

Syllabus for the History of the Phoenicians, ACABS 591.002//491.003
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The Phoenicians were a people who interacted with numerous groups and nations of the Ancient Near East, but whose interactions with peoples of the Mediterranean world are perhaps best known. For students of the Bible, the Phoenicians are commonly associated with the worship of Baal and with Canaanite culture. For students of the classical world, the Phoenicians are commonly associated with sailing, trade, and their alphabet, which they passed to the Greeks and others in the Mediterranean. In later times, the Phoenicians' colonies in North Africa fought with Rome for supremacy in the western Mediterranean. Throughout the first millennium B.C.E., Phoenicians and Phoenician culture were portrayed as alien, savage, and barbaric.

This course will explore the political and cultural history of the Phoenicians. Especially important will be the early culture of the Phoenician city-states and their interactions with neighboring regions, including ancient Israel; the cultural exchanges between eastern and western Mediterranean regions; and the political conflicts between Carthage and Rome. In addition, the course will attempt to outline how Phoenicians were portrayed by their neighbors: the writers of the Bible, the writers of Greek and Roman history and literature. How these portrayals reflect the Phoenician themselves, as well as the interests and preconceptions of the writers will also be investigated.

The course is open to undergraduate and graduate students. NO prior language experience in Phoenician, Greek, Latin, or Hebrew is necessary to take the course. All are welcome.

Student evaluation will be based on attendance, participation in class discussions, and performance on a midterm, final exam and short paper (10-15 pages for undergrads; 15-20 pages for grad students). The final exam will be cumulative. Both the midterm and final exam will be "essay exams," the topics of which will be drawn from the general topics listed below. Each exam will require the student to write at least 2 short essays. The paper will be on a topic chosen by the student, in consultation with the instructor.

Textbook: Glenn E. Markoe, *Phoenicians* (Peoples of the Past; Berkeley: University of California, 2000).

Schedule:

- Week 1. (Sept. 8). Origin, Background, Geography
- Week 2. (Sept. 15). Myths about the Phoenicians / Working with the Evidence
- Week 3. (Sept. 22). Phoenicians of the LB and Iron Age (Byblos, Sidon, Phoenician Religion Part I)
- Week 4. (Sept. 29 Rosh Hashanah at sundown). Phoenicians of the Iron Age (Tyre, Biblical evidence).
- Week 5. (Oct. 6). Religion Part II + Phoenician exploration and colonization in the Iron Age
- Week 6. (Oct. 13). Midterm
- NO CLASS OCT. 20
- Week 7. (Oct. 27). Phoenicians in the Persian Era
- Week 8. (Nov. 3). Rise of Carthage (epigraphy)
- Week 9. (Nov. 10). Phoenicians in the Hellenistic era (+ Religion, Part III)
- Week 10. (Nov. 17). Phoenicians in the Roman World (+ sailing)
- Week 11. (Nov. 24). Carthage and Rome (+ art)
- Week 12. (Dec. 1). Carthage and Rome / Summaries
- Week 13. (Dec. 8). Final

Specific Topics Students Should Know About by the End of the Course

1. How Phoenicians are portrayed by ancient non-Phoenician sources, by modern historians, and by the Phoenicians themselves. Students should understand the reasons for these characterizations.

2. The interaction between Phoenicians and others (Israelites, Egyptians, other North Africans [Berbers, Libyans], Greeks, Etruscans, Iberian peoples, and Romans).
3. Cultural interchange between Phoenicians and these other cultures.
4. The distinctive characteristics of the Phoenicians and their culture(s), including the important aspects of their religion.
5. The function of trade in cultural interchange and in political history of the Phoenicians.
6. The difficulties associated with interpreting material culture.
7. The manner of colonization, its reasons and effects (both for Phoenicians and those indigenous to the colonized territory).
8. The problems and pitfalls in reading, interpreting, and deriving history from ancient sources, including the Bible.
9. The history of political / military events associated with the “major city-states” of Tyre, Byblos, Sidon, and Carthage from the Iron Age through to the Roman era.
10. Characteristic artistic features of Phoenician temples/palaces and plastic arts.

Helpful Bibliographical Abbreviations:

4 Cong = *Actas del IV Congreso Internacional de Estudios Fenicios y Púnicos: Cádiz, 2 al 6 de Octubre de 1995* (4 vols.; Cádiz: University of Cádiz, 2000).

ABD = D.N. Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (6 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1992). In Hat. Ref. room.

ANET = James B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (3rd ed.; Princeton: Princeton University, 1969). In reference area of Shapiro.

BAAL = *Bulletin d'archéologie et d'architecture libanaises* (annual journal, since 1996).

Berytus = *Berytus: Archaeological Studies* (journal published since 1934).

BNP = Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider (eds.), *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopedia of the Ancient World: Antiquity* (multiple volumes, not yet complete; Leiden: Brill, 2002--). This is a translation of NP.

Byrsa = *Byrsa: Rivista di arte, cultura e archeologia del Mediterraneo punico* (journal published since 2000).

CANE = Jack M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (4 vols.; New York: Scribner, 1995). In Hat. Ref. Rm.

CEDAC Carthage = *Bulletin, Centre d'Études et de Documentation Archéologique de la Conservation de Carthage*

CIS = *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum: Pars prima, Inscriptiones Phoenicias continens* (Paris: Reipublicae, 1881-1946).

COS = William W. Hallo (ed.), *Context of Scripture* (3 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997-2002).

DCPP = E. Lipiński (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique* (n.p.: Brepols, 1992).

KAI = H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (3 vols., Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2002 [vol. 1], 1968 [vol. 2], 1969 [vol. 3]).

Krings = V. Krings (ed.), *La civilisation Phénicienne et Punique: manuel de recherche* (HdO 1, 20; Leiden: Brill, 1995).

Moscati = Sabatino Moscati (ed.), *The Phoenicians* (Milan: Fabbri, Bompiani, Sonzogno), 1988; repr. New York: Rizzoli, 1999. It is the reprinted version that will be online, but from the 1988 version will be drawn images for the slideshows.

NP = Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider (eds.), *Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike* (16 vols.; Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996).

OCD = Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd ed., Oxford: Oxford University, 1996).

OEANE = Eric M. Meyers, ed., *Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology of the Near East* (5 vols.; New York: Oxford University, 1997).

REPPAL = *Revue du centre d'études de la civilisation phénicienne-punique et des antiquités libyques* (journal published since 1985).

RSF = *Rivista di studi fenici* (journal, published since 1973).

StudPhoen = *Studia Phoenicia*

StudPhoen 1-2 = E. Gubel, et al. (eds.), *Redt Tyrus / Savons Tyr, Histoire Phénicienne / Fenicische Geschiedenes* (StudPhoen 5; OLA 15; Leuven: Peeters, 1983).

StudPhoen 5 = Edward Lipiński (ed.), *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C.: Proceedings of the Conference held in Leuven from the 14th to the 16th of November 1985* (StudPhoen 5; OLA 22; Leuven: Peeters, 1987).

StudPhoen 11 = Edward Lipiński (ed.), *Phoenicia and the Bible: Proceedings of the Conference held at the University of Leuven on the 15th and 16th of March 1990* (StudPhoen 11; OLA 44; Leuven: Peeters, 1991).

Trans = *Transeuphratène*, a journal

For helpful bibliographies, see the following:

For bibliographies of bibliographies and bibliographies on grammar, language, and texts, see those provided in Stanislav Segert, *A Grammar of Phoenician and Punic* (München: C.H. Beck, 1976).

A more recent bibliography for Phoenician grammar is provided by Jo Ann Hackett, "Phoenician and Punic," in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages* (ed. Roger D. Woodard; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2004)

and in Johannes Friedrich, Wolfgang Röllig, and Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik* (3rd ed.; Rome: Pontifical Institute, 1999).

The following are provided on CTOOLS:

Bibliographies for select subjects (mostly in French) are provided in two books written in French:

M. Gras, P. Rouillard, and J. Teixidor, *L'Univers phénicien* (Paris: Arthaud, 1989),

Hédi Dridi, *Carthage et le monde punique* (Guide belles lettres des civilisations; Paris: Société d'éditions Les Belles Lettres, 2006).

An online bibliography, mostly for philological matters, but with some historical sources is to be found at: <http://www.telefonica.net/web2/aulorientalis>. This is the "Bibliography of Semitic Linguistics (1940-2000)," by Gregorio del Olmo Lete. You must select the "Phoenician/Punic" link at the top of the page.

Another potentially very helpful source for bibliography up to 1994 would perhaps be E. Acquaro, *Bibliotheca Phoenicia: Ottomila titoli sulla civiltà fenicia* (2 3.5 inch diskettes; Collezione di studi fenici 35; Rome: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, 1994). If you have access to a floppy drive and a computer that allows you to install software (which this source requires), then you may find the bibliography to thousands of articles and books helpful. Approximately 20% of the bibliography concerns Phoenician history. Hatcher has a copy, but no computers with which to view it.

Probably more up to date is the more recent publication (with 12,000 titles): E. Acquaro, *Bibliotheca Phoenicia: Dodicimila titoli sulla civiltà fenicia* (Sarzana: Agora, 2000).

In addition, *RSF* publishes a bibliography on Phoenician topics each year.

Other Series that cover Phoenician matters:

Collezione di studi fenici, containing 42 volumes on all matters Phoenician.

Cuadernos de arqueología mediterránea, containing 12 volumes on all matters Phoenician.

Jornadas de arqueología fenicio-punica: Trabajos del Museo Arqueológico de Ibiza, containing at least 18 volumes, mostly in Spanish on all topics Phoenician, including “the problem of infanticide in Phoenician/Punic society,” (vol. 9, 1995), in Spanish.

Studia Punica, containing 13 volumes on all matters Phoenician and Punic.

Transeuphratène, supplement, containing 12 volumes on Phoenician and other ANE groups.

History of the Phoenicians, Reading Assignments: Week 1. (Sept. 8). Origin, Background, Geography

Readings

1. Markoe, *Phoenicians*, 1-23
2. Maria Eugenia Aubet, "Chapter 1: Who Were the Phoenicians?" in her book *The Phoenicians and the West* (trans. Mary Turton; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1993), 5-21; first edition 1987 (in Spanish).

History of the Phoenicians, Reading Assignments: Week 2. (Sept. 15). Myths about the Phoenicians / Working with the Evidence

Readings

3. Federico Mazza, "The Phoenicians as Seen by the Ancient World," in Moscati, 628-653
4. Homer, *Odyssey*, in the translation of Fitzgerald (pp. 253-257 and 280-283, which correspond to *Odyssey*, 14.190 and ff. and 15.385 and ff.). Note that in the first passage Odysseus, pretending to be someone else, is telling a story about being in Egypt seven years, while in the second passage, the swineherd of Laertes tells Odysseus (still in disguise) his own tale about being abducted at an early age.
5. Herodotus, *Persian Wars*, 1.1-5 in translation of Rawlinson.
6. The King of Tyre to the King of Ugarit in the Matter of Storm-Damaged Ships (RS 18.031) (3.4H) (COS 3.45H), trans. Dennis Pardee.
7. Letter of Rib-Haddi of Byblos (Gubla) (*EA* 362) (COS 3.92E), trans. William Moran.
8. Report of Wenamun (COS 1.41), trans. Miriam Lichtheim. Note that the "Tiekerbaal" in the text is Zakarbaal or Sakar – Baal (see Lipinski, 2006, 164, who cites Scheepers, 33-36). The Egyptian reads, apparently, *T-k-r-b- 'r*.

Questions

1. What sources can be used to write a Phoenician history? How does one write a Phoenician History?
2. What "myths" do you know of that concern the Phoenicians? I.e., what myths (from classical or later sources) do you know of that concern the Phoenicians?
3. What stories about the Phoenicians are you familiar with from popular culture? From the History, Discovery, and/or National Geographic channels?
4. What is the impression you have of the Phoenicians given the numerous contradictory stories summarized in Mazza's article?
5. Do you agree with Mazza that the descriptions of child sacrifice are fallacious? Why or why not?
6. What do we learn about the people of the Levantine coast through the Report of Wenamun? How do the interactions b/w Egyptians and Byblians contrast with those reflected in the Amarna letters?
7. What impression do we have of the Phoenicians/Sidonians from Homer? From Herodotus?

Bibliography Weeks 1-2, History of the Phoenicians

- Peter M.M.G. **Akkermans** and Glenn M. **Schwartz**, *The Archaeology of Syria: From Complex Hunter-Gatherers to Early Urban Societies (c. 16,000-300 BC)* (Cambridge World Archaeology; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2003).
- Michael **Astour**, "The Origin of the Terms 'Canaan,' 'Phoenician,' and 'Purple,'" *JNES* 24 (1964): 346-350.
- Maria Eugenia **Aubet**, "Chapter 1: Who Were the Phoenicians?" in her book *The Phoenicians and the West* (trans. Mary Turton; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1993), 5-21; first edition 1987.
- Albert I. **Baumgarten**, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos* (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dan l'empire Romain 89; Leiden: Brill, 1981).
- C. **Bonnet-Tzavellas**, "La Légende de Phoiniz à Tyr," *StudPhoen* 1-2, 113-123.
- Guy **Bunnens**, *L'expansion Phénicienne en Méditerranée: Essai d'interprétation fondé sur une analyse des traditions littéraires* (Études de philology, d'archéologie et d'histoire anciennes 17; Bruxelles: L'Institut historique Belge de Rome, 1979).
- , "La mission d'Ounamon en Phénicie: Point de vue d'un non-égyptologue," *RSF* 6 (1978): 1-16.
- E. **Capet** and E. Gubel, "Tell Kazel: Six Centuries of Iron Age Occupation (c. 1200-612 B.C.)," in *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age* (ed., G. Bunnens; Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Suppl. 7; Louvain: Peeters, 2000): 425-457.
- C.H.J. **De Gues**, "The Material Culture of Phoenicia and Israel," in *StudPhoen* 11, 11-16.
- Hédi **Dridi**, *Carthage and le monde punique* (Guide belles lettres des civilisations; Paris: Société d'éditions Les Belles Lettres, 2006).
- Arno **Egberts**, "Wenamun," *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2001), 3:495-496.
- Robert **Fitzgerald**, *Homer: The Odyssey* (New York: Vintage, 1990; repr. from 1961).
- Nicolas **Grimal**, *A History of Ancient Egypt* (trans. Ian Shaw; Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), first published in French in 1988.
- Jo Ann **Hackett**, "Phoenician and Punic," in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages* (ed., Roger D. Woodard; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2004), 365-385.
- Henry M. **Hoeningwald**, Roger D. Woodard, and James P.T. Clackson, "Indo-European," in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages* (ed., Roger D. Woodard; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2004), 534-550.
- Charles R. **Krahmalkov**, *A Phoenician-Punic Grammar* (HdO 1.54; Leiden: Brill, 2001).
- Richmond **Lattimore** (trans.), *The Iliad of Homer* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1951).
- Edward **Lipiński**, "The Phoenicians," *CANE*, 1321-1333.
- , "Chapter IV: Phoenicians," in *On the Skirts of Canaan in the Iron Age: Historical and Topographical Researches* (OLA 153; Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 163-201.
- Federico **Mazza**, "The Phoenicians as Seen by the Ancient World," in *Moscatti*, 628-653.
- Anson **Rainey**, "Who is a Canaanite?: A Review of the Textual Evidence," *BASOR* 304 (1996): 1-16.
- George **Rawlinson**, *Herodotus: The Persian Wars* (Modern Library; New York: Random House, 1942).
- Sergio **Ribichini**, "Dido and Her Myth," in *Moscatti*, 654-656.
- Helmut **Rix**, "Etruscan," in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages* (ed., Roger D. Woodard; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2004), 943-966.
- A. **Scheepers**, "Anthroponymes et toponymes du récit d'Ounamon," *StudPhoen* 11, 17-83.
- G. **Schepens**, "The Phoenicians in Ephorus' Universal History," *StudPhoen* 5, 315-330.

- B.U. **Schipper**, *Die Erzählung des Wenamun* (OBO 209; Freiburg, Switzerland / Göttingen: Universitätsverlag / Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005).
- Philip C. **Schmitz**, "Canaan (Place)," in *ABD* 1:828-830.
- Stephen M. **Trzaskoma**, et al. (eds.), *Anthology of Classical Myth: Primary Sources in Translation* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2004).
- Jonathan N. **Tubb**, *Canaanites* (Peoples of the Past; London: British Museum, 1998).
- C. **Vandersleyen**, "L'Étymologie de Phoïnix, 'Phénicien,'" *StudPhoen* 5, 19-22.
- Paul **Wathelet**, "Les Phéniciens et la tradition homérique," *StudPhoen* 1-2, 235-243.
- Roger D. **Woodard**, "Introduction," in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages* (ed., Roger D. Woodard; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2004), 1-18.

On Phoenician Literature / Myth:

- C. Bonnet, *Melqart: Cultes et mythes de l'Héraclès tyrien en Méditerranée* (StudPhoen 8; Leuven: Peeters, 1988).
- E. Lipiński, "Littérature," in *DCPP*, 263-264.
- E. Lipiński and C. Bonnet, "Mythologie," in *DCPP*, 306.
- V.J. Matthews, "The *Libri Punici* of King Hiempsal," *American Journal of Philology* 93 (1972): 330-335.
- N. Méthy, "Fronton et Apulée: romains ou Africains?" *Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medioevale* 25 (1983): 37-47.
- S. Ribichini, "Questions de mythologie phénicienne d'après Philon de Byblos," *StudPhoen* 4 (1986): 41-52.
- , *Poenus Advena* (Rome: n.p., 1985), 19-40.
- I.Sh. Schiffmann, *Phönizisch-punische Mythologie* (Rome: n.p., 1986).
- M. Szynger, "La littérature punique," *Archéologie vivante* 1/ 2 (1968-1969): 141-148.

On Ethnicity:

- Elizabeth Bloch-Smith, "Israelite Ethnicity in Iron I: Archaeology Preserves What is Remembered and What Is Forgotten In Israel's History," *JBL* 122 (2003): 401-425.
- Israel Finkelstein, "Pots and People Revised: Ethnic Boundaries in the Iron Age I," in Neil A. Silberman and David B. Small (eds.), *The Archaeology of Israel: Constructing the Past, Interpreting the Present* (JSOTSup 239; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997), 216-237.
- John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds.), *Ethnicity* (Oxford Readers; Oxford: Oxford University, 1996).
- Sian Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in Past and Present* (London: Routledge, 1997).
- Kathryn A. Kamp and Norman Yoffee, "Ethnicity in Ancient Western Asia During the Early Second Millennium B.C.: Archaeological Assessments and Ethnoarchaeological Perspectives," *BASOR* 237 (1980): 85-104.
- Raz Kletter, "Can a Proto-Israelite Please Stand Up? Notes on the Ethnicity of Iron Age Israel and Judah," in Aren M. Maeir and Pierre de Miroschedji (eds.), *"I will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times": Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 573-586.
- Stephen Shennan (ed.), *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity* (One World Archaeology 10; London: Routledge, 1989).

Images

In addition to those works cited above, images are drawn from:

Cyril Aldred, *The Egyptians* (3rd ed., London: Thames&Hudson, 1998).

Guy Bunnens, "Considérations géographiques sur la place occupée par la Phénicie dans l'expansion de l'empire Assyrien," in *StudPhoen* 1-2, 169-193.

Gabriel Camps, *Encyclopédie Berbère, vol. 17: Douiret-Eropaei* (Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 1996), sub "Écriture."

Henri Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (5th ed., New Haven: Yale University, 1996), first published in 1954 by Penguin.

H. Craig Melchert, "Luvian," in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages* (ed., Roger D. Woodard; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2004), 576-584.

James B. Pritchard (ed.), *The Ancient Near East: A New Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (2 vols.; Princeton: Princeton University, 1975).

Marguerite Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2006).

History of the Phoenicians, Reading Assignments: Week 3. (Sept. 22). Phoenicians of the LB and Iron Ages

Readings

1. Niki Holmes Kantzios, "Phoenicians in Palestine: Another Side of the Homeland," in *4Cong*, 3:1061-1066
 2. Markoe, *Phoenicians*, 192-206, concentrate on Akko, Tell Keisan, Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Arwad.
 3. Markoe, *Phoenicians*, 23-32.
 4. Sarcophagus Inscription of 'Ahirom, King of Byblos (COS 2.55), trans. P. Kyle McCarter.
 5. Inscription of King Yahimilk (COS 2.29), trans. Stanislav Segert.
 6. William Moran, *Amarna Letters*, #s 83, 144, 149, 151, 154. For these letters, you should know that Zimredda is the king of Sidon;
Abi-Milku is king of Tyre;
Rib-Haddu is king of Byblos; and
Abdi-Ashirta is the rebel king of Amurru.
Note also that in letter 149 "Usu" is the mainland site of Ushu, across from Tyre.
 7. ANET, on Esarhaddon ("The Syro-Palestinian Campaign"), 290-291.
 8. Ugaritic myths: "The Ba 'lu Myth," (COS 1.86), trans. Dennis Pardee. (In two parts on CTOOLS.)
Note the different spellings of names:
Ilu = El = the common West Semitic word for "god"
Ba'lu = Baal = the common West Semitic word for "lord"
Yammu = Yam = the common word for "sea"
Motu = Mot = the common word for "death"
- NB: The translations by Pardee include many footnotes. You are not responsible for the information in the footnotes, though they might help explain certain passages.

Supplementary Readings

Marguerite Yon, "Ugarit (History and Archaeology)," (trans. Stephen Rosoff) in ABD 6:695-706. In Hatcher Reference Room.

D. Pardee and Pierre Bordreuil, "Ugarit (Texts and Literature)," in ABD 6:706-721. In Hatcher Reference Room.

Questions

1. What assumptions about ethnicity discussed in the first class does the article by Holmes Kantzios help to undermine? What does this article reveal about the culture of early Iron Age Levantine coast and interior?
2. Given the archaeological summaries offered by Markoe in his appendix, when did this region see greatest conflict (specifically, what centuries b/w the LB [1200s] and the Persian era [500s])?
3. Consider Markoe's description of the Phoenician cities' fate at the arrival of the Sea Peoples (p. 25) and the history of Tyre in the Iron Age presented in ABD (Katzenstein, "Tyre," in ABD 6:687):
"Justin has preserved a tradition that 'many years later these (Sidonians, i.e., Phoenicians) who had been conquered by the king of the Ashkelonians (i.e., Philistines) embarked in ships and founded the city of Tyre, one year before the conquest of the city of Troy' (Justin 18.3.5). Josephus hints at the same date when he states that 'from the founding (of Tyre) to the building of the temple (in Jerusalem) there was an interval of two hundred and forty years' (*Ant* 8.62)."
How does the ABD article use its sources to create the impression that Justin is reliable? In general, how does Markoe's text use this source differently?
4. What can be learned about Byblos and its culture from the Ahirom and Yahimilk inscriptions?
5. What can you say about the interrelationships b/w Egypt, Sidon, Tyre, and Byblos during this period of time, based on the reading of EA (the Amarna tablets) #s 83, 144, 149, 151, 154?
6. How does Esarhaddon explain his military success over Sanduarri and Abdimilkutte? What is the implicit religious dimension to this explanation?
7. What is the role of Athiratu, of El / Ilu, of Baal / Ba'lu, of Anat in these myths?
8. How do these myths reflect the LB age where diplomatic and political relationships tied Ugarit, Sidon, Tyre, etc. to more powerful empires to the north (Hittites) and south (Egyptians)?

History of the Phoenicians, Reading Assignments: Week 4. (Sept. 29 Rosh Hashanah at sundown). Phoenicians of the Iron Age (Tyre and biblical evidence)

Readings

1. Jidejian, *Tyre through the Ages*, 1-57. (These are the first four chapters; listed as such on CTOOLS.)
2. Tubb, *Canaanites*, 16-20.
3. Snell, "Syria-Palestine in Recent Research," 136-149.
4. Biblical Texts: (NRSV translation on CTOOLS; feel free to use another modern translation, like JPS, NJB, etc.)
 - 2Samuel 5:10-12
 - 1Kings 5, 9:26-28, 16:23-34 (Ethbaal I is King of "Sidonians" that is "Phoenicians"; he is King of Tyre), chaps. 17-21
 - 2Kings 9-10
 - Psalm 45

Isaiah 23
Ezekiel 26-28

Additional Readings:

Markoe, *Phoenicians*, 32-49

Questions:

1. What problems are involved in depending on the biblical text for information on the ancient past? How does this parallel the situation with using classical authors to investigate the past? How does it differ?
2. How do contemporary scholars deal with these problems?
3. How do the passages from 2Samuel, 1-2Kings, and Psalm 45 characterize, in general ways, the Phoenicians? What inconsistencies seem most striking?
4. What do the passages from Isaiah 23 and Ezekiel 26-28 reveal about Tyre and its image in the ancient imagination?
5. What elements of ancient mythology are incorporated by Isaiah and Ezekiel in their respective poems? Consider especially the images that have connections to Ugaritic myths read for last class.

Bibliography, weeks 3-5, Phoenician in the Iron Age

- Camille **Asmar**, "Les Phéniciens et l'Orient," in 4Cong, 1:43-49.
- Yitzhak **Avishur**, *Phoenician Inscriptions and the Bible: Select Inscriptions and Studies in Stylistic and Literary Devices Common to the Phoenician Inscriptions and the Bible* (Tel Aviv: Archaeological Center, 2000).
- F. **Briquel-Chatonnet**, *Les relations entre les cites de la côte Phénicienne et les royaumes d'Israël et de Juda* (StudPhoen 12; OLA 46; Leuven: Peeters, 1992).
- G. **Bunnens**, "Considérations géographiques sur la place occupée par la Phénicie dans l'expansion de l'empire Assyrien," in StudPhoen 1-2, 169-193.
- Honora Howell **Chapman**, "Josephus and the Cannibalism of Mary (BJ 6.199-219)," in Marincola (ed.), *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*, 419-426.
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History of the Phoenicians, Reading Assignments: Week 5. (Oct. 6). Religion Part II + Phoenician exploration and colonization in the Iron Age

Readings

1. Markoe, *Phoenicians*, 115-142, 170-189.

2. Philo of Byblos's translation of "Sanchuniathon's work, as preserved in Eusebius (according to Baumgarten's translation). (Keep in mind that this is a confusing text and you should not expect to understand all of it. Read it with the appropriate questions in mind . . .)
3. Peter van Dommelen, "Colonial Interactions and Hybrid Practices: Phoenician and Carthaginian Settlement in the Ancient Mediterranean," in *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspectives* (Santa Fe: School of American Research, 2005), 109-141 + references (listed separately on CTOOLS).

Supplementary Readings

Edward Lipiński, "Chapter IV: Phoenicians," in *On the Skirts of Canaan in the Iron Age: Historical and Topographical Researches* (OLA 153; Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 163-201.

Questions

1. What clues can you find that the "Phoenician History" by Sanchuniathon is NOT from before the Trojan War, but really from some time closer to Philo's own? How does this situation parallel the nature and character of the Ugaritic myths? And what does this demonstrate to us about how myth was used? Can a myth from a later time be used reliably to reconstruct a history of an earlier time?
2. What is the significance of Philo's description of child sacrifice, given the fact that he considered himself Phoenician and wished to promote Phoenician culture over and against the dominance of Greek culture?
3. What are some of the problems inherent in talking about "colonization" in the context of the Phoenicians?
4. Does the evidence presented in the article by van Dommelen suggest a coherent system of "colonization" by Carthage?
5. How do the Phoenicians interact differently with "local cultures" in the three areas studied by van Dommelen?

History of the Phoenicians, Reading Assignments: Week 6. (Oct. 13). Midterm

Week 7. (Oct. 27). Phoenicians in the Persian Era

Readings

On “colonization”:

Veenhof, “Kanesh: An Assyrian Colony in Anatolia,” in CANE, 859-871.

Aubet Semmler, “The Phoenician Impact on Tartessos: Spheres of Interaction,” in Bierling, 225-240.

On Phoenicians in the Persian Era:

Markoe, *Phoenicians*, 49-54

Jidejian, *Sidon through the Ages*, 43-63. (This is the fifth chapter; listed as such on CTOOLS.)

Inscription of King Yehawmilk (COS 2.32)

The Sarcophagus Inscription of Tabnit, King of Sidon (COS 2.56)

The Sarcophagus Inscription of 'Eshmun'azor, King of Sidon (COS 2.57)

Questions

1. Consider the suggestion, made in the van Dommelen article read for class 5, that the Phoenician trading network might be understood according to the model of the Assyrian trading colonies in Cappadocia. Based on the Veenhof article and the Aubet Semmler article, do you agree? Why and why not?
2. How do the Phoenicians fare under the Persians? What is the status of Tyre vis-à-vis Sidon?
3. What patterns in the political history of earlier periods are found in the Persian era, in relation to Sidon?
4. What do the inscriptions from Byblos and Sidon reveal to us about the religion and rulership of these two cities during the Persian era?

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History of the Phoenicians, Reading Assignments: Week 8. (Nov. 3). Rise of Carthage

Readings

Markoe, *Phoenicians*, 54-67

Serge Lancel, *Carthage: A History* (trans. Antonia Nevill; Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 35-109.

David Sacks, *Letter Perfect: The Marvelous History of Our Alphabet from A to Z* (New York: Broadway, 2003), 1-42.

“The Funerary Inscription from Pyrgi,” trans. P. Kyle McCarter, *COS* 2.58, p. 184

Additional Reading:

Philip C. Schmitz, “A Carthaginian Decree of Religious Toleration,” *Michigan Academician* 19 (1987): 199-208. (As a handout).

Questions

1. Where was the alphabet invented, by whom, when, how, and why?
2. What are the difficulties in deriving history from primary sources like inscriptions? Consider the Pyrgi text and the other inscriptions read for previous classes.
3. Note the first epigraph of Briant’s book on Persian history, from Léo Ferré: “Et même si ce n’est pas vrai, / Il faut croire à l’histoire ancienne” = “Even if it is not true, / One must believe in ancient history.”

Although we’ve read many classical sources and noted with skepticism the difficulty knowing whether or not they represent historical events and cultural traits accurately, we’ve also noted that classical sources (and the Bible) may actually preserve some elements of truth. How does one derive history from these sources? More importantly, how does one represent this evidence in a history?

4. What evidence (of historical import) can be gleaned from letters and letter-shapes?

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History of the Phoenicians, Reading Assignments: Week 9. (Nov. 10). Phoenicians in Hellenistic Age

Readings

Jidejian, *Tyre through the Ages*, 69-83. (This is the sixth chapter; listed as such on CTOOLS.)

Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander* (2 vols.; trans. P.A. Brunt; LCL 236; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1989), 181-211 (Note that hypaspists = shield bearers)

Lancel, "Chapter 6: Religion," in *Carthage*, 193-256.

Francesca Stavrakopoulou, "Mlk as a Sacrificial Rite in the Phoenician and Punic Worlds," in *King Manasseh and Child Sacrifice: Biblical Distortions of Historical Realities* (BZAW 338; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 215-239. Note that the chapter presumes you understand that the Hebrew letters כ7למו are pronounced "molek."

Signs of Tanit, a single page of images drawn from F. Bertrandy, "Signe de Tanit," in DCP, 417.

Extra Reading

Lawrence E. Stager, "The Rite of Child Sacrifice at Carthage," in *New Light on Ancient Carthage* (ed., John Griffiths Pedley; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1980, 1-11).

Questions

1. What role does religion play in Alexander's attack on Tyre, according to Arrian?
2. What are the possible "readings" of the "sign of Tinnit" (or Tanit)?
3. What do you think is the likelihood that the Carthaginians (or the Phoenicians in general) sacrificed their children, not (as some skeptics maintain) as a rare phenomenon at a time of crisis, but rather as a regular feature of their rituals?
4. What iconographic features of the stele associated with child sacrifice seem important in assessing the reality of child sacrifice?

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History of the Phoenicians, Reading Assignments: Week 10. (Nov. 17). Phoenicians in the Roman World

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Marseille Tariff, COS 1.98 (translator: Dennis Pardee).

Questions

1. What distinguishes the religion, language, and culture of "Phoenicia" in the Roman era from that in preceding eras?
2. What might account for the differences?
3. How does Aristotle represent the Carthaginian constitution? What does he like about it?
4. What historical information can be derived from the Marseille Tariff? From the Periplus of Hanno?

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History of the Phoenicians, Reading Assignments: Week 11. (Nov. 24). Carthage and Rome

Readings

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Livy, *Hannibal's War: Books Twenty-One to Thirty* (trans. J.C. Yardley; Oxford World's Classics; Oxford: Oxford University, 2006), pages 3-19; 38-49; 107-134.

Note that between pages 19 and 38 Hannibal has traveled across France and the Alps and into Italy.

Between pages 49 and 107 the Roman consul Fabius intentionally does not engage Hannibal in open battle, but shadows him. Then, other consuls are elected, Paulus and Varro. Paulus is cautious like Fabius, but Varro is more impulsive.

Consult the pictures in your textbook that detail sculpture, ivory carving, and glass manufacture, as well as the pictures on line from Moscati 1988, listed under "Pictures from Moscati 1988".

Questions

1. What elements of classic story-telling does Livy's account of Hannibal and the 2nd Punic War contain?
2. What is Hannibal's strategy and where does it fail?
3. How do Roman generals fail in their attempts to subdue Hannibal?
4. What aspects of Phoenician art reflect influences from outside Phoenicia?

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