# Ut Recte Valeant: Languages in 3rd Century Roman Africa*

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> (...) tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento (hae tibi erunt artes) pacique imponere morem, parcere subiectis et deballare superbos.
>
> (…) remember thou, O Roman, to rule the nations with thy sway–these shall be thine arts–to crown Peace with Law, to spare the humbled, and to tame in war the proud. (Virgil, *Aenid*, VI, 851-3.)

The imperial statement of Virgil seems puzzling in what it says and implies. It belongs to a history, witnesses to a political project and its ideals. Yet could not we rephrase it in a different manner by bringing together the *oikumene* reinvented by Rome and its multicultural contingent policies? Here is a way, a not so innocent exegesis of the first years of the third century roman civil culture in the north of Africa.

About roman provinces in the northern part of Africa, one could say that almost everything about their history has been said. That was already the impression of XIX$^{th}$ century

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specialists, and XX$^{th}$ century scholarship has only accented this evidence.[1] Even on the limited topic concerning the collaboration of languages, we do count today on excellent syntheses. These are texts on other texts and they allow us the possibility of reconstituting regressively a configuration that can reflect back on our debates on canon and diversity issues of our contemporary multicultural contexts. Reading, more exactly re-reading, the dialogue of cultures in early third century roman Africa imposes itself as a challenge about preserving the knowledge of creative narrations that coded memorable events and glorious deeds. In fact, from our present cultural predicaments, why not succumb to the beauty of poaching what had been accumulated by centuries of glossing on intercultural Latin spaces?[2] What the question supposes covers the very practice it demands and supports. In effect, as the late Michel de Certeau put it nicely in *The Practice of Everyday Life*: "reading takes no measures against the erosion of time (one forgets oneself and also forgets), it does not keep what it acquires, or it does so poorly and each of the places through which it passes is a repetition of the lost paradise."[3] Indeed, what a paradise represents here might witness to the Freudian topographic hypothesis. Beyond the realm of my individual reading, the word paradise translates also, and in very subtle ways, a cultural emotional experience that might connect all of us to the metaphors and metonymies of a Judeo-Christian Greco Latinity and its historical patterned activities.[4] From this perspective, one would accept that the third century events

and texts I am bringing together meet our present quandary a propos diversity through a number of implications from at least the sort of expectations that de Certeau expressed well: "the expectation that organizes a readable space, that is a literality; and one that organizes, on the other hand, a procedure necessary for the actualization of the work of reading."[5]

The task I have chosen, limited by time constraints, consists in reconstructing briefly the complexity of a sociopolitical space, third century Roman Africa, as a geographical framework of exemplary cultural signs and their paradoxical efficacy as testimonies of an atmosphere; in sum, comes to my mind a project I wish I could have emulated, Roger Chartier's *The Order of Books* and its ambition: "for me," he wrote, "a fundamental question underlies this approach that combines textual criticism, bibliography, and cultural history: in the societies of the ancient régime, how did increased circulation of printed matter transform forms of sociability, permit new modes of thought, and change people's relationship with power?"[6] Such is the question that can be put back to the third century African Roman context.

When Lucius Septimus Severus (146-211), whose father belongs to the Lepcis Magna Punic middle class, and whose mother, Fulvia, of Italian descent, takes power in 193, provinces of Africa are solidly Roman; and the romanization process is a fact reflecting itself in a self-regulating paradigm: *pax romana*, *pax armata*. The expression "Roman Africa" is misleading.[7] It should be understood as a conceptual device that includes three main

geographical areas, all of them situated West of Egypt, which, by the way, for ancient geographers, belongs to Asia. They are administrative jurisdictions and political divisions. (1) Cyrenaica, bequeathed to Rome by Ptolemy Physcon or Evergetes II in 96, became Roman in 74. Romanization will be here in a permanent competition with Greek culture. Cyrena, its metropolis, is a Greek city that produced an impressive number of imposing figures, including Kallimakos (c. 305-c. 240) and the mathematician Eratosthenes (c. 285-c. 194). Immanent also in the province, along with Libyan *Georgoi* and the *metoikoi*, are Jewish communities involved mainly in commerce. In religion, scholars have been emphasizing the syncretism represented by the figure of Zeus Ammon, and other conjunctions witnessing an intricate pantheon and its theologies.[8] (2) Africa and Numidia, unified as *Africa Nova* by Julius Caesar in 27 a.C.n after his victory at Thassus, stretch from the Western Cyrenaica frontier to the Strait of Gibraltar. The province includes three main *ethnoi*. Firstly, the Berbers or Libyans who represent the most ancient nation. At the end of the second century, they still enjoy a partial political autonomy, are strongly committed to their traditions, and use their lyric language. Secondly, the Phoenicians who founded Carthage in 800 a.C.n., constitute affluent communities in which Punic, their language, competes with Latin, as witnessed by the family of Septimus Severus. The first Christians are also, sometimes, using Punic in their liturgy at the end of the second century. According to St. Augustine (354-430),

Punic was still popular in his time and he does not hesitate to incorporate its words and expressions in his Latin sermons. Now and then, he turned to a translator to make him understood in this language.[9] Finally, came the romanized who controled effectively the political and intellectual structures of everyday common life and were, indeed, fluent not only in Latin, but often highly educated also in Greek.[10] (3) The two *Mauritaniae*, situated in the northwest of the continent became a Roman province under the emperor Claudius in 40. The roman element wais largely disseminated throughout the province since the time of Augustus and most of its inhabitants used Latin besides local languages, which, by the end of the third century, were sparingly used.[11]

Despite the complexity of such multilingualism, Latin was the dominant means of communication and, institutionally, the language of civil administration, intellectual education, and State official religious ceremonies. It was used from Sala, on the Atlantic coast, to Lepcis Magna, on the Mediterranean shore; from Igilgili, or from Castellum Victoriae in the northern part of Kabylia to Castellum Dimmidi, the most southern part, which is near Mount Ouled-Nail. Latinization indeed, yet one should restrict a bit such an affirmation on the basis of our brief presentation of the main *ethnoi* and their knotty linguistic interactions. Thus, three main regimes: the first is the one of urban centers and areas in which Latin is the common language of everyday life activities and, for the elite, in rivalry with Greek insofar as education and culture are concerned; the second

regime is that of a hierarchical structure of languages in which Latin supersedes local idioms; finally, a third regime is visible mainly in peripheral regions on the borders of the Sahara and in newly occupied regions. In these areas, Latin seems to be strictly the language of the occupying power and is used primarily by the civil administration, in military garrisons and fortifications, as well as in some Christian communities.

Instrumentality of mastering a geography that is turning a locale into a new space of habitability, and thus inaugurating it as a novel cultural ensemble. Septimus Severus comes from a provincial ancestry and, rigorously speaking, from an elite class of Punic origin, a milieu in which colonization is a domestic concept. To colonize, *colìre*, means to cultivate, to labor, to arrange, to conquer: that is an index to Spartianus's *Vita Severi*. Severus' ascension to the supreme power narrates its own code of laws beyond the anticipation of the privileged and the reckoning of the unprivileged, a permanent process of symbolizing and acting out its own rules. From Lepcis to Syria and Rome, from Egypt or Africa to Asia, Gaul and Britain, the emperor deconstructs geographies, contrasts them and restructures their constitution. The transmutation of a place into a space explicits itself as a task, that of normalizing a new economy; in sum, something like a text inscribed on the core of the earth. From this background, if Severus' policy of romanizing the North of Africa cannot be detached from a multisecular imperial drive, as well illustrated–for example–by the brutal way he crushes

Tripolitanian *ethnoi*, in the fall of 202, it distinguishes itself from this past in so far as Septimus Severus is subduing his own place and toning it in an affirmed intention of fusing it totally with the destiny of the Roman *imperium*.

Severus' program was well served by an elaborate system of highways and roads that allowed an efficient circulation of people and goods from the Atlantic shores to the Eastern borders of Egypt, and from the Mediterranean to frontier posts of the Sahara. Marcus Aurelius Caracalla (188-217), the elder son of Septimus Severus, continues the action of his father. He institutes a more secure thoroughfare, establishing an excellent axis that links Carthage to Alexandria, and another one initiated from Lepcis Magna that reaches the Fezzan region, going through Oea and the plateau of Tarhuna. During his father's reign, the instauration of fortified boundary-lines, *limits*, along with a geographic dissemination of *oppida* and the construction of strategic *castella*, insured the Roman administration and its new order of law. By the end of the second century, forts exist throughout the North of Africa and support an agricultural policy, its systematic territorial expansion and promote new districts of husbandry colonists. The new order is consolidated in two ways: prevention of incursions from outside and management of a regulated course inside. A revised *Lex Mancia* favors the agrarian exploitation in the newly occupied territories and gives political privileges to cities: Carthage, Utique, and Lepcis are now governed by the *ius italicum* and thus have the same immunity rights as the Ro-

man defined *ius solis*. The *ius coloniae* is given to smaller localities and a number of them receive juridical prerogatives of municipal towns.[12] Rightly, M. Benabou suggested that it would be irrelevant to see favoritism in such a policy by reason of Septimus Severus' roots in Lepcis. Instead, he argued, it is possible to analyze the situation from the demands of the highly significant economic prosperity of African provinces at the end of second century.[13]

By the end of the second century, Roman Africa was living according to a Roman rhythm. R. Thouvenot, analyzing the case of Volubilis in Tingitana, noted that all these new Romans behave as if they wanted to erase all traces of pre-existing cultures. They assimilate rapidly and successfully integrate not only the requirements of commerce and juridical institutions, but also the very philosophy, which was expounded by procedures of an acute imperial design. Efficient institutions of latinization, such as schools, exist in principal centers. It is possible to follow their multiplication and progressive appearance even in remote areas. Teachers (*literattor* or *primus magister*) are State functionaries. Big cities vaunt their endowed chairs for scholars, and professors, like medical doctors, enjoy remarkable benefits. As Monceaux states:

> Les Empereurs tenaient en haute estime tous ces maîtres, surtout les rhéteurs. Les avantages matériels leur assuraient le respect de la foule: en lisant les inscriptions pompeuses gravées sur leurs tombeaux dans les nécropoles d'Afrique, on s'aperçoit qu'on a devant soi de gros personnages.[14]

Roman Africa reflects a *milieu* in which there is a permanent interaction of diverse languages, *ethnoi* and mentalities: a universalist Mediterranean culture, a sole central political power, a highly structured administration, and an imperial unifying project contribute to the image of a collective consciousness, a "romanitas." A 212 decree of Caracalla institutes these communities in a unique juridical world designated as *Una Civitas*. There is no distinction between conquerors and conquered, although one can still perceive legal subtleties distinguishing italic lands from provincial, and more importantly, juridical distinctions between *Peregrini*, *Latini*, and *Cives*. At any rate, with this decree, Rome fuses with the empire and the empire takes the visage of Rome. As Jacques Ellul, the distinguished specialist of roman institutions and international law, noted:

> (...) le but de cette constitution est complexe: il est politique (on cherche à unifier l'Empire), religieux (on veut procurer des fidèles aux dieux de Rome), fiscal (on cherche à soumettre les pérégrins à l'impôt sur les concessions), et social (on désire supprimer les procès sur les cas douteux de statuts personnels, et simplifier la procédure).[15]

The direct consequence of the decree is the institution of equality in civil conditions and legal norms between Romans, Latins, and Provincials. In its juridical and political practicality, it represented a major event, as Fustel de Coulanges, in the XIX$^{th}$ century already remarked: "tous les habitants de cet immense empire étaient également romains. Il n'y eut plus qu'un seul nom, qu'une seule patrie, qu'un

seul gouvernement, qu'un seul droit."[16] An imperial perspective sanctions itself in the legitimacy of a statutory precept: one Name, one Nation, one Government, one Law: *terra numine Deum electa,* as Pliny had already qualified it.[17]

The rapports between languages might be the best echo of this order of Latinity. By the beginning of the third century, areas in which Lybic is spoken are difficult to circumscribe rigorously on a map. They are shrinking. Lybic seems to live along with Latin, but epigraphic data would indicate that it is losing more and more of its speakers. We can deduce that Punic is more vivacious. It is known, thanks to Spartianus' *Vita Severi*, that the emperor Septimus Severus was fluent in it, and his sister knew only that language.[18] Moreover, we know from a letter of St. Augustine that in the fourth century, Punic is widely known and can be heard everywhere in some cities, such as Sitifis and Fussala.[19] In any case, in its culture and organization, Roman Africa is, from an administrative viewpoint, almost completely latinized by the beginning of the third century. To inconsistent policies lacking clarity of preceding emperors, Septimus Severus' and Caracalla's calculations contrast an objective romanization and latinization supported by autonomous programs for the study of the language and its traditions, including praised disciplines, such as law and rhetoric. For many, the Latin language became the best way for a successful integration in the life of their communities.[20] The stars of Latin literature of the period, profane such as Apuleius and

Fronto, as well as their Christian counterparts, have been schooled in romanization programs. Thus, Tertullianus (c. 160-c. 240), son of a centurion, was educated in literature, history, philosophy and law. He used his talents to promote rhetoric, but mainly to defend the newly ascending religion of Christians and found its intrinsic fundamentals. Apologist and philosopher, he focused on what seemed to him the shortcomings of paganism and atheism, often through brilliant equivocations, such as this: Christianity was believable because no common sense and human reason could have imagined it. Minucius Felix (c. 160-?) was, according to St. Jerome, *Romae insignis causidicus*, a highly regarded lawyer. Converted, he put his rhetoric aptitude in sophistry to the service of a Christian justification as in his quick-witted *Octavius*, in which he deconstructs accusations of debauchery and ritual infanticide leveled at Christians. Stand with a particular aura: St. Cyprianus, a pupil of Tertullianus, well-educated in classics, a former professor of rhetoric according to another testimony of St. Jerome; and, Arnobius, another bright prototype of the romanized. Before his conversion to Christianity, Arnobius was a teacher of oratory and philosophy, impeccably well versed in neo-Platonism, and had among his students at Sicca Veneria, Lactantius (c. 240-c. 320), who became a renowned thinker, the author of *De Opificio Dei* and *Divinae Institutiones*. The closest to Latin tradition in the North African Latinity, as P. Monceaux put it, “les maîtres africains étaient, avant tout, des orateurs.” He added, “les illustres comme les obscurs, les

savants comme les rhéteurs, voulaient tout faire entrer dans le moule du discours, l'histoire, l'érudition, la philosophie, même les sciences proprement dites."[21] And the language, indeed, was Latin.[22]

This romanized Africa attests, however, its own contrasts. There are regular political upheavals in the name of local traditions and, often, altered postulations. In some written texts, signs of a similar fidelity translate the singularity of a spiritual attachment to a locality as in Apuleius's *Apologia* and *Metamorphoses*. From Africa, he is; but Apuleius assumes his identity essentially as a Greco-Roman intellectual. Subtle, the invocation of native roots can also be perceived in some texts of Tertullianus. The contrasts actualize themselves as signs of a diversity signified in the existing intercultural contacts. In effect Tertullianus' culture identifies with a providential crucible of varied components from diverse donations, autochthonous and foreign, all transcended in his Latin Christianity.[23] Let's note that the first African versions of the Bible that specialists date from the period of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (161-169) are in Latin. The *Acta* of martyrs of Scilli under Commodius (180) are also in Latin. These martyrs presented as poor people and we have good reasons to believe that they were slaves and have Latin names: Cittinus, Donata, Secunda, Speratus, Vestia. Another African, the future Pope Victor the 1st (189-198), according to St. Jerome, was the first ecclesiastical writer who unwaveringly used Latin instead of Greek.[24] In any case, he is the one who accented the process

of latinization of the Church of Rome, which, before his election, was using Greek as its official language. In Africa itself, according to Tertullianus, during his time, missionizing of the Cesarean Mauritania is carried out in Latin.[25] Indeed, it is mainly in this language that the same Tertullianus publishes most of his books, more than thirty before 225. Cyprianus (200-58), the bishop of Carthage who dominated the mid-third century, writes his treatises, sermons, and letters in this language. His correspondence with Popes Cornelius, Lucius, and Stephanus is in Latin, whereas the pontiffs are generally using Greek, the language of their communication with eastern Churches.[26]

This is to say that, by the end of the second century, the African Church, well latinized, de-emphasized the usage of Hebrew and Greek, inherited from the first century evangelization. Thanks to the strong personalities of its thinkers and leaders–Tertullianus, Minucius Felix, Cyprianus, Firmilianus, Arnobius–it dominates intellectually the whole of Latin Christianity in the third century.[27]

One cannot say, however, that Roman Africa did not know Greek. This language was spoken in a number of cities and on the Mediterranean coasts long before Roman colonization.[28] A fourth century a.C.n inscription mentions a Greek presence in Cyrenaica in mid-seventh century. Cyrena was, during this period, a Greek colony and was still so in the fifth century a.C.n., when Herodotus visited and discovered other Greek speaking cities around it.[29] It has been hypothesized that Euboans could have reached the Af-

rican coast of the Mediterranean. At any rate, during the reign of Juba II in Numidia, Romans discovered a town fully in the process of hellenizing itself. Moreover, pre-Hellenic mythology refers to the wandering of Atlas, the father of Calypso, on the African shore of Gibraltar. At the same time, it narrates the voyage of Aietes from Corinth to Colchis, as well as that of Circe to Italy and the settlement of Aeolus on the islands called after his name, which are near Sicily. When Rome conquers and progressively integrates the North of Africa into the *imperium*, Greek was a language, which has been known in these areas for centuries. Descendants of Dorians had been living in Lybia since the seventh Century a.C.n., while Phoceans settled in Marseille, Rhodians, as well as Chalcidians in Sicily, and Greeks from the continent despite their traditional disputes, were trading with Phoenicians and knew fairly well Carthage.[30] However, it is important to note that it is the victorious Rome that institutionalizes the cult of the Greek language and culture. In the classical age, the Roman normative culture of science and arts was Greek, and Cicero's *politior humanitas* meant Greek humanism as an objective for any well-educated Roman.

Greek is thus, in the North of Africa, a companion of Latin and one observes that in the Rome of Severi, Greek knows an unsurpassed preeminence.[31] In the second part of the third century, Plotinus (205-c. 270) taught for more than twenty years philosophy in Greek and does not seem to know Latin, and his audience included the Emperor

Gallienus and his wife.[32] In Africa, the situation was more or less the same. Intellectuals were bilingual and, generally, could write in both languages. Apuleius (124-190) was a master in both languages. Besides his well-known Latin oeuvre, he had rendered Aristotle in Latin. We also know that among his books, there is a translation of Plato's *Phaedo,* as well as an anthology of Greek *Erotica*.[33] In his coded *Apologia*, Apuleius tells proudly that "his spouse" could write Greek[34] and mocks one of his contemporaries, a certain Aemilianus who had sued him, who did not know Greek.[35] Although what has survived of the work by Marcus Cornelius Fronto (c. 100-c. 166) is in Latin, it is likely to infer that this highly respected specialist of rhetoric, a tutor to Marcus Aurelius and his adoptive brother Lucius Verus, a designated pro-consul for Asia around 157, was using indistinctly Latin and Greek in his official functions.[36] He made a public address to the Carthaginians and we do know, thanks to Apuleius, that in this city it was common to speak in Greek when addressing the population at large.[37] Another example would be that of the African born Emperor Septimus Severus: he was 20 when, after studying in Rome, he went to Greece where he took oratory and astrology classes in Athens. As curious as it might be, his mastery of Latin was uncertain, which could account, at least partially, for the fact that he wrote his autobiography in Greek.[38] Another successful politician, Gordianus, who attained the supreme power in Rome during the military anarchy period (235-268), was a master in Greek language. Before his po-

litical good fortune, he had retranslated from Greek originals Cicero's renderings of Demetrios and Aratos, as well as modernized *Alcyons*, *Uxorius*, and the *Nil*. During his tenure as emperor, Gordianus was known to be a fervent reader of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero and Virgil, among other classic authors. According to Capitolinus, his son who studied under Sammonicus Serenus had followed his father's footsteps.[39]

Greek was taught in North African schools and the best students, as in Rome, continued their education in Greece. The language, a symbol of an elitist distinction, was part of the public life as evidenced by the impressive collection of inscriptions from the Tripoli tan area edited in 1952 by J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward-Perkins.[40] As a matter of fact, in competition with Latin, Greek and the culture it conveys seem to be everywhere. M. Benabou has brought to light a significant list of *cognomina* and engravings of Greek origin from the city of Lepcis.[41] Greek names are also popular among third century Christians and G. Bardy had noticed twelve of them among the bishops who participated in the Council of 256. He remarked that "l'on ne saurait (…) conclure de là qu'ils aient été véritablement des Grecs: une partie de ces noms étaient, dès cette époque, devenus courants chez les Latins et étaient portés habituellement par des esclaves ou de petites gens."[42] Obious acculturation, no doubt.

Front rank Christian writers, as already indicated, knew indeed Greek, and this language is largely attested in the Christian literature.[43] In the *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis*,

the Sanctus is in Greek and the heroine speaks Greek. Moreover, it is highly likely that the original was in Greek.[44] One should also stress the fact that, besides the simple requirement of education and prestige, Christian intellectuals were equally motivated by apologetic reasons. Highly skilled criticisms of their religion were then coming from texts in Greek. As R. L. Wilken rightly observed, "Christian intellectuals were sensitive to arguments from the Greek philosophical tradition and they recognized the need to argue their case in the public forum of ideas."[45] Celsus, in the second part of the second century, had emphasized the deficiency of the Christian doctrine from three main sets of reasons, as we can restitute them from Origen's *Contra Celsum*: its newness disqualified it since truth and credibility should be equated with antiquity; secondly, the *christiana factio* and its belief seemed to him illegitimate being an apostasy of Judaism; and, more importantly, Celsus challenged Christianity from the then accepted norm according to which any religion had to be connected to a particular nation; and, with its ecumenical amplitude, Christianity was obviously loosening such a tie. The Pergamum born physician, Galen, in the late second century and, later on, in the third century, the philosopher Porphyry (234-c. 325), decried the whole of Christian claims by underscoring their intellectual and historical inadequacies.[46]

From Tertullianus's period to St. Augustine in the fourth century, Christian thinkers tended thus to be "*eruditi in utraque lingua*." This makes one understand the cata-

strophic reaction of St. Augustine in *De Doctrina Christiana* when he complains about the readers of Greek.[47] Tertullianus, an emblematic thinker, is indeed bilingual, *peritissimus graecis et latinis litteris*. He publishes some of his oeuvres in Greek and then translates them in Latin, which is the case, for example of his *De Spectaculis* (c. 200-201), *De Baptismo* (200-206), *De Virginibus Velandis* (208-211), *De Corona* (210-211). We also know that a lost treatise, *De Ecstasi*, was in Greek and was never translated into Latin. The Bible that Tertullianus reads is Greek, even though sometimes he refers to a Latin version that he dislikes.[48] The thinker had an encyclopedic knowledge of the universal Greco-Roman culture. His intellect conceived some of the essential axes of Christianity, including the three persons in one substance of the trinity, the two natures of Christ, the basic terminological grid of western theology of faith, Eucharist, Christology, and Mariology.[49]

It is safe to say that an exacting congruence of languages is one of the most important features of Roman Africa at the beginning of the third century. It qualifies it as a *mestizo* space that a nascent Christianity wills complexity. It is difficult to imagine the Christian expansion without the *pax romana, pax armata*; and the Severi, in their own way, symbolized it. Their well thought out measures of political integration contributed directly and deeply to an intensive and extensive romanization of the provinces. A very fragile political stability will stand for almost one century. In the

last part of the third century, the *imperium romanum* entered an epoch of crisis that ultimately led to its collapse: Alamans are in Auvergne, Franks in Spain, Goths in Greece, Persians in Asia Minor; and, in Africa itself, insurrections multiply. Illyrian emperors worked hard to preserve the *imperium* and its multicultural ecumenicity. Thanks to them, as F. Lot put it nicely, "la culture antique a pu vieillir doucement, se transformer partiellement, transmettre aux nouvelles générations, aux barbares eux-mêmes, quelques parcelles de civilisation." In this sense, the third century roman Africa, in which acculturation was a way of existing in the history of the *imperium*, remains a major testimony.

## Notes

1. G Bardy, *L'Afrique chrétienne*, Paris, 1930; *La question des langues dans l'Eglise ancienne*, Paris, 1948; *Littérature latine chrétienne*, Paris, 1929. G. Boissière, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la conquête et de l'administration romaines dans le Nord de l'Afrique et particulièrement dans la province de Numidie*, Paris, 1878. R. Cagnat, *L'Armée romaine d'Afrique et l'occupation militaire de l'Afrique sous les empereurs*, Paris, 1912. J. Carcopino, *La Maroc Antique*, Paris, 1943. S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris, 1913-1928. P. De Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*, 3e édit., Paris, 1947. H. Leclerq, *L'Afrique chrétienne*, 2 vol., Paris, 1954. J. Mesnage, *L'Afrique chrétienne*, Paris, 1912. *Le Christianisme en Afrique*, 3 vol., Paris, 1915. P. Monceaux,. *Les Africains. Etude sur la littérature latine en Afrique*, Paris, 1894. *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, Paris, 1901-1923; *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*, Paris, 1929. G. C. Picard, *La civilisation de l'Afrique romaine*, Paris, 1976. P.

Romanelli, *Storia delle-provincie romane dell'Africa*, Rome, 1959. M. Benabou, *La résistance africaine à la romanisation*, Paris, 1976.

2. A. Momiglione, *On Pagans, Jews, and Christians*, Hanover (NH), 1985; R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, New York, 1987; R. L. Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them*, London, 2003.
3. M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Berkeley, 1984, 174.
4. See e.g. P. de Labriolle, *La Réaction païenne. Etude sur la polémique antichrétienne du Ier au VIè siècle,* Paris, 1948; A. D. Nock, *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo*, Oxford, 1933; M. Testard, *Chrétiens latins des premiers siècles*, Paris, 1981.
5. M. de Certeau, *op. cit.*, 171.
6. R. Chartier, *The Order of Books*, Stanford, 1994.
7. T. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, II, Berlin, 1921; T. Tissot and S. Reinach, *Géographie comparée de la province romaine d'Afrique*, 2 vol., Paris, 1884-88.
8. M. Benabou, *op. cit.*, 306-7; M. Leglay, *Saturne africain*, Paris, 1961 and 1966.
9. *Patrologia Latina*, XXXV, 1520; XXVII, 1772; XXXVIII, 648.
10. M. Simon, in *Mélanges Isidore Lévy*, Brussels, 1955, 613; G. Bardy, *op. cit*., 52.
11. M. Benabou, *op. cit.*, 191; J. Carcopino, *op. cit*., 231.
12. J. Ellul, *Histoire des institutions de l'Antiquité*, Paris, 1960, 453.
13. M. Benabou, *op. cit.*,183.
14. P. Monceaux, *op. cit.*
15. J. Ellul, *op. cit.*, 481-2.
16. F. de Coulanges, *La Cité Antique*, Paris, 1957, 435.
17. Pliny, *Hist Nat.*, III, 39.
18. Spartianus, *Vita Severi*, 15, 7.
19. St. Augustine, *Epist.*, 209, 3. Cf. also P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, Berkeley, 1984.
20. T. Tissot and S. Reinach, *op. cit.*, and Spartanius, *op. cit.*
21. P. Monceaux, *op. cit.*

22. About the process, Cf. e.g. G. Bardy, *La Conversion au christianisme durant les premiers siècles*, Paris, 1949; J. Carcopino, *Etudes d'histoire chrétienne*, Paris, 1953; J. Mesnage, *op. cit.*
23. For contextualization, cf. H. A. A M. Hoppenbrouwers, *Recherches sur la terminologie du martyre de Tertullien à Lactance*, Nimègue, 1961.
24. *De Vir*., III, 53.
25. *Ad Scapulam*, 8.
26. B. Riposati, *Storia della letteratura Latina*, Rome, 1966, 675; and P. de Labriolle, *op. cit*., 178.
27. Cf. P. Monceaux, *op. cit*., I. *Tertullien et les origines*. Also, J. Bernardi, *Les Premiers siècles de l'Eglise*, Paris; P. Bradshaw, *La Liturgie chrétienne en ses origines*, Paris, 1995; J. Jungman, *Les Liturgies des premiers siècles jusqu à l'époque de Grégoire le Grand*, Paris, 1962; A. von Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, 2 vol., New York, 1962.
28. Cf. J. Bérard, *L'Expansion et la colonisation grecques jusqu' aux guerres médiques*, Paris, 1960.
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30. J. R. Palanque, *Les Impérialismes antiques*, Paris, 1960.
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33. H. Bardon, *La Littérature latine inconnue*, Paris, 1956, 194.
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37. Apuleius, *Florides*, 4, 18.
38. Spartianus, *op. cit.*, 3, 7.
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