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The Reinvention of Lepcis

'Romanization'

Lepcis is perhaps not the most obvious case-study for our inquiry into "colonizing a colonised territory...in Roman times". Although it was certainly a 'city with Punic roots', said to have been originally a Phoenician colony¹, it was not re-colonized by the Romans in a literal sense, and 'Roman' is at best only partially appropriate as a political description of the Tripolitanian cities in the early empire. Lepcis had not been taken under direct Roman control after the destruction of Carthage in 146 BCE, but at the beginning of the Jugurthan War (112-105 BCE) the city sued for friendship and *societas* with Rome against Numidia². Despite later backing Numidia and the Pompeians in the civil war, and receiving an annual fine of three million pounds of olive oil from Caesar as a result³, it was a Roman ally again in campaigns against local Libyan peoples in the Augustan period⁴. Its precise political and tributary status in relation to Rome at that time is unclear⁵, but it certainly seems to have acted independently at least on a local level, coining money into the Tiberian period, and operating under Punic magistracies and local priesthoods throughout the first century CE⁶. It is always referred to as a *civitas* in its Latin epigraphy⁷, and while the local Roman pro-consul is regularly described on inscriptions as the *patronus* of the city⁸, there is no suggestion that he exercised official authority there⁹. There were no Roman colonies in the region, and the onomastics suggest little informal immigration¹⁰.

¹ SALL. BJ 78; PLIN. HN 5.76; SIL. ITAL. 3. 256.

² SALL. BJ 77: there was some civic discord over this strategy, which in 108 led one party to successfully request a Roman garrison and praefectus. On the political history of Lepcis, see in most detail DI VITA 1982.

³ LUCAN 9.948-949; Bell. Afr. 97.3: again there was disagreement over the policy, and relations with the Numidian king do not seem to have remained friendly for long; cf. Caes. Bell. Civ. 2.38.1.

⁴ See for instance IRT 301, a victory inscription over the Gaetuli (6 CE), and IRT 320, a base describing Augustus as conservator (3/2 BCE).

⁵ MATTINGLY 1995, 52: "the fine imposed by Caesar appears to have been lifted at a fairly early date under Augustus and Lepcis, Oea and Sabratha were allowed considerable autonomy as civitates, though whether they were libertae or governed by a foedus is controversial". On the problem of the city's status see DI VITA 1982, 522-526, with further bibliography.

⁶ For sufets and priests in the first century CE, see IRT p. 79-80; for a popular assembly in the Punic style, see SZNYCER 1975, 66-67, on IPT 31 (mid-first century CE) and 27 (92 CE); for a summary of the city's 'punic traditions' see Bénabou 1976, 513-514.

⁷ IRT p.73. Lepcis was made a municipium with Latin rights under Vespasian and a colonia in 110.

⁸ The earliest dated instance is IRT 319, discussed below; other early imperial examples include IRT 273, 330, 331, 332 and 521.

⁹ See DI VITA-EVRARD 1990 for interesting speculation on the developing relationship between the proconsul and the city.

¹⁰ FONTANA 2001, 162.

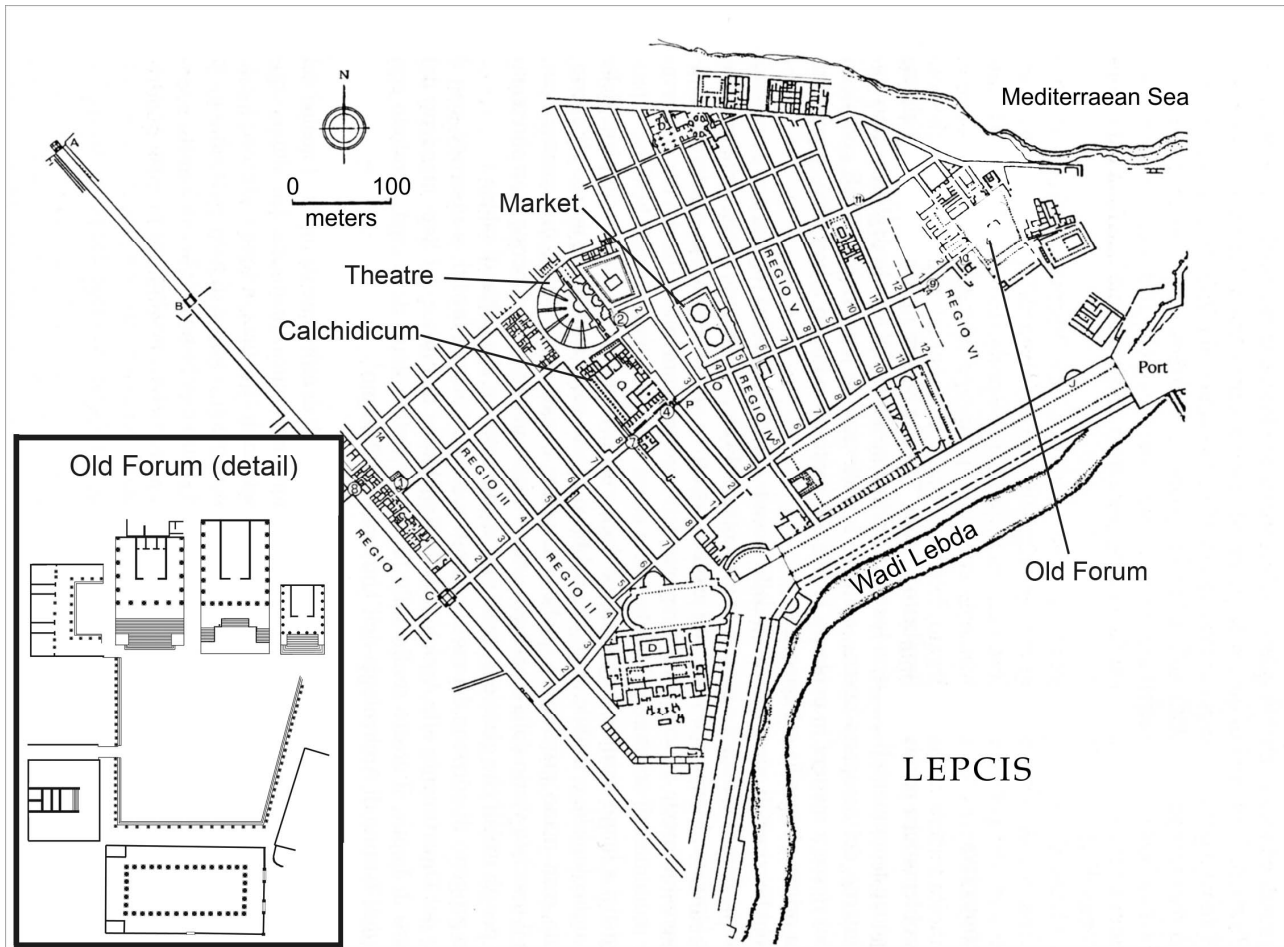


Fig. 1. — Plan of Lepcis, with early imperial buildings discussed in the text labelled, and enlargement of the Old Forum area (Drawn by Matthew McCarty, After TOMASELLO 2005, fig. 1 and DI VITA and LIVADIOTTI 2005, pl. I).

Nonetheless, early imperial Lepcis is often seen as a textbook case of ‘Romanization’, in particular in relation to the new programme of public architecture that accompanied the massive expansion of the city in the Augustan period (Fig. 1)¹¹. In 8 BCE, for instance, one *Annobal Himilcho f. Tapapius Rufus* built a rectangular market with two central kiosks in a style that has been compared to earlier Italian markets with kiosks at Pompeii and Pozzuoli¹². The impressive Latin building inscription on its southwest precinct wall (its principal facade) begins by invoking Augustus and his magistracies, names the current Roman proconsul as *patronus* of the city, and lists the serving priests of Augustus, thereby showing that there was already imperial cult at Lepcis by this date (*IRT* 319: App. 1a; Fig. 2). A Punic version of the inscription is found only inside the market, on the eastern kiosk (*IPT* 21: App. 1b; Fig. 3). This translates the Latin text whose primacy is established by its size, position and the use in both versions of standard Latin epigraphic formulae¹³.

¹¹ See most stridently MACMULLEN 2000, 35-42. More recently, MASTURZO 2003 takes a similar line, seeing rather more innovation than continuity at Lepcis in the Augustan period, and that in a distinctly Roman direction.

¹² SEAR 1998, 109, 195; MACMULLEN 2000, 36.

¹³ See AMADASI GUZZO 1988, 24-25 for the differences between the formulae used in Punic-only inscriptions and those used in the Punic texts of bilingual inscriptions, which follow Latin norms.



Fig. 2 – IRT 319: Latin inscription on SW precinct wall of market.
(Image courtesy of Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania digital archive: <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT319.html>).

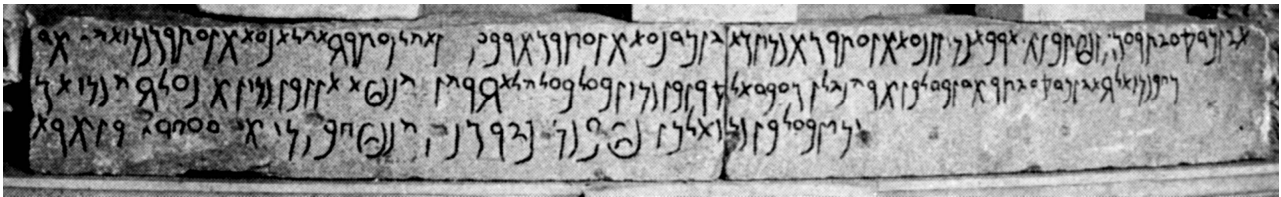


Fig. 3 – IPT 21: Punic inscription from eastern kiosk of market, as displayed in the site museum
(after *Iscrizioni Puniche della Tripolitania*, Tav. VIII, Iscr. 21: Image courtesy of “L’Erma” di Bretschneider).



Fig. 4 – IRT 323: Latin inscription from theatre
(Image courtesy of Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania digital archive: <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT319.html>).

A few years later, in 1/2 CE, this same Annobal built a theatre on a flat site in the D-shaped style popular in contemporary Italy¹⁴. Its main Latin building inscription takes the form of a *tabula ansata*, apparently placed over one of entrances¹⁵, and uses standard Latin epigraphic terminology, beginning with the date according to Augustus' imperial magistracies (*IRT* 323: App. 2a; Fig. 4). Two smaller inscriptions appear inside the theatre above the lateral corridors leading to the orchestra, textually almost identical to *IRT* 323 but with secondary Punic versions carved below the Latin text (*IRT* 321-2 = *IPT* 24: App. 2b; Figs. 5a and 5b)¹⁶. The theatre had an irregularly-shaped *porticus post scaenam*, and a portico at the top of the cavea inscribed with the emperor's name and titles housed a shrine to Ceres Augusta, dedicated by the Ceres Augusta, dedicated by the local proconsul but paid for by Suphunibal, the daughter of a local worthy (*IRT* 269: App. 2c); the dedication took place in 35-36 CE, but the shrine was apparently planned as part of the project from the beginning¹⁷. These arrangements have inevitably been compared with those of Pompey's theatre-temple-porticus in Rome¹⁸.



Fig. 5a – *IRT* 321/*IPT* 24: Bilingual inscription from inside the theatre
(Image courtesy of Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania digital archive: <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT321.html>).



Fig. 5b – *IRT* 322/*IPT* 24: Bilingual inscription from inside the theatre
(Image courtesy of Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania digital archive: <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT322.html>).

¹⁴ SEAR 2006, 281-282, with further bibliography; Wilson, forthcoming, for the Italian features of the construction. The full publication is CAPUTO 1987, on which see the reviews of DI VITA and SEAR in *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 3 (1990, 133-146 and 376-383).

¹⁵ Although this is now displayed above the street door of the East dressing room, its original position is uncertain as it was found reused. See DI VITA 2005, 12, for the "romanissime *tabulae ansatae*".

¹⁶ Though the layouts vary somewhat, the only difference in wording between the three Latin texts is in the placement of the name 'Rufus'. The two Punic texts have identical wording.

¹⁷ CAPUTO 1987, 62: "Che il tempio a Cerere fosse già previsto nel progetto augusteo sembra dimostrato dalla scalea che si addossa internamente alla curva della facciata della cavea".

¹⁸ E.g. GROS 1996, 292.

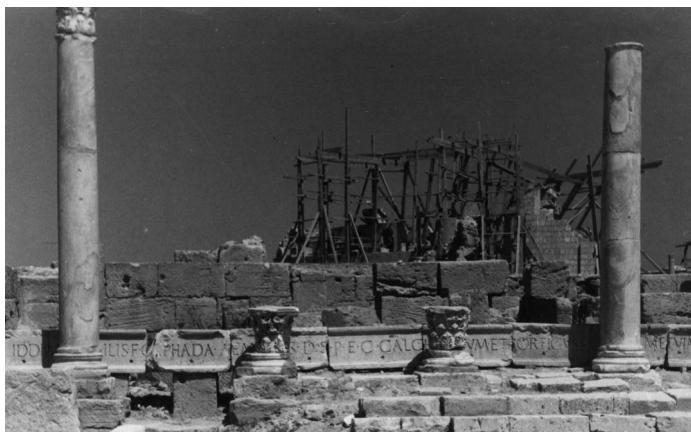


Fig. 6 – IRT 324: Latin inscription from the *Calchidicum*
 (Image courtesy of Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania digital archive:
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT324.html>).

Then in 11/12 CE one *Iddibal Himilis f. Caphada Aemilius*, whose togate statue has also survived, built what he labels a *porticus* with a *calchidicum* in a large Latin inscription which ran along its main facade and gable ends (IRT 324: App. 3; Fig. 6). They are dedicated to the *numen Augusti*, pointing again to a form of imperial cult in the city, just a few years after the dedication of the *ara numinii Augusti* in Rome by Tiberius in 6 CE, and apparently constituting the first adoption of the cult of the *numen Augusti* in a free city¹⁹. The *calchidicum*, a “monumental covered podium”, is otherwise attested as a named building type only in Italian inscriptions²⁰.

Furthermore, the donor’s name as given on the inscription, like that of the market’s donor, has been held to show how “local elites, who were not yet Roman citizens, adopted Latin elements in their names, imitating Roman nomenclature”²¹. Punic names conventionally had only two elements, the name and the filiation, in the traditional semitic form *X ben Y*.

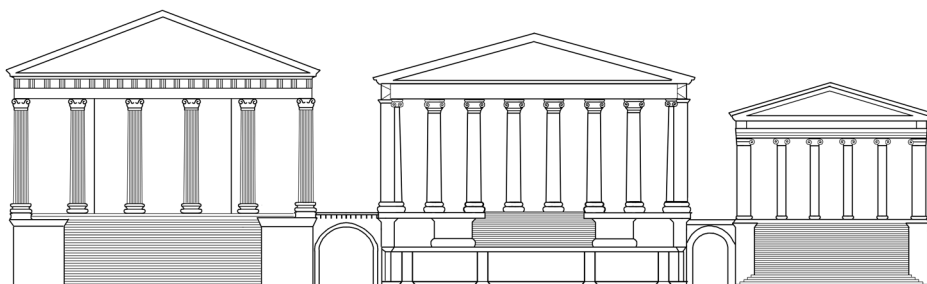


Fig. 7 – The Old Forum temples in the Tiberian period
 (Drawn by Matthew McCarty, After DI VITA and LIVADIOTTI 2005, pl. I).

Further evidence for ‘Romanization’ comes from the three temples that delineate the western edge of the old forum in the North of the city, physically linked by bridges between their podia, and all built in the Italian *periptero sine postico* style, with the high podium and frontal emphasis typical of that tradition (Fig. 7)²². The central temple was the last of the three to be constructed: the arches linking the podia are built into its fabric, whereas they simply abut its neighbours. The (presumably) Latin inscription which ran across the entablature in place of a frieze and architrave has been lost, apart from the ends of its *tabula ansata*²³. A Punic inscription carved all the way round the doorway does however survive (IPT 22: App. 4; Fig. 8), from which we learn that the temple was dedicated to Roma and Augustus, and that it had a sculpture cycle of the Julio-Tiberian imperial family; the composition of the family as described dates the construction to

¹⁹ DEGRASSI 1963, 401 for the altar at Rome; DI VITA 1982, 558 with earlier bibliography on the adoption of the cult at Lepcis.
²⁰ FENTRESS 2005, 223 for this definition and for a distribution map (her Fig. 2) which shows that 10 of the 11 other attested chalcidica (the usual spelling) are in the bay of Naples and the vicinity of Rome. The eleventh is at Velleia. BRACONI 2005 identifies the complex at Lepcis as a slave market.
²¹ FONTANA 2001, 162. Macmullen labels ‘Iddibal Caphada Aemilius’, with its apparent switch of gentilicum and cognomen, ‘clumsiness...of a ridiculous sort’ (2000, 45).
²² SEAR 1998, 195; see Brouquier-Reddé 1992, 230-1 on “le type du temple italique” in Africa, with earlier bibliography.
²³ LIVADIOTTI and ROCCO 2005, 213-4.

Tiberius's reign²⁴. The tribunal at the front of this temple's podium, approached by lateral staircases and complete with rostra, recalls the temples of Divus Iulius in the Roman Forum and Venus Genetrix in the Augustan Forum²⁵.

In the case of the western temple, Masturzo's suggestion that it was the city's capitolium²⁶, marking a sharp break from local traditions and strong adhesion to Rome²⁷, is very difficult to accept. Although an inscription of unknown date which preserves the names of Juno Regina and Minerva was found in the Old Forum (*IRT* 290), that does not in itself demonstrate the presence of a capitolium, and the 2nd-3rd c. CE head of Athena and the fragment of a colossal statue with curls of a beard which were discovered (separately) near the western temple, and are attributed on Masturzo's argument to the cult statues of a capitolium, are of different scales²⁸. Furthermore, as Di Vita points out, the imperial dedications found in the temple itself, which suggest to Masturzo that the temple's cult must have been linked directly to official Roman religion, could be found in any temple, and it would be very surprising to find a Capitolium in Africa in this period²⁹, or, one might add, anywhere outside Italy.



Fig. 8 — *IRT* 22: Punic inscription from the Roma and Augustus temple lying on the paving of the Old Forum (Photo: author).

letter-forms and by onomastics³², around the time that the two larger temples (and no others) were in fact reconstructed in marble³³; given that the central temple was certainly dedicated to the imperial cult, the

The most plausible attribution for the western temple is still therefore that of Di Vita, to the Punic god Shadrappa (Roman Liber Pater, Greek Dionysus), who was, with Milk'ashtart (Hercules/Heracles), one of the city's two patron gods³⁰. As well as the fragments of a Dionysiac frieze found in a favissa in the temple, a small dedication "to the Gods of Lepcis Magna" (*Dibus Lepcis Magnae*) was discovered in a room just to the west of the cella³¹, made by one Marcus Vipsanius Clemens, *redem(p)tor marmorarius templi Liberi Patris* (*IRT* 275). This inscription not only links the god and the temple through its findspot, but also because it can be dated to the early-mid second century CE both by

²⁴ LIVADIOTTI and ROCCO 2005, 230-231: that Augustus is referred to as a god and is the object of cult and that Tiberius is called Tiberius Augustus require a date after Augustus' death in 14 CE, and a later terminus post quem of 23 CE is likely provided by the titlature used in the dedicatory inscription for the Germanicus and Drusus' quadriga, which suggests that they are both already dead. The inclusion of Drusus's wife Livia (Livilla), whose damnatio memoriae was in 32 CE (her name is erased on the inscription), provides a certain terminus ante quem; 29 CE, the year of Agrippina's exile to Pandataria, offers a very likely earlier one.

²⁵ BULLO 2002, 165, 175; MACMULLEN 2000, 39; SEAR 1998, 195; WARD-PERKINS 1981, 373. There are also aspects of the design that recall the Temple of Castor, the temple of Apollo in Circo and temples in the Forum Holitorium and Largo Argentina: LIVADIOTTI and ROCCO 2005, 189, 197.

²⁶ MASTURZO 2005, building on MUSSO 1996.

²⁷ MASTURZO 2005, 129.

²⁸ The identification of the 'Jupiter' fragment is particularly speculative: DI VITA (2005, 16) notes that Capitoline Jove with his head strongly bent to the right would be unique.

²⁹ DI VITA 2005, 19.

³⁰ DI VITA 2005, 16. For the importance of these gods at Lepcis in the Hellenistic period, see *IRT* 31, a dedication to 'Lord Shadrappa and Milk'ashtart, patrons of Lepcis' (l 'dn lšdrp' wmlk' štrt rbt 'lpqy) that was found in the Byzantine wall and has been tentatively dated to the second or early first century BCE, as well as the appearance of Dionysus and Heracles on the city's coinage from the mid-first century BCE; Di Vita has a detailed discussion (1968a, 204-209).

³¹ *pace IRT ad loc.*: DI VITA 2005, 16, though for the plausible suggestion that the inscription was found in a secondary context see MASTURZO 2005, 55.

³² The individual named as the dedicatory's sponsor, a local worthy called Quintus Servilius Candidus, also features in inscriptions datable to 119/120: *IRT* 357-359.

³³ Cf. MASTURZO 2005, 55, 90, and 107, tentatively suggesting a date in the second quarter of the second century.

conclusion that the western temple should then be identified with the Liber Pater temple mentioned in this inscription is attractive, if still speculative.

Nonetheless, Masturzo demonstrates in his impressive architectural survey of this temple that it uses late Republican and early Augustan Italic models³⁴, and more specifically that the paving of the cella in giallo antico, pavonazzetto and africano marbles echoes combinations used in the decoration of Augustan temples at Rome, including those of Mars Ultor and Apollo Sosianus³⁵.

The identification of the smaller, later temple to the east is even more difficult. Di Vita has suggested that it was dedicated to Milk Ashtart (Hercules), displaced from a predecessor of the central temple when that site was given over to Roma and Augustus³⁶, though there is no positive evidence for Hercules cult at the eastern temple, and the substantial differences in size and appearance between the eastern and western temples means that they are not easily read as a pair. It seems to me plausible that the western temple was in fact the Liber Pater *and* Hercules Temple, named only with reference to the former on the model of the *aedes Castoris* in Rome, understood by all to be the Temple of Castor *and* Pollux, but only referred to as such as a result of “vulgar usage or misplaced learning”³⁷. The dedication found in that temple is after all to the *gods* of Lepcis, not the god. In any case, the temple seems to be associated with an inscription of c. 4/5 CE in the Forum paving in front of it (*IRT* 520: App. 5; Fig. 9), naming the Roman proconsul³⁸. A plausible case has been made that he dedicated the temple³⁹, and it has even been suggested that he was responsible for building it, in the name of Rome and in exchange for the construction (or re-dedication) of the temple to Roma and Augustus alongside.⁴⁰

So the case for the ‘Romanization’ of Lepcis in the Augustan and Tiberian periods seems strong, and this has been connected with a desire on the part of local elites to show loyalty to the Roman empire⁴¹ along with an evolving identification on their part with Roman culture⁴².



Fig. 9 – *IRT* 520: Latin inscription from the paving of the Old Forum in front of the Eastern Temple (Image courtesy of Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania digital archive: <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT520.html>).

³⁴ MASTURZO 2005, 38-39.

³⁵ MASTURZO 2005, 65, 77

³⁶ DI VITA 1968a; this has been widely accepted (e.g. Ricciardi 2005). Matthew McCarty has pointed out to me that the displacement of Milk Ashtart would be a version of the ‘wandering temples’ phenomenon in the early imperial Agora at Athens, where religious and political identities were being disrupted and remade in a similar fashion.

³⁷ PLATNER and ASHBY 1929, 103.

³⁸ DI VITA-EVRARD 1990 on the inscription, showing that it was originally arranged on a single line corresponding very closely in length to the width of the temple’s facade, and the date; the evidence for the latter is attractive if not conclusive, but the inscription must postdate Piso’s consulate of 7 BCE.

³⁹ DI VITA-EVRARD 1990, 326-328.

⁴⁰ DI VITA 1968a, 210.

⁴¹ An example: “La svolta nel sistema rappresentativo urbano è sintomo della piena adesione delle due città [i.e. Lepcis and Sabratha] all’impero, quando le classi dirigenti promessero il consenso a Roma per garantire la propria fedeltà e legittimarsi agli occhi dei concittadini nel ruolo di tramite con l’amministrazione provinciale.” (MASTURZO 2003, 749).

⁴² For instance: “la scelta di costruire un teatro – edificio la cui carica ideologica e di propaganda, proprio in età augustea, era più forte – sembra manifestare una precisa volontà di appartenenza alla nuova cultura dominante” (BULLO 2002, 174).

Sergio Fontana, however, has suggested that while “public architecture in the city was indeed inspired by Roman models both in terms of styles and of monument typology”, and that “public behaviours rapidly conformed to the Roman model”, “more private behaviours” such as funerary practice nonetheless betray the persistence of Punic burial customs, religious symbolism, language and onomastics into the third century CE, particularly in relation to women and non-elites. He suggests therefore that the “integration” of Lepcis into the Roman Empire “did not involve a radical transformation of social and ritual structures”.⁴³ What I want to do in the rest of this paper is to supplement Fontana’s argument by suggesting that the public building programme too invites multiple and complex readings, and demonstrates not only the continuity of pre-Roman practices, but also their reinvention in this period. The city’s political independence in the face of increasing Roman hegemony is matched by a cultural independence and creativity that not only mixes but carefully juxtaposes a variety of traditions, and in this way defies interpretation based straightforwardly on either ‘Romanization’ or ‘resistance’.

Multilingualism

It would of course be impossible to deny the existence of borrowings from Italy in early imperial Lepcis, and in particular the significance of the many references to the imperial house and imperial cult, quite understandable in a city that benefitted greatly in this period from the military and economic relationships with Rome that helped it preserve its autonomy⁴⁴. It is relatively easy, however, to challenge the idea of the wholesale ‘Romanization’ of civic building practices in this period. One shortcoming of the traditional approach outlined above is its narrow emphasis on ‘Roman’ Italy as a source of inspiration, but this is not necessarily how things looked from a local standpoint.

The form of the theatre and temples, for instance, appear from a bird’s eye view to make a connection with Italy, and even Rome. But from a local perspective a more direct reference for the temples might be to the hexastyle-prostyle ‘Temple A’ built on a podium in the mid-first century BCE up the coast at Utica, a city which after the destruction of Carthage was the most important of the remaining Phoenician colonies in Africa⁴⁵. Utica also had a Hellenistic D-shaped theatre with substantial substructures⁴⁶, though unlike the one at Lepcis it was built against a hillside. A closer model for the theatre at Lepcis can be found further west at Iol-Caesarea (Cherchel) where a semi-circular theatre was constructed in the late first century by the Mauretanian king Juba II, undoubtedly inspired by Italian models; it was built partially against a hillside but with its upper cavea supported on vaulted substructures, and apparently had a temple at the top of the cavea⁴⁷. The possibility of borrowings from the new Roman colony at Carthage cannot be discounted either⁴⁸. The exploitation of such regional models, even in part, would demonstrate direct communication and competition not with Italy but between Lepcis and peer polities in northwest Africa. And when direct Italian models were used – and Italian ports were surely also familiar points of reference for the cosmopolitan merchant elites of Lepcis - they could be reworked, rather than quoted verbatim, as in the two-kiosk design at the market, where Italian predecessors have only one.

Furthermore, when the Lepcitani do look beyond the Maghreb, they do not only look north to Italy: Antonino Di Vita long ago demonstrated the importance in Tripolitania of borrowings from the Hellenistic

⁴³ FONTANA 2001, 170.

⁴⁴ DI VITA notes how the “nuovo ordine romano...le aveva assicurato, e le prometteva, un grado di prosperità e di sicurezza fino allora inimmaginabile” (1968a, 210). The wall constructed around the city in this period suggests that defence was a serious issue.

⁴⁵ LÉZINE (1968, 105) dates Temple A to around 50 BCE on the basis of the building technique and its relationship to the changing urban plan.

⁴⁶ The theatre and its substructures are mentioned at Caes. BC 2.25: it backed onto the walls that were constructed during the civil war. Its semi-circular cavea is visible in aerial photographs (CINTAS 1951; LÉZINE 1956, 133-134).

⁴⁷ SEAR 2006, 104 and 271-272, with earlier bibliography.

⁴⁸ ROS 1996, 482-484 on the strong if circumstantial evidence for an Augustan theatre at Carthage.

East, and especially Alexandria⁴⁹. Now the new architectural studies of the Old Forum temples confirm their importance for the Augustan period, and bring out in particular the references made at Lepcis to Cyrenaican architecture, in, *inter alia*, the popularity of cuiriform pilasters⁵⁰, the treatment of mouldings⁵¹, and the popularity of the Doric order itself, which was obsolete at Rome and elsewhere in the provinces by this date⁵². These references advertise the city's international connections but again the builders do not simply copy Eastern Mediterranean architecture: 'Greek' models are confidently reinterpreted at Lepcis, with sequences of usually incompatible mouldings found on the temples and the theatre, and individual elements such as dentils and astragals freely rescaled⁵³.

Localism

Most interesting however in the context of this set of papers, our examination of Punic settlements in Roman times, is the way that the builders in this supposed Phoenician colony look to their own past, emphasising the local and familiar alongside the regional and the Mediterranean. Sallust describes the laws and customs of Lepcis at the time of writing (the 40s BCE) as "for the most part Sidonian"⁵⁴, and it has often been observed that Punic traditions are a recurrent theme in Lepcitan architecture⁵⁵, from the continued use of the Punic foot in construction projects⁵⁶ to the presence, on Di Vita's interpretation, of a temple to Shadrappa in the heart of the city⁵⁷. Scholars who see a straightforward process of 'Romanization' at work note these in passing as Punic survivals⁵⁸, but I want to look here at some of the dynamic aspects of this 'localism', and, in particular, the way that it works in the city's bilingual epigraphy⁵⁹.

Although Fontana has suggested that "Latin came to be increasingly more identified as the language of power and public self-representation" at Lepcis⁶⁰, the choice of language for early imperial building inscriptions does not in fact follow an entirely predictable progression in favour of Latin: as noted above, although only a Latin inscription survives from the calchidicum complex of 11/12 CE, and there was apparently only a Latin inscription on the theatre's shrine to Ceres Augusta, dedicated in 35/36 CE, the market of 8 BCE, the theatre of 1/2 CE and the early Tiberian temple of Roma and Augustus had both Punic and Latin versions of their building inscriptions. This bilingualism did a lot of work for the builder: as well as accommodating Latin-speaking visitors to the city, the use of Latin establishes the donor's superior education, status and connections by comparison with the majority of the city's Punic-speaking population, at the same time as the Punic versions demonstrate his solidarity with them⁶¹.

⁴⁹ On Lepcis: DI VITA 1968b, esp. 46-52 (on sculpture); 1982, 565 (on cult); 1983, 364-367 (on the Tiberian-period double stoa); 1992, 109-110 (on town-planning).

⁵⁰ LIVADIOTTI and ROCCO 2005, 204, 228.

⁵¹ LIVADIOTTI and ROCCO 2005, 216, 224-226, 229.

⁵² LIVADIOTTI and ROCCO 2005, 222-223, 229.

⁵³ LIVADIOTTI and ROCCO 2005, 216.

⁵⁴ Sall. *BJ* 78: *eius civitatis lingua modo convorsa conubio Numidarum; legum cultusque pleraque Sidonica, quae eo facilius retinebant, quod procul ab imperio regis aetatem agebant.*

⁵⁵ E.g. DI VITA 1983, 356: "Leptis Oea e Sabratha, infatti, conservarono intatte cultura e tradizioni puniche".

⁵⁶ MASTURZO 2005, 118; LIVADIOTTI and ROCCO 2005, 236 (cf. 167 n. 1 on orientation); RICCIARDI 2005, 382.

⁵⁷ It has also been argued that the market of *macellum* is in origin both a Punic word and a Punic building type: GAGGIOTTI 1990a, 1990b.

⁵⁸ See VAN DOMMELEN 1998, esp. 30-32, on the problems of models of "persistence", as opposed to those which grapple with the "vitality" of local culture.

⁵⁹ ADAMS 2003, 751-753 on the importance of language in performances of identity; in what follows I am heavily indebted to James Adams' fundamental work on bilingualism, and I have also learned a lot from reading Andrew Wilson's forthcoming paper on the epigraphy of Roman Tripolitania.

⁶⁰ FONTANA 2001, 167.

⁶¹ ADAMS 2003, 301-302 (on 'code-switching') discusses the choice of a particular language as, among other things, 'accommodation' of or 'solidarity' with those for whom it is a first language (convergence), and the expression of dominance over those who cannot use it (divergence).

Furthermore, it is not clear in the cases where there are both Latin and Punic texts that the Latin was privileged in every way. At the market, the Latin text is larger⁶² and inscribed on the exterior sandstone wall of the building, while the Punic version is inside, but in a highly visible place on the more durable and higher status limestone of the southern tholos. You see the Latin first, but as you move about the market you see the Punic for longer. Similarly, while the theatre's Latin building inscription is found on the outside⁶³, the bilingual inscriptions are placed over the entrances to the corridors leading to the stage, which makes them harder to read, but easier to see throughout the performance. It is interesting to compare the way in which, as Fontana notes, later tombs in the area sometimes have Latin inscriptions on the outside and Punic texts inside⁶⁴: 'hidden transcripts', it appears, are not always so well hidden⁶⁵. The distinction between the Latin inscriptions on the outside of buildings and the Punic versions inside also calls into question interpretations based on a straightforward polarity between public and private: there is more than one kind of public space, and more than one kind of civic spectator at Lepcis.

Even when Latin is the medium, a portion of the message can be local. The Latin market inscription, for instance, nests several dating systems: the standard imperial one, by Augustus' years in various offices; a Roman provincial one, in the person of the local proconsul; and two local ones, listing both the city's priests of Augustus and its Punic-style *sufets*. Taken together this layered chronology situates the city within the Roman Mediterranean, while spelling out its local differences. Another example in this inscription may be the way in which the name of Annobal's father has been amended from the Latin genitive *Imilchonis*, correct with *filius*, to undeclined *Himilcho*⁶⁶ - making *filius* grammatically equivalent to Punic *ben*. This should probably be explained as a practical necessity to fit the more 'correct' form of the name (with an H, apparently no longer pronounced) into the space available⁶⁷, but even so it involved a deliberate choice to use the Punic rather than Latin construction under the circumstances, a small but telling piece of code-switching which associates the filial relationship between the two citizens of Lepcis with their own Punic identity, and distances them slightly from the culture represented by the language of the inscription⁶⁸.

Juxtaposition

We can, I think, go slightly further: the juxtaposition of any two languages (in the textual or cultural sense) in itself sends a third set of messages. This can be seen, for instance, in the juxtaposition of Italian building types with the architectural motifs of the Hellenistic East that provide what Andrew Wallace-Hadrill has called "an alternative language of power" in the Roman period⁶⁹. This apposition downgrades the potency of the Italian symbolism at the same time as it respects it as part of the Mediterranean cultural landscape, and the same strategy is also apparent in the juxtaposition of Italian and local traditions, not least, again, in the bilingual epigraphy.

Although these inscriptions convey much of the same information in the two languages, the Punic texts are sometimes deliberately distanced from the Latin ones. Although the Punic inscription at the

⁶² The blocks of the Latin inscription are 0.5m high, as opposed to 0.33 for the Punic version.

⁶³ Assuming that the Latin inscription is correctly placed on the outside of the building.

⁶⁴ FONTANA 2001, 166.

⁶⁵ On 'public' and 'hidden' transcripts, see SCOTT 1990.

⁶⁶ "The letters HIMILCHO are cut over the first eight letters of IMILCHONIS. The remaining letters were presumably plastered over at the time of this correction." (*IRT ad 319*). It seems unlikely that the correction was made in the opposite direction, from Himilcho to Imilchonis, given that the original version would in that case have had to have left a large space at the end of the word (cf. GOODCHILD 1950, 75).

⁶⁷ See AMADASI GUZZO 1988, 26 n. 13, drawing attention to "la cura messa nella resa della consonante iniziale del punico, preferita rispetto all'uso corretto della declinazione latina."

⁶⁸ "Filiations often show a switch from the main language of a text to the family or original language of the referent" (ADAMS 2003, 306). The theatre inscription, by contrast, gets the Latin formulation of the name 'right' - it is striking that this inscription also 'correctly' puts the titulature of the princeps, a dating formula, in the ablative.

⁶⁹ WALLACE-HADRILL 2008, 448.

macellum, for instance, appears to convey exactly the same information as the Latin one, and to reproduce its format and formulae, Adams has pointed out that there is a “linguistic ideology” behind the choice to compose Punic equivalents for the Latin magistracies rather than simply transliterating them: “Punic is kept free of Latin words even in reference to distinctively Roman institutions”⁷⁰. This choice is made more obvious by the juxtaposition of the two inscriptions in the same building, and a similar tactic is in evidence a few years later, when the Punic sections of the two bilingual inscriptions inside the theatre omit the whole section of the Latin text relating to Augustus, including the imperial dating⁷¹. The Punic here conveys only part of the standard Latin message, simply leaving out information that it was apparently felt unnecessary to repeat⁷². Again, the close juxtaposition of the two texts draws attention both to the omission of this information in the Punic and to the fact that it is included in the Latin and therefore (only) appropriate to that language. It emphasises the distinction between these two sources of cultural power and, perhaps, identity in the city, a distinction that lies behind the very use of two languages, as the Roman *princeps* is invoked and then put in his place, alongside but not fully integrated into the local context. Another, even more visual, collocation involves the carving of a caduceus - long a central motif in Phoenico-Punic religious symbolism⁷³ as well as a marker for commerce in the Roman Mediterranean - on the keystone above the SW entrance to the market right underneath the (now missing) name of Augustus in the inscription⁷⁴



Fig.10 – RPC 848: Sestertius (38mm, 29.34 g, 3h), struck under Tiberius. Obv: DIVOS AVGV [STVS], laureate head right. Rev: LPQY (in neo-Punic), Dionysus with cantharus and thyrsus, and panther (Image courtesy of www.cngcoins.com).

Augustus on one side, and on the other Dionysus or Dionysus and Herakles - that is to say Shadrappa and Milk' Ashtart reconceptualised in Hellenistic form - or symbols representing these gods⁷⁶. The only legend on these coins is the city's name in Punic (lpqy), on the same side as the gods or their symbols. On a series issued under Tiberius (Fig. 10), the contrast is even clearer: the obverse has a portrait of Augustus with the Latin legend DIVOS AVGVSTVS, while the reverse has Dionysus holding a cup and thyrsus with a panther, and gives the city's name in Punic⁷⁷. These coins juxtapose local and imperial gods, local and imperial

The juxtaposition of the imperial and the local may well be seen in the temples as well, if we accept Di Vita's identification of the western temple as the temple of Shadrappa, placing the imperial cult alongside the local cult on the main square of the forum, but not above it⁷⁵. At the same time the presence of the imperial cult makes the local deities not just two of many Mediterranean gods, but of equal standing with the new rulers of the world. An equivalent structural arrangement can certainly be seen in the truly civic realm of the bronze coinage issued during the reign of Augustus, which often depicts

⁷⁰ ADAMS 2003, 222.

⁷¹ *pace IRT ad 321*: 'the Neo-Punic text is a literal translation of the Latin'.

⁷² ADAMS 2003, 223: "The view must have been that the imperial titles were so Roman in character that they should be expressed only in the Latin version; it is a case then of a category of information which was more suited to one language than the other." This choice is repeated in the bilingual inscriptions commemorating the paving of the Forum in 53/4 CE, where the Latin similarly precedes the Punic on the stone (*IRT 338/IPT 26*).

⁷³ LIPÍŃSKI 1995.

⁷⁴ BULLO 2002, 171.

⁷⁵ If one accepts Di Vita's further suggestion that the Eastern Temple was dedicated to Milk' Ashtart, displaced from his original temple by Roma and Augustus, then the local cult surrounds and circumscribes the newcomer.

⁷⁶ RPC 840-1 (Dionysus/Augustus), 842 (Dionysus and Heracles/Augustus), 843-844 (Augustus/thyrsus and club); cf., however, the only silver issue, which juxtaposes a lion-skin on a club with a panther and thyrsus (RPC 847).

⁷⁷ RPC 848.

power, local and imperial languages, and in this way set up an alliance between them at the same time as their proximity emphasises their fundamental differences⁷⁸.

Reinvention

This early-imperial emphasis on the local is not, however, just an attempt to preserve and exploit pre-existing Punic traditions in a now-Roman city. This can be seen in the treatment of the names in the inscriptions, which show the way in which these traditions were changing too. As Amadasi Guzzo has shown, in the early imperial period elite Tripolitanians could adopt names of Libyan and Roman origin in addition to their Punic names⁷⁹. It is important to note that the addition of a 'Roman' name did not standardly involve the adoption of *trianomina* in the Roman-citizen style: a reference was being made, not a full identification. The variety of actual practice is clear in the building inscriptions, which always give a local citizen's Punic name and filiation but in only some cases add a further name or names as well. From the market inscription, for instance, we have Abdmelqart son of Hannibal following the former model, but the name of the market's donor seems to reflect the new local practice, rather than an unsuccessful attempt to reproduce *trianomina*, as Macmullen and others have suggested; this is true whether he was in fact known, as is traditionally thought and as it appears from the uncorrected version of the Latin market inscription as Annobal Tapapius Rufus, the son of Himilcho, or as Annobal Rufus, son of Himilcho Tapapius, as the Latin of the theatre inscriptions suggests⁸⁰. It is striking that the only donor among those discussed in this paper who has a single Punic name is Suphanibal, who donated the shrine to Ceres Augusta at the top of the theatre: as in the funerary evidence discussed by Fontana, in the public sphere too it seems women tend to make more 'purely' Punic cultural identifications than men of the same status⁸¹.

Finally, the building inscriptions not only reflect and reinforce changing local practices, but are in themselves an example of them. The very idea of writing on stone in either Latin or Punic is relatively new in this region in this period, not something that had apparently ever been a standard part of civic traditions in the Tripolitanian cities, and building inscriptions were a complete novelty⁸². Punic too then was a *new* language of self-presentation in this context, and the choice to use it was not unmarked, not merely an obvious, traditional and purely practical choice as opposed to an ideologically charged one to use Latin as part of a process of 'Romanization'. Nor was it the only available choice in this cosmopolitan city, which Strabo describes as lying within the 'land of the Libyphoenicians'⁸³, and whose language, Sallust tells us,

⁷⁸ This is to take slightly further Adams' observation that the fact that different information is conveyed in the different languages on Tripolitanian coinage is deliberate code-switching: "Roman control of Africa...is expressed by the Latin legend which accompanies the head of the emperor, whereas the Punic origin of the towns is symbolised by the Punic ethnics...The switching...thus expresses a double identity for the places issuing the coins." (208-9) I am arguing here that each side of this double identity inflects the other.

⁷⁹ AMADASI GUZZO 1988, 27-29; see also AMADASI GUZZO 1986, and ADAMS 2003, 216: "This form of mixed naming reveals with particular clarity the referents' sense of a double, or changing, identity."

⁸⁰ This alternative reading of the name, which would go beyond both Latin and Punic traditions to convey changing local practice, seems to be allowed, if certainly not confirmed, by the ambiguous way in which this donor's name is rendered in the Punic versions (ḥnb'!...bn ḥmlkt ṭḥpy rwps), and a similar double name-double filiation pattern could be read into *IPT 5/IPT 229* (from Oea), where the dedicant identifies himself in Latin as *Aurellius Epagri f.* and in Punic as 'bdmlqrt bn mtmb'!. The frequency with which Tapapius/ ṭḥpy, a name of apparently Libyan origin, occurs as what appears to be a family name at Lepcis (AMADASI GUZZO 1983), speaks on the other hand for the traditional reading, where both father and son could be known as 'Tapapius'.

⁸¹ It is interesting to compare Alicia Jiménez's observations on the parallel but different discourses of the forum and the tomb at Baelo Claudia. There is certainly more than one community being imagined at Lepcis, but similar imaginative strategies and similar discourses can be observed in both civic and funerary contexts.

⁸² Elsewhere in North Africa there were longstanding Punic epigraphic habits in religious, votive and funerary contexts, though apparently not building inscriptions. In Lepcis there is almost no epigraphy at all before the end of the first century BCE, a fact connected by the editors of *IRT* with the fact that from that period onwards the use of Ras el-Hammam limestone replaced that of the "soft local sandstone that could only be used...under a thick coating of stucco" (p. 82). *IPT 31*, discussed above, is generally accepted as pre-Augustan, but it is personal (if publicly authorised) dedication, and on a rather smaller scale than the later building inscriptions.

⁸³ Str. 17.3.19.

had been changed by intermarriage with the Numidians⁸⁴. The positive choice of Latin and Punic as the languages of the public epigraphy of the early imperial period therefore involves an assertion of Phoenician or colonial elements in the city at the expense of local Libyan traditions, as well as recognition of the new imperial power⁸⁵.

These inscriptions set the Punic language and local practices old and new alongside Latin and Roman phenomena in a way that not only emphasises the multiple cultural references of the city's elite builders, and demonstrates both their solidarity with and superiority over their fellow citizens, but also reveals both the ways in which those elites are not assimilated to Rome, and the local reinvention of both traditions in the context of growing Roman power - not in the service of straightforward resistance to it, but as a strategy of nuancing, localizing and exploiting it.⁸⁶

Conclusion

What does all this tell us about 'local' identities in 'Punic' places in 'Roman' times? One thing is clear: 'Romanization', however carefully defined and qualified, is not adequate to the task of interpreting cultural change in these contexts: 'Roman' is not the only reference that drives change, just as 'Punic' is not the only basis of change, even if both are important factors in the identities that emerge. As Alicia Jiménez emphasises in her paper, we cannot keep interpreting elements of provincial culture as attempts – failed attempts – to mimic Carthage and Rome. The local context is crucial: Leptis was a cosmopolitan Mediterranean port that not only collected models of cultural production from various directions, but also collected together different people: Libyans and Italians as well as Phoenicians, and no doubt many others as well. As far as we know, and as far as they knew, there were no autochthonous Leptitani: 'local' identities were always already complicated and implicated, with citizens reacting to place, past and to each other, and facing growing Roman power with strategies that further complicated their own individual and collective identities. But at the same time Leptis is only one of many similar communities in and beyond the Western Mediterranean, not least those discussed in other papers in this panel, where those in power speak – and understand - multiple cultural languages and continually juxtapose and reinvent traditions both local and foreign to suit their own local context and purposes.

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⁸⁴ Sall. *BJ* 78 (see above).

⁸⁵ Punic inscriptions nonetheless do exploit Libyan terminology on occasion: the word for imperator used in the market inscription (*IPT* 21) is MYNKD (I.1) which can be compared with MNKD' in Libyan funerary inscriptions: see LEVI DELLA VIDA 1935, 4-7 as well as *IPT* and JONGELING 2008 *ad loc.* for full discussion.

⁸⁶ See VAN DOMMELEN 2007 and JIMÉNEZ 2008 on the limitations of 'resistance' as an interpretative tool.

Appendix: The Building Inscriptions

1. The Market (8 BCE)

a. IRT 319 (SW precinct wall)

[Imp(erator) Caesar Divi f(i)lius Augustus] co(n)s(ul) XI imp(erator) XIII trib(unicia) pot(estate)
XV pont(ificex) m[axi]mus M(arco) Licinio M(arci) f(ilio) Crasso Frugi co(n)s(ule) augure
proco(n)s(ule) patrono flaminib(us) August(i) Caesaris Iddib[a]le Arinis f(ilio) .3 or 4..]one [et ..?..A]nnobalis
f(ilio) ..3 or 4..]on[.1 or 2.. su]f(et)ib(us) M[uttun] Annonis f(ilio) ...
Annobal Imilchonis <corrected to: Himilcho> f(ilius) Tapapius Rufus sufes flamen praefectus
sacrorum de sua pequ[nia] faciun[dum] coe]rauit idem[que] de[d]icauit.

[Imperator Caesar Augustus, son of the deified one,] consul for the 11th time, imperator for the 14th time, invested with tribunician power for the 15th time, pontifex maximus. When Marcus Licinius Crassus Frugi, son of Marcus, consul and augur, was proconsul and patron, and the priests of Augustus Caesar were Iddibal son of Aris [...and Abdmelqart] son of [A]nnobal ... and the sufets were M[uttun] son of Anno]... Annobal son of Imilcho <corrected to: son Himilcho> Tapapius Rufus, sufet, flamen, praefectus sacrorum, had this made with his own money and dedicated it himself.

b. IPT 21 (Eastern tholos)

mynkd q'ysr 'wgs'ts bn 'lm rb mhnt p'm't 'sr w'ht . wmyndk p'm't 'sr w'rb' w'ht m'slt 'sr hm'slm
p'm't 'sr w'hm's . 'd[r]r khmn ...
wzbhm lhmyndk q'ysr 'dnb'l bn 'r's p'yn/t w'bdmlqrt bn hnb'l b'l šlm hršt . (?) šp'tm mtn bn hn'
p'l hš'hm . w...
hnb'l bn hm'klt t'bhpy rwps špt zb' 'dr 'zrm bt'rm⁸⁷ ...

When the supreme leader Caesar Augustus, son of the god, was head of the army for the 11th time, supreme leader for the 14th time, having the authority of the ten rulers for the 15th time, chief [of the priests]⁸⁸ and the sacrificers for the supreme leader Caesar were Adonibal son of Arish PYLN/T⁸⁹ and Abdmelqart son of Hannibal, lord over the sacrifice of the firstling (?)⁹⁰...and the sufets were Mutun son of Hanno, maker of hš'hm and ... Hannibal son of Himilkart Tapapi Rufus, sufet, sacrificer, chief of the 'zrm sacrifices (?), according to plan...

2. The Theatre (1/2 CE)

a. IRT 323 (over external entrance?)

Imp(eratore) Caesare Divi f(ilio) Aug(usto) pont(ifice) max(imo) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) XXIV co(n)s(ule) XIII
patre patriae
Annobal ornator patriae amator concordiae flamen
sufes praef(ectus) sacr(orum) Himilchonis Tapapi [f(ilius)] Rufu[s] d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)
f(aciendum) coer(auit) idemq(ue) dedicauit.

When Imperator Caesar Augustus, son of the deified one, pontifex maximus, was invested with tribunician power for the 24th time, and was consul for the 13th time, father of his country, Annobal, adorer of his country, lover of concord, priest,

⁸⁷ Reading bt'rm, with JONGELING 2008, 22, rather than bn 'rm ('son of Aram') with IPT, Jongeling's text being closer to the Latin which is elsewhere carefully translated or paraphrased.

⁸⁸ The reference to the Roman proconsul would have been on the missing third block (IPT ad loc.)

⁸⁹ The grammar of the Latin version suggests that Pilo(n) goes with Adonibal and not Arish.

⁹⁰ See JONGELING 2008, 22 for the problems of translation here.

sufet, praefectus sacrorum, son of Himilcho Tapapius, had this made with his own money and dedicated it himself.

b. *IPT 24* (above the lateral corridors to the stage: two identical texts, inscribed below *IRT 321-2*, which are close textual variants of *IRT 323*).

hnb' l myšql 'rš mhḅ d't htmt zbh špṭ 'dr
'zrm bn ḥmlkt ṭbhpy r'ps bt'rm btm p' l w'yqdš

Hannibal, who adorns his country, who loves the complete knowledge, sacrificer, sufet, chief of the 'zrm-sacrifices, son of Himilkart Tapapi Rufus made it according to plan at his own expense and consecrated it.

c. *IRT 269* (upper tiers of the cavea). 35-6 CE.

Cereri Augustae sacrum

C(aius) Rubellius Blandus co(n)s(u)l pont(ificis) proco(n)s(u)l dedic(auit) Suphunibal ornatix pa[tria]e Annobalis Rusonis d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendum) c(urauit)

Sacred to Ceres Augusta.

Gaius Rubellius Blandus, consul, pontifex, proconsul, dedicated it. Suphunibal, adorer of her country, daughter of Annobal Ruso, had it made with her own funds.

3. The Calchidicum (11/12 CE)

IRT 324a (architrave of the central gable)

Numini Imp(eratoris) Caesaris Divi f(ili) Aug(usti) pont(ificis) m[ax(imi) imp(eratoris) XX co(n)s(ulis) XII]l tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) XXXIII calchidicum et porticus et porta et via ab XVvir(is) sac(rorum) [...c.7..dedica]ta est

To the numen of Emperor Caesar Augustus, son of the deified one, pontifex maximus, emperor for the 20th time, consul for the 13th time, invested with tribunician power for the 34th time, a calchidicum and porticus and door and street [...was dedicated] by the quindecemviri of the sacrifices.

IRT 324b (architrave of the left-hand gable end)

Iddibal Himilis f(ilius) Caphada Aemilius d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendum) c(urauit) calchidicum et porticus et portam et viam

Iddibal son of Himilis Caphada Aemilius had a calchidicum and porticus and door and street made from his own funds.

IRT 324c, the inscription on the right-hand gable end is identical except for the last three words: *porta et via*.

4. The Roma and Augustus Temple (c.14-29 CE)

IPT 22 (carved around the doorway)

... nskt š'lm 'wgs]ts whrm' wṭbry 'wgsts wyhyly' 'wgsṭ' wgrm'nyqs wdr'ss q'ysr w'grypyñ['št
š]grm'nyqs w[lywy 'št š dr']ss w'nṭ'ny' [m gr]m'nyqs w'grypyñ 'm] dr'ss wm'sp šhnskt
š'lm 'wgsts wks't šhnskt l'lm 'wgsts
... šhnskt l'lm] 'wgsts wmswy't šhnskt šgrm'nyqs wšdr'ss q'ys[r]'yn/t šlṭbry 'wgsts wqdryg'
š[grm'ny]qš wldr'ss q[ysr] wdlht šhšt wmspn/t mh'rp[ṭ wh]srt hmqdš wš'rp't nlqh
btš't mqm n'tr špṭm b'lytn bn ḥn' g...s'ṭrnyñ' wbdmlqrt bn bdmlqrt ṭbhpy ...ryql'

... the statues of the god Augus]tus and of Rome and of Tiberius Augustus and of Julia Augusta and of Germanicus and of Drusus Caesar and of Agrippin[a, the wife of]

Germanicus and [of Livia the wife of Dru]sus and of Antonia the [mother of Ger]manicus and of Agrippin[a the mother of] Drusus and the collection of statues of the god Augustus and the throne of the statue of the god Augustus
.... of the statue of the god] Augustus and the vestments of the statues of Germanicus and of Drusus Caes[ar] ... for Tiberius Caesar and the quadriga of [Germani]cus and of Drusus C[ae]sar and the bronze doors and the ceiling of the portic[o and the] forecourt of the sanctuary and the porticos, they were taken up at the expense ..., the sufets being Baliton, the son of Hanno G... Saturninus and Bodmelqart, the son of Bodmelqart Tapapi ... riculus.

5. The Paving in front of the Eastern Temple in the Old Forum (c. 4/5 CE)

IRT 520 (bronze letters in the limestone paving immediately in front of the N. temple)

Gn(aeus) Calpurnius Cn(aei) f(ilius) Piso
co(n)s(ul) pontifex proco(n)s(ul)

Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso, son of Gnaeus,
consul, pontifex, proconsul

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