CHAPTER 7

Tyrian Connections: Evolving Identities in the Punic West

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1 Introduction

The intent of this contribution is twofold.* First, it proposes a revision of the historical process undergone by the communities of Phoenician origin in the Far West during the Punic period,[1] particularly after the fourth century BCE. This is an important phase for our understanding of the complex mosaic of peoples and cultures later to be found in Roman Turdetania as of the second century BCE. Second, in-keeping with the theme of the volume, which analyses the creation, development and transformation of identities, this chapter reviews the existence of an overarching, shared identity among the Phoenician communities of the western Mediterranean during this period, based on a common Tyrian origin. Between the fourth century BCE and the Roman occupation, political relations between the western Phoenician communities, particularly between Gadir and Carthage, developed as part of a common framework, founded on the belief of a common Tyrian past and the influence of the god Melqart of Tyre over these cities.

Over the last decades, historical debate on the Punic period in Iberia has centred on the question of Carthaginian imperialism in the west before the Barcids.[2] Considering the limited archaeological evidence on the subject, most

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1 The term is used in a chronological sense, referring to the period following the transformations of the sixth century BCE, and not exclusively as an equivalent of 'Carthaginian'. An excellent historiographical and conceptual review, concerning the terms 'Phoenician' and 'Punic' may be found in Quinn and Vella 2014.

2 Whittaker 1978; Bendala Galán 1987; González Wagner 1984, 1985, 1989, 1994; Barceló 1988, 2006; López Castro 1991b, 1991c, 1992a, 1992b, 2000a, 2001; Alvar Ezquerra et al. 1992, 1995; Frutos 1993; Koch 2001; Niveau de Villedary 2001, 2008; López Pardo and Suárez 2002; Muñoz and Frutos 2005; Domínguez Monedero 2007; Ferrer Albelda and Pliego Vázquez 2010, 2013.

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theses have traditionally relied on a reduced list of ancient sources, including various passages in Polybius pointing towards Carthaginian occupation in parts of Iberia before the arrival of Hamilcar in 237 BCE (Polyb. 2.1.5; 3.1.10; 3.24.1–12). However, it is Justin (*Epit.* 44.5.1–4) who summarizes in a brief text the phases of Carthaginian domination in southern Hispania.

This passage has already been studied in terms of the articulation of an identity-network at an Atlantic-Mediterranean scale, which branched out from Tyre and extended as far as Carthage and Gadir.[3] While these studies were approached from a synchronic or 'horizontal' point of view, here the same passage will be used to show the evolution of the role played by 'Tyrian identity' in the Far West, which depended on the political interests of the city of Gadir. A diachronic, or 'vertical' point of view is applied, in order to shed light on the evolution of identity links among the western Phoenician communities, as part of a historical process in play up to the Roman period, placing particular attention on the relationship between Gadir and Carthage.

2 Justin 44.5.1–4: A Reinterpretation

> 5 [1] After the Spanish dynasties it was the Carthaginians who first gained control of the country. [2] Following instructions given in a dream, the people of Gades brought the *sacra* of Hercules to Spain from Tyre (also the country of origin of the Carthaginians) and founded a city there, but the neighbouring peoples in Spain, envious of the progress made by the new city, made war on them. The Carthaginians therefore sent assistance to their relatives. [3] The expedition met with success; the Carthaginians both defended the people of Gades from aggression and also, by even greater aggression on their part, added an area of the country to their own empire. [4] Later, encouraged by the success of their first expedition, they also sent their general Hamilcar with a large force to seize the entire country …[4] (translation adapted from J.C. Yardley 1994).

3 Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2014a, 2014b, 2018.

4 5 [1] *Post regna deinde Hispaniae primi Karthaginienses imperium provinciae occupavere.* [2] *Nam cum Gaditani a Tyro, unde et Karthaginiensibus origo est, sacra Herculis per quietem iussi in Hispaniam transtulissent urbemque ibi condidissent, invidentibus incrementis novae urbis finitimis Hispaniae populis ac propterea Gaditanos bello lacessentibus auxilium consanguineis Karthaginienses misere.* [3] *Ibi felici expeditione et Gaditanos ab iniuria vindicaverunt et maiore iniuria partem provinciae imperio suo adiecerunt.* [4] *Postea quoque hortantibus primae expeditionis auspiciis Hamilcarem imperatorem cum manu magna ad occupandam provinciam misere …* (Just. *Epit.* 44.5.1–4; ed. O. Seel 1972)

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The *Historiae Philippicae* of Pompeius Trogus, written in the time of Augustus, are a good exponent of the tendency to create universal histories at a time when Rome was consolidating its control over the known world. The text of Trogus is only preserved through the summary of Justin, dated to the third or fourth centuries CE.[5]

Despite its brevity, Justin's passage has been subject to a long tradition of historical exegesis in modern scholarship.[6] However, interpretations have unanimously coincided in establishing the starting point in the sequence of events as the foundation of Gadir by Tyrian colonists, who brought with them the cult to Melqart.

After the foundational episode, it is generally accepted that there is a break in the narration, a chronological jump to a later period that is impossible to determine, in which Gadir is attacked by certain neighbouring communities in Iberia. Hostilities would have been caused by the success of the new city, Gadir, followed by the arrival of the Carthaginian expedition in aid of its kin. The second stage, which begins with the attack on the Gaditanians, ends with the decision of the Carthaginians to settle in a certain region of Iberia, taking over territory. Then, another chronological jump takes place, leading to the third stage and the arrival of Hamilcar Barca in 237 BCE.[7]

Viewed from a traditional perspective, the main problem lies in determining the chronology of the second phase in the narration, that is, the attack on the Gaditanians by certain neighbouring communities and the subsequent arrival of Carthaginian aid. This second event in the narration has generally been linked to the so-called 'crisis of the sixth century BCE', a period of transformation both for the local Tartessian culture and for the Phoenician communities of the Iberian Peninsula.[8] An exception to this traditional interpretation of the second stage of Justin's passage is found in the work of E. Ferrer and R. Pliego; they propose to date the episode of the attack on the Gaditanians and the Carthaginian expedition to the mid-fourth century BCE, when the archaeological record reflects an increase in Carthaginian presence in the south-west of the Iberian Peninsula.[9] However, this alternative proposal generates another problem, for it increases considerably the gap between the first and second

5 Alonso Núñez 1987, 1992; Castro Sánchez 1995.

6 Schulten 1924; García y Bellido 1942; Bendala Galán 1987; López Castro 1992a; Ferrer Albelda and Pliego Vázquez 2010; Domínguez Monedero 2012; Fernández Camacho 2013; Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2014a.

7 López Castro 1992a.

8 Aubet 2001, 344; Neville 2005, 169; Martín Ruiz 2007.

9 Ferrer Albelda and Pliego Vázquez 2010.

stages of Justin's narration, the time between the foundation of Gadir and the Carthaginian aid expedition.

In recent work, a new, radically different interpretation of Justin's passage has been put forth, reconsidering the accepted outline for the historical process involving the western Phoenician world between the fourth and second centuries BCE.[10] This proposal starts by paying particular attention to the circumstances under which Justin summarizes the *Historiae Philippicae*. It has been proved by specialists that his epitomizing technique is not based on the summary of the original text, but on deleting more or less extensive extracts of Trogus' account.[11] These omissions of the original *Historiae* are identifiable by Justin's use of expressions aimed at joining the paragraphs he decided to keep, after eliminating the content in between. For this particular passage, J.L. López Castro has identified with reasonable accuracy the two places where Justin deleted the original text by Trogus.[12]

The first of these omissions is detected in the initial words of the chapter: *Post regna deinde Hispaniae primi Karthaginienses* … The reference to content exposed in the previous chapter (Just. *Epit.* 44.4) relative to the 'Spanish dynasties', together with the expression *deinde* are solid indicators that Justin deleted some content immediately prior to the question on the Carthaginian *imperium.*[13] After this first omission, the structure of the passage follows a straightforward sequence. In order to explain the origin of the Carthaginian *imperium* in Hispania, the narration goes back in time to the foundation of a city by the Gaditanians, after having received in dreams an oracle ordering them to transfer certain *sacra Herculis* from Tyre. Subsequent events are presented with no apparent interruptions up to the appropriation of 'an area of the country' (*pars provinciae*) by the Carthaginians.

The second of the omissions from the original text by Trogus is detected in the opening words of the fourth paragraph: *Postea quoque hortantibus primae expeditionis auspiciis* … A new sequence of events then begins, following the expedition led by Hamilcar. Before this episode, Justin would have deleted original content from the *Historiae* covering an undetermined lapse of time between the first territorial annexations by the Carthaginians and 237 BCE.

Traditional interpretations of the passage may have been based on a mistaken premise: the belief that the initial event in the paragraph referred to the foundation of Gadir. To start with, this assumption leaves a great chronological

10 Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2014a, 2014b, 2018.

11 Forni and Angeli Bertinelli 1982; Alonso Núñez 1987, 1992; López Castro 1992a.

12 López Castro 1992a.

13 Castiglioni 1925, 3; López Castro 1992a, 224.

gap between the first event in the narration and the attack on the Gaditanians by 'the neighbouring peoples in Spain'. If the foundation of Gadir took place sometime in the ninth century BCE,[14] the gap would range between three and five centuries, depending on the date given to the attack: the sixth century BCE or the fourth century BCE, as suggested by E. Ferrer and R. Pliego.[15] However, if the attack on the Gaditanians and the arrival of the Carthaginians is dated to the sixth century BCE, the cause-effect relationship established by the text between the arrival of Hamilcar in 237 BCE and the first successful expedition, which served as a precedent, would be broken.[16]

The new interpretation is based on a very straightforward alternative reading. The city is not Gadir, but another colony, founded by the Gaditanians themselves. Traditionally, it has been assumed that the oracle ordering the transfer of the *sacra Herculis* and the foundation of a new city in *Hispania* was granted by Hercules (Melqart) to the Tyrians and that the new community was Gadir. The reason behind this general assumption, it seems, is found in the similar scene narrated by Strabo (3.5.5) for the foundation of Gadir, a coincidence which will be dealt with below.

On the other hand, a more literal reading of the text might be more appropriate, one interpreting the receptors of the oracle as Gaditanians, not Tyrians, in another time period, obviously, after the foundation of their own city. The account would therefore not begin with the foundation of Gadir, but with the foundation of a colony by the Gaditanians, who are the receptors of the god's oneiric oracle. The new foundation is therefore an unnamed city in the text.

It is important to point out that no interruption is detected in the sequence of events beginning with the oracle delivered to the Gaditanians until the annexation of certain *pars provinciae* by the Carthaginians, which is followed by the second of the omissions from the original by Trogus. As mentioned above, the epitomizing technique used by Justin basically consists of the elimination of content, rather than synthesis. Bearing this in mind, it is fairly safe to assume that the sequence beginning with the oracle and ending with the first Carthaginian conquest of certain territories in Iberia constitutes a single, continuous block of events, which are linked chronologically and by a causal nexus.

Hence, all the events contained in this section of the passage could have followed each other without great chronological leaps in a same time period. After the oneiric oracle, certain *sacra Herculis* would have been transferred from Tyre to the new foundation in Iberia, a successful city, which would have

14 Gener et al. 2014.

15 Ferrer Albelda and Pliego Vázquez 2010.

16 López Castro 1992a, 225.

aroused the hostilities of certain communities in the Peninsula. The attack on the Gaditanians by the neighbouring peoples would have been followed, without interruption, by the Carthaginian aid expedition and the subsequent annexation of certain territories in Iberia.

By dissociating the beginning of the account from the foundation of Gadir, the sequence of events is no longer subject to a forced elongation of its chronology, stretching back to the ninth century BCE. By changing the perspective and assuming that the account begins with the foundation of a subcolony by the Gaditanians, the general chronology may be shortened into a much more coherent framework.

The starting date for the reconstruction of the whole sequence of events is the arrival of Hamilcar to Iberia in 237 BCE. The original contents by Trogus, prior to this event and omitted by Justin, did not necessarily span a large period of time since, as pointed out in the text, one expedition led to the next. If Hamilcar's arrival was not far off in time from the first Carthaginian expedition, the foundation of the Gaditanian colony could have taken place in a time frame ~~little~~ distant from the expedition led by Hamilcar.

In the new interpretation, the Gaditanians founded a city in Iberia sometime ~~around~~ 237 BCE, with the active participation of the sanctuary of Melqart in Tyre, from where the god's *sacra* were transported for the occasion. The key question of course is to identify the city and its actual date of foundation.

3 Gadir, Carteia and Melqart

Another recent proposal is the identification of the city founded by the Gaditanians in Justin's passage with Carteia, located on the Bay of Algeciras, next to the Strait of Gibraltar (Figure 7.1).[17] The archaeological site has been systematically excavated since the 1990s by a team from the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, who date the foundational levels of the settlement to the mid fourth century BCE. The city built walls from an initial stage, undertaking a second phase of monumental construction in the last quarter of the third century BCE, during the Barcid period.[18] The archaeologists in charge link the rise of Carteia with the abandonment of the nearby Cerro del Prado, a settlement of Phoenician origin, which dates back to the seventh century BCE. The new city

17 Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2014a, 2014b, 2018.

18 Bendala Galán et al. 2000; Roldán et al. 1998, 2003, 2006; Blánquez 2007; Blánquez et al. 2009, 2012.

FIGURE 7.1 The Phoenician-Punic settlement in the Straits of Gibraltar area. ADAPTED BY M. ÁLVAREZ OF COURTESY FROM ZAMORA, AND SÁEZ 2014, 253.

would have been populated by Cerro del Prado people, who moved to a more extensive space, closer to the ocean, with excellent port conditions.[19]

On the other hand, the possibility of identifying Carteia with the colony founded by the Gaditanians in Justin's passage, is supported by various factors. The first is the information given by Strabo on the city of Kalpe, which is undoubtedly identified with Carteia.

> At that point [the strait at the Pillars] there is a mountain belonging to those Iberians called the Bastetanians, also called the Bastoulians. It is Kalpe, whose circumference is not large but whose height is so large and steep that from a distance it appears to be an island. For someone sailing from Our Sea to the External, it is on the right, and near it, 40 stadia away, is the distinguished ancient city of Kalpe, which was once an Iberian naval station. To some it was a foundation of Herakles, among whom is Timosthenes, who says that it was called Herakleia in antiquity, and that its large circuit wall and shipsheds are still pointed out (Strab. 3.1.7; transl. D.W. Roller).

Recently, this passage has been read in light of the legend of the foundation of Tyre, as told by Nonnus of Panopolis (fifth century CE), and in the context of the foundation legends of cities of Tyrian origin, such as Gadir itself or Carthage.[20] The passage on the foundation of Tyre transmitted in the *Dionysiaca*

19 Blánquez et al. 2009.

20 Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2014a, 2014b.

of Nonnus (40.423–534) appears as a sort of mythical model characterized by certain structural elements. The main one is the dream oracle granted by Melqart to the future settlers of the city (Nonnus *Dion*. 40.443–500), ordering them to seek out certain floating rocks – the 'Ambrosial Rocks' – which were anchored through the sacrifice of an eagle, all of which led to the foundation of Tyre (Nonnus *Dion*. 40.521–534).

It is possible to find this same mythological outline in certain traditions concerning Gadir. Strabo (3.5.5), in his account of the foundation of the city, still mentions the oracle, although significantly transformed by modern re-elaborations and Greek elements.[21] On the other hand, the version contained in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* is clearly perceivable in the account offered by Porphyry (*Abst.* 1.25), who describes a miracle during the siege of Bogud, king of Mauritania, on the Herakleion of Gades in 38 BCE. Once again, there is an oracular dream, in which the priest of the sanctuary sees a bird offering itself for sacrifice, an event which is fulfilled the following day, as if reflecting a ritual performed during the foundation of the sacred place.[22]

Carthage was different to other foundations of the Tyrian diaspora because it was not Melqart, but Elissa-Dido who founded the city. However, in Justin's account (18.4.15) of the origin of the north-African city, the *sacra Herculis* are once again a fundamental part of the legend.[23]

In sum, references to the establishment of a colony by the Gaditanians in Justin (44.5.1–4), linked to the oneiric oracle of Melqart, would reflect a new, unstudied case of a foundational legend in the context of the Phoenician diaspora, following the same model as Tyre and Gadir.

Similarities between the versions of Justin and Strabo on the foundation of Gadir (3.5.5) have led scholars to believe that they refer to the same historical event. However, the similarity could only be structural, involving the oracle of Melqart due to shared legendary traditions throughout the Tyrian *koiné*. Justin would be describing the foundation of a colony by the Gaditanians – possibly Carteia – by repeating the pattern for Tyre and Gadir, the colony's metropolis. The model is based on the delivery of an oneiric oracle by Melqart and the foundation of a city with the presence of the Tyrian god, either through anonymous delegates (Nonnus) or through his *sacra* (Justin).

Hence, the tradition transmitted by Timosthenes (Strab. 3.5.5), less than a century after the foundation of Carteia, would constitute a case of *interpretatio graeca* of a vernacular legend of Tyrian origin. The transportation of the god's

21 López Melero 1988; Ribichini 2000; López Pardo 2010.

22 Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2014b.

23 Bonnet 1986; Garbati 2015.

sacra all the way from Tyre, as mentioned in Justin's account, would be directly related to the tradition which recognized Herakles as the founder of the city, as for the Phoenician metropolis and possibly also for Gadir.[24]

Two more arguments contribute towards identifying Carteia with the colony of the Gaditanians. Firstly, Strabo (3.1.7) describes the tradition attributing to Kalpe (Carteia) the ancient name of *Heraklea*. It has been suggested that the name is actually a translation of a Phoenician place-name meaning the 'city of Melqart' (*mlqrtyh*), and that the form *Carteia* derived from its abbreviation.[25] Secondly, there also exist certain literary traditions, in various forms, which identify the mythical Tartessos with both cities.[26] We are still far from understanding the reasons behind this association, but it contributes nevertheless to highlighting the link between Gadir and Carteia.

In sum, Carteia is the best option for the colony founded by the Gaditanians in Justin's passage, considering the current state of knowledge on the subject. Moreover, this possibility is compatible with the move of the community settled in Cerro del Prado to the new site in the mid-fourth century BCE.[27] It seems coherent to suggest that Gadir and its sanctuary of Melqart played an active role – at least in the religious aspect of the process–in the foundation of Carteia, so closely linked in literary tradition to Herakles, who we can clearly identify with Melqart.

The specific meaning of the *sacra Herculis* mentioned by Justin remains unknown; it can either refer to the cult of the god or to certain sacred objects. Pomponius Mela (3.46) tells us that the sanctuary at Gades held the bones of Hercules, contributing to the theory which defends that Justin was describing the foundation of Gadir. Viewed differently, however, these references could coincide only in the nature of the theme; the events they describe could be different – Pomponius Mela speaking of Gadir and Justin of the colony founded by the Gaditanians.

The latter possibility comes across as particularly extraordinary, because it implies the *sacra* were transported all the way from Tyre, when an important sanctuary to Melqart already existed in Gadir. Therefore, the Tyrian Melqart would have still wielded great influence over Gadir at a very advanced point in time, the fourth century BCE.

The thesis defending the prolonged continuity of relations between Gadir and Tyre was first suggested by M. Tarradell and later questioned by O. Arteaga,

24 Tsirkin 2007.
25 Dietrich 1936, 15–16; Millás Vallicrosa 1941, 317; Bonnet 1988, 231.
26 Alvar Ezquerra 1989; Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2007.
27 Blánquez et al. 2009.

who interpreted a marked break between the metropolis and the colony from the sixth century BCE.[28] Nevertheless, the first theory has recently regained strength.[29] The survival of a close religious relationship between Gadir and Tyre should not be surprising given the example of Carthage, where the traditional devotion to the Tyrian Melqart[30] is recorded in 332 BCE, when a group of delegates travelled to the metropolis 'to celebrate an annual festival in the manner of their country; for the Tyrians founded Carthage and were always honoured as the forefathers of the Carthaginians' (Curt. 4.2.10; transl. J.C. Rolfe). The devotion of the Carthaginians to the god of the 'founding fathers' increased dramatically during the siege of Agathocles in 310 BCE (Diod. Sic. 20.14.1–2).

The identification of Carteia with the colony founded by the Gaditanians provides an important chronological landmark for the reconstruction of the historical sequence in the remaining episodes of Justin's account. According to the new reading, in the second quarter of the fourth century BCE, Gadir sponsored the foundation of a colony on the Bay of Algeciras, a city which was later to be known as Carteia, famed for its important port and defensive infrastructure. The reasons behind its foundation are not only rooted in the needs of the community of Cerro del Prado, but also in the interests of Gadir. It provides evidence for the commercial and demographic expansion of Gadir along the south-western coast of Iberia, recorded for the fourth and beginning of the third centuries BCE.[31]

After a period of development and success for the new community, a series of conflicts with the neighbouring peoples arose, resulting in hostilities against Gadir, the sponsor of the colony. One of the many aspects still to be clarified is the identity of these *finitimi Hispaniae populi.* The attack of neighbouring communities on the Gaditanians mentioned by Justin has been linked to a single event, striking and enigmatic, contained in the *Saturnalia* (1.20.12) of Macrobius. Here, Theron, *rex Hispaniae citerioris,* attacked a certain *Herculis templum* – in all probability the temple of Melqart in Gadir – although the attack ultimately failed, defeated by Gaditanian ships under dramatic circumstances. While this event has generally been placed, together with Justin's episode, in the sixth century BCE,[32] J. Alvar has solidly argued for a fourth century BCE

28 Tarradell 1967; Arteaga 1994; cf. Niveau de Villedary 2001.

29 Bonnet 1988, 226–228; Tsirkin 2007; Marín Ceballos and Jiménez Flores 2004; Marín Ceballos 2011.

30 Elayi 1981.

31 Sousa and Arruda 2010; Ferrer Albelda, García Fernández and Escacena 2010; Ferrer Albelda and Pliego Vázquez 2010.

32 Maluquer 1970, 48–50; Del Castillo 1993; Aubet 2001, 344.

chronology, identifying Theron as an Iberian kinglet from Contestania in the Spanish Levant. This episode would be one of the local outbreaks in the western Mediterranean, which should be linked to the treaty signed between Rome and Carthage in 348 BCE.[33] The new reading of Justin's passage places the attack by neighbouring peoples on Gadir in the fourth century BCE, strengthening its possible relationship to the Theron episode. In this case, the successful foundation of Carteia, a strategic point on the Strait of Gibraltar, would have led to regional tensions on a large scale, which resulted in the attack on Gadir.

4 Gadir, Carthage and the Tyrian *Koiné*

The attack by the 'neighbouring peoples in Spain' motivated a Carthaginian aid expedition, ultimately leading to the establishment of permanent bases on the Iberian Peninsula. The presence of Carthage in the area of the Strait of Gibraltar is recorded long before this event,[34] although a military intervention in the mid-fourth century BCE would have led to a change in circumstances, with the arrival of a war fleet and sufficient ground forces to defeat the threat to Gadir. This Carthaginian intervention is viewed from different perspectives. Scholars such as E. Ferrer and R. Pliego have suggested that the aid provided by Carthage to Gadir responded to a treaty regulating the relationship between both states, dominated by the hegemony and patronage exerted by the north-African power over the Phoenician communities of Iberia.[35]

However, Carthaginian intervention is best understood as part of the ties of solidarity existing between the communities of the colonial diaspora, which recognized a common Tyrian origin, preserved in the devotion to Melqart *bʿl ṣr*, 'Lord of Tyre', as mentioned in the Phoenician text of the celebrated *cippi* of Malta (CIS I, 122–122 bis = KAI 47).[36]

The foundation of the Gaditanian colony under the auspices of the Tyrian Melqart contributes to a breadth of evidence currently being reviewed by a series of scholars, such as C. Bonnet or G. Garbati, who have underlined the strength of the devotion to the Tyrian Melqart by communities of the Phoenician diaspora, during the fourth–second centuries BCE, long after the colonial period, in places such as Delos, Malta, Sardinia, Ibiza, and Carthage itself.[37]

33 Alvar Ezquerra 1986.
34 Gutiérrez López et al. 2012.
35 Ferrer Albelda and Pliego Vázquez 2010.
36 Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2014a, 2018.
37 Bonnet 2009; Bonnet and Garbati 2009; Garbati 2012, 2015, (forthcoming).

Different communities seem to have claimed a Tyrian origin in their devotion to the god of the 'motherland'; this would explain why Gadir, when founding its own colony, invoked the intervention of the Tyrian Melqart. The participation of the god is represented in the oneiric oracle and in the transferal of certain *sacra* from the temple of the metropolis to the colony of the Gaditanians. Melqart would have acted as *archegetes* – the epithet given to the god in the Greek text of the *cippi* from Malta – as the founder of a new node in the network of the Tyrian *koiné*.[38]

The reconstruction of this episode of *histoire événementielle,* involving Gadir and Carthage in the fourth century BCE, makes sense in the context of a common Tyrian identity. The text by Trogus/Justin stresses this aspect when dealing with the Carthaginian aid to Gadir. The passage repeatedly alludes to the concept of *consanguinitas*, which united Gadir and Carthage through their common Tyrian origin:

> … the people of Gades brought the *sacra* of Hercules to Spain from Tyre (also the country of origin of the Carthaginians) … The Carthaginians therefore sent assistance to their relatives (Just. *Epit.* 44.5.2; translation adapted from J.C. Yardley 1994).

First, it points out that both communities originated from Tyre (… *Gaditani a Tyro, unde et Karthaginiensibus origo est* …); then, it goes on to underline their kinship (*Gaditanos … consanguineis Karthaginienses*), as a background for explaining the Carthaginian expedition. While the traditional interpretation assumes a community of interest among the 'Phoenicians', evidence reveals a more specific identity framework, operating at a supra-community level. This reinterpretation supports the existence of a thriving 'Tyrian identity' in the fourth century BCE which linked different Phoenician communities, in this case Gadir and Carthage.[39]

Tyrian identity reveals itself as a framework for relations, based on the prestige of Melqart of Tyre as the god of the founding fathers of cities, such as Carthage, Utica, and, as has been suggested here, Carteia. These relations entailed *consanguinitas*, inter-community fraternity, which also involved obligations in terms of aid and assistance in case of need. Tyrian *consanguinitas* was also present when Elissa and her followers arrived in Africa, for then 'ambassadors

38 Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2018.

39 Therefore, Tyrian identity does not specifically seem to distinguish western Phoenicians from Carthaginians. Vid. López Castro 2004; cf. Ferrer Albelda 2010a; Ferrer Albelda and Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2009.

from the people of Utica brought the Tyrians gifts, recognizing them as their relatives (*consanguineis*) …' (Just. *Epit.* 18.5.12; transl. J.C. Yardley).

This overarching identity became particularly active around the fourth century BCE, a time marked by political instability across the Mediterranean, examples of which may be seen in the hostilities brought against the Gaditanians by its neighbouring communities, the siege and conquest of Tyre by Alexander in 332 BCE, or the siege of Carthage by Agathocles in 310 BCE. The call for intercommunity solidarity in times of conflict seems to have sprung from a latent ethnic identity, based on a common Tyrian past.[40]

This fraternal relationship derived from the mutual recognition of a common Tyrian origin, which was strong enough to justify a Carthaginian expedition in assistance of Gadir. However, as will be seen below, the strength of this fraternity should not be idealized, particularly in the context of the evolving economic and political interests of both cities. The Carthaginian intervention in Iberia of the mid-fourth century BCE seems to have marked a point of inflection in the evolution of identity ties between the ancient colonies of Tyre.

5 The Carthaginians in Iberia: Fourth–Third Centuries BCE

According to Justin, 'the Carthaginians both defended the people of Gades from aggression and also, by even greater aggression on their part, added an area of the country to their own empire' (Just. *Epit.* 44.5.3).[41] The passage suggests that, after supressing the attack on Gadir, the Carthaginians established a relatively stable domain in a certain part of Iberia. This possibility generates numerous questions, which are still currently unresolved. Among them, what was the nature of the first territorial establishment of Carthage in Iberia? What regions did it affect? How did the relationship between Carthage and Gadir evolve? How long did this domain last?

Questions aside, the reinterpretation of Justin strengthens the credibility of Polybius, who, as mentioned at the beginning, tells of Carthaginian presence in Iberia before the arrival of Hamilcar in 237 BCE. One of these references is found in a passage detailing the possessions of the Carthaginians shortly before the First Punic War in 265 BCE:

40 Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2018.

41 The term *maiore iniuria* is not found in the text preserved in the *Epitome;* it was introduced by F. Rühl, one of the first editors of the text, later reproduced in modern editions. Vid. López Castro 1992a, 234.

> But while fully alive to these points, they yet saw that Carthaginian aggrandisement was not confined to Libya, but had embraced many districts in Iberia as well; and that Carthage was, besides, mistress of all the islands in the Sardinian and Tyrrhenian sea (Polyb. 1.10.5; transl E.S. Shuckburgh).

If Carthage effectively took control of certain territories in Iberia before the Barcids, then information given by Diodorus should also be considered. He mentions that Carthage initiated the exploitation of mines in Iberia to finance campaigns in Sicily and Libya '… at the time when Iberia was among their possessions' (Diod. Sic. 5.38.2; transl. C.H. Oldfather).

Additionally, archaeological and numismatic evidence can now be reviewed in the light of this historical context. For example, R. Pliego and E. Ferrer have studied material remains of the period, paying particular attention to a Carthaginian coin assemblage from El Gandul (Alcalá de Guadaira, Seville) which supports the presence of north-African military in the Peninsula as of the mid-fourth century BCE.[42] This scenario also helps explain historical references to the presence of Iberian mercenaries in Carthaginian armies (Polyb. 1.17.4; Diod. Sic. 13.80.2).[43]

A stronger and more intense Carthaginian presence in the region certainly would help to explain the economic and demographic dynamics observed in south-western Iberia as of the mid-fourth century BCE. These changes are explained by two factors: a process of Gaditanian expansion and the intensification of the economic projection of Carthage in the west.[44]

During the second half of the fourth century BCE, the Gaditanian expansion process recorded on the Portuguese Algarve coast intensified, coinciding with the foundation of at least two new settlements, Faro and Monte Molião.[45] A parallel process is observed in the surroundings of *lacus Ligustinus*, a wide estuary at the mouth of the Guadalquivir River present in the first millennium BCE, where an exponential increase in Gaditanian products was recorded for the fourth century BCE.[46] Gaditanian expansion is also recorded in the colonization of its hinterland, with the foundation of rural settlements, such as Cerro Naranja, which were dedicated to the cultivation of olive trees and probably

42 Pliego Vázquez 2003b; 2003a; Ferrer Albelda and Pliego Vázquez 2010; 2011; 2013.
43 Fariselli 2002.
44 López Castro 1992b, 2006; Ramón Torres 2006; López Pardo and Suárez 2002; Ferrer Albelda and Pliego Vázquez 2010, 2013.
45 Sousa and Arruda 2010.
46 Ferrer Albelda, García Fernández and Escacena 2010.

wine. P.A. Carretero associates these sites with Punic settlement patterns and suggests that they were populated by Carthaginian colonists.[47] E. Ferrer and R. Pliego propose a historical sequence for this process, in line with the reinterpretation of Justin's passage presented here, consisting of a first phase of Gaditanian expansion and an overlapping Carthaginian phase.[48]

The chronology of the foundation of Carteia allows us to link the terms of the second treaty between Rome and Carthage of 348 BCE to the outcome of the first Carthaginian expedition in Justin's passage. The new treaty expanded Carthage's sphere of influence from what had been established in the late sixth century BCE. Where once navigation and commerce had been limited beyond the Fair Promontory, Rome was now prohibited from trading, raiding or founding cities beyond the Fair Promontory and *Mastia Tarseio* (Polyb. 3.24.1–2).[49] The location of *Mastia Tarseio* in the Iberian Peninsula is generally accepted[50] and the studies of E. Ferrer and M.L. de la Bandera[51] have convincingly placed it in the proximity of the Strait of Gibraltar.

The treaty addresses the Carthaginians, the people of Tyre and Utica, and their respective allies. Tradition linked the north-African power with its metropolis and its neighbouring city, but the joint reference to these cities must also be understood in the context of the Tyrian *koiné* of the fourth century BCE. There is, however, no specific reference to Gadir, even when the treaty directly affected its interests. This omission has been explained in various ways,[52] including the unlikely possibility that the reference to the Tyrians was actually alluding to Gadir and the western Phoenicians.[53]

The existence of stable Carthaginian bases on the coast of south-western Iberia could provide a context for a whole set of undated literary references to Carthaginian explorations, foundations and economic activity in the Atlantic, which could very well be ascribed to the mid-fourth century BCE.[54]

Such is the case with the information contained in the periplus of Pseudo-Skylax, usually dated to the 330s BCE, which mentions at the beginning: 'Past the Pillars of Herakles in Europe are many trading-towns of the Karchedonioi …' (transl. G. Shipley). At the end of the third century BCE, Eratosthenes assured

47 Carretero 2007; cf. López Castro 1992b.
48 Ferrer Albelda and Pliego Vázquez 2010.
49 Scardigli 1991.
50 Contra Moret 2002.
51 1997; Ferrer Albelda 2008a.
52 González Wagner 1994; Mederos and Escribano 2000.
53 Tsirkin 1996; Koch 2001; López Castro 2004; cf. Ferrer Albelda and Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2009.
54 Ferrer Albelda 2008b.

readers, according to Strabo, that the Carthaginians 'would drown any foreigner who sailed past them to Sardo or the Pillars' (Strab. 17.1.19; transl. D.W. Roller). On the other hand, Diodorus (5.20.1–4) writes of an undated episode in which the Carthaginians thwarted an attempt by the Tyrrhenians to send a colony to an island previously discovered by the Phoenicians off the coast of Libya.

There are three references to the Atlantic activity of Carthage in the pseudo-Aristotelian work *De mirabilibus auscultationibus*, the original core of which is dated to the mid-late third century BCE.[55] The first (*Mir. ausc*. 84) narrates the discovery of a deserted island by the Carthaginians in the ocean and their ploys so as not to reveal it (an account which coincides in part with the episode in Diod. Sic. 5.20.1–4). The second (*Mir. Ausc.* 37) mentions the periplus of Hanno, telling of certain fires burning beyond the Pillars of Herakles. The third (*Mir. Ausc.* 136) speaks of Gaditanian tuna being commercialized and consumed by the Carthaginians.

References to Libyphoenicians and Carthaginian colonists could also be factored into the historical context of the fourth century BCE.[56] This is the case of Avienus (fourth century CE) and Pseudo-Scymnus (second century BCE), who coincide in placing Carthaginian colonists and Libyphoenicians in Iberia. Avienus states that, much like the Tartessians before them, Carthaginian colonists and people around the Pillars of Hercules frequented the limits of the Oestrymnides (*O. Mar.* vv. 113–116). He also maintains that the island of Erythia was at another time under Punic dominion, for it was Carthaginian colonists who first occupied it (*O. Mar.* vv. 310–312), and that the Carthaginians possessed cities and villages on the European coast beyond the Pillars (*O. Mar.* vv. 375–377). As for the Libyphoenicians, Avienus locates them in the area of the Pillars next to the Massieni, the realm of the Selbyssina and the Tartessians (*O. Mar.* vv. 420–424). Pseudo-Scymnus (§195–199) also speaks of the Libyphoenicians as a colony (*apoikia*) of Carthage on the coast of the Sardian Sea, near the Tartessians and Iberians. The possibility that Pseudo-Scymnus based himself in Ephorus and the fact that Aristotle (*Pol*. 6.1320b) mentions Carthage sending population to its colonies, suggest that these events could be linked to Carthaginian presence in Iberia in the fourth century BCE.

The same may be said of the expeditions of Hanno and Himilco. The reinterpretation of Justin provides arguments which support a later chronology for

55 Pajón Leyra 2008.

56 López Castro 1992b; cf. Domínguez Monedero 1995; Ferrer Albelda 2000; Jiménez Díez 2014.

these famed journeys of maritime exploration,[57] linking them to the abovementioned references. The periplus of Hanno begins by stating that its mission was to found cities of the Libyphoenicians outside the Pillars of Herakles (*Peripl.* 1). The late chronology of these journeys is defended by those who link it to the rise of Carthage, as mentioned by Pliny (*NH* 2.169: *et Hanno Carthaginis potentia florente* …), dating it to the period between 348 BCE and the First Punic War.[58]

After the initial call for aid, from the mid fourth century BCE onwards, Carthaginian presence in Iberia, as regards areas of direct interest to Gadir, seems to have progressively marred the relationship between both communities, due to competition for economic resources in the Atlantic area.[59] In terms of identity, the Gaditanians began to experience an important transformation. Their ancient, Tyrian origin, and even the figure of Melqart, seem to have been employed differently, to proclaim the uniqueness of their city as a form of resistance to the increasing imperialism displayed by Carthage.

6 The Loss and Recovery of Iberia

In Justin's account, the annexation of territory closes the sequence on the first arrival of the Carthaginians to Iberia, after which begins the account of the second expedition, led by Hamilcar. As mentioned above, the starting words in the paragraph – *Postea quoque* … – are considered to mark another omission of the original text from the *Historiae Philippicae.*[60] Justin must have deleted content from the original account by Trogus relating to the period between the first Carthaginian expedition to aid the Gaditanians in the mid fourth century BCE, and 237 BCE. The period covers slightly over a century, still making it possible for a connection to exist between both campaigns, as established by the text.

One of the most significant novelties in the reinterpretation of Justin is that the passage may be associated with another one by Polybius, relating to the arrival of Hamilcar in 237 BCE:

> As soon as they had brought the Libyan war to a conclusion the Carthaginian government collected an army and despatched it under the

57 cf. González Ponce 2008, 78, n. 17.
58 Euzennat 1994; Mederos and Escribano 2000; Mederos 2006.
59 Mederos and Escribano 2000; Pérez Vilatela 2003.
60 Castiglioni 1925, 3; López Castro 1992a, 224 ff.

> command of Hamilcar to Iberia. This general took over the command of the troops, and with his son Hannibal, then nine years old, crossing by the Pillars of Hercules, set about recovering (*anektato*) the Carthaginian possessions (*prágmata*) in Iberia (Polyb. 2.1.5; transl. E.S. Shuckburgh).

The meaning of *anektato* and *prágmata* in connection to a military presence in Iberia before the Barcids has been very debated. After the work of C.R. Whittaker[61] and the subsequent revision of the extent and nature of Carthaginian imperialism, there was reluctance to accept the text by Polybius and assume that the expedition of Hamilcar recovered a previously lost Carthaginian domain in Iberia.[62] The new interpretation of Justin's passage supports a literal reading of Polybius, connecting his *prágmata* with the *pars provinciae* taken by the Carthaginians, according to the *Epitome*. Therefore, the journey of Hamilcar would have been planned based on the precedent of a previous success, that is, the first aid expedition to Gadir in the mid fourth century BCE.

Both testimonies (Justin and Polybius) reinforce each other, contributing to the possibility of Carthage holding certain territorial possessions in Iberia before 237 BCE and then losing them at some undetermined moment. There are no clear indications on the time and circumstances in which the Iberian *prágmata* escaped the control of Carthage. The clearest one is the already mentioned in the text by Polybius (1.10.15) listing Carthaginian domains at the break of the Second Punic War, among them 'many districts in Iberia'. According to this information, the territories would have been lost sometime between 265 and 237 BCE. This hypothesis was first put forth by A. García y Bellido, who suggested dating the loss of Carthaginian possessions in Iberia to the Mercenary War (241–238 BCE), an event, which would have made it impossible to suitably defend territories in Iberia.[63]

Gadir may have played a part in the loss of control of Carthaginian domains in Iberia, a hypothesis which aligns with the approach viewing the relationship between Gadir and Carthage as gradually deteriorating as of the mid-fourth century BCE.[64] Direct Carthaginian military presence in the south of Iberia could have generated, in time, tension with Gadir and the other Phoenician communities of the Peninsula. The change in status quo, with Carthage

61 Whittaker 1978.

62 González Wagner 1994; Barceló 2006.

63 García y Bellido 1942, 58–60.

64 Mederos and Escribano 2000; Pérez Vilatela 2003; Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2006, 2012a; Chaves Tristán 2009.

effectively installed in Iberia, would have undermined the traditional ties of fraternity inspired by a common Tyrian origin.

A key reference is found in the defection of Utica and Hippacra, traditional allies of Carthage, during the Truceless War (Polyb. 1.82).[65] The example of these two cities might be applicable to Gadir and other Phoenician sites in the west. They might have taken advantage of the Libyan insurrection to break free from Carthage, as a result of a gradual distancing since the First Punic War. Utica, like Gadir, was a 'Tyrian sister' of Carthage; fraternal ties between the two communities, based on a shared Tyrian origin, are recorded in the episode of Elissa's arrival to Africa (Just. *Epit.* 18.5.12, vid. *supra*). However, according to Polybius (1.82), Utica and Hippacra exhibited an implacable hate against Carthage during the revolt.

Gaditanian coins of this time period have been interpreted by F. Chaves as a claim of civic IDENTITY AND INDEPENDENCE from Carthage.[66] Series II A coins, classified by C. Alfaro Asins,[67] are characterized by specific Gaditanian types, with the image of Melqart on the obverse and tuna on the reverse, and by a 'Hispanic' metrological standard of possible ancient Phoenician origin, all elements which sought to reflect the antiquity and prestige of the eastern heritage of the Gaditanians. F. Chaves associates this issue with a moment of relative INDEPENDENCE IN Gadir, probably related to Carthage's crisis after the defeat of the First Punic War and during the Libyan War.

The arrival of Hamilcar in 237 BCE could have led to confrontation with Gadir, as maintained in literary evidence. Diodorus described Hamilcar's arrival briefly, though implies the taking of Gadir by Carthage:

> When Hamilcar was placed in command at Carthage he soon enlarged the empire of his country and ranged by sea as far as the Pillars of Herakles, Gadeira, and the ocean. Now the city of Gadeira is a colony of the Phoenicians, and is situated at the farthest extremity of the inhabited world, on the very ocean, and it possesses a roadstead. Hamilcar made war on the Iberians and Tartessians, together with the Celts … (Diod. Sic. 25.10.1; transl. F.R. Walton).

Athenaeus Mechanicus (4.9.3) and Vitruvius (10.13) recorded a tradition, which credits the invention of the battering ram to a Tyrian craftsman, during the siege to a fortress in the initial stages of a Carthaginian attack on Gadir.

65 Hoyos 2007; 2010.
66 Chaves Tristán 2009, 331 ss.
67 Alfaro Asins 1988.

Although a specific context has not been assigned to this episode, it should not be disregarded as possible evidence for confrontations between Carthage and Gadir in the Barcid period.[68]

This possibility is also supported by the reference in Diodorus to Hamilcar's victory over the Tartessians, who also led a revolt against Hasdrubal in 216 BCE (Livy 23.26.3–6). The repeated association of the place-name *Tartessus* and the ethnonym *tartesii* with Gades during the Roman period,[69] suggests that these references could be based on confrontations between Phoenician communities in Iberia and the Carthaginians, in a context of increasing estrangement which ultimately led to the defection of Gadir and its surrender, under favourable terms, to the Romans in 206 BCE.[70] Alliances during this period and the first years of Roman rule appear less conditioned by identity or cultural affinities and more by the economic and political interests of Carthage and of the urban elites of southern Hispania, both 'Phoenician' and 'Iberian', the best example of which is the relationship between Gadir and Rome.

All of the above brought changes to 'Tyrian' identity narratives, which had been active in the fourth century BCE. When in 206 BCE, Mago, the last Carthaginian commander in Iberia, was denied entry into Gadir, he sent delegates to protest against the barring of the city gates to an 'ally and friend' (*socius atque amicus*; Livy, 28.37.1). The deterioration of relations between the Gaditanians and the Carthaginians seems to have put an end to claims of fraternity between both communities, based on ties of *consanguinitas*, leading to the development of a new rhetoric, which favoured policy over identity.

7 Epilogue: The Evolution of Tyrian identity

The reinterpretation of Justin's passage provides a coherent historical context for recent research recording an intensification of Carthaginian presence in southern Iberia since the mid fourth century BCE. Moreover, it inspires reflection on the ways the 'Tyrian' identity of the Gaditanians evolved through time, depending on the political circumstances.

This revision opens numerous topics for debate in the future, among them: the possible confirmation of the Gaditanian origin of Carteia and the reasons for its foundation; the relationship between Gadir and Tyre in the fourth century BCE and the influence of the Tyrian Melqart over the metropolis'

68 Pérez Vilatela 2003; Mederos and Escribano 2000; Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2006, 2012a.
69 Alvar Ezquerra 1989; Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2007, 2009, 2010; Moret 2011.
70 López Castro 1991a; Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2012a.

ancient colonies; the identity of the assailants of Gadir and everything relative to the Carthaginian aid expedition, their victory and the first establishment of the north-Africans in Iberia; and finally, the circumstances surrounding the loss of the Carthaginian *prágmata* in Iberia, the role of Gadir in the process, the nature of Hamilcar's expedition, and the estrangement of the fraternal relations within the Tyrian *koiné*. At any rate, Carthaginian presence in Iberia in the fourth century BCE helps explain the intensity and complexity of the Phoenician – including Carthaginian – cultural substrate observed in Roman Turdetania.[71]

A close relationship between Gadir and Tyre in the mid-fourth century BCE would seem to stress the strength of religious and identity ties between the metropolis and the ancient colony in a much later period than what has been accepted until now. The connection between the sanctuaries of Melqart in Gades and Tyre in later periods should contribute to a better understanding of the god's character in the West[72] and its distinct role as a symbol of civic identity among the Gaditanians, which survived into the Roman era.

Gades exemplifies the evolution of an identity framework based on the belief of a Tyrian origin. In the mid fourth century BCE, Carthaginian aid to the Gaditanians was justified by ties of *consanguinitas*. However, after the arrival of the Barcids to Iberia, the ultimate Roman victory and the incorporation of Gadir into the fold of the new power, Tyrian identity changed and adapted to the new circumstances.

In the Republican and Early Imperial periods, the elites in charge of the Gaditanian Melqart-Herakles sanctuary seem to have exploited the connection with Tyre, which was especially prestigious due to the antiquity of its religious and cultural traditions. References to Gades in authors such as Posidonius (*apud* Strab. 3.5.5), Velleius Paterculus (1.2.3), Mela (3.46), or Pliny (*NH* 4.120) stress aspects such as the Tyrian origin of its foundation and the antiquity and importance of the temple of Herakles-Hercules.[73] These elements are synthesized and articulated INTO THE IMAGE given of Turdetania in Book III of Strabo's *Geography*, where the Phoenician past of the region is linked to its high-level culture and prosperity during the Roman period (Strab. 1.1.4; 3.2.13–15).[74] All these references seem to echo a narrative sponsored by the Gaditanian elites, based on the prestige conferred by an ancient Tyrian past, prompted

71 Bendala Galán 1987; López Castro 1995; Jiménez Díez 2008, 2014; Ferrer Albelda 2010b; Mora Serrano and Cruz Andreotti 2012b; Machuca, in this same volume.

72 Bonnet 1988; Marín Ceballos 2011.

73 Bunnens 1979; Álvarez Martí-Aguilar and Ferrer Albelda 2009.

74 Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2012b.

by the incorporation of Phoenicia into the Hellenistic *koiné* after Alexander,[75] and destined to find a suitably illustrious place IN THE IDENTITY schemes in play under Roman rule. Tyrian identity therefore reveals itself as a fluid ethnic category, which served the interests of the Gaditanian elites in different ways throughout the history of the city. Tyrian origin was the foundation of relations with Carthage until the arrival of the north-Africans IN IBERIA, and was later used to cement the prestige of Gades as a *ciuitas*, once a part of the Roman empire.

75 Millar 1983; Bonnet 2014.