

Olwen Brogan: from Gaul to Ghirza

By David Mattingly*

Introduction**

When I first met Olwen Brogan in Tripoli in 1979, she was already in her 80th year.¹ I was a member of the UNESCO-sponsored Libyan Valleys Survey (the ULVS), an interdisciplinary project set up at the instigation of the Libyan government to investigate how the pre-desert region had been made to bloom in the Roman period. Olwen was the leading authority on our study region and had enthusiastically offered her help. So it was that she came with us to the desert, an elderly woman in an otherwise all-male group (the Libyan government had advised against us taking a mixed team in the first season). And what an example she set us all - always one of the first risers, never complaining about heat and flies, sharing our woefully poor meals without demur, firing our archaeological curiosity by her own enthusiasm. Like almost every other British scholar who has worked on Roman Libya in the last 40 years, I owe an immense debt to Olwen.² It was typical of her to seek to open the eyes of young visiting archaeologists to the attractions of Libya's archaeology and I was one of her easier converts. Her guided tour of the site of Ghirza, where we were based in 1979, was one of the key moments that settled where my PhD studies would be based. I was to benefit from her wisdom and encouragement many times after that.

A Short Biography

Born Olwen Phillis Frances Kendall on 15th December 1900, her career was impressive by any standards and, by those of the decades flanking World War II, it was remarkable.³ She was author of two monographs, over thirty articles and was a regular reviewer for *Antiquaries Journal*, *Antiquity* and *Journal of Roman Studies*. Her first inclination seems to have been for history, but at University College London she was introduced into Roman Studies, and Roman archaeology in particular. Mortimer Wheeler seems to have been a particular influence, as he was to so many of that generation. She excavated with him in Britain at Verulamium and Caerleon. But the parallel achievements of other female archaeologists of her peer group (not least Tessa Wheeler and Kathleen Kenyon) no doubt also offered significant encouragement.⁴ Her first research interests lay in the investigation of the Roman frontier in Germany, on which she wrote an MA thesis, and in late Celtic and Roman Gaul. During the 1930s, she was a leading member of a team carrying out excavations at the hillfort reputed to be the site of Gergovia, where Vercingetorix won his famous victory over Caesar.

She held University posts in Minnesota and at University College London, but for a time the academic career of her husband, the historian Denis Brogan, took precedence. Nonetheless, she continued and developed her own archaeological career around the demands of raising four children and managing the Brogan household as it moved from London to Oxford and later to Cambridge. One important role she played in this period was Secretary to the Faculty of Archaeology, History and Letters of the British School at Rome and indirectly this was to lead her to North Africa.

During the Second World War she worked for the Admiralty, but resumed her archaeological activity at the first opportunity thereafter. In the late 1940s and early 1950s she took part in British work in Libya, first at Sabratha with Kathleen Kenyon and John Ward-Perkins (the then Director of the British School at Rome) and subsequently at Lepcis Magna (again with Ward-Perkins). The spectacular remains of the great coastal cities of Libya could easily have occupied her fully for many years, but Olwen's curiosity was fired by the interior of the country and its singular and well-preserved archaeology. In a series of intrepid journeys (in a region still at that time liberally seeded with mines and other discarded World War II munitions), she built on earlier British work on the Roman frontier region.⁵ By the mid-1950s, Olwen was working at Ghirza, the most impressive of the frontier sites. This Roman period village of around 40 buildings, including several exceptionally large fortified farms (*gsur*), and with two associated cemeteries of splendid ashlar tombs abundantly decorated with relief carvings. Ghirza, became the centre of Olwen's work for several years. With her collaborator David Smith, she meticulously recorded the tombs and buildings of the site. The final publication of this exceptionally preserved site was her greatest academic achievement (see below) and sadly one of her last.⁶ Her trips into the Libyan desert became almost an annual occurrence through the late 1950s and 1960s,⁷ resulting in a string of brilliant articles that quietly challenged the very roots of academic orthodoxy about the region's history and archaeology.

In the late 1960s, after the tragically early death of Richard Goodchild, she was one of the prime movers in the setting up of the Society for Libyan Studies, which was to become the formal conduit for the continuation of his own and her work. She was a founder member, the first editor of its Annual Report (now the journal, *Libyan Studies*), Honorary Secretary for the first 12 years of the Society's existence and later a Vice-President of the Society.

When Denis Brogan died in 1974 she moved to Libya, marrying Charles Hackett with whom she shared her last 15 years. Now based in Tripoli her activity if anything intensified, despite her advancing age, as she used her ample powers of persuasion to secure the help and vehicles

of many friends in both the Libyan Antiquities Service and the expatriate community. She was a great cultural ambassador at a time of frequently strained official relations, an achievement marked on the British side by the award of an OBE in 1976 and in Libya by the unofficial but very affectionate sobriquet of Umm Ghirza ('Mother of Ghirza'). A further characteristic of her dealings with people was her honesty and integrity. When contacts in the expatriate community sent her news of fresh discoveries in Libya or sought her advice about finds they had in their possession, she was always firm that they should proceed in the proper manner with the authorities. As illustration, here is an excerpt from one of her letters to an enthusiastic amateur archaeologist (who just happened to hold an important position in one of the oil companies) and who wanted to send her some pottery he had found on a Roman site:

You will have to be quite careful because of the Antiquities Law, which is to be taken seriously. It is illegal to bring **anything** out without a permit. This even applies to casual sherds found lying about so don't put any in the post.

Only in the 1980s did deteriorating health demand that she and Charles return to Cambridge, but she remained active in the Society for Libyan Studies and was still publishing almost to the last. In 1984, the Society organised a conference in her honour in Cambridge, with the resulting volume of papers dedicated to her.⁸ Typically, her own modestly presented contribution to the conference is one of the most important papers in the collection.⁹ She was one of the most self-deprecating scholars I have ever met. The construction of her bibliography for the volume in her honour was a singular labour as she very early on declared there was little more than a small core of works that she thought people might be interested to remember. But the longer David Buck and I delved, the more we found and the more we came to realise the importance of her work - always the arguments were quietly and politely laid out, the difficulties of existing theories were explained, insightful new interpretation introduced as a hypothesis that others might like to test.¹⁰ She was a gentle scholar, but with pronounced individual, indeed non-conformist tendencies. Most importantly for posterity, she had the knack of being right on almost all of the contentious issues she confronted.

She died on 18 December 1989, just a few days past her 89th birthday and shortly after the appearance of a volume of papers celebrating the first twenty years of the Society for Libyan Studies, to which she had contributed so much.¹¹

Gaul and Gergovia

Olwen's early work focused on the German frontier and on Gaul. Several articles based on her MA, summarising the extensive German work on the *limes* were practically the only

worthwhile texts in English until the 1960s.¹² The excavations at Gergovia in the 1930s were important in that they expanded knowledge of Gallic oppida and of Caesar's campaigns away from the more famous site of Alesia. Sadly the work there was interrupted by the war.¹³

The depth of her research into French archaeology becomes clear from her general account of Roman Gaul, published in 1953.¹⁴ Despite archaeological advances, this was still a serviceable introduction for the English reader well into the 1970s and has only really been surpassed in the last 15 years or so.¹⁵ Paradoxically, the appearance of the book more or less coincided with her shifting her archaeological allegiance to the southern shore of the Mediterranean. Although she maintained her interest in Gaul, and is rightly remembered for her work there, it is for her research in Tripolitania (north-west Libya), that she is now best known.

One interesting facet of her work on Gaul was the importance she placed on the reactions of the Gauls themselves to their conquest and assimilation in the Roman empire.¹⁶ This priority given to the views of the colonised was still rare in the pre- and immediately post-war years, even in countries such as France where a degree of pride had always been placed on the exploits of Gallic heroes of old. In the altogether more colonialist atmosphere of North Africa, where she was to devote most of her energies from the 1950s onwards, such tendencies were unprecedented. When she began work in Tripolitania, Olwen carried over her innate empathy with the indigenous populations of Roman frontier provinces. The result of her approach was the effective start of a post-colonial archaeology of the region (though she would no doubt not have articulated it in that way).¹⁷

Sabratha and the 'Casa Brogan'

Her contribution to the Sabratha excavations of 1948-1951 was for many years under-appreciated, until their long-delayed final publication by Philip Kenrick in 1986.¹⁸ What is clear from his account is that Olwen's area of responsibility, an insula of domestic housing behind the forum, was an immaculate piece of excavation and recording, yielding some of the most important and convincing dated sequences from anywhere on the site.¹⁹ Measured against the standards of colonial excavations in North Africa, where houses were cleared more than excavated, the 'Casa Brogan' as it is known stands out as one of the best pieces of archaeology of its age.

Although Olwen was the chief supervisor here (and the name 'Casa Brogan' was assigned early on and never challenged), Kathleen Kenyon was the overall director of this part of the

site and seems to have been responsible for much of the recording and initial writing up the material. It is thus hard to reconstruct the full extent of Olwen's role, though we know it continued over subsequent years in studying the finds from the site.²⁰ Perhaps, more important is the fact that these two women archaeologists working together achieved an impressive piece of stratigraphic excavation of a very complex urban sequence, long before such things were commonly practised in Mediterranean archaeology.

The Tripolitanian Interior

The consensus view, established by John Ward-Perkins and Richard Goodchild by 1950,²¹ was that the pre-desert zone to the south of Tripolitania was largely unoccupied up to the third century AD when the Roman army established a series of outpost forts at sites such as Bu Njem and Gheriat el-Garbia (Fig. 1). In the wake of these daring advances against the desert tribes, so the argument went, there was a wave of colonisation in the frontier zone, with soldier farmers (*limitanei*) given lands as reward for helping to shore up the *limes*. These soldier farmers reputedly built fortified farms (*gsur*), sometimes in isolation, sometimes in close groups. Ghirza was generally cited as the classic example of this process - in some reports it is even called a frontier town. The survey and selective excavation at Ghirza by Olwen, Emilio Vergera-Cafarelli and David Smith over four seasons (1953, 1955-1957 - a total of only 12 weeks work and carried out on a budget which in no year exceeded £300) led to a model archaeological report, albeit one that was many years in the writing.²² Once again, despite the date of the fieldwork, this is a remarkably modern report. The stratigraphic excavations yielded a multitude of artefacts, including much organic material and botanical remains. All categories of finds are reported on in detail and make Ghirza the best published site of interior Libya. The discussion of the social context of the site was particularly notable for the way in which it departed from the accepted orthodoxy established by Goodchild.²³ Although the hey-day of Ghirza was in the late Roman period, she rejected the view that the inhabitants were external colonists, recognising in their language and art that their culture was essentially Libyco-Punic. This was a Libyan settlement in the Roman period and although the inhabitants were evidently powerful families, yet they were not the soldier farmers of earlier imagination.²⁴

These conclusions had solidified in Olwen's mind over many years by her continuing exploration of pre-desert sites.²⁵ In 1964, for instance, she published a preliminary account of a site that apparently antedated the supposed third century take-off of pre-desert settlement.²⁶ This site in the Wadi el-Amud yielded pottery of the late first and second centuries AD and its tombs bore inscriptions in neo-Punic script (a form of writing that was not used after the late

first century in the coastal cities). This very remote site, with a well-preserved olive press, was the focus for renewed work by the Libyan Valleys Survey in the early 1980s, amply confirming her conclusions.²⁷ By 1971, she had enlarged her corpus of early sites considerably, and was then able to argue that the phase of construction of fortified farms was preceded by an earlier wave of undefended farms, some of elite pretensions and accompanied by mausolea.²⁸ This cast serious doubt on the other major plank of the theory propounded by Goodchild and Ward-Perkins that the settlement of the pre-desert post-dated (indeed was dependent on) the establishment of the outpost forts. However, there was nothing at all para-military about the newly discovered early settlements, still further weakening the view that the region was colonised by a wave of external settlers who took on immediately the role of frontier militia.²⁹

Her successes as an explorer of the pre-desert went well beyond the recognition of structural evidence. She was a fine reader of pottery and, being able to distinguish between later and earlier forms, quickly recognised potentially important sites. She was also a good epigraphist and brought these skills to bear on the demanding (and frequently incomprehensible) texts of the zone. Through a series of articles, many co-written with Joyce Reynolds, she was able to demonstrate convincingly that whether they used Latin, Punic or Libyan letters for their dedications, away from the military camps the nomenclature was almost exclusively Libyan, with occasional Punic names. She carefully reconstructed familial links and illuminated personal histories.³⁰ Her work was critically important in opening up new perspectives on the people of Roman Libya.³¹ Once again, the full import of what she had traced was not readily absorbed at first, not least because it ran counter to the Italian colonial ideology that had underpinned most earlier work and indeed continued to influence most scholars active in the region through the 1960s and 1970s. The subsequent and more intensive survey by the Libyan Valleys project has again conclusively shown that her intuition was correct.³²

In the 1970s, she achieved another major coup - right under the noses of Italian and French archaeologists who were then reviving interest in the Roman military works in the region - by publishing a hitherto unknown 6 km long Roman linear barrier (a sort of miniature Hadrian's Wall - comprising in parts a stone wall, in other parts a bank and ditch, look-out towers and a well-preserved gate-house).³³ This was a discovery of great significance because it marks a continuation of a system of such frontier earthworks and walls already known further west in southern Tunisia and it also seems possibly to pre-date the Severan frontier advance and gives a valuable indication of an earlier deployment.³⁴

The arrival of the ULVS in 1979 could easily have been construed as threatening by someone who had single-handedly pushed forward the exploration of the pre-desert over a 25 year period. Tripolitania was her patch and many lesser scholars would have defended their territory and their intellectual property. Instead, Olwen welcomed us 'as the cavalry that came over the hill' and with a show of remarkable generosity shared her knowledge, including that of many unpublished sites and discoveries. We were soon caught up with her enthusiasm and her theories (Fig. 2), which even in 1979 were still considered to be rather unorthodox. As we explored more of the pre-desert we were astonished (and delighted) by the consistency with which her predictions and hypotheses were proved right. Someone on the team once remarked that he thought Olwen had forgotten more about the region than he could ever hope to know, but the truth was that her memory of archaeological detail and her knowledge of the topography were still astounding. Lacking reliable maps and in terrain where even the best topographers amongst us struggled to keep their bearings from one day to the next, Olwen's powers of recall were truly amazing. "I think if we go over to that hill, we'll find a relief carving of an eagle now down there is a cistern and a small farm I believe that pile of stones is where I picked up some Gaulish terra sigillata many years ago").³⁵

The Ghirza Tombs

The publication of Ghirza and its spectacular tombs marked the apogee of her scholarship and merits more detailed commentary. There were two cemeteries with monumental tombs at Ghirza; the first lay a short distance south of the main settlement on the west side of the wadi (the North Tombs), the second lay on the east bank c. 1.5 km south of the site (the South Tombs). Scholarly opinion has been rather divided on the artistic merit of these monuments. The following comment is typical of the less favourable reactions, which make the mistake of judging the tombs by the standards of the best art of metropolitan Rome or Lepcis Magna.

And although I had not allowed my imagination to rise at all in proportion to the exhilarating accounts I had heard, I could not but be sorely disappointed ... I found them of a mixed style, and in very indifferent taste, ornamented with ill-proportioned columns and clumsy capitals. The regular architectural divisions of frieze and cornice being neglected, nearly the whole depth of the entablatures was loaded with absurd representations of warriors, huntsmen, camels, horses, and other animals in low relief, or rather scratched on the freestone ... The human figures and animals are miserably executed, and are generally small, though they vary in height from about three feet and a half a foot in height, even on the same tombs, which adds to their ridiculous effect.³⁶

Olwen's detailed description of the architectural and sculptural programmes of these tombs remains one of the best discussions of funerary art in North Africa (Figs 2-3).³⁷ Her concise but minutely observed descriptions of the relief carvings (Fig. 3 caption) are accompanied by fine interpretative analysis of the ensemble. It will stand the test of time as a model of how art historical and social analysis can be combined. The heyday of the site (and the period to which most of the tombs relate) appears to be late third-fourth century AD. Many other tombs in the pre-desert zone are now believed to be earlier in date (late first - early third century AD) and are of somewhat different architectural form.³⁸ The Ghirza tombs are also unusual in that they constitute the single largest concentration of elite funerary monuments, suggesting that Ghirza had some special status within the pre-desert zone. However, despite these differences, the artistic themes of the Ghirza tombs have many parallels in the corpus of funerary art of other parts of Tripolitania.³⁹ The body of data from the ULVS survey provides a useful supplement of examples.⁴⁰

Using this large body of architectural and iconographic material, she was able to debunk many of the misconceptions about the society that was responsible for building the tombs. There are also many similarities with Libyan and Punic sacred art and she saw that these tombs must be read not simply as monuments to the dead, but as structures which had a continuing religious significance for the living. The architecture of the tombs fits into a long tradition in Roman Africa, fusing Hellenistic, Punic and Roman traditions with African ritual needs and ideology.⁴¹ This cultural complexity, indeed ambiguity is a better word, runs through art, religion, and material culture in Roman Africa.⁴² Far from being monuments reflecting the boundless power of Rome in the region, these tombs are best appreciated as an expression of a regional Libyan culture that embraced such elements of Punic and Roman iconography as suited its own social and religious agendas. Such views were very radical when she first espoused them, but are the basis today for post-colonial reappraisals of the cultural character of Tripolitania.⁴³

At her death, Olwen left two unfinished projects. The first was to write a general account of Roman Africa to match her earlier book on Gaul. I talked about this with her once and she told me that she felt she had missed the moment and had then left the work to one side - had she written the book she was capable of in the late 1960s, it would undoubtedly have had a tremendous impact. The second project aimed to expand on her work on the Ghirza tombs and publish a definitive study of all the pre-desert tombs. This remains a serious lacuna as the final ULVS reports treat this topic only superficially. It is to be hoped that someone will yet

take up the challenge of reviving this project. Her published works and her archive of notes will form a very solid basis.⁴⁴

Select Bibliography of Olwen Brogan

A fuller bibliography can be found in D.J. Buck, and D.J. Mattingly (eds.), *Town and Country in Roman Tripolitania. Papers in honour of Olwen Hackett*. BAR S 274, Oxford (1985): xii-xvi.

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Captions for Figures

Figure 1. Map of Roman Tripolitania, showing the sites of Sabratha, Ghirza and the area of the Libyan Valleys Survey (from Barker et al., *FarmDes Synthesis*, with permission).

Figure 2. Olwen Brogan conducting a field seminar in 1981 with young Libyan archaeologists on the architecture of Tomb A in the north cemetery at Ghirza (Photo: G.D.B. Jones for the Libyan Valleys Survey).

Figure 3. Relief carving of agricultural activity from Tomb North B. Olwen's concise and clear description runs as follows: "*Reaping*. Stone broken across the top. Two men in short belted tunics reaping with curved sickles. The hands again show up well. The lumps of earth and roots are again indicated by little mounds. Above the barley (or wheat) is a broken but fine rosette. A little of the cap (or hair?) of the man on the left has been preserved. On the left is a heap of cut ears of grain." (Brogan and Smith, *Ghirza*, 138).

Notes

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** Note the abbreviations to the following frequently referenced works:

- Barker et al. *FarmDes, Synthesis* G.W.W. Barker, D.D. Gilbertson, G.D.B. Jones and D.J. Mattingly, *Farming the Desert. The UNESCO Libyan Valleys Archaeological Survey. Volume 1: Synthesis* (London and Paris 1996)
- Barker et al. *FarmDes, Gazetteer* G.W.W. Barker, D.D. Gilbertson, G.D.B. Jones and D.J. Mattingly, *Farming the Desert. The UNESCO Libyan Valleys Archaeological Survey. Volume 2: Gazetteer and Pottery* (London and Paris 1996).
- Brogan and Smith *Ghirza* O. Brogan and D.J. Smith, *Ghirza: a Romano-Libyan Settlement in Tripolitania* (Tripoli 1984).
- Mattingly, *Tripolitania* D.J. Mattingly, *Tripolitania* (London/Ann Arbor 1995)

¹ *LibSt* 11 (1980) 4-5. carries a photo of her at this period.

² The extent of this debt is made clear in different ways by the dedications of: Barker et al., *FarmDes Synthesis*, xx; Isabella Sjöström, *Tripolitania in Transition. Late Roman to early Islamic settlement* (Aldershot (1993), p. x. But her help went well beyond the academic wisdom she gently handed down. Her home in Tripoli was a regular haven for visiting archaeologists, historians and geographers and she was often their go-between with the relevant Libyan authorities.

³ This brief summary of her life owes much to the published obituaries by her long-term friend and co-fieldworker, Joyce Reynolds in *The Independent* 22 December 1989 and *LibSt* 21 (1990) vii-ix.

⁴ Strangely, neither M. Wheeler, *Still Digging, Interleaves from an Antiquary's Notebook* (London 1955) nor J. Hawkes, *Adventurer in Archaeology. The Biography of Mortimer Wheeler* (New York 1982), mention Olwen, though both provide vivid pictures of the Wheeler group and of the many women archaeologists associated with it.

⁵ Notably that of Richard Goodchild, see *Libyan Studies: Selected papers of the late R. G. Goodchild* (ed. J. M. Reynolds) (London 1976).

⁶ Brogan and Smith, *Ghirza*. It should be stressed that the long delay in final publication was in large measure caused by the problem of funding the detailed report which was completed long before its final appearance in print.

⁷ O. Brogan, "British archaeology in Libya 1943-1970" *LibSt* 1 (1970) 6-11.

⁸ D.J. Buck and D.J. Mattingly eds. *Town and Country in Roman Tripolitania. Papers in honour of Olwen Hackett*. (Oxford, 1985).

⁹ O. Brogan and J.M. Reynolds, "An inscription from the Wadi Antar" in Buck and Mattingly, supra n. 8, 13-23.

¹⁰ The appreciation of Olwen by Joyce Reynolds in Buck and Mattingly, supra n. 8, x-xi, contains the following insight: "Her bibliography shows ... the importance that she has wisely placed on geography and climate in her studies. What deserves stress is her overriding interest in people and their doings. She has always been good at envisaging these things and in consequence at asking new and rewarding questions of her evidence ... She was led in consequence to see beyond the grander monuments of the chiefs to the humbler ones of their dependants, well before it was fashionable to do so".

¹¹ D.J. Mattingly and J.A. Lloyd eds., *Libya: studies in archaeology, history, geography and society* (London 1989 = *LibSt* 20). The tributes on p. vi and the frequent citations of her works in the articles in the volume attest to her influence on the field.

¹² O. Brogan, "An introduction to the Roman land frontier in Germany" *GaR* 3-4 (1934) 23-30; id, "The Roman 'limes' of Germany" *ArchJ* 92 (1935) 1-41; id, "Trade between the Roman Empire and the free Germans" *JRS* 26 (1936) 195-222.

¹³ O. Brogan, "The new battle of Georgovia" *Antiquity* 7 (1933) 216-19; O. Brogan and E. Desforges, "Georgovia" *ArchJ* 97 (1940) 1-36; O. Brogan, C. Hawkes and E. Desforges, "Fouilles à Georgovie" *RA* 5 (1935) 220-30; O. Brogan, and N. Lucas-Shadwell, "Georgovia" *Antiquity* 10 (1936) 210-17.

¹⁴ O. Brogan, *Roman Gaul* (London 1953).

¹⁵ A. King, *Roman Gaul and Germany* (London 1992); E. Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* (London 1984). Brogan's book stands head and shoulders above P. Mackendrick, *Roman France* (London 1972).

¹⁶ O. Brogan, "The coming of Rome and the establishment of Roman Gaul" in S. Piggot, G. Daniel and C. McBurney eds., *France before the Romans*. (London 1974) 192-219.

¹⁷ For the historiography of Roman Africa and the colonialist rejection of nativist perspectives, see D.J. Mattingly, "From one colonialism to another: imperialism and the Maghreb" in J. Webster and N. Cooper eds., *Roman Imperialism: post-colonial perspectives* (Leicester 1996) 49-69.

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- 18 P.M. Kenrick, *Excavations at Sabratha 1948-1951. A report on the excavations conducted by Dame Kathleen Kenyon and J. Ward-Perkins* (London 1986).
- 19 Kenrick, *supra* n. 18, 141-68.
- 20 Kenrick, *supra* n. 18, 141.
- 21 Goodchild, *supra* n. 5.; cf. Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, xvi, 194-200, for the historiographical context.
- 22 Brogan and Smith, *Ghirza*. See also, O. Brogan "Ghirza" *PECS* (Princeton 1976) 352; O. Brogan and D. Smith, The Roman frontier settlement at Ghirza, an interim report" *JRS* 47: 173-84. Several changes of publisher, *supra* n. 6, and the fact that the final production took place far away in Italy led to an unacceptable deterioration of the the line quality of some of the main reconstruction drawings (I have see originals and the fault lies with the printer, not the authors, but the sorry state of these key illustrations of the tombs caused Olwen much grief at the time).
- 23 There are traces of the influence of colonial discourse in some early 'popular' write-ups of the Ghirza work. O. Brogan "When the home guard of Libya created security and fertility on the desert frontier: Ghirza in the third century A.D." and "Obelisk and temple tombs of Imperial Roman date near Ghirza" *ILN* 22 January 1955 138-42 and 29 January 1955 182-85.
- 24 Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, 197-200, 202-9, building on Brogan and Smith, *Ghirza*, 227-32.
- 25 See *inter alia*, O. Brogan "Notes on the Wadis Neina and Bei el-Kebir and some predesert tracks" *LibAnt* 2 (1965) 57-64; id., " Expedition to Tripolitania 1971" *LibSt* 2 (1971) 10-11; id., "Round and about Misurata" *LibSt* 6 (1975) 49-58; id., "Some ancient sites in eastern Tripolitania" *LibAnt* 13-14 (1977) [1984] 93-129; O. Brogan and D. Smith, "Notes from the Tripolitanian pre-desert 1967" *LibAnt* 3-4 (1967) 139-44; O. Brogan and D. Oates, "Gasr el-Gezira, a shrine in the Gebel Nefusa of Tripolitania" *BSR* 21 (1953) 74-80; C. Vita-Finzi and O. Brogan, "Roman dams on the Wadi Megenin" *LibAnt* 2 (1965) 65-71.
- 26 O. Brogan, "The Roman remains in the Wadi el-Arnud" *LibAnt* 1 (1964) 47-56.
- 27 G. Barker and G.D.B. Jones, The UNESCO Libyan Valleys Survey VI: investigations of a Romano-Libyan farm" *LibSt* 15 (1984) 1-44; Barker et al., *Farm Des Synthesis*, 118-20, 130-31, 136-40, 155-57, 234-37, 260-61, 276-82 and idem, *FarmDes Gazetteer*, 165-72.

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- 28 O. Brogan, "First and second century settlement in the Tripolitanian pre-desert" in F.F. Gadallah ed., *Libya in History. Proceedings of a conference held at the faculty of Arts, University of Libya 1968* (Benghazi 1971) 121-130.
- 29 D.J. Mattingly, "Farmers and frontiers. Exploiting and defending the countryside of Roman Tripolitania" *LibSt* 20 (1989) 145-6, highlights this crucial interpretational breakthrough.
- 30 O. Brogan, "A Tripolitanian centenarian" in *Hommages à Albert Grennier* (Collection Latomus 58 1962) 368-73; id., "Inscriptions in the Libyan alphabet from Tripolitania and some notes on the tribes of the region" in J. Bynon. and T. Bynon eds., *Hamito-Semitic* (Mousteron: 1975) 267-89; O. Brogan and J.M. Reynolds, "Inscriptions from the Tripolitanian hinterland" *LibAnt* 1 (1964) 43-46; idem. "An inscription from the Wadi Antar" in Buck and Mattingly, supra n. 7, 13-23; J.M. Reynolds and O. Brogan, "Seven new inscriptions from Tripolitania" *BSR* 28 (1960) 51-54; J.M. Reynolds, O. Brogan and D. Smith, "Inscriptions in the Libyan alphabet from Ghirza in Tripolitania" *Antiquity* 32 (1958) 112-115.
- 31 O. Brogan, "Inscriptions in the Libyan alphabet from Tripolitania and some notes on the tribes of the region" in J. Bynon. and T. Bynon eds., *Hamito-Semitic* (Mousteron: 1975) 267-89, was a particularly important starting point for my own work on Libyan tribal structures and the culture of the frontier zone. Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, 160-70; id., "Libyans and the 'limes': culture and society in Roman Tripolitania" *Antafr* 23 (1987) 71-94.
- 32 Barker et al., *FarmDes Synthesis*, 118-27; Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, 144-53.
- 33 O. Brogan, "Hadd Hajar, a 'clausura' in the Tripolitanian Gebel Garian south of Asabaa" *LibSt* 11 (1980) 45-52. The first brief notices of the discovery passed almost unnoticed in *LibSt* 2 (1971) 10-11 and *LibSt* 3 (1972) 6-7. In an unpublished letter to David Smith she referred to her discovery as follows: "This is most curious. I had previously noticed it on an American map and had been meaning to look for it, and then we ran across it by accident while looking for Medina Ragda".
- 34 Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, 106-115, for the comparanda and dating implications.
- 35 There is a visual tribute to her on the cover of the second volume of the ULVS final report, Barker et al. *FarmDes Gazetteer*. This features Olwen's remarkable desert-roving VW Beetle, visible in an air-photograph we took of one of the early Roman period farms discovered by her.
- 36 W. Smythe, in F. W. and H. W. Beechey eds., *Proceedings of the expedition to explore the north coast of Africa from Tripoly eastward* (London 1828) 504-12.

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- 37 Brogan and Smith, *Ghirza*, 119-226.
- 38 Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, 147, 162-3; Barker et al., *FarmDes Synthesis*, 146-8.
- 39 O. Brogan "The camel in Roman Tripolitania" *BSR* 22 (1954) 126-31; id, "Henschir el-Ausaf by Tigi (Tripolitania) and some related tombs in the Tunisian Gefara" *LA* 2 (1965) 47-56; id, "Es-Sernama Bir el-Uaar: a Roman tomb in Libya" in R. Moorey and P. Parr eds., *Archaeology in the Levant. Essays for Kathleen Kenyon* (Warminster 1978) 233-37.
- 40 Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, 162-7 and pls 43-47; Barker et al., *FarmDesert Gazetteer*, see *inter alia*, p. 20-24, 32-34, 38, 51, 54-5, 78-9, 152-4, 168, 173, 178, 180, 200, 202, 204-5, 221, 225-7, 261-4, 287-8.
- 41 F. Coarelli and Y. Thébert, "Architecture funéraire et pouvoir: réflexions sur l'hellénisme numide" *MEFR* 100 (1988) 761-818.; A. Di Vita, "Il mausoleo punico-ellenistico B di Sabratha" *RM* 83, 1976, p. 273-83; S. Stucchi, "L'architettura funeraria suburbane Cirenaica in rapporto a quella della chora viciniora ed a quella libya ulteriore, con speciale riguardo all'età ellenistica" *QAL* 12 (1987) 249-377.
- 42 R.B. Hitchner, "The culture of death and the invention of culture in Roman Africa" *JRA* 8 (1995) 493-8; Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, 160-70; D.J. Mattingly and R.B. Hitchner, "Roman Africa: an archaeological review" *JRS* 85 (1995) 204-09.
- 43 Mattingly, *supra* n. 16; id, "The art of the unexpected: Ghirza in the Libyan pre-desert" *VIIe colloque international sur l'histoire et l'archéologie de l'Afrique du nord* (Paris forthcoming).
- 44 Some of the Brogan papers are held in the Archive of the Society for Libyan Studies, currently located in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, England.