# THE TWO MAURETANIAE:

# THEIR ROMANIZATION AND THE IMPERIAL CULT

by

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submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of

**MASTER OF ARTS**

in the subject

**ANCIENT HISTORY**

at the

**UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA**

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Date submitted : November 1996

SUMMARY

The 'Romanization' of the African provinces of Mauretania Tingitana and Mauretania Caesariensis was in fact a two-way process of exchange between Roman and African elements which resulted in a uniquely Romano-African civilization. The imperial cult highlights issues common to all Romanization processes, such as ruler-subject interaction and the role of local initiative in bringing about change, as well as unique issues such as the impact of politics on emperor-worship. The success of the imperial cult was hampered by the fact that only a select few - notably the wealthy local elite - derived direct benefit from the process, and by the fact that, because the pre-Roman Mauretaniae had no established ruler-cults, the imperial cult failed to assimilate with local tradition. As a result, the cult was unable either to make a decisive impact on the Romanization of the Mauretanians, or to achieve any real religious unity among them.

KEY TERMS

Romanization; Imperial cult; North African history; Roman empire; Mauretania Tingitana; Mauretania Caesariensis; Mauri; Religious syncretism; Roman gods; Roman priests; African religion, ancient.

DECLARATION

I declare that "The two Mauretaniae : their Romanization and the imperial cult" is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AE = L'Année Epigraphique (Paris, 1888- )

C = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (eds. Th. Mommsen et al. Berlin, 1862- )*
NOTE: All inscriptions quoted from this Corpus are from VOLUME VIII unless C is qualified with a different volume number.

IAM = Inscriptions Antiques du Maroc. 2 : Inscriptions Latines (eds. M. Euzennat and J. Marion. Paris, 1982)

ILS = Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae (ed. H. Dessau. Berlin, 1892-1916)

RE = Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft (eds. A. Pauly and G. Wissowa. Berlin, 1893- )

RGDA = Res Gestae Divi Augusti (eds. P.A. Brunt and J.M. Moore. Oxford, 1967)

All abbreviations for journal articles are those listed in L'Année Philologique.

All abbreviations for classical authors and their works are those listed in the Oxford Classical Dictionary, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1970).

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* Although CIL is the more usual abbreviation for the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, I have chosen to follow the example of scholars such as ROMANELLI (1959) and FISHWICK (1987, chapters VI and XI) who use the shorter C.

# INTRODUCTION

Whereas almost all scholars would agree that Africa Proconsularis was a highly 'Romanized' province by the third century AD, one would be hard-pressed to find a similar consensus about the Mauretaniae. On the one hand, there is the belief that the Mauretaniae were "perhaps the least Romanized of the provinces"[1], a belief bolstered by the classical literary evidence which concentrates almost exclusively on recounting Roman military endeavours against rebellious 'Mauri'. This concept of the Mauri as unassimilable barbarians became so established in the ancient world that it became customary, by the end of the third century AD, to call 'Mauri' all African natives who were not subjected and who remained apart from Roman civilization, regardless of the province they inhabited[2]. On the other hand, there has been a move away from this traditional viewpoint by certain scholars, to the extent that M. Thouvenot can claim that the inhabitants of Mauretania Tingitana "se sont romanisées très vite"[3].

The problem is that generalizing about the 'Mauri' invariably results in invalid conclusions. The Mauretaniae of the Roman imperial era were not inhabited by a single homogenous population. There were various indigenous tribes: some nomadic, some semi-nomadic, some settled. There were Punic settlers, whose culture bore the imprint of the East. There were Roman settlers, both civilians and veterans. There were minority groups such as Greeks and Syrians. And there were the soldiers of the auxiliary troops stationed in the Mauretaniae who at first were primarily Roman but, as more men were recruited locally, became increasingly heterogeneous. Intermarriage naturally created permutations of these groups, so that Puno-Africans and Romano-Africans and Puno-Romans need also to be added to the 'Mauri' composite. And each of these groups (not to mention each individual within each group), depending upon their beliefs, traditional culture and way of life, as well as their attitude towards Roman rule, had a different propensity to Romanization.

1. SIGMAN (1977) p.415
2. GSELL (1921-30) 5 p.94 ; ROMANELLI (1959) p.471f ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.262 ; CAMPS (1990) p.132 and notes 4 & 5. cf.Expositio totius mundi et gentium (c.359AD) LX : "Deinde girantem ad austri terram invenies terram Mauretaniam. Homines [qui inhabitant] barbarorum vitam et mores [habent], tamen Romanis subditi" (quoted by GASCOU (1992) p.169.
3. THOUVENOT in reply to PFLAUM (1978) p.391

Perhaps, then, assessments such as Frézouls' that "[la Maurétanie Tingintane] ne s'est romanisée que partiellement"[4] are most accurate. And this partial Romanization was the result not only of the diversity of the Mauretanian population, but also of the fact that the Romanization process lacked universal appeal. Romanization was a voluntary process and, outside of the practical benefits acquired by each recipient of Roman citizenship, the power and prestige which resulted from associating with the Roman ruling order only really benefitted those who could make use of this advantage of 'status' in their own positions of local authority. It was consequently the interests of the urban (and some of the tribal) elite which Romanization served best, and it was from these indigenous groups that the true 'Romanized' or, more correctly, 'Romano-African' civilization developed. Naturally, Roman influence still had an impact on the urban plebs and the non-urbanized, rural communities of the Mauretaniae, but they had less incentive to subscribe to Roman norms. Not being able to afford Roman education or a municipal political career, they were effectively excluded from the groups which derived most benefit from the Romanization process.

I have chosen to examine Romanization in the Mauretaniae with specific reference to the imperial cult. Mesnage has said : "Pour un peuple, en assimiler un autre, c'est arriver jusqu'à son âme et lui infuser, pour ainsi dire, la sienne, c'est-à-dire ses gouts, ses pensées, ses amours. Or, une seule chose arrive jusqu'à l'âme d'un peuple et est capable d'y faire penetrer ces sentiments: c'est la religion et la religion seule"[5]. Would it then be justifiable to interpret support for the imperial cult as a sign of genuine spiritual 'Romanization'? Unfortunately not. The political character of the imperial cult, inseparable from its religious character, prevents us from using imperial cult statistics as a barometer of religious 'conversion'. Certainly the worship of Roman emperors depended upon the provincials' willingness to formally identify with Roman authority, but the evidence fails to reveal whether the emperors' subjects were motivated by social, political or religious aims, or a combination of all three.

What we can ascertain is how and by whom the imperial cult was created in the Mauretaniae, on what factors its success was dependent, and what its limitations were in terms of extent and effectiveness. In the process, it will become clear

4. FRÉZOULS (1980) p.92
5. MESNAGE (1913) p.215

that municipal imperial cult relied to a large extent on internal impetus, and developed according to the needs and aims of its supporters. And the factors which limited the development and success of the Mauretanian imperial cult as a whole, will be seen to be similar to those factors operating with the same effect in more formal processes of Romanization.

This study will not be confined to the imperial cult proper, that is, the cult temples and priests actually authorized by the Mauretanian municipalities. For the imperial cult "was not a single institution but encompassed a variety of images and events"[6]. The scope of this study does not allow for an investigation of all the relevant aspects of the imperial cult, but the evidence for 'Augustan' gods and virtues in the Mauretaniae will be examined, as will various formulae which reflect a belief in the divine nature of the principes. Attention will also be given to the role played by official imperial policy in fashioning and manipulating the religious depiction of the Roman rulers.

By defining the nature of the imperial cult, I hope to clarify at least one part of Mauretanian Romanization.

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6. RIVES (1995) p.51

## THE PROCESS OF ROMANIZATION IN NORTH AFRICA

Simply stated, Romanization is the progressive adoption of the traits and institutions of Roman civilization by non-Roman provincial societies. In this way Roman government, law, language, culture and religion were diffused throughout the Roman empire. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century historians interpreted Romanization from a 'colonial' point of view, regarding the Romans as benefactors of the conquered 'barbarians', bringing peace, progress and civilization. This view was encouraged by the Romano-centric nature of the ancient sources. Then, from the mid-twentieth century (contemporaneous with European decolonization of Africa) the focus moved towards the subjected populations, the validity of their own civilizations and the legitimacy of their resistance to foreign rule. In the context of ancient history, this attitude went so far as to deny Romanization any positive influence at all[1].

Assessing Romanization as simply 'good' or 'evil' results from the erroneous assumption that it was a one-way process, that some model of Romanitas was superimposed on the natives of the provinces in fulfillment of a grand imperial design. But despite Aelius Aristides' claim that Rome divided the world into Romans and non-Romans[2], there was no such thing as an ideal, static model of the Roman state of being which could be simply transmitted or imitated[3]. Romanization represented the "fusion of Roman and native elements to form a new and dynamic cultural identity"[4] and the endproduct varied according to the cultural communities involved[5]. In Africa, the outcome of the complex process of exchange and mutation, made possible by the fact that both Roman and African societies were flexible and adaptable, may conveniently be termed Romano-African civilization.

As the remainder of this chapter will reveal, the impetus for Romanization, in Africa as elsewhere, was primarily provided by the indigenous element itself. This was because Rome had no deliberate policy of Romanizing her subjects beyond a desire to maintain peace and order[6]. Roman-enforced territorial domination should not be equated with Romanization. Legal or political Romanization was a reciprocal process, with Roman citizenship and/or city status being sought by the locals and granted or encouraged by Rome. And cultural

1. On the development of attitudes towards Romanization see DYSON (1975) p.138-40 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.16f, 580ff ; BENABOU (1976b) p.367f ; PFLAUM (1978) p.386, 390 ; DEVIJVER (1984) p.584, 594
2. 26.63
3. BENABOU (1976b)p.369 ; SADDINGTON (1975) p.135
4. EDMONDSON (1990) p.153
5. Cf. BENABOU (1976a) p.18f, 583
6. MESNAGE (1913) p.213 ; BROUGHTON (1968) p.141 ; PFLAUM (1978) p.385-388

or unofficial Romanization - language, religion, art and architecture - was dependent on internal motivation, because although Rome set the example she in no way forced her subjects to adopt a Roman 'way of life'[7].

Over and above the respective roles of Romans and natives, attention has more recently been focused on how independent historical trends may have been instrumental in bringing about 'Romanization' in the sense of the creation of a politicized, urbanized, cultured and literate society. For although T.R.S. Broughton claimed that "[the Berbers] were unoriginal and appear to have had little capacity for self-development. It is doubtful even if they had remained untouched by foreign influences if they would have evolved any advanced political or social organization"[8], there was undeniably a general tendency for provinces to evolve an urban lifestyle, and North African civilization, even if foreign powers had not intervened, would have continued to develop gradually in its own Mediterranean context[9].

Conquest and colonization were not necessary prerequisites for the initial Romanization of North Africa. In the Mauretaniae, for instance, direct or indirect ties between the native kings and Rome had existed since the end of the third century BC and certain cities, such as Tingi and Volubilis, are known to have contained Latin elements long before the Roman annexation of the territory[10]. The client kings Juba and Ptolemy who ruled over the territory from 25BC to AD40 also helped prepare the way for later Romanization by introducing the imperial cult and promoting Roman architecture and the use of Latin, albeit primarily in the 'royal residence' cities of Tingi and Volubilis.

When Rome came into possession of the Mauretaniae, it is commonly assumed that the process of Romanization proper was begun by the deliberate pacification, sedentarization and urbanization of the local (semi-)nomadic populations. However, besides the fact that any steps Rome may have taken in this regard were more probably inspired by a desire to ensure security than to Romanize the natives, it is now open to debate whether sedentarization and/or confinement of the nomadic tribes was indeed the Roman aim. L.A. Thompson may be quoted as providing the traditional view : "These peoples [ie. pastoral nomads and semi-nomads of the African interior] represented a

7. EDMONDSON (1990) p.153: "Romanization should not be seen as a cultural matrix imposed on a native society by Rome". cf. SADDINGTON (1975) p.132-4
8. BROUGHTON (1968) p.6
9. DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.206 ; DRINKWATER (1990) p.356 ; REECE (1990) p.30-34
10. DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.73 and passim

constant threat to the security of the sedentary populations of the towns and villages and their way of life was patently a barrier to economic development and utterly incompatible with Roman civilization. Consequently, they were subdued by force of arms and compelled to change from pastoral and nomadic life to that of sedentary farmers, villagers or townsmen"[11]. Opposing this view are, inter alia, Garnsey, Frezouls, Daniels, and especially Shaw[12] who argue that sedentary and nomadic lifestyles had always coexisted in the North African interior and were even complementary ; that it would be neither feasible nor economically advantageous to seal off all the nomadic transhumance routes ; and that the limites were not continuous but allowed for, and were probably intended to regulate tribal movements between south and north.

On the other hand there is evidence that Rome did expropriate land from certain African tribes, restricting them to narrower, delimited territories and probably disrupting their traditional lifestyles as a result. For the Mauretaniae we have evidence that territorial restrictions were imposed on the Zimizes, Numidae and Suburbures[13]. By these actions Rome doubtless hoped to acquire agricultural land and establish better control over tribes or portions of tribes, and although the whole process favoured Romanization in the long term, this was hardly the original aim[14].

As for urbanization, the city was traditionally regarded as the necessary basis for the development of (Graeco-)Roman civilization[15]. The Roman impact on Africa was indeed most intense in the urban centres because they were the political and administrative focal points for the provinces : the city magistrates drew up the citizen registers upon which the organization of army recruits, taxes and officials for local government was based. As centres of Roman-style education, cities played an all-important role in Romanization, and in the field of religion they provided the only official centres of worship for the imperial cult[16]. Most of our archaeological and epigraphic source material derives from urban contexts and Roman citizens, on the basis of this evidence, are found exclusively in African urban centres[17]. However, an absolute distinction between a 'Romanized' urban as opposed to a 'barbarian' rural African society is misleading. Outside of the

11. THOMPSON (1969) p.139. Likewise TOUTAIN (1912) p.345
12. GARNSEY (1978) p.232f ; FRÉZOULS (1980) p.88, 92 and passim ; DANIELS (1990) passim ; SHAW (1982) passim
13. See below p.33f
14. On tribal delimitations see BROUGHTON (1968) p.126, 159, 191-5 ; DEMAN (1975) p.32-34 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.428-445
15. cf. Strabo, Book 3
16. On the role of cities in antiquity see DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.198f ; GARNSEY & SALLER (1987) passim ; DRINKWATER (1990) p.352f , inter alia
17. DONDIN-PAYRE (1981) p.103f

non-urbanized mountainous and desert regions, city and countryside were interdependent. Each city controlled an extent of rural territory and was economically dependent on agriculture for its survival, most citydwellers being landowners themselves. The high proportion of public buildings in relation to private homes in most African cities indicates that many who lived on the land still utilized the city as a commercial, social and religious centre, thus benefiting from the 'Roman way of life' while enjoying political franchises equal to those of the urban inhabitants[18].

It cannot be denied that Romanization required an urban structure to be able to develop, but Rome was by no means the first to introduce cities into North Africa. In the Mauretaniae her presence was preceded by the Phoenicians, Carthaginians, and local African kings who had all fostered urban development. By the second century BC monarchical Mauretania already had a well-structured administration and cities with municipal organizations capable of looking after collective interests[19].

Lacking the manpower to directly administer the provincials, Rome promoted an imperial support-system of self-governing cities in the provinces[20]. To the existing civitates (non-Roman urban communities) of North Africa, she added her own forms of municipal organization : municipia and coloniae. Existing cities could be promoted to a higher status, the civitas becoming a municipium or the municipium a colonia. Both municipia and coloniae were modelled on the institutions of Rome herself, with annual magistrates (duoviri, quaestores, aediles), a senate (the ordo decurionum) and a popular assembly (curia).

Originally, coloniae, as settlements of immigrant Italian Roman citizens, were distinguishable from the municipia of mixed, largely local origin. But, as increasingly heterogenous veterans were settled in coloniae and new colonial foundations ceased after Trajan, while municipia and other existing provincial communities could be promoted to the status of honorary or 'titular' colonies, the distinction between colonia and municipium became less strict. However, the two probably differed in some significant respects with regard to jurisdiction or levels of autonomy[21]. The status of colonia was always considered

18. CHARLES-PICARD (1975) p.110f ; DEMAN (1975) p.77f ; VITTINGHOFF (1994) p.11-13, 257
19. DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.79f. Juba also significantly promoted the economic and cutural progress within certain Mauretanian urban communities (cf. ROMANELLI (1959) p.166f).
20. GARNSEY & SALLER (1987) p.20-32 ; DRINKWATER (1990) p.354f ; MILLETT (1990) p.37f ; VITTINGHOFF (1994) p.274
21. VITTINGHOFF (1994) p.48-50

the most prestigious as it most nearly approximated the form of the city of Rome itself[22].

Roman citizenship was conferred on all the free inhabitants (except for the foreign residents, or incolae) of Roman-status coloniae and municipia[23]. In coloniae and municipia of Latin-status, on the other hand, Roman citizenship was only granted to the annual magistrates and (probably after Hadrian) the decurions[24].

Because municipia and coloniae embodied Roman institutions and citizenship, their extent has been equated with the degree of Romanization in any one province. But legal Romanization did not always coincide with cultural Romanization[25]. Cities may exhibit a high level of Romanitas and contain many Roman citizens without ever being promoted to Roman or Latin status[26]. This was because Rome had no interest in advancing the status of cities purely for the sake of Romanization. As long as her administrative, financial and military needs were being met adequately, changes in municipal status were a low priority[27]. Although a high degree of voluntary Romanization was essentially a prerequisite for municipal promotion, overriding economic, political, or strategic considerations could provide the catalyst for such promotion[28]. Two Mauretanian examples will suffice to illustrate how unpredictable was the process of municipal promotion. Volubilis received the status of municipium in 44AD after having helped to put an end to the Aedemon revolt[29]. Garnsey[30] claims that this "is a classic case of promotion which preceded Romanization". In fact, the reverse is true : Volubilis was already highly Romanized by the end of the Mauretanian royal period, with many Roman citizens and political sympathies tending towards Rome[31]. And yet the city was granted municipal status only after it had provided practical military assistance to Rome and

22. Aul.Gell., NA 16.13.9. On Roman provincial municipal forms in general see TEUTSCH (1962) passim ; SHERWIN-WHITE (1973a) p.344-359 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.411-416 ; VITTINGHOFF(1994) passim
23. The case of Volubilis, where citizenship was only granted to the male inhabitants on its promotion to municipium, is unusual (VITTINGHOFF (1994) p.40f)
24. VITTINGHOFF (1994) p.52-54, 279
25. BENABOU (1976a) p.397, 578 ; GASCOU (1982) p.221 ; VITTINGHOFF(1951) p.36f & (1994) p.26, 207-209
26. cf. POULTER (1990) p.388
27. BROUGHTON (1968) p.117f, 149f
28. GARNSEY (1978) p.248-251 ; VITTINGHOFF (1994) p.44-56
29. See below p.30
30. GARNSEY (1978) p.251
31. GASCOU (1978) p.114. A clearer case for 'promotion preceding Romanization' would be Tingi, which received the status of municipium circa 38BC already, thanks to the city's assistance to Octavian against Bogud (cf. VITTINGHOFF (1951) p.116 ; GASCOU (1974b)).

petitioned Claudius for benefits. The case of Auzia is similarly enlightening. It is likely that this city obtained the status of colonia between 198 and 211AD thanks to the intervention of the procurator of Mauretania Caesariensis at the time, C. Octavius Pudens Caesius Honoratus, himself probably a citizen of Auzia and desirous of securing favours for the city through his influence with Septimius Severus. The emperor, in turn, was probably moved to grant Auzia this status by virtue of its military importance, since it was situated in a position controlling the road linking the Sitifis plains and the Chelif valley[32]. Clearly factors other than Romanization determined the success of a city in achieving Roman status.

Outside of what may be called 'colonization', Rome had no deliberate policy of urbanization for Africa. Although municipal development may have been favoured by the Romans in the interests of efficient administration (rather than in the hope of fulfilling any cultural aspirations[33]), provincial communities were not forced into any rigid 'Roman' framework. The rate and extent of urbanization depended on local initiative[34]. After the initial military colonization of the Mauretaniae by Augustus, and Claudius' creation of some half-dozen coloniae and municipia here, the Roman government assumed a passive role in municipal development and it was largely left to the cities themselves to petition for an advancement in status.

How do we explain the minimal role played by Rome in the urbanization-Romanization process? Her laissez-faire attitude has been seen by some as a credit to the flexibility of her rule. Respecting local autonomy and tradition would result in the provincials being more willing to spontaneously adopt Roman civilization on its own merits[35]. Mesnage[36] ascribes more practical motives to Rome's hesitant colonization of the Mauretaniae, claiming that she was hampered by incomplete military occupation and the inaccessibility of the terrain. Benabou[37], on the other hand, sees in Rome's municipal policy a calculated slowness aimed at maintaining a status of inequality between the natives and Roman immigrants. I have certain reservations regarding this theory. Provincial urbanization was, after all, in the Roman interest, providing the administrative and financial basis upon which imperial power rested. And

32. GASCOU (1982) p.207ff, 219
33. GARNSEY & SALLER (1987) p.26 ; VITTINGHOFF (1994) p.26
34. cf. BROUGHTON (1968) p.176f, 208, 224ff ; PETIT (1976) p.69 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.198-203
35. Thus ALBERTINI (1955) p.48 ; ROMANELLI (1959) p.187f ; BROUGHTON (1968) p.226 ; GARNSEY (1978) p.254
36. MESNAGE (1913) p.198f
37. BENABOU (1976a) p.416

because of the extent of the Roman empire, the heterogeneity of her subjects, and the disproportionate relation of Romans to foreign natives, Rome would have had to integrate her subjects into the ruling order[38]. Moreover, if, as Benabou himself asserts, cities were "an efficacious arm in the arsenal of Roman domination" and were designed to fashion a portion of the population according to Roman norms to suit Roman needs[39], it is difficult to understand her lack of motivation in imposing just such urban systems in the provinces.

Whatever the reason, urbanization was locally-driven. Local communities strove for Roman status and citizenship not only because of the prestige it brought, but above all because coloniae and municipia, while the status itself brought no special material privileges[40], afforded prominent individuals unequalled opportunities for social and political advancement. Herein lay the driving force of urban Romanization : the ambition of the local elite.

It was the intention of Rome to rule the provinces through the existing native elites, backed by her own administrative and military structures[41]. Given that the level of immigration to the Mauretaniae was not high and local government remained predominantly indigenous, this policy was of political necessity to Rome. The local elite provided an unpaid civil service and financed education and building programmes for the cities. The success of the system depended on identifying the interests of these elite groups with those of Rome[42]. Rewarding leading locals with land and other material, social and political benefits would ensure a community which loyally promoted Roman institutions and the Latin language[43].

Rome had no need to pressure the local aristocracy into cooperation. Participating in the new Roman administration allowed them to maintain their social and political leading roles in society. And Roman citizenship, granted upon entering political office, if not before, carried with it legal privileges, status, and the promise of access to the hierarchy of Roman honours and political offices. The privileged classes who cooperated with Roman officialdom and spoke Latin would not only find it easier to profit from trade beyond their own

38. DAHLHEIM (1984) p.110 ; DRINKWATER (1990) p.361
39. BENABOU (1976a) p.395f, 586
40. Unless it was accompanied by an award of the ius Italicum which carried exemption from land tax. cf. SHERWIN-WHITE (1973a) p.413 ; GARNSEY & SALLER (1987) p.27
41. HASELGROVE (1990) p.45
42. HASELGROVE loc.cit. ; HASSALL (1990) p.685 ; MILLETT (1990) p.37 ; BRUNT (1990) p.271-276
43. cf. Aelius Aristides 26.64 (English translation by C.A. Behr) : "there is no need of garrisons... the most important and powerful people in each place guard their countries"

regions, but could also call on Rome for legal and military protection in times of need. Nor can we discount the possibility that the grandeur of Roman civilization itself held a genuine attraction for many local elites, both materially and intellectually[44].

Ultimately the alliance between central Rome and the local elites, and the Romanization it generated, rested on a balanced system of duties and benefits, each side providing services for the other while simultaneously safeguarding and promoting its own interests[45]. Once a Romanized provincial elite had been established, the system was self-perpetuating. The rich competed with each other for prestige, honour and office and the remainder of the population aspired to emulate this Romanitas which was now associated with power and status[46].

Who exactly were the local elite? They are conspicuous in the surviving epigraphic material which remains silent about the plebs, the peasants, the 'unsuccessful' men. Although their wealth was based on landed property, the elite functioned in an urban context and comprised three main groups : senators, equestrians, and decurions, all of whom had to satisfy wealth qualifications. The decurionate formed the backbone of Romanized communities in Africa, opening the way for provincials to pursue a municipal cursus, leading to the equestrian and, ultimately, the senatorial orders[47].

Although this political cursus played a primary role in official Romanization, senatorial and equestrian statistics should not be used to measure the overall degree of Romanization of a province. Gaul, for instance, produced a small percentage of senators and equestrians during the Principate in contrast to the high number of Africans who achieved these positions[48]. This was not because Africa as a whole was any more Romanized than Gaul but rather because the settlement of Africa, based on large-scale exploitation of corn, was more conducive to the creation of large properties and the attendant individual fortunes necessary to hold these offices[49]. Moreover, the African senatorial class was largely descended from immigrant Italians, and local African or Punic surnames are little represented[50].

44. BRUNT (1990) p.268
45. GARNSEY (1978) p.223, 248, 254 ; RIVES (1995) p.100f
46. DRINKWATER (1990) p.361f ; MILLETT (1990) p.38
47. cf. GARNSEY & SALLER (1987) p.112-115
48. See tables by DEMAN (1975) p.67f
49. DEMAN (1975) p.69-83. This would also explain why Mauretanian contingents of equestrians and senators are very much in the minority, as the Mauretaniae had fewer extensive corn-growing areas than the other African provinces.
50. DEMAN (1975) p.72 ; PETIT (1976) p.164

Besides the three elite ordines, other social groups of high standing were the veterans, who received financial and territorial grants upon discharge[51], and the wealthy businessmen of the cities who were on a par, socially at least, with the local equestrians[52].

Patrons played an important role in fashioning the elites of the provinces. Elected by local senates, they were invariably men of wealth and influence (including ex-magistrates and even provincial governors) who could secure citizenship and political office from Rome for the provincials and provide financial backing for the careers of ambitious individuals. Patronage was also encouraged by the emperors as a method of recruiting members into the elite groups[53].

The road to Romanization through political office was by no means accessible to all. The municipal bourgeoisie of senators, equestrians and decurions represented only about one sixth of the total population in Africa and certain offices such as priesthoods and aedileships became de facto hereditary and were monopolized by a few important families in each city[54]. Benabou[55] believes that this limited access to honours was by Roman design, specifically that the grant of Roman citizenship was used as an instrument of selection, being bestowed only on an already-elite group of provincials.

This is only partly true. Admittedly, special imperial grants of Roman citizenship, either 'viritim' or collectively to all the free inhabitants of cities promoted to Roman status, were commonly in recognition of services rendered to Rome. And such honorary citizenship was granted sparingly, partly because Rome probably believed indiscrimate grants of citizenship would diminish the incentive to Romanize[56]. Using the Roman citizenship in this way as a kind of leverage to obtain acquiescence or assistance from her subjects may indeed, as Benabou claims, have resulted in the urban minority being favoured and the internal divisions in the North African provinces being enhanced[57].

51. GARNSEY & SALLER (1987) p.200. Although fiscal immunity for veterans was discontinued from the third century AD and they became less of a privileged class (cf. JACQUES (1984) p.620f, 635).
52. GARNSEY (1978) p.229
53. PETIT (1976) p.72f ; GARNSEY & SALLER (1987) p.20, 151ff, 201
54. MOSSÉ (1970) p.133 ; BASSIGNANO (1974) p.375 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.235 contra JACQUES (1984) p.507-570, 618 who claims the decurionate was not a closed caste.
55. BENABOU (1976a) p.390 & (1976b) p.369f. cf. DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.198f
56. BROUGHTON (1968) p.155 ; BRUNT (1990) p.269f
57. BENABOU as at note 55 above.

But most enfranchisement did not depend on direct central government intervention. By the second century AD the municipal authorities themselves controlled the process at the primary level because they drew up the lists of candidates for citizenship to be submitted to Rome[58]. Moreover, Roman citizenship was acquired automatically by individuals born to[59], adopted by or manumitted by Roman citizens ; all the decurions in cities of Latin status[60]; and legionaries and auxiliaries upon, respectively, entrance into or discharge from the Roman army.

It is difficult to assess the exact number of Roman citizens in any province. Onomastic data can only assist in determining broad patterns of development[61]. In the Mauretaniae, the Iulii are by far the most numerous[62], which is not surprising given that Augustus' colonization record in the region was never surpassed. This does not mean that the Mauretaniae were any more 'Romanized' under Augustus than in the third century AD, simply that the first princeps laid the fundamental basis for Roman citizenship in the region and that none of his successors made any overwhelming impact on this aspect of Romanization.

Although theoretically the legal status of a civis Romanus was within reach of all young men through the medium of the army[63], the fact remains that the provincial elite was a narrow group and this was due not only to an imperial selective citizenship policy, but also to the fact that local councils followed a policy of co-opting colleagues which effectively barred outsiders from office[64], and most of all to the fact that although there was no ideological, racial, social or religious opposition to 'new men', there was a very real economic barrier to progress.

In the first place, schools in the Western provinces were essentially private, costly institutions, which denied the poor access to the higher Roman education

58. cf. LASSÈRE (1977) p.450
59. After Hadrian, children always assumed the status of the mother, although the ius conubii granted to virtually all veterans allowed children born to their (first) non-Roman wives to be recognized as Roman citizens as well. cf. VITTINGHOFF (1994) p.33, 42, 52
60. After Hadrian. VITTINGHOFF (1994) p.53 comments on how this meant that the cities themselves controlled access to citizenship.
61. On the difficulties inherent in onomastic research cf. DEMAN (1975) p.70ff ; BENABOU (1976a) p.370-373 ; DONDIN-PAYRE (1981) p.96ff ; VITTINGHOFF (1994) p. 192-197
62. Followed by Claudii, and then Aelii and Aurelii. See the tables in DONDIN-PAYRE (1981) p.113, 116, 122; and LASSERE (1977) p.440-450 and maps IX & X.
63. Even if this was ultimately in the Roman interest of maintaining law and order (BRUNT (1990) p.269f).
64. PETIT (1976) p.171

necessary for participating in the Roman political system[65].

In addition, under Roman rule, wealth came to replace ethnic origin as the basis of social distinction in the provinces. Decurions, magistrates and priests were not only unsalaried but were also expected to pay a fee to the public treasury on entering office as well as to confer financial benefits on their cities and communities[66]. Thus, although provincial assemblies long continued to freely elect their magistrates, their choice was effectively restricted to the rich[67]. And because, particularly in Africa, much of the land was owned by a small number of proprietors who handed it down from generation to generation within their families, the 'wealthy set' in any community was invariably a closed, unchanging group of men[68]. The example of the peasant of Maktar (Africa Proconsularis) who eventually became a censor (C.11824), though often quoted as an example of the opportunities open to all under Roman rule, is in fact an exceptional case[69]. Though there was an upward current of social promotion, success depended on economic factors[70].

In 212AD the Constitutio Antoniniana granted Roman citizenship to virtually all freeborn inhabitants of the empire[71]. This edict has been interpreted by some as legal recognition of the degree of Romanization achieved by the provincials, but many believe Caracalla was motivated instead by financial aims[72]. In any event the gulf between rich and poor, as it had already been legally recognized since the time of Hadrian by the division of society into honestiores and humiliores[73], persisted.

It remains to consider how the non-urbanized tribal communities fared in the Romanization process. They were not compelled to adopt a Roman type of municipal organization[74]. Some tribal units assimilated themselves to settled civitates or attached themselves to existing cities, either

65. cf. VITTINGHOFF (1994) p.268. Although the Roman army provided all soldiers with a basic 'education', including an understanding of Latin, MANN ((1983) p.229) remarks on how few veterans in fact played significant roles in the public life of provincial communities.
66. cf. MACKIE (1990) p.179-192 and below p.69, 72
67. GARNSEY & SALLER (1987) p.33 ; BRUNT (1990) p.270 ; RIVES (1995) p.36f
68. ROSTOVZEFF (1957) p.344
69. DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.232 ; GARNSEY (1978) p.248
70. PETIT (1976) p.181
71. cf. SHERWIN-WHITE (1973a) p.279-287, 380-393
72. Before the edict he had doubled citizen taxes on manumission and death duties. See HASSALL (1990) p.698f for financial motives contra SHERWIN-WHITE (1973a) p.281f.
73. GARNSEY & SALLER (1987) p 111, 115
74. BROUGHTON (1968) p.196, 208

spontaneously or because territorial changes following on Roman occupation pressured them to do so[75]. The other gentes, who were theoretically autonomous, were either placed under the supervision of a Roman military official (praefectus gentis) responsible for tax collection, army recruitment and the maintenance of order, or were left under the tribal authority of a princeps (or rex) gentis whose appointment in certain instances seems to have been approved or 'ratified' by Rome[76].

In all cases, Rome's underlying desire was to secure the alliance, or at least the neutrality, of the tribes concerned. The citizenship granted to certain members of the Zegrenses tribe, and the series of renewed peace treaties between the procurators of Mauretania Tingitana and the principes of the Baquates tribe, seem to have been aimed not so much at recognizing the Romanization of these tribes as eliciting their future loyalty or obedience[77]. Unfortunately, as the available evidence only touches on a minority of the North African tribes, the nature of tribal relationships with Rome remains largely obscure.

In this examination of African Romanization in action in the cities and among the tribes, we have seen that local initiative played a large part and that cultural Romanization was not enforced from above. What then is the evidence, if any, for resistance to Romanization? Benabou is in no doubt that there was strong resistance to Roman influence, both actively in the military domain, and passively in the cultural domain[78].

Within the context of the Mauretaniae, the case for military resistance to Rome appears to be strong. Almost every emperor's reign from Augustus up to the fourth century AD provides evidence for Roman military action in these regions, presumably to suppress native revolts. But this native resistance was more likely to have been aimed against foreign domination and conquest than Romanization per se. Even so, it should not be assumed that Roman rule was responsible for terminating the independence of local African communities. Besides the fact that Roman municipal policy recognized local sovereignty, both in urban and tribal contexts, few African communities had possessed true independence in the past, customarily being controlled by oligarchs, kings, or neighbouring states[79]. In Mauretania

75. BENABOU (1976a) p.445
76. See below p.37-38. On praefecti and principes gentis see BENABOU (1976a) p.450ff.
77. See below p.37-41
78. BENABOU (1976a) p.19 & (1976b) p.369
79. BRUNT (1990) p.271

the reigns of the local kings Juba and Ptolemy had already provoked active resistance from certain tribes of the interior[80].

It is important to remember that there was no 'national' resistance to Roman rule in any of the African provinces. In the Mauretaniae the geographically divided tribes had never known national unity, and military resistance here cannot be categorized as simply 'natives' versus 'Romans'[81]. On the contrary, certain Mauri tribesmen served Rome loyally as auxiliary forces in the Roman army[82]. When clashes with Roman authority did occur, these were limited to certain geographical regions and individual tribal units[83].

The most likely causes of native revolts in the Mauretaniae, as elsewehere in Africa, were territorial disputes, conflict between Roman agricultural and indigenous pastoral economies, and the social and economic upheavals (including enforced taxation) brought to bear on the autochthonous populations by Roman rule[84]. But, since we rarely have evidence as to the causes of the Mauretanian revolts, we cannot tell to what extent Roman oppression was responsible[85]. In any event, Romanization in the Mauretaniae was a slow process, unlikely to incite intense resistance. Although the provincials were subject to Roman jurisdiction and taxes, their autonomy was upheld to a certain degree by the principles of local determination and self-government[86]. There was no question of a 'devouring imperialism'[87].

As for resistance to cultural Romanization, reflected, according to Benabou[88], in the persistence of traditional ways or the selective adoption of Roman cultural forms, it is sufficient to quote Garnsey : "the simple equation of

80. ROMANELLI (1959) p.184
81. GSELL (1921-30) 6. p.280f ; BENABOU (1976a) p.588 & (1976b) p.369, 372
82. cf. SPEIDEL (1975) p.220-230
83. Except for the Tacfarinas revolt which involved many African tribes but was too early to have been a reaction to Roman conquest in the Mauretaniae.
84. cf. DYSON (1975) p.162, 171 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.585 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.166, 179
85. Some may have been sparked off by local disputes. cf. HASELGROVE (1990) p.53 contra DYSON (1975) p.141, 171 who believes the degree of unrest in the West has been downplayed by both modern and ancient historians.
86. Apart from those tribes placed under praefecti gentis. Opinions vary as to the actual degree of autonomy enjoyed by provincial cities. VITTINGHOFF (1994) p.247f claims they never knew real autonomy contra JACQUES (1984) passim.
87. M. THOUVENOT in reply to PFLAUM (1978) p.390f. Pflaum himself (op. cit. p.382) offers the odd opinion that it was precisely the lack of municipal promotions under Antoninus Pius which inspired a new conflagration in the region. This makes nonsense of the idea, supported by Pflaum himself, that African revolts were a sign of resistance to Romanization.
88. BENABOU (1976a) p.17, 388 & (1976b) p.369, 372

survival with resistance cannot be accepted"[89]. As Rome had no intention of eradicating local practices or forcefully imposing Roman traditions on the provincials, local particularism was bound to survive.

In conclusion, I cannot concur with Mesnage's belief in "la faillité complète de la romanisation de l'Afrique"[90]. This would be true only if we expect Romanization to have created provinces of an exclusively Roman character and if we base our assessment of Romanization on the assumption that Rome set out to deliberately Romanize all her non-Roman African subjects[91]. Insofar as Romanization was, on the contrary, a primarily locally-motivated process which did not necessarily result in the eradication of local traditions, it can be said to have achieved a measure of success in North Africa. In Volubilis, for example, facets of Roman material culture, intellectual life, municipal organization, as well as the Latin language, persisted up to the seventh century AD[92].

But precisely because it was locally driven, Romanization was a slow, uneven and unpredictable process. The geographical diversity of Africa and lack of homogeneity among her populations ensured that the rate and depth of Romanization varied from region to region[93]. Certain well-defined zones, encompassing, in particular, Roman colonies or long-established peregrine cities and their surroundings, tended to Romanize more easily, while large mountainous or desert areas continued to have virtually no experience of Rome[94]. Romanization should therefore ideally not be assessed at a provincial level which obscures the complexity of underlying regional varations[95]. There are, however, certain general patterns of Romanization discernible in North Africa. Roman influence was strongest in the old established province of Africa Proconsularis, diminishing towards the west and the Mauretaniae[96]. Romanization also generally spread from north to south and in the Mauretaniae, apart from a few notable exceptions in the interior, the coastal regions were always the most Romanized[97].

89. GARNSEY (1978) p.252
90. MESNAGE (1913) p.211
91. cf. FRÉZOULS (1980) p.69, 86
92. M. THOUVENOT in reply to PFLAUM (1978) p.392
93. cf. MESNAGE (1913) p.131-141
94. DEMAN (1975) p.69
95. DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.141 ; HASELGROVE (1990) p.45f
96. The number of known flamines, for instance, is higher in Africa Proconsularis than in Mauretania Caesariensis which in turn produces about double the number of Mauretania Tingitana (BASSIGNANO (1974) p.375).
97. cf. DONDIN-PAYRE (1981) p.99f ; GASCOU (1982) p.220

Romanization also took many different forms on a social and personal, as well as a geographical, level. The African population consisted of three main groups : Roman or Italian settlers and their descendants ; autochthonous natives who maintained their traditional way of life and remained isolated from Roman influence, and a partially-Romanized group midway between the two who constituted the true Romano-African civilization[98]. The debate as to whether there was ever a true 'romanisation des âmes berbères'[99], or whether the assimilation to Roman norms was merely a superficial, materially motivated and politically convenient manoeuvre on the part of the locals[100], will probably never be satisfactorily resolved. Although it is difficult, if not impossible, to assess how deeply Romanization penetrated the African psyche, certain individuals may well have taken Roman tradition to heart in addition to upholding traditional beliefs. The two were not mutually exclusive, and African society was not one-dimensional, but capable of receiving and accommodating a variety of cultural influences[101].

Ironically, certain native African cultures flourished in the wake of Roman influences. Latin epigraphy, for instance, inspired a renaissance of Libyan epigraphy in the Mauretaniae and some local African deities gained a stronger, more unified identity through their identification with Roman counterparts[102]. But this survival and growth of an indigenous 'substratum' was a part of, not an obstacle to Romanization.

There were other factors which placed far more serious limitations on the extension and durability of Romanization. Chief among these was the inaccessibility of Roman office (and thereby political and social benefits) to any but the wealthiest of Africans. Even the imperial cult and the colleges of Augustales offered social advancement only to a lucky few. The poorer classes and most of the rural population remained ignorant of Latin, the key to Romanization, or, at best, had only a basic knowledge of the spoken language[103]. Moreover, the Romanizing efforts of the emperors were generally limited to sectors which included old, established cities with economic

98. BENABOU (1976a) p.583f & (1976b) p.374f
99. After MESNAGE (1913) p.213
100. Thus, inter alia, BROUGHTON (1968) p.141 ; PFLAUM (1978) p.387
101. BENABOU as at note 98 above
102. cf. BROUGHTON (1968) p.288 ; BASSIGNANO (1974) p.374 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.576, 586f
103. BROUGHTON (1968) p.156 ; JULIEN (1975) p.179f ; BRUNT (1990) p.273, 278

potential[104]. Across the board, municipal promotions to Roman city status seem hardly to have been encouraged.

In the Mauretaniae were additional factors which may have retarded Romanization: the low number of Roman immigrants ; extremely limited zones of Roman occupation ; the presence of a comparatively high number of (semi-)nomadic tribes ; the lack of lasting peace and security ; the difficulty of communications within each province and between the two Mauretaniae because of the nature of the terrain ; and, last but not least, the low degree of interest shown in the Mauretaniae on the part of the Romans[105]. The Mauretaniae were also the most likely of the North African provinces to have harboured 'islands of resistance' - groups of unassimilated tribes inhabiting the mountainous regions in particular[106]. These tribes would probably have fallen under the definition of dediticii in the Constitutio Antoniniana of 212AD and been excluded from the Roman citizenship even then[107]. Mesnage claims that this group of Africans "n'a pas pu être romanisée"[108], which may be true, but it is doubtful whether they formed the majority of the Mauretanian population as he supposes.

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104. BENABOU (1976a) p.418-424. Part of the problem was that "the limits to Roman expansion were determined broadly by the presence of social systems which were adaptable to the Roman administrative system" (MILLETT (1990) p.39).
105. cf. FRÉZOULS (1980) p.92. On communications see JULIEN (1975) p.138 ; PETIT (1976) p.218. On the extent of Roman occupation in the Mauretaniae see MESNAGE (1913) p.70f, 89 ; GASCOU (1982) p.221. On the lack of peace in the region see MESNAGE (1913) p.68 ; GASCOU (1982) p.206, 221
106. cf. KOTULA (1975) p.392
107. JULIEN (1975) p.161 ; PFLAUM (1978) p.387
108. MESNAGE (1913) p.163

## THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE ROMANIZATION OF THE MAURETANIAE

A study of the imperial cult in the Mauretaniae cannot be undertaken without an understanding of the context in which it developed. This chapter aims to review the processes of Roman occupation and legal Romanization in the Mauretaniae from Augustus to Diocletian. Pertinent literary sources are rare and remarkably uninformative, simply referring to 'wars' or 'troubles' in the Mauretaniae, and need to be supplemented by epigraphic and archaeological evidence, which in turn is meagre and often open to differing interpretation[1].

The earliest history of the region of the Mauretaniae is relatively obscure, although we know that already between the late eighth and early sixth centuries BC Phoenician traders had settled at harbour points such as Tingi and Lixus[2]. Subsequent Carthaginian settlements on the Mauretanian coast (some of which were resettlements of deserted Phoenician colonies such as Tingi and Lixus), gave rise to Punic-style cities in the fifth and fourth centuries BC which in turn founded their own emporia along the main land and sea routes[3]. Even though many of their cities had been established at sites where indigenous settlements already existed[4], there is no evidence of any local Mauretanian hostility towards either the Phoenicians or the Carthaginians, both of whom doubtless took care to maintain peaceful relations in the interests of commerce[5].

The Punic decline at the end of the third century BC was accompanied by the rise of local Mauretanian dynasts. The first literary reference is to a king Baga in the context of the second Punic war (Livy 29.30.1). Bocchus I, king of Mauretania at the beginning of the Jugurthine war, is next to appear in our sources (Sallust Bell.Iug 19.7). This Bocchus delivered Jugurtha to Rome, for which he was rewarded with an eastward extension of his kingdom. Bocchus I died between 80 and 70BC, and by the time we hear of Mauretania again circa 49BC, it is already divided into two kingdoms (separated by the Muluchar river): Western Mauretania under Bogud, and eastern Mauretania under Bocchus II[6]. Both these Mauretanian kings sided with Caesar against Pompey who was allied to the

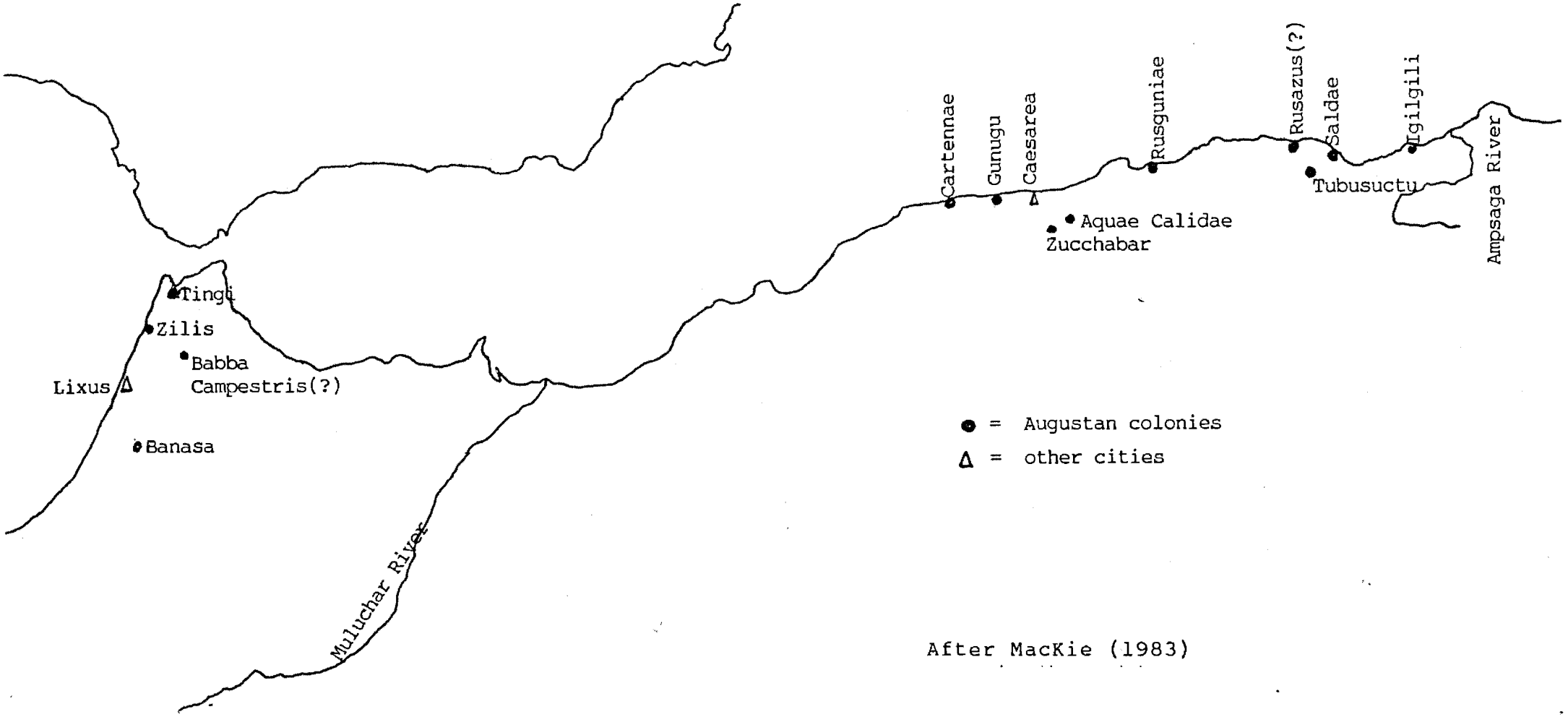
1. cf. BENABOU (1976a) p.135 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.181 ; FÉVRIER (1989) p.109
2. cf. Hdt. 4.43. The legendary date for the foundation of Lixus is 1101BC but cf. JODIN (1987) p.22
3. Mauretanian cities which bear the imprint of Punic influence include Tingi, Sala, Banasa, Volubilis, Caesarea, Tamuda and Rusuccuru. cf. MESNAGE (1913) p.18-33 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.75-80 ; JODIN (1987) p.325f
4. JODIN (1987) p.28
5. DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.50
6. cf. Plin. HN 5.19

Numidian king Juba I. Caesar's victory over Numidia in 46BC and Juba's subsequent suicide led to an addition of territory to Bocchus II's kingdom[7] which now probably extended to the Ampsaga river in the east. Bogud, meanwhile, had fought with Caesar against the Pompeians in Spain.[8] In the period of civil war following Caesar's death, Bocchus II sided with Octavian while Bogud twice went to Spain to fight for Antony's cause[9]. During Bogud's second absence from Mauretania the inhabitants of Tingi rebelled against him and, being unable to reclaim his kingdom, Bogud went to the East to join Antony and was killed by Agrippa in 31BC[10]. Meanwhile, Bocchus received Western Mauretania as compensation for his aid to Octavian, and ruled over a reunited, single Mauretanian kingdom[11].

The Mauretanian kings had traditionally taken a pro-Roman stance, but by involving themselves in Roman factional struggles in the hope of gaining an advantage over their neighbouring dynasts, they succeeded only in subjecting the Mauretanian territory to increasing Roman intervention and, ultimately, domination[12]. On Bocchus' death in 33BC the kingdom of Mauretania passed into the hands of Octavian[13] who apparently remained in control of the territory until it once again became a kingdom under Juba II in 25BC[14]. During this period Octavian-Augustus founded at least twelve Roman colonies in the Mauretaniae. According to Pliny[15], these were Zilis, Saldae, Cartennae, Gunugu, Rusguniae, Rusazus, Banasa, Zucchabar, Igilgili, Tubusuctu, Aquae Calidae, and Babba Campestris, of which at least the first eight were situated near to or reinforced older indigenous or Punic centres[16]. Despite occasional inaccuracies in Pliny's overall treatment of the early history of North Africa, the relative accuracy of this list is substantiated by epigraphic evidence[17]. However, Tingi, which Pliny (HN 5.2) claims was made a colonia by Claudius, is now believed to have been another one of Augustus' creations[18].

7. App. BCiv. 4.54
8. Dio Cass. 44.38.2
9. In 41/40BC (App. BCiv. 5.26) and in 38BC (Dio Cass. 48.45.1)
10. Dio Cass. 48.45.3
11. cf. ROMANELLI (1959) p.149-150
12. DÉSIRÉ-VUILLEMIN (1964) p.99-100 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.150
13. Dio Cass. 49.43.7
14. Mauretanian coins of the period 33-25BC bear the legend IMP. CAESAR. Cf. MAZARD (1955) p.69-70 nos.122-4
15. HN 5.2, 5.5, 5.20, 5.21. See following map.
16. GSELL (1921-30) 8 p.202 ; ROMANELLI (1959) p.201, 203 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.56 ; FÉVRIER (1989) p. 103
17. Proving that Saldae, Rusazus, Rusguniae, Tubusuctu, Zucchabar, and Banasa were indeed Augustan foundations. On Pliny's reliability see DETLEFSEN (1972a) & (1972b).
18. Coins bear the legend COL(onia) IUL(ia) TINGI (MAZARD (1955) p.185-187), and C.10985 from Tingi mentions a colonia V(ictrix?) Iulia. cf. VITTINGHOFF (1951) p.116f ; TEUTSCH (1962) p.206f, 217 ; GASCOU (1974b)

THE AUGUSTAN COLONIES IN MAURETANIA




After MacKie (1983)

Many of these colonies were veteran settlements[19], presumably the result of Octavian's having to provide land for a large number of discharged soldiers after Actium[20]. The geographical situation of the colonies - for the most part in fertile territory either on high plateaux, at road confluences, or near coastal harbours - was not necessarily a deliberate attempt by Augustus to control Mauretanian trade or supervise Mauri tribal movements[21]. So few Roman settlements can hardly have been expected to accomplish such roles effectively. They were merely placed, for practical purposes, at the most productive, defensible sites, preferably near to communication routes[22].

The Res Gestae list of provinces in which Augustus founded veteran colonies (RGDA 28) does not include Mauretania. This may be because Mauretania at the time was not a true province, or because the colonies existed, after 25BC, as Roman strongholds in a properly sovereign country, a fact which conflicted with the proclaimed conservative principles of the Res Gestae[23].

The legal status of Mauretania during the interregnum period of 33-25BC remains a mystery. Dio (49.43.7) is surely incorrect in assuming that Augustus converted the kingdom into a province - it does not appear as such in any of the evidence. One school of thought believes that Augustus intended to annex Mauretania as a province and was preparing the territory for this eventuality when the option of a client kingdom arose[24]. All the available evidence, however, points to a deliberate postponement in making Mauretania a Roman province. As far as we can tell, no permanent Roman administrative structures were set up. Punic types and/or legends persisted alongside Latin ones on local coinage[25]. And the legends REX BOCCHUS (Latin) or BQS HMMLKT (Punic = Bocchus king/kingdom) which appear on certain interregnum coins together with the legend SOSI F(ilius)

19. The legio VII is named at Rusazus, Tubusuctu and Saldae; an unknown legio II is mentioned at Cartennae; veterans of the IX legio Gemella were stationed at Rusguniae, and a praetorian cohort was settled at Gunugu.
20. GSELL (1921-30) 8 p.205 ; VITTINGHOFF (1951) p.116f ; BENABOU (1976a) p.50f; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.159, 163 ; MANN (1983) p.8, 11 contra TEUTSCH (1962) p.221 who pleads for purely political and strategic motivations.
21. Thus VITTINGHOFF(1951) p.118 ; ROMANELLI (1959) p.204 ; TEUTSCH (1962) p.220f ; JULIEN (1975) p.157 ; MANN (1983) p.10 inter alia.
22. Teutsch's theory that certain Augustan colonies in Mauretania were intended to control, supervise and protect the client king Juba II is anachronistic. The colonies were almost certainly established before Juba II was granted the kingdom, and even if the colonies assumed such a role after 25BC it in no way confirms that this was Augustus' intention (BRAUND (1984) p.94f contra TEUTSCH (1962) p.203, 220)
23. TEUTSCH (1962) p.221 ; VITTINGHOFF (1951) p.118 ; MACKIE (1983) p.336
24. Inter alia, JULIEN (1975) p.125 ; MANN (1983) p.10 ; MACKIE (1983) p.337-339
25. cf. GSELL (1921-30) 8 p.240 on the Latin and neo-Punic legends on the coins of Tingi and Lixus at this time.

suggest that, at least initially, there was a kind of Roman 'protectorate' over Mauretania which continued to function as a kingdom[26].

Why should Augustus have delayed in annexing Mauretania as a province? A Roman Mauretania would have been advantageous in protecting Africa Proconsularis and the Roman colonies in southern Spain from attacks from this quarter, facilitating Roman trade across all of North Africa, and keeping the country out of the hands of political rivals (a danger which had been highlighted by Bogud's journeys to Spain to assist Antony). But all of the foregoing would depend upon effective Roman control and government of the whole area of Mauretania, a task which was far from accomplished at this time. Moreover, the disadvantages attached to the permanent occupation of Mauretania outweighed any advantages. Though the coastal cities were probably stable enough, the interior was prone to tribal unrest[27]. North Africa as a whole was far from pacified: Africa Vetus and Africa Nova had been united in 27BC to reinforce security by concentrating political and military power in the hands of one man[28], and the Fasti Triumphales attest to continuous unrest, mentioning triumphs celebrated by five African governors between 34BC and 19BC[29]. Rome could ill afford to take on the long-term defence of Mauretania, and after 46BC would have been too busy consolidating the acquisition of Numidia to consider creating another African province with a detailed and costly administrative system[30]. After the end of the civil wars in 36BC Augustus followed a fundamentally defensive policy[31], and, wishing to reduce his armies and having heavy military obligations in Asia and Europe, probably deliberately limited his ambitions in Africa[32]. Besides, Mauretanian territory was unfamiliar to the Romans - the few scattered military colonies would hardly constitute sufficient vested interest to justify annexation of the whole country[33].

Augustus ultimately decided on a policy less drastic than annexation but one which would protect Roman interests in Mauretania. Having previously learned

26. MAZARD (1953) p.13-21 contra GSELL (1921-30) 8 p.202 ; ALBERTINI (1955) p.17 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.163, and, tentatively, ROMANELLI (1959) p.161 ; JULIEN (1975) p.124 who all suppose that two equestrian prefects governed Mauretania during this period - an as-yet unsubstantiated theory.
27. FISHWICK (1971) p.477 ; LEPELLEY (1979) p.52 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.73
28. cf. BENABOU (1976a) p.47 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.160
29. ROMANELLI (1959) p.175 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.59 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.161
30. ROMANELLI (1959) p.162 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.48
31. Tac. Ann. 1.11 ; Suet.Aug. 21 ; cf. PFLAUM (1950) p.20 contra BRAUND (1990) p.465ff
32. GSELL (1921-30) 8 p.214
33. GSELL (1921-30) 8 p.234 ; VITTINGHOFF (1951) p.117 ; ROMANELLI (1959) p.162 BENABOU (1976a) p.48 ; NICOLET (1977) p.651

the value of Mauretanian monarchs as allies, the princeps installed Juba II as client king of Mauretania in 25BC[34]. In this way he could relinquish his own rule of Mauretania, which critics might interpret as autocratic, while still maintaining indirect control of the country through the loyal Juba who could see to internal Mauretanian government[35].

The Roman-educated philhellene Juba, married to Cleopatra Selene, was granted Roman citizenship by Caesar or Augustus[36]. As king of Mauretania, Juba in no way hid his allegiance to Rome and the imperial family. In honour of Augustus the royal-residence city of Iol was renamed Caesarea[37] and a cult of the Roman emperor was established here[38]. Juba's coins also pay homage to the princeps with imperial symbols such as the Capricorn and eagle[39]. Juba also fostered favourable relations and commercial and cultural ties with other Roman provinces, including the Hispaniae, Gaul, Italy and Greece. In reality Mauretania under Juba functioned more as a Roman protectorate than as an independent kingdom[40]. Any hopes that Rome may have fostered that Mauretania's nominal independence and outwardly African character would deter revolt from within, proved to be false. For although the king seemed to enjoy support among his urban and Graeco-Roman subjects, the realization by some tribes of the interior that he was little more than a Roman pawn was partially responsible for the outbreak of the bellum Gaetulicum[41] which was suppressed by Cossus Cornelius Lentulus in AD6[42]. This war proved that Juba, like all the Mauretanian sovereigns before him, while theoretically exercising supreme authority, was in fact severely restricted by the effective autonomy of tribal groups and individual cities[43] who, at best, paid only nominal allegiance to the kings[44].

34. Dio Cass. 51.15.6. Compare Augustus' similar policy regarding Armenia Maior, which he could have annexed but restored instead to a local dynasty (RGDA 27.2).
35. FAUR (1973) p.255
36. Manumitted slaves of both Juba and his son Ptolemy bear the name Caius Iulius (ROMANELLI (1959) p.163).
37. Eutropius 7.10.3
38. See below p.60
39. MAZARD (1955) p.90-93 nos.204-221
40. GSELL (1921-30) 8 p.217 ; SYME (1939) p.365 ; ALBERTINI (1955) p.17f ; BENABOU (1976a) p.49 ; JULIEN (1975) p.125
41. cf. Dio Cass. 55.28.3-4
42. Dio Cass. 55.28.3, apparently with the assistance of Juba who seems to have been awarded the ornamenta triumphalia as a reward for his contribution. Coins dating from AD6/7 show an ivory chair, sceptre and golden crown (MAZARD (1955) p.88 nos.193-195).
43. With their own municipal institutions and, often, the right to mint their own coins. cf. NICOLET (1977) p.567-576 ; JODIN (1987) p.242
44. GSELL (1921-30) 8 p.228 ; FISHWICK (1971) p.474 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.73, 76, 163

Given that no more Roman colonization took place in Mauretania until Claudius, it was left to the Augustan colonies to determine the nature and extent of Romanization here for a period of more than six decades. From 25BC these Augustan colonies may in fact have been placed under the administrative jurisdiction of Baetica or Africa Proconsularis, existing as Roman enclaves in Juba's kingdom[45]. Although certain native Mauretanians may have naturally gravitated towards these urban centres 'radiating' Roman civilization and culture[46], this in no way means that the original purpose of the colonies was Romanization[47]. In fact, the initial Romanizing impact of the Augustan centres would have been somewhat limited because of their dispersal over a wide area and restriction to the northern and coastal areas, as well as the numerical minority of the Roman colonists among the Mauretanian population[48].

Juba's own contribution to the Romanization of Mauretania could not have been very extensive in a country which knew no national unity and gave little indication of common loyalty to the king or his policies. Indirectly, of course, Augustus and Juba after him had laid the basis for a slow process of Romanization : the colonies would spread the Latin language, promote the imperial cult, and familiarize the natives with Roman institutions, and Juba had fostered Roman (and Hellenistic) culture at his royal court. But there was as yet no 'profound transformation' disrupting the lives of the indigenous tribes[49]. The bellum Gaetulicum was indeed evidence of a reaction against Roman influence but this was specifically aimed against the person of Juba II and may have stemmed partly from traditional tribal jealousy towards the king[50]. It was not a manifestation of resistance against enforced Romanization per se.

45. GSELL (1921-30) 8 p.204, 215 ; ROMANELLI (1959) p.204f ; TEUTSCH (1962) p.220f ; THOMASSON (1982) p.48 ; MACKIE (1983) p.343-357.
46. ROMANELLI (1959) p.162, 204 ; MOSSE (1970) p.117 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.164
47. SALMON (1969) p.144, 148 ; MANN (1983) p.3, 6 ; VITTINGHOFF (1994) p.39
48. About 300-500 men per colony (ROMANELLI (1959) p.207 ; THOMPSON (1969) p.144).
49. Contra BENABOU (1976a) p.43. In the case of Mauretania, at least, it is difficult to see how "la multiplicité des colonies augustéennes, le choix savamment varié de leur emplacement, l'action des colons laissent entrevoir que les plans des Romains sont vastes et englobent l'ensemble du domaine berbère" (BENABOU (1976a) p.57). The Romans, after all,were largely restricted to the same coastal regions which the Phoenicians and Carthaginians had colonized before them.
50. DÉSIRÉ-VUILLEMIN (1964) p.84 ; NICOLET (1977) p.648. See also ROMANELLI (1959) p.102 and BENABOU (1976a) p.58

The reign of Tiberius witnessed two significant events involving Mauretania : the war against Tacfarinas and the accession of Ptolemy. Tacfarinas was the Numidian chief of the (semi)nomadic Musulamii who led an armed struggle against the Romans over a prolonged period, tackling four successive Roman proconsuls between AD17 and AD24 when he was killed. Tacitus' remark that Tacfarinas demanded land from Rome[51] hints at the cause of the war, namely Tacfarinas' desire to regain tribal territory and independence lost as a result of Roman colonial and military expansion in Africa[52]. In the course of the revolt Tacfarinas drew upon other discontented tribes for assistance, including a Mauri contingent under the command of Mazippa[53]. Upon Ptolemy's accession in 23/4AD, a separate group of Mauri revolted against the new king and may have made common cause with Tacfarinas[54]. On the other hand, the Romans were also assisted by Mauri troops, these sent by Ptolemy (and possibly also Juba before him)[55]. In recognition of his services the Roman senate granted Ptolemy the titles of rex, socius atque amicus as well as ornamenta triumphalia which feature regularly on his coins from 24/5AD[56]

Ptolemy's allegiance to Rome was also reflected in his coinage which includes one type of a temple with the legend TI(beri) AUGUS(ti), suggesting that Ptolemy honoured Tiberius with a cult while the emperor was still alive[57]. Ptolemy's contribution to the 'Romanization' of Mauretania was, however, hampered by the divided loyalties of his subjects and the lack of respect for his authority by certain tribes.

Tiberius, preoccupied with the Tacfarinas war and the defensive operations which followed, had left the client kingdom of Mauretania under the status quo of the Augustan age. His successor Gaius effected a radical change by putting Ptolemy to death and annexing the kingdom of Mauretania to Rome. The main literary sources for these events are: Seneca, De tranquillitate animi 11.12, Pliny, Naturalis Historia 5.1, Suetonius, Gaius 26.1 and 35.2, and Dio Cassius 59.25. None offers a comprehensive account or provides any clear chronological or geographical setting for the assassination. However, given that the Mauretanian

51. Tac. Ann. 3.73.1
52. BROUGHTON (1968) p.90 ; SYME (1969) p.121 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.65, 75, 80 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.322 : BENABOU (1986) p.137ff contra SHAW (1982) p.41ff
53. Tac. Ann. 2.52
54. cf. Tac. Ann. 4.23
55. cf. Tac. Ann. 4.24 ; GSELL (1921-30) 8 p.212, 230 ; MAZARD (1955) p.89, 104f
56. cf. Tac. Ann. 4.26 ; GSELL (1921-30) 8 p.279, 283 ; MAZARD (1955) p.128, 135f
57. On Ptolemy's coinage in general see COLTELLONI-TRANNOY (1990). On the temple see below p.60

provincial era, as reflected on the coinage, begins with year one in AD40, it is reasonable to assume that the annexation took place then.

Theories abound as to Gaius' motive for killing Ptolemy[58]. Pliny, Suetonius and Dio reflect contemporary views that Gaius' greed, jealousy, insanity and cruelty were to blame, an interpretation adopted by certain modern scholars as well[59]. But there may have been other contributing factors, such as Ptolemy's possible involvement in the conspiracy of Gaetulicus against Gaius[60]. Given the divergent evidence, a satisfactory resolution of the problem remains out of reach.

The territory of Mauretania may well have come to Gaius after Ptolemy's natural death anyway, as Ptolemy, Gaius' second cousin via Mark Antony, had no direct heirs[61]. But the manner in which the emperor forced an early seizure of the country is understandable within the context of his authoritarian rule. He was pursuing a vigorous foreign policy elsewhere in the empire, notably in Britain and Germany, with a view to challenging senatorial opposition to his rule[62]. He had also transferred military command of Africa Proconsularis from the proconsul to a legate appointed by himself[63]. The Mauretanian situation presented another opportunity for asserting imperial power and control. Strategically, the acquisition of Mauretania would complete the circle of Roman control around the Mediterranean, and help protect the grain supply from Africa Proconsularis and Numidia[64]. The argument that Mauretania was now 'sufficiently Romanized' to warrant becoming a Roman province[65], lacks a sound foundation. In reality, little Roman progress had been made since Augustan times. A more likely factor encouraging Roman intervention would have been Ptolemy's failure to preserve peace in the region, as the Tacfarinas war had shown[66].

A revolt broke out in Mauretania after Ptolemy's death which was led by one of

58. For interpretations on the exact date and location of the assassination, on the basis of Suet. Gaius 8,17,20 & 49 and Dio Cass. 59.21-25 see GSELL (1921-30) 8 p.285 ; BALSDON (1934) p.96 and BARRETT (1990) p.117 who argue for Rome contra CARCOPINO (1940) p.43-45 ; FISHWICK (1971) p.467-473 and FAUR (1973) p.249 who argue for Lugdunum.
59. Thus, inter alia, GSELL (1921-30) 8 p.286 ; CARCOPINO (1940) p.46 ; SIGMAN (1977) p.417
60. cf. FISHWICK & SHAW (1976) p.491-494 ; BARRETT (1990) p.118 ; LEVICK (1990) p.149, although this is still hypothetical.
61. ROMANELLI (1959) p.252 ; FISHWICK (1971) p.472 ; FAUR (1973) p.271
62. ROMANELLI (1959) p.252 ; FAUR (1973) p.257f
63. Tac. Hist. 4.48 ; Dio Cass. 59.20
64. cf. ROXAN (1973) p.841. However, Rostovzeff's view (1957 p.319, 321) that the annexation was justifiable on economic grounds alone, is unlikely.
65. Thus GSELL (1921-30) 8 p.286f ; BENABOU (1976a) p.89f ; GASCOU (1978) p.124 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.167 ; LEVICK (1990) p.149
66. BALSDON (1934) p.193 ; BARRETT (1990) p.118f

the king's freedmen, Aedemon[67]. On the face of it a loyalist movement to avenge Ptolemy's death, the revolt, which came to involve numerous tribes, formed part of a more widespread reaction against the threat of Roman domination[68]. At the same time, though, a pro-Roman sector of the Mauri population assisted the new rulers[69] and the most acute phase of the conflict was brought to an end by 43AD.

The emperor Claudius proceeded with the plan to convert Mauretania into a Roman province[70], perhaps motivated by the hope that military prestige would reinforce the army's attachment to the princeps[71]. From the available evidence it is difficult to determine exactly when Mauretania was divided into the two provinces of Mauretania Caesariensis in the east and Mauretania Tingitana in the west, reverting territorially to what had been the kingdoms of Bocchus II and Bogud, separated by the Muluchar river[72]. The earliest specific references to two separate Mauretaniae are the literary evidence of Tacitus (Hist. 2.58) discussing events of 69AD, and an inscription (IAM 126) dating to 75AD which describes Sex. Sentius Caecilianus as "leg. Aug. pro pr. ordinandae utriusq. Mauretaniae". But if we accept, on the basis of Dio Cassius (60.9.5), that the start of procuratorial government in Mauretania coincided with the division of the region into Mauretania Caesariensis and Mauretania Tingitana, then this division must have taken place, at the latest, by 44AD which is when a procurator is attested for the first time (IAM 369, Volubilis).[73] The region may well have remained under the extraordinary military command of imperial legates up to 43AD while the organization of a civil administration was finalized[74].

Mauretania was probably divided into two because of its considerable extent and because communication between east and west was hindered by a mountainous barrier between the two provinces[75]. The equestrian procurators governing each Mauretanian province were directly dependent on the princeps, commanding the auxiliary troops stationed in the Mauretaniae and exercising limited powers in the spheres

67. Pliny, HN 5.11 ; Dio Cass. 60.8.6
68. ROMANELLI (1959) p.258 ; DYSON (1975) p.164f ; GASCOU (1978) p.113 ; DESANGES (1980) p.122 ; LEVICK (1990) p.149
69. cf. IAM 448 : "M(arco) Val(erio) Bostaris ... Severo ... praef(ecto) auxilior(um) adversus Aedemonem oppressum bello"
70. Accepting ornamenta triumphalia for campaigns conducted under Gaius.
71. ROMANELLI (1959) p.264 ; FISHWICK (1971) p.477 ; MILLAR (1981) p.172. Claudius' occupation of Britain and Northern Rhine campaigns formed part of the same policy.
72. Pliny's claim that Gaius was responsible for the division (HN 5.2) is contradicted by Dio Cass. (60.9.5) who says that the division occurred after Roman successes against Salabus in 42AD.
73. cf. ROMANELLI (1959) p.266 ; FISHWICK (1971) p.482
74. GASCOU (1974a) p.308. cf. FISHWICK (1971) p.482 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.167 ; THOMASSON (1982) p.33
75. cf. ROMANELLI (1959) p.267 ; SIGMAN (1977) p.426 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.181 ; THOMASSON (1982) p.34-37

of local jurisdiction, tax supervision, public works construction, and general administration. Caesarea became the capital of Mauretania Caesariensis and, according to Dio Cassius (60.9.5) at least, Tingi became the capital of Mauretania Tingitana, although Carcopino's argument that Volubilis was the administrative centre of Tingitana has found many adherents[76].

Procurators were henceforth to govern the two Mauretaniae until the fourth century AD (with occasional exceptions). A number of factors probably contributed to the choice of procuratorial administration for this region. Economically, the Mauretaniae may not have warranted a more detailed administrative structure, especially as so little land was actually in Roman hands. Culturally, the Mauretaniae, with their relatively low degree of Romanization, were not easily assimilable into the framework of the empire at large. Procuratorial government could gradually ease these provinces into the Roman system without incurring disproportionate expenses[77]. On the military front, the procuratorship was both more flexible[78] and more economical than government by an imperial legate. The Mauretaniae, because of their extent, geographical divisions, and constant unrest necessitating continued military supervision, could best be managed by a large number of cheap auxiliary troops under procuratorial command, rather than by one or two more expensive permanent legions under senatorial imperial legates[79].

After the hiatus in colonization in Mauretania under Tiberius and Gaius, Claudius made a considerable contribution to the promotion of colonization and municipalization in the two Mauretaniae. Upon becoming Roman provinces, the Mauretaniae doubtless reabsorbed the Augustan colonies which had probably been under external jurisdiction since 25BC. In addition, Claudius created a veteran colony at Oppidum Novum (Pliny, HN 5.20)[80], elevated Caesarea to the rank of a titular Roman colony (HN 5.20), and made Lixus a (titular?) colony (HN 5.2)[81]. Claudius also made Rusuccuru a Roman municipium (HN 5.20) and

76. CARCOPINO (1940) p.178-190, followed by JULIEN (1975) p.145 and DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.193f, inter alia. Contested by GASCOU (1978) p.121-123, and ROMANELLI (1959) p.268 points out that Tingi has not been able to be as effectively excavated as Volubilis (because of its modern city-status), so we lack adequate data to prove which was the capital.
77. PFLAUM (1950) p.27 ; MARQUARDT (1957) p.554f ; ROMANELLI (1959) p.269
78. Procurators could, if necessary, be invested with the powers of a legate.
79. PFLAUM (1950) p.27, 36 ; SPEIDEL (1982) p.850. And while most other provinces originally placed under procurators were eventually transferred to legates, the Mauretaniae retained their procuratorial status because the problematic military conditions which had originally determined this status were never resolved (ARNOLD (1974) p.127 ; PFLAUM (1950) p.27, 36).
80. cf. GASCOU (1982) p.155
81. GASCOU (1982) p.147 believes Claudius may have settled new colonists here.

gave Latin rights to Tipasa (HN 5.20)[82]. That Volubilis, which Pliny terms simply oppidum (HN 5.5), was also made a Roman municipium by Claudius, is implicit in the inscription describing M. Valerius Severus' successful embassy to Claudius to gain benefits (including Roman citizenship) for his community (IAM 448). Claudius' concessions to the city, partly in recognition of Volubilis' assistance in the Aedemon war, must have resulted in its promotion to the status of a municipium, because Volubilis is called a municipium in Claudius' lifetime (IAM 369), and it would have been redundant for the emperor to have granted Roman citizenship to the inhabitants of an already existing municipium[83].

Benabou has said of Claudius' work in Mauretania: "il s'agit de créations autoritaires, visant surtout à comber des vides, à implanter des îlots de romanisation dans des provinces annexées de fraîche date"[84]. But Claudius had remained within the geographical limits set by Augustus' colonization - only Oppidum Novum and Volubilis are not on the coast, and his principal aim seems to have been to promote existing Romanization in cities which had long been open to Roman influence, such as Tingi, Lixus, Caesarea and Volubilis[85]. Although no future emperor was to match Claudius' record of municipal promotions in the Mauretaniae, only a select number of urban centres had actually benefitted, and the status of the interior tribal regions probably remained more or less unchanged.

We know of no municipal foundations or any other significant events dating from the reign of Nero, either in Africa Proconsularis or the Mauretaniae, and the latter appear to have enjoyed relative calm until they became embroiled for a short while in the chaos of 68/9AD. Tacitus (Hist. 2.58-59) recounts how Lucceius Albinus, whom Galba had made governor of both the Mauretaniae (possibly in an attempt to prevent the spread of Clodius Macer's rebellion from neighbouring Africa Proconsularis), possessed considerable military forces

82. Probably as a municipium as it only became a colonia under Hadrian (GASCOU (1982) p.156).
83. GASCOU (1978) p.111 contra MILLAR (1977) p.404 who says "it [IAM 448] in no way implies that it had been Claudius who made the place a municipium". C. SAUMAGNE (Cahiers de Tunisie (1962) p.533-548 quoted in GASCOU (1971)) suggested that Claudius made Volubilis a Latin, not a Roman, municipium, and that citizenship was granted only to a select few of the Volubilitan elite who had fought against Aedemon. GASCOU (1982) p.146f invalidates this theory in detail. Suffice it to say here that it is difficult to understand why the whole municipium thanks Claudius (IAM 369) or M. Valerius Severus (IAM 448) for benefits received, if these only applied to certain individuals.
84. BENABOU (1976a) p.417
85. cf. ROMANELLI (1959) p.270 ; GASCOU (1982) p.158. DONDIN-PAYRE (1981) p.108f shows that of the 23 epigraphic Ti. Claudii attested in Mauretania Caesariensis, 18 originate from Caesarea itself.

and supported Otho after Galba's death, setting his sights on invading Spain. He was probably aiming for personal rule over the Mauretaniae, and was rumoured to have adopted royal insignia and the name of Juba. If Albinus had hoped, with this tactic, to gain support by presenting himself as a symbol of an earlier independent Mauretania[87], it was in vain. Cluvius Rufus, governor of Tarraconensis, by sending emissaries to Mauretania Tingitana, was able to turn Mauretanian support towards Vitellius, and Albinus was later assassinated. Tacitus explains that this volte face of sentiment among the Mauretanians was facilitated by the reputation of the German army, but Albinus' 'royal' campaign would in any event have convinced few Mauretanians[88], especially if it had been based on the erroneous assumption that Juba had enjoyed undivided support among his subjects.

Under Vespasian, Banasa chose as its patron Sextus Sentius Caecilianus who was designated legatus Augusti propraetore ordinandae utriusque Mauretaniae[89]. Benabou[90] infers from this extraordinary title that there was widespread agitation in both the Mauretaniae requiring the presence of legionary troops, but others believe the title implies an administrative reason for Sentius' appointment, probably to regulate the region after the Albinus rebellion of 69AD, the assigning of some Mauretanian cities to Baetica by Otho[91], and possible shortcomings of Vitellius' short-lived administration[92]. On the municipal front, Icosium was promoted to a Latin colony by Vespasian[93].

There is no doubt that military action was undertaken in the Mauretaniae in the reign of Domitian. An inscription dating from 86/7AD reveals that the equestrian C. Velius Rufus was appointed as dux exercitus Africi et Mauretanici ad nationes quae sunt in Mauretania comprimendas[94]. The troubles were therefore sufficiently serious to warrant the addition of legionary troops from Numidia to the auxiliary troops of Mauretania. The phrase ad comprimendas suggests that Velius Rufus was concerned with somehow regulating the transhumance movements of tribes on the Mauretanian-African frontier[95]. The

87. As suggested by ROMANELLI (1959) p.283 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.99
88. ROMANELLI (1959) p.283 contra GSELL (1921-30) 8 p.235
89. IAM 126
90. BENABOU (1976a) p.103f
91. cf. Tac. Hist. 1.78
92. THOUVENOT (1941) p.79 ; ROMANELLI (1959) p.297 ; FRÉZOULS (1980) p.83 ; DANIELS (1990) p.75 ; SPAUL (1994) p.238
93. C.20853 ; Pliny HN 5.20 ; cf. GASCOU (1982) p.159-161
94. AE1903,368=ILS9200
95. BENABOU (1976a) p.110

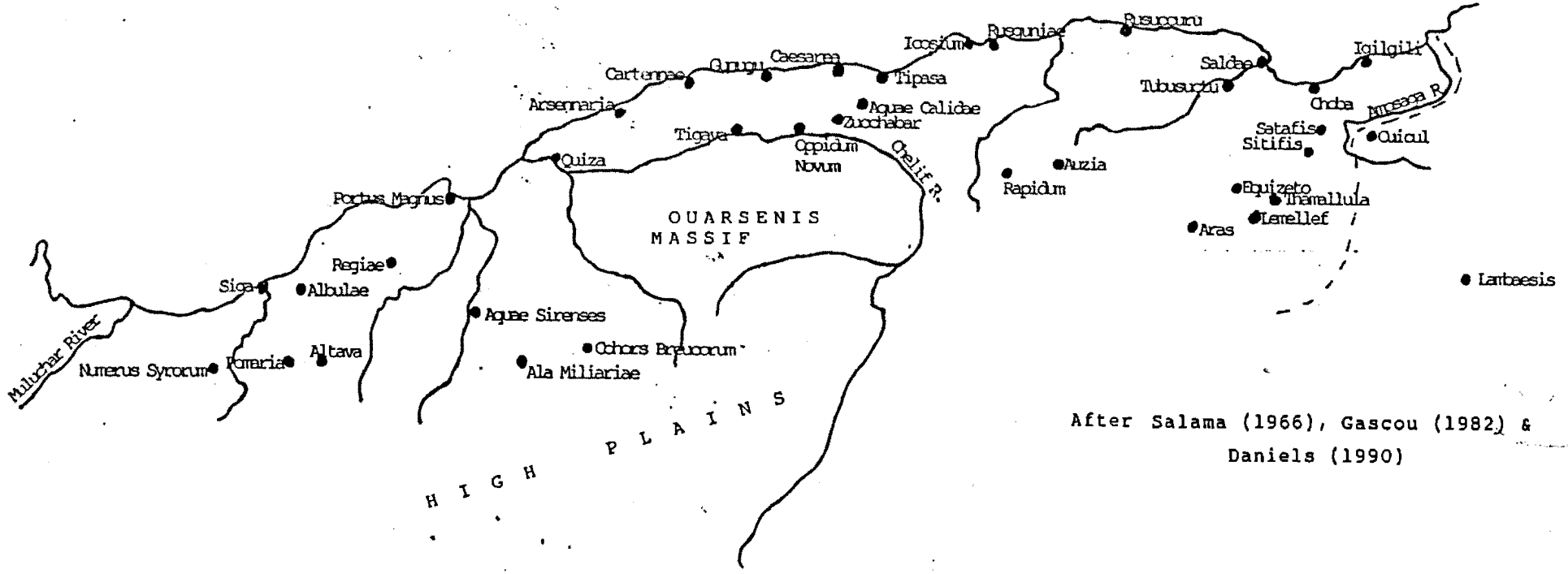
earlier westward transference of a detachment of the III Augusta legion of Africa Proconsularis to Lambaesis in 81AD may have triggered the disturbances in Mauretania Caesariensis by interfering with the native nomadic routes[96]. By 88AD the immediate threat seems to have been suppressed by the Romans. In contrast to the considerable work accomplished by the Flavians in Africa Proconsularis and Numidia (including the creation of colonies and defence posts, the pacification of the south-west and the extension of Roman citizenship to the southern African steppes), the Mauretaniae experienced a period of quasi-stagnation during this period[97].

Eastern Mauretania Caesariensis remained the focus of Roman attention under Nerva who founded the veteran colony of Sitifis here, on a site probably already occupied by an indigenous population. Lying in a fertile vally which was destined to become the site of large imperial domains in the future, Sitifis had an important agricultural role to play, but would also strategically help control and survey the main road leading from Carthage to the Mauretanian coast, and serve as a protective rampart between turbulent Mauretania and pacified Proconsularis[98]. The nearby colony of Mopth... was probably also a Nervan creation, designed to reinforce Sitifis[99], and the later Trajan colony of Cuicul[100] in Numidia, across the border from Sitifis, completed the connection between the Cirtan territories and the Augustan colonies in Mauretania Caesariensis.

The Mauretaniae under Trajan seem to have experienced at least certain periods of relative calm, for thirteen military units were disbanded in Mauretania Caesariensis in 107AD[101], and in 109AD and 114-117AD soldiers were also discharged in Mauretania Tingitana[102]. At Caesarea in 107AD a local gens Mauror(um) Maccuum honoured the Roman governor T. Caesernius Statius Quinctius Macedo as their patron[103]. But Romanelli and Benabou[104] interpret the presence of a procurator prolegato (Publius Besius Betuinianus Caius Marius Memmius Sabinus) in Mauretania Tingitana in 112-114AD[105], and of a subprocurator (C.

96. DYSON (1975) p.166f ; BENABOU (1976a) p.109f ; DANIELS (1990) p.240f
97. GASCOU (1982) p.159
98. GASCOU (1982) p.166
99. The curia [N]ervia[n]a attested here (C.8681,20424) supports this theory.
100. GASCOU (1972) p.211 argues that Cuicul was a Trajanic foundation contra ROMANELLI (1959) p.309 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.116, inter alia, who claim that it was created by Nerva.
101. C XVI.56
102. CRAI 1935 p.408ff ; AE1936,70 ; CRAI 1951 p.434ff
103. AE1904,150
104. ROMANELLI (1959) p.329f ; BENABOU (1976a) p.119
105. C.9990. cf. SPAUL (1994) p.240 on the date

MAURETANIA CAESARIENSIS




After Salama (1966), Gascou (1982) & Daniels (1990)

Vibius Satutaris) in Mauretania Tingitana c.101AD[106], as indications of a troubled situation[107]. Benabou[108] also suggests that the reorganisation of the limes of Proconsularis towards the south and west (marked by the transfer of the whole legio III Augusta to Lambaesis), pressed part of the southern Saharan nomads to the west who in turn put pressure on the montagnards of Mauretania Caesariensis. There is, however, no actual evidence of any Mauri 'incursions' following the changes made in Africa Proconsularis. Trajan's policy for the whole of North Africa was one of expansion towards the south, coupled with the establishment of military colonies and the sedentarization and delimitation of local tribes[109]. The territory of the Suburbures who resided in the border region between Numidia and Mauretania Caesariensis was delimited during this time[110]. By Trajan's death, the Caesariensis frontier had been pushed as far south as Auzia, thence to the Chelif valley which in turn was linked to Siga in the west by the Trajanic foundations of Tasaccura and Regiae[111].

At the beginning of Hadrian's reign, Q. Marcius Turbo was sent to Mauretania to quell a revolt which ended by 118AD but may have begun in the latter part of Trajan's reign[112]. The location of the campaign is unknown: Turbo may or may not have commanded troops from Mauretania Tingitana as well as Mauretania Caesariensis[113]. Nor do we know the exact cause, although the significant reduction in the number of Mauretanian resident troops under Trajan[114], or the dissolution of Mauri troops after Lusius Quietus' death in the East[115], or possible Roman encroachments into the territory of the tribes of eastern and southern Mauretania Caesariensis[116], are all factors which may have inspired the rebels to take action. In c.122/3AD there were further hostilities which were serious enough to elicit senatorial gratitude for their suppression[117], but it remains uncertain whether Hadrian himself commanded the Roman forces

106. C III.6065
107. cf. ROXAN (1973) on possible evidence of military disturbances in Mauretania Tingitana at this time (p.850).
108. BENABOU (1976a) p.120
109. BENABOU (1976a) p.134 ; GASCOU (1972) p.28, 209, 212 & (1982) p.178f
110. AE1904,144
111. cf. AE1911,125 ; ROMANELLI (1959) p.331 ; DANIELS (1990) p.242
112. S.H.A. Hadr. 5.2: "Mauri lacessebant" & 5.8: "Marcio Turbone ad deprimendum tumultum Mauretaniae destinato". Turbo's cursus reveals that he assumed a Danubian command in 118AD.
113. ROMANELLI (1959) p.334 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.124. cf. ROXAN (1973) p.851 who suggests that there is evidence of troops from Tingitana suppressing a revolt early in Hadrian's reign.
114. ROMANELLI (1959) p.330
115. The two events are mentioned in the same context by the S.H.A. cf. ROMANELLI (1959) p.333 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.122
116. BENABOU (1976a) p.123 ; PFLAUM (1978) p.381
117. S.H.A. Hadr. 12.7-8: "motus Maurorum compressit et a senatu supplicationes emeruit"

during these campaigns[118].

The intermittent troubles experienced in the Mauretaniae were probably influential in determining Hadrian's policy of augmenting the defensive structures of Mauretania Caesariensis and extending Roman control towards the west of this province. In 118/9AD the Praesidium Sufative (around which the later city of Albulae was to develop) was created and settled by members of the cohors I Flavia Musulamiorum[119], an early example of 'internal' colonization with native Africans[120]. The camps of Rapidum and Thanaramusa Castra followed in 122AD[121], controlling communications between Sitifis and the Chelif valley. Roadworks and forts along the route Cuicul-Sitifis-Auzia-Rapidum-Thanaramusa Castra were completed by 124AD[122]. In Mauretania Tingitana, meanwhile, the resident military force was increased by six regiments between 109 and 122AD to provide greater security for the province[123]. Hadrian's military procedures may have been accompanied by delimitations of the territory of certain Mauretania Caesariensis tribes, including the Zimises near Igilgili in 128AD[124], and the Numidae near Lemellef(?) in 137AD[125]. The evidence for these delimitations is equivocal, but if the tribes were indeed confined, they would most likely have become tribute-paying civitates stipendiariae[126]. Hadrian's promotions of Tipasa to colonia and Choba to municipium, both on the coast of Caesariensis, reflect the general Hadrianic tendency of concentrating municipalizing efforts in already-Romanized and -pacified areas of Africa[127]. Hadrian may have visited Mauretania Caesariensis during his voyage through Africa in 128AD[128].

The Historia Augusta and Pausanias[129] make brief reference to a Mauri war under Antoninus Pius which seems to have been serious as epigraphic evidence reveals that additional troops were brought from Spain, Britain, Germany, Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia[130]. The war probably started c.145-147AD and ended c.150AD

118. ROMANELLI (1959) p.336 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.127
119. AE1913,157
120. BENABOU (1976a) p.124
121. C.20833(Rapidum) C.9238(Thanaramusa Castra)
122. cf. BENABOU (1976a) p.129 ; FÉVRIER (1989) p.114 ; DANIELS (1990) p.246
123. BENABOU (1976a) p.126 ; DANIELS (1990) p.246
124. C.8369
125. C.8813,8814
126. cf. ROMANELLI (1959) p.345-348 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.130, 439
127. GASCOU (1972) p.213, 218
128. BENABOU (1976a) p.338-342
129. S.H.A. M.Ant. 5.4: "Mauros ad pacem postulandam coegit" ; Paus. 8.43.3
130. ROMANELLI (1959) p.355f ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.192

with, as Pausanias tells us, the rebels being driven back to the Atlas[131]. But peace was short-lived. 158-160AD saw another, less serious, revolt suppressed by the procurator prolegato of Mauretania Caesariensis[132] and there were to be renewed troubles under Marcus Aurelius.

We do not know which tribes were involved in these disturbances. The Baquates of Mauretania Tingitana had at least started Antoninus Pius' reign peacefully - their princeps, Aelius Tuccuda, set up a dedication in honour of Antoninus in Volubilis in 140AD[133]. Tuccuda had received Roman citizenship, either from Antoninus himself, or from Hadrian before him[134]. But another tribe of Tingitana, the Autololes, were more troublesome. They had created disturbances around the city of Sala since the late first century AD[135], so when the Salenses in 144AD thanked the prefect M. Sulpicius Felix for "nos ab solitis iniuris pecorumq(ue) iactura...vindicando"[136], the Autololes were most likely to be the guilty party. Sulpicius Felix also built a partial wall around the city and organized patrols to protect workers in nearby woods and fields. There are various interpretations of the significance of the Sala inscription. Some see the Sala troubles as part of, or even as the start of, the war ending c.150AD, and claim that military necessity had required a governor of senatorial rank, Uttedius Honoratus, to be appointed[137]. Conversely, another set of scholars claim that Sulpicius Felix's tasks were "plus celles d'un gendarme que d'un homme en butte aux incursions de barbares"[138]. No military victories are mentioned. On the contrary, the lenitas of the prefect in dealing with Sala's problems is praised, implying that negotiation or financial persuasion was decisive in restoring order[139]. Moreover, Rebuffat[140] points out that Uttedius in fact had only auxiliaries, not legionary troops, under his command, and suggests that his exceptional appointment was for administrative, not military reasons. Chronologically, too, the Sala events were too early to form part of the later war[141]. Another inscription describing how an engineer of the III Augusta was attacked on the road between Lambaesis and Saldae[142], falls into

131. For the inception and termination dates of the war see ROMANELLI (1959) p.358 ; REBUFFAT (1994) p.205 n.68
132. T. Flavius Priscus Gallonius Fronto Publicius Severus Marcius Turbo (AE1946,113).
133. IAM 376
134. cf. BENABOU (1976a) p.135 ; the editors of IAM at 376 (1982) ; SPAUL (1994) p.242
135. Pliny HN 5.5
136. IAM 307
137. Inter alia, ROMANELLI (1959) p.352 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.137 ; SIGMAN (1977) p.428 ; PFLAUM (1978) p.382 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.192
138. Quote by FÉVRIER (1989) p.161, after Carcopino.
139. FRÉZOULS (1980) p.70
140. REBUFFAT (1994) p.200
141. REBUFFAT (1994) p.205
142. C.2728=18122

a similar category as the Sala inscription, reflecting an incident of local brigandage rather than general tribal unrest[142]. What these inscriptions do reveal is the persistent insecurity of Roman towns and communication routes in parts of the Mauretaniae, a factor which, together with the large-scale wars of the period, led the Romans to take certain defensive precautions: walls were built around Tipasa c.146/7AD; at roughly the same time a fort near Tigava was constructed and Caesarea's walls may have been reinforced; while the fortified camp of Medjedel was built on the Numidian side of the Mauretanian-Numidian frontier[143]. But the limites remained much as before[144]. There appear to have been no municipal promotions in the Mauretaniae under Antoninus Pius.

Marcus Aurelius' reign witnessed Mauri incursions into Baetica, the details of which are difficult to reconstruct as the Historia Augusta is characteristically uninformative[145] and a lot of the relevant epigraphic evidence is open to interpretation. Being nearest the Iberian peninsula, the Mauri from the Riff region were probably in question. There may have been two Mauretanian attacks across the straits, in 171-173AD and again in c.176-179AD[146]. There were some indications of insecurity in Tingitana itself: the fort of Ain Schkor was rebuilt and a new fort constructed at Tocolosida, but the walls erected around Rapidum in 167AD and Volubilis in 168/9AD[147] may have been responses to normal defensive needs and not immediate 'barbarian' threats[148]. Apparently Mauretania Caesariensis remained relatively untroubled during Aurelius' reign. No municipal promotions or building works in the Mauretaniae are on record for this period, but the colony of Banasa suddenly acquired the epithet [Aur]eliae[149]. Gascou[150] attributes this to the possibility that Marcus Aurelius may have augmented the citizen-body of the colony by naturalizing the resident incolae, but Romanelli[151], who points out that the [Aur]elia epithet does not appear on an inscription a century later, suggests that Aurelius simply granted the city benefits of some kind.

142. ROMANELLI (1959) p.358
143. cf. ROMANELLI (1959) p.354f ; BENABOU (1976a) p.143 ; DANIELS (1990) p.248
144. DANIELS (1990) p.248. SIGMAN (1977) p.428 believes the fossatum south of Sala was constructed now, which is possible but since we know only that this fossatum is second-century AD, it cannot be dated securely to Antoninus' reign. cf. REBUFFAT (1994) p.196
145. S.H.A. Marc. 21.1: "cum Mauri Hispanias prope omnes vastarent, res per legatos bene gestae sunt"
146. ROMANELLI (1959) p.366-374 ; SESTON & EUZENNAT (1971) p.474f ; BENABOU (1976a) p.145-153 ; SPAUL (1994) p.245
147. C.20834,20835(Rapidum) CRAI 1952 p.395-402(Volubilis)
148. ROMANELLI (1959) p.368 ; FRÉZOULS (1980) p.76f. cf.MACKENDRICK (1980) p.301 ; DANIELS (1990) p.249
149. C.21819
150. GASCOU (1982) p.194f
151. ROMANELLI (1959) p.376

Some very important evidence concerning Roman-tribal relationships dates to Aurelius' reign. A series of conloquia between the procurators of Tingitana and the chiefs of the tribe of Baquates (together with, on occasion, their allies) began now and was to continue to the reign of Probus[152]. Some have seen these conloquia as marking cessations of hostilities. As such they would constitute evidence of continuous conflict between the Romans and Baquates, supposedly arising from the tribe's resistance to Roman encroachment upon their territory[152a]. There are a number of arguments against this theory. In the first place there is no secure evidence of Roman-Baquates hostilities[153]. Secondly, Rome would surely not persist for such a long period with peace negotiations which kept failing[154]. And finally, the last of the altars commemorating the peace negotiations is dedicated "ob diutina(m) pacem", proving that conloquia need not be separated by periods of war. Even if the Baquates did present a threat to Roman control in the region, especially when allied to other tribal groups such as the Bavares or Macenites, the conloquia, as a form of preventative diplomacy, may have been effective in averting military clashes[155]. Nonetheless, ongoing fortification works in Mauretania Tingitana, including the Volubilis walls of 168/9AD, suggest that the Romans were not depending on diplomacy alone[156]. The fact that certain conloquia appear to coincide with periods of revolt in the Mauretaniae[157] in no way substantiates the 'perpetual conflict' theory. A 'preventative diplomacy' approach may simply have required Rome to take particular care during these years not to add to her military demands. Besides, other Roman-Baquates pacts do not correspond to 'problem' years. It is more likely that the conloquia were occasioned by a change of Roman procurator or the accession of a new tribal princeps, and served to reconfirm amicable relations between the two parties at these times of transition[158].

The conloquia, made by mutual agreement, must have been advantageous to both parties[159]. Rome scored by securing peace, and becoming more intimate with the Mauri tribes at the same time. The designation of Canarta as princeps constitutus gentis Baquatium in IAM 349 of 180AD seems to show Roman involve-

152. cf. Inscriptions 1-11 of table V between pages 82 and 83 below.
152a. A theory supported by (inter alios) JULIEN (1975) p.138 and SIGMAN (1977) p.429-434.
153. ROMANELLI (1959) p.373. The Baquates involved in an attack on Cartennae, probably in Hadrian's reign (C.9663), were surely a different group to those near Volubilis, just as there were separate groups of eastern and western Bavares (cf. BENABOU (1976a) p.222).
154. FRÉZOULS (1980) p.80
155. cf. ROMANELLI (1962) p.1366
156. ROMANELLI (1959) p.374
157. eg. 169-175AD, 223-224AD, 226-229AD
158. ROMANELLI (1959) p.373 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.155 n.178 ; FRÉZOULS (1980) p.80
159. ROMANELLI (1959) p.373 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.229f

ment in his appointment[160]. Whether this was an isolated case, or whether Rome was instrumental in setting up other (pro-Roman) Baquates *principes* may never be known, but in itself it reveals that the tribe was susceptible to Roman influence, if not actual control. Canarta probably later acquired Roman citizenship from Commodus[161]. We cannot assume that Canarta's son was taken hostage by Rome to ensure Canarta's loyalty[162].

The Baquates and their allies probably gained some material concessions from the Romans, or the rights to use pasturage land in the Volubilis district[163]. More importantly, the tribes acquired Roman recognition of their autonomy, albeit nominal: the terms of the *conloquia* which treated the tribal principes as the legal equals of their Roman counterparts, the procurators, imply as much[164]. Sigman[165] saw in the terms *foederata pax*, and *rex* for the Baquates leader, of 277AD (IAM 360), proof of a burgeoning Baquates independence which was encouraged by Rome in the knowledge that they themselves were shortly to withdraw from the region. Though the third century AD did see a gradual increase in the de facto autonomy of indigenous states which anticipated the power-shifts of the fourth century AD[166], the terminology of IAM 360, in itself, is not proof of this. Although now *foederati* , this was no advance over the Baquates' existing legal status as Rome's equals, and the *rex* title did not indicate an elevated status, since it reverted to *princeps* for the Baquates leader of 280AD (IAM 361), and the two terms were thus probably interchangeable[167].

Some of the *principes gentium* mentioned in the *conloquia* were granted Roman citizenship. Only two are specified: Iulius Nuffuzi (son of Iulius Matif, himself probably an earlier *princeps Baquatium*) of 277AD (IAM 360), and his brother Iulius Mirzi of 280AD (IAM 361). But some *conloquia* lack the names of the *principes* concerned, and we cannot discount the possibility that others who do not have Roman names on the inscriptions nevertheless acquired Roman citizenship at a later date, as Canarta may have done. The inconsistent grants of Roman citizenship to the Baquates should be considered in the context of

160. BENABOU (1976a) p.155, 464f ; SIGMAN (1977) p.433 ; the editors of IAM at p.215 (1982). SPAUL (1994) p.246 suggests that Rome may have arbitrated in a succession dispute among the Baquates chiefs.
161. An epitaph from Rome, apparently of his son, refers to him as Aurelius Canarta (C VI.1800). cf. the editors of IAM at p.215 (1982).
162. *Contra* SESTON & EUZENNAT (1971) p.476 ; SIGMAN (1977) p.433
163. BENABOU (1976a) ; SIGMAN (1977) p.433
164. ROMANELLI (1962) p.1353, 1364
165. SIGMAN (1977) p.434
166. ROMANELLI (1962) p.1354
167. ROMANELLI (1962) p.1360. cf. BENABOU (1976a) p.465

Rome's overall policy of selective Romanization, a policy which is more clearly revealed by the second piece of Aurelian evidence concerning Roman-tribal relationships, the 'Tabula Banasitana'.

The 'Tabula Banasitana' (IAM 94) records the grant of Roman citizenship to Iulianus, a Zegrenses nobleman, by Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus at some time between 161 and 169AD, and to the wife and children of Iulianus' son[168], Aurelius Iulianus princeps gentis Zegrensium, by Marcus Aurelius and Commodus in 177AD. Inhabiting the southern or central regions of the Riff mountains in Mauretania Tingitana, the Zegrenses tribe appears to have been relatively numerous and powerful[169]. There is no evidence of any actual hostility between the Romans and the Zegrenses[170], so the citizenship grants were not calculated attempts to end the tribe's 'belligerency'[171]. Besides, the initiative came from Iulianus and his son themselves, who had petitioned Rome for the citizenship. The argument that Aurelius Iulianus owed his position as princeps to the grace of Rome, and that he (and possibly his father before him) was a princeps constitutus in the Canarta mould, is unfounded[172]. That Rome sanctioned the choice of these tribal leaders is possible, that she actually 'nominated' them remains to be proven.

The 'Tabula Banasitana' shows that Roman citizenship was not granted lightly. The negotiation process was arduous and lengthy, and the Zegrenses' requests were taken under consideration by a consilium of experienced and respected Roman statesmen[173]. The tabula informs us that "civitas Romana non nisi maximis meritis provocata in[dul]gentia principali gentilibus istis dari solita sit". It also tells us that Iulianus was only granted the citizenship because his loyalty and services to Rome were exceptional among the men of his tribe, and in the hope that it would encourage others to follow Iulianus' example. Far from proving that the remainder of the tribe were resistant to Romanization[174], these passages show that it was the Romanization process itself which was conditional. Citizenship was only given as compensation and a tribesman would surely require power, wealth or influence to provide services to Rome which would qualify him as maximis meritis . The example of Iulianus (who,

168. The editors of IAM at p.87f (1982) prove this familial connection.
169. SESTON & EUZENNAT (1971) p.474
170. FRÉZOULS (1980) p.83f contra SESTON & EUZENNAT (1971) p.475 ; SIGMAN (1977) p.435
171. Contra SIGMAN (1977) p.437 ; MACKENDRICK (1980) p.295
172. Contra SESTON & EUZENNAT (1971) p.475 ; SIGMAN (1977) p.436 ; M. EUZENNAT as quoted in IAM at p.87 (1982).
173. cf. SESTON & EUZENNAT (1971) p.487f ; SHERWIN-WHITE (1973b) p.90
174. As suggested by SIGMAN (1977) p.437

as his name and those of his children shows, was already Romanized to a certain degree) could only have been intended to inspire other noblemen to emulate him. It was the tribal equivalent of the Roman policy of enlisting the support of the urban elite[175].

The phrases "salvo iure gentis" and "sine diminutione tributorum et vect[i]galium populi et fisci" reveal that while the Zegrenses' Roman citizenship brought them real legal advantages[176], it was not accompanied by fiscal immunitas from Roman taxes[177]. At the same time, they retained the duties and privileges of their customary tribal laws, as well as their tribal organization into divisions of gentes, domus and familiae[178].

The 'Tabula Banasitana' was of a scale and style designed for prominent public display, but the erection of this inscription was not necessarily funded by Roman authorities or the colonia of Banasa. Iulianus himself may have persuaded the city, by means of largesses, to set up this testament to his Romanized status[179].

Together, the evidence of the Baquates conloquia and the 'Tabula Banasitana' provides a number of insights into Roman policy in the Mauretaniae. Firstly, they show that the Roman military agenda was supplemented by diplomacy in an effort to establish a modus vivendi with potentially antagonistic local tribes[180]. Secondly, the limited citizenship grants evidenced in these late second century AD documents, make it hard to believe that all the members of these tribes were granted Roman citizenship under the Constitutio Antoniniana of 212AD. The Baquates, at least, must have been excluded (either because they fell outside the boundaries of the Roman province, or on the basis of being dediticii ), because the Iulii of IAM 360 and 361 received their citizenship from Philip (244-249AD), long after the Constitutio Antoniniana. The situation is less clear for the Zegrenses, who were formally a populus stipendiarius within the Roman province, but the consensus is that they too probably did not benefit from Caracalla's edict[181]. Thirdly, the relatively late date at which citizenship

175. FRÉZOULS (1980) p.85 ; BENABOU (1986) p.136
176. Such as the right to be treated as a Roman citizen in civil and criminal procedures, to make recognized Roman wills and legacies, to acquire land from the ager publicus, to have transactions guaranteed by law.
177. A similar safeguard may have been included in the Constitutio Antoniniana cf. IAM p.86f(1982).
178. BENABOU (1976a) p.447f
179. IAM p.91 (1982).
180. ROMANELLI (1962) p.1366; BENABOU (1976a) p.230; PFLAUM (1978) p.385f
181. SHERWIN-WHITE (1973a) p.394 & (1973b) p.88f, 97 ; PFLAUM (1978) p.387

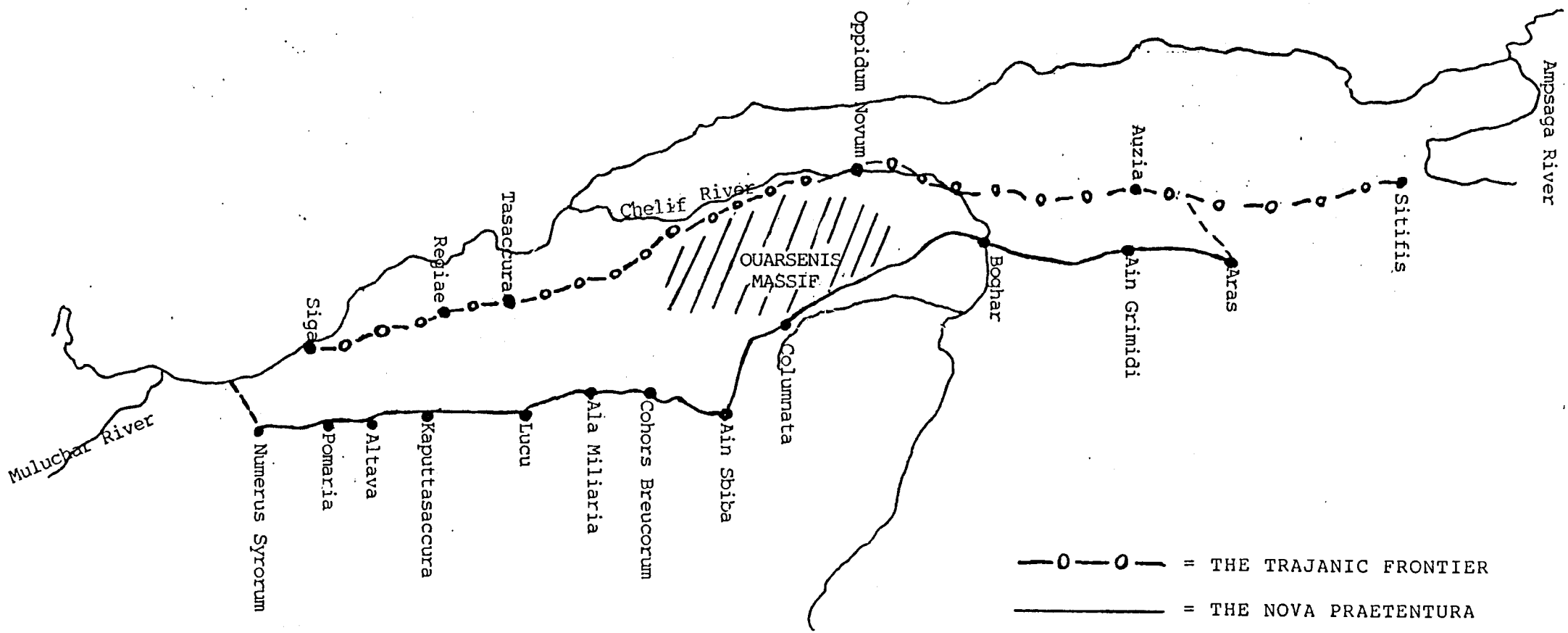
was cautiously granted to these two tribes is evidence of the slow pace at which Romanization took place in the Mauretaniae. Doubtless the tribes' lack of urban structures which could facilitate and expedite the process contributed to this delay[182]. Fourthly, we can legitimately argue, on the basis of this evidence from Mauretania Tingitana, that Rome never intended to forcefully or even actively Romanize all her subjects. She was willing to let them pursue their own way of life, provided this was peaceful[183]. Lastly, the documents clearly illustrate that the Romanization which did take place was not a matter of simply replacing indigenous structures with Roman ones. The Roman citizenship received by a princeps gentis conflicted neither with his membership in an independent tribe, nor with his position as leader of a non-Roman nation[184].

The Historia Augusta makes brief reference to yet another Roman victory over the Mauri under Commodus[185]. Little else is known about this campaign, which probably took place in the earlier half of Commodus' reign[186]. It would, however, be safe to assume that the Baquates were not involved,as the conloquium with Canarta dates from 180AD. No municipal promotions are attested in the Mauretaniae for this period, with Commodus focusing instead on reinforcing the security of Mauretania Caesariensis by repairing fortifications at Albulae[187], and constructing new defensive towers on the road between Auzia and Rapidum[188]. Intentionally or not, this consolidation of the Mauretanian frontier prepared the way for the extension of Roman control further southwards under the Severi[189].

Septimius Severus and his successors extended the southern frontier of Mauretania Caesariensis beyond the central mountainous regions of the province, and between 198 and 216/7AD a new line of defence, the so-called nova praetentura[190] was completed, linking the camps of Aras, Ain Grimidi, Usinaza, Boghar, Columnata, Ain Sbiba, Cohors Breucorum, Ala Miliaria, Lucu, Kaputtasaccura, Altava, Pomaria and Numerus Syrorum. Another road linked coastal Siga to the southern frontier[191]. In addition to defensive considerations, the desire to

182. FRÉZOULS (1980) p.85
183. FRÉZOULS (1980) p.86
184. cf. FRÉZOULS (1980) p.86
185. S.H.A. Comm. 13.5: "victi sunt sub eo ... per legatos Mauri"
186. c.183-185AD (ROMANELLI (1959) p.383) or earlier, ending 182AD (BENABOU (1976a) p.159)
187. C.22629
188. C.20816, specifying that they were constructed "securitati provincialium suorum consulens".
189. ROMANELLI (1959) p.383 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.160 ; PFLAUM (1978) p.383
190. cf. C.22602-22604 and see map following.
191. On the Severan frontiers see ROMANELLI (1959) p.406ff ; BENABOU (1976a) p.173ff ; LASSÈRE (1977) p.268f, 355 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.179f ; FÉVRIER (1989) p.119ff ; DANIELS (1990) p.254

## THE SOUTHERN LIMITES OF MAURETANIA CAESARIENSIS




After Daniels (1990) and Gascou (1982)

gain additional agricultural land may also have inspired the move southwards[192]. But there is no direct evidence for any land occupation (outside of the auxiliary frontier camps) accompanying the Roman advance, and theories of "violent expropriations"[193] inciting indigenous rebellion are unfounded. The nova praetentura was probably designed to survey and control the seasonal movements of the (semi-)nomadic tribes of the region, representing "the advance of the old porous frontier, not the institution of a new preclusive barrier"[194]. On the other hand, Tertullian[195] refers to more or less contemporary military action taken against the Mauri and Gaetuli "ne regionum suarum fines excedant" which clearly reveals a desire to contain the tribes within (Roman-designated) limits, if not necessarily to sedentarize them or take over their land[196].

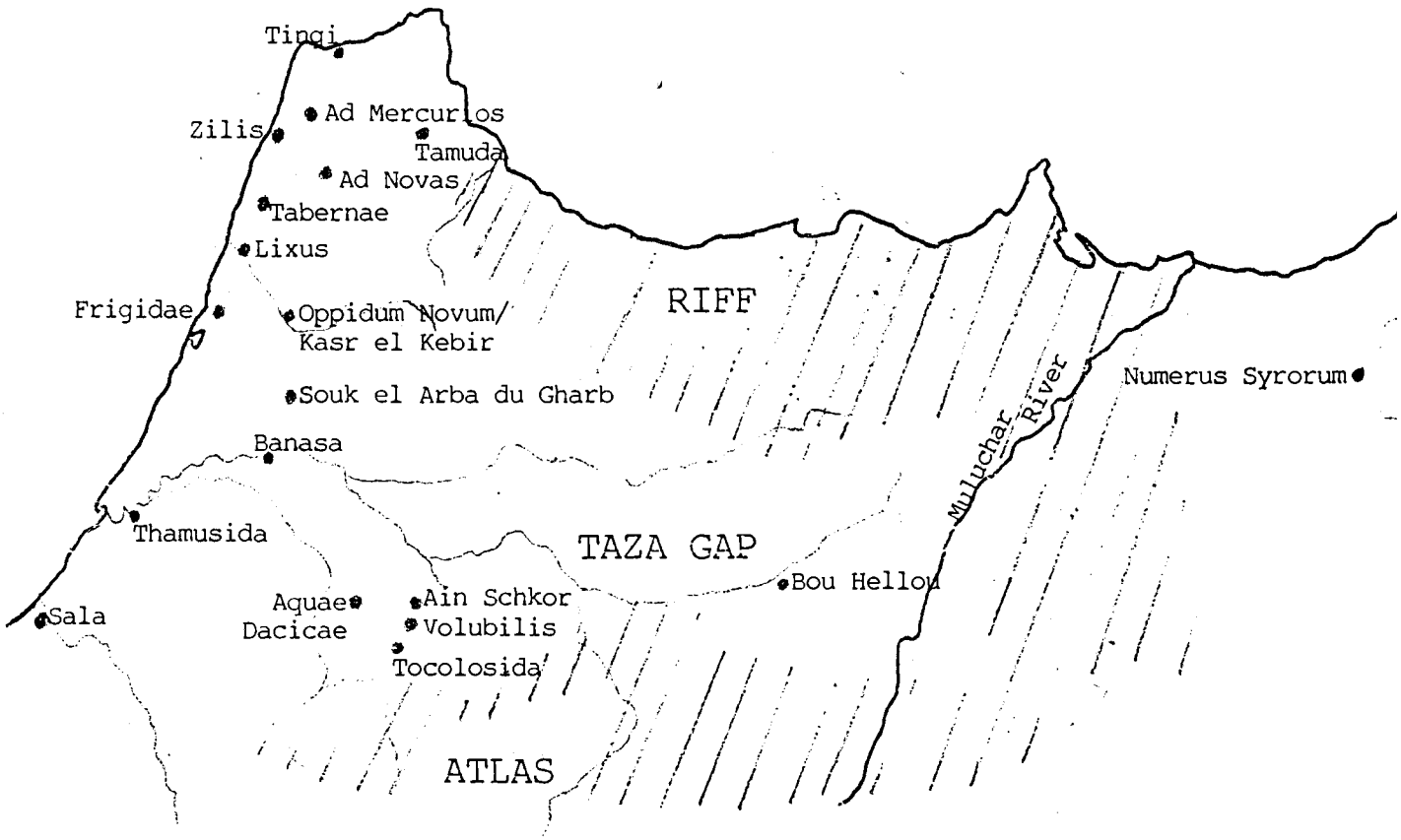
Meanwhile, Mauretania Tingitana, in the course of the second century AD, had developed a network of forts and towers between Aquae Dacicae and Volubilis; fortified Thamusida, Tamuda, Kasr el Kebir and Souk el Arba du Gharb, and garrisoned Banasa; and completed the fossatum around Sala. Roman occupation still centred on the Atlantic coast and the interior region around Volubilis, while the Atlas and most of the Riff ranges remained unpenetrated. This was the greatest extent of Roman occupation ever to be reached in the province. The void between Bou Hellou in Mauretania Tingitana and Numerus Syrorum in Mauretania Caesariensis, rendered communication between the two provinces impossible, or at least precarious[197].

During Septimius Severus' reign, the presence of a procurator prolegato of Mauretania Tingitana in 198/9AD, and, later, of two (probably consecutive) governors in charge of both the Mauretaniae, may imply unsettled conditions in the provinces[198], but not necessarily so. The Baquates, at least, remained at peace.

Auzia was promoted to a colonia between 198 and 211AD, presumably because of its military importance in controlling Rapidum and the route between Sitifis and the Chelif valley[199].

192. Either for imperial domains or to cope with the flourishing oleoculture and viticulture sectors of North Africa. cf. BENABOU (1976a) p.181, 183 ; LASSÈRE (1977) p.268 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.179
193. Thus JULIEN (1975) p.160. A similar sentiment is expressed by BENABOU (1976a) p.175 and DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.179
194. DANIELS (1990) p.254
195. Adv. Iud. 7
196. cf. BENABOU (1976a) p.176
197. On the Tingitana defences and frontiers see DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.183f; DANIELS (1990) p.239, 249
198. As suggested by ROMANELLI (1959) p.409 and BENABOU (1976a) p.179f
199. C.9062. cf. GASCOU (1982) p.207f

MAURETANIA TINGITANA




After IAM (1982) and Daniels (1990)

From the death of Septimius Severus onwards, the circumstances surrounding the promotion of Mauretanian cities to Roman status become increasingly obscure, and the dates for these promotions can only be estimated[200]. Some time after Septimius Severus, Volubilis, Sala and Rusuccuru were upgraded to coloniae, Regiae to either municipium or colonia, and Iomnium, Rusippisir and Cissi to municipia[201]. Rapidum was promoted to a municipium between 167 and c.275AD, as were three castella of the Sitifis region - Thamallula, Thamascani and Lemellef - some time after the beginning of the third century AD. The status of either municipium or colonia was also acquired by Albulae between 199 and 299AD and Ala Miliaria between 293 and 305AD. Although Siga, Bida, Equizeto, Ad Sava, Satafis and Henchir-el-Abiod are all attested as municipia by the end of the third century AD, we do not know when they were granted this status, and the same holds for the colonia of Gilua.

In total, these nineteen municipal promotions to which we cannot allot a certain date, are not a particularly remarkable number for a period of more than a century, particularly as some of the cities may have acquired Roman status before Septimius Severus. And the preponderance of municipia, as compared to coloniae, reflects a consistently cautious approach to Romanization in the Mauretaniae. Colonization here had peaked with the Julio-Claudians and, even if the available evidence does not reflect the whole picture, the limited amount of municipal promotions in the Mauretaniae which followed, are in stark contrast to the flourishing municipal development of neighbouring Africa Proconsularis in the second and third centuries AD[202].

Under Caracalla, the many milestones linking the centres of Mauretania Caesariensis are testimony to the province's active economic and agricultural life[203]. With regard to defence, the nova praetentura was kept in good repair and there are no reports of disturbances for this period, although we cannot deduce from this that all was necessarily tranquil[204]. A letter from Caracalla apparently confirms that Banasa was to receive a military cohort (IAM 99), but the motivation for Banasa's original request is unknown. The Constitutio Antoniniana which theoretically now made all Mauretanians Roman citizens (though we still do not know exactly who the dediticii were who were excluded) was not accompanied by the promotion of all the cities to Roman status[205].

200. cf. GASCOU (1982) p.238-259, 312-315
201. The last three, all ex-pagi of Rusuccuru, probably became autonomous municipia when Rusuccuru became a colonia. cf. GASCOU (1982) p.248-253
202. KOTULA (1975) p.394 ; GASCOU (1982) passim
203. ROMANELLI (1959) p.425f
204. cf. ROMANELLI (1959) p.410
205. SHERWIN-WHITE (1973a) p.393

From Caracalla onwards, castella made their appearance, particularly in the Sitifis region[206]. These castella seem to have been regroupings of coloni, mostly from imperial domains, into fortified 'headquarters', presumably for reasons of security and better management of the produce of the ever-expanding estates. The process did not involve urbanization per se, and the castellani, who were still coloni, probably did not constitute a new legal entity[207].

New castella were still being constructed under the rule of Severus Alexander[208], while five existing castella in eastern Mauretania Caesariensis rebuilt their walls in 227AD[209]. Benabou and others[210] link these fortification works to the evidence of a roughly contemporaneous rebellious factio encountered by the procurator T. Licinius Hierocles near Auzia[211]. But the castella inscriptions make no mention of a threat of invasion. All have the same formula: "auctis viribus et moenibus suis castellani ... muros extruxerunt", which supports Fevrier's theory that the new walls were necessitated by the natural expansion of the castella[212]. Furthermore, if we consider that other castella rebuilt their walls at a later date[213], and some extended their boundaries under Gordian in a period specified in the epigraphical evidence as peaceful[214], we can conclude that the construction or reconstruction of walls was a natural, ongoing process accompanying the increase of the coloni populations and their land in the Sitifis plains, and need not have resulted from actual conflict.

Mauretania Tingitana, meanwhile, had encountered unrest during Severus Alexander's reign, which was suppressed by the governor Furius Celsus[215]. Details are nowhere provided and there is no reason to believe that the Baquates-Bavares alliance

206. BENABOU (1976a) p.187f lists the North African castella.
207. ROMANELLI (1959) p.423f ; BENABOU (1976a) p.186-191 ; GASCOU (1982) p.314
208. cf. DESCURAC-DOISY (1966) p.1199 ; LASSÈRE (1977) p.271
209. The castella of Perdicenses (AE1966,593), of Ain el Hadjar (AE1966,594) and of the Citofactenses of Ain Soltane (AE1917-18,68), the Castellum B. of Bir Haddada (C.8729) and the Castellum Thib. of Ain Melloul (C.20486)
210. DESCURAC-DOISY (1966) p.1199 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.192f
211. AE1966,597. The term factio implies that the rebels came from within the province (cf. DESCURAC-DOISY (1966) p.1197 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.193 ; LASSÈRE (1977) p.271).
212. FÉVRIER quoted by BENABOU (1976a) p.192 n.96. cf. ROMANELLI (1959) p.442 ; FÉVRIER (1966) p.224-228
213. eg. Castellum Dianense in 234AD (C.8701)
214. Castellum Vanarzauense of Ksar-Tir, (AE1903,94), Castellum Thib. of Ain Melloul (C.20487) and Castellum ? near Thamascani (C.20602), all with the same type of formula: "kastellum ... quod antehac spatio angusto cinctum muro continebatur, nunc reparatis ac fotis viribus, fiducia pacis hortante ad faciem maioris loci, prolatum est".
215. S.H.A. Alex. Sev. 58.1: "Actae sunt res feliciter... in Mauretania Tingitana per Furium Celsum"

was responsible[216].

Severus Alexander reinforced the work of Septimius Severus and Caracalla by focusing military attention on the southern frontier of Mauretania Caesariensis, which was regularly upgraded and where veterans continued to receive territory[217]. Part of the responsibility for securing this region may have been entrusted to the colonists themselves[218].

There appear to have been no wars in the Mauretaniae under Gordian, but the unsettled conditions in Africa Proconsularis which had given rise to his proclamation as emperor no doubt had an impact throughout North Africa. Benabou[219] suggests that the rapid succession of three conloquia with the Baquates at Volubilis between 239 and 245AD (IAM 357,358,359) was a sign that the Romans were feeling particularly threatened at this time.

Trouble only seems to have erupted, though, under Valerian and Gallienus, and it was to be in Mauretania Caesariensis. Inscriptions from 253 to 260AD reveal Roman campaigns in the regions of Auzia, Sitifis and the Numidian-Mauretanian frontier. These were undertaken by M. Aurelius Vitalis against barbari (probably Quinquegentanei), M. Cornelius Octavianus ( dux per Africam Numidiam Mauretaniamque (C.8435=20341)) against the Bavares, C. Macrinius Decianus (legate of Numidia) against the Bavares and Quinquegentanei, and Q. Gargilius Martialis against the rebel leader Faraxen[220]. Although victories were claimed by all these commanders, and there is no secure evidence for any Mauretanian unrest in the ensuing period up to Probus[221], it is unlikely that a perfect peace had been attained[222]. Diplomatic negotiations with the Baquates were still in evidence under Probus.

Diocletian's governor of Mauretania Caesariensis, T. Aurelius Litua, celebrated victories over the Transtagnenses[223] and Quinquegentanei[224] and restored peace

216. Contra R. THOUVENOT quoted by DESCURAC-DOISY (1966) p.1200 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.195-197
217. cf. LASSÈRE (1977) p.271, 275
218. cf. BENABOU (1976a) p.210 ; GASCOU (1972) p.26 ; DANIELS (1990) p.255
219. BENABOU (1976a) p.212-214
220. cf. ROMANELLI (1959) p.473-480 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.217-227 ; DANIELS (1990) p.257. The 'Faraxenses' were probably not a tribe proper but a conglomeration of disgruntled men of various origin.
221. Except for a short passage from the Historia Augusta of questionable historicity - S.H.A. Vita Saturnini 9.5: "ego a Mauris possessam Africam reddidi" (cf. BENABOU (1976a) p.228f
222. Q. Gargilius Martialis, for instance, was later killed in a Bavares ambush (C.9047).
223. C.9324(Caesarea)
224. C.8924(Saldae)

to Auzia[225]. More serious disturbances erupted not long after, for the co-emperor Maximian personally went to Africa in 296 or 297AD with military reinforcements to conduct a successful war against the Mauri (probably the Quinquegentanei) which ended by 298AD[226]. The Roman victory may have been followed by the deportation or translocation of the defeated Mauri tribes[227].

The continual resurgence of tribal unrest was only one of the factors contributing to Diocletian's decision to overhaul the territorial and administrative organization of the North African provinces. Plagued by civil war, barbarian invasions, and decreasing sources of production coupled with increasing inflation and taxation, the empire as a whole was in desperate need of more effective government which Diocletian hoped to achieve by separating civil and military powers, concentrating on defence rather than offensive campaigns, reforming taxation, and dividing the provinces into smaller, more manageable, units while decentralizing the imperial bureaucracy by means of dioceses. Some time after 280AD the Romans apparently finally withdrew from southern Mauretania Tingitana, much of which they had never truly occupied. The new 'frontier' ran from Frigidae to Tamuda, but Sala and perhaps also Banasa in the south were retained[228]. This reduced province was then attached to the diocese of the Hispaniae - a natural outcome, considering that Tingitana had always had closer ties with the Iberian peninsula than with the rest of Africa[229].

For a long time it was believed that western Mauretania Caesariensis was also abandoned at this time, but Salama[230] proved that Rome maintained an official presence in the area well into the fourth century AD. Which is not to say that conditions remained exactly as before - the feudal system had begun, and Roman-occupied areas, increasingly dependent on self-defence, were becoming progressively isolated "self-contained enclaves"[231].

Completing Diocletian's reforms in the area was Mauretania Sitifensis, created out of eastern Mauretania Caesariensis c.288AD. This new province remained under the authority of the governor of Mauretania Caesariensis[232].

225. C.9041. Litua's victories are also referred to in the literature: Euseb. Chron. 2304 ; Aur. Vict. Caes. 39.22 ; Panegyric of Maximian and Constantine 11.3.16-17.
226. cf. ROMANELLI (1959) p.502-504 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.236f
227. Panegyric of Maximian and Constantine 7.6.8: "Tu ferocissimus Mauretaniae populus inaccessis montium jugis et naturali munitione fidentes expugnasti, recepisti, transtulisti" (written c.307AD).
228. FÉVRIER (1989) p.121 ; DANIELS (1990) p.260
229. ROMANELLI (1959) p.507ff, 519 ; MACKIE (1983) p.358
230. SALAMA (1966)
231. Thus SIGMAN (1977) p.439. cf. SALAMA (1966) p.1309, 1311 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.240
232. ROMANELLI (1959) p.514f

The Roman experience in the Mauretaniae seems, then, to have been a primarily military one, focused on combating indigenous uprisings and advancing or securing the frontiers. But the view of the Mauretaniae as a permanent battlefield depends partly on the concept that only conditions of military crisis could have resulted in the appointment of 'prolegato' procurators or the combining of both the Mauretaniae under a single governor[233]. In fact, the appointment of governors utriusque Mauretaniae may have been intended as a preventative measure against unrest, or their role may have been chiefly administrative, for redefining boundaries or setting the provinces in order ( ad ordinandas provincias ) after periods of disturbance[234]. And although a procurator prolegato had the special right to command legionary troops, which might indicate a military motivation for his appointment, Spaul[235] points out that the term prolegato was more probably employed simply to distinguish the governor of an equestrian imperial province from other procurators (such as financial agents) in the emperor's employ[236]. Setting aside all the inferences of military conflict made on the basis of procuratores prolegato and governors of both Mauretaniae, provides a more balanced view of the Mauretanian situation. It is also worth reiterating that there was never a single 'national' Mauri threat confronting the Romans. Conflict always involved only certain tribes and certain areas, and Mauri troops often fought on the Roman side[237].

Certainly there was a strong military presence and a history of indecisive clashes between the Mauri tribes and Roman authority, but, as Benabou[238] reminds us, the nature of Roman-native relationships was complex and should not be reduced to statistics of military confrontation alone. The conloquia with the Baquates, Sulpicius Felix's lenitas in settling the Sala issue, and the presence of a procurator ad curam gentium at Caesarea[239], are all indications that peaceful methods of co-existence were being attempted.

Besides, the presence of the Roman army in the Mauretaniae made more than just a negative impact. From the Augustan veteran colonies to the outposts along the nova praetentura, military settlements played a significant role in fostering peaceful Romanization. The soldiers brought Roman politics, culture and language

233. BENABOU (1976a) passim ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.192
234. FRÉZOULS (1980) p.83 ; DANIELS (1990) p.255 ; REBUFFAT (1994) p.200
235. SPAUL (1994) p.255
236. The term praeses had more of a military connotation, meaning commander-in-chief or commanding general (SPAUL (1994) p.255).
237. cf. SPEIDEL (1982) passim
238. BENABOU (1976a) p.131
239. C.9327, sometime after Septimius Severus. cf. PFLAUM (1960-61) II p.736f on the possibility that this procurator acted in the capacity of a praefectus gentis.

into the areas they traversed or in which they settled, and local recruitment of soldiers created generations of provincials who carried the Roman influence to their own local communities upon discharge. New military settlements provided markets for food, weaponry and consumer goods, stimulating the economy and encouraging locals to settle in the immediate vicinity of these visible defenders of the pax Romana[240]. In this way, the Roman military contributed to the provincial urbanization process. In Mauretania Caesariensis, for instance, the city of Albulae grew out of a settlement which had arisen around the camp of Praesidium Sufative.

Blame for the violent clashes which did occur in the Mauretaniae can undoubtedly be laid partly at the door of Rome as the foreign invader. But the actual extent of Roman land occupation resulting in the expropriation of tribal land can easily be overestimated. Most of eastern Mauretania Tingitana remained free from any Roman occupation, and the southern border was never clearly demarcated. In Mauretania Caesariensis there was, admittedly, a deliberate, albeit slow, advance of the frontier towards the south and west, but we should consider Rebuffat's[241] caveat that, in territorial terms, the Roman province cannot be equated with Roman occupation. The construction of a frontier road was not necessarily accompanied by the occupation of the contiguous territory along its entire length. Moreover, the limites still made partial allowance for (semi-)nomadic seasonal migrations[242], and there is less evidence of tribes being forced to settle in delimited areas for the Mauretaniae than for Africa Proconsularis, although the latter was subjected to far fewer revolts[243]. The imperial saltus did expand their territories in the second and third centuries AD, but we are not certain that local tribes were displaced as a result. The evidence suggests that the Roman military advance was aimed at defence rather than domination.

Similarly, civic Romanization was not an authoritarian affair - the respect shown to the Zegrenses as a tribe in their own right is proof enough of this. Roman citizenship and Roman city status were granted sparingly and generally bestowed on individuals and communities who were already more or less Romanized[244]. This 'selective' policy of Romanization, combined with the ineffectual occupation of the Mauretaniae and the climate of insecurity in these provinces, condemned the Romans to making an appreciable impact only in the urban and military contexts.

240. cf. WIERSCHOWSKI (1984) p.112-173 ; VITTINGHOFF (1994) p.297f
241. R. REBUFFAT, "Notes sur les confins de la Maurétanie tingitane et de la Maurétanie césarienne" in Studi Magrebini 4 (1971) p.33-64, quoted in LEVEAU (1974) p.108f
242. Contra MESNAGE (1913) p.75
243. cf. Tables in BENABOU (1976a) p.433, 438
244. cf. BENABOU (1976a) p.234

## INDIGENOUS RELIGION AND SYNCRETISMS

Assessing the true nature of African indigenous religion is fraught with difficulty. In the first place, early autochthonous cults have left few physical traces because epigraphy and monuments did not form part of their tradition. In the second place, most of the evidence which does remain has been subjected to the influence of later religions and the original elements are difficult to distinguish[1]. Nevertheless, it is possible to determine general aspects of what could be termed native 'African' religion.

Primitive North African religion centred around forces of nature, communication with and the appeasement of the 'sacred' element in the environment in order to ensure material well-being. Hence the veneration of 'genies' of natural locations such as caves, mountains and rivers (a concept not foreign to the Romans themselves with their genii loci), and religious rites connected with water, the land, animals, and the fertility of both women and the earth[2]. Libyan inscriptions concerning local indigenous deities provide us with little information beyond their names[3]. These smaller autochthonous gods were widely dispersed and lacked homogeneity as a group, but over and above them were the greater African deities whose influence was universal and transcended tribal divisions, gradually gaining 'national' status as cohesive African states were formed[4]. Initially the great gods probably embodied vague notions of universal sanctity, such as the cult of the sun and moon[5]. Later, more specific deities evolved, acquiring a definite identity (name, iconography), and certain characteristics of an evolved cult (such as temples, altars and, perhaps, an organized priesthood)[6]. These gods seem to have formed a 'pantheon': a group of seven named African deities is depicted on a stele from Beja (=Vaga, Africa Proconsularis) in the style of an 'official group'[7]. Attempts have been made to equate the Beja deities to the Punic and Roman pantheons, but the group is in fact original, although certain elements, such as their anthropomorphic representation, probably owed much to Punic and Roman influence[8].

1. cf. BENABOU (1976a) p.304, 377
2. cf. CHARLES-PICARD (1954) p.25 ; FERGUSON (1970) p.65ff ; BENABOU (1976a) p.269ff ; PETIT (1976) p.118 ; NICOLET (1977) p.654 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.243-247
3. cf. DÉSIRÉ-VUILLEMIN (1964) p.69 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.287
4. GSELL (1921-30) 4 p.231 & 6 p.141 ; CHARLES-PICARD (1954) p.21 ; NICOLET (1977) p.655 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.243
5. cf. Hdt. 4.188
6. BENABOU (1976b) p.373 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.243
7. The gods are: Magurtam, Macurgum, Vihinam, Bonchor, Varsissima, Matilam, Iunam. cf. CHARLES-PICARD (1954) p.22ff
8. cf. DÉSIRÉ-VUILLEMIN (1964) p.69 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.301 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.267

The first substantial foreign impact on native African religion was that of Punic religion. The official state religion of the Phoenicians was based on a hierarchic pantheon of gods, each of whom was probably served by his or her own cult and priesthood[9]. At Carthage, African influence imbued this Phoenician religion with its 'Punic' character. Thus, for instance, the principal Phoenician deities Baal and Ashtart were converted into Baal-Hammon (who incorporated the native African cult of the ram-god, as well as influence from the Egyptian Amon-Ra and the Greek Kronos) and Tanit Pene-Baal (who became the tutelary goddess of Carthage)[10]. Spreading throughout the Punic colonies and settlements of North Africa, the Punic religion also made an impact in the Mauretaniae: Lixus, for example, provides evidence for the worship of the Punic pantheon[11]. The intricacies of the Punic religion still elude us, however, because Punic inscriptions provide limited detail which in turn forces a dangerous reliance on iconographical interpretation and information transmitted by classical authors[12].

Prior to the Roman era other foreign cults were introduced into North Africa by immigrant officials, merchants, artisans and soldiers. These ranged from the great mystic cults of Isis, Mithras and Cybele, to the Greek-inspired cult of the Cereres (imported into Africa from Sicily), to lesser-known gods such as Malaqbel from Syria. In most cases it remains impossible to ascertain who brought the individual cults to Africa and at what date. Immigrants to Africa, however, were in the minority and while there was a certain amount of religious and cultural interaction in the African coastal and market cities, and gods like Dionysus and Bacchus enjoyed widespread support (especially among the African elite), most foreign cults were at this stage subordinate to the Punic religion and many were confined to immigrant communities or military camps[13]. Even the Egyptian cults had limited success. In Mauretania the cult of Isis was introduced by Cleopatra Selene who promoted it by Isiac symbols on her coins[14], yet it failed to gain widespread favour outside of the royal court and Caesarea itself[15].

9. GSELL (1921-30) 4 p.226 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.377 ; BONNET & XELLA (1995) p.319
10. cf. LE GLAY (1975) p.138
11. cf. JODIN (1987) p.24 n.56, p.234
12. DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.586f ; BONNET & XELLA (1995) p.317f
13. On foreign cults see LASSÈRE (1977) p.406-411 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.270-273
14. cf. MAZARD (1955) p.108-117
15. GSELL (1921-30) 8 p.241 ; cf. Plin. HN 5.10 on Juba's construction of an Iseum at Caesarea.

With increasing Roman domination, the Capitoline triad and the rest of the Roman pantheon became established in Africa. But they did not simply replace the existing Puno-African pantheon. Instead, a complex process of assimilation and syncretism took place merging Roman, Punic and native religious elements. Just as Phoenician and indigenous religious aspects had intermingled to create the Punic religion[16], now Puno-African gods were identified with Roman deities to create a 'Romano-African' religion. Saturn, for example, is expressly identified on a sanctuary at Thinissut (Africa Proconsularis) as the same deity as Baal-Hammon. Thus Saturn, who was to become the sovereign god of the African pantheon, embodied Roman, Punic and African concepts. In the same way Tanit was assimilated to Juno Caelestis, Melqart to Hercules, Shadrapa to Bacchus, Eshmoun to Aesculapius, and so on[17]. The degree to which African elements were absorbed by the Roman deities, and vice versa, varied in each instance and the details of the process are not perfectly known[18]. Nevertheless, in general, the new gods thus formed tended to be (Graeco-)Roman in name, physical attributes, religious symbolism and architecture, while remaining African with regard to function and cult-forms (ritual, priesthoods, etcetera)[19]. Religious assimilation was facilitated in North Africa by, on the one hand, Roman tolerance of foreign cults and, on the other hand, the adaptability of the African belief system which was receptive to foreign influences[20].

The assimilation of local gods to their Roman counterparts used to be taken as proof of the eagerness of the local elite to mimic the Romans, but lately more credit has been given to the active substance of the local component.[21] Surviving Berber characteristics which were previously regarded merely as contaminants of or adjuncts to Roman cults are now considered to have formed, in many cases, the vital basis of those cults. But in rejecting religious syncretism as pure Romanization there lies a danger of defining it as pure Africanization, of seeing in the application of the interpretatio Romana

16. Ancient authors themselves often confused Punic, Phoenician and Libyan religions. cf. GSELL (1921-30) 4 p.229f ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981)p.262
17. On religious syncretism in North Africa, see in general GSELL (1921-30) 6 p.139, 148f ; LE GLAY (1975) passim ; BENABOU (1976a) p.261-264, 378f
18. LE GLAY (1975) p.124, 137. Part of the problem is that the archaic African religion is imperfectly understood to begin with, and the way syncretized deities are presented to us - in Graeco-Roman guise - obscures underlying native elements. cf. BENABOU (1976b) p.373 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.274f
19. GSELL(1921-30) 4 p.258 ; CHARLES-PICARD (1954) p.102, 129 ; LE GLAY (1968) p.238, 240 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.371-374, 378-380 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.271f
20. JULIEN (1975) p.183f ; LE GLAY (1975) p.123 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.261
21. PETIT (1976) p.232 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.378-80 & (1976b) p.373 ; RIVES (1995) p.150f

merely superficial, 'politically correct' Latin names for local cults. Oddly enough, the one instance in which this could be true, was engineered by the Romans themselves, who applied the blanket title Dii Mauri to a collection of local gods. This allowed the Romans to take possession of, or Romanize, these gods en masse, while the indigenous population were still able to recognize and worship their familiar African deities behind the joint Latin denomination[22]. In general, however, religious syncretism usually resulted from Roman and African cults and deities both contributing as well as relinquishing some of their original features in the fusion[23]. Syncretism provided the opportunity for traditional local cults, if they were flexible enough, to survive as part of the new Roman order without being marginalized or usurped by Roman religion[24]. And as the North African population, with time, came to identify with both Rome and the country of their birth, syncretized cults allowed for the religious expression of this dual sense of pride[25].

Not all native gods were linked to Roman equivalents. Local gods and genies of the rural areas, in particular, continued to exist in their original form because syncretized cults had tended to flourish only in city environments where Roman and traditional African beliefs had come into contact[26]. Moreover, deities could exist simultaneously in both their original and syncretized forms (such as Tanit and (Tanit) Caelestis), a fact which serves to remind us that "le phénomène de l'interpretatio n'est ni automatique ni immuable, mais dépend des circonstances et des lieux"[27]. Benabou[28] claims that the persistance of an independent indigenous religious tradition proves that Roman and native African cultures remained incompatible on certain points and also that Romanization was incomplete. There is some truth to both of these theories. But he is wrong to suggest that refusal to subscribe to Roman religion constituted a kind of 'resistance' to Romanization. We can see from the Beja stele, which was dedicated by two Romanized citizens of the third century AD to purely African gods, that Romanization and traditional African beliefs were not mutually exclusive. The co-existence of indigenous, syncretized and purely Roman religious forms in North Africa was the natural outcome of the expression of a variety of personal religious beliefs within communities of mixed ethnic origin and varying degrees of Romanization.

22. BENABOU (1976a) p.311-330. CAMPS (1990) interprets the Dii Mauri as a Roman tactic to advertise support of traditional gods by the Romano-African army in order to give them an advantage in their struggles against rebels in the third century AD.
23. DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.273
24. cf. KING (1990) p.237 ; RIVES (1995) p.141
25. cf. RIVES (1995) p.153
26. GARNSEY & SALLER (1987) p.168
27. BONNET & XELLA (1995) p.328
28. BENABOU (1976a) p.262f

## AFRICAN RULER-WORSHIP : PRECURSOR TO THE IMPERIAL CULT?

As we have seen, existing indigenous cults often formed the basis on which Roman religion was incorporated into African society. When it comes to the cult of the Roman emperors, however , this was not the case. It is difficult to prove beyond any doubt that ruler-cult was part of the indigenous religious tradition.

Clearly, autochthonous North African tribes contained within them the potential for ruler-worship, as they believed sacred forces could be embodied in mortals. Their belief in the supernatural power of certain body-parts (notably the hair) and their cults of the dead prove as much[1]. Ancient Libyan beliefs may also have provided the basis for the later Islamic concept of 'baraka', the sacred virtue by which mortals could perform miracles and which was greatest in the 'marabouts' (holy men) and the Sultans[2]. Nonetheless, the question of an official, organized cult of African rulers who were regarded not only as mediums of divine power but as deities in their own right, is another matter entirely. A systematic analysis of the relevant evidence provides us with few secure indications that there was ever such official ruler-worship in ancient North Africa.

### The epigraphic evidence

Some of the inscriptions which have been tendered as 'proof' of African ruler-cults can be dismissed out of hand, as they are neither votive nor religious, but simply honorary dedications to the kings out of respect for their political authority. Thus

C.8927(Saldae): "Regi Ptolemaeo reg. Iubae f."[3]

is no more evidence of a Mauretanian cult for Ptolemy than C.II.3417(Carthago Nova): "Regi Iubae regis Iubae filio regis Iempsalis n. regis Gaudae pronepoti regis Masinissae pronepotis nepoti IIvir quinq. patrono coloni" is evidence of a Spanish cult for Juba. Similarly

C.17159(Thubursicu Numidarum, Numidia): "reg(i) Hiemp[sali] Gaudae reg[is fi]lio ... [cives et] incolae Thu[bursic(enses) ae]dific[aver(unt) et in] glor(iam) opt[imae? patriae] Iulius Procu[lus...] hon..." 4

cannot be classified as a 'royal cult' inscription.

1. cf. CHARLES-PICARD (1954) p.12f
2. cf. GSELL (1921-30) 6 p.129f, 165 ; WESTERMARCK (1926) p.35-39 ; CHARLES-PICARD (1954) p.16 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.257-259
3. LESCHI (1957) p.392, inter alia, sees it as proof of a cult.
4. Quoted as proof of ruler-cult by MOMMSEN at C.17159 ; ROMANELLI (1959) p.173 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.258, inter alia.

Two inscriptions which do occur in a religious context, and appear to provide impressive support for an African ruler-cult, are

C.8834(Tubusuctu): "Iemsali L. Percunius L. f. stel.. rogatus V.(S.L.A.)"

and

C.20627(Vanisnesi=Hassnaoua, Mauretania Caesariensis): "Nundina annu quod praecepit Iovis et Iuba et Genius Vanisnesi quod preceperunt Dii Ingirozoglezim".

However, Camps, who undertook research into the fact that African kings were often named after existing deities, believes that these inscriptions were more likely to be dedications to the actual gods Iemsal and Iuba rather than to the kings who bore their names[5].

If the name 'Masinissa' could be restored with any certainty in the inscription

C.20731(Abizar, Mauretania Caesariensis): "Tablo Deo Masi..."

it might prove that the Numidian king Masinissa was revered as a god. Unfortunately, the names of at least three known African deities could complete the lacuna equally well, and they are surely the more likely candidates for such an inscription[6].

The inscription

C.9342(Caesarea): "Geni[o] regis Pto[lemaei] regis [Iubae f.]"

and, in similar vein,

C.18752(Gadiaufala, Numidia), a dedication to the Genius col(oniae) [Gad(iaufalae)] and Gulu[ss]a Nu[mid(iae)] rex [Mas]sin[issae] fil(ius)

can be discounted from the ruler-cult argument. In the first place, treating the genius of a person as a deity did not make a god of that person. Private individuals could make votive offerings to their own genii[7]. Although genius-worship could function as one aspect of ruler-cult (as it did in the imperial cult), it was not an official or critical component of such a cult, and these inscriptions on their own cannot be qualified as ruler-worship. Furthermore, the genius concept derived from Roman tradition and these inscriptions probably owed more to Roman influence than to indigenous religious practices[8].

We are left with a single inscription on a statue-base:

C.9257(Icosium): "[r]egi Ptolemae[o] reg. Iubae f. L. Caecilius Rufus Agilis f. honoribus omnibus patriae suae consummatis D.S.P.F.C. et consacravit"

which seems to be consecrated to Ptolemy in a religious capacity, though we

5. G. CAMPS, "Massinissa ou les débuts de l'histoire" (1961) p.289-292 (non vidi) & (1990) p.139-141. cf. GSELL (1921-30) 4 p.226 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.292f ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.259 ; JODIN (1987) p.237. Contra GARNSEY & SALLER (1987) p.168 who quote C.20627 as proof of worship of Juba.
6. CAMPS (1990) p.142 contra the editors of CIL who suggest Masinissa.
7. NOCK (1972) II p.834
8. GSELL (1921-30) 6 p.131

cannot rule out that the statue was consecrated to another deity in honour of the king. Interestingly, the earliest known flamen of the Mauretanian imperial cult, L. Caecilius Rufus (C.9258),appears to be the same person as the dedicator of this inscription[9]. Were there circumstances predisposing this individual or this community towards ruler-worship? We know only that the community of Icosium included a highly Romanized element from an early date[10], and C.9257 in honour of Ptolemy probably has more to do with Roman religious attitudes than indigenous ruler-worship.

Libyan and Punic 'ruler-cult' inscriptions, which would be better indicators of pre-Roman indigenous beliefs are, to date, non-existent for any of the Mauretanian kings. There are, however, two significant inscriptions dedicated to the Numidian kings Masinissa and Micipsa.

The first is a bilingual (Libyan-Punic) inscription found on an edifice at Dougga (ancient Thugga) believed to be the mausoleum of Masinissa who ruled 208-148BC[11]. The inscription is generally dated to 139BC[12]. The Libyan begins: "The city of Thugga built a temple to the king Masinissa". However, the interpretation of the Libyan term for 'temple' is far from secure. Its Punic equivalent is simply 'monument', and nothing in the remainder of the text refers to religion[13]. Even if we accept that the inscription refers to a sanctuary, it is perhaps not so much evidence of an institutionalized ruler-cult as confirmation of the traditional African cults of the dead which acknowledged the sanctity of all deceased mortals.

The second is a Punic funerary inscription from Caesarea for Micipsa who ruled Numidia 148-118BC[14]. Dedicated "to the living of the living, MKWSN", the dedicator declares himself the organizer for the god and the instruments of the cult as well as for the funeral monument. This seems to provide our clearest evidence for the organization of an official cult in honour of a deified African king. But Caesarea, which was presumably under Numidian rule at the time of Micipsa's death, is known to have been the residence of the Mauretanian king Bocchus I (110-80BC) soon after[15], so one wonders how long this cult of Micipsa would have endured in this city. Moreover, the Phoenician

9. cf. BASSIGNANO (1974) p.355
10. See below p.75
11. cf. MARCY (1936) p.20-54
12. RE sv.Masinissa contra MARCY (1936) p.52 who, alone, suggests that the edifice was built soon after Masinissa's accession.
13. DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.257f
14. Referred to by CHARLES-PICARD (1954) p.17 and DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.258 but I have been unable to trace the original inscription.
15. cf. RE sv. Caesarea

character of the inscription (the Punic language, the location of Caesarea) detracts somewhat from its ability to prove the existence of original archaic African belief in the divinity of their kings.

As a whole, the epigraphic evidence for indigenous ruler-worship is sporadic, largely equivocal, and in particularly short supply for the Mauretanian kings.

The numismatic evidence

The suggestion that certain symbolism on the Mauretanian coinage is evidence of a cult of the sovereigns, is unconvincing. Plutarch (Sert. 9) explains how Juba II claimed descent from Heracles/Hercules, and coins confirm that Juba identified himself with this hero-god[16]. Juba would have found support for this heroic connection in the classical tradition which placed many of Hercules' exploits in Mauretanian territory[17]. Juba's marriage to Cleopatra Selene also linked him to the Ptolemaic dynasty, itself descended mythologically from the Greek Heracles[18]. Ptolemy was to follow his father's example in advertising this Hercules connection[19].

We are unable to gauge what the reaction of the indigeous African population to these illustrious claims might have been. Although some of the Punic deities possessed a 'heroic' aspect[20], and the Roman Hercules was later assimilated to the Punic Melqart, there is no evidence for any autochtonous hero-cults as such in pre-Roman North Africa[21]. The majority of Juba's subjects were surely unfamiliar with the Hercules-myth and were unlikely to have worshipped the Mauretanian king as a living god in this guise[22].

Two coins from Juba's reign have been interpreted as alluding to the deification of Cleopatra Selene after her death: one of an altar with the Uraeus serpent[23], the other a gold coin of a serpent with the symbol of Isis and a crescent[24].

16. Types of the lionskin, club and scyphus of Hercules appear on Juba's coins. cf. MAZARD (1955) p.74, 83-87 ; COLTELLONI-TRANNOY (1990) p.
17. Pompon. 3.106 ; Strab. 17.3.8 ; Plut. Sert. 9 ; Plin. HN 5.3, 5.7, 19.63. cf. REBUFFAT (1971) passim. Juba did try to emphasize the African aspect of the myth, stressing his descent from the Libyan widow of Antaeus, Tinge (cf. GSELL (1921-30) 8 p.238).
18. SCHWARTZ (1979) p.118
19. MAZARD (1955) p.133f ; COLTELLONI-TRANNOY (1990) p.48f
20. cf. BONNET & XELLA (1995) p.323f
21. Herodotus' description of a hero-cult of Hamilcar (Carthaginian king c.480BC) probably results from his confusing Hamilcar's name with the god Melqart (Hdt. 7.166-167, cf. GSELL (1921-30) 4 p.302).
22. GSELL (1921-30) 6 p.131 ; THOUVENOT (1941) p.49
23. MAZARD (1955) p.82 no.162
24. MAZARD (1955) p.108 no.298

But there is no further proof of any cult being organized in the Mauretaniae for this queen.

In the final analysis, the numismatic evidence points less to a popular cult of the Mauretanian sovereigns than to a politically-motivated attempt by the rulers themselves to promote their 'divine' status[25].

The literary evidence

The literary evidence for ruler-worship in pre-Roman Mauretania rests on four main sources:

Tertullian, Apologeticus 24.7: "Unicuique etiam provinciae et civitati suus deus est ... ut Africae Caelestis, ut Mauritaniae reguli sui"

Minucius Felix, Octavius 21.9: "Nisi forte post mortem deos fingitis, et perierante Proculo deus Romulus, et Iuba Mauris volentibus deus est, et divi ceteri reges, qui consecrantur non ad fidem numinis, sed ad honorem emeritae potestatis"

St. Cyprian, Quod idola dii non sint 2: "Mauri vero manifeste reges colunt, nec ullo velamento hoc nomen obtexunt"

Lactantius, Divinae Institutiones 1.15.6: "Hac scilicet ratione Romani Caesares suos consecraverunt et Mauri suos reges..."

The evidence of these Christian authors is not as impressive as it first appears to be. In fact, Minucius Felix's mention of Juba (Oct. 21.9) almost certainly derives from Tertullian (Apol. 21.23, 24.7-8); Quod idola dii non sint 2 in turn derives from Min. Fel. Oct. 20-25; and Lactantius followed the tradition of the other three authors[26]. In fact we may be considering a single piece of evidence here, not four independent accounts. Minucius Felix, St. Cyprian and Lactantius ultimately only re-echoed Tertullian's arguments[27].

And how trustworthy is Tertullian if he was indeed the original source for the literary evidence? In general, Tertullian undertook serious historical enquiry in order to effectively present his Christian apologist argument: passages taken from identifiable sources prove, upon comparison, Tertullian's overall accuracy, and the Apologeticus claims an impressive list of literary authorities, including Juba of Mauretania himself[28]. However, Tertullian seems to have had no personal

25. cf. GSELL (1921-30) 6 p.132 ; DÉSIRÉ-VUILLEMIN (1964) p.68 ; BENABOU (1976a) p.285 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.258f
26. BEAUJEU (1964) p.XLV, LIV-LXVII (esp. LXI), CIV, 118, 124. cf. Lactant. Div. Inst. 1.11.55, 5.1.21 for this author's indebtedness to Tertullian, Minucius Felix and St. Cyprian.
27. BARNES (1985) p.102, 192
28. cf. BARNES (1985) p.196-206. Juba wrote a number of works in Greek, including a history of Rome, but none on Mauretania as such.

experience of the Mauretaniae. Statements of his concerning Christianity in Mauretania in the early third century AD (Adv. Jud. 7.4, Ad Scap. 4.8) are suspect - archaeological and documentary evidence place it clearly in the fourth century[29]. Ignorant as we are of his source for chapter 24 of the Apologeticus, written some two centuries after actual monarchical rule in the Mauretaniae, we cannot determine Tertullian's accuracy in this instance. In any event, all the Christian authors' statements about Mauri ruler-worship occur in the context of anti-pagan polemic, a style not conducive to an objective, critical approach to the reverence of mortals.

Altogether, the evidence relating to the worship of African kings seems to lack a truly indigenous inspiration, being clearly influenced by Egyptian, Hellenistic and Roman (politico-)religious concepts[30]. The epigraphic material is presented to us by Punicized or Romanized inhabitants of the African provinces. The literary sources reflect the views of Romanized Latin African authors. All the kings concerned were themselves philhellenes, Roman allies and/or client kings - Hiempsal, Masinissa, Micipsa, Juba II and Ptolemy. Even if we accept that the concept of ruler-cult was introduced into North Africa by foreign rulers, nothing proves that any widespread or lasting cult was actually instituted in favour of any African king. Conclusions such as Fishwick's that the worship of deceased Mauretanian kings "provided a ready-made basis on which to graft the Roman ruler-cult"[31], must be categorically rejected. As far as we know, no temple, priesthood, sacrifice or festival was ever organized in honour of any Mauretanian king and the imperial cult, as an institutionalized and permanent religion, found no existing counterpart in the Mauretaniae to which it could attach itself.

Granted, certain individual facets of the imperial cult may not have been alien to the traditional African mind-set. In particular, the solar and astral symbolism connected with the imperial cult, which began with the 'sidus Iulium' on Augustan coins and reached its greatest extent under Elagabalus, echoed the native African worship of natural phenomena[32]. But this does not alter the fact that as a whole the imperial cult was a new, specifically Roman element introduced into the African religious realm[33]. And while, in cases of the interpretatio Romana it is often not possible to establish whether the Roman

29. BARNES (1985) p.280-282. cf. RIVES (1995) p.224 n.111
30. cf. CHARLES-PICARD (1954) p.17
31. FISHWICK (1987) p.286. Similarly, LEVEAU (1982) p.729
32. cf. WEINSTOCK (1971) p.373-384 ; TURCAN (1978) p.1032f, 1072
33. GASCOU (1972) p.53. RIVES (1995) p.112, suggests that the Proconsularis natives chose not to attach worship of the emperor to their traditional ruler-cult in order to emphasize their participation in the Roman empire. I believe it was rather because any existing ruler-cult was incapable of simply accommodating the imperial cult.

god or its corresponding native deity is being addressed[34], with the imperial cult there is no doubt that the Roman emperor alone was the object of worship.

If, then, it is true that "c'est seulement lorsqu'il peut, par quelque trait, se rattacher à la tradition Libyque ou Punique, qu'un dieu romain transplanté en Afrique rencontre le veritable public populaire"[35], then it follows that the imperial cult, lacking a popular, traditional basis, must have been essentially politically motivated in North Africa. This is confirmed by the nature of the cult here, as well as its participants[36].

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34. RIVES (1995) p.133f
35. BENABOU (1976a) p.380
36. See below p.67-88

## THE INSTITUTION OF THE IMPERIAL CULT IN THE MAURETANIAE

Our first evidence for the imperial cult in the Mauretaniae appears under Juba II who seems, on the basis of numismatic evidence, to have instituted a cult of the living Augustus in Caesarea[1]. Coins of the Mauretanian king depict three different styles of temple (two- four- and six-columned) together with the legend AUGUSTI[2]. The earliest of these coins is dated to Juba's year of reign XXX (=5/6AD), while coins dating to after 14AD probably refer to a cult of Tiberius, Augustus having become Divus Augustus[3]. Many of the temples are shown adorned with a star and crescent, symbols commonly associated with the Punic religion, which may mean that the temples were dedicated to Punic deities as well as to Augustus or Tiberius, thereby reflecting Juba's dual loyalties to both Africa and Rome[4]. An altar flanked by two trees and with the legend LUCUS AUGUSTI appears on other coins of Juba, commemorating an altar and sacred grove of the emperor Augustus[5]. Finally, certain coins with the legend CAESAREA, encircled by a laurel wreath, have been taken by some to refer to games held in honour of Augustus at the capital[6]. Such commemorative games normally formed part of the activities of the imperial cult.

Juba's promotion of the cult of Augustus would tie in well with the extensive homage paid to the Roman principes by this loyal client-king. His familiarity with the Hellenistic and Egyptian cultures, both of which included forms of ruler-worship, probably inspired Juba to honour the Roman emperors in the form of religious cult.

Coins depicting a hexastyle temple with the inscription TI(berii) AUGUS(ti) show that Ptolemy followed his father's example in honouring the living Roman emperor with a cult at Caesarea[7]. Other Ptolemaic coins show an altar with two trees, similar to the Augustan altar which had been depicted on coinage under Juba[8]. The same altar appears on an aureus dated to the year of Ptolemy's accession, which, in this context, would have been an acknowledgement of his indebtedness to the gens Augusta for his position as monarch[9].

1. cf. GSELL (1921-30) 8 p.224-227 ; ROMANELLI (1959) p.221
2. MAZARD (1955) p.79-81 nos.144-156
3. GSELL (1921-30) 8 p.224
4. MAZARD (1955) p.80
5. MAZARD (1955) p.81f nos.157-161
6. MAZARD (1955) p.94f nos.227-235
7. MAZARD (1955) p.138 no.464
8. MAZARD (1955) p.133 nos.427-428
9. MAZARD (1955) p.128 no.398 ; FAUR (1973) p.261

Of interest is the fact that although in the cities of the eastern empire where the imperial cult had originated, Augustus requested that he be honoured, while still alive, only in conjunction with the goddess Roma[10], the Mauretanian kings independently excluded Roma from the equation: "ils ne prirent pas la peine de masquer le veritable et seul destinataire du culte imperial"[11].

The fact that the Mauretanian kings had fostered a cult of the Roman emperors at an early date probably facilitated the introduction of a provincial cult into the Mauretaniae later[12]. However, I cannot agree with Fishwick that on the basis of this early evidence of the cult, "the conclusion to be drawn is not simply that the worship of the Roman emperor would have been easy to implant in Mauretania, but that the kingdom (my emphasis) was already familiar with the observances of the ruler cult even before its formal division into two provinces"[13]. The numismatic evidence seems to refer to a purely municipal cult limited to Caesarea itself[14]. Moreover, this early cult originated from, and reflected the attitudes of Juba and Ptolemy themselves, kings whose policies were not necessarily subscribed to by their many different tribal subjects. And although the medium of coinage would have disseminated an image of the imperial cult throughout the Mauretaniae, we cannot ascertain whether the nature of that cult was even understood, let alone adopted, by the non-Romanized or rural populations of the country.

The imperial cult had therefore made its first formal (and, for us, traceable) appearance under Juba II. Later in the first century AD official provincial imperial cults were to be established in the Mauretanian provinces. When exactly this occurred is a matter of debate. There are two main schools of thought: either that it occurred under Claudius soon after the creation of the two provinces (an argument championed by Kotula, inter alios[15]) or that it came about under Vespasian (thus, primarily, Fishwick)[16]. The ongoing debate surrounding this issue centres on three main considerations: the extent of Romanization in the Mauretaniae, the epigraphic evidence of provincial priesthoods in the provinces, and the date of the establishment of concilia in each of the Mauretaniae.

10. Suet. Aug. 52
11. COLTELLONI-TRANNOY (1990) p.46
12. KOTULA (1975) p.396
13. FISHWICK (1987) p.286
14. cf. ROMANELLI (1959) p.221
15. KOTULA (1962) & (1975). Also E. KORNEMANN, "Geschichte der antiken Herrscherkulte" in Klio 1 (1901) p.127 (non vidi) ; CHATELAIN (1944) p.145 ; DEININGER (1965) p.32, 131f ; THOMASSON (1982) p.44f.
16. FISHWICK (1987) p.282-294. Also JULIEN (1975) p.184.

Krascheninnikoff's 'law'[17] determined that the less Romanized the province, the sooner a provincial imperial cult was imposed upon it by the central government at Rome, in order to reinforce Roman domination. Claudius had instituted a provincial cult in Britain immediately after its conquest in 43AD, and initially Kotula suggested that he did the same in Mauretania as it was, like Britain, little urbanized and Romanized and inhabited by rebellious tribes who were resistant to Roman expansion[18]. Later, however, Kotula admitted that such a comparison was inappropriate and that ultimately the creation of any provincial cult must have been governed by the internal conditions of the province concerned[19].

In this regard Fishwick claims that the Mauretaniae, by the time of Claudius, were fairly well Romanized and receptive to the imperial cult. The Mauretanian kings had promoted the imperial cult, Roman influence prevailed at Caesarea, and the aristocracy of Volubilis had supported Rome in suppressing the Aedemon revolt. He believes that there was no pressing concern to establish an official cult of the emperor in the Mauretaniae, despite the military campaigns that were undertaken to pacify the territory[20]. Kotula warns against reaching conclusions about the degree of Romanization in the whole of the Mauretaniae on the basis of evidence from Volubilis and Caesarea alone. He maintains that Mauretania was still the least Romanized of the North African provinces, and that the territory was still insecure enough to necessitate an official provincial cult[21]. Moreover, Claudius' extensive work in the municipal sphere in the Mauretaniae shows that his aim was to actively Romanize the region. The establishment of a provincial imperial cult, which would more rapidly and effectively integrate these provinces into the empire, would have been a natural outcome of this policy[22].

Ultimately, however, as both Fishwick and Kotula realize, the speculative degree of Romanization of the Mauretaniae is not a secure basis on which to establish a date for the institution of provincial imperial cult.

17. "Über die Einführung des provinzialen Kaiserkultus im römischen Westen" in Philologus 53 (1894) (non vidi).
18. KOTULA (1962) p.151
19. KOTULA (1975) p.389-391 ; FISHWICK (1987) p.284f
20. FISHWICK (1978) p.1231f & (1987) p.284-288
21. The Aedemon revolt was more widespread than Fishwick supposes, and numerous patronage inscriptions of the first century AD from Mauretania reflect the insecurity of the Roman colonists (KOTULA (1975) p.396).
22. KOTULA (1962) & (1975). Fishwick's counter-argument ((1987) p.287) that Claudius' municipal achievements in Mauretania were modest compared to Vespasian's in Spain, is irrelevant. Only one Mauretanian city (Icosium) was promoted by Vespasian.

The epigraphic evidence provides little assistance. The only Mauretanian inscription which explicitly mentions a flamen provinciae, one Sextus Valerius Municeps at Caesarea (C.9409=21066), dates from the late second or early third centuries AD[23], certainly long after a provincial cult must have been instituted in Caesariensis. The only two provincial flaminicae mentioned, both from Volubilis, are Ocratiana (IAM 443) some time in the late first century AD[24], and Flavia Germanilla (IAM 505) at an unknown date between the Flavian period and the Severi (or later)[25].

Fishwick[26] points out that this leaves us with no clear evidence for an early (that is, Claudian) provincial cult in the Mauretaniae. Kotula[27] counters that since neither of the women are specified as flaminica provinciae prima, the provincial concilium and its imperial cult must have been created at an earlier date, probably under Claudius.

We do have inscriptions mentioning the flamen primus and flaminica prima of Volubilis, namely M. Valerius Severus (IAM 448) and his wife Fabia Bira (IAM 342,368,439,440). The earliest possible date for the flaminate of Severus is 45AD[28]. If Volubilis was the seat of the concilium, Fishwick wonders why neither Severus nor his wife held the provincial priesthood, and deduces that it was probably because no provincial cult existed at this early date[29]. Kotula claims that although the concilium of Mauretania Tingitana met at Volubilis in later times, it need not have been the original site for the provincial council, and provincial flamines may well have existed at Tingi at this time[30]. Although the Volubilis inscriptions concerning M. Valerius Severus and Fabia Bira cannot settle the provincial cult question, they are nonetheless of interest as evidence of how soon Volubilis acquired a municipal imperial cult - an indication of its advanced state of Romanization[31].

A final word on inscriptions. The term flamen for provincial imperial cult

23. BASSIGNANO (1974) p.351
24. FRÉZOULS (1966) p.241f
25. CHATELAIN (1944) p.145 ; KOTULA (1962) p.149 ; the editors of IAM at 448 (1982) ; FISHWICK (1987) p.288
26. FISHWICK (1987) p.289
27. KOTULA (1962) p.149
28. FISHWICK (1987) p.291 and note 57
29. FISHWICK (1987) p.291-293, although he admits that they need not necessarily have been elevated to provincial priestly offices even if these had been in existence.
30. KOTULA (1975) p.398-401. Note that Fishwick later argued that the concilium need not be situated at the capital city of a province ((1987) p.288 n.42).
31. KOTULA (1962) p.148

priests was used in Africa Proconsularis (where Vespasian did found the imperial cult) as well as in the Mauretaniae, whereas sacerdos was used for the same office in the Three Gauls and Britain where official worship of the emperor was introduced at an earlier stage. This fact was enlisted as support for Fishwick's argument that Vespasian instituted the Mauretanian provincial cult[32]. But it is far from decisive. In addition, Fishwick, asserting that flamines were priests of deified emperors only, wonders how such a cult could hope to elicit respect and obeisance towards the ruling princeps on the part of the rebellious Mauri tribes[33]. In fact, though, flamines were restricted to the worship of the deified emperors only at Rome. In Italy and the provinces this was not the case: a flamen is attested in Africa Proconsularis, for example, as early as 9/8BC[34].

The establishment of a provincial imperial cult was strictly linked to the creation of the provincial assemblies, or concilia, entrusted with that cult[35]. Kornemann[36] assumed that the Mauretaniae received their concilia at the time of the creation of the provinces of Caesariensis and Tingitana. Unfortunately, secure evidence for the concilia of the two Mauretaniae is sadly lacking. One fragmentary inscription (ILS 6871) attests the concilium of Mauretania Caesariensis. It cannot be dated with certainty, but appears to be from the second century AD or later[37]. The same goes for dedications made by (the concilium of) Mauretania Caesariensis to the Roman emperors[38]. Our only other possible evidence for a Mauretanian concilium comes from Tacitus, Ann. 14.28.2:

"Fine anni Vibius Secundus eques Romanus accusantibus Mauris repetundarum damnatur atque Italia exigitur...".

This concerned charges of extortion brought to the Roman senate by the 'Mauri' against the procurator L. Vibius Secundus in c.60AD[39]. Given that, in addition to their imperial cult duties, the provincial concilia customarily served as political representative bodies to defend the interests of the provincials, this statement of Tacitus has been taken as evidence of early corporate action taken by the concilium of Mauretania Caesariensis which would then have existed towards the end of Nero's reign, at the latest[40].

32. FISHWICK (1987) p.293
33. FISHWICK (1987) p.287f
34. AE1951,205. cf. LADAGE (1971) p.12, 38f, 48
35. cf. RIVES (1995) p.86: "From [12BC] imperial cult always served as the official raison d'être of provincial assemblies".
36. RE sv. concilium
37. KOTULA (1962) p.149f ; FISHWICK (1987) p.288
38. KOTULA (1962) p.151 ; FISHWICK (1978) p.1232 & (1987) p.288
39. cf. THOMASSON (1982) p.46 n.212
40. KOTULA (1962) p.151 ; DEININGER (1965) p.32, 132 ; KOTULA (1975) p.397 ; THOMASSON (1982) p.46

Fishwick argues that "accusantibus Mauris" could as easily refer to individuals or individual cities as a provincial council, and need not imply the existence of a concilium[41]. Kotula agrees with Fishwick in principle but believes that if Claudius did create the provincial cult in the Mauretaniae, we would be justified in expecting an action from the young concilium of Caesariensis under Nero, whose reign saw a long series of accusations de repetundis directed against provincial governors[42].

As a final argument, Fishwick claims that the case for Vespasian introducing the provincial cult into the Mauretaniae is strengthened by the fact that this emperor introduced such a cult into the three senatorial provinces of Africa Proconsularis, Gallia Narbonensis, and Baetica in the western Roman empire[43]. Vespasian, desirous of strengthening the position of the gens Flavia, certainly undertook considerable Romanization in the west, and Kotula has to agree that the Vespasianic period was a crucial stage for the stabilization and consolidation of Roman domination in North Africa. Nonetheless, he still doubts whether a Mauretanian provincial cult originated with this emperor. Instead, he believes that administrative reforms of the region, entrusted to Sex. Sentius Caecilianus (legatus Augusti pro praetore ordinandae utriusque Mauretaniae), resulted in the focus of Roman domination being shifted towards the south for better defence, and in Volubilis being established as the new political and religious capital of Mauretania Tingitana. In this context, the provincial cult, which had existed since Claudius, was reorganized under Vespasian and given a new location for the concilium at Volubilis[44]. This theory is indirectly supported by the fact that Vespasian appears to have regulated or expanded pre-existing provincial cults in other western provinces, apparently with the aim of standardizing the cult in the West[45]. Unfortunately, Kotula's theory about Vespasian's role in the Mauretanian provincial imperial cult still rests largely on ingenuity, with little documentary evidence in its favour.

In the final analysis, there is no direct proof for either Claudius or Vespasian being the orchestrator of a provincial cult in the Mauretaniae. All the theories mooted in the Fishwick versus Kotula debate remain inconclusive and we can probably only conclude that the provincial cult was introduced into these two provinces under Vespasian at the latest.

41. FISHWICK (1987) p.282-284
42. KOTULA (1975) p.397
43. FISHWICK (1987) p.293
44. KOTULA (1975) p.401-407
45. ILS 6964 preserves part of a law regulating the provincial cult of Narbonensis. cf. RIVES (1995) p.86

Although the initiative could come from the provincials themselves, provincial imperial cults had to be authorized by the emperor himself. This was probably because the concilium had such important political powers[46]. The institution, regulation and financing of a municipal imperial cult, on the other hand, was the sole responsibility of the relevant ordo decurionum[47]. The provincial concilium apparently exercised no direct control over municipal imperial cults[48]. In fact, the earliest known Mauretanian municipal cult may predate the establishment of the concilium: Icosium's cult was operative c.40AD[49]. This city only became a Latin colonia under Vespasian, proof that cultural and legal Romanization need not coincide. There is no evidence for any other pre-Claudian municipal imperial cults in the Mauretaniae but, given the fair number of veterans and their descendants in the region, it is not impossible that there were others.

For additional information about later municipal cults we need to move on to an analysis of the imperial cult in action in the Mauretaniae.

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46. RIVES (1995) p.90-92
47. RIVES (1995) p.33f, 39, 91
48. RIVES (1995) p.92-96
49. See below p.75

# THE IMPERIAL CULT IN THE ROMAN MAURETANIAE

In examining the imperial cult in the Mauretaniae, we are almost entirely dependent upon epigraphic evidence. Literary sources only mention the Mauretanian concilia at a late date[1], and few archeological survivals relate specifically to the imperial cult. Unfortunately, the epigraphic evidence alone can reveal only so much about the nature of the imperial cult. We are left with a good impression of who was responsible for the cult, and a fair idea of who subscribed to the ideology of the cult, but almost no knowledge about the practical functioning of the cult in the Mauretaniae. Nor is the available evidence sufficient to create a useful historical outline of the Mauretanian imperial cult : in most cases we do not know when the cult was introduced into cities, and the pattern of cult development (apart from only the broadest indications of growth or decline) lies beyond our reach.

## THE OFFICIAL MAURETANIAN IMPERIAL CULT

Rives[2] cautions against defining the imperial cult as 'official'. Although municipal imperial cults (together with cults of the Capitoline Triad) created a kind of collective religious identity for the empire at large, they were official in a symbolic and not a legal sense, because neither the central power of Rome nor the provincial concilia played a formal role in their establishment or enforcement[3]. Rome seems to have implicitly expected provincial cities, at least those of Roman status, to institute local imperial cults, and made available 'approved' models of the monuments, imperial portraits, sacrificial vows and calendar of festivals to be employed in these cults. But it was up to the elite of the local ordines to establish and promote local cults, which they were willing to do because, by acting as mediators between the supreme divine Roman authority and the local populations, their own positions of leadership within society were enhanced[4]. Bearing this in mind, let us examine the Mauretanian imperial cult in terms of its 'official' institutions, by which I mean those that were created on the authority of the municipal councils and whose sole function was the direct worship of the Roman emperors.

1. See below p. 76
2. RIVES (1995) p.96, 173 & passim
3. RIVES (1995) p.13, 96
4. RIVES (1995) p.62f, 76, 132

Flamines*

45 flamines and 9 flaminicae are known to us from the available epigraphic evidence for the Mauretaniae. As the chief priests responsible for the municipal imperial cults in the provinces, flamines and flaminicae[5] were elected by the decurions of the cities concerned from freeborn candidates who were generally Roman citizens or Romanized natives[6]. Only four of the Mauretanian flamines known to us appear to be of immediate African descent: Fabia Bira Izeltae f(ilia) and L. Caecilius Rufus Agilis f(ilius), both of whose fathers have indigenous surnames ; M. Gabinius Gellianus, whose daughter has the African cognomen of Babbus ; and M. Valerius Severus Bostaris f(ilius), whose father appears to have been of Punic origin.

The role of flamen entailed offering sacrifices in honour of the living princeps and the consecrated divi, organizing rituals for dies solemnes, presiding over festivals on imperial anniversaries, financing sacrifices and games, and maintaining temples and altars. Appointment to the flaminate brought with it certain honours, including the wearing of the toga praetexta, the allotment of specially-designated seats at official functions, and freedom from military service. Each city nominated a delegate for the annual provincial concilium[7], where a provincial flamen was elected who would be responsible for imperial cult practices at provincial level. The concilium also served an important political role by making known the wishes of the provincials by means of decrees and ambassadors sent to Rome, and voicing provincial opinion on local governors and other administrators. Because of the important nature of the position, provincial imperial priests were generally chosen from the most eminent provincial families who had contact with the central power at Rome[8]. The Mauretanian inscriptions reveal only a single flamen provinciae of Mauretania Caesariensis - Sextus Valerius Municeps, and two flaminicae provinciae of Mauretania Tingitana - Ocratiana and Flavia Germanilla. Of these,

* The title flamen, with or without the designation Aug(usti), is generally assumed to indicate a priest of the imperial cult although there were flamines of cults of other deities (cf. LADAGE (1971) p.11f, 42). On flamines in general, see ETIENNE (1958) ; LADAGE (1971) : BASSIGNANO (1974).

5. Flamen and flaminica were equivalent offices and the term flamen shall hereafter refer to both male and female priests. SEBAI((1990) p.657, 662) points out that flaminicae did not serve only the empresses.
6. Although the details of the election process remain largely unknown (cf. LADAGE (1971) p.72-78).
7. Such a delegate need not hold a municipal priesthood (BASSIGNANO (1974) p.372 ; RIVES (1995) p.93).
8. SEBAI (1990) p.656f

## TABLE I : FLAMINES ET FLAMINICAE MAURETANIAE*

| NAME & REFERENCE | LOCATION M=municipium C=colonia | TITLE pp=perpetuus | DATE C=century | OFFICES HELD: aedile | decurion | IIvir | IIvir qq. | quaestor | praefectus | other / status | PATRON | FAMILY TIES | DEDICATION | KNOWN AFRICAN DESCENT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Quintus Aelius Verecundus IAM 7 | Tingi(C) | Flamen coloniae | 2nd-3rd C.AD | | | X | | | | | X | | | |
| 2. Titus Aelius Longinus C9030 | Auzia(C) | Flamen pp. | 201AD | | | | | | | | X | | Imperial dedication | |
| 3. Marcus Aemilius Severus IAM 429, 504 | Volubilis (M) | Flamen municipii | 2nd-3rd C.AD | | X | X | | | | | | | | |
| 4. Lucius Annius Fabianus C9374 | Caesarea (C) | Flamen | End 1st-Beg. 2nd C.AD | X | | X | | | X | | | | | |
| 5. Lucius Annius Maximus Modestus C20706 | Rusuccuru (C) | Flaminicius | M. Aurelius-Caracalla | X | | X | | X | | eques | | | | |
| 6. Marcus Aurelius Clemens C8816 | Equizetum (M) | Flamen Aug. pp. | ? | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7. Fabia Bira IAM 342, 368, 439, 440 | Volubilis (M) | Flaminica prima in municipium | Claudius | | | | | | | | | (a) | To Ceres Aug. | x |
| 8. Lucius(?) Caecilius Caecilianus IAM 434 | Volubilis (M) | Flamen municipii | 1st-2nd C.AD | X | | X | | | | | | (b) | | |
| 9. Lucius Caecilius Rufus C9258 | Icosium (C) | Flamen | c.40AD | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| 10. Quintus Caecilius Plato IAM 438 | Volubilis (M) | Flamen municipii | 1st C.AD | X | | X | | | | | | (b) | | |
| 11. Titus Caecilius Honoratus AE1924,31 | Caesarea (C) | Ob honorem flaminatus | 2nd-3rd C.AD | | | | | | | | | | To Victoria Aug. | |
| 12. Lucius Cassius Restutus C20747 | Auzia (C) | Flamen pp. | 235AD | | X | | | | | veteran | | | Temple to Deae Bonae Valetudini Sanctae | |
| 13. Marcus Cincius Hilarianus C20934 | Between Tipasa | Flamen Aug. pp. | ? | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 14. Publius Cornelius Honoratus AE1955,158 | Icosium (C) | Flamen Auggg. pp. | 198-211AD[1] | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| 15. ..nius Cres... AE1976,761 | Saldae (C) | [Flamen] Aug. | 2nd-3rd C.AD | | X | X | X | | X | | | | | |

*. All information, except for those inscriptions published after 1974, is taken from BASSIGNANO (1974).
1. Geta was often considered as 'Augustus' in Africa from 198AD. cf.note to AE1982,975.

| NAME & REFERENCE | LOCATION M=municipium C=colonia | TITLE pp=perpetuus | DATE C=century | OFFICES HELD aedile | decurion | IIvir | IIvir qq. | quaestor | praefectus | other / status | PATRON | FAMILY TIES | DEDICATION | KNOWN AFRICAN DESCENT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 16. Caius Crescens C8461 | Sitifis (C) | Flamen | ? | | | | | | | Sacerdos Saturni | | | | |
| 17. Marcus Domitius Gentianus AE1890,42 (=C20708) | Rusuccuru (C) | Flamen Aug. nostri | M. Aurelius-Caracalla | | | | | | | Sacerdos Laurentium Lavinatium; eques | | | | |
| 18. Caius Egnatius Maximus C8807 | Lemellef (M) | Flamen pp. | ? | | | | | | | | | | Altar to Hercules | |
| 19. Caius Fulcinius Optatus C9663 | Cartenna (C) | Flamen Aug. | Hadrian | X | | X | X | X | | Augur; pontifex | | | To Optatus for action against the Baquates | |
| 20. Marcus Furnius Donatus C9195 | Rapidum (M) | Flamen pp. | 255-259AD | | | | | | X | Eques | | | To various deities & Vic. Caesss. | |
| 21. Marcus Gabinius Gellianus IAM 441 | Volubilis (M) | Flamen municipii | 2nd-3rd C.AD | | X | | | | | | | | | x |
| 22. Quintus Gargilius Martialis C20751 | Auzia (C) | Flamen pp. | c.230AD | | | | | | | Curator et dispunctor reip.; veteran | | | | |
| 23. Flavia Germanilla IAM 505 | Volubilis (M) | Flaminica provinciae | End 1st-Beg. 2nd C.AD | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 24. Luria Iulia C9074 | Auzia (C) | Flaminica pp. | 267AD | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 25. ... Iulius Clemens C21452 | Gunugu (C) | Flamen Aug. | 2nd-3rd C.AD | | | X | X | | | Tribunus ab ordine pagi Sal. | | | | |
| 26. Caius Iulius Felix C8995 | Rusuccuru (C) | Flamen Auggg. | 198-211AD | | X | X | X | | X | Augur pp. | | (c) | To Genius Mun. Rus. | |
| 27. Caius Iulius Felix (jnr.) AE1890,40 (=C20714) | Rusuccuru (C) | Flamen Auggg. | 198-211AD | | | X | X | | X | Augur pp. | X | (c) | | |
| 28. Caius Iunius Iu[...] Sen(ior) IAM 507 | Volubilis (M) | Flamen | ? | | | X | | X | | | | | | |
| 29. Caius Iulius Honoratus C8835 | Tubusuctu (C) | Ex summa honoris flamoni | 195AD | | | | | | | | | | Imperial dedication | |
| 30. Caius Iulius Honorius AE1922,23 | Sitifis (C) | [Flamen] pp. | 311AD | | | | | | | Sacerdotalis; curator reip. | | | | |
| 31. Caius Iulius Sodalis C20209 | El-Abiod (Maur. Sitif.) | Flamen pp. | 2nd-3rd C.AD | | | X | | X | | Triumvir | | | | |
| 32. Caius Iulius Valens AE1958,134 | Tipasa (C) | Flaminalis vir | 2nd C.AD (pre-Severan) | | | | | | | Sacerdos Urbis Romae | X | | | |
| 33. Marcus Iunius Modestus C9404 | Caesarea (C) | Flamen Aug. | 2nd-3rd C.AD | X | | X | | | | | | | | |
| 34. Quintus Iun[ius] AE1952,99 | Caesarea (C) | [Flamen] Augu[stalis] | 2nd-3rd C.AD | X | | | | | | | | | | |

| NAME & REFERENCE | LOCATION M=municipium C=colonia | TITLE pp=perpetuus | DATE C=century | OFFICES HELD aedile | decurion | IIvir | IIvir qq. | quaestor | praefectus | other / status | PATRON | FAMILY TIES | DEDICATION | KNOWN AFRICAN DESCENT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 35. Caecilia Macrina IAM 131 | Banasa (C) | Flaminica | ? | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 36. Lucius Marcius Ferox AE1982,975 | Tipasa (C) | Flamen Auggg. | 198-211AD | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 37. Lucius Marcius Sp. Victor C20651 | Tubusuctu (C) | Flamen | 3rd C.AD | X | X | X | | | | A militiis | | | | |
| 38. Sextus Marcius Marcianus AE1898,99 | Caesarea (C) | Flaminalis vir pp.[2] | 2nd-3rd C.AD | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 39. Publius Marius Honoratus AE1976,751 | Gunugu (C) | [Fla]m(en) Aug. | 2nd-3rd C.AD | X | | X | | | | | | | | |
| 40. Iulia Maximilla C9403 | Caesarea (C) | Fl(aminica?) | ? | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 41. ... Memmius Florus AE1937,57 | Thamallula (poss. M)[3] | Flaminalis | After 161AD | | | | | | | E(gregius) V(ir) | | (d) | | |
| 42. Quintus Memmius Rufus AE1937,57 | Thamallula (poss. M) | [Flaminalis] | After 161AD | | | | | | | E(gregius) V(ir) | | (d) | | |
| 43. Ocratiana IAM 443 | Volubilis (M) | Flaminica provinciae | End 1st C.AD | | | | | | | | | (a) | | |
| 44. Publius Octavius Laetus C8496 | Sitifis (C) | Flamen Auggg. pp. | 198-211AD | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 45. [Rusti]cillae (?) IAM 595 | Volubilis (M) | Fl(aminicae?) | 3rd C.AD (?) | | | | | | | | | | To Isis (?) | |
| 46. Aemilia Sextina IAM 430 | Volubilis (M) | Bis flaminica | Beg.2nd C.AD | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 47. Caius Statulenius Martialis C8389 | Satafis (M) | Flamen pp. | ? | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 48. Caius Stertinius Donatus C8807 | Lemellef (M) | Flamen pp. | ? | | | | | | | | | | Altar to Hercules | |
| 49. Marcus Ulpius Andronicus C8439 | Sitifis (C) | Flamen | 2nd-3rd C.AD | X | | X | X | X | | | | | Altar to Mars Victor | |
| 50. Marcus Valerius Severus IAM 448 | Volubilis (M) | Flamen primus in municipium | Claudius | X | | X | | | X | Sufetes | | (a) | | x |
| 51. Quintus Valerius Rogatus C9773 | Portus Magnus (Opp. civ. Rom.) | Flamen | 2nd-3rd C.AD | X | | X | X | | | | | | | |
| 52. Sextus Valerius Municeps C9409=21066 | Caesarea (C) | Flamen provinciae | 2nd-3rd C.AD Prob. pre250 | | | | | | | Eques; poss. member of Liber Pater cult | X | | | |
| 53. Anonymous C21067 | Caesarea (C) | (F)laminica | ? | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 54. Anonymous C20579 | Thamallula (poss. M) | Flamen Auggg. pp. | 198-211AD | | | | | | | | | | | |

2. Possible provincial flaminate. cf.BASSIGNANO (1974) p.351 n.14
3. cf. BASSIGNANO (1974) p.343f

we know that the Valerii and Ocratii were among the most illustrious families in the region, and Flavia Germanilla almost certainly belonged to a wealthy, noble Volubilitan family[9].

Because the flaminate was independent of the municipal cursus honorum, no other priesthood or magistracy was a prerequisite for the holding of an imperial priesthood[10]. Nevertheless, many flamines occupied civil magisterial posts either before or after their priesthoods[11]. A significant number of the Mauretanian flamines served as duumviri, decuriones, aediles or other high-ranking municipal officials at one time or another.

Upon accession to office, flamines had to pay a summa honoraria to the municipal aerarium[12]. During their term of office, they were responsible for the financing of imperial cult sacrifices, games and temple-maintenance. In addition, candidates for the priesthood usually promised to sponsor specific projects in the future such as games or building works, the so-called pollicitatio, which was originally voluntary but later assumed the character of a moral obligation[13]. Additional spontaneous financial outlays for feasts, donations to colleges, and the like, were also often made by the imperial cult priests. The appointment as flamen therefore brought with it a heavy financial burden, and for this reason flamines were usually chosen only from wealthy inhabitants of the cities[14]. In the Mauretaniae, for instance, six of the flamines listed have the status of patronus which, by definition, required considerable economic resources.

Because wealth was one of the most important criteria in the selection of flamines, the imperial priesthoods had a tendency to develop into urban oligarchies, often monopolized by a few noble families in any one city[15]. This is evident in Volubilis: Fabia Bira is married to M. Valerius Severus from whom Ocratina's husband M. Valerius Sassius Pudens almost certainly

9. SEBAI (1990) p.656 & passim. cf. FRÉZOULS (1966) p.233-248
10. LADAGE (1971) p.6, 92 contra ETIENNE (1958) who presumes that priests were elected from ex-magistrates.
11. The exact chronology of civil and religious posts is often difficult to establish because the two categories are often kept separate and not listed consecutively in a cursus, and also because there was no interdependent hierarchy between the two (BASSIGNANO (1974) p.371). As for status, flamines were considered to hold the same rank as decuriones at public functions (LADAGE (1971) p.89f, 102).
12. cf. DUNCAN-JONES (1974) p.82-88. Summae for flamines were the highest of all.
13. JACQUES (1984) p.690
14. ETIENNE (1958) p.161f, 246. cf. LE GLAY (1990) p.85 who points out that financing for Roman African cities is made ob honorem flaminatus in more than fifty percent of cases. Provincial priesthoods would naturally have entailed expenses on an even larger scale.
15. LADAGE (1971) p.99f ; BASSIGNANO (1974) p.375,377 ; SEBAI (1990) p.655

descends, while Q. Caecilius Plato is a descendant of L. Caecilius Caecilianus[16]. It is clear that the Valerii and Caecilii constituted 'priestly' families who played an on-going role in the religious life of the city. Further evidence of the de facto hereditary nature of the flaminate comes from Thamallula where the priests Q. Memmius Rufus and ? Memmius Florus were father and son, and from Rusuccuru where Caius Iulius Felix senior and Caius Iulius Felix junior number among the flamines.[17]

The narrow 'oligarchic' aspect of the flaminate has led R.M. Cid-Lopez[18] to challenge the viewpoint assumed by most other scholars that flamines probably held office for one year only[19]. Cid-Lopez favours a theory of 'long-term' flaminates[20] and her arguments against an annual flaminate include the fact that flamines qualified specifically as annui are exceptionally rare, as well as the suggestion that annual summae for priests would sorely tax, if not ruin, the few wealthy families of each city who were invariably called upon to fill these posts. Cid-Lopez quotes in support of her theory the inscription IAM 430 where bis flaminica is taken to refer to a priesthood held for two consecutive years. However, the same inscription is quoted by Sebai[21] who believes it supports a theory of annuality precisely because it specifies a second term.

Cid-Lopez is right in assuming that the priestly financial requirements were particularly demanding. Immunity from munera personalia in fact constituted one of the most important privileges which could be granted to a flamen[22]. This is why it is the long-established, flourishing urban centres which account for the majority of flamines - cities such as Volubilis and Caesarea, dating from the royal period of the Mauretaniae and long centres of Romanized African nobility. The flaminate became compulsory from the late third century AD, doubtless as a result of the economic pressures attendant on the office[23].

16. SEBAI (1990) p.656, 667
17. cf. BASSIGNANO (1974) p.344
18. CID-LOPEZ (1988) p.157-164
19. For an overview of the varying academic opinions on the length of tenure of the flaminate, as well as the variant titles of these priests, see BASSIGNANO (1974) p.9-21.
20. Not to be confused with flamines perpetui whom Cid-Lopez does not dispute to have been certain flamines allowed to retain the outward insignia and privileges of the flaminate after having vacated the actual office.
21. SEBAI (1990) p.667
22. GAGÉ (1971) p.168 ; LADAGE (1971) p.112
23. Expenses would have increased as did the number of divi whose anniversaries had to be celebrated (RIVES (1995) p.59f). cf. LADAGE (1971) p.119f.

If Cid-Lopez' theory were correct, such evidence of financial resources becoming exhausted would surely be lacking, and we would also expect to find flamines in many more of the smaller African towns. On the contrary, the evidence as it stands suggests that the flaminate was an annual office. City economies stood to benefit from the frequent transference of priestly posts, and it is doubtful whether the municipal curiae would have been content with a system which provided them with only periodic summae honorariae.

Seviri Augustales*

Members of these priestly colleges were officially elected by the municipal decurions and probably held office for one year. Most were of freedman status: all but two of our Mauretanian seviri are qualified as liberti, and the sevirate was in fact the highest rank attainable by this class[24]. Though unquestionably involved in the imperial cult, the exact nature of their contribution remains obscure. It would seem that the seviri played a role in sacrificial rites performed before the imperial images on important anniversaries, but were mainly involved in providing games, epulae and statues in honour of the principes, and assisting with the building and embellishment of sanctuaries. It has also been suggested that they served the cult of the Genius or Numen Augusti or that they may have supervised the cult of the Lares Augusti[25]. The inscriptions for the Mauretanian seviri reveal at least one certain function of this priesthood - official worship of the Augustan deities. Only one of our inscriptions is a direct imperial dedication, the others are dedications to Augustan gods made ob honorem seviratus. In Africa, the sevirate was never widespread, the reason being that the municipal curiae may have assumed most of their functions of propagating the imperial cult[26].

Seviri had the right to certain privileges and insignia: the wearing of the toga praetexta, the designation of special seats in the theatre, the right to

* See in general LADAGE (1971) ; DUTHOY (1978) ; FISHWICK (1991) p.609-616

24. LADAGE (1971) p.27

25. Thus TAYLOR (1931) p.185-191 ; ETIENNE (1958) p.281 ; ALBERTINI (1970) p.160 but DUTHOY (1978) p.1298f and FISHWICK (1991) p.611 exclude the Genius/Numen connection. On the functions of the seviri in general, see DUTHOY (1978) p.1267f, 1298-1305.

26. LADAGE (1971) p.28 ; KOTULA (1984) p.345-357. There is minimal evidence for municipal curiae in the Mauretaniae which in fact provide the highest number of seviri among the African provinces (cf. KOTULA (1968) p.42 & (1984) p.355).

## TABLE II : SEVIRI AUGUSTALES*

| NAME AND REFERENCE | LOCATION[1] | FREEDMAN | DEDICATION | DATE | OTHER |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. [A]ntonius [H]ermes IAM 2 | Tingi (C) | | To Spes Aug. | ? | |
| 2. Lucius Antonius Charito IAM 86 | Banasa (C) | x | To Isis Aug. | ? | |
| 3. Marcus Terentius Primulus IAM 88 | Banasa (C) | x | To Minerva Aug. | ? | |
| 4. [Ael]ius Seimo IAM 130 | Banasa (C) | x | - | ? | Possible Jewish or Illyrian origin. |
| 5. [Post]umius Octavianus IAM 310 | Sala (C?[2]) | | - | ? | |
| 6. ...s A[ti]met[us]? IAM 72 | Lixus (C) | x | - | ? | |
| 7. [Lucius] Caecilius Felix IAM 352 | Volubilis (M) | x | To Isis Aug. | ? | |
| 8. Lucius Annius Matun IAM 379 | Volubilis (M) | x | 'Divo Antonino Pio' | [Shortly?] after 161AD | Probable Punic origin. |
| 9. Lucius Caecilius Vitalis IAM 367 | Volubilis (M) | x | To Venus Aug. | ? | |
| 10. Sextus Iulius Epictetus IAM 345 | Volubilis (M) | x | To Diana Aug. | Pre-3rd C. AD | Possible connection[3] |
| 11. [Sextus Iulius] Primus AE1987,1097(=IAM392) | Volubilis (M) | x | - | ? | |

* All these inscriptions are dedicated ob honorem seviratus except no.6 which reads "[Au]gust[alis] ob honorem".
cf. in general VITA-EVRARD (1987) p.208-213 for new perspectives on these inscriptions.

1. C=colonia M=municipium
2. cf. GASCOU (1982) p.310
3. cf. VITA-EVRARD (1987) p.213

be accompanied by lictors carrying fasces, the possible grant of ornamenta decurionalia or aedilicii honores, et cetera. But, like the flaminate, these honours came at a high price - seviri Augustales were also obliged to pay a summa honoraria upon taking office, albeit a smaller sum than that required for the flaminate. By providing games and feasts, and helping to finance not only religious but also purely civic building projects and repairs, the seviri came to be regarded as benefactors by their respective cities. It is likely that these expenses later became obligatory[27]. For this reason, it was again only wealthy individuals who could be considered for the post of sevir. It is also evident that seviri are especially numerous in prosperous, favourably-situated trading cities, such as Tingi, Banasa and Volubilis in the Mauretaniae.

Requirements of wealth inevitably created monopolies in the sevirate much like those in evidence in the flaminate. Di Vita-Evrard[28] has established a link between Sex. Iulius Primus and the freedman Sex. Iulius Epictetus, himself the freedman of one Sex. Iulius Primigenius - "tous ces personnages constituant les maillons d'une chaîne d'affranchis sevirs". By virtue of their wealth, official rank and honorific insignia, the seviri Augustales developed a sense of pride and class consciousness. As the decurions entered the ordo decurionum after their magistracy, thereby perpetuating their prestige, so gradually an unofficial ordo sevirum Augustalium was formed, creating a sort of elite middle class, ranking between the decurions and the plebs[29].

Institutions of Augustales disappear in the second half of the third century AD, probably because the economic crises of the time destroyed the prosperity and flourishing urban life necessary for the presence of a numerous class of wealthy freedmen.

## Cultores

The only other imperial cult officials in evidence in the Mauretaniae are the cultores Augusti of Volubilis. The relevant inscriptions consist of IAM 377, referring to a temple constructed in 158AD by the cultores domus Aug(ustae) or Aug(usti), and IAM 490-494, fragmentary blocks bearing the names of cultores August(i) or August(orum) which di Vita-Evrard has combined into a single table (=AE1987,1096) and which she believes may have come from the same temple area as IAM 377[30]. Most of the cognomina of these cultores show them to be freedmen,

27. DUTHOY (1978) p.1267
28. VITA-EVRARD (1987) p.213
29. ETIENNE (1958) p.281 ; LADAGE (1971) p.31f, 88 ; DUTHOY (1978) p.1272
30. VITA-EVRARD (1987) p.210-213

## TABLE III : CULTORES AUGUSTI

| INSCRIPTION | LOCATION | DATE | CONTENT |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. IAM 377 | Volubilis | 157-158AD | Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) T(ito) Ael(io) Hadriano ... cultores domus Aug(ustae) area privatam emptam templum cum porticibus a solo sua pecunia fecerunt et statuam posuerunt ... |
| 2. AE1987,1096 (=IAM 490-494) | Volubilis | c.160AD(?) | Cultor(es August(i/orum)<br>Iul(ii) Narcissi, Iul(ii) Nasser[is]<br>[..]rius // C [..] Papi<br>Val(erius) Hermes, Iunius Ajax fecerunt<br>Ges(sii) Gemelli, Semp(ronii) Ursuli,<br>Cl(audii) Balbini, Sex(ti) Iuli(i) Epicteti cum<br>Primo, M(arci) Anni(i) Heutycetis<br>lib(erto)<br>[...] Lucifer, Clau(dius) Sarpedo<br>Val(erius) Gandoro, Ant(onius) Apollinaris,<br>Crass(inius?) Imitatus, Fab(ius) Bocros |

and include one non-Latin cognomen (Nasser[is]) and one African (Bocros). Of interest is the fact that one of the cultores, Sex. Iulius Epictetus, is apparently the same person as the sevir of IAM 345. This led di Vita-Evrard to conclude that the seviri may in fact have been recruited from among the most distinguished of the cultores[31].

The nature of the cult practised by the cultores in Volubilis is unspecified, but elsewhere in the empire cultores carried imperial imagines in processions and made supplications of wine and incense on imperial anniversaries, among other things. Although they were self-created, not appointed by the city councils, and apparently served a cult apart from the official municipal cult, the cultores of Volubilis nonetheless seem to have acquired a semi-official status in this city: their temple is inaugurated by the procurator of Mauretania Tingitana, and the monumental nature of their inscriptions points to a cult of public, institutionalized character[32]. The involvement of the procurator, who had no particular religious authority, would have emphasized the Volubilitans' identification with the central power in Rome, and lent greater prestige to the undertaking[33].

Temples and ritual

We are ill-informed about the location and description of physical places of worship for the imperial cult in the Mauretaniae. Scant information can be gleaned from the numismatic and epigraphic evidence. Coins from the pre-Roman royal period, for instance, verify the existence of imperial cult temples in Caesarea[34], while IAM 377 reveals that the Volubilitan cultores domus Augustae built a templum cum porticibus here in 158AD, presumably to serve the imperial cult[35]. And in Altava, a temple was dedicated to Elagabalus by the possessores Altavenses in 221AD (AE1985,976). But insight into the remainder of Mauretanian imperial cult temples eludes us because, archaeologically, although a temple is usually identifiable as such, it is not so easy to determine whether it was designed for the imperial cult or for the cult of some other deity[36]. As for

31. VITA-EVRARD (1987) p.210-213
32. VITA-EVRARD (1987) p.208 n.71, with reference to J.M. Santero's theory (Athenaeum 61(1983) non vidi) that in time, private colleges disappeared in favour of (semi-)official colleges controlled by municipal administrations.
33. cf. RIVES (1995) p.78, 83
34. See above p.60
35. IAM 503 ([templum? divi]nae domu[s... respublica V]olubilitan(orum) [vetustate con]lapsum...) may refer to the same, or another Volubilitan, temple.
36. PENSABENE (1994) p.163f, 168

official imperial cult ritual, the literary evidence is as unenlightening as the material remains, and we can only assume that the processes of the Mauretanian cult were similar to those which have been empirically substantiated for other parts of the empire, such as performing sacrifices, building and maintaining imperial cult sanctuaries, and organizing processions and festivals.

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The relevance of the evidence for Mauretanian priesthoods is threefold. Firstly, as cult officials are found almost exclusively within Roman municipal contexts, it would appear that the imperial cult made few inroads into local non-Roman communities. The 54 Mauretanian flamines and flaminicae known to us are distributed among 12 coloniae, 6 municipia, 1 oppidum civium Romanorum, and 1 civitas situated between a colonia and a municipium. The last of these, the civitas of El-Abiod, is the only one which may be considered a truly peregrine community, yet even here Roman-style decurions were in evidence (cf. C 20208), suggesting that the civitas was Romanized at least to the extent of imitating Roman administrative structures. Whatever the case may be, the flamen in question, C. Iulius Sodalis, may in any event have exercised his priesthood in the Cirta confederation and not in Mauretania Caesariensis itself[37]. Moreover, those flamines, seviri and cultores with non-Latin cognomina, or specified to be of African (Punic or Berber) descent, are in the minority, comprising only six of all the officials listed and five of these originate from Volubilis - a city subjected to Roman influence since the time of Juba and Ptolemy and in which any local Africans were likely to have become fairly Romanized by the first century AD[38]. Naturally, we cannot exclude the possibility of African birth or ancestry for priests with Latin names only. But if we consider that advertising one's African origins had become a matter of prestige during the course of the second century AD[39], it is surprising that the onomastics of the imperial cult priests reveal so few African connections.

37. BASSIGNANO (1974) p.345
38. cf. BASSIGNANO (1974) p.364f
39. BENABOU (1976a) p.370-373 ; LASSÈRE (1977) p.455-459 ; RIVES (1995) p.162

Secondly, our evidence suggests that municipal Romanization, at least in the form of the imperial cult, was not imposed from above. Most of the Mauretanian cult inscriptions date from the second and third centuries AD, long after the heyday of Roman colonization and municipal promotions in the region, which had peaked with Claudius. The implication is that municipal imperial cults did not originate with legal Romanization, but rather developed at their own pace as determined by local autonomous initiative[40], an initiative which came, above all, from the local elite who, by participating in the imperial cult, could "locate themselves in the hierarchy of imperial power"[41]. Which is not to say that the elite acted simply as Roman 'agents'. They followed an agenda to suit their own interests which, happily, happened to coincide with that of the central government[42]. The fact that the locals fostered a Roman religious identity, part of which was the imperial cult, of their own accord, relieved the central Roman government from having to impose an official public religion on provincial cities[43].

The imperial cult, then, was not a Romanizing tool controlled by the Roman government. There were no imperial designs to institute municipal cults as early as possible into local communities as a means of promoting their Romanization. On the contrary, the cities which had municipal imperial cults by the first century AD - Caesarea, Volubilis, and the Augustan military colony of Cartennae - were already highly Romanized communities. Even Icosium, which has yielded epigraphic evidence for the earliest known Mauretanian flamen, L. Caecilius Rufus (c.40AD), was Romanized from an early stage and probably had a conventus civium Romanorum as early as 33-25BC[44]. Such an early institution of the imperial cult was probably motivated by the desire to demonstrate local loyalty towards Rome, or enhance the community's chances of acquiring the sought-after status of Roman municipium or colonia[45].

Thirdly, the evidence for the Mauretanian priesthoods provides an indication that the imperial cult here was more politically than religiously inspired. The real attraction of the priesthoods lay in the honours and political opportunities which the offices brought with them[46]. From Constantine

40. ETIENNE (1958) p.250 ; SEBAI (1990) p.658
41. RIVES (1995) p.112
42. RIVES (1995) p.169f. Many members of the provincial elite also patronized traditional indigenous cults as well as Roman cults, a reflection of their dual affiliation to their native patria as well as to Rome (cf. RIVES (1995) p.149-153, 170).
43. RIVES (1995) p.97f
44. GASCOU (1982) p.160f
45. cf. BASSIGNANO (1974) p.373
46. LADAGE (1971) p.101 ; BASSIGNANO (1974) p.377

onwards, municipal flamines were expressly granted the rank of honestiores[47]. For women and freedmen, the flaminate and sevirate respectively offered their only opportunity to participate in the official municipal life of the city[48]. This elitist nature of the imperial priesthoods catered more for local ambition than religious piety, which is little in evidence in the epigraphic material. Only a handful of the Mauretanian inscriptions include imperial dedications. Most are erected in the priests' private capacity[49] - the personal status of the priests, or the social and economic dimensions of their activities, are more in evidence than any worship of the emperor[50]. Even the munera had a silver lining, as they advertised the social status of the donors who often received reciprocal recognition in the form of statues or special honours granted by the city[51].

But the clearest evidence for the political nature of the imperial cult priesthoods comes from the history of their later development. Seviri fell into abeyance in the third century AD already, but North African flamines are known up to the sixth century AD[52]. The provincial concilium of Mauretania Caesariensis is in evidence in 304AD[53] and that of Mauretania Sitifiensis is still in existence in 445AD[54]. The fact that Christian flamines are known from Africa Proconsularis in the fifth century AD proves that they had lost all religious significance and were allowed to continue to exist (with the removal of any overtly anti-Christian rituals) only because they were on the one hand a useful tool for focusing loyalty on the emperors and, later, the Vandal kings, and on the other hand because it would be dangerous to deprive the provincial upper classes of important privileges guaranteed them through the flaminate[55]. In similar vein, the long duration of the provincial concilia owed more to their political usefulness than to their religious significance[56].

47. LADAGE (1971) p.101 ; BASSIGNANO (1974) p.373
48. ETIENNE (1958) p.281 ; KOTULA (1984) p.352. cf. LADAGE (1971) p.116f ; DUTHOY (1978) p.1294 ; FISHWICK (1991) p.616
49. Including, according to DUTHOY ((1978) p.1297), those made ob honorem seviratus.
50. cf. DUTHOY (1978) p.1295f, 1305 ; FISHWICK (1991) p.616 ; RIVES (1995) p.179
51. GAGÉ (1971) p.166 ; LE GLAY (1990) p.83f. cf. DUTHOY (1978) p.1301
52. Albeit not in the Mauretaniae themselves.
53. DEININGER (1965) p.132 and note 11 ; CHASTAGNOL & DUVAL (1974) p.112 and note 76
54. CHASTAGNOL & DUVAL (1974) p.112 and note 76
55. LADAGE (1971) p.65, 122f, 125 ; BASSIGNANO (1974) p.20 ; CHASTAGNOL & DUVAL (1974) p.109f, 118
56. CHASTAGNOL & DUVAL (1974) p.110f, 115

## ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE FOR THE MAURETANIAN IMPERIAL CULT

The provincial and municipal imperial cults were therefore politicized to some extent, and represented only a narrow, elite, specifically urban form of Romanization. Did 'unofficial', or private, emperor worship in the Mauretaniae provide for broader participation and greater religious expression? This can of course never be satisfactorily answered because evidence concerning the cult practices of the illiterate man on the street is almost completely lacking. What we can examine, outside of the boundaries of the imperial cult proper, are the Latin inscriptions concerning the genius and numen of the Roman emperors, as well as dedications made to Augustan deities and those made pro salute imperatoris, which will at least assist both in understanding the nature of the imperial cult as practised by the 'Romanized' inhabitants of the Mauretaniae, as well as in assessing how extensive or pervasive these aspects of Romanization were in this area of North Africa.

### Numen

The concept of numen made an official entrance into the sphere of the imperial cult with the dedication by Tiberius of the Ara Numinis Augusti at Narbo in 12AD (C XII.4333). Considerable debate has arisen in the attempt to define the nature of this imperial numen which was subsequently attributed to Augustus' successors. Beaudouin[57], Pippidi[58] and others equated numen to genius, the attendant divine spirit which every man had and to which he could make offerings, but which did not make him a god. Toutain[59], on the other hand, argued that numen was a separate entity, an abstract concept as opposed to the anthropomorphic genii and one which was applied only to deities. Veneration of the imperial numen was therefore no less than a "veritable culte de l'empereur vivant"[60]. Most later scholars likewise separate genius from numen: Fishwick[61], for example, points out that certain inscriptions are dedicated to the genius as well as to the numen of the same individual. But many also reject the outright equation of numen=god. In the light of the historical development of the word, numen can best be defined as that property of a god, resulting from the possession of power, which allows him to manifest his efficacy[62].

57. M.E. BEAUDOUIN, Le culte des empereurs dans les cités de la Gaule Narbonaise (1891) p.20f (non vidi).
58. PIPPIDI (1931) p.104, 109f
59. J. TOUTAIN, Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain I (1905-1907) p.52f (non vidi)
60. J. TOUTAIN, loc. cit.
61. FISHWICK (1991) p.381
62. FISHWICK (1991) p.383f

In other words, numen is the sacred force or divine will of a god[63], as evidenced by his power and as actively expressed through his actions[64]. According to Pötscher[65] this means that numen Augusti can be understood either as the active expression of the 'divine' within Augustus, or as the working of the gods in and through Augustus. Fishwick[66], though, rejects the first of these possibilities, arguing that numen must be understood not as the conferring of divine nature upon Augustus but as the working of divinity through the agency of the human emperor.

The close link between numen and the exercise of power - in Varro's words "numen dicunt esse imperium"[67] - may partially explain how numen came to be attributed to individuals and human concepts in addition to gods[68]. Cicero, for instance, credits the Roman senate and people with numen[69], but this does not mean that they were gods. Nevertheless, numen was pre-eminently the quality of a god, and imperial numen is surely to be interpreted in this sense of divine power, especially as the likelihood of the Roman emperors possessing such divine power was automatically increased by virtue of their descent from the divi[70]. In the final analysis, though, most subjects in the Roman empire were surely unable to make the subtle distinction between the imperial numen and the person of the princeps[71].

References to the imperial numen in Mauretanian inscriptions appear almost exclusively as part of the formula devotus numini maiestatique eius, commonly abbreviated, after the mid-third century AD, to DNMQE[72]. There are only two exceptions which are dedicated directly to Numini Augusti. One of these is doubtful - numini in C.8930 is reconstituted from a complete lacuna. The other, from Lemellef (C.8808), is too brief to be very informative. We know of two flamines perpetui from Lemellef, which proves the existence of an official municipal cult here, but none of the Lemellef inscriptions can be dated. Nonetheless, C.8808 is invaluable simply as proof that there was a direct worship of the imperial numen in the Mauretaniae.

63. Though, by metonymy, numen could also be used to denote the god himself at times (FISHWICK (1991) p.383f)
64. cf. PÖTSCHER (1978) p.357-374
65. PÖTSCHER (1978) p.391
66. FISHWICK (1978) p.1252 & (1991) p.387
67. Ling. 7.85
68. cf. PIPPIDI (1931) p.97ff ; BOYANCÉ (1972) p.4
69. Phil. 3.32
70. cf. ETIENNE (1958) p.308f ; FISHWICK (1991) p.383
71. J. TOUTAIN, Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain I (1905-1907) p.53 (non vidi)
72. cf. GUNDEL (1953) p.137

## TABLE IV : DNMQE INSCRIPTIONS*

| INSCRIPTION & LOCATION | TO WHOM DEDICATED | DATE | DEDICATOR | FORMULA |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Banasa: | | | | |
| 1. IAM 103 | Decius | 249-251AD | Respublica Banasitana | [devota numini maiestatiq(ue) eius] |
| 2. IAM 104 | Claudius II, or Carus, or Carinus | 269-270AD, or 282-283AD, or 283-285AD | Respublica Banasitana | devota numini maiestatiq(ue) eius |
| 3. IAM 106 | Aurelian & Ulpia Severina | 274-275AD | Respublica Banasitana | devota numini maiestatiq(ue) eorum |
| 4. IAM 107 | ? | ? | Respublica Banasitana | [devota] nu[mini] |
| 5. AE1985,989[b] (=IAM 108) | ? | 250-278AD | Flavius Ingenianus procurator | devotus nu[mi]ni maiestati[que e]ius |
| 6. IAM 116 | ? | ? | Respublica Banasitana | [de]vota [numini maiestatique e]iu[s]? |
| 7. IAM 117 | ? | ? | Respublica Bansitana | [devota n]um[ini] |
| 8. IAM 121 | Valerianus | 253-259AD | Respublica Banasitana | [devota n]u[mini]? |
| 9. IAM 122 | ? | ? | Respublica Banasitana | [devota num]in. mai[estatique] |
| 10. IAM 123 | ? | ? | Respublica Banasitana | dev[ota]? |
| 11. IAM 124 | ? | ? | Respublica Banasitana | de[vota nu]mini [maiestatique? e]iius |
| Volubilis: | | | | |
| 12. IAM 383 | M.Aurelius & L. Verus | 168-169AD | [Volubilitani][1] | [numini eorum] |

* This list does not claim to be exhaustive but includes, to the best of my knowledge, all the relevant inscriptions from CIL, AE and IAM.

1. cf. VITA-EVRARD (1987) p.220

| INSCRIPTION & LOCATION | TO WHOM DEDICATED | DATE | DEDICATOR * | FORMULA |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13. IAM 390 and IAM 391[2] | Caracalla & Iulia Augusta<br>" | 216-217AD<br>" | Respublica Volubilitanorum<br>" | [d]evotissimo nu[min]i eius<br>devo[tissimo numini eiu]s |
| 14. IAM 396 | Elagabalus | 219AD | Respublica Volubilitanorum | devota numini eiius |
| 15. IAM 398 | Iulia Soaemias | 218-222AD | Respublica Volubilitanorum | devota numini eiius |
| 16. IAM 400 | Annia Faustina | 221-222AD | Respublica Volubilitanorum | devotissima numini eorum |
| 17. IAM 403 | Iulia Mamaea | 222-235AD | Respublica Volubilitanorum | devotissima numini eiu[s] |
| Zilil: | | | | |
| 18. AE1987,1128 | Septimius Severus & Caracalla | 199-211AD | Respublica Zilitanorum | numini eorum devotissima |
| 19. AE1987,1129 | Diadumenian | 217-218AD | Colonia Constantia | devotissima numini eius |
| Auzia: | | | | |
| 20. C9040 | Valerianus & Gallienus, or Aurelian[3] | 255AD<br>271-272AD | [provincia?] | [dev]ota ... numinibus |
| 21. C9041 | Diocletian & Maximian | 290AD | ? | [iub]ente divina ma[ie]state |
| Caesarea: | | | | |
| 22. C9354 | Severus Alexander | 227AD | Eqq. singulares[4] | [devot]i numini maie[stati]que eius |
| 23. C9355 | Orbiana | 224-235AD | Eqq. singulares[4] | devoti [n]umini maiestatique eius |
| 24. C20989 | Maxentius | 307-312AD | Val. Faustus v.p.p.p. Maur. Caes. | devotus numini maiestatique eius |

* v.p.p.p. = vir perfectissimus praeses provinciae

2. Triumphal arch, "dedicante M. Aurellio Sebastens proc. Aug."
3. Contra the given CIL date of 272AD, DEININGER((1970) p.121-124) argues for Valerianus and Gallienus on the premise that the plural numinibus must apply to more than one emperor, a premise supported by FISHWICK (1991) p.397ff
4. "curante Licinio Hieroclete proc. praeside prov."

| INSCRIPTION & LOCATION | TO WHOM DEDICATED | DATE | DEDICATOR* | FORMULA |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Saldae: | | | | |
| 25. C8930 | Caracalla | 213-217AD | [provincia] Maur. Caes. | [Numini] Augusti |
| 26. C8932 | Constantius II | 337-361AD | Flavius Terentianus v.p. praeses prov. Maur. Caes. et Sitifensis | devotus numini maiestatique eius |
| Sitifis: | | | | |
| 27. C8474 | Diocletian | 287-288AD | Flavius Pecuarius v.p. praeses prov. Maur. Caes. | devotus numini maiestatique eius |
| 28. C8476 | Constantine | 316AD | Septimius Flavianus v.p.p.p. M.S. | num(ini) maiestatiq(ue) eius |
| 29. C8477 | Constantine | 315AD | Septimius Flavianus v.p.p.p. Maur. Sitif. | numini maiestatiq(ue) eius |
| 30. AE1930,46 | ? | ? | ? | numi[ni maiestat]ique [eius] |
| 31. AE1928,39 (=AE1949,258) | Maximian | 286AD | Prov. M. Sitif. | ... [numini] ... dedicavit |
| 32. C8475 | Constantius II | 351-354AD | Flavius Augustianus v.p.p.p. Maur. Sitif. | devotus numini maiestatiq(ue) eius |
| 40km south of Sitifis: | | | | |
| 33. C20566 | Valens, Gratianus and Valentinian | 367-375AD | Fla. Victorianus v.c. prim. ordinis comes Africae | [numini devotus] |
| Ain Rua: | | | | |
| 34. C8412 | Constantine | 318-319AD | Flavius Terentianus v.p. praeses prov. Maur. Sitif. | numini maiestatique eius |

* v.p.p.p. = vir perfectissimus praeses provinciae ; v.c. = vir clarissimus

| INSCRIPTION & LOCATION | TO WHOM DEDICATED | DATE | DEDICATOR* | FORMULA |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Altava: | | | | |
| 35. C21723 (=AE1889,150) | Elagabalus | 220AD | Ordo piu(s) et populares Alt(avenses) | devoti numini eius |
| Rapidum: | | | | |
| 36. C20836 | Diocletian & sons | 284-305AD | Ulpius Apollonius v.e.p.p. M.C. | numini maiestatiq(ue) eor(um) d(evoto) |
| Camp of Cohors IV Gallorum, 20km N-E of Volubilis: | | | | |
| 37. AE1989,911 (=IAM 298) | Iulia Mamaea | 222-235AD | Cohors IIII Gallorum | [ara]m (?) devota numini maiestati[que e]oru[m] |
| Ain Mafeur: | | | | |
| 38. AE1894,94 | Elagabalus | 218-222AD | Lobrinenses | [devoti numin]i eius |
| 39. C20542 | Constantius II | 337-361AD | Claudius Helpidius v.p.p. preses (sic) prov. M. Sitif. | [d]evotus |
| Ad Mercurios? or Zelis? | | | | |
| 40. IAM 68 (=C21818) | Gordian III | 238-244AD | Respublica | numini m[ai(estati)q(ue)] eius |
| Aquae Sirenses: | | | | |
| 41. C22594 | Severus Alexander | 222-235AD | / (milestone) | devo[tissima numi]ni ma[iestatiq(ue) eius] |
| 42. C22595 | (Severus Alexander?) | (222-235AD?) | / (milestone) | devo[ta numini e]ius (?) |

* v.e.p.p. = vir egregius praeses provinciae

| INSCRIPTION & LOCATION | TO WHOM DEDICATED | DATE | DEDICATOR | FORMULA |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lemellef: | | | | |
| 43. C8808 | ? | ? | Coloni Lemellefens | Numin(i) Augustor(um) |
| Portus Magnus: | | | | |
| 44. C9759 | ? | ? | Respublica Port. Mag. | devota num(ini) maiestatiq(ue) |
| Cellae: | | | | |
| 45. C8777 | Gordian III totiusque domus divina | 243AD | A colonis castelli Cellensis | devoti numini eius |
| Bir Haddada: | | | | |
| 46. C8713 [err. typ. 8712] | Constantine & Licinius | 311-324AD | Septimius Flavianus v.p.p.p. Maur. Sitif. | numini maiestatiq(ue) eorum |

cf. Non-imperial 'numen' dedications: eg., C8926 (Saldae): Numini Mauretaniae et genio Thermarum
AE1910,118 (Thamallula): Saturno numini sancto
C20252 (Satafis): Numini Mauror(um) Aug. sacrum

The DNMQE formula, on the other hand, apparently just 'tacked on' to the end of honorific inscriptions, appears to have little connection with the imperial cult as such. Was it just a deferential nod in the emperor's direction, devoid of all religious value? Charlesworth[73] and Fishwick[74] believe so, but others, such as Beurlier[75], maintain that DNMQE was a way of rendering direct homage to the living emperor.

The bulk of the extant Mauretanian inscriptions bearing this formula dates from the third century AD[76]. Their most striking characteristic is the lack of private individual dedications[77]. Twenty-nine of the total forty-five inscriptions listed are dedicated either on behalf of the Mauretanian provinces themselves, or by people in official positions of power, mostly procurators or praesides provinciae. At first sight this would seem to confirm the theory that numen was employed in political contexts as a purely formulaic form of protocol. But a more balanced conclusion can be reached if we take into consideration the process whereby, in the later Roman empire, religion and politics increasingly merged into a single sentiment.

The traditional Roman view held that the security and well-being of the empire was dependent upon the divine favour which operated through the agency of the emperor[78]. Naturally this concept was fostered by the principes who could then substantiate their claims to rule by virtue of the possession of divine power. Continually enhancing the notion of this power by publicizing their divine connections, the emperors hoped to foster a universal loyalty and obeisance by providing a spiritual, and thereby a political, focal point for the empire[79].

The position of princeps had always been strongly linked to religion. All emperors were pontifex maximus of the official state religion at Rome, and from Commodus onwards all included 'Pius Felix (Invictus) Augustus' in their titulature. The 'Augustus' epithet itself also had sacred connotations[80]. After Augustus himself, although some emperors posed as actual deities (Gaius, Nero, Commodus, inter alia) and others were closely identified with

73. CHARLESWORTH (1937) p.22
74. FISHWICK (1991) p.387
75. E. BEURLIER, Essai sur le culte imperial (1891) p.157 (non vidi)
76. DNMQE inscriptions throughout the empire range from 210AD to 418/420AD (GUNDEL (1953) p.130).
77. GUNDEL (1953) p.143f ; ETIENNE (1958) p.313
78. NOCK (1972) I p.33 ; GARNSEY & SALLER (1987) p.163
79. TURCAN (1978) p.1001f, 1030f ; GARNSEY & SALLER (1987) p.163
80. cf. Suet. Aug. 7

gods (for instance Septimius Severus and Julia Domna portrayed as Jupiter and Juno[81]), the overall tendency was that less stress was laid on the personal divinity of the principes and more on the divine status of the institution of the principate[82]. The promotion of the imperial 'dynastic' gods such as Mercury, Mars, Apollo and Venus, as well as the deified imperial virtues, played an important role in this respect and, particularly from the Severi onwards, the divinity of the domus divina as a whole was emphasized[83].

But in the face of declining unity throughout the empire in the later third century, it was necessary to reassert the supreme position of the rulers themselves and the title dominus et deus originally claimed by Domitian, was adopted by Aurelian, Probus and Carus, and was finally made official from Diocletian onwards[83a]. This was a clear indication of how the princeps wished to be perceived - "dieu parce que maître, maître parce que né tel et prédestiné"[84]. The DNMQE formula mirrored the dominus et deus concept in that maiestas represented the human power and glory of the emperor[85], and numen the divine - there could be no more effective expression of the contemporary syncretism between political and religious sentiment[86]. Of course in the process of combining the sacred with the secular, the purely religious sense of numen was compromised, and the DNMQE formula had a definite capacity to be used as little more than a stylized statement of loyalty and respect towards the emperor(s) in question[87]. For this reason it would be unwise for the Mauretanian DNMQE inscriptions to be interpreted as examples of direct emperor worship but, on the other hand, they cannot be dismissed as empty political formulae. Their significance lies, ultimately, in their role as indicators of the politico-religious climate of the time.

## The imperial genius and inscriptions 'pro salute imperatoris'*

81. On the triumphal arch at Leptis Magna. cf. LE GLAY (1975) p.144f ; FEARS (1981) p.929. On the superimposition of the imperial cult on the cult of the Capitoline Triad at this time, cf. PENSABENE (1994) p.164.
82. cf. ALBERTINI (1970) p.157
83. Thereby lending it a fictional dynastic 'legitimacy' (TURCAN (1978) p.1015).
83a. cf. RIVES (1995) p.235-250 & passim, for the perspective that third-century imperial attempts to enforce religious conformity were the result of the greater state of political and cultural unity achieved throughout the empire by the Severan period which in turn made religious pluralism increasingly incongruous.
84. TURCAN (1978) p.1055
85. Though maiestas was originally used as a divine attribute (cf. ETIENNE (1958) p.310).
86. GUNDEL (1953) p.140, 142
87. GUNDEL (1953) p.141, 150

* For the Mauretaniae, dedications to the imperial genius occur in the same context as those made 'pro salute imperatoris'. For this reason these two concepts will be studied in conjunction.

In Roman beliefs, each man was born with a concomitant genius, a fundamentally generative spirit which represented his personal virility and energy and controlled his fortune and destiny[88]. The emperor's genius (a distinct, independent divine quality as opposed to the imperial numen which was the immanent divine power of the emperor[89]) was served by a cult on a much grander scale than domestic genius cults. After Actium already, the senate had ordered that libations be poured to Augustus' genius at all public and private banquets[90]. It was vital to ensure the protection of the princeps. As pater patriae, the arbiter of war and peace, guarantor of the imperial succession, and benefactor supreme, the security, welfare and prosperity of the entire empire depended on him[91].

Dedications made pro salute imperatoris voice the same sentiment, albeit in less religious terms than genius-worship. The health of the emperor translated into the health of the empire. We know that the Fratres Arvales at Rome made vows and sacrifices for the safety of the emperor and his family on the third of January annually, as well as on other special occasions[92]. With the inclusion of the domus divina, the pro salute inscriptions called for the protection not only of the imperial dynasty but also, by implication, of the institution of the principate itself[93].

Some scholars have interpreted pro salute imperatoris as a cult device, claiming that it entailed the direct worship of the emperor[94]. But the fact that in many cases a separate god is invoked to secure the health of the princeps suggests that the Roman emperor must have been inferior to that god[95]. On the other hand, the Mauretaniae have yielded some pro salute inscriptions which highlight the personal divine status of the principes. C.8409 was probably inscribed on an imperial altar and the imagines mentioned may be those of M. Aurelius and L. Verus in whose favour the dedication is made[96]. And dedications pro salute imperatoris are made by the residents of the Saltus Horrea on what may have been altars to Pertinax and Caracalla themselves (C.8425 and 8426). Moreover, the emperor is directly invoked on

88. cf. ETIENNE (1958) p.306f ; NITZSCHE (1975) p.7-20
89. FISHWICK (1991) p.385
90. Cass. Dio 51.19.7
91. ALBERTINI (1970) p.157 ; LIEBESCHUETZ (1979) p.198. cf. Suet. Aug. 98.2
92. Plin. Ep. 10.52 & Pan. 67.3-4, 92.5. cf. RGDA 2.9
93. cf. FISHWICK (1978) p.1244
94. Inter alia, J. TOUTAIN, Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain I (1905-1907) and F. TAEGER, Charisma : Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Herrscherkultes (1957,1960) (both non vidi) contra TURCAN (1978) p.1058f
95. FISHWICK (1991) p.449
96. FISHWICK (1991) p.536 (and p.532-540 on the role of imagines)

a temple to Elagabalus from Altava (AE1985,976) dedicated pro salute "domini n(ostri) ... deo soli [(Elagabali)]". What is of interest, though, is that after the damnatio memoriae of this emperor, the word Elagabali was effaced from the inscription. Yet the temple continued to exist as one of the Sun-god, the pro salute dedication now placing the (unspecified) princeps in the more usual position of a character subordinate to the main god.

Like the DNMQE inscriptions, most pro salute dedications are made by civil or military officials, or by communities of Roman legal status. The pro salute dedication process provided these individuals and communities with the opportunity, in a political sense, to forge a link with the centre of power at Rome, and, in a religious sense, to participate in the network of divine power by which the empire was protected[97]. Eleven of the pro salute and genio imperatoris formulae form part of inscriptions found on the Volubilitan altars commemorating peace accords between Mauretania Tingitana and the tribes of Baquates, Bavares and Macenites[98]. Whether these altars represented pacts made after recurrent hostilities, or attempts at preventative diplomacy, or reconfirmations of peaceful interrelations upon the accession of new tribal chiefs or provincial governors, they were clearly the result of official governmental action in Tingitana. In this context pro salute and genio imperatoris were primarily a way of honouring the supreme authority of the princeps on whose behalf the Roman negotiations took place. But the formulae also attempted to secure divine blessing on the outcome of the proceedings. For pro salute imperatoris called upon the gods to preserve not only the well-being of the emperor himself but also that of his achievements. This is highlighted by the fact that victoria came to be included in the formula: pro salute, incolumitate et victoria. In this sense, as an invocation for political success and/or recognition, pro salute was not restricted to the imperial domain. Mauretanian procurators and praesides provinciae also received similar dedications. The dedication made "pro salute regis Ptolemaei"[99] on the occasion of the decennalia of his reign, is of particular interest. Not so much as an indication of the extent of Romanization in the Mauretaniae as early as 29-30AD (the dedicator, Antistia Galla, is Roman anyway), than as an example of how the pro salute formula could be applied from the start to any person in a position of supreme power.

97. RIVES (1995) p.122, 132
98. See above p.37f
99. AE1938,149. cf.LESCHI (1957) p.389-393

## TABLE V : PRO SALUTE INSCRIPTIONS*

| INSCRIPTION & LOCATION | EMPEROR<br>TDD=totiusque domus divinae | DATE | DEDICATOR | FORMULA<br>s=salute<br>i=incolumitate<br>v=victoria | TO WHOM DEDICATED**/ NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Volubilis: | | | | | |
| 1. IAM 348 | M. Aurelius | 169-180AD | P. Aelius Crispinus proc. | Genio imp. | |
| 2. IAM 384 | M. Aurelius | 172-175AD | Epidius Quadratus proc. | pro s. | |
| 3. IAM 349 | Commodus | 180AD | Decimus Veturius Macrinus proc. | Genio imp. | |
| 4. IAM 350 | Septimius Severus, Caracalla & Geta | 200AD | C. Sertorius Captianus proc. | Genio impp. | |
| 5. AE1987,1093 (=IAM 402) | Severus Alexander | 223AD or 232-234AD | [proc. eius] prolegato | pro s. i. v. | 1 |
| 6. AE1987,1092 (=IAM 356) | Severus Alexander | 226AD | Quintus Herenni[us Hospitalis? proc. | pro s. i. v. | # |
| 7. IAM 357 | Gordian III | 239AD | M. Ulpius Victor v.p. proc. | pro s. i. v. | # |
| 8. AE1987,1095 (=IAM 358) | Gordian III & Tranquillina | 241AD | ? proc. | pro s. i. v. | # |
| 9. IAM 359 | Philip I & Otacilia | 245AD | M. Maturius Victorinus proc. | pro s. i. v. | # |
| 10. IAM 360 | Probus | 277AD | Clementius Valerius Marcellinus v.p. praeses prov. M.T. | Genio et bonae fortun. imperatoris | # |
| 11. IAM 361 | Probus | 280AD | Clementius Valerius Marcellinus v.p. praeses prov. M.T. | Genio imp. | # |
| 12. IAM 383 | M. Aurelius & L. Verus | 168-169AD | [Volubilitani] | [pro s.?] | Concordia Aug. (?) |
| 13. IAM 363 | Commodus | 191-192AD | Aurelius Nectoreca (centurio) vexillationis Brittonum | pro s. i. imperioque eius | |

* This list does not claim to be exhaustive but includes, to the best of my knowledge, all the relevant inscriptions from CIL, AE and IAM.

** # = dedications to one or more of the Capitoline deities.

1. Nos. 1-11 are the conloquia cf. p.37f above

| INSCRIPTION & LOCATION | EMPEROR | DATE | DEDICATOR | FORMULA | TO WHOM DEDICATED/ NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14. IAM 393 | Caracalla, or M. Aurelius | 198-217AD 161-180AD | ? | pro s. | |
| 15. AE1987,1105 | Septimius Severus, Caracalla & Geta | 198-211AD | Gaius Iu[lius] ... et ... Sosibian[us IIviri] | pro s. | # |
| 16. IAM 355 | Macrinus & Diadumenianus | 217AD | Respublica Volubilitanorum | pro s. i. | # 2 |
| Tingi: | | | | | |
| 17. IAM 1 | Diocletian & Maximian | 296AD | Frontonianus [subproc.?] | pro s. | # |
| Banasa: | | | | | |
| 18. IAM 121 | Valerianus | 253-259AD | Respublica Banasitana | [pro s.] | |
| 19. IAM 93 | Antoninus Pius | 138-161AD | Tiberius Claudius Iulianus & Saturninus, IIviri | pro s. | 3 |
| 3km N-E of d'Er-Rahel: | | | | | |
| 20. AE1895,67 | Hadrian | 137AD | / (boundary stone) | [pro s. i.] | |
| Zilil: | | | | | |
| 21. AE1987,1128 | Septimius Severus & Caracalla | 199-211AD | Respublica Zilitanorum | [pro s.] | |
| Mons: | | | | | |
| 22. AE1950,136 | Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Geta, Iulia Aug. matri castrorum (TDD) | 198-211AD | Respublica Mopth... | [pro s.] | # |

2. "Dedicante M. Aur. Sebasteno, proc. Aug."

3. Templum matri deum

| INSCRIPTION & LOCATION | EMPEROR | DATE | DEDICATOR | FORMULA | TO WHOM DEDICATED/ NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rapidum: | | | | | |
| 23. AE1951,142 | Trajan Decius & Etruscilla (TDD) | 249-251AD | ? | pro s. i. v. | # |
| Cellae: | | | | | |
| 24. C8777 | Gordian III (TDD) | 243AD | A colonis castelli Cellensis | pro s. i. | |
| Caesarea: | | | | | |
| 25. C9353 | Septimius Severus & Caracalla | 198-211AD | Flavius Africanus Marcianus (proc.?) Caesariensis | [pro s.] | |
| 26. C20965 (=AE1888,156) | ? | ? | Vibia Celerina (L. Val. Ruei IIvir qq. uxor) | pro s. imp. Aug. pp. | # |
| Miliana: | | | | | |
| 27. C9609=21482 | Domus divinae Auggg. perpetuae | 198-211AD (?) | Cultores Plutonis | pro s. i. | |
| 28. AE1920,108 | Gallienus | 263AD | M. Aur. Victor v.e. preses (sic) pro. Maur. Caes. | pro s. i. | Diis patriis deabusque fortunae reduci |
| Thamalullea: | | | | | |
| 29. AE1909,20 | (Probably) Caracalla | 211-217AD (?) | ? | pro [s.] | Various deities and genios loci forti fortun. propagarci (sic) |
| Perdices (Setif region): | | | | | |
| 30. AE1966,592 | Septimius Severus, Caracalla & Geta | 198-209AD | Coloni Perdicen[ses] | pro s. i. | |

| INSCRIPTION & LOCATION | EMPEROR | DATE | DEDICATOR | FORMULA | TO WHOM DEDICATED/ NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cohors Breucorum: | | | | | |
| 31. C21559 | Gordian III & Tranquillina | c.243AD | [Catelli] (ie. L. Catellius Livianus) proc. | pro s. | # |
| Saltus Horrea (MS): | | | | | |
| 32. C8425 (ara) | Pertinax | 193AD | Coloni caput saltus Horreorum | pro s. | |
| 33. C8426 (ara) | Caracalla | 213AD | Coloni caput saltus Horreorum | pro s. | |
| Ain-Sbiba (MC): | | | | | |
| 34. C21557 | Gordian III | 244AD | L. Catillius Livianus proc. | pro s. v. et reditu | Diis immortalib. |
| Ain-Tekria (MC): | | | | | |
| 35. C21523 | Gordian III | 238-244AD | Aurelius, trib. coh. Sa. (= II Sardorum?) | pro s. | Mithras |
| Numerus Syrorum: | | | | | |
| 36. C9963 | Gordian III & Tranquillina (TDD) | 238-244AD | Catellus Rufinius (?) pro... | [pro s.] | |
| Beruagia: | | | | | |
| 37. C9233 | Gordian III & Tranquillina (TDD) | 238-244AD | ? | pro s. i. v. | # |
| Altava: | | | | | |
| 38. AE1985,976 | Elagabalus | 221AD | Possessores Altavenses | pro s. | 4 |
| Sidi Ali ben Yub: | | | | | |
| 39. C9826 | ? | ? | ? | pro s. v. dominorum nostrorum Augg. | Dis P(atris?) |

4. "Templum deo Soli Elagabali ... procurante Iulio Cestillo proc. Aug. prov."

| INSCRIPTION & LOCATION | EMPEROR | DATE | DEDICATOR | FORMULA | TO WHOM DEDICATED/ NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Satafis: | | | | | |
| 40. C20259 | M. Aurelius & L. Verus | 161-169AD | Cultores Victoriae (?) | pro s. | |
| 41. C20254 | ? | ? | ? | pro s. | Saturn |
| 42. C8394=20238 | ? | ? | M. Cordius | pro s. | |
| 43. C20258 | ? | ? | ? | pro s. dd. nn. | Saturn |
| Msad: | | | | | |
| 44. C8781 | Severus Alexander & Iulia Mamaea | 222-235AD | Col. Th... (?) | pro s. | |
| 45. AE1940,149 (=C8795) | Severus Alexander | 222-235AD | ? | pro s. | Deo Num(ini) Mag. |
| Tassadan (S. of Igilgili: | | | | | |
| 46. C8380=20218 | Septimius Severus & Caracalla | 198-208AD | (eques) | pro s. v. | |
| 47. C20219 | ? | ? | ? | pro s. dominorum nostrorum | |
| Bir Haddada: | | | | | |
| 48. C8712 | ? | ? | ? | pro s. i. (I)mp. Cae(s). | |
| Gergur: | | | | | |
| 49. C8411 | Gordian III & Tranquillina (TDD) | 238-244AD | ? | pro s. i. | |
| 50. C20318 | Septimius Severus & Caracalla | 199-208AD | Huius Victor ad(vocatus fisci?) | pro s. | Deus Frugiferu Aug. |
| Near Gergur: | | | | | |
| 51. C8409 | M. Aurelius & L. Verus | 163-169AD | P. Cere. Saturninus (imagines et aram .. f(ecit)) | pro s. i. | |

## SOME NON-IMPERIAL PRO SALUTE INSCRIPTIONS

| INSCRIPTION & LOCATION | FOR WHOSE HEALTH | DATE | DEDICATOR | FORMULA | TO WHOM DEDICATED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Caesarea: | | | | | |
| AE1938,149 | Ptolemy, king of Mauretania | 29-30AD | Antistia Galla | [pro s.] | |
| Ksarchebeul (between Bida & Tubusuctu): | | | | | |
| AE1969-70,727 | P(ublius) Aeli(us) Classicus proc. Aug. | Trajan-Hadrian | [...]lius Tyra[nnus?] (?) | pro s. | Genius Petrae numen sanctus |
| Ala Miliaria: | | | | | |
| AE1902,4 | Impp. dominorum nn. Augg. et Aeli Peregrini praesidis nostri | c.201AD | Nonius Fortunato c(enturio) coho[rtis] | pro s. | Victoria Aug. |
| Altava: | | | | | |
| C9835 | Rex Masuna gentium Maurorum et Romanorum | 508AD | Provincia | pro s. i. | |

Mauretanian pro salute inscriptions are most numerous under the Severi. This was perhaps not only because, given Septimius Severus' African origin, these rulers were especially revered on this continent, but also because their rule fostered the material development and prosperity of the region.

Although lasting peace still eluded the Mauretaniae during this period, and the prolific Severan municipal promotions and building works undertaken in Numidia and Africa Proconsularis were hardly equalled in the Mauretaniae[100], it was nevertheless a time during which opportunities for Mauretanian settlement, development and economic growth were created. New land for cultivation was acquired after 201AD by extending the limes of Mauretania Caesariensis southward, creating the nova praetentura stretching from Aras to Numerus Syrorum, and securing territory in Mauretania Tingitana up to the fossatum of its southern boundary[101]. Thanks to the diversification of agriculture into oleoculture and viticulture as well as cereal production towards the end of the first century AD, the economic potential of the provinces as well as of the provincials was increased[102]. Oil was a valuable product in demand throughout the Mediterranean and remains of extensive oil-press works have been discovered around Tubusuctu in Mauretania Caesariensis and in the region of Tingi in Mauretania Tingitana[103]. Septimius Severus also promoted small landowners by providing protection for them against procuratorial exactions, and reinforcing the Lex Manciana which provided benefits for those who cultivated virgin territory[104].

Numerous milestones show that the Severi undertook extensive construction and repair of roads in the Mauretaniae as elsewhere in Africa, which must have facilitated trade and communication[105]. In addition, the Constitutio Antoniniana now provided many new Roman citizens with the right of commercium, of benefit to industrial artisans in the spheres of pottery, textiles, dyes and tanning, as well as to farmers[106]. Gascou[107] suggests that thanks to the nova praetentura, the military role of former frontier-cities such as Albulae, Regiae and Rapidum was diminished, enabling them to develop economically and

100. cf. GASCOU (1982) p.310f
101. See above p.41f
102. GASCOU (1972) p.41 ; DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.215f
103. DECRET & FANTAR (1981) p.217
104. BENABOU (1976a) p.181
105. cf. ROMANELLI (1959) p.406-444 passim
106. GASCOU (1972) p.42
107. GASCOU (1982) p.313

achieve the status of colonia or municipium. Established cities such as Volubilis experienced unprecedented levels of prosperity under the Severi[108]. That the development of the Mauretaniae at the beginning of the third century AD ultimately had the effect of boosting the personal wealth of the provincials here, is indicated by the fact that the number of recorded Mauretanian equites is two prior to 192AD, but four for the period 192-285AD, and from only one Mauretanian senator between 117 and 192AD, the number leaps to thirteen for the years 192-295AD[109].

The loyalty and gratitude of the Mauretanians for these material benefits found expression in the pro salute formula, which, like DNMQE, multiplied during the Severan period. The religious flavour of these formulae was only appropriate, considering that good fortune was perceived as the manifestation of divine favour acting through the agency of the Roman rulers.

'Augustan' gods and imperial virtues

Controversy has arisen over what exactly was meant by attributing the epithet Augustus (adjectival form) or Augusti (possessive genitive) to a wide variety of deities in the imperial period[110]. Opinions vary from viewing the emperor himself as the focus of the cult, the deity only representing an aspect of the emperor's character[111], to the idea that the emperor and his family were placed under the protection and support of the deity[112], to the argument that the Augustus epithet soon lost any imperial connection and merely indicated the exalted status of the deity[113]. This last view is unlikely, for the term 'Augustus' would surely automatically be associated with the ruling emperors[114], although Fishwick[115] believes that the epithet was applied so indiscriminately as to render it impersonal, meaning simply 'royal' or 'imperial'.

The first hypothesis, that the cult of 'Augustan' gods constituted a direct

108. SIGMAN (1977) p.432f ; MACKENDRICK (1980) p.301f
109. See the tables by DEMAN (1975) p.67-68
110. HORNUM (1993) p.36-40 reviews the latest perspectives on this topic, and points out that both forms of the epithet had much the same meaning (cf. FISHWICK (1991) p.446). There was no question of a joint cult of the god and the emperor (FISHWICK (1991) p.442ff).
111. Inter alia, J. TOUTAIN, Les cultes paiens dans l'empire romain I (1905-1907), p.225f, 232 ; F. FOLLIOT, "De principiis cultus imperatorum Romanorum quaestio quid indigenum quidve extraneum videatur" in HSPh 38 (1927). Both non vidi.
112. Inter alia, ETIENNE (1958) p.344f ; NOCK (1972) I p.42
113. cf. HORNUM (1993) p.38
114. HORNUM (1993) p.37 ; FISHWICK (1991) p.446
115. FISHWICK (1991) p.444f, 448 after NOCK (1972) II p.655, 661

## TABLE VI :
## INSCRIPTIONS TO 'AUGUSTAN' GODS AND IMPERIAL VIRTUES*

| INSCRIPTION & LOCATION | TO WHOM DEDICATED | DEDICATOR | VSLA** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sitifis environs: | | | |
| 1. AE1972,703 | Saturno Aug. sac. | ? | |
| Sitifis: | | | |
| 2. C20357 | Saturno Au(g) [sacrum] | Aur(e)lius Victor | |
| 3. C20358 | [Saturno] Aug. sacr. | ? | |
| 4. C8443 | (S)aturno Aug. sac. | ? | |
| 5. C8444 | (S)aturno Aug. sacr. | ? | |
| 6. C8445 | (Sat)urno Aug. s. | ? | |
| 7. C8446 | (S)aturno Aug. sac. | L. Iulius Petus Sacer | |
| 8. C8447 | Saturno Aug. | Iulius Sacer | |
| 9. AE1909,155 | D(omino) d(eo) s(ancto) Saturno Aug. sacrum | L. Otacilius Candidius sac(erdos) d(ei) S(aturni) | |
| 10. AE1957,184 | Saturno August. | M. Ianuarias [sacer]dos | x |
| Satafis: | | | |
| 11. C20253 | Saturno Aug. sac. | P. Aelius Annius Secundus sacerdos et Caecilia Primosa uxor | |
| 12. C20254 | Sa[t(urno)] Aug. sac. | ? | |
| Mons: | | | |
| 13. C20419 | Saturno Aug. sacr. | L. Sextilius Felix sacre | |
| 14. C8658 | (Sat)urno Aug. sac. | ? | |
| 15. C8659 | Saturno Aug. sac. | ? | |
| 16. C8662 [err. typ. 8660] | Saturno Aug. sac. | ..stimius Pudens sa(c..) | |
| 17. C8663 | Saturno Aug. sacrum | Sempronius Saturni(nus) | |
| 18. C8661 | Saturno Aug. sac. | P. Furius Saturninus sacerdos | |
| 19. AE1942-43,59 | Saturno Aug. sac. | ? | |
| Novar: | | | |
| 20. C20441 (264AD) | Saturno Aug. sac. | M. Millius Donatus | x |
| 21. C20442 (227AD) | Saturno Aug. sac. | M. Pompeius Felix | x |
| 22. C20443 | [Satur]no [Au]g. sac. | Q. - Quintilianus | |
| 23. C20445 | Saturno Augusto sac. | ? | |
| 24. C20446 | Saturno Augusto sac. | ? | |
| 25. C20446a | Saturno Aug. sac. | ? | |
| 26. C20436 (139AD+) | Sat. Aug. sac. | L. Gargilius Felix sa[cerdos] | x |
| 27. C20437 (239AD) | Saturno Aug. sac. | (I)unius Secun(du)s | x |
| 28. C20438 (222AD) | Saturno Aug. sac. | L. Licinius Donatus sacerdos | x |
| 29. C20439 | Sat. Aug. sac. | L. Licinius Getullus sac. | x |
| 30. C20440 | Saturno Aug. sacr. | L. Licinius Rufus | |

* This list is a representative overview, comprising all the relevant inscriptions, to the best of my knowledge, from CIL, IAM and AE.

** = votum solvit libens animo (or variations thereof)

| INSCRIPTION & LOCATION | TO WHOM DEDICATED | DEDICATOR | VSLA |
|---|---|---|---|
| Novar(cont.): | | | |
| 31. C20447 | Saturno Aug. sacru(m) | ? | |
| 32. C20448 | Saturno Aug. sac. | ? | |
| 33. C20432 | Saturno Aug. sacrum | Q. Alienius Fabullus sac. | |
| 34. C20433 | Saturno Aug. sacr. | Q. Caelius Felix sacerd. | x |
| 35. C20435 | Saturno Aug. sac. | P. Clodius Fel. Bulin nep. sac. | x |
| 36. AE1908,239 | Saturno Aug. sacrum | Q. Alienius Fabulius sac. | |
| Kherbet Madjuba: | | | |
| 37. C10911 | Saturno Augusto sac. | ? | |
| 38. C10912 | Saturno Aug. sacrum | Q. Alienius Fabullus | |
| 39. C10913 | Sat. Aug. sac. | L. Licinius Getulus sac. | x |
| 40. C10914 | Saturno Aug. sac. | L. Licinius Rufus | x |
| 41. C10909 | Saturno Aug. sac. | ? | |
| 42. C10910 | Saturno Augusto sac. | ? | |
| Auzia: | | | |
| 43. C9022 | Saturno Aug. sacrum | L. Clodius Campanus<br>L. Clodius Martialis<br>L. Clodius Campanus<br>sacerdotes | |
| Oued Bou Hellou (MT): | | | |
| 44. IAM 841 (Beg. 3rd C. AD?) | Victoriae Aug(ustae) sacrum | Aure[l(ius) ...]us [praeses provin]cia(e) Ti[ngitanae]? | |
| Near Cartenna: | | | |
| 45. AE1983,992 | Victoriae Augg(ustorum) | T. Fab(ius) Quintililianus Ma[...]ati[anus] ob hon. aedilitatis | |
| Portus Magnus: | | | |
| 46. C9754 (196AD?) | Victoriae Aeternae Aug. | M. Antonius Proculleius ob hon. aedilitatis | |
| Numerus Syrorum: | | | |
| 47. C9961 | Victoriae Augustae | ? | |
| Auzia: | | | |
| 48. C20748 (252AD) | Victoriae Aug. | C. Caesius Celsus aedilis | x |
| 49. C9025 (301AD) | Victoriae Aug. sanct(a)e Deae | L. Iulius - | |
| 50. C9024 (193-211AD) | [Victoriae Aug.] | C. Iulius Emeritus ob hon. aedilitatis | |
| Tipasa: | | | |
| 51. C20863 | Victoriae Augustae | ? | |

| INSCRIPTION & LOCATION | TO WHOM DEDICATED | DEDICATOR | VSLA |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sitifis: | | | |
| 52. C8454 | Victoriae Aug. sac. | M. Longeius Silvanus | x |
| 53. C8455 (199-211AD) | Victoriae Augg(g) | Q. Captius Martial ob honor(em) aedilitat(is) | |
| Rapidum: | | | |
| 54. C9195 (c.255-259AD) | Victoriae Caess. | M. Furnius Donatus fl. pp. | |
| Ala Miliaria: | | | |
| 55. AE1902,4 | Victoriae A[u]guste (sic) | Nonius Fo[r]tunatus c(enturio) coho[rtis] | |
| Tamuda: | | | |
| 56. AE1939,167 (253-268AD?) | Vic(toriae) Aug. sacr. | ? | |
| Chebabat (between Fez & Taza): | | | |
| 57. AE1960,118 | Victoriae Aug. sacrum | Aurelius D... | |
| Volubilis: | | | |
| 58. AE1924,34(f) | Vict(oriae) Aug. | ? | |
| Caesarea: | | | |
| 59. AE1924,31 (2nd-3rd C.AD) | Victoriae Aug. | T. Caecilius Honoratus ob honorem flaminatus | |
| Auzia: | | | |
| 60. C20743 (c. mid-3rd C.AD) | Caelesti Aug. | C. Iulius Libosus cum Ulpia Dativa uxore | x |
| 61. C20744 (213AD) | Caelestabus (sic) Augustis sanctum | C. Cornelius Aquila q. aedil. et ... IIvir | |
| 62. C20745 (222AD) | Caelestibus Augustis sanctissimis | Q. Geminius Renatus & G. Attius Plautius IIviri | |
| 63. C20746 (241AD) | Diis Caelestibus Augg. | C. Iulius Libosus cum suis omnibus | x |
| 64. C9015 (c.210AD) | Caelestibus Augustis s[anctissimis?] | T. Aelius Lon[ginus? col(oniae) patr]onus cum Aelia Lo[ngi fil.? Satur]nina coniuge | x |
| Sitifis: | | | |
| 65. C8432 | Caelesti Aug. sac. | Umbria Domitia et Pompeius Flor(i)du(s) (fili)us eius | x |
| 66. AE1955,59 | Cael. Aug. sacrum | Caelia Satura | x |

| INSCRIPTION & LOCATION | TO WHOM DEDICATED | DEDICATOR | VSLA |
|---|---|---|---|
| Satafis: | | | |
| 67. AE1957,58 (250AD) | Caelesti Augu. | C. Iul. Ingenuus | x |
| Volubilis: | | | |
| 68. IAM 823 | Virtuti[b(us)] Augusti[s] | ? | |
| Auzia: | | | |
| 69. C9026 (241AD) | Virtuti deae sanctae Aug. | P. Caelius Victor sacerdos cum Aurelia Germanilla coniuge | |
| 70. C9027 | [Virtuti deae sanct]ae Augustae | ? | |
| Sitifis: | | | |
| 71. C8456 | Virtuti Aug. | M. Ulpius Avitus q. aedil. IIvir | |
| Novar: | | | |
| 72. C20431 | Mercurio Aug. | ? | |
| Gergur(MS): | | | |
| 73. C8416 | Mercurio Au(g). sacr. | ? | |
| Kherbet Madjuba: | | | |
| 74. C10908 | Mercurio Aug. | ? | |
| Sitifis: | | | |
| 75. C8433 (236AD) | Mercur(i)o Aug. s(acr). (ex precepto deae sancte Caelestis) | C. Iul. Hospes | x |
| Saldae: | | | |
| 76. AE1976,752 | Ma[rti Fortun]ae or Victori]ae Li[bero patri?] Aug(ustis) | (one of the Pullaenii) | |
| Sitifis: | | | |
| 77. C8438 | Marti deo Aug. gen. col. | P. Arrius Ianiuarius Mamertinus | |
| 78. C8439 (2nd - 3rd C.AD) | Marti Victori Aug. sac. | M. Ulpius Andronicus flam. | |
| Satafis: | | | |
| 79. C8390 | Marti Aug. conservatori salutis | ? | |

| INSCRIPTION & LOCATION | TO WHOM DEDICATED | DEDICATOR | VSLA |
|---|---|---|---|
| Caesarea: | | | |
| 80. C20960 | (C)ereri Aug. | Amatia Africana (?) | |
| 81. AE1976,737[a] | C(ereri) A(ugustae) s(acrum) | Cestia Dubitata | x |
| Volubilis: | | | |
| 82. IAM 342 (Claudian era) | Cereri Aug. sacrum | Fabia Bira | |
| Novar: | | | |
| 83. C20429 | Genio No[var Aug. s]ac. | T. Coelius Martial egregius vir | |
| 84. C20430 | Geni(o) Novar Aug. sac. | M. Valeris Gentius | x |
| Saldae: | | | |
| 85. C8925 | Neptuno Aug. | Sex. Cornelius - | |
| Mons: | | | |
| 86. C8657 | Neptuno Aug. s(acrum) | ? | |
| Sitifis: | | | |
| 87. AE1955,58 | Herculi Aug. | ? | |
| 88. AE1972,702 (241AD) | [Deo] Herculi Aug(usto) | P. Aedinius Urbanus<br>L. Lollius Felix<br>M. Alfius Ianuarius | x |
| Banasa: | | | |
| 89. IAM 86 | Isidi Aug. sacrum | L. Antonius Charito ob honorem seviratus | |
| Volubilis: | | | |
| 90. IAM 352 | Isidi Aug. sacr. | L. Caecilius Felix ob honorem seviratus | |
| Mons: | | | |
| 91. C8660 | Aug. sac. | L. Caelius M... | |
| 92. C20428 | (A)ug. sacrum | ... (sace)rdos et Caelia Maior uxor | |
| Banasa: | | | |
| 93. AE1946,50 | Iunoni Aug. | Marcus Pompeius Saturninus et Valeria Fortunata | |
| Mons: | | | |
| 94. C8655 | Iovi Iunoni Aug. | ? | |
| Volubilis: | | | |
| 95. IAM 345 | Dianae Aug. sacrum | Sex. Iul. Epictetus ob honorem seviratus | |

| INSCRIPTION & LOCATION | TO WHOM DEDICATED | DEDICATOR | VSLA |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sitifis: | | | |
| 96. C8436 | Dianae Aug. Maurorum sac. | L. Mamilius Castus<br>L. Aemilius Primus, IIviri | |
| Volubilis: | | | |
| 97. AE1925,29 | Fortunae Aug. | ? | |
| 98. IAM 367 | Veneri Aug. sacrum | L. Caecilius Vitalis ob honorem seviratus | |
| 99. IAM 383 | [Concordiae?] Augustorum? | [Volubilitani] | |
| Hr. el Abiod: | | | |
| 100. C20207 | Apollini Aug. | ? | |
| Sertei (MS): | | | |
| 101. C8826 (247AD) | Deo sanc(to) frug(ifero) Aug(usto) sac(rum) | Sex(tius) Victor, decurio pr(inceps) g(entis) N(umidarum) | |
| Sitifis: | | | |
| 102. C8437 | Lunae Augustae sacru(m) | ..tuccius Flavius | |
| 103. C8441 | (Pa)ci Aeternae Aug. | (C)ol. Nervian. Aug. (M)artialis Sitif. | |
| Satafis: | | | |
| 104. C20252 | Numini Mauror. Aug. sacrum | C. Iulius Novellus fil. ob honorem patricium cultoribus | |
| Tingi: | | | |
| 105. IAM 2 | [Sp]ei Aug. [s]acrum | [A]ntonius [H]ermes ob honorem seviratus | |
| Banasa: | | | |
| 106. IAM 88 | Minervae Aug. sacr. | M. Terentius Primulus ob honorem seviratus | |

imperial cult, is widely rejected[116]. Fishwick[117] acknowledges that Augusto sacrum on its own might qualify as direct worship of the emperor (sacrum technically putting the emperor on equal terms with a deity), though he still maintains that the phrase was "no more than a formal gesture". The two Mauretanian examples of this Augusto sacrum type can shed no light on the issue. Given that both (C.20428 and C.8660) originate from Mons, which had a sanctuary to Saturn and has produced many dedications to Saturno Augusto sacrum, as well as the fact that the [sace]rdos mentioned in C.20428 is in all likelihood a sacerdos Saturni, I am inclined to believe that these two inscriptions are also dedications to Saturn in which the name of the deity is to be understood.

Most scholars favour the approach that dedications to 'Augustan' deities express the same sentiment as those made pro salute imperatoris, namely placing the emperor and the imperial house under the protection of the deity invoked and thereby simultaneously expressing loyalty towards the state[118]. This interpretation has a historical basis in the Republican practice of assigning dynastic epithets of noble families to gods in order to define those gods' spheres of activity[119].

Bearing in mind Fears' warning against arbitrarily distinguishing between official and popular religion - all deities coexisted and interrelated on the same level and were equal recipients of fervent piety[120] - it is nevertheless clear that with 'Augustan' gods and virtues we enter a religious realm far more easily accessible than the other aspects of imperial homage we have examined thus far. In the Mauretaniae, dedications to 'Augustan' deities and imperial virtues are widespread and frequently made by private people as well as those with official titles[121]. Given the wide choice of deities available to the provincials for attaching the Augustan epithet, local and individual preferences could and did come to the fore. In the Mauretaniae, for instance, the two most common deities endowed with the qualification 'Augustus' are

116. ETIENNE (1958) p.340f ; FISHWICK (1991) p.340f ; HORNUM (1993) p.38 but cf. PENSABENE (1994) p.164f for the view that imperial cult priests pursued their activities in temples of Augustan gods.
117. FISHWICK (1991) p.444
118. Most recently, FISHWICK (1989) p.111-114
119. FISHWICK (1991) p.439-441, 447-454
120. FEARS (1981) p.925f
121. cf. SHERWIN-WHITE (1973a) p.416; and ETIENNE (1958) p.346ff for similar results in the Hispaniae.

Saturn and Caelestis, the supreme North African gods[122]. This union of locally-favoured gods with the ruling emperors spread the concept of imperial divinity far wider than the official imperial cult alone ever could. The application of the 'Augustus' epithet allowed the imperial cult to 'invade', as it were, all other municipal cults[123].

The interpretation of the imperial virtues has elicited further debate, although in this case there is at least some general consensus that these deities were in close relation to the ruling emperors and thus have to be interpreted in an 'imperial' sense[124]. The imperial virtues were particularly propagated from the time of Trajan and Hadrian onwards. Most commonly venerated in the Mauretaniae is Victoria Augusta, the virtue by which the empire was established and thanks to which it was perpetuated. This virtue, which had become a dynastic goddess of the Roman rulers from the time of the Julio-Claudians, had become a continual imperial attribute thanks to the victories achieved under the auspicia of each ruling emperor by military commanders throughout the empire. But in addition to military victory, Victoria Augusta also stood for imperial success in political, moral and spiritual spheres.

What is the significance of the worship of imperial virtues within the context of the imperial cult as a whole? The 'Augustan' virtues are often defined as simply tools of imperial propaganda, helping to create the myth of power and beneficence needed to justify a 'divine' imperial autocracy[125]. But as personified attributes of the emperor's own character, Etienne, for one, sees them as no less than a manifestation of the imperial cult itself[126]. Ultimately it is the quality of divine power inherent in the imperial virtues which makes them more than mere vehicles for political flattery[127]. For they were powerful deities capable of actively intervening in the mortal world. The number of ex-votos made to imperial virtues is proof of the manifestation of their divine power and testifies to the fact that they were recipients of sincere worship[128].

122. If Saturn and Caelestis were indeed interpretationes Romanae of the Punic Baal and Tanit respectively, then these Augustan deities present us with the culmination of a long-term process of amalgamation of indigenous and imperial cultures.
123. PENSABENE (1994) p.164f. cf. ETIENNE (1958) p.349 ; LADAGE (1971) p.27
124. ETIENNE (1958) p.334 ; NOCK (1972) I p.43 ; HORNUM (1993) p.39
125. cf. FEARS (1981) p.924f
126. ETIENNE (1958) p.327
127. Contra PIPPIDI (1931) p.88
128. ETIENNE (1958) p.343f ; FEARS (1981) p.927

The lack of ex-voto dedications made to the emperor alone would seem to suggest that the princeps was not seen as a god in himself, and this is one of the factors which led Nock and Fishwick, inter alios, to conclude that dedications to Roman rulers were "not really worship at all but homage rendered in the form of divine honours because that was the highest kind of honour payable to a deserving mortal"[129]. Den Boer has challenged this opinion, claiming that the lack of votive offerings to the emperor did not make the imperial cult a 'lower' form of religion[130]. The living emperor, without the capacity to produce results outside of the order of nature[131], could not be expected to enter into conditional votive contracts which might in any case create a political risk for the princeps if he were to fail to meet the expectations of his subjects. But Den Boer's theory does not explain satisfactorily why there are still hardly any ex-votos to the divi who were immortal and consecrated gods. Aside from the whole ex-voto question, though, the connection of the title 'Augustus' with efficacious deities, including the imperial virtues, would clearly have increased the emperor's own divine status by implication. Moreover, the common man was unlikely to make subtle distinctions between the god and the epithet - Victoria Augusta, for instance, would have been perceived as a single deity, and appealed to as such[132].

I believe the nature of the provincial imperial cult was largely determined by the actions of the emperors themselves, particularly in parts of the western empire with no independent tradition of ruler-worship. Given that ruler-cult was a "ganz unrömische Vorstellung"[133], the Roman emperors initially downplayed their personal divine status and refused to be worshipped directly as gods. Augustus began the trend by allowing himself to be worshipped in the provinces only in conjunction with the goddess Roma. However, at the same time, the principes allowed and even encouraged cults of the imperial numen and genius, the Lares Augusti, and the Augustan gods and virtues, thereby effectively sending the message to their subjects that this was the acceptable way to go about honouring their rulers[134]. Rulers who, appointed by the gods, enjoying their protection and sharing in their powers, were themselves undeniably

129. FISHWICK (1978) p.1253. cf. NOCK (1972) II p.833f, 843f
130. DEN BOER (1973) p.99-115
131. cf. NOCK (1972) II p.837
132. FEARS (1981) p.926ff
133. A. WLOSOK in RÖMISCHER KAISERKULT (1978) p.30
134. cf. A. WLOSOK in RÖMISCHER KAISERKULT (1978) p.30f

more than human. In following the lead taken by the principes, the provincial imperial cult developed into a form which laid less emphasis on the emperor as god and more on the emperor as 'σύνναος θεός'.

The 'unofficial' imperial cult in the Mauretaniae was therefore a somewhat broader phenomenon than the official cult, but one which was still predominantly Roman-inspired and Roman-supported, with obvious political applications in addition to any religious purpose.

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## CONCLUSION

The imperial cult in all its manifestations, direct or indirect, served above all to focus attention on the ruling principes[1]. But, as the cult became increasingly formal and depersonalized, the focus shifted to the institution of the principate as such[2]. This development was inevitable, given that the principes were always representative of the Roman government as a whole. The Augustus title was conveniently ambiguous in this respect - a flamen Aug(usti) or Aug(ustorum) could be serving the ruling emperor and/or one or more of the consecrated divi[3]. For the Roman rulers, such a 'comprehensive' imperial cult was useful for promoting the concept of a divine imperial dynasty. But it was also convenient for the provincials who in any event may have had little personal experience of the individual ruling principes. In the Mauretaniae there are only occasional instances where the imperial cult may have been inspired by direct imperial intervention. The municipal cult of Volubilis, for example, may have originated in response to the concessions granted to the city by Claudius. But this is hypothetical and overall the physical absence of the ruling emperors gave rise to a Mauretanian imperial cult which was depersonalized right from the start.

What, then, were the motivating factors for the establishment of the imperial cult in the Mauretaniae? In a practical sense, the imperial cult performed the function of rendering the absent ruler present, but there were also more complex factors at work. Fishwick's claim that "the imperial cult was basically a political device designed to weld the empire together in loyalty to the head of the empire"[4] implies that the Romans engineered the cult to serve their own political agenda, but the cult had originated spontaneously in the East, and even if provincial cults in the Western empire were established 'from above', no city was under any compulsion to institute a municipal imperial cult. The answer lies instead, in assessing the role of the cult as "a major part of the web of power that formed the fabric of society"[5]. Not only did it serve as a link between central Roman power and influential provincials[6], but it also reinforced existing local power structures by reaffirming the superior status of local elite

1. FISHWICK (1991) p.386
2. cf. LADAGE (1971) p.14, 62
3. ALBERTINI (1970) p.158. Though BASSIGNANO ((1974) p.375f) believes that all flamines qualified as Augusti/orum served the cult of the divi exclusively.
4. FISHWICK (1970) p.303
5. PRICE (1984) p.248
6. cf. ETIENNE (1958) p.172f ; LADAGE (1971) p.115 ; SEBAI (1990) p.662

groups within their communities[7]. Price's term 'web' is particularly apt because none of the power-relationships involved with the imperial cult was one-sided. Rome and the imperial house benefitted from the support the cult generated, the provinces gained a political forum with the concilia, the interests of the wealthy provincials were safeguarded and promoted through the imperial priesthoods, and cities were beautified and their economies boosted by the contributions made by imperial cult personnel. The principle of reciprocity fuelled the imperial cult throughout[8].

What about religious motivation? Did the Western imperial cult indicate a purely ruler-subject rather than a deity-worshipper relationship? The political dynamics of the cult, as well as the use of cult rituals and formulae as expressions of loyalty, flattery, or sympathy towards Rome, certainly seem to suggest so. For the imperial cult, more than any other Roman religious phenomenon, was intimately connected to Roman political authority. To support it was to acquiesce in, or at least recognize, Roman dominion[9]. But it would be wrong to assume that the religious aspect was obliterated by the 'politicization' of the imperial cult. On the contrary, we have seen that religion and politics were never mutually exclusive concepts in the Roman world, and in the later second and third centuries AD the greater use of cult mechanisms as expressions of diplomatic loyalty was coupled with an increasing deification of the emperor[10]. Even if we dismiss this as yet another facet of political flattery, the fact remains that a genuine belief persisted that the well-being of the empire depended on divine favour acting through the agency of the emperor. This is evident from the many inscriptions calling on powerful deities to preserve the salus of the emperor, as well as the fact that 'Augustan' gods and virtues were experienced as active deities. Gundel[11] and Pötscher[12] also remind us that what appear to be convential gestures of loyalty, such as the DNMQE formula, doubtless originated in genuine cult worship and were not created as political tools from the outset.

As a form of Romanization, the imperial cult was undeniably an important factor, promoting a religious system centred on Rome and Roman imperial ideology. But, in contrast to the spontaneous, interactive type of Romanization which had given

7. ETIENNE (1958) p.152 ; GARNSEY & SALLER (1987) p.163 ; MOMIGLIANO (1988) p.89 ; RIVES (1995) p.112
8. cf. RIVES (1995) p.63
9. SHERWIN-WHITE (1973a) p.417
10. PÖTSCHER (1978) p.386f ; PRICE (1984) p.247
11. GUNDEL (1953) p.141, 150
12. PÖTSCHER (1978) p.386

rise to Romano-African deities such as Baal-Saturn, the imperial cult retained an official, inflexible 'Roman' character[13]. Not because the cult was enforced from above - we have seen that this was not the case - but because it had no firm foundation in local popular tradition. Having had no history of institutionalized ruler-worship prior to Roman influence, the Mauretaniae had little capacity for adapting existing traditions to the imperial cult. As a result, iconography, architecture and festival calendars for the Mauretanian imperial cult were all borrowed directly from Roman models[14] unlike, for instance, the Egyptian imperial cult, in which the Roman emperors, as heirs of the pharaohs, were depicted in the Egyptian iconographical tradition. The imperial cult in the Mauretaniae could in fact be seen less as a form of cultural Romanization than as a way of accommodating external authority in a religious context[15].

Interaction between the imperial cult and indigenous religion is only in evidence in the case of the 'Augustan' deities, such as in the inscriptions dedicated to Genio Novar Aug. sac. or Numini Mauror. Aug. sac. Apart from these 'Augustan' deities, if the imperial cult managed to latch on to local culture at all, it was Punic, not indigenous Mauretanian, culture. Phoenician tradition had always linked royal to divine power: the king had a privileged relationship with the deities, obtaining favours from the gods on behalf of his people[16]. This concept could easily be transferred to the Roman princeps as 'king'. And whereas both Punic and traditional African religions formed established 'pantheons' of their greatest gods, it was almost exclusively the Punic deities such as Baal, Tanit and Melqart who were assimilated to their Roman counterparts in syncretized form[17]. Further parallels between Punic religion and the imperial cult are revealed by the nature of their priesthoods: the Phoenician system was apparently based on a hierarchy similar to the Roman system of flamines, flamines provinciae and flamines perpetui[18]. Moreover, North African flamines are most often distributed in territories which had previously fallen under the influence of Carthage, such as the Mauretanian cities of Lixus, Tingi, Banasa, Sala, Saldae, Volubilis, Gunugu and Cartennae. The significance of this lies less in the likelihood that existing Punic priesthood structures were taken over by the imperial cult[19],

13. GARNSEY & SALLER (1987) p.174
14. PENSABENE (1994) p.159f
15. cf. PRICE (1984) p.234, 238, 247
16. BONNET & XELLA (1995) p.324f
17. cf. BONNET & XELLA (1995) p.328
18. As BASSIGNANO (1974) p.372f suggests. But neo-Punic religion survived independently into the first century AD (cf. BARADEZ (1957)) and, besides, we have too little knowledge of Punic priesthoods to know to what extent they related to their Roman counterparts.

than in the fact that the accelerated urbanization of the Mauretaniae under Punic rule had created ideal city environments for the imperial cult in which to flourish.

Lying above the substrata of local and domestic religious beliefs, the imperial cult appeared, superficially, to create a kind of religious unity throughout the empire[20]. The emperor was present everywhere - on monuments, in inscriptions, at festivals, and coupled with other deities. And religious unity was doubtless what the principes themselves hoped to achieve, especially from the later third century when, in the face of military anarchy and the growth of Christianity, they increasingly touted the divine nature of their rule[21].

But the imperial cult could never create anything but an illusory unity, because it was subject to the same serious limitations as legal forms of Romanization. In the first instance, official imperial cults were restricted to urban centres. Besides the fact that the election process for imperial cult priests probably depended upon the existence of municipal curiae, all forms of Roman culture in the provinces operated principally in cities and their immediate hinterlands[22]. Secondly, the imperial cult was essentially restricted to Latin-speaking, Romanized participants. All the known Mauretanian imperial cult priests possess Roman citizenship, as do all the specified individuals who made dedications to Augustan gods and virtues, or set up inscriptions devota numini or pro salute imperatoris in the Mauretaniae. Although the nature of the surviving evidence may be misleading - we remain ignorant of imperial cult supporters who could not afford to set up lasting monuments reflecting their beliefs - there is no denying the fact that the official language of the cult was Latin, making it largely inaccessible to provincials not educated by the Roman system. Thirdly, the economic barrier which effectively restricted municipal political office to the rich, operated with the same effect in the religious sphere. We have seen how the financial burdens of the unsalaried imperial priesthoods created monopolies of local noble families in these offices. Finally, the fact that the imperial cult was neither compulsory nor coupled with legal Romanization, but was driven by the ambitions of small groups of upper-class provincials, resulted in an uneven dispersal of the cult, both territorially and chronologically, throughout the Mauretaniae.

20. cf. RIVES (1995) p.98
21. cf. TURCAN (1978) p.1001-1004; and p.1065f on how Caracalla's edict was aimed at creating religious, as well as political, solidarity in the Roman empire.
22. cf. GARNSEY & SALLER (1987) p.168, 203

Despite the fact that the status associated with the imperial cult and its priesthoods imbued the image of 'Romanitas' with an appealing character, the limited focus, access and distribution of the cult effectively hampered any opportunity for it to function as a unifying mechanism. And the divisive nature of the cult which was in evidence at a local level was reinforced at a global level by the actions of the emperors of the later empire. The dominus et deus stance assumed by these principes merely served to emphasize the submissive-dominant nature of the imperial cult relationship, and widened the gap between the Roman rulers and their subjects[23]. The imperial cult proved to be one aspect of Roman rule which indeed "accentuated rather than broke down the divisions between city and country, rich and poor, local elites and the urban and rural masses"[24].

The pattern of Mauretanian Romanization was similar to that encountered in all other Roman provinces. Roman colonization; grants of Roman citizenship and city-status; the cultural, linguistic and political interaction between indigenous and Roman inhabitants, and the active promotion of this interaction by members of the local nobility - these were processes of Romanization operative throughout the Roman empire. And the institution and functioning of the Mauretanian imperial cult - with its municipal and provincial cults, concilia, and imperial priesthoods - did not differ from imperial cults elsewhere in the West, except that the Mauretaniae were unique among the western provinces in having established cults of Augustus and Tiberius while the territory was not formally under Roman control[25]. Moreover, the narrow, elite character of the Mauretanian imperial cult was mirrored by the imperial cults of all the provinces. Whatever the extent of popular support for emperor-worship, it was invariably the educated local nobility who assumed responsibility for the management of the imperial cult.

Yet, despite these similarities with other Roman provinces, the visible extent of 'Romanization' in the Mauretaniae still appears to have lagged behind that of many other provinces. Africa Proconsularis, for instance, had more cities, imperial cult centres, and political representatives at Rome, produced more

23. PÖTSCHER (1978) p.386f. cf.MOMIGLIANO (1988) p.97
24. GARNSEY & SALLER (1987) p.203
25. In the East, Herod the Great set up a temple to Roma and Augustus at Caesarea in monarchical Judaea (cf. AHM JONES, The Herods of Judaea. Rev. ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967, p.90f).
Though western imperial cults were broadly uniform, cult terminology sometimes differed from province to province. The provincial priest, for example, was termed sacerdos (not flamen) provinciae in, inter alia, Africa Proconsularis, the Three Gauls and Germany (cf. FISHWICK (1987) passim).

influential Latin scholars, and generated more Latin epigraphy and monuments dedicated to Roman subjects. The lower level of Mauretanian Romanization cannot be ascribed either to an 'unwillingness' on the part of the Mauretanians to Romanize, or to the history of military conflict in the Mauretaniae - Africa Proconsularis, after all, also had its troublesome tribes with which to contend. It was rather that Africa Proconsularis had been occupied and settled by Punic and Roman powers both more extensively and for a longer period than had the Mauretaniae, providing this province with a headstart in urbanization and the processes of Punicization and Romanization. Africa Proconsularis was also the grain capital of the Roman empire, making it a very wealthy province whose many noble families actively promoted Roman institutions, one of which was the imperial cult. Rome's greater familiarity with Africa Proconsularis, as well as her awareness of its economic importance, undoubtedly contributed to the cities of this province receiving grants of Roman status far more liberally than did the cities of the Mauretaniae.

Romanization and the imperial cult in the Mauretaniae were as successful as could be expected in an area which had never really developed a sense of 'national' unity, which joined the Roman empire relatively late, in which Roman land occupation made slow progress and topography hampered urbanization and communication in many areas, where there was no equivalent to the eastern ruler-cult tradition, and which was too distant from Rome itself to benefit from the immediacy and intimacy which provinces such as Africa Proconsularis enjoyed with the ruling power.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Grateful thanks are due to Professor Ursula Vogel and Doctor Marc Kleijwegt for their constant guidance and support throughout the preparation of this study. All inaccuracies or errors nevertheless remain my own responsibility.