7th to 5th Ct BC, and S. Vassallo (*SicArch* xxxii.97 [1999 (2001)], 147–164) publishes a drawing of a native figured krater. E. Caltagirone, *La lingua dei Siculi. Un mistero finalmente svelato* (Barzago 2003) claims that the Sikel **language** derives from Sanskrit.

Greek-native relations are the focus of a number of studies published in this period. Sicily is mentioned in passing in works by G.F. Chiai, *RSF* 30 (2002), 125–46 (who sees the very toponyms of Sardinia and Sicily as embodying pacific co-existence between the various cultural groups resident there); F. D'Andria, in P. Attema *et al.* (eds), *New Developments in Italian Landscape Archaeology* (BAR International Series vol. 1091) (Oxford, 2002), 52–59; E.M. De Juliis, *Greci ed Italici in Magna Grecia* (Bari 2004). Burials with headless bodies or just crania in Gr cemeteries are studied by L. Mercuri (*MEFRA* 113 [2001], 7–31) and G. Shepherd (*OJA* 24 [2005], 115–36), who arrive, respectively, at the conclusion that they represent and do not represent native elements amongst their population. The question of integration is examined further in three other studies: J.L. Menéndez Varela (*The Ancient History Bulletin* 17.1–4 [2003], 48–84) focuses on the territorial development of the W Gr poleis vis-à-vis the natives, seeing incorporation of the latter as equals in cities and as slaves in rural settlements; F. De Angelis (*AWE* 2 [2003], 19–50) moves beyond such more traditional lines, arguing for the impact of Sicily's natives on Gr town planning, political structures, religious ritual and agriculture; and P. Anello, in M.G. Angeli Bertinelli and A. Donati (eds), *Il cittadino, lo straniero, il barbaro, fra integrazione ed emarginazione nell'antichità* (Rome 2005), 143–76, distinguishes three phases of relations from the 8th to 4th Ct BC: friendly relations at the time of foundation, followed by hostilities as the Gr city-states developed and concluding with assimilation. R.M. Albanese Procelli (*PIA VI*, 358–66) picks up the latter topic in her study of the development of native Sicilian food culture in later PH and Ar times as a result of contact with Greeks and Phoenicians. She investigates systems of cooking, preparation and storage, noting both continuity and change over previous practices. In *Atti elimi IV*, there are four articles that can be noted here: P. Anello (37–56), drawing on various sources, argues for a distinct Elymian ethnos in the 5th Ct BC; M. Moggi (973–86) explores the evolution of Campanian mercenaries into citizens; U. Fantasia (467–95) rightly draws attention to the ethnic realities of Sicily noted by Plato in his VIIIth letter; and R. Sammartano (1115–48) and G. Camassa (127–34) look at the Elymians' Trojan connection, noting, respectively, that the use of this legend in Sicily must predate Athenian interest in the island in the 5th Ct BC and that it was used for defining the other (on the uses of Troy, see also A. Erskine, *Troy between Greece and Rome: Local Tradition and Imperial Power* [Oxford 2001]; D.P. Thompson, *The Trojan War: Literature and Legends from the Bronze Age to the Present* [Jefferson, NC 2003], reviewed by D.M. Pollio, *BMCR* 2004.04.38).

PHOENICIO-PUNIC AND NEAR EASTERN

The bibliography under this heading continues to grow by leaps and bounds. The two new journals and scholarly association devoted specifically to Phoenicio-Punic studies mentioned in the introduction are a reflection of this, as are the numerous bibliographic round-ups and scholarly surveys that have appeared. The single largest of these is the CD-ROM by E. Acquaro (ed.), *Bibliotheca phoenicia: dodicimila titoli sulla civiltà fenicia* (La Spezia, 2000). Annual bibliographic surveys are also still being produced by the new editors of *RSP*; so far they have been published in volumes 29 (2001), 245–87; 30 (2002), 237–74; 31 (2003), 177–98. Recent trends in Phoenicio-Punic studies in Sicily can be found in an article by S.F. Bondì, in P. Donati Giacomini and M.L. Uberti (eds), *Fra Cartagine e Roma: seminario di studi italo-tunisino, Bologna, 23 febbraio 2001* (Faenza 2002) 87–94. P. Bartoloni (*Sardinia, Corsica et Baleares Antiquae* 1 [2003], 123–30) provides a brief history of the work carried out by the recently merged Centro di Studio per la Civiltà Fenicia e Punica (see introduction) in the islands of Italy, including in Sicily.

Of the **works of synthesis**, we may begin by noting that a second edition of M.E. Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies, and Trade* (Cambridge 2001) has appeared (reviews by: L. Casson, *IJNA* 31 [2002], 302–03; R. Wright, *BMCR* 2003.12.17). There are also several new syntheses to report: P.K. Hitti, *History of Syria: Including Lebanon and Palestine* I (Piscataway, NJ 2002–); M. Heinz, *Altsyrien und Libanon. Geschichte, Wirtschaft und Kultur vom Neolithikum bis Nebukadnezar* (Darmstadt 2002); E. Acquaro, *I Fenici fra Oriente e Occidente* (Cinisello Balsamo 2003) (cf. also E. Acquaro, *Studi De Miro*, 21–36; *ArchVîva* xxiv.109 [2005], 18–33); J.A. Zamora (ed.), *El hombre fenicio: estudios y materiales* (Rome 2003); M.N. Santangelo, *Le berceau des Phéniciens* (Leuven 2004). The growing interest in the Phoenicians is connected in part to their uses for identity purposes. On this, see B. Garnand, *Stanford Journal of Archaeology* 1 (2002) (http://archaeology.stanford.edu/journal/newdraft/garnand/index.html); A. Kaufman, *Reviving Phoenicia: The Search for Identity in Lebanon* (London 2004). We can also note here the publication the **proceedings** from the of 4th and 5th international conferences on Phoenicio-Punic studies: M.E. Aubet and M. Barthélemy (eds), *Actas del IV Congreso Internacional de Estudios Fenicios y Púnicos: Cádiz, 2 al 6 de Octubre de 1995*, 4 vols (Cádiz 2000); A. Spanò Giammellaro (ed.), *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici, Marsala-Palermo, 2–8 ottobre 2000*, 3 vols (Palermo 2005).

Phoenician **navigation and exploration** are, naturally, topics that have attracted attention in this reporting period: E. Lipinski, *Itineraria phoenicia* (Leuven 2004); V. Peña. C.G. Wagner and A. Mederos (eds), *La navegación fenicia: tecnología naval y derroteros* (Madrid 2004). So much of this navigation and exploration was conducted for purposes of **trade and exchange**, on which many new studies have been published. Despite its title, the volume edited by P. Fernández Uriel, C. González and F. López, *Intercambio y comercio preclásico en el Mediterráneo* (Madrid 2000) is entirely dedicated to a Phoenicio-Punic theme. There are also three papers in R. Rollinger and C. Ulf (eds), *Commerce and Monetary Systems in the Ancient World* (Stuttgart 2004): K. Radner (152–69) on Assyrian trade policy; M. Sommer (233–44) on the world system of the EIA; and H.G. Niemeyer (245–56) on the Phoenicians' role in creating a 'multi-national' Mediterranean (cf. also Niemeyer's piece on the Phoenician contribution to anc. globalization, in K.J. Hopt *et al.* [eds], *Herausforderungen der Globalisierung* [Göttingen 2003], 47–55). One of these three authors, M. Sommer, has examined his theme in more detail in *Die Phönizier. Handelsherren zwischen Orient und Okzident* (Stuttgart 2005). M.L. Zimmerman Munn discusses the evidence for Punic finds in Corinth and concludes that the trade in salt-fish from Gades in the M5th Ct BC may have been the result of direct long-distance trade between the regions in possibly Gr hands (in C.K. Williams II and N. Bookidis [eds], *Corinth: The Centenary 1896–1996* [Princeton 2003], 195–217). In doing so, she adds a dissenting voice to the idea that a Carthaginian trade blockade existed in the central Mediterranean, and that Sicily, as a result, would have been the middleman in this trade.

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The **cultural contact and change** that resulted from trade and exchange are tackled for the far west in B. Costa and J.H. Fernández (eds), *Colonialismo e interacción cultural* (Eivissa 2004). The topic more generally is surveyed by S.F. Bondì, in S.F. Bondì and M. Vallozza (eds), *Greci, Fenici, Romani: interazioni culturali nel Mediterraneo antico* (Viterbo 2005), 17–26, who observes that the Hellenization of Phoenicio-Punic culture was the deepest in Sicily in all of the Phoenicio-Punic world, and that there were also Greeks living and worshipping in Phoenicio-Punic settlements. For Gr influences on Punic culture, see also V. Tusa (*Studi De Miro*, 711–19). Elsewhere Bondì looks at native-Phoenician relations in Sicily, arguing that the evidence from Motya suggests that natives could have been socially and economically subordinate, employed as labourers (in P. Negri Scafa and P. Gentili [eds], *Donum Natalicium. Studi presentati a Claudio Saporetti in occasione del suo 60º compleanno* [Rome 2000], 37–43). K.A. Raaflaub considers the possible impact of Phoenician state formation on Gr state formation, concluding that there was not any per se (in R. Rollinger and C. Ulf [eds], *Griechische Archaik. Interne Entwicklungen-Externe Impulse* [Innsbruck 2004], 271–89). On the transmission of iconography, see E. Acquaro and P. Callieri (eds), *Transmarinae imagines. Studi sulla transmissione di iconografia tra Mediterraneo ed Asia in età classica ed ellenistica* (La Spezia 2003).

On the Phoenician **language**, we can avail ourselves of three works by C.R. Krahmalkov: *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary* (Leuven 2000) (reviews by: K. Jongeling and R. Kerr, *Orientalia* 71.2 [2002], 173–81; P. Mosca, *BASOR* 329 [2003], 90–92); *A Phoenician-Punic Grammar* (Leiden 2001); an overview piece in J. Kaltner and S.L. McKenzie (eds), *Beyond Babel: A Handbook for Biblical Hebrew and Related Languages* (Atlanta 2002), 207–41. The multi-lingual landscape of N Africa can be read about in *Antiquités Africaines* 38–39 (2002–2003), the result of a one-day colloquium held in Paris in 2001. In the sphere of **epigraphy**, there is G. Pisano and A. Travaglini, *Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche dipinte* (Rome 2003) to note.

Much work has been done on matters related to **environment and economy**. These subjects are discussed in detail in C. Gómez Bellard (ed.), *Ecohistoria del paisaje agrario. La agricultura fenicio-púnica en el Mediterráneo* (València 2003), though, interestingly, none of the contributions is devoted to Sicily. **Food** derived from land and sea is the subject of a fascinating paper by A. Giammellaro Spanò (*Kokalos* 46 [2000 (2005)], 417–64), who bases her account on literary and archaeological sources and includes food preparation and presentation. Preparation and consumption are also the themes of L. Campanella and A.M. Niveau de Villedary y Mariñas' treatment of fish in the Phoenicio-Punic world in S.F. Bondì and M. Vallozza (eds), *Greci, Fenici, Romani: interazioni culturali nel Mediterraneo antico* (Viterbo 2005), 27–67. The role of **salt** in Phoenicio-Punic life is examined by P. Bartoloni, in *L'industria del sale marino in Sicilia* (Trapani 1997) (missed in the last report). On **metallurgy**, two papers consider early iron technology at Carthage and other Phoenician settlements: H.G. Niemeyer, *Mediterranean Archaeology* 14 (2001), 83–93; I. Keesman, *Mediterranean Archaeology* 14 (2001), 95–108. There are some thoughts on Punic **everyday life** in A. Hübner, *OJA* 24 (2005), 137–42.

There are developments to report for other aspects of material culture. For **architecture**, an important overview can be found in F. Prados Martínez, *Introducción al estudio de la arquitectura púnica* (Madrid 2003). The latter includes discussion of construction techniques, which is also the subject of an article by F. Verga, *Byrsa* 1 (2003), 129–60. Whether every **tophet** was accompanied by a temple is examined by S. Ribichini (*Studi Ciasca*, 425–39), who concludes that the data are not sufficient to support the idea that temples are always found in tophets. He notes, however, that when a temple is found in a tophet, it was usually constructed after the tophet's appearance, and that the destruction and abandonment of these tophet temples did not impact the tophet's functioning. There were two Sicilian contributions to a Spanish seminar on Phoenicio-Punic **necropoleis**: A. Gonzàlez Prats (ed.), *El mundo funerario. Actas del III Seminario Internacional sobre Temas Fenicios* (Alicante 2004). In the first, A. Giammellaro Spanò (205–51) sums up the evidence, while in the second R. Di Salvo (253–65) sums up the available palaeodemography. Some of the same themes addressed in this volume on necropoleis are discussed and expanded in another volume: A. González Blanco, G. Matilla Seiquer and A. Egea (eds), *El mundo púnico. Religión, antropología y cultura material* (Murcia 2004).

Stelae in The British Museum are published by C. Mendleson, *Catalogue of the Punic Stelae in The British Museum* (London 2003). On **anthropoid sarcophagi**, there is the important study in two volumes by S. Frede, *Die phönizischen anthropoiden Sarkophage* (Mainz am Rhein 2000), who has an article in another, more general volume on sculpture and votive monuments: R. Bol and D. Krekenbom (eds), *Sepulkral- und Votivdenkmäler östlicher Mittelmeergebiete (7. Jh. v. Chr.-1. Jh. n. Chr.): Kulturbegegnungen im Spannungsfeld von Akzeptanz und Resistenz* (Mäohnesee 2004), which contains contributions on Sicilian and Carthaginian material, as well as on **religion**. On the latter subject, we might also note here the following works: T.N.D. Mettinger, *The Riddle of Resurrection: Dying and Rising Gods in the Ancient Near East* (Stockholm 2001) (reviewed by D. Frankfurter, *BMCR* 2002.09.07). Discussed in this work is, among others, Melqart, on whose iconography, see F. Pinnock (*Studi Ciasca*, 379–89). Altars in W Sicilian sanctuaries are studied by F. Spagnoli, *SicArch* xxxvi.101 (2003), 169–90. On **scarabs**, there is J. Boardman, *Classical Phoenician Scarabs: A Catalogue and Study* (BAR International Series vol. 1190) (Oxford 2003). On related topics, H.G. Niemeyer (*Studi Ciasca*, 367–78) wonders whether the Aegyptiaca found in the Mediterranean were Phoenician trade goods, and R. Fletcher (*AWE* 3 [2004], 51–77) examines Egyptianising amulets across the Mediterranean. **Ostrich eggs** are the subject of a paper by G. Pisano (*Studi Ciasca*, 391–401).

On **pottery**, note N. Schreiber, *The Cypro-Phoenician Pottery of the Iron Age* (Leiden 2003) (reviewed by M. Iacouvou, *BASOR* 336 [2004], 61–66), as well as the attempt to distinguish, via archaeometry, the ceramic productions of Motya from those of Solunto (R. Alaimo *et al.*, in V. Kilikoglou, A. Hein and Y. Maniatis [eds], *Modern Trends in Scientific Studies on Ancient Ceramics* [BAR International Series vol. 1011] [Oxford 2002], 207–18; *Atti elimi IV*, 1–9). Phoenician and Punic **amphorae** in the Mediterranean basin and beyond are discussed throughout J. Eiring and J. Lund (eds), *Transport Amphorae and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean* (Aarhus 2004) (reviewed by R.F. Docter, *BMCR* 2006.02.44). Punic amphorae in the underwater collection of the Palermo Museum are collected by G. Sarà (*QuadMuseoSalinas* 5 [1999 (2001)], 85–8), who observes that the finds are sporadic and without context.

On **coins**, a third volume has appeared of E. Acquaro (ed.), *Monete puniche nelle collezioni italiane: Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale* (Rome 2002). A review of Phoenician and Punic coins on the internet suggests to L.-I. Manfredi, *Archeologia e Calcolatori* 16 (2005), 41–58, the need for an

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integrated system of recording. A. Cutroni Tusa (*AIIN* 47 [2000 (2002)], 249–265) reviews Punic coinage in Sicily and elsewhere (*SicArch* xxxiv.99 [2001], 183–189) considers the hoard *IGCH* 2119 as evidence for the first Carthaginian mint in Sicily. Three further studies on Punic coins can be noted: astral symbols (A. Cutroni Tusa, *Studi Isler*, 75–82); legends (L. Mildenberg, *Studi Isler*, 303–14); crab symbols (L.-I. Manfredi, *Studi Ciasca*, 323–36). We should also mention here C.A. Di Stefano's (*Due Dionisi*, 81–91) review of the foregoing kinds of material culture from the main Punic sites in W Sicily in the time of Dionysius I–II.

Some developments regarding **Carthage** must also be noted, given the inseparability of that city from Sicily. We must begin with an important exhibition held in Karlsruhe, whose catalogue has appeared as S. Peters (ed.), *Hannibal ad portas: Macht und Reichtum Karthagos* (Stuttgart 2004) (for a synopsis, see K. Hattler, *Minerva* 15.6 [2004], 18–21). An overview of recent excavations bearing on Carthage's Ar **topography** is provided by R.F. Docter (*Talanta* 24–25 [2002–2003], 113–33). Parallels between the **houses** of Carthage and Megara Hyblaia are noted by M. Gras, in C. Müller and F. Prost (eds), *Identités et cultures dans le monde méditerranéen antique en l'honneur de Francis Croissant* (Paris 2002), 183–198. In a related vein, B. Tang explores houses in three trading centres, including Carthage, in *Delos, Carthage, Ampurias: The Housing of Three Mediterranean Trading Centres* (Analecta Romana Instituti Danici suppl. vol. 36) (Rome 2005). On the **tophet**: H. Bénichou-Safar, *Le tophet de Salammbô à Carthage: essai de reconstitution* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome vol. 342) (Rome 2004). The structure of Carthaginian **adminstration** may be read in L.-I. Manfredi, *La politica amministrativa di Cartagine in Africa* (Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche, Memorie vol. 16.3) (Rome 2003). S.F. Bondì (*Daidalos* 3 [2001], 27–35) and S. Cataldi (*Atti elimi IV*, 217–52) sum up what we know of Carthage's **involvement in and control of Sicily**, and, in a similar way, M.H. Fantar (*Studi Ciasca*, 227–37) rounds up Carthage's relationships with Greeks from Dorieus to Hel/Rom times. On Carthaginian **mercenaries**, A.C. Fariselli has produced a work with much food for thought: *I mercenari di Cartagine* (La Spezia 2002). On a related topic, A. Cutroni Tusa (*Atti elimi IV*, 355–365) reconsiders the coin evidence for Sardinian mercenaries in Sicily, concluding that their presence in the island is possible. The Carthaginian **navy** is the focus of a monograph by S. Medas, *La marineria cartaginese. Le navi, gli uomini, la navigazione* (Sassari 2000), while for Carthaginian **trade** with the 'Far West' of the Mediterranean there is an article by J.L. López Castro (*Rivista di Studi Punici* 1 [2000], 123–44). D. Hoyos devotes a monograph to **Hannibal**: *Hannibal's Dynasty: Power and Politics in the Western Mediterranean, 247–183 BC* (Oxford 2003).

Three developments regarding the Phoenicio-Punic presence on nearby **Malta** should also be noted: C. Sagona, *The Archaeology of Punic Malta* (Leuven 2002) (reviewed by: A. Termini, *AWE* 4 [2005], 503–06); N.C. Vella, *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 39 (2002), 83–112 (on Ptolemy's Temple of Hercules); A. Bonanno, *Malta: Phoenician, Punic and Roman* (Valletta 2005).

As is well known, anc. Sicily also had connections with other **Near Eastern** peoples, not just the Phoenicians. Two general works of relevance can be noted first: M. Van De Mieroop, *A History of the Ancient Near East ca. 3000–323 BC* (Oxford 2004) (reviewed by J.C. Ross, *BASOR* 334 [2004], 77–8); D.C. Snell, *A Companion to the Ancient Near East* (Oxford 2005) (reviewed by G.D. Summers, *BMCR* 2005.05.58). For works dedicated to the **BA**, note the following on various themes: E.D. Oren (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and their World: A Reassessment* (Philadelphia 2000); J.N. Tubb, *Canaanites* (London 2002); G. Galliano and Y. Calvet (eds), *Le royaume d'Ougarit. Aux origines de l'alphabet* (Paris 2004) – the catalogue of an exhibition; G. Graziadio, *Cipro nell'età del Bronzo* (Pisa 2001); L. Steel, *Cyprus before History: From the Earliest Settlers to the End of the Bronze Age* (London 2004) (reviews by: A.B. Knapp, *AJA* 109 [2005], 579–80; J.D. Muhly, *BMCR* 2005.09.83). Some of the regions and themes treated in these works are extended chronologically in four other relevant works: C. Basile (ed.), *Sicilia antica nei rapporti con l'Egitto. Atti del convegno internazionale, Siracusa 17–18 settembre 1999* (Siracusa 2001); L. Bonfante and V. Karageorghis (eds), *Italy and Cyprus in Antiquity: 1500–450 BC* (Nicosia 2001) (reviews by: G.R. Tsetskhladze, *AWE* 1 [2002], 461–2; J.S. Smith, *BMCR* 2002.03.41; C. Smith, *Classical Review* 53 [2003], 216–18); V. Karageorghis, H. Matthaeus and S. Rogge (eds), *Cyprus: Religion and Society from the Late Bronze Age to the End of the Archaic Period* (Möhnesee-Wamel 2005); P.M.M.G. Akkermans and G.M. Schwartz, *The Archaeology of Syria: From Complex Hunter-Gatherers to Early Urban Societies (c. 16,000–300 BC)* (Cambridge 2003) (reviewed by N. Marchetti, *AJA* 109 [2005], 303–04).

GREEK

There are some **general developments in art and archaeology** that can be noted first. Although not systematically dealing with the Gr world beyond Greece, there is much relevant food for thought in R. Osborne's survey of recent work (*AJA* 108 [2004], 87–102). The same goes for the following four works which at times discuss Sicily directly or developments related to it: J. Whitley, *The Archaeology of Ancient Greece* (Cambridge 2001) (reviews by: P.D. Scotton, *BMCR* 2002.09.41; D.W. Rupp, *Mouseion* 2 [2002], 263–68; J.M. Hall, *Classical Philology* 98 [2003], 290–96; C. Smith, *Classical Review* 53 [2003], 211–13); J.G. Pedley, *Greek Art and Archaeology*, 3rd ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ 2002); M. Belozerskaya and K. Lapatin, *Ancient Greece: Art, Architecture and History* (Los Angeles 2004) (reviewed by F. Greenland, *BMCR* 2004.12.01); L. Burn, *Hellenistic Art from Alexander the Great to Augustus* (Los Angeles 2005) (reviewed by C. Gorrie, *BMCR* 2005.07.40). The art and archaeology of the W Greeks is treated in two recent works: F. Bourbon and F. Durando, *Magna Graecia. Kunst und Kultur der Griechen in Italien* (Munich 2004); L. Cerchiai, L. Jannelli and F. Longo, *Città greche della Magna Grecia e Sicilia* (Venice 2002) (the English translation of 2004 is reviewed by J.A. Evans, *BMCR* 2005.04.56). See also more generally: G. Francesio, E. Russo and M. Minnella, *Sicilia: storia e arte* (Venice 2002); M. Oppenheimer, *The Monuments of Italy: A Regional Survey of Art, Architecture and Archaeology from Classical to Modern Times* (London 2002), especially volume five (199–266) with a long section on Sicily. The amount of 'Classical' in Sicilian art and archaeology is investigated by N. Bonacasa in his contribution to the German exhibition on *Die griechsiche Klassik. Idee oder Wirklicheit* (catalogue published in Mainz am Rhein in 2002).

Architecture and urbanism. There are two handy reviews of studies on W Gr **urbanism** dealt with in the previous report by E. Greco (*AION* 4 [1997 (2000)], 207–20; 7 [2000 (2001)], 223–33). Mediterranean urbanization as a whole is the subject of two volumes with frequent mention of Sicily: C. Gates, *Ancient Cities: The Archaeology of Urban Life in the Ancient Near East and Egypt, Greece and Rome*

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