

## HAMILCAR OF BARCE? DISCERNING BARCID PROTO-HISTORY AND POLYBIUS' *MIXELLĒNES*

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**Abstract:** Hamilcar and Hannibal Barca embody a colossal father-son military legacy. Yet their family – the so-called ‘Barcid’ dynasty – has a murky history. Modern scholars have presumed that Hamilcar, the first notable historical figure to bear the name Barkas, received it as a ‘nickname’ meaning ‘lightning’. The rationale is that the name derives from the Phoenician word *brq* and is thus the equivalent to the Greek epithet Keraunos. There is, however, no evidence in our classical sources, to which exclusively we owe our knowledge of events, supporting this. Furthermore, the name Barca was passed on to Hamilcar’s sons, something suggestive of an inherited family surname. This article submits an alternative to the widely endorsed ‘lightning’ theory. This new perspective explores the possibility that the Barcid dynasty had roots in the city of Barce in Cyrenaica and was a relatively new addition to the Carthaginian aristocracy in the third century BC. Using textual evidence from Polybius, Diodorus and others, this fresh take clarifies other aspects of the Barcid dynasty’s tumultuous history, such as their animosity towards the Carthaginian Council of Elders and their departure to Spain in the 220s.

**Keywords:** Barca, onomastics, Carthage, Hellenism

Before his death in *ca.* 228 BC while warring against the tribes of southern Iberia,<sup>1</sup> Hamilcar Barca, father of the famous Hannibal of the same name, carved out a political and military dynasty for himself and his family over two decades of campaigning. Hamilcar had opened his career in a valiant, but ultimately doomed, guerrilla war in Sicily at the close of the First Punic War (264–241) and was called upon once again to rescue Carthage from the ravages of her own soldiery in the catastrophic Mercenary War (241–237).<sup>2</sup> It would be his son Hannibal, however, who would immortalize the name Barca during the Second Punic War (218–201). The absence of Carthaginian sources and a general scarcity of information regarding their background have not affected the enduring legacy of the Barcids as Rome’s greatest adversaries, yet their origin and obscure family history have not received any attention from scholarship in recent times.<sup>3</sup> This is understandable, as most of the surviving sources approach the period from a Hellenocentric standpoint, somewhat limiting their scope.

In this article I suggest that some details of a Barcid proto-history can, in fact, be reconstructed from existing source material. This concept stems from an investigation along two lines of inquiry: (1) the origin of the name ‘Barca’ itself (Barkas in Greek),<sup>4</sup> which I propose derives its form from the Cyrenaic city of Barce<sup>5</sup> and (2) Hamilcar’s earliest appearance in the text of Polybius where he commands the mercenary army of Sicily – including the ambiguously termed *mixellēnes* corps.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Polyb. 2.1.6–9; Diod. Sic. 25.10.3–4; Livy 21.2; Nep. *Ham.* 4; App. *Ib.* 5; *Hann.* 2; Cassiod. *Chron.* 326.

<sup>2</sup> On the Mercenary War, see Loreto (1995); Hoyos (2007); Gibson (2013).

<sup>3</sup> To the best of my knowledge, the last treatment to differ from the ‘lightning’ theory is Meltzer (1896) 582.

<sup>4</sup> The Greek resembles a genitive singular of Βάρκη (i.e. ‘of Barce’). The Latin genitive form *Barcae* might be shortened to *Barca*.

<sup>5</sup> See fig. 1. Terminology: for the purposes of this article, I use ‘Cyrenaic’ to denote any individual originating from the geographical region of Cyrenaica, while ‘Cyrenean’ is used to refer to those more specifically from the city of Cyrene. ‘Barcean’ is used in the same sense for Barce, while ‘Barcid’ is used solely for the famous Carthaginian family (who, I argue, have connections with this city). See also Austin (2008) 187 n.1.

<sup>6</sup> μιξέλληνες: ‘half-Greek’; see n.160.

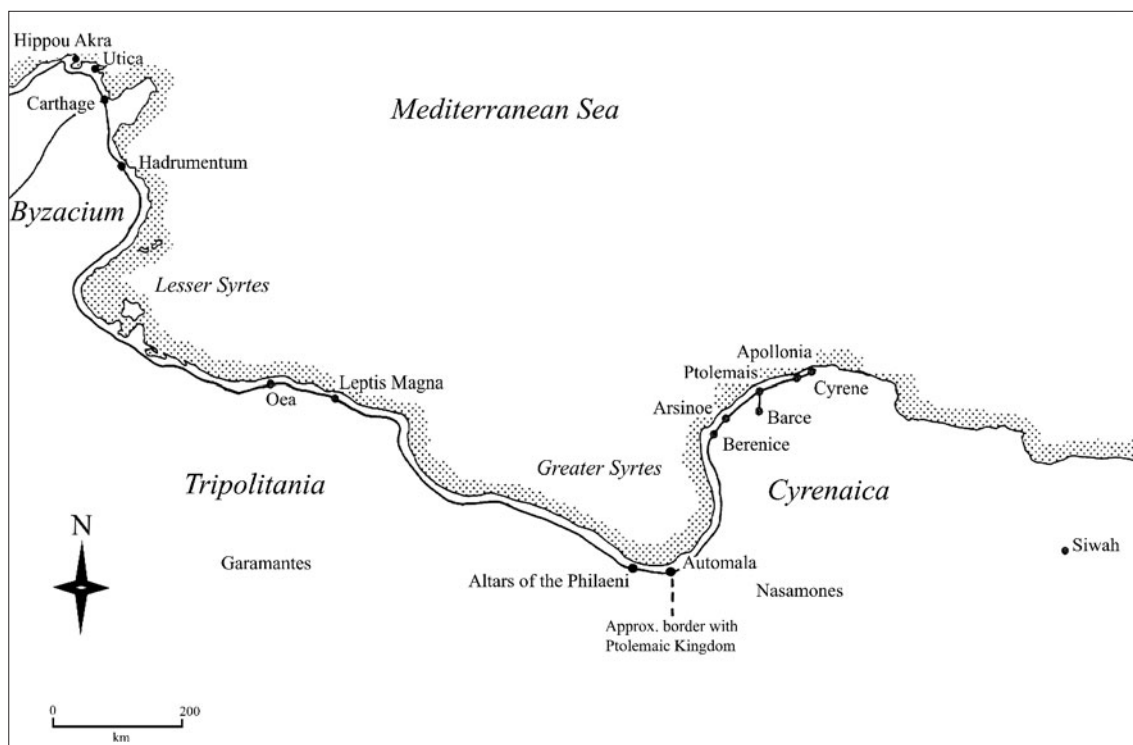


Fig. 1. The Syrtis in the fourth century BC, with the coastal route from Cyrenaica to Carthage (adapted from an illustration by B.H. Warmington: Talbert (2002) 151).

### I. The name ‘Barca’

In 1833 Jules Michelet, in the first part of his *Histoire Romaine*, commented that the name Barca ‘seemed to indicate’ a ‘Libyan’ origin for Hamilcar.<sup>7</sup> How precisely Michelet came to this conclusion is unclear, and he does not offer a translation for the supposedly Libyan name. In 1843 the *Cambridge University Magazine*, in its second volume, reviewed Michelet’s work and was critical of his evaluation. The reviewer took the stance that the name was clearly Semitic in origin and probably meant ‘lightning-bolt’.<sup>8</sup> As an afterthought, perhaps trying to divine Michelet’s reasoning, he asserted that the ‘Libyan’ city of Barce was not Libyan at all, but a Greek colony, if not a Phoenician one.<sup>9</sup> Following this line of thought no further, the reviewer entrenched himself in what he

<sup>7</sup> Michelet (1833) 258–59. Terminology: in this context, ‘Libyan’ (Λιβυεες) is a somewhat blanket term used by ancient authors to denote the indigenous peoples of North Africa (see generally Ghaki (1983); (2005)). Polybius, for example, does not always discriminate on a tribal level, and this might stem in part from the limits of his geographical knowledge. For him, ‘Libyans’ were all of the same nature (φύσις), and thus such distinctions were not paramount. For Libyans and their portrayal in Polybius, see Champion (2004) 28–29, 78, 82; in Herodotus, see Austin (2008) 205–08.

<sup>8</sup> ‘a very natural epithet for such a warrior as Hamilcar. It is, in fact, the very same that the Turks gave one of their early Sultans’ (*Cambridge University Magazine* 2, 552). It seems that this theory was an old one, yet the first notable scholar to champion it was F.A. Wolf in

1853 (see below). Ubbo Emmius, for example, makes no use of the word ‘Barca’ anywhere in his treatment of Carthage in volume three of *Vetus Graecia Illustrata* (Emmius (1626) 157–77, 498–519).

<sup>9</sup> ‘there is no more reason to think the word “Barce” Libyan than there would be to think the word Cyrene Libyan. In fact, from the general career of the two races, it is highly probable that the Greek colony superseded a Phoenician one on the same spot’ (*Cambridge University Magazine* 2, 553). Terminology: two terms, ‘Phoenician’ (from the Greek Φοῖνιξ) and ‘Punic’ (from the Latin *Poenus*) have traditionally been used to divide the eastern and western geographical spheres of a broader cultural or ethnic identity. These are problematic terms, however (see Prag (2010) 51), and some scholars now opt for the less subjective ‘eastern Phoenician’ and ‘western Phoeni-

saw as the absolute truth of the Barcid 'Punic' identity, claiming that any view to the contrary is to be considered an attempt at dismantling Hannibal's legitimacy and legacy.<sup>10</sup> In 1849 Franz Karl Movers published the second volume of his colossal *Die Phönizier*. Based on the authority of a passage in Silius Italicus, Movers was confident in his assertion that the Barcids were among the oldest families to have established themselves at Carthage through a progenitor named 'old Barca'.<sup>11</sup> Again attempting to construct a kind of 'dual heritage' for the Barcids, Movers tried to reconcile the late emergence of the name Barca in the sources by an identification with the Numidian name Boccar (Juv. 5.90).<sup>12</sup> However, this idea was not received favourably by later scholarship and was dismissed as unlikely.<sup>13</sup>

The theory that Barkas means 'lightning' or 'sword-flash' was expounded by F.A. Wolf in 1853, who drew the comparison with the biblical figure of Barak (Judges 4–5).<sup>14</sup> The only significant response to this came in 1896 when Otto Meltzer, in volume two of *Geschichte der Karthager*, used epigraphic evidence to suppose that Barkas was in fact a proper name that meant 'blessed one [of Baal]'.<sup>15</sup> Meltzer's misgivings were deemed unconvincing by Thomas Lenschau in 1943, who supported Wolf's assertions.<sup>16</sup> Subsequent scholarship has generally continued to support this theory.<sup>17</sup> Serge Lancel treated the issue with caution in 1995 and drew a distinction between two possible roots of the word Barkas: the Arabic *baraka* (blessing) and the Phoenician *brq* (lightning) – yet he found the latter more convincing.<sup>18</sup> Lancel considered it open to debate whether the name was a cognomen *ex virtute*, yet doubted Silius Italicus' statement that the Barcids could trace their line back to Belus, the Tyrian king and father of Dido (Sil. *Pun.* 1.70–75).<sup>19</sup> It can reasonably be suspected that Silius wished to connect his narrative with that of the *Aeneid*, and his Hannibal with Virgil's Dido.<sup>20</sup>

Dexter Hoyos, who has been the most prolific academic to work on the Barcids in recent times, seems comfortable in the assertion that Hamilcar did, in fact, receive the title Barkas as a 'nickname' *ex virtute*.<sup>21</sup> 'Hamilcar went down in history as "Barkas" to the Greeks and "Barca" in Latin. This reflected most likely the Punic word for lightning, like the Semitic *brq* (with vowels added, *baraq*). Hamilcar's swift and scorching sorties by sea and land would fit it well.'<sup>22</sup>

cian' (Aubet (2001) 10–13; Prag (2006) 4–7; (2014) 12; López Castro (2007) 105. NB: Greek authors make no such distinction and sometimes employ the term 'Phoenician' for Carthaginians (e.g. Diod. Sic. 20.55.4). All such terms are inherently inadequate for denoting communities that had their own individual cultural identities. On the difficulties of even identifying a unifying Phoenician language, see Quinn (2017) 71. For the purposes of this article, the term Punic will be used to indicate a broad 'western Phoenician' cultural identity: an umbrella under which Carthage must fall (see also n.85 on the term 'Libyphoenician'). I use Phoenician to denote both 'eastern Phoenicians' and those early settlers of the western Mediterranean. See Jiménez (2014) 220, for some useful phrasing of these 'traditional' definitions. On Phoenician, Punic and Carthaginian identities from external and internal perspectives, as well as the latest scholarly thinking on the subject, see Moscati (1988); van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard (2008) 1–21; Bondi (2014); and on Carthage in particular, see Maraoui Telmini et al. (2014).

<sup>10</sup> 'We have given our reasons for thinking Michelet wrong in denying to the Punic race the glory of having produced Hamilcar and his sons ... The name of Hannibal is one of the highest, if not the very highest, in the annals of military fame ... As it has been hopeless to

attack him as a soldier, second-rate writers have loved to cavil at him as a citizen' (*Cambridge University Magazine* 2, 553). While ancient authors may well have highlighted any obvious Libyan heritage had this been the case, it is now outdated to presume that such strange discontent underlies any enquiry into the complicated definitions of ethnicity in Hellenistic North Africa.

<sup>11</sup> Sil. *Pun.* 1.70–75.

<sup>12</sup> Movers (1849) 500–02. Compare with the Massylian 'Bocchus' (Sil. *Pun.* 3.285; Sall. *Iug.* 19.7).

<sup>13</sup> Meltzer (1896) 582.

<sup>14</sup> Cited in Meltzer (1896) 582.

<sup>15</sup> Meltzer (1896) 582.

<sup>16</sup> Lenschau *RE s.v.* 'Hamilkar (7)', col. 2303.

<sup>17</sup> For example Walbank (1957–1979) 1.119–21; Huss (1985) 565 (index); Lancel (1998) 6; Hoyos (2015) 306; MacDonald (2015), to name a few.

<sup>18</sup> Lancel (1998) 6. On the Punic verb *brk*, 'to bless', see Sznycer (1978) 552–53; Lipiński (1998) 496; Krahmalkov (2000) 126; Hoyos (2007) 3.

<sup>19</sup> See section I(b).

<sup>20</sup> von Albrecht (1964) 166–84; Hardie (1993); Lancel (1998) 7; Pomeroy (2000); Stocks (2014) 61–67.

<sup>21</sup> Hoyos (2003) 1; (2007) 107; (2015) 306.

<sup>22</sup> Hoyos (2003) 14; *contra* Hoyos (2010) 188, where he takes the meaning 'blessed' as more likely.

A more convincing alternative for the origin of this name has not been presented. Unfortunately, excepting Silius Italicus, the classical sources do not offer any information regarding the origin either of the family or of the name – preserving only the name itself. While it is possible that lost or fragmented histories available to our classical authors, such as Philinos, Silenos, Sosylos and indeed perhaps some of Hannibal's own works, might have recorded information regarding this, nothing of this nature has come down to us.<sup>23</sup> Yet, equally, none of the surviving historiographical works provides any evidence that the 'lightning' theory is true. So from where, then, can this association between lightning and the Barcid name stem? Its connection to Hannibal, at least, seems to have appeared no earlier than Italicus' *Punica* in the first century AD.

(a) *Silius' Hannibal the 'lightning of war' (fulmen belli)*

Claire Stocks' excellent book, *Roman Hannibal* (2014), dedicates a lengthy chapter to lightning imagery in the *Punica*.<sup>24</sup> Lightning (*fulmen*) is associated with Hannibal throughout the *Punica*, as is language related to fire and wind (e.g. *Pun.* 1.252–56), and his devastating rapidity on the battlefield (e.g. 2.212–13, 15.664).<sup>25</sup> Hannibal is struck by lightning (12.622–26); and lightning comes from his head (11.337–40).<sup>26</sup> Indeed, Hannibal even 'thunders' (*detonuit*) as he speaks (17.201).<sup>27</sup> Yet these verbs are also employed by Silius for the Scipios, and the purpose of all of this thundering seems to have been to set up the two adversaries as 'twin thunderbolts of war'.<sup>28</sup>

Stocks convincingly traces the Roman literary antecedents of this tradition to an association with the Scipios (e.g. Lucr. 3.1034; Verg. *Aen.* 6.842; Cic. *Balb.* 34).<sup>29</sup> It was Silius, it seems, who cultivated the image of Hannibal the 'lightning-bolt' of Carthage for literary purposes (Sil. *Pun.* 15.664). Silius has Hannibal's Roman adversaries, Livius and Fabius, refer to him as such (15.664, 16.625). Yet Hannibal, in his turn, refers to the Scipios in the same terms (7.106). It would be an oversight, therefore, to ignore the literary themes driving this language, such as the rivalry between Hannibal and Scipio the Younger or Hannibal's often divine representation (e.g. 12.699–700), when arguing for a historical reality linking the name Barca with the Phoenician word for lightning (*brq*). In reality, the significance of lightning for the Barcids only emerges implicitly in the closing decade of the first century AD as a literary theme in the *Punica*.<sup>30</sup> Silius' Hannibal must, therefore,

<sup>23</sup> Both Silenos and Sosylos accompanied Hannibal on his campaigns and knew him personally (Nep. *Hann.* 13.3 = *BNJ* 176 T 1). Hannibal allegedly inscribed in bronze some details of his Italian campaign (Polyb. 3.33.17–18) and wrote a number of works himself (Nep. *Hann.* 13.3–5). See also n.137 below. Diodorus, in his fragmentary book 24, makes some mention of Hamilcar's military career before he rose to command: 'Even before he became general, Hamilcar's nobility of spirit was apparent, and when he succeeded to the command he showed himself worthy of his country by his zeal for glory and scorn of danger. He was reputed to be a man of exceptional intelligence, and since he surpassed all his fellow citizens both in daring and in ability at arms, he was indeed "Both a goodly prince and a brave warrior"' (Const. *Exc.* 4, p. 351 = Diod. Sic. 24.5; translation Walton (1957)). On identifying Diodorus' sources for the First Punic War, including Polybius and Philinos, see Walbank (1945) 3–4. On the preceding Agathoclean War, Bottin (1928). La Bua (1966) 258, theorizes that Philinos began his pro-Carthaginian work from Agathocles' death, offering context on the Mamertines and the origins of the First Punic War. If this were true, then perhaps here we would also find some earlier Barcid history. It remains, however, that Philinos

is lost, and we should be wary as to the limits of what *Quellenkritik* can achieve. On this latter point, see Hoyos' apt assessment of the problems inherent in such inquiries (Hoyos (2007) 266–70).

<sup>24</sup> Stocks (2014) 182–217.

<sup>25</sup> See Stocks (2014) 25, 103–04.

<sup>26</sup> Stocks (2014) 170.

<sup>27</sup> Stocks (2014) 203.

<sup>28</sup> Stocks (2014) 182. On the Hannibal-Scipio rivalry and lightning imagery, see also Henderson (1997) 142 n.49; Reed (2007) 163 (cited in Stocks (2014) 177).

<sup>29</sup> 'Silius' Hannibal, too, makes a tongue-in-cheek reference to the elder Scipios and their supposed elemental potency: *ubi sunt nunc fulmina gentis / Scipiadae?* ("where now are those lightning bolts of your race, the 'Scipios'?", 7.106) (Stocks (2014) 176–77). For Hannibal 'like a flame' or 'wind', see Hor. *Carm.* 4.4.42–44. On *fulmen* and the Scipios, see Tipping (2010) 184–85. Spaltenstein (1990) 7.106, traces this back to Ennius.

<sup>30</sup> The *Punica* is of limited, though not entirely negligible, historiographical utility. Despite this caveat, I will have occasion to question the historical value of specific off-hand references later in my argument. On Silius' historiographical influences, see n.50.

be framed in the context of his juxtaposition with Scipio in an 'Alexander-imitatio' style of rivalry.<sup>31</sup>

Hannibal, like Alexander, sought to emulate Herakles.<sup>32</sup> It was Scipio, however, who conquered Africa: succeeding where Agathocles (and Alexander) had failed.<sup>33</sup> Silius' Hannibal is a man whose name alone is enough to inspire fear and sacred awe (16.15–19),<sup>34</sup> a man whom the Carthaginians beseeched as they would a god to return to Africa (17.179–83).<sup>35</sup> Yet this is not the Hannibal, or the Hamilcar for that matter, of the historiographical tradition. Despite the enduring epic imagery that Silius Italicus created for his version of Hannibal, there is no firm indication in any historical source that Barca was a formalized 'nickname' meaning lightning. Indeed, Silius himself does not make the connection between the name and its supposed meaning. On the contrary, the word Barca is only used sparingly, and in these cases refers explicitly to Hannibal's lineage, calling him *Barcaeus* (10.354, 12.200) and 'of Barcean descent' (*proles Barcae*) (17.460).<sup>36</sup> In the words of Stocks, '[Hannibal] has become his own plurality – a series of Hannibals ever growing, ever changing, but now forever imbued with a flavour of the Silian.'<sup>37</sup> To access an objective Barcid proto-history, it is necessary to shed layers of later Roman mythologizing. While Hannibal Barca's name may well have taken on new meanings even in his own lifetime, the actual origin of the name must be separated from the myth.

#### (b) *Hamilcar's family*

Carthaginian naming conventions, as presented in the literary sources, do not usually extend beyond a small selection of repeated 'theophoric' names such as Hannibal, Hamilcar, Hasdrubal and Hanno. Piecing together a clear line of succession beyond two or three generations is, therefore, nearly impossible.<sup>38</sup> Surnames are not only unusual but hard to identify. Interpreting the function of the name Barca, therefore, is problematic. However, in the Greek and Roman world to which our written sources belonged, military names, whether epithets such as Keraunos and Soterios, or agnomens such as Africanus and Macedonicus, were not normally passed from father to son – as Barca was.<sup>39</sup> In fact, the name was used to refer to the entire family collectively, including not only the famous Hannibal, but also Hasdrubal and Mago, his younger brothers.<sup>40</sup> When historical char-

<sup>31</sup> 'Livy (26.19.6–7) compares the birth story of Scipio with that of Alexander and appears equally dismissive of both' (Stocks (2014) 189–90). Livy also records a meeting between Hannibal and Scipio at Ephesus where Alexander's memory is directly evoked in the spirit of competition (Livy 35.14.5–12; App. *Syr.* 10). On Alexander as a role model for both Hannibal and Scipio, see Borzsák (1982) 166, 172–73; Vessey (1982) 321–24; Matier (1989) 7; Marks (2005) 88.

<sup>32</sup> Hannibal's devotion to Melqart (the 'Tyrian Herakles') (Livy 21.21.9–10); Hannibal comparing himself with Herakles (App. *Syr.* 10). On Hannibal's use of the figure for propaganda, see Miles (2011) especially 264–67.

<sup>33</sup> Plautus compares Agathocles and Alexander directly (Plaut. *Mostell.* 3.2.775–77). For parallels between Alexander's eastern campaigns and Agathocles' invasion of Africa in Diodorus, see Rood (2018) 38–43. On Alexander's alleged plans to attack Carthage (Diod. Sic. 18.4.4; Arr. *Anab.* 5.28.7, 7.1.2), see Badian (1921).

<sup>34</sup> Stocks (2014) 199.

<sup>35</sup> *effundunt lacrimas dextramque ut numen adorant*; 'they poured out tears and supplicated him by his right hand as though he were a god' (17.183; translation Stocks (2014) 201).

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.43; Serv. *Aen.* 4.42; Vib. Seq. *s.v.* 'Barcae'. On his other names in Silius, such as 'the African' (Sil. *Pun.* 15.538) and 'the descendent of Agenor' (8.671), see Stocks (2014) 81. On the name Barca in Silius, see the discussion below. For the name Barcaeus, cf. the Greek form Barkaios ('of Barce'), which is attached to the mercenary Ammonios (see below) (Polyb. 5.65.8) and to the historian Menekles = *BNJ* 270 (Ath. 4.83).

<sup>37</sup> Stocks (2014) 234.

<sup>38</sup> Lancel (1998) 6. Epigraphic evidence provides a wide array of names, most of which are theophoric, yet the political and military figures who are the subject of histories are usually named after this small group. See Hoyos (2010) 23–24. For Punic personal names in epigraphic sources, see Benz (1972); Krahmalkov (2000). For Punic onomastics, see Ferjaoui (1991); De Simone (1999).

<sup>39</sup> With some exceptions, for example Scipio Africanus, the priest (Cic. *De Of.* 1.121; Kajanto (1982) 205); Sextus Pompeius Magnus (Cic. *Phil.* 5.41; Kajanto (1982) 275).

<sup>40</sup> Livy 21.10.3: 'the name and blood of Barca' (*sanguinis nominisque Barcini*), 23.13.6: 'the Barcid family' (*familia Barcina*). Cf. also 28.1.4: 'Hasdrubal Barca' (*Barcini Hasdrubalis*).

acters with epithets appear, authors are often happy to provide an origin for the name, relishing the opportunity to add flavour to their protagonists.<sup>41</sup> Unfortunately, no explanation is offered by Polybius, or any other historian, as to why Hamilcar would have obtained the name ‘lightning-bolt’.

The ‘lightning’ theory persists, however, and not only on the basis of Silius’ evocative language discussed above. The legitimate observation that the Greek epithet Keraunos seems to have been in use during this time – most famously by the Ptolemy Keraunos who fell before the Gallic invaders of Greece in 279 – also bolsters this argument.<sup>42</sup> Yet, the late Federicomaria Muccioli convincingly contextualized the name as part of the continued attempts of the diadoch courts at Alexander *imitatio*, referring primarily to a connection with divinity and as a means of legitimization.<sup>43</sup> While the name ‘lightning-bolt’ did have connotations of aspiration to Macedonian kingship in Hamilcar’s day (which are problematic in a Carthaginian context), it is still conceivable, perhaps, that Barkas was the Punic equivalent with a religious affiliation to the sky god Ba‘al Hammon. Yet this religious function is already filled in Carthaginian aristocratic onomastics by common theophoric names such as Hannibal (‘Ba‘al be glorious’), Hamilcar (‘Melqart be glorious’) and so on. Moreover, the simple fact that Hamilcar passed his name on makes it unlikely to have been a ‘nickname’.<sup>44</sup> There are even indications that Hamilcar himself inherited the name Barca. Silius Italicus, rather off-handedly, tells us that Hamilcar traced his descent from ‘ancient Barce’ (*Pun.* 1.70–75):

Sarrana prisca Barcae de gente, vetustos  
a Belo numerabat avos. namque orba marito  
cum fugeret Dido famulam Tyron, impia diri  
Belides iuvenis vitaverat arma tyranni  
et se participem casus sociarat in omnes.

Through the Tyrian race of ancient Barce, [Hamilcar] reckoned Belus to be his ancestor of old. For, when Dido fled from conquered Tyre, bereft of her husband, the young Belid had avoided the impious weapon of the dread lord and he had shared in all her misfortune.

In this passage from the *Punica*, I translate *prisca Barcae* as meaning the city in Cyrenaica rather than a person named ‘old Barca’.<sup>45</sup> This is contrary to both J.D. Duff’s rendering in the Loeb edition and the impression given in subsequent scholarship.<sup>46</sup> There is no mention of an ‘old Barca’ in any other source we have, and it seems unlikely that this character, if he was well known, should be mentioned incidentally by Silius only once in the *Punica*.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, if it was Silius’ inten-

<sup>41</sup> For example Keraunos: Just. *Epit.* 16.5.7–12: named so as a mockery to the gods; Memn. *FGrH* 434 F8.1 = Phot. 224: relating to madness; Paus. 10.19.7: because of his recklessness. See also *Suda* 1714.7 = Ael. F86; Euseb. 1.95 = Porph. *FGrH* 32.9; *BCHP* 6; cf. Arr. *Anab.* 1.17, 2.3.8; Xen. *An.* 3.1.11–12. Illumination is not always provided, however. Antigonos Gonatas and Demetrios Aitolikos are among those whose meanings remain contested. See generally Muccioli (2013).

<sup>42</sup> Lancel (1998) 6. For Ptolemy Keraunos, see Paus. 1.16.2, 10.19.7; Diod. Sic. 22.3.2; Just. *Epit.* 24.5; App. *Syr.* 62; Memn. *FGrH* 434 F5, 6.

<sup>43</sup> Yet often accompanied by connotations of arrogance (see above, n.41) or an ‘inability to control the army’ (Muccioli (2013) 153–55).

<sup>44</sup> It is possible that what started as a ‘nickname’, over time, became something more formal. In the Roman world, this was certainly the case with Pompey Magnus, whose epithet began as a name of military acclaim by the

army in Africa (Plut. *Pomp.* 13.4–5), caught on with the public at Rome (App. *Mith.* 97.1, 118), became a source of criticism for political opponents (Plut. *Crass.* 7.1; Cic. *Att.* 2.19) and eventually was adopted by Pompey as an official cognomen (Plut. *Pomp.* 13.5; Plin. *HN* 7.97; Diod. Sic. 40.4.1). I am grateful to Shane Wallace for his illuminating advice on this topic.

<sup>45</sup> Although *prisca* in similar contexts is often used to describe the inhabitants of a region or city, for example ancient Latins (Livy 1.32.11) and ancient Romans (Val. Max. 2.2), in Silius it is also used to describe landmarks such as a river (*prisca Crustumio*) and an ancient (ruined) town (*Cannas, urbis vestigia priscae*) (Sil. *Pun.* 8.365–66, 622).

<sup>46</sup> For example Lancel (1998) 7; MacDonald (2015) 7–8; Hunt (2018) 3.

<sup>47</sup> The city of Barce is mentioned independent of the Barcids at least once (Sil. *Pun.* 3.250).

tion to invent a royal lineage for Hamilcar, then he had achieved this goal by mentioning the well-known Belus, father of Dido.<sup>48</sup> Indeed, it is more likely that Silius preserves some hint of a myth that the city of Barce was founded by a companion of Dido.<sup>49</sup> Silius' brief Barcid proto-history should be recognized for its shortcomings, however, and should not be overanalysed.<sup>50</sup> A more obvious place to start looking for answers would be in the little we are told about Hamilcar's immediate background.

Hoyos names Hannibal Barca, after Hamilcar and Hasdrubal his brother-in-law, as the third leader of the Barcid dynasty.<sup>51</sup> Yet Hamilcar's father is more rightly considered the first Barcid on record. Cornelius Nepos,<sup>52</sup> in his short *Life of Hamilcar*, tells us that his father was called Hannibal, and that Hamilcar's cognomen was 'Barca' – a term which by Nepos' time in the first century BC was indicative of a hereditary family name of some kind (*Ham.* 1.1).<sup>53</sup> Cassius Dio, moreover, describes Hamilcar as 'the Barcid' (τὸν Βαρχίδην; Zonar. 8.10).<sup>54</sup> This form of the name appears elsewhere, and arguably has specific connotations with the Cyrenaic Barce. An Attic vase of the late sixth century depicts an Amazon warrior named ΒΑΡΚΙΔΑ.<sup>55</sup> While Adrienne Mayor and colleagues suggest a Circassian origin for the name, Erika Simon concludes that it refers directly to both the Libyan city of Barce and to the 'Barkiden von Karthago', appealing to a western market.<sup>56</sup> I suggest that, while it may not refer to any Carthaginian Barcids (the name not appearing in our sources until later), it probably does refer to Barce or to traditions relating to its broader locality in popular Greek thought. Herodotus records that warrior women (Amazons) of the Ausean tribe purportedly occupied territory 'on the coast of Libya' and engaged annually in ritualized combat in honour of Athena (Hdt. 4.180–81.1).<sup>57</sup> This Barkida is probably one such character named for her region.<sup>58</sup> Regardless of when the Barcids became established at Carthage, however, there is no firm indication in any of our sources that Barca was a name first given to Hamilcar *ex virtute*, and a toponymical function for the name seems a fairer hypothesis.

<sup>48</sup> Elsewhere in the *Punica* Hannibal's royal lineage is evoked through an association with the figures of Agenor (Agenoreus: 8.671) and Dido (Elissaeus: 2.239). On the Barcids and their roots in the *Punica*, see Tupet (1980) 188–89, who sees 'old Barca' as an invented character: 'Didon n'a pas de descendants directs; Silius a donc imaginé pour Hannibal, en créant le personnage de Barcas qui n'est attesté chez aucun autre auteur, une filiation qui le rattachât d'aussi près que possible à Didon.'

<sup>49</sup> Silius frequently mentions places of Tyrian origin (e.g. Leptis (Magna?): 'Sarranaque Leptis' *Pun.* 3.256; Carthage: 3.231, 10.418, 11.240, 16.211; the Byrsa hill: 2.363; Sabratha: 3.256; Sidon: 7.634). Cf. Consolo Langher (2000) 166. For a suggestion regarding Barce's Phoenician (potentially Tyrian) foundation, see my arguments below, section II.

<sup>50</sup> There is a substantial bibliography on Silius' historiographical influences, yet Livy 21–30 is probably the most notable. On this, see von Albrecht (1964) 15–89; cited in Stocks (2014) 35–52.

<sup>51</sup> Hoyos (2003) 1.

<sup>52</sup> Nepos' biographies of Hamilcar and Hannibal were apparently later additions, only appearing in a second issue of his *De Viris Illustribus* some time before 27 BC (Rolfe (1929) xi; Geiger (1979) 665). For Nepos' treatment of Hannibal, see Stocks (2014) 25–27.

<sup>53</sup> Admittedly, the cognomen is not an easily definable term, and functions can change over time. Kajanto includes both 'surnames' and 'the original cognomina which were

used as single names, especially in late nomenclature' in his definition of cognomina (Kajanto (1982) 11). The 'early cognomina were largely nicknames' (Kajanto (1982) 20).

<sup>54</sup> 'Son of Barca' was Carey and Foster's preferred translation in the Loeb edition (1914–1927), yet this veers somewhat from the meaning of the text: ὀργίζοντο δ' οἱ Καρχηδόνοι κατὰ Ἄννωνος, καὶ Ἀμίλκαν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Βαρχίδην ἀπέστειλαν, ἄνδρα τῶν ὁμοφύλων πλὴν τοῦ Ἀννίβου τοῦ υἱέος ἐν στρατηγία κρείττονα ('The Carthaginians were frustrated with Hanno and instead of him dispatched Hamilcar the Barcid, a man mightier in the role of general than any of his people save his son Hannibal', Zonar. 8.10 = Cass. Dio. *fr.* 11 = Carey and Foster 1.404).

<sup>55</sup> *SEG* 64.61 = BAD200088 = AVI 6451.

<sup>56</sup> Mayor et al. (2014) 474–75; Simon (1996) 124–25.

<sup>57</sup> For the Amazons of Libya, see also Diod. Sic. 3.52–53. Cf. Asbyte, the Libyan warrior-princess and her companions (Sil. *Pun.* 2.56–269).

<sup>58</sup> Perhaps identifiable with Barce, daughter of Antaeus, who allegedly held a race at Irasa to determine her suitor (Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 9.185a (Drachmann (1903–1927); see n.91). The name Barca appears in very few places not attributed to the Barcids or to Barce, for example a friend of Cato the Minor (Plut. *Cat. Min.* 37) and Sichaeus' nurse (Verg. *Aen.* 4.630); cf. a promontory near Atlas called 'Bracae' (Plin. *HN* 5.10). On the vase more generally, see also Bothmer (1957) 131; Hedreen (2016) 35–36.

*(c) Nomenclature and topographic allusion in Polybius and elsewhere*

Polybius, who wrote in the second century BC and provides our earliest surviving reference to Hamilcar and the Barcids, introduces him with no great emphasis: Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Βάρκαν ἐπικαλούμενον ('Hamilcar surnamed Barkas', Polyb. 1.56.1). No details are offered on the background of Hamilcar, who at this point appears as yet another commander of the First Punic War. Prior to Hamilcar's entry into the narrative, however, Polybius introduces us to another Carthaginian of an equally obscure background who took a prominent position in the war effort by running the blockade at the siege of Lilybaeum. This man was Hannibal 'the Rhodian' (Ἀννίβας ἐπικαλούμενος Ῥόδιος), later called simply 'the Rhodian' (Polyb. 1.46, 59.8).<sup>59</sup> Similarly, Hamilcar is elsewhere referred to as just Barkas (Diod. Sic. 24.26.1). The geographical allusions of Rhodios seem obvious and remain unscrutinized, despite following a Carthaginian first name. While both characters are introduced with the same wording and in a similar context, the Hamilcar named Barkas has been the subject of scholarly debate since the early 19th century – a natural result of his later fame. Could it be that Barkas, like Rhodios, was a straightforward reference to an ancestral city of origin? If so, the obvious contender would be the well-known city of Barce in Cyrenaica.<sup>60</sup>

Elsewhere in Polybius, a man named Ammonios of Barce (Ἀμμώνιος ὁ Βαρκαῖος) makes a short appearance as a mercenary captain under Ptolemy IV leading 3,000 Libyans armed for use in a phalanx (5.65.8).<sup>61</sup> As both Ammonios and Hamilcar feature in Polybius, it is worth comparing how they are introduced. Ammonios' surname takes the slightly different form Barkaios and is not complemented by the participle ἐπικαλούμενος.<sup>62</sup> This latter point, however, is hardly surprising. Ammonios is included in an enumeration of a dozen or so such commanders, 11 of which have a toponym as a surname, and repetitive language is avoided.<sup>63</sup> The forms ὁ Βαρκαῖος and ὁ Βάρκας are nearly the same, and the Latin equivalents of both names are interchangeable in the *Punica*.<sup>64</sup> Indeed, the shorter variant might be the result of syncope – expected after 100 years of Barca being a household name.<sup>65</sup> Ammonios Barkaios is merely one example of the money-for-muscle economy of the Hellenistic Mediterranean. Yet why would Carthaginian generals have names relating to places such as Rhodes and Barce?

<sup>59</sup> Walbank (1957–1979) 1.110, drawing on de Sanctis (1967) 228, notes how the details of this episode must come from an eyewitness, probably Philinos.

<sup>60</sup> The main city of Barce was situated on what is now Al Marj. The city's port, which was renamed Ptolemais, was some 40km distant (Strabo 17.3.20; Plin. *HN* 5.32). Another Barce in Bactria was allegedly set up by the Persians after the forceful removal of a population from the Cyrenaic Barce in the early fifth century (Hdt. 4.204). Probably confusing it for this Bactrian settlement, Justin mentions Alexander founding a Barca on the Indus (Just. *Epit.* 12.10).

<sup>61</sup> καθ'ὅπλασαν δὲ καὶ Λίβυας τρισχιλίους εἰς τὸν Μακεδονικὸν τρόπον, ἐφ' ὧν ἦν Ἀμμώνιος ὁ Βαρκαῖος ('They also armed in the Macedonian fashion three thousand Libyans under the command of Ammonios of Barce', Polyb. 5.65.8; tr. Paton (2010–2012)). Had Ammonios brought these 'Libyans' with him from Barce? Cf. Sil. *Pun.* 3.250 where the Barceans fight with 'smooth pikes' (*tereti dextris in pugnam armata dolone*).

<sup>62</sup> The second century marks a high point in our records for Hellenistic dual naming in Egypt. Greeks with dual names often appear in papyrological texts with the participle ἐπικαλούμενος (Coussement (2016) 37–38). Polybius visited Egypt himself during this time

(Polyb. 34.14.1–8; Walbank (2002) 59), which might explain his use of the participle (1.56.1, 1.64.6, 3.9.6). Yet any representation of Carthaginian surnames in Greek texts is an unavoidably foreign interpretation of a practice for which we have no native source. It must also be noted that although Polybius is our earliest source, other Greek writers use various constructions. Diodorus uses καλούμενος, 'called' (ὁ Βάρκας καλούμενος, Diod. Sic. 23.22), and elsewhere ὁ καὶ, 'also called' (Ἀμίλκας ὁ καὶ Βάρκας, Diod. Sic. 25.8), whereas Appian uses the term ἐπικλησις, 'surname' (Ἀμίλχαρ ὁ Βάρκας ἐπικλησιν, App. *Ib.* 1.4; *Hann.* 2.1) and Strabo simply ὁ Βάρκας (3.2.14, 4.6). On Egyptian dual names, see Coussement (2016).

<sup>63</sup> The full list: Ἀνδρόμαχος Ἀσπένδιος καὶ Πολυκράτης Ἀργεῖος ... Εὐρύλοχος ὁ Μάγνης ... Σωκράτης ὁ Βοιώτιος ... ὁ Ἀχαῖος Φοξίδα καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Θρασέου ... Ἐχεκράτης ὁ Θετταλὸς ... Κνωπίας Ἀλλαριώτης ... Φύλων τὸν Κνώσιον ... Ἀμμώνιος ὁ Βαρκαῖος ... Διονύσιος ὁ Θραξ (Polyb. 5.64–65).

<sup>64</sup> See also Menekles of Barce (Μενεκλέα τὸν Βαρκαῖον: Ath. 4.83; *BNJ* 270; above n.36).

<sup>65</sup> That is, from Hamilcar's time in Sicily to when Polybius began writing (*ca.* 240s–130s).



The movement of people around the Hellenistic Mediterranean resulted in communities that were often ethnically diverse and mixed. In Athens, named individuals on a bilingual funeral stele dated to between the fourth and second centuries BC are testament to the potential extent of Phoenician integration into Greek society.<sup>66</sup> The individual to whom the stele is dedicated had a dual name: the Phoenician being, perhaps, 'Shem' (ŠM) and the Greek being Antipatros.<sup>67</sup> In the Greek text the named individuals are introduced in the formula 'name, father, country': Αντίπατρος Ἀφροδισίου Ἀσκαλ[ωνίτης] / Δομσαλῶς Δομανοῦ Σιδώνιος ἀνέθηκε.<sup>68</sup> During this period, at Athens as elsewhere, foreigners, be they Greek or Phoenician, were commonly identified by their city of origin – a practice that had an obvious descriptive function, but perhaps also retained a tangible sense of pride for the bearer. The second-century Carthaginian philosopher Clitomachus, born as Hasdrubal, was evidently proud of his heritage. After the fall of Carthage in 146 he distributed amongst prisoners taken during the sack of the city a treatise on 'bearing grief' (Cic. *Tusc.* 3.22). In Egypt, Greek soldiers were settled onto plots of land (*klēroi*) and intermarried with Egyptian women. The offspring of such unions often bore Egyptian or dual Greek and Egyptian first names.<sup>69</sup> The Ptolemaic period, thanks to troves of papyrological data, has provided numerous examples, yet there is evidence of such unions as early as the first arrival of Greek mercenaries in Egypt in the seventh century.<sup>70</sup> Greek and Phoenician mercenaries were highly valued in Near Eastern and Egyptian armies for centuries. Graffiti on the colossus of Rameses II at Abu Simbel have revealed that both groups fought for Psammetichus II during his invasion of Ethiopia in 591 (Hdt. 2.161). In this case also, soldiers with ties to a foreign city are identified by names such as 'the Kolophonian'.<sup>71</sup>

The Carthaginians themselves were among the most prolific employers of mercenaries in antiquity. As early as 406, in preparation for the invasion of Sicily, recruitment officers were sent to gather troops from several sources including allies living 'in the direction of Cyrene' – a definition that probably included cities with Phoenician heritage in that region (Diod. Sic. 13.80.2-5):<sup>72</sup>

οὔτοι δὲ κοινῇ συνεδρεύσαντες ἐπεμψάν τινας τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι παρὰ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ὄντων μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων, τοὺς μὲν εἰς Ἰβηρίαν, τοὺς δ' εἰς τὰς Βαλιαρίδας νήσους, παρακελευσάμενοι ξενολογεῖν ὡς πλείστους. αὐτοὶ δ' ἐπήεσαν τὴν Λιβύην καταγράφοντες στρατιώτας Λίβυας καὶ Φοίνικας καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν τοὺς κρατίστους, μετεπέμποντο δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμαχοῦντων αὐτοῖς ἔθνων καὶ βασιλέων στρατιώτας Μαυρουσίους καὶ Νομάδας καὶ τινας τῶν οἰκούντων τὰ πρὸς τὴν Κυρήνην κεκλιμένα μέρη. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας μισθωσάμενοι Καμπανοὺς διεβίβασαν εἰς Λιβύην ... τέλος δὲ τῶν δυνάμεων ἀθροισθεῖσων εἰς Καρχηδόνα συνήχθησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ πάντες σὺν ἵπευσιν οὐ πολλῶ πλείους, ὡς μὲν Τίμαιος, τῶν δώδεκα μυριάδων, ὡς δ' Ἐφορος, τριάκοντα μυριάδες.

[Himilco and Hannibal], having taken council, sent some of the most respected Carthaginians with lots of money, some to Iberia and others to the Balearic Islands, and gave orders to recruit as many mercenaries as possible. They traversed Libya, enrolling Libyan and Phoenician soldiers and the strongest of their citizen body. They also sent for troops from the peoples and kings of their allies, including the Maurusians and Numidians and certain people who live on lands in the direction of Cyrene. From Italy

<sup>66</sup> *IG* II.2838, 8388; Stager (2005) especially 443–45. For a fuller impression of the Phoenician community at Athens, see Lipiński (2004) 169–72, including a discussion of the famous Piraeus stele of Šama'baal, son of Magon (*Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique* 1215 = Donner and Röllig (1971–1976) 60).

<sup>67</sup> Stager (2005) 427.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. *Hamilcar, Hannibalis filius, cognomine Barca* (Nep. *Ham.* 1.1.).

<sup>69</sup> See Chaniotis (2005) 85–86 for some examples;

more generally, see Coussement (2016).

<sup>70</sup> Lewis (2001) 27; Fischer-Bovet (2014) 276–78; Coussement (2016) 37.

<sup>71</sup> *ML* 7a; Austin (1970) 18; Schmitz (2012) 32–42.

<sup>72</sup> Including, perhaps, Barce. See section II. Carthaginian alliances with foreign cities and peoples were common, for example: Etruscans (Hdt. 1.166); Elymians (Paus. 10.11.3); Libyans (Hdt. 5.42); Segesta (Hdt. 5.46); Agrigentum (Hdt. 7.165); Selinunte (Diod. Sic. 11.21.4, 13.55.1) (Quinn (2017) 82).

they recruited Campanians and transferred them to Libya; ... the final collective strength of the army gathered at Carthage, including the cavalry, was not much more than 120,000 according to Timaeus, and 300,000 according to Ephorus.<sup>73</sup>

Later, in the Hellenistic era, there is no reason to suppose that Carthage did not benefit from some of the same eastern avenues of mercenary recruitment as the diadoch states in addition to more western sources.<sup>74</sup> Rhodian slingers were among the most celebrated mercenaries of the ancient world. The apex of Rhodian reputation for military competency must have been during the careers of the brothers Mentor and Memnon who were variously in the employ of the Egyptians before joining the Achaemenid court in the late fourth century.<sup>75</sup> At precisely this period, a man named Hamilcar Rhodanus was active at Carthage and was sent as an envoy to Alexander the Great (Oros. 4.6; Just. *Epit.* 21.6.1–7; Frontin. *Str.* 1.2.3: Rhodinus).<sup>76</sup> The evidence is not abundant, yet of only a handful of surviving Carthaginian ‘nicknames’, we can easily identify more of a certain geographical nature – suggesting Carthage’s wide-reaching recruitment programmes and perhaps the multigenerational settlement of some mercenaries.<sup>77</sup>

While it is pertinent to mention that Greeks did have an important role as mercenaries in Carthage’s army,<sup>78</sup> it would go too far to presume on the basis of names alone that men such as Hamilcar Barkas and Hannibal Rhodios had definite ethnic Greek connections. This is by no means impossible, however. One of Carthage’s most famous generals, the Hamilcar who commanded the army at Himera in 480, was himself half-Greek – the son of a Syracusan woman.<sup>79</sup> The presence of a Rhodian operating amongst the military elite of Carthage might be less surprising still, considering the history of Phoenician communities on that island.<sup>80</sup> It is, of course, possible that this

<sup>73</sup> It is tempting to accept Timaeus’ figure as more reasonable, although Polybius is highly critical of him as a historian (e.g. 12.3–15, 12.23–27, 15.35.2). While Polybius had some occasion to praise Ephorus (e.g. 12.27.7–8, 34.1), he also accuses him of being ignorant of military matters (12.25–26). For recent scholarship on Timaeus, see Baron (2013); *BNJ* 566. On Ephorus, see Pownall (2004); Parmeggiani (2011); *BNJ* 70.

<sup>74</sup> For Carthaginian ‘recruitment officers’, see Polyb. 1.32.1; Diod. Sic. 13.80.2. On the useful comparison of Ptolemaic mercenary recruitment, see Griffith (1935) 254–63; Austin (2006) no. 275 = Polyb. 5.63–65; Fischer-Bovet (2014) 169. On the social implications of Hellenistic mercenary recruitment, see Chaniotis (2005) 80–88.

<sup>75</sup> Arist. [*Oec.*] 2, 1351a34–b19; Dem. 23.157; Diod. Sic. 16.52.4; Arr. *Anab.* 1.20.3. On the careers of these men, who married into the Achaemenid dynasty’s inner circle, see Parke (1933) 128, 166–69, 178–82 (cited in Berthold (1984) 33); Heckel (2006) 162. For a tradition of a Rhodian colony on the Balearic Islands, see Sil. *Pun.* 3.364–65.

<sup>76</sup> This story seems to go back to Ennius (Skutsch (1985) *fr.* 214, 379–81). On this Hamilcar, see Lenschau *RE s.v.* ‘Hamilcar (3)’; Heckel (2006) 129. Walbank (1957–1979) 1.110 adjusts this to Rhodius, thus, ‘the Rhodian’, suggesting a familial link with the aforementioned Hannibal Rhodios (see section Ic, above). Huss (1985) 243, comes to the same conclusion. Alternatively, might we consider Hamilcar ‘of the Rhone’? Gauls (and specifically Ligurians) were a common feature of Punic armies for centuries. On the river Rhodanus, see Ps. *Syl.* 3–4; on Ligurian mercenaries serving Carthage, see

Polyb. 1.17.4, 1.67.7; App. *Lib.* 40, 44, 59; Diod. Sic. 11.1.5; Livy 29.5.3–9); on a Hamilcar stirring Liguria into revolt against Rome, see Livy 31.11.6, 31.19.1–2, 32.30.12, 33.23.5. If the latter suggestion is correct, and Carthaginian names extend to rivers, might Hannibal ‘the Starling’ (ψάρ) (App. *Lib.* 68) refer to the Psarus river (the modern Seyhan flowing through Adana) – an area undoubtedly familiar to Phoenicians at Cyprus and elsewhere? It was well known in antiquity (e.g. Xen. *An.* 1.4; App. *Syr.* 4 as *Saros*; Strabo 12.2.3).

<sup>77</sup> Mago Saunites: Polyb. 9.25; Hamilcar Saunites: App. *Lib.* 68; Mago ‘the Bruttian’: Polyb. 36.5. The Carthaginians had a historical allegiance with Bruttium (Diod. Sic. 14.107.2, 15.24; App. *Hann.* 61; *Lib.* 47, 58). See also Hanno ‘the White’, or, as an alternative, ‘the Lucanian’ (App. *Lib.* 108.7).

<sup>78</sup> Xanthippos of Sparta, who famously took supreme command of the Carthaginian army for a limited term in 255, is the most prominent example (Polyb. 1.32–34, 1.36; Diod. Sic. 23.14, 23.16; App. *Lib.* 1.3; Oros. 4.9.1; Eutrop. 2.21.3; Val. Max. 9.6). Greeks were evidently an important part of the army afterwards also, including not just Sicilians but Achaeans too (Alexon the Achaean: Polyb. 1.43). For Greeks at Carthage, see also n.108.

<sup>79</sup> Hdt. 7.165–66. On this, and other examples of Graeco-Carthaginian hybridity, see Prag (2010) 54; Fentress (2013) 158; Quinn (2017) 83. See Polyaeus 5.2.17 for Carthaginian use of Greek mercenaries in the reign of Dionysius I (405–367).

<sup>80</sup> Coldstream (1969); Fraser (1970); Negbi (1992) 606; Kourou (2003); Lipiński (2004) 145–46.

Hannibal 'the Rhodian' was second- or third-generation Greek and could trace his ancestry back to Rhodian mercenaries settled onto Carthaginian land in an arrangement perhaps much like the Ptolemaic cleruchic system.<sup>81</sup> However, it also seems likely that Phoenicians from around the Mediterranean would flock to Carthage in particular for the opportunities that the wealthy Punic empire offered, especially after the fall of Tyre in 332.<sup>82</sup> Can the presence of a Barcean in the high command of the third-century Carthaginian military be explained in such a way? Does the name Barca necessitate a Greek connection or were there Phoenicians in Cyrenaica also?<sup>83</sup>

## II. Barce as a Phoenician foundation: clues in classical texts

τέτταρα γὰρ τὴν Λιβύην διείληφε γένη, Φοίνικες μὲν οἱ τὴν Καρχηδόνα τότε κατοικοῦντες, Λιβυφοίνικες δὲ πολλὰς ἔχοντες πόλεις ἐπιθαλαττίους καὶ κοινωνοῦντες τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐπιγαμίας, οἷς ἀπὸ τῆς συμπελεγμένης συγγενείας συνέβη τυχεῖν ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας. ὁ δὲ πολὺς λαὸς τῶν ἐγχωρίων, ἀρχαιότατος ὢν, Λίβυς ὠνομάζετο, μισῶν διαφερόντως τοὺς Καρχηδονίους διὰ τὸ βάρος τῆς ἐπιστάσιος· οἱ δὲ τελευταῖοι Νομάδες ὑπῆρχον, πολλὴν τῆς Λιβύης νεμόμενοι μέχρι τῆς ἐρήμου.

Four peoples have divided Libya: while the Phoenicians then lived at Carthage, the Libyphoenicians inhabited many cities along the coast and intermarried with the Carthaginians, and were called so because they happened to be on terms of close kinship. The most numerous people on the land, and the most ancient, was named Libyan, and they hated the Carthaginians intensely because of the weight of their rule. The final group were the Numidians, who herded over much of Libya up to the desert (Diod. Sic. 20.55.4).

In the statement above Diodorus succinctly divides the many ethnic delineations of 'Libya' into four broad categories. The extent of Phoenician colonization meant that possibly dozens of settlements, trading *emporia*,<sup>84</sup> were established on the fertile territories of Cyrenaica, the Syrtes, and Cape Bon. 'Libyphoenicians' are generally understood to have been the peoples of the Phoenician colonies along the coast of the Syrtes, yet the definition might more broadly describe any Phoenician of mixed Libyan blood and probably included some 'Punicized' Libyans.<sup>85</sup> Phoenician colonies stretched along the coast from Carthage towards Cyrenaica sporadically where the land was fertile and where the wadis met the sea. The first Phoenicians who sailed west along the North

<sup>81</sup> Or, alternatively, the Greek colony of Rhode (Rosas) in Iberia (see n.76). On mercenary land allotment in general, see Griffith (1935) 313–16.

<sup>82</sup> Diodorus and Curtius both claim that Tyrian women and children fled to Carthage (Diod. Sic. 17.40, 17.41; Curt. 4.8, 4.15). For Phoenicians at Carthage, see Garbini (1983) 158–60; Huss (1985) 498; Ferjaoui (1993); Bernardini (2005) 125–26. Phoenicians are attested at Athens from the fourth century (Lipiński (2004) 170; see above, n.66). On men designated 'Sidonians' at Carthage, see Hoyos (2010) 69, 288.

<sup>83</sup> Beltrami (1985) 141, mentions Phoenicians as among the first to make contact with the Libyan tribes on the north coast of Cyrenaica. Unfortunately, no references are provided.

<sup>84</sup> The wealthy region of Emporia in the Gulf of Gabes was presumably named for the many trade cities that lined the coast (Polyb. 31.21.1; Hdt. 7.158; Ps. Scy. 110), as was the bay of Emporicus near Gades (Strabo 17.3.2). See Lipiński (2004) 370; Quinn (2014) 175.

<sup>85</sup> Plin. *HN* 5.24; Livy 21.22.3, 25.40.5; Polyb. 3.33.15. See Walbank (1957–1979) 1.363; Warmington (1960) 73; Consolo Langher (2000) 127; Durvy (2018)

230. The only example of a 'Punicized' African explicitly described as Libyphoenician is one Muttines, whose race apparently attracted the contempt of Hanno (Livy 25.40.12–41.7). For Libyphoenicians in Spain, see Ps. Scym. *Peri*. 5.196–201; Avien. *Or. Marit.* 419–24 (reference in Jiménez (2014) 221–22). There is still a significant scholarly debate around the precise definition of the people(s) described as Libyphoenicians (see Jiménez (2014) 221–24 for a summary of the arguments). Gsell estimates that the term designates both Phoenicians of Libya who benefitted from privileges as dependents of Carthage and Libyans who became Phoenicians through acculturation (Gsell (1913–1918) 1.342, 1.477, 2.112; see also Bondi (1971) 656; Ghaki (1983) 78–79; López Castro (1992) 54). In this article, I follow Ghaki in my use of the term to encompass both 'Punicized' Africans living in Punic cities (whether subject to Carthage or not) and Punic/western Phoenicians who had established cities along the coast of Africa (Ghaki (1983) 78–79; (2005) 38–39). I also propose that Phoenician communities in Cyrenaica would fit into such a category.

African coast in the tenth century, before ever they reached the western Mediterranean, could not have failed to notice the fertility of Cyrenaica.<sup>86</sup> The city of Barce, one of the five cities in the region known as the Pentapolis, seems to have already been a settlement before the arrival of the Greeks.<sup>87</sup>

(a) *The founding of Barce*

The greatest city in Cyrenaica was Greek Cyrene, which from its foundation in the seventh century began to dominate the others. Later, in the time of Ptolemy I, the region was the outer limit of the Ptolemaic realm. Its border with Carthage was set at the so-called Altars of the Philaeni.<sup>88</sup> For centuries, then, Barce was a city controlled by Greeks, and this fact alone has obfuscated its origin.<sup>89</sup> Modern archaeology has revealed comparatively little in regard to the early history of Barce, and the ongoing instability that has fractured Libya into multiple territorial factions has stunted research in the area significantly.<sup>90</sup> Literary details on the founding of Barce are equally problematic, in that the sole source is Herodotus' Hellenocentric account (4.160.1):

τούτου δὲ τοῦ Βάττου παῖς γίνεται Ἀρκεσίλειος. ὃς βασιλεύσας πρῶτα τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφείοισι ἔστασίασε, ἐς ὃ μιν οὗτοι ἀπολιπόντες οἶχοντο ἐς ἄλλον χῶρον τῆς Λιβύης καὶ ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν βαλόμενοι ἔκτισαν πόλιν ταύτην ἣ τότε καὶ νῦν Βάρκη κλέεται· κτίζοντες δὲ ἅμα αὐτὴν ἀπιστᾶσι ἀπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων τοὺς Λίβυας.

This Battos had a son Arcesilaus; on his first coming to reign, he quarrelled with his brothers, until they left him and went away to another place in Libya, where they founded a city for themselves, which was then and is now called Barce; and while they were founding it, they persuaded the Libyans to revolt from the Cyreneans.<sup>91</sup>

A couple of practical observations cast doubt on whether the Greeks were the first to settle Barce. First, the name Barce, or Βάρκη, is not Greek in origin.<sup>92</sup> Herodotus, as if stumped by the

<sup>86</sup> Strabo 17.3.21: '[Cyrene] was increased through the quality of the land for, indeed, it is the best for rearing horses and producing fine fruits ... Apollonia, Taucheira, Berenice, and the other nearby hamlets are but townships of Cyrene.' Herodotus comments on the amazing fertility of Cyrenaica, which provided three harvests per annum and kept the inhabitants busy for eight months of the year (Hdt. 4.199). See How and Wells (1928) vol. 1 for commentary; also Chamoux (1953) 230–37.

<sup>87</sup> It has previously been suggested, based on Hdt. 4.160.1, that the Greeks established a settlement at the site of a Libyan village (Fabbricotti (1980) 5–9; West (2012) 503.

<sup>88</sup> Strabo 17.3.20; Sall. *Iug.* 19. See Consolo Langher (2000) 127; Quinn (2011b) 13. For a clear and up-to-date discussion on Carthaginian eastern borders, see Quinn (2014). Cf. n.144 below.

<sup>89</sup> Presuming a Phoenician presence in Cyrenaica, Flaubert (1862) has his Hamilar in chapter seven of *Salammbô* comment on the 'Canaanites at Cyrene' ('Il y a des Gaulois sur l'Eridan qu'il fallait pousser, des Chananéens à Cyrène qui seraient venus'). Perhaps he had Diod. Sic. 13.80.4 in mind. Virgil mentions Barce as an early enemy of Dido and her colonists (*Aen.* 4.42).

<sup>90</sup> On the dangers to Libyan archaeological sites post-revolution, see Kane (2015). For Barce's archaeo-

logical record, see Vickers and Bazama (1971); Laronde (1987) 49–52; Dore et al. (1990–1993); Boardman (1999) 153–59. See Asheri et al. (2007) 689 for an overview.

<sup>91</sup> Translation Godley (1928). Cf. the account by Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. 'Βάρκη', who seems to name two brothers: Perseus of Zakynthos and Aristomedontos 'the White' (note Strabo 17.3.20: 'Zakynthos (lies opposite Berenice) at a distance of 3,600 stadia'). Cf. Asheri et al. (2007) 689, who interpret the passage as meaning four individuals. Servius alleges that Barce and Cyrene were named after founding queens (Serv. *Aen.* 4.42). For Cyrene the warrior, see Pind. *Pyth.* 9. This same ode features a daughter of Antaeus, named by some unidentifiable sources as Barce (Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 9.185a (Drachmann (1903–1927))).

<sup>92</sup> Excepting words deriving from βαρύς (e.g. βαρυκάρδιος; βαρυκότος), LSJ lists similar words which are of Libyan or Egyptian origin, for example: βάραξ = the Libyan word for a hawk and the name of a mixture for barley cakes; βαρκίων = an Egyptian plant (Hsch). The nature of the non-Greek name Barce might indicate that the Greeks founded a city where there was a smaller settlement of Libyan or Phoenician origin. We need not presume that a large city predated the Greek arrival. If a Phoenician settlement, Barce could have been named as

name himself, remarks only that the city had always borne that name.<sup>93</sup> Moreover, the first place on the Libyan mainland where the Greeks landed before founding a more permanent settlement was called Aziris – certainly a non-Greek name. The colonists lived in this place, which had good soil and a river running through it, for six years (Hdt. 4.157–58).<sup>94</sup> It is possible, I suggest, that Aziris is a variant of one of Tyre's Greek names, Azoros.<sup>95</sup> If the word Aziris does betray a Phoenician connection (although perhaps not one recognized by Herodotus), then this helps to modify our understanding of what Silius meant by his reference to the 'Tyrian race of ancient Barce' (Sil. *Pun.* 1.70). Secondly, Herodotus' account of the city's history is one of separateness and intense conflict with the population of Greek Cyrene, founded in 631. The founder of Cyrene was a Greek from Thera named Battos.<sup>96</sup> However, an early king of Barce named by Herodotus – Alazeir – is clearly non-Greek.<sup>97</sup> Alazeir married the daughter of the then king of Cyrene, Arcesilaus III (died ca. 515), in what appears to have been a political alliance (Hdt. 4.164–65).<sup>98</sup> The people of Barce later betrayed and killed Arcesilaus, claiming that they had suffered terribly under him (Hdt. 4.164). This social unrest is as suggestive of resistance against a Greek ruler as it is of the overthrow of a local tyrant by other Greeks. Elsewhere in Herodotus, Barce, in contrast to other cities in Cyrenaica, is mentioned independently. In the list of tributary states to the Persian Empire, for example, Barce and Cyrene are separate political entities, with the Cyreneans displeasing Cambyses with the smallness of their offering (Hdt. 3.13, 91).<sup>99</sup> In another source, the Barceans are induced to fight 'against the Greeks' (Polyaenus 7.28.1). It is possible that the Barceans and Cyreneans represented the largest cities of the Phoenician and Greek populations respectively. The brutal subjugation of the Barceans after a nine-month Persian and Greek combined siege certainly reminds one of the horrors of Graeco-Phoenician rivalry and enmity seen elsewhere. Allegedly, on the order of the Greek

a 'blessed' place (*brk*) (see Krahmalkov (2000) 126). In the 17th century, Samuel Bochart expressed the fanciful view that the word derives from the regional name of Marmarica, which he hypothesized had permutated from *Bar-barca* (*Geographica sacra seu Phalegh et Canaan* 1.25; reference in Oberlin (1778) 384).

<sup>93</sup> See the passage quoted above (Hdt. 160.1).

<sup>94</sup> Phoenician settlements were sometimes founded by members of several cities. Tripoli, for example, was founded by settlers from Tyre, Sidon and Arados, who maintained separate communities thereafter (Quinn (2017) 67–68). Such an arrangement might help to explain the separation of the port of Ptolemais from the town of Barce proper.

<sup>95</sup> For the story of the founders of Carthage, Azoros (Zorus) and Karchedon ('Tyre' and 'Carthage'), see Philistos: *BNJ* 556 F47 with commentary; App. *Lib.* 1; Cass. Dio *Chron.* Pref. 57; see also Vell. 1.2.3, 6.4 for Tyrian colonization of Gades, Utica and Carthage. On Carthage's foundation myths, see Quinn (2017) 114. Whether it is a Phoenician or Libyan word is hard to determine with certainty, however. Cf. Ptolemy's map (Müller (1883–1901)): Assurus in Numidia (2.646); Azuis 'between the two Syrtes' (2.659); Azilis village in Marmarica (2.675); Azicis, a village on the Libyan coast, east of Cyrenaica (2.696). Cf. Krahmalkov (2000) 363–64. Another place possibly named for Tyre is Homer's island of Syrie off Sicily, mentioned in the context of a story concerning a Sidonian slave and the Phoenician traders who offer to help her return home (Hom. *Od.* 15.403–85).

<sup>96</sup> Meaning the 'Stammerer'/'Lisper' (Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.10a (Drachmann (1903–1927) = Menekles *BNJ* 270 F6; Hdt. 4.156; Diod. Sic. 8.29).

<sup>97</sup> West (2012) 503 draws attention to the similarity with the names Aladdeiros and Aladdeir on the genealogical inscription of Klearchos of Cyrene (*SGDI* 4859). Cf. a coin reading AAAT(TEIP) from Barce (Robinson (1927) 105), cited in Asheri et al. (2007) 689, 692, who suggest a local Libyan origin for the name – indicating a 'fusion' with the Greeks (see also Austin (2008) 209). If the name is Phoenician, then cf. *Baliddir* (Great Ba'al) (*CIL* 8.19121; Krahmalkov (2000) 112; see also the Carthaginian name Adherbal (Livy 28.30.5) and the 'very common' personal name Ba'al-'azor (Ba'al help him/you/me) (Krahmalkov (2000) 117; also Benz (1972) 96, 97).

<sup>98</sup> Compare this to Carthaginian intermarriage with Numidians/Libyans (e.g. Hamilcar's daughter to Naravas (Polyb. 1.78), Syphax to Sophonisba (Livy 37.50), Dido to Ierbas (Just. *Epit.* 18.6)). There are numerous other examples of such arrangements, such as the marriage of Amasis, pharaoh of Egypt, to a Cyrenean princess in the sixth century (Hdt. 2.181), the Phocaeen founder of Massalia, Euxenos, to the daughter of the king of the local Gallic tribe (Roller (2006) 7: Ath. 13.576a = Arist. *fr. Constitution of Massalia* 549 Rose; Just. *Epit.* 43.3) and Zariadres to the daughter of Scythian king Omartes (Ath. 13.575a = Chares *BNJ* 125 F5).

<sup>99</sup> On Achaemenid relations with Cyrenaica, see Mitchell (1966); Briant (1996) 65–66, 80, 91, 153; Austin (2008) 211–14.

queen Pheretime of Cyrene, all the women of Barce had their breasts cut off. Greeks scarcely ever committed such terrible acts of barbarism against one another. Yet, Agathocles' treatment of the populace of Segesta on Sicily after they defected to the Carthaginians was identical (Hdt. 4.202; Diod. Sic. 20.71.4).<sup>100</sup>

(b) *Chariotry*

Herodotus comments on the peculiar proficiency of the people of Cyrenaica as charioteers (Hdt. 4.170–71). While both indigenous Libyans<sup>101</sup> and Greeks were familiar with the use of the chariot, this region in particular seems to have been well known for it – a fact that is confirmed in other sources. In *ca.* 520 the Barceans offered the Persians chariots as tribute (Polyaenus 7.28.1), for example, and Pausanias records the dedication of a chariot to Delphi from Cyrene (10.13.5). Sophocles' *Electra* sees two Barceans take part in the chariot race, men who were taught how to yoke horses by Poseidon (Soph. *El.* 729).<sup>102</sup> Cyrenaic participation in the Panhellenic games, especially in chariotry, is well recorded,<sup>103</sup> yet they were also highly sought after in war. Aeneas Tacticus relates how the Cyreneans and Barceans would transport their hoplites by two- and four-horse chariots so that they were fresh for battle (16.14–15). By the late fourth century, Cyrenaic charioteers still maintained a formidable reputation, as both Thibron (*ca.* 324) and Ophellas (*ca.* 309) sought chariots in the region.<sup>104</sup> Two of the only other places in the Mediterranean world in which the war-chariot continued to occupy a significant presence on the battlefield in this period were Phoenicia and Carthaginian North Africa. Even by the beginning of the second century, Sidon held chariot skill in some regard, as evidenced by the now lost inscription that recorded Diotimos, son of Dionysios' victory in the chariot race in the Nemean games.<sup>105</sup> At Carthage, chariots accompanied the Sacred Band at the Battle of Crimmissus in 339 and were deployed decades later against Agathocles to the number of 2,000 (Diod. Sic. 16.80.4, 20.10.5–6).<sup>106</sup>

### III. The Barceans move west

The domination of Barce by Greek settlers in the seventh century may well have destroyed any evidence of the pre-Battid history of the site. Given the fertility of the region, the extent of Phoenician colonization elsewhere in Africa from the eighth century and its location on the southern route to Phoenicia, it is sensible to presume that prior to the arrival of the Greeks there was some Phoenician presence there – the extent of which is impossible to gauge.<sup>107</sup> The persistence of a Phoenician community there need not be doubted, given the co-existence of Greeks and Phoenicians at trading centres elsewhere (even at Carthage itself).<sup>108</sup> The ability of Phoenicians to acclimatize to Greek

<sup>100</sup> There are very few examples of this. See also Hdt. 9.112; Durvyne (2018) 238. On the siege of Barce, also see Aen. Tact. 37.6–7; Arist. *fr.* 611.16; Menekles *BNJ* 270 F5.

<sup>101</sup> Indigenous Libyan usage of the chariot is attested by rock art in the Fezzan, yet no chariots have been found in archaeological excavations (Muzzolini (2001); West (2012)).

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Hsch. *s.v.* 'Βαρκαίους ὄχοις'; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Βάρκη'.

<sup>103</sup> For example Pind. *Pyth.* 4, 5; cf. *Pyth.* 9. For Cyrenaic chariotry at the games, see Anderson (1965) 352. Barcean participation in the Olympian games is attested by one Amesinas who won the wrestling in 460 (Euseb. *Chron.* 203).

<sup>104</sup> Thibron was promised these by the Cyreneans, yet later allied with the Barceans against them – offering land in the 'adjacent parts of Libya' as an incentive

(Diod. Sic. 18.19.20; Phot. *Bibl.* 92 = Arrian *FGrH* 156 F9). Ophellas had 100 chariots from Cyrenaica in his Carthaginian expedition force (Diod. Sic. 20.41.1; see below, section IIIa). On Thibron, see Heckel (2006) 265; Ameling *BNP s.v.* 'Thibron' (2). On Ophellas, see Heckel (2006) 184; Ameling *BNP s.v.* 'Ophellas' (2).

<sup>105</sup> Bagnall (1976) 22; Burstein (1985) no. 34; Bonnet (2014) 294–95.

<sup>106</sup> See n.123 below.

<sup>107</sup> The Greeks and Phoenicians certainly competed for territory elsewhere in Africa. Dorieus' failed colony is the most famous example (Hdt. 5.42; see Mitchell (1966) 106), yet Naxians and Euboeans allegedly founded colonies just west of Carthage in Tunisia (Ps. Scy. 111; Hecateus *FGrH* 1 F343). See Consolo Langher (2000) 223–24 for commentary.

<sup>108</sup> The cult of Demeter and Kore flourished at Carthage, along with a Greek community of adherents,

and Roman culture is well attested.<sup>109</sup> It is a certainty, moreover, as the southern route from Carthage to Phoenicia brought one along the coast and past Barce, that the two cities were in regular contact with one another.

Yet Cyrenaic cities were well connected in their own right, and there is a distinct possibility that Carthaginian commercial interest in the region resulted in the establishment of 'trading enclaves'.<sup>110</sup> Access to the highly valued silphium crop was one good reason for this, and Strabo tells us that the Carthaginians used to smuggle it out of Cyrene (Strabo 17.3.20).<sup>111</sup> The cultivation of this crop was central to Barce's economy, as illustrated on the city's coinage, which often depicts the silphium plant on the obverse.<sup>112</sup> In fact, control of the silphium trade might account for the intensified conflict which shook Cyrenaica in the fourth century, drawing in the Ptolemies, Carthage, Magna Graecia and the Aegean.<sup>113</sup>

If we can accept the plausibility that Barce had a Phoenician link, either through the remnant of a pre-Greek colony or through the continuous settlement of traders after this period, it is easier, as is the case with Rhodes, to understand how individuals with familial links to these cities could rise up the ranks of the Carthaginian military and enter into the landed aristocracy. In the case of Hannibal 'the Rhodian', he is described as 'a man held in esteem' (τις ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐνδόξων) who approached 'the Carthaginians' on his own initiative (Polyb. 1.46).<sup>114</sup> Polybius' wording seems to indicate that Hannibal was either not a Carthaginian himself or at the least not a member of the Council.<sup>115</sup> We can only guess at what this 'esteem' says about the place of Rhodios in the social hierarchy of Carthage, yet he was plausibly a descendant of a landed mercenary from Rhodes. This would explain both his theophoric Carthaginian name and his position in what must have been an aristocracy lower than membership of the Council. In any case, the fact that Rhodios geared up his own 'private ship', a sizeable quadrireme military vessel at that, indicates both significant wealth and a military background (Polyb. 1.46.6, 1.47.5). There is, in fact, a valid historical context for wealthy military men of mixed heritage at Carthage during the First Punic War. The preceding events of the Agathoclean War (311–306) ended in the settlement of tens of thousands of mercenaries in Carthaginian territory.<sup>116</sup> Over the next 60 years, these varied peoples from cities across the Mediterranean, including mainland Greece, the islands, Italy and the cities of Cyrenaica, became enmeshed in the social and political fabric of Carthage.

from the early fourth century, following the desecration of a temple outside Syracuse in 396 by Carthaginians (Diod. Sic. 14.70.4). For evidence of the cult in the hinterland, see van Dommelen and López-Bertran (2013) 275. On Greeks in the city itself, see Coltelloni-Trannoy (2001) 552–57.

<sup>109</sup> For Hellenized Phoenicians from Sidon and their participation in Ptolemaic administration, see Bagnall (1976) 22. For the Tyrian servant of Hannibal with the Greek name Ariston, see App. *Syr.* 8; Just. *Epit.* 31.4.1–3; Livy 34.61.

<sup>110</sup> There were Punic 'trading enclaves' set up at Greek cities on Sicily, including 'great properties' and 'many merchant ships' (Diod. Sic. 14.46.1; see Fentress (2013) 158; Quinn (2017) 83). For Tyrians and Sidonians granted land ownership at Piraeus *ca.* 330, see Lipiński (2004) 170.

<sup>111</sup> Pliny states that Cyrenean silphium was grown up to 45km inland from the coast (*HN* 5.33). The main settlement of Barce was 40km inland and west from its port at Ptolemais (Austin (2008) 201). See n.60.

<sup>112</sup> Robinson (1915) 54–58. For Cyrenaic coins, see generally Robinson (1927). On silphium in general, see Chamoux (1985) 165–72; Austin (2008) 209–10. On its trade, see Fulford (1989); Laronde (1990); Wilson (2013) 124.

<sup>113</sup> Wilson (2013) 153–56. On Carthaginian trade with its eastern territories, see Consolo Langher (2000) 127; Quinn (2011b).

<sup>114</sup> Here, as elsewhere, Polybius is probably referring to the Council by his use of οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι. On the changeable nature of Carthaginian political terms in Polybius, which include σύνεδροι, γερουσία and σύγκλητος, see Hoyos (1994) 257.

<sup>115</sup> At any rate, Polybius indicates that he 'knew the water [near Lilybaeum] well' (1.47.3), which was notoriously difficult to navigate (1.42.7, 1.44).

<sup>116</sup> The settlement of Agathocles' mercenaries elsewhere was a formative factor in beginning the First Punic War, as the so-called Mamertines who seized Messana originated as Campanian mercenaries from this campaign (Polyb. 1.7.1–2).

*(a) Mass migration of military veterans*

Agathocles of Syracuse, with a stroke of daring that would be emulated by Regulus in the First Punic War, invaded Carthaginian North Africa in 310 with the hope that this distraction on the home front would induce Carthage to break the siege of Syracuse (Diod. Sic. 20.3; Just. *Epit.* 22.5; Oros. 4.6.24; Polyaeus 5.3.4).<sup>117</sup> Aside from his 3,500 Syracusans and 25,000 other, presumably Sicilian, hoplites, Agathocles' army contained a significant mercenary presence, including 3,000 other Greeks, 3,000 Samnites, Etruscans and Celts, and 500 'archers and slingers' (Diod. Sic. 20.11). Agathocles, seeking to strengthen his precarious position in Africa, sensibly called upon the assistance of the Ptolemaic overseer of Cyrene, Ophellas, who answered the call with enthusiasm.<sup>118</sup> Ophellas raised a large army, made up partly of mercenaries from Attica and 'other Greeks', but including regional Cyrenaic cavalry and chariots,<sup>119</sup> and probably some locally sourced infantry as well. The enthusiasm for the conquest extended beyond the desire for plunder, and Ophellas' expedition rapidly transformed into a kind of military migration, with families joining soldiers, as the prospect of gaining rich estates in the Carthaginian hinterland, once it was conquered, was hard to resist (Diod. Sic. 20.40.6, 20.41.1):<sup>120</sup>

οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἔσπευδον κοινωνῆσαι τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, ἐλπίζοντες τὴν τε κρατίστην τῆς Λιβύης κατακληρουχῆσαι καὶ τὸν ἐν Καρχηδόνι διαρπάσειν πλοῦτον.

ὁ δ' οὖν Ὀφέλλας, ἐπειδὴ πάντ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν κατεσκευάστο λαμπρῶς, ἐξώρμησε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἔχων πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν μυρίων, ἵππεῖς δὲ ἑξακοσίους, ἄρματα δὲ ἑκατόν, ἠνιόχους δὲ καὶ παραβάτας πλείους τῶν τριακοσίων. ἠκολούθουν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἔξω τάξεως λεγομένων οὐκ ἐλάττους μυρίων· πολλοὶ δὲ τούτων τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἤγον, ὥστε ἐμφερῆ τὴν στρατιὰν ὑπάρχειν ἀποικία.

No small number also of the other Greeks were quick to join in the undertaking whence they hoped to portion out for colonization the most fertile part of Libya and to plunder the wealth of Carthage.

And so Ophellas, when everything for his campaign had been prepared magnificently, set out with his army, having more than 10,000 foot-soldiers, 600 horsemen, 100 chariots and more than 300 charioteers and men to fight beside them. There followed also of those who are termed non-combatants not less than 10,000;<sup>121</sup> and many of these brought their children and wives and other possessions, so that the army was like a colonizing expedition.

The Barceans were active in the power struggle that had erupted in Cyrenaica some decade and a half earlier where they fought against Carthage and Cyrene on the side of the Spartan Thibron.<sup>122</sup> During this conflict they had been tempted by promises of conquered land from their neighbours (Diod. Sic. 18.20). The announcement of a large-scale muster of soldiers would have offered work for a population of military veterans who had seen two years of intense action

<sup>117</sup> On Agathocles in general, see Consolo Langher (2000); see also Marasco (1984); Meister (1984). On Agathocles' place in a broader history of anti-Carthaginian western tyrants, see Zambon (2006); Prag (2010) especially 64–65.

<sup>118</sup> On Ophellas' westward campaign, see Chamoux (1956) 20–21; Laronde (1971).

<sup>119</sup> Chamoux (1987) 62 suggests they were particularly effective at keeping away bandits (cited in Durvy (2018) 234).

<sup>120</sup> Translation Geer (1962).

<sup>121</sup> It stands to reason that the majority of the 10,000 camp followers joined in Cyrenaica. The logistics of transporting such a number from Greece with the merce-

naries would be impractical. On the term οἱ ἔξω τάξεως, Durvy (2018) 211 cites epigraphic evidence (after Holleaux (1922) 198–210) in categorizing them variously as those who transport and guard the baggage, merchants and opportunists hoping to profit one way or another from the war.

<sup>122</sup> The Carthaginians responded to Cyrene's request for help against Thibron to restore the 'economic-commercial equilibrium' enjoyed between the two states (Consolo Langher (2000) 170; see also Wilson (2013) 153–56). Servius mentions a naval engagement where the Barceans gained victory over the 'Phoenicians', which might be a reference to an event in this war (*Aen.* 4.42).



involving large-scale sieges, naval engagements and the modern state of Hellenistic warfare (ca. 324–322). They were probably once again attracted by the prospect of territorial rewards resulting from a successful campaign westward.

*(b) A hypothetical Barcid progenitor*

Gauging exactly what percentage of Ophellas' Cyrenaic army was Barcean is not possible, yet some of them might have served with the 300 'charioteers and side fighters' (ἡνιόχους δὲ καὶ παραβάτας, Diod. Sic. 20.41.1). The men of Barce, as we have seen, were conspicuous for their love of the chariot, and chariots were still a major element on the battlefields of Cyrenaica in the fourth century.<sup>123</sup> As Barcean mercenaries were later fielded as pike-men elsewhere, however, they conceivably numbered much more (Polyb. 5.65.8; Sil. *Pun.* 3.250). Reliable guides were essential when leading an army in Africa<sup>124</sup> – Thibron had brought Cyrenean and Barcean exiles along for this purpose during his invasion of Cyrenaica (Diod. Sic. 18.19.20; Phot. *Bibl.* 92 = Arrian *FGrH* 156 F9). If there was a Phoenician population still at Barce, then their presence in the army of Ophellas would have been highly valued also for their ability to understand the Punic language.<sup>125</sup> If they were of a merchant class, their familiarity with the coastal route to Carthage which the army was to take would have been a great advantage.<sup>126</sup> Of the 10,000 camp followers who joined the expedition, Agathocles later shipped off to Syracuse those 'useless in war that had come from Cyrene', many of whom died at sea (Diod. Sic. 20.44.7). If a hypothetical originator of the Barcids at Carthage did make the journey there from Barce in 308, he was probably a military man.

After an arduous march of several weeks, the army of Ophellas arrived near the camp of Agathocles (Diod. Sic. 20.42.2). Within a short period of time, Agathocles decided to usurp the army of his ally and Ophellas was slain. Those who threw down their arms declared their loyalty to Agathocles – there being no other choice. Having treacherously obtained command of a greater army in this way, Agathocles undoubtedly left many feeling marginalized or rebellious. The Barceans, on the other hand, had fought against both Cyrene and Carthage in the recent past and probably would have felt no particular loyalty to Ophellas. While some may not have objected to their new paymaster, this quick turnaround cannot have helped garner any enduring loyalty towards Agathocles either – a factor which, it will shortly become apparent, would ultimately contribute to the end of the war.<sup>127</sup> It was not long before Agathocles returned to deal with the war in Sicily, leaving the command in the hands of his son Agatharchos (Diod. Sic. 20.55.5).

*(c) The turn in the war: defection to Carthage*

After some initial successes, the war turned for the worse in Libya. With a Carthaginian three-pronged counterattack advancing in all directions, Agatharchos split his own forces also, which proved to be a grave mistake. One of these forces was wiped out, almost to a man (Diod. Sic. 20.60.7–8). Agatharchos sent an urgent appeal to his father requesting his speedy return from Sicily to regain control of the situation. His remaining army was small at this point, yet the chariots brought from Cyrenaica are probably to be counted among the 6,000 Libyan chariots listed below.

<sup>123</sup> The abandonment of the war chariot roughly coincided with the introduction of the war elephant to Carthaginian armies. Prior to this, the Carthaginians probably relied on chariots for both their shock value and their skirmishing ability (e.g. Diod. Sic. 20.10.6). The first recorded Carthaginian use of war elephants was in 262 at the Battle of Agrigentum (Polyb. 1.19.2, 1.18.8). On war elephants, see Scullard (1974) 146; Charles (2008) 340.

<sup>124</sup> The scarcity of water in some regions was one good reason for this (see Strabo 17.3.20; Durvy (2018) 213).

<sup>125</sup> On the Phoenician languages and the question of mutual intelligibility, see Krahmalkov (2000) 10–12; Quinn (2017) 71.

<sup>126</sup> The waters of the Syrtes were well known in antiquity for their perilous shoals and few safe harbours (see, e.g., Ap. Rhod. 4.1228–58; Lycoph. 889–94; Polyb. 1.39.2–6; Strabo 17.3.20). Rome used merchants as guides on campaign in Greece (Livy 44.35.13).

<sup>127</sup> See below for discussion.

Nonetheless, Agathocles arrived back from Sicily with reinforcements from Etruria and immediately sought to take to the field and regain the initiative (Diod. Sic. 20.64.2–3):<sup>128</sup>

εἶχε δὲ πεζοὺς μὲν τοὺς ἅπαντας ὑπολειπομένους Ἑλληνας ἐξακισχιλίους, Κελτοὺς δὲ καὶ Σαυνίτας καὶ Τυρρηνοὺς τούτων οὐκ ἐλάττους, Λίβυας δὲ μικρὸν ἀπολείποντας τῶν μυρίων, οὓς ἐφέδρους εἶναι συνέβαινε, συμμεταβαλλομένους ἀεὶ τοῖς καιροῖς· χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἠκολούθουν ἵππεῖς χίλιοι πεντακόσιοι, ζεύγη δὲ Λιβύων πλείω τῶν ἐξακισχιλίων.

He had all of the 6,000 remaining Greek infantry, no smaller amount of Celts, Samnites and Etruscans and nearly 10,000 Libyans who in the event sat on the side-lines, as they were always willing to change sides according to events.<sup>129</sup> After these came a further 1,500 horsemen and over 6,000 Libyan chariots.

Yet Agathocles' campaign had lost its momentum and descended into a state of debacle. A combination of confused night fighting and the secession of the Libyans back to the Carthaginian side *en masse* resulted in heavy losses (Diod. Sic. 20.66–67). Agathocles fled Libya in late 307 after abandoning his sons to the daggers of both their Syracusan detractors<sup>130</sup> and those Cyreneans who sought revenge for the death of Ophellas (Diod. Sic. 20.68–69).<sup>131</sup> Diodorus continues (20.69.3–5):<sup>132</sup>

καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἐλόμενοι διελύθησαν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους, ὥστε τὰς πόλεις ἃς εἶχον παραδοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν τάλαντα τριακόσια καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰρουμένους μετὰ Καρχηδονίων στρατεύειν κομίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀεὶ διδομένους μισθοὺς, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους εἰς Σικελίαν διακομισθέντας λαβεῖν οἰκητήριον Σολοῦντα. τῶν μὲν οὖν στρατιωτῶν οἱ πλείους ἐμμείναντες ταῖς συνθήκαις ἔτυχον τῶν ὁμολογηθέντων· ὅσοι δὲ τὰς πόλεις διακατέχοντες ἀντεῖχον ταῖς παρ' Ἀγαθοκλέους ἐλπίσιν, ἐξεπολιορκήθησαν κατὰ κράτος. ὧν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας ἀνεσταύρωσαν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους δῆσαντες πέδας, ἦν διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξηγρίωσαν χώραν, ἐξηνάγκαζον τοῖς ἰδίους πόνοις πάλιν ἐξημεροῦν.

and the soldiers selected generals from their own number and made peace with the Carthaginians on these terms: they were to give back the cities which they held and to receive 300 talents, and those who chose to serve with the Carthaginians were to receive pay at the regular rates, and the others, when transported to Sicily, were to receive Solus as a dwelling-place. Now, most of the soldiers abided by the terms and received what had been agreed upon; but all those who continued to occupy the cities because they still clung to hopes of Agathocles were attacked and taken by storm. Their leaders the Carthaginians crucified; the others they bound with fetters and forced them by their own labour to bring back again into cultivation the country they had laid waste during the war.

The great expedition was over. Of the army that accompanied Agathocles and Ophellas, scarcely any returned home. Some were killed and many were enslaved, yet the greater part was taken on as mercenaries in the Carthaginian army and settled on state land.<sup>133</sup> In the case of the Barceans, relations with the Carthaginians might have been facilitated by any real (or imagined) common Phoenician

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Just. *Epit.* 22.8.4–15. These Etruscans had joined him just before his departure from Sicily with 18 ships (Diod. Sic. 20.61.6).

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Livy 29.3.13: *Afris, gente ad omnem auram spei mobili atque infida.*

<sup>130</sup> Among the assassins was the grandfather of Epiclydes and Hippocrates discussed below (n.136).

<sup>131</sup> Polyb. 7.2.4; Livy 24.23.5, 24.27–36, 25.23–27; App. *Sik. fr.* 5 = *Peirese Manuscript* 1; Paus. 6.12.4. See Consolo Langher (2000) 237 for commentary.

<sup>132</sup> Translation Geer (1962); cf. Just. *Epit.* 22.8.13.

<sup>133</sup> Prior to this mass desertion, 200 rebellious Greek commanders had already gone over to the Carthaginians

and were received with offers of gold and 'special rewards' (Diod. Sic. 20.34.2–7). Polyaeus mentions a Greek advisor to Hamilcar against Agathocles (6.41). Financial incentivization to desert seems to have been a Carthaginian tactic employed in previous conflicts also (Diod. Sic. 14.77.6). Conversely, the Carthaginians also had occasion to bribe their own soldiers to stay loyal (Polyb. 1.43.3, 1.66.12). According to Aristotle, the Carthaginians were accustomed to awarding 'arm bands' after a campaign (*Pol.* 1324b2). On the African campaign and the surrender of the mercenaries, see Gsell (1913–1918) 3.18–63; Meister (1984) 393–400; Huss (1985) 176–203; Consolo Langher (2000) 237.

roots.<sup>134</sup> Their initial aggression in the war could have been overlooked in its aftermath in much the same way that other 'Libyphoenician' cities, much closer to home, were forgiven their own rebellion when taken back into the fold.<sup>135</sup> In defeat, those Cyrenaic mercenaries could not have hoped for a better outcome. Having embarked with the hopes of colonizing Carthaginian territory, they must have been satisfied. Gifted in land and wealth, and with a career in the multi-ethnic Carthaginian mercenary army, a Barcean, especially if considered a Phoenician, might rise to significance.

#### IV. Hamilcar and the *mixellēnes*

There are, if one looks carefully, various clues as to what became of the deserters and slaves of the Agathoclean army. Some, undoubtedly, were housed at Carthage. These included the grandfather of the *mixellēnes* Hippocrates and Epicydes, who was one of the men responsible for slaying Agatharchos in Africa.<sup>136</sup> These two Syracusan brothers had been serving with Hannibal 'for some time' by 216 and were carrying on the mercenary careers offered by the Carthaginians in 307 into the third generation (Polyb. 7.2.4).<sup>137</sup> Alternatively, there were those who were sent to colonize the Phoenician city of Solus near Panormus in Sicily (Diod. Sic. 20.69.4).<sup>138</sup> By the beginning of the First Punic War, Solus, in conjunction with Lilybaeum, was being used as a staging point for more general advances into Sicily (Diod. Sic. 23.1.2). Soldiers who were sent there must have been intended to contribute to the military nature of that frontier settlement.<sup>139</sup> It is likely, also, that many were settled somewhere in the Carthaginian hinterland or at a settlement along the coast – this was certainly the case with those who were enslaved as agricultural labourers charged with the task of bringing back into cultivation land abandoned during the war (Diod. Sic. 20.69.5). The need to regain control of the territories lost to Agathocles would have necessitated the garrisoning

<sup>134</sup> As Barce was a city bordering several spheres of influence – the Libyan south, Ptolemaic east, Aegean north and Carthaginian west – it is not unlikely that, whatever the reality, there were people there who identified culturally or politically with the Carthaginians and the other Libyphoenician cities (see n.188). Such 'kinship politics' were a common feature of Roman and Greek diplomacy (e.g. Capua's plea to Rome (Livy 26.3.330; the Phrygians to Rome (Herod. 1.11.3); Segestans and Rome (Zonar. 8.9.12; Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.72); Tyrians to Delphi (*SEG* 2.330)). On this strand of politics, see Elwyn (1993); Jones (1999).

<sup>135</sup> Agathocles had taken some 200 settlements in Africa through force and persuasion (Diod. Sic. 20.17). Carthage offered Utica and Hippo 'terms' in the aftermath of the Mercenary War despite the fact that they had no grounds for 'mercy or pardon' (Polyb. 1.88).

<sup>136</sup> '[As envoys to Hieronymus Hannibal sent] the Syracusans, Hippocrates and his brother the younger Epicydes. These two brothers had been serving for some time under Hannibal, having adopted Carthage as their country, since their grandfather had been exiled because he was thought to have assassinated Agatharchus, one of the sons of Agathocles' (Polyb. 7.2.4; translation Paton (2010–2012). 'Hippocrates and Epicydes, who were born at Carthage but Syracusan by origin (their grandfather being an exile), Carthaginians themselves on their mother's side' (Livy 24.6.2; translation Moore (1940)).

<sup>137</sup> It is perfectly possible that the two camp chroniclers of Hannibal's deeds, Silenos Kalaktinos and Sosylos Lakedaimonios, the latter of whom was reportedly a tutor to the young Hannibal, were *mixellēnes*

themselves (Nep. *Han.* 13.3 = *BNJ* 176 T1). While no substantial biographical information on these men is known, Silenos' name is suspected to be Sicilian (Williams *BNJ* 175; Walbank (1968–1969) 495; Stocks (2014) 13). His fragments are: Ath. 12.59 p.542 A; Nep. *Han.* 13.3; Cic. *Div.* 1.49; Dion. Hal. *Rom.* 1.6.1. Diodorus tells us that Sosylos was from Elis and wrote a history of the Second Punic War in seven books – a work that is criticized by Polybius (Polyb. 3.20.5; Diod. Sic. 26.4). It is, nonetheless, tempting to suspect that the Spartan heritage implied by his given name in Nepos (an identity not usual for men of letters, excepting maybe Tyrtaios (*BNJ* 580)), stemmed from the remnants of the 'considerable number' of troops that Xanthippos had brought with him to Carthage in 255. That is, 'with 100 soldiers, alone, or with 50 soldiers, according to various authorities' (Polyb. 1.32.1; cf. Diod. Sic. 23.16.1). On Sosylos and Silenos, see also Lazenby (1978) 258–64.

<sup>138</sup> For Carthaginian-Greek relationships and intermarriage, see Ferjaoui (1991); (1999); Crouzet (2012) 40–46; Prag (2010) 53–54; Quinn (2017) 82.

<sup>139</sup> Solus had 'limited anchorage', yet its primary role was 'to facilitate overland contacts with the interior' (Spanò Giammellaro et al. (2008) 131). On its archaeological record, see also Falsone (1995); Spanò Giammellaro (2000); De Angelis (2003) 117–22; Greco (2005). The region had mixed loyalties. Around 251, Solus along with other Sicilian towns overthrew their garrisons and went over to Rome (Diod. Sic. 23.18.5). Previously, they had stayed loyal to Carthage in the face of Dionysius' invasion in 396 (Diod. Sic. 14.48.5) but later changed tack and sided with him (Diod. Sic. 14.78.7).

of fortresses across Carthage's African holdings and the establishment of new ones.<sup>140</sup> By the second century, the Carthaginian countryside was covered in them (*App. Lib.* 101).<sup>141</sup> A significant fortress which overlooked the border with Ptolemaic Cyrenaica is mentioned in several ancient sources as Automala (e.g. Strabo 17.3.20).<sup>142</sup>

εἶθ' οἱ Φιλαίνων βωμοί· καὶ μετὰ δὲ τούτους Αὐτόμαλα φρούριον φυλακὴν ἔχον, ἰδρυμένον κατὰ τὸν μυχὸν τοῦ κόλπου παντός.

[Next come] the Altars of the Philaeni; and after these Automala: a fort defended by a garrison established in the innermost point of the whole bay.

It is possible that this fortress and its garrison derived its name from the Greek *automolos* ('deserter').<sup>143</sup> Although Diodorus mentions Ophellas' army passing the fortress on the way to join Agathocles (*Diod. Sic.* 20.41.1), the Cyrenean Greeks may have later applied the label to this well-known military base as a name that was at once descriptive of the fate of their army and derisive of their ultimate choice to enter the employ of a 'barbarian' paymaster.<sup>144</sup>

Further, more tenuous, hints as to the fate of the joint Sicilian and Cyrenaic army do exist. Silius places Barceans at the front line of the Carthaginian army of Hannibal alongside the 'treacherous race' of Cyreneans led by an 'old favourite' of Hamilcar's called Ilertes (*Sil. Pun.* 3.249–55 translation Duff (1934)):

Affuit undosa cretus Berenicide miles,  
nec, tereti dextras in pugnam armata dolone,  
destituit Barce sitientibus arida venis.  
nec non Cyrene Pelopei stirpe nepotis  
Battidas pravos fidei stimulavit in arma.  
quos trahit, antiquo laudatus Hamilcare quondam,  
consilio viridis sed belli serus Ilertes.

The warlike sons of Berenice by the sea were present; nor was Barce backward, a dry land of thirsty springs, whose men are armed for battle with long smooth pikes; and Cyrene too roused to arms the sons of Battus, treacherous men, descendants from a Peloponnesian stock. They were led by Ilertes, whom old Hamilcar praised long ago, active still in council but slow in war.

Further on, in his enumeration of Carthaginian allies, Silius mentions the African town of Oea, home to 'Sicilian colonists *mixed with Africans*', in a reference to what are surely to be considered *mixellēnes* (*Oeaque Trinacrios Afris permixta colonos*; *Sil. Pun.* 3.257).<sup>145</sup>

<sup>140</sup> This was certainly the tactic employed by Ptolemy V in the wake of the revolt in the Thebaid (206–186), where 10,000 soldiers were placed in a number close to 40 individual garrisons (Winnicki (1978); Vandorpe (2014); cited in Johstono (2015) 208). On the extent of Agathocles' conquests in Africa, see *Diod. Sic.* 20.17.

<sup>141</sup> See also Consolo Langher (2000) 126–27.

<sup>142</sup> Strabo 2.5.20, 17.3.23; *Stadiasmus = Periplus* 84 (Automalaka); Ptol. *Geog.* (Automalax). On the wildness and banditry of the region, see Durvy (2018) 211. If the name is Libyan, cf. 'Autololes' (*Sil. Pun.* 2.63, 3.306; *Plin. HN* 5.6) and 'Gaetulos Autoteles' ('self-sufficient Gaetulians'; *Plin. HN* 5.9, 5.17).

<sup>143</sup> Cf. *Hdt.* 2.30.1, where a region is named for Egyptian deserters to Ethiopia (ἐς τοὺς αὐτομόλους).

<sup>144</sup> Consolo Langher (2000) 176 places Automala on the Cyrenaic side of the border at this time, yet there is an ongoing debate on the actual nature and formality of these 'borders'. 'If there is "territory" involved here, it is maritime territory; this is a ship-to-shore perspective on imperialism, interested not in exploiting the land, but in seaborne trade, taxation and controlling access to the coast' (Quinn (2014) 175, on the nearby 'Altars'; see also Devillers (2005) 349). The names of the proximal Charax ('the entrenchments') and the Euphrantas Tower are suggestive of the heavily fortified and jealously guarded nature of harbours in the region (Strabo 17.3.20).

<sup>145</sup> Oea: see fig. 1. (*Ps. Scy.* 110; Ptol. *Geog.* 4.3.3; *Plin. HN.* 5.27; Lipiński (2004) 350–51). Consolo Langher (2000) 127 suggests the possibility of a founda-

*(a) The first Barcids and the Byzacium estates*

The first mention of the name Barkas in our sources is Hamilcar's accession to the command of Carthalo's raiding fleet around 247 (Polyb. 1.56). Hamilcar was probably born *ca.* 275, making him around 28 at the time.<sup>146</sup> From the resettlement of Agathocles' mercenary army to this first appearance of a Barca in our sources, there is a 60-year gap (307–247). Of this time, during which a further two generations of settled mercenaries had grown up as part of the Carthaginian domain, 17 years had been taken up by the First Punic War, which started in 264. The 43 years of relative peace between the end of the Agathoclean War and the outbreak of the First Punic War would surely have been ample time for a mercenary to set down roots and be incorporated into a class of landed aristocracy. If such a mercenary was classed as a Libyphoenician, he was granted marriage rights with Carthaginian women (Diod. Sic. 20.55.4). If he was considered Phoenician, this process of assimilation would have been accelerated further still. Yet, the events of the Agathoclean War were not so long ago that people would have forgotten the origin of such settlers who had come from regions across the Mediterranean. This, I suggest, explains the emergence of such toponymical surnames in our sources, after this period, as 'the Samnite', 'the Bruttian', 'the Rhodian' and 'the Barcean'.<sup>147</sup>

If a Barcean mercenary was the progenitor of the Barcid line, where might he have been settled? I propose two alternative hypotheses: Africa (the clues for which will be discussed presently) and Sicily.<sup>148</sup> Lancel notes that Hannibal landed at Leptis Minor in Byzacium after his return from Italy in 203, where he stayed for several months before setting up camp at Hadrumentum prior to the Battle of Zama (Livy 30.25.12; Polyb. 15.5.3).<sup>149</sup> During this time, he occupied his soldiers with planting olive groves (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 37). His connection with Byzacium, the modern Tunisian Sahel, does not end there, Lancel reminds us. After his exile from Carthage in 195, but before leaving Africa for good, Hannibal spent some time at an estate between Thapsus and Acholla, in the same region (Livy 33.47). If Hannibal inherited significant wealth from his father, then Hamilcar, in turn, must have been relatively well established. Either Hamilcar gained land of his own in Africa (perhaps in the aftermath of the Mercenary War)<sup>150</sup> or he inherited it from his father.

Hamilcar's father's name was Hannibal (Nep. *Ham.* 1.1) – one of the common theophoric names adopted by the ruling class at Carthage, probably harking back to the famous personalities of their military history.<sup>151</sup> It stands to reason that Hamilcar's family was by the First Punic War established enough at Carthage to have procured lands for themselves. Certainly by *ca.* 200 Hannibal enjoyed a farm in the 'suburbs' (Just. *Epit.* 31.2.3); yet their main estates in Byzacium must have been notably further away from the city than those of many other aristocrats.<sup>152</sup> The

tion by Sicilian colonists, in a similar mission to that of the failed colony of Dorieus in Africa (Hdt. 5.42; Dorieus on Sicily: Hdt. 5.46; Paus. 3.16.4–5). On the exceptionally fertile soil of the Cinyps region, see Hdt. 4.198; Pompon. Mel. 1.37; Ps. Scy. 109. For the term *mixellēnes*, see Polyb. 1.67.7; discussion below.

<sup>146</sup> Lancel (1998) 9 approximates this age based on Nepos' description of him as 'a young man' (*admodum adulescentulus*) at his accession to command in 247 (Nep. *Ham.* 1). While Hannibal would have been a newborn at the time (he was nine in 238/7; Polyb. 2.1.6, 3.11.5; Nep. *Han.* 2), Hamilcar had already fathered three daughters – the youngest of whom was of marriageable age by the end of the Mercenary War in 238/7 and therefore must have been some years older than Hannibal (Polyb. 1.78.8). On Hamilcar's daughters, see Hoyos (2003) 223. On Hannibal and his siblings, see MacDonald (2015) 61–62.

<sup>147</sup> Mago 'the Samnite', childhood friend of Hannibal and general of the Carthaginian army (see below); Hamilcar 'the Samnite', pro-democratic Carthaginian politician in the 150s (App. *Lib.* 68); Mago 'the Bruttian' (Polyb. 36.5); Hannibal 'the Rhodian' (see above, n.77).

<sup>148</sup> See section IVb.

<sup>149</sup> Lancel (1998) 8. According to Pliny, Byzacium's inhabitants were 'Libyphoenician' and the land extremely fertile (Plin. *HN.* 5.24–25). On Byzacium and its environs, see Lipiński (2004) 363–73.

<sup>150</sup> See n.180.

<sup>151</sup> See n.38.

<sup>152</sup> Carthaginian colonization of the hinterland: Arist. *Pol.* 1273b20–24, 1320b5–9. The beautiful estates of the hinterland are famously described by Diodorus (20.8.3–4). On this passage, see Krings (2008) 28–29, who offers a novel reading.

fact that the Barcid holdings were tucked away south of Cape Bon in Byzacium reinforces the idea that the family had an inherited military role. The presence of such cleruchic-style settlements would undoubtedly be required to maintain order in regions outside of Carthage's immediate grasp, as well as to increase agricultural revenue. The countryside was well covered by fortifications probably precisely for this reason,<sup>153</sup> and the lost agricultural handbook of the Carthaginian Mago, known to us now only through references, implies that a quasi-military character pervaded Carthaginian agricultural organization. This book was once held in such high regard that the Romans brought back a copy of this work alone from Carthage's archives after the city's destruction in 146. Mago was a military man, and perhaps one of the great generals of that name who lived between the sixth and fifth centuries.<sup>154</sup> Columella tells us that both Mago and Hamilcar<sup>155</sup> were adroit generals but also keen agriculturalists who spent their spare time while not at war enriching the land (12.4.2).

(b) *Hamilcar and Sicily*

Hamilcar's sudden and late entry into the First Punic War warrants further enquiry (Polyb. 1.56). There is no indication that Hamilcar had held a previous command. Given his youth, this was unlikely anyway. There must have been some reasoning behind the decision to trust a significant role in the war effort to such an untested individual. The simplest explanation is that the Council did not expect that he would succeed, and that they handed over the command of a rebellious army to Hamilcar precisely because he was young, ambitious and perhaps the only one willing to take on the risk of fighting a war that was slowly failing.<sup>156</sup> If the Barcid family traced their origin back to the mercenaries of Ophellas, moreover, then Hamilcar was born into a military career, surrounded by Greeks and half-Greeks of the same background which was at once agricultural and martial.

Carthalo's resignation and Hamilcar's ascension was a turning-point in the war (Zonar. 8.16). His efforts nearly forestalled the end of the conflict indefinitely by changing the pace of the fighting and innovating tactically according to his strengths. Once he had crushed a mutinous Gallic faction in the army and assuaged the more general desire for plunder through Italian raids,<sup>157</sup> Hamilcar's first significant independent action saw him do something strange. Landing near Panormus in Sicily, Hamilcar took to the hills, isolating himself from any support coming from Drepana and Lilybaeum, and limiting his own usefulness in bringing an end to the sieges there. This new phase of the war, during which Hamilcar fought on the slopes of Heircte and later at Eryx, comprised largely of guerrilla warfare which demanded both strategic nous and a knowledge of the locality in which he was fighting.

Guerrilla warfare is not normally an effective tactic in unfamiliar territory, and Hamilcar's base of operations in the hills near Panormus may in fact have been chosen because of its familiarity to

<sup>153</sup> See above n.140.

<sup>154</sup> See Mahaffy (1889) 29–31, for his still relevant and concise summary of sources that cite Mago. See Speranza (1974) for a near-complete edition of collected testimonia for Mago. For an up-to-date summary of the scholarship on the dating of Mago's original treatise and on his fragments, see Krings (2008) 24–27.

<sup>155</sup> Which exact Hamilcar is not known, but Barkas is a possibility (Mahaffy (1889) 32; Krings (2008) 25).

<sup>156</sup> The Carthaginians were notoriously harsh with failed generals (e.g. Polyb. 1.11.5, 1.24.7, 3.99.8; Zonar. 8.11.18, 8.17; Diod. Sic. 23.9.2, 23.10.1, 20.10.2–4; Just. *Epit.* 18.7, 19.3; Livy 38.48.13; Val. Max. 2.7 ext. 1, *cf.* 7.3 ext. 7).

<sup>157</sup> Gallic mercenaries had a reputation for being disloyal: revolt from Carthaginians (Frontin. *Str.* 3.16.3; Zonar. 8.10 = Cass. Dio. *fr.* 11 = Carey and Foster (1914–1927) 1.404); Autaritus, a rebel leader of the Mercenary War (Polyb. 1.77, 1.79, 1.80, 1.85, 1.86; Diod. Sic. 23.8.3; App. *Ib.* 4); treachery of the Galatian Apaturius while employed by the Seleucids (Polyb. 4.48.7–13); revolt from Ptolemy (Paus. 1.7.2; Callim. *Hymn* 4 1.185–87; Just. *Epit.* 26.9–10); from Epirots (Polyb. 2.5.4–5, 2.7); Carthaginian concerns over their treachery (Polyb. 1.43, 3.78); *cf.* Gauls as naturally untrustworthy (Cic. *Font.* 49); naturally undisciplined and impatient of hardship (Polyb. 3.79.4–7); drunken Gauls spoil Carthaginian attempt at Panormus (Diod. Sic. 23.21). See Champion (2004) 114–17 on Polybius' representation of Gallic peoples.

him. Panormus was a mere 18km or so to the west of the town of Solus, one of the colonies to which the deserters of Agathocles were sent. It is entirely possible that, since Hamilcar's army had within its ranks 'not a few *mixellēnes*', this choice of battlefield was either his own initiative based on local knowledge or it was suggested to him by a sub-commander. Indeed, a Barcean connection with the region, or even a Barcid one, is arguably evidenced by tile stamps from Segesta and Parthenicum dating from between the fourth and first centuries.<sup>158</sup> Some of the army, perhaps Hamilcar himself, were quite possibly fighting in the general vicinity of their own homes amidst the familiar hills and the various harbours of the coast. Indeed, these were perhaps the only environs in which Hamilcar could successfully prosecute a guerrilla campaign. Whatever his reasons, his lack of manpower was no doubt a formative element in choosing how best to prosecute a war with limited resources.<sup>159</sup>

(c) *Mixellēnes*<sup>160</sup>

At a similar impasse, earlier in the war, the roving army of Regulus had been defeated by the efforts of Xanthippos, an expert military commander from Sparta (Polyb. 1.32–34, 1.36; Diod. Sic. 23.14, 23.16; App. *Lib.* 1.3; Zonar. 8.13; Livy *Per.* 18). The Carthaginians had often relied on foreign arms, so it is no surprise to see them employing their half-Greek settlers, the *mixellēnes*, for a good portion of the land army in Sicily (Polyb. 1.67.7). This was also true of their naval efforts, as it was Hannibal Rhodios who took to the task of breaking the stalemate at Lilybaeum (Polyb. 1.46). If Hamilcar had grown up amongst the Greeks in exile in the colonies, he was probably a partially Hellenized member of a cultivated military community whose presence in agricultural colonies in Sicily, Byzacium or elsewhere was encouraged for the consistent raising of competent forces in the Greek style.<sup>161</sup> This helps to explain both Hamilcar's ability as a commander and his popularity with an army that was partially Greek. The fact that he maintained a three-year command of a poorly supplied and mutinous force speaks of a rapport with the soldiers transcending professional loyalties. There might have been a genuine affinity between soldier and commander. The removal of Hamilcar from his command at the war's end indicates not only his initial position relative to Hanno in the military hierarchy,<sup>162</sup> but also the Council's fear of leaving him at the head of a powerful and disaffected army. The memory of Bomilar's attempt at tyranny in 308 (Diod. Sic. 20.10.2, 20.12.2, 20.43; Just. *Epit.* 22.7.7–8) and the rise of Xanthippos to the

<sup>158</sup> SEG 45.1404; see Giustolisi (1976) 37; Garozzo (1995) 1189. My thanks to Jonathan Prag for directing me towards this information, and for his insights.

<sup>159</sup> Hoyos (2003) 12 summarizes the precariousness of the tactic: 'Hamilcar's move was unexpected and debatable. Polybius stresses his isolation from Lilybaeum and Drepana. He could not defend them from assault where he now was; pressure on the enemy could only be indirect. But with the forces available, that was going to be true wherever he was.' See Polyb. 1.56.

<sup>160</sup> μιξέλληνας; the term is rare, with only seven examples (Plut. *Crass.* 31.1; Hellan. *FGrH* 4 F71a; *Syll.* 495, l.114; Heliod. 9.24.2; Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 3.11.43; Diod. Sic. 25.2 (after Polyb. 1.67.7, discussed below)). It is usually employed as a contemptuous term for Greeks who had lost their identification as 'true Greeks' through genetic mingling with 'barbarians' (Tarn (1938) 38; Walbank (1957–1979) 1.134). Hoyos thinks them to be southern Italians and Sicilians (Hoyos (2007) 273; (2011) 207). Gibson (2013) 169 considers the use of this word by Polybius an attempt to mask the involvement of Greeks in the Mercenary War – a strong possibility; he notes the presence of Greek mercenaries at the siege of

Lilybaeum (Polyb. 1.48.3).

<sup>161</sup> The fact that many Phoenicians seem to have been bilingual is a symptom of their familiarity with Greek and Roman traders, settlers and employers. Plautus' Phoenician merchant is described as 'knowing all languages' and Virgil describes the Tyrians as bilingual (Plaut. *Poen.* 112–13; Verg. *Aen.* 1.661). Bonnet suggests the attractive idea that cultural hybridity at Carthage and the emergence of a more Hellenistic western Phoenician culture diverging from the east developed in the decades following Tyre's fall (Bonnet (2014) 292–93). She draws attention to Diod. Sic. 20.14.1–2, where the Carthaginians wonder whether Melqart has turned against them during Agathocles' invasion in 310 as a result of their deviation from their hereditary sacred tithes to Tyre (see also Bonnet (2011); Quinn (2011a)).

<sup>162</sup> Hanno was in command of the armed forces during the outbreak of the Mercenary War (Polyb. 1.73.1) and had been in charge of negotiations with the mutineers at Sicca prior to this in his capacity as *huparchos* of Africa (1.67.1). On this Hanno (the Great), see Picard (1969) 198–210.

head of all of their armed forces must have been formative factors in oligarchic state policy; at once fearing both tyranny and the rise of individuals outside the traditional aristocracy.<sup>163</sup>

Polybius describes the components of Hamilcar's mercenary army in his lengthy account of the 'Mercenary War' (1.67.7):<sup>164</sup>

ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ μὲν Ἴβηρες, οἱ δὲ Κελτοί, τινὲς δὲ Λιγυστῖνοι καὶ Βαλιαρεῖς, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ μιξέλληνες, ὧν οἱ πλείους αὐτόμολοι καὶ δοῦλοι· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον μέρος αὐτῶν ἦν Λίβυες.

For there were Iberians, Celts, some Ligurians and Balearians, not a few *mixellēnes* – of whom the majority were deserters and slaves – but the largest group in the army was the Libyans.

At a glance, one can see the similarities between Hamilcar's mercenary army and that of the remainder of Agathocles' army which had surrendered to the Carthaginians 60 years before. As Diodorus reports (20.64.2–3, quoted above), Agathocles' army also included Celts, Samnites, Etruscans and nearly 10,000 Libyans. The fact that Celts were in both armies (of which Ligurians might be considered synonymous to some authors) is not surprising, nor is the considerable Libyan presence. Balearic islanders and Iberians were common in Carthaginian armies from at least the fifth century and would go on to comprise one of the most formidable elements of Hannibal's army in the Second Punic War.<sup>165</sup> Yet, the most interesting unit in Hamilcar's Sicilian army is the *mixellēnes* corps, whom Polybius describes as 'deserters and slaves' (αὐτόμολοι καὶ δοῦλοι).

As shown above, Agathocles' (largely Greek) army had been left in Africa 60 years prior – the majority of which had entered into Carthaginian service willingly as deserters or forcefully as slaves (Diod. Sic. 20.69.3–5). We have already met two of Hannibal's confidantes: Hippocrates and Epicydes, half-Carthaginians, who explicitly traced their roots at Carthage back to one of these deserters (Polyb. 7.2.4; Livy 24.6.2). I here suggest that many of those serving under Hamilcar who were identified as *mixellēnes* by Polybius had a similar lineage. Hannibal's boyhood friend, Mago 'the Samnite', for example, probably traced his descent from a grandfather who numbered among the roughly 2,000 Samnites who capitulated in 307 – a point I shall return to below (Diod. Sic. 20.64.2–3).<sup>166</sup> That *mixellēnes* was a blanket term that also covered half-Italians is conceivable. In fact, even some first-generation Italian peoples might have been grouped together by Carthaginians as *mixellēnes*. Under what other category listed by Polybius (1.67.7) might we class the rebel leader Spendius the Campanian?<sup>167</sup> He was originally a Roman slave who fled captivity (Polyb. 1.69),<sup>168</sup> yet to some Carthaginians the distinction between a Greek and an Italian from a part of Italy full of Greeks was probably not an important one. All the same, there is no reason to doubt Polybius' general description of these men as 'mixed'.

These *mixellēnes* would have had a prominent part in the Mercenary War – Hoyos goes so far as to attribute the outbreak of the revolt to them.<sup>169</sup> Yet, given the poor track record for loyalty amongst Gallic mercenaries in this period, it is just as likely to have originated from this quarter – something stated directly by Appian (*Sik.* 3.1).<sup>170</sup> If the *mixellēnes* were settled subjects of the Carthaginian state (whether disinherited from their lands in Sicily by the Romans or housed on

<sup>163</sup> Agathocles' own rise to power – from potter, to mercenary, to tyrant – was precisely the sort of horror story that oligarchic regimes around the Mediterranean feared. On Agathocles' early political career, see Berve (1953) 21–45; Marasco (1984) 38; Consolo Langher (2000) chapters 2–3.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. Diod. Sic. 25.2.1, who follows Polybius.

<sup>165</sup> Diod. Sic. 5.17.4, 5.13.80, 5.19.106, 9; Polyb. 3.33.5, 15.11.1; Livy 21.21–22, 27.2, 27.18.

<sup>166</sup> See below for discussion.

<sup>167</sup> Hoyos (2007) 68 supposes that Spendius was the leader of the *mixellēnes*. Campanians were also recruited for the invasion of Sicily in ca. 406 (Diod. Sic. 13.80.4).

<sup>168</sup> Italian and Roman slaves at Carthage (App. *Lib.* 92; Zonar. 9.26; cited in Hoyos (2010) 228).

<sup>169</sup> Hoyos (2007) 79.

<sup>170</sup> See above, n.157. On the reliability of Appian as a source for this period, see Leidl (1993).



*kleroi* in Africa), their participation in the Mercenary War should be no less surprising. In antiquity this was called the Libyan War,<sup>171</sup> and generally took on the characteristics of a social war between the Carthaginians and their Libyan (and even some of their Punic) subjects.<sup>172</sup>

(d) *The Mercenary War*

The returning Sicilian army of the First Punic War was received with no great ceremony at Carthage. Awaiting payment of their arrears, the army took to loitering and petty crime (Polyb. 1.66.5–6). In anticipation of the inherent difficulties of transporting, housing, feeding, paying and disbanding such a large and ethnically varied army of soldiers, one would have expected Hamilcar to be employed in every stage of this process.<sup>173</sup> On the contrary, however, Hamilcar immediately surrendered his command to Gisco, the captain of the Lilybaeum garrison (Polyb. 1.66.1).<sup>174</sup> The Council removed Hamilcar from a position of dangerous leverage as sole commander of Carthage's only army and he was likely retained at Carthage where his movements could be monitored closely.<sup>175</sup> If Hamilcar's family lands had been on Sicily among plots granted to Cyrenaic mercenaries in 307, any hope of returning to them was lost with the final departure of Punic forces from the island in 241. Without land, a Carthaginian noble would certainly struggle for an income.<sup>176</sup> Perhaps his desire to gain new properties made him open to the offer of some estate in Africa a safe distance from the Carthaginian political scene.<sup>177</sup> There was certainly no shortage of land to go around, as Hanno had only recently conquered territory from inland Libyan tribes.<sup>178</sup> In this move, the Council succeeded in removing Hamilcar as a threat by distancing him from his army, with the bonus of causing a rift between him and the troops.

Nonetheless, once all of Libya erupted into the desperate conflict known as the Mercenary War (241–237), roving bands of Libyans made the occupation of isolated estates impossible (Polyb. 1.72). Indeed, even the Carthaginians and their Numidian allies were occasioned to ravage the countryside just to sustain themselves, so desperate was the situation (Polyb. 1.82, 1.86). Despite his credentials as the most capable commander of the First Punic War, Hamilcar was not employed to defend Carthage once the mercenaries had revolted – stark proof of the suspicion in which he must have been regarded. Indeed, it was only at the direst hour, after the defeat of Hanno, that Hamilcar was finally tasked with taking to the field against his former comrades. Hamilcar's re-entry into history again marked a turning point in Carthaginian fortunes (Polyb. 1.75.1). Having successfully alienated him from the affections of the mercenaries, the Council once again required Hamilcar's ability as a capable general with sangfroid. Yet old loyalties may have been reawakened in some of the mercenary contingents, as we hear of 'deserters from the enemy' (τοὺς ἠῆτομοληκότας) under his command (1.75.2).<sup>179</sup>

<sup>171</sup> *Africum bellum* (Livy 21.1.4); 'against the foreigners (ξένους) and both the Numidians (Νομάδας) and the Libyans (Λίβυαζ) who had revolted' (Polyb. 1.65.3); τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην πολέμου (Diod. Sic. 25.8). For further commentary, see Loreto (1995) 34–35.

<sup>172</sup> The Punic cities of Hippo Akra and Utica revolted in 240 (Polyb. 1.82.6–8).

<sup>173</sup> Indeed, the mercenaries seemed surprised that he was not (Polyb. 1.67.12).

<sup>174</sup> Hoyos (2007) 1; (2015) 63.

<sup>175</sup> It is Lazenby's opinion that Hamilcar distanced himself purposely from the Carthaginian Council in case they sought a scapegoat (Lazenby (1996) 157; *contra* Hunt (2018) 7).

<sup>176</sup> Diod. Sic. 20.8; see Ameling (2011) 49.

<sup>177</sup> Such promises would have gained the Council Hamilcar's free will in leaving his command. His

soldiers, in fact, suspected something (Polyb. 1.68.12).

<sup>178</sup> Hanno had put down a previous revolt at Hecatompylus (Polyb. 1.73; see Walbank (1957–1979) 1.137 for identification with Theveste). Diodorus mentions that 3,000 prisoners were captured, but the city and its lands were spared (Const. Exc. 2 (1) 260–61 = Diod. Sic. 24.2). Hanno was 'accustomed' (εἰθισμένος) to fighting Libyans and Numidians in guerrilla-style warfare, hinting at significant prior experience (Polyb. 1.74.7).

<sup>179</sup> Many of the mercenaries probably rejoined the Carthaginian side at various stages of the conflict. After the Battle of the Bagradas, some 2,000 rebels were captured, doubtlessly including mercenaries (Polyb. 1.76.9). Given Hamilcar's policy of leniency during this stage of the war (1.79.8), some were probably allowed to join him, as the 4,000 captured a little later were (1.78.12–13).

By the close of this war, Hamilcar's reputation for brilliance on the field of battle and for utter ruthlessness with his enemies had been consolidated by decisive victories at the Bagradas, the Battle of the Saw and the final engagement in the vicinity of Leptis Minor (Polyb. 1.87.8–10).<sup>180</sup> Having captured Mathos, his triumph was complete. Hamilcar now once again had a loyal army at his back, tested by hard campaign. This new position of strength probably stirred up animosities within the aristocracy. The impoverished condition of the state enabled Hamilcar to leave Carthage behind with the pretext of conquering territory in Spain, the subjugation of which might mitigate the loss of both Sicily and Sardinia, and enable the state to bear the exorbitant burden of the Roman war indemnity.<sup>181</sup> Leaving Carthage also gave Hamilcar the chance to escape his enemies, some of whom apparently sought to impeach him for 'malpractice' (πρᾶξι κακῶς; App. *Hann.* 1.2). In Iberia, Hamilcar had enough free reign to carve out what was a semi-autonomous kingdom. This autonomy would only heighten differences with the Council further.<sup>182</sup>

## V. Rise of the Barcids

### (a) A Barcid identity?

The enduring political dichotomy between Hanno the Great and the Barcids is sometimes judged as being the result of differing stances on war with Rome.<sup>183</sup> It has also been argued that the Barcids were at odds politically with the more oligarchic factions because of their democratic leaning and popular support.<sup>184</sup> Yet I propose here that their association with, and perhaps membership of, a class of foreign military settlers recently embedded into Carthaginian society would have been a singular fact inducing unpopularity with the older aristocratic regime. Hamilcar's name, if Barca is a toponym, was an easy target for political detractors from amongst more established families such as the Magonids and Hannonids.<sup>185</sup> If Hamilcar's lineage derived from something resembling 'Libyphoenician', then this provides some clarity concerning the inexplicable differences of opinion between Hanno and Hamilcar during the Mercenary War: differences so severe that the war effort ground to a halt (Polyb. 1.82.3–4). Hanno was markedly contemptuous of Muttines, the only individual explicitly denoted as Libyphoenician in our sources, whom he called a 'degenerate African' (*degenerem Afrum*), yet he was also jealous of his growing fame (*gloria*) (Livy 25.40.12–41.7).

Diodorus describes a relationship of 'kinship' (συγγενεία) and 'intermarriage' (ἐπιγαμιά) between Carthage and the Libyphoenician cities, yet the degree to which they were involved in the governing class is not known, despite an implied social mobility (Diod. Sic. 20.55.4). Epigraphic evidence from Carthage might indicate a similar arrangement with settlers from Sidon, at any rate, and a kind of special citizenship seems to have been granted to individuals of certain cities on Sardinia also.<sup>186</sup> A military commander with hereditary ties to another Phoenician city, therefore, might enjoy citizenship at Carthage with room for advancement – yet perhaps not

<sup>180</sup> If Hamilcar had not yet been offered his Byzacium estates, perhaps they were obtained in the wake of his activity there at the close of the Mercenary War, including 'repeated skirmishes' (τοῖς κατὰ μέρος κινδύνοις) in the region (Polyb. 1.87.7).

<sup>181</sup> Which was his explanation to Roman envoys in 231 (Cass. Dio. *fr.* 48 = Carey and Foster (1914–1927) 2.28).

<sup>182</sup> A Numidian campaign, which seems to have had its first phase immediately prior to Hamilcar's departure for Spain and its second some time afterwards, and conducted by Hasdrubal, is evident from a few surviving references (App. *Hann.* 1.2; *Ib.* 4; Diod. Sic. 25.10.3, 26.23; Oros. 4.9.9; Coel. Ant. *fr.* 3, 4 = Peter (1883) 100).

<sup>183</sup> Hoyos (2007) 20–25; (2011) 208.

<sup>184</sup> For views on the democratic leanings of the Barcid faction, see Picard (1967) 75–77; (1968) 114–29, 202–16; Huss (1985) 270, 426–27, 463; Barceló (2004) 64–65.

<sup>185</sup> On the Magonids and their campaigns of expansion, see Sanders (1988); Consolo Langher (2000) 126–29; van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard (2008) 8–9; Hoyos (2010) 163–68. On the Hannonids of the fourth century, see Hoyos (1994) 273, with further references.

<sup>186</sup> For inscriptions referring to individuals descriptively designated as 'of Sidon' (ἰδὴ Σιδῶν), see Hoyos (2010) 69, 288. For a list of inscriptions 'of Sidon', see Huss (1985) 498 n.26. For Sardinian 'special citizenship', see Garbini (1983) 158–60; Bernardini (2005) 125–26; Miles (2010) chapter 4.

entirely without scrutiny. 'Phoenicians' were probably attracted to Carthage in much the same way that Ptolemaic cleruchs were often sourced from areas that were of a Greek or Hellenistic demographic.<sup>187</sup> People from cities with a proclaimed kinship, identifiable by shared cultural, linguistic or even mythical commonalities, might easily be attracted by the promise of trade wealth, land or military service. Phoenicians from Cyrenaic cities like Barce or Rhodian cities like Ialysos would fall into this category, accounting for names like Barkas and Rhodios in the military. Yet the civilian presence of eastern Phoenicians in the city invites us to ask whether Carthage was cultivating something resembling a *Panphoenician* identity.<sup>188</sup> Within a generation, the offspring of such men who married into their new environs might enjoy the full privileges of a Carthaginian identity while in most cases perpetuating the same military careers as their fathers. Perhaps part of Hamilcar and Hannibal Barca's allure to their mercenary soldiers was their own, probably distant in its definition, 'outsider' status at Carthage. Hannibal exclaimed this promise to his varied army before Cannae in 216 (Enn. *Ann.* 8.276–77; translation Warmington (1935)):<sup>189</sup>

Hostem qui feriet mihi erit Karthaginiensis, quisquis erit, quoiatis siet.

He who will strike an enemy – hear me! he will be a Carthaginian, whatever his name will be; whatever his country.

Indeed, despite his name, which suggests another country, Hannibal was Carthaginian – the most famous figure ever to bear that identity.<sup>190</sup> Yet I suggest that this identity was rewarded to his forefathers after service among the mercenaries and allied soldiers of the state. Hannibal's identification with his soldiery, and his absence from the political scene at Carthage, must have had an effect on his detractors. He himself admits to the Council his unfamiliarity with the politics of Carthage and his straight and rough attitude – the result of an absence of some 30 years. Indeed, if any sought to diminish his legitimacy as one of the leading members of Carthaginian politics, he, in his turn, successfully derided any man who *called* himself a Carthaginian but who had not exemplified it in the same way that he had by his own actions (Polyb. 15.19).

### (b) *Mago the Samnite*

As mentioned above, another figure – Mago 'the Samnite' – is worthy of our attention regarding Carthaginian names.<sup>191</sup> Mago's close association with the Barcids, however, also provides us with further clues concerning their history. Polybius, relating not only the eyewitness testimony of king Massinissa of Numidia himself, but also to the commonly held traditions of the Carthaginian people, describes Mago and Hannibal as childhood friends and 'countrymen' (ἐγχωρίων ἀνθρώπων), and says that they were at an early point in their careers considered equal in command to each other (Polyb. 9.25.3).<sup>192</sup> The term 'countrymen' rules out any suggestion that Mago was a

<sup>187</sup> Bagnall (1984) 13.

<sup>188</sup> For kinship politics between cities claiming to be descendants of Tyrians, see Quinn (2017) 118–20, with references to further bibliography. Carthaginian coins dating as early as the fifth century bearing the image of the palm tree have been interpreted as a deliberate pun on the word *phoenix* (the Greek term for both Phoenician and palm tree): 'the palm was still used on the silver and bronze shekel-based coinage Hannibal minted in southern Italy during the Second Punic War. It reveals a deliberate choice to use a new image to convey a new message: ... "the punning type of the palm tree ... stands for the large community of Phoenicians spread all over the Mediterranean"' (Quinn (2017) 86–87, citing Frey-

Kupper (2014) 103).

<sup>189</sup> Quoted in Cic. *Balb.* 22.51.

<sup>190</sup> Our sources are explicit about this: for example [Hamilcar] the Carthaginian (Βάρκας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος) (*Exc.* Hoesch. p. 508W. = Diod. Sic. 24.6) and *Hannibal, Hamilcaris filius, Karthaginiensis* (Nep. *Han.* 1.1).

<sup>191</sup> See Livy 27.28; Frontin. *Str.* 4.7.26 for his command in Calabria. See Polyb. 9.25; Polybius describes him more clearly and is the only one who calls him 'the Samnite'.

<sup>192</sup> Massinissa seems to have talked at some length on this character (Polyb. 9.25). The claim that both Hannibal and Mago were competitors in their vice and greed ought to be challenged as an unfair caricature of

full Samnite, as would seem unlikely anyway, yet his closeness to the Barcids probably indicates that his father served with Hamilcar in Spain and was himself one of the *mixellēnes*.<sup>193</sup> It is probable, even, that Mago could trace his ancestry back to the large number of Samnites who had deserted from Agathocles to Carthage in 307, meaning that the family could have been as firmly established as the Barcids (Diod. Sic. 20.64.2–3).<sup>194</sup> Of course, it is still possible that the name Saunites was given to Mago as an epithet after a victory in Samnium. Yet Mago's main command was in Calabria, and Polybius mentions him in connection with Bruttium (Frontin. *Str.* 4.7.26; Polyb. 9.25).<sup>195</sup> This *ex virtute* explanation would also not suffice for the later Hamilcar 'the Samnite', who was active in Carthage in the 150s – some half a century after Hannibal left Italy.<sup>196</sup>

The question remains, however, why our ancient sources do not offer much commentary on the foreign connotations of the names of several notable Carthaginians.<sup>197</sup> Barce was certainly not territory within Carthage's direct control, neither was Rhodes nor Samnium – yet these territories were interconnected by a network of trade and mercenary migration that transcended political boundaries. Carthaginian identity is hardly something that can today be defined easily. The Carthaginians' own history as colonists and their kinship with other Phoenician cities on three continents have left a complicated legacy. They were aware of their shared colonial heritage, recognized by annual offerings to Tyre.<sup>198</sup> It is no surprise, for that reason, that those historians who knew of the Barcean connection do not seem to have made more of it – at least from what remains. Hamilcar Barca, if a descendent of a mercenary of the Agathoclean War, must have been in the third generation and surely considered himself Carthaginian. In fact, a Barcean grandfather to Hamilcar might well have described himself thus anyway if he had been settled in Cyrenaica previously as part of a Carthaginian 'trading enclave'.<sup>199</sup>

By the second century Barca was a name of immortal fame. While it probably originated as a geographical family name, it undoubtedly took on other meanings with the passage of time. It can be surmised that to contemporary Carthaginians the name Barkas had a good ring to it, and the similarity to *brq* ('lightning') was surely noticed. In this way, a name that had originally delineated the Barcids as being to a degree foreign might have evolved into a formidable war cry for the Carthaginian army.<sup>200</sup>

Phoenicians in general. Nepos states explicitly that Hannibal had supreme command ratified by the Council at Carthage before the war with Rome (Nep. *Han.* 3; see also Livy 21.2).

<sup>193</sup> Gabriel (2011) 7 suggests that Mago was 'the product of a Carthaginian mother and a Samnite father serving in Hamilcar's army as a mercenary.' This is possible, despite the revolt of his mercenary army in 241. The Romans had allowed Carthage to hire mercenaries from Italy during the Mercenary War (App. *Sik.* 3). Perhaps these are to be included in the 'allies' (σύμμαχοι) called upon by Carthage just prior to the final battle near Leptis (Polyb. 1.87.8). In addition, many deserters from the rebel mercenary ranks likely rejoined the Carthaginians (see n.179).

<sup>194</sup> See above.

<sup>195</sup> See Rawlings (2011) 307.

<sup>196</sup> Ἀμίλχαρ, ὃ Σαυνίτης ἐπόνυμον ἦν (App. *Lib.* 68). There is the possibility that this Hamilcar was the son of his namesake Mago. Both were staunch supporters of the democratic, previously Barcid, faction.

<sup>197</sup> Hannibal Monomachos, or 'the Gladiator', is another named associate of Hannibal's (Polyb. 9.24.4–8). In his case, as in some others such as Hasdrubal

Calvus or 'the Bald' (Livy 22.31.1, 23.34.10–17, 27.6.13–14), the name obviously does not refer to a city of origin. However, it is also possible, but without good evidence, that Monomachos was the son of a runaway slave (such as Spendius was) and former 'gladiator' (μονόμαχος). *Cambridge University Magazine* 2 (1843) 551–52 contains a useful list of the different categories that these names appear to take, many of which seem inexplicable. In the case of epithets and cognomina, several categories from political titles to physical attributes exist (see Muccioli (2013); and Kajanto (1982), respectively).

<sup>198</sup> On these offerings, see Polyb. 31.12.21; Polybius places a Carthaginian ship returning from such a journey at Ostia: rather far off the expected route home from Phoenicia – a fact that might indicate that it had intended to load with trade-goods before returning home. See also Arr. *Anab.* 2.24; Diod. Sic. 20.14. On Carthage's relationship with its mother city, see Quinn (2017) 114.

<sup>199</sup> Like those on Sicily perhaps (Diod. Sic. 14.46.1; see n.110).

<sup>200</sup> A similar process can be observed in the case of Pompey Magnus (see n.44).

*(c) Political landscape in Carthage*

Since the mid-fifth century, the monarchical style of the Magonid-led government had been replaced by the oligarchic rule of the Council of One Hundred and Four, an institution designed to limit the power of the two suffetes (a role similar to that of consul).<sup>201</sup> Aristotle, who probably wrote the *Politics* during his time in Athens as head of the Lyceum (335–323), before the outbreak of the Agathoclean War, comments that at contemporary Carthage ‘no faction worth mentioning has appeared, and no tyrant’ (*Pol.* 1272b24). Isocrates, writing a little before, praised the Carthaginians for being led by an oligarchy at home but by kings (suffetes) in battle (*Isoc. Nic.* 24). Yet, by the closing years of Hamilcar Barca’s career, there was indeed a faction of note: the so called *factionis Barcinae* (Livy 21.2.4, 21.9.4). This numerous and powerful democratic faction had become so strong that the combined sway of Carthage’s leading men was not enough to give them a majority over it when they argued to have the command of the armies formally transferred to Hannibal (Livy 21.3.2–6).<sup>202</sup> One might, given this Barcid dominance over Carthaginian affairs, doubt whether Hamilcar could possibly have originated from anything other than one of the older and more powerful families of Carthage. Could an outsider truly rise to such a position of prominence? Other than Hamilcar’s military brilliance, what other factors could possibly be used to explain the rise of a *novus homo* to the highest ranks of Carthaginian command?

That the Carthaginian oligarchic system was deteriorating by the third century is evident. The attempt of Bomilcar to become a tyrant with the help of mercenaries in 308 indicates a change in the political landscape (Diod. Sic. 20.43).<sup>203</sup> If one had both popular support and command over foreign mercenary arms, it was possible to transcend the ambition permitted to one by the state. By Hamilcar’s time, many nobles had died during the first 17 years of the First Punic War and the general desperation that accompanied the conflict necessitated a reliance on military strongmen like Xanthippos the Spartan – a foreigner. This atmosphere was fertile ground for any Carthaginian general to rise to prominence, even one from outside the older families, albeit at the expense of their inevitable disdain.

Election to the Elders had traditionally depended ‘on the eminence of one’s family’, yet wealth, however it was procured, was also of great importance in obtaining the power required for election (Arist. *Pol.* 1273a31).<sup>204</sup> Hanno, given his role as *huparchos* in Libya, must have been a very large landowner (Polyb. 1.67.1). From a long-esteemed family, and exceedingly wealthy, his differences from the up-and-coming Barcids are better understood.<sup>205</sup> Hanno’s speech described the late Hamilcar as an inordinate king whose son ought to be kept in Carthage under the watchful eye of the Council (Livy 21.3.3–6).<sup>206</sup> While these imperial allusions cannot be accepted at face value – Livy’s interpretation of events being highly influenced by more contemporary Roman history – there is an underlying historical truth to this political angst. Polybius, who predates such Augustan interpretative biases by over a century, details the decline of the traditional Carthaginian constitution outlined by Aristotle into something less oligarchic (6.51.1–8; translation Paton (2010–2012)).<sup>207</sup>

<sup>201</sup> ‘to prevent the resurgence of monarchical dominance vis-à-vis the new regime, stemming either from the Magonid family or from some other source acting in a military capacity’ (Sanders (1988) 73). On the changing political landscape of Carthage, see Picard (1968); Consolo Langher (2000) 126–29.

<sup>202</sup> Perhaps the fresh memory of *optimates-populares* politics of first-century BC Rome coloured Livy’s language (see Hoyos (2003) 4; see below for further discussion).

<sup>203</sup> On this figure, see Günther *BNP s.v.* ‘Bomilcar’ (1). For an earlier attempted coup in ca. 350 under one ‘Hanno’ and his armed slaves, see Just. *Epit.* 21.4.

<sup>204</sup> Hamilcar the half-Greek, however, became suffete on account of his ‘virtue’ (ἀνδραγαθίη; Hdt. 7.166). Similarly, Hamilcar Barca rose to the command

not, it seems, as a result of ‘the eminence of his family’, but because of his conspicuous ‘nobility of spirit’ (ἔσχε τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς ψυχῆς) and ‘scorn of danger’ (καταφρονῶν δὲ τῶν κινδύνων; Const. *Exc.* 4, p. 351 = Diod. Sic. 24.5; translation Walton (1957)). One could sit in the Council of One Hundred and Four by ‘merit’ (ἀριστινδην; Arist. *Pol.* 1272b38).

<sup>205</sup> Hoyos (2007) 22–25 frames the rivalry in useful terms.

<sup>206</sup> *Contra* Livy 30.35, 30.37, who states that Hannibal was already in Spain at this point.

<sup>207</sup> See Walbank (1957–1979) 1.636, who dates this passage to before 150 (*contra* Paton (2010–2012) 3.427, where he places it after 133).

Τὸ δὲ Καρχηδονίων πολίτευμα τὸ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν μοι δοκεῖ καλῶς κατὰ γε τὰς ὀλοσχερεῖς διαφορὰς συνεστάσθαι. καὶ γὰρ βασιλεῖς ἦσαν παρ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ γερόντιον εἶχε τὴν ἀριστοκρατικὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἦν κύριον τῶν καθηκόντων αὐτῶ ... κατὰ γε μὴν τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους, καθ' οὓς εἰς τὸν Ἀννιβιακὸν ἐνέβαινε πόλεμον, χειρὸν ἦν τὸ Καρχηδονίων, ἄμεινον δὲ τὸ Ῥωμαίων ... διὸ καὶ τὴν πλείστην δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς διαβουλίαις παρὰ μὲν Καρχηδονίοις ὁ δῆμος ἤδη μετελήφει, παρὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἀκμὴν εἶχεν ἢ σύγκλητος.

The constitution of Carthage seems to me to have been originally well contrived as regards its most distinctive points. For there were kings, and the house of Elders was an aristocratic force, and the people were supreme in matters proper to them ... But at the time when they entered on the Hannibalic War, the Carthaginian constitution had degenerated, and that of Rome was better ... Consequently, the multitude at Carthage had already acquired the chief voice in deliberations; while at Rome the senate still retained this; and hence, as in one case the masses deliberated and in the other the most eminent men.

Hamilcar's ascension was perhaps the catalyst for this political shift, yet there was a constitutional weakness, a chink in the political armour of the state, that had made this possible. The 'people' (δῆμος), or popular assembly, had the right to listen in on matters of state brought to the Elders (γερουσία) by the suffetes (βασιλεῖς) (Arist. *Pol.* 1273a7–11). This meant that if a 'man of the people', rather than one of the older aristocracy, were to rise to the position of suffete due, perhaps, to some desperate military circumstance, he would have great power indeed if he maintained popular support. Diodorus, though following an anti-Barcid strain of historiography, critically describes Hamilcar as forming a party with the 'most base of men' (συστησάμενος ἑταιρείαν τῶν πονηροτάτων ἀνθρώπων) to amass wealth and gain power, drumming up support from the general populace for political ends (πλήθους ἀρέσκειαν παρεστήσατο τὸν δῆμον) (Diod. Sic. 25.8).<sup>208</sup>

A century after Aristotle, the Barcids had risen to political dominance at Carthage and the machinations of the state no longer worked as intended. While Polybius was right to dismiss the idea that Hasdrubal wanted to form a tyranny (Polyb. 3.8–9), there can be no doubt that the Barcids as a political force were the cause of apprehension among the aristocracy.<sup>209</sup> If the Barcids themselves are to be credited as the harbingers of significant political change at Carthage, then this opens up a broader debate on the historical significance of the toponyms in Carthaginian nomenclature that emerged in this period – a debate that might address the long-term consequences of the Agathoclean War and Carthage's social and political integration of a new foreign military class.

## VI. Conclusions

My intention has been to readdress the absence of any background to the Barcid dynasty in our ancient sources – a significant lacuna in the history of the Hellenistic period. If the name Barkas is the equivalent to Keraunos, it is certainly surprising to find none of our Greek sources using the latter term of Hamilcar or any of the other Barcids. It is equally surprising that no ancient author comments on where the name originated. Rather, it is more likely that the word Barkas was, like Rhodios, a toponym of a simple and descriptive nature. In other words, Hamilcar might just as easily be referred to as Barkaios.

The invasion of Agathocles in 310 had a profound effect on Carthage, resulting in thousands of deaths and the devastation of the country. The fortresses which the Syracusan left behind from

<sup>208</sup> By the beginning of the Third Punic War in 149 there was mob rule at Carthage. The envoys expected to be 'destroyed' (ἀπολεῖσθαι) by the people of Carthage upon bringing back unfavourable news. The senate house was, in fact, stormed by the general populace following

their return (App. *Lib.* 91–92).

<sup>209</sup> On Hannibal's popularity, see Diod. Sic. 25.8; App. *Ib.* 4.16; Livy 33.45.6–48.11; references in Hoyos (1994) 248.

Aspis to Utica were physical reminders of the severity of the war and the immediacy of the danger.<sup>210</sup> Yet the social implications of the settlement of Agathocles' multicultural army in Africa in the war's aftermath have not yet been appreciated fully. In that army were Greeks from Sicily, the mainland and the islands, various peoples from the Cyrenaic cities, Italians, Gauls and Iberians. With this historical context highlighted, the meaning of Barkas, along with other surnames such as Rhodios and Saunites, seems less mysterious – indeed deceptively obvious. Whether these names originated causally as 'nicknames' or took a more formal role in delineating *mixellēnes*, Libyphoenicians or some other category of citizen at Carthage can only be guessed at. Yet by Hannibal's day, such figures were fairly common and included some of his most able sub-commanders: Mago 'the Samnite' and Hippocrates and Epicydes, the part-Syracusan brothers.

Whether the Barcids themselves had Greek blood is impossible to say. Certainly, the Hamilcar of the Battle of Himera in 480 was half-Syracusan while simultaneously occupying the position of suffete – an office that still retained regal authority at that time. Yet it is fair to assume that if the Barcids *did* have Greek blood, then our Greek historians would emphasize this point. It seems more likely, rather, that the Barcids derived their name from an old Phoenician community at Barce which had successfully integrated with its Greek neighbours<sup>211</sup> or a newer 'trading enclave' in this part of Libya. Families from such communities might accurately be described as Libyphoenicians: a people 'of close kinship' with the Carthaginians – a term probably descriptive, to varying degrees, of many citizens of Carthage (Diod. Sic. 20.55.4). If this origin was widely known at one point in antiquity, then this is surely what Silius Italicus refers to when he claims that Hamilcar traced his Tyrian ancestry through 'ancient Barce' (Sil. *Pun.* 1.70). Indeed, Hannibal probably visited the city himself on his way to meet with Mago in *ca.* 193.<sup>212</sup>

Understanding the Barcids and their name for its own sake is, of course, worthwhile and helps build a more nuanced picture of their place within Carthaginian society – and in a wider Hellenistic one. Yet these enquiries are more useful in what they imply about the *modus operandi* of the Carthaginian military and state, and the potential pathways for social mobility through the settlement and intermarriage of foreign mercenaries. However, the limitations of the remaining sources mean that as some questions are posed, others present themselves. What exactly was the nature of these *mixellēnes* communities? Are we to presume that they were both military and agricultural settlements such as appeared in Mago's agricultural handbook? If so, is the contemporary Ptolemaic cleruchic system a fair comparison? Can we account for all Carthaginian 'nicknames', including non-geographic ones such as 'the Gladiator' and 'the Kid' (Polyb. 9.24.4–8; App. *Lib.* 53.1)? While this article has only addressed what has been appropriate for its scope, the question as to the meaning of the name Barca is evidently one that ties in a host of other considerations.

Ultimately, however, in asking 'who were the Barcids?', one should turn to the long shadow they cast on the pages of military history. Dominant on the battlefield and in the turbulent urban political scene, the Barcids were eventually worn down as much by relentless Roman resources as by their detractors back home.<sup>213</sup> Hamilcar and Hannibal were, like Xanthippos (if the compar-

<sup>210</sup> App. *Lib.* 14, 110; Sil. *Pun.* 3.244; Strabo 17.3.16.

<sup>211</sup> At the close of the second century AD, some two and a half centuries after the Roman domination of 'Africa', Leptis Magna produced Septimius Severus, who could speak Punic (*Hist. Aug.* 9.9, 15.7). It is no wonder that a Phoenician community would have survived the Greek domination of Barce, from Battos to Ophellas.

<sup>212</sup> Hannibal, upon fleeing Carthage, initially made his way to Tyre – a city bound to welcome him (Livy

33.5). Yet he reappeared at the Cyrenean border with Carthage in the third year after his exile in 195. His purpose was to meet with Mago there (Nep. *Han.* 8). On the way he must have passed through Barce or its port, Ptolemais. If Hannibal did have familial links there, he might have hoped to gather support, or mercenaries, for a march toward Carthage. Seibert (1993) 514 suggests that Hannibal also journeyed to Siwah during this time, *contra* Hoyos (2003) 231–32.

<sup>213</sup> See, for example, App. *Syr.* 2.10.

ison is permitted), relied upon as *stratēgoi par excellence*. Xanthippos' success (and no doubt his nationality) was the cause of resentment and suspicion at Carthage.<sup>214</sup> Hamilcar was held in similar contempt after his successes in the First Punic War and the following Mercenary War. In response to this animosity, Xanthippos wisely removed himself from Carthage altogether (Polyb. 1.36.1–3), while Hamilcar followed a similar policy by his 'proconsulship'<sup>215</sup> in Iberia. Xanthippos potentially resurfaced as a military governor under Ptolemy III.<sup>216</sup> A career could be made, if one fell out of political favour at home, as a professional military advisor in any one of the Hellenistic kingdoms – a fact not lost on Hannibal, who later in life joined the courts of Antiochus III of the Seleucids, Artaxias I of Armenia and Prusias I of Bithynia.<sup>217</sup> In fact, Hannibal is the only known Carthaginian to have taken up positions in several Hellenistic courts, a singular point that suggests a Barcid identity not so narrowly defined.<sup>218</sup>

Since the lives of the Barcids were dominated by the military affairs of a few decades, painting a picture of the family's larger social history and status is difficult with what sources remain. It is a credible hypothesis, however, that the Barcids had links to the city of Barce – evident in deceptively simple terms by their very name. Should this be proven true, then how should we describe the Barcids going forward? It would be an arduous task to invent more definitions for individuals so well entwined in the complicated networks of peoples and places in the Hellenistic world. Yet what would be the use? The Carthaginians themselves were colonists of *Qarthadasht* (the 'New City'), Hellenized yet Semitic, Phoenicians yet Punic, of Africa yet out of Asia; and in that regard the Barcids and their complex identity are, in every sense of the word, Carthaginian.

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<sup>214</sup> '[The Carthaginians] advance their leading men to commands, taking it for granted that these should be first to brave danger for the whole state; but when they gain peace, they plague these same men with suits, bring false charges against them through envy, and load them down with penalties' (Diod. Sic. 20.10.3; translation Geer (1962)).

<sup>215</sup> Hoyos' term (see Hoyos (1994)).

<sup>216</sup> Jer. *Dan*. 11.7.9; suggested by Droysen (1877–1878) 3.1, 386f; cited in Walbank (1957–1979) 1.94. The Spartan reputation for military prowess still had weight in the mercenary market. King Cleomenes III was allegedly popular with the mercenaries in Alexandria in the 220s (Polyb. 5.36.7).

<sup>217</sup> Nep. *Han.* 7, 10; Plut. *Luc.* 31.3–4; Strabo 11.14.6. Compare also the career of the Hamilcar who led the Ligurian insurrection after the close of the Second Punic War (Livy 31.11.6, 31.19.1–2).

<sup>218</sup> Stocks (2014) 13–14: 'Hannibal himself appears to have been fluent in Greek, possibly even Latin, communicating in the language with Philip of Macedon when they signed a treaty (Polyb. 7.9) ... Livy (28.46.16) says that Hannibal left a record of some of his achievements inscribed in Greek and Punic ... Zonaras (8.24) alleges that Hannibal spoke Latin.' See also Walbank (1957–1979) 1.451.



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