

# Post-colonial theory and the study of Roman Spain

William E. Mierse

NATHALIE BARRANDON, *DE LA PACIFICATION À L'INTÉGRATION DES HISPANIKES (133-27 A.C.). LES MUTATIONS DES SOCIÉTÉS INDIGÈNES D'HISPANIE CENTRALE ET SEPTENTRIONALE SOUS DOMINATION ROMAINE* (Ausonius Éditions, Scripta Antiqua 35, Bordeaux; diffusion De Boccard, Paris 2011). Pp. 468, figs. 177. ISSN 1962-1744; ISBN 978-2-35613-046-4. EUR. 25.

ALICIA JIMÉNEZ DÍEZ, *IMAGINES HIBRIDAE. UNA APROXIMACIÓN POSTCOLONIALISTA AL ESTUDIO DE LAS NECRÓPOLIS DE LA BÉTICA* (Anejos de AEspA XLIII; Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid 2008). Pp. 409, figs. 150. ISBN 978-84-00-08617-6.

The two works under review both began as dissertations and, as such, they both suffer from being somewhat overwritten. That being said, they are both major contributions to the new wave of studies about how conquered territories that in due time became provinces also became fully functioning members of the empire, the process which used to be called "Romanization". The two studies complement each other. Both authors concern themselves with the Republican period, Jiménez Díez covering the S part of Spain, the Republican province of *Ulterior*, later *Baetica*, and Barrandon focusing on E Spain, the Republican *Citerior*, later *Tarraconensis*. Jiménez Díez has produced a number of shorter studies focused on funerary patterns and monuments, and this book is strongest when she is analyzing those types of archaeological materials. Barrandon is an historian with interests in the spread of Latin and the changing social structure as revealed in the epigraphic record and the development of coinage, and her book becomes most compelling when treating those issues.

In the three decades since the re-establishment of the democracy and the formation of the *autonomia* system in the post-Franco era of the late 1970s, many important archaeological investigations have been undertaken and well published. Some have been at previously unexplored sites, but many have involved the reconsideration of well-known sites excavated earlier in the century. Both authors make use of the most recent findings, their bibliographies showing a strong bias towards the newest studies, which makes the two books among the first major syntheses of the new work. Jiménez Díez has a strong theoretical framework: as her title implies, post-colonial theory permeates the analysis. Barrandon responds less overtly to post-colonial theory, but her bibliography shows that she is conversant with the application of the theory to Roman studies and many of her discussions clearly address the issue.

Post-colonial theory first emerged in an assault on the then-current discussions of literature produced by native writers in European colonial settings in India and Africa. Those who took up the cause challenged the notion that these writers were merely imitators of European models, instead arguing for a more nuanced approach to understanding what they were doing as they tried to forge an identity that combined both native and colonial heritages.<sup>1</sup> This aspect of post-colonial theory has been eloquently considered in the autobiographical work of C. Achebe.<sup>2</sup> The theoretical approach has found strong adherents among those studying early colonial history in the Spanish New World. Historians there have begun to examine ways in which conquered indigenous populations responded to their new societal position by redefining themselves and their relationships, as illustrated through landholdings and lawsuits. Art historians have investigated the rôle that native artists played in the creation of art in the new vice-regal societies of Mexico and Peru, while archaeologists are pursuing sites which mark new native villages taking shape near the Spanish towns as a native response to the changed circumstances.<sup>3</sup> Similar kinds of investigations, if less well developed, are taking place in the

1 E. Said, *Orientalism* (New York 1978); M. M. Bakhtin (ed. M. Holquist, transl. V. Liapuov and K. Bronstrom), *The dialogic imagination: four essays* (Austin, TX 1981); H. Bhabha, *The location of culture* (London 1994).

2 C. Achebe, *The education of a British-protected child: essays* (New York 2009)

3 D. Fame (ed.), *Converging cultures, art and identity in Spanish America* (New York 1996); J. Lockhart,



USA both at the point of contact between the arriving Spanish and the indigenous populations of the American Southwest, as well as in the Northeast; in the latter case, important work is reconsidering the first phase of European penetration and the first century of the fur-trading system.<sup>4</sup> The emphasis has been on trying better to isolate the new emergent native sense of self in light of the arrival of a major powerful force.

Since the 19th c. and the work of Th. Mommsen, Roman studies have been plagued by the question of how the conquered, particularly in the Roman West, changed from being rebellious subjects of conquering Rome to contributing citizens who eventually even supplied Rome with emperors. Post-colonial theory offers a means of exploring how conquered peoples began to be active agents in their own redefinition, shifting them from being passive recipients of the blessings or curses of conquest into full participants who mediated the process of change. Yet Romanists have been slow fully to consider post-colonial theory and its possible application to the study of "Romanization". It was only in the 1990s that some British Romanists took up the challenge and began to reconsider how conquering Romans interacted with conquered peoples to produce the post-conquest structure of empire,<sup>5</sup> but the theory had still not found many adherents outside Anglophone scholarship, which makes the studies by Barrandon and Jiménez Díez that much more interesting, for they really are the first self-consciously post-colonial studies of the Spanish territories under Roman rule.<sup>6</sup>

Though post-colonial theory has matured since its first appearance in 1955 and has reached the point of self-critiquing,<sup>7</sup> it is still, in its simplest application to the study of conquered and colonized peoples, an attempt to find the voice of the colonized among the discourse of the conquerors. It may well be "the art of the ventriloquist",<sup>8</sup> but it does offer some antidote to the constant teleological perspective of history told only from the victor's vantage point. The question for Roman studies is that of what is possible: can the colonization process in the West actually be told from the view of the colonized? Though neither Jiménez Díez nor Barrandon identify themselves as adherents to J. Webster's theory of "creolization",<sup>9</sup> in reality they both subscribe to this approach, as their respective studies explore the physical manifestations in the archaeological record by which they can argue that the native peoples became invested in a new identity, one that recognized a Roman aspect.

### Written sources

Both authors begin with a consideration of the written sources that provide most of our documentary information about the state of the Iberian peninsula during the last two centuries B.C. and 1st c. A.D.; they consider only the historical and geographical writings, not the literary

---

*The Nahuas after the conquest: a social and cultural history of the Indians of central Mexico, sixteenth through eighteenth centuries* (Stanford, CA 1992); V. Pimental (ed.), *Peru, kingdoms of the sun and the moon* (Montreal 2013). See also the ongoing excavations by J. Quilter at Magdalena de Cao (Peru).

4 D. S. Brose, C. W. Cowan and R. C. Mainfort (edd.), *Societies in eclipse. Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands Indians, A.D. 1400-1700* (Tuscaloosa, AL 2001); S. Sleeper-Smith, *Rethinking the fur trade. Cultures of exchanges in an Atlantic world* (Lincoln, NE 2009).

5 For a review of the earlier literature, see W. E. Mierse, "Post-colonial theory, the art of the western provinces, and the warrior reliefs from Osuna," in P. P. A. Funari, R. S. Garraffoni and B. Letalien (edd.), *New perspectives on the ancient world: modern perceptions, ancient representations* (BAR S1782; Oxford 2008) 23-34.

6 To my knowledge, M. Benadala Galán is the only Spanish scholar to address post-colonial theory: "La cultura en la Hispania romano-republicana. Cuestiones generales," in *Historia general de España y América*, vol. I.2 (Madrid 1987) 569-92; "La paz augustea y la romanización," in *Hispania. El legado de Roma. En el año de Trajano* (Zaragoza 1998) 127-37.

7 S. D. Elie, "Anthropology and post-colonial thought: the paradoxical quest for positionality," *Studies in Social and Political Thought* 12 (2006) 53-72. F. Afzal-Khan and K. Seshadri-Crooks (edd.), *The pre-occupation of postcolonial studies* (Durham 2000).

8 Elie *ibid.* 57, paraphrasing C. Geertz, *Available light* (Princeton, NJ 2000).

9 J. Webster, "Creolizing the Roman provinces," *AJA* 105 (2001) 209-25.



output of authors who claimed their origins on the peninsula. Barrandon takes the sources at face value and uses them with little consideration of their authors' backgrounds or motivations for writing, whereas Jiménez Díez is much more sensitive to the problems presented by this body of work; she acknowledges that each author had an agenda, yet surprisingly offers little analysis of how these sources were operating. Recently there has been some thoughtful work on the whole process by which conquering and colonizing nations used historical and geographical literary production as part of the process of laying claim to a newly acquired territory.<sup>10</sup> This is insidious when it is done to peoples who cannot combat this intellectual conquest because they lack their own strong written tradition, as was the case for most of the peoples on the Iberian peninsula. It is Appian, Livy, Strabo and Pliny who give us the names of groups who inhabited the peninsula at the time of Rome's engagement, and they are also responsible for our whole notion of how the peoples were arranged and their level of cultural attainment. Strabo, who never visited the peninsula, depended on sources which vary as to their trustworthiness,<sup>11</sup> and the same is true of Appian and Livy. Pliny did know the peninsula as an administrator and is perhaps more trustworthy in some regards, but he was a colonial administrator with a need to categorize and classify people as well as things. These classical authors fit into what has been identified as the second and third stages of intellectual conquest, which takes place with writing the narrative history of the conquest, through which the justification for conquest is elaborated, followed by a process in which the conquerors name or re-name what has been seized and begin to possess the conquered land, in the process categorizing those conquered. In fact we have no idea if the peoples identified by the various names in the classical works would have recognized themselves, but from what we know of this process in the early modern era we can best assume that they would not, for most of our early modern evidence suggests that the chroniclers, geographers and historians of the conquering Europeans came with far too much cultural baggage of their own to really see what they were encountering.<sup>12</sup> The very concept of tribal structures into which classical authors divided the indigenous peoples was possibly a reflection of Rome's need for clarity for administrative purposes, rather than a picture of the real situation on the ground prior to the arrival of Rome.<sup>13</sup>

#### Archaeological evidence and burials: Jiménez Díez

The book by Jiménez Díez investigates Roman cemeteries at *Castulo* (Jaén), *Baelo Claudia* (Cádiz), and *Colonia Patricia* (Córdoba). These three regions provide her with a somewhat thorough coverage of the E part of *Baetica* (Republican *Ulterior*) through three distinct cultural areas: *Castulo* was a mining center in the Sierra Morena with a long indigenous occupation; *Baelo Claudia* was a port within the orbit of the old Phoenician and Carthaginian region of Gadir; and Córdoba was an old native settlement which became the Republican capital of *Ulterior*. She considers the structural features of tombs and funerary zones and the assemblages of objects associated with burials and finds important differences between the respective groupings.

At *Castulo*, where it is possible to compare the pre-Republican native tombs with those of the Republican era, she finds evidence for continuity in ritual practice continuing well into the Republican era, though at the same time there is evidence for changes resulting from new influences. Native pots of a tradition stretching back to the 4th c. B.C. continued to be deposited as grave gifts into the 1st c. A.D.; similarly, certain types of burial treatments continue from the pre-Roman well into the Roman period. However, a difference does appear in the state of the objects included with a burial. In pre-Roman burials, more of the ceramic objects appear to have been broken, perhaps as part of a destructive funerary ritual which appears to have lost

10 D. Day, *Conquest: how societies overwhelm others* (Oxford 2008) 49-68.

11 For a critical consideration of Strabo's Book 3, see W. E. Mierse, "The architecture of the lost temple of Hercules Gaditanus and its Levantine associations," *AJA* 108 (2004) 545-76.

12 D. Lupher, *Romans in a New World, classical models in sixteenth-century Spanish America* (Ann Arbor, MI 2006).

13 P. Wells, *The barbarians speak: how the conquered peoples shaped Roman Europe* (Princeton, NJ 1999) 116-19.



its importance in the post-conquest period (127-33). Noticeable is the lack of imported objects, which even in the Republican period seem not to have been included as grave gifts.

In Republican-era burials at *Baelo Claudia* the same absence of imported ceramic wares within the tomb offerings seems to be occurring.<sup>14</sup> Here, however, finds of broken imported sigillata around the tomb suggest that the post-interment funerary banquets did make use of imported wares, which were then ritually destroyed at the tomb site. What might not have been appropriate as a grave offering was evidently quite suitable for serving food at the commemorative banquets (238-39). Among the most intriguing elements are a series of rough stone sculptures variously identified as portraits of the deceased, stelae, betyles, or "muñecos". Their purpose and origin have been much debated, but Jiménez Díez takes the view that they are ultimately of Punic N African origin, probably related to similar finds from the Punic parts of W Sicily. Their continued use into the Imperial period at *Baelo Claudia* testifies to a strong indigenous current surviving at a site which, as a port on the *garum* network, was quite open to outside influences. The connection with N Africa can also be seen in some funerary monuments which appear similar to those known at Tipasa and Sétif. The linkages to a Punic heritage still operating in N Africa lent strength to the native population at *Baelo Claudia* (248).

As a Roman provincial capital, Córdoba had resident Roman and foreign populations. It has not yet yielded tombs associated with the initial response to the first period of colonial development, but the assemblages that have been reconstructed reveal a perseverance of some indigenous items even into the High Empire (342). The earliest burials known show strong Roman traditions in terms of architectural forms (319), yet throughout the Republican era native and Punic structural elements persist alongside them (351). By the Augustan period, many tombs use engraved stelae that identify the individuals in Latin, suggesting that by the late 1st c. B.C. Latinization of the region had progressed, a trend which has been viewed as evidence of stronger adoption of Roman customs by the native population.<sup>15</sup> The epigraphic material has permitted groupings of like burials to be isolated, including one group of public slaves and another of gladiators, in both cases of individuals from outside the peninsula, highlighting the cosmopolitan character of a provincial capital (326-27).

Jiménez Díez argues that the necropoleis show that during the Republican era, as outside influences entered, the native traditions of *Baetica* were modified. The changes were not the result of imposed cultural assimilation or genocide but rather the product of new circumstances that required some type of response. The indigenous population made choices as to how and where to adopt new forms, adapting some existing customs and objects while dispensing with others. The funerary evidence points to the forming of a hybrid cultural identity among the native population, one that was open to an even more dramatic shift in identification beginning in the Augustan period.

### Coinage and inscriptions: Barrandon

The book by Barrandon is less focused in its approach to the transformation of indigenous cultures of the E and NE parts of the peninsula. She casts her net wide in the search for material evidence of how native populations were adjusting to the changed setting following the conquest, considering urban planning, architectural forms, local coinage, decorative arts, and epigraphy particularly as it shows an increasing use of Latin. The diffuse nature of the evidence is both the strength and weakness of the study. By embracing so much, Barrandon is able to offer a more nuanced view of how adaptations were taking place in different forms of material culture, but she herself is not that well versed in all the areas; the result is an uneven

14 The history of the excavations, first in the early, then again in the second half of the 20th c., with the differences in excavation philosophies between them, have resulted in uneven publications that pose problems when one is trying to answer certain types of questions about the contexts of assemblages.

15 G. Woolf, "Monumental writing and the expansion of Roman society in the Early Empire," *JRS* 86 (1996) 22-39.



analytical coverage as she accepts at face value too many of the conclusions about architectural forms, urban plans or decorative features that have been made by others. Only with the coinage and the epigraphy does she take complete control of the material and offer penetrating analytical insights. Still, her study does provide a sense of the rhythms by which the process of renegotiating an identity occurred in the new world of control by Rome, sometimes propelled by a sudden influx of outside influences but often occurring more slowly.

One of the most discussed items from this part of Spain is the Celtiberian coinage, particularly the Iberian *denarius*. These coins have been of interest ever since they were catalogued and interpreted by A. Vives y Escudero<sup>16</sup> and G. F. Hill.<sup>17</sup> The silver coins were struck by a number of native settlements in *Citerior* starting before 133 B.C. They usually carry legends that identify the minting community, some of which have been connected with specific locations. The legends are usually in the Iberian alphabet, though some are bilingual Iberian and Latin. Their purpose has been much debated, although the usual consensus has been that they were struck in largest quantity under Roman pressure to pay troops during the civil wars of the 2nd-1st c. B.C.;<sup>18</sup> they probably began, perhaps early in the 2nd c. B.C., as a means of paying for new imports that arrived as a result of the conquest (57-58). Barrandon, however, sees the coinage differently. She notes that coinage was already being struck by several indigenous communities before the conquest, although over the course of the 2nd c. B.C. the number of communities striking coins increased substantially (59). The new coins in *Citerior* follow Roman metrology in weight and system of denomination and have a limited repertoire of types (a masculine head on the obverse, one of a series of equestrian images on the reverse). Barrandon sees in the coinage signs of a local native response and thinks that individual communities chose to strike them, sometimes for only a short period. There is a fair range, some striking being the product of well-cut dies by skilled artists, others being of much poorer quality. Many of the die-makers must have been itinerant, moving to communities that were initiating a minting program or were in need of die-makers to assist with an established mint. The iconography of the limited number of types and particularly the rather common horseman variants spoke to local Celtiberian notions of identity: the horseman was tied to native elite identity and represented the rôle of the élites in the auxiliary forces.<sup>19</sup> While there may have been a need for more currency during the periods of massive Roman military presence, Barrandon argues that the choices of metrology and types reflect not something imposed from outside but represent a development of the Celtiberian communities themselves: the types drew on Celtiberian sensibilities, offering an image of self-identification even in a Roman setting (66).

The other field in which Barrandon offers a thoughtful review is the growing presence of Latinity on the peninsula based on the epigraphic record. The movement of Latin into the personal realm of the indigenous population, in which one first sees the phenomenon of bilingualism and then the total displacement of the native tongue by Latin, surely indicates a meaningful change in the sense of self among the conquered peoples, though whether it actually signifies the cultural death of the colonized groups<sup>20</sup> is perhaps not so clear. An epigraphic tradition existed in the Celtiberian region before the arrival of the Romans; inscribing bronze plaques was an established practice for some types of official inscriptions (168). The bronze plaques from *Contrebia Belaisca* (Botorrita), three in Celtiberian and only one (a list of names) in Latin, show that the custom continued through the first phase of colonization; while this major public inscription acknowledges the need to conduct some official business in the language of the conquerors, the continued use of the Celtiberian language and the plaques' Celtiberian

16 A. Vives y Escudero, *La moneda hispánica* (Madrid 1924-26).

17 G. F. Hill, *Notes on the ancient coinage of Hispania Citerior* (ANSNM 50, 1931).

18 M. H. Crawford, *Coinage and money under the Roman Republic. Italy and the Mediterranean economy* (Berkeley, CA 1985) 95-96.

19 M. Almagro Gorbea, "La moneda hispánica con jinete y cabeza varonil: ¿Tradición indígena o creación romana?" *Zephyrus* 48 (1995) 235-66.

20 A. Tranoy, *La Galice romaine. Recherches sur le nord-ouest de la péninsule Ibérique dans l'Antiquité* (Paris 1981) 264-65.



form testify to a surviving indigenous strength that is visible in the continued use of traditional modes of communication (170). *Contrebia Belaisca* was a native settlement with perhaps a small resident Italian population, but the Latin presence was much stronger and more important at a major new foundation such as *Tarraco*, as seen in its corpus of honorific and funerary inscriptions; here the *emigré* presence of colonial administrators and merchants and a weak local epigraphic tradition allowed Latin to dominate. The situation at the older indigenous settlement of *Saguntum*, farther down the coast, was just the opposite: here the native tradition was still strong enough to resist a major influx of Latin into the epigraphic record as the indigenous language persisted throughout the Republican period (174). Nevertheless, *Saguntum* in the same period was engaged in a major building program that was indebted to Italic models.<sup>21</sup> Thus, while Latin made inroads throughout the Republican era, autochthonous languages and epigraphic traditions retained viability and even some strength, with only modest compromises made to the conqueror's language until the reign of Augustus.

While Barrandon, like Jiménez Díez, argues for a slow process of change during which the indigenous peoples negotiated their new identity in light of the conquest and colonization, there is one area in which there is some evidence for a dramatic shift in the sense of self. Food preparation, represented by cooking pots, offers some evidence for a significant change brought about because of the conquest, colonization, and expanded trade networks. After language, traditional cuisine is probably the second most important aspect of a people's identity, one deeply tied to a sense of self. The changes in the use of imported wares for serving and consuming items of food, which both authors note in the evidence from funerary banquets, need not testify to a major shift in self-identity — it is not difficult to expand a repertoire with pieces which carry the prestige of being exotic and luxurious when compared to locally-made objects — but when cooking wares change in a manner that reveals new patterns of food preparation, then something is happening on a basic level. This is what C. Aguarod Otal<sup>22</sup> discovered in a study of cooking ceramics in both the Iberian and Celtiberian regions. The traditional pot for boiling placed directly over a fire gave way to new forms of cooking ware imported from Italy, including casserole plates and stew pots. Perhaps most telling is the use of mortars and pestles, which had been totally absent from the archaeological record prior to the conquest. Mortars and pestles suggest not just a modification to cooking but also a change in the preparation of the foodstuffs at the most basic level. The native populations were developing a new palate, perhaps one that was somewhat more sophisticated — a shift which must be seen as self-motivated and perhaps offering one of the clearest signs of a self-willed hybridization.

The authors' analyses of their respective archaeological evidence point to a trend already noted in late 20th-c. studies of *Baetica* and *Tarraconensis*:<sup>23</sup> in neither region can it be claimed that the conquest resulted in a formal, planned program of "Romanization" by which the indigenous peoples were forced to change their identities. Even the arrival of new settlers of Roman or Italic origins was quite limited both geographically and in numbers. The most significant change was the connecting of both regions more fully into commercial trade networks focused on the W coast of central and S Italy. The native populations were left to their own devices in terms of how to come to grips with the new reality. Here the lack of any native writings of the period of the initial annexation or the following decades stymies our ability to appreciate how long it took for the conquered peoples to realize that the old order had ended for good. Study of a series of manuscripts written by Maya scribes just after the conquest has shown that within many of the Mayan villages the Spanish were not perceived initially as having much changed the societal structure;<sup>24</sup> it may have taken at least a generation before the full impact was appreciated. Something similar may have marked the arrival of Roman rule in Spain.

21 W. E. Mierse, *Temples and towns in Roman Iberia* (Berkeley, CA 1999) 35-39.

22 C. Aguarod Otal, *Cerámica romana importada de cocina en la Tarraconense* (Zaragoza 1991).

23 J.-M. Carreté, S. Keay and M. Millett, *A Roman provincial capital and its hinterland. The survey of the territory of Tarragona, Spain, 1985-1990* (JRA Suppl. 15, 1995) 276-77; S. Keay (ed.), *The archaeology of Early Roman Baetica* (JRA Suppl. 29, 1998).

24 M. Restall, *Maya conquistador* (Boston, MA 1998).



Comprehension of the significance of the change may well have varied from place to place. However, the archaeological record for both the south and the east of the peninsula shows that within a couple of generations the local indigenous groups were actively deciding what to keep and what to discard of their material culture, and what to bring in that was available as a result of the expanded commercial contacts. The real question is: was it this self-redefining process, which began with the physical manifestations of cultural identity, that led to the rejection of most of the old cultural forms and allowed for the almost complete acceptance in the Augustan era and following of Roman metropolitan models by the two new provinces?

william.mierse@uvm.edu

Department of Art and Art History, University of Vermont

## Lamps from Algeria

Hector Williams

JEAN BUSSIÈRE, *LAMPES ANTIQUES D'ALGÉRIE I* (Monographies *instrumentum* 16; éditions monique mergoïl 16, Montagnac 2000). Pp. 593, figs. 56, pls. 165.

JEAN BUSSIÈRE, *LAMPES ANTIQUES D'ALGÉRIE II. LAMPES TARDIVES ET LAMPES CHRÉTIENNES* (Monographies *instrumentum* 35; éditions monique mergoïl, Montagnac 2007). Pp. 198, pl. 141. ISBN 978-2-35518-002-6; ISSN 1278-3846. EUR. 55.

The study of Greek and Roman oil lamps has been growing in the past three decades with a steady stream of books and articles. The establishment of the International Lychnological Association (ILA) less than a decade ago has also helped to promote knowledge of an important area of *instrumenta domestica*. International congresses of nearly 100 scholars held every three years (Nyon 2003; Zalau 2006; Heidelberg 2009; Ptuj 2012) as well as more frequent regional workshops organized by the ILA have encouraged younger scholars to take up a subject pioneered nearly a century ago by S. Loeschke at Vindonissa and O. Broneer at Corinth.<sup>1</sup> Most works, however, still tend to be of excavation finds or museum *corpora*, with only occasional works of synthesis, and in some regions (e.g., Asia Minor) there has been remarkably little progress. North Africa, particularly rich in lamps from Roman and Early Christian times, received much scholarly attention, particularly from the French, from the late 19th c., although little has been based on good stratigraphic contexts. The two volumes under review now form the most comprehensive publication of lamps from any N African country as a whole and will come to be the basis of any further studies of lamps in Algeria. J. Bussière, a long-time resident of Algeria and now France through his association with P.-A. Février and others was able to examine a huge range of material (c.10,000 lamps) in museum collections, publishing a number of substantial papers on lamps from Algeria in *AntAfr* and elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> Often there is little information about original contexts, dates generally depend on work done elsewhere, and since only complete or relatively complete lamps were retained we cannot make accurate statistical studies, although Bussière does provide a variety of bar charts with the relative proportions of different types and places.

The first volume included 7732 lamps from Phoenician/Punic to Roman of the 3rd c. A.D., with a few that go into the 5th c.; a section at the end adds several hundred lamps of Algerian provenance in the Farges collection (first published sketchily in 1900<sup>3</sup> but included here for the sake of completeness). The Preface to vol. 1 provides a useful background to the sites from which the lamps derive and the museums where they now repose. The rich photographic

1 S. Loeschke, *Lampen aus Vindonissa* (Zurich 1919); O. Broneer, *Corinth IV. The terracotta lamps* (Princeton, NJ 1934)

2 J. Bussière, "Les lampes phénicoponiques d'Algérie," *AntAfr* 25 (1989) 41-67; id., "Les lampes à entonnoir d'Algérie," *AntAfr* 26 (1990) 25-38; id., "Lampes d'Algérie I. Lampes à canal courbe de Maurétanie Césarienne," *AntAfr* 28 (1992) 187-222.

3 M. Besnier and P. Blanchet, "Collections du Cdt Farges," dans *Musées de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie* (Paris 1900) 18-47, pl. VII