A Thesis

entitled

Underestimated Influences: North Africa in Classical Antiquity

by

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An Abstract of

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The influence of indigenous people upon the Roman economy and spread of their Empire in North Africa has been underestimated in many sources that were written in the colonial period. This thesis aims to join the dialogue of the growing secondary bibliography on Roman North Africa which focuses more on the agency of the natives than on the colonizers. The significant effect and contribution of these indigenous people is exhibited through analyzing the interaction between them and the Romans in select and pivotal instances throughout the period from 218 B.C.-44 A.D. During this time the Romans were able to secure their empire, acquire much land and resources, and enrich their economy through alliances with North African monarchs.
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Preface

North Africa, in the area of present day Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, is a comparatively large land mass bordering on the Mediterranean Sea (see appendix B for map of this area). Historically its location in close proximity to Phoenicia, Greece, and Rome made the area an accessible candidate for the imperial expansion of these states since 1000 B.C. The area possessed three traits that proved to be appealing to nearby nations looking to extend their kingdoms. These include a great quantity of land, lucrative trade networks, and a multitude of people who could either serve as business partners, soldiers, or laborers. These characteristics piqued the interest of the Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans who managed to travel there and leave lasting impressions on the topography. Each of these societies went to North Africa with the same goals of relieving pressures due to population growth, as well as building a larger empire and stronger economy. With this in mind it is reasonable to conjecture that North Africa played an integral part in the growth and development of some civilizations in the ancient Mediterranean. The following research asserts that indigenous North Africans were pivotal and influential figures in the ancient Mediterranean and had a significant effect on the Roman Empire from 218 B.C. to 44 A.D.

North Africa was a land of opportunity to some of the major classical cultures of the Mediterranean. This was especially true for the Romans. They went to North Africa

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1 The term North Africa is used in reference to the land above the Sahara desert from the Atlantic coast to
in dire need of aid in their wars against Carthage, a very powerful Phoenician city in
ancient Tunisia. The Romans sought alliances from indigenous North Africans as a part
of their military defensive strategy. These coalitions were the impetus for a long and
convoluted relationship between the Romans and Numidians (natives from ancient
Algeria) which lasted from 218 B.C.-44 A.D. Throughout this long history of interaction
between the Romans and Numidians the importance and contribution of these natives to
the Roman Empire is unequivocally evident.

Upon deeper analysis of the primary sources it is clear that these indigenous
inhabitants had a pivotal influence on the Roman occupation of North Africa. Therefore
the following research suggests that the Numidians were instrumental in establishing the
Roman Empire in their homeland. This composition refutes the popular and antiquated
belief that these indigenous people were passively subjugated and did not have an active
and integral voice at this time. This treatise will also support the view that the native
people were powerful and respected by the Romans which can be seen in the mutual
benefit alliances that were made. Through their political ties with the North Africans the
Romans destroyed a serious threat to their nation and secured a large amount of land,
sources of food, and income (through trade and taxes etc.) for their empire. For this
reason the following research affirms that the indigenous people had a significant effect
upon the profitable spread and development of the Roman Empire in North Africa from
218 B.C.-44 A.D.

Prior to discussing the sources an important characteristic of the following study
should be noted. This paper will not be filled with comparing and contrasting the views
of previous studies on the matter. The reason for this is that there are not enough sources
on this subject that explore differing views on the role of the natives. There are some post colonial period authors that state facts about the indigenous inhabitants. However they do not go in deeper to analyze the pivotal effect that the North Africans had on the Roman occupation and their empire. Also, since the native influence has been largely ignored, there are no sources that refute these claims of the indigenous importance at this time. In this regard the following work is breaking new ground and building another foundation for the analytical study of the indigenous infrastructure that supports the colonialist enterprise.

Primary sources from Greeks and Romans on the subject of Africans are scant. Some of the ancient authorities that discuss these people to a considerable extent are Diodorus Siculus, Herodotus, Livy, Polybius, and Sallust. They did not compile a large amount of information on the Africans. However, they told of the contribution that these people made to their cultures, pivotal events that involved them, and the significance of the Africans to their history and religion. These classical writers were unbiased but more recent historians have projected the ethnocentric \textit{zeitgeist} (spirit of the times) onto the sources of antiquity. Secondary interpretations from the colonial period are inclined to explain the primary sources from the perspective of the colonizers. This is especially true of Roman North African history. Authors Ella Shohat and Robert Stam explain this fact in a concise yet eloquent way in saying:

\begin{quote}
“The advent of colonialism inspired a retroactive rewriting of African history and its relation to classical Greek civilization. History was recast to conform to colonialist norms………”\end{quote}

\footnote{Ella Shohat and Robert Stam \textit{Unthinking Eurocentrism} (New York: Routledge, 1994), 57}
Brent D. Shaw suggests that this biased view of North Africa stems from the vicarious need of European colonials to express dominance through their ancestors.\textsuperscript{3} This bias is exhibited in the late 19\textsuperscript{th} century writings of French archaeologists that worked on excavations of Roman ruins in North Africa. The field of Roman North African archaeology stemmed from a leisurely practice of French officers during their conquests in North Africa. These men would take their leave on sites of Roman cities in North Africa and it became a pastime to excavate the sites there.\textsuperscript{4} They used the ancient material culture found there as a justification of their innate prowess to conquer (history was only repeating itself). This gave them a sense of entitlement that justified their desire to forcefully take control of parts of North Africa from its inhabitants. In their eyes the Roman ruins reaffirmed their belief in the futility of the natives and superiority of the Europeans.

This Eurocentric attitude is pervasive throughout the colonial period secondary sources for Roman North Africa from the 19\textsuperscript{th} through mid 20\textsuperscript{th} centuries. Shaw highlights the fact that the term ‘Romanization’ has been used overwhelmingly in research on Roman North Africa.\textsuperscript{5} This language does not evoke images of cultural exchange but rather delineates the changing of North African culture with no effect on the Romans. An in depth view of the natives and their importance is usually not expressed very well in these works. The older sources on the subject paid more attention

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Brent D. Shaw \textit{Environment and Society in Roman North Africa: Studies in History and Archaeology} (Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, 1995), 34
\item Susan Raven \textit{Rome in Africa} (New York: Routledge, 1993), Introduction
\item Brent D. Shaw \textit{Environment and Society in Roman North Africa: Studies in History and Archaeology} (Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, 1995), 32
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
to the Romans and their ability to dominate and assimilate the indigenous people to their culture. They virtually ignore the pivotal nature of the North Africans at the time of the Roman invasion of their homeland and the close relationships that the Romans developed with them.

For this reason the bibliography of Roman North Africa is divided into two parts, colonial and post colonial. Early authorities on this area, such as R.M. Haywood and Eugene Albertini, wrote concerning the Roman influence on the North Africans. Both authors discussed how the Romans changed native economies and cultures. They followed in line with this colonialist discourse that has formed the majority of works on this area. The above mentioned works do not so much as hint on the agency of the natives, their stability and wealth, and the aid they actually afforded the Romans. All of these factors that give support to the indigenous influence are left out. In doing so, these sources formulate an idea of the North Africans being passive and weak without a strong hand in the events unfolding at this time.

B.H. Warmington’s book, *Carthage*, discusses the history of the Phoenician city. While doing this he begins to write about Rome because of its significance to Carthaginian history due to the long and involved wars between the two. However, he makes no mention of the importance of the North Africans to the Carthaginian economy or army even though they are a major part of Carthaginian history. The Phoenicians that settled in North Africa had to defeat the natives in the area and later build alliances and fight side by side in war with them. The Carthaginians are in fact a mixed race of

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Africans and Phoenicians themselves. The indigenous Africans were central to Carthage’s foundation, its prowess in war, and even the ancestry of its people. Even so, Warmington does not discuss their place in Carthaginian history in his book.

Fortunately this trend is recently being broken. More of an attempt is being made to deride colonialism imbued with this degrading brand of Eurocentrism. The significance of the natives during the Roman occupation of North Africa is being further developed. This turning away from more Eurocentric ideals and viewpoints falls under the characteristics of the post colonial bibliography. Molefe Asante, author of The Painful Demise of Eurocentrism, and Martin Bernal, author of Black Athena, wrote books that highlight the inconsistencies and nuances perpetrated by Eurocentric theory that is synonymous with the historians writing in the colonial era.

Recent literature on this subject focuses on the agency of the natives. Susan Raven’s book, Rome in Africa, establishes the view that autonomous indigenous people founded thriving societies that were strong enough to support and sustain a larger power both economically and martially. Duane Roller’s work, The World of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene, follows this trend of highlighting the indigenous influence on the Roman conquest of North Africa. He gives an overview of Numidian involvement in the Punic Wars and a history of their interaction with the Romans. In the same vain the following research is an attempt to develop a central focus on the native importance in Roman and North African interaction by analyzing their roles.

Chapter one begins with a discussion of the major tribes and their ways of life prior to and following Phoenician colonization which ushered in the founding of Greek and Roman colonies. It goes on to talk about the competition that these three groups
offered one another. The Greeks became less of a threat as the Carthaginian Empire grew. At this point the Romans saw the strength of Carthage and sought a plan to destroy the Carthaginians before they invaded Italy.

Chapter two introduces the Numidian royal figures. It begins the discussion of the native and Roman alliances. The two major figures here are Masinissa and Syphax. The Romans came to both of these men for aid in their war with Carthage. The Romans sought partnership with these men because they knew Carthaginian war tactics, the location of their camps, the terrain, and they had enough resources to support the war effort.

Chapter three goes into the settlement of lands in North Africa. The Romans settled a colony on the site of Carthage that did not last long. Shortly afterward they divided all of the land they conquered there among displaced Roman citizens. These lands were taxed and also used for commercial farming and manufacturing goods. This brought money into the Roman economy. This chapter also discusses the civil war between Caesar and Pompey. Some of their major battles were fought in North Africa. After the civil war Caesar acquired more native land for the Roman Empire.

Chapter four begins with the background of Juba II and Selene II. It discusses how they were taken by force from Africa and raised in Rome. The chapter goes on to give detail about both of their reigns and the many accomplishments of each. Juba II was a noted scholar, commander, and king. He was successful at squashing rebellions and he had to handle a large one at the end of his kingship. Cleopatra Selene II created peace in Mauretania and it flourished the most during her reign. She may have tried to reinstate the Egyptian Cult of Isis in her kingdom so that she could use the influence of the
religious order to give her son Ptolemy political support. This cult had followers in Egypt, Mauretania, Rome, and other parts of North Africa and Selene II wanted them to support her son. The revolt of Aedemon at the end of Ptolemy’s reign was a response to the way the native royal was treated by the Roman emperor Caligula.

Chapter five gives an account of the indigenous kingdom of Mauretania. This was a very wealthy and flourishing state. It was a trade center which consistently brought in much income of which a percentage was collected by Rome. Augustus was the emperor of Rome after Caesar died and he assigned control over Mauretania to two native monarchs. These indigenous rulers were Juba II and Cleopatra Selene II. Previously Augustus had Roman governors in power in Mauretania, but this caused many indigenous uprisings. Juba II and Selene II were able to negotiate peace with their fellow Africans better than the Romans who did not understand their culture.
Chapter One

Embarking for North Africa

This chapter discusses the Phoenician foreign entrance into North Africa. It documents the ways of life of the natives prior to colonization by and interaction with the Phoenicians. It gives an account of the rise of Carthage (see appendix C for a map of the Carthaginian Empire) and the competition that it experienced from the Greeks and Romans (see maps of Roman territory in North Africa in appendices D and E) in the Mediterranean. The following information also makes the point that the North Africans were very much involved in trading relationships and alliances with the Phoenicians and Romans. What becomes apparent is the fact that these other Mediterranean cultures came to North Africa to establish themselves.

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Immediately prior to the period of colonization by the Phoenicians, in 1000 B.C., some of the largest tribes living in North Africa were the Mauri, Numidians, Garamantes, Gaetuli, Pharusii and the Nigritae.7 These confederacies were comprised of smaller individual native tribes living in their own designated but adjacent territorial areas of

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7 J.D. Fague and Roland Oliver The Cambridge History of Africa Volume II: From 500 B.C.-1050 A.D. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 143. Many of the tribes living in North Africa today untouched by western culture maintain the way of life that their ancestors had practiced for hundreds of years prior. Their societies are observed for the purpose of and have been deemed to offer the clearest representation of native civilization in past centuries. With this in mind it is not at all illogical to conclude that the ways of life of the indigenous people that the Punic, Greek and Roman sources portray were not significantly different from times previous to foreign colonization. So it is acceptable to use the
North Africa. Some of these people lived in sedentary villages while the majority of them were nomads. Those who dwelled underground or in caves were also noted by Herodotus.\(^8\) The primary modes of subsistence employed at this time were agriculture, hunting, and gathering, but pastoralism and transhumance were also practiced in large part.\(^9\) Evidence of these ways of obtaining food and managing survival were exhibited in examples given by Pomponius Mela. He was the earliest known Roman geographer who wrote on the topography of the Roman Empire in 43 B.C. He stated that in the interior, away from the coast of Mauretania, “spines of fish and fragments of other sea creatures” were found along with stone tools that had been worked smooth and pointed. These articles were the material culture of hunter-gatherers. Mela goes on to say that there were tribes who “follow wondering flocks by day and remain in their camps by night.”\(^10\)

Just as modes of subsistence changed and preferences in abodes differed among natives, so did their languages. The spoken language used in North Africa was a part of the Hamito-Semitic family. The dialect of this Afro-asiatic language that was utilized

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\(^8\) Herodotus *The Histories* 4.183 and Pomponius Mela *De Situ Orbis* 1.38 as well as the *Periplus of Hanno* 1.7 also mentions the Troglodytes.

\(^9\) Elizabeth W.B. Fentress *Numidia and the Roman Army* (Oxford: B.A.R. International Series 53, 1979), 191. In the appendix to her work on Numidia Fentress includes an appendix on which contains fragments and excerpts taken from Greek texts concerning the descriptions of the ways of life of some tribes in Northern Africa (encapsulating the area from Mauretania to Egypt). In this appendix she lists a fragment from Hecataeus which is listed in Felix Jacoby’s work that makes reference to pastoralism as a subsistence practice of some native groups. The tribes that Hecataeus speaks of in fragment 334 from FGrH are the Mazyes, Maxyes and Machlyes. In fragment 337 from FGrH Hecataeus speaks of hunter-gatherers who make honey in Zygantis. On the matter of living arrangements as well as subsistence Fentress includes numerous excerpts from book four of *The Histories* of Herodotus.

\(^10\) Pomponius Mela *De Situ Orbis* 1.27, 1.36-1.37. The fact that evidence of a tools made with a technology comparable to stone age methods was observed by Mela writing in 43 B.C. leads one to draw the conclusion that even in that period of the Roman occupation there were tribes who had not diverged from the ways of life of their ancestors in times past long ago. If evidence of societies that had not changed to incorporate the new technologies were found by Mela even in that late date close to the end of the first century B.C. then it is safe to conclude that these natives in the interior of Mauretania lived this way in the pre-colonization period also.
among the natives differed between separate locales.\textsuperscript{11} Topographical features such as mountain ranges, tropical forests and deserts formed natural barriers enclosing those living there and impeding the process of communication. Due to the prohibiting of contact by the landscape there was never a widespread, indigenous resistance movement formed spanning from the Atlantic to the Red Sea coast in opposition to foreign rule. This fact was not a completely negative reality for it actually aided in the survival of knowledge about these natives to the present day. A great deal of preserved information concerning the ancient North Africans actually comes from the foreign writers and historians who came there after the period of colonization ushered in by the Phoenicians.

Phoenicia was situated in the area of present day Lebanon, Syria, and Israel. The most densely populated part of its territory was between the River Eleutheros in the north and Mt. Carmel in the south. This place was only 130 miles long. However, there were five very important Phoenician cities there. These cities were Akko, Tyre, Sidon, Berytus and Byblos. The Phoenicians, as a result of their coastal location, began to trade with the people of other civilizations in the Mediterranean. Their state was right in the middle of a trade route going to the north from Egypt to Asia Minor. Phoenicia was also at the end of another caravan route coming from Mesopotamia\textsuperscript{12}.

The Phoenicians had items that they could manufacture or sell such as wood from the cedars of Lebanon, glass made from fine sand on their beaches, and a purple dye harvested from shellfish. The wood that was gathered out of the forests of Lebanon may have aided in the forming of Phoenicia’s earliest trading relationships with North Africa.

\textsuperscript{11} R. Brian Ferguson and Neil L. Whitehead \textit{War in the Tribal Zone} (Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press), 32.
\textsuperscript{12} Brian Herbert Warmington \textit{Carthage} (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1960), 18-19, 22 and Pliny \textit{Natural History} 5.76.
From early times the Egyptians obtained wood from Phoenicia. The cultural exchange between Egyptians and Phoenicians was concentrated in the city of Byblos which was closer to the woods. However, the city of Tyre was also strong and prosperous. Phoenicians from other settlements took to the exploration of other places in the western Mediterranean but the urban center of Tyre was most instrumental in this task.¹³

There may have been many reasons as to why the Phoenicians decided to go westward. The population may have grown too large for the small area to sustain which probably caused civil discord comparable to that seen in sixth century Athens. Political problems and strife among leaders of Phoenician cities may have caused some influential people to leave and seek other lands on which to found their own cities.¹⁴ Overpopulation was the more highly probable cause for the move to the west. This conjecture has been made from archaeological evidence that suggests that Tyre had been importing additional food in early centuries.

The Phoenicians also may have gone out in search of mineral resources that their land was deficient in. Metals such as copper, tin, gold and silver were commodities at that time in the ancient world. Their search for metals ended in Spain. In order to facilitate the long voyage to Spain from Phoenicia on the little merchant vessels they used, the Phoenicians built many ports on the coast of North Africa. Their ships docked at night and sailed off early the next day.¹⁵ These port destinations turned into colonies and as a result by around 1,000 B.C. the Phoenicians effectively established many cities

¹³ Ibid
¹⁴ Sallust The Jugurthine War 19.1-19.2. Here Sallust gives some reasons as to why the Phoenicians came to North Africa. He says they came there due to population pressures and for the desire of some to establish their own dominion away from home. The fact that they had to leave home in Phoenicia may suggest that there were political problems wherein some statesmen were at a disadvantage and decided to found their own colonies.
in the western Mediterranean that formed a lucrative “trading network.” They, as the Greeks, were a civilization of skilled and experienced “sailors and merchants” who preferred not to be far from the sight of land and were not enthusiastic about travelling by night. This was the reason that most Phoenician settlements such as Leptis Magna, Utica, Carthage, Hippo and Lixus were found clustered on the coast of North Africa.

The Phoenician city of Carthage was founded as a harbor town on the coast of ancient Tunisia. According to Roman mythology it was founded in by the Tyrian Queen Dido (Elissar) 850 B.C. when she fled her homeland to escape the tyrannical behavior of her brother. However this date is disputed by historians who claim that archaeological evidence actually places its founding at 750 B.C. Nevertheless this city of Dido flourished and became the epicenter of Phoenician power in North Africa. One ancient source ascribed the might of Carthage to the prowess and ingenuity of the great King Mago who ruled from 550 B.C.-530 B.C. One hypothesis derived in modern times says that Carthage became so powerful because of its location. Phoenician ships coming from Spain, laden with trade goods would have to go to port there before continuing to Tyre. Therefore it became a storehouse of wealth that allocated its treasures to its mother city in Phoenicia.

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19 Justin *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompeii Trogi* 19.1.1. The historian Justin living possibly in the age of the Antonine Emperors. In his abridged rendition of the work by Trogus Pompeius he says that Mago actually aided in no small part in the building of the Carthaginian Empire through military power which strengthened the state.
The Libyan people (native North Africans) constricted the Phoenician colonization to the coast prior to 480 B.C. They led several successful campaigns against the Phoenicians after which they exacted a tribute from Carthage in exchange for use of land in the interior further from the coast in North Africa. In the generations following 480 B.C. there was a Carthaginian commander who more successfully fought against the Libyans. He was Hanno the son of Hamilcar who was king of Carthage from 510 B.C.-480 B.C. Under the leadership of Hanno the Carthaginians defeated the Libyans and freed themselves from the bondage of the tribute. Following the victory of Hanno Carthage grew and expanded freely into the interior of North Africa. As a result of this one ancient source claimed that he was responsible for making the “Tyrians into Africans rather than Phoenicians.”

This man was also known as Hanno the navigator due to his exploration of the coast of North Africa in the area of Algeria and Morocco as well as down the Atlantic coast. He went to either found new colonies in these areas or to gain control of old Phoenician cities that were founded previously. He settled six cities, one of which was Thymiateria, which were possibly located on the coast of Algeria. The Carthaginians were forerunners, so to speak, because they were the first to colonize in North Africa and they were also the first to explore further down the west coast of North Africa. Hanno the Navigator travelled through the straits of Gibraltar and went south to found cities in the Atlantic region perhaps to affix hegemony over trade in that area for Carthage. He also went on to lead reconnaissance missions of the sub-Saharan area bordering the Atlantic. A log of his travels called the *Periplus of Hanno* speaks of encounters with

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21 Dio Chrysostom *Discourses* 25.7.
22 *Periplus of Hanno* 1.1.
darker skinned natives while on a twelve day journey further down the Atlantic coastline.\textsuperscript{23} A little distance from the Atlantic shore, Hanno also set up a colony on the island of Cerne. The Atlantic area of North Africa was important to the Carthaginians for fishing and retrieving shell fish from which a purple die was derived. A lucrative trade was established with the natives in this region from whom they bought ivory, hides, and gold.\textsuperscript{24}

The Carthaginians evicted natives from their lands and used them as slaves, mercenaries, and soldiers. They were constantly using skilled mercenaries and cavalry of the Mauri and Numidian tribes for war. The Carthaginians were extremely harsh when dealing with the North Africans. The Greek historian Polybius pointed out that the Carthaginians did not honor their generals who treated the Libyans in a civil manner. They did respect those generals who made use of the Libyans for “civil and military purposes” and who treated them with the most disdain.\textsuperscript{25} The evidence of numerous revolts inside and outside of Carthage supports this fact. There were revolts recorded in 396 B.C. and 379 B.C. The first uprising happened as a result of the Carthaginians leaving a group of natives stranded on the island of Sicily after using them in the first Punic War. The details of the second rebellion in North Africa are unknown. In light of their unfair treatment the Libyans made alliances with enemies of Carthage such as

\textsuperscript{23} \textit{Periplus of Hanno} 1.1. This chapter gives information on the translators who were went along on the voyage of Hanno. They were indigenous people from Lixus who could not understand the language of the Aethiopians with whom they came in contact on the Atlantic coast. This fact may mean that the people from Lixus who were translators were far removed from the Aethiopians on the Atlantic coast and had no knowledge of them. This points to the probability that the voyagers were travelling well into the Atlantic coastal region of sub-Saharan North Africa. The translators would have known about those living north of the Sahara, but not below. From the information that the periplus gives about the translators inactivity at a certain point, it may be conjectured that they went far south on that voyage.

\textsuperscript{24} \textit{J.D. Fague and Roland Oliver} \textit{The Cambridge History of Africa Volume II: From 500 B.C.-1050 A.D.} (London: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 122, 128 also see Herodotus 4.196 for the particulars of the gold trade including the method of bartering as performed by the Carthaginians and indigenous people. On the termination of the gold trade by the Pharussii and Nigritae see Strabo \textit{Geography} 17.3.3.

\textsuperscript{25} Polybius \textit{The Histories} 1.72.3.
Agathokles in 310-307 B.C. The natives also participated in the Mercenary War against Carthage in 241-238 B.C.\textsuperscript{26} Even with all of the difficulty and contention between Carthage and the autochthonous people the city continued to accrue much influence and power.

As the Phoenicians were developing the strongest city in their ‘North African empire’ they went through a period wherein the Greeks created some competition for them in the Mediterranean. It is important to point out that Greece was experiencing harsh economic times causing its people to colonize outside their homeland. Their lower classes were lived in extreme poverty because they borrowed money from the rich citizens to buy supplies to cultivate their farms. They could not always pay the money back and got further into debt. As a result of this they could be sold as slaves or starve to death because they could not afford to keep cultivating their lands. After a while there was no one left who trusted the farmers enough to give them a loan due to their prior history of repayment. There was much stress and dissent going throughout the Greek communities that were suffering from economic hardship.

One remedy for this dilemma was to get more land, outside of the mainland, where bankrupt people could go and start over. This is what the Greeks began to do in southern Italy and also in Northern Africa in 650 B.C. This was the reason for the rush of Greek colonists who displaced some of the Libyan tribes. At this point it is safe to conjecture that North Africa was important to the Greeks who settled there because there was much arable land in the area. It also provided an opportunity for poor citizens to be saved from slavery and acquire to their own wealth that was previously an unattainable

aspiration. The removal of citizens to other lands helped to ease tensions between the rich and poor classes in Greece and put less stress on the economy.

Figure 1-1: This map of Libya shows the major Greek cities of Apollonia and Cyrene and their location near the Phoenician settlements of Leptis Magna, Sabratha, and Tripoli.

Due to the presence of the Greeks in the lands bordering the Mediterranean, in the area of Spain as well as in Northern Africa, the Carthaginians went into a defensive mode. They created a strong navy that later greatly intimidated even the Romans.\textsuperscript{27} The

\textsuperscript{27} Maria Eugenia Aubet \textit{The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies and Trade} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 196, 198.
growth of their “naval empire” afforded them the opportunity to expand their sphere of political influence and claim more lands for Carthage. At this point the Romans sought to defend themselves from Carthaginian domination. In doing so, they began a long period of warring with the powerful North African city.

Carthage maintained a remarkable presence and dominance in North Africa and evidence suggests that it was growing in strength in the Mediterranean at the same time that Rome was gaining power. The first treaty between Rome and Carthage supports this contention. Polybius gave a detailed description of the parameters of the treaty. Roman and Carthaginian respective circles of influence may have intersected with one another, which would have ended in conflict if there had not been some type of mutual agreement between the two. The purpose of the treaty was to ensure that both cities respected the territories of the other by creating boundaries between them.28 Unfortunately the adage stating that ‘rules were meant to be broken’ rang true here because the treaty between Rome and Carthage was violated. Historians have debated who disobeyed the agreement first. Regardless of who was at fault, this caused the Punic Wars to ignite.

The Punic Wars lasted from 264 B.C. to 146 B.C. These wars were not concurrent; there were intervals in between them. The first war lasted from 264 B.C.-241 B.C. The second and third Punic Wars lasted from 218 B.C.-201 B.C. and 149 B.C.-146 B.C. respectively.29 In the second war the Romans decided that the only way to defeat their enemy was to invade Carthage. The problem with this strategy was that it took the Romans out of their element and placed them in the homeland of their adversaries. It

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28 Polybius *The Histories* 3.22-3.29. Polybius may have had the original documents to look at because he stated that they were written in an old “Roman tongue” and that “modern language has developed considerable differences” from that which was employed at the time the treaty was written.

29 Brian Caven *The Punic Wars* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1980), v-vi.
also separated them from their supplies and reinforcements in Italy. When fighting an enemy as strong as Carthage the Romans needed resources that were readily available in a short amount of time. As a result they concluded that it would be highly beneficial to secure a partnership with some of the natives. These people undoubtedly knew the landscape and had the necessary supplies to conduct a war there with Carthage. At this time the Numidians were one of the strongest tribal confederacies in North Africa and the Romans decided to approach them with the terms of an alliance.
Chapter Two

The First Encounter: From Masinissa to Juba I

The following chapter chronicles the political relationship that existed between the Romans and Numidians (a time line of the major indigenous figures is included in appendix A). It documents the fact that the Romans built an alliance with the Numidians as a military defensive strategy and the role that the natives played in the second and third Punic Wars. Also mentioned is the recurrent theme of intertribal rivalry among Numidians in which the Romans constantly became involved during the extent of their political relationship. There is also an example of resistance by Jugurtha who was a Roman ally before waging war on them. The North African allies helped Rome to stunt the growth of the dominance of Carthage and because of this they became involved in alliance with the Romans for generations to come.

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Prior to discussing the natives it is important to distinguish between the indigenous people of North Africa and those who resided there but were of different origins. The Numidians and Mauretanians are referred to here as natives. The early ancestors of these groups originated in North Africa. The Carthaginians are not considered natives. The kingdom of Carthage was located in North Africa, however its people were of Phoenician ancestry. It is important to note that the Numidians and
Carthaginians were not friendly toward one another. Even so, some Numidians allied with the Carthaginians for political and economic gain.

The kingdom of Numidia was located in the present day area of Algeria. It covered an area from the river Moulouya on the border of Mauretania, currently Morocco, to the frontier zone of Carthage, contemporary Tunisia. The capital of Numidia was Cirta. The state was made up of numerous nomadic tribes that formed a confederacy in which the Numidians were the most powerful group. It covered a comparatively smaller area than the neighboring state of Mauretania whose kings often became involved in Numidian conflicts. However Roman geographer Pomponius Mela noted that Numidia excelled in opulence and culture in comparison to Mauretania.\(^{30}\)

![Map of Numidia and Mauretania](image)

Figure 2-1: This is a map showing an image of East and West Numidia as well as the location of Carthage and Mauretania.

\(^{30}\) Pomponius Mela *De Situ Orbis* 1.25 and Sallust *The War With Jugurtha* 16-18. In this passage Sallust traces the origin of the Numidian, Mauri and Pharusii tribes as recorded by Hiempsal the father of Juba I. The source was written in the Punic language and it claims that these tribes came from the intermingling of the soldiers of Hercules, who were of varying nationalities, with the indigenous North Africans.
In the period of the second and third Punic Wars the two largest tribes in the Numidian state were the Masaesyles and the Massyles. These tribes were constantly in turmoil with one another. Syphax, king of the Masaesyles, tried to settle nomadic tribes in western Numidia in hopes of establishing a larger kingdom. Gaia, king of the Massyles, also attempted to found a powerful kingdom in the eastern half of Numidia.\(^3\)

One cause of discord between Gaia and Syphax was that they both set out to build a vast kingdom in the same area.

Prior to the Romans’ entreaty, Syphax joined forces with the Carthaginians expecting them, in turn, to help facilitate his efforts to annex Gaia’s territory. When the Romans arrived to seek native alliances they went directly to Syphax because he was the more affluent Numidian king.\(^2\) Syphax resolved that it was more beneficial to partner with the Romans because they were more desperate for aid in their war effort than the Carthaginians. Thus Syphax surmised that the Romans would offer him greater rewards for an agreement of partnership. He also figured that the Romans would be indebted to him and he planned to ask for their support in his endeavors to take control of the whole state of Numidia. The fact that Syphax contemplated switching sides serves as an example of how his desire to be king of eastern and western Numidia affected his decision whom to partner with.

During Syphax’s negotiations with the Romans, the Carthaginians were preoccupied with losses in Spain under General Hasdrubal Barca (the brother of


\(^2\) Appian *Roman History* 6.6.29-6.6.30. This passage exhibits the power and influence that Syphax had in North Africa because the Romans and Carthaginians were competing for his alliance. Scipio even took Laelius and sailed to North Africa from Rome to see Syphax in person when he heard that the Carthaginians were also trying to entice him. The Carthaginian ships tried to block Scipio from getting to Syphax, but he quickly sailed around them and went to talk to Syphax. On his way home Scipio was given protection by Syphax who detained the Carthaginian envoys who wanted to attack the Roman commander until he was far enough out to sea.
Hannibal). At this time, before he accepted the Roman offer, Syphax tried to conquer Carthaginian territories in North Africa. Brian Caven, an authority on the Punic Wars, claimed Syphax wanted to capture the wealth of Carthage and combine it with his own to expedite his plans to oust king Gaia. Meanwhile, to encourage him to finally accept their alliance, the Romans sent one of their centurions to train the soldiers of Syphax in infantry combat. Following this action the Masaesylean king agreed to help the Romans and he appealed to the Numidian troops, fighting under Hasdrubal Barca, to desert the Carthaginian army.\(^{33}\)

The Roman coalition with Syphax proved to be of great advantage. They used the power and influence of this African king to attack the Carthaginians from the inside of their own ranks.\(^{34}\) Syphax was a key part of the Roman offensive strategy to substantially weaken their enemy’s forces. In addition to this, the Numidian soldiers who left the Carthaginians came to join the Romans. This means that the Romans benefitted two fold as a direct effect of having Syphax as their ally.

Hasdrubal needed to address this threat to Carthaginian power in North Africa created by the partnership of the Romans and Syphax. The Massylean King Gaia was a key figure in protecting Carthage because he shared a border with it. Gaia’s position allowed him to obstruct Syphax from entering the city of Carthage. In essence, Syphax would have had to go from western Numidia through or around Gaia’s territory in eastern Numidia to get to the city of Carthage. Hasdrubal Barca realized this and left Spain to

\(^{34}\) Ibid
enlist the aid of Gaia in stopping Syphax. The combined forces of Hasdrubal Barca and Gaia fought from 215-212 B.C. to prevent the army of Syphax from invading Carthage.\textsuperscript{35}

Gaia’s seventeen year old son, Masinissa, distinguished himself as a soldier during this war against Syphax. As a reward for his bravery Masinissa became commander of a Numidian cavalry unit of the Carthaginian army in Spain. However following another major Carthaginian loss in Spain in 206-205 B.C., the young soldier considered leaving the Carthaginian side. The Roman commander Silanus talked to Masinissa about joining forces with the Romans. Masinissa thought that changing sides was in his best interest because the Romans appeared to be the stronger opponent in the war. During these negotiations king Gaia died and his brother Ozacles was named king of Numidia.\textsuperscript{36}

While Masinissa pondered whether or not to leave the Carthaginians, Syphax devised another plan to invade eastern Numidia. Syphax partnered with the traitor Mazaetullus, a relative of Masinissa’s uncle Oezacles (the brother-in-law of Hannibal). Syphax was aware that Mazaetullus, as a royal family member, had rights to the throne of eastern Numidia.\textsuperscript{37} Syphax planned to help Mazaetullus secure the kingship and then use him to consolidate eastern and western Numidia into one state. Masinissa moved quickly to stop Mazaetullus by asking the king of Mauri tribe (in Mauretania) for extra soldiers and resources. Before Masinissa could get a sizable force together, Mazaetullus hurriedly

\textsuperscript{35} Caven, 180-181.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid
\textsuperscript{37} Following the death of Gaia, his brother Oezacles was named king. This action adhered to the Numidian patriarchal tradition of inheritance. Since Mazaetullus was a relative of Oezacles he was also of the same tribal lineage as Oezacles and had rights to the throne of eastern Numidia. Mazaetullus allied with Syphax thus making him a traitor among his own people.
married Oezacles’ widow thereby becoming Hannibal’s brother-in-law. In doing this Mazaetullus acquired the prominent status necessary to oppose Masinissa.\textsuperscript{38}

Previously Mazaetullus was distant kin to king Oezacles but Masinissa was his nephew. According to North African tradition, since Masinissa was a closer relative to the king he was the next heir. Masinissa planned to be crowned king of the Massyles and block Syphax from conquering eastern Numidia. However Mazaetullus, upon marrying Oezacles’ widow, became king and used his wife’s wealth to support Syphax. Masinissa, with reinforcements from the king of the Mauri, defeated Mazaetullus before he gave eastern Numidia to Syphax.\textsuperscript{39} Following this event, Masinissa decided to join the Romans.

In (206-205 B.C.) Syphax entertained the Carthaginian general, Hasdrubal Barca, and the Roman commander, Publius Cornelius Scipio, at dinner in North Africa to try to negotiate a peace between the two.\textsuperscript{40} He may have done this because Scipio was bringing the war with Carthage directly to North Africa, which would cause some level of destruction there. He was probably thinking of the welfare of his own kingdom in Numidia which was already affected by warring in North Africa. Since Syphax was a Roman ally his territories were destined to house the Roman military camps. This would disrupt civil life in a substantial way and possibly deter nomadic tribes from settling anywhere in Numidia\textsuperscript{41}.

Syphax did not want to risk these things and decided that peace would be best for himself and North Africa, if it was attainable. Brian Caven explored the idea that this

\textsuperscript{38} Duane Roller \textit{The World of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene} (New York: Routledge, 2003), 12
\textsuperscript{40} Appian \textit{Roman History} 6.6.30.
\textsuperscript{41} Brian Caven \textit{The Punic Wars} (New York: Barnes and Nobles, 1980), 225.
dinner was a personal display of the power and influence Syphax possessed. The fact that this native king caused enemies to dine with each other is a testament to his status as an important figure in the war. The Carthaginians attended the meeting to convince Syphax to rejoin their forces. The Romans came to ensure he remained on their side. Indeed terms of mutual agreement were not settled upon by the two generals and Syphax remained a friend of Rome.\textsuperscript{42}

In the period from 205 B.C.-203 B.C. the Carthaginian general Hasdrubal Gisgo (not to be confused with Hasdrubal Barca) worked on enlisting the help of Syphax in his efforts to keep the Romans out of North Africa.\textsuperscript{43} The alliance between the Masaesylean king and the Carthaginians was confirmed with his marriage to Sophonisba, the daughter of Hasdrubal Gisgo. There is no lengthy discussion in any ancient source solely concerning Sophonisba and her life. However, after analyzing Masinissa and Syphax’s actions as a result of their feelings for her, it is possible to conjecture that she was a beautiful and intelligent woman with many other desirable qualities. She was betrothed to Masinissa as a young man before the war with Syphax in 215 B.C. when he was working with the Carthaginians. Syphax cared deeply for her and when he heard that Sophonisba was promised to his rival, he became angry. This played a part in his decision to attack Carthaginian territories in 215 B.C. and to make the alliance with Scipio.

As stated by Susan Raven, Sophonisba indirectly played a part in solidifying the relationship between the Romans and the king of western Numidia. If Syphax married her, thereby solidifying his ties to Carthage, he would not have made the alliance with

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid
\textsuperscript{43} Caven, 231, 235, 237.
Scipio. When Syphax was approached with the offer to marry Sophonisba he was shocked and ecstatic.\textsuperscript{44} He hastened to do what was necessary to ensure his union with her. Syphax waited until after the marriage ceremony and rites were performed to proceed to end his alliance with the Romans. He sent a message to Scipio telling him that he should stay out of North Africa. The Roman commander lost a significant advantage when Syphax joined the Carthaginians. The resources that Syphax possessed were an essential part of the Romans’ war strategy. The Romans were forced to devise a plan for the invasion without the help of the Masaesylean king.

While Scipio was figuring out his new course of action Syphax moved quickly to take over the Massyles and the eastern half of Numidia. Masinissa tried to prevent this takeover but failed due to a lack of resources and soldiers. Following this crushing blow Masinissa met with another Roman commander, Laelius, in Hippo Regius to discuss an invasion of North Africa. At the time of this meeting Masinissa was already exiled from Numidia by Syphax. The Romans lost one Numidian ally and gained another in Masinissa. Even though Scipio had the allegiance of Masinissa, according to Caven, he was essentially a “homeless exile” who did not have as many resources as Syphax.\textsuperscript{45}

P.G. Walsh, an authority on Masinissa’s ambushes, made the point that he was extremely important as an informant to the Romans. He had an intimate knowledge of the location of the camps and combat techniques of the Carthaginians and Numidians. The Romans used the knowledge Masinissa provided to lead many successful sneak attacks on their enemies. Masinissa planned and carried out an assault on the Carthaginian cavalry in 204 B.C. The Roman historian Livy recorded that,

\textsuperscript{44} Susan Raven \textit{Rome in Africa} (New York: Routledge, 1993), 42 and Appian \textit{Roman History} 8.2.10.
\textsuperscript{45} Brian Caven \textit{The Punic Wars} (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1980), 235-236.
“…Massinissam cum equitatu praemissam portis obequitatre atque hostem ad pugnam…” Masinissa went before with horsemen to the gates to draw out the enemy to fight. Livy referred to the incident wherein Masinissa enticed the enemy to come out from the hills, in southwest Utica, as if he were going to engage in battle with them. He feigned preparation for a skirmish with a small contingent of soldiers. The Carthaginians thought that Masinissa and his men could be easily defeated because of their small numbers and decided to fight them. While the Carthaginians were preoccupied with combat the Romans rushed out from their hiding places and attacked. In early 203 B.C. Masinissa led Scipio in setting fire to the Carthaginian and Numidian camps. Polybius stated that almost all of the enemy soldiers died or “fled” as a result of the fires. P.G. Walsh contended that there is no way to know how many people were lost even though it is probable that thousands died. He also claimed that another 5,000 may have been captured and those who escaped no doubt went back to their villages.

In late 203 B.C. Massinissa aided in another Roman victory in the Battle of the Great Plains that took place in the Bagradas Valley. After this defeat, Syphax rushed off to defend his kingdom and to keep the Romans from cutting off his supplies by capturing Numidia. The Roman commander Laelius and Masinissa immediately followed Syphax back to Numidia. Once there they used their combined forces to conquer and claim the eastern half of Numidia for Masinissa. Then the two went westward to Syphax’s capital of Cirta.

46 Livy Ab Urbe Condita 29.34.
47 P.G. Walsh “Masinissa” The Journal of Roman Studies Vol. 55 No. ½ Parts 1 and 2 (1965): 150 and Polybius 14.3- 14.4. Polybius gives a rather superfluous number as to the casualties that were sustained as a result of the fires but the historian Brian Caven concludes that possibly only a few thousand died and were captured.
49 Polybius The Histories 14.8.
Syphax lost large numbers of men in Carthaginian defeats and raised another large army in western Numidia. Many of these men were inexperienced in combat and deserted during battle with Masinissa. When Syphax saw what was happening, he tried to inspire his soldiers by riding out toward the enemy forces alone. Livy stated that, “Ibi Syphax, dum obequitat hostium turmis…equo graviter icto effussus opprimitur capiturque et vivus…ad Laelium pertrahitur.” Syphax’s horse was too ill to go on and bucked him off. The Roman soldiers hurriedly picked him up and brought him to Laelius. Syphax was defeated in the Battle of Cirta in 203 B.C. after which he was taken prisoner by Masinissa and sent back to Scipio. He was kept as a prisoner with Scipio until he could be taken to Rome and killed.

Syphax’s wife Sophonisba met Masinissa at the royal palace in Cirta. In the words of Livy, “forma erat insignis et florentissima aetas,” her beauty was apparent and her age was at full bloom. Susan Raven stated that Sophonisba dropped to her knees and begged Masinissa to spare her. Livy goes on to say that Masinissa, the mighty military commander and ally of Rome, became, “amore captivae victor captus,” the victor captivated by the love of the captive. Sophonisba asked him to promise that she would not be handed over to the Romans. Masinissa married her in order to protect her but, according to Susan Raven, his feelings for her seemingly never changed. Scipio was angered upon receiving news of the wedding because he lost his most powerful native ally Syphax to a marriage with Sophonisba. Syphax did not want his wife with another

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man so he convinced Scipio that he was about to lose another valuable partner. Syphax told Scipio that Sophonisba was crafty, smart, and persuasive.

Scipio then sent word to Masinissa reminding him that Sophonisba and the Numidian kingdom were legally the property of the Roman people and that she should be sent back to Italy with Syphax. Scipio told Masinissa that it was in his best interest to let his love go unless he desired to end up in the predicament of Syphax. Scipio also told Masinissa that the “pleasures of the bed of marriage” were not worth the misfortune that he would suffer if he turned his back on Rome for any reason. Masinissa did not want to break the promise that he made to his new wife. Only a man in love would even consider maintaining his word in this instance wherein he was overtly threatened by a more powerful ally. Masinissa did not want to risk going to war with the Romans over this situation so he came upon a resolution to his conundrum. He kept a poison drink with him so that he could commit suicide if captured by his enemies. Masinissa reluctantly gave Sophonisba the liquid and she bravely wasted no time in drinking it. Susan Raven stated that she accepted it as a “bridal gift.”

With Syphax dethroned and the lovely Sophonisba gone, Masinissa was the sole ruler of eastern and western Numidia and the Romans recognized him for his aid. Livy expressed this when he wrote, “…si quid sibi ad firmandum augendumque regnum opus esse indicasset, enixe id populum Romanum merito eius praestaturum.” The Roman people gratefully offered their help to Masinissa. They told him that if he needed

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52 Susan Raven Rome in Africa (New York: Routledge, 1993), 42-43
54 Livy Ab Urbe Condita 31.11.8. This passage shows that Masinissa is the sole ruler of Numidia. The Roman envoys being sent to inform Carthage of their commander’s violation of the treaty were also informed to tell Masinissa what was going on. This was done so Masinissa, as a Roman ally, could prepare resources for possible war between Rome and Carthage. The fact that Masinissa was named as a person to be informed signifies that he must have held political power in the region at that time.
anything, to strengthen and enlarge his kingdom, they would see to it that he received it. Masinissa later used this promise to support his reason for leading of conquest of Carthaginian lands.

The Romans were indebted to Masinissa for aiding in a string of ambushes and battles that led them to victory in the second Punic War. His reconnaissance missions, planning and execution of strategies, and knowledge of enemy war tactics made him invaluable as an ally. The Romans were also grateful to Masinissa for providing them with the opportunity to distract Hannibal. He helped the Romans pose such a threat to the Carthaginians that they called Hannibal back home to defend Carthage even though he was right outside the gates of Rome. In recognition of Masinissa’s loyalty Scipio placed him on the throne of Numidia as sole sovereign. The Roman Senate later ratified this act.

The second Punic War ended in 201 B.C. after Hannibal’s defeat by Scipio at the Battle of Zama. In 202 B.C. just before the end of the war, Scipio ordered the fossa regia, a demarcation ditch, made which stretched 150 miles from Thabraca to the Gulf of Gabes. The fossa regia served as a boundary marking the territories of which Carthage was allowed to maintain possession. All other North African territories of Carthage were taken away. A large indemnity was placed on the Carthaginians. In addition, as a punitive measure, Carthage was disarmed and banned from waging war on anyone unless permitted by Rome.

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56 Livy Ab Urbe Condita 30.17.
Masinissa formed his kingdom to reflect Hellenistic culture of which he was a major proponent. He proudly wore the diadem of Hellenistic kings, made Phoenician his official language, produced his own coins and developed a trade relationship with Carthage. He also set aside vast amount of land in Numidia for planting crops and farming that allowed more nomadic tribes to settle into a sedentary lifestyle as agriculturalists. As his kingdom grew in wealth he sent money to Greek cities and offered gifts to Greek gods. One of his sons was even a champion in one of the Panathenaic games in Athens. Masinissa’s kingdom was prosperous. Even so, he sought to annex more territory. He justified this by pointing out that the Carthaginians’ land previously belonged to his ancestors who lived there prior to Phoenician colonization. Based on this reasoning, Masinissa felt that he was rightfully entitled to the rest of the Carthaginian territories.\(^{58}\) As a result he invaded and captured many Carthaginian towns.

Before Rome entered into the Third Macedonian War in 172 B.C., the Carthaginians pleaded with the Romans to decide where their territories ended and where Masinissa’s began. By this time the Numidian king had seized seventy Carthaginian settlements.\(^{59}\) The Romans faced a dilemma because they needed to address this issue in a way that did not offend Masinissa. He was still a powerful ally whom the Romans called upon for reinforcements in the Macedonian war. The Romans also needed to remind Carthage that it would not be wise for them to seek aid from anyone else to resolve their problem. Masinissa’s sons Gulussa and Masgaba went to Rome frequently and spoke on behalf of their father alluding to his service in the second Punic War. They hoped to pressure the Romans into granting Masinissa the right to lead a conquest of the

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\(^{58}\) Brian Caven *The Punic Wars* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1980), 264-266.

\(^{59}\) Appian *Roman History* 8.10.67-8.10.68.
Carthaginian territory. Masgaba and Gulussa made that point that since Masinissa was a Roman vassal and Numidia actually belonged to Rome, all the land that he obtained from Carthage would also be owned by Rome.

While the Romans were on the fence about how to resolve this matter the Carthaginians decided to defend themselves. There was a battle between Hasdrubal Boeotarch (the Carthaginian commander) and Masinissa in 150 B.C. The Carthaginians felt that this action was necessary even though it was not permitted by Rome. As a consequence the Romans came back to North Africa in 149 B.C. to lay siege to Carthage. P.G Walsh, Caven, and Livy all supported the claim that Masinissa actually caused the third Punic War because he pushed the Carthaginians to a point where they had to defend themselves.

Masinissa was not prevented from taking extra territory for himself while the Romans were undecided about how to handle this situation. He had the option of encroaching on Carthage until he could capture the flourishing city and claim it as his own. If he did this he would have had a vast amount of wealth and troops to add to his kingdom. This is exactly what Masinissa desired to do. Upon analysis of Masinissa’s actions it is feasible to conjecture that he was in the process of building a North African empire greater than Carthage.

Masinissa knew that if the Carthaginians defended themselves the Romans would destroy their city. He also understood the possibility that he would have a problem with

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60 Masgaba was one son of Masinissa who was a part of the congratulatory party that went to Rome after the Romans had defeated the forces of Antiochus IV of Macedon in the battle of Pydna. He was there to celebrate the Roman victory but he used this opportunity to remind the Romans of his father’s service to them during the Punic Wars. See Livy Ab Urbe Condita 43.3.6-7 for remarks on Galussa’s embassy to Rome.
61 Caven, 263-265, 269, 273.
62 Livy Ab Urbe Condita 34.62, 41.22, 43.3.
Rome if he continued to forcibly seize Carthaginian territory. He did not want to spend time and money on a war with Rome for ignoring its jurisdiction over Carthage. As a result it was in his best interests to get the Carthaginians to, in essence, destroy themselves by engaging him in battle. Once Carthage was checked by Rome Masinissa would not have to worry about any more opposition from them against the expansion of his kingdom. According to Livy, Scipio Africanus said, “...esse eum non Africae modo regum longe opulentissimum, sed toto in orbe terrarium cuivis regum vel maiestate vel viribus parem.” Masinissa was not only the wealthiest king in Africa, but an equal for dignity and power of any king in the whole world. Masinissa may have been trying to build a North African Empire so strong that it would be able to separate itself from Rome and become a lucrative and independent entity in the Mediterranean.

The Roman senator Marcus Cato was an instrumental proponent of the destruction of Carthage. Every time he made a speech on the platform, he would end it with “Carthago delenda est” meaning Carthage should be destroyed. He observed that Carthage continued to conduct business within its ancient trading networks and, if this went unchecked, could rebuild its empire. The Romans wanted to protect their city from being threatened by this formidable enemy a second time. They also had suspicions that Masinissa wanted to establish a North African empire free of Roman influence. This may be inferred from Rome’s employment of defensive imperialism. This strategy led them to annihilate Carthage and found a Roman colony in its place.

The Romans realized that Carthage’s wealth, in Masinissa’s hands, could form the foundation of a vast North African empire that rivaled their own. This is an example of

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63 Livy Ab Urbe Condita 37.25.10.
64 Pliny Natural History 15.74.
how native ingenuity actually controlled the actions of the Romans at this time.
Masinissa’s ambitions for his kingdom influenced the Romans to begin another war.\textsuperscript{65}
This fact was extremely significant upon further analysis of the conditions under which
the third Punic War began. The Roman economy was recovering from the second Punic
War, which put a strain on its resources. When the Macedonians saw Rome weakened by
Carthage they decided to attack. After their war with the Macedonians, the Romans went
to war again in North Africa. Thus the third Punic War began at a time when the Roman
economy was already heavily burdened due to the previous two wars. The Romans did
not want to go into another war, but the threat of Masinissa’s aspirations was powerful
enough to cause them to do so.

Masinissa died in 148 B.C., at ninety years of age, prior to the fall of Carthage.
Scipio Aemilianus equally divided the kingdom of Numidia among his surviving sons.
The eldest son Micipsa controlled the “civil government” and the capital of Cirta.
Gulussa enacted foreign policy and he commanded of the Numidian armed forces.
Mastanabal, the youngest son, possessed judicial power.\textsuperscript{66} The fact that the Romans did
not simply annex Numidia and absorb it into their empire right away exemplifies their
appreciation for Masinissa’s help in the second Punic War. The Roman redistribution of
Masinissa’s territory among his sons was a lasting gesture of respect shown for this
influential North African ally.

\textsuperscript{65} Erich S. Gruen \textit{Imperialism in the Roman Republic} (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1970),
chapters 5-6.
\textsuperscript{66} Brian Caven \textit{The Punic Wars} (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1980), 279-280 and Livy \textit{Ab Urbe Condita}
45.13-45.14. It is unclear what happened to Masinissa’s other son Masgaba. He is mentioned just a few
times by Livy after going to Rome with the congratulatory party. He was accompanied home with
generous gifts, but Livy does not mention him again after this point.
Complete control of Numidia was bestowed on Micipsa after the deaths of his two brothers and he was as dedicated to Rome as his father had been. Micipsa made his two sons Hiempsal and Adherbal his successors along with his nephew Jugurtha (Mastanabal’s son). Following the death of Micipsa in 118 B.C. the three were at a disagreement as to who had the legitimate right to be the sole leader of their state. Jugurtha killed Hiempsal and also took the life of Adherbal after defeating him in war. Jugurtha led a raid of the city of Cirta in 112 B.C. to reprimand the people for hiding Adherbal. He killed many of the citizens immediately. He also captured other towns that supported his cousin and they suffered the same fate as Cirta. The Roman historian Sallust said that Jugurtha spared one city. The citizens of Vaga were able to redeem themselves thus saving their city and their own lives.67

In essence through intimidation Jugurtha regained power and the support he lost to Adherbal. In affirming the faithfulness of the people, he thought it best to kill the Roman soldiers and citizens who lived in the town of Vaga. Rome tried not to get involved in the warring between family members but they were forced to act when Romans were threatened. The Roman consul Marius, accompanied by his quaeor Sulla (supervisor of the treasury), went to war against Jugurtha in a six-year campaign. The war with Jugurtha lasted from 112 B.C.-105 B.C. ended when his son-in-law, King Bocchus I of Mauretania betrayed him. He presided over Mauretania in 110 B.C.68

67 Sallust The War With Jugurtha 66.1-68.1. In his treatise Sallust describes the turmoil that was going on in the city of Vaga. The citizens knew that Jugurtha would let no opposition stand in his way. So the citizens decided to stand behind him and fight against the Romans and helped him kill the Romans who were in their city.
Bocchus I did not know whether he should ally himself with the Romans or Jugurtha, but in 108 B.C. he decided to go with the latter who promised him one third of the kingdom of Numidia. Following a meeting with Sulla in 105 B.C. King Bocchus I devised a clever plot to trick Jugurtha and present him to the Romans in chains. He told Jugurtha that he would aid him in his war against the Romans and that they set a date to formulate a plan of attack. When Jugurtha arrived to meet with Bocchus I he was ambushed and taken prisoner. Jugurtha died in prison in Rome.69

Upon the death of Jugurtha his brother Gauda was promised the kingship in Numidia.70 He had two sons named Hiempsal II and Hierbas who both ruled eastern Numidia until their father’s death in 88 B.C. Once again Rome was pulled into another conflict between North African royal family members. At this time there was also a rivalry between Marius and Sulla. Hierbas joined the forces of Marius and Hiempsal II allied with Sulla. When Marius was defeated in 81 B.C. Hierbas died at the hands of Sulla’s soldiers who were under the command of a young Gnaeus Pompeius. Pompey, as he is known, was one of the greatest Roman generals who later helped form the first triumvirate and was also made the governor of Rome’s African provinces. At this time Hiempsal II only controlled eastern Numidia.

Pompey helped Hiempsal II to take the throne of western Numidia as well. In response the indigenous king remained a friend of the Roman commander. As a result of this alliance the son of Hiempsal II, Juba I, inherited this partnership with Pompey.71

69 Ibid
70 Sallust The War With Jugurtha 65.1-65.2. Prior to being bestowed with the kingship of Numidia the Roman Marius sought to enlist the help of Gauda and Roman knights to write letters to the senate to ask that he be made commander of the Roman forces. Sallust says that Gauda suffered from a “weak mind” and that Marius enticed him by praising him and his illustrious heritage as a strong grandson of Masinissa.
After his father died Juba I served as king of Numidia. He went on to fight in the civil wars between Caesar and Pompey that took place in North Africa. The Numidian royal family from Masinissa to Juba I developed a working relationship with powerful Roman leaders. This cycle of interaction did not end with Juba I; it survived and thrived through the life of his son Juba II and his grandson Ptolemy.
Chapter Three

Colonization, Prosperity, and Civil War

The succeeding chapter deals with the first settlement of land in North Africa by the Romans. It discusses the founding of the first Roman colony there and the expansion of Roman settlement by Caesar. The economic uses of the land are also listed. Since the creation and retention of provinces in North Africa was linked so closely to the civil wars between triumvirs, these conflicts are also discussed in terms of their effect on Roman occupation in North Africa. The Romans received economic relief and benefitted from claiming territory in North Africa.

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There was some debate as to whether the Romans acted in a justifiable manner after they had destroyed Carthage. Many agreed that the action was necessary to ensure the future protection of Rome. Following this politically centered discussion of the fate of the city, another issue arose that troubled many citizens. There was a proposal to found a colony where Carthage once stood. The Romans already claimed the site of that once powerful Phoenician settlement as the Provinciae Africae. Now there was a desire to do something lucrative with the land. This suggestion cultivated fear in the hearts of many Romans because they were thinking of the fertility of that site and the strength that it had allowed the Carthaginians to acquire previously.

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72 Polybius The Histories 36.9.
In the event that a new city was founded there and it was taken by force from Roman control, it could be used to Rome’s disadvantage. For example, it could have possibly been usurped and annexed by one of the indigenous kings or a remnant of Carthaginian survivors and once again become a very real threat to Rome. In spite of these negative sentiments the Romans decided to continue with the building of a colony in North Africa because of the prospects of future economic prosperity that the area offered. The tribune Gaius Gracchus was an advocate of using the land in North Africa to cultivate crops that would supplement the Roman economy. He saw the earning potential that this area could afford his homeland. There was an abundance of land on which a variety of climate permissible crops such as wheat and barley could be planted.

Gaius Gracchus supported the institution of a law that would allow Roman colonists to be placed on the site where Carthage was located. In the year 123 B.C. the lex rubric was passed which allowed a colony of less than 6,000 people to be founded there. In the following year, 122 B.C., Gaius Gracchus took a voyage to North Africa to oversee the settling of the Colonia Junonia. Lines on the ground marked the boundaries of the colony. It was said that on one night wolves came and demolished the markers and that this was taken as an ominous sign by many Romans that Junonia was not promised longevity. The new city lasted for only thirty years.

The next decision on handling the lands in North Africa and utilizing them for the good of the Roman citizens came from the lex agraria. These were a group of laws passed in 111 B.C. that redistributed public lands and allocated them to the farming classes. This relieved the rising tide of economic pressure and civil strife in Rome. The

74 Plutarch Caesar 10.2; 11.1-11.2.
lower classes were facing hardships due to the insurmountable amount of debt that they accrued by borrowing money from the nobles. The farmers took out so many loans because they needed to be able to purchase resources with which to cultivate and harvest their crops. Since a successful yield was not guaranteed every year, certain harvest times were sufficiently lacking. As a result of this there was not enough surplus or earned income with which to start the repayment process. This meant that debt would continue to accumulate until the poor had no hope of paying off their loans at which point they would go bankrupt. After they had no more money and the nobles who loaned the funds labeled them as untrustworthy, they had nowhere to turn to for economic relief.

The *lex agraia*, especially as it pertained to North Africa, offered a solution to this unfortunate problem. The agrarian laws classified three types of land allotments in North Africa. Allotments held by the payment of an annual rent were called the *quitrent*. This land was termed as private, even though a rent was paid on it, because it was used for building large estates on North African soil. This can be determined from the fact that only wealthy Italians could afford these holdings. Also these men had an abundance of money and most likely desired larger pieces of land. The land referred to as *stipendium* was given to non-Romans who paid taxes in recompense for use of the fields. The name for the last type of land is uncertain. However it was the least desirable and it was retained as public land. Romans, Latins, and other subjects could work and live on these grounds in return for a property tax. These acreages were probably leased in five-year periods.\(^75\)

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The next most noted Roman actions in the settlement of land in North Africa came in the time of Julius Caesar. He was one third of the triumvirate, created in 60 B.C., which also included of Marcus Crassus, an extremely wealthy executive, and Gnaeus Pompey the previously mentioned general. Following the death of Crassus, the relations between Caesar and Pompey deteriorated. They disagreed between themselves about their leadership roles in Rome and its territories. A civil war ensued between the two and the conflict was eventually carried over to the province of Africa where Pompey was governor.

Pompey entreated Juba I, the Numidian king, for his aid in battle against Caesar. Juba I accepted because Julius Caesar publicly insulted him on a previous visit to Rome that had taken place in the 80s B.C. In response to this alliance, Caesar received help from Bocchus II of Mauretania, son of Bocchus I. The king of Mauretania had a brother Bogud that ruled jointly with him. Their titles were recognized and upheld by Caesar and the two helped him by conquering the Numidian capital of Cirta and later by fighting with the Caesarians in Spain in 47 B.C.

Juba I teamed up with Publius Attius Varus, the Roman governor of Africa, and the two warred with Gaius Scribonius Curio starting in 49 B.C. Caesar sent Curio ahead to Africa to defeat the duo. Curio died in battle and his army overcome by the forces of Saburra, Juba I’s military commander. The Numidian king wanted to engage Caesar when he arrived in Africa but could not because he had to rush back to Numidia to try to save his capital Cirta from Bocchus II, Bogud and Publius Sittius (he came to Africa as a

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mercenary after he experienced bankruptcy in Italy). Even though he could not fight Caesar when he first landed in Africa, Juba I did get his chance to do battle with him later.

Following the battle of Pharsalus in 48 B.C., Pompey was murdered in Egypt, however his forces continued to fight for his cause against Caesar. Since Juba I supported Pompey he carried on the war with Caesar. In the battle of Thapsus in 46 B.C. Juba brought his cavalry and war elephants to join the Pompeian army against Caesar. Juba I was defeated and many Roman statesmen and generals who worked with Pompey committed suicide. Juba I himself fought to the death with a Roman soldier, and a slave was said to have killed the survivor although no one knows the identity of the survivor. Caesar captured Juba I’s two year old son, Juba II, and took him back to Rome to march in the triumphal procession as one of the exotic spoils of Africa.

Julius Caesar incorporated the land of eastern Numidia into the Roman Empire. The new province was called Africa Nova to distinguish it from the previously established territory, which was called Africa Vetus at that time. Caesar proudly spoke about the fertility of the area. He said that a tribute of 1,200,000 bushels of grain would come from this newly conquered territory. The Greek historian Plutarch recorded that Caesar included in his “boastful speech” that there would also be a yield of three million pounds of olive oil coming from the new Province of Africa (eastern Numidia).

Following his triumph Caesar made arrangements that would allow the annexation of more land in North Africa and ensure a generous yield of grain for Rome

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78 Appian Roman History 14.2.44-14.2.45.
81 Plutarch Caesar 55.
which proved to be an asset to the Roman Empire. He rewarded Mauretanian King Bocchus II for backing the Romans in the Battle of Thapsus by giving him the western half of the Numidian state. However, after the death of King Bocchus II, his kingdom was absorbed into the lands of the empire. The Italian soldier Sittius settled himself and his men on the border between Mauretania and the Roman territories. The same fate that awaited the kingdom of Bocchus II also came true for Sittius’ settlement. After he died it was added to the other North African provinces that were under Roman control after Caesar also gave land to his veterans who fought in the war against Pompey. He gave them lands along the Cape Bon peninsula where Carthage was once the epicenter of power. Julius Caesar ultimately wanted to rebuild Carthage like the famous Gracchus brother Gaius. Unfortunately, prior to making his dream a reality Julius Caesar was assassinated by senators in 44 B.C. 82

In the period following his death there was a struggle for control in the Roman Empire that led to more battles on North African soil. The two provinces that Caesar left behind were divided between Octavius, his grandnephew, and Lepidus, who was close to and served as a deputy to Caesar. These two men allied with Mark Antony, a politician and general, and formed the second triumvirate in 43 B.C. Their group was made a legal entity by the lex titia that gave the three men the right to rule together for five years. 83 When contentions broke out between Lepidus and Octavius, their quarrels affected the Roman territories that they were both assigned in North Africa. As a result of their

inability to share power, *Africa Nova* went to war against *Africa Vetus*. Octavius endured to the end and gained full control of the two Roman African provinces in 36 B.C.\textsuperscript{84}

This did not mark the end of the battles among triumvirs on North African soil. Five years after the feud between Octavius and Lepidus, there was also a struggle for power between Octavius and Mark Antony. The latter triumvir wanted to have the sole power to rule Rome and its conquered lands. The problem here was that Caesar, in his will, named his grandnephew as his heir. In this case, the chosen family member was justified in claiming some authority as a leader of Rome. Nonetheless Mark Antony thought that he should have more *imperium* than his younger counterpart. This brought the two men to war against one another. In the end, Mark Antony was defeated and died along with Cleopatra VII, his ally and consort. Octavius was the emperor of Rome and he became known as Augustus after 27 B.C. His empire in North Africa reached from the borders of the kingdom of Mauretania to Egypt. During his reign Augustus managed to place a North African native, Juba II, in Mauretania to rule the state in the best interests of Rome. In doing this he was able to prepare the area for later annexation by Rome.

From the end of the third Punic War to the beginning of the reign of Augustus the Roman territory in North Africa grew to encapsulate the area from Numidia to Egypt. It would soon come to include Mauretania. Nonetheless the land and the resources that it produced were of extreme importance to the Roman Empire. The primary export of the North African provinces was wheat. The climate there was ripe for harvesting an abundance of wheat and the grains themselves were very strong and hearty\textsuperscript{85}.

\textsuperscript{84} Susan Raven *Rome in Africa* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 53-54.
\textsuperscript{85} Eugene Albertini *Roman Africa* (Algiers, Algeria: Algiers University, 1932), 25-26, 31.
Bread was a staple in the diets of people in Rome and other areas in Italy and was thus needed in large quantities. Wheat from North Africa was sold in Rome. The emperor made it a top priority to ensure that there was enough food to be distributed to the soldiers and citizens of the Roman Empire. Once harvested the crops’ yields were divided in three ways. Part of it was used to nourish the province in which it was grown, another was used to pay taxes to the state, and the last part was sent directly to Italy to be distributed there. One third of the wheat that fed the Roman Empire came from Egypt itself and another third came from the lands west of the Nile Valley such as Numidia, Mauretania, and the original Province of Africa.\footnote{Ibid 86}

Also extracted from these lands west of Egypt was the North African species of mule. They were very sturdy and strong animals that could be worked vigorously for long periods of time. This meant that their value to someone of the farming class was considerably high. In light of this fact there was a lucrative trade in these pack animals going from North Africa to Rome. Other animals such as leopards and lions were hunted and taken to Rome to fight in the gladiatorial arenas there. Some of the other exports of North Africa included marbles, wood, precious stones, medicines, and different colors of soil that were used to dye clothing. These items were raw materials needed to make luxury objects. As a result there was not a grand market for the production and export of these items as they were not used continuously and frequently. The North African provinces did not produce many textiles except a certain purple cloth.\footnote{Albertini, 27, 28.}

In later centuries the Romans profited from the North African provinces through the growth of barley, fruits, and vegetables. They also benefitted from the mining of iron...
ore, lead, and copper. Indeed the North African provinces were valuable to Rome for their agricultural yields. However, the kingdom of Mauretania was among the most economically sound and flourishing of the North African states during the Roman occupation. It was also the last one to be ruled by native royalty.

88 Ibid
Chapter Four

Influential Indigenous Monarchs: 
Cleopatra Selene II and Juba II

This chapter gives more information about aspects of the reign of Juba II and the possible regency of Cleopatra Selene II. His great thirst for knowledge and loyalty to Rome, as well as her ambitions and love for her son and her Ptolemaic Dynasty, are attested to here. The short kingship of Juba II and Cleopatra Selene II’s son Ptolemy is also documented. Evidence of a large rebellion will be discussed to support the fact that not all the indigenous people were assimilated into Roman/Greek culture and a great number of them opposed it. Cleopatra Selene II, like these other natives, may be classified as a rebel because there is evidence that she may have been secretly planning to establish a unified and independent North African state. She was always a proponent for her land of origin and, unlike her husband, was never in any way in deference to Rome. Juba II and Cleopatra Selene II are a representation of the many intelligent and resourceful North Africans who were extremely influential and aided Rome in the period of their occupation of North Africa.

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4.1 Background on Juba II and Selene II

Juba II and Cleopatra Selene II were from different parts of North Africa. He was from Numidia and she was from Egypt, which is in the north eastern portion of the
continent. Romans took both from their homelands during a time of turmoil and war. They were raised as Roman citizens. Juba II was two years old when he arrived in Rome. As a result of being acculturated by the Romans early on in his formative years, he developed a great love for their society and culture. Cleopatra Selene, however, was already ten years old when she was taken to Rome. She had been in Egypt long enough to become well acquainted with and love the cultural milieu there. Juba II was removed from his birthplace before his Numidian history and heritage was ingrained in him. Therefore it was easier for Juba II than Cleopatra Selene II to absorb Roman culture and treat it as his own. Since she was old enough to understand the events that were unfolding around her and to remember where she came from and the ways of life she had been taught in Egypt, Cleopatra Selene never fully embraced Roman society as did Juba II. She always remained loyal to Egypt and her native people.

Due to the close proximity of Egypt to the area wherein the Romans landed, the Egyptians were aware of the spread of Roman power into North Africa. Egypt desired to remain a free world trade center. Cleopatra VII, Cleopatra Selene II’s mother, also wanted to keep Egypt from being forced into subjugation by Rome. Her endeavors culminated in the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C. As a result of being defeated in the engagement by Augustus, Egypt did fall under Roman rule.89

Following the deaths of Mark Antony and Cleopatra VII her oldest son, Caesarion, was murdered and her three younger children were taken to be acculturated in Rome. There is not much evidence of the fate of Cleopatra VII’s remaining two sons after their arrival in Italy, but it is known that her daughter Cleopatra Selene II became a

great and influential client queen of Mauretania. The heritage of Selene II was the embodiment of the mixture of Roman, Greek, and African cultures. She was the last surviving descendant of the Ptolemaic Dynasty, introduced to as well as surrounded by Roman culture as a child and returned to North Africa as a young adult. Throughout her life Selene II never failed to remember the events that caused her to be forcibly taken away from Egypt, the place of origin of her Ptolemaic heritage. The fierce turmoil that existed between the emperor Augustus and her parents (Cleopatra VII and Mark Antony) affected her life from youth. The young princess was forced to flee Egypt as Augustus achieved his plans to name himself Julius Caesar’s sole heir. She was ultimately captured then taken to and raised in the eternal city.\textsuperscript{90}

Juba II’s heritage did not evolve from a mixture of European and native African cultures as Selene II’s. He was descended from a line of Numidian kings who had close contact and interaction with Rome for over 150 years. He was born in 48 B.C. The actual birth name of Juba II is not known. In 46 B.C., when Caesar took Juba II to Rome, he was simply named after his father and given the appellation by which he is known today.\textsuperscript{91} Juba’s Roman acculturation afforded him with a deep and abiding love for Rome and also a magnificent education. He was taught by Varro and Dionysius of Halikarnasos and he was either the student or peer of Strabo of Amasia. He was not completely quarantined from his North African roots as there were groups of Numidian exiles living in Rome from whom he learned much about his royal Numidian heritage at a later age.\textsuperscript{92} The opportunity of living as a royal family member in Italy aided Juba II in gaining a circle of prominent associates. He may have been acquainted with Virgil,

\textsuperscript{90} John Whitehorne \textit{Cleopatras} (New York: Routledge, 1994), 199.
\textsuperscript{91} Duane Roller \textit{The World of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene} (New York: Routledge, 2003), 1.
\textsuperscript{92} Roller \textit{The World of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene}, 2.
Horace, and Ovid while he lived in Rome at least through their writings if not personally.\textsuperscript{93}

Once Cleopatra Selene II arrived in Rome, she resided in the home of Octavia where Juba II, had lived since his arrival. Augustus arranged a marriage between the two as adults. These adopted children of Augustus were married around 20 B.C. when Selene II reached the proper age. The exact year that the union took place is open to interpretation. Juba was placed in Mauretania as a client king in 25 B.C.\textsuperscript{94} Six years after his reign began, coinage reflected images of the couple. This physical proof leads many historians to conjecture that Selene II was married to him in 19 B.C.\textsuperscript{95} Her marriage to Juba produced a son whom Selene named Ptolemy after the Macedonian general to whom Alexander the Great bequeathed control of Egypt. Two daughters, Drusilla and Cleopatra, may have been born to the couple but this has never been proven by any historical study.\textsuperscript{96} Augustus later instituted the two as North African monarchs to preside over the kingdom of Mauretania. He hoped that this action would appease the aggressive response of the indigenous populations at variance with officials of non-African descent.

From the young age of twenty Juba II proved himself as an erudite scholar but prior to being made king of Mauretania, he had to learn how to be a military leader. As a result, he accompanied Emperor Augustus to Spain and took part in the wars against Spanish tribes who were leading a rebellion in the face of Roman occupation.\textsuperscript{97} When

\textsuperscript{93} Roller \textit{The World of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene}, 173.
\textsuperscript{94} John Whitehorne \textit{Cleopatras} (New York: Routledge, 1994), 199.
\textsuperscript{95} Duane W. Roller \textit{The World of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene} (New York: Routledge, 2003), 86.
\textsuperscript{97} Duane W. Roller \textit{The World of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene} (New York: Routledge, 2003), 3.
Emperor Augustus felt that Juba II was ready to take on the responsibility of commanding an army he named him king of Mauretania. In addition Juba II was a logical choice in the eyes of Augustus as far as ruling in that area of North Africa because he walked in two worlds so to speak and had a cultural understanding of two worlds: North African and Roman.

Juba II was an African Roman in the fact that he was actually Numidian and he spent his formative years immersed in and surrounded by the culture and society of Rome. These two factors made him the ideal person to rule over the indigenous people in the area of Mauretania in lieu of a Roman governor. Juba II was comparable to an agent of Romanization in North Africa. He was a large proponent of Hellenistic works and the spread of Roman culture to the North African provinces. Juba II and Cleopatra Selene II were to act as mediators ensuring the African tribes living in their kingdom that their concerns were important and were not being ignored. They were able to keep the tribes from becoming hostile for lengthy periods in the areas over which they had influence.

Juba II possessed a tremendous fondness for art, literature, geography, medicine et cetera which fueled the main body of his own works. He was referred to as the *Rex Literatissimus* because he was always immersed in literature. He produced the bulk of his numerous treatises during his reign. The future king of Mauretania was a definite polymath. Pliny wrote of him that, “He was more remembered for the quality of his scholarship even than his reign.” Plutarch said that, “He became known as one of the

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98 W.N. Weech “Rambles in Mauretania Caesarensis” Greece and Rome Vol. 1 No. 2 (1932), 67-68.
99 W.N. Weech “Rambles in Mauretania Caesarensis” Greece and Rome Vol. 1 No. 2 (1932), 67-68.
100 Lucius Ampelius *Liber Memorialis* 38.1.4. In this source the author literally calls Juba II rex litteratissimus while praising his capital Ceasarea by saying, “regnavit et magnificentissimam urbem Caesaream condidit”.
most diverse Greek scholars” and proclaimed that he was “the most learned of all kings.”

At the young age of twenty, Juba wrote his first work, *Roman Archaeology*, which consisted of two books that told the history of Italy from its mythological founding to the wars in Spain. In this particular treatise he focused on major events of the Augustan era such as the revival of ancient cults and the relationship between Rome and North Africa. Another example of Juba II’s scholarship is the *Omiotetes* (Resemblances) that was concerned with proving the Greek origin of the Latin language. The *Omiotetes* may have spanned fifteen books. Among his other works are *On Painting*, which was a commentary on art and sculpture in Rome, and a *Theatrical History*, which was written about production schemas, especially music. Juba II also wrote a critique of Hanno’s voyage down the coast of West Africa. Without his preservation of Hanno’s Periplus, it may not exist to date.

The books written by Juba II do not exist today. They may have been lost around the third century A.D. Even so, there are many ancient authors who have referenced these sources such as Pomponius Mela, Pliny the Elder, Plutarch, Athenaios, Aelian and many others. The two longest works that have survived in the writings of other authors are *Libyka* and *On Arabia*. These two works together contain a discussion of the land stretching from the Atlantic coast of North Africa to the Arabian Peninsula.

Juba II’s wife aided him in his research. Cleopatra Selene II was seen by many to be the rightful queen of Egypt, Cyrene (prominent Greek settlement in North Africa) and

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Mauretania because she was the daughter of Cleopatra VII, of Greek heritage and married to the king of Mauretania. She used her influence in these areas to help her husband gather Ptolemaic sources with which to conduct his studies. Selene’s husband also relied upon field research and exploration along with the interviews of merchants and traders who travelled further into North Africa than others. Juba II began his work *On Libyka* as a way to survey the territory over which he was instated as client king. Until the time of Juba II, the existence of the kingdom of Mauretania was the furthest extent of Greek and Roman knowledge of world geography. Juba II wanted to produce a solution to this problem by learning and recording as much information as he could about certain areas into which he sent expeditions.

The North African-Roman client king sent groups of observers into the High Atlas Mountains, the desert and the Atlantic islands. In doing this he also aided in quenching the desire of Augustus to know more about the ends of the earth. Juba II used Carthaginian sources along with those Ptolemaic reports to form his work on geography. He became intrigued after reading these materials and was inspired to write a general work on North Africa that created a link between Mauretania and Ptolemaic Egypt. *On Libyka* added a vast amount of new information concerning Mauretania, its surrounding areas, and North East Africa. There is also a discourse on elephants spread throughout the work, which is the largest known store of data on the extinct North African species of the animal today.\footnote{Duane Roller *Scholarly Kings: The Writings of King Juba II of Mauretania, Archelaos of Kappadokia, Herod the Great and the Emperor Claudius* (Chicago, Illinois: Ares Publishers, 2004), 3-4, 48-49.}
On Arabia was a best seller in Rome. It was written about the Arabian Peninsula and routes to India. In 2 B.C. - 4 A.D. Juba II travelled with Gaius Caesar, the grandson of Augustus, on his expedition in the eastern Mediterranean. This gave him an opportunity to go to Petra, Gaza, Antioch and Alexandria. Juba II was able to converse with the oldest of the client kings, Archelaos of Kappodikia, and obtained much information from his courts. On Arabia was mainly concerned with forming a link between the Mediterranean and India. Until this particular work was written, there was no updated knowledge about those areas since the time of Alexander the Great.

Juba, trained in speaking and reading Latin and Greek language, wrote some of his works in one language and the some in the other. As a result of his great reputation as a scholar Juba II was highly honored by the Greeks and a statue of him was placed in the Gymnasium of Ptolemaios in Athens. His educational pursuits were also paid tribute to in an inscription in Gades, Spain, the town in which he served as duovir. While holding this title, Juba II was one of the most powerful judicial magistrates in the province. His duty was to ensure justice and to uphold the law. The fact that he was trusted with such an important, superior and high ranking position was a testament to his capability, intelligence and strength of character.

The fervor that he possessed for researching and writing on various topics took him on a journey away from his kingdom in search of sources that he could use to write his works. During his hiatus in the pursuit of knowledge, Cleopatra Selene II was able to

106 Roller Scholarly Kings, 3.
accomplish many great feats. In her husband’s absence she may have served as regent. At this time the queen made a lasting imprint on Mauretania. She also reaffirmed her Ptolemaic lineage and tried to restore the cult of Isis to its former glory.

Cleopatra Selene II’s Roman acculturation did not erase the devotion and love she possessed for her Ptolemaic ancestry which was created when Ptolemy Soter, a Greek general, assumed the throne of Egypt after 323 B.C. While Cleopatra Selene II lived, the Ptolemaic dynasty survived. This also meant that there was a definite chance that the cult of Isis, through which her mother gained influence and validation, could have been re-established. Indeed, she attempted to reconstruct this religion revolving around Isis, the Egyptian mother goddess, in the kingdom that she ruled with her husband. It may not be erroneous to say that she also wanted to do this in order to carry on the legacy of her loving mother, who was robbed of her life and children. Unfortunately, the faith did not reach its desired prominence for her purposes although it lasted well into the 5th century A.D.¹¹⁰

Even though the cult of Isis later became inactive, the Roman Empire continued to wax stronger. By the time that Cleopatra Selene II became queen of Mauretania her beloved Egypt was already subjected to firm Roman domination. Nonetheless Selene still had hopes of Egypt once again being a strong and independent state. Her love of Egyptian culture can be observed through the analysis of numismatic evidence from the time that she was queen of Mauretania. She used emblems of Egyptian culture on her coins while her husband used those of Roman, not African, culture. She held on to many aspects of the Egypt that she knew as a girl. These included the traditional titles passed

down through the Ptolemaic line and emblems of the cult of Isis to which her mother had a strong bond. She issued coins separate from her new husband and the inscriptions on her coins were overwhelmingly written in Greek. Those from Juba’s coins were written in Latin for the most part. The obverse of the currency bearing her portrait read Basilissa Cleopatra or Queen Cleopatra. The fact that she held on to the Greek language can be seen as one of the ways in which she tried to hold on to that Hellenism which characterized her Ptolemaic ancestry.¹¹¹

Selene may have seen her husband’s ancestry as inferior to her own because of the splendor, grandeur and divinity that had long been trademarks of Egyptian royalty. Cleopatra Selene II had her coins printed with the crescent moon, a symbol of the cult of Isis. Other depictions portray her as the goddess Isis. The crocodile also appeared on her specialized money as a symbol of Egypt because that animal was a common sight on the banks of the Nile. Juba II identified himself with Hercules and had that figure minted on his own coinage. The fact that her husband was loyal to Rome and expressed himself using symbols of Roman characters while she refused to do so may give a clue as to Selene’s adverse sentiments towards the captors of her childhood.¹¹²

After observing the numismatic evidence, it is not illogical to state that Egypt always held first place in Selene’s heart. Even so, she was the active queen of Mauretania and she had to invest time and energy toward ensuring the continued success of her new kingdom. Enthralled by his quest for knowledge, Juba II left Mauretania and journeyed to collect information for scholarly works on geography. While the king was away he met a woman named Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus of Cappadocia. His

¹¹¹ Chanler, Introduciton.
liaison with this woman lasted only briefly. Upon his arrival home to Mauretania, he had already separated himself from Glaphyra. Cleopatra Selene II was said to have been deceased by the time of her husband’s return. This may not be true due to the fact that her image was still being printed on coinage in the area. The insignia of the queen was stamped into the currency of Mauretania that has been dated from 11 to 17 A.D. Many historians have concluded that the existence of coinage bearing her title and image when her husband was away could mean that Cleopatra Selene II may have ruled Mauretania in her own right or as regent in the absence of the king during that specific time period.\footnote{Whitehorne, 201.}

4.2 Regency of Cleopatra Selene II

Mauretania remained peaceful during the time that Cleopatra Selene II is said to have reigned as regent. Even so, she knew that one could never be too secure. As a result she decided to hold meetings with Berber chieftains to inquire about the unsettled mountain and desert tribes living in Mauretania. She may have done this so that she could devise a plan to appease and befriend these other more contentious tribes while appearing respectful and knowledgeable about their culture. There were still some non-concentrated uprisings in North Africa, which reached their peak in 21 B.C. and 19 B.C as well as in the year 3 A.D. Caesarea, the capital of Mauretania, did not experience any revolts but the royal guards were stationed around the perimeter of the city to prevent any organized attacks.\footnote{Whitehorne, 284.} There is not much information on the conversations between Cleopatra Selene II and the tribal chieftains. However, due to her savvy wit, she was able to keep her capital city free from rebellions.
She was an adept and confident woman, just as Cleopatra VII. The supposed regency of Cleopatra Selene II yielded fruitful times. Mauretania flourished with trade and this fact has been concluded from the Gallic, Italian and Spanish coins excavated in the area. These people had to traverse the Mediterranean in order to conduct trade there. Gold was also brought to her kingdom in abundance. The city itself was situated on the western Mediterranean coast and in the location of the ancient city of Iol which was also a port. Gathering from this information, Caesarea undoubtedly sustained a trade by sea. This maritime economy became very lucrative in the days of the Queen of Mauretania. Historians have inferred this by observing the change. The currency commenced to be stamped with the images of the horn of plenty and the trident\textsuperscript{115}.

Cleopatra Selene II followed in the footsteps of her mother in trying to enrich the state in which she reigned. She also desired to put her son on the throne of Mauretania as successor. The queen may have introduced her son Ptolemy as the royal heir for the first time in 5/6 A.D. at the Caesarean games. Cleopatra Selene II possessed similar ideas to those of her mother (who wanted to make Egypt a world power by uniting it with Rome). She wanted to combine Egypt and Mauretania into one kingdom over which her son Ptolemy and his descendants would rule, thereby extending her Ptolemaic Dynasty for generations to come\textsuperscript{116}.

Selene hoped that she could possibly achieve this by introducing the cult of Isis to her domain in North Africa. The queen hoped that the influence of the religious sect and its ties to the Ptolemaic line would work together to support her son’s right to preside over Mauretania in the minds of its converted followers. The time was right and the

\textsuperscript{115} Whitehorne, 285. The horn of plenty represented abundance and the trident, the three pronged spear of the sea god Poseidon, represented the sea.

\textsuperscript{116} Whitehorne, 286.
stage was set for the return of the Egyptian mother goddess, Isis. As its influence grew, there were many people who followed the cult of Isis in Rome and Egypt. A temple was raised to the goddess in Caesarea where all could come to worship. Isis was banned from Rome by law, but the citizens now had a choice of making a pilgrimage to Caesarea to bow down to the mother of all.\textsuperscript{117} Selene wanted and attempted to build a foundation on which the Ptolemaic line could last for centuries more. She thought that once the people knew her son was the grandson of Cleopatra the VII, who was the living image of Isis on earth, they would have more readily joined the cult. Selene II hoped that the followers of her mother’s religion would provide a strong support for Ptolemy.

Once in this position Selene hoped that he would be able to build a strong and vast North African empire that spanned from Mauretania to Egypt. Unfortunately things began to fall apart after she died. The Cult of Isis was eradicated after the death of Selene II with the emergence of Christianity in Rome. The exact date of the death of the queen of Mauretania is unknown. She may have died March 22, 5 B.C. but coins were still being struck in her name after 11 A.D. If the queen died at a time prior to her husband’s return to his kingdom in 5/6 A.D., her royal image would have probably ceased to be minted on the currency as if she was the acting queen. This means that she either lived until after 11 A.D. or that her kingdom continued to make coins with her image even after she died. Nonetheless her hopes of having her son reign as sovereign were fulfilled, however brief. Ptolemy ruled over Mauretania only for a short time.\textsuperscript{118}

\section*{4.3 Revolts against Romanization}

\textsuperscript{117} Whitehorne, 288-289.
Following the period of Cleopatra Selene II’s possible regency, when Juba II returned to reside in Mauretania, there were no major uprisings until 17 A.D. The client kings always had to be prepared for possible war or uprisings. Juba II, near the end of his reign, had to deal with a rebellion of the people in the surrounding area of his kingdom. Cassius Dio identifies one group in the revolt to have been the Gaetulians.\textsuperscript{119} They along with other African tribes such as the Musulamii were unified under the Musulamian leader Tiqfarin who was a deserter from the Roman army. He had been trained as a Roman infantryman and used this knowledge to train the soldiers who participated in his resistance movement.\textsuperscript{120}

The tribes revolted during the reign of Emperor Tiberius who ruled from 14 A.D.-37 A.D. due to continual pressure from the Romans. These tribes were nomadic. However, the Romans made no allowance for these people to keep practicing this societal tradition when they settled Juba II into Mauretania. There were stipulations enforced upon them as to how far they could travel in their own homeland. The Romans wanted to keep them away from the provinces that they had established in North Africa. There was no indication that the tribes travelling with Tiqfarin had any malicious intent toward any of the Roman colonists or their towns. As a result of the constraints placed on these nomadic people, they revolted in 17 A.D. This was a large rebellion. People joined the movement from regions that stretched the whole length of the border of the territory that the Romans claimed which went from the Atlantic coast to the area of Tunisia.\textsuperscript{121}

\textsuperscript{119} Cassius Dio \textit{Roman History} 55. 28.
\textsuperscript{120} Tacitus \textit{Annals} 2.52.
\textsuperscript{121} R.M. Haywood \textit{An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome Volume I: Africa} (Patterson, New Jersey: Pageant Books, 1959), 34.
Tiqfarin led a combined force of the Gaetulian, Musulamiaii, Cinithii, and the Mauri tribes.122

The method of attack that the tribes used was guerilla warfare.123 Tiqfarin suffered losses in battle, but he rejuvenated his forces when needed with a seemingly endless number of Africans from the “recesses of Africa” as described by Tacitus. This writer also commented on the confidence of the North African rebel leader. According to Tacitus Tiqfarin became rather “arrogant” in the ability of his army when he sent a letter to Tiberius demanding more land for himself and his men. He stated that the consequences of denying this request would be “an endless war” which was something that Rome did not need. Tiqfarin was refused and the war lasted until he died in battle.124 Juba II died in 23 A.D. but the revolt of Tiqfarin continued until 24 A.D.125

The revolt of Tiqfarin and the reign of Juba II exhibited that there was a dichotomy inherent in the relations between Romans and North Africans. Therefore the subject may be split into two categories. One concerned the positive and beneficial interplay between them and the other served as an example of the unwelcoming sentiments of other indigenous inhabitants. Since the episode of Tiqfarin ended in a war it exhibited the negative aspect of relations between the Romans and natives. The loyalty of Juba II showed the positive side of the relationship between Romans and North Africans.

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122 Tacitus *Annals* 2.52.
124 Tacitus *Annals* 3.73.
Tiqfarin was demanding their respect of his people, their nomadic customs and their right to traverse their lands. After all it was the Romans who were coming into North African territory, not the other way around. Tiqfarin only wanted an area of land that was suitable for his peoples’ nomadic lifestyle. The Romans were trying to push Tiqfarin southward away from their provinces but the harsh Sahara desert was also down there. It would have been hard for the people of Tiqfarin to settle in more barren dry lands. As a result he led a fierce campaign against the Romans that only ended when he died in war. After studying the revolt of Tiqfarin one has to wonder whether or not the Romans would have been defeated and lost some of their territory in North Africa if all the tribes in the region staged rebellions in close proximity to one another. The Romans had great difficulty handling singular uprisings because of the ferocity, determination, resources, knowledge of the lands and sheer number of the North African tribesmen.

While Tiqfarin was an example of those who suffered from and as a result went against Roman occupation, Juba II was an example of those that accepted it. Juba II was always a great proponent of Roman as well as Greek culture. He was the most faithful client king that the Romans had the pleasure to entrust with the handling of a kingdom that they planned to annex. The influence of Juba II as well as his wife Cleopatra Selene II was essential to the Roman plans to annex the kingdom of Mauretania. The fact that the two were African monarchs from known royal families allowed them to gain native trust more easily and introduce aspects of the classical cultures to the inhabitants in the area.

126 Haywood, 35.
Since they were the first to undertake a large scale introduction of Roman culture to the natives in Mauretania they were also the ones who had to bear the brunt of uprisings in their kingdom. Following the larger revolts of Juba’s reign the message that Rome had the resources to fight against the natives and the capabilities to be victorious in the end was transmitted to future rebels. Relations with the native tribes became more civil in Mauretania after Juba II and Cleopatra Selene II’s reign. They thoroughly accomplished their duty of creating a less hostile environment there so that the Roman emperor could come in and take charge more easily. During the reign of Ptolemy the Romans took the initiative to officially add Mauretania to their empire in 40 B.C.\textsuperscript{127}

The fact that Ptolemy began to strike gold coins, which was seen an imperialist action, may have signified that he was planning to pull away from Rome and establish an independent kingdom of Mauretania. Following this action there was a plot to kill Ptolemy by the haughty Emperor Caligula.\textsuperscript{128} The Roman emperor Caligula considered the North African king to be his second cousin. However, he displayed his erratic and volatile mental state by promptly having Ptolemy killed for walking into a gladiatorial arena wearing a purple cloak. Caligula justified this in his belief that only the emperor should dress in those garments.

As a result of the murder of Ptolemy in 40 B.C., there was a huge tide of outrage that spurred revolts in the western half of Mauretania. Aedemon, who is suspected to have been a prince of the Mauri tribe, led the resistance. He was also one of the household slaves of Ptolemy of Mauretania. The Mauri people saw Ptolemy as a “symbol of their freedom” from Roman occupation and in this light their level of

\textsuperscript{127} Cassius Dio \textit{Roman History} 59.25.
\textsuperscript{128} Cassius Dio \textit{Roman History}, 59.25.
discontent with his death was understandable. The war against Aedemon also triggered the uprising of the Musulamii tribe again. These North African tribes put up a fierce fight and the Romans had to get more resources from their reserves in Spain in order to continue fighting the natives. However the war against Aedemon lasted for four years and was over by 44 B.C.

The Roman emperor Claudius, who ruled after Caligula, employed a divide and conquer strategy when he split the kingdom of Mauretania in half. Mauretania Caesariensis and Mauretania Tingitana had their centers of administration in Caesarea and Tingis, two cities built up by Juba II. He may have done this because Mauretania encompassed a large area and dividing it would aid the Romans in confining the native revolts to smaller areas. Breaking the state into smaller segments allowed the Romans to put more focus on the natives in a centralized area instead of trying to gain control over a vast area. Also division of the land may have hindered communication between tribes that lived there. Since new borders were drawn within Mauretania and troops were placed on these frontier zones the tribes were effectively contained. This action prohibited them from mobilizing with the other natives and forming large resistance movements such as that of Aedemon and Tiqfarin.

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129 J.D. Fague and Roland Oliver *Cambridge History of Africa Volume II: From 500 B.C.-1050A.D.* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 597-598 and Cassius Dio *Roman History* 60.24.5, 60.8-60.9; Pliny *Natural History* 5.11-5.15.
Chapter Five

Mauretania Flourishes

The following chapter contains information concerning Mauretania under the client king chosen by Augustus. It exhibits that Mauretania was a state wherein the Roman, Greek and North African cultures converged through building projects. This was done in hopes to peacefully introduce the classical cultures to the indigenous natives who still employed their ancestral ways of life. A discourse on the native contribution to the Roman cities is also included. Mauretania was reformed at the hands of Juba II and Cleopatra Selene II and they effectively built a beautiful, rich and stable kingdom for Rome to spread its hegemony over.

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Mauretania was a kingdom that was named after and established by the Mauri tribe, which was a large cultural group that lived in the present day area of Morocco. Its population practiced nomadism just as their ancestors had done for years. Mauretania was united under king Bocchus II of the Mauri tribe. It was located in an extremely large and mountainous area and open to attack from the surrounding tribes that lived there for centuries prior to the Roman occupation. An indigenous monarch ruled Mauretania until the death of king Bocchus II in 33 B.C.

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The Romans wanted to extend their empire further west in North Africa but they needed a plan to deal with the issue of uprisings. The area that the Romans hoped to annex into their empire contained some of the most hostile tribes in the region. This was probably true because they were informed of the spread of Roman power throughout other parts of North Africa. The Romans previously destroyed the powerful Carthaginian Empire and the natives, as a result of their knowledge of this, probably thought it best to be more defensive instead of defenseless. The social environment in this area had the potential to become hostile quickly. This would create a substantially serious hindrance to Roman power in the location if the Romans did not work to appease the natives in some way. In light of this in 25 B.C., after Juba II married to Cleopatra Selene II, he was placed on the throne of Mauretania. Augustus did this in hopes that Juba II could better communicate with and placate the tribesmen as he was a royal North African. His reign lasted for 48 years from 25 B.C.-23 A.D.\textsuperscript{131}

Juba II effectively ‘Romanized’ as well as ‘Hellenized’ the urban centers of his vast kingdom which facilitated the spread of Roman and Greek culture to the indigenous inhabitants in his area. His aim may have been to introduce the technology, luxuries and amenities of Roman and Greek city life to the more rustic people of Mauretania. He wanted them to be intrigued by and experience for themselves the splendor of these cultures. He may have done this in hopes that the majority of the tribal people would accept this new and incoming milieu as beneficial to their lives. In the event that he accomplished this, the natives would offer less resistance to the spread of the Roman occupation in Mauretania.

However the adage proved true that people sometimes fear what they do not know. In light of this Juba II beautified his cities with Roman and Greek styles. In doing so he attempted to educate his people in North Africa about these foreigners that were becoming an ever more common sight amongst them. This may have helped him to more easily integrate the classical cultures into tribal societies existing inside and outside of Mauretania. Once the Mauretanians saw that the innovations and change brought by the Roman colonists were not disruptive to their ways of life, they may have been able to combine these new cultural aspects with their own.\footnote{132}

Some of the North Africans did conform to Greek and Roman ways of life. They did so in order to obtain a formal education and become active in trade and production that went on in the Roman urban centers. This allowed the accumulation of wealth usually followed by the elevation of social status. Those who did not opt to be a part of the ‘Romanization’ of their area did not necessarily continued to live as their ancestors did in decades passed. Yet there were some who accepted the Roman occupation but desired to remain in their habitat, which fell in the farmlands attached to the Roman cities.

The indigenous people who lived on the periphery of the Roman cities played a key role in the maintenance and survival of the Roman urban centers in Mauretania and throughout Roman North Africa. They were subjected to more meager means of living and subsisted in poverty. Their labor was utilized to produce the products that the Roman

\footnote{132 Jane Webster “Creolizing the Roman Provinces.” \textit{American Journal of Archaeology} Vol. 15 No. 2 (April, 2001): 209-225. She argues that the natives in the Roman provinces did not completely assimilate to Roman culture but they did accept some aspects of it that were not altogether destructive to their own cultural institutions. This cultural syncretism formed a new milieu in the provinces and was taken back to Rome at times by nobles who had the opportunity to travel more than the common Roman citizens and who also had an appetite for exotic and new cultural experiences.}
cities used as trade items that brought in the income which sustained the grandeur of the cities as well as Rome itself. These farmers lived on the edges of and in sections of the towns that were designated for lower classes. They lived in humble mud walled dwellings called *gourbis*, straw huts, *mapalia*, and some simply lived in caves. These poor laborers lived off of barley and millet supplemented with snails and crickets. Their clothing consisted of animal skins.

According to Roman law, these people were afforded no legal rights. It has been estimated that only one in six or maybe even one in ten North Africans actually lived in most Roman North African cities. However, the people living in the towns depended directly on the labor of the poor farmers to provide a harvest, which in large part, contributed to the economic vitality of the town. The greater part of the agricultural workers provided a labor force not for the municipalities but to the plantations, *latifundia*, owned by rich Roman citizens or the emperor. Some of the wealthy Roman citizens who bought land and needed people to plant and harvest crops would recruit laborers *en masse*.

This contributed to the phenomenon of large uprisings on the *latifundia*, which the Roman forces would have to spend time and energy to control. Native laborers were invaluable in that they sustained and supported the commercial cities. In doing this they contributed to the economy of Rome and the longevity of the Empire in the western portion of North Africa. The profits from native laborers, as well as Juba II and Cleopatra Selene II’s building programs, allowed cities such as Caesarea, Volubilis, and others in the Mauretanian kingdom to be built. These places are noted even today for

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their rich material culture which includes a mixture of North African, Roman and Greek culture.

According to historian Duane Roller, author of The World of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene, the client kingdoms of the “Roman world” proved their level of sophistication through the “culture of the royal court.” The major cities of the kingdom were a reflection of the efforts and pursuits of the king and queen to introduce their subjects to a more cultured lifestyle. Volubilis was an important city of Mauretania, but Selene and Juba II decided to move their capital to Caesarea. Volubilis was removed from the Mediterranean coast where more trade took place. It was placed on the Atlantic side of North Africa near the coast, which was closer to the more hostile tribes.134

King Juba II set up his capital city of Caesarea (not to be confused with the Caesarea that existed in Judea), which he named in memory of Caesar Augustus, at the location of the ancient city of Iol.135 Caesarea, located on the western Mediterranean coast of Mauretania, was closer to Rome and the king’s ancestral land of Numidia. Juba II and Cleopatra Selene II transformed the ruins of the ancient city Iol into a place fit for monarchs. The king especially wanted to use the same artistic style developed in Rome during the reign of Augustus.136 He brought an architect from Rome to re-design the amphitheater there and he also revamped the Mauretanian royal army to make it fit the structure of the Roman defenses.137

In the spirit of Cleopatra Selene II’s Ptolemaic heritage the city of Caesarea contained some Hellenistic elements. There was a lighthouse built on a small island that

was just off the coast of Caesarea in the style of the Pharos of Alexandria.\textsuperscript{138} Following the plan of Alexandria the royal palace, library and other buildings of Juba II and Selene II may have been on the waterfront.\textsuperscript{139} Another tribute to the development of Caesarea as influenced by Cleopatra Selene II’s ancestry was the existence of an Iseum, a temple built for the worship of the goddess Isis.\textsuperscript{140} There were also many monuments that may have been added by Juba II while building his royal capital. These are located outside the walls of Caesarea.

The aqueduct and the mausoleum were prominent features of the Roman style Juba II applied to his kingdom. It was 30 kilometers southeast of Caesarea. The aqueduct was a necessity for any city because it brought water to the people there. The aqueduct of Juba II helped to water the fields thereby supporting the agricultural economy and it also brought water to the urban center. The other great monument that is an astonishing sight on the outside of Caesarea was the mausoleum. It resembled the one that Augustus built in 27 B.C. prior to Juba II being made king of Mauretania.\textsuperscript{141} It was believed to be the tomb discussed by Pomponius Mela who wrote concerning Iol in the times of Juba II. He asserted that it was the mausoleum of the royal family.\textsuperscript{142} Historians and archaeologists strongly believe that the tomb was built by Juba II and Cleopatra Selene II.

In an attempt to showcase all of the impressive improvements made to their city, Juba II and Cleopatra Selene II picked an equally awe inspiring site on which to build Caesarea. They used Hellenistic examples when they decided to place Caesarea on a spot

\textsuperscript{138} Strabo Geography 17.3.12.
\textsuperscript{139} Duane W. Roller The World of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene (New York: Routledge, 2003), 125.
\textsuperscript{140} Pliny Natural History 5.51.
\textsuperscript{141} Duane W. Roller The World of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene (New York: Routledge, 2003), 128-130.
\textsuperscript{142} Pomponius Mela De Situ Orbis 1.31.
where it was naturally raised up above the surrounding area because of the topography. At 25m above sea level, the city could be seen from approaching ships at sea. The use of Roman as well as Greek architecture, Luna marble, and sculpture would have impressed those Romans coming to Mauretania from the sea. This sight probably gave the incoming Romans some comfort in knowing that the spread of their culture to the rest of the kingdom was being handled in a beautifully thorough and efficient way.\footnote{Duane W. Roller The World of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene (New York: Routledge, 2003), 130.}

The city of Caesarea allowed the kingdom of Mauretania to amass much wealth. It was situated in an area that afforded it the opportunity to have a great sea port. Through this port many people came to trade, buy and sell commodities that increased the productivity and economic standing of Mauretania. The Roman currency used in Mauretanian was backed by the kingdom’s flourishing trade economy. There was also evidence in the writings of ancient authors that Juba II, after his expedition returned from the Canary Islands (which were named by Juba II), reopened the ancient Carthaginian dye trade. The purple dye that was harvested from shellfish was a highly sought after item along with animals (exported for use in the Roman gladiatorial games) and the citrus wood tables that were produced in Mauretania. There was a time in which these citrus wood tables were in high demand in Rome. Cicero is said to have paid 500,000 sesterces for one and Pliny records that others paid 1,000,000, 1,200,000 and 1,300,000 sesterces for the tables carved from one block of citrus wood.\footnote{R.M. Haywood An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome Volume I: Africa (Patterson, New Jersey: Pageant Books, 1959), 24, 25 and Pliny Natural History 13.92-93.}

Mauretania also cultivated crops such as grains, olives and grapes. The harvesting of grains centered in the eastern part of the kingdom surpassed the making of olive oil. Strabo discussed the good quality of the Mauretanian grapevines although the
majority of North African wine was, “not as pleasing to the palate.” However, when the grapes were dried, they were a sweet treat that was popular among some Romans. The figs grown in North Africa were considered by many to be the most sought after and popular fruit item. Juba II also believed that his kingdom produced the highest grade of pearls. Amber was harvested from Lake Kephisis close to the Mediterranean coast. There were also copper mines that were exploited in Mauretania. Elephants from the region were taken to Rome to be paraded for the enjoyment of the citizens there who had never previously experienced Africa or seen these exotic creatures. There was also a demand for Mauretanian furniture, which was decorated with ivory from the Sahara region and timber from the Atlas Mountains.

Mauretania held within its borders a great Mediterranean trading center that established a lucrative business with other similar cities in the western parts of North Africa. Since the Romans were in control of the kingdom through Juba II, they took the majority of the sizeable profits that constantly flowed through this area. This action was essential for the support and survival of the Roman Empire as it was growing rapidly and its resources were stretched thin. More open land, laborers, and money were needed to sustain population and imperial prospects as the empire grew. This is where the flourishing affluence and opulence of Mauretania contributed much to the empire. The revival of Mauretanian trade economy by Juba II and Cleopatra Selene II afforded Rome with resources such as food, money, and luxury items to sale. The later annexation of Mauretania allowed Rome to spread its hegemony to the Atlantic coast in North Africa.

145 Duane W. Roller The World of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene (New York: Routledge, 2003), 117 and Strabo Geography 17.3.4 and Pliny Natural History 14.81, 14.120.
146 Pliny Natural History 14.14-17, 15. 69.
In the period following the death of Ptolemy, the last native king to rule in Mauretania, the Roman emperor Claudius, who reigned after Caligula, split the kingdom of Mauretania in half. The two parts were known as Mauretania Caesariensis and Mauretania Tingitana. In the time of Diocletian, and his reformation of the North African provinces in 293 A.D., Mauretania Caesariensis was combined with Numidia and Africa Proconsularis to form the Diocese of Africa. Mauretania Caesariensis was divided into east and west in the division of Diocletian. The east part became Mauretania Sitifensis. The province of Mauretania Tigitana was not divided further. It was added to the Diocese of Spain. The Romans were able to hold on to their territories in North Africa until the Vandal conquest of 429 A.D.\footnote{J.D. Fague and Roland Oliver \textit{Cambridge History of Africa Volume II: From 500 B.C.-1050 A.D.} (London: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 208-209.}
Conclusion

The integral nature of North Africa in classical antiquity can be observed in the fact that it was able to bring three great Mediterranean cultures together in one place. These cultures came there with the motive of using that land to sustain their own empires. This fact expresses the utter importance and connection of North Africa to the cultures in the ancient Mediterranean. The Phoenicians, Greeks, and Romans came there with the intent to save their homelands from a painful demise due to population pressures, a lack of food, and the unavailability of land. They all came to North Africa to look for redemption through the appropriation of land that would help sustain and revive their economies. These great cultures were attracted to one locale and they readily used their already low resources to travel there without knowing what they would encounter and with no guarantees of a favorable outcome. How great of a perception of the prosperity of North Africa must they have had? Also when the utter importance of a place is exemplified and validated through the actions of those cultures thriving in classical antiquity, how can it be marginalized in more contemporary times?

The North Africans and their lands aided the Phoenicians in a great way. They used the people for slave labor and soldiers. The Mediterranean coastline of North Africa was utilized by the Phoenicians to build settlements to carry treasure from Spain to Tyre. These coastal ports helped the Phoenicians to carry much material wealth back home. This helped them to stimulate their trading economy and to build their thriving North
African Empire centered at Carthage. In essence North Africa was an essential and integral part of the enrichment of Phoenicia and the growth of its influence in the ancient Mediterranean.

When the Greeks saw that the Phoenicians prospered in no small manner from travelling to and settling colonies in North Africa, they decided to go there and emulate them. They were also feeling the effects of population pressures and a lack of land on which to place their farming classes. As a result the Greeks established five booming cities in north east Africa from which they prospered especially in fishing and trading. Part of the proceeds from these cities went back to Greece to stimulate the economy there. New colonists were constantly flooding into the settlements in Africa so that they could get a fresh start free from debt bondage and own their own plot of land. The reasons for Greek colonization uphold the argument that Africa was a place of prosperity, significance and importance in the ancient Mediterranean. This area was also able to attract and aid the Romans in their quest to rebuild and lessen the burden of their homeland economy.

The Romans initially came to North Africa with different objectives but in the end they remained in North Africa for the same reasons as the Phoenicians and the Greeks. The Romans travelled there in order to check the power of Carthage and to keep it from spreading its influence too far into the Mediterranean and eventually into Italy. They felt that the Carthaginians had the resources and skill to become a considerable threat to Rome itself and decided to resort to preemptive measures and invade North Africa to conquer Carthage. In order to efficiently and successfully do this, the Romans needed to have resources and reinforcements that were there in North Africa instead of having them
brought in by sea from other places. Since the Romans were also far from home and therefore fighting out of their element, they thought it best to make an alliance with people who knew the landscape, had readily available resources, and could help protect the Roman camps.

As a result the Romans decided to make their alliance with Syphax who was the most powerful king closest to Carthage in North Africa at that time. This decision in and of itself warrants the belief that Syphax’s kingdom must have been extremely strong and affluent for a dominating and powerful culture as the Romans to ask him for help. The fact that Syphax was able to switch back and forth between the Carthaginian and Roman sides at will also shows that he must have had some great deal of power. He used his influence as a bargaining chip. He was intelligent with autonomous ulterior motives as he negotiated with the Romans and Carthaginians to see which of them could offer him the greatest reward for his aid.

The power of women can seemingly be seen in the story of Sophonisba. She changed the fate of two men effortlessly. If Syphax had not married her and remained an ally of Rome he would have been the king of a unified Numidia instead of Masinissa who probably would have perished as a Carthaginian ally. All the money and security and other wonderful things that the Carthaginians could offer Syphax did not sway him from his alliance with Rome, however Sophonisba did. She was thus the reason that Syphax went to the Carthaginian side. In retrospect this decision sealed his fate to be pursued and captured as an enemy of Rome. Later she even almost caused Masinissa to contemplate protecting her and thereby going up against Rome. How great a woman
must she have been in order to control the decision making of these powerful men and change the outcome of alliances with her charm and beauty?

When Rome lost the friendship of Syphax after his marriage to Sophonisba, Masinissa conveniently came in and helped them win the second war against Carthage. It may have taken the Romans much more time to subdue Carthage if they had not made the alliance with the Numidian royal figures. Time and maneuvering are key aspects that can determine whether an army will be victorious or defeated in battle. If the Romans were not able to gain the victories that they did with the help of Masinissa, they would have probably struggled against the Carthaginians for a longer period of time. This would in turn give the Carthaginians more time to regroup and continue to carry the war on. When a conflict is extended it depletes resources and manpower and the Romans who were a significant distance away from their reinforcements other essentials would have suffered more than the Carthaginians who were nearer to their supplies.

This type of scenario would not be conducive to a Roman victory over the Carthaginians. The Romans already saw the prowess of the famed Carthaginian general Hannibal as he came ever so close to being the conqueror of Rome. This meant that the Carthaginians were more than capable of dominating and subjugating Rome itself. The fact that the Romans decided to invade North Africa may have facilitated the situation for the Carthaginians because now they would not have to travel away from home to fight. Their resources and reinforcements were there and they had the advantage of knowing the landscape and climate of their area and in addition they still had Hannibal. The Romans were really at a disadvantage and it was ever so serious that they had someone formidable and strong enough to help them. In the event that the North Africans did not
decide to aid Rome at all, they may have been defeated in the second Punic War and continued to be threatened by Carthage.

Even though this could possibly have happened the Romans had a large empire and therefore they had many more resources that they could have obtained from other places in their conquered territories if needed. So even in the event that they had to fight Carthage longer, they may have still come out victorious over Carthage in the end.

Nonetheless, in essence the outcome of the war and the length of time in which the fighting concluded depended on the Numidians’ decision to give aid to the Romans or to serve with the Carthaginians. This is a real position of power that the natives were in. Their choice in the matter could cause one nation to fall and one to be victorious.

Judging from this situation the natives were extremely important at this time and North Africa was not removed or isolated from involvement with the events unfolding in the ancient Mediterranean. They were actually the most pivotal figures in this period and were at the epicenter of this larger historical event that culminated in their homeland.

It is imperative to note here that Masinissa and Syphax were extremely intelligent and influential men in that they were able to manipulate Rome and Carthage and switch to what they felt was the better side. They did not really care about the well being of either of those nations at war with one another. They were only making these alliances so that they could call in favors after the war had been won. They wanted the backing of the victorious party in establishing their own kingdom. The two men opposed one another but fought for a common objective which was to rule over a united state of Numidia. They were trying to build a North African Empire that could absorb Carthage and become an illustrious independent entity in the Mediterranean. This fact can be seen
in the actions of Syphax against Carthage in 215 B.C. when he tried to claim Carthaginian territory under the guise of “alliance” with Rome. If he could have accomplished his goals history would most likely have recorded a very different story.

Masinissa had the same motives as Syphax as he slowly encroached on Carthaginian lands after he had been made *rex Numidiorum*, king of Numidia. In the event that he was able to gain control of the affluent and prosperous Carthage with its entire grand trade network that it developed in ancient times, he would have most likely used the wealth of that Phoenician settlement to establish North Africa as a formidable Mediterranean power. As great as Masinissa’s plans were for his kingdom, he would not have stopped at Carthage, but it is feasible to conjecture that he would have gone to try and annex Egypt and other places in Libya. He had great aspirations for the state of Numidia to be the apex of North African power and what better way to bring this into fruition than to subjugate other places around Numidia and absorb them and conjoin them his state.

With the idea of a vast, wealthy, formidable and independent North African kingdom in mind, Masinissa tried his best to make Rome paranoid that Carthage was on the rise again. He hoped that they would give him the city and all its territories but this did not happen. The only reason that this plan did not work out in this way for Masinissa is because the Romans were too scared to even allow the possibility of Carthage slipping into enemy hands. In the end Masinissa enticed the Romans to resolve to destroy Carthage once and for all. They did exactly this after Masinissa’s death.

The fact that the Numidians formed a very powerful state can be seen through the lineage of Masinissa and its interaction with the Romans. It seems that given all of the
paranoia and frenzy that Carthage afforded the citizens of Rome, they would also fear the exponential growth of any other North African kingdoms which could offer any opposition to them. However it is interesting that Numidia was not subjugated after the death of Masinissa. The state of Numidia could have been annexed by Rome. However it was allowed to be presided over by indigenous royalty of the region thereby dissolving any fears of future uprisings or wars from that area.

The Romans may have left Numidia to its native rulers because the other tribes in the area were not introduced to Roman culture at that time and would have probably fought against it with many costly rebellions. They may have done this because they were fighting other wars with European nations around the same time and did not want to spend time, money and energy fighting in Numidia. The Numidians had, in previous wars, proven their resourcefulness and prowess as soldiers who could offer formidable opposition to Rome. The Romans may have left Numidia to its native kings because they respected the Numidians for aiding them greatly in their victory over Carthage in the second Punic War. They may have felt that the natives’ willing alliance was better than a forced friendship which could easily stir up a rebellion at any time. The fact that the Romans maintained close ties with the Numidians of Masinissa’s lineage shows that they valued their relationship with these North African natives.

Following the obliteration of Carthage and much instigation on the part of Masinissa the Romans decided to stay in North Africa. They did this to ensure that no more enemies would arise from that place. The tribune Gaius Gracchus realized the economic potential that could be afforded to Rome by founding a colony at the site of Carthage. His Colonia Junonia only lasted thirty years. Even so, it was the impetus that
inspired the idea of settlement of other lands in North Africa projecting outward from the site of Carthage.

The next settlement of lands by Caesar really formally began the Roman colonization in North Africa. This may have never happened if King Bocchus II of Mauretania had not allied with Caesar. Without the help of king Bocchus II Caesar may not have been able to defeat Juba I and the forces of Pompey, which could have stopped the Roman occupation of North Africa from ever happening. Juba I wanted to build a great kingdom for his people and he may have been afforded this opportunity due to his faithfulness if Pompey won the civil war against Caesar. After this Juba I may have turned to claim Mauretania and began building a stronger North African kingdom than Carthage had. Unfortunately this was not the case and Roman hegemony continued to spread throughout North Africa following the death of Caesar.

As the Romans began to claim land, they saw that there was much fertile land in North Africa especially around the coastal areas. They immediately had the notion to found colonies there near the Mediterranean coast. At this time the Romans were facing economic hardships because they were simply stretching themselves and their resources too thin. They were employed in leading a conquest of the known world and expanding their empire over a vast area. As their empire grew so did the expense of maintaining it.

This was the point at which the provinces of the Roman Empire became so important. The Romans began to rely on their provinces to produce food, raw materials for manufacturing goods, and revenue. The North African provinces did not produce as many raw materials as the European provinces did but they gave the Romans something that they absolutely could not live without, food. The Romans used resilient African
grain as a base staple of their diet. The civilians and soldiers alike thrived off of the consumption of much bread. Without this sustenance the soldiers and civilians could not perform duties, which means that the empire could not progress. With this in mind the importance of the North African provinces cannot be denied. The Roman territories from North Africa produced one third of the grain that was sent to and consumed in Rome and Egypt produced the other. This means that two thirds of the grain that sustained the whole Roman Empire came from North Africa. Without this grain the Romans would not have been able to feed its ever growing population.

After all, world dominance does come with a price. The Roman empire was growing to such huge proportions that much of the farmlands in Italy were going fallow and were not able to produce the food needed fast enough. So the Romans had to turn elsewhere to keep the fire of their imperialistic nation fueled. In essence, without North Africa there was not enough grain. Without the African wheat the Roman Empire could have become destitute, blighted with starvation, and would have most likely become an easy and vulnerable target to their enemies. The city of Rome itself was not in danger of a lack of grain as its conquered towns; however the city did prosper greatly from the African farmers whose produce the Romans sold to others. This made many Italian businessmen wealthy and no doubt added to the treasury of Rome too. Proverbially North Africa saved the Roman Empire from a state of debilitating economic decline by providing it with the necessary store of grain. Where is the marginality in that?

Along with the grain that came from the North African provinces there was much revenue taken from the area that no doubt also helped to soothe economic pressures in Rome and throughout its Empire. This was especially true in the area of Mauretania,
which was the last indigenous kingdom to be annexed by the Romans. This state was reformed into an extremely prosperous North African state by Juba II and Cleopatra Selene II. They managed to build a strong trading network with other cultures surrounding the ancient Mediterranean. These commercial sites brought the bulk of the wealth to Mauretania along with the cultivation of olives, grapes, and grain.

They also effectively prepared the indigenous tribes to become more accepting and less hostile toward Roman culture. This strategy worked for some of the tribes who lived very near or inside the urban centers of Juba II and Cleopatra Selene II. However, the others who lived on the outside or along the borders of Mauretania or in and around the Atlas mountains were the reason that the Romans had to build walls to protect their settled territories. These tribes living in the mountain and desert regions were harder to control because of the natural defense that the landscape gave them. They were removed from the areas exhibiting the most Roman influence. The Romans tried to use assimilation to their culture as a means of subjugating tribes, which is mainly the reason that Juba II and Cleopatra Selene II were placed in Mauretania. However, the ones that they could not absorb into their culture, they had to find other ways to deal with them. These methods included diplomacy, deterrence through the presence of military forces, and policing of borders to redirect nomadic routes.

The last measure mentioned above that the Romans resorted to in order to protect their provinces actually triggered the type of rebellion that they did not want to deal with. The revolt of Tiqfarin occurred because the natives were being prohibited from continuing their nomadic way of life. Thus they felt disrespected by the Romans who did

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149 R. Brian Ferguson and Neil L. Whitehead *War in the Tribal Zone* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press), 53.
150 Ferguson and Whitehead, 49
not take into account the fact that these people needed to travel through certain areas to gather food in order to survive. As a result the nomadic tribes in the area felt that they had to form a united resistance to Roman rule. They were not fighting because of hatred of the Romans; they were waging a war for the survival of their communities and children. The revolt of Aedemon however was formed for hatred of the Romans and their presence in North Africa. This revolt happened as a result of the atrocity committed against king Ptolemy of Mauretania.

These two resistance movements were common in the fact that they were organized and not just sporadic. Historians have claimed that there were no organized resistance movements but the revolts of Tacfarinas and Aedemon exhibit the capability of the North Africans to call different tribes in their area together to fight for a specific cause. These rebellions may not have been along a completely continuous stretch of land from coast to coast in North Africa, but they were organized and structured none the less. This can be seen in the fact that the Romans had much difficulty dealing with the revolts. This conjecture is derived from the evidence of both revolts lasting for a combined eleven years. In order to keep a resistance movement going for any length of time with all of the different tribes involved, there would have be some sort of consolidated, united mobilization of people.

The examples of the revolts of Tacfarinas, Aedemon, and even Jugurtha seemingly offer a rebuttal to the acquired meaning behind the phrase “Romanization of North Africa.” Such a term seems so definite in defining Roman hegemony but there is evidence of resistance to the Romans throughout their occupation of North Africa which in a way cancels the theory of complete and utter “Romanization” in the region. The
history of North Africa as written from the perspective of the natives gives a different view of the Roman occupation of the area. In essence it allows one to see that there was no Romanization where the natives did not allow it. In this light, the natives were important and pivotal figures because of the effect that they had on the objectives of the Romans while they were in North Africa. When and where the natives cooperated the Romans were able to gain much needed economic aid and their cities flourished, but those that did not agree with Roman rule thwarted and perturbed the Romans very effectively for long, costly periods.

The majority of the native royals were never in deference to Rome which can be seen in the examples given by Masinissa, Syphax, Jugurtha, Juba I, Cleopatra Selene II and Ptolemy. They all used faithfulness to the larger power as a guise behind which they were trying to build up a powerful, formidable North African kingdom. They knew that they could not just break away from Rome and wage war for their independence because the Romans were more powerful than they. As a result they all employed different ways of secretly gaining a backing with other natives as Cleopatra Selene II did or as Masinissa did in the acquisition of fruitful territory. There were opportunities for North Africa to become a rich, formidable and independent Mediterranean power, but unfortunately the circumstances at that time did not allow it.

Nonetheless, the natives and their lands were important to and directly affected the Romans and brought other cultures in the Mediterranean in one place, their continent. Without the attractiveness produced by the prosperity of North Africa the Phoenicians, Greeks, and Romans would not have come there. Without the Phoenician settlement of Carthage the Punic Wars, which effectually caused the building of the Roman navy and
their colonization overseas, would not have happened. With this in mind North Africa was in a sense a unifying agent of the Mediterranean area in classical antiquity. It brought renowned Mediterranean cultures face to face in one locale thereby causing them to interact with one another.

This converging of Mediterranean cultures in North Africa caused empires to be built and strengthened. North Africa and its people helped to fortify the economies and therefore the whole Phoenician, Greek, and Roman states through the claiming of land, production of commercial items and trade networks. In terms of Rome North Africa made it a more militarily stronger, more imperialistic state. When the Romans came to North Africa they had to prepare their navy and army by developing strategies to sustain and fight in a foreign land. This was the first time that the Romans colonized outside of Italy. The rewards of colonization as experienced in North Africa may have definitely been a factor in the Roman decision to keep expanding their empire overseas. This supports the conjecture that North Africa was pivotal in causing the Roman Empire to spread their hegemony in other areas outside Italy. Where is the marginality in that? North Africa and its people were definitely important entities in the ancient Mediterranean and their contribution to classical antiquity deserves to be explored more in depth instead of marginalized for any reason as in the colonial period sources. The evidence given by an analysis of the actions of the indigenous people as described in the ancient authorities supports the view that the contribution of the North Africans to classical antiquity was pivotal. Their decisions in aiding Phoenicia, Greece, and Rome impacted the whole cultural and economic milieu of the ancient Mediterranean. This fact gives credence to the integral nature of North Africa in classical antiquity.
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Appendix A

Timeline of major native figures

This appendix lists the indigenous people who were discussed in this paper to exhibit the influential nature of the North Africans during the period of the Roman occupation in their homeland. The person’s name, place of birth, kingdom they ruled, and dates of birth and death are listed in this appendix.

List A.1: Timeline

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Place of birth</th>
<th>Kingdom presided over</th>
<th>Life span</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masinissa</td>
<td>Numidia</td>
<td>Eastern Numidia</td>
<td>238 B.C.-148 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syphax</td>
<td>Numidia</td>
<td>Western Numidia</td>
<td>?-203/202 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jugurtha</td>
<td>Numidia</td>
<td>Numidia</td>
<td>160 B.C.-104 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juba I</td>
<td>Numidia</td>
<td>Numidia</td>
<td>?-46 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleopatra VII</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>69 B.C.-30 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juba II</td>
<td>Numidia</td>
<td>Mauretania</td>
<td>48 B.C.-24/23 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleopatra S.</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Mauretania</td>
<td>40 B.C.- 6 B.C.?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B

Map of North Africa

This map shows the current day states of Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco in North Africa.

Figure B.1: Map of North Africa
Appendix C

Map of Carthage

This appendix exhibits a map of Carthage and its territories as well as the lands it lost in the Second Punic War against Rome. The darker area at the bottom of the map shows the area of the city of Carthage on the tip of ancient Tunisia.

Figure C.1: Map of Carthage and its territories over the period of the First and Second Punic Wars.
Appendix D

Map of Roman North Africa

This map shows the first established Roman territory in North Africa (land mass at the bottom of image) in 146 B.C. This land included only the area surrounding the city of Carthage.

Figure D.1: Map of Roman Province of Africa
Appendix E

Map of Roman North Africa

This map shows the entire territory that Rome claimed in North Africa. The land mass at the very bottom of the map is North Africa.

Figure E.1: Map of the extent of the Roman Empire in North Africa.