*XV. On Recent Excavations at Carthage, and the Antiquities discovered there
by the Rev. Nathan Davis. By AUGUSTUS WOLLASTON FRANKS, M.A.,
Director.*

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AMONG the various sites memorable from the greatness of the cities which once occupied them, there are few that equal in interest or surpass in historical associations that of Carthage. The myths respecting the foundation of that city, and the fate of its unhappy queen Dido, have received from the creative fancy of the poet such a semblance of truth as to make them assume a place in our recollections with the actual events of history. The extraordinary rise of Carthage and its equally extraordinary fall, the utter destruction of its records, the obscurity in which its language and art are enveloped, all concur to excite in us an interest and a curiosity in regard to everything connected with it, which is hardly awakened by the history, real or fabulous, of any other city of Pagan antiquity.

The best authorities appear to agree in referring the origin of Carthage to the ninth century before Christ; when a Tyrian colony, partly driven by political circumstances, partly led by the love of gain and enterprise, laid the foundations of a city destined to rival and even surpass in greatness Tyre herself. The territory they selected seems to have been ceded to them peaceably by the natives, to whom they long rendered an annual tribute. The early history of the colony is enveloped in the deepest obscurity; which is the more to be regretted as it must have been full of stirring incidents, fearful crises, and daring adventures. We can well imagine the slights shown by the mother city, the jealousy of neighbouring and older Phœnician settlements, in addition to the usual difficulties attending the foundation of a colony. At length, the superior merits of the site having been ascertained, the arrival of fresh colonists from home, and immigrations from the older settlements in Africa, would bring wealth and experience to strengthen the rising state.

In the sixth century before Christ we find Carthage mistress of Sardinia and Corsica, and filling the neighbouring coasts of Africa, Spain, and Sicily with her colonies; so great indeed had she become as to rouse the jealousy of Cambyses, who contemplated an attack upon her. Then began the wars with the Greeks in Sicily, ending with her great defeat at Himera in B.C. 480. Fresh inroads upon the Greek colonies ensued, which, though vigorously resisted, were eventually successful, till, when about to carry all before her, Carthage encountered the iron legions of Rome. Then came the First Punic war, terminating in B.C. 241 with the loss of Sicily, wasted finances, and domestic troubles. The Second Punic war, though rendered glorious by the victories and conquests of Hannibal, was, notwithstanding, brought to a close on the fatal field of Zama in B.C. 201, leaving Carthage once more prostrate and exhausted. We then arrive at the encroachments of Masinissa and the Third Punic war, the last mighty contest between Carthage and Rome; in which the former was no longer contending for the empire of the Mediterranean, but struggling for existence; until at length she concentrated her expiring energies to withstand that extraordinary siege so well described by Polybius and Appian, which terminated in a destruction more awful and complete than ever befel so powerful a state. *Delenda est Carthago*; the decree went forth, and the sword, fire, and ram did their appointed work. This was in B.C. 146; twenty-four years later the conquerors seem to have repented of the extent of their vindictiveness and of the desolation they had wrought, and Caius Gracchus attempted to refound Carthage, under the name of Junonia. But great cities are not to be refounded at will: the colony dwindled away, and it was not till B.C. 19 that Augustus rebuilt Carthage. After this the city gradually increased in wealth and consequence, until, through the favour of Septimius Severus and the later emperors, she attained to such a degree of prosperity, that in the time of Ausonius we find her claiming to be at least the third, if not the second, city of the Roman empire.* Carthage then became celebrated as a centre of Christianity, was made illustrious by her bishops, and was consecrated by her martyrs. Conquered by Genseric in A.D. 439, she became the capital of the Vandal kingdom in Africa, until retaken by Belisarius in A.D. 533. Her final destruction came from the hands of the Arabs under Hassan in A.D. 647.

* Ausonius, *Ordo Nobilium Urbium*. II. Constantinopolis et Carthago.
 Constantinopoli adsurgit Carthago priori,
 Non toto cessura gradu: quia tertia dici
 Fastidit, non ausa locum sperare secundum,
 Qui fuit ambarum.

A second period of desolation followed, more complete and prolonged than the first. The solitude of the wasted city was then disturbed only by the Moslem or the Frank seeking to abstract her buried marbles, or carry off the decorations of her ruined edifices, to ornament some mosque or cathedral. After a lapse of six centuries she witnessed a sad expenditure of treasure and blood in the mis-carriage of the ill-fated crusade of St. Louis of France; which, though disastrous to its leader, who there died, was not unfruitful in its results; since it is owing to that unfortunate expedition that the flag of France now floats over the ancient citadel of Carthage, and that the chapel of St. Louis crowns one of her highest eminences.

Little could the Tyrian colonists, when landing on the coast of Libya, have foreseen the future greatness of the city which they were about to found; and yet that greatness depended in no small degree on the excellence of the site which they selected.

About midway along the southern shore of the Mediterranean, where the coast of Africa takes a sudden turn to the north, and approaches nearest to the island of Sicily, there project two great promontories, Cape Farina and Cape Bon, which form the modern Gulf of Tunis. From the west side of this gulf a peninsula juts out towards the east, terminating in a broad triangular head; the most northern point of which is a hill of moderate height called Jebel Gamart; the eastern point is the lofty hill terminating in Cape Carthage, and crowned by the modern village of Sidi Bou-Said; and between the latter and Gamart is a fertile plain, called El Mersa, full of gardens, among which the most remarkable object is a villa belonging to the Bey of Tunis. From Sidi Bou-Said a range of low hills slopes off towards the south, gradually receding from the shore, and terminating in an eminence of about two hundred feet, now known by the name of St. Louis. Still further southwards is a narrow isthmus or tongue of sand, dividing the waters of the Lake of Tunis from the sea, the communication between the two being by means of a narrow outlet called Goletta. A short distance to the west of the hill of St. Louis is the village of Malkah, built on the ruins of the great cisterns which supplied Carthage with water. From this spot may be traced the remains of a large aqueduct, stretching along the isthmus which connects the peninsula with the mainland. This isthmus is now of considerable width, but the extensive salt marsh or *sebkha*, on its northern side, seems to confirm the idea which has been entertained by geologists, that the land has gained on that side very extensively by the deposits of the River Mejerdah; which have also interposed a considerable space between Utica and the sea.

The whole peninsula is covered with shapeless ruins, furnishing but scanty indications of the buildings to which they belonged or of their relative ages, every available stone having been carried away for building material.

Such is the physical aspect of the site of Carthage. The exact topography of the various portions of the city, whether Punic or Roman, has given rise to much controversy and diversity of opinion. Belidor, Shaw, Estrup, Humbert, Chateaubriand, Mannert, Ritter, and others have put forth various and contradictory views on the subject.^a This was partly owing to the insufficient evidence at their command, and it was not till 1833 that antiquaries were in a condition to enter into the question of the topography of Carthage on data at all satisfactory. In that year Monsieur Falbe, Consul-General of Denmark at Tunis, published an elaborate map of the peninsula on a scale of nearly four inches to a mile, noting every little heap of ruins and peculiarity of outline.^b This work was executed under considerable disadvantages, owing to the necessity of not awakening the jealousy of the native rulers, who had not then adopted their present more liberal policy.

M. Falbe also published a short memoir to accompany his map, but without attempting any minute identification of the localities. This has however been accomplished to a considerable extent by M. Dureau de la Malle,^c who has published a very interesting memoir on the various points of Carthaginian topography, Punic, Roman, and Byzantine, in which he has collected and compared the statements of ancient authors. It is, however, beyond the scope of this communication to discuss the various matters of interest and remaining doubts connected with the plan of the Carthaginian city. It will be sufficient to describe very shortly the principal sites which seem to have been established by the researches in question.

The great subject of controversy has been the position of the ports of Carthage; of which Appian^d furnishes us with a minute description. There was an outer

^a Belidor, *Architect. Hydraul.* tom. ii. p. 36, pl. i.; Shaw, *Travels in Barbary and the Levant*, vol. i. p. 165; Estrup, *Lineæ Topogr. Carthag. Tyriæ* (Miscell. Hafn. ii. part i. 1821); Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire*, tom. ii. p. 208 (1836); Ritter, *Erdkunde*, vol. i. p. 914, 1822; Sir Grenville Temple, *Excursions in the Mediterranean*, vol. i. ch. iv. 1835; Mannert, *Geogr. der Griechen und Römer*, Africa, part ii. ch. ix. p. 264, 1826; Heinrich Barth, *Wanderungen durch die Küstenländer des Mittelmeeres*, vol. i. p. 80, 1849. The several plans of some of the above writers are represented in the work of Dureau de la Malle, *Recherches sur la Topographie de Carthage*. See also Smith's Dictionary of Ancient Geography, under *Carthago*.

^b *Recherches sur l'Emplacement de Carthage, &c.*, par C. T. Falbe. Fol. Paris, 1833.

^c *Recherches sur la Topographie de Carthage, par M. Dureau de la Malle*. 8vo. Paris, 1835.

^d *Punica*, viii. 96.

port for the merchantmen, and an inner one for the ships of war; and in the midst of the latter was an island, Cothon, where the admiral dwelt, and which gave its name to the whole port. Some of the older writers place this on the northern side of the peninsula; Falbe and Dureau de la Malle, whose views have been confirmed by Barth, assign it to the southern extremity, where basins answering to the description of Appian still remain.*

Assuming the position of the port, we fix that of the *tænia* or tongue, which projected from its neighbourhood, as the isthmus towards Goletta. The hill of St. Louis becomes the Byrsa of the Punic wars; on the next hill-top stood the temple of Juno. The forum was at the foot of the hill of St. Louis, between it and the Cothon; and the position of the suburb Megara seems determined as being to the west of the hill of St. Louis and the village of Malkah. The opinions which thus place the principal buildings in Punic Carthage towards the southern end of the peninsula appear to gain some confirmation from the numerous tombs which have been discovered at the northern end, in the hill of Gamart. These seem to shew that the latter was the necropolis, and was therefore without the walls of the city.

Having thus briefly noticed the principal points of interest in the topography of Carthage, I will proceed to give some account of the results of the excavations recently made on behalf of the English Government by the Rev. Nathan Davis. This gentleman had resided for some years in the Pachalic of Tunis, and, from his intimate acquaintance with the Bey, and his knowledge of oriental languages, was in a favourable position to obtain the necessary facilities for making excavations. It is owing to his energy and perseverance that these operations have been successful, and that the British Museum has been enriched by some valuable additions to its stores.

Mr. Davis's excavations were commenced towards the end of the year 1856, and were continued at intervals during 1857 and 1858, when they were brought to a close for want of further funds. He prosecuted his researches at about twenty different spots with more or less success. The antiquities discovered were sent to England on board of H. M. Ships *Curacoa* and *Supply*, the latter

* Their opinion seems to have been generally received; yet a recent traveller, the Rev. J. W. Blakesley, though not disposed to question the position of the Cothon, which he looks upon as a dry dock, still considers the principal port to have been on the north-west side of the peninsula, founding his opinion in some measure on the significance of the Arab name *El Mersa* (the port). He also seems disposed to place the original Byrsa of the Phœnician colony and the temple of *Æsculapius* on the hill surmounted by the Turkish fort *Burj-Jedid*.—See "Four Months in Algeria, with a Visit to Carthage," by the Rev. J. W. Blakesley. 8vo. Camb. 1859.

of which arrived in England at the beginning of the present year. These antiquities may be divided into four classes, each of which I propose to notice separately in the following order: I. Inscriptions; II. Fragments of sculpture and architectural decorations; III. Mosaic pavements; IV. Minor antiquities.

I. *Inscriptions.*

Stone tablets with Phœnician inscriptions have at various times been brought to light among the ruins of Carthage. In 1817 Major J. E. Humbert found near Malkah, the village built amidst the remains of the great cisterns, four ornamented *stelæ* with inscriptions, which he looked upon as sepulchral, and which passed from his hands into the Museum at Leyden.^a Another was discovered near the same spot in 1831 or 1832, and was sent by Chev. Scheel, Secretary to the Danish consulate at Tunis, to the Museum at Copenhagen. It is the most highly ornamented tablet that has been found, and is represented in the *Archæologia*, Vol. XXX. Pl. V. fig. 7;^b a cast having been communicated to our Society by Mr. Hudson Gurney. A portion of another is preserved in the Museum at Leyden, and was first published by Hamaker.^c A small fragment of one more, obtained by Humbert from near Malkah, was lost on its way to Denmark.^d Another was found in 1823, also near Malkah, and is at Leyden.^e Another was discovered at the same place by M. Falbe, from whose hands it is said by Gesenius to have passed into the collection of Count Turpin.^f Three more were found at Carthage by Sir Thomas Reade, and copies of the inscriptions were communicated by him to our Society in 1836, but the present resting-place of the originals is not known.^g Another inscription we owe to M. Falbe, which is published by Judas in his *Etude de la Langue Phénicienne*.^h One more was found in 1841 when digging for the foundations of the Chapel of St. Louis, and is now in the Louvre.ⁱ Another was discovered during the excavations made by the Society for exploring Carthage, and fell to

^a Humbert, *Notice sur quatre cippes sepulcraux et deux fragmens découverts en 1817 sur le sol de l'ancienne Carthage*. The Hague, 1821. See also Gesenius, *Scripturæ Linguaeque Phœnicæ Monumenta*, p. 162 (Carthaginienses i.—iv.).

^b See also Falbe, *Recherches*, §c. pl. v. No. 3. Gesenius, p. 176 (Carthaginiensis v.).

^c *Miscellanea Phœnicia* (1828), p. 9, tab. i. fig. 2. Gesenius, p. 177 (Carthaginiensis vi.).

^d Hamaker, *Miscell. Phœn.*, p. 11, tab. i. No. 3. Gesenius, p. 178 (Carthaginiensis vii.).

^e Münter, *Acta Soc. Reg. Dan.*, 1824. Hamaker, *Miscell. Phœn.*, p. i. tab. i. No. 1. Gesenius, p. 178 (Carthaginiensis viii.).

^f Falbe, *Recherches*, §c. pl. v. No. 5. Gesenius, p. 180 (Carthaginiensis ix.).

^g Engraved in Gesenius, tab. 47, Nos. lxxxi. lxxxii. (Carthaginienses xi. xii.).

^h Pl. 8 (14^e Carthaginoise).

ⁱ Judas, *Etude*, §c. pl. 9 (15^e Carthaginoise).

the share of M. Dureau de la Malle.^a Two more were brought to light by the Abbé Bourgade while making researches in the island of the Cothon, and accounts of them were published by him, and by the Abbé Bargès.^b

It thus appears that, previously to Mr. Davis's researches, about seventeen tablets^c had been discovered at Carthage, which are now scattered among the museums of Europe. His excavations have disinterred no less than seventy-three tablets with Phœnician inscriptions, adding thereby very largely to the scanty stores of Phœnician epigraphy.

The tablets obtained by Mr. Davis are generally composed either of a compact limestone or of a fine sandstone.^d The front and back are parallel, and the upper part terminates either in an acute angle, or in a pedimental form with elevations at the corners resembling *acroteria*.^e The front is worked to a smooth surface, on which the inscription is scratched with a sharp tool; but the back and sides are only hammer-dressed. None of the tablets appear to be perfect, many of them having lost their upper part, while nearly all of them seem to have been originally longer at the lower end. In their present state they vary in height from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 12 inches, and in width from 4 to 7 inches. Their thickness is considerable in proportion to their width, being from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 inches. The appearance of the tablets will be better understood from the accompanying illustrations, which represent the most elaborately-ornamented specimen found by Mr. Davis and one of the plain kind.

These interesting relics seem to have been all discovered at the same spot,^f between the hill of St. Louis and the sea, and not far from a slight ravine which divides that hill from the neighbouring eminence on which writers place the temple of Juno. We are not yet acquainted with the exact circumstances of the discovery, nor with the depth or the manner in which they were deposited. I trust that Mr. Davis may be induced to publish a minute account of his excavations, as by so doing he will add greatly to the value of his researches.

^a Published by De Sauley, *Annali del Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, vol. xix. tav. G.

^b *Toison d'or de la Langue Phenicienne*, par l'Abbé F. Bourgade. Fol. Paris, 1852. *Mémoire sur deux Inscriptions Puniques découvertes dans l'Ile du Port Cothon à Carthage*, par l'Abbé J. J. L. Bargès. Fol. Paris, 1849.

^c I have omitted from the enumeration one published by Gesenius (*Carthaginiensis* x.), of which the history seems doubtful.

^d One of them is of white marble; it resembles in form a quadrangular tile, and the inscription is in a single line on the edges.

^e The two exceptions to this are the marble tablet just mentioned, and a cylindrical shaft of stone, 18 inches high, with small niches at intervals upon it.

^f Apparently near the ruins marked in Falbe's map No. 58.

No. 1.
Votive Tablet from Carthage.
Height 9½ in., width 5½ in.

No. 2.
Votive Tablet from Carthage.
Height 11½ in., width 4½ in.

On examining these tablets it will be found that the inscriptions upon all of them are of a similar kind, and that they resemble in that respect the greater part of the seventeen tablets which had been previously discovered.*

The first thirty characters in every one of these inscriptions are identical, any

* The exceptions are those numbered by Gesenius, viii. ix. xi., and Judas 15, which all appear to be sepulchral.

slight variations in form being evidently due to carelessness; they may be thus represented in the corresponding Hebrew characters :

לרבת לחנת פנבעל
ולארן לבעל חמון
אש נדר

and may be rendered "To the Lady Tanith Pen-Baal [Face of Baal], and to the Lord Baal-Hamon, the vow of"

Before considering the other portions of the inscriptions, it may be well to make a few remarks on this formula. The meaning of the first two words, and their application to the goddess Tanith seem to be undoubted. The Abbé Bargès has indeed suggested transferring the fifth letter to the end of the first word, but as his reading is based on his having mistaken the ל (lamed) for a נ (nun), an error clearly shown by Mr. Davis' inscriptions, this suggestion has no weight. The next word was read by Gesenius ולבעל, and translated by him "et hero." M. de Saulcy^a has however proposed reading the first character פ (pe) instead of ו (vau), and the second נ (nun) instead of ל (lamed), making Pen-Baal, "face" or "manifestation of Baal," as a title for Tanith.^b The next letter (the fourteenth) was read by Gesenius and others נ (nun), and by the Abbé Bargès כ (caph); but it has been more correctly read by M. de Saulcy^c as ו (vau); a reading completely borne out by the new inscriptions, in which the letter in question preserves its peculiar character, and shows itself quite distinct from the letters כ (caph) and נ (nun). With regard to the two next words לבעל חמון, "to Baal Hamon," all the commentators seem to agree; but the two following have given rise to much difference of opinion, and they are unfortunately of great importance with regard to the meaning of the inscriptions. All seem to approve of dividing them into אש נדר. Quatremère^d interprets them *hoc quod vovit*; Lindberg,^e *quisque vovit*; Gesenius, *vir vovens*; De Saulcy, *est res voto promissa*; Judas, *basis sepulturæ*; Bargès approves of the older reading by Quatremère; I have ventured to take the simpler form, "the vow of."

Such is the formula which occurs in a more or less perfect condition in the

^a Revue Archéologique, 1846, tom. iii. p. 632.

^b The correction with regard to the *nun* is confirmed by Mr. Davis's inscriptions.

^c Revue Archéologique, 1846, tom. iii. p. 630.

^d Mémoire sur quelques inscriptions Puniques. Nouv. Journ. Asiat. tom. i. p. 15 (1828).

^e De inscr. Melitensi. Copenh. 1828.

greater part of the inscriptions found at Carthage.^a The portions which immediately follow it are in all of them different, being various groups of letters separated by the words בן (ben) or בת (bet), son or daughter, and therefore giving the names and descent of the persons for whom the inscriptions were executed. With regard to reading these groups, there is generally little difficulty where the letters are clear or uninjured. Like most proper names of Semitic origin, they are composed of the names of various deities, with a prefix or suffix signifying dependance or respect, principally the prefix Abd or Bod (servant). Names derived from Melcarth, the Tyrian Hercules, are very common, as we might naturally expect would be the case in a colony of Tyre: we thus find very frequently Abdmilcart and Bodmilcart; and occasionally Milcartcheles and Amtmilcart. Names derived from Astort or Ashtoreth, the Syrian name for the Great Goddess, are likewise common, such are Amtastort, Bodastort, Gadastort, Gerastort, Astortjitten. We also find Esmun, the Phœnician Æsculapius, whom we know to have had a temple on the Byrsa at Carthage, in the names Bodesmun, Abdesmun, Esmunjitten, Esmunshamar. The name of Baal also frequently occurs: thus we have Baaljitten, Baalhanna, Baalazer, Merbal, Abdnibal, Hanabal, Azerbal, Metenbal. Singularly enough, names compounded with Tanith, the goddess to whom these inscriptions are dedicated, are extremely rare; among those received from Mr. Davis it seems to occur only once, viz. Abdtanith. Among other names we find very commonly Magon, Hanno, Hamilcat, Abda, and Aris.

Among the names which I have mentioned above, and which include, I believe, the greater part of those found in the inscriptions, we can easily recognise some familiar to us in Punic or Phœnician history, such as Hannibal, Bomilcar, Bodostor or Bostor, Hamilcar,^b Asdrubal, Hanno, and Magon, which recall to us the great actors in the Punic wars; and also Merbal, Gerostratus, Baleazar, Abdæus, and Abdastartus, whose names are met with among the kings of Tyre, &c. The inscriptions usually mention three generations, and occasionally four, but none go further. Of the tablets engraved above, No. 1 records the vow of a female, Amtmilcart, daughter of ———; No. 2, the vow of Arisem, son of Abdmilcart.

^a It should be stated that on one of the tablets sent to England by Mr. Davis, the first six words of the formula are wanting, the whole inscription reading, "The vow of Aris;" but, as above it is a representation of Tanith, it evidently belongs to the same category as the others. It will also be observed that in tablet No. 1 a letter *y* is inserted between *ב* and *י*, probably by a blunder of the sculptor, who seems to have commenced writing בעל.

^b This is, no doubt, the same as the Hamilcat of the inscriptions, which would answer to the Ἀμίλκας of the Greeks, the form Ἀμίλκαρ occurring in Appian only. The derivation from Melcarth suggested by Gesenius seems doubtful.

In a few of the inscriptions discovered by Mr. Davis the proper names are followed by a short formula which does not appear to have been hitherto noticed in inscriptions from Carthage, although it has been found in tablets from other places, such as the pedestals from Malta which will be more fully described hereafter, and on several of the inscriptions in the later form of Phœnician, which, from the localities where some of them have been found, Gesenius has termed Numidian.

In its complete form this part of the inscription consists of the following letters:

בשמע קלא תברכא

though occasionally the formula terminates at the seventh character; in the Maltese inscription, there being two votaries, we find מ (mem) instead of א (aleph). This Gesenius translates, "Ubi audiverit vocem eorum benedicat eis." Judas renders it, "Ex præcepto maledixerunt aut benedixerunt." De Sauley, who has entered minutely into the consideration of the formula,^a translates it, "Dès qu'il a entendu leur voix il les bénit." We may therefore fairly conclude that the words have been added to some of the Carthaginian inscriptions, as an invocation of blessings on the person for whom the stones were erected.

The above remarks will suffice to give some idea of the tenor of the inscriptions on these curious tablets. I have not attempted to go more fully into their details, partly because I do not possess the necessary acquirements for the purpose, and partly because the Trustees of the British Museum have sanctioned the publication of fac-similes of all the Phœnician inscriptions in the National Collection. I trust ere long to see the first part of the work appear under the able editorship of my colleague Mr. Vaux, whose knowledge of oriental languages, and whose paleographic studies will enable him to do more complete justice to these interesting remains.

There are some points however as to the tablets on which it may be desirable to make a few observations, viz. the purpose for which they were made; the divinities whose names they bear; the devices engraved upon them; and the age to which they probably belong.

As to the purpose for which they were made; I have stated that the general opinion of commentators is in favour of interpreting the words אש ניר as in some way implying a vow. But M. Judas, in his interesting treatise on the Phœnician

^a Recherches sur les Inscriptions Votives Phéniciennes et Puniques, in *Annali del Inst. di Corr. Archæol.* xvii. (1845) p. 68.

and Lybian languages, has arrived at the conclusion that those words mean a tomb or sepulchre, relying partly on the not unfrequent occurrence of a human hand among the devices on the tablets; which he considers analogous to the expression in the Hebrew scriptures^a for the pillar or tomb of Absalom. The use of the hand as expressing supplication might be sufficient to account for its presence on votive tablets. An inscription, or rather two similar inscriptions, found at Malta,^b and engraved apparently on the bases of two candelabra, seem to decide the question beyond all doubt. Those inscriptions, which are exactly alike, are bilingual—Greek and Phœnician. The Greek is as follows:

ΔΙΟΝΤΣΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝ ΟΙ
ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΥΡΙΟΙ
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ ΑΡΧΗΓΕΤΕΙ.

This evidently records the dedication, no doubt in performance of a vow, of the inscribed objects by Dionysius and Sarapion, sons of Sarapion, Tyrians, to Hercules the Founder; and it contains nothing which can be regarded as sepulchral. The Phœnician inscription reads, “To our Lord Melcarth, God of Tyre, the vow of [אש נר] thy servant Abdosir and his brother Osirshamar, both sons of Osirshamar, son of Abdosir.” Then follows the formula which we have noticed above as invoking blessings on the votaries. It will be remembered that אש נר are the words on the Carthaginian inscriptions, and therefore indicate their votive character.

We have no means of determining in what way these votive tablets were used; they may have been let either into the walls or into the floor, or have been simply deposited in some consecrated building or grove. Future discoveries may possibly throw some light on this subject.

We have next to consider the divinities to whom the tablets were dedicated; viz. Tanith-Penbaal, and Baal-Hamon,—a subject to be approached with some diffidence, as speculations relating to mythology, especially if they involve questions of etymology, are generally far from satisfactory. For the divinities, and particularly the oriental, were usually personifications of some principles of nature. In the lapse of time, what was originally one divinity, having been the object of worship in different places, came to receive distinct attributes and names. Then the love of novelty, political circumstances, or other accidents brought in as a

^a 2 Samuel, xviii. 18.

^b One of the inscriptions is in the Public Library at Malta, the other at Paris. Engraved in Gesenius, tab. 6, and numerous other works.

new divinity a different local form of one already worshipped in that place; while on the other hand some casual resemblance may have caused divinities of very different origins to be regarded as one.

The name of Tanith occurs on a bilingual inscription found at Athens shortly before the year 1797, and preserved in the United Service Museum.^a It is on the tombstone of a Sidonian named in the Greek inscription Artemidorus (the gift of Artemis). In the Phœnician inscription his name is Abdtanith (the servant of Tanith). This shows that when the tombstone was executed, which was probably about three centuries before Christ, Tanith was looked upon as the Greek Artemis; not, however, the goddess of the chase, the Diana of the Romans, but the oriental Artemis, the Great Goddess of eastern nations.

She was, no doubt, the "Ἀρτεμις Ἀναίτις whom, according to Pausanias,^b the Lydians worshipped; and she was, possibly, the "Ἀρτεμις Περσική before whose temple the same people erected a statue of Adrastus.^c Plutarch, in the life of Artaxerxes II.,^d tells us of that monarch having made Aspasia priestess of Artemis Anaitis at Ecbatana (τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις ἣν Ἀναίτιν καλοῦσιν). This agrees with the account given by Clement of Alexandria,^e on the authority of Berosus, that Artaxerxes II. introduced into his dominions the adoration of images instead of fire-worship; and, after setting up the image of Aphrodite Tanais at Babylon, Susa, and Ecbatana, caused her to be worshipped by the Persians and Bactrians, as well as by the people of Damascus and Sardes. This passage serves to identify Tanith with Aphrodite as well as with Artemis. Strabo tells us that the Medes and Armenians practised the sacred rites of the Persians, especially the Armenians, who worshipped Tanais.^f We learn from the same author, how extensively the *cultus* of the goddess prevailed in the East, from there being a temple of Anea,^g near Arbela; and he tells us that the Persians, to commemorate their victory over the Sacæ at Zela in Cappadocia, raised a mound by heaping up earth round a natural rock, so as to give it the appearance of a hill, and erected upon it a temple to Anaitis and the gods worshipped with her (συμβάμων θεῶν), Omanes and Anadatus, Persian divinities.^h If this Anaitis be

^a Gesenius, tab. 9, No. v.

^b Pausanias, iii. c. xvi. 6.

^c Pausanias, vii. c. vi. 4.

^d cap. xxvii.

^e Clem. Alex. Protrept. v.

^f Strabo, xi. 14, 16. Most editions of Strabo read here *Αναίτιδος*, but, as the greater part of the MSS. read *Τανάιδος*, the latter reading seems preferable, and it agrees better with the Phœnician form, Tanith.

^g τῆς Ἀρέας ἱερὸν. Strabo, xvi. 1, 4.

^h Strabo, xi. 8, 4.

the Cappadocian goddess whose worship, according to Plutarch, was introduced into Rome about the time of Sylla, and who appeared in a dream to that general, Plutarch's account enables us to identify her with the Moon, Minerva, and Bellona.^a

Some writers have derived the name of Tanith from that of the Egyptian goddess Neith, by prefixing to it the feminine article *τα*. In a papyrus published by Champollion, Venus is described as Neith in the East country.^b Mr. Birch remarks that Neith appears from her titles to be a secondary manifestation of Maut, the Juno of the Egyptian Pantheon, and was probably the same as the goddess called in hieroglyphics the female Amoun or Amoun-ti.^c She is also entitled Mother of the Sun, and the Great Mother. The Greeks identified Neith with their Athene or Minerva, which would agree very well with the title Pen-Baal (Face or Manifestation of Baal) given to Tanais; for Minerva was said to have sprung from the head of Jupiter.^d

There would not be much difficulty in identifying Tanith with all the principal goddesses of the Greeks and Romans. She was, in fact, that early object of superstition, the Moon. The description of the latter by Apuleius in his *Golden Ass*^e agrees remarkably with her multifarious attributes; and his statements, though savouring of the Pantheistic syncretism of later times, are well deserving of consideration as coming from an African who had been educated at Carthage, where he received the honour of having a statue erected to him.

In the romance of the *Golden Ass* the hero, Lucius, towards the close of his numerous adventures under the form of an ass, escapes to the sea-shore and lies down on the sands to sleep. In the midst of the night he wakes in sudden terror, and sees the full moon rising in unusual splendour. On being aware of the presence of this great goddess (*summaterm Deam*), he determines to address her. "Regina Cœli," he begins, and, after invoking her under various titles, he begs her to free him from the brute form in which he is inclosed. The goddess, in answer, appears to him in full majesty, and thus speaks: "En adsum," she begins, "tuis commota precibus, rerum Natura parens, elementorum omnium domina, sæculorum progenies initialis, summa numinum, regina Manium, prima cœlitum, Deorum Dearumque facies uniformis; quæ cœli

^a *Σελήνην οὖσαν εἶτε Ἀθηνᾶν εἶτε Ἐννύ.* Plut. Sylla, ix. 6.

^b Sir Gardner Wilkinson, notes to Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii. p. 537.

^c Arundale and Bonomi, *Gallery of Antiquities selected from the British Museum, with descriptions by S. Birch*, p. 12.

^d The title Pen-Baal seems similar in form to the Hebrew name Penuel (פְּנֵי־אֵל), Face of God. It agrees very well with the passage from Apuleius, "Deorum Dearumque facies uniformis."

^e *Metamorph. lib. xi. 238.*

luminosa culmina, maris salubria flamina, inferorum deplorata silentia, nutibus meis dispenso. Cujus numen unicum, multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo totus veneratur orbis. Me primigenii Phryges Pessinunticam nominant Deum matrem; hinc Autochtones Attici Cecropiam Minervam; illinc fluctuantes Cyprii Paphiam Venerem; Cretes sagittiferi Dictynnam Dianam; Siculi trilingues Stygiam Proserpinam; Eleusinii vetustam Deam Cererem: Junonem alii, Bellonam alii, Hecatam isti, Rhamnusiam illi; et qui nascentis Dei Solis inchoantibus illustrantur radiis Æthiopes, Ariique, priscaque doctrina pollentes Ægyptii, cærimoniis me propriis percolentes, appellant vero nomine Reginam Isidem." After thus setting forth her titles, she gives him directions how to rid himself of his asinine form, and exhorts him to become one of her priests.

There can be little doubt then that Tanith is to be looked upon as the great goddess of Carthage, the Cœlestis, Urania, or Juno of the Romans.^a Her temple is supposed to have been situated on an eminence in close proximity to the Hill of St. Louis or Byrsa, and a little to the north of it, near a spot marked by Falbe No. 53. It was of great size and magnificence, surrounded by shrines dedicated to all the gods related to her.^b The *hieron* or sacred inclosure was in Roman times no less than two miles in extent. It would even appear from Silius Italicus and others, that it contained the temple and grove of Kronos or Saturn. In A.D. 399 this *hieron*, which had been long closed, and become overgrown with thorny bushes, was cleared out, and the temple consecrated to Christ, the Bishop Aurelius placing his seat on the spot once occupied by the statue of Cœlestis. During the reign of Constantius III. (A.D. 421) all the temples were rased, and the ground converted into a cemetery.^c The street leading to the shrine and temple, which had been known as the Via Cœlestis, was shortly afterwards destroyed by the Vandals.^d

The continuous worship of the goddess of Carthage may perhaps be inferred from the history of her veil or *peplos*. In the *Mirabiles Auscultationes*, usually ascribed to Aristotle, we find the following passage:^e—"They say that a garment was made for Alcimenes, the Sybarite, of such magnificence, that at the Panegyry

^a St. Ambrose says, "Quem Cœlestem Afri, Mitram Persæ, plerique Venerem colunt pro diversitate nominis, non pro numinis varietate." Epist. 1, xviii. 30. See also Herodian, lib. v.

^b "Omnium deorum suorum ædibus vallatum." Liber de promissis et prædictionibus, part iii. c. xxxviii. 44; ascribed to S. Prosper of Aquitaine, and printed with his works.

^c Liber de prom. et prædict., part iii. c. xxxviii. The writer seems to have been present at the consecration.

^d Victor Vitensis, De Persec. Vandal. lib. i. c. iii.

^e Mirab. Ausc. No. xcvi. Some editions read "Alcisthenes." See also Athenæus, lib. xii. c. 58, who adds that it was described by Polemo in a treatise on the sacred garments at Carthage.

of Juno at the Lacinian promontory, to which all the Italians go, it was of all the things exhibited the one most admired. This, they say, came into the possession of Dionysius the Elder, and was sold by him to the Carthaginians for 120 talents. It was purple, and fifteen cubits in size; it had bands above and below with figures of animals woven in, those above being Susian, those below Persian. In the midst were Jupiter, Juno, Themis, Minerva, Apollo, and Venus, and at each end was Alcimenes, and on each side Sybaris." The *peplos* was no doubt taken to Rome on the destruction of Carthage, and reconveyed to Carthage by the colony established by Gracchus, which from its name, Junonia, in all probability greatly venerated the goddess. On the occasion of the extraordinary marriage celebrated by Elagabalus between his god Baal and the Cœlestis of Carthage, the *peplos*, no doubt, accompanied the statue of the goddess to Rome. It was certainly taken back to Carthage, as we learn from Trebellius Pollio* that the Africans on proclaiming Celsus emperor invested him with it. Its ultimate fate is unknown; but the history we have of it is useful as serving to show the identity of the Dea Cœlestis with the old Punic divinity.

With regard to Baal-Hamon, the other divinity to whom the tablets are dedicated, he is doubtless the Belsamen mentioned in the *Pœnulus* of Plautus.^b His name is probably derived from that of Amoun-Ra, the Egyptian Jupiter, and he was the god Ammon whose worship prevailed so extensively in Africa. He has also been identified with the god Omanes, whom we have mentioned as associated with Anaitis in the temple at Zela in Cappadocia, and who shared the rites of the same goddess in Persia.^c Like Amoun-Ra he was the chief of the gods and the Sun. Selden remarks,^d "Amanus sane Sol erat, ni fallor, ut Anaitis Luna." As chief of the gods he would be identified by the Greeks with Jupiter, and as the Sun with Apollo. Münter^e seems disposed to look upon him not only as Apollo, but also as Moloch or Saturn. This agrees with a passage in Damascius,^f who says Φοίνικες καὶ Σύροι τὸν Κρόνον Ἦλ, καὶ Βῆλ, καὶ Βωλαθὴν ἐπονομάζουσι.^g The historians^h tell us that Hannibal took his vow of eternal hatred to Rome

* Hist. Aug. Script. Triginta Tyranni; de Celso.

^b Act v. sc. 2, 67.

^c Strabo, xv. 3, 15.

^d De Diis Syris, synt. ii. c. viii.

^e Religion der Karthager, p. 8.

^f Damascius, Vita Isidori; in Photii Bibliotheca, cod. 242.

^g Nonnus, Dionysiaca xl. Bacchus, addressing Hercules-Astrochiton, or the Sun, says (l. 392)—

Βῆλος ἐπ' Εὐφρήταο, Λίβυς κεκλημένος Ἀμμων,
Ἄπις ἔφης Νειλῶος, Ἀραψ Κρόνος, Ἀσσύριος Ζεύς.

and further on (l. 401),

Ἡέλιος Βαβυλῶνος, ἐν Ἑλλάδι Δελφὸς Ἀπόλλων.

^h Polybius, iii. 11; Corn. Nepos, Hannibal, cap. 2.

when with his father Hamilcar in the temple of Jupiter, where the latter was performing the customary sacrifices previously to taking the command in Spain. This, no doubt, was at the temple of the god Baal; while Silius seems to indicate that the event took place in the temple of Saturn.^a Here were kept the archives of the Republic. What more appropriate place could there be for so solemn a sacrifice? On the other hand, if Baal-Hamon can be identified with Helios or Apollo, his temple was situated at no great distance from the Forum; for when Scipio, having made himself master of the Cothon and Forum, was encamping in the latter, preparatory to commencing his attack on the Byrsa, his soldiery broke into the neighbouring temple of Apollo, and cut off with their swords the gold plates which covered the statue and shrine of the god.^b The statue seems to have been carried to Rome, and to have been placed in the Circus, where it remained in the time of Plutarch.^c Falbe and Dureau de la Malle place the temple of Saturn to the west of the supposed site of the temple of Juno, led, perhaps, to do so by the inscribed tablets having been found at Malkah. If the temple of Apollo mentioned by Appian and the temple of Saturn noticed by Roman writers should ultimately prove to be the same, it should be looked for to the east, between the site of the temple of Juno and the sea; which would likewise place it near the Forum, and not far from the spot where the inscribed tablets were found by Mr. Davis. This would agree equally well with a passage in the Acts of St. Cyprian;^d where we are told that he was in the custody of the *strator* of the Proconsul, who lived "in vico qui dicitur Saturni, inter Veneream et Salutariam," that is, between the temples or streets of Coelestis and Æsculapius. This street was also called Vicus Senis, possibly from a superstitious dread of mentioning the ancient god whose grove and temple were the scene in Punic and even in Roman times of human sacrifices.

If the two divinities jointly mentioned in the inscriptions be the Coelestis and Saturn of the Romans, we can understand the temple of the latter having been in the *hieron* of the former deity. This combined worship of the Sun and Moon has been alluded to in the case of Anaitis and Omanes as worshipped in Persia. At Dodona Dione was associated with Zeus; at Coronæa we hear of Hades being associated with Minerva, *κατά τινα, ὡς φασι, μυστικὴν αἰτίαν*.^f Lucian, in his treatise *De Dea Syria*, speaks of Jupiter and Juno being worshipped together

^a Silius Italicus, *Punica*, lib. i. 80.

^b Appian, viii. 127.

^c Vita Flaminini, c. i. He tells us that the statue of Flamininus stood *παρὰ τὸν μέγαν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν ἐκ Καρχηδόνης ἀντικρὺ τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου*.

^d S. Augustin. *de consensu Evang.* lib. i. c. xxiii. 36.

^e *Acta Proconsularia S. Cypriani*, c. ii.

^f Strabo, ix. 2, 29.

at Hierapolis in Syria, and gives some curious details as to the rites and other matters connected with them. In the greater number of the cases above mentioned the goddess seems to have been the principal divinity.

It would be an interesting subject of investigation, if the materials for it were within our reach, whether the Sun and Moon were originally worshipped by the Carthaginians under the names of Tanith and Baal-Hamon. Both names, being probably of Egyptian origin, may have been adopted by the Phœnicians in consequence of their intimate relations with Egypt, and have taken the places of Ashtoreth and Moloch, the more ancient names of the same divinities. The worship of Tanais received, as we have seen, a great extension under the influence of Artaxerxes II., who reigned from B.C. 405 to 362; and it is remarkable that from his contemporary, Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse from B.C. 405 to 357, the Carthaginians obtained the magnificent *peplos* of their goddess, as before mentioned, for the large sum of 120 talents.

On some of the tablets the inscriptions are accompanied by various ornaments and symbols, sometimes scratched with a sharp point, sometimes sculptured in low relief. The ornaments consist generally of rude representations of egg and tongue mouldings, rosettes, fleurons of honeysuckle-pattern, or wreaths. Among the symbols the most remarkable and common is one of a triangular form surmounted by a circle and two curved arms, which is supposed to represent the goddess Tanith. An example may be seen on tablet No. 1, given on a previous page; other varieties^a are shown in the accompanying woodcuts Nos. 3 and 4, and two exactly alike may be found in fig. 5, which is the fragment of a votive tablet, erected by Abdesmun, son of Bodmilcart. On this tablet the images of the goddess seem to be supported on the slender stems of the lotus, an appropriate ornament, as the Egyptian goddess Neith had a lotus sceptre. These several forms make it probable that, like the Paphian Venus, the image of Tanith was a conical stone made to take a human semblance by some rude additions.^b In tablet No. 6 we see the hand alluded to above as possibly signifying a vow; it is placed between figures of the moon and sun as symbols of the two divinities; this tablet is dedicated by Hanibal, son of [Bod]esmun. On one of the tablets are two fishes, animals described by Lucian as sacred to the goddess of Hierapolis,^c as they were also to Athor the Egyptian Venus. One more symbol

^a One of these (fig. 4) is not unlike the representation of Baal as worshipped at Emesa.

^b On the worship of conical stones, see Münter, *Der Tempel der himmlischen Göttin zu Paphos*, 1824; Lajard, *Mémoire sur le Culte de Venus*, Acad. des Inscript. 1833; Akerman, *The Stone-worship of the Ancients*, 1838.

^c De Dea Syria, 45.

remains to be noticed, which is to be seen on tablet No. 1 on each side of the figure of Tanith. It seems to be a caduceus, and most likely is intended for a symbol of Baal-Hamon. On a tablet of late workmanship found in Africa, and now preserved in the Museum at Narbonne, is a votive inscription to Baal-Hamon, and above it a figure, most probably of the god, carrying a caduceus.^a The same symbol may be seen in the hand of a figure on a tablet, likewise of late workmanship, now in the British Museum; the inscription is unfortunately wanting, but above it appears the sun. A caduceus likewise occurs above a

No. 3.
Representations of the Goddess Tanith.
Half Scale.

No. 4.

No. 5. Votive tablet, from Carthage.
Height 4½ in., width 4 in.

No. 6. Votive tablet, from Carthage.
Height 9 in., width 4½ in.

representation of a temple of Jupiter on a coin of the emperor Philip, struck at Heliopolis.^b

^a Annali del Inst. di Corr. Arch. vol. xix. p. 192, tav. I.

^b Donaldson, Architectura Numismatica, fig. 35.

The only question that remains to be discussed is the age of the inscribed tablets, a point on which none of the commentators have expressed an opinion. Are they Punic—that is, anterior to the destruction of Carthage—or are they of the Roman period? On comparing the characters on them with those on coins and other remains, we find that, although they do not possess the angularity of the earliest examples, they have none of the carelessness of later Phœnician letters. There is no perceptible difference between them and the famous inscription found at Marseilles,^a which from its very nature is evidently of considerable antiquity. The names are likewise purely Phœnician. On examining the ornaments engraved on the tablets we shall perceive that they resemble more closely the later works of the Greek school than those of the Roman. The fleurons or honeysuckle ornaments are like those on Greek vases of the second or third century before Christ. The form of the tablets is likewise derived from Greek rather than from Roman models. If, therefore, there be no choice between assigning them to a period anterior to the destruction of Carthage, or to one subsequent to the rebuilding by Augustus, I would venture to express an opinion that they belong to the former period, and that they are therefore really Punic. It is, however, possible that Carthage was not so utterly annihilated as has been generally supposed, and that these rude works may have been the votive offerings of such of its Punic inhabitants as lingered among its ruins.

Such are the tablets of which Mr. Davis has had the good fortune to discover the largest number that have been brought to light at Carthage, and which seem to be the only remains that can claim to be of Punic origin. The antiquities to be hereafter described are all of Roman workmanship.

II. *Fragments of Architecture and Sculpture.*

Two Arabic authors, Abou-Obaid Bekri, and El-Edrisi, who wrote during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, describe some of the public buildings of Carthage as then standing, and as being remarkable for the profusion of their sculptured ornaments;^b and we learn from other sources that some of these decorations remained till the sixteenth century. Every vestige, however, has now disappeared. M. Falbe tells us that the Pisans carried off shiploads of sculpture and marble to decorate their cathedral,^c and the Genoese seem to have followed their example. Carthage, in fact, was resorted to as a large quarry. The walls and houses of

^a Judas, *Etude de la Langue Phénicienne*, pl. xxvii.

^b Dureau de la Malle, *Topographie de Carthage*, p. 36.

^c *Recherches sur l'Emplacement de Carth.* p. 12.

Tunis are, no doubt, chiefly built out of its ruins. In 1837 Sir Thomas Reade, then English Consul at Tunis, discovered some marble columns with sculptured capitals, and numerous fragments of statues and architectural decorations,^a some of which have found their way to the British Museum. In 1843 a colossal female head, about six feet high, was discovered by M. de la Porte in making the foundations of the chapel of St. Louis,^b and now adorns the Louvre.

The remains of sculpture brought to light by Mr. Davis are not very numerous. The most remarkable of them is a female statue of grey Parian marble, obtained near El Mersa. Several portions of statues seem to represent Apollo; and a fragment of a bas-relief in a fine style, and boldly sculptured, may be referred to the same divinity, and possibly ornamented a Roman temple.

III. *Mosaic Pavements.*

Among the remains of Roman buildings there are few objects of greater interest than the tessellated work with which the floors were decorated. The materials of which they are composed suffer but little from the effects of time, and offer but few temptations to the spoiler; so that frequently the mosaic floor has survived the walls and architectural decorations, and is the sole trace that remains to indicate the elegance of the structure that once occupied the spot.

Several such pavements have at various times been brought to light at Carthage, and many more must have been destroyed unnoticed. Falbe discovered in 1824 a mosaic, about thirty feet square, near the sea-side, but the jealousy of another European suggested to the Bey that treasures were probably concealed beneath it, and caused the destruction of the whole. About 1838 an association was formed for the purpose of making excavations in Carthage, which led to the discovery of another house near the sea-side, ornamented with paintings in the Pompeian style, and with mosaics representing men and animals;^c some of these seem to have been transported to France. It was as one of the subscribers to this enterprise that Mr. Hudson Gurney, then a Vice-President of our Society, obtained a fine fragment of a mosaic, which, with his usual liberality, he presented to the British Museum in 1844. It is the lower part of the head of a marine deity, of colossal size, and has been executed with great skill and breadth of design. An engraving of it may be found in *Monumenti Inediti*, vol. v., tav. xxxviii. Dr. Emil Braun, who has

^a *Bullet. del Inst. di Corrisp. Archæol.* 1837, p. 47.

^b *Bullet. del Inst. di Corrisp. Archæol.* 1853, p. 60. Engraved in *Revue Archéol.* tom. ix. pl. 184, p. 88

^c *Bullet. del Inst. di Corrisp. Archæol.* 1838, p. 76.

described it in the *Annali del Instituto*, considered the head to represent the Triton, Glaucus, being chiefly led to do so by the leaves which form part of the hair.^a Were the head complete, we might, perhaps, find lobster's claws projecting from it like horns, as in the beautiful bronze head in the British Museum from the Payne Knight Collection.^b On comparing, however, these figures with a head in the mosaic pavement at Frampton in Dorsetshire,^c which is inscribed *NEPTUNI VERTEX*, it is not improbable that the mosaic from Carthage represents Neptune himself.

In 1844 another pavement was discovered during excavations made by the Tunisian Government in search of stone for the canal at Goletta. It was found near the spot marked by Falbe in his map as No. 54, and considered by him to be the site of the Temple of Apollo mentioned by Appian. Dureau de la Malle, however, prefers placing at this point the baths of Gargilius. The pavement was twenty-six feet by sixteen, and of late date.^d The ornaments were distributed in compartments, alternately circular and lozenge-shaped, and chiefly consisted of scenes of the chase. At one end four panels, side by side, contained each of them the representation of a man in a chariot with his name over it, probably the victors in some races. The names seem to be *Be . e . . us*, *Cuiriacus*, *Ciprianus*, and *Ce[le]rius*, and testify to the late date of the pavement; which is probably not anterior to the fourth or fifth century. The pavement was given by the Bey to the French Consul-General, M. de Lazan, and some portions of it were transported to France, while others were placed in the buildings which surround the chapel of St. Louis.

Mr. Davis has been peculiarly fortunate in his searches for mosaics, and has transmitted a considerable quantity of them to the British Museum, which had till then been very deficient in such remains. The pavements had of course to be divided into compartments to enable them to be safely packed. In the removal of them Mr. Davis showed great skill, and, in consequence of the precautions which he took, they all reached this country uninjured. The process which he adopted in removing them will be best explained in his own words:—

“I glued common canvas upon a small piece of mosaic, and, when quite dry, I severed it with very great care from its ancient cement by means of knives and chisels, and placed it with the reverse side upwards in a case previously prepared for it. I filled the case with fresh cement, and screwed the top on

^a An engraving may also be found in the *Illustrated London News*, Jan. 6, 1849, where the pavement is misdescribed as being from Athens.

^b *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture* published by the Dilettante Society, vol. i. pl. lv. lvi.

^c *Lysons, Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ*, vol. i. pt. 3, pl. v.

^d An engraving of this pavement may be found in *Revue Archéologique*, vol. vii. pl. 143.

it. In this state I left it for about ten hours. The case was then turned over, so that what was before the bottom became the top; the lid was unscrewed, the canvas cautiously removed by means of hot water, and the remains of the glue carefully cleaned off the marble. The experiment having answered so well, I set to work the following day with greater confidence, and succeeded, after twenty-nine days of assiduous labour, in removing the whole of the mosaics upon canvas. In the course of these operations, I became so confident in my method that I have taken up, and most successfully, one piece nearly 12 feet in length by 3 in breadth."

The pavements were found at seven spots during the excavations, and may be grouped as follows:—

1. Two portions of a very remarkable square pavement, discovered apparently at no great distance from the spot marked No. 86 in Falbe's map, where he places ruins indicating the line of a street. The mosaic was covered with ten feet of soil, and the workmen had to break through three distinct floors. It was found imperfect, as will be seen by the accompanying plan, Pl. IX. It had suffered much injury; deep pits had been sunk at two of the corners and in the intervening space; a deep trench had been made across Nos. 2, 5, and 8 by Arabs in search of building materials; and from the centre across Nos. 8 and 9 a broad wall had been built, which had destroyed that portion of the mosaic. The pavement when complete must have been about twenty-eight feet square. I will reserve the full description of it to a later part of this communication.

2. The next discovery of mosaics took place close to the sea-side, at the foot of the slopes under Sidi Bou-Said. At the depth of four feet from the surface was found an interesting fragment, 7 feet by 4 feet, representing a flying figure supporting a tablet, of which the right-hand portion only remained. It has on it the following inscription in white letters on a red ground:—

. NC FVNDAMENTA
 TEM DEDICAVIMVS
 TIBIDETE AMICI FLOREN
 DEVM INVOCANTEM QVI
 VIT GAVDENTES
 DOMINVS TE EXALTA
 FASTILANEM IN MIN
 CONSVMMAVIT GAVDENS
 E M T E M

None of the lines being perfect, we are unable to determine their length; and

PLAN OF MOSAIC PAVEMENT FROM CARTHAGE.

the purport of the inscription is consequently far from clear. Perhaps we may restore the commencement thus, “*Basilicam hanc fundamenta tenuis labentem dedicavimus;*” but the constant changes of persons in the remainder render it very obscure; the word *fastilanem* may be connected with *fastella*, which Ducange explains as *ligamen*. Below the inscription are two youths holding in their right hands wreaths, and in their left fans with long handles. The style of art shown in this mosaic and the character of the inscription seem to belong to the fourth century after Christ.^a Three feet below it there was found another pavement with a pattern only; and six inches below that a third pavement of an elegant geometrical design. The spot where the discovery took place is to the north of a ruin marked by Falbe No. 72, which he considers a gate of Carthage. If it were so, the mosaics belonged to some building outside the walls of the city.

3. The third mosaic was found in a bean-field to the east of the hill of St. Louis, and not far from the spot where the Punic tablets were discovered. The central portion consists of representations of a basket full of fish, and a wooden hod filled with fruit: these designs are executed in very vivid colours, some of the tesserae being of glass; round it is a wave pattern. The rest of the mosaic is pure white with a twisted border in colours. The whole is very elegant, and must have given a cool appearance to the room in which it was placed.

4. On the range of high ground between the hill of St. Louis and Sidi Bou-Said, Mr. Davis discovered the site of a Roman house, in which, at a depth of ten feet, several mosaic pavements were found. Mr. Davis informs us that on the walls were faint remains of fresco paintings, and in one of the chambers or rather alcoves he found the lower portion, about a foot in depth, lined with thin slabs of white marble. The pavements were chiefly of geometrical pattern, and good in style and execution.

5. The next excavation in which mosaics were brought to light was on high ground, opposite to the Turkish fort Burj-Jedid, and overlooking the smaller cisterns for rain-water, from which it was distant about 200 paces. “Having nothing to guide me,” says Mr. Davis, “above ground, I opened a series of zigzag trenches, and in the course of a few days we came upon remains of ancient architecture. At one place we came upon four tombs at about four or five feet from the surface. From the position of the tombs it was evident that they were neither Moslem nor Christian; and a few Roman coins and a

^a Mosaics of a similar date, with inscriptions, do not appear to be uncommon in North Africa. See Rénier, *Inscriptions Romaines de l'Algérie*, Nos. 3700, 3701, 4057, 4058. Amé, *Carrelages émaillés*, p. 15.

sepulchral lamp found in them fixed their origin beyond all doubt. Nine feet below the tombs we came upon the mosaic pavement." To this pavement Mr. Davis seems disposed for various reasons to assign a Punic origin; but it is undoubtedly of Roman workmanship and not of an early period. The design, consisting of large circles inclosed in interlaced quadrangles, is effective and good; but the execution is coarse, and the colouring and material poor.^a "At this excavation," he says, "we cleared a suite of eight chambers, all on the same level, and running from N.E. to S.W. In the latter direction was a well and the pavement above-named; adjoining which we found three fragments of mosaic.^b I may here mention that upon all these pavements we found a layer of cinders and coals, and every indication that fire contributed to the destruction of these buildings. Next to this room we came upon a small chamber measuring only eight feet square. Here we found a mosaic, and upon it human bones. The room near this was about the same size, and contained two graves." Near these chambers some other mosaics were discovered, with cruciform patterns, and of inferior execution to the others. The most interesting of them represents two deer drinking at a fountain.

6. The next pavement was found on the hill at Gamart, the ancient necropolis of Carthage. It may have belonged to some Roman mausoleum, such decorations occurring in several instances on the Via Appia, near Rome. The patterns consist of a series of vases of elegant form joined together by arches, and possibly intended to represent ornamental fountains; between them are birds in brilliant colours, glass tesserae being employed. In one place is the inscription FONTES. The workmanship is coarse and not of early date.

7. The last series of pavements was found to the north of the peninsula, close to the beach, and only ten feet above the level of the sea. "It required," says Mr. Davis, "the greatest care to clear the sand from this pavement, and the minutest attention was necessary in cleaning it for removal. The sand which covered it having been saturated by the heavy rains, and the sea, having lashed over it for several centuries, had loosened it almost completely from its cement. However, by dint of great exertion and attention, I succeeded in removing it and in embedding it in fresh cement. We were obliged to build a temporary wall on the side of the sea to secure standing-room for the men, to enable us to remove it successfully."

^a They greatly resemble the patterns on a mosaic from Cirencester, engraved in Lysons' *Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ*, vol. ii. pt. i. pl. v.

^b These three fragments are very good in design, being ornamented with hexagons formed by interlacing wreaths alternately orange and green, and inclosing small circles; the border is plaited.

The pavement, however, was well worthy of the attention bestowed on it, and is, probably, among the finest which Mr. Davis found at Carthage. One compartment represents a sea-piece, with dolphins, tritons, and sea-nymphs. The remainder is ornamented with square panels containing female busts, and separated from each other by a delicate framework of vine-leaves. The general effect is very pleasing; the pavement does not, however, seem of early date, and has many tesserae in coloured glass.

Having thus enumerated the various sets of mosaics with which Mr. Davis's excavations have enriched the Museum, I will proceed to describe the great mosaic (No. 1), which was discovered first, and furnishes the subjects of the accompanying illustrations.

It will be seen from the plan (Plate IX.) that only two portions of this pavement have been preserved; but they are of considerable size, and enable us to form some idea of the design of all but the central part. It consists of a square of 23 feet, having on each of two of its sides an oblong compartment representing twining plants growing out of golden vases. In the middle of each of these compartments there has been a circle containing a cruciform pattern. To one of the other sides of the square are attached small compartments, separated from each other by spaces, where the mosaic either has been destroyed or has never existed. The larger spaces (BB) probably mark the site of the rectangular bases of half-columns, while the smaller spaces (AA) at the corners may have borne shallow pilasters. The position of the half-columns has probably determined the size of the square, and prevented the side compartments from forming a continuous broad border.

As to the square itself, the edge is ornamented with an elegant riband pattern. At each corner there was a circular medallion 2ft. 9in. in diameter, inclosing a head; from this proceeded a tapering mass of green leaves, resembling in its general form a cypress. On each side, midway between the medallions, was placed a white vase, probably intended to represent silver, supporting a similar tapering mass of foliage, but of a golden hue. The intervening spaces were each of them occupied by a four-cornered panel, being a section of a broad circular band, and containing a figure. Within this band there has probably been another range of panels of similar form, and, possibly, a circle in the centre; but of this portion of the pavement no part remains, unless it be a fragment which will be presently noticed. From the medallions at the corners sprang scrolls of foliage, filling up all the intervals between the panels and other ornaments just described. The character of these scrolls is shewn by a portion of one of them represented in Plate X. fig. 1.

FIG. 1. SCROLL.

FIG. 2. MARCH

PORTIONS OF MOSAIC PAVEMENT FROM CARTHAGE

Drawn & Chromo Litho'd by Holl. Bros. Castle St. Holborn

Three of the panels are nearly perfect,—they are each 4 feet wide at the base, and 4 feet 4 inches high; and a fragment of a fourth has been preserved. One of them (No. 3 in plan, and Plate X. fig. 2) represents a female, draped, and leaning back on a square cippus, on which she rests her right hand. On another cippus in front of her are two cups, and at the foot of it a brazen bucket, on which lies a green branch. From behind the cippus rises a tree, and in it is a swallow, to which the female is pointing with her left hand. The next panel (No. 4 in plan, and Plate XI. fig. 2) represents a female figure dancing before a circular cippus, on which is placed a little statue with a leafy bower behind it. The female is very strangely dressed, her robe being ornamented with dark bands spotted with golden plates, and terminating in barbed tongues, possibly intended to represent snake-like ornaments; she holds in her hands long castanets. The third panel (No. 7 in plan, and Plate XII. fig. 2) represents a female resting with the left elbow on a square cippus, and taking with a stylus some red fruit out of a glass bowl standing on another cippus, above which appears a fruit tree. The fragment (Plate XII. fig. 1) is supposed by Mr. Davis to have belonged to the compartment No. 10, but it was at any rate found beyond the foundations of the wall which has been already mentioned. It represents the upper part of a female figure resting her left arm on a square cippus, and holding in her right hand a sistrum. A portion of the upper edge remains, which is evidently a segment of a smaller circle than those bounding the panels before described; and the figure likewise seems more compressed than the other. I feel, therefore, convinced that it is a portion of one of the inner panels.

The figures in the several panels have been supposed to be priestesses; but there is little doubt that they were intended to represent the Roman months.

In Montfaucon's work "*Les Antiquités Expliquées*," Supplement, tom. i. Pl. iv.—xvi. are engravings of the illuminations of an ancient calendar preserved in the Imperial library at Vienna.^a It seems to have been executed for some distinguished person of the name of Valentinus; he is conjectured to have been the Duke of Illyria who was living about A.D. 354. Each of the illuminations represents a month as a human figure accompanied by various emblems. Under each is inscribed a tetrastich attributed to Ausonius, descriptive of the months. The illuminations, it will be seen, contain some symbols which are not alluded to in the poetry.

^a Published by Lambecius, *Bibl. Vind. lib. iv. Appendix*; also by Kollar, *Analecta Vind. tom. i. p. 946*; and in Grævius, *Thes. Ant. Rom. tom. viii. p. 96*. Another Roman Calendar with illustrations, but imperfect, was published by Bucherius.

FIG. 2. APRIL.

PORTIONS OF MOSAIC PAVEMENT FROM CARTHAGE.

The month of March is represented as a man with long hair, clothed in skins; he holds a goat by the neck with his left hand, while with his right he points to a swallow perched on a rod; on the ground to his right is a bucket or pail, from which streams are issuing; on his left a basket-shaped vessel. The lines from Ausonius are as follows:

Cinctum pelle lupæ promptum est cognoscere mensem,
Mars illi nomen, Mars dedit exuvias.
Tempus ver hædus petulans, et garrula hirundo
Indicat, et sinus lactis, et herba virens.

On comparing this with panel No. 3 on the plan, we find the swallow, two little cups, and the pail, probably intended to hold milk, and a fresh bough for the *herba virens*. The swallow was a well-known type of spring; thus, on a Greek vase* are represented two youths and a man conversing: one says, ΙΔΟ ΧΕΑΙΔΟΝ; the man answers, ΝΕ ΤΟΝ ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΑ; the other observes, ΗΑΤΤΕΙ; and the man says, ΕΑΡ ΗΕΔΕ.

The month of April is represented in the MS. by a middle-aged man, possibly a priest of Cybele, dancing before a statuette of Venus, which is under an arch of foliage and placed on a bracket. He is clothed in a short dress, ornamented with large metal plates, and holds castanets^b of great length. Under his feet is a pandean pipe, and before him a large candle burning in an elaborate candelabrum. The lines below are —

Contectam myrto Venerem veneratur Aprilis,
Lumen turis habet quo nitet alma Ceres,
Cereus a dextra flammas diffundet odoras,
Balsama nec desunt, queis redolet Paphie.

In the mosaic we have the dancing figure with metal plates on the dress, and holding castanets, and the statuette of Venus under a bower of myrtle; the other adjuncts are wanting: but there can be little doubt that the month of April was intended to be represented. The feast of Venus took place on the Kalends of that month, and the Cerealia on the vii. Ides. The figure may probably have been intended for one of the Gaditanian women, to whose skill in dancing and voluptuous movements there are frequent allusions in the Latin poets. They are especially mentioned as using castanets, and were probably *hierodulæ* of the great temple at Gades.

* Monumenti Inediti, tom. ii. pl. xxiv. Panofka, Bilder Antikes Lebens, taf. xvii. 6.

^b Castanets may have been employed in the feasts of Cœlestis, for Lucian tells us that at Hierapolis they worshipped Jupiter in silence; but when the rites of Juno began, they danced with castanets.—De Dea Syria.

The next panel is wanting, but that which followed it remains. The number of outer panels being eight, No. 7, which corresponds in relative position to No. 4, which we have shown to be April, should be July. On looking to the MS., we find this month represented by a naked male figure, holding in his right hand a purse, in his left a shallow basket with fruit; at his feet is a broken object from which coins are falling, and two covered cups. The tetrastich by Ausonius is this :

Ecce coloratos ostentat Julius artus,
Crines cui rutilos spicea sarta ligant.
Morus sanguineos præbet gravidata racemos,
Quæ medio Cancri sidere læta viret.

The mosaic has only a portion of these emblems, the shallow vessel with mulberries and the tree from which they have been picked; but in its simplicity it agrees with the other panels.

These three panels, 3, 4, and 7, being identified with the months March, April, and July, we are enabled to determine that the remaining five of the outer band of panels represented January, June, September, October, and December, leaving four months, February, May, August, and November for the inner panels. On looking over the representations of the months in the illuminations, we find only one of them in which a sistrum occurs, and that is November, which is thus represented : A draped figure, with a shaven head, rests against a cippus, on which is placed the head of an animal; he holds a platter with a snake in one hand and a sistrum in the other; at his feet is a goose, and above a pomegranate. The verses are—

Carbaseo surgens post hunc indutus amictu,
Mensis ab antiquis sacra deumque colit,
A quo vix avidus sistro compescitur anser,
Devotusque satis ubera fert humeris.

This evidently represents a priest of Isis, whose feast took place on the Kalends of November.

There can be little doubt, therefore, that the mosaic fragment is a portion of a panel representing the month of November; its preservation is a matter of some interest, as it not only shews that there was an internal band of panels, but serves to fix their positions. A panel representing November, to be in its proper place, must have been either over the vase between 9 and 10, or at the spot marked 11; but Mr. Davis informs us that the fragment was discovered beyond the broad wall which passed over the former space, and it must

FIG. 2. JULY.

therefore have been at No. 11. This agrees very well with the general design of the pavement, as the masses of foliage springing from the medallions would leave more space for a compartment than those from the vases.

Having described the panels, which furnish us with representations of considerable rarity, the Roman months, we will proceed to notice the medallions in the corners. In one of them, Pl. XI. fig 1, is a female head, of somewhat forbidding aspect, without symbols of any kind. She wears ear-rings, and has a purple stripe in her dress. The other medallion (Pl. XIII) has in it a female head of great beauty, crowned with ears of corn, and wearing a *torques* of gold. There can be little doubt that this represents the season of Summer, and therefore that the other was intended for Spring; although the positions of the medallions do not exactly accord with those of the months: thus March, which should belong to Spring, forms part of the quarter of the pavement which, no doubt, was a representation of Winter. The designer of the pavement may however have divided the year into four quarters, somewhat in our own way, and then placed near each group of three months the most appropriate season.

Representations of the seasons are not rare; they are usually in the form of children carrying appropriate emblems. Such is their appearance on the Imperial coins inscribed TEMPORVM FELICITAS, where four boys are dancing. On a silver *acerra* belonging to Mr. John Webb they appear as boys with appropriate symbols.^a On the Arch of Severus they are represented as genii with baskets of flowers, fruit,^b &c. They are figured on a sarcophagus in the Barberini Collection as winged genii, the occupations of each season being indicated below by small groups of figures.^c On a silver *situla*, found at Tourdan, near Vienne, and now in the British Museum, we find them represented as females seated on various animals.^d The nearest approach however to the medallions in the mosaic from Carthage is to be found in a pavement discovered in 1849 at Cirencester, the site of the ancient Corinium.^e At each corner of this pavement was a medallion; three still remain: Spring is represented by the head of a female crowned with flowers, and has a swallow perched on her shoulder; Summer is crowned with corn, and has a sickle; Autumn is crowned with fruit, and has an axe;

^a Proceedings, Vol. IV. p. 295.

^b Montfaucon, Ant. Expl. Sup. tom. i. c. iv.

^c Montfaucon, Ant. Expl. Sup. tom. i. pl. iii.

^d Proceedings, Vol. IV. p. 294.

^e Illustrations of the Site of Ancient Corinium, by Prof. Buckman and C. H. Newmarch, Lond. 1850. Arch. Journ. vi. p. 328. Gentleman's Magazine, January 1850.

SUMMER.

PORTION OF MOSAIC PAVEMENT FROM CARTHAGE

Drawn & Coloured in Litho^d by Miss Bessie Castle & F. B. B. B.

Winter is lost, but a fragment of a pavement found at Bignor supplies us with a head of this season, muffled up, and with a leafless bough.*

The mosaic from Carthage, when perfect, must have had a peculiarly elaborate and rich appearance. The twelve months, encircling possibly a head of Kronos, and the four seasons at the corners, must have formed a pavement well worthy of the hall of some wealthy Roman; and Mr. Davis has done good service to archæology in recovering it from the wreck of the ancient city.

IV. *Minor Antiquities.*

The minor antiquities transmitted to England by Mr. Davis are neither very numerous nor of great importance. They are principally Roman; among them may be noticed a large slender amphora, several other terra cotta vases, and about forty-five lamps. Some of the latter are of a good Roman period, and have curious designs; but the greater number of them are of Byzantine workmanship. Among them may be especially noticed one with a representation of the seven-branched candlestick from the temple of Jerusalem. On four others is the Christian monogram; another has the figure of a youth carrying a hare, probably a symbol of winter. A fragment of a tile bears the stamp of its maker, BARBARVS. The remainder of the objects chiefly consist of bone spoons and pins, marble weights, and fragments of glass and bronze.

Mr. Davis extended his researches to the site of the city of Utica, from which he obtained several interesting pavements. The most curious of these is a semicircular compartment representing a water scene: parallel to the curved side is a long net with floats, held at each end by a party of men in a canoe. In the middle a few stems and a tree are projecting from the water, among which are to be seen various animals, such as a boar, panther, stag, gazelle, ostrich, &c. These animals have probably been surprised by an inundation, of which the natives are taking advantage.

Mr. Davis was also fortunate enough to secure for the Museum the remains of a collection formed from various parts of the Regency of Tunis by Sir Thomas Reade, in conjunction with a German architect of the name of Honegger, who died in London in 1849. The antiquities are chiefly *stelæ*, inscribed in the late Phœnician character, and are important in a paleographical point of view.

* Lysons' *Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ*, vol. iii. pl. xv. xxii.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since I communicated an account of Mr. Davis's excavations to the Society, an eminent French antiquary, M. Beulé, Professor of Archæology at the Bibliothèque Imperiale, has published^a the results of some researches made by him at Carthage during the spring of the year 1859. They possess many features of interest, and are so closely connected with the subject of the preceding communication, that a short abstract of them may form an appropriate addition to it.

M. Beulé selected for his excavations the flat-topped hill of St. Louis, partly as the presumed site of the Byrsa or Acropolis, partly as being the property of the French Government. He surveyed the whole plateau carefully, marking in the plan which he has published^b the scanty ruins that he found. Many of them proved to be portions of cisterns for rain water; but at two points the results of his excavations were of considerable interest. One of the greatest difficulties had been to discover some undoubted remains of Punic architecture. M. Beulé thought it probable that some portion of the walls, from their solidity, might have survived other buildings. He selected the southern side of the hill as a likely spot for his purpose, and commenced excavating at the south-east corner. His researches, having been made at his own expense, were necessarily limited in extent. Not having the necessary appliances for tunneling, he was obliged to content himself with sinking pits gradually diminishing as they descended. This mode of proceeding necessitated a tedious labour, as the rock proved to be covered at this spot by an accumulation of 56 feet. The upper layers, as was to be expected, were of Byzantine origin, consisting of fragments of architecture, chiefly unornamented, in the greatest confusion. Among them were large masses of a wall built of narrow layers of tufa resembling bricks, formed into solid blocks by the tenacity of the mortar. These were conjectured to have been portions of the fortifications built by Theodosius and destroyed by the Arabs. Below was a layer of Roman remains still more thoroughly destroyed, among which was found part of a terminal figure of Æsculapius. At length the excavators arrived at far more massive constructions, being part of a wall very different in character from the other, and evidently of considerable antiquity. It

^a *Moniteur Universel*, 14 Mai, 1859. *Revue Archeologique*, tom. xvi. p. 170. *Journal des Savants*, August, September, and November, 1859, January, 1860.

^b *Journal des Savants*, Sept. 1859, pl. 1.

was built of squared blocks of tufa, generally laid in courses, but occasionally joggled one into the other; some of them were of large size, measuring as much as 5 feet by 3 feet. The lower portion only of this wall remained, of various heights, but nowhere exceeding 15 feet. The wall was hollow, as will be seen by the accompanying plan (fig. 7).^a The outer wall was about 6 feet 6 inches thick; behind this was a corridor 6 feet 2 inches wide, into which opened a series of cells with semi-circular terminations; they had narrow entrances, and were 13 feet 8 inches long, and 10 feet 9 inches wide; they were divided from each other by walls 3 feet 6 inches thick, and from the corridor by another 3 feet 3 inches thick; the wall at the further end of each cell was 3 feet 3 inches thick, and formed a straight line parallel with the outer wall. The whole breadth of the fortification was 32 feet 10 inches, agreeing very fairly with the dimension of 30 feet Greek (30 feet 4 inches English) mentioned by Appian,^b and still better with that of 22 cubits (33 feet 4 inches English) given by Diodorus.^c

Fig 7 PLAN OF WALLS, CARTHAGE

Within the cells was discovered a layer of ashes from 3 to 4 feet in thickness, evidently the remains of a great conflagration. Among them were molten lumps of metal, such as iron, copper, tin, and lead, fragments of thin white glass, sling-bullets made of compact terra-cotta, and fragments of pottery. The last consisted of three different kinds: some of them resembled the Archaic pottery discovered at Corinth and elsewhere, which from its peculiar style has been termed Græco-Phœnician. Others were fragments of a black glazed ware, resembling the fabrics of Nola, and evidently of Greek origin. The third variety was of a peculiar orange colour, and is considered by M. Beulé to have been of local manufacture. There were also pieces of half-charred wood, which he conjectures to be the remains of the beams which supported the upper corridors; for we learn from Appian that the walls were built hollow, and in stages.

At the foot of the wall on the outside were found three sculptured fragments, two of them of calcareous stone and the other of marble.^d They are nearly alike in pattern, and closely resemble part of a marble slab discovered by Mr.

^a The Plan is copied from that published by M. Beulé, *Journal des Savants*, Nov. 1859, pl. ii. fig. 1.

^b *Lib. viii. c. 95.*

^c *Rel. lib. xxxij. Ecl. 2.*

^d Engraved in *Journal des Savants*, Nov. 1859, pl. ii. fig. 3—5.

Davis, which is represented in the accompanying woodcut (fig. 8). The design is evidently derived from a wooden lattice fastened together with large nails. On the reverse are very shallow mouldings, apparently of late date. M. Beulé suggests, though with some hesitation, that the sculptures he found may have formed decorations on the exterior of the fortifications, marking the several stages. Apart from the unsuitableness of such thin slabs for ornamenting massive walls, the great similarity between these patterns and some of the decorations in early Christian churches and on consular diptychs seems to indicate a later date. It appears from M. Beulé's account that the walls were repaired during the Roman period, probably when the city was fortified by Theodosius; the outside of the wall would then have been laid bare, in order to give it full height, although the internal cells might not have been disturbed; and it is to this period that the ornaments in question seem to me to belong.

Fig. 8. MARBLE PANEL, CARTHAGE.
Width 1ft. 2 in.

The other discovery took place within the inclosure of the chapel of St. Louis, at the foot of an ancient wall, from which the ground slopes towards the east. Here M. Beulé found the apsidal terminations of a series of parallel chambers, each of them about 20 feet wide and about 30 feet high; which he conjectures to have been originally seven in number. He was not able to pursue the excavations very far, owing to the extent of the ruins. He ascertained, however, that the chamber which would have formed the centre of the seven was more richly decorated than the others. The vaulting was ornamented with moulded panels in stucco, shewing traces of colour; the walls had been lined with thin slabs of rich marbles, and the floor covered with a fine pavement, formed of precious marbles cut into geometrical patterns. Round the semicircular end was a low marble bench. The decorations of the side chambers had been only painted, and in one of them was a large pedestal. This building M. Beulé conjectures to have formed part of the Roman Pro-consul's palace or of the public library, both of them edifices which are known to have stood on the Byrsa.

Some parts of these ruins were encumbered with fragments of capitals and other architectural decorations of white marble, the wreck of a fine building of the Corinthian order. The similarity of these fragments to some brought

to light in digging the foundations of the Chapel of St. Louis, which stands on higher ground, seems to shew that the chapel occupies the site of that building. It was probably the temple of Æsculapius, which is mentioned as placed in a commanding position on the Byrsa.

Two minor discoveries deserve notice. About half way between the Punic walls and the Roman chambers were found traces of a building. In excavating there a fragment of a bas-relief was brought to light, representing, according to M. Beulé, part of an oak-wreath and a portion of a temple of the Ionic order.^a The oak being sacred to Jupiter, he considers the fragment part of a votive dedication to that god, and the building to be his temple at Carthage. I have already expressed my doubts whether there was a separate temple to this divinity in Punic Carthage; and the evidence of such a temple having existed in Roman times is slight; the only authority, so far as I am aware, being a passage in one of the writers on the Donatist Schism, who tells us that in A.D. 314 Cæcilianus, Bishop of Carthage, appeared to give evidence before Aurelius Didymus Sperecius, Duumvir of Carthage, who is described as “*Sacerdos Jovis Optimi Maximi.*”^b Moreover, the foliage seems to me part of an oak tree, rather than a wreath, and the building is more like an *heroon* than a temple; so that the whole may have been a portion of one of the bas-reliefs, treated in a pictorial manner, which are frequently found in Roman art of Imperial times.

At the south-west corner of the plateau M. Beulé noticed the remains of a mosaic, which he describes as representing the twelve months, by figures of rather less than life-size, in Byzantine costumes, with their names inscribed in Latin. It would be interesting to compare the subjects of this pavement with those in the mosaic above described.

Archæologists are greatly indebted to M. Beulé for the zeal that led him to make these excavations, which he did solely in a spirit of antiquarian investigation, neither counting the cost nor looking to be rewarded by the discovery of ancient works of art, but simply to obtain a satisfactory solution of some of the numerous doubts which beset the topography of Carthage.

^a Journal des Savants, Nov. 1859, pl. ii. fig. 6.

^b Mon. Vet. ad Donatist. Hist., appended to Optatus, de Schism. Donatist. ed. Dupin. 1702, p. 163.