

At the end of the narrative, Tereus objectifies the similes that have preceded by becoming a bird. In addition to bringing into material existence the bird similes generically, the nature of the hoopoe has special relevance to the fire metaphors of the narrative. As Thompson points out, "from its rayed crest it was a solar emblem. . . . As a solar emblem also, the Hoopoe figures in the version of the Phoenix myth in Aelian (xvi. 5)."²³ Thompson, citing Plutarch (*De Is.* 36), adds that ἔπος seems to be based upon an Egyptian solar name. The solar associations of the hoopoe reflect the figurative fires so conspicuous in the text.

Finally, it is worth noting one further consequence of the incarnation of similes and metaphors in metamorphosis. Throughout the narrative, we have seen Tereus as a bird figuratively. When he becomes one literally, it appears entirely fitting. Figurative language functions rhetorically to create an impression that transformation is appropriate.²⁴ In addition to manifesting physical features of the king, the bird also manifests the semantic features of the narrative. Anderson writes: "Tereus retains marks of his human self as eternal identification. . . . The first [the crest] recalls the crest of a helmet; the second [the long beak] he explicitly says replaces a spear."²⁵ However, as we have seen, it is not only Tereus' warlike character that is made manifest in the armed appearance of the bird. The choice of bird is not only a recollection of the king's physical attributes or of his character but also of the figures of speech within the narrative. Metamorphosis, then, is not only a manifestation of character, but also an incarnation of language—a most fitting conclusion to a narrative that, as we have seen, consistently plays upon the multiplicity of figurative language in the course of events.²⁶

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23. D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford, 1895), 56.

24. C. S. Pearson ("Aspects of Imagery in the Works of Ovid," [Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1969], 210) touches upon this phenomenon when she suggests, in the Myrrha and Hyacinthus episodes, that the coincidence between similes and metamorphosis "prepares the reader psychologically to accept the metamorphosis which will ensue."

25. Anderson, *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, on 6.671–74. See also Segal, "Philomela's Web," 273; Solodow, *World*, 179.

26. This type of analysis has, I believe, a broader application in the *Metamorphoses* and forms the basis of a continuing study, which I began in my 1993 Cornell dissertation, "The Reification of Figurative Language in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*." A version of this paper was presented at the American Philological Association meeting in Atlanta in December 1994, and I wish to thank the organizers of the panel, Garth Tissol and Stephen Wheeler, and my fellow-panelists, Jim McKeown, James O'Hara, and Stephen Hinds, for their comments. I am grateful also to the Editor of *CP* and the anonymous readers for their suggestions.

MARRIAGE AND ACCULTURATION IN ROMAN ALGERIA

Historians have long debated the nature and extent of the Romanization of north Africa, a process that seems generally to be understood to mean the adoption or imitation of Roman ways of thought and expression, behavior, construction, and manufacture. The virtual disappearance of the Punic script in north Africa by the end of the second century A.D., for example, is sometimes said to be evidence of the acculturation of African society. Alternatively, the survival of indigenous African cults is

thought to demonstrate the ascendancy of native traditions, and even, in Marcel Bénabou's rendering, a deep-seated resistance to Roman ways. Others have looked to the adoption of Roman names or of the habit of inscription, to styles of dress, and of grave construction and decoration.¹

Most of the models that have been developed to assess the Romanization of north Africa are, in a broad sense, archaeological in nature, in both the materials and the methods they employ. Few can distinguish systematically between what is Roman and what is not. It has been said of Roman-era Algeria, for example, that the habit of inscription that is attested in its smaller communities is evidence of the adoption of Roman "urban cultural forms." But the survival of inscriptions written in the language that moderns have agreed to call "Libyan" indicates that while the practice of inscription, and perhaps especially of commemoration on stone, may reasonably be said to be a chiefly Roman habit, it cannot be said to have been exclusively Roman. In other words, it cannot be maintained that not inscribing on stone was a characteristic order of activity in African society.²

Other models of Romanization fail to measure it across a broad social range of indigenous culture, or in ways that are quantifiable across large samples. It may be agreed, for example, that the adoption of Roman styles of dress is evidence of the assimilation of attributes that were culturally specific. But it cannot be shown to have occurred outside the mostly urban, provincial elites, like the wealthy Carthaginians who donned togas or fixed their hair in the styles favored by the women of the imperial family.³

And in almost every case we cannot discern the motives of the Romanized. A Roman-style name and clothes, at least a rudimentary knowledge of Latin—these were among the prerequisites of promotion, in army life or in the bureaucracy.⁴ I wonder whether those who embraced Roman custom merely because it was expedient to do so can really be said to have been acculturated.

Still another model of Romanization makes the intermarriage of Roman and native both an agent and an index of acculturation. The union of, say, a Roman soldier and an African woman is understood to have functioned as a kind of bridge between the intrusive and indigenous cultures, at least insofar as any children born to them will have been, in Stephen Dyson's phrase, "half-Roman."⁵ What has never been demonstrated is that the intermarriage of Roman and indigene occurred often enough in north Africa (or, for that matter, in any other part of the empire) to have

1. Historians: e.g., Bénabou 1976, Broughton 1929, Kotula 1976, Pflaum 1973; see also the exchange of views in Thébert 1978, Leveau 1978, and Bénabou 1978. Process: cf. Hanson 1989, 58: "the acceptance and adoption of Roman civilization and its values"; see also Freeman 1993; Woolf 1992. Punic script: Raven 1993, 75. Acculturation: I use the working definition of Bee 1974, 96: "modifications within cultures resulting from contacts with alien life ways"; cf. Bloemers 1989, 178. Bénabou: 1976, 259–380. Roman-style names as evidence of Romanization: e.g., Thompson 1967–68, 57; M'Charek 1982, 59, 169 ("une romanisation poussée"). Habit of inscription: Fentress 1983, 163. Dress: Raven 1993, 146. Graves: MacMullen 1990, 62.

2. "Urban cultural forms": Fentress 1983, 163. "Libyan" inscriptions are collected in Chabot 1940. Characteristic order of activity: see Dohrenwend and Smith 1962, 35–36.

3. Raven 1993, 146.

4. Cf. Tac. Agr. 21: Britons who adopted Roman ways did so because they were eager to be promoted (*honoris aemulatio*).

5. Model: M'Charek 1982, 107; Ilevbare 1967–68, 34; see also Mattingly and Hitchner 1995, 173. Dyson: 1985, 273. Cf. Gilliam 1965a, 68: it may be "assumed" that Roman soldiers who were stationed in one place for "any length of time" will have had some "half-Roman children."

affected, in any significant measure, the acculturation of the indigenous (or of the Roman) population.

It is in fact impossible now to determine how often Romans married Africans. A single instance seems to be indicated in the literary sources—*De bello Africo* 19, where the anti-Caesarian officer T. Labienus is said to have conscripted an indeterminate number of African “half-breeds” (*hybridae*) in 46 B.C.; they are probably to be understood to be the offspring of Italian merchants who had married or cohabited with African women in the period before the civil war.⁶

Many hundreds of north African epitaphs record the names of husbands and wives. It is impossible, however, to distinguish systematically between Roman immigrants and Romanized indigenes on the inscriptions. Was the Iulius Saturninus who was commemorated at Lambaesis (*CIL* 8.3741), for example, an Italian immigrant, or an African who had adopted Roman-style names, or perhaps the Africanized son of an Italian immigrant?⁷

The solution would seem to be this: to divide those attested on the marriage-epitaphs instead into two groups, which can, in most cases, be readily distinguished: on the one hand, those who are demonstrably un-Romanized; on the other, those who may be categorized either as Roman citizens or as Romanized indigenes. What I am proposing to measure then, over the several generations represented in the surviving north African epitaphs, is, not how often immigrant married indigene (which is historically unrecoverable), but the incidence of intermarriage across cultural identities. My position is that the marriage of un-Romanized and Roman(ized) defines acculturation almost as closely as the union of African and Roman.

The scheme I have adopted is used below to measure the incidence of cross-cultural marriage at two sites in Roman-era Algeria: Lambaesis (section II), and Thubursicu Numidarum (section III). The patterns attested on the surviving epitaphs suggest that very few of the Romanized soldiers⁸ or civilians at Lambaesis married

6. Discussion in Ilevbare 1967–68, 41–42, and 1973, 31; see also Thompson 1971, 239.

7. Distinguishing between immigrants and indigenes: MacMullen 1990, 60; cf. Whittaker 1978, p. 343, n. 65. *CIL* 8.3741: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Iulius Sa / turninus Vi / xit An[n]is XL U / nus Sextia / Fuscini-la Co(niunx)*. For Saturninus as a popular cognomen among Romanized Africans, see Bénabou 1976, 502; Kajanto 1965, 18, 55. It is generally impossible also to distinguish between Roman citizens and non-Roman citizens (*peregrini*); pace Pflaum 1956, 134; 1959, 113; 1974–75, 25. The only really certain indications of possession of the citizenship are membership in a Roman tribe, and Roman-style filiation (e.g., *CIL* 8.3251 (Lambaesis): *C(aius) Valerius / C(ai) F(ilius) Papiria / Castus*). But the practice of recording tribal membership and filiation, while fairly common on north African inscriptions of the first century A.D., seems almost to have disappeared in the second; cf. Le Bohec 1989, 54. It cannot be supposed either that possession of the Roman citizenship is indicated by Roman-style names, even by the so-called *tria nomina* (*praenomen, nomen, and cognomen*), because Latin names could be, and were, usurped by non-Romans, and because at least some of the men and women attested with Roman-style names will have been Junian Latins (informally or improperly manumitted slaves); see especially Brunt 1971, 208; cf. Alföldy 1966. On Junian Latins, see Weaver 1990. For Junian Latins with Roman-style names, see, e.g., Pliny *Ep.* 10.104.

8. Soldiers were forbidden to marry during their term of service, but the prohibition seems not to have been rigorously enforced. The military diplomas, for example, that were issued, at least from the time of Claudius, to auxiliary soldiers (and sailors) at the time of their discharge, typically awarded them (among other things) the right of contracting a valid Roman marriage with the first women whom they married after they were discharged or with the women whom they had already “married” during their term of service (*cum uxoribus, quas tunc habuissent, cum est civitas iis data*); diplomas are collected in Roxan 1978 and 1985; see also the papers collected in Eck and Wolff 1986. The ban is attested expressly in *BGU* 114.1 and in Dio Cass. 60.24.3 (Claudius). Its introduction may go back to Augustus, perhaps to 13 B.C., when he altered the conditions of military service; see Whitehorne 1979. It seems to have been lifted by Septimius Severus in A.D. 197: Campbell 1978, 153; cf. Garnsey 1970.

un-Romanized women.⁹ The (self-imposed?) segregation of the Roman(ized) population at Lambaesis is even more evident when its marriage patterns are compared to those attested at Thubursicu Numidarum, where the intermarriage of Roman(ized) and un-Romanized appears to have been much more common.

I. SOURCES AND METHODS

The north African epitaphs that record marriages date mainly to the period A.D. 100–250,¹⁰ and are generally of two types: those on which a woman commemorates or is commemorated by a man who is identified as her husband (*maritus, coniunx*, etc.); and those on which a man commemorates or is commemorated by a woman who is identified as his wife (*uxor, coniunx*, etc.).¹¹ Together they account for 78.1% (422/540) of the surviving marriage-epitaphs of Lambaesis and Thubursicu Numidarum. Two other types of epitaphs can be understood to record husbands and wives, and are included among the epitaphs described below (sections II–III): those on which a man and woman are identified as “father” and “mother” (*pater* and *mater*, less often, *parentes*; they are 3.9% of the marriage-epitaphs, 21/540); and those, like *CIL* 8.3070 (Lambaesis)—*D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Caelio Ma / cedoni Vet(erano) / Vix(it) An(nis) LX / Fecit Cassi / a Concessa*—, on which a woman commemorates or is commemorated by a man without indication of their relationship, where the man and woman have a different *nomen* (and are therefore unlikely to be father and daughter, or sister and brother), and where the age of the deceased, if recorded, is said to have been at least fifteen (18.0% of the marriage-epitaphs, 97/540).

Several criteria can be employed to distinguish the un-Romanized from the Roman(ized). Auxiliary soldiers and those attested with one or more un-Latinized African names (e.g., Mababme) or with a single Latinized name of African origin (e.g., Muthunus) can be considered to be un-Romanized.¹² Conversely, among the Roman(ized) we may locate at least Roman officials, those who belonged to a Roman tribe, legionary soldiers and officers,¹³ auxiliary and legionary veterans, and

9. Cf. Shaw 1983, 148, who concludes that “all discernible patterns at Lambaesis point to a strong element of marriage between soldiers and other soldiers’ daughters.” Much the same seems to be indicated by the experience of other historical frontiers: cavalrymen in the late nineteenth-century American West, for example, rarely married native women (Stallard 1978, 69–70).

10. Cf. Duncan-Jones 1982, 64–65, 351, 361 (A.D. 98–244).

11. It is rarely possible to distinguish between, on the one hand, marriages that were fully valid in Roman law, and, on the other, what might be called “quasi-marriages,” where, for one reason or another (e.g., because one partner was not a Roman citizen; see Treggiari 1991, 43–50), the couple did not possess the Roman right of intermarriage (*conubium*).

12. Auxiliary soldiers: see Gilliam 1965b, 66–67 (service in the *auxilia* cannot be assumed to have made natives into Romans). Mababme: *CIL* 8.3081 (= 18301). Muthunus: *CIL* 8.11250. For other examples of African names (e.g., Dabar, Guddem, Izelta), and of Latinized names of African origin (e.g., Baricio, Giddaeus, Zabullus), see M’Charek 1982, 93, 101, 154, 184, 186; Pflaum 1959, 118; Thompson 1967–68, 48–49, 53, 57. On the geographical distribution of the African names attested in Roman-era Algeria, see Frézouls 1990, 165: they are most commonly recorded at Cirta, Lambaesis, Thibilis, Thubursicu Numidarum, Tiddis, Thamugadi, and Vercunda.

13. Men who were not Roman citizens are known to have served in the legions from at least the end of the first century A.D., but the large majority of legionaries in every period were Roman citizens; see, e.g., Forni 1953, 103–5.

those attested with one or more Latin names (e.g., P. Aelius Romanus, *CIL* 8.2786),¹⁴ or with two or more Latinized names of African origin (e.g., Timinius Rogatus, *CIL* 8.3708).

The methods are crude, and no doubt imperfect. They probably misrepresent the actual marriage patterns of the north African population in at least two ways. First, because the practice of setting up epitaphs was mainly a Roman custom, they cannot be expected to describe the marriage habits of the un-Romanized population—many un-Romanized Africans will have gone unrecorded. Second, for much the same reason the epitaphs probably under-report the real rate of intermarriage: if any of the Roman(ized) are likely to have quit the habit of commemoration, it is precisely those who married un-Romanized women and fathered “half-African” children.

It must be admitted, too, that, for a number of reasons, epitaphs may mislead as to the incidence (absolute or relative) of a particular kind of activity or behavior either at a specific point in time or even over the whole of the Roman era. For one thing, they tell us, as John Mann has put it, only “about the people in that area who used stone inscriptions,” in the case of north Africa, it seems, mainly, perhaps almost exclusively, about the Roman and Romanized populations. The epitaphs may be expected also to provide information only about that part of the stone-using population that both could afford a permanent memorial, and was thought, or considered itself, worthy of one.¹⁵ It would be foolish to think that the poor are not massively under-represented in the epigraphic record.¹⁶

Other biases may be suspected. The incidence of commemoration is likely to have varied locally according to the availability of suitable stone. And what Ian Morris has called “ritual selection” may have influenced the habit of commemoration in ways that are not now easily controlled; the clearest example is the over-representation of ex-slaves on the epitaphs of the city of Rome in the period between about 100 B.C. and A.D. 100. Morris maintains also that inscriptions cannot be expected to describe social practice because they “were created for funeral rituals, and are really telling us about ritual structures.” I might wish that more of the texts were not dissociated from their physical context, and that we might somehow reconstruct the various historical (not just ritual) processes that were a part of their creation. No one, I think, would claim that patterns of behavior in any part of the Roman world are described perfectly by its surviving epitaphs. It may be said of almost any past society that its dead were treated collectively according to rules that are now largely unknowable; what is left behind must always be understood to be an “artificial set.”¹⁷

14. M'Charek 1982, 44, maintains that those who are attested with a single Latin name, *nomen* or *cognomen* (e.g., Cornelius or Flaccus), are unlikely to have been Roman citizens. But they may have had other names (*praenomen*, *nomen*, or *cognomen*) that have not been recorded, in some cases, perhaps, as a way of conserving space on the stone.

15. Cf. Morris 1992, 158; Roxan 1991, 462; Mann 1985, 206.

16. Cf. MacMullen 1990, 45 (the poor are “hardly likely to have left their records upon stone”). See also Saller and Shaw 1984, p. 140, n. 63: the rank-and-file soldiers stationed at Lambaesis were seven times less likely than their commanding officers to have an inscribed tombstone.

17. Availability of stone: see Mann 1985, 204; Mócsy 1970, 166–67 (on Pannonia). Morris: 1992, 161, 166. “Artificial set”: see Brown 1995, 17.

It can hardly be said then that the epitaphs either of Lambaesis or of Thubursicu Numidarum are a complete or perfect record of their marriage patterns. What matters, however, is not whether the figures they generate are precisely accurate (I am reasonably certain that they are not), but whether they can serve at least to identify some orders of magnitude from which valid conclusions might be drawn.

II. INTERMARRIAGE AT LAMBAESIS

Lambaesis (mod. Tazzoult) was home to the Third Augustan legion probably from about A.D. 115/17 until 238, when the legion was temporarily disbanded (perhaps for twenty years). The civilian settlement that grew up around the legionary fortress was given Latin rights sometime between A.D. 158 and 161, styled a *municipium* at least by the time of Caracalla, and made a colony (*colonia*) probably shortly after 238.¹⁸

The camps and civilian settlement at Lambaesis together have yielded almost 1,400 complete or mostly intact epitaphs. Several cemeteries have been identified: one (I) was alongside the road that ran north from the main camp; another (II) was located to the east of the main camp, between the Oueds Necheb and Markouna; a third (III) was situated about 500–700 meters to the west of the forum near the Oued Tazzoult; what has sometimes been taken to be a fourth cemetery (IV), located southwest of the main camp, may have been merely a continuation of III (it has been entirely destroyed).¹⁹

About a quarter of the intact epitaphs (381) record marriages. A total of 764 husbands and wives are attested (*CIL* 8.3296 records two marriages), including 140 soldiers and veterans (36.6% of the 382 husbands). Table 1 and Figure 1 below indicate their status, which I have categorized as Roman(ized) or un-Romanized according to the criteria described above (pp. 74–75).²⁰ Fifteen epitaphs that record the “marriages” of slaves or of non-Romans who were not of African origin (e.g., Greeks) are excluded.²¹

Of the 365 Roman(ized) men attested on the military and civilian epitaphs, only one (0.3%) seems to have married an un-Romanized woman: a legionary soldier (*miles*) named C. Harnius Maccus, who was commemorated by his wife, Mababme. And only two of the 366 Roman(ized) women (0.5%) appear to have been married to un-Romanized Africans: Aelia Fortunata, who was commemorated by her husband, Nampamo; and Victoria, who was commemorated by her husband, Numidi().²² The

18. In general, see Janon 1973/85. The earliest evidence of legionary activity at the site dates to A.D. 81, but the arrival of the legion is more likely to belong to the early second century; so Daniels 1987, 240; Duncan-Jones 1982, 67. A.D. 115/117: Le Bohec 1989, 362. Latin rights: *CIL* 8.18218 = *ILS* 6848. *Municipium*: *CIL* 8.18247. Colony: see Broughton 1929, 138.

19. Le Bohec 1989, 107–8 (with map).

20. Source: *CIL*, vol. 8 and Leschi 1957; on the epitaphs of Lambaesis, see especially Lassère 1973, 96–107.

21. *CIL* 8.2803a, 2820, 3290, 3292, 3463, 3521, 3563, 3597, 3930, 3935, 4046, 4071, 4152, 18392; Leschi 1957, 185.

22. C. Harnius Maccus: *CIL* 8.3081 (= 18301)—*D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / C(aius) Harni / us Maccu / s M(iles) L(egionis) III Aug(usti) / Vixit An(nis) XL / Mababme / C(oniunx?) P(ia?) Fec(it)*. Aelia Fortunata: *CIL* 8.3347—*D(is) M(anibus) / Aelia For / tunata V(ix)it / An(nis) XL / Nampamo / Con(iunx) F(acien-dum) C(uravit)*. Victoria: *CIL* 8.4151—*D(is) M(anibus) / Victorie / V(ixit) A(nnis) XXXV / Ux(ori) Pie / F(ecit) / Numidi / M(aritus?)*. For Nampamo as an African name, see Pflaum 1956, 137; 1959, 118; 1974–75, 27; for Numidi(), see Kajanto 1965, 206 (“Numida”).

TABLE 1. HUSBANDS AND WIVES AT LAMBAESIS

| | | | Wives | | Total |
|----------|----------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------|
| | | | Roman(ized) | Un-Romanized | |
| Husbands | Military | Roman(ized) | 139 | 1 | 140 |
| | | Un-Romanized | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Civilian | Roman(ized) | 225 | 0 | 225 |
| | | Un-Romanized | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| | Total | | 366 | 1 | 367 |

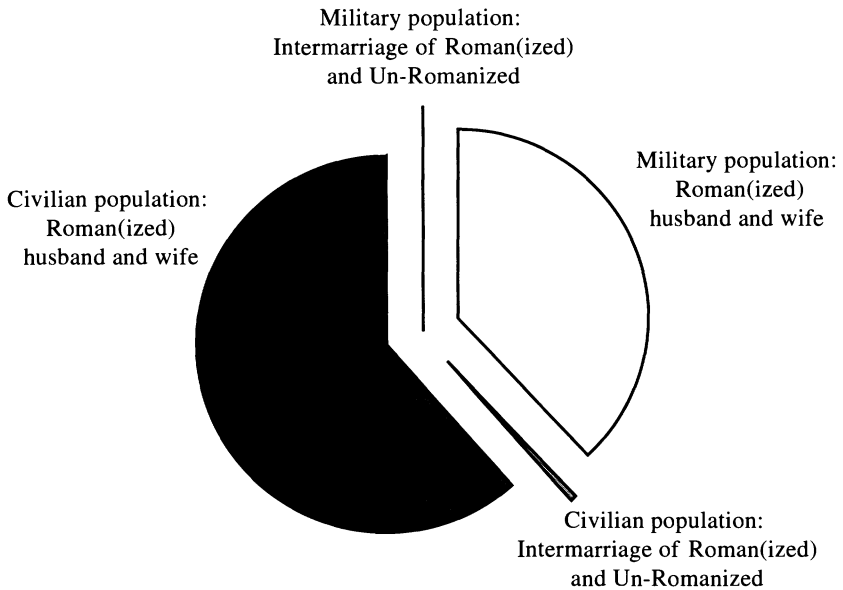


FIGURE 1. INTERMARRIAGE AT LAMBAESIS

incidence of intermarriage attested across the whole of the population is just 0.8% (3/367).

It needs to be said again that the epitaphs of Lambaesis are not a perfect record of the marriage patterns of its population. They probably under-report the frequency of intermarriage: it may be doubted that fewer than 1% of the Roman(ized) men and women at Lambaesis married un-Romanized Africans. The figures can therefore be taken to indicate only some very rough orders of magnitude. But it may be remarked also that they would have to be wrong by a factor of 70 before it could be maintained that a majority even of the soldiers and veterans married un-Romanized women. And it is unlikely that methodological inadequacies alone can account for

the patterns the epitaphs describe, for when the very same methods are used to categorize the marriages attested on the epitaphs of Thubursicu Numidarum, a significantly higher rate of intermarriage is indicated.

III. INTERMARRIAGE AT THUBURSICU NUMIDARUM

Long a tribal center of the Numidae, Thubursicu Numidarum (mod. Khémissa) was made a *municipium* (*Ulpium Traianum Augustum Thubursicu*) no later than A.D. 113, and a colony sometime before 270. According to Paul MacKendrick, the settlement was "thoroughly Romanized," perhaps as early as the time of Tacfarinas' rebellion (A.D. 17–24). But there are several indications also of a sizeable and probably only partially Romanized indigenous population—two Baal-Saturn temples; 173 Punic stelae; Latin inscriptions bristling with African names.²³

Five hundred and twenty-nine intact epitaphs have been recovered at the site. One hundred and fifty-nine of them (30.1%) record 162 marriages, including those of three veterans (1.9% of the 162 husbands). Table 2 and Figure 2 describe the status—Roman(ized) or un-Romanized—of the husbands and wives who are attested (three epitaphs that record the "marriages" of slaves or non-Romans who were not of African origin are excluded).²⁴

Of the 148 Roman(ized) men attested on the epitaphs (including the three veterans), twelve (8.1%) appear to have been married to un-Romanized Africans: six were commemorated together with their wives—Julius Primulus with Namfammina, C. Iunius Saturninus with Secchun, Paternus with Sesola, Felix with Sahnam, Helvius Saturninus with Thadir, Iunius Felix with Namgedde; five others—Fronto Lepta, Florus, Gallus, Quirinius and L. Aemilius Rogatus—were the husbands respectively of Berict, Zabulla, Berecbal, Therefnat, and Namgedde; a man named Arius Felix commemorated himself and his wife, Namgidde.²⁵

Of the 145 Roman(ized) women attested, nine (6.2%) seem to have married un-Romanized Africans: three were commemorated together with their husbands—Vivia Matrona with Barichio, Aemilia Natalis with Bazabulus, Germana with Iamascai; three more—Iulia Honorata, Postuma, and Sextilia Villatica—are said to

23. *Municipium*, etc.: see MacKendrick 1980, 216; in general, Gsell 1912. MacKendrick: 1980, 216–17, citing its public buildings, which included two *fora*, baths, a monumental arch, and a theater (probably of Severan date). Punic stelae: see MacKendrick 1980, 217. African names: Garnsey 1978, 250; he remarks that some of the Africans in the town were Roman citizens, "but with non-Roman names and few prospects."

24. Source: *CIL*, vol. 8 and Gsell 1922 (= *ILAlg.* 1). Three epitaphs each record two marriages: *CIL* 8.5064 (= *ILAlg.* 1.1810); 5112 (= *ILAlg.* 1.1590); *ILAlg.* 1.1976. I have included one epitaph that records betrothal (*ILAlg.* 1.1503). Slaves, etc.: *CIL* 8.4953 (= *ILAlg.* 1.1839), 4999 (= *ILAlg.* 1.1905), 5054 (= *ILAlg.* 1.1781).

25. Namfammina: *CIL* 8.5055 (= *ILAlg.* 1.1666)—left: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Namfa / mina Vi / ctorici / Filia P(ia) V(icit) / A(nnis) XXV*; right: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Iulius / Primu / lus / P(ius) V(icit) A(nnis) / LXX*; on the name, see M'Charek 1982, 186 ("Namphamina"). Secchun: *CIL* 8.5099 (= *ILAlg.* 1.1713)—left: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Secch / un Sat / tari Fil(ia) / Vix(it) An(nis) LXX / H(ic) S(ita) E(st) V(?)*; right: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / C(aius) Iuni / us Satur / ninus Pi / us V(icit) A(nnis) LXX / H(ic) S(itus) E(st)*. Sesola: *CIL* 8.5103 (= *ILAlg.* 1.1805)—left: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Sesola / Vix(it) An(nis) / XLV / H(ic) S(ita) E(st)*; right: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Paternu / s Vix(it) A / n(nis) LX / H(ic) S(itus) E(st)*. Sahnam: *ILAlg.* 1.1541—left: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Sahn(am) / Zabon(is) (Filia) / Vix(it) P(ia) / A(nnis) XLV*; right: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / F(elix) Ono / rati (Filius) / P(ius) V(icit) A(nnis) C*; variations of the name are attested at *ILAlg.* 1.919, 1006 ("Sanam"), 1059 ("Sahnamt"), 1901 ("Sahnaim"), 2315 ("Sanamt"). Thadir: *ILAlg.* 1.1616—left: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Thadir / Nam / phamo / nis Fil(ia)*; right: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Helvi / us Sa / turni / nus*. Namgedde: *ILAlg.* 1.1703—left: *D(is)*

TABLE 2. HUSBANDS AND WIVES AT THUBURSICU NUMIDARUM

| | | | Wives | | Total |
|----------|----------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------|
| | | | Roman(ized) | Un-Romanized | |
| Husbands | Military | Roman(ized) | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| | | Un-Romanized | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Civilian | Roman(ized) | 133 | 12 | 145 |
| | | Un-Romanized | 9 | 2 | 11 |
| | | Total | 145 | 14 | 159 |

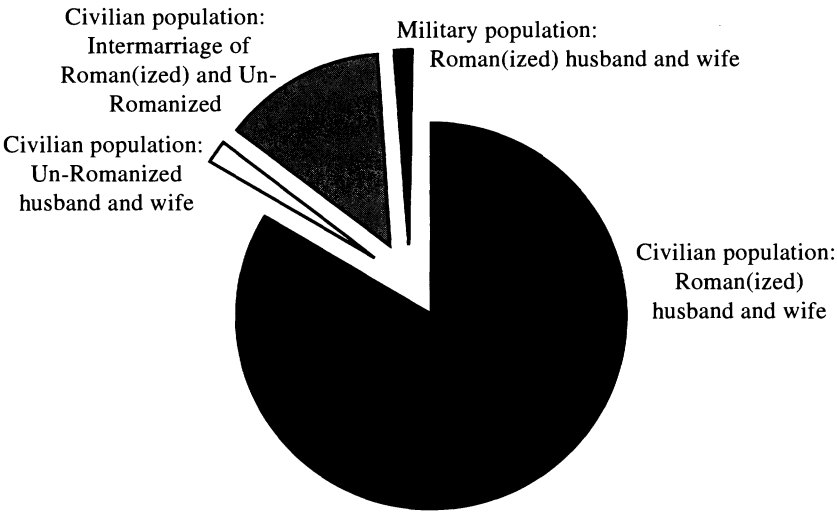


FIGURE 2. INTERMARRIAGE AT THUBURSICU NUMIDARUM

M(anibus) S(acrum) / Iunius / Felix / P(ius) V(ixit) A(nnis) / LXXXVI M(ensibus) II; right: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Nam / gedde / Mar / tinis / . . .*; for Namgedde (and Namgidde, below), see M'Charek 1982, 186. Berict: *CIL* 8.4924 (= *ILAlg.* 1.1582)—*Berict Scini F(ilia) / Frontonis Lep / tae Uxor Vix(it) An / nis XXV H(ic) S(ita) E(st)*; the name is attested also at *CIL* 8.6232, 20499, 25507, 27713; see also Pflaum 1959, 118 ("Berict"). Zabulla: *CIL* 8.17201 (= *ILAlg.* 1.1950)—*Zabul(la) Sat / urninis F(ilia) / . . . lori Uxor / P(ia) V(ixit) An(nis) XXV / H(ic) S(ita) E(st)*; for Zabulla as a "Punico-Libyan" name, see Thompson 1967–68, 57 ("Zabullus"). Berecbal: *ILAlg.* 1.1438—*Berecb / al Secu / ndi F(ilia) / Galli U / xor S(e) V(iva) P(osuit) / An(nis) / LXXXV*; the name is attested also at *CIL* 8.17293, 27507. Therefnat: *ILAlg.* 1.1913—*Therefnat / Mitatis F(ilia) / Quirini T / hililis (Fili) Ux / or Pia Vix(it) / Annos LXXXI / H(ic) S(ita) Est*. Namgedde: *CIL* 8.4906 (= *ILAlg.* 1.1396)—left: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / L(ucius) Aemilius / Rogatus / P(ius) V(ixit) A(nnis) / CX / H(ic) S(itus) E(st)*; right: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Namged / de Roga / ti Uxor P(ia) V(ixit) A(nnis) / C / H(ic) S(ita) E(st)*. Namgidde: *ILAlg.* 1.1417—left: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Arius / Fiilix / Ianua(rui) / Filius / S(ii) Viv / o Posu / it Sib(i) / Et Uxori*; right: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Nam / gidde / Salluc / is Fili / a*.

have been the wives respectively of Zabo, Numida, and Nabor; three others—Saturnina, Petronia Frontilla, and Iulia Privata—were all married to men named Mustiolus.²⁶

The data may be summarized this way: fully 13.2% (21/159) of the marriage-epitaphs appear to record the union of Roman(ized) and un-Romanized, compared to just 0.8% (3/367) of the marriage-epitaphs recovered at Lambaesis.

IV. CONCLUSION

The figures are at best a rough estimate of the frequency with which Roman(ized) married un-Romanized at either Lambaesis or Thubursicu Numidarum. They probably under-report the actual rate of cross-cultural marriage at both sites. And they misrepresent the marriage habits of the indigenous population. Nine of the eleven un-Romanized women attested at Thubursicu Numidarum, for example, appear to have had Roman(ized) husbands; put another way, just two of the 159 marriage-epitaphs seem to record the union of two un-Romanized Africans: *ILAlg.* 1.1634, on which a man named Iadar is commemorated together with his wife, Zabullica; and *ILAlg.* 1.1774, where a woman named Sumuda is commemorated together with her husband, Mustiolus.²⁷ It must be the case that many marriages of un-Romanized Africans have not been recorded.

There is, however, no reason why the data should be more inaccurate in the case of one community than the other, or why the epitaphs at one of the sites should be any more or less representative of its population. And there is no reason to believe that the un-Romanized population at Lambaesis was significantly smaller than at Thubursicu Numidarum.

The figures can therefore be said to indicate that the intermarriage of Roman(ized) and un-Romanized was decidedly less common at Lambaesis, across both the military and civilian populations. They suggest that there was, as Brent Shaw has put it, a “terrible estrangement” between the army and indigenous society, and per-

26. Vivia Matrona: *CIL* 8.5132 (= *ILAlg.* 1.1435)—left: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Vivia / Matro / na Pi / a Vixit / A(n)nis C*; right: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Barichi / o Victo / ris Ner / sanis Fil(ius) / P(ius) V(ixit) Annis / . . . XIV H(ic) S(itus) E(st)*; for Barichio as an African name, see Thompson 1967–68, 48 (“Baricio”). Aemilia Natalis: *ILAlg.* 1.1437—left: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / BaZabu / lus Vi / xit Ann(is) / LXXXI*; right: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Aemilia / Natalis / Vixit / An(nis) LXXXI*. Germana: *ILAlg.* 1.1635—left: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Iamas / cai Nu / midici / F(ilius) P(ius) V(ixit) An(nis)*; right: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Germa / na Cres / centis / F(ilia) P(ia) V(ixit) A(nnis)*. Iulia Honorata: *CIL* 8.5018 (= *ILAlg.* 1.1683)—*Iulia Hono / rata Zabo / nis Uxor Pia V(ixit) A(nnis) XXX / H(ic) S(ita) E(st)*. Postuma: *CIL* 8.5069 (= *ILAlg.* 1.1824)—*Postuma / Rufini F(ilia) / Numidae / Uxor V(ixit) A(nnis) / LXV H(ic) S(ita) E(st)*; on the name Numida, see Kajanto 1965, 206. Sextilia Villatica: *CIL* 8.5107 (= *ILAlg.* 1.1891)—left: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Sextilia / Villati / ca Uxor / Eius*; right: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Nabor / Maxima*; for Nabor, see Pflaum 1959, 118 (“Nabor-”). Saturnina: *CIL* 8.5098 (= *ILAlg.* 1.1876)—left: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Saturni / na Mus / tioli Uxo / r Vix(it) Pi / a A(nnis) . . . XV*; right: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Mari / sa Mus / tioli Fil(ia) / P(ia) V(ixit) A(nnis) X / XIII H(ic) S(ita) E(st)*. Petronia Frontilla: *ILAlg.* 1.1356—*Petronia / Frontil / la / Candidi F(ilia) / Mustioli / Uxor / Pia V(ixit) A(nnis) XXIX / H(ic) S(ita) E(st)*. Iulia Privata: *ILAlg.* 1.1977—left: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Mus / tiolus / Zabul / li (Filius) Pius / V(ixit) A(nnis) LXI*; right: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Iulia / Privata Mus / tioli U / xor P(ia) V(ixit) / A(nnis) LXXI*. On the African origin of the name Mustiolus, see Pflaum 1959, 118; 1974–75, 27.

27. *ILAlg.* 1.1634—left: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Zabulli / ca Sarroni / ae Fil(ia) / P(ia) V(ixit) An(nis) LXX / H(ic) S(ita) E(st)*; right: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Iadar / Gudu(s) / Fil(ius) . . . / An(nis) XXV / H(ic) S(itus) E(st)*; variations of Iadar are attested at *CIL* 8.9923 (Iadiri), 10686, 12102, 12207, 17253 (Iader). *ILAlg.* 1.1774—left: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Sumud / a Coiug / i Uius / P(ia) V(ixit) A(nnis) XXIX*; right: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Musti / olus / Magn(i) F(ilius) / P(ius) V(ixit) A(nnis) XXXIX*.

haps more generally between the Roman(ized) and the un-Romanized populations. There is virtually no evidence of any significant measure of cross-cultural interrelationship at Lambaesis, still less of what Elizabeth Fentress has called "assimilation." Recent study that characterizes the Roman frontier-regions as zones of social and cultural interpenetration cannot readily accommodate the experience of Lambaesis.²⁸

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28. Shaw: 1983, 144. Cf. 148: there are, he concludes, "few signs" that the isolation of the soldiery at Lambaesis was "in any way mitigated by other normal modes of interrelation within civil society (e.g., inter-marriage)." Fentress: 1979, 78. "Recent study": e.g., Dyson 1985, 4; Hanson 1989, 55.

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