



EVIDENCE OF EVERYDAY PUNIC CULINARY HABITS FROM PRORATORA ISLAND, SARDINIA

Evidencias sobre las prácticas culinarias púnicas de ámbito cotidiano en el yacimiento de la isla de Proratora, Cerdeña

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ABSTRACT:

The preparation and consumption of food in everyday circumstances is an often-overlooked aspect of communal eating and drinking. This article examines a series of cooking pots from the island site of Proratora in north Sardinia which provide the basis for a discussion of ancient Mediterranean consumption practices and raises interesting questions about the way such social practices are the basis of communal identity in a period and place usually understood as divided between the Roman and Carthaginian worlds.

Key words: *cooking pots, punic world, social identity, everyday consumption, Sardinia.*

RESUMEN:

La preparación y consumo de alimentos en el ámbito cotidiano es un aspecto que se suele pasar por alto en el estudio de las prácticas comunales de comida y bebida. En este artículo, se examinan una serie de recipientes de cocina procedentes del yacimiento de la isla de Proratora, situado al N de Cerdeña. A partir de ellos, se analizan las prácticas de consumo en el Mediterráneo antiguo y se propone una lectura que vincula dichas prácticas sociales con la identidad grupal, en un momento y lugar visto habitualmente como dividido entre los mundos romano y cartaginés.

Palabras clave: *cerámica de cocina, mundo púnico, identidad social, consumo cotidiano, Cerdeña.*



INTRODUCTION

The nature of human identity has recently been an important aspect of archaeological study. It is understood that it is not a fixed aspect of human nature but rather something experienced and that changes depending on the environment, time and place, often created in relation to other people, the *us* versus *them*, although this need not be a permanent contrast, but rather one that suited particular times or situations (Barth 1969; Jenkins 2008; Knapp 2014: 35-38; Pierce *et al.* 2016). One area of social life where identities are brought to the fore is that in food production and consumption as these processes are both performative and at the same time the consumption of food embodies relationships between people and groups –*you are what you eat* (Dietler 2010b; Twiss 2007: 15-16). What you produce, how you process it and how it is consumed are often used to signal belonging or difference to particular groups of people, both by members of that community and outsiders. Relevant examples come from the Punic/Roman world. Coins from the third century BCE Sardinian mint display ears of wheat, identifying the island and associating it with its agricultural produce (Spanò Giammellaro 2004: 427-428). From a more etic perspective a nutritious porridge of wheat, cheese and eggs described as *Punic porridge* by Cato (*Agr.* 85) correlates ethnic identity with the way food is processed and consumed.

In archaeological literature on food stress is often placed on special situations of feasting or ritual consumption, which can be defined as food consumption events that differ in some way from everyday practice (Bray 2003; Dietler 1996: 89; Dietler and Hayden 2001; Hayden and Villeneuve 2011; Jiménez *et al.* 2011). This is no doubt partly because the paraphernalia associated with this aspect of consumption is more visible in the archaeological record (Blake 2005; Hayden 2001). Food production and consumption in these areas often has a political or competitive agenda where food is especially important in emphasising social and political distinctions and hierarchies. For example, differences are often noted in asymmetric colonial contact situations where appropriation or rejection of the material culture of food production can signal the types of relationships between ethnic groups and the agency of local communities during contact (Beaudry 2013; Dietler 1990; Vives-Ferrándiz 2007). This, of

course, is not the whole story, even everyday cooking activities (preparation, presenting and serving) can signal complex relationships and related politics of more intimate inter and intra family relationships (*cf.* Appadurai 1981). Yet less attention has been paid to ordinary *gastro-politics* in the archaeological record. This may be because every day cooking was seen to be part of the woman's domain, the domestic arena which was typically less interesting for archaeologists than larger socio-political movements (Bray 2003: 95; Pollock 2012: 5). From an archaeological point of view it is also because interest in Punic cooking vessels has mainly focused on typologies and chronologies rather than the social importance of the vessels themselves. Furthermore, the exploration of the Punic past has mainly focused on urban sites. Towns such as Carthage, Motya, Cadiz, Tharros and Nora have often been placed in a prominent position by scholars at the expense of their rural hinterlands¹. This has meant that the processes that led from the raw material, through growing, storing and preparation to cooking and eating to disposal (Goody 1982: 37) of food is often limited to just the central two of cooking and eating whilst the wider picture of growing, storing and disposal of food are often ignored².

Every day cooking differs from feasting in its structure and reach. The former meals are often less elaborate or planned, they usually occur at regular times of day and normally relate to a limited number of people, often related to each other, unlike feasts which often involve nonfamily members. They can use different ingredients, are served differently and take place in different spatial environments (Hastorf 2012: 217; Twiss 2012). Yet everyday meals are also similar in the way they require communal activities in the form of preparation or storage of food products and a shared space for consumption, both are part of a community's food behaviour and should not necessarily be treated separately (Twiss 2012: 54).

Bearing in mind the sociological importance of food and its preparation this paper discusses some preliminary evidence from this more commonplace social arena of every day cooking, where a series of standardised cooking vessels found during an excavation on Pratorata island raises questions about social cohesion and community, as well as connections across the western Mediterranean during the time that bridges the late Punic and early Roman period in Sardinia.

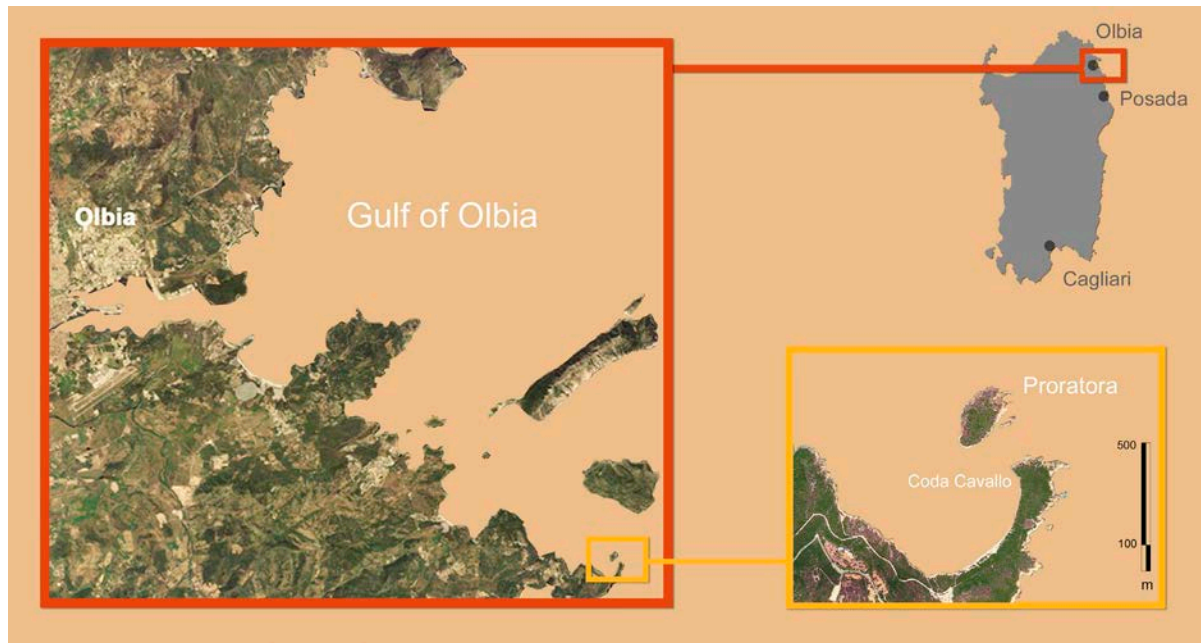


Fig. 1: Proratora in its island context (Giuseppe Campisi, author).

PRORATORA: THE SITE AND ITS POSITION

The island of Proratora (N-E coast of Sardinia) (fig.1) is in the Tavolara-Punta Coda Cavallo Marine Park. Although small, this island is found in a strategic position for several reasons. It closes the southern part of the Gulf of Olbia, matched to the N by the island of Figarolo. It lies approximately halfway between the Punic and Roman towns of Olbia and Posada and two thirds of the way between Olbia and San Teodoro. The former was possibly originally founded in the 8th century BCE by Phoenicians (D'Oriano 2009: 370-373) but only became an urban site in the second half of the fourth century BCE under the Carthaginians (Pisanu 2010). Posada was a probable Nuragic and later Phoenician/Punic settlement (Sanciu 2010; 2011: 51) whilst San Teodoro was frequented by both Phoenician and Punic traders (Mancini and Sanciu 2014). The whole area was probably controlled by Olbia and produced goods and foodstuffs for the local city, which were also traded across the Tyrrhenian sea with the Italian peninsula (Cavaliere 2010; Cavaliere *et al.* forthcoming).

A preliminary excavation took place on the flat southern tip of the island in 2011 (fig. 2) which revealed a rectangular structure of *ca.* 56 square metres oriented N-W/S-E, and which was likely divided into four different

rooms separated by a corridor. The rooms were delimited by stone wall foundations of *ca.* 0.60 cm thick. The excavation concentrated mainly on two rooms (A and B) which although not completely excavated contained a high concentration of transport material in the form of Punic amphorae as well as evidence of kitchen and table ware. The other two rooms C and D were only partially excavated although a trench excavated in room C brought to light a group of coins at the building's foundation (probably left as a foundation rite) dated to the end of the third century BCE (Cavaliere *et al.* 2012).

In total 28 stratigraphic units were excavated and the material has been partially studied. The table of fig. 3 outlines the SUs which contained material relevant to cooking and processing food in each.

SU

US 0 (superficial layer)

US 1 (covered the whole area of the excavation)

US 10 (earthen layer in room A containing a large number of ceramic fragments)

US 17 (earth layer in room B)

US 18 (channel in room B)

US 19 (fill of US 18)

In addition to the table, a number of pieces of not better identified *common pottery* were found, as follows (US1 = 222; US10= 5; US 17=87).

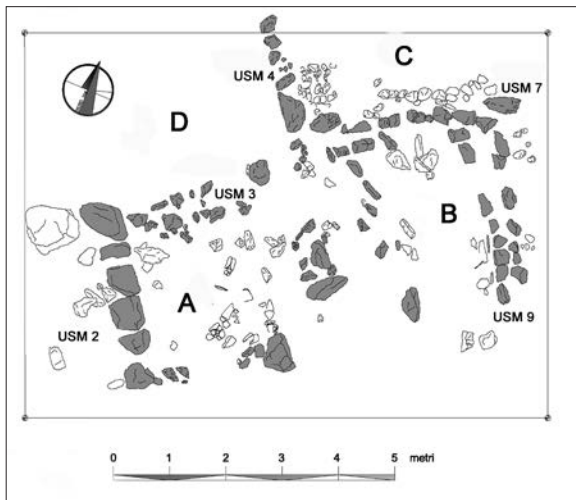


Fig. 2: Excavation on Proratora (Giuseppe Pisanu, author).

METHODOLOGY

The discovery of a large number of late Punic and Roman amphora from Proratora suggest that the primary purpose of the site was for the storage and transport of commercial products. Judging by its favourable position it may well have acted as a clearing station for goods travelling both north and south and east and west. The amphorae evidence provides a useful guide to the chronology of the site as the Punic amphorae can be dated to the third and second centuries BCE and more specifically (Ramon T-7.4.3.1. and T-7.4.2.1.) to the first half of the second century BCE (Cavaliere *et al.* forthcoming).

This current research started from the hypothesis that the people working with these goods and containers also

needed to eat and drink, so while morphologically the amphorae are classified as Punic or Roman it is the study of the quotidian cooking vessels that bring us closer to social cohesion of the people who lie behind them. The particularly interesting aspect of the site is that as the period in question bridges the Punic and Roman world it is difficult to identify people working here as ethnically one or the other. Does the study of the domestic pottery, especially that used for cooking and food preparation, which were selected for their forms and types, allow us to reach some conclusions about the community stationed here and the culinary habits of those who frequented the island?

RESULTS

Although the excavation and the study of the material from Proratora is incomplete some interesting data has been pulled out from the remains (Cavaliere *et al.* 2012; Cavaliere *et al.* forthcoming). Noticeably, apart from the list of material listed above, no other types of kitchenware have been found at the site. Mortars, basins and the other typical vessels related to cooking and preparation from the Punic world are missing from the excavation on Proratora. Furthermore, there was no evidence of that signature Punic kitchenware, the *tannur*, widely used throughout the Punic world for cooking bread or other comestibles and which has been found at several nearby Punic/Roman sites³. As *tannur* are large heavy items often remaining *in situ* for even many centuries⁴ this lack of evidence suggests that Proratora was more likely to have had a temporary or seasonal use than a permanent one. The absence of the different forms of kitchen equipment also give us a clue to the type

	Transport amphora			Kitchen ware		
	Punic	Greco-italica	Roman	Punic cooking pot	lids	Roman African cooking ware
US 0				1 piece		
US 1	252 pieces	2 pieces	14 pieces	10 pieces	8 pieces	19 rim pieces of cooking pots and casseroles + 12 lids/plates + 90 body sherds + 6 bases
US 10	563 pieces			1 partially reconstructable cooking pot (15 pieces)	1 piece	
US 17	293 pieces			1 lid knob		3 pieces
US 18	6 wall pieces					
US 19	6 wall pieces					

Fig. 3: Storage, cooking and processing wares identified in the excavation of Proratora.

of food being processed, something which did not need to be ground and processed before being cooked, most obviously in this case bread whose production requires different phases of production and a variety of equipment from grinders, to mortars to the *tannur* itself (Campanella 2008: 59-60). This paper, then, concentrates on the extant Punic cooking ware, several examples of which were found from two areas of the site: US1 and US10, the latter corresponding to room A. The Roman cooking material from US 1 and 17 has not yet been studied and this material will form part of a further investigation. The cooking pots presented here are all very morphologically similar and can be dated to between the 3rd and 1st centuries BCE. Those examined all comprised closed forms, are wheel-made and have globular shape –to help the heat spread evenly around the vessels– a short everted rim and a characteristic *risega* or internal lip to support a lid. This technique would have created a closer fit between pot and lid to allow food to cook for longer without drying out.

THE EVIDENCE

The pieces below are those identifiable pieces selected from the total number.

US 0 surface area

PR11128. Globular cooking pot, slightly everted and short rounded rim. Small internal ledge. Diam. 16,6 cm (fig. 4, 1).

US 1

The first closed context found immediately under US 0, this area covered the whole site and contained the walls of the structure as well as many ceramic remains, especially amphorae and kitchen-ware.

PR11131/32/33. Three non-matching fragments. Coarse yellowish fabric, squared rim with short internal ridge for lid. Diam. ca. 19 cm. figg. 4, 2-4.

PR11074. Rim and small part of body, globular cooking pot, with internal ledge. Similar but darker fabric to the above pieces. Diam. 19 cm. fig. 4, 5.

PR11075. Rim and small part of body, globular cooking pot. Fabric as PR11074. Diam 16,5. fig. 4, 6.

US 10

Earth layer in room A with considerable amount of ceramic material, found under US 1.

PR11037. Globular cooking pot comprising several joinable pieces. Diam. 18,5 cm, residual height 8,6 cm. Everted short rim, internal ledge, horizontal handle attached at both ends. (fig. 5).

All the cooking pots fall within a similar category, vessels with a short, rounded rim and internal ledge. Most of them had a globular body (the exceptions could be fig. 4, 2-4 where the missing body section make them difficult to identify). All were made in a coarse fabric. Cooking pots with internal ledges are a form that date back to the 4th century BCE. They fall within Guerrero's "Class B", from Carthage (Guerrero 1995: 78-85, fig. 8,9) and more generally Cintas form 43 (Cintas 1950: Tav III), which corresponds to Vegas no 67 (Vegas 1999: 195). It is a form that evolves from the 4th to the 1st centuries BCE. The type in its various forms is widespread and in Sardinia can be found in the tophet and necropolis of Monte Sirai (Bartoloni 1981: 227, fig 1.11, 2.2-3; Campanella 1999: 39, figg. 4 & 5), Tharros (Campisi 2000: 162; Manca di Mores 1991: 216), Cagliari, "villa di Tigellio", Nora (Campanella 2009), Truncu 'e Molas (Jordà *et al.* 2010: 299, fig. 5, 301) and Monte Leone Roccadoria (Manca di Mores 1988).

Closer to Proratora similar examples of these cooking pots with internal ledges have been found at Olbia, via Regina; most specifically Cavaliere's TC11 (Cavaliere 1998: 233-234, fig. 3) and throughout the city (Manca di Mores 1996)⁵. Similar examples are also found at the Roman republican farm of S'Imbalconadu (Sanciu 1997: 149).

From examples in Sardinia this type of cooking pot has been catalogued as P6 by Campanella in her analysis from the Roman forum at Nora. More specifically the examples from Proratora fall into the category P6B or C which are dated by Campanella to the 3rd – 2nd century BCE (Campanella 2009: 239, figg. 21, 22). and this is a date that fits in very well with that from the amphorae evidence⁶.

US 17

Earth layer in room B, under US 1

PR11070. Remains of lid and knob, worn on one side. Separate from lid and hollow inside. Diam. unk. (fig. 4, 7).

The characteristics of the lids are difficult to identify from just one grip found at Proratora however lack of evidence of an internal ledge, primarily used for securing the lid to an amphora (*cf.* Hayne and van Dommelen, forthcoming) implies that this was more likely used for closing a cooking pot. The shape, the way the grip is distinct from the lid itself, protrudes at the top and is slightly hollow closely aligns it with an example from Sulcis dated to the 3rd/2nd centuries BCE (Campanella 2008:117). The type in general can be identified with Campanella's C5 (Campanella 2009: 352-8, fig. 14, 15.) principally dated to the 2nd-1st centuries BCE⁷.

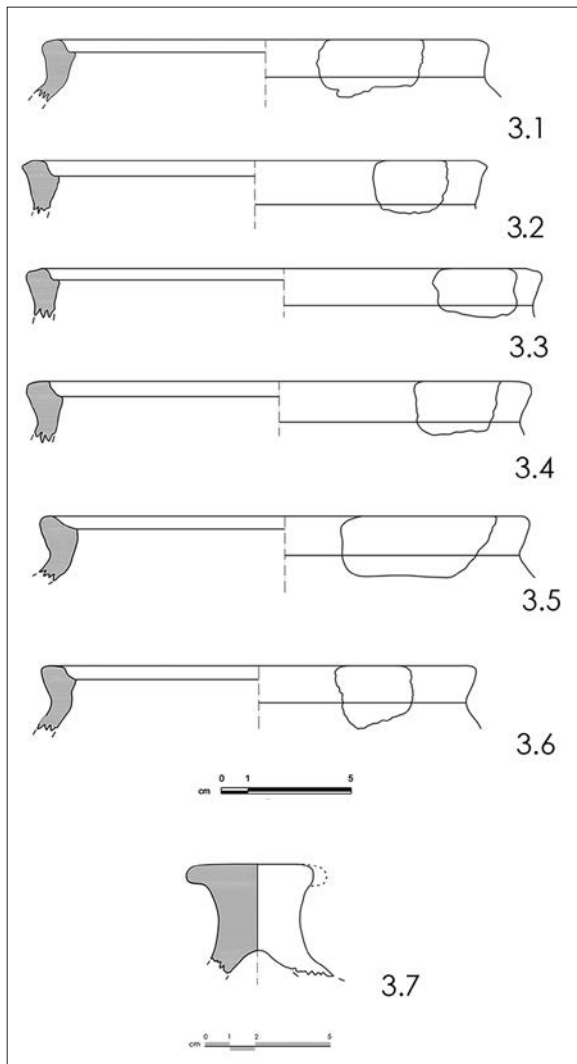


Fig. 4: Cooking pots from Proratora (Jeremy Hayne, author).

DISCUSSION

The cooking pots with an internal ledge found at Proratora belong to a type that was widespread in the Punic world. In general they belong to Guerrero's type I.2 which he describes as spheroid pots with handles that during the third century BCE become gradually more vestigial and attached to the body. His suggestion that the walls of such pots become more vertical with a flatter base over time (Guerrero 1995: 84-85)⁸ cannot be verified from the archaeological evidence here but it is likely that there were different cooking traditions. Flat bottomed cooking had the advantage of being able to be

placed directly on the fire whilst rounded vessels would have needed some sort of holder but had the advantage of producing a more evenly distributed heat (Campanella 2008: 102-3).

Phoenician wheel-turned cooking pots with one or sometimes two handles and everted rim are found throughout the Mediterranean from at least the seventh century BCE (Campanella 2008: 102). From excavations at the Roman forum at Nora, for example, they were by far the most numerically important cooking vessel (Campanella 2009: 296). Instead of a specially made lid they were probably covered, when necessary, by a plate. Pots with an internal ledge were a later addition to the repertoire, becoming more common from the 4th century BCE onwards. They are generally accepted to come from a Greek cooking tradition but although the reason why they became so ubiquitous is not clear, it seems likely that they answered a growing need for different types of cooking practices. Their origins can be found in the *chytra* and the rather squatter *caccabe*⁹, globular Greek cooking vessels, used for braising or stewing meat (or pulses) or fish (Bats 1988: 45-51; Dietler 2010a: 233-234). The latter was probably the direct forerunner of our pots as it was supplied with a ledge and lid to facilitate longer cooking and retention of liquids (Bats 1988: 47, fig. 7; Sparkes 1962: 130, plate VI.3). These types of cooking pots swiftly became the standard in the later Punic period. The main point of contact between the Greeks and Carthaginians was probably Sicily and it is most likely that changes in cooking patterns originated there. At Motya for example the Phoenician style cooking pots completely disappeared in the late 5th-4th centuries to be substituted by Greek ones (Famà 2002: 132). This happened slightly later at Carthage where Greek cooking vessels only became popular in the later 4th century when direct contact with Greece was already waning and there was greater contact with Sicily and the Southern Italian peninsula (Bechtold 2014: 114-5; Maraoui Telmini *et al.* 2014: 138-9).

In Sardinia the form appears later, generally not datable to before the 3rd century BCE (Campanella 2009: 328). They can also be later; at Sa Tanca 'e sa Mura (Monteleone Roccadoria) similar cooking pots are dated to the mid-late 2nd century BCE, whilst the S'Imbalconadu farm, where they are also found, is dated to the 2nd -1st century BCE. Those from Proratora are dated to the 2nd century BCE based on the amphora evidence above.

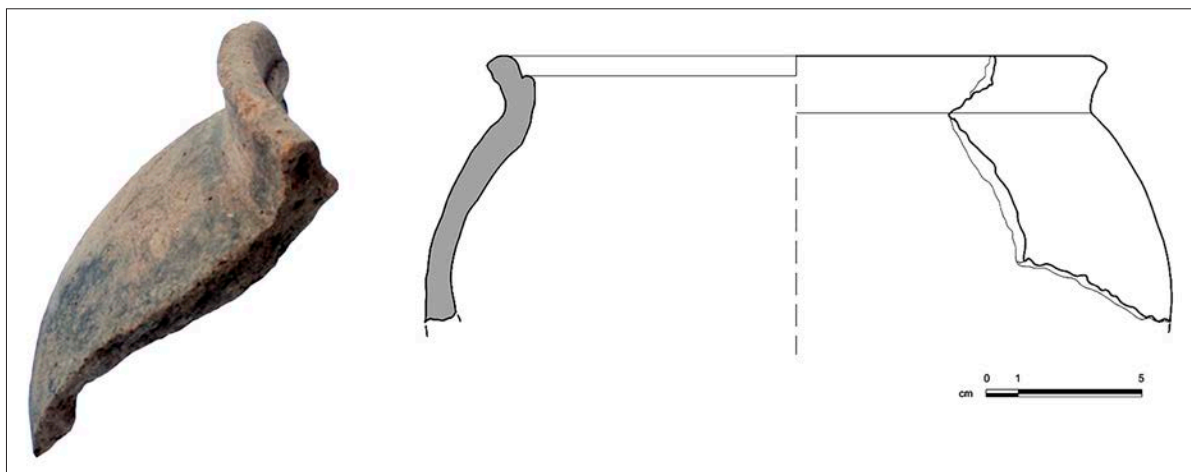


Fig. 5: Cooking pot from Proratora (Jeremy Hayne, author).

FOOD AND FORM

We can only surmise what type of food was consumed at Proratora as, until now, no chemical analyses have been published on the contents of these cooking pots. It is anyway debatable how far these analyses would help. Cooking vessels would have been reused many times before being discarded and residue analyses identify a mix of organic material—principally lipids—some of which dominate the chemical record at the expense of others. For example, in some cooking pots from Olbia bovine remains dominated, but this might not necessarily reveal ancient diet but rather demonstrates how bovine lipids leave heavier traces in the chemical archaeological record. It makes it difficult to draw conclusions about ancient diet (Leonardo Bison pers. comm)¹⁰.

Although now an island it is likely that Proratora was joined to the mainland in ancient times (Porqueddu *et al.* 2011: 29) as the sea level was lower then, facilitating transport and movement. As mentioned above, the cooking pot form (with lid) suggests long cooking perhaps of meat stews or soups. Certainly we should not forget the *Puls Punica*, a nutritious dish of grain, cheese, honey and eggs described by Cato¹¹, although from the description it does not seem to require long cooking (Spanò Giammellaro 2004: 425). Legumes were also much used (chickpeas, broad beans and lentils) and these are more likely candidates for the pot as in their dried whole form require lengthy boiling. These were likely to be the foundation of a basic diet, which would have been typical for the economic level of people at the site¹². The lack of evidence of a *tannur* in either of the rooms

suggests that what was consumed was suitable for pot cooking, perhaps using the consumable materials stored in the amphorae themselves. Boiled grains were thus seemingly more popular than bread which was probably more costly to buy and certainly more time consuming to produce (Spanò Giammellaro 2004: 421). Other possible types of food can be gauged from faunal assemblages at other Punic sites (Campanella 2008; Carenti and Wilkens 2006; van Domelen *et al.* 2012; Wilkens 2012) where sheep and goats tend to predominate, suggesting their use as food sources. This data is matched to some extent by the contents of transport amphorae, where chopped meat perhaps preserved in oil have been found at Olbia, Santa Gilla near Cagliari and Santa Giusta, Cabras (Del Vais and Sanna 2012; Pisanu 2006). Bovines tend to be fewer in number and often slaughtered when older (after a life as a work animal), in this case slower stewing rather than roasting would have been a more appropriate cooking method, perhaps using our pots.

POTS AND PEOPLE

Bringing back the discussion to people, food and its associated technology are not solely means of gaining energy but also central aspects of creating and maintaining social identities. Familiar tastes, expectations, smells and preparation rituals are all ways that humans demonstrate their belonging to social groupings (Douglas 1972; Pollock 2012). The material containers in which the food was processed and cooked affect both the tastes and textures of the contents and act as powerful tools for unifying the groups of people (Marín-Aguilera 2016: 197-198).

Meals on Proratora were probably prepared and consumed in either rooms A or B where both amphorae and cooking pots were found, although their size (*ca.* 7,5 sq metres) would not allow for large numbers of people to congregate. If we think about the traditional ideas of food preparation, especially in domestic contexts, where women were the main producers, here where the site on Proratora was probably transitory there seems little possibility that there was a gender division between consumers and preparers of meals. They were both likely to be the merchants and sailors who were provisioning settlements or trading goods along the coast of Sardinia and possibly across the Tyrrhenian sea, where there was little time or energy to prepare elaborate meals. This activity fell within an interesting period of history for the western Mediterranean: the Punic city of Olbia was established in the 4th century BCE and the Carthaginians dominated the city until after the first Punic war when Rome officially annexed Sardinia in 238 BCE. It seems likely that despite political contrasts with Rome Punic commerce continued throughout the Tyrrhenian sea throughout the 2nd century BCE and later, as can be noted by the number of T-7.4.3.1. amphorae found across the western Mediterranean including Proratora (Bechtold 2007: 66-67). This data is reflected in the presence of Punic and Roman cooking vessels on Proratora. Although the site was founded during the period of Roman domination the cooking vessels also reflect the continued use of traditional Punic social practices. These pots would have been familiar items of use for the merchants and sailors who used them, highlighting connections and reinforcing bonds with the wider Punic community. In the first place they would have linked them to people dwelling in Olbia or at the farms of S'Imbalconadu and Serra Elvegges but judging by their wide distribution, also with the island wide and Mediterranean wide Punic communities, from N Africa and Sicily. Choice is also a factor in the use of such containers. Although it is commonly assumed that their use was traditional it is clear from the way this particular form had already been relatively swiftly adopted during the 5th and 4th centuries BCE that agency also played a significant part in their use. The reasons behind this are hidden but technology plays part in the taste and characteristics of food (Delgado Hervás 2008: 167) and the adoption of the *Caccabe* form would have had implications for flavour and texture of food be it roasted, boiled, stewed etc.

Food as identity marker; in the archaeological record the ships' crews, and traders who transported and sold goods across the Mediterranean are shadowy figures who take second place to the material culture they were transporting. The problems of relating material culture to ethnic identity are manifold and this is not the place to go into detail here. However it is likely that although the top level merchants who managed the cross Mediterranean trade may have been ethnically Roman or Carthaginian those lower down were likely to have come from a heterogeneous background, including freemen and slaves from across the Mediterranean world (Dietler 2010a: 139). The sharing of food and its preparation between these individuals would have been an important aspect of their social identity. The use of both Punic and Roman cooking pots may suggest on one level a shared ethnic background but it is also likely that differentiation in types of food was related to class hierarchies and not just ethnic divisions. The men working the sea crossings, whether they came from a Punic or Roman background probably found more in common with each other than with Roman or Punic aristocrats or elites. Ethnographic examples show that every day food in peasant communities is often basically the same every day (Goody 1982: 78) and their food was probably simple to prepare and nourishing. Greater differentiation in food is the prerogative of literate communities who were able to pass on and elaborate written recipes and would have been the means of emphasising differences within their own households between masters and slaves. Here the use of communal pots was a way of demonstrating the co-presence of different groups of people who came together to partake of shared commensal space in a period of transition between the break-up of the Punic world and the start of Roman domination.

CONCLUSION

Whilst the transport amphora making up the bulk of the diagnostic finds from the site tell us about trade, the everyday cooking vessels allow us a glimpse of the sailors and merchants who carried out this work of transport and raises interesting questions about who produced them and where, what they contained and for whom. So far it has not been possible to discover the contents of these vessels, although their form suggests liquid foods or stews. However, their similar morphology points to a community who was sharing related culinary practices at

least from the 3rd to the 1st centuries BCE, at the same time linking them to the wider Sardinian and western Mediterranean Punic communities. Further study of this material will reveal more information about this interesting site which both on a domestic and international scale bridges the Punic/Roman divide in N Sardinia.

NOTES

1. A reading of the literature often shows this bias towards major settlements (Aubert 2001; Quinn 2018; Quinn and Vella 2014). Although, especially in Sardinia this is now changing thanks to the pioneering work being done on rural settlements and surveys, e.g. The Riu Mannu project which led to studies of the non-urban Punic Sardinian and Roman world, (Gosner and Smith 2018; Murphy *et al.* 2019; Pérez-Jordà *et al.* 2010; van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard 2008; Van Dommelen *et al.* 2012), but see also the work in the N of the island on Roman Republican farms and the hinterland of Olbia (Sanciu 1997; 1998).
2. Among various examples some from Sardinia are found at the site of Truncu 'e Molas in SW Sardinia and s'Imbalconadu where the reuse of broken amphorae for storage was discovered (Van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard 2012: 259-260; Sanciu 1997: 91-92).
3. E.g. at Serra Elvegges II and S'Imbalconadu, Sanciu 1988: 787, 789).
4. Note the two different tannur at S'Urachi, one directly under the other which demonstrate the longstanding and continual use of food production apparatus at this site between the 4th and 1st centuries BCE (Stiglitz *et al.* 2015: 201).
5. The closest parallel is fig. 2.8.
6. From Proratora the amphorae studied (Ramon T-7.4.3.1. and T-7.4.2.1).
7. However it should be noted that such forms are very long lasting, present in Punic, Roman and early Medieval periods (Campanella 2009: 352-353).
8. Cf. contra Campanella 2008: 102.
9. Bats 1988: 45-6 makes a distinction between the two in the Greek repertoire with the latter being smaller and having an internal ledge. However, it is noticeable that many authors do not distinguish between them, e.g. Vegas F.67 is called a *Chytral* cooking pot despite having an internal ledge (Maraoui Telmini *et al.* 2014). Possibly the two forms were quite interchangeable.
10. Cf. also (Garnier 2011:295) for the difficulty of identifying liquids in archaeological containers.
11. Although from the description not seemingly to modern tastes the mixture of wheat flour, cheese and honey is the basic form of the modern Sicilian *cassata*. <https://www.gazzettadelgusto.it/cibo-e-storia/la-cassata-siciliana-storia/>
12. It should be noted that as yet evidence of these have not been found on Punic sites in Sardinia (Van Dommelen *et al.* 2012: 507).

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