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Mauretanian Numismatics: A Case Study in Augustan Client Kingship

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Abstract: This paper aims to provide a summative overview of the iconography of the silver and gold coins issued under the reigns of Juba II and Cleopatra Selene II, and their son Ptolemy of Mauretania. Through examining how they balanced the dialectic between Roman, Numidian, Mauretanian and Egyptian, the "balance act" of African client kingship will be considered, as well as the validity of the belief that the "second generation" of client kings tends to be weaker in its reverence and fealty to their Roman patrons.

Keywords: Ptolemies, Juba II, Cleopatra Selene II, Mauretania, Numismatics, Ptolemy of Mauretania, Client Kingship

Introduction

The Mauretanian dynasty (30 BC–AD 40) marked the end of the Ptolemies. With the sudden execution of Ptolemy of Mauretania, Juba II and Cleopatra Selene II's son and heir, and the annexation of the kingdom, the dynasty ended.[1] Many scholars have tried to propose plausible reasons as to why this dynasty went extinct so abruptly, given the success and popularity of its reign. Juba II was the king of the largest client kingdom of Rome, and one of the three famous client kings of the period, joining the ranks of Herod of Judea and Archelaos of Kappadokia. Cleopatra Selene II (henceforth Selene) has recently begun to be appraised as having power and influence by historians such as D.W. Roller, who placed her with Octavia and Livia in a 'triumvirate of exceptional women.'[2] Juba II and Selene marked the entrance of Mauretania into the wider economic sphere: the kingdom produced fish, grapes, pearls, and especially purple dye for export to Spain.[3] The imperial court was one of the greatest in the Mediterranean world, housing one of the best royal libraries which attracted scholars and artists, and combined Roman and Ptolemaic elements. But Juba II in particular has historically been considered an ideal Roman client king, someone who 'was given the task of Romanizing Mauretania, and he

[1] Cleopatra Selene II's own brothers Caesarion, Ptolemy Philadelphus, and twin Alexander Helios were either killed by Augustus or died under unknown circumstances during their captivity in Rome, making Cleopatra Selene II Cleopatra VII's only surviving offspring. Drusilla, the (seeming) daughter of Ptolemy, can reasonably be assumed to have married Sohaemus, king of Emesa, making Zenobia her likely descendant.
[2] Roller, The World, 90.
[3] Roller, The World, 4.

carried it out with such success that the country was ready for complete Roman administration within fifteen years of his death.'[4] While this interpretation of Juba II's reign no longer has the unproblematic status that it used to, there is no doubt that the royal pair demonstrated their loyalty to Rome through actions like naming their capital Caesarea, initiating a Roman building project (which likely included a Temple to Augustus), and implementing and promoting the imperial cult.[5] All these factors, combined with a successful propaganda program, amounted to a successful reign. Despite the bumpy start to his own reign, Ptolemy successfully managed to establish his kingship, settling the rebellion of Tacfarinas in the wake of his father's death and amassing great wealth and power during an over twenty-year long reign.[6]

Why, then, the sudden murder of Ptolemy by the emperor Caligula? Suetonius credits the murder to a comic whim of Caligula, who envied the praise Ptolemy received for his purple cloak. However, in more recent times, it has been suggested that the precarious tightrope between proper fealty to the emperor and the promotion of the local royal family — a line that his parents walked so well — was less successfully walked by their son.[7] The ambiguity of client kingship was an ongoing problem for all client kings — the turbulent period of the late Republic and early Empire was defined by many examples of client kings who overstepped the proper limits. So, when Roller writes, '[Ptolemy] came to feel increasingly independent of Rome, amassing great wealth and eventually issuing gold coins,' she quite rightly writes this was 'probably an unwise act.'[8] How the Mauretanian royal family walked, and eventually failed to walk, this tightrope, particularly as evidenced by their propaganda program, is the subject of this paper.

Dissecting a country's propaganda program from its material culture is the favorite topic of many historians, but a summative overview of the Mauretanian program has not yet been done. This is unsurprising — a serious discussion on this topic is difficult because of the scarcity of both archeological and written evidence. The peaceful nature of their long reign means they scarcely appear in literature — Selene herself disappears from literature shortly after her marriage. The written evidence (especially by authors such as Pliny and Strabo) applaud Juba II's scholarly nature and far afield exploits, quoting regularly from his histories of Rome and Arabia, but these naturally do not talk much about his rule in Mauretania. The archeological and material sources tell us more — in particular some beautiful statues have survived, as well as a well-preserved theater and royal mausoleum in Caesarea, which, given that Caesarea was a showcase city, provides further insight into their material program. However, Caesarea is mostly covered by modern day Chercell in Algeria, and it is often difficult to tell what is Juban and what is Severan.[9] As per usual, numismatic evidence is the most abundant and helpful. Therefore, this paper seeks to examine the dynastic propaganda program of the Mauretanian dynasty based on their coin issues, using material sources to corroborate these conclusions. Note that this will primarily be a review of the iconography observed on the coins, rather than an examination of matters such as object dimension, material, production quantity, or weight standard. Issues concerning distribution are only investigated in terms of iconographic reach.

The nature of the Mauretanian material program has been touched on in the secondary literature. Some scholars (Fishwick 1972; Weech 1932) hold that Juba and Selene had a building and cultural program oriented to please Rome, while others (Roller 2003; Draycott

[4] Weech, "Rambles in Mauretania Caesariensis (Continued)," 68.
[5] Rives, "Imperial Cult and Native Tradition in Roman North Africa," 428.
[6] Roller, The World, 113.
[7] There are other proposals as to why Ptolemy was murdered, including that he was implicated in a plot by Gaetulicus, or Caligula wanted greater control over Mauretania.
[8] Roller, The World, 253.
[9] Roller, The World, 121.

2010, 2012) identify the Numidian and Graeco-Egyptian aspects as either commemorating or reclaiming their heritage. The more unrealistic interpretations of their reign (Braund 1984) imply that the Graeco-Egyptian and Numidian character of their cultural program functioned to spite Rome, or even showed imperial aspirations to the territories of their parents. While these opinions are mostly implied, this paper nevertheless does not accept any of these interpretations — that they were perfect Roman client kings is a far too simplistic reading of the multicultural nature of their reign. Meanwhile, the interpretation that they were simply trying to reclaim their heritage or actively trying to spite Rome is also rejected — the first, while no doubt partially true, is too romantic an interpretation given how pragmatic the imperial couple's numismatic program was, the second too far-fetched given how loyal they appeared to be. This paper seeks to show that, to a large extent, the Numidian and Graeco-Egyptian iconographies were utilized by the royal couple to establish their legitimacy and consolidate their reign.

Overview of Mauretanian Coinage

First, it is important to place the minting of Mauretanian coins into some context. After the defeatof Juba I of Numidia, his son Juba II was taken from the kingdom by Julius Caesar and was consequently brought up as a captive prince. Similarly, Cleopatra Selene II and her siblings were brought to Rome by Augustus after the defeat of their parents, Cleopatra VII and Marc Anthony, though none of her siblings survived into adulthood. Mauretania was gifted by Emperor Augustus to Juba II and his new wife sometime around 25 BC. Since the time of Juba II's boyhood, Mauretania's borders had been revised following the Roman civil wars (49-45 BC) to include both the old kingdom of Mauretania and parts of the Western Numidian kingdom. These were run by King Bocchus II (r. 49–33 BC) before he dedicated it to Augustus upon his death. In 25 BC, the kingdom of Juba II stretched from northern Morocco to west and central Algeria, north of the Atlas Mountains. The inhabitants were semi-nomadic peoples known to the Romans as the Mauri. Along the coast, Phoenicians and Carthaginians had settled sometime in the 6th century. After choosing as his capital the old city of Iol (modern Cherchell), Juba II changed its name to Caesarea and embarked on a large-scale building program along Roman and Graeco-Egyptian lines.

In the time of Juba II, the only institutions minting imperial coins were the *princeps* (gold and silver, primarily at Lugdunum) and the senate (bronze, at Rome). It is possible that the decline in provincial coinage was due to the increasing usage of bronze coins issued by Rome in Spain and Africa, which led cities to believe it was more important to use the currency of the emperor than to strike their own. Only a small number of cities were still striking under the reign of Tiberius.[10] Indeed, we can see a decline in the quality of Mauretanian coins towards the end of Juba II's reign, when production stagnated and the quality of the metal and weight deteriorated.[11] However, Augustus accorded the right to strike gold coins to Juba II and the client kingdom of Bosporus — this was unique, as the striking of gold was a privilege of the emperor.[12] Why exactly Juba II was one of two client kings allowed to mint his own gold coins is a mystery — it is possible that he, being both raised by and an in-law of Augustus', simply enjoyed liberties not extended to his fellow client kings (for example, he had a palace guard in the Augustan *corporis custodes* style, something unique to him).[13] Mazard supports this theory,

[10] Amandry, "The Coinage of the Roman Provinces Through Hadrian," 3.
[11] Mazard, Corpus, 74.
[12] Fishwick, "The Institution of the Provincial Cult in Roman Mauretania," 701.
[13] Roller, The World, 107.

writing that 'exceptional coinage [was] a manifestation of an honorary right that does not contradict traditionally accepted notions concerning the prohibition, for protected kings, to make gold coins.'[14] However, it might also have to do with the recognized necessity for dynastic propaganda — Juba II was the only royal child who grew up and was educated in Rome during the 30s (the next children were those of Herod the Great, who were sent by their parents in the late 20s BC).[15] Whereas Juba II's eastern colleagues had a long tradition of ancient institutions they could draw upon, Juba II, a Numidian prince turned king of Mauretania, did not have that same legitimacy — hence, he received greater freedom of action. These gold coins were likely made in Rome and then sent to Caesarea, where the main workshop was located.[16]

Having considered the gold coins, and now turning to silver, the historian finds that this was (as opposed to gold, which we only know of two types), extremely abundant. Juba II had maintained regular relations with Baetica, known particularly for its silver mines, and he drew metal from it, which he coined.[17] The rest of this paper discusses these silver coins in more detail. Finally, bronze coinage is much less abundant and the specimens that have come to us are in a poor state. The creation of bronze coinage was mostly left to local artists, and therefore does not reflect a state program. While the effigies/obverses on the silver and gold coins are consistent (with the exception of very rare specimens, they all carry the effigy of the sovereign, depicted in the fashion of Rome), there is a great variety of types on the obverse. The earliest Mauretanian coins issued by Juba II depicted the king and queen, commemorating their marriage in 20–19 BC, and another set of coins commemorating the Caesarean Games for the regnal years XXIII and XXVIII. Once the coins become regularly dated in AR XXX, historians find that there are numerous types per year.[18] Many of these coins come from the Treasury of Banasa/the Alkazar Hoard in Morocco. It is possible that, alongside these coins, the issues of Masinissa and his successors continued to circulate, but these will not bear on the following discussion.

Who Did They Mint Coins For?

Finally, there is the question of "who were the coins minted for?" If Juba and Selene minted coins for communicative purposes, they must certainly have had an intended audience. It is a general rule that the only way coins can enter circulation is through state spending.[19] Most of the Roman principate state expenditure was spent on the military — about ⅔.[20] There is no doubt that Mauretania was similarly occupied with military expenditure. Under Juba II's reign,

[14] Mazard, Corpus, 74–75. Translated from French by me.
[15] Mazard, Corpus, 74–75. Translated from French by me. 60 ft. 1.
[16] Mazard, Corpus, 74.
[17] Mazard, Corpus, 75.
[18] Mazard, Corpus, 73.
Here an inevitable limitation of this study appears. Unlike the coinage of Rome, of which exists a lot of records and particularly of the number of dies per coin type (with which you can then estimate the number of produced coins in each coin type), to the knowledge of the author no records of the number of Mauretanian dies per coin type exists. This is unsurprising, given the lack of archeological evidence of Mauretanian coins in general. This however means there is no indication of how large the issue of each coin type was, which can vary widely per type. The only indication of how popular a symbol or motif was in Mauretania, then, is the number of times we see it appear on different coin types. This is hugely problematic- theoretically a symbol or motif could only be depicted on one coin type, but said type was then minted in enormous numbers. Meanwhile, multiple coin types depicting a different motif could have been minted in lesser amounts, combined. Yet to the researcher, the latter would appear more popular. Future research into sizes of coin types in Mauretania is therefore sorely needed.
[19] Wolters, "The Julio Claudians," 10.
[20] Wolters, "The Julio Claudians," 10.

Mauretania was beset with frontier problems — it was larger than all client kingdoms combined, and with a dispersed population the kingdom was largely ungovernable and the frontier under constant pressure. Juba II was expected to pacify the indigenous population, especially the difficult Gaetulians. Furthermore, triumphal coins attest to the regularity of campaigns against troublesome tribes.[21] The Roman military had been part of the royal administration of African kings and chieftains, so Juba II had no lack of competent troops (in addition Juba II constantly had to call on Rome for aid). Undoubtedly, much of Mauretania's state expenditure was devoted to paying off soldiers. We also have coins celebrating games, which could potentially have been intended for civic distribution.[22] Crucially, as there is no clear distinction between the iconography of coins of different values, the state seems not to have differentiated messages between classes or groups (this does not include bronze coins, which, as previously mentioned, seem to mostly have been produced by local artists). There was little point in doing so, since after just one transaction, anyone could have possessed any coin.[23]

The question of "intended audience" in this case then broadens to that of distribution. How far did coins travel? This paper accepts the theory made by the likes of Duncan-Jones, that although local coins certainly traveled in individual instances such as trade and military movement, overall, these coins would largely have stayed inside their sphere of circulation. Basing his finds, particularly on money hoards and how they overlap, Duncan-Jones makes it clear that coin distribution was largely determined by the distance someone was from a mint and what local sphere of circulation they were in.[24] Presumably, this meant that the coins stayed mostly within urban spaces. Trade and long distance exchange, including army pay, were not enough to make the coin population homogenous throughout the empire — indeed, according to Mazard, the presence of Juba II's coins outside of Mauretania was very rare as 'the dispersion of coinage does not seem to have crossed the limits of the kingdom.'[25] Considering Duncan-Jones' argument, as well as the lack of differentiation between coins of different value, the unfortunately rather simple answer to the complicated question "who were the coins intended for?" is "primarily the military and urban citizens of Mauretania."

I propose that the rulers of Mauretania were aware of the movement of coins — both between individuals and geographically — and therefore had one unified propaganda program for their coins, rather than different programs addressed to different members of society. Consequently, what this overview shows us is that these coins were meant to send a message to the inhabitants of the country, and not to outsiders living in other countries. Readings of these coins should, therefore, consider the coins in the light of having consolidatory, unifying and royalist purposes. However, just because the coins were intended for their Mauretanian citizens does not mean that the imperial couple could mint whatever they wanted — Augustus would not have granted the imperial couple the trust to mint gold coins if they were going to be in any way unfavorable to Rome. The pro-Roman sentiments of many of their coins are discussed in depth in the following section.

This discussion is tied to the related historiographical issue of the inevitable elitism involved in studying the meaning behind these coins. We can safely assume who the targeted audience of these messages was, but not their reactions. That they *were* noticed is without doubt — an

[21] Roller, The World,106–8.
[22] Fishwick and Shaw, "Ptolemy of Mauretania and the Conspiracy of Gaetulicus," 492.
[23] Wolters, "The Julio Claudians," 11.
[24] Duncan-Jones, Money and Government, 172, 175.
[25] Mazard, Corpus, 75.

intense changeover of types suggests reciprocal attention was expected.[26] As others have argued, when we get a new coin or bill, we tend to notice it, or even draw attention to it and discuss it.[27] Near the end of this paper, some attempts will be made at gauging the reactions of the coin's audience, but this limitation is nevertheless very real and unfortunate, if inevitable.

Roman Dependence

As discussed before, part of any successful client kingship includes displaying considerable fealty to Rome. Juba and Selene did this in all aspects of their reign, including their coins. Something that is immediately noteworthy is that Juba II never depicted Augustus on his coins.[28] However, Juba II did symbolize Augustus' presence by using his imagery. The earliest use of the name "CAESAREA" on a coin is in the regnal year 30 — these coins probably commemorate an anniversary of the founding/renaming of the city, either the 30th or 25th. This places the founding of the city in 24 or 19 BC, which potentially means Juba II was the first client king to use the name "Caesarea" for his capital city.[29] Herod's Caesarea was founded in 22 BC, and Archaelaos of Kappadokia also founded a Caesarea at around this time, so whether or not Juba II was the first, he was keeping with what was expected of client kings in naming the capital city Caesarea. The following coins in particular, with the crown around the legend "CAESAREA" suggest there were victory games held at Caesarea in honor of the emperor in the regnal year 30, (as well as 32, 33, 41, 42, 43, 47, see Fig. 1) with the crown perhaps signifying the victory crown the winner received. Imperial games were a common feature of client kingdoms (Herod also held them at his Caesarea) and so it can be assumed Juba II also inaugurated them. They lasted two years and were assumed to be renewed every ten years, although the regularity of the games on Mauretanian coinage does not fit this hypothesis.[30]

On these (and every other coin with his effigy), Juba II depicts himself in the style of a Hellenistic king (which was the Roman custom of the time), employing the standard image of facing right, with a classical (and young) Roman profile, a clean shaven face, short hair and a diadem (notably, he is rarely ever depicted with a laurel/grass crown, a symbol Augustus had effectively associated with himself and the consulship). The permanence of this representation is consistent throughout almost half a century of Juba II's reign. As Mazard writes, 'he has sacrificed the thick hair and beard, dear to his ancestors, for the fashion in Rome.'[31] Compare, for example, the way his father Juba I depicted himself on his coins [Fig. 2.].

[26] Wolters, "The Julio-Claudians," 9.
[27] Voelkel, "Coin Types and Roman Politics," 402.
[28] Wallace-Hadrill, "Image and Authority in the Coinage of Augustus," 73.
[29] Roller, The World, 120.
[30] Mazard, Corpus, 95.
[31] Mazard, Corpus, 72.

Figure 1. Some examples of coins depicting a bust of Juba II with a reverse that has the legend CAESAREA, a regnal year, and a crown. Variations of these coins usually list a different regnal year. ©Mazard #232 #227 #228.

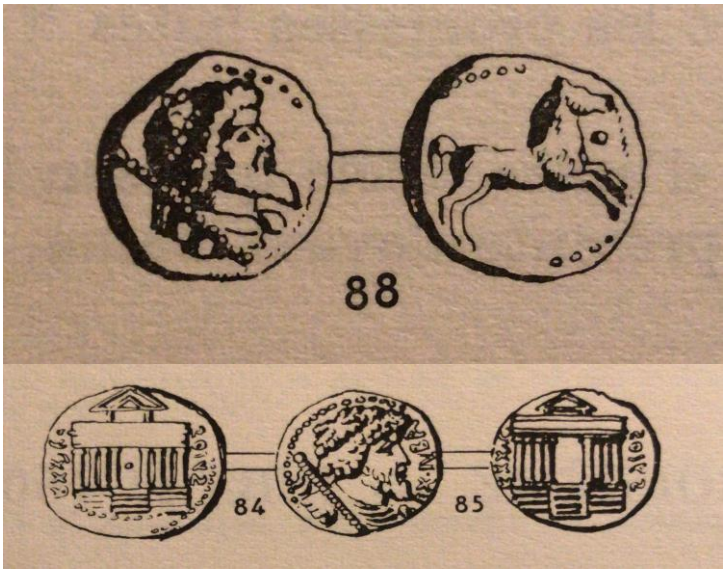

Figure 2. Coin depicting on the obverse a diademed and armored bust of Juba I, with a stapled coat and a scepter. He has thick hair and a full beard. © Mazard #84 #85 and #88.

There is one gold coin which dates from the beginning of Juba I's reign where he has the thick stiff hair (which Cicero described as being 'bene capillatus'), and three bronzes from the last

period of his reign show him aged, but otherwise the effigy is conventional.[32] REX IUBA is always in Latin. The reading that Juba II sought to depict himself as Roman, as opposed to Numidian, is consistent with the nine sculpture portraits that remain of him. Consider the beautiful Volubilius bronze [Fig. 3], where he is presented as an idealized youth with a diadem, believed to be the portrait made when he assumed office. Not one of the nine portraits of Juba II depicts him anything other than a diademed youth in the Hellenistic style, as opposed to the one statue of Juba I, also produced in the Mauretanian court [Fig. 4.].

Figure 3. Juba II in bronze from the Rabat Museum collection. © Wikimedia.

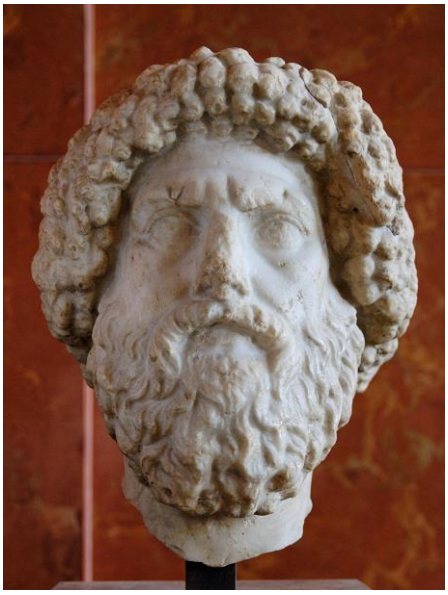

Figure 4. Juba I in marble from the Mauretanian court, now in the Louvre. © Wikimedia.

32 Mazard, Corpus, 72.

Juba II's presentation reflected the Roman custom and would be consistent with how Romans presented themselves (minus the diadem, which was only used by royalty).

Other coins show Juba II with the Temple of Augustus (which he built in Caesarea), and which carries the explicit legend "AUGUSTI" ("of Augustus"), lest one should wonder exactly which temple is being depicted. There are also many types with Juba II and an altar, with the legend "LVCVS AVGVSTI" ("wood of Augustus"), commemorating the Altar and the Wood dedicated to Augustus.[33] Juba II is also depicted with the eagle and scepter, a symbol of the imperial power of Augustus.[34] In stressing his role as a Roman client king and the strength of the Roman emperor, showing fealty to the emperor was no doubt partly the aim of all this iconography. As Mazard writes 'He was showered with honors by Augustus and (…) Juba II himself did not miss any opportunity to praise his protector. Numerous coins testify to this exchange of good will.'[35] However, the question remains whether this is the extent of Juba II's aim in minting these coins.

Considering the Mauretanian audience, the link to imperial power also became a way to depict the power Juba II had by association with the Roman ruler. Said "power by association" can be seen most clearly in the following coins [Fig. 5]. Here, Juba II is depicted with the Capricorn, Augustus' preferred sign and one which he used often on his own coins.

Figure 5. Some examples of coins with Juba II and a Capricorn on the reverse, alongside a globe, a cornucopia, rudder and regnal year legend. Variations usually have different regnal years. This type runs as late as regnal year XXXXVIII. © Mazard #210 #217 #218 #211 #212.

[33] Mazard, Corpus, 81. #157 #158.
[34] Mazard, Corpus, 90. #204–207.
[35] Mazard, Corpus, 71. Translated from French by me.

There is an ongoing debate about whether Capricorn was Augustus' natal sign — this is unimportant, given that it was doubtlessly *perceived* to be Augustus' natal sign, note Suetonius:

> When in retreat in Apollonia, Augustus and Agrippa together went up to the observatory of Theogenes the astrologer; they wished to consult him about their future careers. Agrippa went first and was prophesied such almost incredibly good fortune, that Augustus, afraid and ashamed that he might be found to be less successful, held back from disclosing the hour of his birth. Yet when at last, after a great deal of hesitation, he grudgingly supplied the information for which both were pressing him, Theogenes leapt up and flung himself at his feet; and this gave Augustus such implicit faith in the destiny awaiting him that he soon ventured to publish his horoscope, and struck a silver coin stamped with Capricorn, the sign under which he had been born.[36]

Capricorn itself being half terrestrial, half marine, and read together with the globe, symbolizes Augustus' power over both land and sea.[37] The cornucopia represents the peace and prosperity of Augustus' reign. Moreover, Abry notes that Capricorn was the house of Saturn in astrological doctrine, and Saturn presided over the Golden Age: "redeunt Saturnia regna."[38] Here the power of association is the peace and prosperity Augustus' reign implied for Mauretania, channeled through Juba II's kingship. However, what is unique about this type is that a number of these coins were minted after Augustus' death in 14 AD, as opposed to the other coins which were minted either before his death or in an unknown time. Why invoke Augustus even after he died? It was certainly no display of fealty to Tiberius. It has been argued convincingly that the evocation of the cult of Augustus, even in death, was beneficial to many rulers. For not only Juba II still invoked Augustus' likeness — many of Augustus' successors printed Capricorn coin-types, especially whenever their legitimacy was in question. Galba printed it in 68, followed by Nervus, and Pescennius Niger in his rebellion against Septimius Severus. The Flavians used it to invoke a new era.[39] Remember also that Augustus had been deified on his death in 14 AD, and Juba II and Selene had done much to promote the imperial cult throughout his lifetime. Perhaps on these post-Augustus era coins, we can see Juba II "cashing in" on decades of obedient client kingship, as he is now able to invoke the beloved emperor-god as his divine patron. These coins are the most convincing evidence of a pragmatic connection with imperial power, rather than just a well-meaning display of fealty. Juba II is now potentially associating himself with a god, one who supported him and who he supported during Augustus' lifetime. This reading is supported by his continued depiction of himself as Hercules, another mythical patron.

Once Ptolemy of Mauretania joins Juba II on these coins as a youth, he appears identical to his father, diademed and draped [Fig. 6.]. In other words, he appears as a stable continuation of the dependable reign built by his father. Undoubtedly, Juba II was protecting the dynastic interests of the Mauretanian dynasty by smoothing the succession in this way. After his father's death Ptolemy continued minting coins, but they were of much poorer quality than that of his father. Almost all of his types are dated, and we can see that many types came out each year.[40]

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[36] Suet, Aug. 94.12: 'In success Apolloniae Theogenis mathematici pergulam comite Agrippa ascenderat; cum Agrippa qui prior consulebat, magna et paene incredibilia praedicerentur, reticere ipse genituram suam nec velle edere perseverabat, metu ac pudore ne minor inveniretur. Qua tamen post multas adhortationes vix et cunctanter edita, exilivit Theogenes adoravitque eum. Tantam mox fiduciam fati Augustus habuit, ut thema suum vulgaverit nummumque argenteum nota sideris Capricorni, quo natus est, percusserit.'

[37] Barton, "Augustus and Capricorn," 49.

[38] That Augustus took care to associate himself with the Golden Age of Saturn has been well documented- see, for example, Virgil's "Saturn's Rule Returns".

[39] Barton, "Augustus and Capricorn," 47.

[40] See footnote 19 for a discussion of the limitations of gauging popularity by number of types.

Noticeably, the Roman coded types take a steep decline during his reign. He appears with the Temple of Augustus in just one type, and although he does appear with the Capricorn several times, these are mostly without the globe and cornucopia, though the rudder is usually present. The reduced depiction of the Capricorn, probably due to decline in quality in coin minting, robs the reverse of some of its explanatory power which it carried in the days of Juba II. Crucially, there are no reverse types that allude to Tiberius or to Caligula — only the Divine Augustus is referenced.

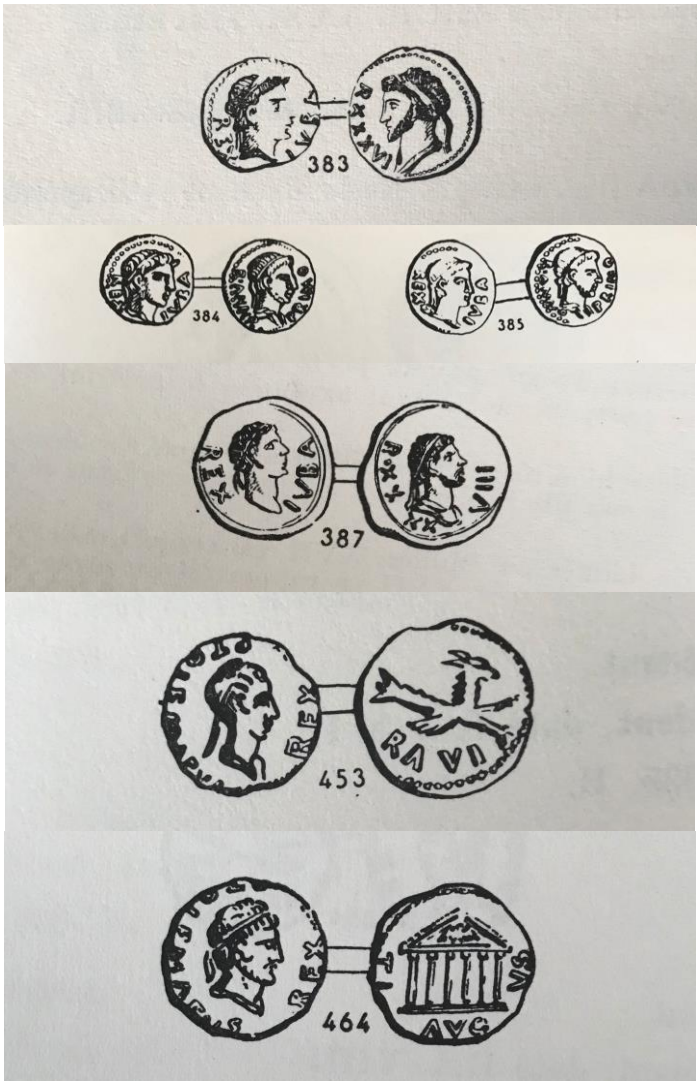

Figure 6. Coins which depict a bearded Ptolemy with several reverses, including several with his father. © Mazard #383 #384 #385. He is also depicted with the Temple of Augustus (#464) and the Capricorn (#453) although on that type he appears clean shaven.

The study of Roman types has shown that the standard give and take relationship that existed between client kings and Rome was repeated at Mauretania — the client king showed proper honor and fealty to the *princeps*, yet at the same time could posture themselves to their subjects as acting with the mighty power of Rome.[41] Note, however, that on his ascension to the throne

[41] There is one other Ptolemaic era coin that is significant and has not been considered, which is the DIVI F AUGUSTUS coin. This is the only coin depicting Augustus' profile found in either Juba or Ptolemy's reign. However, it bears (unique to Mauretanian tradition) the name of a moneyer, C. LAETILIUS APALUS, who

in Juba II's regnal year XLVI (Ptolemy started his career by ruling jointly with his father), Ptolemy transitions to depicting himself with a beard — Juba II still appears to be clean shaven. While he is depicted inconsistently with and without a beard throughout his reign, it marks a break with the Roman tradition of appearing clean shaven and Hellenistic in appearance, and veers much more in the direction of the Mauretanian and Numidian kings — namely those of Massinisa and his successors (and of Bocchus II). Those coins were presumably still circulating in Mauretania at the time, so Mauretanian citizens could have noticed the resemblance. Studies of Nero's depiction of himself have shown that in depicting himself with a beard, he was signaling a rebellion and rejection of Roman values. [42] While applying this theory to the case of Ptolemy of Mauretania would certainly explain the decline in "Roman-coded" types during his reign and possibly lends credence to the idea that what ultimately sealed Ptolemy's fate was that he overstepped his boundaries, the simple act of adopting a beard is not enough to support this theory. Nevertheless, the weakening of client kingship after the first generation is indeed a well-documented pattern — and further study of different coin types in the following sections will lend credence to this theory.

Expressions of Heritage

The royal family was pragmatic when it came to relying on what Mazard calls "national" types to appeal to legitimacy, especially in regards to their coins. For example, Juba often depicted himself with a figure in elephant headdress, often identified as the personified head of "Africa" [Fig. 7.]. The elephant headdress was a staple of Numidian coinage, probably because of its use by Alexander the Great. The first appearance of the elephant headdress in a figure on an "African" coin can be attributed to the reign of the Numidian Hiarbas (108–81 BC). However, while the type has been identified by scholars as "Africa," it is important to note that Hiarbas' people were the Massyles, and that Hiarbas was unlikely to have thought of his territory as "Africa". Furthermore, there was little evidence that Numidia was a culture that "personified" abstractions at the time. Therefore, the type was unlikely to represent the goddess Africa.[43] Other representations of female figures in an elephant headdress before the 1st century, according to J.A. Maritz, also do not represent the goddess Africa. Regardless, depictions with the elephant headdress would continue to be popular in Numidia down to the reign of Juba I. Similarly, the type was popular in Mauretania and Draycott maintains that both elephants and the elephant scalp were used by Bocchus II (and later Juba II) specifically to represent Mauretania.[44] Here it seems likely that Juba adopted the iconography of his predecessor, possibly familiar to him from coinage produced in his homeland, to present an affinity with the land Mauretania (instead of the wider concept of "Africa").

issued coins in Carthago Nova under the direction of Augustus. There were a couple of these coins struck in the name of Ptolemy, but cannot be credited to him. Future studies into the numinastics program of the Mauretanian dynasty should pursue this topic further.

[42] Bergman, "Portraits of an Emperor, Nero, the Sun, and Roman Otium".

[43] Maritz, "The Image of Africa," 112.

[44] Draycott, "Dynastic Politics," 50.

Figure 7. Every iteration of a coin with Juba and Africa on the reverse, always wearing an elephant head and sometimes with javelins. #133 and #134 are the coins issued during the revolt of Tacfarinas. © Mazard #125 #126 #127 #128 #129.

That these heads were used to present Juba II's affinity with Mauretania, and thereby to garner support for Juba is almost without doubt — he issued coins with the head in elephant headdress in the regnal year XXXXII — in other words, 7–8 AD, during the revolt of Tacfarinas, potentially the most difficult military struggle the Mauretanian dynasty was involved in.[45] This was in no small part because Tacfarinas was a Numidian Berber, like Juba, and appealed to fellow Berber tribes to form the basis of his military power. The crucial difference between the two was Tacfarinas was anti-Roman whereas Juba protected Roman interests. It is within this context that the type can be further understood. J.A. Maritz argues that the figure in an elephant headdress has, despite its early history in both Numidia and Mauretania, developed largely within a Roman context. Maritz traces the first prominent use to Pompey, who issued coins with the personified Africa in elephant head dress to represent his governance over the region and its allegiance to him. Crucial to Maritz's argument is that, before Rome, there was no such thing as the "province" of Africa- only Rome could introduce this concept and impose it on the region. Pompey used these coins carrying the depiction of the personified Africa to pay his army's Numidian auxiliaries.[46] Maritz claims that 'a head wearing an elephant-scalp seems to have become an emblem of Pompeian power in Africa, before as well as after his death.'[47] Juba I and Bogud (of Mauretania), both being allies of Pompey, and both having coinages integrated with the coinage of Rome, used this type to reflect their allegiance to Roman power. Rejecting theories that Romans drew from indigenous iconography, and that in response Juba I and Bogud used the type to revindicate the African nation (on the basis that there was no such thing as an African nation) Maritz instead explains that 'If Juba I and Bogud had wanted to personify their

[45] Mazard #133.
[46] Maritz, "The Image of Africa," 116.
[47] Maritz, "The Image of Africa,"114.

'country', they would have needed two different symbols to do so. The fact that they both issued coinage bearing a head in an elephant-scalp, on the same standard, rather suggests that both were minting for the same authority.'[48] The link that is being emphasized, then, is to Roman power, not to any indigenous culture. That Juba II is also emphasizing his affiliation to Roman power, rather than using a national symbol, is possible to Maritz because, as a child brought up in Rome, he could be regarded as "Roman" rather than "African".[49] Whether Juba drew the type from Numidian, Mauretanian, or Roman sources, or whether the figure in elephant headdress was an "African" symbol appropriated by Romans or vice versa, does not matter when considering that the symbol seems to have been a type acceptable both to Roman, Numidian and Mauretanian audiences. Indeed, Juba must have inspired some confidence in his African subjects, because it was only after his death that a massive wave of his subjects defected to join Tacfarinas.

That Juba II choose for symbols that were familiar to and acceptable to both Roman, Mauretanian and Numidian audiences can be seen in his use of other "national" types. Noteworthy are the many lions that appear on the obverses of his coins — they are associated with the Phoenician Astarte (worshiped by the Punics) and the leontocephaline form of Tanit.[50] In addition, Juba I put lions on the reverses of coins bearing the likeness of the goddess "Africa", in order to reflect her warlike nature.[51] It is possible that the lion also has a personal meaning to Juba II — in *Libkya* Juba II apparently recounted a story he heard about his father. According to the story, a member of Juba I's entourage had attempted to kill a lion, and a year later the lion was found waiting at the same spot, identified its attacker from the group and killed him. Juba I then closely associated himself with the lion and placed it on his coins, so that by the Augustan period they became associated with both Numidian and Mauretanian royalty [Fig. 8].[52] Therefore Juba II is potentially again invoking his Numidian heritage by using the lion reverse. Here again, however, it is useful to note that a small number of Roman coins depicted lions, probably based on the North African lion that was known to be captured and shipped to Rome for venatio spectacles. Augustus has one known coin type depicting a lion on the reverse (another one depicts a lion attacking a stag), but this was during the civil war period and minted by an unknown authority. The lion depictions on Juba II's coins do appear similar, in the Graeco-Roman style — this style was, however, still in keeping with the already existing numismatic programs in both Numidia and Mauretania.

[48] Maritz, "The Image of Africa," 116.
[49] Maritz, "The Image of Africa,"118.
[50] Mazard, *Corpus*, 79.
[51] Mazard, *Corpus* 52.
[52] Roller, *The World*, 204.

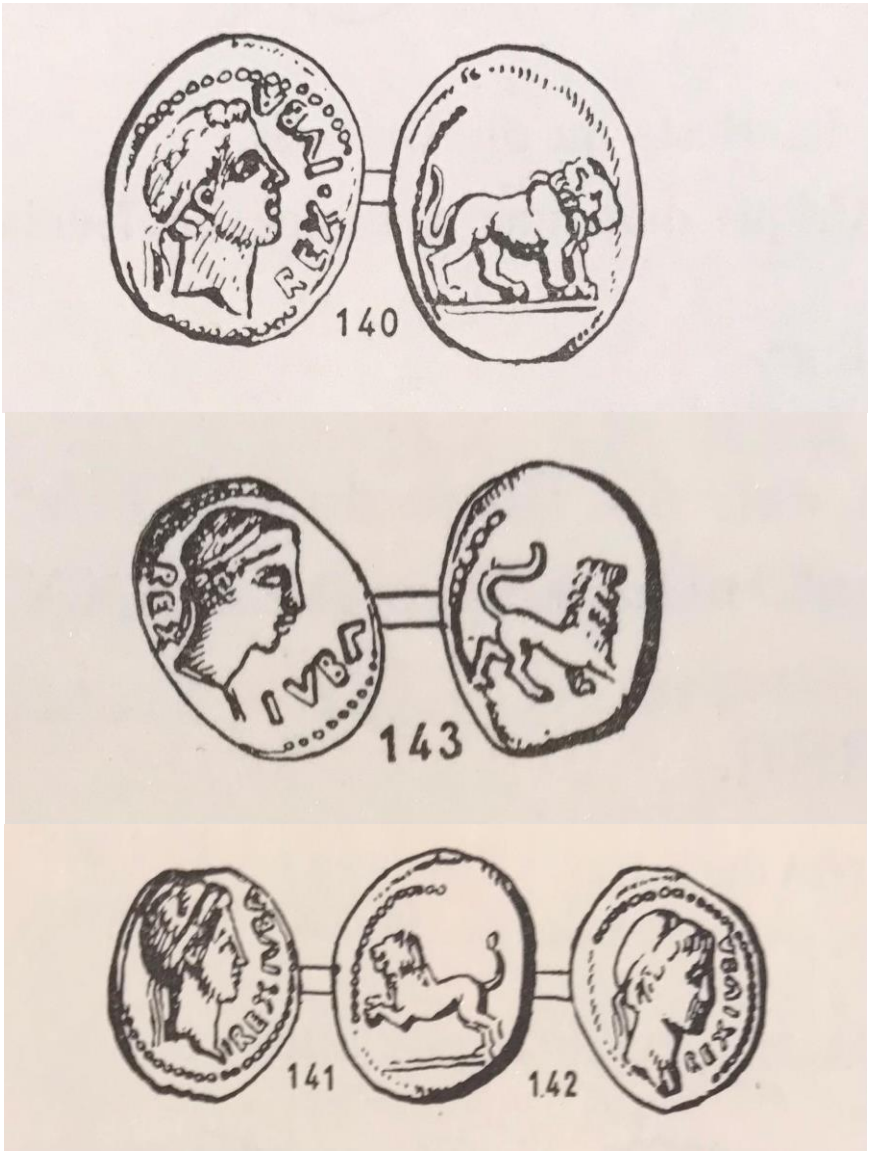

Figure 8. Every type of a coin with Juba II and a lion on the reverse. © Mazard #140 #141 #142 #143.

The lion was also associated with Hercules, who both members of the imperial couple claimed descent from. Hercules types were the most popular type during Juba II's reign, and his presence is implied by depictions of Juba II with a lion headdress and club, reverses depicting a lion headdress on a club and a bow and arrow, a club in a laurel wreath and the lion reverses [Fig. 9]. The lion headdress confers legitimacy on rulers by identifying them with Alexander, who also wore the lion headdress on his coins, much like the elephant headdress.[53]

[53] Maritz, "The Image of Africa," 107.

Figure 9. Various examples of Juba II with Herculean reverses. As this was Juba II's favorite type, there were simply too many to include. © Mazard #169 #170 #177 #178 #183 #184.

Hercules has several local associations — some of his labors occurred in northwest Africa, and a number of Mauretanian tribes claimed descent from him. Hercules was also honored by Juba II 's father.[54] 'No doubt' Roller writes, 'the cult of Herakles was second at Caesarea only to that of Augustus.'[55] Perhaps most significant to this discussion is Hercules' association with the Punic god Melkart, who had become associated with each other sometime in the sixth century BCE and became almost interchangeable by the time of Juba and Selene. In the same vein as before, however, it would be remiss not to acknowledge how Hercules was also topical in Rome at the time. On Augustus' return to Rome after his extended Spanish residence, the emperor's long time abroad was compared to Hercules' labors. In Rome, there was a Temple of Hercules Musarum which was built in Augustus' Campus Martius. Finally, Juba II describes Hercules' Roman cult in his treatises *Archaeology.*[56] Hercules is well known to translate well across cultures, and Juba II seems to be aware of this — when your numismatic program includes producing both national and Roman coin types, Hercules is a natural unifying symbol. (Note also how Juba II only depicts himself with the gods who have popular city cults (especially within Caesarea itself), not, for example, the *genii* worshiped in the countryside. This is the most compelling evidence on the coins themselves that they were intended for an urban population.) As has been mentioned before, as a Numidian turned king of Mauretania, Juba II had a legitimacy problem. Appealing to the common heritage and beliefs that existed between himself and his (city) subjects was an appeal to legitimacy. However, Juba II endeared himself to his subjects in another well documented way, by leaning on and exploiting the prestige of his famous wife.

The breadth of Selene's power and influence cannot be underestimated. As the daughter of a Greek queen and Mark Anthony, she had more prestige than Juba II. She retained her title as

[54] Maritz, "The Image of Africa," 154.
[55] Maritz, "The Image of Africa," 155.
[56] Maritz, "The Image of Africa," 154-155.

queen of Cyrenaica, perhaps even of Libya, and could claim to be queen of Egypt, which made her the theoretical ruler of all of North Africa, which presumably gave her great status to her Mauretanian subjects.[57] As shall be examined later, she even coined her own money.[58] In spite of this, scholars often diminish her status to simply being a woman with an Egyptian hobby — for example, Weech wrote that Juba II was the perfect Roman client king, meanwhile 'the Moon Queen had just received from Alexandria some Egyptian goddess.'[59] This view is insupportable — the tight and consistent cultural program of the Mauretanian court suggests that Juba II and Selene were almost certainly a unified force, and perhaps even co-rulers. Selene's status was not wasted on Juba II's coins. Her presence is implied in the many coins Juba II issued of himself with Egyptian obverses. He is depicted with the symbol of Isis and a sistrum (a rattle which the Egyptians used in the ceremonies of the cult of Isis).[60] Juba II is also depicted with a cow, whose cult is of Egyptian origin and is representative of the goddess Hathor.[61] Hathor's cult often merged with that of Isis. That a connection between Isis and Hathor is the desired effect can be seen in later coins which depict cows with the symbol of Isis on their backs or between their horns.[62] Selene's mother, Cleopatra VII, famously took great care to portray herself as Isis, and other coins which feature the symbols of Isis and sistrum with the legend ΒΑCΙΛΙCCΑ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ ("Queen Cleopatra") heavily suggest Selene did the same. Indeed, there are many obverses that combine the name ΒΑCΙΛΙCCΑ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ with the two symbols, which Mazard has extensively documented [Fig. 10].

Figure 10. #222 and #223 show Juba II with the symbol of Isis and a sistrum. #324 and #325 show Juba II with these same symbols but then with the legend ΒΑCΙΛΙCCΑ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ interspersed throughout them. #224 shows Juba II with a cow. #225 and #226 show Juba II with a cow and the symbol of Isis. © Mazard #222 #223 #224 #225 #226.

[57] Maritz, "The Image of Africa," 90.
[58] Weech, "Rambles," 67.
[59] Weech, "Rambles," 68.
[60] Mazard #222 #223
[61] Mazard #224
[62] Mazard #225 #226

Her legend also appears with other symbols of Isis, namely the crescent moon and star (the symbol of Aphrodite, who Isis was merged with), the serpent, and Isis herself.[63] The reference to his wife and her Ptolemaic heritage is clear. Indeed, it is almost too self-evident to mention, but the fact that Juba II's legend was always the Latin REX IUBA, whereas Selene always used the Greek ΒΑCΙΛΙCCΑ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ, shows again that the coins were determined in linking Selene to her famous mother and capturing some of Cleopatra VII's prestige. Draycott (2010) identifies two motivations for the use of Egyptian types: first, Selene's Ptolemaic heritage influenced Juba II academically and religiously — for example, his scholarly treatises were clearly influenced by Ptolemaic authors, and he was known to dedicate crocodiles at the Iseum in Caesarea.[64] Second, much of this explicit linking of the Mauretanian and the Egyptian was motivated by dynastic concerns — 'although Egypt had been annexed by Octavian and became a Roman province,' Draycott (2010) writes, 'this explicit linking of the Mauretanian royal family and the kingdom itself to Egypt added prestige to both, in addition to celebrating Juba II as an explorer and scholar.'[65] This is especially supported by the fact that Juba II continued using Selene's reliefs on his obverses after her death, and again after his failed and brief marriage to Glaphys of Judaea.

Selene's physical presence on these coins should also be discussed. There are many coins which carry both the busts of Juba II and of Selene [Fig. 11]. Some celebrate important events in their reign, such as their marriage in 20/19 BC. Like Juba II, she appears diademed, with her hair in coils, rolls on her forehead, and a small knot at her neck and ribbons in the Greek style. Unlike Juba II, she often appears draped as well. This is probably to imitate how her mother appeared on coins as closely as possible.

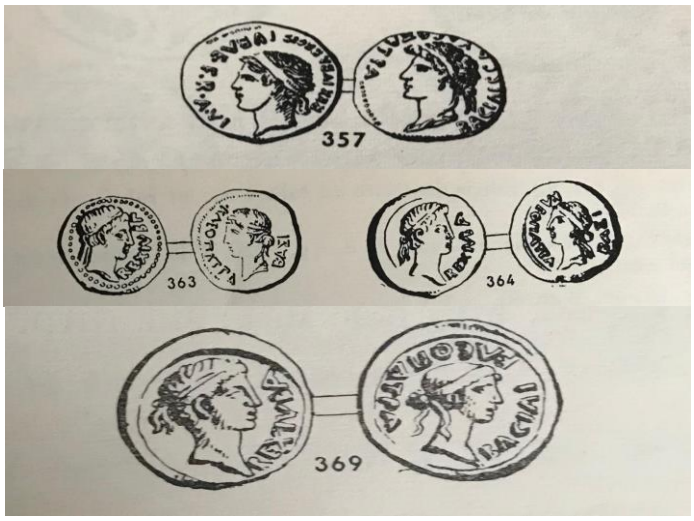

Figure 11. Some examples of coins depicting both Juba and Cleopatra Selene. Juba's side always carries the legend REX IUBA whereas Selene's side says ΒΑCΙΛΙCCΑ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ. © Mazard #357 #363 #364 #369.

[63] Mazard, 297 #298 #299 #355.
The obverse with Isis imitates some of Livia's coins in Rome. Curiously, Selene's legend also appears with a hippopotamus (symbol of Egypt and of Thoueris, goddess of motherhood), and with an ibis fighting a winged snake (the Ibis was the form of the god Thoth, associated with the Greek Hermes). Like Juba II, she associates herself with many divinities, though Selene II is always associated with Egyptian ones, whereas Juba II picks and chooses.
[64] Draycott, "Crocodile of Juba II," 216.
[65] Draycott, "Crocodile of Juba II," 216.

Now, instead of Selene simply reflecting well on Juba II, they are presented as equals. The only precedent these coins can feasibly be drawing inspiration from are those of Marc Anthony and Cleopatra VII, who represented themselves in this fashion to advertise their power partnership (see for example Fig. 12).[66]

Figure. 12. An example of a coin depicting both Marc Anthony and Cleopatra VII. The legend ANTONI·ARMENIA·DEVICTA encircles Anthony and the legend CLEOPATRAE·REGINAE·REGVM·FILIORVM·REGVM encircles Cleopatra. RR2 (525) (180) (525). © Trustees of the British Museum.

In these coins we can find some of the strongest evidence that Juba and Selene had a co-rulership. What is interesting is that both Mauretanian rulers are modeling themselves on Augustus' sworn enemies — posturing yourself so you appear to be the continuation of Mark Anthony and Cleopatra VII is different from simply reclaiming Ptolemaic heritage. Yet, Selene's own coins show how she delicately managed these associations and prevented them from being too overt and potentially raising Roman suspicions.

Selene minting her own coins has posed some problems for academics. M. Gsell has explained the coins as being produced during Juba II's voyage to the Eastern Mediterranean, where she presumably acted as regent in his stead and minted coins to support her rule. Mazard quite rightly points out that this is not a workable explanation, considering that Juba II married Glaphys of Judaea on this trip. In addition, a eulogy penned by Crinagoras most likely places Selene's death in 5 BC (Juba II went to the Eastern Mediterranean in 2 BC–2 AD).67 Selene did not mint many coins with just herself — there are three different types of silver coins on record, depicting a bust of Selene on the obverse with either a cow (again, a reference to Hathor) or a crocodile on the reverse.68 Regardless of the circumstances these coins were minted in, they are worthwhile to consider because of the reverses she has chosen, particularly the crocodile. The first prominent Egyptian numismatic use of the crocodile was issued by Cleopatra VII and Mark Anthony in Crete and Cyrenaica on two series of coins in 37–34 BC after the Donations of Alexandria. The Donations made Selene queen of Crete and Cyrenaica,

[66] Mazard, *Corpus*, 125.
[67] Roller, *The World*, 250.
[68] Mazard #392, #393, #394. Again, refer to footnote 19 for a discussion on the limitations of coin types.

and therefore it is likely that the crocodile was to be her symbol.[69] Draycott argues convincingly that the reason the crocodile was chosen was because of its importance to Ptolemy Soter, the first Ptolemaic king after the death of Alexander the Great.[70] By making the crocodile her emblem, Cleopatra VII was linking Selene to the very beginning of the Ptolemaic dynasty.[71] However, Selene's coin is nuanced by the Augustan adoption of the crocodile after the Battle of Actium (see for example Fig. 13). While there were three control marks with crocodiles in Rome before, when Augustus issued a series of coins in 28 BC to commemorate his victory over Cleopatra VII and Mark Anthony using a crocodile type, it is almost certain that he appropriated Selene's emblem to represent the capture of Egypt.[72]

Figure 13. An example of a coin minted by Augustus in the wake of the fall of Cleopatra VII. His bust appears on the obverse with the legend CAESAR COS VI, and a crocodile is depicted on the reverse with the legend AEGVPTO CAPTA. RE1 (106) (651) (106); RR2 (537) (244) (537). © Trustees of the British Museum.

Draycott writes that 'by issuing coins depicting a crocodile relatively soon after Octavian had used the crocodile to symbolize Egypt on his AEGVPTO CAPTA coinage, Cleopatra Selene may have been attempting to reclaim ownership of it.'[73] This could certainly be true. However, this reading perhaps does not give enough credit to Selene's political pragmatism. See, for example, one of the finest surviving statues of Augustus, found at the theater in Caesarea in Mauretania [Fig. 14]. What is surprising about the statue is that the decoration on Augustus' breastplate memorialized the defeat of Selene's parents in its depiction of the Battle of Actium.

[69] Draycott, "The Symbol of Cleopatra Selene," 43.
[70] Draycott, "The Symbol of Cleopatra Selene," 43. According to Diodorus Siculus, Perdiccas invaded Egypt, and attempted to cross the Nile in the night. So many soldiers drowned and were eaten by crocodiles that Ptolemy succeeded in routing Perdiccas' forces at Memphis. Moreover, the Egyptian crocodile-god Sobek was particularly favored by the Ptolemaic dynasty from Ptolemy I Soter through to Cleopatra VII.
[71] Draycott, "The Symbol of Cleopatra Selene," 54.
[72] Draycott, "The Symbol of Cleopatra Selene," 44.
[73] Draycott, "The Symbol of Cleopatra Selene," 55.

Figure. 14. *Auguste* as he appears in the East Gallery of the National Public Museum of Chercell. © National Public Museum of Chercell.

Selene was clearly no stranger to drawing attention to her parents' defeat in order to give glory to Augustus. Therefore, the coins with the crocodile on it could just as easily be a "reclamation" as a politically astute reference to Augustus' defeat of her parents.[74] What is interesting is that Juba II appears to have adopted the same tactic. On a number of coins Juba II depicts himself with an elephant, which was a symbol of Numidian (and North African) royalty from the time of Masinissa and very important to Juba I, and yet the elephant was also used by Caesar on his

[74] Roller, *The World*, 144.

own coins to represent his (coming) defeat of Juba I.[75] It seems Juba and Selene were politically pragmatic when it came to their heritage — praise to Rome for their parents' defeat and "reclamation" of their parents' symbols for propaganda purposes seemed to go hand in hand. It is with this ambiguity that coins such as the busts of Selene and Juba mirroring Cleopatra VII and Mark Anthony should be read. In fact, the very dialectic between Roman and national types can be understood as a numismatic expression of the careful balancing act that client kings had to perform between fealty and self-promotion, but rendered in especially visual terms. The stakes for these two rulers were higher than most — on one hand, they were Roman client kings who had vehemently anti-Roman parents, on the other hand, they were not indigenous to their new kingdom (and this ignores the difficulties in navigating the on-going problems *during* their rule). One can imagine the narrative of inevitable failure history books would have adopted had their rule collapsed.

What this brief survey of the national types of Juba and Selene has also shown is the exploitation of ambiguity. While no doubt the display of Roman power was important, equally, or even more so were the Hellenistic, Numidian and Graeco-Egyptian iconography Juba and Selene relied on. Here we see neither a "top down" Romanization or a "bottom up" reaction, rather the Mauretanian cultural program was an eclectic mix of many cultures, all which seemed to translate well with Juba and Selene's subjects. Juba II relied on iconography that was depicted on both Roman, Mauretanian and Numidian coins, and in doing so seems to stake a claim to legitimacy as king of Mauretania without compromising his Roman patronage. Furthermore, the positive allusions to Cleopatra VII in particular indicate that Romanized narratives of events did not have the negative impact on the Ptolemies' reputations outside the heart of the Empire that one would assume and could in fact heighten the couple's prestige. The positive allusions to (and in the case of his bust, representation of) Juba I potentially suggests the same thing. While it would be too far to claim that the royal couple sought to "reclaim" their heritage after their long captivity, they certainly romanticized their backgrounds. Further exploration into the Mauretanian evidence is a potentially promising avenue of further investigation.

Later also Ptolemy would use some of these reverses, notably the lion, the elephant, Hercules types, and the figure in elephant headdress.[76] While the message of continuty is clear, he also introduced new types — the panther, horse, palm tree and the epis. By far the most prolific of these is the palm tree, which signified triumph and victory — for although Ptolemy minted his share of Roman and African types, most of his coins focused on the practical concerns of the military and the urban population — victory and prosperity.

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[75] Juba's infamous father Juba I used elephants against the Romans, put them on his coins, and captured them in the forests of Numidia for his ally Scipio. Caesar then captured 64 of them and paraded them in front of the city of Thapsus, intimidating it into surrender. As a result of Caesar's victory, the Roman Fifth Legion adopted the elephant as a figure for their standards, and used it till the second century. Caesar's triumphal march of 46 BC (in which Juba II took part as a captive), included the elephants captured from Juba I who were wielding torches, which delighted the Roman spectators. Caesar began appropriating the image of the elephant to show his destruction of Juba I even before the triumph of 46 BC. It depicts on the obverse an elephant trampling a snake with a dragon head, with the legend "CAESAR", and pontifical emblems on the reverse – a *culullus, aspergillum,* axe and apex. It has been suggested by M.H. Crawford and J. Linderski that this coin represents an ambiguous victory over evil, but if this was the case it could too easily be interpreted as a snub against Pompey, which was dangerous. Instead, it seems more likely Caesar was playing with epistemological references. The snake on the coin has a crest, which in Latin is called an *iuba*- Juba. Meanwhile in Roman literary sources the first person to be called Caesar was named as such because he had killed an elephant, which in Punic was *caesai.* So, Caesar the elephant is crushing Juba the snake.
Woods, "Caesar the Elephant against Juba the Snake."

[76] Mazard #403-405, #408-413, #430-437 #497-504

Expressions of Independence

Ptolemy departed from his parents' careful juggling act of using both pro-Roman types and national and heritage types, much preferring to use types that reference military triumph and prosperity. Doubtless, Juba and Selene minted types to this effect as well — Juba II appears with the cornucopia (the traditional symbol of prosperity), with the goddess Tyche (who governed the fortune and prosperity of a city), and with Victory (especially after certain successes over Tacfarinas) [Fig. 15].[77] There are many types with these three symbols (above all, the cornucopia), yet these types are balanced by the many Hellenic and pro-Roman types — in fact, the coins depicting the ornaments of the triumph of victory which Juba received from Rome after the victory of C Cossus over the Getulas rebels is curiously associated with symbols of Isis.[78]

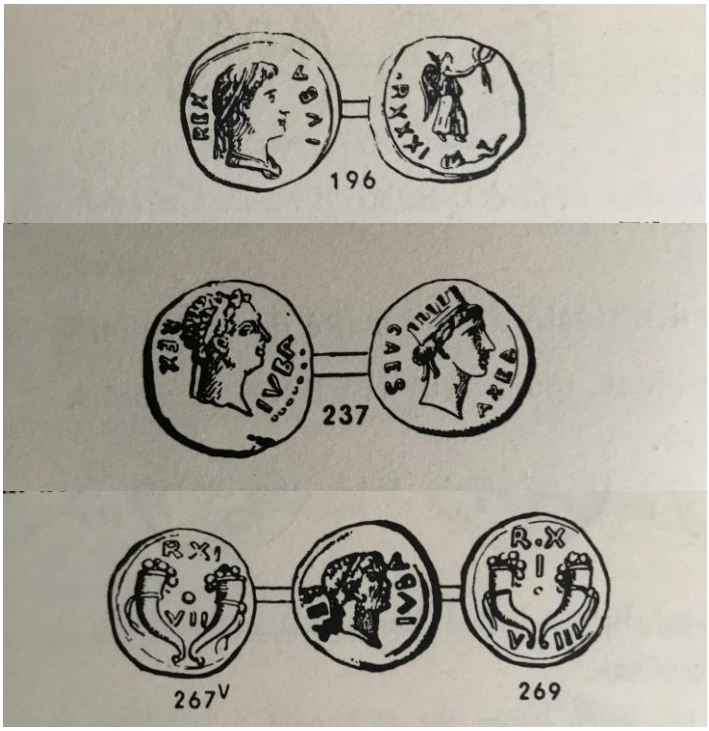

Figure 15. Different examples of Juba II depicted with Victory (#196), Tyche (#237), and two cornucopias (#267, #269). © Mazard #196 #237 #267 #269.

This stands in stark contrast with their son's vast repertoire of types focused on victory and prosperity. The most significant of these types are the many coins depicting the ornaments of triumph, which was granted to him in the year IV of his reign by Tiberius for his involvement in defeating Tacfarinas. While his father only issued three types with the ornaments of triumph, Ptolemy issued at least thirteen types, one of them gold [Fig. 16]. This was official recognition

[77] Mazard #196–203, #237–270, #280–289
[78] Mazard #195

by Rome of Ptolemy's reign, and Ptolemy, still finding his feet after the end of the successful reign of his father, used these marks of successful victory indiscriminately.[79]

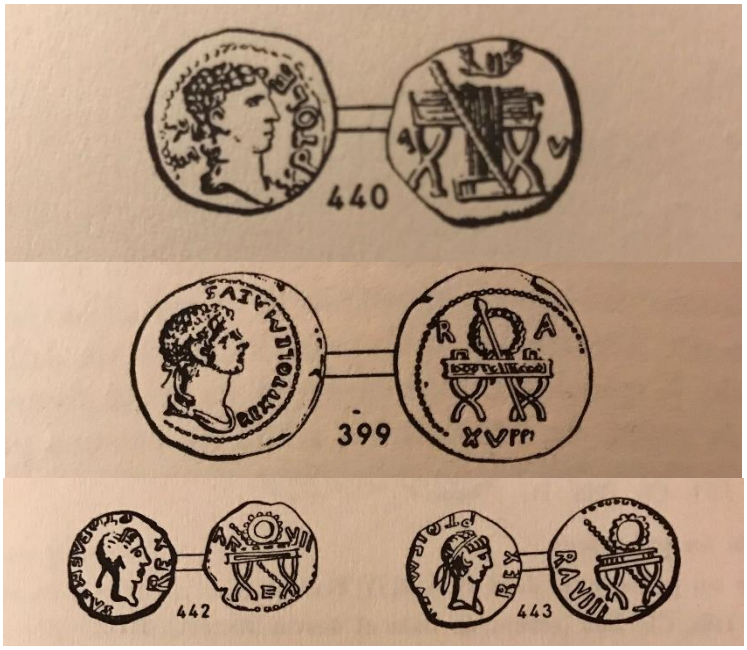

Figure 16. Every iteration of a coin with Ptolemy and symbols of the triumph on the reverse. #339 is a gold coin, where Ptolemy appears bearded. © Mazard #399 #440 #442 #443.

The palm tree, the symbol of victory, is close on the heels of the triumph type in terms of number of appearances on different coin types. On other coins the palm branch appears with thyrsus, the symbol of prosperity and fertility, thereby mixing both the message of victory and abundance. Like his father, Ptolemy depicts himself with many cornucopias as well, another symbol of abundance. Often these cornucopias are accompanied by scepters, the symbol of sovereignty, linking prosperity with his rule. Finally, Ptolemy depicts himself with caduceus', a symbol of trade and commerce, which is often paired with cornucopias. Of all the coins Ptolemy minted, the ornaments of triumph, palm tree and cornucopia types are represented on the most types.[80]

It is in the relative underrepresentation of both pro-Roman and national and heritage types that we see the most support for the "second generation" theory — whereas his parents were both brought up in Rome under the behest of Augustus and the shadow of their infamous parents, Ptolemy, although surrounded by the cultural heritage of these great empires, probably did not feel the connection as strongly. Not much is known about his reign, and therefore it is difficult to assess how true this statement is from anything other than the numismatic evidence — we know almost nothing of his court, building plan, or material culture. What we know is Ptolemy prevailed in battle and Mauretania grew wealthy under his reign. The numismatic evidence certainly reinforces this narrative, as these achievements were clearly what Ptolemy

[79] When Juba II died and Ptolemy became sole ruler, his reign was racked by protests and unrest, and many of his subjects joined Tacfarinas. After the Tacfarinas rebellion was squashed, Ptolemy seemed to find his feet and his popularity increased alongside the kingdom's wealth, to such a degree that (some have proposed) bothered Caligula.
[80] Mazard #414–425, #477–49.

wanted to project as well. While we cannot speak of a disinterest in his parents' backgrounds nor of a dislike of Rome, it seems that the balancing of the two sides was not his priority in his numismatic campaign.

Impact?: A Consideration

Was this lack of looking towards Rome the cause of Ptolemy's downfall? Some of Suetonius' accounts suggest this might be the case. Caligula had summoned Ptolemy after hearing of his great wealth and had him killed, Suetonius claims, because of Ptolemy's violet cloak, which outshined the emperor.[81] Ignoring Rome might have been a mistake, yet upon his death his people revolted in a burst of anti-Roman resentment. The parallel to the defecting of many citizens to Tacfarinas after Juba II's death is perhaps overstated, but it illustrates an important point — to a certain extent, both Ptolemy and his parents' (propaganda) programs seemed to have worked. While we can never get inside the minds of their subjects and intended audience, there are trace pieces of evidence that suggest their popularity among the people.

For example, there is some evidence of a divine cult, of both Selene and of Juba and Ptolemy. One coin type in Ptolemy's reign suggests that Selene had been deified.[82] Two Christian authors of the early third century provide literary evidence of a cult for Juba II. In *Octavius*, M. Minucius Felix listed humans who were said to have become divine: Saturn, Jupiter, Romulus, and Juba II. Meanwhile, his elder contemporary Tertullian of Carthage included in a list of local gods that the Mauretanians worshipped their own princes. What is crucial is that this was likely a result of local demand, as Minucius Felix mentions the role of the locals in this deification — Juba II became a god 'by the good-will of the Mauretanians'.[83] Considering both authors had ties to North Africa, they were probably well informed regarding the local history.[84] Moreover, that Juba II and the Mauretanian dynasty were considered to be popular rulers abroad is attested by many indicators — honors, the way Juba II was written about by other writers, perhaps even in poetry. This popularity cannot all, of course, be attributed to small coins bearing complicated messages. However, those coins are part of a much larger and targeted campaign, which the evidence suggests was carried out along the same lines.

Conclusion

Through the study of the Mauretanian numismatic program, this paper has sought to show how the balancing act of client kingship was managed and the precedence for the interpretation that the second generation of client kingship is less dependable due to a weaker connection to Roman power. The contrast and continuity between Juba and Selene's cultural program and that of Ptolemy's program indicates how important fealty to Rome was, and especially how to balance it against the heritage which boosts the image of the royal family. Juba and Selene drew from a potentially dangerous heritage, but one (especially in Selene's case) which remained popular and conferred legitimacy. Clearly, outside the heart of the empire the enduring legacy of the Ptolemies continued, and the numismatic evidence shows the great care to which these

[81] Suet. *Cal*. 35.1: 'Ptolemaeum, de quo rettuli, et arcessitum e regno et exceptum honorifice, non alia de causa repente percussit, quam quod edente se munus ingressum spectacula convertisse hominum oculos fulgore purpureae abollae animadvertit.'
[82] Mazard #426
[83] Min.Fel. *Oct.* 23.
[84] Roller, *The World,* 155–156.

two rulers mediated this dialectic. In many cases, they married the two cultures together, leading to several potential different interpretations, depending on a person's preference. Ptolemy does not contrast and combine his many heritages nearly as much as his parents did, which perhaps speaks to his lack of direct connection to them — not being the biological child of two disgraced empires nor the adopted one of the Roman empire. His emphasis lay with the prosperity and victory he brought to Mauretania, and for good reason. Whether his untimely end can be attributed to his own (apparent) peacocking and disregard for the ego of Rome is a question that can never properly be answered, but this paper has hopefully given some further context to illuminate the potential answer. What this paper can suggest is that the wealth and power Seutonius' account of events implies Ptolemy had, seems to be reflected and supported by his numismatic campaign.

Due to the constraints of this paper, even though the aim was to be summative, many coins were not properly discussed. The interpretation of the propaganda program of the Mauretania dynasty that was presented in this paper could be nuanced not only by studying these other coins, but also by considering further archeological evidence, such as the material culture or the buildings of Mauretania.

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