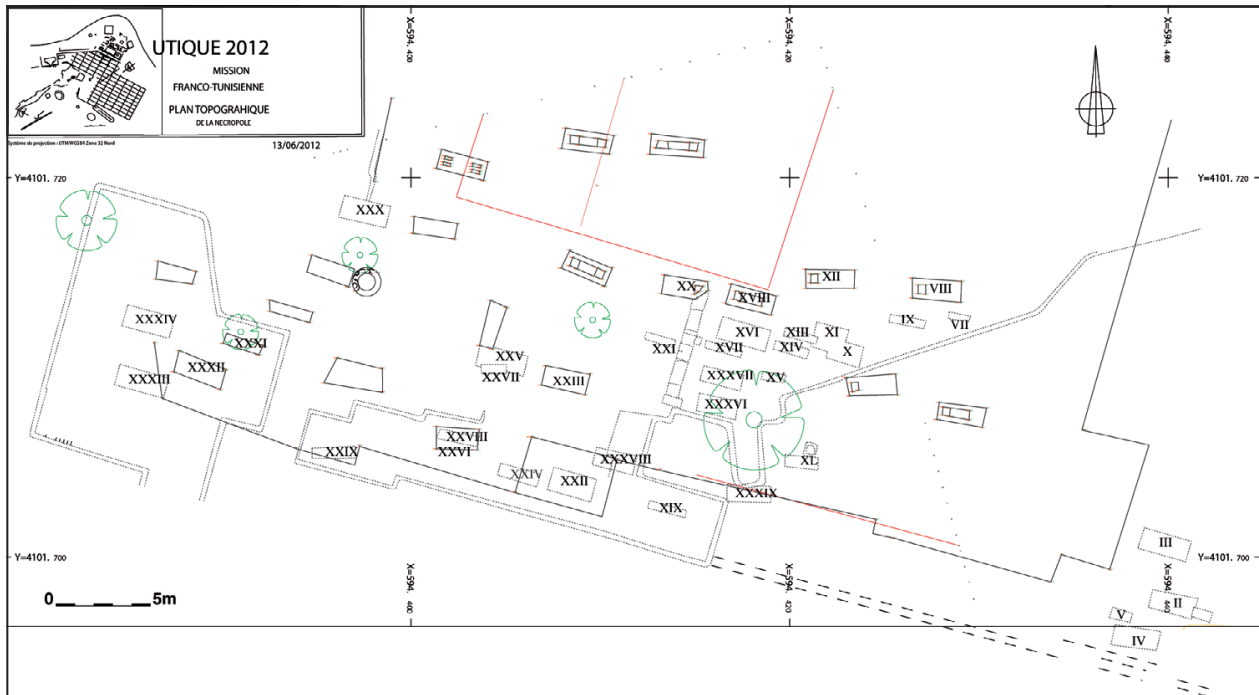


Fig. 3. Utica – Map of the necropolis of ›the bank‹ (map by the French-Tunisian excavation in Utica, M. Belarbi – M. De Jonghe; 2012 survey).

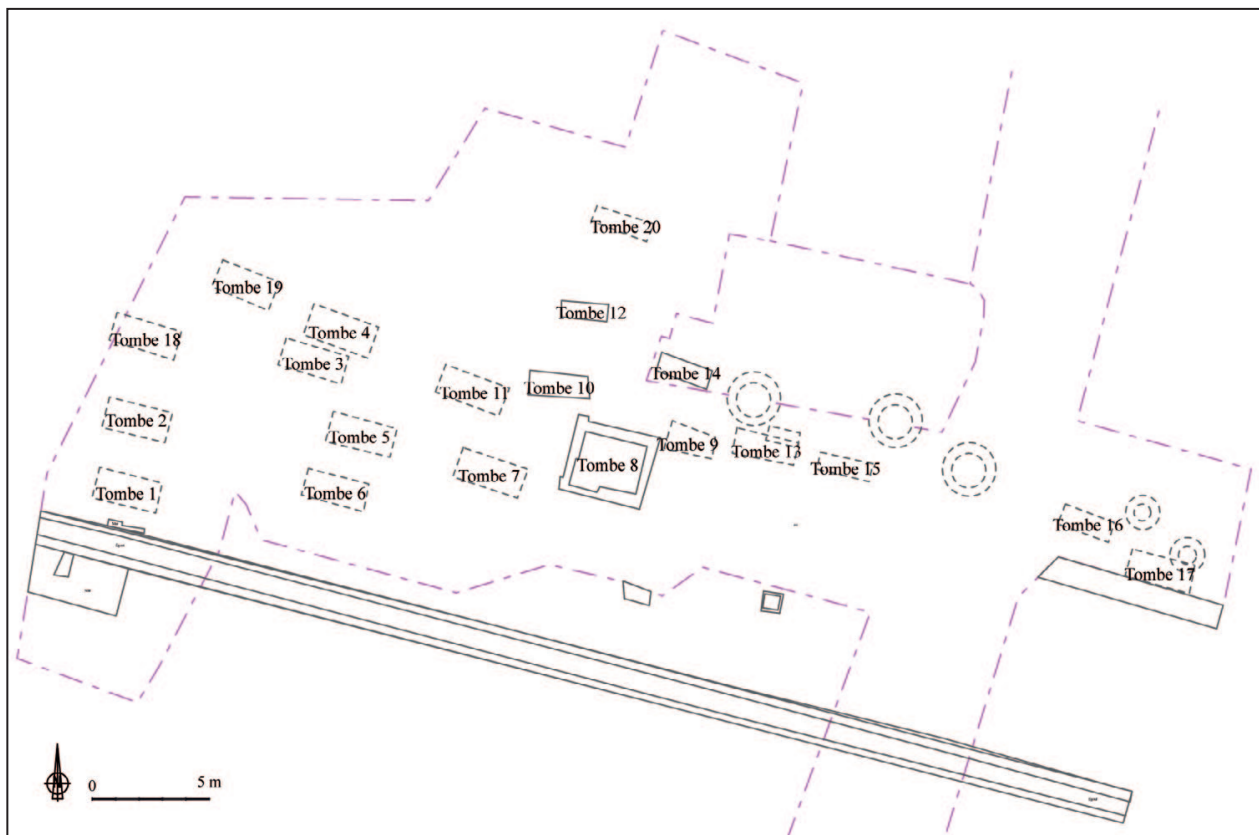


Fig. 4. Utica – Map of the necropolis of ›the island‹ (map by the French-Tunisian excavation in Utica, M. Belarbi – M. De Jonghe; 2013 survey).

represented in Carthage and Utica but we find the widest variety of them in Carthage.

From this typology we observe, on both sites, six types of common tombs (*Pl. I-II*):

First, the simple pit type (*Pl. I, 1; II, 1*), which is universally known in funeral architecture, is the most used type in Phoenician necropolises of occidental Mediterranean⁸. A variation, only known in Carthage, adds lateral projections⁹ to maintain cover slabs (*Pl. I, 2*).

A simple rectangular pit lined with stone masonry in Carthage (*Pl. I, 3*), or lined with raw brick in Utica (*Pl. II, 3*) constitutes another modification of this first type. Despite their similarity in using different material, these two masonries are well defined by their strict distribution at both sites. We have no examples at Carthage of a pit with raw brick masonry and inversely no pit with stone masonry in Utica.

On the necropolises of both sites we can observe simple pits accommodating a stone sarcophagus (*Pl. I, 4; II, 2*). During the archaic period, the sarcophagi are of the »simple *thecae*« type¹⁰.

Initially only simple pits were getting an accessory, but due to the ancientness of most excavations, the pits were never excavated and have disappeared today, leaving only the sarcophagi to be seen. For convenience, we treated them as an additional kind to the typology.

Some sarcophagi in Carthage and all sarcophagi in Utica are equipped with rectangular cavities; in most cases two occupy all the width at the extreme ends of the sarcophagus, but sometimes there are four in each corner.

In Carthage, some examples show a larger than average simple pit (*Pl. I, 7*) with a central partition separating two squares usually equal in size¹¹. This modification allows for the transformation of a simple pit into a new form able to admit two corpses. No other Phoenician site documented this type of grave in the Occidental Mediterranean.

Regarding the trough tomb we have found examples on both sites: in Carthage there are few and are poorly documented (*Pl. I, 6*) and in Utica (*Pl. II, 4*) only one was found in the necropolis »de la berge«¹². They consist of large slabs, which form a complete case with a lid and sometimes a floor¹³. In both sites they appear almost to be standardized.

Pozzis are roughly cylindrical shallow pits (*Pl. I, 5*). They measure on average 1.20 m in depth, and between 0.50 and 0.80 m in diameter. So far *pozzis*¹⁴ are only known in Carthage, some on the Junon Hill¹⁵, but mostly in the Bir Massouda necropolis¹⁶.

Regarding the shaft tombs, five types are known in Carthage and Utica.

Excavated chambers with a shaft access are found only in Carthage. These chambers have a lateral chamber¹⁷, a bottom chamber¹⁸, or a group of chambers served by the same shaft¹⁹ (*Pl. III, 1*).

The built tombs with one chamber or a compartmented chamber served by a shaft constitute another variant (*Pl. III, 2, 3*). They can be described as a small house built on a rectangular plan, which can be accessed by one of the sides of a vertical shaft.

They are well documented in Carthage in the ancient excavations of P. Gauckler²⁰ and R. P. Delattre²¹, and more recently during J. P. Morel's excavations on the Byrsa Hill in 1994²². In Utica, Abbé Moulard²³ documented one in 1924 in the north necropolis²⁴. In both cases, these tombs show the

8 With the exception of the necropolis of Trayamar in Spain where only built tombs served by a *dromos* exist: Schubart – Niemeyer 1976.

9 Bénichou Safar 1982, 9698; 348 tally with type VI.2.

10 Bénichou Safar 1982, 124. 128–135.

11 Bénichou Safar 1982, tally with the paragraph »Particularité: la fosse est double ou triple« of simple pit, 100 f. Lancel et al. 1982, 301.

12 Cintas 1951, 5–89 tomb XXVI.

13 Bénichou Safar 1982, 102–105.

14 Bénichou Safar 1982, 69–71.

15 Cintas 1976, 294.

16 Docter et al. 2006, 13–25.

17 Bénichou Safar 1982, 105–135 tally with type IX.

18 Bénichou Safar 1982, 64 f.

19 Bénichou Safar 1982, 106–135. 353–355 tally with types IX.2–10. For the archaic period, the shaft served two chambers at most.

20 Gauckler 1915, for example graves 8, 10, 25–27, 34, 39, 41, 55–56, 135, 232.

21 R. P. Delattre described several built tombs served by a shaft he excavated in the following articles: Delattre 1893; Delattre 1896; in particular the Yadamilk tomb: Delattre 1897b.

22 Le jeune homme de Byrsa 2010.

23 Moulard et al. 1924, 141–156.

24 Unfortunately, we do not know any graphic data about this grave, with the exception of the description made by the author (Moulard et al. 1924); the top of the funeral chamber is still visible on the site.

same architectural characteristics except for the buttress slab covers that are known in the majority of these kinds of tombs in Carthage, but are absent in Utica.

In Utica there is one type provided with a *dromos* instead of a shaft (*Pl. III, 4*). The access to the grave is more slanted than a shaft and equipped with an access ramp, a stair, or a combination of both. For Tomb 8 in the necropolis »de l'île« the archaeologist who excavated it suspects a *dromos*²⁵, but the grave architecture itself is composed of the same elements as the shaft tomb with a simple chamber.

Within the two sites, we observe a great homogeneity within funeral architecture, with a majority of shared types between Carthage and Utica. However, despite their geographical and chronological proximity, what could be the nature of their differences?

In Carthage we observe a greater variability of types since the archaic period. This variability appears in the geminated tombs, the *pozzis* and the excavated shaft tombs.

Although the *pozzis* appear in a lot of Occidental Mediterranean necropolises²⁶, they do not seem particularly dominant in Carthage, and are absent in Utica.

The excavated and geminated types are particular to Carthage and have not been found in any other necropolis in the Occidental Mediterranean, even in Utica, so they could be Carthage's own creation.

Regarding the *dromos*, it cannot be certified as a specificity of Utica as the discovery is questionable: during the 1954 excavations, P. Cintas²⁷ inventoried the Tomb 8 and declared a *dromos* access even though it was destroyed by a Roman shaft. We do not challenge the veracity of P. Cintas have to admit doubts, as this type is very rare among the Phoenician tombs. So far, the only other examples that can be found are in Trayamar (Málaga, Spain) and in Málaga (Nuevo Mundo and Gibralfaro, Málaga, Spain)²⁸.

Another interesting topic is the case of the masonry graves. It does not matter if they are made of stone or raw brick, they are both derived from a simple grave type and then ornamented. They remain strictly different at each site.

One of the hypotheses regarding these modifications could be the notion of embellishment, but the differences of choice between these two materials remain unexplained. At a smaller scale of study, this difference could show a personal funeral taste, but when it is applied to an entire site this explanation does not make sense anymore. We will not statute here on the richer look of the »stone masonry« since stone work appears to be known in Utica (trough tomb, sarcophagus, built tombs etc.) and apparently it was a deliberate choice to use it or not.

However, the absence of raw-brick in Carthage can also be due to a lack of research; mud-brick was rarely detected during ancient excavations.

We also observe a certain adaptation of some specific types. In Carthage, most of the built tombs own buttress covers and pediment slabs, which could offset the weight of the soil as the tombs are deeply buried and prevent the collapse of the funeral chamber²⁹. In Utica we do not find this adaptation as the tombs are less deeply buried and it would be useless and expensive in stone.

The disparities of information between Carthage and Utica could result from the different excavating politics: Carthage has been excavated to a larger extend than Utica³⁰, but some disparities exist and we believe that should be pointed out.

3. Funeral practices

One of the issues we have in getting a better understanding of Phoenician funeral customs is the wide variety of funeral rites. To our knowledge, in the Levant both rites are admitted: cremation and inhumation³¹. At present it is not possible to de-

25 Cintas 1954, 89–154.

26 A variant of the excavated tomb exists in Almuñécar, but with a gap between the technical achievement compared to those found in Cartago: Pellicer Catalán 2007, 21–31.

27 Cintas 1954, 117.

28 Schubart – Niemeyer 1976 ; Martín Ruiz et al. 2003; Martín Ruiz 2012.

29 Bénichou Safar 1982, 158.

30 Considering only Archaic tombs in our database, we number around 300 for which we have detailed information, 40 are secondary cremation. In Utica, no cremation is known in the less than one hundred graves.

31 C. Doumet and H. Bénichou Safar in: Lipinski 1992, 457–461.

termine a norm regarding a preference between one or the other because we find them equally frequent in the Levant³².

On the other hand, Phoenician people in the Occidental Mediterranean developed a more frequent use of cremations (first or second deposit), instead of inhumations. In Carthage and Utica this observation is inversed and we find more inhumations than cremations³³.

In Carthage, only few cremations have been documented in the necropolises, as opposed to the numerous examples of inhumations³⁴.

Nevertheless we do have some cremations that were subject to excavations. A few were found on the Junon Hill in 1916 by A. Merlin³⁵, in 1921 by R. P. Delattre³⁶ and in June 1947³⁷. More recently, the excavations in the Bir Massouda necropolis by the INP of Tunis and the University of Ghent³⁸ identified cremations within nine *pozzi*.

With such sparse information, it is almost impossible to reach conclusions about how cremation was practiced in Carthage, but by putting it into perspective with what we know about this funeral practice in the rest of the Phoenician Occidental Mediterranean, we may identify the main characteristics.

First of all, we can state that only secondary cremations have been identified but no *ustrinum*, nor were any cremating areas discovered. Moreover the type of deposit is not standardised since there can be no receptacle at all, or one receptacle, frequently a jar with a lid, or of another kind, as shown in the Tomb 8 of Junon, where the receptacle is an alabaster amphora³⁹ (Fig. 5).

On the other hand up to now in Utica, cremation is completely absent according to the data col-

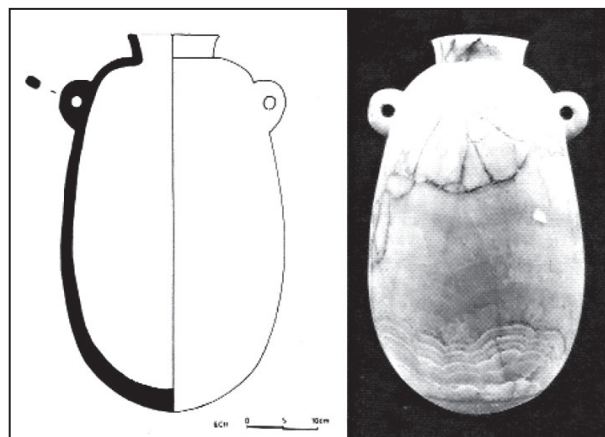


Fig. 5. Burial urn made of alabaster – Excavation Merlin 1918 – Study Ridissi 1997 (after: Ribissi 1997, figs. 1–2).

lected from the excavations. Even if the number of excavated Phoenician graves is limited in comparison to Carthage, the complete lack of cremations is evident. This absence should be noted all the more since it is singular for Phoenician settlements in the Occidental Mediterranean.

As for the inhumations, each is done in decubitus. Only the arm positions change – mainly they are resting along the sides⁴⁰, sometimes with crossed hands over the hips⁴¹. Unfortunately, the data regarding the inhumed are very poor because of the old date of the excavations; even the more recent ones cannot fill all the blanks⁴².

Except for the quote regarding some fabrics or clothes observed in a few tombs during previous excavations directed by R. P. Delattre⁴³, and one grave with bones tainted with cinnabar in Byrsa, we do not observe any processing of corpses⁴⁴.

Regarding the inhumations in Utica, our knowledge is very limited; this is mainly caused by the nature of the field, most of the skeletons were excavated underwater because of the rise of the groundwater. But also because in their publi-

³² The list provided here is not exhaustive, but examples include necropolis with inhumation and cremation in Khaldé (Saïdah 1966; Aubet Semmler 2012), in Achziv (Sader 1995; Mazar 2001). Necropolis with secondary cremation, as in Tyr (Aubet 2004). For a detailed inventory of Phoenician necropolis in the Levant see Sader 2004, 79 f.; and regarding inhumation and cremation: Sader 2004, 81–83.

³³ This is to be the case for Sardinian settlements: Bartoloni 1996; Bartoloni 2000; Sicilian: Tusa 1973; Spanish: Perdigones Moreno et al. 1990; Gomez Bellard 1990.

³⁴ Bénichou Safar 1982, 248–260.

³⁵ Merlin 1918, 288–314.

³⁶ Delattre 1921, 95–100.

³⁷ Cintas 1976, 293–296.

³⁸ Docter et al. 2003; Chelbi et al. 2006; Docter et al. 2006, 13–25.

³⁹ Delattre 1921, 95–100; Ridissi 1997, 115–132.

⁴⁰ Lancel et al. 1982, 301.

⁴¹ Lancel et al. 1982, 298 tomb A.194; Le jeune homme de Byrsa 2010, 41–44.

⁴² Lancel et al. 1982, 391: »Note complémentaire 3, Étude anthropologique des restes osseux provenant de la nécropole archaïque du versant sud de la colline de Byrsa«; the human remains were found extremely fragmented, sometimes even reduced to splinter.

⁴³ Delattre 1896, Tombeau du 4 Juillet 1890, remains of a green textile around the skeleton.

⁴⁴ Byrsa, grave A.144, Lancel et al. 1982, 349–352.

cations, l'Abbé Moulard⁴⁵, P. Cintas⁴⁶, E. Colozier⁴⁷ and P. A. Février⁴⁸ did not describe the skeletons or photograph them.

However, the majority of inhumations seem to have been observed in decubitus, and one procubitus⁴⁹. No particular processing over the corpses have been identified, with the exception of Tomb 2 in the necropolis »de l'île« where the bones were tainted in red⁵⁰.

The orientation of the dead in the different necropolises in Carthage is skull to the North (Byrsa hill), to Northeast in Dermech⁵¹; meanwhile in Utica, skulls are oriented west⁵². If we consider this question in a larger scale, there are no homogeneous ritual orientations in the Phoenician Mediterranean, even in the Levant; but each within each settlement the same pattern is followed⁵³.

As for the number of deposited corpses in each tomb, across all the Occidental Mediterranean there are single deposits, except for tombs in which the architecture allows it, such as the excavated chambers, the built tombs and the geminate tombs.

Compared to other Phoenician sites of the Occidental Mediterranean we easily notice a difference between Carthage and Utica. Unfortunately no answer can be given to explain these differences when comparing the Occidental sites, nor when the data collected across the Eastern coasts⁵⁴ is included. One of the favoured explanations is based on the influence of the local populations over the Phoenician practices in the Occidental Mediterranean, but for Carthage and Utica no indigenous necropolises can explain the low proportion of cremation.

4. Funeral objects

For each of the two sites subject to this study, the material found in funeral context has been widely studied, as objects in themselves, but also in their role inside the grave and for the deceased they accompany. We will not go back to the significance of those objects in this article, since this paper only intends to give an idea about the comparison of the artefacts between both sites⁵⁵. We have chosen to study the frequency of objects in the Phoenician tombs between the 7th and the 6th century BC in Carthage and Utica.

During the first chronological phase known of Carthage's necropolis (first half of the seventh century BC⁵⁶), a variety of ceramics more or less standardised accompany the deceased, mainly composed from the following shapes: mushroom-lipped jug, trefoil oinochoe, perfume burner, lamp, plate, »vase chardon«, jar, support. Imports essentially are *skyphoi* or protocorinthian piroform *aryballoi*⁵⁷.

During the second part of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century BC, we observe a standardisation of objects only in some areas of the necropolises, especially in Dermech and Douimes⁵⁸. The majority of the ceramics repertoire already used in the previous phase becomes more habitual: a lamp generally put on a plate⁵⁹, a mushroom-lipped jug⁶⁰, a trefoil oinochoe, and two jars. We also observe some imports, usually *bucchero nero*⁶¹ and small Corinthian vases⁶² (Fig. 6).

At the same time, some tombs do not follow this standardisation, but keep similarities with this deposit, or a part of it, or add some ceramic types⁶³ (Fig. 8).

In Utica, we do not observe a clear pattern, but we may identify a ceramic type often used and represented by one or two pieces, like in Carthage.

45 Moulard et al. 1924.

46 Cintas 1951; Cintas 1954.

47 Colozier 1954.

48 Février 1956.

49 This case of procubitus was the subject of a poster in the conference *Archeologia e antropologia della morte*, held in Rome 20–22 may 2015; see De Jonghe – de Larmiant (2015).

50 Colozier 1954, 156–161.

51 Delattre 1893, 94–123; Gauckler 1915; Lancel et al. 1982.

52 Cintas 1951, 5–89 tombs XXIII and XXVI; Colozier 1954, 156–161 tombs 2 and 11.

53 H. Bénichou Safar in: Lipinski 1992, 311–313.

54 C. Doumet and H. Bénichou Safar in: Lipinski 1992, 457–461.

55 Regarding detailed studies about components of funeral material for both sites: Bénichou Safar 1982, 261–272; Khelifi 2008a, 271–673; Khelifi 2014, 160–340.

56 Bénichou-Safar 1978, 289–304.

57 Boucher-Colozier 1953.

58 Bénichou Safar 1982, 291–304.

59 Ben Jerbania 2005, 29–62; Ben Jerbania 2008, 16–25.

60 Chelbi 1986, 174; Peserico 1996.

61 Colozier 1953, 74–76; Gran-Aymerich 1983, 78.

62 Boucher-Colozier 1953; Bénichou Safar 1982, 291–304.

63 This is the case on Byrsa Hill's graves where cooking pots were uncovered: Merlin 1918, 288–314; Lancel et al. 1982, 254–336.



Fig. 6. Carthage – Material from the Yadamilk tomb (after: Arodaky et al. 2007, ill. 145).



Fig. 7. Utica – Material from the tomb n°3 – Colozier 1954 – Cintas 1954 (after: Cintas 1954, fig. 23).

These ceramics deposited in the tombs can be an amphora, a mushroom-lipped jug, a trefoil oinochoe, a juglet, a lamp, sometimes a plate and some imports, but only Corinthian ones (Fig. 7).

Regarding the non-ceramic objects, comparisons are more difficult to establish especially in the case of jewellery and objects that are more personal than funeral items, because of that, there are many variabilities from tomb to tomb.

We can observe a great number of scarabs in Carthage, while in Utica⁶⁴ they are less frequent; as for the amulets, only five have been inventoried in Utica⁶⁵, a lot less than in Carthage⁶⁶.

⁶⁴ One scarab in the graves XII, XXIII et XVI; two in the grave XXXII; one in the graves LVII, LXXV, 2, 5, 6, 10, 12 et 17; leading to a total of thirteen scarabs known.

⁶⁵ One evil mask and one undetermined in grave LIV; two ivory hands in tomb 13; and two other in grave 18, Khelifi 2014, 160–340.

⁶⁶ Vercoutter 1945; Ridissi 1987.

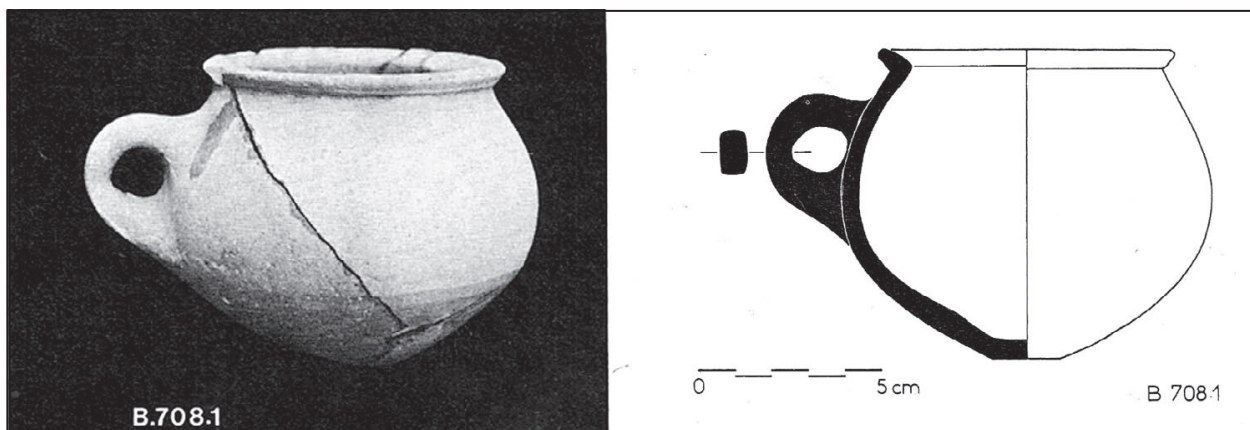


Fig. 8. Carthage – Cooking pots of the tomb B 708.1 Byrsa (after: Lancel et al. 1982, fig. 354–355).

Moreover, we found only one example of a protome⁶⁷ in Utica and two razors⁶⁸ although we inventoried a lot more of these objects in Carthage⁶⁹; the ostrich eggs appears to be absent in Utica but well documented in Carthage⁷⁰.

In both sites, we notice a certain similarity in the ceramic funeral equipment: the mushroom-lipped jug and trefoil oinochoe, vases representative of the Phoenician funeral ritual⁷¹ are present at both sites. We also see a similarity in the use of lamps, usually put on a plate in Carthage, even if this kind of deposition is found less frequent in Utica where it only appears in Tomb XXXIV⁷² in the necropolis »de la berge« and Tombs 1⁷³, 5 and 9⁷⁴ in the necropolis »de l'île«.

Jars are mainly deposited as pairs in the tombs of Carthage but do not occur in Utica, where they seem to be replaced by juglets. It would appear that in Utica preference is given to vessels with only one handle, especially in the necropolis of »de l'île« where it is not rare to see two mushroom-lipped jugs and two trefoil oinochoes⁷⁵, or one mushroom-lipped jug, three trefoil oinochoes and one juglet⁷⁶.

In Utica, many tombs have an amphora associated with the objects (Fig. 9), because of their size they are found over the cover slabs, generally in the Northwest corner. The most recent excavations have identified a cavity carved in one of the walls usually northwest to receive this amphora⁷⁷.

As for the imports, *bucchero nero* has only been discovered in Carthage but Corinthian vases are found in both sites⁷⁸.

We observe some degree of standardisation of objects in burials between the 7th and 6th centuries BC but it seems unique to each site. Apart from mushroom-lipped jugs, trefoil oinochoes and the lamps, the rest of the ceramics are dependent on modifications and particularities unique to each settlement, although Carthage appears the most variable in types and forms.

5. Conclusion

Carthage and Utica are linked by the same funeral culture, regarding at the architecture, the sepulchres and even the artefacts; but also, despite the geographical and chronological similarities, we observe differences in the characteristics defining these two sites.

However, Carthage appears unique in the Phoenician Occidental Mediterranean. First of all, we find the highest variability in the architecture

67 One bearded man protome in tomb XLII; (Khelifi 2008a, cat. 614. 623).

68 One bronze razor without decor (Khelifi 2008a, cat. 202. 383) in tomb XXIX; one bronze razor (Khelifi 2008a, cat. 638. 635–636) in grave XLVIII.

69 Picard 1965/1966, 9–29.

70 Astruc 1956, 29–80.

71 Chelbi 1986, 174; Peserico 1996, 35–70.

72 Cintas 1951, 64–67.

73 Colozier 1954, 156–161.

74 Cintas 1954, 105 f., 108.

75 This is to be the case in the necropolis »de l'île« for graves 1, 2 and 12; Colozier 1954, 156–161; Cintas 1954, 89–154.

76 This is to be the case for the grave 4 in the necropolis

»de l'île«: Colozier 1954, 156–161.

77 Monchambert et al. 2013: excavation of 2011 and 2012; during the 2013 campaign (on press) a pit lined with mud-brick has been excavated.

78 Boucher-Colozier 1953, 11 f.

of tombs, from the simplest to the most complicated, and moreover they appear fully developed in this necropolis.

Even if there is not enough data collected to make any assumption about the sepulchral habits regarding the objects, we still recognise a pattern of use in the Phoenician tombs. We can observe for example a greater value of the artefacts used in Carthage, like the scarabs, ostrich eggs, amulets, and some Etruscan imports, such as the *bucchero nero*, not found in Utica.

Even if there have been more excavations in Carthage than in any other Phoenician settlement, these types remain very specific. We do not have many explanations regarding these specificities, except the hypothesis that Carthage was a very important city with a certain status very early on in its history⁷⁹; could it be the reflexion of social status or the mark of elites?

Some of these architectural types only exist in Carthage and nowhere else in the Occidental Mediterranean; in that case this particularity does not only emphasize Carthage's exceptional character compared to Utica, but Carthage as a Mediterranean exception.

Utica also has some characteristics of its own that differentiate it by many aspects from its neighbour. We observe more pits holding a stone sarcophagus, a fashion that still exists during the Punic Era⁸⁰.

One other particular characteristic is the total absence of cremation, this occurs to be unequal in the Occidental Mediterranean.

In this necropolis, we observe as well a certain standardisation in the use of the objects, favouring vessels with one handle.

To conclude: despite their real proximity and their origins, each one of these two sites developed an independent fashion of Phoenician funeral traditions. Unfortunately, we do not have many explanations for these differences, and the local substratum is not sufficiently well known from a funerary perspective for this period to lead to conclusions⁸¹.

Furthermore, if we include observations from the Mediterranean, this homogeneity seems more like a false characteristic. There are common features, well known and identified, but there are also many differences that concern intrinsic aspects of the funeral world, like the choice of the rite.

This leads one to question the existence of a Phoenician funeral norm and if indeed it exists, how can it be characterised.

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⁷⁹ From the beginning according to the foundation myth.

⁸⁰ Necropolis of the east: Moulard et al. 1924, 141–156; Delattre 1906.

⁸¹ Camps 1961, 29–44.

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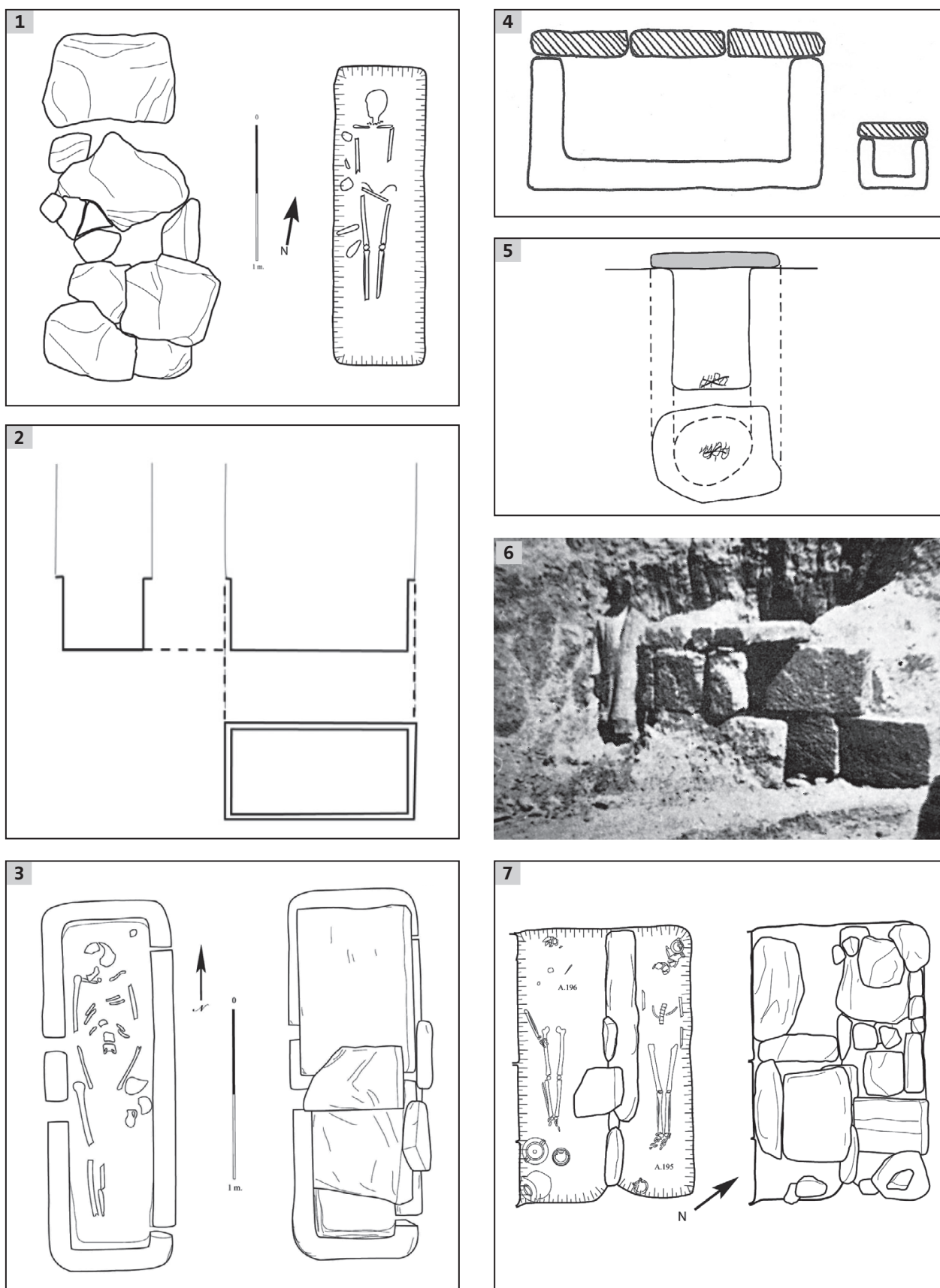
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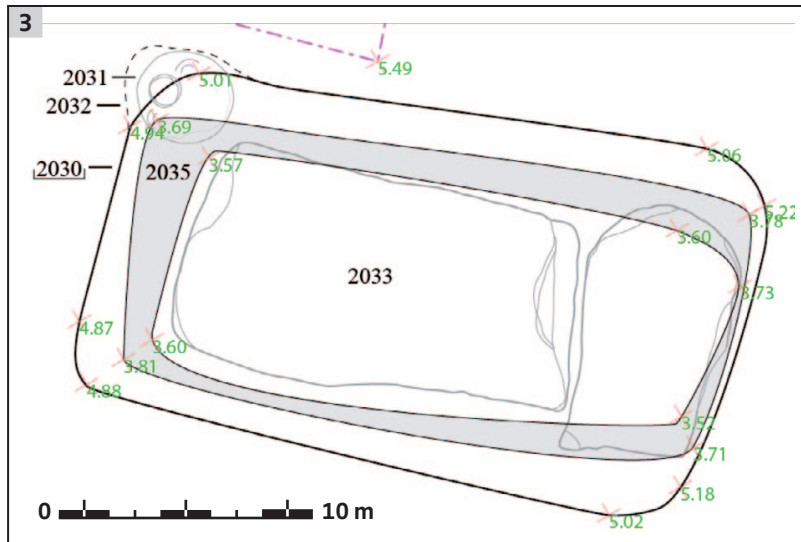
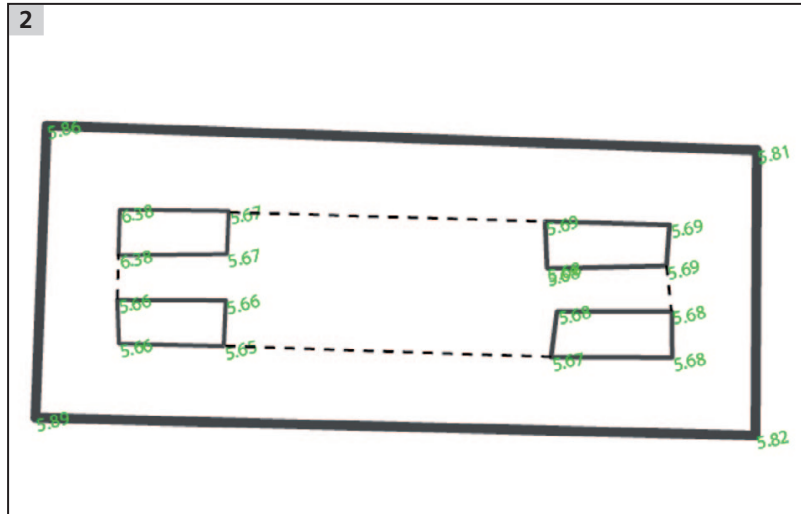
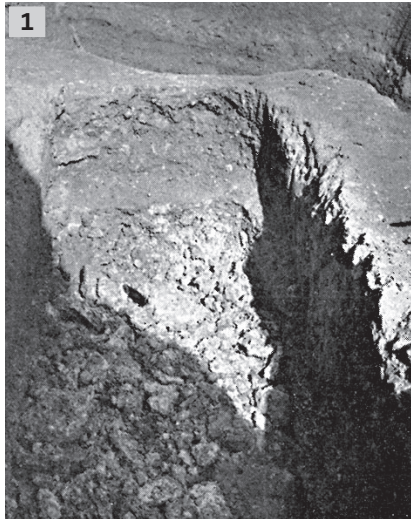
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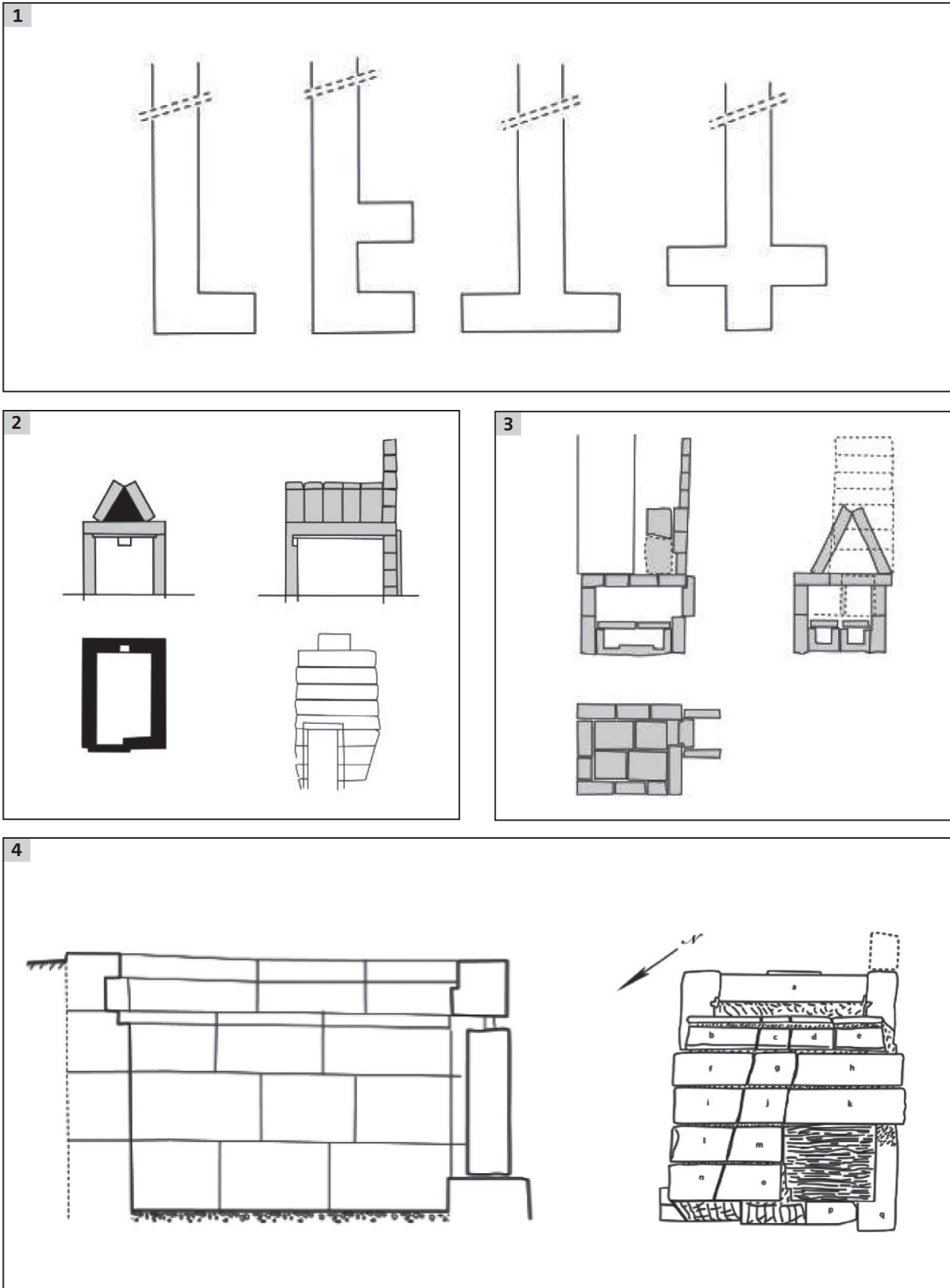
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Pl. I. **Carthage** – 1: Simple pit n°A.187, Byrsa (after: Lancel et al. 1982, fig. 520) – 2: Simple pit with lateral projections (after: Bénichou Safar 1982, fig. 47) – 3: Simple lined with stone masonry n°A.194, Byrsa (after: Lancel et al. 1982, fig. 434) – 4: Simple lined with stone masonry n°A.194, Byrsa (after: Lancel et al. 1982, fig. 434) – 5: Pozzi (after: Bénichou Safar 1982, fig. 38) – 6: Trough tomb (after: Bénichou Safar 1982, fig. 52) – 7: Geminated tomb n°A.195-196, Byrsa (after: Lancel et al. 1982, fig. 441).



Pl. II. **Utica** – 1: Simple pit n°18 (after: Cintas 1954, fig. 56) – 2: Simple pit accommodating a stone sarcophagus, Excavation Moulard 1924, Drawing French-Tunisian excavation (map of the French-Tunisian excavation in Utica; 2012 survey) – 3: Simple pit lined with mud-brick, Tomb E3, French-Tunisian 2013 excavation (map of the French-Tunisian excavation in Utica; 2013 survey) – 4: Trough tomb XXVI, Cintas 1951 (Photography by the author).



Pl. III. **Carthage** – 1: Examples of excavated tomb with shaft access (after: Bénichou Safar 1982, fig. 54) – 2: Built tomb with one chamber served by a shaft, Gauckler 1915 n°25 (after: Bénichou Safar 1982, fig. 78) – 3: Built tomb with compartmented chamber served by a shaft, Gauckler 1915 n°13 (after: Bénichou Safar 1982, fig. 85). **Utica** – 4: Built tomb with one chamber served by a dromos n°8 (after: Cintas 1954, fig. 65).

Dieser Sammelband gibt Einblicke in aktuelle Forschungen zu den vielschichtigen und wechselseitigen kulturellen Austauschbeziehungen im zentralen Mittelmeerraum des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. Ausgehend von der punischen Metropole Karthago untersuchen die Autoren anhand archäologischer und historischer Quellen Kulturkontakte und Kulturtransfers in den punischen Siedlungsgebieten. Im Fokus stehen die vielfältigen Dynamiken und Prozesse des Austauschs zwischen Puniern und ihren Nachbarn in Tunesien, auf Sizilien und Sardinien sowie dem phönizischen Mutterland. Die hier gesammelten Aufsätze präsentieren die Ergebnisse des internationalen Workshops „Karthago Dialoge“, der im November 2013 am Institut für Klassische Archäologie der Eberhard-Karls-Universität in Tübingen stattfand.

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