

# **Local Coinage and Civic Identity in Roman North Africa**

A Thesis

submitted by

**Alison Darling**

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**Adviser: Dr. Bruce Hitchner**

## **Abstract:**

The analysis of cultural identity in ancient societies is of vital importance to many disciplines. When attempting to reconstruct the civic identity of the inhabitants of a Roman province, the iconographic and textual choices preserved on local coinage can provide crucial data. This study will examine the coinage of fifteen cities in the area of *Africa Proconsularis*, which struck coin issues from 27 BCE to 37 CE. The numismatic data from *Africa Proconsularis* indicates that the public identities of the cities that had local mints were characterized by both Roman and Punic elements. The coins struck in these cities varied considerably from one place to the next, illustrating the complexity of public identity throughout this region. The coinage of North Africa reflects the various attempts that these cities made to maintain relevance within the wider Roman social network – as well as display both civic and cultural pride.

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**Local Coinage and Civic Identity in  
Roman North Africa**

## Chapter I: Introduction

The thin strip of land that stretches from Morocco to Libya in North Africa was closely linked to the rest of the Mediterranean world through trade and colonization from the early first millennium BCE. The extent and duration of this contact caused the inhabitants of North Africa to develop a complex society that exhibited a diverse and varied public identity, one that contained aspects of other cultures as well as its own local traditions. The construction of a collective public identity was something that was deliberately formed in the ancient world; coinage is a central aspect of civic self-fashioning and shows the ways that a city chose to identify itself to its intended audience.<sup>1</sup>

The focus of this study is to explore the ways that the civic identities of the Punic North African cities were articulated through their use of coinage during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, 27 BCE to 37 CE. This study will be further limited to the coins that were minted in the cities located within the area of the Roman province of *Africa Proconsularis*.<sup>2</sup> By limiting the scope of the study in this way, the data can be treated in more detail. The cities of *Africa Proconsularis* were culturally and racially diverse, and therefore provide a varied perspective on the identity of North African residents in this time period as articulated through their local coinage.

In Chapter II, I will provide a brief historical overview of the relevant time period: from the destruction of Carthage in 146 BCE to the beginning of the Principate of Augustus in 27 BCE. Chapter III will consist of a systematic

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<sup>1</sup> Howgego 2005, 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Map 1.

examination of all known coin types minted in North Africa during the period of this study, beginning first with the *coloniae*, then the *municipia*, and finally the other free cities. For each city, I will describe its coinage, and then provide a more close analysis. In Chapter IV, I will examine the coinage from *Africa Proconsularis* as a whole, and relate the trends in religious and structural iconography, language use, and level of Roman influence with the creation of a local identity in the cities of North Africa that were issuing coinage during this period of Roman control. Through the inspection of the numismatic evidence of *Africa Proconsularis*, this paper will show that the civic identities of North Africa were inclusive of both native and Roman elements.

## Chapter II: Roman North Africa

Carthage came into conflict with the Romans when both developed an interest in occupying Sicily. Before the Punic Wars these two powers had coexisted amicably, with a number of Roman and Italian merchants even having taken up residence in Carthage.<sup>3</sup> But the Punic Wars put an end to cordial relations. The wars spanned over a century; in the end of it all, in 146 BCE the city of Carthage lay in ruins, and the Roman governor of Africa took his place in Utica.<sup>4</sup> The senate decreed that those cities that had allied themselves with the Carthaginians would be destroyed along with her, and those that had supported Rome would be given allotments of land. It was also decreed that every year a *Praetor* should visit in order to govern the country.<sup>5</sup>

Velleius Paterculus states that, after the destruction of Carthage, Africa was made into a *provincia*.<sup>6</sup> By this time, much of coastal North Africa was strongly influenced by Punic culture, and its urban centers were concentrated along the coast. Africa's agricultural abundance had also encouraged other settlements further away from the coast, and even some into the pre-desert area of the Garamantes. Complex government systems and kingdoms were already in place. Housing, road plans, buildings, ports, walls, all of these things were already present throughout the urban areas of North Africa, although their

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<sup>3</sup> Rives 1995, 18-19. This is also evidenced in Polybius (*Hist.* 36.7).

<sup>4</sup> Dio, *Hist.* 21.71.30. App., *Pun.* 19.127-132. Plb., *Hist.* 39.3-4. Raven 1993, 47-48.

<sup>5</sup> App., *Pun.* 20.135.

<sup>6</sup> Vell. Pat., *Hist.* 2.38. The phrase *in formulam provincia* at this time did not have the same connotations as it did after the time of Caesar, when it was used to describe the process of converting an area into a province. Here it indicates that taxes and tributes were levied on the people of North Africa, as indicated in App. *Pun.* 20.135. For a more in-depth examination of the process of provincializing North Africa, see Quinn, 2004.

composition was hardly uniform from city to city. These urban systems would see more growth during Roman occupation.<sup>7</sup>

In 122 BCE, C. Sempronius Gracchus made the first attempt at establishing a formal Roman colony in North Africa. The colony was given the name Junonia and was established on the site of Carthage itself, stretching over about 132 acres with a population of 6,000 colonists.<sup>8</sup> The colony ended in failure when Gracchus returned to Rome from Africa and was assassinated; however, those colonists who had their land allotments remained in Africa and were officially granted ownership of their land in 111 BCE under the *Lex Agraria*.<sup>9</sup>

With the exception of this effort, however, much of North Africa was left to its own devices during the remaining decades of the Republic. Many of the cities which had allied themselves with Rome during the Punic Wars were given the status of *civitates liberae et immunes* and as such were left to govern themselves. The Punic language was still widely spoken in North Africa, and there were many living there who were learning it as a new language. Italian merchants continued to take up residence in the coastal cities, and some Italian farmers even moved further inland to try their hands at farming the rich land.<sup>10</sup> Roman immigration into Africa is not surprising; the landscape of Africa, with its cultivated olive groves, its Punic cities, and its warm climate, was not very far removed from what the Romans would have been used to in Italy. The Italian

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<sup>7</sup> Sears 2011, 29-30.

<sup>8</sup> App., *Pun.* 20.136.

<sup>9</sup> Rives 1995, 19-20. *Lex Agraria*, 54-57.

<sup>10</sup> Raven 1993, 50-51.

peninsula's close proximity to North Africa could only further influence its integration into Roman society.<sup>11</sup>

North Africa would not be free from warfare after the defeat of Carthage: from 112 to 106 BCE the Romans fought, and eventually won, a war against Jugurtha, the king of Numidia.<sup>12</sup> This resolution did not bring about any significant changes to the layout of Roman North Africa, as the boundaries of Numidia remained the same after the defeat of Jugurtha, but the resulting peace would have certainly drawn more Italians and Romans to settle in the area. For the most part, Africa continued to be its own entity.<sup>13</sup>

Its distance from Rome, however, was not quite enough to make North Africa immune to the effects of the Civil Wars at the end of the Republic. Many Romans fled to the safety of its shores, first Marius, then Metellus, and after Pompey's defeat at the hands of Caesar and his death in Egypt, the remainder of Pompey's forces regrouped in Africa.<sup>14</sup> There, with Cato the Younger and Metellus Scipio leading the force – with the Numidian king Juba I joining them as well – they fought near Thapsus against Caesar and his army in 46 BCE. When Caesar emerged victorious, he annexed the kingdom of Juba I and named the new province *Africa Nova*.<sup>15</sup> Again there was a time of relative peace in North Africa, and with peace came the increased establishment of new colonies by Caesar, including the rebuilding of Carthage.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Lassère 1977, 75.

<sup>12</sup> Sal., *Jug.*

<sup>13</sup> Rives 1995, 20.

<sup>14</sup> Vell. Pat., *Hist.* 2.19.4. Plut. *Mar.* 40.3. Plut. *Pomp.* 11-13.

<sup>15</sup> Caes. *Afr.* 97.

<sup>16</sup> Rives 1995, 20-21.

When Caesar was assassinated in Rome, the situation in North Africa became chaotic once more. Civil war erupted between the governors of *Africa Vetus* and *Africa Nova*, Q. Cornificius and T. Sextius respectively, when Cornificius opposed the Triumvirs and Sextius supported them. The triumvir Lepidus took control of Africa between 40 and 36 BCE, in which time according to both Tertullian and Cassius Dio he supposedly caused significant damage to the new colonies, though this is uncertain.<sup>17</sup> However, it was also during this time that *Africa Vetus* and *Africa Nova* were combined into one province: *Africa Proconsularis*, and the seat of the governor of this new province was placed in Carthage.<sup>18</sup>

During the time of the Principate, Africa was home to a great deal of agricultural wealth. Huge farming estates dotted the African landscape, allegedly supplying two-thirds of the grain supply used in Rome by the first century CE.<sup>19</sup> Veteran or Italian immigrant colonies were established throughout North Africa, for the most part in Carthaginian and Numidian lands that had been confiscated. Much of the land surrounding the cities – new and old – had been purchased by wealthy Romans, which was farmed by slaves and overseen by a bailiff.<sup>20</sup> There were at least twenty six veteran colonies established along the coast of North Africa by the end of the war between Octavian and Antony.<sup>21</sup> This was in addition to the Italian Roman populations that were living in and around these

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<sup>17</sup> Tert., *Pall.* 1.2. Dio, *Hist.* 52.43.1.

<sup>18</sup> Rives 1995, 22.

<sup>19</sup> Plin., *Nat.* 18.21.

<sup>20</sup> Raven 1993, 81-83.

<sup>21</sup> Laurence et. al. 2011, 48.

cities before the veteran settlements.<sup>22</sup> Cities along the coast maintained a racially and culturally diverse population of merchants, traders, and shipping agents from every racial background.<sup>23</sup>

The cities along the coast are of particular interest to this thesis; all of the known cities that minted Roman coinage in Africa were located near or on the coast. As was previously mentioned, fifteen cities will be examined in this paper: of these fifteen, four (Carthage, Cirta, Paterna, and Sicca) are known *coloniae* during the time period in question, one is a known *municipium* (Utica), and the rest are *oppida libera* (Achulla, Cercina, Hadrumetum, Hippo Regius, Lepcis Magna, Lepti Minus, Oea, Sabratha, Thaena, and Thapsus).<sup>24</sup>

Now that the relevant history has been established, I would like to provide some general information about Roman provincial coinage; this will aid in the understanding of the numismatic data. In general, the coins that were minted in the provinces were bronze issues, whereas the larger denominations in gold and silver that were used in the provinces would have been minted in Rome itself.<sup>25</sup> This is the case in North Africa: the only issues of silver were minted in Utica under Juba during the Republican Civil War, and one issue from Lepcis Magna, which was most likely minted in the middle of Augustus' reign.<sup>26</sup> Generally the coin issues of provinces were regulated by local governing bodies. Only in Africa

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<sup>22</sup> Brunt 1971, 245.

<sup>23</sup> Raven 1993, 81-83.

<sup>24</sup> Plin., *Nat.* 5.2-4. See also Brunt 1971, 581-583; 593-595; 604-605.

<sup>25</sup> Mattingly 1960, 188.

<sup>26</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 27.

and Asia do we see issues which feature the portraits of governors; more often it was a board of magistrates that had the responsibility of striking local issues.<sup>27</sup>

The production of Roman coins in North Africa did not continue after 30 CE; this was a pattern that was generally seen throughout the Western Roman provinces.<sup>28</sup> The volume of coins minted in each city does not appear to reflect its overall importance to the Empire: for example, there are more coin types represented from the cities of Utica and Oea than there are from Carthage.<sup>29</sup> And the coins minted in the African Provinces during the Julio-Claudian period would not have provided for all the needs of the cities by themselves. This then raises the question of why the cities of North Africa struck municipal issues in the first place.<sup>30</sup>

One possibility is that the coins were meant to be a means by which cities advertized their prestige and their affluence. While this motivation could possibly be overstated, it should not be dismissed as a possible reason. Some issues could also have been emitted in commemoration for certain events or foundations, though this does not seem to be the case for most African issues. There is also the simple fact that the creation of more smaller-denomination coins would facilitate a larger number of transactions, thereby adding to the overall wealth of the city.<sup>31</sup> The motivations for different civic issues were undoubtedly variable depending on the city, but it is possible that the impetus behind civic coinage was often a combination of many different factors.

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<sup>27</sup> Mattingly 1960, 193.

<sup>28</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 14; 18.

<sup>29</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 15.

<sup>30</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 16.

<sup>31</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 16.

In terms of the denominations minted in North Africa, the *as* was struck most often, although there were also many other larger and smaller denominations minted, including *sestertii*, *dupondii*, and *semisses*. There is also evidence of some unique denominations, such as a “double-sestertius” minted in Hadrumetum.<sup>32</sup> It is still clear, however, that in general the cities of *Africa Proconsularis* were following the Roman standard weight system of coinage.<sup>33</sup> The iconographical themes that appeared on the coins of Roman North Africa will be discussed in depth in the next two sections. First, a city-by-city examination for the region of *Africa Proconsularis* is necessary to take into account the individual situations of the cities of Africa, and finally a more general examination of African coins will follow.

### **Chapter III: The Coins**

This section will examine in detail all of the coin types that have been assigned to North Africa by Burnett, Amandry, and Ripolles in *Roman Provincial Coinage* (hereafter referred to as RPC). The cities that will be examined have been listed in the previous section. For each city I will provide a brief history before describing the coinage in detail. I will begin by examining the coinage of the *coloniae*, followed by the coins from *municipiae*, and finally the remaining *oppida libera*.

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<sup>32</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 20.

<sup>33</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 35.

## A. The Colonies

### Carthage

While Carthage was not the first Phoenician settlement in North Africa, it was arguably the most prominent and influential city in North Africa, and perhaps in the entire central Mediterranean region.<sup>34</sup> The question of the foundation date of Carthage is one which has a number of different answers in the ancient sources. A foundation date in the 9<sup>th</sup> century is supported by many authors, but this attribution is problematic as well, as these assertions were made by authors who lived many centuries after such a date. Turning to the archaeological evidence, there are structural remains in Carthage that date to the second quarter of the eighth century BCE, and more recent radiocarbon dating of sheep and cattle bones has established a date within the ninth century BCE.<sup>35</sup>

The traditional foundation myth of Carthage is quite well known: Elissa (Dido) fled to North Africa from her brother the king of Tyre. Although Carthage was at its establishment a city ruled by a monarch, it later became a republic. There is much evidence that the Carthaginians took pride in their ancestors, with the practice of re-using names even when there was an abundance of Punic names from which to choose, as well as naming many ancestors on public monument dedications.<sup>36</sup> The Carthaginians had early trade contacts with the Greeks and, after 700 BCE, with the Etruscans as well. For the most part, relations between

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<sup>34</sup> Aubet 1987, 185.

<sup>35</sup> Hoyos 2010, 6-7.

<sup>36</sup> Hoyos 2010, 20-24; 27.

these three groups were amicable, with only a few exceptions in the form of skirmishes with Greek refugees seeking new lands to settle.<sup>37</sup>

While there were active Siculo-Punic mints from the early fourth century BCE onwards, the city of Carthage does not appear to have minted many coins until a large number of Carthaginian gold starters and fractions began appearing in the latter half of the fourth century BCE. By the end of the fourth century, the gold in these issues became debased into electrum.<sup>38</sup>

After the failed attempt at establishing a colony in 122 BCE, it was finally established in 44 BCE as the *Colonia Iulia Concordia Karthago* and in 29 BCE Octavian settled a group of colonists.<sup>39</sup> Carthage became the capital of *Africa Proconsularis* in 12 BCE. The Roman coins of Carthage can be broken up into two main groups: coins 745-753 were struck under Augustus in 10 CE by the *duoviri* P.I.Sp and D.V.Sp, and group two (754-757) which were minted during Tiberius' reign by the *duoviri* L.A. Faustus and D.C. Bassus.<sup>40</sup>

The coins in the first group have the ethnic C.I.C.<sup>41</sup>, not the traditional ethnic for Carthage seen on almost all other known inscriptions, which is CCIK<sup>42</sup>. Within the first group are seen three denominations: *asses*, *semisses*, and *quadrantes*. The *semisses* are particularly interesting, as they were minted at the same size as the *asses*, but then purposefully cut in half, with an obverse and reverse design that was a mirror image, giving both halves the same designs.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Hoyos 2010, 43.

<sup>38</sup> Burnett et al. 1992. 192-193.

<sup>39</sup> Pliny lists Carthage as a colony in his *Natural History* (5.3).

<sup>40</sup> Burnett et al. 1002, 193.

<sup>41</sup> *Colonia Iulia Carthago*.

<sup>42</sup> *Coloni Coloniae Iuliae Karthaginis*.

<sup>43</sup> See Figure 1.

This is an unusual design for *semisses*, and it is uncertain why Carthage chose to mint them in this way, as well as why they did not mint them in the same manner later on during the reign of Tiberius.<sup>44</sup>

The second group does not contain any ethnic, C.I.C. or otherwise, but can still be attributed to Carthage based on their frequency of occurrence in archaeological sites in Carthage as well as the stylistic similarities to the first group. As the seated figure of Livia on some of the reverses is most likely based off of a type minted in Rome, this group was probably minted between 16 and 31 CE. This group contains three denominations as well, *asses*, *semisses*, and *quadrantes* like in the previous group, although unlike the cut *semisses* in group one these are simply made to be smaller and lighter than the *asses*.<sup>45</sup>

The iconography of the coins from Carthage is quite varied. The coins in the first group can be broken into four iconographical subgroups based on their obverses: An Augustan group (745 and 746), a Tiberian group (747 and 748), the *semis* group (749-751), and a veiled head group (752 and 753). The Augustan group depicts the bare head of Augustus on the obverse, the Tiberian group depicts the bare head of Tiberius. RPC reads the veiled head group as representing Juno/Astarte, although it is uncertain. The remaining obverse group is on the halved *semisses*, which depict a *sella curulis*.<sup>46</sup>

The coins in both the Augustan and the Tiberian groups have the legend P I SP D V SP IIVIR C I C<sup>47</sup> circling the edge of the reverse, with the letters P P/D

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<sup>44</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 193.

<sup>45</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 193.

<sup>46</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 193-194.

<sup>47</sup> P. I. Sp. and D. V. Sp the Duoviri Colonia Iulia Carthago.

D<sup>48</sup> in the center. Coins in the veiled head group have on their reverses the same legend P I SP D V SP IIVIR C I C around the circumference of the coin, but in the center is a depiction of a *simpulum*. Finally, the halved *semisses* have on their reverses a depiction of a *patera* in the center of the semicircle, 749 and 751 with the legend P I SP IIVIR, and 750 with the letters D V SP IIVIR.<sup>49</sup>

The coins in the second group can be further divided as follows: into a Tiberian type (coins 754-756), and a veiled head type, which have the same obverses as the previous groups. 754 and 755 of the Tiberian group depict a seated Livia on their reverses, as can also be seen in the Utican coinage, with the legend L A FAVSTVS D C BASSVS IIVIR<sup>50</sup> and with the letters P P/D D around her in the center. Coin 756 has the same legend as the other two of the group, including the central letters, but instead of Livia there is an image of three ears of corn. The veiled head type is more simple in its reverse, with only the letters P P/D D in the center, with [L A]F D C B IIVIR around the outside.<sup>51</sup>

Many of the Carthaginian coins depict members of the imperial family, as well as mentioning public figures (P. I. Sp. and D. V. Sp.), here in text. The attention to the royal family is unsurprising for a colony. The coins also contain many other Roman symbols, such as the *sella curulis*, the *patera*, and the *simpulum*. There does not appear to be any trace of Punic iconography or language on the coins of Carthage, which is probably a reflection of its destruction and re-establishment under the Romans.

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<sup>48</sup> Pecunia Publica Decreto Decurionum [Public Money by Decree of the Magistrates].

<sup>49</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 193-194.

<sup>50</sup> L. A. Faustus and D. C. Bassus duoviri.

<sup>51</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 193-194.

## Cirta

Cirta was a Numidian foundation, and was the primary city of king Gaia, later of Syphax, and then finally of Massinissa. The city apparently received a large number of refugees after the destruction of Carthage, who left a substantial Punic influence on the city from then on. This is evident in the sanctuary at El Hofra, possibly a Tophet, dedicated to Ba'al Hamon where over 800 votive steles have been found, which feature strongly Carthaginian iconographical elements.<sup>52</sup>

When Caesar was victorious at Thapsus in 46 BCE, the Roman general Publius Sittius of Campania was given the eastern portion of Massinissa's kingdom as compensation for his aid to Caesar. While the western portion had been given to Bocchus, Sittius and his soldiers took it, along with Juba's capital, Cirta Regia. In 44 BCE after Caesar's death, Massinissa's son, Arabion, who had fled to Spain to join Pompey's soldiers, returned to Africa and quickly regained his kingdom. When the governor of Africa Vetus, Q. Cornuficius, and the governor of Africa Nova, T. Sextius, came into conflict in 42 BCE, Arabion placed his full support behind Sextius, as did the Sittiani. When Sextius emerged as the governor of all of Africa, Cirta was incorporated into Africa Nova.<sup>53</sup>

Arabion was assassinated in 41 or 40 BCE, by order of Sextius, and after his death Cirta absorbed the cities of Russicade, Chullu, and Milev. Octavian established a colony in Cirta after Arabion's death, most likely between 36 and 27

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<sup>52</sup> Brill's New Pauly 2012 "Cirta",  
[http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/subscriber/uid=3177/entry?result\\_number=1&entry=bnp\\_e235010&search\\_text=cirta&refine\\_editions=bnp\\_bnp#hit](http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/subscriber/uid=3177/entry?result_number=1&entry=bnp_e235010&search_text=cirta&refine_editions=bnp_bnp#hit)

<sup>53</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 186.

BCE.<sup>54</sup> The colony was officially called *Colonia Iulia Iuvenalis Honoris et Virtutis Cirta* from 26 BCE onward.<sup>55</sup>

None of the coins attributed to Cirta have an ethnic; however they can be placed in Cirta with relative certainty based on the name of the magistrate P. Sittius Mugonianus, one of the Sittiani who had remained in Africa after Sittius' death. Also featured on two of the coin types are heads of Virtus, and one contains a portrait of Honor as well. Both of these personifications are featured in the full name of the colony, and were also patron virtues of Sittius and the Sittiani.<sup>56</sup>

Coin series 701 is a *sestertius* and features portraits of Virtus and Honor on its obverse, whose importance has already been discussed, and an uncertain male portrait on its reverse. The next series, 702, is a *dupondius*, and depicts a portrait of what is possibly Jupiter on its obverse, and another uncertain male portrait on its reverse. Series 703 is an *as* and features a female portrait head wearing a diadem on its obverse, and its reverse depicts another male head. On the obverse of series 704 (a *semis*) is a helmeted portrait head of either Roma or Virtus, and a male head on its reverse. Finally, the series 705, which is struck in a *quadrans*, features a boar on its obverse, which is perhaps meant to evoke the goddess Diana Tifatina, who was a deity of great importance in Campania during the first century BCE. The reverse of 705 is simply a legend: SIT IIII VIR MVG DI<sup>57 58</sup>.

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<sup>54</sup> It is listed as a colony in Pliny's *Natural History* (5.2).

<sup>55</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 186.

<sup>56</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 186.

<sup>57</sup> Sittius Quattorvir Mugonianus DI[ ].

Again we see in Cirta the use of Roman deities, along with several uncertain portrait heads. It is possible that those on the reverses of 701-704 were meant to be portraits of P. Sittius Mugonius, since at least some portion of his name is present in the legends of all the coins, though it is difficult to say this for certain. However, based on the commonality of portraying government officials on African coins, this possibility should not be overlooked. Conspicuously absent from the coinage of Cirta are any representations of the imperial family. This may be due to poor preservation of the coinage, as only five series can be attributed with certainty. It is still exceptionally odd that this is the case in Cirta, given that all of the other fifteen cities included in this study do use portraits of the imperial family.

### **Colonia Iulia Pia Paterna**

The location of this colony is uncertain; RPC has narrowed down the possible sites as Clypea, Carpi, Curubis, and Neapolis, although none of these towns are known to have had the title Colonia Iulia Pia Paterna. While it is still uncertain, and will probably only be answered with any certainty with the addition of new epigraphic data, RPC tentatively attributes the coins for the Colonia Iulia Pia Paterna to the area of Zeugitania, in the peninsula of Cap Bon.

The name of Colonia Iulia Pia Paterna suggests that it was a colony founded during the lifetime of Julius Caesar, or shortly following his death, much like the Colonia Iulia Paterna Arelatensium Sextanorum in Arles.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 187.

<sup>59</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 194-195.

The colony, wherever it was established, struck at least four issues under Augustus, and nine under Tiberius. For the Augustan series', two of them (758 and 759) are identical to an issue struck in Lepti Minus, which dated to about 20 BCE. There are two of each obverse type: an Augustan type (758 and 760), and a Caesarean type (759 and 761). Series 758 features a head of Augustus with a lituus on its obverse, and a seated portrait of Mercury, who wears a *petasus* and holds a *caduceus*. 759 depicts the diademed head of Caesar on its obverse, and on its reverse a walking figure of Ceres, with a plough in front of her, holding a torch in each hand. Series 760 is identical to 758, and series 761 is identical to 759, although they were made by different hands, and RPC tentatively dates these two series' to around 10 CE.<sup>60</sup>

The Tiberian issues are more easily dated, due to their inclusion of proconsuls' names. These issues were minted in three denominations: *sestertii*, *dupondii*, and *asses*. The reverse types of each of the denominations are as follows: the *sestertii* (762, 765, and 768) depict Mercury seated as on series 758, the *dupondii* (763, 766, and 769) depict a seated Livia holding a sceptre and patera, and the *asses* (764, 767, and 770) depict a bust of Mercury. The *sestertii* and *dupondii* depict a bare head of Tiberius on their obverses, and the *asses* depict the bare head of Drusus.<sup>61</sup>

The frequent depiction of members of the imperial family and of Roman deities is unsurprising for coins minted in a Roman colony. The frequent depiction of Mercury – who is featured on eight of the thirteen coins issued from

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<sup>60</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 195.

<sup>61</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 195-196.

here – is most likely due to his connections with trade.<sup>62</sup> Mercury is also ubiquitous on the coinage of Lepti Minus, whose coinage Paterna apparently copies, perhaps also influencing Paterna’s usage of Mercury.

### Sicca

Sicca was an indigenous community in *Africa Proconsularis*, and lay between Carthage and Cirta. It is possible that it became a part of Numidia as a result of the peace treaty of 201 BCE, and during the war with Jugurtha it was the site of a battle between the king and Marius. Pottery that has been found at Sicca has revealed at least a measure of Punic iconographical influence.<sup>63</sup>

Sicca was established as a colony by Augustus, although it is possible that there was an earlier Julian settlement before the final colony was recognized.<sup>64</sup> There are three known coin series minted in Sicca, all struck around 10 CE. The level of abbreviation on the coin legends is so great it renders them nearly impossible to interpret. The first series, 706, features a head of Augustus on its obverse with the legend AVG D P Q C C I C D D P P, and a head of Tiberius on its reverse with the legend TI CAES M T F M M A II VIR. 707 and 708 both feature Augustus on their obverses as well, although both facing the right instead of the left. 707 has the same reverse type as 706, and 708 features a male portrait head wearing a veil and diadem who is possibly Caesar, and contains the legend M T F M M A II VIR CON.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Romdhane 2001, 460.

<sup>63</sup> Brill’s New Pauly 2012 “Sicca Veneria”, [http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/subscriber/uid=3177/entry?result\\_number=1&entry=bnp\\_e1111700&search\\_text=Sicca&refine\\_editions=bnp\\_bnp#hit](http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/subscriber/uid=3177/entry?result_number=1&entry=bnp_e1111700&search_text=Sicca&refine_editions=bnp_bnp#hit)

<sup>64</sup> It is listed as a colony in Pliny’s *Natural History* (5.2).

<sup>65</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 187-188.

Despite the aforementioned pottery evidence, there is no usage of Punic iconography in the coins minted in Sicca, at least in those that have been preserved. All of the portraits employed are of the imperial family, with the possible exception of the reverse of 708. This hyper-focus on the imperial family is perhaps due to its status as a *colonia*, although the evidence from Cirta suggests this may have not always been the case.

When viewed as a whole, the evidence of the colonial coinage indicates a much stronger focus on the imperial family than on other depictions. In fact, the only deities or religious personifications depicted on colonial coinage that can be readily identifiable are Virtus, Honor, Mercury, Jupiter, Ceres, and possibly Roma. At Carthage one can also see the use of religious trappings associated with Roman ritual, like the *simpulum*, a ladle for pouring ritual libations, as well as the *patera*. Absent in these coins are any depictions of Punic deities or ritual implements; the Neo-Punic language is also not used in the colonial coinage, which is the language used in the ethnics of many of the other *oppida libera*. The absence of Punic elements in the colonial coinage is not entirely surprising; however, I will return to this in the fourth chapter.

## B. The *Municipia*

### Utica

The settlement of Utica was founded by the Phoenicians before even Carthage was established. Its foundations were laid at the mouth of the Bagradas river, putting it as well as its alluvial plains within Utican control. The original Phoenician settlement only remains in the archaeological record in two necropolises. The monumental funerary architecture present in these necropolises – all artifacts within which date to before the eighth century BCE – indicates that early Utican society was relatively wealthy and complex. Also noticeable is its lack of a tophet. There is no evidence for extensive agriculture in its early period; additionally, there is a lack of evidence that it attempted to control the surrounding territory at first. It is also not mentioned in the historical record with Carthage in the sixth century BCE, suggesting perhaps that Utica was a sovereign city until 540 BCE.<sup>66</sup>

With the establishment of the Roman province of Africa, Utica was named a free city – for during the Third Punic War the city pulled its support from Carthage.<sup>67</sup> Utica benefited greatly from the destruction of Carthage; not only was Utica rid of a major competitor in trade, it was also named the residence of the Roman governor. In addition, Utica was given a considerable portion of land as reward for its loyalty to Rome during the Third Punic War. Utica was also awarded the rights of a *municipium* by Octavian.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Aubet 1987, 311.

<sup>67</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 190. Pliny states that Utica enjoyed the full rights of Roman Citizens (*Nat.* 5.3).

<sup>68</sup> Sears 2011, 35.

Utica is mentioned quite frequently in ancient literature, a testament to its overall importance in the ancient world. Sources mention that the city had a theatre, a defensive wall with reinforced turrets, and it also may have had an amphitheatre. There is also evidence of extensive re-planning of the city in the first century BCE, with orthogonal plans in the center of the city covering the earlier roadways.<sup>69</sup>

We see coins being struck in Utica during the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey, most likely under the direction of Juba. These issues were struck in silver as well as bronze; the silver issues followed the Roman standard weight system and were struck in denarii, quinarii, and sestertii, while the bronze coins do not follow any.<sup>70</sup> The obverses of coins 717 and 719 feature busts of Juba, with 717 containing the legend REX IVBA<sup>71</sup>. The obverse of 718 is a bust of Victory, and that of 720 is a bust of Africa. The reverse of 717 shows an octastyle temple, with some issues featuring a globe in the center of the temple entrance, and some without the globe. Those of 718 and 719 display a galloping horse, and 718 contains the legend IOBAI HMMLKT. 720 depicts a male lion on its reverse.<sup>72</sup> The depiction of a temple is interesting, as the only other example of depicting temple architecture comes from Thaena, minted sometime during the reign of Augustus. This is in fact typical of provincial issues; it is rare for architecture to be depicted on coins minted in the provinces, and most issues are

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<sup>69</sup> Sears 2011, 36.

<sup>70</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 190.

<sup>71</sup> Rex Iuba [King Juba].

<sup>72</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 190-191.

seen on those of client kings, i.e. Juba.<sup>73</sup> The iconography of the galloping horse is also typical of elite Numidian coins; the horse was meant to represent cavalry strength, as well as possibly copying Algerian stelae of local chiefs.<sup>74</sup>

The Roman issues of Utica were minted during the reign of Tiberius, and most contain the legend M.MVN.IVL.VTIC, or more simply M.M.I.V. on their reverses.<sup>75</sup> Some do not contain these letters, namely an issue under the proconsul Vibius Marsus which contained the letters D.D.P.P.

Coins 724-728 can be dated quite confidently to between 13 and 21 CE, as they denote their minting year by indicating Tiberius' seventh acclamation as *imperator*. On the basis of stylistic similarities, coins 721-723 can be placed in this category as well. The denominations of the coins struck in this group are *asses* and *semisses*. Coins 731-744 refer to Tiberius' eighth acclamation as *imperator*, and they also make mention of Vibius Marsus as proconsul, placing their date between 27 and 30 CE. All of the coins in this group are *dupondii*. Coins 729 and 730 are not so explicit in their date, but based on their denominations, they have been placed within the first group dating between 13 and 21 CE by RPC.<sup>76</sup>

In general the coin types of the Roman period depict a bare-headed Tiberius on the obverse, with the exceptions being 729 and 730, which depict an unidentified veiled head. The obverse legends are also relatively uniform on all

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<sup>73</sup> Howgego 2005, 4.

<sup>74</sup> Quinn 2009, 269-270.

<sup>75</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 190. The last three letters of this legend are clearly MVN(icipium) IVL(ium) VTIC(ense); the first M has been a matter of some debate, and it is still unclear its true meaning. Regardless, the last part of the inscription, the VTIC, is the most important for placement.

<sup>76</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 190.

of the coins, with small variations on TI CAESAR AVG F AVG IMP. The reverse types are not as varied as seen on the Juba coinage, with most depicting a seated Livia, wearing a veil and holding a *patera* and scepter. 727-730 are the exceptions to this, with 727 and 728 containing the legend M V/D D/P P<sup>77</sup> within a wreath, and 729 and 730 with the legend M M IVL VTI D D circling around the outside of the coin, with the letters P P in the center. The reverses, as mentioned above, mostly contain the M.M.I.V. legend, with those from the second group containing an inscription indicating Vibius Marsus.<sup>78</sup>

Utica's preoccupation with the imperial family may be due to its early importance to Rome, although it would be dubious to see this as an attempt to earn back Rome's favor. The city does not appear to depict the imperial family on its coinage any more than the other cities of North Africa, especially during the reign of Tiberius. The apparent hyper-focus on the imperial family of Utica seems to simply be a result of the large amount of coins that were minted here. It is also possible that many of the non-imperial coin types are not preserved in the archaeological record.

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<sup>77</sup> Municipium Decreto Decurionum Pecunia Publica.

<sup>78</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 191-192.

## C. The *Oppida Libera*

### Achulla

The city of Achulla was founded by Phoenicians and was named a free city after the Third Punic War for separating from Carthage.<sup>79</sup> Its history is unclear after the time of Augustus, although there is substantial archaeological evidence for affluent villas built around the second century CE.<sup>80</sup>

Four coin series from Achulla remain which can be grouped as follows: the Augustus/Gaius/Lucius type *dupondii* (798 and 800), the Augustan type *sestertii* (799), and the Astarte type *asses* (801). Three of these coins include the names of proconsuls, whereas the Augustan type does not.<sup>81</sup> However, RPC places the Augustan type with the Saturninus issues based on its weight, the portrait style, and the countermark.<sup>82</sup>

The obverse of the Augustus/Gaius/Lucius type is so named because it depicts the bare head of Augustus in the center, with Gaius to the left and Lucius to his right, and the legend AVG PONT MAX.<sup>83</sup> The obverse of the Augustan type is a portrait head of Augustus with the legend CAESAR DIVI F ACHVLLA<sup>84</sup>, and that of the Astarte type depicts a diademed Astarte with the legend ACHVLLA. The reverses of 800 and 801 depict the bare head of Saturninus, while 798 depicts the head of Varus. 799 depicts a portrait of Julius

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<sup>79</sup> Plin., *Nat.* 5.4.

<sup>80</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 201. Brill's New Pauly 2012 "Acholla", [http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/subscriber/uid=3177/entry?result\\_number=1&entry=bnp\\_e102430&search\\_text=acholla&refine\\_editions=bnp\\_bnp#hit](http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/subscriber/uid=3177/entry?result_number=1&entry=bnp_e102430&search_text=acholla&refine_editions=bnp_bnp#hit).

<sup>81</sup> 798 names Varus, and 800 and 801 name Saturninus.

<sup>82</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 201.

<sup>83</sup> Coins 798 and 800. Augustus Pontifex Maximus.

<sup>84</sup> Caesar Divi Filius Achulla [Son of the Divine Caesar Achulla].

Caesar, with a laurel wreath surrounding both the portrait and the legend

CAESAR DIVI F ACHVLLA.<sup>85</sup>

All of the obverses except for one include the portrait of Augustus; two of these also contain portraits of Gaius and Lucius. This is not altogether surprising, as the use of the Emperor's portrait is common in provincial coinage.<sup>86</sup> The use of the head of Astarte is not surprising in and of itself either, although the use of a Phoenician goddess rather than a Roman deity is significant, as she only appears on the coinage of five other cities.<sup>87</sup> The reverse types are also relatively typical; as has been mentioned previously, the depiction of provincial government officials is common in Africa. Their use of a portrait of Caesar on the coin's reverse in conjunction with one of Augustus on its obverse – along with the legend CAESAR DIVI F ACHVLLA with Augustus and DIVOS IVLIVS<sup>88</sup> with Caesar – clearly evokes both Caesar's divine nature and his connection with Augustus.

### Cercina

Cercina, another harbor town, was seized in 47 BCE by Julius Caesar, and earned the status of a free city for aiding the praetor Sallust.<sup>89</sup> According to the *Annales* of Tacitus, Cercina was also a place of exile during the reign of Augustus.<sup>90</sup> There is only one known series of *sestertii* struck in the city, and its

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<sup>85</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 202.

<sup>86</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 39-40.

<sup>87</sup> See Table 2.

<sup>88</sup> Divus Iulius [The divine Julius].

<sup>89</sup> Named in Pliny's *Natural History* (5.7).

<sup>90</sup> Brill's New Pauly 2012 "Cirta",

[http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/subscriber/uid=3177/entry?result\\_number=1&entry=bnp\\_e235010&search\\_text=cirta&refine\\_editions=bnp\\_bnp#hit](http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/subscriber/uid=3177/entry?result_number=1&entry=bnp_e235010&search_text=cirta&refine_editions=bnp_bnp#hit)

attribution to Cercina has been the source of much debate. RPC attributes the coin to Cercina based on the iconography and the legend of the coin.<sup>91</sup>

The obverse of the coin features a central helmeted head of either Roma or Minerva, with the legend PERM L VOLVSI PROCOS CERC<sup>92</sup>, with the CERC read as “Cercina”. Also on the obverse is a small depiction of a crab near the edge, indicating that this coin belongs to a port city; RPC also makes the point that the Greek word for crab, “καρκινος” would again point to the coin’s origin as Cercina. The coin’s reverse is a portrait of Augustus with the legend IMP CAESAR DIVI F AVGVSTVS<sup>93</sup>.<sup>94</sup>

The use of a Roman deity – either Roma or Minerva – is indeed quite interesting. The use of Roma in conjunction with a portrait of the emperor could perhaps be a nod to the cult of Roma and Augustus, although as has already been mentioned, it is not certain that the goddess portrayed is in fact Roma. Depicting a *lituus* alongside a portrait of Augustus was probably meant to indicate his piety, connecting him with the instrument of an augur. Also, the connection with the Greek word “καρκινος” may perhaps indicate that at one time there was a significant amount of contact with Greek-speaking peoples, or perhaps even a Greek population in or around the city, as may have been indicated in the coinage of Lepti Minus as well.

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<sup>91</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 202-203.

<sup>92</sup> Permissu L. Volusii Proconsul Cercina [By permission of L. Volusius the Proconsul, Cercina].

<sup>93</sup> Imperator Caesar Divi Filius Augustus [Imperator Augustus son of divine Caesar].

<sup>94</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 203.

## Hadrumetum

Hadrumetum originated as a trading centre of the Phoenicians, it contains a Tophet and a substantial necropolis.<sup>95</sup> Evidence of religious practice at Hadrumetum during Phoenician occupation suggests that Reshef (equated with Apollo), Baal Shamin, Baal Addir, and Tanit were all among the deities worshipped in the city. The presence of open-air shrines that date to the Roman period where local and Punic deities were worshipped suggest that at least some of their religious activities continued even after Roman occupation, although the Tophet seems to have fallen out of use by the first century CE.<sup>96</sup>

Hadrumetum was another North African city which took the side of Rome during the Third Punic War. It was referred to as a free city as early as 111 BCE in the agrarian law of that same year, and although they were required to pay a fine to Caesar it is not recorded that Hadrumetum lost its status as a free city.<sup>97</sup> Hadrumetum may have become a *municipium* by the end of Augustus' reign, though it did not become a colony until the reign of Trajan.<sup>98</sup>

All of the coinage that RPC attributes to Hadrumetum is dated to the reign of Augustus, though the attribution of a few of the coin series is difficult, as they do not contain an identifiable ethnic. I will begin here as RPC does by describing the coins with the ethnic HADR, before discussing the coins without ethnic.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Brill's New Pauly 2012 "Hadrumetum", [http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/subscriber/uid=3177/entry?result\\_number=1&entry=bnp\\_e501330&search\\_text=hadrumetum&refine\\_editions=bnp\\_bnp#hit](http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/subscriber/uid=3177/entry?result_number=1&entry=bnp_e501330&search_text=hadrumetum&refine_editions=bnp_bnp#hit)

<sup>96</sup> Sears 2011, 26.

<sup>97</sup> As noted by Pliny (*Nat.* 5.3).

<sup>98</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 196.

<sup>99</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 196-197.

Beginning with the coins with ethnic, some can be dated through the mention of the proconsulships of Publius Quintilius Varus, Lucius Volusius Saturninus, and Africanus Fabius Maximus, and can therefore be dated between 8 and 5 BCE. The coins which fall into these dated categories (776, 778, and 780) are all the same denomination, the *dupondius*. The obverses of these coins are as follows: 776 depicts the crowned head of Sol facing the left with a trident and the legend HADRVME, 778 is the same as 776 but with minor differences, and 780 displays the head of Africanus with the legend AFRIC FABIVS MAX COS PROCOS VII EPVL<sup>100</sup>. 776 is attributed to Varus, as the reverse depicts his portrait with the legend P QVINTLI VARI<sup>101</sup>. Similarly, 778 depicts the bare head of Saturninus and the legend L VOLVSIVS SATVR<sup>102</sup>. The reverse of 780 depicts the head of Baal crowned with a tiara, holding two ears of corn in his left hand and raising his right.<sup>103</sup>

Coins 771 and 772 are part of another series struck in two denominations, *sestertii* and *dupondii*, 775 is another series struck in *sestertii*, and both of these issues can be dated between 12 and 7 BCE. 771 and 772 contain portrait heads of Augustus and Julius Caesar; 771 places Augustus on the obverse and Julius Caesar on the reverse, 772 is the opposite. 778 depicts a bare portrait head of Augustus on the obverse, with portraits of Gaius and Lucius Caesar facing one another on the reverse.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Africanus Fabius Maximus consul proconsul septemvir epulonum.

<sup>101</sup> P. Quintilius Varus.

<sup>102</sup> L. Volusius Saturninus.

<sup>103</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 197-199.

<sup>104</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 197-198.

There are two more coin types which contain an ethnic, 773 and 774, which have both been dated between 12 and 8 BCE, with the possibility that they were minted under Varus or Saturninus, which would put their date closer to 8-6 BCE. The denominations for these two coins are an *as* (773) and a *semis* (774). 773 depicts the head of the god Neptune on its obverse, and the head of the goddess Astarte on the reverse. 774 also depicts Neptune on its obverse, but instead shows Sol on its reverse.<sup>105</sup>

Now I will discuss the coins which do not contain a mint name, but can nevertheless be attributed to the mint in Hadrumetum. Three coins fit within this category: 777, 779, and 781. 777 is very large and heavy and has therefore been assumed to be a medallion, having the weight of a double *setertius*, or perhaps a bronze *quinarius*, and two coins within the series can be dated between 7 and 6 BCE. The obverse depicts a bare head of Augustus, and the reverse contains the legend O C S in the center of the medallion surrounded by a wreath and with two laurel branches on either side of the wreath. This series is intended to be dedicated to Augustus, as the reverse type is a reference to a dedication made to Augustus in 27 BCE along with the *clipeus virtutis*.<sup>106</sup>

There are no clear date markers on series 779, however based on stylistic similarities RPC has determined that the engraver for series 777, 780, and 781 are the same and can thus be given the same rough date. By connecting the stylistic similarities between 780 and 779, RPC has concluded that 779 was minted under

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<sup>105</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 197-198.

<sup>106</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 197-198.

Africanus. The obverse of this series depicts a bare head of Augustus, and the reverse is another portrait of Gaius and Lucius Caesar.<sup>107</sup>

781 is also an interesting case; it contains a portrait of Africanus on the obverse, and a representation of an elephant crushing a snake on the reverse. This design is most likely copying an earlier type of denarius minted under Caesar, and the reverse also contains the name of C. Livineius Gallus (C LIVIN GALLVS Q PRO PR<sup>108</sup>). The coin type is also presumably an *as*, although it is lighter and smaller than other counterparts, such as those seen at Hippo under Africanus.<sup>109</sup>

Not only are elephants meant as symbols of Africa – especially calling to mind the Punic wars with Hannibal – but Caesar would have most likely included elephants in his triumphal procession after conquering Africa. The elephant was also a sacred animal to the Phoenician deity Ba'al Hammon. Its act of crushing a snake could be seen as a symbolic destroying of evil forces. Alexandropoulos puts forth that the connection of a Caesarian coin type with the new quaestor C. Livineius Gallus was meant to flatter him and to promote his own strength and influence.<sup>110</sup>

Coin series 782 and 783 have also been attributed to Hadrumetum, though they contain no ethnic. They both depict the head of Neptune with a trident on their obverses, and their reverses depict Sol. Both mention in their legends *duoviri*, indicating that Hadrumetum may have in fact been named a *municipium*

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<sup>107</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 197-198.

<sup>108</sup> C. Livineius Gallus Quaestor pro Praetore.

<sup>109</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 197-199.

<sup>110</sup> Alexandropoulos 1987, 66-67.

towards the end of Augustus' reign.<sup>111</sup> These are the only two coins from Hadrumetum that indicate this status of a *municipium*, and while they do not completely correlate iconographically with the coinage minted in Utica, there are also only two coins left with which to compare. Therefore, I believe that two coins are not enough to make a complete comparison.

There are six clear obverse types: a bare-head type (771), a Caesarean type (772), an Augustan type (775, 777, and 779), an Africanus type (780 and 781), a Neptune type (773, 774, 782, and 783), and a Sol type (776 and 778).

Interestingly, all of the Neptune types feature another deity on their reverses, either Astarte or Sol. The Sol types both depict their respective proconsuls on their reverses, i.e. 776 depicts Varus and 778 depicts Saturninus. The iconography on the reverses of the Africanus type has strong associations with the province of Africa, i.e. the god Baal and the elephant crushing the snake.

### **Hippo Regius**

Another Phoenician settlement in North Africa, Hippo Regius is distinguished by a substantial harbor, and was situated at the mouth of the Seybouse River. The Roman invasion of Africa in 205 BCE began here when C. Laelius disembarked in the harbor. After this Massinissa claimed Hippo as one of his royal seats; however when Caesar was victorious at Thapsus, Hippo became a

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<sup>111</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 198-199.

part of Rome's African province.<sup>112</sup> Pliny lists Hippo as one of the free cities of Africa enjoying full Roman rights.<sup>113</sup>

Hippo struck only a small issue during the reign of Augustus, in both a *sestertius* (709) and an *as* (710). The obverse of 709 features a portrait of Augustus, while 710 features the head of Tiberius, along with his portrait name CLAUDIUS NERO, and the ethnic HIPHONE LIBERA. 709 depicts portraits of Gaius and Lucius both facing one another on its reverse, with the ethnic HIPHONE LIBERA included. 710's reverse shows a portrait of Africanus, along with his name FABIO AFRIKANO.<sup>114</sup>

Three denomination series were struck under Tiberius: a *sestertius* (711), a *dupondius* (712), and an *as* (713). Only 713 contains the name of the proconsul of Africa between 18 and 21 CE, Apronius. However, 711 and 712 can be placed in the same time period as 713 based on stylistic similarities. All three feature a portrait of Tiberius on their obverses, with 713 also including a *simpulum* and a *lituus* in the design. All three series include the ethnic HIPHONE LIBERA on their reverses, though their designs all differ. 711 depicts a seated, veiled Livia holding a patera and a sceptre, 712 features a portrait of Drusus Minor, and 713 depicts the proconsul Apronius.<sup>115</sup>

There are three other coins (714-716) that are anonymous and cannot be dated with any certainty. All feature the legend LIBERA on their obverses, and

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<sup>112</sup> Brill's New Pauly 2012 "Hippo", [http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/subscriber/uid=3177/entry?result\\_number=1&entry=bnp\\_e514270&search\\_text=hippo+regius&refine\\_editions=bnp\\_bnp#hit](http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/subscriber/uid=3177/entry?result_number=1&entry=bnp_e514270&search_text=hippo+regius&refine_editions=bnp_bnp#hit)

<sup>113</sup> Plin., *Nat.* 5.2.

<sup>114</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 188-189.

<sup>115</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 188-189.

the ethnic HIPHONE on their reverses. 714 depicts on its obverse a head of Juno/Astarte with veil and diadem, and its reverse is a full frontal figure of Ceres, who holds a caduceus and two ears of corn. The obverse of 715 may also depict Ceres, though it is uncertain; the figure is certainly similar to that on the reverse of 714. The reverse of 715 depicts a full male figure, again facing front, who holds a *hasta* and has what may be a dog at his feet. 716 depicts an uncertain female head with a diadem on its obverse (possibly meant to represent Juno), and its reverse is the head of Ceres.<sup>116</sup>

Most noticeable in the coins of Hippo is the strong presence of the imperial family; five of the eight coins attributed to this city feature at least one member of the imperial family. Also, depictions of the proconsuls are seen on two of the coin types; those depictions of proconsuls on reverses are always accompanied by depictions of Tiberius on the obverses. Only the coins which cannot be attributed to either Augustus' or Tiberius' reign include depictions of deities. The use of Ceres seems relevant to such a fecund province as North Africa, which is curious as she is only depicted on one other known coin type from Africa, from Colonia Iulia Pia Paterna.

### **Lepcis Magna**

The Phoenician city of Lepcis was supposedly founded by political refugees, which is the story recorded by Sallust, who claims to have used Punic documents to formulate this history.<sup>117</sup> However, it is likely that there was significant settlement of the area before the Phoenicians ever even arrived, as the

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<sup>116</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 188-189.

<sup>117</sup> Hoyos 2010, 39.

name is Libyan in origin, rather than Punic.<sup>118</sup> Leptis Magna was by far the most important Phoenician city in Tripolitania, due to its trade links that extended into the interior of Africa.<sup>119</sup> The archaeological record at Leptis indicates that there was occupation as early as the mid to late seventh century BCE.<sup>120</sup> Unlike the other cities of Tripolitania, Leptis was substantially built from its beginning. The deities worshiped in Leptis were different from those at Carthage, suggesting the city was established independently of Carthage. The city's patron deities were Milk' Ashtart, the "king" of the city, and Shadrappa, a savior and fertility deity. There are also many inscriptions in Leptis that were dedicated to the Phoenician goddess Astarte.<sup>121</sup>

By the fourth century BCE the city was settled by the Carthaginians, most likely to maintain their hold over trade with the Garamantes tribe. In Leptis, as in the other cities of Tripolitania, the Carthaginians introduced the farming of olive trees, the olive oil from which was exported to the great benefit to the region.<sup>122</sup> After the second Punic war, the Numidian king Massinissa began an attempt to gain control over Tripolitania – and Leptis – and in 162-161 BCE, Leptis became part of the Numidian kingdom, under the orders of Rome. Leptis then began paying tribute to Massinissa, and their trade, which was no longer as heavily controlled as it had been under Carthaginian control, began to flourish. However, when Jugurtha came into conflict with Rome, Leptis removed its support to the

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<sup>118</sup> Mattingly 1994, 50.

<sup>119</sup> Brill's New Pauly 2012 "Leptis Magna", [http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/subscriber/uid=3177/entry?result\\_number=2&entry=bnp\\_e701890&search\\_text=leptis+magna&refine\\_editions=bnp\\_bnp#hit](http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/subscriber/uid=3177/entry?result_number=2&entry=bnp_e701890&search_text=leptis+magna&refine_editions=bnp_bnp#hit)

<sup>120</sup> Mattingly 1994, 50.

<sup>121</sup> Sears 2011, 22-23.

<sup>122</sup> Raven 1993, 25-26.

Numidian kingdom and instead the city allied itself with Rome. Even though Lepcis was technically returned to the Numidian kingdom after the conflict, it demonstrated a significant level of independence that was most likely possible because of the city's distance from Numidia itself.<sup>123</sup>

Lepcis Magna was not included in the *formulae provinciae*, possibly because it only regained its freedom under Augustus after having lost it for Thapsus. Its ethnic is in neo-Punic: LPQY. Under Augustus the only Punic present on the coinage is the ethnic, but under Tiberius they are fully bi-lingual. Lepcis is the only city in North Africa to have issued a series of silver coins during the time of the Principate.<sup>124</sup>

The coinage minted under Augustus at Lepcis sees some variation in terms of iconography. Series 840, 841, and 842 feature the head of Dionysus on their obverses, although 842 also includes the head of Heracles. The obverses of 843, 844, 845, and 846 all depict a portrait head of Augustus. Series 840, 841, and 842 depict the head of Augustus within a laurel wreath on their reverses, the portrait either laureate (840) or bare (841 and 842). 843 and 844 both depict a thyrsus and club, again within a laurel wreath. Series 845 features on its reverse a capricorn with a globe and a cornucopia, and 846 an inverted eagle at the top of the coin, and a peacock on the bottom (or vice versa). All these series feature the ethnic LPQY on either their obverses or reverses.<sup>125</sup>

Series 847, also minted under Augustus, is the only Roman issue from North Africa struck in silver, as mentioned previously. Its obverse features a lion

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<sup>123</sup> Mattingly 1994, 50-51.

<sup>124</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 208.

<sup>125</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 208-209.

skin draped over an upright club, without any legend. Its reverse includes the LPQY ethnic, and depicts a running panther with a thyrsus suspended above. The exact reason for the silver issue is uncertain, although the choice of depicting symbols of Heracles and Dionysus is unsurprising, as they are the patron deities of Lepcis. Its exact date is also uncertain, although RPC has given a possible date of after 15 BCE, based on the style of the neo-Punic letter Y.<sup>126</sup>

The coinage minted under Tiberius has greater variety in the inscriptions than the Augustan issues, and all except 849 and 850 contain the neo-Punic ethnic. Series 848 depicts a laureate head of Augustus on its obverse with the legend DIVOS AVGVSTVS; curiously, some coins in the series appear to have misspelled the name as AVGVSVTS. The reverse shows a standing Dionysus holding out a cup in his right hand, with a *thyrsus* tucked in the crook of his left arm, and with a panther behind at his feet. 849 and 850 both depict a laureate Tiberius on their obverses, with minor differences in legend, and a reverse depicting a seated Livia wearing a veil and holding a *patra* and sceptre, with the legend AVGVSTA MATER PATRIA<sup>127 128</sup>.

Series 851 depicts a portrait head of Dionysus and the ethnic on its obverse, and its reverse depicts a bull's hide laid over a transverse club. The obverse of 852 shows the *cista mystica* with a border of ivy leaves, and its reverse is a *skyphos* with two *thyrsi* crossed behind it, as well as the ethnic LPQY.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 208-209.

<sup>127</sup> Augusta Mater Patriae [Augusta mother of the country].

<sup>128</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 208-209.

<sup>129</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 208-209.

The coins of Lepcis Magna can be divided quite easily into four iconographical groups: a Dionysus/Heracles type (840-842, 847 and 851), an Augustan type (843-846), a Tiberian type (849 and 850) and a *cista mystica* type (852). All these types seem to present a relatively clear religious identity; as was mentioned before, Hercules and Dionysus were both patron deities of Lepcis, and they – or their accoutrements – are featured on almost all of the coin types. Also prevalent is the use of deities with Augustus on the other side of the coin.

### **Lepti Minus**

Lepti Minus was another city in North Africa that was loyal to the Romans during the Third Punic War and was rewarded afterward by being named a free city in *Africa Vetus*.<sup>130</sup> Lepti Minus also supported Caesar during the Civil Wars, but was not made into a *colonia* until the reign of Trajan.<sup>131</sup> The coins minted in Lepti Minus under Augustus are bilingual: the city name is written in Greek letters, whereas the rest is written in Latin. The value of the coins is also denoted on the coins of Lepti Minus by using Greek letters: delta representing 4, beta representing 2, and alpha representing 1.<sup>132</sup>

Unfortunately not as many coins from Lepti Minus have been preserved, but there are at least two groups that can be identified. The first (784-787) can be dated to as early as 20 BCE; these coins contain the tri-denominational notations and must therefore be reflective of the Augustan monetary reforms. The second

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<sup>130</sup> Plin. *Nat.* 5.3.

<sup>131</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 199.

<sup>132</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 199.

(788-790) is later, dated to the end of Augustus' reign in about 10 CE based on the mention of Tiberius (IMP V).<sup>133</sup>

Most of the coin obverses show the head of Augustus (784, 786, 788, and 790), a few depict Julius Caesar (785 and 787), and a few show Tiberius (789 and 791). The iconography of the reverses is all the same: a bust of Mercury wearing a *petasus* on his head, and a *caduceus* behind his head, with the Greek legend ΛΕΙΤΤΙC.<sup>134</sup>

It is interesting that the language of the coins of Lepti Minus utilize Greek and Latin, and not, as is the case with some other cities, Neo-Punic and Latin. The use of Greek, according to Romdhane, is a result of a strong oriental Greek presence in the form of colonies that had been established due to trade relations with Sicily, Lepcis Magna, and the Orient.<sup>135</sup> While the language shows deviation from the norm, the iconographical themes are entirely typical, with depictions of the imperial family and of deities, specifically Mercury, who is depicted on every coin from Lepti Minus. Their use of Mercury is most likely due to the god's connections with trading, which had been an important aspect of the culture of Lepti Minus since its beginning.<sup>136</sup>

### Oea

Oea was located in Tripolitania between Sabratha and Lepcis Magna, and like those two sites, there was likely a significant pre-Phoenician occupation,

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<sup>133</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 199.

<sup>134</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 199-200. See Figure 2.

<sup>135</sup> Romdhane 2001, 460.

<sup>136</sup> Romdhane 2001, 460.

evidenced by the Libyan name.<sup>137</sup> Its earliest Phoenician incarnation was probably a seasonal settlement, with the first of its major stone building projects occurring sometime in the mid-fourth century. However, the early archaeological remains of Oea have been poorly preserved due to its constant inhabitation since its establishment.<sup>138</sup> The city paid tribute to Carthage until its destruction. It was captured by Massinissa in around 162 or 161 BCE, but it is likely that it maintained its autonomy; after Thapsus it obtained its freedom.<sup>139</sup> Oea was not named as a free city by Pliny, but scholars have determined that its liberty was returned under Augustus sometime after 12 BCE. The Punic name of Oea was Wy't, which can be seen on many of the coins issued here. Like at Sabratha, which will be discussed next, some of the Augustan issues from Oea have other Punic inscriptions as well, which are the names of *sufetes*.<sup>140</sup>

One series, struck in what is most likely *sestertii* and *asses*, contain the legends SV'Q and ThThE. The coins in this group (826 and 827) both depict a portrait of Augustus on their obverses; 826 has a *lituus* in front of his head and a *praefericulum* behind, all within a laurel wreath. 827 simply has the laurel wreath surrounding the portrait, although both 826 and 827 occasionally feature a C in front of the head. The reverse of 826 is a helmeted Minerva facing a laureate Apollo, who wears a *cithara* and a quiver on his shoulder, with the ethnic WY'T

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<sup>137</sup> Mattingly 1994, 50.

<sup>138</sup> Sears 2011, 22.

<sup>139</sup> Brill's New Pauly 2012 "Oea",  
[http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/subscriber/uid=3177/entry?result\\_number=2&entry=bnp\\_e828500&search\\_text=Oea&refine\\_editions=bnp\\_bnp#hit](http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/subscriber/uid=3177/entry?result_number=2&entry=bnp_e828500&search_text=Oea&refine_editions=bnp_bnp#hit)

<sup>140</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 206.

is above the figures, and the legend S'VQ ThThE is below. The reverse of 827 features a *cithara* with the same ethnic and legend as 826.<sup>141</sup>

The second group contains the legend PYLN and M'QR, and was minted in four known denominations: *dupondii*, *asses*, *semisses*, and *quadrantes*, coins 828, 829, 830, and 831 respectively. 828 and 829 both feature the head of Augustus on their obverse, 828 with a *lituus* in front of his head, 829 with the letter C in front. The obverse of 830 is a depiction of a helmet, and that of 831 is a right hand with the ethnic WY'T. The reverses of this grouping are all unique. 828 is a portrait head of Tyche, with the legend M'QR on the left, 'PYLN WY'T on the right. On 829 is a laureate head of Apollo, with PYLN to the left of the portrait, and M'QR to the right. 830 has depicted a shield and spear, along with the legend WY'T M'QR PYLN. Finally, 831 depicts a *caduceus*, with PYLN to the left, and M'QR to the right.<sup>142</sup>

The coins minted in Oea under Tiberius are the most wide-spread throughout Africa after 22-23 CE. These coins frequently feature portraits of Tiberius and Livia, with corresponding symbols: the eagle and laurel with Tiberius, and the peacock and corn with Livia. Series 832 and 834 feature Tiberius on their obverses; 832 includes the eagle and laurel branch whereas 834 omits these symbols. Likewise, of the two series that depict Livia, 833 utilizes her symbols, and 835 does not. Also, those coins which feature Tiberius on their

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<sup>141</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 206-207.

<sup>142</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 206-207.

obverses depict a bust of Apollo with a lyre and wreath on their reverses, and those with Livia on their obverses depict Minerva.<sup>143</sup>

Other coin series call the two gods to mind. 836, 837, 838, and 839 remind of Apollo with tripods, bows and arrows, as well as a lyre. Series 836 with its armored bust of Tyche, 837 with its shields and spears, 838 with a gorgon-adorned aegis, and 839 with a helmet all evoke the goddess Minerva. 836-839 all feature the WY'T ethnic and no other legends, 832-835 also include the ethnic, but 832 and 834 also include the legend TI CAESAR AVGVSTVS<sup>144, 145</sup>.

The use of the Roman deities Minerva and Apollo, as well as the Hellenistic Tyche, and also the inclusion of the imperial family on almost all of the coin types might point to a particularly Roman sense of identity. However, the inclusion of a Neo-Punic ethnic complicates this reading. The lack of depiction of traditional Punic deities is notable, but may not represent a truly un-Punic identity of Oea either. There are clear connections of deities with Tiberius and Livia (Tiberius and Apollo, and Livia and Minerva).

### **Sabratha**

Like the other cities of Tripolitania, Sabratha most likely was occupied before the Phoenician establishment of a city.<sup>146</sup> The Punic city of Sabratha was either Tyrian or Carthaginian in origin, and dates back as early as the fifth century

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<sup>143</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 206-208.

<sup>144</sup> Tiberius Caesar Augustus.

<sup>145</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 207-208.

<sup>146</sup> Mattingly 1994, 50.

BCE.<sup>147</sup> Its patron deity was named Šdrp’/Šadrapa, who was equated with the Roman god Liber Pater.<sup>148</sup> Like Oea, it was probably only occupied seasonally at its inception, with its more permanent buildings erected in the fourth century BCE.<sup>149</sup> In Punic its name was Sabratan, and it was a port town. There is some question as to its liberty, as it was not listed in the *formula provinciae*, which some scholars take as an indication that it lost its status as a free city when it was recovered by Thapsus under Augustus. It was not made into a colony until the second century CE, possibly during the reign of Trajan.<sup>150</sup>

The coinage struck in Sabratha is all bi-lingual; like many other cities in North Africa, its ethnic is written in neo-Punic, while the name CAESAR is in Latin. Some coin series also include the name of a magistrate or simply a letter; during the reign of Augustus these are seen: G, MN·ŞY, R, and ZY·MS, and during the reign of Tiberius these names appear: HMŠ’ ‘KBR, AND GD·RŞ. Also during both reigns there appears to be a correspondence between the denomination of the coins and their decorations: the *dupondii* all feature the head of Baal-Melqart, and the *asses* feature a head of Serapis.<sup>151</sup>

All of the coins minted under Augustus feature the portrait head of the Princeps on their reverses (or in the case of 811, on the obverse), with the exception of 818 and 821, which feature a capricorn with a globe between its feet, a cornucopia, and a rudder. The capricorn is seen on two of the series under

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<sup>147</sup> Raven 1993, 25.

<sup>148</sup> Brill’s New Pauly 2012 “Sabratha”, [http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/subscriber/uid=3177/entry?result\\_number=1&entry=bnp\\_e1026710&search\\_text=Sabratha&refine\\_editions=bnp\\_bnp#hit](http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/subscriber/uid=3177/entry?result_number=1&entry=bnp_e1026710&search_text=Sabratha&refine_editions=bnp_bnp#hit).

<sup>149</sup> Sears 2011, 22.

<sup>150</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 204.

<sup>151</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 204.

Augustus/Tiberius (822 and 823), and the other two of this time period have a simple legend on their reverses: SB/RTN on 824 and S/BR on 825. The obverses of all the coin series from Sabratha feature deities (again with the exception of 811, where the deity is instead on the reverse). The deities represented are Baal-Melqart and Serapis – as has already been mentioned – along with Dionysus and Mercury.<sup>152</sup>

As in Thaena, some of the coins minted in Sabratha depict the Greco-Egyptian god Serapis. The inclusion of the god Baal-Melqart is also interesting; perhaps even more interesting is both gods' continued use during both Augustus' and Tiberius' reigns. The gods also frequently appear with Augustus on the other side of the coinage. The continued use of the Neo-Punic both in the ethnic as well as in the names of suffetes, may also indicate a continued Punic identity in Sabratha. However, there is a clear interest in representing the imperial family, though not to the extent of some other cities. There is also the obvious inclusion of Roman gods as well, although again they are not as strongly represented as Baal-Melqart or Serapis. In particular the god Mercury is seen in conjunction with a Capricorn on its reverse in one case, and in his other two appearances the coin reverses contain the city ethnic. Mercury is also relegated to the smaller-denomination coins – *semisses* and *trientes*. In fact, the Capricorn is on all of the *semis* reverses, regardless of obverse (i.e. 818, 821-823).

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<sup>152</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 205-206.

## Thaena

Thaena, also known as Thena, was located ten kilometers south of Sfax. While it was not named in the *formula provinciae*, Thaena was most certainly a free city, as it took the side of Caesar during the Civil War, although it was not made a colony until the reign of Hadrian. Very few examples of coins struck at Thaena remain, some with ethnic and some without. As before, I will first discuss those coins that contain an ethnic before treating those without.<sup>153</sup>

Coin series 803-807 were all struck during the reign of Augustus. Their denominations are uncertain, but RPC has postulated that 803, 805, 806, and 807 may be *dupondii* and 804 may have been *asses*. All of these are bi-lingual (with the exception of 803 and 807, which only feature the Punic ethnic). Series' 803, 804, and 805 all have a bare head of Augustus on the obverse – 805 has the legend CAESAR T'YNT, 804 simply has CAESAR, and 803 has no legend. The reverses of these are all representations of a Tetrastyle temple, 803 and 804 with the ethnic T'YNT, and 805 with no legend (as the ethnic is already included on the obverse). It is possible that series 803 was the inaugural series of the city, and that 804 and 805 were minted in the same reverse type and legend.<sup>154</sup>

Series 806 depicts on its obverse a head of Augustus with the legend CAESAR DIVI F, and a bust of Astarte with the T'YNT ethnic on the reverse. Series 807 is the same size as 806, and also features Astarte on its reverse, although its obverse depicts a head of Serapis. The last series with an ethnic is 810, which was most likely minted between 4 and 5 CE, and is a heavy

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<sup>153</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 203.

<sup>154</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 203-204.

*dupondius*. The obverse features a portrait of Serapis with the T'YNT ethnic, and the reverse features a portrait of the proconsul Vibius Habitus with the legend P A VIBI HABITI PROCOS.<sup>155</sup>

There are only two preserved series from Thaena without an ethnic, series 808 and 809. Series 808 is attributed to Thaena based on stylistic similarities between it and 806, which RPC claims to have been made by the same artist. It was minted for the proconsul L. Passienus Rufus, and depicts a head of Augustus and the legend

IMP C[ ]DIVI F P P<sup>156</sup> on its obverse, and a portrait of Passienus and the legend L PASS[ ]VS RVFVS IMP<sup>157</sup> on its reverse. Finally, series 809 was struck between 10 and 14 CE, and is attributed to Thaena based upon stylistic cues. Its obverse features a portrait of Augustus with the legend IMP CAESAR DIVI F [ ]TVS P P<sup>158</sup>, and the reverse features a portrait of Tiberius and the legend TI CAESAR AVG F IMP[ ].<sup>159</sup>

There appears to have been a fairly even distribution of Roman elements and Punic elements in the coinage of Thaena; while there are many depictions of the imperial family and of local political entities, there are also several depictions of Astarte, and even depictions of the Greco-Egyptian Serapis, along with the inclusion of the city's Neo-Punic ethnic. This is perhaps due to the fact that Thaena was merely a free city and was not a *colonia* until much later.

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<sup>155</sup> P. A. Vibius Habitus Proconsul. Burnett et al. 1992, 203-204.

<sup>156</sup> Imperator C[aesar] Divi Filius [Pater Patriae?].

<sup>157</sup> L. Passienus Rufus Imperator.

<sup>158</sup> Imperator Caesar Divi Filius [Augustus] Pater Patriae.

<sup>159</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 203-204.

## Thapsus

Thapsus was originally either a Phoenician or Punic settlement, although it was most likely Punic. The city of Thapsus was another that supported Rome during the Third Punic War, earning it the status of a free city.<sup>160</sup> Here there was a battle between Caesar and the Pompeians and Juba I in 46 BCE.<sup>161</sup> Although the city supported Pompey during the Civil War, it did not lose its status of free city, but were instead fined. It also became a colony before the establishment of the province of Byzacene, although a more definitive date cannot be found.<sup>162</sup>

Coins from Thapsus were minted during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. Interestingly, the coins minted under Tiberius are all in Latin, but a few of those minted under Augustus are in both Latin and neo-Punic.<sup>163</sup> For the Augustan issues, we see one coin (792) whose obverse is not a portrait but rather is a capricorn with a cornucopia and a globe; this along with the legend AVGVSTV clearly pertains to Augustus. The reverse is a portrait of Neptune and his trident, with the neo-Punic legend STPSR. The inclusion of Neptune is logical, as Thapsus was a port city. Coin 793 can be fairly closely dated to 10 CE based on its weight and style. The obverse features a head of Augustus with the legend IMP AVG P P, and the reverse is a portrait head of Juno/Astarte and a sceptre again with the legend STPSR. Again the use of the goddess is not without precedent, though Thapsus is the only known city to employ this reverse type

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<sup>160</sup> Plin., *Nat.* 5.3.

<sup>161</sup> Brill's New Pauly 2012 "Thapsus", [http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/subscriber/uid=3177/entry?entry=bnp\\_e120650\\_0&refine\\_editions=bnp\\_bnp&result\\_number=1&search\\_text=thapsus#hit](http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/subscriber/uid=3177/entry?entry=bnp_e120650_0&refine_editions=bnp_bnp&result_number=1&search_text=thapsus#hit). Caes., *Afr.* 79-86.

<sup>162</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 200.

<sup>163</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 200.

within Byzacene. Finally, coin 794 cannot be securely dated, but is placed within the reign of Augustus due to stylistic similarities. Its obverse is much like the reverse of 793, with a head of Juno/Astarte with a sceptre, though there is no preserved legend. The reverse contains the neo-Punic ethnic STPSR and depicts a *cithara*.<sup>164</sup>

There are also three coins from Thapsus which have been placed under Tiberius' reign. These three series' are of three different denominations: a *sestertius* (795), a *dupondius* (796), and an *as* (797). These coins have been dated between 16 and 21 CE, based both on the inclusion of Tiberius' title IMP VII as well as the reverses' stylistic similarities to an issue from Rome. All the obverses feature a bare head of Tiberius with the same legend: TI CAE DIVI AVG F AVG IMP VII. The reverse of 795 depicts Livia, seated and veiled, with a sceptre and two ears of corn in her hand and the legend CERERI AVGVSTAE THAMPSITANI<sup>165</sup>. 796 and 797 share the legend THAPSVM IVN AVG<sup>166</sup>; 796 depicts the veiled head of Livia, while 797 depicts her seated holding a sceptre and a *patra*.<sup>167</sup>

There is a much greater variety in the iconographical types of the coins minted in Thapsus under Augustus than there is under Tiberius; the coins minted under the latter all depict Tiberius on their obverses, and Livia – either portrait head or a full seated figure – on their reverses. All of the coins minted under Augustus feature on either their obverse or their reverse a portrait of a deity, and

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<sup>164</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 200-201.

<sup>165</sup> Ceres Augusta Thapsus.

<sup>166</sup> Thapsus Iunior Augustus.

<sup>167</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 200-201.

two of the three relate directly to Augustus. There is also the fact that the coins under Augustus are bi-lingual; this will be analyzed on a wider scale in the third section of this paper.

## Chapter IV: Civic Identity

The data cited above from the individual cities of North Africa allows the analysis of the broader identity of those who resided in *Africa Proconsularis* in terms of the iconography and legends of their coinage. The tables I have provided at the end of this paper will present a more visual representation of the data. I will begin by dividing the data into categories based on iconography. When looking at the coins of North Africa, the following categories will be of particular relevance: the depiction of religion, monumentality, language, and the level of “Romanness” seen. Once the patterns of the iconography of North African coins have been established, I will begin to examine the question of why these patterns emerged. Determining the reasons behind the iconographical decisions made for these coins can then lead us to more general conclusions about the civic identities of these fifteen North African cities.

I will first discuss religion as depicted on the coins of North Africa. Religious iconography dominates much of the African coinage, and religious themes are quite common on Roman coinage as well.<sup>168</sup> When examining the coins from North Africa as a whole, the deities depicted – as well as the various religious trappings seen – are overwhelmingly Roman. The only clearly non-Roman deities or personifications that appear on the coinage of Africa are Baal, Astarte (though she is sometimes portrayed in the context of Juno/Astarte), Melqart, and Serapis.

Perhaps one of the explanations behind this lack of native deities is the ancient practice of syncretism, or equating Roman deities with non-Roman ones

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<sup>168</sup> Howgego 2005, 2.

based on perceived similarities between them. For example, the Phoenician deity Melqart is frequently equated to the Greek Heracles – or the Roman Hercules – and the god Baal is equated to the Greek Kronos, or the Roman Saturnus.<sup>169</sup> This makes it very difficult to determine whether a deity is meant to represent a Roman deity, or if it is simply a Romanized version of a native one.<sup>170</sup> The deities of the western portion of the Empire were more subject to this equating to Roman gods than the east was.<sup>171</sup>

The process of the so-called *Interpretatio Romana* – the “interpreting” of local deities in the context of Roman ones – was not completely uniform throughout Africa. For example, in Hadrumetum Baal was associated with the Romanized Greek god Pluto, as opposed to the more typical association with the god Saturn. The widespread practice of adopting Roman equivalents for traditional deities would seem to indicate the cities’ desire to be seen as Roman, but still paying homage to their own established deities.<sup>172</sup>

Many of the objects displayed on these coins are also religious in nature. As has already been mentioned in the previous section, indirect references to deities by their divine attributes are also known: e.g., depicting the Aegis to indicate Minerva, or the *cithara* to represent Apollo. Representations of ritual implements can also be seen, such as the *patera*, the *simpulum*, or the *lituus*, all of which would have been used when performing Roman religious rites by members of the colleges of the priests. Nowhere to be seen are the trappings of the

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<sup>169</sup> Quinn 2011, 388-389.

<sup>170</sup> Rives 1995, 133-134.

<sup>171</sup> Howgego 2005, 3.

<sup>172</sup> Sears 2011, 53.

Tophet's practice, which was a place of obvious Punic spiritual identity – whether or not it was in fact a location of human sacrifice.<sup>173</sup>

There are clear regional preferences for certain deities in the coinage examined here. For some cities, the reasons for their use of specific deities are quite obvious. The coinage of Cirta, for instance, uses the guardian virtues of the Sittiani (Virtus and Honor). Colonia Iulia Pia Paterna, Lepti Minus, and Sabratha use depictions of the god Mercury, presumably because of his connections to trade. The goddess Ceres is seen on the coinage of Paterna and Hippo Regius, as agricultural fertility was so important to the province of Africa.<sup>174</sup>

The question of a general religious identity is a difficult one; and perhaps it is not the right one to ask here. The numismatic evidence suggests that public religion in North Africa was complex and varied throughout the province. The cities of Africa that chose to mint coins – when they chose to depict deities – appear to have selected gods or personifications that held local significance, not necessarily ones that were important to Africa as a whole.

Related to the depiction of religious motifs is the use of monumentality on coins, for the vast majority of buildings that are depicted on Roman coins are sacred in some way. The depiction of buildings on coins was largely brought about by the Romans themselves, with little precedent before them.<sup>175</sup> The use of buildings on the coins of North Africa is comparatively uncommon, with the only

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<sup>173</sup> Bonnet 2011, 374; Quinn 2011, 389.

<sup>174</sup> Sears (2011, 55) notes the large amount of temples dedicated to fertility deities in Africa. Hippo Regius had sanctuaries to other fertility deities, Baal-Saturn/Thinissut and Baal/Tanit, by the first century CE.

<sup>175</sup> Howgego 2005, 4.

known examples coming from Thaena and Utica, and the series from Utica was minted during the reign of Juba I.

The majority of the major building projects in Roman North Africa did not occur until the second century CE, long after the time period in which the coins were minted.<sup>176</sup> This could perhaps be the main reason behind the lack of monumental representation on the coinage of North Africa: there simply was none – or at least, none that would be relevant to their Roman rulers. Going along with that is the fact that cities which presumably would have had a great deal of Punic architecture did not feature that architecture on their coins. Based on this, it would appear that the monumental Punic buildings were not a largely important part of the civic identity of the North Africans during the Roman imperial period.

The language of the African coinage is also fairly consistent, and can give further insight into the cities' identities. With the exception of Lepti Minus, which used Latin and Greek in its coinage, the majority of the legends on the coinage are in Latin, with the names of the cities in Neo Punic. Also, as was seen in Sabratha and Oea, the names of local suffetes were written in Neo Punic as well. This practice of using Latin for information that was of imperial relevance and the native language for information of more local importance can also be seen in the coins minted in Sicily and in Spain during the imperial period.<sup>177</sup> This fact points to a wider phenomenon – or at least one in the western Empire – of the use of Latin on provincial coins during the beginning of the imperial period.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Laurence et. al. 2011, 131.

<sup>177</sup> Burnett 2002, 35; 37.

<sup>178</sup> Burnett 2002, 39.

The epigraphy of certain North African cities may provide key insight into the broader question of public identity as displayed through language. The epigraphy of Lepcis Magna from the second and first centuries BCE were written in Neo-Punic, and even later many epigraphic monuments were inscribed in Neo Punic alongside Latin as late as the first century BCE.<sup>179</sup> Even after the use of Neo Punic fell out of favor in the monuments of Lepcis, traditional Punic phrases were still being used in a Latinized form.<sup>180</sup> This taken alongside the numismatic evidence perhaps signals a general trend of transition from Neo-Punic to Latin by the end of the Republican period and into the beginning of the Principate in Roman North Africa.

This could also in turn support a claim for a wider Roman network, one that was connected from province to province by the Roman residents of provincial cities. These residents served as a binding force between the *Provinciae* and the *Imperium*. Often their status in a provincial city was one of importance, as they were citizens of the ruling world power.<sup>181</sup> Obviously a connected system of communication would need a common language; however, a Roman network does not require that provinces completely abandon their native languages, as evidenced by the Neo-Punic ethnics and family names.

The final category to be examined here is the level of “Romanization” apparent in the coinage of North Africa. The use of Roman deities, building types, and language have been discussed above, but equally important to the study of Roman influence on these coins is the depiction of the imperial family.

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<sup>179</sup> Mattingly 1994, 58.

<sup>180</sup> Mattingly 1994, 119.

<sup>181</sup> Purcell 2005, 86-87.

Portraits of the imperial family – mostly of Augustus and Tiberius – dominate the obverse types by a fairly substantial margin.<sup>182</sup> Portraits of the emperor are extremely common on provincial coinage, not just in Africa. This adoption of the imperial portrait is especially interesting when one takes into account the fact that powerful Romans – such as Julius Caesar and Marc Antony – were not commonly portrayed on provincial coinage prior to the Principate.<sup>183</sup>

In light of such differences, one may be tempted to assume that the adoption of the imperial portrait during the Principate was the result of an Empire-wide mandate. However, this does not appear to be the case; there is only very isolated evidence that this was ever even attempted anywhere in the Empire – and nowhere does a forced change appear to have been attempted in Africa. The use of imperial portraiture may have been influenced and even encouraged by the actions of the Emperor, but there is no evidence to claim that there was an Empire-wide policy.<sup>184</sup> This supports the idea of local Roman communities themselves being the primary driving force behind the “Romanization” of North African coins.

It is also worth mentioning here again that the responsibility for minting coins fell to local government officials, whether an issue was implemented by a body of men or one governor. In other words, the power to mint local issues rested in the hands of local people. These officials were clearly not mandated to use a standard iconographical formula; the sheer number of variations in the iconography of the coins of North Africa is the most obvious evidence for this.

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<sup>182</sup> See table 1. Imperial portraits account for 92 of the 155 obverse types.

<sup>183</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 38-39.

<sup>184</sup> Burnett et al. 1992, 53-54.

Therefore, imperial portraits on the North African coinage are there as a result of local decisions.

The Principate gave the provinces a clear focus for their display of public identity: the Princeps himself, as well as his family. The imperial family provided the provinces with a new means of proclaiming a public “Roman” identity. During the Republican period there was not as singular a focal point for the provinces to devote attention to.<sup>185</sup> This new focus of attention is reflected in the coinage of North Africa, both in the near-complete lack of depictions of Roman leaders during the Republic, and in the repeated depictions of members of the imperial family during the Principate.

One of the greatest successes of the Roman Empire was their reliance on localized governmental systems, allowing them to maintain order over vast lands. For this type of approach to work, the Romans had to rely on provincial elites and their readiness to sustain the responsibilities of governing their own homes. This creates an interesting dynamic, in which the local elites – while they are still performing a civic duty to Rome – were not merely agents of the empire, but instead were acting independently and with their own motivations.<sup>186</sup> While it would be difficult to claim that every provincial elite was acting solely on their own interests and not on those of the Empire as a whole, it would be justifiable to suppose that, by looking at the actions and works of the elite class in Roman North Africa, one can see the motivations and values of the political elite.

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<sup>185</sup> Purcell 2005, 99.

<sup>186</sup> Rives 1995, 100.

I would like to briefly treat the area of Tripolitania separately. The situation of Tripolitania was different than that of the rest of North Africa. As has been mentioned before, there seems to have been occupation at Lepcis Magna, Sabratha, and Oea even before the Phoenician people. The level of autonomy in the Tripolitanian cities of Lepcis, Oea, and Sabratha during the early Principate was higher than other cities in North Africa.<sup>187</sup> The native elites clearly maintained their local power during Roman occupation, with long-standing families still being mentioned in civic epigraphy in the first century CE.<sup>188</sup>

However there is also a great deal of evidence that the elites of this area were particularly interested in gaining the favor of the emperor – particularly Lepcis Magna, which had a temple to Rome and Augustus as well as priests of Caesar Augustus at the surprisingly early time of 8 BCE. These buildings were paid for, not by agents of Rome, but by the local elites of Libyan and Phoenician origins.<sup>189</sup> The coins of Tripolitania also show a great deal of attention to not only the imperial family, but also to Roman deities – with the exception of Sabratha which, although most of the coins minted feature Augustus or Augustan iconography, mostly depicts the gods Baal and Serapis. So, even in Tripolitania with its greater level of autonomy, we can see a great deal of Roman influence. It would appear that whatever the levels of Roman control throughout *Africa Proconsularis*, the local elites are deciding to utilize a great deal of Roman iconography and language.

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<sup>187</sup> Mattingly 1994, 50-52.

<sup>188</sup> Mattingly 1998, 167.

<sup>189</sup> Mattingly 1994, 52.

Civic competitions among the cities of North Africa may have also played a role in the coin decisions. One of the key factors of competitions among different cities throughout the Roman Empire was the hierarchy of different settlement types, i.e. a *colonia* had higher status than a *municipium*, which was higher still than a *praefectura*, etc. Along with the hierarchy of settlements came the ability for upward mobility, which clearly influenced the level of competition between cities which had the power to move from one status to another.<sup>190</sup> Cities that wished to be seen as higher-status Roman *coloniae* or *municipia* employed a Roman form of government. This indication of Roman governmental practices is reflected in funerary art, and perhaps even in the coin type from Carthage which depicted the *sella curulis* on its obverse.<sup>191</sup>

When examining the obverse types of *coloniae* and *municipia* separately from the rest of the cities in North Africa, the imperial family appears to have been favored. Of the sixty five obverse types from the *coloniae* and *municipia*, forty two were members of the imperial family, thus representing 65% of the obverse types. The imperial family was depicted on forty seven of the ninety one obverse types from the rest of our sample, representing 52% of the obverse types. While it is only a difference of 13%, it is still perhaps significant that the coins from *coloniae* and *municipia* show a greater preference for the imperial family as an obverse type than the other cities of North Africa. There also appears to have been a greater focus on the representation of deities in the *oppida libera* than in

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<sup>190</sup> Laurence et. al. 2011, 65-66.

<sup>191</sup> Laurence et. al. 2011, 68.

the *coloniae* and *municipia*.<sup>192</sup> While this could perhaps be due to the fact that there were more *oppida libera* at this time than *coloniae* and *municipia* – and there are also more coins preserved from the former – it may also indicate a further difference in focus between these types of cities.

The question we come to now is how did Roman influence reach the cities of North Africa? The answer to this question most likely lies in the population of native Italian immigrants living in North Africa. Many factors drove Roman Italians to immigrate to North Africa, as has been mentioned briefly before: the desire to escape the excess of Rome and its surroundings, to escape proscription or some other danger, for a sense of adventure, as veterans of the Roman army, to continue the centuries-old tradition of trading; the reasons for immigration into Africa were many.<sup>193</sup> In general Romans tended to colonize areas which were most like Italy in climate and landscape, features which Africa – with its hot climate and fertile land – certainly contained.<sup>194</sup> While the Italian immigration in the late Republic was by no means a mass-migration of people, a substantial number of Italians did settle overseas, and the majority of them were traders. According to Brunt, their numbers were not significant in comparison to the whole population, but their numbers were quite large in comparison to the elite members of their new towns.<sup>195</sup>

Immediately following Octavian's victory at Actium, many veteran colonies were set up throughout the empire, including in North Africa, at places

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<sup>192</sup> See Table 2 and Table 3.

<sup>193</sup> Lassère 1977, 77.

<sup>194</sup> Woolf 2011, 15.

<sup>195</sup> Brunt 1971, 160.

like Sicca. Also as a result of the settling of Augustan troops on land in Italy, many of Antony's supporters still housed in Italy were forced to move elsewhere – and it is likely that this was the case for many of those who settled in Carthage after its rebuilding. There were also many colonies throughout North Africa – such as at Tingi – that did not mint any local coinage; however, it would still be reasonable to assume that these cities were in contact with one another and were also influencing one another.<sup>196</sup>

However, colonization was only a part of what caused the cities of North Africa to evolve in the way that it did. The networks which developed across the Mediterranean also played a key role in the shaping of North African identity. Woolf argues that in terms of political and social status, the presence or name of a Roman colony was less important in the day-to-day functions of the society than the ways these cities integrated themselves into the wider Roman network.<sup>197</sup> Therefore, it is possible that the images utilized in the North African coinage were largely meant to display their relevance to the Roman network – the ways in which they saw themselves fitting within the Roman Empire.

The Italian residents cannot be overlooked as mediators: these people acted as a “missing link” between the Roman state and the governed peoples of the empire.<sup>198</sup> Through the influence and knowledge of the Italian Romans within this diaspora, the cities of the provinces were able to utilize the proper elements – such as language and iconography – when forming their public identities. This newly formed civic identity would then allow the various cities to be placed

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<sup>196</sup> Brunt 1971, 237-238.

<sup>197</sup> Woolf 2011, 21-22.

<sup>198</sup> Purcell 2005, 104.

within the imperial network, to be relevant to this worldwide association of peoples under Roman rule.

So in summary, what is it that we see in the coinage of North Africa? Does the adoption of Roman iconography indicate a completely Roman identity? It would seem that in order for this to be the case, there would have needed to be a complete adoption of Roman language, iconography, and sensibilities – the continued use of Neo-Punic language and deities suggests there was not a completely Roman identity. However it is also clear that the various cities of North Africa were not presenting an entirely Punic sense of identity under the Roman Empire. Rather, the identities displayed on these coins were far more complex, and differ from city to city – sometimes quite significantly.

The extent to which the individual residents of these cities completely ascribed to this mixed identity cannot be known. Aspects of the people's personal identities may very well have been reflected in their coinage, but it would be impossible to say this for certain. However, the crucial point is that these coins represented a public identity, which was formed by a number of factors, and it was clearly meant as a vehicle with which to interact with the Roman world.

## Chapter V: Conclusion

The coinage of North Africa illustrates the complexity of the civic identities in *Africa Proconsularis*. The cities along the Mediterranean coast of Africa maintained a culturally diverse population, and their very nature as ports and trading centers put them in constant communication with other peoples. When Africa became a *provincia* of Rome, the influx of Roman veterans and Italian landowners had a significant cultural impact on its residents. But each city had its own past, and their various histories affected their civic identities during the early period of the Roman Principate.

This now brings us to the question of what these coins mean for the identities of the cities in Roman North Africa. The fact that coins display a public identity must once again be re-iterated.<sup>199</sup> The choices of what to depict on these coins was as deliberately chosen with a public audience in mind as those that were made when elite members of these cities commissioned monumental dedications and building projects. The differences in size of these two methods of display are irrelevant; they are both equally useful tools for the display of an identity.

The use of coin types that are copies of imperial or strictly Roman issues – such as coin 781 of Hadrumetum which was copied from the Cesarean issue, or the seated Livia type which had its origins in imperial issues – may have been motivated by much of the same reasons as the use of the Emperor's portrait. Copying coins that had been minted in Rome itself would solidify the African cities' connections to the Empire. Also, the majority of larger-denomination coins used in North Africa had been brought in from the mint at Rome, so the

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<sup>199</sup> Howgego 2005, 1.

motifs of the Roman issues would have been widespread throughout the area on the silver issues – and less commonly on gold issues. Unifying the iconography of the imperial issues with the smaller city issues may have been seen as a symbolic connection of the city with Rome itself.

I argue that the numismatic evidence of North Africa – when viewed globally – signals a shift in civic pride during the Roman period. Where once civic pride had been viewed in a Punic context, during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius it was viewed in a more Roman context. What the coinage of North Africa shows is the various attempts of the cities to fit into the broader milieu of the Roman Empire. As said before: it would be tempting to conclude that the overwhelmingly Roman iconography of the coinage indicates that the North African cities were simply conforming to Roman rule; conversely, it is tempting to view the minor deviations in the patterns – such as the use of Greek text in the coin issues of Lepti Minus or the silver issue of Lepcis Magna – as signs of covert or minor resistance.

What we are left with, then, is a complex public identity, one that does not necessarily preclude aspects of many different cultures. The use of the Neo-Punic language and of traditional imagery alongside with Latin and Roman iconography creates an impression of a hybridized culture in North Africa. The coins from these cities reflect the prime location of *Africa Proconsularis* for trade as well as the conglomeration of many different people, objects, and ideas.

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## Tables

**Table 1: The Imperial Family**

|                     | <b>Augustus</b>        | <b>Tiberius</b>       | <b>Caesar</b>        | <b>Livia</b>          |
|---------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| <b>Achulla</b>      | Obv. 3                 | -                     | Rev. 1               | -                     |
| <b>Carthage</b>     | Obv. 2                 | Obv. 5                | -                    | Rev. 2                |
| <b>Cercina</b>      | Rev. 1                 | -                     | -                    | -                     |
| <b>Cirta</b>        | -                      | -                     | -                    | -                     |
| <b>C.I.P.P.</b>     | Obv. 2                 | Obv. 6                | Obv. 2               | Rev. 3                |
| <b>Hadrumentum</b>  | Obv. 3                 | -                     | Obv. 2/Rev. 1        | -                     |
| <b>Hippo Regius</b> | Obv. 1                 | Obv. 4                | -                    | Rev. 1                |
| <b>Lepcis Magna</b> | Obv. 5/Rev. 3          | Obv. 2                | -                    | Rev. 2                |
| <b>Lepti Minus</b>  | Obv. 4                 | Obv. 2                | Obv. 2               | -                     |
| <b>Oea</b>          | Obv. 4                 | Obv. 2                | -                    | Obv. 2                |
| <b>Sabratha</b>     | Obv. 1/Rev. 8          | -                     | -                    | -                     |
| <b>Sicca</b>        | Obv. 3                 | Rev. 2                | -                    | -                     |
| <b>Thaena</b>       | Obv. 6                 | Rev. 1                | -                    | -                     |
| <b>Thapsus</b>      | Obv. 1                 | Obv. 3                | -                    | Rev. 3                |
| <b>Utica</b>        | -                      | Obv. 22               | -                    | Rev. 20               |
| <b>Total</b>        | <b>Obv. 35/Rev. 12</b> | <b>Obv. 46/Rev. 3</b> | <b>Obv. 6/Rev. 2</b> | <b>Obv. 2/Rev. 31</b> |

**Table 2: Non-Roman Deities**

|                     | <b>Astarte*</b>      | <b>Baal</b>           | <b>Melqart</b> | <b>Serapis</b>       |
|---------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| <b>Achulla</b>      | Obv. 1               | -                     | -              | -                    |
| <b>Carthage</b>     | -                    | -                     | -              | -                    |
| <b>Cercina</b>      | -                    | -                     | -              | -                    |
| <b>Cirta</b>        | -                    | -                     | -              | -                    |
| <b>C.I.P.P.</b>     | -                    | -                     | -              | -                    |
| <b>Hadrumentum</b>  | Rev. 1               | Rev. 1                | -              | -                    |
| <b>Hippo Regius</b> | Obv. 1               | -                     | -              | -                    |
| <b>Lepcis Magna</b> | -                    | -                     | -              | -                    |
| <b>Lepti Minus</b>  | -                    | -                     | -              | -                    |
| <b>Oea</b>          | -                    | -                     | -              | -                    |
| <b>Sabratha</b>     | -                    | Obv. 4?               | Obv. 4?        | Obv. 5/Rev. 1        |
| <b>Sicca</b>        | -                    | -                     | -              | -                    |
| <b>Thaena</b>       | Rev. 2               | -                     | -              | Obv. 2               |
| <b>Thapsus</b>      | Obv. 1/Rev. 1        | -                     | -              | -                    |
| <b>Utica</b>        | -                    | -                     | -              | -                    |
| <b>Total</b>        | <b>Obv. 3/Rev. 4</b> | <b>Obv. 4?/Rev. 2</b> | <b>Obv. 4?</b> | <b>Obv. 7/Rev. 1</b> |

\*Includes depictions of Juno/Astarte

**Table 3: Roman Deities**

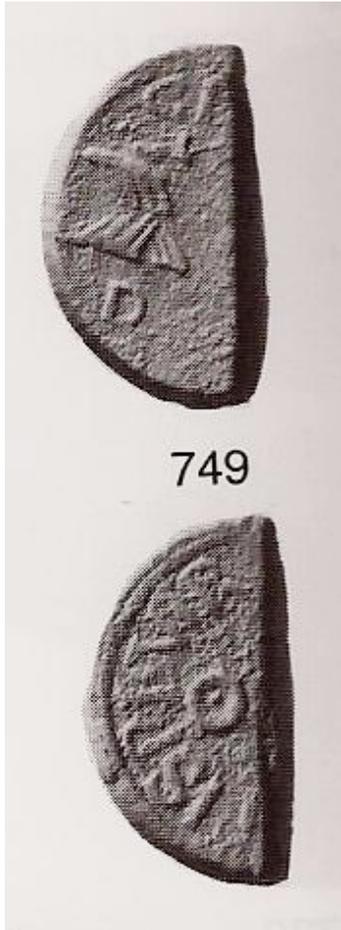
|                     | <b>Apollo</b> | <b>Dionysus</b>      | <b>Ceres</b>  | <b>Jupiter</b> |
|---------------------|---------------|----------------------|---------------|----------------|
| <b>Achulla</b>      | -             | -                    | -             | -              |
| <b>Carthage</b>     | -             | -                    | -             | -              |
| <b>Cercina</b>      | -             | -                    | -             | -              |
| <b>Cirta</b>        | -             | -                    | -             | Obv. 1         |
| <b>C.I.P.P.</b>     | -             | -                    | Rev. 2        | -              |
| <b>Hadrumetum</b>   | -             | -                    | -             | -              |
| <b>Hippo Regius</b> | -             | -                    | Rev. 2        | -              |
| <b>Lepcis Magna</b> | -             | Obv. 4/Rev. 1        | -             | -              |
| <b>Lepti Minus</b>  | -             | -                    | -             | -              |
| <b>Oea</b>          | Rev. 3        | -                    | -             | -              |
| <b>Sabratha</b>     | -             | Obv. 2               | -             | -              |
| <b>Sicca</b>        | -             | -                    | -             | -              |
| <b>Thaena</b>       | -             | -                    | -             | -              |
| <b>Thapsus</b>      | -             | -                    | -             | -              |
| <b>Utica</b>        | -             | -                    | -             | -              |
| <b>Total</b>        | <b>Rev. 3</b> | <b>Obv. 6/Rev. 1</b> | <b>Rev. 4</b> | <b>Obv. 1</b>  |

|                     | <b>Mercury</b>        | <b>Minerva</b>       | <b>Neptune</b>       | <b>Sol</b>           |
|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| <b>Achulla</b>      | -                     | -                    | -                    | -                    |
| <b>Carthage</b>     | -                     | -                    | -                    | -                    |
| <b>Cercina</b>      | -                     | Obv. 1               | -                    | -                    |
| <b>Cirta</b>        | -                     |                      | -                    | -                    |
| <b>C.I.P.P.</b>     | Rev. 8                |                      | -                    | -                    |
| <b>Hadrumetum</b>   | -                     |                      | Obv. 4               | Obv. 2/Rev. 3        |
| <b>Hippo Regius</b> | -                     |                      | -                    | -                    |
| <b>Lepcis Magna</b> | -                     |                      | -                    | -                    |
| <b>Lepti Minus</b>  | Rev. 8                |                      | -                    | -                    |
| <b>Oea</b>          | -                     | Rev. 3               | -                    | -                    |
| <b>Sabratha</b>     | Obv. 3                | -                    | -                    | -                    |
| <b>Sicca</b>        | -                     | -                    | -                    | -                    |
| <b>Thaena</b>       | -                     | -                    | -                    | -                    |
| <b>Thapsus</b>      | -                     | -                    | Rev. 1               | -                    |
| <b>Utica</b>        | -                     | -                    | -                    | -                    |
| <b>Total</b>        | <b>Obv. 3/Rev. 16</b> | <b>Obv. 1/Rev. 3</b> | <b>Obv. 4/Rev. 1</b> | <b>Obv. 2/Rev. 3</b> |

## Images



**Map 1: Roman North Africa**  
Rives 1995, xvi.



**Figure One: Carthaginian *Semis*, 749**  
Burnett et al. 1992, Plate 42.



**Figure 2: AEHTIC, Lepti Minus, 791**  
Burnett et al. 1992, Plate 45.