Roman Africa?[1]

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For much of the twentieth century Romanization was a central concern in studies of ancient North Africa.[2] Scholars always accepted that Romanization was a slow process, and that Roman models were adapted to African conditions and traditions,[3] but the belief persisted that 'native' peoples both needed and welcomed external stimulus to prompt progress, whether this was achieved by the presence of colonists, or the more general influence of outside powers. A classic example is T.R.S. Broughton's *The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis*, published in 1929, and still the most detailed general investigation of the history of the provinces in English. Although Broughton's Romanization was a gradual 'fusion of Roman, Carthaginian and indigenous influences',[4] it was encouraged by a substantial number of Roman colonists in the republican period. Immigration was a crucial part of Broughton's story, given his opinion of the original population: 'They were a people emotionally

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[2] D.J. Mattingly (1996), 'From one colonialism to another: imperialism and the Maghreb', in J. Webster and N. Cooper (eds.), *Roman Imperialism: post-colonial perspectives* (Leicester), 49-69, discusses the history of colonial and postcolonial scholarship on Africa, and the 'double process of cultural annexation and alienation' that colonial discourse achieved (51). See also A. Laroui (1977), *A History of the Maghrib: An Interpretive Essay*, trans. R. Manheim, (Princeton), 51-58**,** M. Bénabou (1976), *La résistance africaine à la romanisation* (Paris), 9-12 and Y. Thébert (1978), 'Romanisation et déromanisation en Afrique: histoire décolonisée ou histoire inversée', *Annales ESC* 33: 64-65. Most scholarship on North Africa in the colonial period owed a great deal to Stéphane Gsell's magisterial *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris, 1914-1928), although this is rather more circumspect than many other works of the period about the degree of influence that either Carthage or Rome had on other African communities.

[3] For instance, G. Charles-Picard (1959), *La civilisation de l'Afrique romaine* (Paris), 356: 'il n'est presque aucun aspect de l'humanisme gréco-romain que les Africains n'aient adopté sans le repenser à leur manière.'

[4] T.R.S. Broughton (1929) *The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis*. (Baltimore), vii.

intense but individualistic and without power to cooperate in large groups. They were unoriginal and appear to have had little capacity for self-development. It is doubtful even if they had remained untouched by foreign influences if they would have evolved any advanced political or social organization.'[5]

In the 1970s scholars began self-consciously to reject colonialist perspectives,[6] and emphasized instead military and cultural resistance to Rome. For Abdallah Laroui, 'revolts were a permanent feature' of the Roman period in Africa, becoming increasingly frequent during the imperial period, and Romanization was an essentially superficial phenomenon.[7] Marcel Bénabou likewise claimed that 'dans la vie économique, culturelle ou politique, l'Afrique romaine n'a fait que prendre la suite de l'Afrique indigène sur laquelle elle s'appuie constamment'.[8]

Current work on Roman Africa tends to reject these earlier approaches as too polarized,[9] and to highlight instead the complexities of the African experience of Roman imperialism.[10] Most work on Romanization concentrates on the Augustan

[5] *ibid.,* 6

[6] They have certainly not disappeared, and immigration still surfaces as an explanation for cultural change. In the report of the Segermes survey, for instance, it is suggested that an increase in finds in the south west of the valley from the first century AD onwards 'could reflect an influx of new, Latin-speaking settlers, and the subsequent evidence for uniform culture and prosperity in the region is ascribed to peaceful integration between the two 'ethnic groups' thus identified (M. Berg Briese and J. Lund (2000), 'The Late and Neo-Punic Periods', in P. Ørsted, L. Ladjimi Sabai, and H. Ben Hassen (eds.), *Africa Proconsularis. Vol. 3: Historical Conclusions* (Aarhus), 223).

[7] Laroui (1977), 27-66, esp. 31 and 38.

[8] M. Bénabou (1982), 'Les survivances préromaines en Afrique romaine', in C.M. Wells (ed.), *L'Afrique Romaine: Les Conférences Vanier 1980/Roman Africa: The Vanier Lectures 1980* (Ottawa), 16. Bénabou was concerned to develop a true 'histoire décolonisée' against the 'obsession des parallélismes et le souci apologetique' of recent 'histoire nationaliste', as well as of colonial scholarship (Bénabou (1976), 12-13). Under the title 'histoire nationaliste', he includes some of Laroui's claims (13, n.13), although he notes that in general Laroui is similarly concerned to avoid opposing 'contre-mythes' to the myths of colonial historiography (12, n.12). For a provocative debate from this period on the topic of Romanization in Africa, see Thébert (1978), M. Bénabou (1978), 'Les Romains ont-ils conquis l'Afrique?', *Annales ESC* 33: 83-88, and P. Leveau (1978), 'La situation coloniale de l'Afrique Romaine', *Annales ESC* 33: 89-91.

[9] Mattingly notes, for instance, that Romanization and resistance models 'perpetuate a crude "us and them" stereotype of Roman Africa' (Mattingly (1996), 58). Bénabou was well aware of the problems of polarized models: 'la résistance ne nous apparaît seulement comme le terme négatif d'une alternative dont la romanisation serait le terme positif.' (Bénabou (1976), 18).

[10] J. Peyras (1991), *Le tell nord-est tunisien dans l'antiquité* (Paris); D.J. Mattingly (1997), 'Africa: a landscape of opportunity?', in D.J. Mattingly (ed.), *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire* (Portsmouth, R.I.), 117-39; D. Cherry (1998), *Frontier and Society in Roman North Africa* (Oxford); S. Fontana (2001), 'Leptis Magna. The Romanization of a

period or later, since it is usually seen as a phenomenon that occurred in Africa in the imperial period, if at all.

But is Romanization a useful concept for discussing change in republican Africa? More bluntly, what difference did Rome make? In an attempt to answer these questions, I shall survey the evidence for socio-economic and cultural change in the region, and then examine traditional 'acculturation' approaches to explaining it: Punicization and Romanization. I shall conclude that categorization by culture is not the best basis for interpreting this society, and that the social and cultural history of North Africa in this period is better understood in the larger context of the hellenistic Mediterranean as a whole, than in terms of its relationship to one or another imperial power.[11]

The scope of this paper is necessarily limited by space and time. Historically, it deals with the period from the mid third century to the end of the Republic. After three Punic wars (264-241, 218-202 and 149-146[12]) Rome destroyed Carthage in 146, annexed territory in the region, imposed tribute on Carthage's allies, and began assigning the *provincia Africa* to a Roman officer on a regular basis.[13] A century later, in 46, African involvement in the civil war led to Caesar's incorporation of land confiscated from the Numidian kings into a new *provincia* of *Africa Nova,* and I will take this episode as a convenient stopping point.

Geographically, I am going to concentrate for the most part on the area north-east of the *fossa regia*, the 'royal ditch' that marked the boundary of Numidian territorial claims in 146. Crudely, this area comprises three regions: Carthage and its immediate hinterland (including Cap Bon) is mostly coastal, fertile farm land; the lower Tell is hilly with two major river valleys, and relatively wet; whereas the Sahel

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major African city through burial evidence', in S. Keay and N. Terrenato (eds.), *Italy and the West. Comparative Issues in Romanization* (Oxford), 161-72; E. Fentress (forthcoming), 'Romanizing the Berbers', *Annales ESC* (which, unusually, deals with the republican period as well as the imperial era). R. MacMullen (2000), *Romanization in the time of Augustus* (New Haven), 30-49, takes a more traditional view, pointing to the orthodox markers of urbanization, monumental building and the use of Latin in inscriptions as signs of the disappearance of non-Roman customs in Augustan Africa. The issue of Romanization has in any case slipped down the research agenda; the topic did not feature at all in the lengthy programme for the *Africa romana* conference in Tozeur in December 2002.

[11] I use the word 'hellenistic' in this paper in a purely chronological sense, to denote the period from the late fourth to late first century BC.

[12] Unless otherwise noted, all dates are BC.

[13] App., *Pun.*135. Although *Africa* is usually described as a Roman province from 146, I argue elsewhere that this is a modern, legalizing fiction, and that it only became a *provincia* then in the older sense of a Roman officer's assignment (J. Crawley Quinn (forthcoming), 'The role of the settlement of 146 in the provincialization of Africa', *L'Africa romana* 15).

south of the Dorsale mountain range is not only drier, but also much flatter. There will also on occasion be cause to look west to the Numidian kingdoms for comparisons, or south to Tripolitania (fig. 1).

Another limitation on this study is that the state of the archaeological evidence presents serious obstacles. It is heavily prejudiced by the fact that modern colonialism provided both the opportunity and the motive for metropolitan authorities to investigate, map and codify their subjects, past and present. In practice, this meant a great deal of excavation and inscription-harvesting. Investigations were confined in the main to major Roman cities and cemeteries, and to the period of monumental Roman architecture, which is to say the second and third centuries AD.[14]

Though the situation has improved since independence,[15] there are still many practical difficulties for archaeologists.[16] Urban excavations are still the norm, and while recent projects have targeted smaller settlements, they have continued to concentrate on the imperial period;[17] this is largely by necessity, since continuity of settlement means that earlier phases are usually obscured. Excavations in rural areas have been very few and far between, and we have to rely on field survey for information about 'long-term trends in residential preferences, agricultural activity and demographic behaviour'.[18] Though field survey has recently become very popular

[14] See B.D. Shaw (1980), 'Archaeology and Knowledge: the history of the African provinces of the Roman Empire', *Florilegium: Carleton University Papers on Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* 2: 28-60 (= B.D. Shaw (1995), *Environment and Society in Roman North Africa* (Aldershot, Hampshire), I) for the meagre contribution made by archaeology to the general historiography of Africa, and to the question of Romanization in particular, as well as the use of archaeology as a colonial tool, to recover the urban history of previous European colonization. See also Mattingly (1996), 54-55, 59-61. On the history of cemetery excavations and reports, see M. MacKinnon (forthcoming), 'Peopling the Mortuary Landscape of North Africa: An Overview of the Human Osteological Evidence', in D.L. Stone and L.M. Stirling (eds.), *Mortuary Landscapes of North Africa.*

[15] 1951 (Libya); 1956 (Tunisia); 1963 (Algeria).

[16] Mattingly (1996), 60-62; D.L. Stone (forthcoming), 'Problems and Possibilities in Comparative Survey: A North African Perspective', in S. Alcock and J. Cherry (eds.), *Side-by-Side Survey: Comparative Regional Studies in the Mediterranean World* (Oxford).

[17] Uthina: H. Ben Hassen and L. Maurin (1998), *Oudhna (Uthina). La redécouverte d'une ville antique de Tunisie* (Bordeaux - Paris - Tunis); Leptiminus: N. Ben Lazreg, D.J. Mattingly, and R. Caciagli (1992), *Leptiminus (Lamta): a Roman port city in Tunisia. Report no. 1* (Ann Arbor, MI); L.M. Stirling, D.J. Mattingly, and N. Ben Lazreg (2001), *Leptiminius (Lamta). Report no. 2* (Portsmouth, RI). The massive UNESCO campaign at Carthage was an exceptional case, not least in its chronological scope, but does not tell us much about life outside the métropole, or about Africa between 146 and the re-colonization of the site in the late first century. See A. Ennabli (ed.) (1992), *Pour Sauver Carthage. Exploration et conservation de la cité punique, romaine et byzantine* (Paris and Tunis) for an overview.

[18] S. Alcock (1993), *Graecia Capta* (Cambridge), 34.

in Tunisia, there are still substantial problems of methodology and interpretation. As summarized by David Stone in a forthcoming paper, these include the tendency to use extensive rather than intensive survey methodologies, the lack of specialists involved from different periods and disciplines, and the problems of comparing results from projects which did not agree on how to define and classify sites, what sampling procedures to use, or what constitutes a meaningful chronological bracket for examining pottery.[19] In addition, strategic excavation to complement the field survey is all too rare on Tunisian projects.[20] What all this means is that coverage of different areas is very uneven, and that interpretation has to be more impressionistic than scientific.

The second and first centuries BC are especially poorly served by the state of the archaeological evidence, and any attempt to pin down or explain chronological change in this period may seem foolhardy. Nonetheless it seems worth trying to use this evidence to suggest falsifiable hypotheses, not least in order to identify its current limitations, and to suggest future areas for fieldwork and research.

Regions and Change

The Coast

Socio-economic change in parts of North Africa significantly pre-dates Roman interest in the region.[21] A survey in the hinterland of Carthage[22] has suggested that there was a dramatic increase in sites there, from nine in the fourth century to 50 in the third and second. Although this survey was not intensive, it is the only available

[19] Stone (forthcoming). See also S. Aounallah (2001), *Le Cap Bon, jardin de Carthage. Récherches d'épigraphie et d'histoire romano-africaines (146 a.C. - 235 p.C.)* (Bordeaux), 20-21, on the limitations of the ongoing *Carte archéologique de la Tunisie* extensive survey project. Alcock (1993), 49-53, has comments on the interpretive problems of Greek survey projects which apply more generally.

[20] Out of 19 projects, only the Jerba, Dougga, Leptiminus and Sergermes surveys involved some degree of excavation to complement the survey.

[21] David Stone notes that 'the evidence from recent surveys argues for significant developments in landuse in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC in Tunisia, although rural exploitation varied by region.' (Stone (forthcoming)).

[22] I should note here that the word 'hinterland' in the modern literature (like *chora* in the ancient) can be ambiguous. In the case of third-century Carthage, Polybius differentiates between the *chora*, on which the city was said to depend for its private supplies, and Libya, whose rents and income met the city's public needs (1.71). When I discuss the 'hinterland' of Carthage, it is in this restricted sense of the *chora*, the immediate agricultural territory exploited directly by the city, rather than in the broader sense of land liable to Carthaginian taxation.

evidence for settlement and development in the city's immediate hinterland.[23] This probably indicates a move to dispersed settlement, which is usually linked with intensified agricultural production.[24] For what it is worth, Greco-Roman literary evidence supports this picture, and extends it to Cap Bon: Appian talks of orchards and irrigation near Carthage in 147, and Diodorus and Polybius describe estates and villas on Cap Bon from the late fourth century.[25]

This settlement and farming pattern seems to be a coastal phenomenon. It also occurred around the neighbouring port of Utica, albeit less dramatically: five sites in the fourth century rise to 17 in the third and early second.[26] Further south, on the

[23] The survey examined an area of almost 900 km^2 in a radius of about 30 km around the city. The final report has yet to be published, as J.A. Greene (forthcoming), *Ager and 'Arosot: Rural Settlement and Agrarian History in the Carthaginian Countryside* (Redditch). Preliminary results have been discussed in J.A. Greene and D.P. Kehoe (1995), 'Mago the Carthaginian', in *Actes du IIIe congrès international des études phéniciennes et puniques, Tunis, 11-16 novembre 1991* (Tunis), 114-15 and J.A. Greene (1992), 'Une reconnaissance archéologique dans l'arrière-pays de la Carthage antique', in A. Ennabli (ed.), *Pour sauver Carthage: Exploration et conservation de la cité punique, romaine et byzantine* (Paris). Greene's survey counted a single sherd from a particular period on a site as evidence of occupation during that period (D.L. Stone (1997), *The Development of an Imperial Territory: Romans, Africans and the transformation of the rural landscape of Tunisia* (PhD, University of Michigan), 86), a rather more generous definition than most surveys, but the results are still internally comparable. The uneven division of the chronological classifications presents another problem; ideally the results would be weighted by the duration of each period to counteract the warping effect (Alcock (1993), 49), but the increase would still be very striking.

[24] P. Halstead (1987), 'Traditional and Ancient Rural Economy in Mediterranean Europe: plus ça change?', *JHS* 107: 83. Stone (forthcoming) equates the observed pattern with the intensification of agriculture. This need not have been the only factor: Greene suggests that the settlement explosion may be traced in part to 'displaced landowners from Punic overseas territories (Sicily, Sardinia) seized by Rome… in 241' (Greene and Kehoe (1995), 114). The requirements of warfare may also have been relevant, particularly in the third century.

[25] App., *Pun*. 117; Diod. Sic. 20.8; Polyb. 1.29.7. Aounallah (2001), 42, notes that 'le seul témoinage archéologique à verser au dossier de l'agriculture punique dans le Cap Bon' is some evidence for a cult of Demeter at Kerkouane. It is unfortunate that there has been no intensive survey in the Cap Bon region that might shed further light on the chronology of agricultural development there, especially given the intriguing results of Aounallah's survey of 200 km^2 in the area of Neapolis (Nabeul), which found only three sites with black glaze pottery (and thus datable to the republican period). This is a surprisingly low number, even given the extensive nature of the fieldwork, and if replicated elsewhere on Cap Bon might call the literary evidence into question (*ibid*., 75).

[26] F. Chelbi, R. Paskoff, and P. Trousset (1995), 'La baie d'Utique et son évolution depuis l'Antiquité: une réévaluation géoarchéologique', *Antiquités africaines* 31: 7-52: this catalogue of sites does not include synthetic comments on chronological distribution, and I arrived at these figures by roughly categorizing the hellenistic sites in the chronological bands 400-300, 300-150, and 150-50 according to the authors' suggested dates, in so far as this was possible; two sites could not be classified according to

island of Jerba, there were substantial rural villas by the late third century, surrounded by smaller dispersed farms.[27] Elizabeth Fentress links Jerba to Carthage and Utica in this respect, as well as Lepcis Magna, the major port in Tripolitania,[28] and she also notes similarities with contemporary settlement patterns in western Sicily and the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy.[29] The connections between Carthage, Jerba and Western Sicily extend to élite culture. Investigation of one of the villas on Jerba showed striking parallels, in terms of the plan and construction techniques, with contemporary examples from Marsala in Sicily and Gammarth near Carthage; these may themselves look back to an eastern Mediterranean model of the fourth century.[30]

There were dramatic developments too at Carthage itself. Despite the city's defeat in the second Punic war in 202, the early second century was a time of great prosperity and new building projects.[31] In 191 Carthage could offer to pay off the enormous war indemnity owed to Rome, four decades early.[32] There was an increase in Carthaginian exports to the western Mediterranean, including Italy, in the third and second centuries,[33] and in imports to Carthage, particularly from Italy,[34] with what has been called 'une véritable invasion'[35] of Campanian A black glaze pottery which peaked 175-150.[36] It is a similar story for local production of black glaze: after a decline between the first and second Punic wars, the pottery 'retrouve le dynamisme'

this scheme. As in the Carthage survey, one sherd was counted as a site, for easy comparison between the two. Obviously, this is a very rough and ready way of dealing with the data (cf. n. 23 above), and is only intended to suggest a scale of change.

[27] E. Fentress (2001), 'Villas, wine and kilns: the landscape of Jerba in the late Hellenistic period', *JRA* 14: 260-65.

[28] *Ibid*., 265: 15 sites with black glaze.

[29] E. Fentress (2000), 'The Jerba Survey: Settlement in the Punic and Roman periods', *L'Africa romana* 13: 78-80.

[30] Fentress (2001), 256-57.

[31] In general, see S. Lancel (1995), *Carthage: a history* (Oxford; Cambridge, Mass), 404-09, which synthesizes the results of the relevant UNESCO excavations at Carthage. Appian suggests that the city's prosperity in this period was due to peace, agriculture and trade (*Pun.* 67).

[32] Livy 36.4.7. The Roman Senate refused their offer.

[33] For discussion of the wide distribution of Punic amphorae and Punic (or Punic-influenced) black glaze in the western Mediterranean during the late third and early second centuries, see Lancel (1995), 407-08.

[34] In the first half of the second century imported wares accounted for about 20% of pottery (by weight) from the ramps of the Punic ship sheds. 5-7% was Italian, mostly amphorae (Campanian and Dressel 1A), probably containing wine. This level of Italian imports was unprecedented and, inferring corn exports at a similar level, Fulford describes trade in this period as 'on a considerable scale' (M. Fulford (1983), 'Pottery and the Economy of Carthage and its Hinterland', *Opus* 2: 8).

[35] F. Chelbi (1992), *Ceramique à vernis noir de Carthage* (Tunis), 27.

[36] Lancel (1995), 408.

after 200.[37] This was also a dynamic period in architecture and architectural decoration, with references to or influence from the Greek east particularly clear in such details as the Ionic columns at the Punic ports, and the ubiquitous akroteria on late stele from the tophet.[38]

The overall picture is one of successful coastal trading communities forming an economic and cultural network with other western Mediterranean regions, which acted as catalyst for both urban development and intensive agricultural production in the nearby countryside. It is interesting to note that a similar pattern of increasing rural settlement and intensive agriculture is recorded in many European regions in their 'pre-Roman' periods. In particular, there is an almost contemporary process in Italy, with a 'massive increase in the density of rural habitation' between the fourth and the second centuries BC;[39] the same phenomenon occurs alongside agricultural innovations in Britain in the 'late pre-Roman Iron Age' (c.120 BC – AD 43).[40] The evidence from Africa, Italy and Britain suggests that this development is a Mediterranean-wide phenomenon (similar to the economic and cultural convergences present in the unhappily named 'orientalizing' period) which spread further through trading and élite interaction and cultural exchange. Although these developments were nowhere due to Rome, they are often supposed to have facilitated later Roman

[37] Chelbi (1992), 20-22.

[38] I am grateful to Henry Hurst for pointing out to me the coherence and significance of these phenomena. Ionic capitals: H. Hurst (1994), *Excavations at Carthage: The British Mission, Volume II, 1: The Circular Harbour, North Side: The Site and Finds other than Pottery* (Oxford), 291. Akroteria: S. Brown (1991), *Late Carthaginian child sacrifice and sacrificial monuments in their Mediterranean context* (Sheffield), 77-117, esp. 13-17. Akroteria appear on stele from the late fifth century, and are found on all examples from the third and second centuries. For more examples, alongside a critique of the idea of 'Hellenized Carthage' on the basis both of the anecdotal nature of the evidence and the ambiguity of the concept, see G.C. Wagner (1986), 'Critical remarks concerning a supposed Hellenization of Carthage', *Reppal* 2: 357-75. On Hellenistic aspects of contemporary urban society in Africa more generally, see E. Fentress (forthcoming).

[39] N. Terrenato (2001a), 'Introduction', in Keay and Terrenato (2001), 2; see also N. Terrenato (2001b), 'A tale of three cities: the Romanization of northern coastal Etruria', in Keay and Terrenato (2001), 54-67. Terrenato notes that this may in part be due to rural settlement only becoming archaeologically visible at this point.

[40] S. James (2001), '"Romanization" and the peoples of Britain', in Keay and Terrenato (2001), 190. The preliminary report on the Dougga survey (M. de Vos (2000), *Rus Africum. Terra Acqua Olio nell'Africa settentrionale* (Trento)) appears to confirm this picture for a part of Numidia very close to the *fossa regia*, but the large number of pre-Roman sites recorded by that survey is artificially inflated by the decision to classify all handmade pottery as hellenistic: see Andrew Wilson's review (A. Wilson (2001), *Libyan Studies* 32: 186-88).

imperialism in these areas, with the reduction of differences between peoples making unification more acceptable.[41]

It is worth stressing that interaction between élites is now often seen as a crucial factor in this kind of economic and cultural convergence, as opposed to older models of immigration or conquest.[42] In the case of Africa, the élite nature of the cultural convergences with other Mediterranean regions (such as villa style) supports this theory, as does the involvement of the coastal cities of Africa with their long-established aristocracies.

After the events of 146, it is not surprising that the Carthage survey found few sites datable to the first century BC, and then a revival in the first century AD after the re-founding of the city as a Roman colony.[43] More interesting is the fact that the survey at Utica also suggests a significant decline after 146. Less than two-thirds of the sites from the third and early second centuries also have pottery dating from the late Republic and early Empire (c.150 BC – AD 100).[44] By contrast, the survey at Jerba, well outside the area of the third Punic war and of the initial Roman annexation, shows 'no evidence that the Roman hegemony affected settlement on the island until the second century AD'; occupation continued at almost all sites,[45] as did the courtyard villa plan.[46] It may be that producers in Utica had now been cut off from the coastal trading network. This new evidence may begin to confirm the traditional attitude of ancient historians that 'Roman' Africa was abandoned to decline after 146.[47]

Cultural change is difficult to pinpoint, though here the lack of evidence for this period is an overwhelming obstacle. In the middle of the first century, a hexastyle-prostyle temple on a podium in the Italian style was built in the free city of

[41] Terrenato (2001a), 3.

[42] James (2001), 192, on Britain, comparing the situation there with Terrenato's model for élite interactions in Italy. This approach is related to arguments that see élite interaction as the mechanism of Romanization, but it broadens the discussion beyond Rome.

[43] Greene and Kehoe (1995), 113.

[44] Chelbi, Paskoff, and Trousset (1995): 11 out of 17 sites. Of these, only eight had pottery specifically datable to the period 150-50 BC, though the close dating of black glaze pottery is so difficult in this period as to render this observation more or less meaningless.

[45] Fentress (2000), 80.

[46] Fentress (2001), 260.

[47] Aounallah (2001), 44, restates this case (without specific evidence): 'Il est certain que cette conquéte a entraîné la régression de l'économie et particulièrement de l'agriculture… La destruction de Carthage, les campagnes punitives contre les villes de la région [i.e. Cap Bon]… signifaient la suppression de débouchés des produits de l'élevage… beaucoup d'agriculteurs furent tués et beaucoup de champs d'oliviers et de vignes furent détruits et dévastés.'

Utica.[48] This was apparently Utica's first response at a cultural level to its status as the headquarters of the Roman magistrate, and even at this point, other changes in the city look to the east rather than to Rome.[49] It is interesting to compare the behaviour of the Numidian king Juba I (c.62-46), who 'placed his coinage onto the Roman standard and adopted occasional Latin titulature'.[50] Numismatic evidence suggests that his building program at Zama was heavily influenced by Greek and Roman architecture. His coins feature an octastyle temple on a platform, with a cupola on top, as well as a stoa-like building with Doric and Ionic colonnades, recalling Roman basilicas.[51]

Another way in which the coastal zone around Carthage and Utica does reveal Roman influence in a modest fashion is the use of Latin in epigraphy. All the Latin inscriptions found in Africa from before 46 come from a restricted area between Cap Bon and Utica; there are still only five.[52] The choice to use Latin in these inscriptions seems purely functional; they are by or for Latin-speakers. Two are erected by Roman order: a (Gracchan?) boundary marker from La Malga at Carthage, and a record of fortifications built by Roman order at Curubis between 48 and 46, during the African war.[53] Another two honour Romans: there is a dedication by local taxpayers to the Roman quaestor at Utica in 60, and c.50 the magistrates of Curubis commemorate C. Pomponius, their Roman patron.[54] Finally there is a private dedication from Uthina, from the first half of the first century. It is a trilingual dedication in Latin, Greek and neo-Punic by a doctor with a Greek father, who is also likely to be a Roman

[48] A. Lézine (1970), *Utique* (Tunis) describes the temple, defines it as Italic 'par opposition aux temples de type oriental sans podium' (62) and dates it to around 50 BC on the basis of the building technique and its relationship to the changing urban plan. The unit of measurement used was the Utican foot (105).

[49] A. Lézine (1968), *Carthage. Utique. Études d'architecture et d'urbanisme* (Paris), 149: 'Il ne semble pas que cette dignité nouvelle ait entraîné un remaniement immédiat de l'ensemble de l'agglomération. C'est seulement vers le milieu du Ier siècle avant J.-C. que se manifestent des changements importants. Des quartiers entiers sont reconstruits alors suivant un plan orthogonal qui relève davantage de l'urbanisme hellénistique que du tracé des villes romaines.'

[50] D. Roller (2003), *The World of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene. Royal scholarship on Rome's African frontier* (London and New York), 30.

[51] *Ibid.,* 31.

[52] Carthage, Utica, Tunes, Uthina and Curubis on Cap Bon. Latin inscriptions in Africa from the republican period are collected at R. Zucca (1996), 'Inscriptiones latinae liberae rei publicae Africae, Sardiniae et Corsicae', *L'Africa romana* 11: 1425-89.

[53] *CIL* I^2.697 = VIII.10477 = *ILLRP* II.1180a; *CIL* I^2.780 = VIII.979 = VIII.24099 = *ILS* 5319 = *ILLRP* I.394 = *ILTun* 836.

[54] *ILAfr* 422 = *ILS* 9482 = *ILLRP* 388; *CIL* I^2.755 = V.10525 = *ILS* 6094 = *ILLRP* 1069. Zucca notes that it is common at the very end of the Republic for relations of patronage to develop between Roman citizens and African communities whose élites have Punic or Punicizing names: Zucca (1996), 1436.

freedman.[55] The choice of languages here looks like good business sense, rather than a cultural or political choice.[56]

The Tell

In the lower Tell, between the coastal trading zone and the emerging Numidian states, different kinds of change were taking place. Extensive survey has revealed a large number of fortified hilltop sites and proto-urban settlements throughout central and northern Tunisia.[57] These seem to date from the third and early second century.[58] Lancel identifies them as 'small indigenous towns', though without strategic excavation their precise dating and function remains rather mysterious; in particular it is rarely clear if hill-top fortifications shelter settlements or refuges.[59] Although it seems on the current state of the evidence that nucleated settlement is the pattern in the Tell, more intensive survey would be required to test the hypothesis that dispersed settlement and agricultural intensification are absent. None of Ferchiou's fortified sites date for certain from the period after 146, though there is evidence for continued

[55] *CIL* VIII.24030.

[56] Intriguingly, the Latin section of the inscription is first and largest; if our doctor is a freedman, he may well be primarily attached to the Roman community in this part of Africa. This is not the only example of a trilingual dedication by a doctor, in Africa and elsewhere.

[57] These are discussed in a series of articles by Naïdé Ferchiou, with no overview as yet: N. Ferchiou (1990a), 'L'habitat fortifié pré-impérial en Tunisie antique', in *Carthage et son territoire dans l'antiquité. Actes du IVe colloque international sur l'histoire et l'archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord, Strasbourg 1988. Tome I* (Paris), 229-52, and N. Ferchiou (1994), 'Le paysage protohistorique et pré-impérial à l'est et au sud de Zaghouan (Tunisie)', *Antiquités africaines* 30: 7-55. investigates aspects of the rural and urban landscape in an area of the north-eastern Tell, complementing Ferchiou's work in the central and southern sectors. He is, however, less concerned with dating sites more closely than to the pre-Roman period, and this makes his study less useful for my purposes here.

[58] The earliest pottery on Ferchiou's sites is from the second half of the third century or the first half of the second; in general the pottery dates no later than the first century BC (Ferchiou (1990a), 231; N. Ferchiou (1990b), 'Habitats fortifiés pré-impériaux en Tunisie antique', *Antiquités africaines* 26: 43-44). Building techniques also date them to the hellenistic period (Ferchiou (1990a), 230). The sites explored in the area east of Zaghouan, which was also the area of the Segermes survey, may be bunched in the later part of this period, since the only third-century pottery was found at the proto-urban site of Sidi Ahmed Rouiggued (Ferchiou (1994), 10).

[59] Lancel (1995), 272, recalls in this context Strabo's comment that the Carthaginians possessed 300 towns before the third Punic war (17.3.15). Cf. Ferchiou (1990a), 229, who notes the various names used in the literary and epigraphic sources for sites in this area, including *polis, pyrgos, phrourion, urbs, oppidum* and *castellum.* On the limitations of the extensive survey approach in this case, see Ferchiou (1994), 8.

settlement at existing sites.[60] This failure to build more fortified posts and settlements in the Tell may reflect newly settled conditions there rather than economic recession or military repression. It may even conceal a move to dispersed settlement and intensive agriculture; again, intensive survey would be required to find out more.

Moving from settlement patterns in the Tell to cultural choices, Ferchiou records an outbreak of monumental tomb building in the late third and early second centuries.[61] There are two distinct sets: more than 50 tumuli, which are often associated with settlements (though built some way outside them), and at least five monumental mausolea. As with the fortified settlements, there is no positive evidence for new tombs after the destruction of Carthage, although later pottery suggests that some such sites at least remained in use until the Julio-Claudian period or later.[62]

Ferchiou herself suggested that these tombs belonged to Punic estate owners,[63] but Fentress notes that the tumuli seem to be closely modelled on protohistoric tombs well-known in the area, and that such tombs are traditionally constructed by communities as collective acts. From this perspective, Fentress sees these tombs as demonstrating collective village identity.[64] In a similar vein, Stone suggests that they respond to 'the growth of external authority by visibly highlighting the local ancestral past' through a 'recognizable marker of local ethnic identity'.[65]

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[60] Ferchiou (1990a), 231. There are other examples of continuous occupation: Ben Hassen and Maurin (1998), 187-88, for instance, discusses Haggaf, a fortified town near Uthina where the plateau remained in constant use as the Roman-era town spread out below.

[61] Ferchiou (1994) includes comments on the mortuary landscape, which is dealt with separately on a larger scale at N. Ferchiou (1987), 'Le paysage funéraire pré-romain dans deux régions céréalières de Tunisie antique', *Antiquités africaines* 23: 13-70. See also Peyras (1991), 215-29. Ferchiou's dating is based on ceramics and architectural style ((1987), 13). I count 20 out of 62 tombs which can be tentatively dated to this period by the ceramics found (discounting the mausolea (type X) – for which see below - and including the extra tumulus reported at Ferchiou (1994), 39); few others feature diagnostic pottery at all.

[62] Six out of 60 tombs meet this criterion by my count, though see *ibid*., 61-62 on the evidence for continued cult at some of the tumuli up to at least the first century AD. Other types of tomb may demonstrate a similar pattern; although Peyras concludes that *haouanet* in this region were used from the fourth century BC to the second century AD ((1991), 226), they are generally considered to be a phenomenon of the fourth to second centuries BC: see M. Longerstay (1995), 'Les haouanet: état de la question', in P. Trousset (ed.), *Momument funéraires, institutions autochtones en Afrique du Nord antique et médiévale. CHAAN 6.2* (Paris), 33-53 and G. Camps and M. Longerstay (2000), 'Haouanet', in the *Encyclopédie berbère* 22: 3361-87; I owe these references to David Stone.

[63] Ferchiou (1987), 67-69.

[64] Fentress (forthcoming), with a comparison to tomb cult in modern Berber communities.

[65] Stone (1997), 95-96.

Why would an increased sense of, and concern for, communal identity emerge at this time, alongside fortified sites? The fortifications seem straightforward: quite apart from the Roman campaigns in Africa during the Punic wars in the third century, following on the heels of Agathocles' expedition in the fourth century, there was a long but unsuccessful revolt against Carthaginian taxation and military service by their 'Libyan' subjects (241-238). After that, the communities of the lower Tell found themselves sandwiched between Carthage and the nascent kingdoms further south, and the subject of disputes between them.[66] Powers from outside the region need not have presented the only threat; recent anthropological studies suggest that the intrusion of expanding or imperial states on areas of non-state peoples tends to lead to increased violence and warfare among those non-state peoples, over such issues as trade and territorial displacement.[67]

The construction of tumuli by communities could have reinforced and demonstrated group solidarity in the face of external pressure, and frictions between villages may also have found an expression in the competitive, conspicuous consumption of tomb building. (The erection of fortifications could, of course, have performed a similar function, attesting more to competitive display than genuine threat.) The new economic networks linking the Mediterranean world might also have played a role: the re-asserted importance (or invention) of local traditions is a well-known 'particularizing effect' of globalization.[68]

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[66] There are many notices of disputes between Carthage and Massinissa after the second Punic war, few of which are geographically specific; for mention of the Tell see Livy, *Per.* 47 and Appian, *Pun*. 68-69.

[67] See R.B. Ferguson and N.L. Whitehead (1992), 'The Violent Edge of Empire', in R.B. Ferguson and N.L. Whitehead (eds.), *War in the Tribal Zone: Expanding States and Indigenous Warfare* (Santa Fe), 3, 23-25. Jane Webster has called attention to R.B. Ferguson (1992), 'A savage encounter. Western contact and the Yanomami war complex', in Ferguson and Whitehead (1992), 199-227, a re-examination of the Yanomami from this point of view, relating the high levels of violence in their society to recent contact with western agents and goods (J. Webster (1996), 'Ethnographic barbarity: colonial discourse and "Celtic warrior societies"', in J. Webster and N.J. Cooper (eds.), *Roman Imperialism: post-colonial perspectives* (Leicester), 112).

[68] Exploring the relevance of globalization studies to Roman Italy, for instance, Robert Witcher points to 'significant local variation in funerary inscriptions, which emerges during the Roman period.' (R. Witcher (2000), 'Globalisation and Roman Imperialism. Perspectives on identities in Roman Italy', in E. Herring and K. Lomas (eds.), *The emergence of state identities in Italy* (London), 217).

The monumental mausolea at Henchir Haouam,[69] Henchir Djaouf,[70] and Uzali Sar[71] are worth dealing with separately.[72] These are completely different in form, scale and decoration from Ferchiou's other examples. These are imposing tower tombs, built on stepped bases and probably surmounted by pyramids.[73] Architectural details include aeolic pilasters and Egyptian gorges, and two of the three had multiple levels. All likely date to the second century, and the mausoleum at Henchir Djaouf near Segermes is more closely dated to 175-150, on the basis of a pottery deposit.[74] Monuments that are built in a genre that commemorates individuals, and are isolated from settlements, are more likely to demonstrate the cultural attachments and interests of élite Africans than are collectively-built village tombs that look to local traditions.[75] And what is especially interesting about these mausolea is that they recall on a smaller scale the second-century tower tombs of Numidia, which in turn look to the hellenistic east for inspiration.[76] The mausolem at Thugga (Dougga), built in the mid second century, is a good parallel; it is a three storey square tower sitting on a stepped

[69] Ferchiou (1978), 'Trois types de monuments funéraires situés dans (ou sur les franges de) l'ancien territoire de la Carthage punique', *Africa* 5: 192-96.

[70] C. Poinssot and J.W. Salomonson (1963), 'Un monument punique inconnu: le mausolée d'Henchir Djaouf', *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen* 44: 57-88; see fig. 2. See now also Ferchiou (1994), 45-47, where two (perhaps three) more mausolea are identified in the vicinity.

[71] Ferchiou (1987), 57-59. There are other, similar, one-storey mausolea at Ksar Chenane and Ksar Rouhaha in the north of the country, and Ferchiou may have found another at Sidi Zid: Ferchiou (1994), 17.

[72] I am grateful to Elizabeth Fentress for pointing this out to me. In Fentress (forthcoming), she draws attention to the fact that unlike the tumuli, the mausolea are not usually attached to particular settlements. Uzali Sar alone may have been a settlement at this time, since a town 'Usalitanorum' is mentioned as a free city and ally of Rome in the *lex agraria* of 111 (l.79). This could, however, be Zella in the Sahel, which Strabo mentions at 17.3.12, or Uzali, which according to Augustine was a colony near Utica (*Civ*. 22.8.21).

[73] The only positive evidence for a pyramid is at Ksar Chenane, but there are pyramids on all the larger 'Numidian' mausolea (with the possible exception of one at Hr. Bourgou on Jerba), and on the representations of tower tombs in the funerary art of the region.

[74] Ferchiou (1994), 49. The only other way to date the Tunisian mausolea so far is stylistically by comparison with the larger 'Numdian' tombs, which are themselves dated largely by style.

[75] On the possibility that the mausolea mark estates, Fentress (forthcoming); on tombs as territorial markers, Stone (1997), 84.

[76] For a description and discussion of these tombs, see F. Rakob (1979), 'Numidische Königsarchitektur in Nordafrika', in H.G. Horn and C.B. Rüger (eds.), *Die Numider: Reiter und Konige nordlich der Sahara* (Bonn), 119-71. Filippo Coarelli and Yves Thébert argue for hellenistic influences: F. Coarelli and Y. Thébert (1988), 'Architecture funéraire et pouvoir: réflections sur l'hellénisme en Numidie', *MEFRA* 100: 761-818. They dismiss suggestions that these larger tombs mimic the smaller examples under discussion here (808).

stylobate which features an Egyptian gorge moulding, a pyramid, and aeolic pilasters on the first and third storeys (fig. 2).[77] Other 'Numidian' mausolea, such as the triangle-based tombs at Siga and Sabratha, are thought to date from earlier in the second century.

This stylistic connection among the tower tombs suggests that when élites in our region sought genres in which to express themselves they looked to those favoured by the élites of the Numidian kingdoms, not to Carthage or the north coast of the Mediterranean.[78] This is not to claim that the smaller tombs are simply attempts to copy the larger ones, but that their builders chose a form (the tower tomb) that seems to have first appeared in Africa in the context of Numidian state-building.[79] At the same time, they chose architectural decoration that celebrated the pervasive Greek and eastern Mediterranean influence in this period on all of Africa, including Carthage, and indeed much of the rest of the Mediterranean. It seems that the upper classes in Africa, whatever 'ethnicity' they are assigned, shared a common, cosmopolitan, cultural language.[80]

The Sahel

By contrast with the energetic economic development of the coastal trading zones, and the defensive community building in the Tell, the Sahel did not experience major landscape change in the hellenistic period. The coastal towns are subdued in comparison with the trading centres of Carthage and Lepcis Magna further to the

[77] Ferchiou tentatively suggests on the basis of stylistic arguments that the mausoleum at Henchir el Haouam postdates the Thugga mausoleum ((1978), 195). See Poinssot and Salomonson (1963), 70 n.2 for the same argument about Henchir Djaouf; by contrast they suggest (even more tentatively) that the Thugga tomb is predated by those at Ksar Chenane and Ksar Rouhaha. Of course, the Thugga tomb is itself dated only on the basis of architecture and epigraphic style. (*ibid.*, 71; J.G. Février (1959-1960), 'L'inscription du Mausolée dit d'Atban (Dougga)', *Karthago* 10: 51-57).

[78] It is interesting to note that far from African élites looking to Rome for models for their funerary architecture, it is the Romans who seem to emulate these African examples in their later tower tombs, such as the well-preserved examples at Sarsenna.

[79] Within this genre, the square-based mausolea, including the one at Thugga and another at Cirta (Constantine), as well as the smaller examples under discussion here, constitute a subset that also makes exclusive use of such features as aeolic pilasters, which are found only in this small area of Africa. There are other examples at Carthage and Thuburbo Maius. For these and other examples, see A. Lézine (1959), *Architecture punique: recueil de documents* (Paris), 59-62.

[80] This is a reminder that the *fossa regia* did not mark a cultural, social or ethnic boundary between so-called 'Numidians' and 'Libyans'.

north and south.[81] Intensive survey suggests that the rural landscape in this region was largely empty until the imperial period.[82] Continuity is the main socio-economic theme, with no significant changes in the second and first centuries, and serious rural cultivation only beginning in the first century AD.[83]

The Segermes Valley

In a regional survey like this, a note is necessary on the special case of the Segermes valley, which lies in the Dorsale mountain range between the Sahel and the Tell, on the edge of Cap Bon and the 'coastal zone'. The intensive survey conducted here revealed nucleated settlement in the countryside in the hellenistic period, as in the Tell, with two fortified centres active from the late fourth or third centuries.[84] As in the Sahel, '[T]he fall of Carthage did not, apparently, affect the living conditions' in the valley.[85] Rural finds in the valley are very limited until the second half of the first century BC, with a major upswing around AD 50.[86] It is difficult to assign the valley to any one of the three regions I have discussed, and I will return below to the social and cultural complexities of this area.

[81] J.N. Dore and R. Schinke (1992), 'First report on the pottery', in Ben Lazreg, Mattingly and Caciagli (1992), 154, on Leptiminus: 'The total amount of material datable to the period from the 3rd c. BC – 1st c. AD is extremely small when compared to the succeeding periods.'

82 The only Punic sites discovered in the rural survey at Leptiminus were tombs, and Roman pottery revealing dispersed rural settlement was 'on the whole' from the fifth to sixth century AD (D.L. Stone and L.M. Stirling (1998), 'Suburban land-use and ceramic production around Leptiminus (Tunisia): interim report', *JRA* 11: 307).

[83] Stone (1997), 121.

[84] Berg Briese and Lund (2000), 220.

[85] *Ibid.,* 224.

[86] C. Gerner Hansen (2000), 'Settlement Structure', in Ørsted, Ladjimi Sabai, and Ben Hassen (2000), 61. Nonetheless, there may still be evidence for trade and rural farms as early as the third century, as in the coastal zone. The authors of the pottery report suggest that '[S]ome of the isolated finds made throughout the valley and in the foothills probably come from farms' but these finds were not associated with any architectural remains (Berg Briese and Lund (2000), 221). (It is worth noting that these isolated finds would presumably count as 'sites' in the definition adopted by the Carthage survey.) These authors also suggest that olive cultivation could have gone back to the 'Late and Neo-Punic periods', though paleobotanical analysis found no positive evidence for this. The ambiguities here illustrate the difficulties of interpreting even quite intensive surveys.

Acculturation Theories

Punicization

So much for the evidence; what of the traditional interpretative models? The mausolea in the Tell are often referred to as examples of Punic architecture.[87] This is part of a general theory of what might be termed the Punicization of inland Africa in the period we are examining. It emphasizes the pervasive socio-economic and cultural influence of Carthage in Africa, and in its extreme versions engages similar explanatory factors as early models of Romanization, such as the influence of colonists and technical experts from the métropole.[88] Susan Raven, for instance, explains that African mercenaries serving in the Carthaginian army 'returned home to their tribes with at least a smattering of civilization, and a taste for more. Their chieftains sought to emulate in their own territories the successes of Punic agriculture, borrowing Carthaginian experts to help them, and to embellish their own settlements with some of the symbols of city wealth'.[89] It is worth looking at this model in some detail, as it illustrates the general problems of the concept of acculturation - which can be defined simply as the 'amalgamation of one culture with another'[90] - in a way that abstracts from the well-worn difficulties of Romanization itself.

The old notion that the Carthaginians brought agriculture to Africa, even importing specific crops from the Levant, has largely been discarded,[91] but the idea of

[87] Poinssot and Solomonson (1963), 79: 'On considère que les mausolées que nous venons de décrire… sont inspirés des tombeaux monumentaux de l'aristocratie carthaginoise.' See also Ferchiou (1994), 47. This interpretation sometimes extends to the larger mausolea in the Numidian kingdoms: the mausoleum at Dougga, for instance, is 'the only great monument of Punic architecture still standing on Tunisian soil' (Lancel (1995), 307).

[88] For reliance on this 'Punicizing' model, see amongst many other examples, P. MacKendrick (1980), *The North African Stones Speak* (Chapel Hill), 26. Sometimes the argument seems completely circular; discussing the tumuli in the Tell, Ferchiou wonders 'si une trop grande référence à l'univers protohistorique africain est légitime' since, in part, the tombs are found 'dans des zones qui ne peuvent pas avoir échappé aux influences directes de la civilisation carthaginoise' (Ferchiou (1987), 60).

[89] S. Raven (1993), *Rome in Africa* (London and New York), 31.

[90] S. Jones (1997), *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: constructing identities in the past and present* (London), 50.

[91] 'The notion that the Phoenician colonists civilized the Maghrib through commerce and farming techniques is based not on unimpeachable archaeological evidence, but on the texts of ill-informed ancient authors, whose taste for the picturesque and exotic has often been stressed' (Laroui (1977), 44). Camps collects the evidence for the indigenous origins of agriculture and crops in North Africa (G. Camps (1961a), 'Aux origines de la Berbérie: Massinissa ou les debuts de l'histoire', *Libyca (Archéologie-Épigraphie)* 8: 69-91).

extensive cultural influence persists. In the case of the mausolea at least, it is hard to maintain a direct link. There is no evidence for mausoleum burial at Carthage, and while there are paintings of simple mausolea with stepped bases and pyramids on the walls of so-called 'Punic' rock-cut tombs on Cap Bon, similar representations are found in 'Libyan' *haouanet* in the northern Mogods, and on stelae.[92] The fact that the mausolea are built and represented in various different areas suggests that they are part of a common African cultural vocabulary; the fact that they are depicted in *haouanet* and chamber tombs and on stelae shows that they resonate beyond a restricted élite.

The debate about the mausolea is however just one example of the difficulty of assigning places, people or objects in the region to ethno-cultural groups such as 'Punic' or 'Libyan'. From a practical point of view, it is hard to sustain these as meaningful cultural categories in the face of abundant evidence for long traditions of local variety and hybridity in Africa.[93] Although specific artefacts and styles are often assigned to one category or the other, it would be very hard to write inclusive definitions of 'Punic culture' or 'Libyan culture'. Furthermore, in so far as 'Punicization' denotes a cultural relationship with Carthage, it begs the question of how Carthaginian culture should itself be understood.[94] This is especially awkward given the cultural entanglement of Carthage in the Mediterranean world as a result of its central position in trade and élite networks.[95]

This approach does not help us explain the way colonial power relationships worked in ancient Africa, though it did help colonial scholars reassert those

[92] See M. Longerstay (1993), 'Les répresentations picturales de mausolées dans les haouanet du N-O de la Tunisie', *Antiquités africaines* 29: 17-51 for descriptions and discussion of these graphic representations of mausolea that are present 'tant dans l'univers funéraire des Puniques que dans celui des Libyques' (19).

[93] In Utica, for instance, supposedly the first Phoenician colony on the African coast, tombs from as far back as the seventh century feature Greek, Egyptian and Phoenician grave goods. Greek mythological motifs feature on jewellery and on the razors which are often considered so typically 'Punic' (Lézine (1970)).

[94] Freeman has similarly noted that it is difficult to talk about Roman material culture as a distinct entity: 'the most commonly cited objects not only derived from different parts of the empire, but might have meant different things in different places' (P.W.M. Freeman (1993), '"Romanisation" and Roman material culture', *JRA* 6: 444).

[95] S. Lancel, G. Robine, and J.-P. Thullier (1980), 'Town Planning and Domestic Architecture of the Early Second Century BC on the Byrsa, Carthage', in J. G. Pedley (ed.), *New Light on Ancient Carthage* (Ann Arbor), 14-16, and Lancel (1995), 303-50, for the hybrid cultural heritage of Carthage in this period. See also n. 38 above.

relationships in a modern context.[96] If one accepts the hypothesis that there were a number of separate peoples or ethnic groups in Africa in this period, with, crucially, separate cultural practices, one has to explain why Africans did not seem to realize this themselves. Ferchiou lists in one small area east of Zaghouan dolmens, tumuli, mausolea, and *haouanet*, as well as one tomb that 'témoignerait d'une influence marquée de la métropole.'[97] A striking example of the problems that arise from an acculturation approach comes from the publication of the Segermes survey. In Volume II, *haouanet* tombs suggest to Ferchiou that 'il s'agit d'une architecture spécifique au monde libyque… la région a été abandonée aux populations indigènes'.[98] In Volume III, however, Briese and Lund trace the presence of Punic coins and amphora types, and a Tanit sign in one of the tombs, to the valley's association 'with the Punic economy and ideology.' For them, the presence of *haouanet* demonstrates 'a mixed, Libyan-Punic population.'[99] This kind of confusion arises from the perceived need to identify the 'ethnicity' of the valley, combined with the conviction that this can be worked out from the material evidence.

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[96] See Mattingly (1996), 50-52, on the importance for colonial power of seeing the indigenous people of North Africa as one ethnic group with the same (negative) traits, as well as the importance of categorizing colonial powers in the region in a similar way, in order to prove both the superiority of Rome and their own connection with that earlier colonial power.

[97] Ferchiou (1994), 51, reporting a survey undertaken in and around the Segermes valley. For a similar mixture of mortuary traditions in the northeastern Tell, see Peyras (1991), 229 and 217, on the synthesis of the dolmen and *haouanet* type. For the Sahel, see N. Ferchiou (1984), 'La *civitas Thacensium* (Tunisie). Aperçus sur l'évolution d'une petite cité libyphénicienne au cours de l'Antiquité, à travers les données archéologiques', *L'Africa romana* 1: 15-46 on Thaca, where dolmens, *haouanet* and megaliths co-existed, and for 'Libyan' features of the region's tombs in general, Lancel (1995), 288-302. These findings complicate the tentative categoriziation of Camps, for whom 'la densité variable ou l'absence totale de tel ou tel genre de monuments ou de sépultures répond également à des faits de civilisation, voire de genre de vie. On reconnaît un pays de haouanet dont les limites sont sensiblement les mêmes que celles du futur territoire punique; le pays de dolmens, de Cirta à Dougga et Maktar, évoque invinciblement le royaume des Numides Massyles. A ces peuples vraisemblement sédentaires, qui aménagent d'immenses nécropoles, s'opposent ceux qui, plus au sud, nomadisent dans les steppes et abandonnent leurs morts sous des tumulus dispersés au hasard des pâtures.' (G. Camps (1961b), *Monuments et rites funéraires protohistoriques* (Paris), 54).

[98] N. Ferchiou (1995), 'Rechérches sur le décor architectonique de la région de Segermes', in S. Dietz, L. Ladjimi Sabaï, and H. Ben Hassen (eds.), *Africa Proconsularis. Regional Studies in the Segermes Valley of Northern Tunesia. Vol 2.* (Aarhus), 706-07.

[99] Berg Briese and Lund (2000), 222-24; although they note that ethnic identity cannot be equated with 'specific find groups', to equate the latter instead with a mixture of two ethnic groups seems to offer little advance. Elsewhere in Volume III, Ørsted claims that 'up to the middle of the first century AD the population [around Segermes] was influenced almost exclusively by Phoenician culture' (P. Ørsted (2000), 'Conclusions: from the ideal to the real', in Ørsted, Ladjimi Sabai, and Ben Hassen (2000), 186).

But acculturation theories such as Punicization require there to be separate cultural groups. They depend on a discredited 'culture history' approach to archaeological interpretation: the idea that cultures can be identified in the material record and then mapped onto specific peoples, and even ethnic groups (identified at best according to Graeco-Roman categories, more usually according to our own). Once specific distribution patterns have been assigned to peoples, the 'culture history' model explains 'the changes in these distributions in terms of the activities of these "peoples"'.[100] The versions of the 'culture history' model employed in scholarship on North Africa under the labels Punicization and Romanization tend, in fact, to be rather crude. Cultures are often identified not on the basis of assemblages but simply from the presence or absence of individual artefacts (such as a particular type of tomb), and these cultures are then allotted not just to separate groups of peoples but to specific ethnicities, such as 'Punic' or 'Libyan'. It is dangerous to reduce culture to ethnicity, especially when we know so little about the ethnic self-identity of the people concerned, and given that there are many other types of identity that may affect an individual's cultural choices.

There are other problems with this 'culture-history' model. Recent critiques have pointed to the political motivations behind the paradigm, which developed in the specific historical context of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and was used most notoriously by German nationalists to 'demonstrate' the ancient claims of the German people to much of central Europe. It is now sustained by its rôle in justifying claims by contemporary groups to land and power on the basis of a continuous ethnic heritage.[101]

Furthermore, the equation of material 'cultures' with specific peoples is based on the questionable assumption that 'peoples' do in fact exist as separable entities. It has been suggested instead that 'we should think in terms of overlapping social networks of varying scales relating to different types of social power, whether ideological, economic, military or political.'[102] And as well as adopting a dubious view of how society works, the culture-history approach assumes that culture works in a particular way. This 'normative conception of culture' suggests that 'within a given

[100] S. Shennan (1989), 'Introduction: archaeological approaches to cultural identity', in S. Shennan (ed.), *Archaeological approaches to cultural identity* (London), 8. See also Jones (1997) for a history and a critique of the 'culture history' approach, and for the definition of an archaeological culture as 'a regularly recurring assemblage of artefacts' (30).

[101] Shennan (1989), 7-11, along with references at Jones (1997), 33.

[102] Shennan (1989), 11, discussing the views of Mann.

group cultural practices and beliefs tend to conform to prescriptive ideational norms or rules of behaviour'.[103]

Functionalist interpretations of culture and social evolution lead to different conclusions.[104] It would be hard to explain every aspect of culture functionally, of course, but it is now generally accepted that 'spatial variation in archaeological material is the product of a variety of different factors, not merely of the fact that different people in different places have different ideas about how to do things.' For Shennan at least, this means that, 'there are no such entities as "cultures", simply the contingent interrelations of different distributions produced by different factors.'[105] The very variety of factors which contribute to cultural choices should make us suspicious of cultural labels which acknowledge only one factor, such as ethnicity.

None of this is to suggest that there are no features of hellenistic African culture that originate in a specific historical milieu, such as the Phoenician colonies, and are subsequently adopted on a wider scale.[106] Instead, I want to call into question the equation of such specific historical contexts with 'cultures' and such processes of adoption with cultural or ideological rather than functional choices. Taking this approach to social and cultural change in Africa makes sense of places like the Segermes valley, a contact zone which shares features of all three of the socio-economic and environmental zones identified above. Greater variety in the material culture of this area is not at all surprising, and its components need not be traced back to different ethnic groups in neighbouring regions but rather to the different features and histories of those regions.[107]

[103] Jones (1997), 24.

[104] This approach was first adopted by processual archaeologists: *ibid.*, 26.

[105] Shennan (1989), 12. He explains that 'different aspects of variation in pottery, for example, may relate to vessel function, cooking techniques, the size of the domestic group, the rank of the individuals using the pottery, whether the pottery is made by specialists, as well as the milieu in which the potters learned their craft.' (13).

[106] For a survey of such cultural markers that can be attributed, see D.J. Mattingly (1995), *Tripolitania* (London), 162-66. These include specific building techniques, the Punic script and language, and religious imagery such as signs of Tanit. They often exhibit significant hybridization as they move inland, and it is impossible to tell whether they were thought of as 'Punic' or connected to Carthage by those who used them. Mattingly emphasizes that they tend to be found in élite contexts.

[107] I have benefited greatly from conversations with Jonathan Prag on this subject, and from reading an unpublished paper of his on Punic identity.

Romanization

The concept of Romanization suffers from the same structural and historical problems as Punicization. Recent attempts to redefine it have confronted the 'dualist cleave': the fact that it 'represents colonial situations as a confrontation between two essentially distinct entities, each of which is internally homogeneous and externally bounded.'[108] This approach implies that there are two sides to the story, and that originally separate cultural traditions merged or vied for ascendancy in the provinces. It has been pointed out that in fact 'apparently homogenous cultural systems are in reality unstable internally and multifaceted in terms of their meanings',[109] and that 'below the manifest opposition between colonisers and colonised some groups may operate across the colonial divide, while others can be excluded by both sides.'[110] Such concepts as hybridization and creolization have been developed to encompass these complexities.[111] But such approaches still assume that there were originally separate peoples or cultural systems involved in the colonial encounter, to be hybridized or creolized.[112] Mediterranean societies, including Rome as well as Africa, had complex and long-standing economic and cultural inter-relations, which means that they are difficult to fit into models of cultural change under imperialism that still rely in some sense on the concept of acculturation between originally separate entities. Despite the best efforts of scholars to identify and solve problems with the traditional approach, the concept of Romanization remains fundamentally incoherent.[113]

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[108] P. van Dommelen (1997), 'Colonial constructs: colonialism and archaeology in the Mediterranean', *World Archaeology* 28: 309.

[109] J. Barrett (1997), 'Romanization: a critical comment', in D.J. Mattingly (ed.), *Dialogues in Roman imperialism: power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire* (Portsmouth, R. I.), 51.

[110] P. van Dommelen (1998), 'Punic persistance: colonialism and cultural identities in Roman Sardinia', in R. Laurence and J. Berry (eds.), *Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire* (London), 33-34.

[111] Hybridization: van Dommelen (1997). Creolization: J. Webster (2001), 'Creolizing the Roman provinces', *AJA* 105:209-25.

[112] The concept of creolization, for instance, was developed to explicate the material culture of slaves in the American south, which really did involve the confrontation of completely different cultural traditions, as well as the enforcement of the 'dominant' material culture (through lack of alternatives if nothing else).

[113] The difficulty is encapsulated by Kathryn Lomas's comment in her *BMCR* review of Keay and Terrenato (2001): 'Despite Alcock's strictures on the need to move the debate on from problems of definition, this problem is still central to the study of Romanization since it is impossible to fully get to grips with such a protean and difficult subject unless one first establishes what one means by it.' But this puts the problem the wrong way round: the subject is protean and difficult because it is fundamentally incoherent as a field for analytical investigation; it would be impossible to find a fully satisfactory definition.

It is only very recently that use of the word itself has been seriously challenged.[114] And rightly so: the very structure of the word, however ingeniously defined, forces Mediterranean cultural and economic history to be about Rome. It puts Rome in the centre of immensely complex social and cultural processes that (as apparently in Africa) may have only a tangential relationship with Roman activity. 'Romanization' also encourages us to put the creation of the Roman Empire at the heart of historical investigation, and to explain change and choice in the provinces in terms of that process, seeing life in the Roman Empire only through the dialectic of colonized and colonizer.[115] In their recent collection of papers on Romanization, Keay and Terrenato defended their use of the term on the grounds that their contributors "still believe that [it] is a useful tool that designates a field of research".[116] The problem is that it *dictates* a field of research.

But the word itself is not the only problem. Global explanatory models of all kinds tend to imply that there is one key to thorny problems. In this case they also tend to rely on a model of cultures that is rooted in modern conceptions and concerns. We should give up trying to encapsulate the lived experience of Roman colonialism in a single word. Such words may provide insights into the history of the ancient Mediterranean world, but they cannot replace it.

Roman Africa?

The shortcomings of the Romanization model obscure a more straightforward question. How did the 'coming of Rome' affect social, economic and cultural patterns in Africa? It is generally agreed that the 'Roman period' brought great changes to the African landscape, with a widespread move to dispersed settlement, specialization, intensification and cash crops.[117] African cities became showpieces for the distinctive art and architecture of the Roman Empire. But, as we have seen, these changes did not

[114] E.g. R. Hingley (1996), 'The "legacy" of Rome: the rise, decline and fall of the theory of Romanization', in Webster and Cooper (1996), 35-48; D.J. Mattingly (2002), 'Vulgar and weak "Romanization", or time for a paradigm shift?', *JRA* 15: 536-41.

[115] It seems to me that this approach is at least in part a product of disciplinary divisions within the academic study of ancient history. Tradition dictates that the study of the Mediterranean world is split chronologically into 'Greek' and 'Roman' history, with a gap of a couple of centuries in the middle into which disappears the integrated, hybrid hellenistic Mediterranean. No wonder activity in the provinces in the late Republic seems linked to Rome.

[116] Keay and Terrenato (2001), ix.

[117] Stone (forthcoming).

happen straightaway. Now, it is abundantly clear that more and more intensive fieldwork is required in order to form serious hypotheses about change during the Republic. The absence of Rome may come down to a problem of visibility. It is particularly unfortunate that there is, as yet, no chronologically reliable intensive survey from the Tell north of the Dorsale, nor from Cap Bon - areas where we might expect any Roman influence or intervention in this period to be easiest to see. The extensive fieldwork at Utica, Carthage and in the Tell needs supplementation with intensive survey and strategic excavation. Nonetheless, some tentative conclusions are possible.

Despite the annexation of territory and appointment of a regular commander at Utica in 146, evidence for direct Roman involvement in Africa during the late Republic is scarce. In particular, the old model of extensive immigration from Italy has been abandoned: a colony in the 120s failed, and there is little evidence for subsequent colonization prior to the Julian colonies in the 40s.[118] There is no material evidence dating the extensive centuriation pattern visible in north-west Tunisia, and although it is often presumed to date either to the settlement of 146 or the foundation of a colony in 125, the bulk of it could easily be Augustan.[119] Rome minted no coins in Africa until the civil war, suggesting a low administrative presence.[120] There were

[118] In his review of J.-M. Lassère (1977), *Ubique populus: peuplement et mouvements de population dans l'Afrique romaine de la chute de Carthage à la fin de la dynastie des Sévères (146 a.C.-235 p.C.)* (Paris), in *JRS* 70 (1980), C.R. Whittaker points out that 'while insisting that there were "thousands" of Italian settlers in the Republican period' in Utica, Lassère gives only seven 'Romanized' names datable to before the second century AD (p.234).

[119] In the classic article on this problem, Chevallier argues that the whole of the visible pattern should be dated to the years immediately following the destruction of Carthage (R. Chevallier (1958), 'Essai de chronologie des centuriations romaines de tunisie', *MEFRA* 70: 67). However, although there must have been some centuriation in Africa before 111, since it is mentioned in the *lex agraria* (ll. 66, 90), there is no positive evidence to link this to the massive 15,000 km^2 network visible on aerial photographs. For debate on the chronology of that pattern, see E. Wightman (1980), 'The plan of Roman Carthage: Practicalities and politics', in J.G. Pedley (ed.), *New light on ancient Carthage* (Ann Arbor), 33-36; F. Rakob (2000), 'The making of Augustan Carthage', in E. Fentress (ed.), *Romanization and the City* (Portsmouth, RI), 72-82; and P. Trousset (1997), 'Les centuriations de Tunisie et l'orientation solaire', *Antiquités africaines* 33: 95-109.

[120] A.M. Burnett (1987), 'Africa', in A.M. Burnett and M. H. Crawford (eds.), *The coinage of the Roman world in the late Republic. Proceedings of a colloquium held at the British Museum in September 1985* (Oxford), 179: 'The bulk of the bronze currency seems in fact to have consisted of the earlier coins of Carthage, which, unlike Punic silver and gold, remained in circulation until imperial times. To these were added the small issues of Utica, and apparently a fairly small quantity of Roman Republican bronzes'.

Italian merchants at Utica after 146,[121] as there had been at Carthage beforehand,[122] and as there also were in Numidian cities such as Cirta and Vaga,[123] but this says more about the continuing participation of these cities in Mediterranean economic networks than about Roman interest or influence.[124] Merchants do not seem to have been a conduit of cultural change in Africa outside their own communities.

As we have seen, the evidence for socio-economic change in Africa after the destruction of Carthage is inconclusive. There may be an initial diminution in settlement and building activity in the areas most closely associated with Rome and Romans in this period, the coastal area from Carthage to Utica and the Tell. Whether such a diminution would reflect the effects of recession and perhaps depopulation, or peace and perhaps dispersed settlement is a further open question. What we can say, however, is that any such change is likely to have been provoked as much by the destruction of Carthage as by subsequent Roman actions, and while this would still leave Rome in some sense indirectly responsible, the story must involve more than the new imperial power.[125]

There is little sign of acculturation to Roman or Italian practices, élite or otherwise. African material culture maintains its traditional diversity, looking to examples and traditions from all over North Africa and the Mediterranean, and local élites seem to rely for innovative models on Numidia rather than Italy. Punic and Libyan remained the languages, at least of epigraphy.[126] And yet, as with the settlements, there are small and ambiguous indications of change, though not looking to Rome or Italy. As discussed above, the construction of tumuli and *haouanet* tombs seems to date into but not beyond the second century. Furthermore, although African towns are often run according to the political traditions and offices of the Phoenician colonies well into the imperial period, all the evidence for such 'Carthaginian'

[121] Plut., *Cat. min.* 59.

[122] Polyb. 36.7; App., *Pun.* 92. R.M. Haywood (1938). 'Roman Africa', in T. Frank (ed.), *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, Vol. IV* (Baltimore), 26, suggests that these Italians were merchants.

[123] Sall., *Jug*. 21.2; 26.1,3; 47.1.

[124] By the time of the civil war, Italians were also trading at Thysdrus in the Sahel: *B. Afr*. 36.

[125] The fall of Carthage seems to have invigorated economic activity further afield: amphorae types found at Uzita look to antecedents developed at Carthage from the mid third century, but have their heyday after the fall of the city through to the Augustan period, as production moves into Byzacena and Mauretania Tingitana from its old centres at Carthage and Tripolitania (J. H. van der Werff (1977-1978), 'Amphores de tradition punique à Uzita', *BABesch* 52-53: 181-83).

[126] 'Il codice privilegiato fu ancora per i primi 150 anni del dominio romano della *provincia Africa* quello punico, in particolare nella variante corsiva neo-punica, attestato sia in ambito urbana, sia nei distretti rurali, non solo dell'antico territorio cartaginese, ma anche nel regno numida e nelle aree litoranee del nord Africa interessate dalla colonizzazione fenicia.' (Zucca (1996), 1428.)

institutions is late, and it has been suggested that these become more rather than less popular in Africa after the destruction of the city.[127] This African example suggests that models of cultural change relying on resistance to or emulation of Rome, even élite emulation, are not universally applicable. It also suggests a broad Mediterranean or hellenistic context that is obscured by the binary nature of concepts such as Romanization.

The use of Latin, and the construction of Italian-style buildings, occur only very late and in a limited area round Utica, Carthage and Cap Bon, as well as in Numidia. They might be linked to the presence of actual Romans or Italians in these areas, although it is striking that change in this period also coincides with the 'Cultural Revolution' identified in the late republican and Augustan periods at Rome and, more recently, suggested as a model for understanding change in Gaul.[128]

From our limited evidence, then, it appears that there are few Romans in republican Africa, and the landscape and material culture does not take on a Roman or Italian aspect.[129] In so far as there is change before the very end of the Republic, it does not emulate the new imperial power and may have only an indirect relationship with Roman imperial activities. Africa is involved in a complex web of cultural and economic networks in this period, internal and external, and rarely oriented towards Italy until the period of the civil war. I have already argued that Romanization and other acculturation theories are not useful for interpreting the history of Africa, but we can go further: it is a fundamental misrepresentation to define the region in this period in terms of Rome at all.

[127] For a table of the references to pre-Roman magistracies such as suffetes in African towns after 146, and references to the extensive bibliography on this topic, see S. Belkahia and G. Di Vita-Évrard (1995), 'Magistratures autochtones dans les cités pérégrines de l'Afrique proconsulaire', in Trousset (1995), 255-74.

[128] G. Woolf (2001), 'The Roman Cultural Revolution in Gaul', in Keay and Terrenato (2001), 173-86, especially 175, with previous bibliography.

[129] This is not of course unique. Discussing republican Sardinia, van Dommelen has argued that 'The absence of a recognizably Roman presence on Sardinia thus effectively draws attention to the limits of the term "Romanization", and shows that its inherent focus on uniformization obscures alternative responses to Roman domination' (P. van Dommelen (2001), 'Cultural imaginings. Punic tradition and local identity in Roman Republican Sardinia', in Keay and Terrenato (2001), 80).

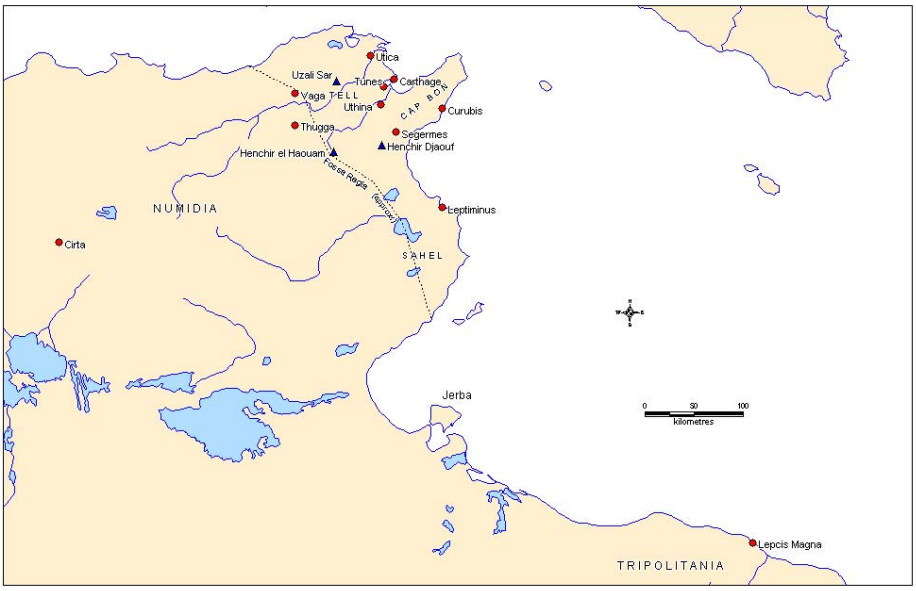

Fig. 1: Republican Africa, with towns and tombs mentioned in the text.

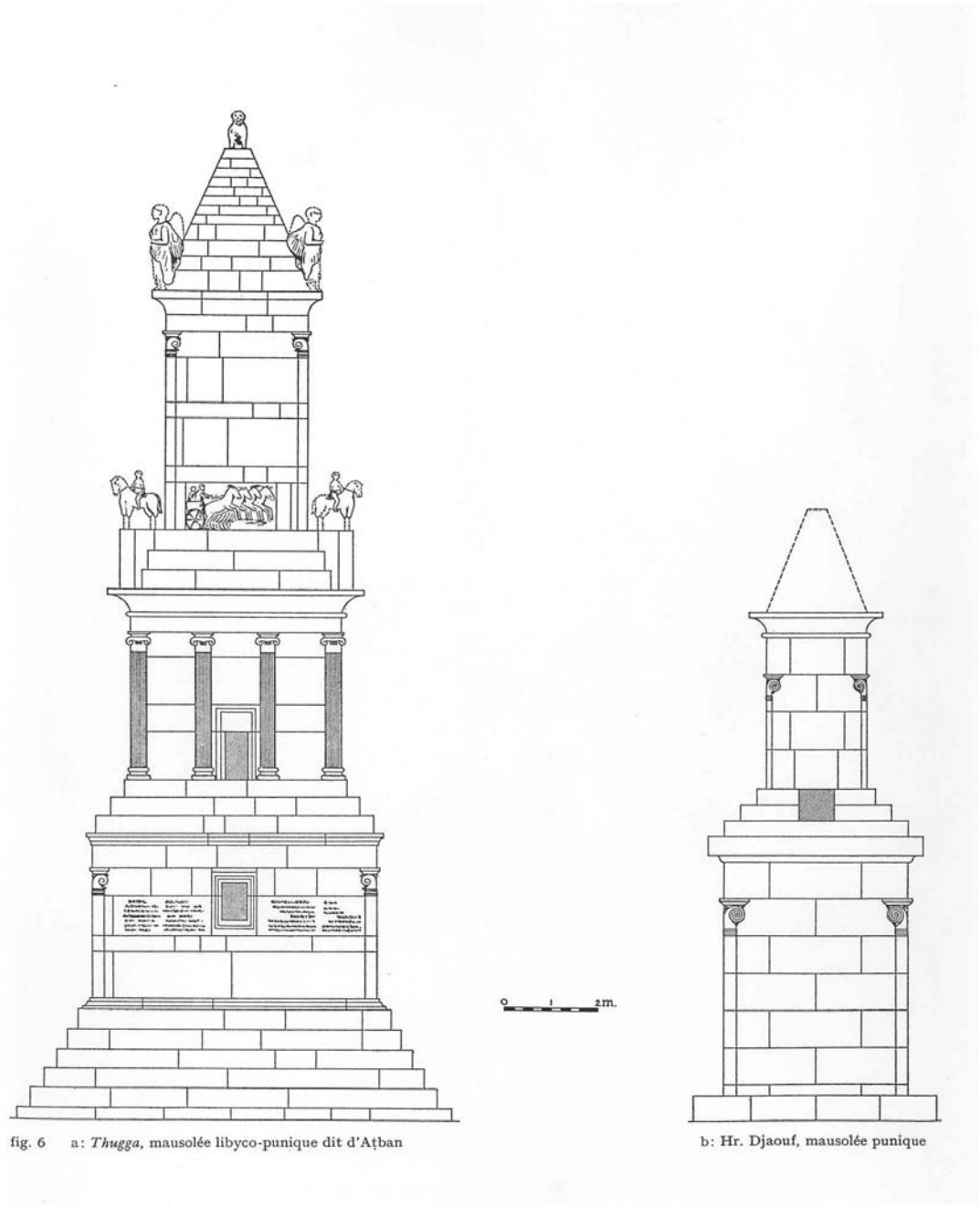

Fig 2: The mausolea at Thugga and Henchir Djaouf

Extracted from Poinssot, C., and J. W. Salomonson. "Un Monument Punique Inconnu: Le Mausolée D'henchir Djaouf." *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen* 44 (1963): 57-88.

fig. 6. © Oudheidkundige Mededlingen 1963.