

of the salting of Carthage, but his case is instructive. It suggests that in the continuing search for the source of the story and its first application to Carthage we should look to nonspecialist works of the mid- to late nineteenth century.

We should note, too, that the legend of a city's being plowed and salted is a prominent motif in the city chronicles of medieval Italy. Padua is said to have been destroyed and sown with salt by Attila the Hun in A.D. 452;¹⁹ and Milan was allegedly destroyed, plowed, and salted by Frederick Barbarossa in 1162.²⁰ The legend of Attila's salting of Padua, like his epithet *flagellum Dei*, is probably based on the Old Testament.²¹ Christians would readily have compared his actions in France and Italy with the destruction of cities by the heathen Assyrians. The Milanese chroniclers may have adopted the motif from Paduan sources and applied it to Barbarossa without being aware of its origins in the Old Testament: to compare one of the leaders of western Christendom at the time of the Crusades to the Assyrian Abimelech would have been incongruous, even if that leader was hostile to the pope. I have not, however, been able to rule out the possibility that Frederick, as Holy Roman Emperor, was imagined to be imitating a Roman ritual practice by plowing and salting Milan. In any case, already by the mid-eighteenth century Italian historians had rejected the plowing and salting of Milan as unhistorical, for the same reasons that the application of the story to Carthage has now been rejected by Ridley.²² By the last quarter of the nineteenth century some scholars had recognized that the plowing and salting of an enemy city by the victor was a well-established folkloric motif.²³

SUSAN T. STEVENS
Luther College

19. Schleiden, *Das Salz*, p. 95. For the legends of Attila in Padua, see A. Simioni, *Storia di Padova dalle origine alla fine del secolo XVII* (Padua, 1968), pp. 92-95.

20. The legend is at least as old as the fourteenth century: G. Fiamma, *Manipulus Flori, sive Historia mediolanensis ab origine urbis ad annum 1336* 190, cited in *Storia di Milano*, vol. 4 (Milan, 1954), p. 68.

21. Cf. H. de Boor, *Das Attilabild in Geschichte, Legende und heroischer Dichtung* (Bern, 1932), p. 8, n. 8. In the early seventh century Isidore of Seville (*Hist. Goth.* 29, *Chron. min.*, 2:279) derived *virga furoris dei*, as an epithet for Attila, from Isaiah 14:5; for Attila in the eighth century, see F. Altheim, *Attila und die Hunnen* (Baden Baden, 1955), p. 138.

22. See G. Giuliani, *Memorie spettanti alla storia, al governo ed alla descrizione della città e della compagne di Milano ne' secoli bassi*, vol. 6 (Milan, 1760), p. 264, and P. Verri, *Storia di Milano* (Milan, 1783), p. 334.

23. Cf. Schleiden, *Das Salz*, p. 95.

PASSING THE SALT: ON THE DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE AGAIN

R. T. Ridley's note, "To Be Taken with a Pinch of Salt: The Destruction of Carthage,"¹ contains an indictment of B. Hallward, the British historian who wrote a chapter on the Third Punic War for the *Cambridge Ancient History* in 1930. According to Ridley, Hallward was the culprit who introduced to modern

scholarship the story that salt was sown in the ground, after the site was plowed, following the destruction of Carthage by the Romans in 146 B.C. Long before Hallward's inauspicious version of this story began to haunt classical historians, however, it had already gained widespread currency. An article on North African cities by L. Bertrand, published in 1905, contains the following passage:

Je n'ai jamais vu Carthage que dans la poussière et dans le vent: je ne le regrette pas trop! Cette atmosphère hostile et livide, c'est bien celle qui convient à la terre où fut cette ville de violence, de cruauté et de luxure. Carthage n'est plus qu'une vaste nécropole, ensevelie sous un linceul uniforme de plaines et de collines sans caractère. Les ruines mêmes ont péri. On dirait que la malédiction de Scipion-Émilien pèse toujours sur elle. En ces lieux, où l'on a semé du sel et passé la charrue, en prononçant des imprécations terribles, l'oeuvre humaine ne peut plus repousser: le sol, creusé comme un sépulcre, s'effondrerait sous le fardeau d'une cité nouvelle!²

It seems unlikely, albeit not impossible, that the author of a French travelogue should deserve the dubious distinction of having originated such a resilient tale. Bertrand's matter-of-fact exposition presupposes an even earlier source. Though this does not absolve Hallward of error, it does suggest that he simply fell victim to a latter-day, romanticized description of the end of Carthage, which he unwittingly helped to enshrine as fact.

In connection with the story of the salt Ridley also briefly raises (but does not answer) the question of the extent of the Roman devastation of the site.³ His query is on the mark, especially since there probably were survivors who had escaped both enslavement by the Romans and death in the final conflagration: thus the philosopher Clitomachus, a Carthaginian who had repaired to Athens before it was too late, could address to the survivors his reflections on the fall of his native city.⁴ We even hear about Carthaginians who wished to strike back against Rome as allies of Mithridates VI.⁵ This cannot, however, be accepted as proof that some remnants of the city's original population still lived at Carthage itself as late as the first century B.C. The city must not have been razed to the ground by the Roman army, since partially demolished Punic houses on the Byrsa hill were covered over by the massive Augustan terracing;⁶ but there is currently no archaeological evidence that the site of Carthage was reoccupied on any significant scale until the end of the first century B.C.

PAOLO VISONÀ
University of Notre Dame

2. "Les villes africaines," in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, vol. 75, tome 28 (1905): 660.

3. "Pinch of Salt," p. 143, n. 9.

4. As P. MacKendrick has pointed out: see *The North African Stones Speak* (Chapel Hill, 1980), p. 28.

5. Cf. Ath. 5. 213C.

6. See J. M. Carrié and N. Sanviti, "Le secteur B (1974–1975)," in *Mission archéologique française à Carthage: Byrsa*, vol. 1: *Rapports préliminaires des fouilles (1974–1976)*, ed. S. Lancel (Rome, 1979), pp. 106, 142; S. Lancel and J.-P. Thuillier, "Rapport préliminaire sur la campagne de 1976 (niveaux puniques)," *ibid.*, pp. 187–270. A group of Ptolemaic bronze issues minted at Cyrene ca. 140–96 B.C., which have been unearthed at Carthage during the "Campagne Internationale de Sauvegarde de Carthage" (begun in 1972) and in earlier excavations, may have reached Carthage at any time before or after the establishment of a permanent settlement under Augustus: cf. P. Visonà, "Punic and Greek Bronze Coins from Carthage," *AJA* 89 (1985): 675.