



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

**On colonial grounds: a comparative study of colonialism and rural settlement  
in first millennium BC west central Sardinia**

Dommelen, P.A.R. van

**Citation**

Dommelen, P. A. R. van. (1998, April 23). *On colonial grounds:: a comparative study of colonialism and rural settlement in first millennium BC west central Sardinia*. *Archaeological Studies Leiden University*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/13156>

Version: Corrected Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/13156>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

## 6 Punic persistence. Romanization and local resistance in west central Sardinia

*Con la conquista della Sicilia, della Sardegna e della Corsica si fa da taluno incominciare l'insaziabile imperialismo dei Romani, che non avrebbero dovuto uscire dai confini della Penisola. Ad essi è stato poi mosso rimprovero di essersi accinti a guerre d'indole coloniale contro le lontane genti d'Africa, che, per così dire, non conoscevano e che ad essi non avevano recato molestia.*<sup>1</sup>

E. Pais, Storia della Sardegna e della Corsica durante il dominio romano (1923), I

### 6.1 Carthage and Rome

Roman involvement in the central and western Mediterranean was for the first time signalled by the treaty concluded with Carthage in 509 BC. At that time — the year in which the Roman Republic was inaugurated —, Roman influence in the central Mediterranean or on the Italian peninsula was still limited to a tiny part of Latium, as it had only just managed to extricate itself from Etruscan domination. A century and a half later, when in 348 BC the second treaty with Carthage was signed, Rome had already considerably expanded its authority in central Italy. However, it still did not reach beyond southern Etruria and northern Campania. The role assigned to Rome in this treaty was that of a local guarantor of Carthaginian commercial interests in Latium and should not be stretched as implying substantial Roman overseas power at that time (pp. 121-122). During the next century Roman influence in the Italian peninsula increased rapidly, as is well demonstrated by the reconfirmation of the second treaty between Carthage and Rome in 306 BC: given the substantial Roman involvement in the confused and instable situation of *Magna Graecia*, both cities felt the need to define their mutually exclusive territorial spheres of interest with regard to southern Italy and Sicily (Scardigli 1991, 129-162). Despite this agreement, continuing expansion was bound to bring Rome into conflict with Carthage's dominant position in the central Mediterranean. It did not remain limited to a regional confrontation, however, but culminated in the three Punic Wars which were fought throughout the western Mediterranean on both land and sea. Together covering a period of over a century between the outbreak of the first war in 264 BC and the final fall of Carthage in 146 BC, the

Punic Wars not only involved all regions of the western Mediterranean basin from Spain to southern France and Italy at some point during this period but they also entailed devastating consequences for several of these areas before the battle field was transferred to North Africa and Carthage itself was eventually destroyed.

The role of Sardinia in these developments remained remarkably limited, as the main confrontations took place elsewhere. The island even fell into Roman hands without a struggle in 237 BC, which was during the first interbellum. Yet, because of its central location in the middle of the western Mediterranean, the strategic importance of Sardinia was recognized by both sides.

Chronologically, this period is defined by the outbreak of the Carthaginian-Roman conflict and the consolidation of Roman authority in the western Mediterranean. The starting point is the turn of the 4th to 3rd century BC, when Roman expansion first came into conflict with Carthaginian colonialism. The treaty of 278 BC, in which Carthage and Rome delimited their respective spheres of influence in Italy most explicitly (cf. p. 121), is an emblematic year in this respect. In Sardinia, however, Roman authority was not established before 237 BC and only became palpable in the course of the 2nd century BC. A convenient and conventional upper chronological limit of the period under discussion is the end of the Republic in 33 BC, when Roman rule was well established throughout the Mediterranean. In a less strict sense the later 1st century BC can be taken as an appropriate ending point.

The events of this period have been described at length by several classical authors, whose texts allow an interesting insight in the overall development and underlying reasons of the conflict. The principal sources are Polybius and Livy. The Greek historian Polybius (203?-ca 120 BC) wrote 40 books of *Histories* about the period between 220 and 146 BC, when both Carthage and Corinth were sacked. It was his intention to show how Rome managed to establish its power in the entire Mediterranean in such a short period of time. Only the first five books have been preserved completely and cover the events preceding 220 BC (books I-II) as well as those leading to the outbreak of the second Punic War, Hannibal's crossing of the Alps in 218 BC and the first year of the

latter's campaign in Italy until the battle of Cannae in 216 BC (books III-V). Since Polybius regarded his work primarily as a practical manual for future statesmen (III.21.9-10), he greatly valued personal experience and preferred (near-) contemporary historiography. In this respect the first two books must be distinguished from the later ones, as Polybius had no choice but to base his account of the first Punic War on previous historical work. An important source for these books appears to have been the Greek Sicilian Philinos of Akragas (fl. 250 BC), who had written in great detail and probably as an eye-witness about the Carthaginian-Roman struggle over Sicily, and who was outspokenly pro-Carthaginian, perhaps because of the harsh Roman treatment of his city in 261 BC. It has for instance been argued that Polybius' vivid description of the sack of Lilybaeum in 250 BC goes back to a direct report by Philinos (Lazenby 1996, 2-3). Polybius' use of archival sources, as in the discussion of the Carthaginian-Roman treaties, must also be seen as an attempt to work with first-hand information. Polybius has nevertheless also drawn on the early annalistic tradition, in particular on the work of Q. Fabius Pictor (fl. 216 BC), a prominent Roman aristocrat. The books about the period after 220 BC clearly demonstrate Polybius' pursuit of first-hand knowledge, as he repeatedly emphasized to have interviewed participants in the events described (e.g. III.48.12). Being intimately acquainted with the Roman general Scipio Africanus, whom he accompanied on his campaigns in Spain and North Africa during the second and third Punic War as a war correspondent *avant la lettre*, Polybius clearly favoured the Roman point of view; yet, he was by no means uncritical and in order to examine the Carthaginian version of events he frequently referred to authors such as Philinos of Akragas and Silenus of Calatia, who had accompanied Hannibal on his long expedition across the Alps and in Italy. Digressions about conflicting representations are consequently a recurrent feature of Polybius' *Histories*.

T. Livius (59 BC-17 AD) sharply contrasts with Polybius in many respects, as his *History of Rome from its foundation* in 142 books was primarily based on older accounts. Nor had he practical experiences with politics and military affairs, which has been a frequent cause of misunderstandings, vital omissions and confusion. In many ways, Livy was an outstanding representative of the so-called *annalistic tradition* of Roman historiography, which is characterized by an almost exclusive reliance on previous historical accounts rather than on interpretation of primary sources. The earliest of these chroniclers was Q. Fabius Pictor but the main representatives of the tradition such as Valerius Antias or C. Licinius Macer wrote their *Annals* in the second or first century BC. As the tradition gradually developed literary dimensions through the insertion of invented speeches and

battle descriptions in order to enliven the account and eventually became a distinct literary genre, historicity (in a modern sense) was not always the first concern of the annalists. Livy was exceptionally successful in these literary ambitions and outdid all his predecessors. Apart from preceding annalistic works, Livy also made ample use of Polybius' account. The originally 142 books described the history of Rome from the mythical arrival of Aeneas until the death of Drusus in 9 BC. The extant books XXI-XLV cover the period from 218 until 166 BC. Among these, the so-called third decade (books XXI-XXX) describes the second Punic War. The general contents of the lost books are nevertheless known from the so-called *periochae* which were added to the books as 'extended contents'. Although undoubtedly less reliable than Polybius, these books are important because they largely fill the gap left by the loss of Polybius' later books and often constitute the oldest available source for the later third and earlier second century BC. All other classical literary sources are (much) later and are usually based on Polybius and Livy, sometimes with additional information from earlier Greek historians or annalists. Their only value often lies in the preservation of recognizably older material. The most significant among these is the Egyptian historian Appianus (fl. ca 140 AD), who wrote 24 thematically organized books about Roman history. His *Libyan History* (book 8), which as part of a wider *Carthaginian History* describes the Punic Wars, is particularly useful, as it covers the third Punic War of which both Polybius' and Livy's accounts are lost. Appianus' version is thought to have been largely based on the lost books of Polybius: the detailed and lively description of the siege and sack of Carthage in 146 BC (*Lib.* 18-19) is assumed to recapitulate Polybius' eye-witness account as a participant in Scipio Africanus' expedition. His *Hannibal's History* (book 7) about Hannibal's expedition in Italy nevertheless differs significantly from Polybius' or Livy's reports; it is therefore assumed to be based on other sources or to represent a particularly free elaboration. Similarly based on Livy's work was the epic poem entitled *Punic Histories* by Silius Italicus (27-102 AD), who recounted the Punic Wars in 17 books from the outbreak of the second war to the sack of Carthage. Since the 12,000 verses roughly cover the same period as the extant books of Livy and are a rather free adaptation of the original text, their value is primarily literary. The biographies of Hamilcar and Hannibal which the Gaul Cornelius Nepos (99-24 BC) included in his *Lives of famous men* were largely based on Polybius' work with numerous details adapted from annalistic accounts. The same holds for the now largely lost *Roman History* of the Greek historian Cassius Dio (155-235 AD) whose description of the Punic Wars is practically only known through a synopsis of the Byzantine Zonaras (12th century AD). Other secondary

sources are numerous scattered references by authors such as Strabo and Pausanias, whose geographical descriptions cover or refer to many places featuring in the Punic Wars.

With regard to Sardinia, the most important literary source is Livy, who discusses at length Roman undertakings on the island after its formal submission to Roman authority in 237 BC. Polybius frequently mentions the island, in particular with regard to the so-called mercenaries' revolt of 240 BC, but hardly goes into specific details as regards the Sardinian situation. The island also occurs repeatedly in Silius Italicus' epic of the Punic Wars. More cursory remarks about legal and administrative aspects of Roman rule in Sardinia are provided by M. Tullius Cicero (106-43 BC), who defended M. Aemilius Scaurus, a former *praetor* of Sardinia, in 54 BC against accusations of extortion and corruption. In his speech *Pro Scauro* the island and its administration figure prominently. Sardinia is also several times mentioned in Cicero's letters to his brother Q. Tullius Cicero who served as an administrator on the island during six months in 57 and 56. In line with the general objectives, the aim of this chapter is not so much a historical analysis of the Roman take-over of Sardinia in the context of the Punic Wars but rather an anthropological examination of how people locally coped with a changed political situation. It is primarily about local inhabitants facing radically changing political and economic conditions and about the ways they used material culture in order to redefine themselves and their local cultural background in the new Roman setting. This chapter, therefore, does not focus on the Roman occupation of Sardinia in a political sense but rather on the more gradual process of incorporation of the local inhabitants of west central Sardinia in the Roman state. Literary sources take a second place in this approach because of their generic nature which foregrounds wider developments and practically neglects the regional situation 'on the ground', even if Sardinia is repeatedly mentioned (cf. Rowland 1985, 99-100). Another serious problem in this respect is the general pro-Roman stance of all literary sources; Polybius is the only one who occasionally admits other points of view.

This theme is well-known in archaeology and under the conventional heading of 'romanization' it has been a continuous source of debate because of the many different perspectives which have been invoked to deal with it (cf. Freeman 1993; Millett 1990b). In north-west Europe, romanization has often closely been associated with the Roman conquest itself, which has confused the debate by focusing attention on the immediate consequences of post-conquest changes and by ignoring the long-term cultural dimension of the development (Woolf 1995, 10). It is only most recently that the cultural and 'ideological' aspects of the process have been introduced in the romanization debate (e.g. Millett/Roymans/Slofstra 1995, 1-2). Not coincidentally, recently archaeologists have

become aware of colonialist assumptions underlying many previous approaches (Hingley 1996; cf. pp. 18-20). While it is not my intention to review the debate on romanization, its affinities with and relevance for the issues at stake in this chapter are unmistakable.

In apparent contradiction to the foregoing, the second section of this chapter consists of an overview of the historical situation of the western Mediterranean based on the literary evidence. The aim of this section is to provide a historical background for the regional situation of west central Sardinia by outlining the historical context of the western Mediterranean in general and situating Sardinia in it more specifically. Given this rather limited objective and the vast literature on numerous aspects of it, this section starts with a cursory survey of the principal relevant dates and events which make up the historical framework of the Roman-Carthaginian conflict. Needless to say, this discussion is not intended as an exhaustive treatment of the historical debate; I largely restrict myself to a sketch of the generally accepted representation, complementing it with relevant alternative views on certain details. It is followed by a discussion of the background and nature of Roman colonialism and romanization during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. The remainder of this section is focused on Sardinia, discussing the Roman take-over and the administrative and legal organization of the Roman government. The third section of this chapter is strictly confined to west central Sardinia and is made up of a survey and evaluation of the archaeological evidence in the study area and adjacent parts of the region. In the fourth section, I shall address the central issues of this chapter by discussing the questions put forward in the second section in the light of the detailed archaeological evidence of the third section. The fifth and final section of this chapter contains a number of concluding remarks which specifically regard the Republican period under discussion.

## **6.2 The Western Mediterranean between Carthaginian and Roman Colonialism**

Polybius' representation of the western Mediterranean in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC as being dominated by an all-encompassing power struggle between Carthage and Rome has found ready acceptance with modern historical scholarship. In line with his intention to demonstrate how Rome had rapidly gained primacy in the entire Mediterranean, Polybius regarded all three Punic Wars as distinct but closely connected episodes of one long-term conflict with the western Mediterranean at stake. In Polybius' view, the second Punic War was the crucial one of three wars and embodied the entire conflict, not only because it was during this war that Rome eventually prevailed over Carthage but also because it involved the entire western basin. The first Punic War was represented as a mere opening-round in the

overall conflict, whereas the third one was the necessary conclusion of the conflict which definitively confirmed the Carthaginian demise as the outcome of the second war. The impact of Polybius' representation on modern scholarship is well illustrated by the general focus on the second Punic War and the relative neglect of the first one (cf. Lazenby 1996, ix; Rich 1996, 1).

All episodes of the Punic Wars were at the same time also part and parcel of a specific regional context, which was dismissed by Polybius as secondary and which in his opinion could at best have provided the immediate pretexts and beginnings of a dispute (πρόφασεις καὶ ἀρχαί), as he argued with regard to the second Punic War (III.6.4-7.7). They certainly did not constitute the real underlying *causes* of the war (αἰτίαι). While this claim is entirely consistent with Polybius' goal to demonstrate Rome's rise to domination in the Mediterranean, it also raises questions about the nature of Roman expansion: considering the three Punic Wars as one coherent conflict consciously sparked off and fought by Rome poses the question of their motivation. With hindsight, Polybius suggested that the Romans from the very beginning aimed at establishing their power in the western Mediterranean basin; the implication is that they followed a hidden colonialist agenda. This representation of Roman Republican expansion as a coherent and ambitious if implicit project geared to the conquest of the entire known world has also entered modern historiography. Other recent explanations have defined Roman expansion in exclusively economic terms as exploiting the occupied periphery. These views have been countered by the claim that Roman expansion in Italy and the Mediterranean occurred in a specific historical context and that only meticulous examination of those regional situations can shed light on Roman and Carthaginian motivations (e.g. Lomas 1993, 40).

#### 6.2.1 BATTLES AND TREATIES IN THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN

Before the outbreak of open conflict between Carthage and Rome in 264 BC, the Romans had not been directly involved in Sicily which had remained under Carthaginian and Sicilian Greek control. During the first half of the 3rd century BC, Roman influence had been extended over the whole of southern Italy and it was during those years that Carthage and Rome had repeatedly come in contact and had concluded at least one more treaty. During the late 4th century BC Roman influence was gradually expanded in the context of the so-called Samnite Wars against the Italic inhabitants of southern central Italy, resulting in the conquest of Naples in 326 BC and the subsequent establishment of Roman authority in Campania (Lomas 1993, 39-49). Roman influence rapidly expanded in the deep South of the peninsula and after 320 BC Roman interests conflicted with

those of Tarentum, the most powerful of the Greek southern Italian ('Italiote') cities. Rome became directly involved in the complex situation of rivalling Italiote city-states in 285 BC, when several of them turned to Rome for protection against the Italic populations of the interior. War broke out between Rome and Tarentum in 280 and the latter city called in Pyrrhus of Epirus. Although the Pyrrhic War lasted only five years until Pyrrhus was forced to leave Italy in 275 BC, the consequences were far-reaching: the Roman armies eventually overran the whole of Magna Graecia, occupying Tarentum in 272 BC, and firmly re-established their authority over the Italic peoples of Lucania and Samnium (Lomas 1993, 50-57).

The Pyrrhic War demonstrated the increased Roman power on the Italian peninsula. Since Pyrrhus also campaigned against the Carthaginians in Sicily between 279 and 275, Rome and Carthage concluded a treaty in 278 BC in which they agreed not to side with Pyrrhus against each other (Polyb. III.25.1-5). This treaty and an earlier reconfirmation in 306 BC of the second Carthaginian-Roman treaty of 348 BC (Livy *Per.* 14) show that both cities were conscious of each other's power (Scardigli 1991, 199-204). Although it is uncertain whether an explicit agreement had been made in which the Romans would keep out of Sicily and the Carthaginians out of the Italian mainland,<sup>2</sup> at least western Sicily had been recognized by Rome as Carthaginian interest more than 200 years before (viz. in the first Carthaginian-Roman treaty of 509 BC). Since Pyrrhus' withdrawal in 276, the island had again been divided between the Punic and Greek towns, headed by Carthage and Syracuse respectively (fig. 6-1). The former had succeeded in extending their zone of influence over the entire northern shore by establishing a naval base on the Lipari islands. They had also stationed a garrison at the town of Messana which was held by the so-called *Mamertini*, Campanian mercenaries who had been involved in the southern Italian conflicts and who had subsequently established themselves in Sicily where they had raided several Carthaginian and Greek towns. Having been defeated by Syracuse, the Mamertines had been forced to withdraw to their base at Messana and to accept a Carthaginian garrison (Lazenby 1996, 36-40). Something similar had happened in the town of Rhegium, across the street of Messina on the Italian mainland, where Roman troops had driven off the Mamertine occupation only a few years before.

It was in this context that the first Punic War broke out, which would entirely evolve around Sicily. In 264 BC, the Roman consul Ap. Claudius Caudex crossed the street of Messina in response to a Mamertine request for assistance to relieve their town of Messana from its Carthaginian garrison (fig. 6-1). In the course of the following years the Roman consuls led various campaigns to Sicily, resulting in the sack





Fig. 6-1. Map of the western Mediterranean area, showing the principal sites involved in the Punic Wars.

of Akragas (Agrigentum) in 261. In 256 the Roman consul M. Atilius Regulus crossed the Sicilian channel to North Africa and landed at Cap Bon, where he seized several towns before being defeated near Tunis in 255. From 254 BC the Romans continuously campaigned in Sicily, laying siege to Lilybaeum and Drepana in western Sicily in 248 and 247. In the meantime, various sea battles were fought off the Sicilian, Calabrian and North-African coasts and the Carthaginians raided a number of towns in Calabria. The defeat of a Carthaginian fleet near the Aegates islands off Lilybaeum eventually isolated the Carthaginian garrisons on Sicily whose situation consequently became untenable. Peace was negotiated by the Carthaginian general Hamilcar Barca and the Roman consul Q. Lutatius Cerco in 241. To Carthage this meant the loss of its centuries-old Sicilian strongholds: the terms of the treaty stipulated that Carthage had to abandon all claims to Sicily and the surrounding smaller islands, in particular the Lipari islands,<sup>3</sup> release all prisoners without ransom and pay an indemnity of 2,200 Euboic talents (nearly 56 tons) of silver in 20 annual instalments. An additional clause further stated that each side should abstain from interfering with the others' allies (Polyb. I.62.8-9).

The end of the first Punic War did not give Carthage much relief, however, as the next conflict immediately broke out: the so-called Mercenaries' War between 241 and 238 BC

started as an uprising of the Carthaginian armies repatriated from Sicily but soon developed into a complete civil war, as many African subordinated peoples sided with the rebels. The situation worsened, when the army on Sardinia also joined the rebellion. The tide was turned by Hamilcar Barca who managed to overcome the principal rebel army in 238 BC. At that point, the rebels in Utica and Sardinia urged Rome to intervene and accept them as Roman allies. The Romans refused, according to Polybius because having done so would have been a violation of the treaty of 241 (Polyb. III.27.4). A renewed request of the Sardinian rebels was nevertheless accepted by Rome, resulting in an additional clause to the treaty of 241, in which Carthage had to renounce its claims to Sardinia and the indemnity for Rome was raised by another 1200 silver talents. Early in 237 BC, consul Ti. Sempronius Gracchus occupied Sardinia and, seizing the occasion, also took possession of Corsica. Roman authority over the newly gained territories of Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica was subsequently affirmed by the inauguration of two formal provinces of *Sicilia* and *Sardinia et Corsica* in 227 BC. In the aftermath of the first Punic War Carthage thus lost both western Sicily and Sardinia and was practically barred from the central Mediterranean. The consequences must have been considerable, as contacts with major commercial partners such as Tharros and Lilybaeum were cut off and products such as grain and metals from these islands were

no longer easily available. Nevertheless, Carthage was all but played out. In the remainder of the western Mediterranean it still retained a strong position on Ibiza (Gómez Bellard 1989) and Mallorca (Guerrero Ayuso 1991), as well as at several locations along the southern and south-eastern Spanish coasts such as at Cádiz, Malaga and Villaricos. The Punic cities along the North African coast such as Utica, Leptis, Tipasa, Tingis etc. also remained allied to Carthage (cf. Mattingly 1995, 50-51).

Attracted by the fertile plains and mining districts of Andalusia, Carthage turned its eye on southern Spain (fig. 6-1). Under the command of Hamilcar Barca, a prominent aristocrat and leading general, a large Carthaginian army landed at Cádiz in 237 BC and campaigned in Andalusia during nine years. On Hamilcar's death in 228, both the coastal strip and the Guadalquivir valley had been occupied and several towns and military strongholds had been established in order to assure Carthaginian domination. In doing so, Hamilcar had not only secured Carthaginian authority over the coastal settlements which had developed out of the reorganization of the older western Phoenician colonial foundations (Wagner 1989, 154-156; cf. p. 116) but he had also succeeded in obtaining direct access to the mining districts of the upper Guadalquivir. His brother-in-law Hasdrubal Barca finished Hamilcar's achievements by occupying the course of the Segura valley, which leads directly from the east coast to the mining districts of the upper Guadalquivir (Barcelò 1989b, 168-174). Some distance to the South of the Segura estuary, the already existing Punic town of *Carthago Nova* (Cartagena) became the principal Carthaginian stronghold in Spain. Together, the excellent port of Carthago Nova and the Segura route offered Carthage a direct and well guarded access to the upper Guadalquivir mines. Carthaginian domination over southern Spain was recognized by Rome and its allies when in 226 BC a treaty was concluded between Carthage and Rome, in which the former pledged not to cross the *Hiber* in arms (Polyb. III.13.7). The conventional identification of this river as the Ebro (Rich 1996, 10-11; Scullard 1989, 31) is disputed and should probably be revised to the Jucar, which flows further South and effectively coincides with the northern limit of Carthaginian expansion (Barcelò 1989b, 179-180). The agreement was probably inspired by concerns of the Roman ally Massilia, whose interests on the north-eastern coast of Spain with its settlements of Rosas and Emporion were thus secured.

The nature of Carthaginian domination in the South of Spain contrasted sharply with that before 237 BC, when Punic influence was restricted to the coastal area. Late Punic pottery in fact also abounds in the coastal hinterland and in the interior along the Guadalquivir valley (Blázquez et al. 1991, 43-47; Lancel 1995, 406-409). The appearance of Punic

coins minted in Spain underscores the territorial domination, which is also explicitly attested by the literary evidence of Hamilcar being appointed as a 'vice-roy' or governor (Scullard 1989, 23). The claims that both Hasdrubal and Hamilcar's son Hannibal married prominent Tartessian and Turdetanian 'princesses' (Barcelò 1989b, 182-183) furthermore suggest that the Carthaginians actively involved the indigenous inhabitants in the political and economic reorganization of the region, perhaps in ways not unlike they had done in Sardinia a century earlier. The Carthaginian occupation of southern Spain thus compensated for the lost territories of Sicily and in particular Sardinia.

Further Roman expansion in the western Mediterranean occurred in the context of the second Punic War, when the Carthaginian siege of the Spanish town of Saguntum (fig. 6-1) caused Roman intervention and the outbreak of war in 219 BC (Scardigli 1991, 160-267). In the next year, a Roman army disembarked at Emporion in north-eastern Spain, a partner of Rome's ally Massilia, and established a bridge-head at Tarraco (modern Tarragona). A naval victory off the Ebro estuary and several battles resulted in a gradual Roman advance southward and the capture of Saguntum in 214 BC (Briscoe 1989, 56-59; Scardigli 1991, 245-296). In the meantime, the principal battles took place in Italy, where Roman power had come under threat from the North, when Hannibal crossed the Alps in 218 BC and joined forces with the Gauls of the Po plain. After the crushing defeat of a major Roman army at Cannae in south Italy (216 BC), Hannibal took his armies South of Rome, where his promises of independence of Rome induced many of the Italiote cities to side with him. Reduced to central Italy, Rome avoided another head-on confrontation and decided to isolate Hannibal: while the former allies of southern Italy and Sicily were gradually brought back under Roman authority (Briscoe 1989, 47-56), the Spanish armies were reinforced and in 209 BC an attack was mounted under the command of P. Cornelius Scipio at Carthago Nova, the principal stronghold of Carthaginian Spain. Having seized this city, Scipio eventually forced the Carthaginians to withdraw from Spain in 206 BC (Briscoe 1989, 59-61). The war in Italy ended in 203 BC, when Hannibal had to withdraw to North Africa because he risked being surrounded by the gradual Roman advance in Lucania, Calabria and Sicily and Scipio's invasion of North Africa in 204 BC. The war was consequently continued on African soil, where the battle of Zama in 202 BC forced the Carthaginians to surrender. The peace treaty of 201 BC confined Carthaginian power to the eastern half of modern Tunisia, as the western half and modern Algeria were held by the Numidian kingdoms of Massaesyia and Massylia, Roman allies in North Africa. Nor was Carthage permitted to maintain a navy or substantial army or to undertake military campaigns without Roman

permission. A further indemnity of 10,000 talents was also imposed on Carthage (Liv. XXX.44.4-11; cf. Scardigli 1991, 308-326).

At the end of the second Punic War Rome had thus considerably extended its power across the western Mediterranean, although it took some time to restore peace in the new territories of northern Italy and Spain. In the former region, nearly two decades of frequent campaigning were needed to restore Roman authority over the Gauls who had joined Hannibal in 218 BC (Harris 1989, 107-118). Although the occupation of the Spanish territories south of the Ebro was confirmed by the inauguration of the formal provinces of *Hispania Citerior* and *Hispania Ulterior* in 198 BC, numerous uprisings had to be curbed by repeated military campaigns. During the following period until 133 BC, Roman authority was considerably extended towards the interior in a series of armed interventions usually known as the Spanish Wars. At the same time, several colonies (*coloniae*) were established in the occupied regions (Harris 1989, 118-142). While no Roman claims were laid to African land, most of the Maghrebine coast was controlled by the two allied Numidian kingdoms. Since the southern French coast was similarly controlled by its ally Massilia, Rome effectively dominated the entire western basin at the start of the second century BC. The region left to Carthage in 201 BC, roughly coinciding with eastern Tunisia, was in the end also annexed by Rome: when Carthage had regained prosperity, Rome seized the opportunity to start the third Punic War when Carthage breached the treaty of 201 by reacting to a provocation of Rome's Numidian ally king Massinissa. In 150 BC Scipio crossed to Africa and laid siege to Carthage. In 146 BC the city fell and was destroyed (Harris 1989, 142-162). In the same year, the formal province of *Africa* was inaugurated. Some time later, when Massilia had called for Roman assistance against raids of Germanic tribes, Rome also took direct control of the northern and north-eastern shores of the western Mediterranean which were annexed as the formal province of *Gallia Narbonensis* (ca 120 BC). With Rome thus having become the dominant power in the western Mediterranean, the general political and military situation in this region remained stable during the next century.

#### 6.2.2 ROMAN EXPANSION AND ROMANIZATION

Merely listing the major events and treaties of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC begs the question of the reasons and processes underlying this *histoire événementielle*. With regard to Roman expansion in general and several of the wars more specifically, this is a vexed question which has caused ample and often fierce debate. One of the first explicit contributions is Polybius' distinction (III.6.4-7.7) between αἰτία ('underlying cause') and ἀρχαί ('immediate

beginnings'). The latter have largely been mentioned in the foregoing survey of events. The former is considered in this subsection.

The conventional representation of Roman expansion, first advanced by Mommsen in his *Römische Geschichte* in 1854 (Freeman 1997, 29-35), was inspired by a remark of Polybius about the 'frightening neighbours' of Rome (φοβεροὶ γείτονες; Polyb. I.10.6): in this view, Roman expansion under the Republic was primarily defensive and aimed at the elimination of potential threats to the vital interests of Rome (Linderski 1984). Polybius' explanation of the first Punic War as started in defense of the newly occupied territories in southern Italy fits in this view and is accordingly accepted by most modern historians. While the defensive thesis may hold in a number of situations, in particular when considered on their own, it certainly does not explain the constant succession of wars waged by Rome and the continuous expansion of power. In this regard, attention has been drawn to the role of war in Roman (Republican) society: both for the Roman aristocracy and the citizens, war offered the opportunity to acquire honour and booty (Harris 1979, 9-53). Waging war was a thoroughly integrated aspect of Roman society and thus constituted a constant driving force of Roman expansion (Harris 1979, 107). The second Punic War in particular has been proposed as having been motivated by such an attitude rather than by defensive concerns, as Rome did not yet have any vital interests in Spain (Harris 1979, 200-205; cf. Rich 1996). Closely related is the Roman decision-making process of going to war. Since it was necessary for persons of noble birth to complete ten annual military campaigns in order to acquire sufficient *gloria* and *laus* and become a full member of the aristocracy, it is evident that there was a permanent incentive for many people to go to war (Harris 1984, 14). Yet, regarding Roman expansion entirely as the natural and inevitable consequence of the pervasively military and bellicose character of Roman society (Harris 1979, 41) overstretches the argument (Rich 1993). Similar objections can be made against predominantly economic explanations. Often modelled in terms of core and periphery (e.g. Nash 1979; Woolf 1990, 44-49), the possession of more land or the central exploitation of peripheral economic resources, usually raw materials, have repeatedly been regarded as the principal mover of Roman expansion. While the absence of systematic economic exploitation of occupied regions already detracts from these models (e.g. Millett 1990a, 7), it is most of all the equation of Roman expansion with modern colonialism and the implicit transposition of the latter's capitalist foundations to the former which undermine such economic representations of Roman expansion. This does not exclude, however, that each war did entail economic gain for Rome, if only in the form of booty for its soldiers. Yet, the claim that this could have motivated



Roman expansion is refuted by the lack of systematic exploitation of the occupied regions (Gruen 1984). These general models of Roman expansion, in particular the so-called 'defensive imperialism' thesis, are characterized by a long-term perspective, as it is only in this way that the outbreak of the second Punic War — let alone that of the third one — can be represented as a defensive action of Rome (e.g. Rich 1996, 33-34). This perspective has first been adopted by Polybius when he claimed that the principal motive for the Carthaginians to lay their hands on Spain and its resources was revenge for the harsh conditions of the peace treaty of 241 BC and the loss of Sardinia in 238 BC. The essence of Polybius' thesis is that Hamilcar came to Spain with a second Punic War already in mind (Polyb. III.12.7-13.2). This representation of the origins of the war is a crucial feature of Polybius' over-all conception of the Punic Wars as a single coherent conflict between Carthage and Rome over dominance in the western Mediterranean. It is evident, however, that these ideas can only be upheld with the benefit of hindsight. In this way, the search for one or several αἰτίαι of the Punic Wars has become indissolubly linked with all-encompassing representations of Roman expansion. In the light of the discussion of colonialist and dualist conceptions of colonialism (pp. 18-22), however, it cannot be maintained that Roman colonialism was either uniform or unchanging. Unless one accepts that the first conquest of Latium in the 5th century BC was motivated by the same concerns as Imperial expansion in Syria in the 2nd century AD, monocausal explanations and monolithic notions of 'Roman imperialism' cannot be upheld (Rich 1993). Following the postcolonial approach outlined in the second chapter (pp. 33-35), both the Punic Wars and Roman expansion must therefore be considered in their specific regional and historical contexts (cf. Woolf 1997, 340). Just as important as understanding the causes of Roman colonialism, or perhaps even more so, is insight into the *characteristics* of Roman domination and the ensuing developments in the occupied regions, as the subsequent course of history is not so much made up of the initial expectations of Roman undertakings but rather of its actual consequences and results. These are conventionally captured by the term 'romanization', which was first coined by scholars as Haverfield and Mommsen in the beginning of this century for describing the changes brought upon the regions which were conquered by Rome and which adopted Roman culture in one form or another (cf. Freeman 1997; Hingley 1996, 35-40). Starting from the 1970s, these developments have increasingly been seen in terms of socio-economic changes and acculturation processes (Jones 1997, 29-34), which has subsequently helped to overcome the one-sided colonialist point of view and to recognize the indigenous contribution to the processes at work (Slofstra 1983). Local elites in

particular have been foregrounded as instrumental in the romanization of the Iron Age societies of north-western Europe (Millet 1990b, 38-39).

While romanization is nowadays widely recognized as '... an instance of social, economic and cultural change' (Millet 1990a, 1), 'ideational factors' have recently been foregrounded as a further relevant dimension to this process of cultural change, arguing that 'ideology ... defines cultural identity and determines the ways in which material culture was used actively to construct, define, redefine and maintain social identities and relationships' (Millet/Roymans/Slofstra 1995, 2). Because of the obvious affinities of this view with the postcolonial approach, these recent studies of romanization in north-western Europe offer a useful comparison for the analysis of Roman colonialism in west central Sardinia. Much less in line with the postcolonial tenets, however, is the strong emphasis in these studies on indigenous 'pre-conquest' characteristics which allegedly persisted in Roman times as distinctive features subsumed in the provincial Roman socio-economic organization and cultural forms. Claims that '... romanization often goes hand in hand with a continuation of existing cultural differentiations [and that] the latter are reformulated in interaction with the Roman existing order and thus receive a new dimension' (Roymans 1996, 10) demonstrate that indigenous culture is assumed to preserve somehow a certain cultural and ideological autonomy beneath the dominant Roman culture. The qualification that variations in Roman organization and culture may equally have contributed to the varied nature of Roman provincial cultures (Woolf 1995) does not alter the basic assumptions, because the dichotomy between foreign and indigenous is kept intact. The dualist purport of the above claim therefore does not differ much from Bénabou's 'twofold view of the single reality' of Roman North Africa (1976, 18; cf. p. 20). If essentializing nativist overtones are avoided, however, the conclusion that Roman socio-economic organization and its complex cultural forms cannot be seen as unified Roman is a most important one which can help overcome monolithic views of romanization (Freeman 1993; Woolf 1992).

### 6.2.3 SARDINIA DURING THE PUNIC WARS

The role of Sardinia in the course of the Punic Wars was remarkably limited. During the first war two small-scale Roman expeditions were sent to the island in 259 and 258 BC. The first one appears to have been directed primarily against Corsica, where consul L. Cornelius Scipio succeeded in seizing Aléria. He is said to have then attacked Olbia which in the end he was unable to hold (Meloni 1990, 25-27).<sup>4</sup> A year later, consul C. Sulpicius Paterculus again took a fleet towards Sardinia, where he managed to surprise and destroy a Carthaginian flotilla off Sulcis (Polyb. I.24.6). Although he

kept this naval basis blocked for a considerable period, the victory did not entail any other consequences (Meloni 1990, 28-30). It was also the last appearance of Sardinia in the first Punic War.

Sardinia became detached from Carthage when in 240 BC the mercenary troops stationed on the island joined the uprising on the African mainland: they attacked the Carthaginian garrisons on Sardinia and killed the highest military commander Bostar and his staff. New troops were sent to Sardinia but, once arrived, they turned against their own general and crucified him. Excited by these events, the joint rebel forces assaulted all Carthaginians in Sardinia, from military and state officials to merchants, and took control over the island. A first rebel plea for Roman protection against Carthage was denied, officially because having done so would have violated the treaty of 241 BC. When in 238 BC Carthage managed to curb the uprising in Africa, however, and the mercenary rebels repeated their request, Rome ignored the treaty and sent consul Ti. Sempronius Gracchus to the island in 237 BC to prevent the Carthaginians from returning.<sup>5</sup> The Roman pretext for this blatant breach of the treaty was that the Carthaginian preparations to restore their authority in Sardinia were actually intended against Rome. Nevertheless, even an author as pro-Roman as Polybius explicitly condemned the take-over as fraudulent (III.28.1-4). However, Carthage was too weakened to resist and had to agree with an additional clause to the treaty of 241 in which it gave up Sardinia and accepted extra indemnity payments (Meloni 1990, 33-41).

It was only at this point that the importance attached to Sardinia became evident, as Rome demonstrated that it was prepared to take radical measures in order to withdraw the island from Carthaginian control. Carthage in turn did not resign itself to the Roman take-over and would maintain close contact with its former territory (cf. below). The significance of Sardinia for both sides has been emphasized by Polybius, who regarded the island, or rather the treacherous Roman occupation of it, as the ultimate cause (*αἰτία*) of the Carthaginian-Roman conflict (Polyb. III.10.3-5). Livy vividly expressed the impact of the Roman intervention as 'tormenting the immensely proud man' Hamilcar Barca (*angebant ingentis spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae*: Liv. XXI.1.5) and followed Polybius' interpretation that it must have motivated Carthage and Hamilcar in particular to seek compensation in Spain and to eventually take revenge. Despite the essentialist and somewhat narrow views on the Carthaginian-Roman conflicts in general as argued above, these opinions clearly underscore the strategic importance of Sardinia as experienced by both sides.

Although the Roman take-over of Sardinia was relatively easily achieved and in any case took place without force, the actual establishment of Roman authority over the island

turned out to be a much more difficult process, which was only painstakingly accomplished with repeated military campaigns on the island. The seriousness of the situation is evident from the duration of the 'pacification' process, the repeated expedition of one or even two consuls and the number of official triumphs accorded to them: in all, in a period of some 125 years no less than 28 extraordinary military commands were appointed and seven triumphs were celebrated in occasion of victories over Sardinians or Sardinia (see tab. 6-1). Although practically all activities were directed against the indigenous inhabitants of the interior and North of Sardinia, armed resistance to Roman rule was all but a united undertaking and during the long period of troubles the Roman troops faced shifting groups of adversaries. A distinction can in the first place be made between the situation before approximately 200 BC, i.e. the end of the second Punic War, and the struggles during the 2nd century. A second difference was marked by the date of 227 BC, when the inauguration of the *provincia Sardiniae atque Corsicae* changed the structure of Roman military command: before that date, military campaigns were commanded by one of the consuls who consequently had to leave Rome. Starting from 227, both civil and military authority was in hands of a *praetor*, who resided permanently on the island. Only in particularly grave conditions was he assisted by one of the consuls. Military command was moreover professionalized by extending (*prorogare*) the term of office of both the consuls and the *praetor*, whose experience with the situation could thus be used more efficiently. Initially, Roman authority remained restricted to the major Punic cities, which had been the foci of colonial power ever since their Phoenician foundations. In the conventional representation (Dyson 1985, 247-251; Meloni 1990, 43-56), resistance was mounted by the indigenous tribes who lived in the mountains of northern Sardinia and who had never accepted Carthaginian authority. The plains surrounding the colonial cities and in particular the Campidano, which according to this view were exploited by Punic *latifundia*, are in contrast assumed to have sided with the Roman-oriented cities (Meloni 1990, 43-44). The principal reason for this is of course that the four triumphs celebrated during the first six-year period of armed struggle (Meloni 1949) all celebrated victories *de Sardeis* (see tab. 6-1). Although not explicitly specified in the outline of Zonaras, they are generally equated with the 'independent and resisting tribes' who had withdrawn from the (Punic) civilization of the coastal cities and plains to the impenetrable mountains of the interior which constituted a 'reserve' of indigenous Nuragic culture (Lilliu 1988, 478; cf. Meloni 1987a, 231-232). The evidence for the struggles and the *Sardi* and *Corsi* involved, however, is based on a very late (Byzantine) source and not only confusing in itself but also suspect because of the

Table 6-1. Overview of Sardinian uprisings and Roman military campaigns conducted in Sardinia after 237 BC (after Meloni 1990, 43-82).

<i>Year</i>	<i>Military commander</i>	<i>Celebrated triumph /adversaries</i>	<i>Principal source*</i>
236	C. Licinius Varus	Sardinian tribes (?)	Zon. VIII.18
235	T. Manlius Torquatus	<i>de Sardeis</i> (with Carthaginian help)	Zon. VIII.18
234	Sp. Carvilius Maximus	<i>de Sardeis</i>	Zon. VIII.18
233	M. Pomponius Mato	<i>de Sardeis</i>	Zon. VIII.18
232	M. Aemilius Lepidus & M. Publicius Malleolus	<i>Corsi</i> (sc. of Gallura?)	Zon. VIII.18
231	C. Papirius Maso & M. Pomponius Mato	<i>de Corseis</i> (sc. of Gallura?) Sardinian tribes of the <i>Nuorese</i> (?)	Zon. VIII.18
[227 226/225 215  203]	inauguration of the <i>provincia Sardiniae et Corsicae</i> C. Atilius Regulus T. Manlius Torquatus  Cn. Octavius	Sardinian tribes of the interior Punic rebels and the joint Punic- Carthaginian forces with Sardinian tribes Carthaginian fleet of Mago Barcas	Polyb. II.23.6 Liv. XXIII.40.1-41.7  Liv. XXX.2.4
181 178 177 176	M. Pinarius Rusca T. Aebutius Ti. Sempronius Gracchus Ti. Sempronius Gracchus & T. Aebutius	<i>Ilienses</i> <i>Ilienses</i> and <i>Balari</i> <i>Ilienses</i> and <i>Balari</i> <i>Ilienses</i> and <i>Balari</i> : triumph <i>ex Sardinia</i>	Liv. XL.19.6 Liv. XLI.6.5 Liv. XLI.6.7/8.2/9.2/9.8 Liv. XLI.15.6 and 17.1
163 162	P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Ti. Sempronius Gracchus	Sardinian tribes Sardinian tribes	V. Max. IX.12.3 V. Max. I.1.3
126 125 124 123 122	L. Aurelius Orestes L. Aurelius Orestes L. Aurelius Orestes L. Aurelius Orestes L. Aurelius Orestes	Sardinian tribes Sardinian tribes Sardinian tribes Sardinian tribes <i>ex Sardinia</i>	Liv. <i>Per.</i> XLVI Liv. <i>Per.</i> XLVI Liv. <i>Per.</i> XLVI Liv. <i>Per.</i> XLVI Liv. <i>Per.</i> XLVI
115 114 113 112 111	C. Caecilius Metellus C. Caecilius Metellus C. Caecilius Metellus C. Caecilius Metellus C. Caecilius Metellus	Sardinian tribes Sardinian tribes Sardinian tribes Sardinian tribes <i>ex Sardinia</i>	Fest. IV Fest. IV Fest. IV Fest. IV Fest. IV
105	T. Albucius	Policing in the interior	Cicero, <i>Prov.</i> VII.15-16

\* Cf. Meloni 1990, 43-82; For a more detailed overview of all available sources with principal comments, see Meloni 1990, 449-456.

stereotypical representation of the indigenous tribes.<sup>6</sup> The continued involvement of Carthage in Sardinian matters, moreover, which is for instance demonstrated by the fact that in 233 Rome sent an embassy to Carthage demanding an end to Carthaginian agitations in Sardinia and Corsica, suggests that the Roman troops on the island did not fight indigenous rebels only. It also implies resistance against Roman rule on the part of the Punic inhabitants of the plains and cities. Large-scale Punic resistance became evident in 217 BC (cf. Meloni 1990, 57-64): following Hannibal's invasion of Italy and the presence of a large Carthaginian fleet off Sardinia, tensions had risen high on the island. In 217, consul Cn. Servilius even took hostages in Sardinia and Corsica

as a prevention against revolts (Liv. XXII.31.1). When the Sardinian cities were urged to supply the Roman troops on the island with additional 'voluntary' contributions of grain and men (Liv. XXIII.21.6) and when the news of the Roman defeat at Cannae in 216 reached the island, the Punic inhabitants went into action and sent a secret embassy of prominent Punic Sardinians to Carthage in the spring of 215 BC. They revealed the weak Roman military presence on the island of only one legion, pointed out that the Roman *praetor* was about to be replaced by an inexperienced newcomer and added that general discontent with heavy taxation assured widespread support for Carthaginian intervention (Liv. XXIII.32.5-12).

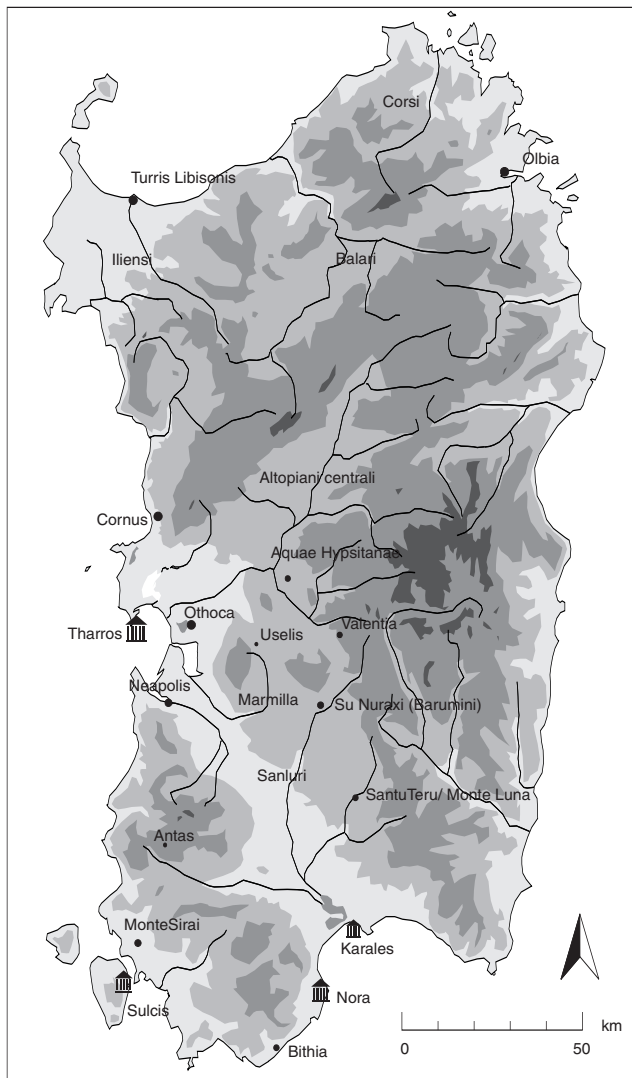


Fig. 6-2. Map of Sardinia, showing the regions and principal sites mentioned in the text.

The Carthaginian Senate reacted by sending a large fleet. In west central Sardinia, where *Cornus*, located to the North of the Sinis in the western foothills of the Monti Ferru (fig. 6-2) was the home base of the rebellion, armed forces were assembled under the joint command of the Carthaginian Hanno and the Punic Sardinian Hampsicoras. Characterized by Livy as ‘the most respected and richest man of the time’ (*qui tum auctoritate atque opibus primus erat*: XXIII.32.10), the latter maintained contacts with both Carthage and indigenous Sardinians and was accordingly in a position to raise a joint army of Carthaginians and Sardinians of Punic and indigenous descent (Barreca 1988). The Roman Senate sensed danger, however, and immediately sent back the

outgoing *praetor* A. Cornelius Mamulla, together with another legion under command of the experienced T. Manlius Torquatus. While the Carthaginian reinforcements were still on their way from the Balearic islands and Hampsicoras was still raising support among the *Sardi pelliti* of the interior (the ‘skin-clad Sardinians’), Torquatus quickly advanced towards the Gulf of Oristano and defeated the assembled rebel troops. As the Carthaginian fleet approached, Torquatus withdrew to Karales, which gave Hampsicoras and Hanno the opportunity to regroup their forces. They followed the Roman army and engaged in battle in the southern Campidano, where they were defeated. Having destroyed the main force, Torquatus could then easily advance against Cornus, which he seized a few days later. The other rebel cities, which Livy unfortunately does not mention by name, surrendered, giving hostages to the Romans and accepting doubled taxes. In the mean time, a Roman naval force had surprised the Carthaginian fleet and managed to destroy it. During the remaining years of the second Punic War no new uprisings occurred, presumably because of the permanent presence of two Roman legions. Only in 203 BC a Carthaginian fleet was again surprised off the Sardinian coast, where it merely passed on its way to the Italian mainland with supplies for Hannibal.

After the second Punic war, everything remained relatively quiet in Sardinia for several decades. The armed forces (5,000 men) left on the island under command of the *praetor* were apparently capable of maintaining Roman authority. However, growing unrest must have necessitated consular intervention at some point, as the *Fasti Triumphales* list three triumphs during the 2nd century BC which were celebrated at the conclusion of as many periods of upheaval (tab. 6-1). These troubles, however, differed from those of the previous period in various respects, as Livy’s descriptions of the Roman campaigns clearly show (Meloni 1990, 71-82). Although the triumphs were again generally celebrated *de Sardeis*, Roman intervention was explicitly directed against the inhabitants of the central and northern mountains of Sardinia. Livy in particular mentions the *Corsi*, *Balari* and *Ilienses*, whose lands must be situated in the northern parts of the island (fig. 6-2). Already characterized by Livy as ‘never entirely subjected’ (XL.34.12) and ‘skin-clad’, other authors as Strabo, Pausanias and Pliny have described these indigenous *civitates* (‘peoples’ rather than ‘tribes’) as living a nomadic life in huts, subterranean houses and caves.<sup>7</sup> Refusing to practice agriculture, they were believed to live on milk and meat. The inhabitants of the mountains thus became synonymous with barbarous practices and a lack of civilization, as can be inferred from several inscriptions and authors of later Imperial date who refer to the mountains of the interior as *Barbaria* (Lilliu 1988, 478-480).



The Roman campaigns between 181 and 176 BC were restricted to the central and northern mountain areas of Sardinia, which shows that it was not so much Roman domination of the island as a whole which was at stake but rather the establishment of its authority in all parts of it. The Logudoru, where the principal route from the northern Campidano and *altopiani centrali* to Olbia passed and the *Balari* lived, appears to have been particularly contested (Meloni 1990, 72-79; cf. fig. 6-2). The reasons for the uprisings are not entirely clear: they may have been caused by Roman efforts to impose the same provincial taxes as paid by the rural inhabitants of the plains, but attempts to protect the plains and perhaps the major communication routes through the interior against repeated incursions of the mountain inhabitants may equally have played a part. It is also possible that the Roman intervention was not so much a reaction against one particular revolt but rather a punitive expedition to firmly (re-)establish Roman authority in the interior of the island once and for all. The fundamental difference with the military campaigns before and during the second Punic War is nevertheless evident: the close connections of the Punic Sardinians with Carthage and the subsequent Carthaginian military involvement not only set the uprisings of the late 3rd century BC apart from those of the 2nd century BC, but they also show that only the latter can be ranked among the so-called 'native revolts' (pace Dyson 1975, 144-146).

The initial intervention in 181 was in many ways counter-productive, as it sparked off a more wide-spread revolt which must also have involved the rural areas of the plains, thereby necessitating more large-scale military campaigns. By attacking the mountain inhabitants on their own grounds, Sempronius Gracchus seems to have intended to settle matters definitively (Dyson 1985, 255-257). The measures taken at the end of the campaign show a similar concern with securing rest and Roman domination: 230 hostages were taken from the principal families, doubled taxes and occasional payments were imposed on the mountain peoples and inhabitants of the plains who had joined the uprisings, and all prisoners taken during the campaigns were sold as slaves. Although the later campaigns in 126-122 and 115-111 BC are less accurately known, as Livy's descriptions are lost (tab. 6-1), it is nevertheless clear that they followed the same pattern as in 181-176 BC (Meloni 1990, 81-82). The principal change during the later interventions regards the structure of Roman military command, which remained entrusted to the consul in charge of the first campaign by extension (*prorogatio*) of his assignment as a *proconsul* as long as necessary. After the last triumph *de Sardeis* of 111 BC Roman authority would no longer seriously be challenged. The mountains nevertheless remained a source of unrest, as later sources repeatedly mention police actions and small-scale interventions by the *praetor*. The limited deployment of military

force and use of the term *mastrucati latrunculi* ('brigands dressed in sheepskin': Cic. *Prov.* 15) illustrate the local and occasional character of these troubles.

The Roman power struggles and civil war of the first century BC involved Sardinia only incidentally without affecting the political and military situation on the island itself (Meloni 1990, 84-95). During the conflict between Marius and Sulla over dictatorial power in Rome and the ensuing civil war in the early 1st century BC Sardinia was forced to side with the latter. An attempt to detract the island from Sullan influence in 78 and 77 was foiled by joint Italian and Sardinian forces. Sardinia suffered more from increased piracy in the Mediterranean during those years, which even threatened its communications with the mainland. Pompeius' restoration of Roman maritime domination, for which the island also served as a naval base, resulted without further dispute in his control over the island. During the conflicts of the 60s and 50s which did not directly involve Sardinia, Pompeius was able to maintain his influence by appointing a supporter of his cause as governor and by granting citizenship to the local authorities. At the outbreak of the second civil war in 49 BC, however, when Caesar crossed the Rubicon, the population of Karales chased away the Pompeian governor and sided with Caesar. While the island remained outside the armed conflict, Karales constituted an important naval base for Caesar's operations, which he rewarded later by granting the city the status of *municipium* (cf. below, p. 174). Sulcis by contrast, which had harboured Pompeian ships was punished by confiscation of part of its territory and dismissal of the local administration. After Caesar's death in 44 BC, the triumvirate assigned Sardinia to Lepidus, who in 41 was forced to hand over his territories, including Sardinia, to Octavianus. The island became once more contested ground in 39 with Sextus Pompeius' fight for maritime primacy but Octavianus' authority could not be undermined. In 32 BC, Sardinia swore together with Italy and the other western provinces an oath of loyalty to Octavianus, who the following year *de facto* established the Principate.

6.2.4 ROMAN RULE AND PUNIC CULTURE IN SARDINIA  
On the Italian mainland, Rome had adopted various ways of annexing and controlling conquered regions, ranging from direct annexation as part of the *ager Romanus* or incorporation as a *municipium* to indirect control through an intricate system of treaty obligations and collaboration with local elites. The frequent establishment of *coloniae* and land allotments during the 4th and 3rd centuries BC also contributed to closer ties of indirectly controlled regions with Rome. The occupation of Sicily in 246 and of Sardinia and Corsica in 237 BC, however, soon proved that these methods were inadequate for managing more distant regions which remained under a constant threat of war. Taxation, the need



to secure Sicilian and Sardinian grain imports and the general maintenance of Roman authority entailed the permanent presence of magistrates, while the stationing of one or more legions on the islands required the presence of one of the consuls as a military commander. A glance at events in Sardinia (tab. 6-1) shows that one consul was in fact permanently stationed on the island between 237 and 231 BC and that in some years he was even assisted by his counterpart. Since the often prolonged absence of one or even two of the consuls from Rome evidently detracted from the over-all administration, the need to appoint a separate magistrate with all necessary civil and military power was evident. In 227 BC two additional *praetores* were therefore assigned whose *provincia* (literally 'mandate') was the government *cum imperio* of each of the two regions of Sicily and Sardinia together with Corsica (Harris 1979, 133-136). The extension of the system to Spain and later to Africa gradually stretched the purely administrative and legal meaning of the word *provincia* into a territorial sense. After 227 BC Sardinia was thus governed by a *praetor*, who nevertheless repeatedly received consular assistance during the period of the second Punic War (see tab. 6-1). Further support was provided by a *quaestor* who was responsible for taxation and other administrative matters. The *praetor* was moreover usually accompanied by a variety of junior officials who were appointed as his *legati* for specific affairs. The revision of the system by Sulla in 81 BC, who stipulated that consuls and *praetores* had to spend their term of office in Rome and that they could afterwards be appointed as a provincial governor (*proconsul* or *propraetor*), did not entail important changes for the local situations.

A fundamental feature of Roman rule in Sardinia was the imposition of a taxation system which was based on legal ownership of land. It was common practice that an exception was made for Roman allies, i.e. cities or peoples who had concluded a formal treaty (*foedus*) with Rome or who were labelled 'free and exempt from taxes' (*civitates liberae et immunes*), because they had in some way stood by Rome in the conquest of the region. These remained in possession of their lands and were exempt from the payment of rent or other taxes. Peculiar to the Sardinian situation, however, was the absence of a city or people with such a status on the entire island as late as 54 BC, when Cicero pointed out this fact (*Pro Scauro* XX.44). This implies that all land on the island had been confiscated by the Roman state as *ager publicus*, i.e. state property. Access to this land was possible in three ways: it could be leased back by its original proprietors, leased out to individuals or families with Roman citizenship or assigned by the *censor* in Rome to contractors (*publicani*) who were in turn free to lease it to whom they wished. In all three cases a fixed rent, the *vectigal*, was due to the Roman state. Part of the *ager publicus* could be withdrawn from this

system and assigned directly to groups of Roman citizens sent out to establish a *colonia*. In Sardinia, this only occurred once when *Turris Libisonis*, modern Porto Torres (fig. 6-2) was founded in the 3rd quarter of the 1st century BC, probably at the instigation of Caesar (Meloni 1990, 253-255). The consequences of the taxation system were worst for people who had previously under Carthaginian rule rented or leased land through share-cropping or some other contract: they could only obtain land by subrenting it from the *publicani*. Share-cropping or other rent arrangements with local former landowners or new Roman ones otherwise remained the only alternative for them. As professional contractors or rather speculators, the *publicani* of course not only demanded requisition for the *vectigal* but also added a substantial rent themselves. Besides this rent which was primarily due by land-owners, all people without Roman citizenship who actually worked the land had to pay a tithe (*decima*), which was a proportional tax on the crops produced. In addition, the whole of Sardinia had to pay a fixed tribute (*stipendium*) which had been imposed by way of indemnity for the Roman state. It was directly collected by the *quaestor* through the various cities and local communities of the island.

In practice, all land worked in Sardinia was thus at least subject to the nominal *vectigal*, *decima* and *stipendium*. Yet, in many situations people were burdened by considerably more taxes. Many people in fact not only had to pay a structurally increased rent to a *publicanus* but quite a few of them also faced temporary increases. After the uprising of 215 BC for instance the rebellious cities and communities had to accept a doubled *vectigal* as punishment. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus took the same measure in 176 BC after his victory over the Sardinians of the interior. The so-called 'generous contributions of the befriended Sardinian cities' to the legions stationed on the island in 216 BC (Livy XXIII.21.6) were no doubt similar *ad hoc* tax raises. Another repeatedly imposed measure was the so-called *frumentum imperatum*, which consisted of a second *decima* of all the harvested grain. Because a certain compensation was paid for the grain, it did not constitute a tax in the strict sense of the word, but because of the necessary increase of their surplus production it must have pressed on many farmers as a tax. The *frumentum imperatum* was repeatedly exacted in both Sicily and Sardinia in the second century BC to maintain the Roman armies in Greece, Anatolia and Africa. It particularly shows the importance of both islands as the leading suppliers of grain for Rome and its armies. Together with the province of *Africa* after 146, Sardinia and Sicily were called the *tria frumentaria subsidia reipublicae* ('three pillars of grain of the state': Cic. *De imperio Gn. Pompei* XII.34). When other grain-producing regions as Boeotia and Egypt were brought under Roman control, the pressure on Sardinian

and Sicilian grain must have diminished, although both islands long retained a privileged position in the *annona* (grain supply of Rome) because of the vicinity and ease of transport (Mastino 1995, 39-40).

In addition to these legal arrangements, which include the sometimes extraordinarily high rents demanded by *publicani*, illegally raised taxes were also common. The most famous case is that of M. Aemilius Scaurus, who was *praetor* in Sardinia in 56 and who surpassed all his predecessors in corruption: when he was taken to court at the end of his term, he was accused of having imposed a third *decima* for exclusively personal motives, that is a third share on top of the regular tithe and the *frumentum imperatum*. Yet, Cicero's defense and political intrigue resulted in an acquittal. It is nevertheless clear that complaints about heavy taxation and 'unjust requests of grain' (Liv. XXIII.32.9) during the Republic were anything but exaggerated; nor does it come as surprise that occasionally, as for instance after the uprising of 215 BC, the Sardinians themselves were left with little or no grain (Liv. XXIII.48.7).

The consequences of this taxation system for the countryside were considerable, as the confiscation of Sardinian land enabled many Italians with Roman citizenship to acquire long-term usufruct rights over extensive areas. In this way, large *latifundia* were created which were practically — though not legally — owned by absentee landlords. Epigraphic evidence of boundary markers and other inscriptions from the cities show that these were wealthy members of the Italian elites or of the Sardinian Punic elite. The Campanian *gens* (family) of the Patulcia for instance is recorded to have held the concession of a large area in the Gerrei, North of Cagliari, while the *gens* Euthychia whose Greek name may refer to a southern Italian origin, ran an estate in the area of Cuglieri on the western slopes of the Monti Ferru. In the same area, three women of the *gens* Numisia held three adjacent estates, where the only partially preserved names of the [--- M]uthon(?), [---]rarri and Uddadhaddar who worked on or 'belonged to' the estates reveal the Punic background of their landlords whose name they carried. The *Giddilitani* of the same Cuglieri area similarly refer to a landlord of Punic descent. Since these inscriptions are all roughly datable to the 2nd or 1st century BC, they evidently point to the emergence of *latifundia* in Sardinia in Roman Republican times.<sup>8</sup>

The principal characteristic of Sardinia under Roman rule, in particular in Republican times, has been identified as the *continuity* of Punic culture. Although most evident archaeologically, there is also abundant historical evidence of the continued existence of Punic institutions and organizations. The cities and towns of Roman Sardinia offer several clear examples, because the parameters of Roman (Republican) settlement were by and large those set by Phoenician and

Punic settlement in the previous centuries (fig. 6-2): the principal Roman cities were therefore *Karales*, *Nora*, *Sulcis*, *Tharros* and *Olbia*, while minor towns such as *Bithia*, *Othoca* and *Neapolis* also remained occupied. Under the Republic only two new towns were established,<sup>9</sup> *Valentia* and *Acquae Hypsitanae*, which were both located in the interior and presumably contributed to a better control over the inland mountains. At the end of the Republic and in the early years of the Principate the only Roman colony in Sardinia, *Turris Libisonis Colonia Iulia*, was founded and half a dozen small settlements, perhaps only military strongholds, were established in the innermost parts of the Gennargentu mountains (Meloni 1990, 237-311). Roman road-building likewise did not start before the late 1st century BC, as it was closely associated with the Roman towns of Sardinia in Imperial times: the first Roman road was built starting from *Turris Libisonis* and crossed the entire island on its way to *Karales* (Meloni 1990, 317-353). Punic roads, of which virtually nothing is known, must have served Roman communications during the Republican period under consideration.

Inscriptions found in the cities attest the continued use of the Punic language for official purposes in the Roman period. Thirteen Punic-language inscriptions of Roman date are on record, ten of which were written in the so-called neo-Punic script which came in use after the destruction of Carthage in 146 BC. They vary from official records and dedicatory inscriptions to a mile-stone and graffiti (Bondi 1987c, 207, 449). The frequent occurrence of Punic names in Latin inscriptions and in the literary sources underlines the enduring Punic orientation of part of Sardinian society during the 2nd and 1st centuries BC (Zucca 1990, 657-661). Several of the official inscriptions also demonstrate the continued existence of Punic local government, showing that in *Karales*, *Bithia*, *Sulcis* and *Tharros* at least<sup>10</sup> *suffetes* remained in power over the respective *civitates* (communities). More remarkable perhaps is the fact that at least *Karales* and *Sulcis* maintained this form of local government even when they were granted the status of *municipium*, which means that its inhabitants acquired Roman citizenship. It could indicate the parallel existence in the city of two communities, one with and one without Roman citizenship (Meloni 1987b, 265). Probably because of its support of Caesar, *Karales* was the first city to achieve this status in the later 1st century BC; *Nora* and *Tharros* followed in the 1st century AD. The strong local basis of Punic institutions is perhaps best demonstrated by a remarkably late inscription from *Bithia* which shows that the town was still administered by *suffetes* in the late 2nd or early 3rd century AD (Meloni 1990, 273). Dedicatory inscriptions from *Tharros* and *Sulcis* furthermore attest the continued worship of Punic gods such as *Astarte*, *Baal* and *Elat* (Bondi 1990, 461). The cult of *Sardus Pater* also belongs to this group (Meloni 1990, 384-389).

The archaeological evidence of the cities makes the cultural continuity still more evident as settlement remained not only located on the same places but also continued to be organized along the same lines as previously. Both Tharros and Nora provide several examples of roads and houses of Republican date built within the urban lay-out of the previous period. In both cities the city plan was not radically altered to accommodate a *forum* and large bath complexes before the end of the 1st century BC (Bejor 1994; cf. Verga 1994, 263-266). In Nora, Italian house-types did not occur before the later 1st century BC (Bejor 1994, 843-845). In most cities the Punic cemeteries, too, remained in use and, even more importantly, show no marked differences in burial customs and grave goods after 238 BC: in the large Tuvixeddu, Capo S. Marco and Is Pirixeddus necropoleis of Karales, Tharros and Sulcis respectively chamber tombs continued to be (re)used (Barnett 1987b, 46; Barreca 1986, 47; Tronchetti 1989, 81-82) while chest and trench burials continued to occur in the smaller Punic cemetery of Bithia. The latter, however, also shows the gradual appearance of Roman-style burials, in particular the so-called *alla cappuccina* ones in which inclining roof tiles covered the dead body and the grave goods (Tronchetti 1984, 262). Equally significant in this respect was the continued and above all *unchanged* use of the *tophet* in those cities where such a sanctuary was present: those of Tharros, Sulcis and Monte Sirai demonstrate continuity during most of the 2nd century BC (Moscato 1992a, 25-31).

Outside the cities, a similar picture has emerged from excavations at minor towns such as Monte Sirai (cf. below) and Santu Teru with the Monte Luna cemetery. Both sites show the same continuity of both settlement and burial as noted in the cities. At Monte Luna in particular, Roman Republican burials were located amidst or close by older Punic depositions, while later Imperial ones were dispersed over various places of the site. Several of the Republican burials were of a thoroughly Punic appearance to the extent that in some cases only Republican coins reliably demonstrated their later date (Costa/Usai 1990, 43-69). A recent survey of Roman finds in south-western Sardinia has likewise shown a basic continuity of small and medium-sized rural settlement from the Punic into the Roman period (Tronchetti 1995b, 268-269). Rural cultural continuity was an equally recurrent feature in religious settings, as many Punic rural sanctuaries of various types — more than those attested in the cities — continued to be frequented under Roman rule (Piredda 1994). The monumental temple of *Sardus Pater* at Antas in the Iglesiente mountains (fig. 6-2) remained practically unaltered until the 1st century BC and even maintained a variety of Punic architectural features after repeated Roman restructuring; dedicatory gifts and inscriptions suggest that the cult itself basically preserved its Punic character (Zucca 1989b, 33-39;

cf. Meloni 1990, 384-389). A particular group of Punic rural cults and sanctuaries which continued to flourish during the entire Roman Republican period were the rural Punic sanctuaries dedicated to Demeter as known at Genna Maria of Villanovaforru or Lugherras near Paulilatino. Closely related to these are a substantial number of sites which have yielded Punic incense-burners in the shape of female heads (so-called *kernophoroi*) which probably indicate small shrines dedicated to a fertility cult: these typically Punic objects continued to be produced and used until the early Imperial period.<sup>11</sup>

As a corollary, rural organization in Roman Sardinia is usually represented as a continuation of the system created under Carthaginian rule. This assumption is difficult to substantiate, however, as it is based on Livy's brief characterization of Ampsicoras as a wealthy landowner (XXIII.32.10) and on the landlords of Punic descent recorded by the inscriptions. Even if the conclusion that they were former owners of expropriated estates who had rented back their land is suggestive (Melloni 1990, 129-130), it still does not follow that Carthaginian rural organization as a whole had remained unchanged under Roman rule. The Roman taxation system was on the contrary geared to the creation of large estates held by Roman citizens and must have profoundly upset the relationships between local landlords and peasants. A much more serious objection to the assumption of rural continuity is that it is based on the thesis that Punic rural organization in Sardinia was dominated by Carthaginian *latifundia* (cf. p. 127), because, there is no evidence for the existence, let alone dominance, of Punic estates (see chapter 5, pp. 156-157). In west central Sardinia, the archaeological data have instead revealed the coexistence of a variety of forms ranging from independent smallholders to communal types of land use. While the existence of wealthy Punic landowners cannot be excluded, representations of both Punic and Roman rural organization as being dominated by large estates must be dismissed as biased towards the elite by the literary and epigraphic evidence. At the same time, the assumption of the continued existence of *latifundia* has lost its foundations and must equally be abandoned.

The continued presence of Punic features alongside newly introduced Roman institutions and material culture has of course been recognized long ago. It has been suggested that Sardinia represented a peripheral region within the expanding Roman state, dismissing the Sardinian situation as a case of 'failed' or 'incomplete' romanization. This has been explained in terms of the intensive exploitation of the island as a supplier of grain which prevented it from catching up with Roman innovations (Sirago 1992, 243-247). Another explanation simply defined the reproduction of aspects of Nuragic or Punic culture in Roman times as a 'naturally regressive' reaction of the local people in the face of a truly

urban — and therefore superior- culture (Bartoloni 1988b, 347). Such views are questionable because of the implicit equation of romanization with progress and of Punic features with backwardness. They are also based on the modernist supposition that a lack of cultural development in the periphery must derive from economic exploitation by the dominant centre (cf. Sirago 1992, 253). The Punic aspect of Roman Sardinia has also been ignored altogether or at best acknowledged as a chronological anomaly which would eventually become Roman: Meloni's handbook (1990) is exemplary in this respect. The focus on 'typically Roman' objects such as baths and mosaics and their use as a convenient yard-stick for identifying 'an advanced degree of romanization' (Rowland 1977) show that these narrow representations of Roman Sardinia are based on simplistic notions of material culture as directly reflecting social or ethnic identities which do not allow Punic features to be found in a Roman context (cf. Freeman 1993, 443-444). In a similar vein, the archaeological and historical evidence of the early Roman period in Sardinia has usually been dealt with in terms of *persistence*, considering the numerous Punic features as relics of the preceding Carthaginian domination which simply persisted beyond the limits of that phase into the Roman period. In this view, the 'surviving' Punic elements represented isolated, perhaps more or less casual phenomena, which at best could be indicative of a limited survival of an otherwise decaying Punic culture which had lost its vitality (e.g. Zucca 1995, 84). As the use of terms as 'substratum' shows, these Punic manifestations were regarded as representing a secondary aspect of this period, which — according to the documentary sources at least — should be primarily Roman (e.g. Tronchetti 1984, 245-246).

These representations of Roman domination in Sardinia have more recently been criticized for depreciating the Punic contribution to the Roman period. In particular, it has been shown that the Punic dimension of the archaeological record from that period represents much more than mere isolated relics of an otherwise obsolete culture: the Punic evidence dating from the later 3rd century BC and afterwards unmistakably demonstrates the *vitality* of Punic culture in a wide range of aspects of social and economic life in Sardinia under the Roman Republic (Bondi 1990, 457). The erection of monumental temples in Karales and Tharros along primarily Punic lines clearly shows that Punic culture was all but secondary or outdated in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. The adherence to contemporary examples in North Africa and to Punic architectural developments in general shows that despite the Roman occupation, Punic Sardinia remained in tune with the Punic world of North Africa and Spain. A particular example is the so-called temple K in Tharros which was built in the late 2nd or early 1st century BC and which has no close parallels in Sardinia (Acquaro 1983,

625-628; Bondi 1990, 460). It shows a striking similarity with a neo-Punic chapel in Thuburbo Maius near Carthage which itself is characteristic of late Punic temple architecture in North Africa (Lancel 1995, 313-314). The 'vitality' of Punic culture in Sardinia is also evident in other fields such as the production of Punic *stelai*: the quality and quantity of their typology in Roman times shows that the continuous use of the *tophet* sanctuaries was not just a simple continuation of tradition but rather an active performance of the cult by a significant part of the inhabitants of the cities. The introduction of slightly different *stelai* in funerary contexts outside the cities similarly demonstrates that Punic religion was widespread and continued to be actively cultivated under Roman rule (Moscati 1991, 1992c). An emblematic case is that of Monte Sirai, where the existing Punic settlement was extensively expanded and rebuilt in the later 3rd century BC while retaining its Punic appearance. The principal building of the settlement, the so-called *mastio*, originally a large public building, was transformed into a shrine of a Punic type dedicated to Astarte. The *tophet* demonstrates the vitality of the Punic community well, as the sanctuary did not merely continue to be used but it was also renewed and expanded in the late 3rd century BC (Bondi 1995c, 236). The newly built houses showed the same characteristics as found in late Punic settlements in North Africa (Bartoloni 1992, 40-45; cf. Bartoloni 1995, 221).

These similarities between Punic buildings in Sardinia and North Africa suggest, together with the already-mentioned neo-Punic inscriptions, that at least part of the Punic inhabitants of Sardinia continued to maintain regular contacts with the Punic world outside the island, in particular in North Africa. The imports of late Punic amphorae from North Africa underscore this point (Zucca 1995, 89). Livy's account of the revolt of 215 BC and of the embassy of Punic Sardinians to Carthage similarly shows close ties between Punic North Africa and Sardinia, which is of course not surprising as the island had only twenty years before been extracted from Carthaginian influence. The archaeological evidence mentioned, however, suggests continued intensive relationships in the earlier 2nd century, when Carthage recovered from the second Punic War, and after 146 BC, when Carthage was destroyed and central North Africa became a Roman province.

With regard to this discussion of Roman expansion and domination in Sardinia, three major points can be made. A first remark concerns the literary and archaeological evidence which is conventionally used to represent the historical situation. Since most of the archaeological evidence cited in this section comes from the colonial cities, it cannot and has not contributed to redress the colonialist and elite biases which are inherent features of the literary sources. On the contrary, the conventional framework for considering Roman



Sardinia is a primarily historiographic one, which is accordingly characterized by a Roman elite perspective and an emphasis on historical events. The consequences are manifold and some have already been pointed out, such as the assumption that rural organization was dominated by *latifundia*. The tendency to ignore the persistence of Punic culture in what in historical terms was the Roman period is another one which has effectively distorted the representation of early Roman Sardinia as a whole. It has been strengthened by the even more widespread conceptualization of romanization as a cultural homogenization, which did not allow Punic 'variations' (cf. p. 168). This has for instance resulted in surveys of Roman material culture which include only 'genuinely' Roman items such as mosaics and baths and which systematically ignore Punic elements (e.g. Rowland 1981; 1988).

As a second and third point respectively, I want to draw attention to rural organization and Punic cultural continuity, because they have particularly suffered from this one — sided colonialist view of early Roman Sardinia and consequently need to be reconsidered. Both points are moreover of critical importance for a detailed study of an eminently rural region as west central Sardinia. With regard to rural organization, the questions to be answered are twofold: first, did *latifundia* occur in Roman times and if so, what was their role in the regional context as a whole? The second one regards the widespread numerous small and medium-sized Punic settlements which have repeatedly been noted as continuously inhabited in Punic and Roman times (Barreca 1986, 47; cf. Tronchetti 1995b, 268-269): do these observations denote a more general pattern of rural continuity which matches the known instances of religious continuity? And to what extent did Punic forms of rural and agrarian organization persist in the Roman period? Cultural continuity obviously occupies a central part in the remainder of this chapter, because it is the key to understanding how the local inhabitants considered the colonial situation of early Roman Sardinia, in which Roman culture had become the dominant and Punic the subordinated one: the principal issue to be addressed is where this leaves indigenous culture. In order to shed light on these three points, I shall as a next step present and discuss in detail the archaeological evidence on rural settlement in west central Sardinia.

### 6.3 Rural Settlement in West Central Sardinia under the Roman Republic

The archaeological record of Roman Sardinia might be expected to be well known and documented because of its eminent visibility and widespread presence. Together with the nuraghi, the material remains of the Roman period were in fact the first to attract attention to the archaeological heritage of Sardinia (pp. 53-54). In the 19th century Alberto

Lamarmora, V. Angius and Canon Spano were already documenting Roman remains in many places across the island: not only the monumental ruins of the major cities such as Nora, Tharros, Sulcis and Porto Torres, which had never entirely been hidden from view, but also the lesser remains of sites such as Neapolis and Fordongianus were accurately described and drawn. Spano was in most cases the first one to undertake excavations at these places. He also showed that Roman finds were equally abundant outside the major cities, although much less monumental: as early as 1858 he published for instance the excavation of nine Roman burials at Sa Bursa near Terralba (*Bullettino Archeologico Sardo* 4, 6).<sup>12</sup> The archaeological evidence recorded in this way was considered to complement the historical sources and incorporated by Pais in his study of the Roman occupation of Sardinia (1923).<sup>13</sup>

Although not primarily interested in the Roman period, Antonio Taramelli dedicated considerable attention to the material remains of that period, mainly because he simply encountered them more or less everywhere but also because they were relatively easy to identify. Taramelli, too, drew attention to the non-monumental Roman remains outside the major cities which he found during his topographical explorations. His work around the town of Cornus is an example of one of his rare undertakings specifically aimed at documenting Roman remains (Taramelli 1918b). He also pointed out the recurrent presence of Roman finds in nuraghi and other prehistoric monuments such as the Giants' Tomb of Bruncu Espis (129) which was excavated in 1925 (Taramelli 1927). Giovanni Lilliu has similarly recorded a large number of Roman settlements during his topographical explorations in the upper Marmilla, which have been published in numerous scattered brief find reports.

The chronological resolution of Roman pottery in general is most refined and the characteristics of Roman pottery in Sardinia have recently even been outlined in terms of local productions and the regional distribution of specific imports (Tronchetti 1996). Nevertheless, chronology paradoxically often remains a basic problem, in particular when dealing with surface finds or relying on older published find reports. In both cases, insufficient knowledge of coarse wares (including the finer *ceramica comune*) and their local and chronological characteristics usually lies at the heart of the matter. Many of the older reports for instance only distinguish 'Arretine wares', yet repeatedly mention 'pseudo-Arretine' sherds. It seems likely that these represent African Red Slip products, although they could also refer to *ceramica comune* in general. In many cases, however, the label simply reads 'Roman pottery' without further specification, which thus precludes any more precise chronological definition. The cursory survey of the more conspicuous Roman remains across Sardinia which has been compiled on the basis of



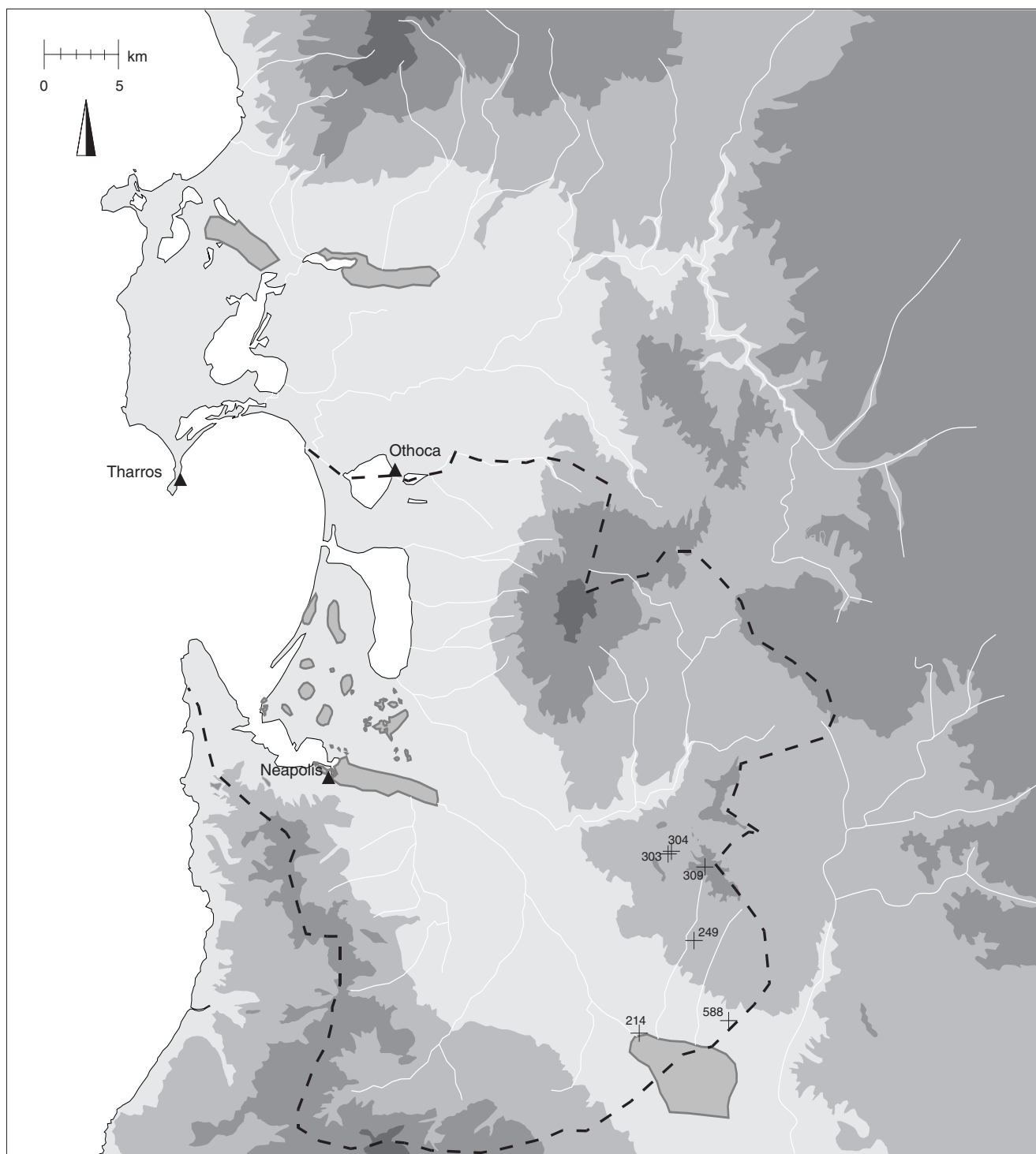


Fig. 6-3. Map of the study area of west central Sardinia showing the six (partially) excavated sites (cf. tab. 6-2).

No.	Toponym	Periodization
214	Giba Onidi	Roman Republican and Imperial
249	Ortu Comidu	Punic
303	Sedda sa Caudeba	Punic and Roman Republican
304	Sedda sa Caudeba	Punic and Roman Republican
309	Genna Maria	Punic and Roman
588	Corti Beccia	Punic and Roman

Table 6-2. (Partially) excavated Roman Republican sites in the study area (cf. fig. 6-3).

published evidence (Rowland 1981; 1988) is emblematic in this respect: most sites listed have only generically been labelled ‘Roman’ and if any more precise datings are available, they are usually based on coins. Since the more conspicuous features of Roman settlement such as baths and mosaics or even coins are primarily, if not exclusively, of Imperial date, the Republican period is much more difficult to distinguish and has no doubt repeatedly been overlooked.

In terms of pottery, which remains the principal indicator of earlier Roman settlement, the Republican period is generally defined by the presence of the so-called Black Glaze wares (*vernice nera*). A crucial problem in this respect, however, is the distinction between the Greek and South-Italian products roughly datable to the 4th and 3rd century BC and the central Italian (‘Campanian’) ones of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. Although detailed descriptions and classifications have been made of the latter (Morel 1981) and even if local versions such as the Sardinian *a pasta grigia* fabric of the 1st century BC are now well known (Tronchetti 1996, 27-35), older reports usually do not make any distinction. A Roman Republican occupation phase subsequent to a Punic one may therefore be difficult to distinguish, as was already pointed out in the previous chapter (p. 144). Amphorae are often helpful in this respect: the Dressel 1 container, which was used to import central Italian wine in Sardinia during the 2nd and 1st centuries BC is an obvious case in point (Tronchetti 1995b, 267; cf. Pianu 1980).<sup>14</sup> If the available find reports document the archaeological record in some detail, it may thus be possible to single out Republican settlements and occupation phases, as was recently demonstrated in a case study of south-west Sardinia (Tronchetti 1995b, 268-269). The present section reports of precisely such a meticulous analysis of the archaeological evidence for the west central Sardinian study area.

6.3.1 THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF THE STUDY AREA  
Because of the favourable visibility and recognizability of the Roman archaeological record, the evidence for the study

area as defined in chapter three (p. 39) may at first sight be expected to be more or less representative for the Roman period in general. With regard to the Republican period, however, more caution is necessary. The following overview therefore considers in the first place the excavations carried out in the study area. Next, the data collected by the *Riu Mannu* survey will be outlined and finally the results of other topographical explorations and some stray finds will be presented.

Within the study area, six sites which were occupied during most or all of the Republican period have been (partially) excavated (tab. 6-2). Five of these (249, 303, 304, 309, 588) were originally Punic sites, all situated in the hills of the southern Marmilla (fig. 6-3; cf. p. 130; tab. 5-1). Of these, nuraghe Ortu Comidu of Sardara (249) appears to have been abandoned in the earlier 2nd century BC after over two centuries of Punic occupation. Within the nuraghe only few Roman finds have been found which were all of early Republican date. The presence of later finds outside the structure suggests that in later Republican and Imperial times the nuraghe was no longer permanently settled and only sporadically used, perhaps as a shed or stable. The Punic appearance of the occupation of the nuraghe did not appreciably change during this short period under Roman authority; nor did the inhabitants of the site receive Roman products from the Italian mainland (Balmuth 1986, 377-378). Nuraghe Genna Maria of Villanovaforru (309; cf. fig. 5-6) had similarly been in use for nearly two centuries and continued to be frequented throughout the Roman Republican and Imperial periods. Rituals were performed in the central courtyard and the objects offered were afterwards stored in the central tower. Although several changes occurred in the course of time, under the Roman Republic, the local and Punic nature of the cult remained largely unchanged, as the introduction of (Roman) coins represented the only innovation: 25 Roman Republican coins have been found in the ritual deposit, whereas previously only two Punic coins had been donated (Guido 1993, 125-127). At Corti Beccia (588) on the Campidano glaciis near the Sanluri marshes, only three trench burials of Roman Republican date have been excavated but surface finds suggest that the cemetery comprised a considerable number of burials and that the adjacent settlement was of an equally large size (Paderi 1982c, 59; cf. p. 186). Unlike the previous three sites, the small farmstead and adjacent cemetery of Sedda sa Caudeba near Collinas (304 and 303) had only been established recently when Rome took over Sardinia. Both the farm and the burial ground remained in use throughout the Republican period. The Republican site at Giba Onidi near S. Gavino Monreale (214) not only differed from the other ones because of its location in the central Campidano but in particular because it was newly established in the (later) 1st century BC and



Fig. 6-4. Map of the study area of west central Sardinia showing the Roman sites and find-spots encountered by the *Riu Mannu* survey (cf. tab. 6-3).

No.	Toponym	Periodization
8	Pauli Putzu	Punic and Roman
15	Ingraxioris (Pauli Ummus)	Punic and Roman
86	Santa Chiara	Punic and Roman Republican
99	Santa Chiara	Punic and Roman Republican
532	Giogoni	Punic and Roman Republican
534	Bau Angius	Punic and Roman Republican
535	Putzu Nieddu	Punic and Roman Republican
536	Putzu Nieddu	Punic and Roman Republican
538	N. Siaxi	Punic
539	N. Brunchiteddus	Punic
540	Perda Lada	Punic and Roman
576	Sa Furchidda	generically 'Roman'
577	Pranu Sogus	generically 'Roman'

Table 6-3. Roman Republican sites and find-spots encountered by the *Riu Mannu* survey (cf. fig. 6-4).

continued to be used in Imperial times. In this small cemetery of approximately 15 burials, the only one properly excavated has documented a trench grave with a burial of the late 1st century BC and a secondary one of the 2nd century AD (Lilliu 1950, 280-283). Dispersed late Republican finds of other disturbed burials suggested that the cemetery was inaugurated in the later 1st century BC and continued to be used during at least another three centuries. The burial rites varied from several *alla cappuccina* burials to depositions in stone chests or simple trenches. One of the burials has yielded a funerary inscription of Imperial date (Lilliu 1950, 275-277).

Intensive surveying in 15 transects of the representative sample of the *Riu Mannu* survey in both the Arborèa lowlands and the Marmilla hills (pp. 60-63) has so far yielded eleven sites which were occupied during at least some time of Roman Republican rule over Sardinia (tab. 6-3; figs 6-4, 6-5). Two more, however, (576, 577) have yielded few finds which are difficult to identify and which still await detailed analysis. As a consequence, these cannot be dated more precisely at present than generically Roman; nor is their function clear. The location of the pass at Pranu Sogus through the highest hills of the central Marmilla (577) suggests that the Roman finds may be the remains of a small halting-place which was presumably not permanently occupied. An alternative interpretation as a temporary shelter, perhaps of shepherds is also possible. The remains at Sa Furchidda (576) are situated on top of a low spur and have

probably heavily been eroded. The presence of several roof tile fragments may suggest the remains of a farm; yet, the over-all low density and generic nature of the finds are perhaps more indicative of a temporary shed or shelter. These two sites are nevertheless clearly distinct from the other ones, as there is no trace of previous Punic occupation. All other eleven sites, by contrast, had been established in the preceding Punic period; apart from one shed and a cemetery they represented permanently settled farms with characteristics as in the Punic period (see pp. 130-131). Seven of these sites (8, 15, 532, 534, 535, 536, 540) have yielded diagnostic finds such as Campanian and locally produced Black Glaze wares (*a pasta grigia*) and Dressel 1 and Graeco-Italic amphorae. The large farmstead at Bau Angius (534) and a smaller farm with related shed at nearby Putzu Nieddu (536, 535), both situated on the coarse-grained pediments south of the Riu Mannu (fig. 6-5), were abandoned in the course of the 2nd century BC, the latter perhaps already during the first half of it. The three other farms and one cemetery remained in use throughout the Republican into the Imperial period. The large farmstead at Ingraxioris (15), the smaller one at Pauli Putzu (8) and the cemetery at Giogoni (532) were located on the Terralba sands (fig. 6-5). In the Marmilla, the evidence for Republican presence is less precise: although heavy vegetation did not allow detailed documentation of the site on the Riu Mògoro valley bottom at Perda Lada (540), the substantial off-site scatter was nevertheless sufficiently indicative of (late) Punic, Roman Republican and Imperial presence. The large amount of tiles, amphora and *ceramica comune* fragments and some fine wares suggest that the site represents a permanently settled farm or hamlet, although several limestone slabs also indicate associated chest burials. The two sites near the nuraghi Siaxi (538) and Brunchiteddus (539) were small permanently settled farms, which remained occupied into the Republican period. The preliminary inventory of the finds, which included fine wares and amphorae, suggests that they were abandoned in the 2nd century BC.

Under the Roman Republic, Neapolis remained the only major nucleated settlement in the entire study area. It consequently takes an exceptional place in the category of topographical surface collections and stray finds (tab. 6-4; cf. pp. 133-134). The Roman occupation phases of the town are relatively well known (fig. 6-6), as they comprise a number of standing structures such as the so-called Large Baths and the aquaduct with related *castellum aquae* and cisterns. The so-called Minor Baths, one house and the northern cemetery have moreover been explored in three small excavations (Zucca 1987a, 101-107). Yet, all of these exclusively regard remains of Imperial date. The same holds for other indications visible on aerial photographs or distinguishable in the field, such as the probable courses of the *cardo* and

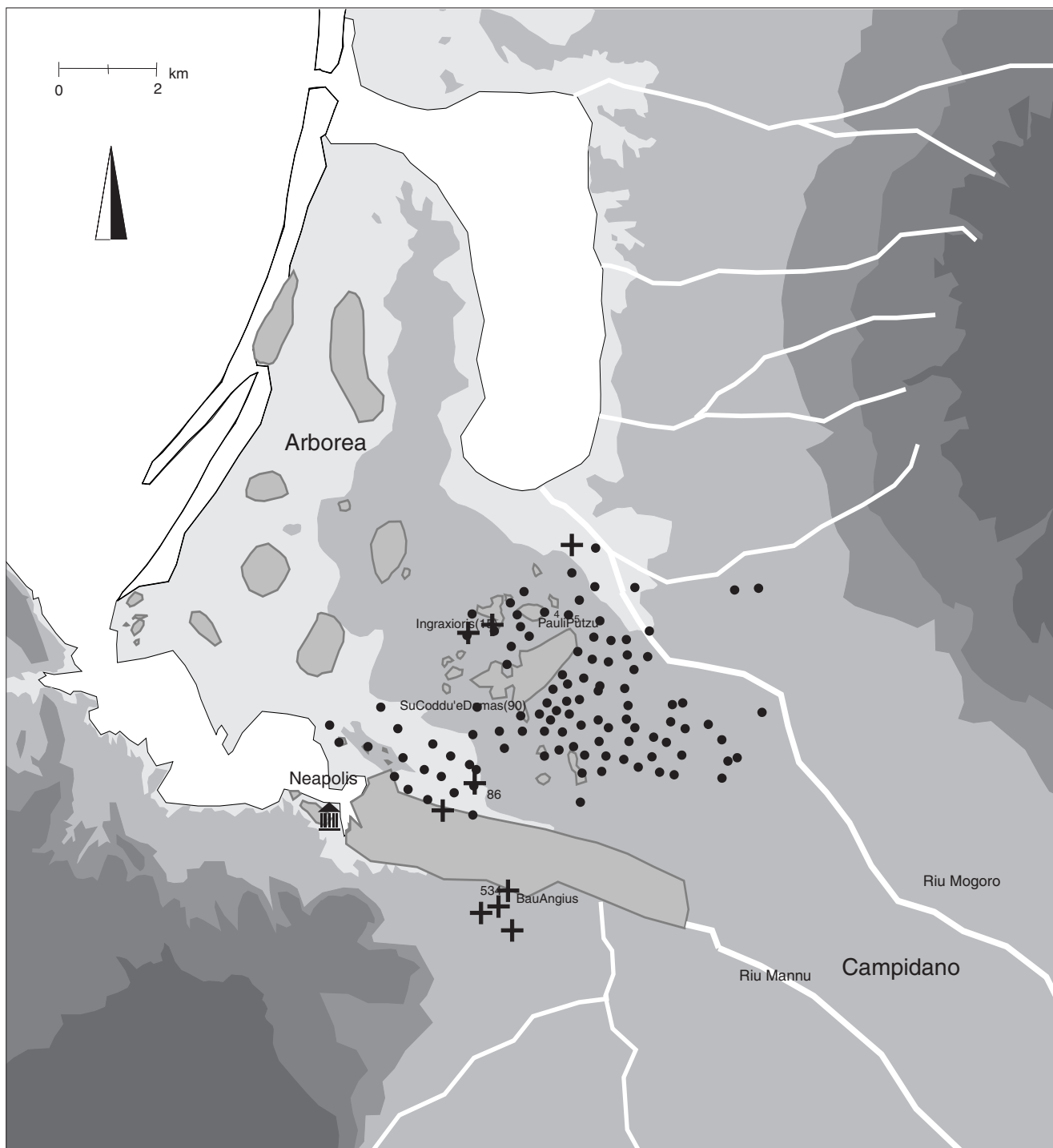


Fig. 6-5. Map of the southern Arborèa showing the site of Neapolis and the Roman Republican sites and find-spots recorded in the territory of Terralba by the *Riu Mannu* survey (indicated by crosses) and the explorations of Gino Artudi and Sandro Perra (indicated by dots). For site identification numbers, see figure 6-8.



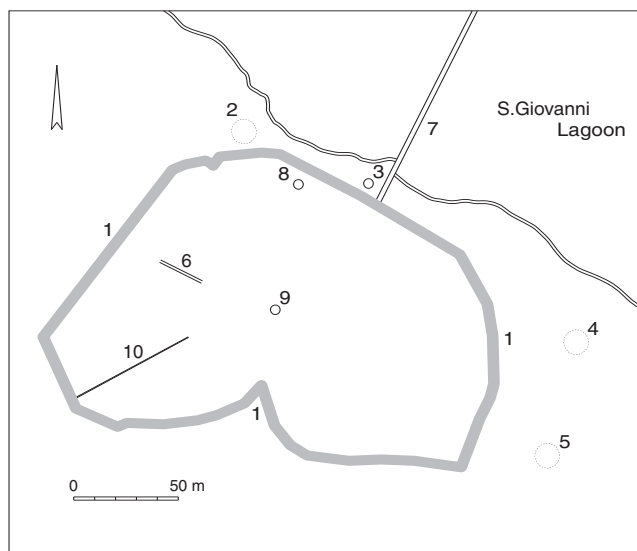


Fig. 6-6. Map of the town of Neapolis and surroundings showing the known Roman features.

Legend: 1: town walls; 2: Punic cemetery; 3: sanctuary; 4: northern cemetery; 5: southern cemetery; 6: hypothetical orientation of the *decumanus*; 7: road northwards *ad Usellum* across the *Su Stradoi 'e Damas* road; 8: 'monumental area'; 9: baths; 10: aqueduct (after Zucca 1987, tav.13.1; drawing P. Deunhouwer).

*decumanus* and the location of a monumental area (the *forum*?): the oldest surface finds which can be associated with these features such as architectural elements, mosaic fragments, a marble statue and several inscriptions are invariably of early Imperial date (1st or 2nd century AD). The Republican period is nevertheless well represented by numerous surface finds of all classes of Black Glaze wares, amphorae, braziers and lamps (Zucca 1987a, 201-202, 205). Although the absence of readily identifiable Republican structural remains represents an otherwise unverifiable argument *e silentio*, it suggests that the originally Punic lay-out of the town was not reorganized in Roman, in particular monumental, terms until the Augustan period. This would accord well with developments in Tharros and Nora (Bejor 1994).

In the immediate vicinity of Neapolis, two Roman cemeteries are known (fig. 6-6), of which the north-eastern one has partially been excavated in 1859 and 1951, yielding burials of exclusively later Imperial date (Zucca 1987a, 107-108). The southern one is only known from surface finds which suggest that it was in use during the entire Republican period, as the reported finds are of late Punic, Republican and early Imperial date. The Punic necropolis north of the town walls has also yielded late Punic finds and may therefore have remained in use during part of the Republican period (Artudi/Perra 1992). The Punic sanctuary north of the

town continued to be frequented into the earlier Republican period, as suggested by the typology of several later Hellenistic figurines (Moscati/Zucca 1989, 53-54) and the occurrence of neo-Punic graffiti on late Punic pottery (Zucca 1987a, 211, nos 2 and 3).

With regard to the sites and find-spots registered by topographical explorations or simply discovered by chance, the same two more or less coherent sets of surface finds as discussed in the previous chapter stand out because of field-work intensity and collection strategies: one regards the Terralba territory built up by Gino Artudi and Sandro Perra (Artudi/Perra 1994, 1997); the other regards the Sanluri territory, which only partially falls within the study area (Paderi/Putzolu [eds] 1982). As argued in the previous chapter (p. 136), the first collection is by far the most reliable and representative because of the intensity with which a limited area has been examined. The critical chronological elements which have been used to register Republican occupation of a site are Campanian or local Black Glaze wares, Dressel 1 and Rhodian amphorae and Black Glazed lamps (Artudi 1991; Artudi/Perra 1993). Coins have also repeatedly contributed to attesting Republican presence (Artudi/Perra, pers. comm.). Of the total number of 135 sites registered in the entire Terralba territory (34.65 km<sup>2</sup>), 115 have in this way been demonstrated to have been occupied during the Roman Republic (tab. 6-4; fig. 6-5). Of these, 104 were rural settlements and eleven represented cemeteries. The former represented farmsteads of a type comparable to those documented by the *Riu Mannu* survey. All but three of the cemeteries (4, 19, 108) had already been used as a burial-ground during the previous Punic period, while all settlements had been established in the Punic period. All 115 sites remained in use during most of the Republican period, but by the 1st century BC radical changes took place, as nearly one third of the settlements were abandoned (38 out of 104). None of the cemeteries, however, was abandoned. A remarkable aspect of this development was that it were the smaller sites in particular which were left, which resulted in a general increase of site size (tab. 6-5).

Although several of the largest settlements would develop into major *villae* with baths and lavish mosaics in the Imperial period, there are no indications of extraordinary wealth at any of these sites during the Republican period. The site at Su Coddu e Damas opposite Neapolis at the Riu Mannu estuary (90; fig. 6-5) illustrates this point well: it was established as early as the 5th century BC and remained continuously occupied until the 4th century AD, when it had become a large and lavishly decorated *villa rustica*. The architectural remains of this phase, however, are exclusively of Imperial date. With regard to the Roman cemeteries of the Terralba area and their burial rites, the Pauli Putzu necropolis (4; fig. 6-5) provides the best, if incomplete evidence. Although

<i>No.</i>	<i>Toponym</i>	<i>Periodization</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Toponym</i>	<i>Periodization</i>
1	Coddu su Fenugu	Punic and Roman	57	Pauli Longas	Punic and Roman
2	Pomada	Punic and Roman	58	Truncu e Molas	Punic and Roman Republican
3	Cuccuru s'Arena	Punic and Roman	59	Pauli Longas	Punic and Roman
4	Pauli Putzu	Roman Republican and Imperial	60	Serra Erbutzu	Punic and Roman
5	Pauli Putzu	Punic and Roman	61	Truncu e Molas	Punic and Roman Republican
6	Pauli Putzu	Punic and Roman	62	Pauli Zorca	Punic and Roman Republican
7	Pauli Putzu	Punic and Roman	63	Pauli Zorca	Punic and Roman
9	Pauli Putzu	Punic and Roman	64	Pauli Zorca	Punic and Roman
10	Sa Ussa	Punic and Roman	65	Pauli Zorca	Punic and Roman Republican
11	Ingraxioris	Punic and Roman Republican	67	Pauli Pirastu	Punic and Roman
12	Ingraxioris	Punic and Roman Republican	68	Pauli Zorca	Punic and Roman
13	Ingraxioris	Punic and Roman Republican	70	Pauli Onna Mannu	Punic and Roman Republican
14	Pauli Annuas	Punic and Roman	71	Pauli Colostu	Punic and Roman
16	Pauli Ummus	Punic and Roman Republican	72	Sa Gora Paugas	Punic and Roman
17	Giogoni	Punic and Roman	73	Serra Prumu	Punic and Roman Republican
19	Via Bacelli/ Via Marceddi	Punic and Roman Imperial	74	Serra Prumu	Punic and Roman
20	Via E.d' Arborea	Punic and Roman	75	Serra Prumu	Punic and Roman
21	Trunconi	Punic and Roman	77	Ingraxioris	Punic and Roman
22	Murera	Punic and Roman Republican	78	Bau Angius	Punic and Roman
23	Sa Ussa	Punic and Roman	79	Bau Angius (Coddu is Sabios)	Punic and Roman
24	Fangariu	Punic and Roman	81	Santa Chiara	Punic and Roman
25	Fangariu	Punic and Roman	82	Santa Chiara	Punic and Roman
26	Fangariu	Punic and Roman Republican	83	Santa Chiara	Punic and Roman
27	Fangariu	Punic and Roman	84	Santa Chiara	Punic and Roman
28	Fangariu	Punic and Roman	85	Santa Chiara	Punic and Roman
29	Murera	Punic and Roman Republican	87	Santa Chiara	Punic and Roman
30	Murera	Punic and Roman Republican	88	Su Quadroxiu	Punic and Roman
31	Murera	Punic and Roman Republican	89	Su Quadroxiu	Punic and Roman
32	Murera	Punic and Roman Republican	90	San Giovanni (Su Coddu e Damas)	Punic and Roman
33	Murera	Punic and Roman Republican	91	San Giovanni	Punic and Roman
34	Murera	Punic and Roman	92	San Giovanni	Punic and Roman
35	Murera	Punic and Roman Republican	93	San Giovanni	Punic and Roman Republican
36	Murera	Punic and Roman Republican	94	Giogoni	Punic and Roman
37	Murera	Punic and Roman Republican	95	San Giovanni	Punic and Roman
38	Murera	Punic and Roman Republican	96	San Giovanni	Punic and Roman Republican
39	Murera	Punic and Roman Republican	97	San Giovanni	Punic and Roman Republican
40	Murera	Punic and Roman	98	Santa Chiara	Punic and Roman
41	Murera	Punic and Roman Republican	100	Sena Manna	Punic and Roman
42	Serra Erbutzu	Punic and Roman Republican	101	Pauli Longas	Punic and Roman Republican
43	Candelaris	Punic and Roman	102	Bau Angius	Punic and Roman
44	Candelaris	Punic and Roman	103	Paulistincus	Punic and Roman
45	Candelaris	Punic and Roman	104	Paulistincus	Punic and Roman
46	Candelaris	Punic and Roman	105	Sa Gora	Punic and Roman
47	Serra Erbutzu	Punic and Roman Republican	106	Pauli Putzu	Punic and Roman
48	Truncu e Molas	Punic and Roman	107	Giogoni	Punic and Roman
49	Truncu e Molas	Punic and Roman Republican	108	Giogoni	Roman Republican and Imperial
50	Paulistincus	Punic and Roman	109	Coddu su Fenugu	Punic and Roman
51	Paulistincus	Punic and Roman	110	Truncu e Molas	Punic and Roman
52	Paulistincus (Pauli Nicasu)	Punic and Roman	111	Sa Ussa	Punic and Roman Republican
53	Paulistincus	Punic and Roman	112	Narbonis (Pauli Margiani)	Punic and Roman
54	Truncu e Molas	Punic and Roman Republican	113	Narbonis	Punic and Roman Republican
55	Truncu e Molas	Punic and Roman Republican	114	Truncu e Molas	Punic and Roman
56	Nuracciolu	Punic and Roman Republican			

<i>No.</i>	<i>Toponym</i>	<i>Periodization</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Toponym</i>	<i>Periodization</i>
115	S'Arrideli	Punic and Roman Republican	228	Tuppa 'e Xebru	Punic and Roman
116	Bau Angius	Punic and Roman	231	S. Pantaleo	Punic and Roman
117	Fangariu	Punic and Roman	233	<i>Acquae Neapolitanae</i>	Punic and Roman
118	Candelaris	Punic and Roman	234	Arigau	Punic and Roman
119	Mattixeddas	Punic and Roman Republican	235	Axiurridu	Punic and Roman
120	Pauli Piscus	Punic and Roman	236	Barumeli	Roman Republican and Imperial
121	Paulincasu	Punic and Roman	239	Canale Linu	Punic and Roman
122	Mattixeddas	Punic and Roman	243	Donigala	Roman Republican and Imperial
123	Candelaris	Punic and Roman Republican	246	Nuraghe Arrubiu	Punic and Roman
124	San Giovanni	Punic and Roman	248	Nuraghe Perra	Punic and Roman
127	S'Ungroni	Punic and Roman	250	Pedralba	Roman Republican and Imperial
128	Arcuentu	Roman Republican and Imperial	252	San Martino	Roman Republican
133	Punta sa Rana	Punic and Roman	253	S. Caterina	Punic and Roman
136	Bingias Beccias	Roman Republican	256	N. Tramatzza	Punic and Roman
144	Zairi	Punic and Roman	257	N. Su Senu	Punic and Roman
146	Bingias de Susu	Roman Republican and Imperial	258	Melas	Punic and Roman
148	Coddu de Acca	Punic and Roman	261	Magrangioni (Ponti Arcau)	Roman Republican and Imperial
150	Conca Manna	Punic and Roman Republican	264	S. Giovanni (Ponti Arcau)	Punic and Roman
158	Is Trigas	Punic and Roman Republican	265	Su Nuracci	Punic and Roman
160	Montevecchio-Sciria	Punic and Roman Republican	266	Codinas	Punic
164	Muru Orta	Roman Republican	267	S. Maria Atzeni	Roman Republican and Imperial
170	Pauli Planu	Punic and Roman Republican	287	Brunku Predi Poddi	Punic and Roman
171	Pauli s'Enadi	Punic and Roman	288	Corti Beccia	Punic and Roman
175	Putzu Nieddu	Punic and Roman Republican	290	Masu Serci (Mitrixedda)	Punic and Roman
180	S. Sofia	Punic and Roman	291	Pauli Murtas	Punic and Roman
182	Sa Tribuna (Bangius)	Punic and Roman	292	Sa Ruina 'e Stuppai	Punic and Roman
184	Sedda is Benas	Punic and Roman	297	Mar 'e Idda	Punic and Roman
196	Ruinas	Punic and Roman	300	S. Caterina	Punic and Roman
197	Roiabis	Roman Republican	308	S. Reparata-Donigala	Punic and Roman
198	Arratzu	Roman Republican and Imperial	512	Cuccuru Mattoni	Roman Republican and Imperial
199	Bonorzuli	Punic and Roman	541	Neapolis	Punic and Roman
200	S. Maria di Cracaxia	Punic and Roman	566	S. Arzou	Punic and Roman Republican
201	S'Argidda	Punic and Roman Republican	580	Cuccuru 'e Casu Moiau	Roman Republican and Imperial
202	Nuraghes	Punic and Roman Republican	581	Preidara	Roman Republican and Imperial
203	Nuraghe Fenu	Punic and Roman	586	Strovina	Roman Republican and Imperial
204	Sa Fronta	Punic and Roman	587	S. Maria	Roman Republican and Imperial
205	S. Luxori (S. Sciori)	Punic and Roman	589	Cirras	Roman Republican and Imperial
208	Cuccuru 'e Casu	Punic and Roman	615	S. Daniele	Roman Republican and Imperial
212	Funtana 'e Canna	Punic and Roman	616	N. Pallariu	Roman Republican and Imperial
213	Giba Carroga	Roman Republican and Imperial	617	Chiesa di S. Barbara	Roman Republican and Imperial
215	Giba Umbus (Bia Umbus)	Punic and Roman	619	N. Setzu	Roman Republican and Imperial
216	Masongius	Roman Republican and Imperial	620	N. Pinna	Roman Republican and Imperial
217	Murus	Roman Republican and Imperial	621	N. Giuali	Roman Republican and Imperial
219	Ortillonis	Punic and Roman Republican	622	N. Nurafa	Roman Republican and Imperial
220	Perda 'e Gruxi	Punic and Roman Republican	623	N. S. Mauro	Roman Republican and Imperial
221	Ruinas Mannas	Punic and Roman Republican			
223	S'Acqua Cotta	Punic and Roman			

Table 6-4. Roman Republican sites, find-spots and stray-finds as documented by topographical explorations in the study area (cf. fig. 6-8).

site size (m <sup>2</sup> )	occupied sites by the 1st c. BC	abandonments
≥ 20.000	10	1
20.000 - 15.000	5	3
15.000 - 10.000	15	3
10.000 - 5.000	20	7
≤ 5.000	54	24

Table 6-5. Classification of Roman Republican sites recorded by Artudi and Perra (1994) on the basis of site size and date of abandonment.

only a small number of grave goods has been preserved, in combination with brief descriptions of the burials which came to light in a sand quarry in the 1960s they give a general impression of the cemetery (Artudi n.d.). Trench and wooden chest inhumations appear to have constituted the norm for burying the dead throughout the Republican and Imperial phases, while cremations were rare. *Alla cappuccina* burials became dominant in Imperial times, although earlier occurrences were not uncommon. Burials of the *enchytrismos* type were entirely absent until Late Antiquity, when late Roman amphorae or even *dolia* were of course used. In accordance with its Republican date of inauguration, no Punic influences have been recorded in the Pauli Putzu cemetery, although documentation is admittedly far from exhaustive.

The second set of more or less coherent evidence regards the territory of Sanluri. As far as included in the study area, it consists of the lower slopes of the southern Marmilla hills and eastern Campidano glaciis deposits which gradually descend towards the Sanluri marshes (fig. 6-7). Most of the Sanluri territory (84.16 km<sup>2</sup>, including the Sanluri marshes and part of the west bank of the upper Flumini Mannu valley outside the present study area proper) appears to have been examined in a more or less systematic way, although details about fieldwork methodology and intensity are lacking. Most attention seems to have been concentrated, at least as far as excavations are concerned, on the lower area to the South and East of the modern town of Sanluri (Paderi 1982a; Paderi/Putzolu 1982). While in the entire territory 29 Roman sites have been recorded, 17 of which are settlements and twelve cemeteries, only eight settlements and four cemeteries have been registered within the limits of the study area (tab. 6-4; fig. 6-7). Of the latter, the one at Corti Beccia (588) has been partially excavated (tab. 6-2; p. 179). Other excavations, in particular the large-scale work undertaken at Bidd'e Cresia (299), fall outside the limits of the study area (see p. 192). All existing Punic settlements and cemeteries

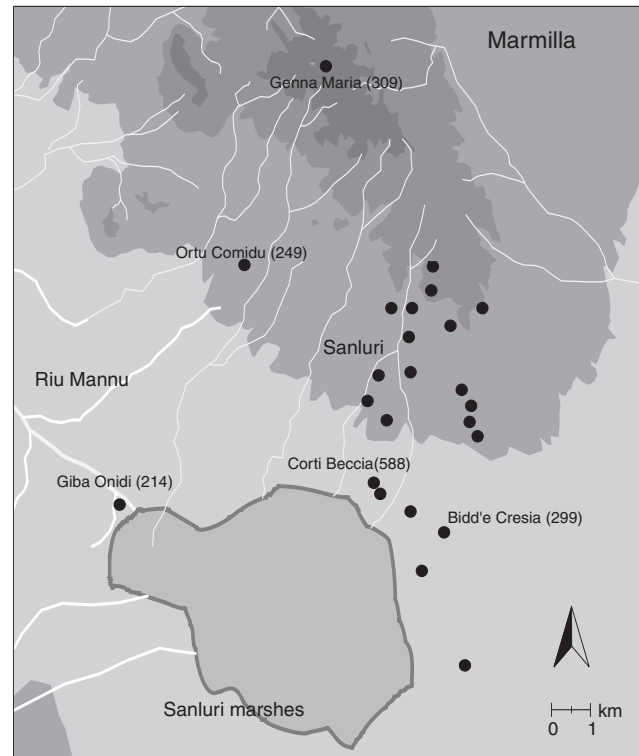


Fig. 6-7. Map of the central Campidano near the Sanluri marshes and the south-eastern hillslopes of the adjacent Marmilla showing the Roman Republican sites recorded in the territory of Sanluri within the limits of the study area. The excavated sites of the Bidd'e Cresia cemetery (299), the Ortu Comidu nuraghe (249) and the shrine in the nuraghe Genna Maria (309) are numbered. For site identification numbers, see figures 6-8 and 6-11.

of the Sanluri area within the study area were continuously settled and used for burials in Roman times until at least the 4th century AD. The settlement at Pauli Murtas (291) was the only one to be abandoned towards the end of the Republic. At the same time, no less than three settlements (580, 581, 587) and one cemetery (586) were added to the existing ones.<sup>15</sup> The cemeteries consisted predominantly of inhumation burials in trenches and a lesser number of cremations which were equally interred in trenches.

The remaining 74 sites of Roman Republican date listed in table 6-4 have been registered in myriad ways ranging from stray finds during construction or agricultural works to surface finds collected through fieldwork by professional and amateur archaeologists. They comprise 57 settlements, 13 cemeteries, three shrines and one hoard (fig. 6-8; tab. 6-4). The bulk of these sites has been included on the basis of the evidence collected by Raimondo Zucca, who, as far as possible, has re-examined the finds and revisited the generically Roman sites reported by Cornelio Puxeddu and other



Fig. 6-8. Map of the study area of west central Sardinia showing Punic sites, find-spots and stray-finds as documented by topographical explorations in the study area (cf. tab. 6-4).



(amateur) archaeologists in the Campidano and Arborèa. Zucca's uniform descriptions of the finds have proven sufficiently detailed to identify Roman Republican phases at 43 settlements, ten cemeteries, three shrines and one hoard (fig. 6-8; tab. 6-4). In the absence of a similar reanalysis of finds in the Marmilla, the numerous sites recorded by the extensive topographical explorations of Giovanni Lilliu and his collaborators since the 1940s (listed in Puxeddu 1975), have not been included in the present site gazetteer (see appendix; cf. tab. 6-4), because the available descriptions do not allow distinguishing between Republican and Imperial phases. In the Marmilla, the most consistent evidence has been collected by the American Maryland-Wesleyan survey of nuraghi (Dyson/Rowland 1992a, 1992b). They have identified twelve of these towers as having been occupied in Roman Republican times because of the presence of Campanian Black Glaze fragments. One of these (256) was previously occupied in the Punic period.

### 6.3.2 THE WIDER CONTEXTS OF THE SÌNIS, CENTRAL CAMPIDANO AND UPPER FLUMINI MANNU VALLEY

Outside the study area proper, the city of Tharros and the town of Othoca stand out as major settlement foci: the latter because it represented the principal settlement of the northern Arborèa and northern Campidano, and the former because it constituted the only place with urban aspirations in the entire region. Having been established in the Phoenician period, both places thus remained major points of reference in west central Sardinia. The Republican period was of no particular significance for Tharros, as the city appears to have continued its activities along the lines set out in the previous Punic period (fig. 6-9). The lack of evidence of any radical restructuring in the settlement area before the later 1st century BC, the continuous use of the originally Punic cemetery of Cape San Marco and the continued celebration of Punic rites at the *tophet* sanctuary demonstrate that Republican Tharros firmly retained its Punic character until at least the 1st century BC. The vitality of the *tophet* rituals is underscored by a small ceramic statuette of a lion's head which was offered at the *tophet* and which is datable to the 2nd century BC: while without parallels in Sardinia, it is neatly matched by a group of figurines from the North African town of *Siagu* (Acquaro 1984). Just as the already-mentioned close ties between the so-called temple K and contemporary temple architecture in North Africa, this statuette demonstrates the continuity of Punic culture in the urban setting of Tharros and its ongoing relations with the Punic world (Bondi 1987c, 207).

As the previous phases, the Republican occupation of Othoca is not well known because of the overlying modern town of S. Giusta. While Republican finds such as Dressel 1 amphorae, Campanian and locally produced Black Glaze

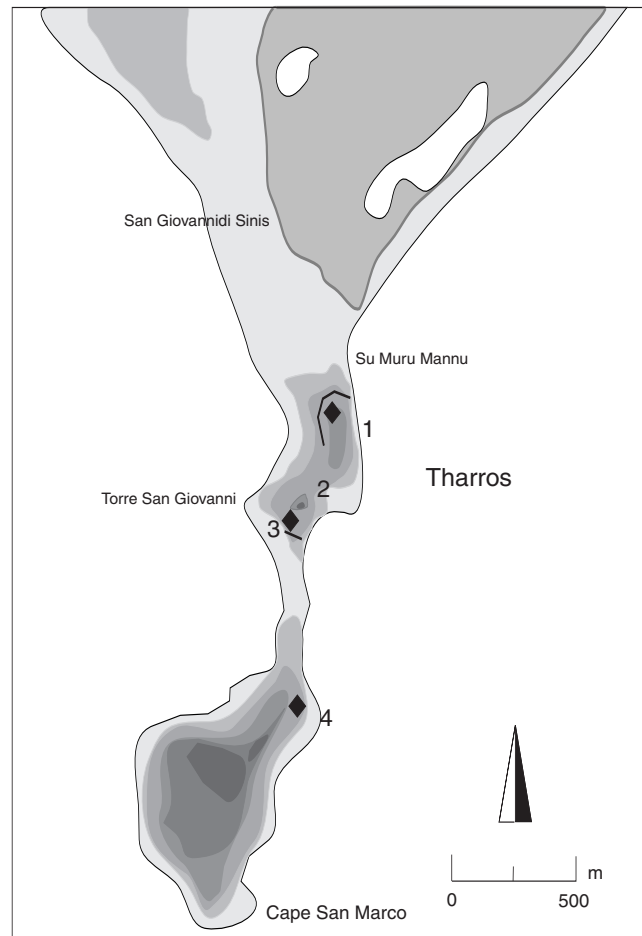


Fig. 6-9. Map of the Cape San Marco peninsula showing features datable to the Roman Republican period.

Legend: 1: Su Muru Mannu *tophet*; 2: settlement area; 3: temple K; 4: San Marco necropolis.

vessels have been frequently encountered at a variety of places in the modern town, no structural remains are known which could shed light on the lay-out of the town (Nieddu/Zucca 1991, 63). Since most find-spots coincide with the area where the Phoenician and Punic finds have been attested (fig. 6-10), a general continuity of settlement seems nevertheless obvious (Nieddu/Zucca 1991, 128-129). The medieval *basilica* lies centrally amidst these find-spots and actually rests on a Roman construction of Imperial date with an earlier Republican and possibly Punic phase. The medieval building also comprises numerous reused Roman architectural features such as column capitals (Nieddu/Zucca 1991, 126-128). Again as in the preceding periods, burials have been found further south, either concentrated at Is Forixeddus or still further away along the road leading southwards. Several parts of this road have been identified



Fig. 6-10. Map of modern S. Giusta showing the principal findspots of Roman Republican remains

Legend: 1: central area around the *basilica*; 2: Is Pirixeddus cemetery; 3: bridge across Riu Palmas (after Nieddu and Zucca 1991, tav. 34; drawing P. Deunhouwer).

and pottery fragments included in these tracts and in the bridge across the Palmas stream suggest a late Republican construction date (1st century BC: Nieddu/Zucca 1991, 126). The Roman burials at Is Forixeddus cover and partly extend beyond the Phoenician-Punic cemetery. For the Republican period, cremation burials deposited in urns or trenches and inhumations in trenches have been attested (Nieddu/Zucca 1991, 127-128).

Because of the lack of reliable evidence for Republican settlement in the Marmilla within the study area, the evidence collected by the topographical explorations of the territory of Gesturi offers important additional information. Four years of frequently repeated explorations by a group of amateur archaeologists guided by several professionals who have studied the surface finds have resulted in 14 sites which were occupied with certainty under the Roman Republic (tab. 6-6). All are situated in the hilly part of the territory below the high *giara* (tableland) of Gesturi (fig. 6-11). The detailed publication of the finds makes the chronological attribution of the sites clear and shows that only three of

these were newly established during the Roman period, while the other sites continued previous Punic ones. They consist of eight settlements, in most cases presumably hamlets, and six cemeteries. In comparison with older publications of some of these sites by Giovanni Lilliu in which Roman finds were not specified these explorations show that in most cases datable features are — at least nowadays — sufficiently available. In some cases, however, continued erosion and building activities have erased traces which once were eminently visible: the Giant's Tomb of Pran'e Follas which was excavated by Lilliu in March 1940 has completely vanished today and the nearby abundant Roman surface finds covering an area of nearly three hectares have been reduced to sporadic coarse fragments of tile and brick which are only generically identifiable as Roman (Lilliu 1985, 63-64).

The problem of insufficient documentation (at least by modern standards) greatly affects the large data set compiled for the nearby territory of Barumini, which was explored by Giovanni Lilliu over many decades. Although 37 sites have



Fig. 6-11. Map of the wider region of west central Sardinia showing areas and sites mentioned in the text (cf. table 6-6).

<i>No.</i>	<i>Toponym</i>	<i>Periodization</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Toponym</i>	<i>Periodization</i>
129	Bruncu Espis	Punic and Roman	562	Ordinada	Punic and Roman Republican
273	Nuraghe Tunis	Punic and Roman	563	Su Nuraxi	Punic and Roman
276	Prascocca	Punic and Roman	564	Tana	Punic and Roman
277	San Nicola	Punic	567	Cuccuru is Predas	Punic and Roman Republican
278	San Martino	Punic and Roman	568	Vicolo Serra	Punic and Roman
280	Perda Bogada	Punic	569	Via Parrocchia	Punic and Roman
281	Bau Marcusa	Punic and Roman Republican	570	Crogana	Punic and Roman
282	Bruncu Cristollu	Punic and Roman	571	Feureddu	Punic and Roman
283	Nuraghe Civas	Punic and Roman Republican	572	Melas	Punic and Roman
284	Nurracc'e Deu	Punic and Roman	573	Sa Mitza	Punic and Roman
285	Bia Collanas	Punic and Roman	574	S. Giovanni	Punic and Roman
286	Brunk 'e Cresia	Punic and Roman	575	Sedda Scalas	Punic and Roman Republican
289	Corti sa Perda	Punic and Roman	578	Riu 'e sa Figu	Roman Republican and Imperial
293	Fundabi de Andria	Punic and Roman	579	Sa Funtana 'e su Conti	Roman Republican and Imperial
294	Padru Jossu	Punic and Roman	582	Geni	Roman Republican and Imperial
295	Uraxi Mannu	Punic and Roman	583	Masoni 'e Baccas	Roman Republican and Imperial
296	Brunku sa Batalla	Punic and Roman	584	Sassuni	Roman Republican and Imperial
299	Bidd 'e Cresia	Punic and Roman	585	Cuccuru 'e S. Rita	Roman Republican and Imperial
302	Giliadiri	Punic and Roman	590	Auredda	Punic and Roman
305	Su Gutturu de sa Mela	Punic and Roman	591	Simaxis (village)	Punic and Roman
306	Matta Sterri	Punic	592	S. Vero Congius	Punic and Roman
307	Bidda Maiore	Punic	593	Bau Mendula	Punic and Roman
353	Tradoriu	Punic and Roman	594	Canale 'e Scolu	Punic and Roman
503	S'Uraki	Nuragic and Punic-Roman	595	Meliana	Punic and Roman
509	Bruncu 'e Tana	Nuragic and Punic-Roman	596	Pra Mesa	Punic and Roman
515	Cuccuru Ruinas	Nuragic and Punic-Roman	597	M. Turbina	Roman Republican and Imperial
521	Argiddas	Nuragic and Punic-Roman	598	Gesturi (village) / S. Nigolla	Roman Republican
543	Brunk'e mesu	Punic and Roman	599	Tupp'e Turri	Roman Republican and Imperial
544	N. Su Mulinu	Iron Age	600	Marfudi	Roman Republican and Imperial
545	Bingia Arena	Punic and Roman Republican	601	Pranu Amis	Roman Republican and Imperial
546	S'Abbadiga	Punic and Roman	602	S. Luxori	Roman Republican and Imperial
547	Punta Zinnigas	Punic and Roman	603	Riu Tuvulu	Roman Republican
548	N. S'Omu	Punic and Roman	604	Geni	Roman Republican and Imperial
549	Monte Benei	Punic and Roman	605	S. Lorenzo	Roman Republican and Imperial
550	N. Abili	Punic and Roman	606	Is Aieddus	Roman Republican and Imperial
551	N. Lilloi	Punic and Roman Republican	607	Sa Salina Manna	Roman Republican and Imperial
552	Pala Naxi	Punic and Roman	608	N. Su Cunventu	Roman Republican
553	N. Melas	Punic and Roman	609	N. Sa 'e Proccus	Roman Republican
554	Riu Maiore	Punic and Roman	610	N. Gutturu Diegu	Roman Republican
555	Is Ariscas Burdas	Punic and Roman Republican	611	Pauli Cherchi	Roman Republican and Imperial
556	S'Uracheddu Biancu	Punic and Roman Republican	612	Su Anzu	Roman Republican and Imperial
557	Prei Madau	Punic and Roman	613	Is Crastus	Roman Republican
	(S'Urachedda is Arisca)		614	Soddi	Roman Republican and Imperial
558	Sa Ruxi	Punic and Roman Republican	618	Tharros	Nuragic and Punic-Roman
559	Pisconti/N. Arrosas	Punic and Roman	624	Cuccuru S'Arriu	Roman Republican
560	Bacch'e Floris	Punic and Roman	632	Othoca	Punic and Roman
561	Bruncu Giantommaso	Nuragic and Punic-Roman			

Table 6-6. Relevant Roman Republican sites, find-spots and stray-finds outside the study area (cf. fig. 6-11).

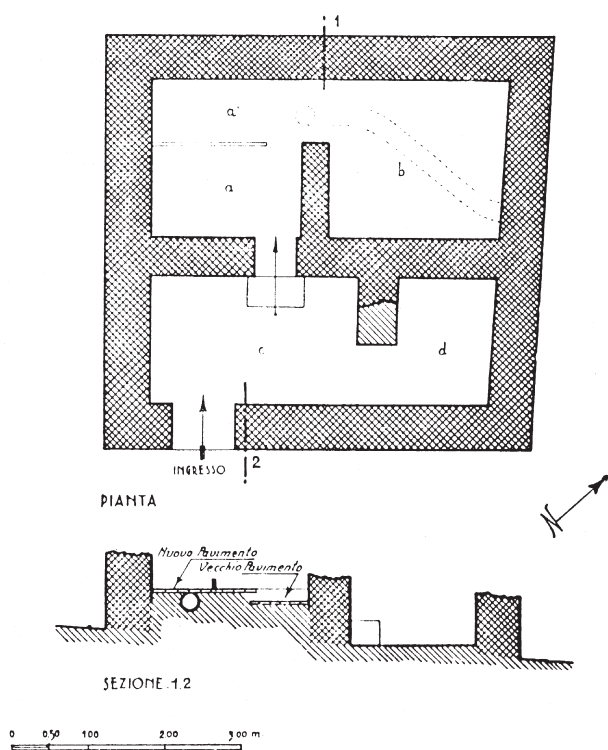


Fig. 6-12. Plan of Roman house near nuraghe Marfudi (600) (Lilliu/Zucca 1988, fig. 4).

been identified as 'Roman', in only six cases documentation is sufficiently detailed to allow recognition of a Republican occupation phase (tab. 6-6).<sup>16</sup> Only one of these is a cemetery, which had already been used for Punic burials (281). The significance of these sites is nevertheless considerable as two of these have been excavated (563, 600) and a third one (603) was documented during construction works. The trenches dug near nuraghe Marfudi in particular (600) have revealed a simple, more or less rectangular building consisting of four rooms, built of cobbles and mudbrick and covered with roof tiles (Lilliu 1946, 185-198; fig. 6-12). At Riu Tuvulu (603) a similar house plan was documented. In both cases surface finds suggest that the house was part of a larger village. In contrast to the latter site, where no nuraghe existed, the house at Marfudi stood only some 20 m away from the homonymous nuraghe. Excavation of this single-tower nuraghe has also yielded a substantial stratified deposit of Roman date (Lilliu/Zucca 1988, 10). The large-scale excavations of the complex nuraghe Su Nuraxi (563) have demonstrated a similar situation, in which Roman occupation in direct continuity with previous Punic presence reused the pre-existing Nuragic settlement around the nuraghe. At least during most of the Republican period the

nuraghe itself also remained occupied (Lilliu/Zucca 1988, 51-54).

Downstream the Flumini Mannu valley towards the central Campidano, Republican settlement has been amply documented on the western bank of the river (tab. 6-6; figs 6-7, 6-11). Practically none of these sites are found in the river valley itself but are located on the slopes of the Marmilla hills: the large village of Tradori (353) at the foot of the *giara* of Siddi is a clear case in point. On the lower slopes of the southern Marmilla hills five settlements and seven cemeteries have been found, while one cemetery and three settlements have been identified on the higher grounds to the North of the Sanluri marshes. Four of these have at least been partially excavated (Paderi 1982d, 1982e). Among these, the cemetery of Bidd'e Cresia (299) is of particular importance because of the large-scale excavations of 40 inhumation and 36 cremation burials. Except for one chest grave, both types of ritual had used simple trenches to deposit the deceased or the urn (fig. 6-13b). These were situated very closely next to each other and sometimes overlapped. The cremations took place in the trenches. Related death rituals such as meals were performed in a reserved area north of the burial ground. Foodstuffs and associated ceramic vessels (plates, cups, small containers, a juglet etc.) were deposited in all but six graves. Although spatially more or less separated from the burials of the Punic phase of the cemetery (fig. 6-13a), which are roughly located on the eastern side of the burial ground, several Roman burials nevertheless overlap with Punic ones and underscore the continuous use of the necropolis. The cemetery remained in use until the 4th century AD (Paderi 1982e). Across the Flumini Mannu in the eastern Marmilla hills, the Punic shrine in nuraghe Su Mulinu of Villanovafranca (544) offers an interesting parallel to that of Genna Maria of Villanovaforru, where similar Punic rituals continued to be celebrated. The area of the northern Campidano and the Sinis has yielded abundant evidence of Roman presence. The immediate hinterland of Othoca on the western and northern slopes and pediments of the Monte Arci and on the southern bank of the Tirso has been studied by Zucca, who has documented 19 sites in this area as Republican (Nieddu/Zucca 1991, 155-166). Most of the 13 settlements, four cemeteries and two shrines were already occupied in the Punic period, as only five settlements and one cemetery were newly established in the Republican period (tab. 6-6; fig. 6-11). Further westwards in the Sinis and closer to Tharros, ongoing topographical explorations and emergency excavations have documented Roman settlement in all parts of the landscape from the Republican period onwards (Tore/Stiglitz/Dadea 1988, 460-462). Republican occupation has been attested with certainty at no less than 29 sites. These show a significant variety in nature and background, as they comprise 15 settlements,





Fig. 6-13a. Plan of the cemetery of Bidd'e Cresia (299), showing burials of both the Punic and Roman phases (in dark and light shading respectively) and a 'ritual space' at the northern limit (Paderi 1982b, plate 28).

most of which possible hamlets and some larger villages, five reoccupied nuraghi, eight cemeteries and three shrines. More than half of these were continuously occupied since the Punic period, as only eleven were newly established (tab. 6-6). Interesting cases are the originally Nuragic well-sanctuary of Cuccuru s'Arriu which was reused as a cult place for Punic rituals (624: cf. fig. 6-17) and the hamlet at Sa Salina Manna (607) which may have been involved in salt extraction. This activity has been demonstrated in the S. Gilla lagoon near Cagliari by an inscription (Meloni 1990, 249-250). In general, the dominant characteristic of Republican settlement in the Sini is the strong Punic appearance (Tore/Stiglitz 1987c, 640-641).

A remarkable case of continuity has finally been documented at the *Costa Verde* below the Iglesiente mountains, i.e. to the West of the study area: excavation of the Nuragic Giants' Tomb of Bruncu Espis (129; fig. 6-11) has shown

that burials were continuously deposited in this much older megalithic structure from the late Punic period into the second century AD.

### 6.3.3 TOWARDS AN ASSESSMENT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD OF WEST CENTRAL SARDINIA UNDER THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

Continuity of site location is evidently a key notion for describing the archaeological record of Roman Republican (west central) Sardinia. Of the total number of 216 Republican sites registered in the study area, only 37 were newly established (tabs 6-2, 6-3, 6-4). Since a comparable percentage of Republican sites without Punic precedents (16%) has been recorded in the representative sample of the *Riu Mannu* survey, there can be little doubt about the strong Punic roots of Republican presence in rural areas such as west central Sardinia. Many of the conclusions drawn about the evidence

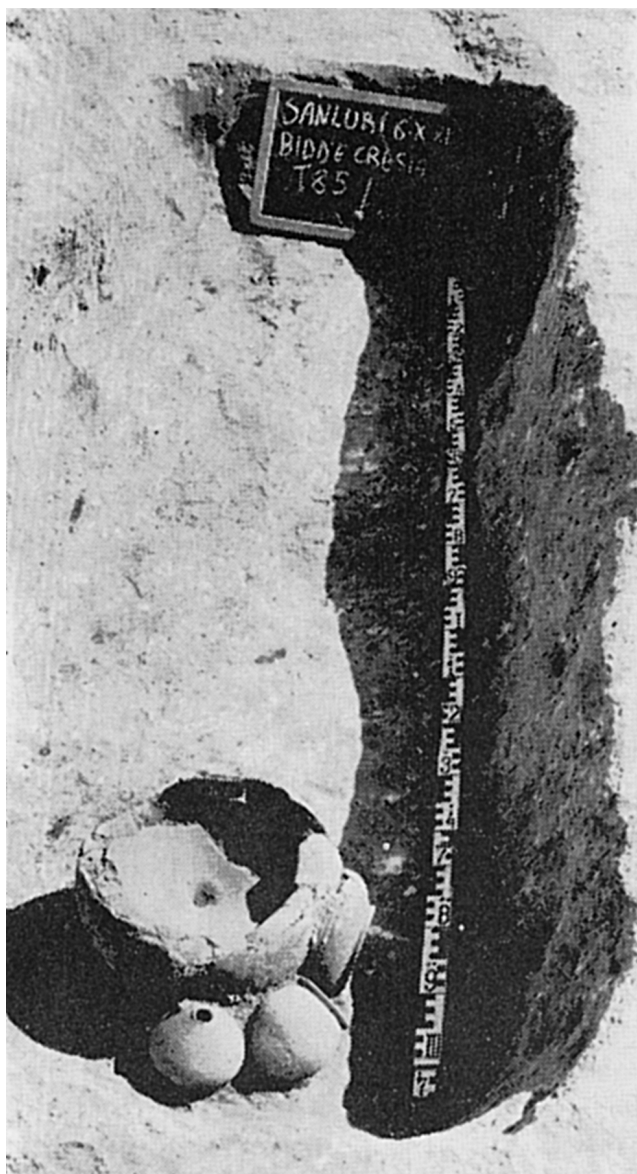


Fig. 6-13b. Detail of a late Republican trench burial of the Bidd'e Cresia necropolis (299; for the grave goods see Paderi 1982e, 68-70) (Paderi 1982e, plate 35a).

for the Punic archaeological record (pp. 145-146) can therefore be expected to apply to the Roman Republican period as well.

A closely related observation is an apparent increase in site numbers during the Republican period: if many Punic sites continued to be occupied or used for burials and new ones were established alongside them, the over-all site density would have risen. A first sight, such a conclusion is supported by the small number of Punic sites in west central

Sardinia abandoned by the end of the Punic period: no more than eleven out of 193 Punic sites (6%) in the study area ceased to be settled (tabs 5-1, 5-2, 5-3). A similar percentage (5%) is provided by the sites documented in the wider region of west central Sardinia (tab. 5-4). The evidence of the representative *Riu Mannu* sample, however, is somewhat different, as it comprises three Punic sites deserted by the late third century BC (21%) and nine sites which remained continuously occupied during the Republican period (tabs 5-2, 6-3). The *Riu Mannu* evidence furthermore differs from that of the topographical explorations in the percentage of sites which continued to be occupied in the Imperial period: whereas only five of the 13 sites recorded in the former sample were still inhabited in the Imperial period (i.e. 38%: tab. 6-3), the same holds for no less than 146 of the 198 sites registered by topographical explorations (i.e. 74%: tab. 6-4). The contrast is even greater when the Terralba evidence is excluded, as 38 of the 55 sites which were abandoned in the course of the Republican period were situated in this area. The inevitable conclusion is that a disproportionate number of the sites recorded by topographical explorations is characterized by an Imperial occupation phase which implies that many of these sites have been detected because of the greater visibility of these later phases. The frequent occurrence of architectural remains and standing structures makes this suggestion all the more plausible.

These observations mean that the topographical results listed in table 6-4 underrepresent Republican settlement in a structural way by overlooking those sites which were deserted in the course of the 2nd or 1st century BC. A closely related underestimation of site abandonments in the late 3rd century BC undermines the supposed increase of site numbers, as is well demonstrated by both the *Riu Mannu* sample and the Terralba evidence which show a substantial stability in total site numbers. The reasons for this distorted representation of the archaeological record are twofold: in the first place the already mentioned higher visibility of sites with Roman Imperial remains which gives this category of sites an increased chance of discovery. A second cause is a lack of familiarity with Punic and Republican pottery, in particular in older reports: many of the sites in the *Riu Mannu* sample which were abandoned in the course of the 2nd century BC mainly consist of Punic pottery, which means that the problems of recognizability of Punic sites in general as observed in the previous chapter (p. 144) equally apply to these sites in later times. A telling example of this state of knowledge is the description of the Punic and Roman presence at nuraghe Ortu Comidu (249) as included in the *tesi di laurea* of Carlo Porru (1947, 101) where merely 'small fragments of tile and rustic pots of a coarse type and of little interest' were reported.<sup>17</sup> The consequences of this inability to identify (late) Punic and Republican presence are most evident in the Marmilla,

where Republican settlement is clearly underrepresented (fig. 6-8). Although slightly more sites are known, the parallel with the Punic period is obvious (p. 144). Given the large number of Roman sites in the Marmilla listed by Puxeddu (1975) and considering that 14 of the 18 sites in this area are Republican occupation phases of nuraghi, twelve of which have been recorded by the American Maryland-Wesleyan survey, and that the representativeness of this project is doubtful, as well (pp. 144, 146), there can be little doubt that numerous sites in the valleys and on the hill tops and ridges near nuraghi are missing in the present site gazetteer (appendix; cf. tab. 6-4). The evidence from the Gesturi and Sanluri territories again underscores this point: the 18 sites recorded in the entire Marmilla (ca 150 km<sup>2</sup>) compare poorly to the 14 sites known from the ca 27 km<sup>2</sup> large hilly country below the Gesturi tableland, half of which were located near Nuragic remains. The 29 sites known in the Sanluri territory (ca 60 km<sup>2</sup>, the Sanluri marshes excluded), similarly add up to a site density of ca 0.5 per km<sup>2</sup> which goes way beyond the evidence for the Marmilla of only 0.1 sites per km<sup>2</sup>. In the Marmilla sample transects of the *Riu Mannu* survey, the recorded density even exceeds one site per km<sup>2</sup>. The 156 sites listed by Cornelio Puxeddu for the Marmilla (1975, 188-217) show that the lack of evidence need not be ascribed to erosion or other destructions of the archaeological record, as roughly one Roman site per km<sup>2</sup> is known. Considerable part of the missing Republican sites in the Marmilla must therefore be sought among those listed by Puxeddu: a substantial part of his generically Roman sites must include a Republican occupation phase, in many cases even together with an earlier Punic one, as was argued in the previous chapter (p. 145). After re-examination of the over one hundred find-spots listed by Puxeddu for the Arborèa and Campidano, Zucca has been able to identify 23 sites as Roman Republican, of which only three were without Punic precedents (198, 201, 250). In the Marmilla, where analysis of Puxeddu's reports has remained limited to seven sites revisited in the field in 1995 and 1996, three Roman sites have been shown to include occupation of Republican date as well (200, 540, 615). At two of these, first settlement even dated to the Punic period. Five more sites have otherwise been dated to the Republican period (266, 267, 308, 619, 621). Although it is of course impossible to determine which sites of Puxeddu's list were first established in the Punic or Republican period without new fieldwork, it is nevertheless evident that a substantial part of them were.<sup>18</sup> Another part of the missing sites has probably been identified by the American Maryland-Wesleyan survey as being associated with nuraghi. Although Puxeddu does occasionally mention Roman occupation of nuraghi, he has noted Roman occupation at only five of the twelve nuraghi which have been reported as such by the American survey (tab. 6-4).

Because the information collected by this project is far from exhaustive, it can safely be assumed that even more nuraghi than these twelve were occupied in Republican times. The Gesturi evidence of Republican settlement both on valley bottoms and on plateaus and ridges in frequent association with nuraghi is highly relevant in this respect.

With regard to the Campidano and Arborèa, the comparison of fieldwork intensity and representativeness of results regarding the explorations in the Terralba territory by Artudi and Perra as opposed to those of the *Riu Mannu* survey (pp. 145-146) is as pertinent for the Republican as it was for the Punic period because of the strong continuity between the two periods: since the total site numbers of both collections are practically the same for both periods, the estimated densities of four to five sites per km<sup>2</sup> on the sandy Terralba rise and of only one on the coarse-grained pediments south of the Riu Mannu or West of the Monte Arci are equally similar (fig. 6-5). basic stability of over-all site numbers does not mean, however, that nothing changed in these periods: both sets of evidence include sites abandoned or on the contrary newly established in the late Punic or early Republican period; major changes have been documented for the late second or first century BC, showing considerable dynamics in the settlement system of the southern Arborèa.<sup>19</sup> The conclusion that the topographical information for the Campidano is totally devoid of any representativeness for the Punic period (p. 145) can likewise be extended to the Roman Republican period, as only eleven of 115 sites recorded by Artudi and Perra had previously been reported in the Terralba territory; nor can the 57 sites identified by Zucca as Republican settlements and cemeteries in the Campidano be regarded as more than an impression of the archaeological record. The appreciably more reliable results for the Sanluri and Gesturi territories are consequently of basic importance with a view to comparing the various districts of the study area.

#### 6.4 Persistent Identities between Colonial Rule and Local Resistance

Regardless of its shortcomings and distortions, the archaeological evidence as discussed in the previous section of this chapter offers ample support for a substantial Punic cultural continuity in Roman Sardinia. Given the eminently rural character of west central Sardinia, there can be little doubt that cultural continuity was not restricted to urban contexts, as may have been suggested by the instances cited so far, most of which pertain the cities of Roman Sardinia (pp. 174-175). The systematic overview of the archaeological evidence thus constitutes a solid basis for exploring the three points made at the end of the second section (p. 177).

The archaeological evidence in fact clearly demonstrates the profound Punic roots and appearance of Roman Republican

rural Sardinia. Barreca's remark that the Roman contribution to the archaeological record of the island under the Republic was practically 'irrelevant' (1986, 43) may seem somewhat far-fetched but yet pithily sums it all up. The widespread and enduring cultural continuity also contextualizes Cicero's taunt (*Scaur.* XIX.45) about the 'African descent' of Sardinians in the middle first century BC (*Africa ipsa parens illa Sardiniae*).<sup>20</sup>

More important is the observation that cultural continuity was anything but a uniform phenomenon, as some Punic settlements were abandoned at the time of the Roman takeover just as new ones were established at various moments of the Republican period. The basic question to be addressed in this section, therefore, regards the nature of Punic cultural continuity in the rural landscapes of west central Sardinia: did it present the same 'vitality' as observed in the cities and towns of Roman Sardinia (Bondi 1990)? If so, what about the regional differentiation which has been pointed out in the previous chapter for the Punic period (pp. 146-151)? And in which ways and to what extent did the city of Tharros and the towns of Neapolis and Othoca relate to the reproduction of cultural continuity in the region? A detailed consideration of the spatial and chronological variability of Punic continuity and an analysis of instances of a more outspoken Roman character are the first necessary steps towards answering these questions.

A second and no less important issue to be examined regards the Roman impact on the socio-economic situation of west central Sardinia under Republican rule: since the administrative and political measures adopted by the Roman authorities must have entailed serious consequences for the rural and agrarian organization of the island (pp. 173-174), how did they relate to the Punic cultural continuity? Or more concretely, how did the local inhabitants cope with the changing context of rural (west central) Sardinia? The fundamental question to be dealt with concerns the connections between on the one hand the political and economic reorganization of the *provincia Sardiniae atque Corsicae* and on the other hand the cultural and social situation as characterized by Punic cultural continuity. Taking into account the laborious Roman military occupation and 'pacification' of Sardinia, a possible interpretation of this complicated situation has been described in terms of resistance. The uprising of 215 BC was of course a critical event which cannot be ignored (Mastino 1985, 48-50).

Both issues stand at the heart of this section: in the first part I shall look at the archaeological evidence of the study area and examine its Punic dimensions in detail in order to evaluate the characteristics and reach of Punic cultural continuity under Roman rule. In the second part of the section I shall explore the issue of local identities, considering this notion in terms of the colonial situation of Republican Sardinia.

By relating the question to matters of cultural continuity I shall finally comment on possible social and economic divides and the extent to which they make sense in the colonial situation of Roman Republican west central Sardinia.

#### 6.4.1 CULTURAL CONTINUITY AND SILENT RESISTANCE

Accepting Punic cultural continuity as a defining characteristic of the archaeological record of Roman Republican Sardinia entails a remarkable implication for the colonial situation of the island, as it suggests that Roman material culture remained secondary to that of its persisting Punic predecessors. While the major cities of Republican Sardinia have yielded abundant evidence of Roman presence amidst numerous instances of Punic continuity, the archaeological record of the rural landscapes of west central Sardinia appears to support such a view of Roman material culture as being of secondary importance in the local contexts.

The most conspicuous instance of cultural continuity which has emerged from the foregoing overview of archaeological evidence in west central Sardinia is the endurance of site location, which even after the most conservative estimates involved some 80% of the Punic sites registered (p. 194). Still more significant is the implied continued existence of the two cultural landscapes in the coastal Arborèa and the plains and hills of the central Campidano and Marmilla as defined for the Punic period (pp. 146-151). Since Neapolis remained the only major conglomeration in the area and small to medium-sized farms continued to be concentrated on the sandy Terralba rise between the Riu Mannu and Riu Mògoro stream valleys, while no nuraghi were used for settlement in this area before the Imperial period, the principal characteristics of the so-called coastal landscape were kept intact. The evidence of the Sanluri and Gesturi territories shows that settlement in the central Campidano and upper Marmilla remained similarly largely nucleated in hamlets and villages, which in many cases were situated in the immediate vicinity of Nuragic remains. Since numerous nuraghi of the interior also continued to be occupied, it is evident that the so-called interior landscape was preserved in Republican times. The strength or 'vitality' of these landscapes is demonstrated by the fact that whenever new Republican settlements were established in the coastal lowlands or in the plains and hills of the interior, they remained by and large in keeping with the standards of both cultural landscapes. The Republican settlement near nuraghe Marfudi in the upper Marmilla (600) illustrates this point well for the interior landscape: although the nuraghe had been obsolete for several centuries since the Late Bronze or Iron Age, it was nevertheless selected for a new settlement in the 2nd century BC: a small group of houses was built around it and the single-tower itself was used for storage (Lilliu/Zucca 1988, 15-17). In the southern Arborèa, one of the characteristic



### Qualitative finds collection site 86

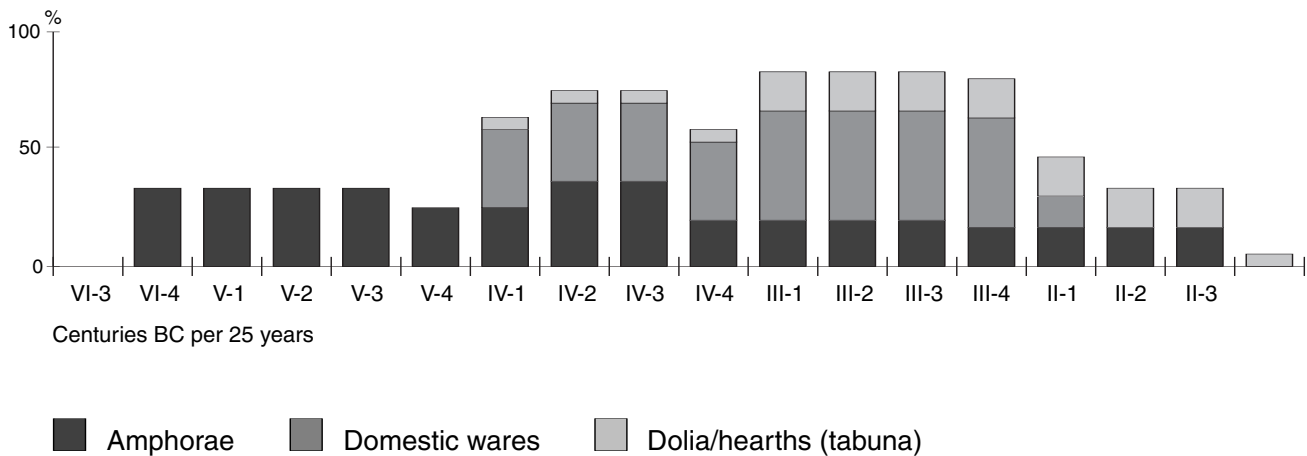


Fig. 6-14. Chronological profile of 15 diagnostic ceramic fragments collected both quantitatively and qualitatively by the *Riu Mannu* survey at a farm of Punic and Republican date in the Santa Chiara area (86).

features of the coastal landscape from the very beginning of the Punic period had been the relatively limited number of burial grounds, which were apparently communally used by the inhabitants of a number of farms in the vicinity. The three new cemeteries inaugurated in the 2nd century BC (4, 19, 108) did not change the general situation at all but on the contrary contributed to the continuation of this characteristic of the coastal landscape, as their size and location suggest (tab. 6-4; fig. 6-5).

With regard to the finds encountered at these settlements and in these cemeteries, the published evidence suggests a predominance of Roman products or at least imports coming from the Italian mainland. Campanian Black Glaze wares and Dressel 1 amphorae are by far the most common objects cited in the find reports, while Punic items are rarely mentioned. The relevant sites intensively surveyed by the *Riu Mannu* survey, however, and in particular those under detailed study in Leiden, present a rather different picture, as the Republican phases of these farms are characterized by Punic rather than by Roman pottery (see p. 202). Whilst Italian imports of Black Glaze fine wares or amphorae occur at most sites and provide precious chronological information, the bulk of finds datable to the later 3rd and 2nd century BC are Punic. As in the earlier period under Carthaginian domination, most of these vessels were locally produced. This holds in particular for the numerous amphora fragments, which were manufactured in the area of the Riu Mannu estuary. The shape of these products remained distinctly Punic. The surface finds documented at site 86 in the Santa Chiara area of Terralba demonstrate this point: of the 155

more or less identifiable fragments collected at this site,<sup>21</sup> 79 pieces have been ascribed to amphorae. Judging from six diagnostic rim fragments, so-called neck-less Punic transport amphorae were by far most frequent throughout the Punic and Republican periods (fig. 6-14). While all of these must be dated to the 3rd century BC or earlier, two more diagnostic rim fragments have been classified as dating from the Republican period. One of these is a locally produced Punic amphora of a type which is usually regarded as an African product (Bartoloni E2: fig. 6-15a; see Bartoloni 1988a, 55-57). The other fragment is part of a Roman Dressel 1 amphora (fig. 6-15a). The foreign provenance of the latter fragment is confirmed by its non-local fabric, which is also rare among the quantitatively collected finds of this site. Both fragments are significant as the latter demonstrates the limited presence of Roman imports at small rural sites, while the former indicates continued relationships with North Africa in the Republican period.

An outstanding site in this respect is the one documented at Bau Angius (534), which is exceptionally large and has yielded large amounts of finds,<sup>22</sup> a good deal of which are reliably classifiable. While the general Punic character of the site is comparable to that of the other smaller farms in the area, several specific finds provide firm evidence of sustained contacts with North Africa during a substantial period of Roman rule. While locally produced neckless amphorae of a distinctly late type abound (Bartoloni D9 or D10: fig. 6-15a), there are also several examples of late Punic amphorae of other types (Bartoloni E2 and F2: fig. 6-15a). The non-local fabrics of these sherds identify these



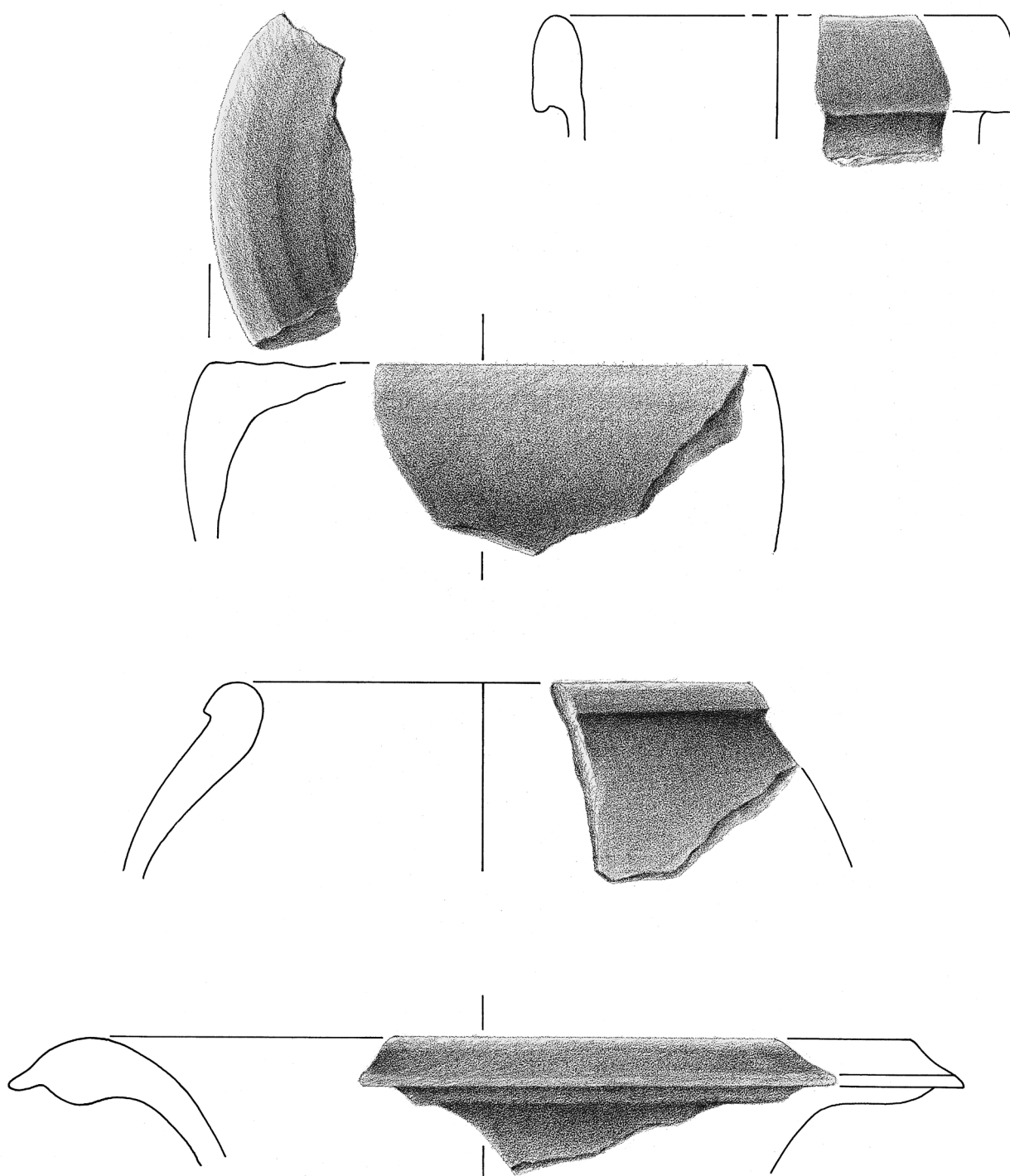


Fig. 6-15a. Significant pottery fragments collected by the Riu Mannu survey at various sites in the southern Arborèa (from top to bottom): rim fragment of a late Punic amphorae from site 86 (type Bartoloni E-2/Maña D1; *Riu Mannu* survey find 0225401); rim fragment of Dressel 1 amphora from site 86 (*Riu Mannu* survey find 025625056x); rim fragment of a Punic neck-less amphorae from site 534 (Bartoloni D9/10; *Riu Mannu* survey find 052790807); rim fragment of a Punic amphorae from site 534 (Bartoloni H3; *Riu Mannu* survey find 0730471x50) (scale 1:2, drawings E. van Driel).

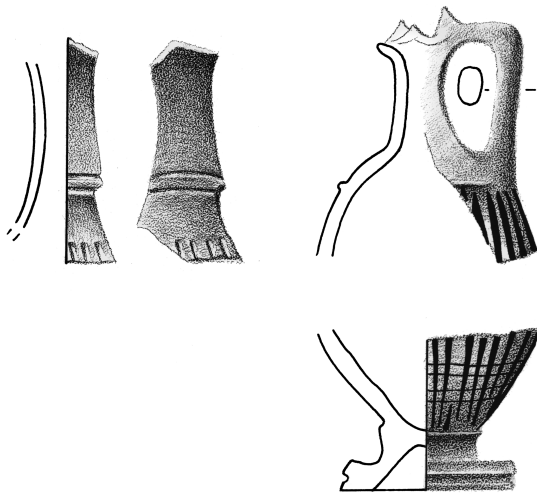


Fig. 6-15b. Significant pottery fragments collected by the Riu Mannu survey at various sites in the southern Arborèa: upper half of a originally black glazed juglet from site 534 (left: *Riu Mannu* survey find 0730471x00); juglet similar to the previous one from the Hellenistic quarter on the Byrsa hill at Carthage (right: Lancel/Morel/Thuiller 1982, fig. 147, A176-22; scale 1:2, drawings E. van Driel).

amphorae as imports, which fits the common view that these types were North African (Tunisian) products (Bartoloni 1988a, 55-62; cf. Lund 1988). An even more direct link with Carthage is provided by the upper half of a small juglet, which finds a close match in a specimen which was unearthed in the early 2nd century BC houses of the so-called 'Hannibal quarter' on the Byrsa hill in Carthage (fig. 6-15b; cf. Lancel 1995, 156-182). Although the Sardinian vessel was originally covered by a black slip, its fabric clearly distinguishes it from the Campanian Black Glaze products and strongly suggests a Punic background. Together with various specimens of Black Glazed dishes of the distinct grey fabric (*a pasta grigia*) which is generally regarded as a Sardinian product (Tronchetti 1996, 32-33), these amphorae confirm continued occupation of this large farmstead under the Roman Republic until at least the earlier first century BC. At the same time these finds make clear that the inhabitants cherished a Punic taste and orientation and maintained contacts with the North African mainland. The only other reports of North African Punic amphorae come from the territory of Gesturi, where containers of Bartoloni's forms E and F have been attested at four settlements (282, 561, 562, 564). These sites show that the prominence of Roman imports in the published archaeological evidence must be regarded as illusory. They rather represent the consequences of a general unfamiliarity with (late) Punic pottery and a corresponding reliance on Roman imports as chronological markers.

The only reliably excavated Punic-Roman cemetery of some size in west central Sardinia is at Bidd'e Cresia in the Sanluri district (299). Its importance not only resides in the quantity and quality of the evidence, but in the first place in the continuity of burials in one and the same cemetery from the classical Punic period until later Roman Imperial times. Although it is more or less possible to separate Punic and Roman burials spatially, there remain some overlaps between the two (Paderi 1982b, 49). Detailed comparison of the published burial contexts (Paderi 1982b, 1982e; Tore 1982), however, reveals that the distinction made between Punic and Roman burials was not so much based on chronology but rather on 'cultural' grounds since part of the 34 burials labelled as 'Punic' cover the earlier decades of Roman rule in Sardinia (i.e. the late 3rd and much of the 2nd century BC). Burial 55A is telling in this respect, as the grave goods it comprised were of an outspoken Punic character but must yet all be dated to the early 2nd century BC (Tore 1982, 55-56; fig. 6-16b). The burial rites also displayed a Punic background, as the deceased, a young child, was deposited in a Punic neckless amphora (presumably of the type Bartoloni D10) and there can be little doubt about the Punic nature of the *enchytrismos* burial tradition (cf. p. 149). In this specific case, continuity was exceptionally strong as the amphora with the body of the child had been inserted in an existing trench which contained two older inhumation burials of adults. While the oldest one (55A2) has been dated to the 4th century BC and was separated from the successive one by a thin layer of soil, the second one (55A1) was directly covered by the amphora of the second century BC *enchytrismos* burial (fig. 6-16). In the absence of grave goods the second burial unfortunately cannot be dated, although its stratigraphic position of course places it between the 4th and 2nd century BC.

In this light, it is revealing that the oldest published burial of the Bidd'e Cresia cemetery which was classified as 'Roman' is of a relatively late date (late 1st century BC) and moreover of an entirely different type, viz. cremation (Paderi 1982e, 68-69).<sup>23</sup> Although the burial evidence is too fragmentary to substantiate the point that the cremation ritual was adopted at an advanced stage of the Republican period, it is nevertheless worth noting that all other burials of Republican date in the Sanluri district were inhumations (e.g. Corti Beccia: 588), while none of the Roman cremation burials at Othoca predated the middle 2nd century BC (Nieddu/Zucca 1991, 127).

Strong cultural continuity has furthermore been observed in other ritual contexts than those of death and burial: at Genna Maria (Villanovaforru: 309) and, outside the study area, Su Mulinu of Villanovafranca (544) the fertility rituals performed in the shrine during the Republican period remained identical to those of the Punic period. The widespread distribution

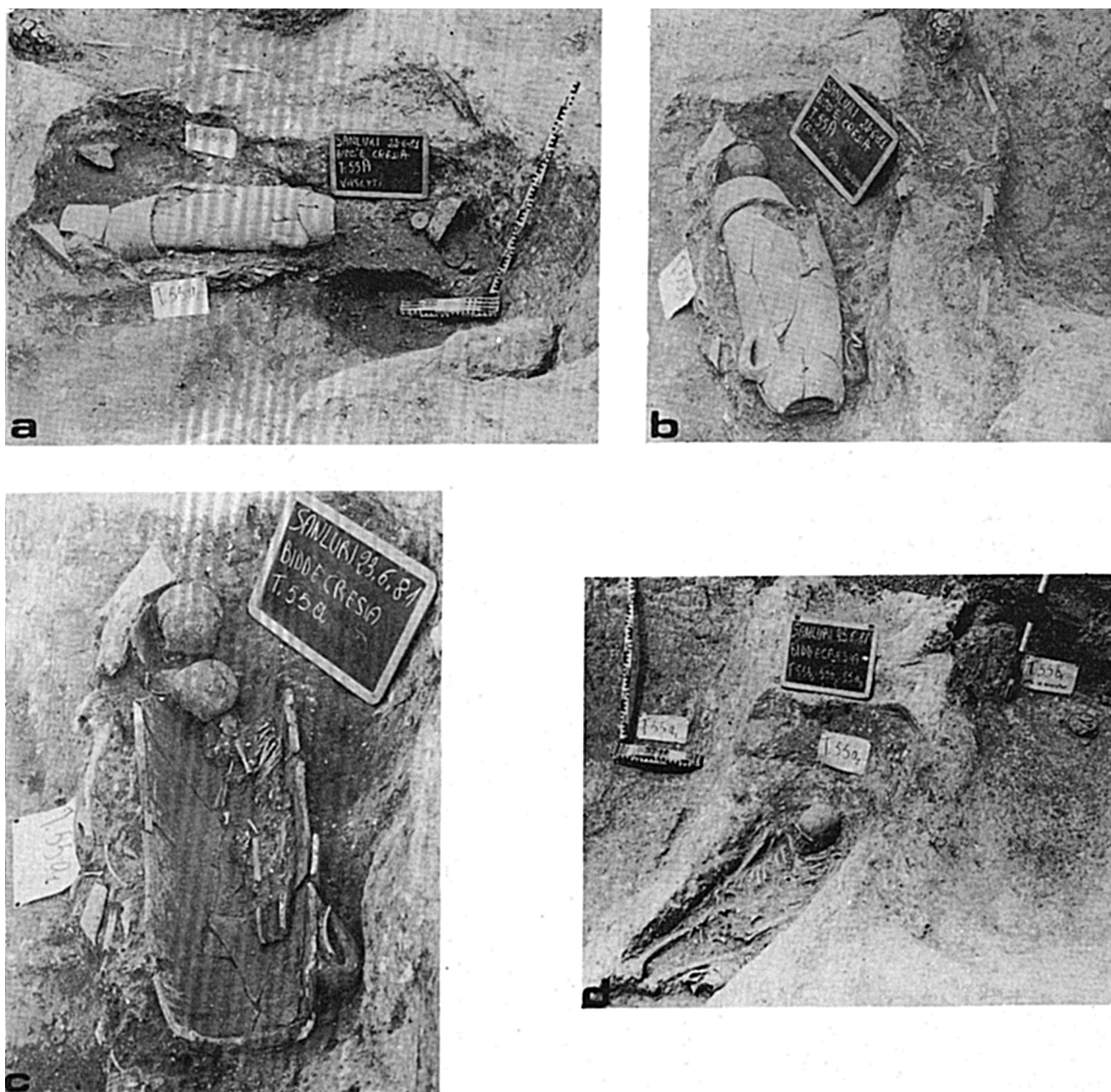


Fig. 6-16a. a-b-c: the 2nd century BC *enchytrismos* burial 55A *in situ* showing the Punic amphora and skeletal remains of burial 55A and the skeleton of the preceding burial 55A1 beneath the amphora; d: the oldest and deepest burial 55A2 dated to the 4th century BC (Paderi 1982b, tav. 31).

and persistence of Punic ritual traditions are also demonstrated by several small ritual cult places and deposits such as the one excavated in the Sini at Cuccuru s'Arriu (624). This particular one consisted of eminently Punic ritual items such as incense burners (*kernophoroi*) and statuettes as well as several anatomical ex-votos (Giorgetti 1982).

A notable feature of the Punic appearance of west central Sardinia under the Roman Republic is the similarity of the situation in the countryside — including the towns of Neapolis and Othoca — and the city of Tharros. While it might be expected, as has repeatedly been claimed (e.g. Meloni 1987a, 231), that the Sardinian cities were the foci of



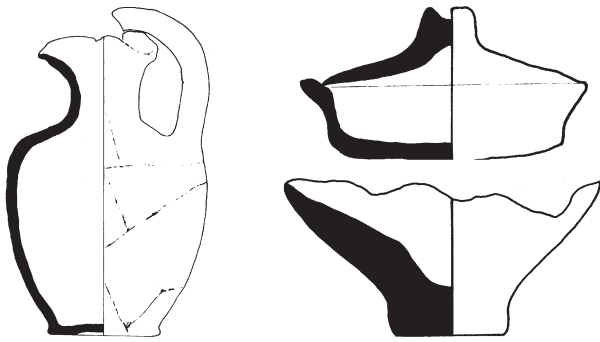


Fig. 6-16b. Grave goods of burial 55A in the Bidd'e Cresia cemetery in the central Campidano (Sanluri district) (scale 1:4, left and 1:2, right; Tore 1982, tav. 33).

Roman presence and romanization as they had always constituted the colonial strongholds of the island, Tharros did not develop an appreciably stronger Roman character during the Republican period than the rural areas of the region as a whole. On the contrary, as has been argued above (p. 188), the city clung to its Punic background in much the same way as the rural inhabitants of both the southern Arborèa and the Marmilla did. This is evident with regard to social and religious matters but a similar attitude can also be discerned in the sustained economic relationships with North Africa. It is this aversion from Roman forms of social and economic organization and the related reluctance to adopt Roman (material) culture which have been related to Marcel Bénabou's interpretation of local cultures in Roman North Africa in terms of resistance. Given the long-term close connections between North Africa and Sardinia, the widespread and vigorous character of Punic culture in Roman Sardinia have likewise been interpreted in terms of local resistance against Roman authority (Mastino 1985, 48-50; Vismara 1990, 44-45; cf. p. 21).

The obvious starting point for interpreting Punic culture in Roman Sardinia as a form of opposition is the armed resistance which was mounted against the Roman occupation of Sardinia and which in the first place rooted in the Carthaginian orientation of the Punic inhabitants of the island. Sardinian resistance against Roman authority is thus in the first place seen in the historical context of the Punic Wars — not by chance it was put forward from a historical perspective. In this view, the rebellion of 215 BC led by the Sardinian Hampsicoras and the Carthaginian Hanno eminently represents the local Sardinian attitude against the Roman occupation of the island because it made the 'Carthaginian connection' explicit. The persistent vitality of Punic culture in Sardinia marked a corresponding stance of sustained cultural or silent resistance (pp. 26-28). In Braudel terms, the events of

215 BC fitted in with the conjuncture of an enduring Punic orientation. The occurrence of cultural resistance throughout the late 3rd and at least part of the 2nd century BC moreover confirms the Punic or rather Carthaginian inspiration of other instances of armed rebellion in the late 3rd century BC which so far has rarely been acknowledged (see p. 172).

The archaeological evidence of sustained economic contacts with North Africa in general and Carthage in particular and the Sardinian embassy to Carthage in 216 BC furthermore support this point. The resemblance of the urban context of Tharros to the rural situation in the whole region in terms of a Punic appearance can similarly be related to the wide support for the rebellion in 215 BC, which was headed by local elite members and joined by inhabitants of the plains and mountains. Although Cornus is the only town explicitly mentioned by name, the literary sources record the involvement of various other *civitates* (Liv. XXIII.41.5). The inhabitants of Tharros and the rural districts including Neapolis and Othoca may therefore be expected to have shared the stance of rejection towards the Roman authorities and their culture (Van Dommelen 1998).

Since Punic culture was much less represented in the mountain regions of Sardinia and Punic cultural resistance was accordingly much less significant in these areas, the repeated revolts of the inhabitants of the interior against the Roman authorities in the second century BC and even much later must be regarded as a rather different development. Although it may have initially been related, as suggests the involvement of the *Sardi pelliti* in Hampsicoras' rebellion, the much longer duration of the unrest in the interior also demonstrates the different nature of resistance in the mountains (cf. Mastino 1992; Zucca 1988, 357-371). Yet, if Punic cultural continuity can be taken as indicative of enduring Punic cultural resistance, Roman authority was anything but uncontested in the second and much of the first century BC, even in the lowlying areas of the Campidano and Arborèa (Van Dommelen 1998). The principal reason for this has been sought in the systematic Roman exploitation of the rural areas through heavy taxation and grain exactions. Following similar interpretations of the North African situation, it has been argued that Roman colonialism led Sardinia in the longer run to a condition of 'underdevelopment' (Mastino 1985, 49-57; cf. Meloni 1982, 74). The concomitant widespread poverty and backwardness are supposed to have entailed structural discontent and to have sustained existing cultural resistance (Mastino 1992, 1995, 35-36).

#### 6.4.2 CULTURAL RESISTANCE AND LOCAL IDENTITIES

From a postcolonial point of view, the foregoing interpretation of Punic cultural continuity in terms of silent resistance against Roman economic exploitation suffers from two fundamental defects. First of all it offers an explicitly dualist

representation of the colonial situation as being made up of on the one hand exploitative Roman administrators and their legions and on the other hand defiant Sardinians weighed down by hard labour and grinding poverty. Secondly this view reduces Roman colonialism to economic exploitation and probably derives from the emphasis on Sardinian grain exports in the historical sources (e.g. Mastino 1995, 39-47). This view only takes into account the purely economic dimension of Roman colonialism and overlooks social groups other than Roman landowners and Punic peasant farmers, although the archaeological evidence is anything but uniform. While the Punic appearance of much of the archaeological record of west central Sardinia is beyond doubt, it nevertheless comprises elements which contribute to a much more nuanced and complex understanding of the colonial situation in Republican Sardinia.

The presence of Roman imports is one qualification: since they have been reported by many excavations and topographical explorations and since even the most outspoken 'Punic' sites discussed above have yielded some imported products from the Italian mainland, it is evident that Roman finds occur throughout the region. There are nevertheless also several sites where Roman presence was more marked. The large farm surveyed by the *Riu Mannu* project at Ingraxioris on the Terralba sands near the Pauli Putzu and Pauli Ummus marshes (15; fig. 6-5) offers a fine example. While established in the Punic period (5th century BC) like all other settlements in this area, the finds of Republican date at this large farm differ from those at other sites because they comprise a considerable number of Roman or more generally Italian imports. The fine wares include Campanian A and B-related products, locally produced versions of Black Glaze wares and thin-walled cups (*pareti sottili*). While locally produced late Punic neck-less amphorae (Bartoloni D10) and Punic kitchenwares of Republican date are common finds at Ingraxioris, late Punic imports are absent. As the imported vessels show, the inhabitants of this farm maintained external relations with the Italian mainland only, presumably through Karales, which may explain the wider variety of Italian and Sardinian Black Glaze wares. A relatively large number of Dressel 1 amphorae was the sole class of imported containers. The contrast with the equally large farm of Bau Angius (534) is striking: local products of the *Riu Mannu* estuary area and Black Glaze wares of the *a pasta grigia* type were present at both sites in comparable numbers but with regard to imports, the find collections are almost mutually exclusive: at Ingraxioris Italian imports abounded, while with a few exceptions only North African and Carthaginian products were used at Bau Angius. A further difference was that the latter farm was abandoned by the turn of the early 1st century BC, while the former remained occupied and was rebuilt with typically Roman materials.

A situation comparable to that of Ingraxioris is offered by the cemetery of Pauli Putzu (4; fig. 6-5). Although part and parcel of the local Punic setting of the southern Arborèa, it differed from other contemporary cemeteries of the coastal landscape in a number of aspects. The most remarkable of these is the complete absence of Punic finds in the cemetery as far as documented, even though it spans the entire Roman Republican and Imperial periods.<sup>24</sup> Among the burial rites no Punic *enchytrismos* burials have been attested, while cremations were common, although their earliest occurrence cannot be dated. Despite the more fragmentary evidence of the Pauli Putzu cemetery, it clearly contrasts with the Punic burial traditions and grave goods of the Bidd'e Cresia cemetery in the Sanluri district. The Pauli Putzu burial ground apparently also differed from the nearby farms, including a very large one (5), which have yielded numerous late Punic finds (Artudi n.d.). The transformation of this large farm into a typically Roman *villa rustica* built in *opus caementicium* and decorated with mosaics and painted stucco suggests a situation akin to that documented at Ingraxioris: it is conceivable that the outspoken Italian orientation of the inhabitants of the large farm of Pauli Putzu was matched by a preference for Roman-style burials.

In the Marmilla, the lack of datable finds and even more so of well described find collections thwarts any attempt to distinguish similar situations. The presence of a wide variety of imported Italian and local Black Glaze wares, thin-walled cups (*pareti sottili*) and various Roman amphorae of Dressel 1 type at Bruncu 'e Tana (509) and nearby Tana (564) nevertheless demonstrates that Italian imports were all but absent in the interior. It is therefore not unlikely that situations comparable to that of the farm at Ingraxioris also occurred. These examples show that the archaeological record of west central Sardinia under the Roman Republic was not as *exclusively* Punic as I suggested above. Given the limited documentation of practically all topographical evidence,<sup>25</sup> they indicate at least that people with an orientation towards the Italian mainland or on the contrary with a preference for Punic North Africa lived throughout the region. Since locally produced Punic-style domestic pottery was common everywhere, no easy distinction between Punic and Roman sites can be made — let alone between their inhabitants. The evidence therefore plainly contradicts any straightforward dualist representation of Republican Sardinia as unanimously resisting Roman domination, as there were evidently people who actively engaged in commercial dealings with Roman Italy. The farm of Bau Angius and the Bidd'e Cresia cemetery nevertheless demonstrate that there were also people who did cling to Punic traditions. However, distinguishing the local inhabitants of Sardinia into two groups along these lines is a hazardous undertaking: the finds collected at the large village of Ordinada in the upper Marmilla (562) for



instance comprise both North African Punic and Roman amphorae, together with a wide variety of imported and locally produced Black Glaze wares. The numerous imports in the Marmilla, Campidano and Arborèa in fact demonstrate that all these items could be relatively easily obtained. The overall picture becomes still more complicated when cases such as the sanctuary of Genna Maria of Villanova-forru (309) are taken into consideration. This site had at first sight been ranged among the Punic sites which remained in continuous and unchanged use. However, precisely because of the absence of changes the sanctuary preserved a number of Nuragic characteristics into the Roman period which distinguished it from other Punic sanctuaries such as the *tophet* in the major cities or the temple at Antas which was dedicated to the Punic god Sid (Pirredda 1994, 833; cf. p. 175).<sup>26</sup> At Genna Maria, offering oil-lamps was the most conspicuous deviation from the Punic norms. Given the Nuragic roots of this tradition (p. 153), it is far from clear whether this ritual act, which played a crucial role in the cult celebrated at Genna Maria, can be regarded as Punic or should instead be seen as 'genuinely indigenous' in the sense of denoting Nuragic origins. The fundamental nature of the question is demonstrated by the recurrence of similar situations at the sanctuaries at Su Mulinu of Villanovafranca (544) or Lugherras of Paulilatino (Lilliu 1990, 433-437). The very location of the sanctuaries in the nuraghi and in the case of Su Mulinu even in the same room as the Iron Age ritual chamber (Ugas/Paderi 1990) indicate the strong 'indigenous' nature of the fertility cults (Lilliu 1993, 18-20). A comparably ambiguous situation in which Nuragic elements can be discerned is the Giants' Tomb of Bruncu Espis at the foot of the Iglesiente mountains (129) which was repeatedly used as a communal burial place in Punic and Roman times in ways not unlike those of the Late Bronze and Iron Age (Taramelli 1927). Many cases of Roman occupation of nuraghi must also be counted among this group, as they often continued earlier Punic settlement at these locations. The farmhouse and associated burial ground near the Giants' Tomb at Sedda sa Caudeba (303, 304) or the Punic and Republican occupation phases at nuraghe Ortu Comidu (249) are evident examples of such a situation. Since association with a nuraghe was one of the distinctive features of the cultural landscape in the interior which emerged in the Punic period and which remained virtually unchanged under the Roman Republic, it would seem to make sense to explain these site locations in the Roman period first of all in terms of their Punic background.

In a considerable number of cases, however, reoccupation of nuraghi and other megalithic monuments in Roman times lacked Punic precedents and consequently appear to root in a much older 'indigenous' or Nuragic background. The Republican reoccupation of nuraghe Marfudi and the nearby

construction of Roman houses (600) are a case in point, since the absence of a Punic occupation phase excludes an interpretation in terms of Punic cultural continuity. This and other comparable cases throughout the island have been interpreted as indications of an 'underground' survival of Nuragic culture (*sopravvivenze*) under Punic and Roman political and cultural domination surfacing at certain times and places (Lilliu 1990). Although akin to Punic cultural continuity, indigenous or Nuragic endurance has seldom been regarded as merely 'lingering on' or as having been subsumed in Punic and Roman culture. The longevity, vitality and recurrent nature of the phenomenon have, by contrast, frequently been asserted. As a corollary, 'Nuragic persistence' has generally been perceived as an outspoken instance of cultural resistance against foreign domination (Bartoloni 1988b, 347; Lilliu 1990, 415). In the light of this evidence, the fertility cults celebrated at Su Mulinu and at other similar sites have been claimed as instances of 'religious, ideological and political resistance of the Sardinian inhabitants of the Marmilla and of other areas of the interior' (Ugas/Paderi 1990, 482).<sup>27</sup> Because of the ignoring of the Punic aspects of these cults and the simply lumping together of the Punic and Roman periods, this representation must be exposed as explicitly dualist with strong nativist overtones.

Despite obvious similarities, the connections between Nuragic and Punic cultural 'persistence' have rarely been considered (see however Vismara 1990, 39-44; Zucca 1988, 372). Nevertheless, there are numerous indications that the situation must have been much more complex than suggested by straightforward claims of fierce indigenous resistance against all foreign influence. For example, the well-sanctuary of Cuccuru s'Arriu (624) provides ample food for thought. Having been abandoned as a Nuragic sanctuary by the 7th century BC, towards the end of the third century BC the courtyard in front of the well was arranged as a cult place by setting up a small altar (Sebis 1982; fig. 6-17a). Notwithstanding the Nuragic origins of the site, the numerous incense burners, including several *kernophoroi* in the shape of a female head, and anatomical ex-votos demonstrate the Punic character of the rituals performed in the courtyard. Similar objects were also found in a small votive pit just outside the courtyard (Giorgetti 1982). The lack of Punic antecedents at this formerly Nuragic ritual site in combination with the Punic cult in early Roman times makes it clear that attempts to define the background of this sanctuary as basically Nuragic or Punic are entirely beside the point. Four *stelai* found inside the well, which had probably been discarded there at some stage during the 2nd century BC, provide some indication as to how this situation can be understood. The presence of these *stelai* in the shrine is remarkable because they are typically found in *tophet* sanctuaries (Siddu 1982; fig. 6-17b). At the same time, they can

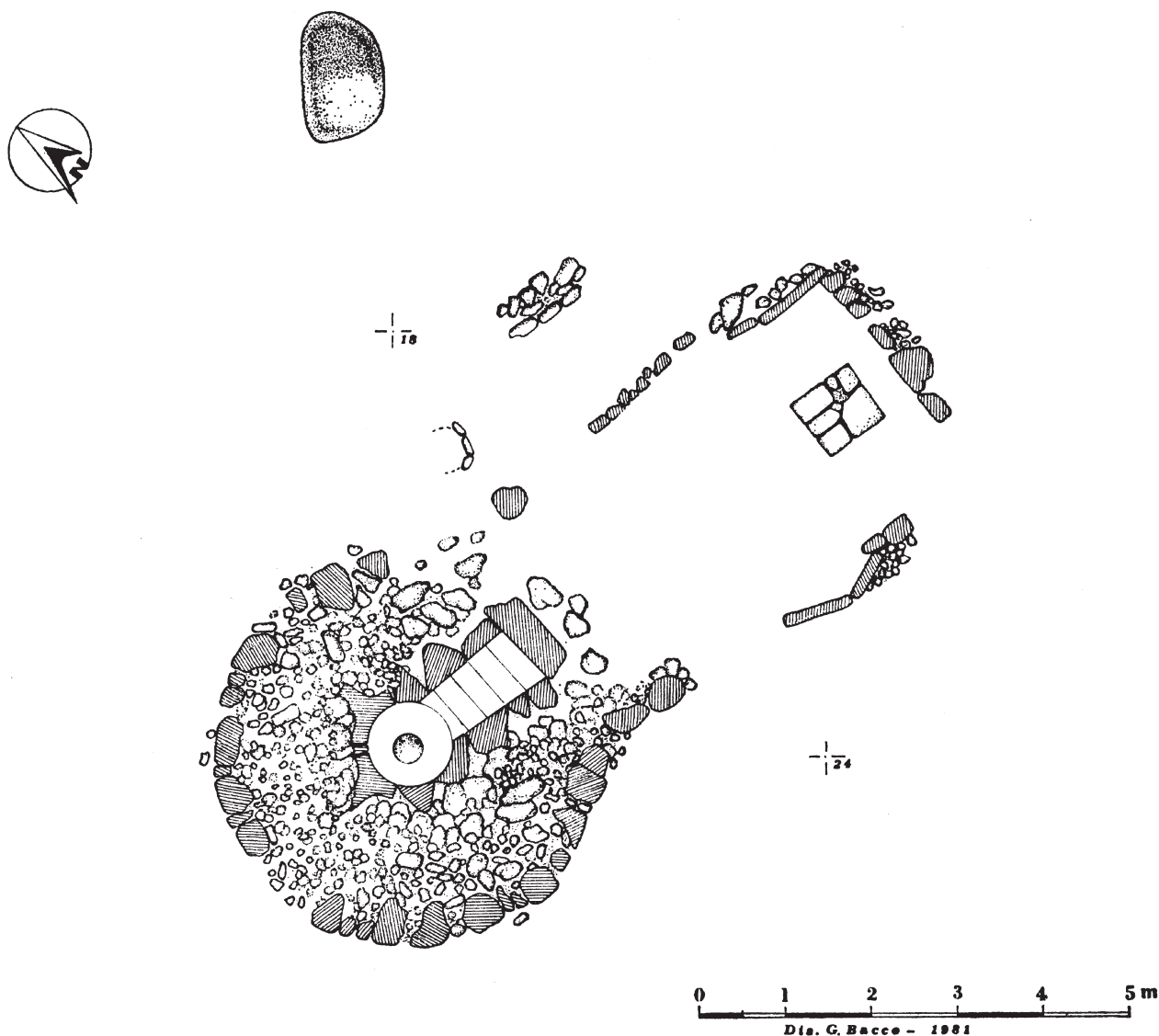


Fig. 6-17a. Plan of the Nuragic well sanctuary of Cuccuru S'Arriu (624) showing the ritual area with Punic altar and behind it the entrance (stairs) of the well sanctuary itself (after Sebis 1982, fig. 8).

be grouped together with several other *stelai* similarly found outside a *tophet*. Apart from late Republican and early Imperial slabs from north-west Sardinia known under the name of the 'mirror-*stelai*' of the *Sassarese* (Moscatti 1992c, 53-63, 106-107), all other and earlier examples have been found in west central Sardinia, in particular in the Sinis and the central Campidano. While the exact provenance of many of these *stelai* is unclear, the better documented specimens have invariably been found in ritual or funerary contexts like the sanctuary of Cuccuru s'Arriu or the cemetery of S. Giovanni near Uras (264). Together, these stone posts document

a specifically Sardinian development in which a Punic element was transformed along strictly local lines, which clearly deviated from Punic standards but which yet cannot be ascribed to Nuragic tradition. This process first took place in the northern part of west central Sardinia and was later taken up in the North of the island, where additional Roman influence can be distinguished in the mirror-*stelai* (Moscatti 1992b, 100).

The establishment of a Punic cult at a formerly Nuragic ritual site as at Cuccuru s'Arriu can likewise be interpreted as an instance of local invention, in which both Nuragic and

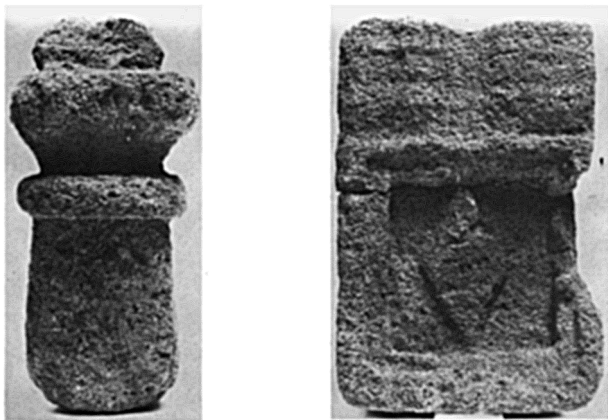


Fig. 6-17b. Punic *stela* and a *cippus* found in the well sanctuary of Cuccuru S'Arriu (624; Giorgetti 1982; Siddu 1982, tav.42).

Punic elements were creatively combined into a new and specifically local tradition. Such an understanding of the combined occurrence of material culture from various backgrounds, however, is incompatible with essentialist conceptions of Nuragic or Punic culture in which certain features are regarded as critical and unambiguous markers of Nuragic or Punic identity, often with ethnic connotations (Jones 1997, 33-39; cf. Thomas 1990, 146-153). From this perspective, the question whether the *stelai* of Republican date in west central Sardinia or the cults at Genna Maria and Cuccuru s'Arriu should be classified as 'Nuragic' or 'Punic' has lost its relevance. As a corollary, dualist representations of the colonial situation are equally in need of reconsideration, since the creation of a local culture must be regarded as a characteristic feature of the region under Republican rule. In this respect, the inauguration of the cult at Cuccuru s'Arriu at the time of the Roman occupation of the island is significant, because it marks the way in which local inhabitants attempted to redefine their own position in the new context in which Rome and Italy instead of North Africa and Carthage constituted the principal points of reference. This development can also be captured by the postcolonial notion of hybridization as expounded in chapter two (p. 25). Processes comparable to those described for the Punic period (pp. 151-156) have evidently played a significant part in the Republican period, if only because of the general cultural continuity. However, the different political and economic situation under the Roman Republic created a colonial situation with markedly distinct characteristics which gave rise to rather different developments. A critical feature in this respect was the apparent lack of Roman involvement in the hybridization processes at work in the region. It does not follow from this, however, that Roman colonialism had a

limited impact on Sardinia. While Roman (material) culture admittedly did not become very prominent under the Republic, numerous changes have been observed in a wide variety of social fields ranging from every-day life and rural settlement to religion and burial customs. It must therefore be concluded that the consequences of Republican colonialism in Sardinia were far-reaching to the extent that they caused the local inhabitants to redefine their traditions. The paradox that people were forced to reconsider their social and cultural positions without the brutal imposition of a strictly Roman culture can be resolved through Bourdieu's notion of symbolic violence as discussed in chapter two (p. 30): severing the centennial ties with North Africa with political and economic means was an indirect but eventually no less effective way of establishing Roman cultural authority over Sardinia. There can thus be little doubt about the dominant and hegemonic nature of Republican colonialism which coupled military occupation as attested by the historical sources with pervasive forms of symbolic violence as demonstrated by the archaeological record.

Nor were the ensuing hybridization processes in any way neutral, as may be expected given the inherent ambiguities (cf. Bhabha 1987). In west central Sardinia, the large-scale revolt of 215 BC and the later uprisings demonstrate that the assertion of one's own identity and the rejection of a foreign one are closely related; they can in fact be regarded as two sides of the same coin. Armed resistance would for instance literally have been inconceivable without the assertion of local identities. Nevertheless, they cannot be conflated, as it follows from the connections between hybridization and the invention of local traditions referred to above that Punic or Nuragic cultural continuity does not denote cultural resistance against Roman rule by itself. The thin line between resistance and distinction is perhaps best exemplified by situations like the farms of Ingraxioris and Bau Angius which suggest that the inhabitants did perceive the colonial situation as being dominated by the opposition between Rome and Italy on the one hand and Carthage and North Africa on the other hand (Van Dommelen 1998). However, the material culture used at these sites contradicts dualist representations, as the inhabitants of Ingraxioris continued to use local Punic objects in their every-day life despite their 'Italian' orientation. It are precisely these situations which embody the 'tensions of empire' and which make colonial situations anything but straightforward (Comaroff 1989).

## 6.5 Punic Tradition between Romanization and Local Identities

A basic question which has so far remained open regards the impact of the Roman occupation on Sardinia; as a corollary it involves the characteristics of Roman Republican colonialism with regard to the island. On the basis of the historical

and archaeological evidence set out in the second and fourth sections of this chapter, the colonial situation of west central Sardinia presents two seemingly contradictory developments. The administrative and legal reorganization of colonial authority through the confiscation of the entire island by the Roman state, the privileged position of Roman citizens regarding the acquisition of land and the imposition of Roman taxes suggest on the one hand that the Roman impact on the island must have been considerable. The emergence of local identities as evidenced by the creation of new local cultures drawing on the Punic and Nuragic backgrounds of the inhabitants of the region indicates on the other hand that Roman influence 'on the ground' was less effective than expected and perhaps even counter-productive. The alleged large-scale creation of *latifundia* stands at the heart of this issue, as it is generally assumed to represent the outcome of the Roman reorganization of the Sardinian rural economy in order to boost its grain production and export (Meloni 1987a, 228). The archaeological evidence, however, gives ample cause to reconsider this representation of at least the west central Sardinian countryside in Republican times. The principal argument is of course the absence of fundamental transformations in the countryside, as the two forms of rural settlement and production as embodied by the two cultural landscapes remained essentially intact. As was already argued for the earlier period of Carthaginian domination (pp. 156-157), neither the coastal landscape based on numerous independent small to medium-sized farms and a town nor the interior landscape made up of interspersed rural agglomerations can easily be associated with large centrally organized estates, because in the conventional (i.e. Marxist) representation of the centralized *villa* economy all means of production, including the dependent peasants, were concentrated in and immediately around the central *villa* (Celuzza/Regoli 1982, 41-44). The absence of reliable evidence for the emergence of *villae* before the end of the 1st century BC underscores the difference of the Sardinian rural landscapes from the central Italian *villa* landscapes documented in southern Etruria and Campania (Carandini/Settis 1979). Although the coexistence of small-scale rural settlement and even hamlets (*vici*) with *villae* has been demonstrated by several archaeological surveys in both Italy and other parts of the Mediterranean in recent years (Leveau/Sillières/Vallat 1993; Vallat 1987), the continued existence of independently functioning farms, all of which had access to international trading networks and all of which could obtain and afford imported fine wares, seriously contradicts the emergence of hierarchical relationships between these farms.<sup>28</sup> Later developments during the early 1st century BC in the southern Arborèa, when nearly one third of the farms was abandoned and several of the remaining ones were transformed into *villae*, offer much more evidence for the emergence of a possible

*villa* landscape, even if confined to the southern Arborèa and combined with the continued existence of many small-scale farmsteads.

In the light of this evidence, the scale and impact of Roman economic and rural reorganization seem to have remained rather limited. However, the epigraphical evidence unquestionably demonstrates that people of both Punic and Italian descent did obtain large estates already during the Republican period (p. 174). This need not contradict the archaeological evidence, however, as distinctions must be made between the possession of large tracts of land by a few families, the (re)organization of the rural economy at a regional or local scale and the concomitant emergence of archaeologically visible *villae* and a *villa* landscape. In this case, a distinction should be made between on the one hand the legal ownership of large areas of land together making up an estate in the sense of the Latin term *fundus* and on the other hand the actual rural organization of agrarian production and settlement. In fact, ownership and the relationships of peasants to land cannot be established archaeologically in any straightforward way (cf. Van Dommelen 1993, 172-183). The conclusion from the foregoing must therefore simply be that the imposition of Roman taxes and rents was met by the Sardinian peasants within the existing local agrarian structures. This does not detract from the burden of taxation and rents for most Sardinians but means that the new landowners did not intervene in the actual grassroots production and limited themselves to the extraction of taxes through the existing rural organization. In this way, the Roman fiscal system must have had several serious consequences in particular for former local landlords, who found themselves in an ambivalent position. The dilemma for them was that they could either rent back their former possessions from the Roman state and lease out their land to local peasants as they had done before, which made them *de facto* tax collectors for the Roman state, or they could refuse to do so, which means that the local people were forced to turn directly to a *publicanus* or to some other new foreign landowner. Although these differences are of course not detectable archaeologically, the divergences noted between Italian-oriented peasant farms can perhaps be associated with allegiances to new Roman landlords and *patroni*. The focus on local roots or on Punic North Africa may conversely be seen as the persistence of local social and economic networks.

A further and more general conclusion can be drawn regarding Roman Republican expansion and colonialism in Sardinia (cf. p. 175). In the light of the foregoing paradox between the impact of the Roman occupation of the island and the limited archaeological evidence of Roman presence, 'romanization' seems to be a somewhat equivocal term which should be used with due caution. The repeated redefinitions of the concept and the considerable discrepancies in actual



usage of the notion are in part due to this: although it is nowadays usually understood in socio-economic terms, narrower conceptions which only consider the degree of adaptation to 'Roman standards' can still frequently be found. More important, however, is the observation that the term 'romanization' implies a Roman point of view. In terms of the postcolonial critique as discussed in chapter two (pp. 18-20), the inherent perspective is basically a one-sided colonialist one, which is clearly incompatible with a post-colonial approach to colonialism. At the risk of engaging in a futile terminological discussion, I therefore propose to distinguish between the terms 'romanization', 'Roman colonialism' and 'Roman-period colonial situation', because the terms of the debate inevitably influence its contents. As discussed earlier (pp. 167-168), the term 'romanization' has gone through a considerable development, in which both the partial colonialist perspective and the narrow cultural-historical definition have been abandoned for a socio-economic conception in which both Romans and indigenous inhabitants have been included (Slofstra 1983; cf. Jones 1997, 29-39). Claims to the effect that 'a basic aspect of romanization is that ... it leads to a certain cultural uniformization' and that 'romanization is, after all, closely linked with the dissemination of Roman cultural forms' (Roymans 1996, 10) demonstrate that the key issue remains the integration of the indigenous peoples in Roman socio-economic and cultural structures, even though the indigenous contribution to the process is recognized. However, despite continued debate, attempts to assess the variability of Roman and indigenous attitudes and actions have largely remained restricted to indigenous mediations of 'romanization' (e.g. Roymans 1995). The apparent unity of Roman society and culture as implied by the term 'romanization' has at the same time tended to obscure the Roman diversity (Freeman 1993, 442-443; Woolf 1992, 351-352). Because of their dualist traits, these revised conceptions of 'romanization' thus remain at odds with a postcolonial point of view. By contrast, the term 'Roman colonialism' is much more circumscribed as it only concerns Roman, i.e. colonial matters. It primarily regards Roman intentions and objectives, which tie in the issue of Roman expansion (cf. pp. 167-168). A prominent feature of Roman colonialism is the notion of *romanitas*, which has been argued to have crucially shaped Roman cultural and economic strategies in north-west Europe (Woolf 1995, 14-16). By distinguishing colonial intentions from 'romanization' in general and setting this aspect apart under the heading of 'Roman colonialism', the subtle variations of colonial objectives and behaviour can be more fruitfully examined and monolithic representations of 'the Roman Empire' are avoided (cf. Webster 1997, 324-325). In line with the postcolonial perspective advocated in chapter two (pp. 33-35), I consider the specific, i.e. region-

ally and chronologically restricted, colonial situation to be a fitting framework for studying contact situations of the Roman period. Indeed, only by focusing on the local situation in its detailed historical and regional contexts can particular deviations from general trends in the interactions between Roman and indigenous peoples be discerned and explained. In this way, the uniform term 'Roman' can be specified as referring to Republican or Imperial expansion or to Italian citizen servicemen or professional Gaul soldiers (Freeman 1993, 443-444).

When taken together as complementary notions, 'Roman colonialism' and 'colonial situation' are akin to what Woolf has termed 'provincialization' (1995). They are all the more fitting, given the fact that the Roman contribution to colonial situations throughout the Roman empire was all but unitary and should be examined in their local contexts. As a consequence, both approaches avoid the label 'Roman'. The west central Sardinian case evidently underscores this point, since Roman colonialism gave rise to developments which did not make much use of Roman cultural forms but which on the contrary primarily relied on local, non-Roman traditions. When considered in narrow terms, i.e. romanization regarded as a process of adopting Roman norms and forms, this situation can only be classified a 'failed case' (Sirago 1992, 243) and a genuine understanding of developments remains elusive. The suggestion to subsume such processes under the heading of 'romanization' notwithstanding their lack of Roman features but by recognizing their confrontational nature (Whittaker 1995, 19-20) overstretches the term and in fact illustrates the need for a more balanced terminology (cf. Jones 1997, 129-135). The observation that 'the adjective "Roman" needs to be removed, because it prejudices what it is supposed to do and because there is nothing in what it imparts or creates which makes it "Roman"' (Freeman 1993, 445) fully retains its validity.

On the whole, I have attempted to show in this chapter that a postcolonial perspective on colonialism and colonial situations in combination with a meticulous analysis of the archaeological evidence can fruitfully contribute to a nuanced understanding of Roman colonialism as anything but uniform; at the same time, I have also tried to show that persisting Punic cultural forms do not necessarily denote widespread resistance to Roman rule. I have rather argued that in the first place they represent the local inhabitants' attempts to come to terms with the Roman military occupation of the island and their reorganization of wider political and economic structures. To be sure, cultural resistance is likely to have been an inherent feature of the preference for local traditions but not everywhere and in particular not at all times to the same degree: it hardly seems plausible that Punic culture meant the same in the later 2nd century BC, when the western Mediterranean had effectively become a



Roman sea, as it did in the final decades of the 3rd century BC when Hannibal was raiding Roman Italy and Carthaginian fleets cruised off Sardinia. The subtle variations of the archaeological evidence have moreover demonstrated that the colonial situation was much more complex than dualist representations claim and that both Punic and Roman material culture was widely in use throughout the region.

## notes

1 The conquest of Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica is regarded by many as the starting point of the insatiable imperialism of the Romans, who should not have ventured beyond the confines of the Italian peninsula. They have then been accused of having undertaken a colonial war against the far-away peoples of Africa, whom they did not even know and who had done them no harm.

2 This confusion is the direct consequence of partial representations, as the Roman crossing of the street of Messina would have been a clear breach of such a treaty: Polybius (III.26.2-5) not surprisingly dismisses the version of the pro-Carthaginian Philinos as a Carthaginian invention and denies the existence of such a Carthaginian-Roman treaty. Nevertheless, it is also mentioned by Livy (*Per.* 14), who probably used Philinos as a source (Scardigli 1991, 140-145). Without additional information it is therefore difficult to decide in favour of one of the versions; any choice in favour of Polybius or Philinos probably has more to do with the perspective of the modern historian (see Lazenby 1996, 32-33 *contra* Lancel 1995, 362-636).

3 The annalistic tradition that some Roman senators also insisted on the abandonment of Sardinia by Carthage is generally regarded as a later pro-Roman invention in order to justify the Roman intervention of 238 BC (Meloni 1990, 32-33).

4 This account is based on rather late sources such as Silius Italicus and Zonaras' epitome of Cassius Dio (cf. p. 162) but it is basically confirmed by a commemorative inscription of ca 200 BC and the mention of an official triumph in 259 BC *de Poenis et Sardinia, Corsica* in the *Fasti Triumphales Capitolini* (cf. Meloni 1990, 447).

5 The course of events is extensively reported by Polybius (I.79.1-88.8); occasional additional details are provided by later authors (see Meloni 1990, 448-449).

6 It is not clear whether the *Corsi* in this case were Corsicans or, as is often argued (e.g. Meloni 1990, 48-51), a Sardinian tribe in the Gallura region of Sardinia, which is explicitly mentioned in other, in particular older, sources.

7 These descriptions have been explained as references to nuraghi and well-sanctuaries. The largest complex nuraghi seem to have been mentioned by Livy as the *castra* ('forts') in which the Sardinians withdrew to defend themselves against the Roman troops (Lilliu 1990, 418-419).

8 Although clearly referring to landlords with a Punic background, the *Maltamonenses* and *Semilitenses* recorded in the Sanluri area are not attested before the 3rd or 4th century AD and consequently do not shed light on the earlier situation (Paderi 1982c, 60-61).

9 The town of *Uselis* which has long been counted among these early Roman foundations (eg. Meloni 1990, 264-267; 301) has recently been shown to have Punic roots (Tore 1995b, 453; cf. tab. 6-2, 308).

10 Neapolis too may have been administered by *suffetes* since two inscriptions found at Olbia and Tharros mention these officials at *Qart Hadasht* ('new city'). The reference to Neapolis, however, is disputed since a major city seems to be implied. It has therefore been proposed that Carthage in North Africa was intended, assuming that the names of the *suffetes* in power serve as an indication of the year (like the Roman consuls); equally plausible, however, is the suggestion that Tharros, the major city in the region, was referred to (see Amadasi Guzzo 1992 for a detailed discussion).

11 They appear to have been replaced by small heads on pedestals in the 1st century AD, which suggests that the cult itself continued to be celebrated during the Imperial period (Vismara 1980, 73-81).

12 The name presumably refers to the Sa Ussa marsh (fig 6-5) but it is unclear whether the site explored by Spano is one of the many sites recorded in that area or an additional one of which no traces have been left today (cf. Artudi/Perra 1994, 33; Zucca 1987a, 144, no. 179).

13 Already in 1881, in his study of pre-Roman Sardinia, Pais commented extensively on the importance of adding archaeological evidence to the historical information (Pais 1881, 259-260).

14 The so-called Graeco-Italic amphorae are much less helpful in this respect, since they cover most of the 3rd century BC and therefore also frequently occur in late Punic contexts.

15 An early Imperial inscription found *in situ* suggests that a further Roman settlement may have been located at the site of the modern town of Sanluri. While it cannot be excluded that this hypothetical site already existed in Republican, perhaps even Punic times, the evidence is far too exiguous to be considered (Paderi 1982c, 60).

16 In eight more cases documentation is equally detailed but does not comprise elements datable to the Republican period.

17 '... piccoli frammenti di embrici e di stoviglie rustiche di tipo piuttosto rozzo e di scarso interesse.' (Porru 1947, 101). Similar brief reports were frequently published in the major periodicals of the time. It is evident that without new fieldwork such evidence is rather unhelpful.

18 Even new fieldwork will repeatedly be unable to resolve this question, as many sites may have largely been eroded away since Puxeddu first reported them: two of the seven revisited sites yielded very few or no recognizable fragments. The site at Perda Lada (540) where the off-site finds offered more information than the barely visible site itself is symptomatic in this respect.

19 As shown by the detailed study of the finds from sites 86 and 99 which suggest abandonment by the late 2nd century BC, the upper chronological limit of the 1st century BC as defined by Artudi and Perra must probably be taken more broadly.

20 In this way, ie. understood in its mid-1st century BC context, the remark makes much more sense than when taken literally and regarded as evidence of large-scale North African immigration in Sardinia during the Punic period (see p. 126).

21 These finds are part of the so-called qualitative collection. The quantitative collection comprised no identifiable amphora fragments, although over half of the fabrics attested at the 34 sample points at site 68 were of the type used for locally produced amphorae (fabric A). See chapter three (pp. 61-63) for the collection strategies of the *Riu Mannu* survey.

22 The site itself measures ca 7200 m<sup>2</sup> and has been sampled with 82 collection points, which have yielded a mean find density of ca six fragments per m<sup>2</sup>.

23 It should be kept in mind, however, that only eight of the 76 Roman burials have been published in detail.

24 Today, only 34 items survive from a dozen burials. The large time span covered by these finds suggests that they constitute a fairly representative sample of the cemetery. These were excavated by the local school teacher prof. Pes after the first large-scale destructions of the site by sand quarrying. The oldest object is a late 3rd century BC Campanian A Black Glaze cup while the youngest one is a 5th century AD African Red Slip D cup. Many other items which were illegally excavated have been dispersed (Artudi n.d.).

25 The outstanding documentation of the Terralba and Gesturi explorations are notable exceptions, although the absence of quantified collections hampers any easy comparison with the *Riu Mannu* results obtained at Bau Angius and Ingraxioris.

26 The Roman Imperial reinterpretation of Sid as *Sardus Pater* and the existence of an Iron Age burial place at the site of Antas have repeatedly been advanced as arguments of the indigenous (Nuragic) origins of the cult celebrated at this temple. While this cannot be excluded, the connection of these elements with the Punic temple is unclear and it should moreover be kept in mind that both the temple and rituals were markedly Punic and lacked Nuragic aspects as at Genna Maria (see Zucca 1989b).

27 'Resistenza ideologica religiosa e politica da parte delle popolazioni sarde della Marmilla e delle altre regioni interne ...'.

28 The variations of site size recorded in the southern Arborèa suggest a certain differentiation of settlement, which is not the same, however, as a *villa* hierarchy.