

# Land of Fertility III



# Land of Fertility III:

*The Southeast Mediterranean  
from the Bronze Age to the  
Muslim Conquest*

Edited by

Łukasz Miszk and Maciej Wacławik

Cambridge  
Scholars  
Publishing



Land of Fertility III: The Southeast Mediterranean from the Bronze Age  
to the Muslim Conquest

Edited by Łukasz Miszk and Maciej Waclawik

This book first published 2019

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2019 by Łukasz Miszk, Maciej Waclawik and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced,  
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,  
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without  
the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-5275-3075-2

ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-3075-1

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface .....	vii
Acknowledgments .....	ix
Chapter One.....	1
Among the Gods of Fertility at Leptis Magna Jakub Mosiejczyk	
Chapter Two .....	21
The Roman Emigrants in Syria: Local Coins as Evidence of Colonisation Szymon Jellonek	
Chapter Three .....	33
Roman Imperial and Provincial Coin Finds deposited during the Bar Kokhba War Barbara Zając	
Chapter Four .....	45
Faithful Subjects or Foes? Christians in the Early Sasanian Empire Daria Olbrycht	
Chapter Five .....	59
You are all one: The Cross-border Aspect of Monastic Communities in the Negev Desert Maciej Waclawik	
Chapter Six .....	67
The Opening of the Mouth Ritual in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia: A Brief Comparison Marcin Gamrat	
Chapter Seven.....	79
Taken out of Egypt? Sources of Christianity in the Negev Maciej Waclawik	

General Bibliography ..... 87

List of Contributors ..... 99

## PREFACE

The papers in this volume are based on presentations given at the third and fourth international conferences, entitled “The Land of Fertility: The Southeast Mediterranean from the Bronze Age to the Muslim Conquest.”

The first of them “The Migration of People, Goods and Ideas in Ancient Times”, was held at the Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University in Kraków, on June 10–11 2016. The main aim of the presentation was to look more closely at the migration of people, goods and ideas in ancient times, and their influences on civilization, in both material and spiritual culture, in the area called ‘The Fertile Crescent’, within the region, where the modern world began its long development at the very beginning of human civilisation. The question of immigrants, and their influence on the development or collapse of ancient states was also considered.

The fourth conference, entitled “Egyptian Perspective: Ancient civilisations in relation to The Two Lands”, was held on June 9-10 2017. This time, the main theme of the conference was the relationship of the ancient Egyptian kingdom, its culture and economy, to neighbouring civilisations. Had they lived in peace or conflict? Were relationships based on partnership or supremacy? The period covered in the present collection spans from the beginning of the Bronze Age, through the ancient era, to the Muslim Conquest – almost 5,000 years of development of human civilisation.

Łukasz Miszk and Maciej Waclawik



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The editors are deeply indebted to:

Dr Hab. J. Ciecieląg,  
Prof. P. Dyczek,  
Prof. P. Figueras,  
Prof. K. Ilski,  
Dr J. Iwaszczuk,  
Dr J. Kałużny,  
Prof. Dr Hab. M. Mielczarek  
Prof. Dr Hab. J. Młynarczyk,  
Prof. O. Tal  
Dr Hab. W. Tyborowski  
Prof. Dr Hab. E. Wipszycka-Bravo

for their help and revisions of the articles.



## CHAPTER ONE

# AMONG THE GODS OF FERTILITY AT LEPTIS MAGNA

JAKUB MOSIEJCZYK

### Abstract

*This study discusses the presence of cults of deities associated with the sphere of fertility and abundance in the ancient urban space. They played an important role in the culturally diverse society of North Africa, which could particularly be observed in Leptis Magna,<sup>1</sup> as one of the best-preserved cities in the Southern Mediterranean. This is evidenced by quoted epigraphic sources, relics of sacred architecture, and design elements dating back to the first century AD. Sequentially, identified cults relate to Liber, Hercules, and Ceres. The temples of the first two deities were discovered in Forum Vetus, in the oldest district of the city. The latter cult took place in sacellum located at the top of the auditorium of the Augustinian theatre. Individual sources are examined in a social context. Their popularity could be explained by the divine domain, which corresponded to the city's economy, dependent on oil and grain production. The last aspect to be addressed is the question of the syncretic character of the indicated Gods. Individual deities embodied representatives of the Greek, Roman and Punic pantheon. This had been used in strengthening the ties of the municipium with Rome, by promoting images of the Julio-Claudian dynasty among the deities of fertility.*

---

<sup>1</sup> Leptis Magna, present Libya; the chronological frame of work discussed the time before the city received the colonial status as a *Colonia Ulpia Traiana Lepcitaniorum*, which took place during the reign of emperor Trajan – as evidenced in the inscription on the triumphal arch: IRT no 353. Cited epigraphical source is the first testimony describing the city as a “magna” - *fidelis Lepcis Magnae*, thus in the article the city is simply described as Leptis.

## **Introduction: Gods of Fertility in the Context of History and the Urban Development of Leptis Magna**

Determining the status of the deities associated with fertility among the society of Leptis in the first century AD appears to be crucial in understanding the processes of intense Romanisation which took place at that time. The reign of Augustus (27 BC - AD 14), and his successors, brought many changes in the way of shaping the urban landscape, both in Italy and North Africa. The official image of the Empire was shaped by architecture, urbanistic solutions, and also state buildings, erected by the local elite, dependent upon Rome (Favro, 2005, 234-263). The purpose of the article is to summarise the current state of knowledge about the formation of cult space in Leptis in the early years of the principate. It analyses the importance of shrines in the practices of the house of Augustus sequentially, consisting in propagating the official image of the Empire's ruler through the authority of local deities.

The origins of the city are traced back to the activities of the Phoenician colonists seeking strategic spots on the coast which seasonally served as stopovers for cabotage (Di Vita 1994, 685). Traditionally, researchers held a view that, together with other colonies, Leptis was founded by the metropolises of Tyr or Sidon. This hypothesis was influenced by ancient authors, primarily Plinius the Elder (*HN* 5.19.76) and Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 3.256). However, in the light of current research, it seems that the centre was founded in the VI - VII centuries, by the inhabitants of Carthage, as indicated by archaeological sources in the form of ceramics (Di Vita 1994, 686, De Miro & Polito 2005, 11-76), and historical studies (Lipiński 2004, 345-346). The organisation of the Phoenician colony at the early stage of the city's formation is hardly explored, due to the compact urban setting created during the Imperial period. It is assumed that permanent settlement was established along with the establishment of a necropolis (*tophet*), relics of which were discovered under the orchestra at the theatre (De Miro & Fiorentini 1977, 5-66). It is believed that the city was politically dependent on Carthage, cultivating the Phoenician traditions of the metropolis (Di Vita 1994, 685-686) along with the cult of the most important Phoenician gods, including Tanit, Milk'Astart/Melquart and Shadrapha (Markoe 2000, 117-129 and 140). At the same time, the process of adoption of indigenous cultural elements shaping the Punic culture took place, while maintaining the Semitic character. Until the late Hellenistic period, Leptis operated under the name Lpqy (Lipiński 2004, 345), as evidenced

by Punic inscriptions on numismatic data (Falbe, Linberg & Müller 1861, 3-13).

Leptis remains a specific example of a centre that was subject to diverse cultural influences. Since the end of the Second Punic War, it was heavily influenced by the Roman Republic (Romanelli 1959, 22-30), which perceived the city as an ally in the conflict, and captured its attention for economic reasons. Although, it should be noted that the cultural landscape of the city was shaped both by Greek cities from nearby Cyrenaica and Ptolemaic Egypt (Kreikenbom 2011, 3-4).

In the first years of the Principate, the areas of Tripolitania were disturbed by invasions of the indigenous Libyan tribes (Kotula 1972, 139, Mosiejczyk 2013, 69-70). Also, in this case, the strategic position of the region is visible. It was protected by the Roman state, although not formally part of it. The reasons for this were mainly economic. However, it is often noted that, at this time, the emporia actually had a privileged position, compared to other centres of northern Africa. They had not been obtained in the way of military conquest. Moreover, it is pointed out that there was no Roman colonisation of settlers conducted in the neighbouring areas (Birley 2008, 8-9), as it was within the African province. However, the same elites of Leptis were interested in the promotion of Latin culture and language (Decret & Fantar 1981, 207). On account of this, the examples of public investments carried out at the turn of eras are referenced. Among them, is the construction of the Augustan theatre, which is seen as an important institution of Romanisation (Caputo 1987). The building was erected on the initiative of Hannibal Tapapius Rufus, who was awarded the title of *ornator patriae*, which is commemorated by bilingual inscriptions discovered in the theatre (Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 2009, 321-323). Important initiatives of the Punic elites also include those from the first years of the reign of Tiberius. During this period, the urban landscape of Leptis Magna was completely reorganised by the renovation of the centre and systematisation of the street network. Monumental market halls, *macellum* and *chalcidicum*, were created, surrounded by porticos (Haynes 1965, 92-93), but also objects of worship, among them an object in honour of the deified Augustus and Roma (Brouquier-Reddé 1992, 86-88).

The stage of urban development indicated resembles the model of the Greek type, self-governing, *polis*, which lasted from 201 BC till the end of the first century AD. It is sometimes also referred to as *la città aperta* - an independent, open *emporium* (Di Vita 1994, 686), whose freedom was paid for with taxes to Rome (Matthews 1957, 33-34, Mattingly 2005, 268).

The centre obtained the status of *municipium* in AD 77, which was associated with granting citizenship to the local elite (Gascou 1972, 82-83). At this time, the city formally belonged to the Africa proconsularis province. The indicated timelines mark out the proto-imperial period (Di Vita 1994, 686).

The outline presented above shows the elites of Leptis at first century AD as vulnerable to foreign cultural elements. Apart from motifs of the adopted change, the newly-formed urban landscape does not necessarily equate to mental change in the sphere of identity or spirituality. Leptis society should be considered as cosmopolitan, with welfare being the main factor in bonding the citizens of the city. The residents remained attached to ancestral traditions, including the Punic language, as shown by the epigraphical testimonies presented. Certainly, an equally strong bond was present in the sphere of religion. Local beliefs were tolerated in the Empire in order to avoid internal conflicts, as already evidenced in the religious policy of Octavian Augustus (Scheid 2005, 175-193). Traditional Carthaginian deities in Leptis Magna, in particular Tanit, Shadrappa, and Melqart, because of their importance, were ‘domesticated’ by their conventional counterparts (more properly to be defined as *interpretatio latina*) in the form of Ceres, Liber Pater, and Hercules (Decret & Fantar 1981, 261-270, Hvidberg-Hansen 1985, 197-205). Among their most important heavenly domains are aspects of fertility and abundance, which had a special place due to the nature of the economy of the city, based on the production of oil and in trade (Mattingly 2005, 89). Most importantly, the deities, in the light of epigraphic and archaeological sources, were cleverly engaged for the purposes of promoting the idea of Empire, as illustrated by the monuments presented below.

## The Old Forum Temples

Within the first forum of Leptis Magna, called *Forum Vetus*<sup>2</sup>, at least six temples were arranged over the centuries,<sup>3</sup> at different times. The oldest were built in the north-western part of the square in the early first century AD (Di Vita & Livadiotti 2005, 9-13). They were continuously used up to

---

<sup>2</sup> The name of one of the main squares of Leptis Magna - *Forum Vetus* was popularised in the era of late antiquity. The testimony of this is the inscription from the time of Constantine the Great, found in the ruins of the basilica, see: Reynolds & Ward-Perkins, 2009, p. 467.

<sup>3</sup> The area remained a major religious and trade centre until the reign of emperors from the Severan dynasty.

late antiquity (Caputo & Vergara Caffarelli 1966, 85-86). In most cases, the deities, to whom the temples were dedicated, were identified, among them temples of Liber Pater, Augustus, and Roma, Milk'Astart – Hercules, and *Mater Magna* were distinguished. The other two temples have not been assigned patrons, due to lack of epigraphic sources. They are called the Temple of the 'Anonymous God' (*Il Tempio a Divinità ignota*), and the Three-Cellae Sanctuary (Brouquier-Reddé 1992, 73-91). Individual objects are arranged on a trapezoidal plan of the square. Three of them are located from the south-west side, along one of the main streets - *decumanus*. Others were placed on the north-western side of the forum, perpendicular to the rest, in order to surround the main square in a regular manner. The first archaeological excavations at the site were conducted under the direction of G. Guidi, head of *Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Tripolitania* in 1928-1936 (Guidi 1935, 237-253). In later years, a number of field verifications were carried out, which will be discussed along with the individual objects.

The oldest discovered settlement in this region dates back to the mid-seventh century BC (De Miro & Polito 2005, 23). The latest excavations, conducted in 1989-1999, undertaken by the University of Messina (De Miro & Polito 2005, 7), showed that in the late Hellenistic period, in the eastern part of the site, this area was already densely built-up. The discovered structures were small, and are interpreted mostly as storage rooms, as suggested by numerous finds of amphorae (De Miro & Polito 2005, 23-61). The transformation of the quarter occurred at the turn of the eras, and probably required demolition of some part of the old buildings. This is confirmed by the stratigraphic profiles with visible levelling layers, which date back to the first half of the first century AD (De Miro & Polito 2005, 13, 16, 18, 30, 32, 35, 39, 47). At that time, the space was transformed in the Roman manner. In the process of spatial organisation of *Forum Vetus*, directions passed by Vitruvius (*De arch.* 1.7.1) are evident.<sup>4</sup> Simultaneously, the regular character of the buildings was maintained. However, due to the above-mentioned conditions, the central square in the plan view is trapezoidal. At the longest point, it spans up to 55m, while its level corresponds to the course of the nearby streets (Caputo & Vergara Caffarelli 1966, 85).

---

<sup>4</sup> The author gives, among others, the principle that in the port cities the central square should be located near the wharfs, the temple district situated at the highest point, with individual fronts of the temples facing the city.

## Hercules Temple (Milk'ashtart Temple)

Of the three temples built at the north-western end of the forum square, the oldest seems to be the furthestmost structure, created at the northern corner. Considering the location of the ruins on the plan, one can get the impression that the element is consistent with the remaining buildings and belongs to the official concept of development of this space (Di Vita 1968, 201). This hypothesis finds justification in both architectural form and decoration. However, the façade is extended beyond the building line determined by the location of the two other temples, which suggests that they were not created at the same time. Due to the noticeable deviation from the building line of the square, it is likely that the temple was located in place of an earlier sacred object (Ward Perkins 1970, 106).

Excavations at the site of the forum were carried out in the 1930s, and correspond to the studies cited above. The uncovered ruins, in comparison to the previous ones, were marked by a much worse state of preservation. The main sacred room was virtually destroyed (Guidi 1934, 245). The obtained material, and its analysis, remained unpublished for a long time. It was not until the next century that a monograph and article were published taking up more specific issues related to the architecture and design of the building (Ricciardi 2005, 309-383, Rocco 2010, 22-36). Until then, only a published plan of the structure was widely known (Ward-Perkins 1970, 106, fig. 2). The temple corresponds to the Ionian pseudo-peripteral form, which is characteristic of the local monumental constructions from the proto-Imperial period (Rocco 2010, 24). From the front, six columns were located, which were imposed by the form of *prostylos hexastylos* used. A wide staircase led to the sacred space. A *cella*, with dimensions of 6.70m in width and 9.50m in length, was located, relatively low, on a podium of approx. 2.50m in height (Ricciardi 2005, 346, 372). The podium was built on a rectangular plan, with sides of 15.12 and 13.35m (the total length of the temple, with a staircase, was about 23m (Ward-Perkins 1970, 106). The structure was built of local limestone. The usable space was covered by a stone floor. Directly in front of the monumental staircase, traces of tiles were discovered, carrying an inscription, originally incrustated with bronze (Brouquier-Reddé 1992, 89, Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 2009, 520). The source lists Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso, who was assigned functions of consul, pro-consul, and priest. He held the posts at the turn of the Proconsul eras (between 5BC and 2AD). The specified time interval is considered by some researchers as the time of the origin of the temple (Ward-Perkins 1970, 106, Di Vita-Evrard 1990, 367-378, Ricciardi 2005, 316, 318-319).

Over the years, different, sometimes opposing, assumptions were made regarding the religion celebrated in that place. The presence of the cult of the Imperial family (Guidi 1934, 245), Isis (Caputo & Vergara Caffarelli 1966, 86), and Hercules, (Floriani Squarciapino 1966, 84) was suggested. The latter seems to be closest to the truth in the light of the latest findings, i.e. the analysis of the neo-Punic inscription, which some believe should be assigned to the Hercules temple (Levi Della Vida, Caputo & Amadasi 1987, 31).

The cited epigraphic testimony was discovered near the forum, and its origin appears to be older than the inscription cited above, mentioning Proconsul Piso (Ward-Perkins 1970, 109-110). The document lists the names of Shadraba and Milk'Ashtart as patrons of Leptis, who are identified with Liber and Hercules, which has also been noted in the inscription found in the area of the Punic market (Levi Della Vida, Caputo & Amadasi 1987, 25, Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 2009, 294). The text includes interesting information about the offering of the bronze cult statues dedicated to the city patrons. It seems they were to come from the funds of all wealthy citizens who could afford it, and those who graced the sanctuary with their work.<sup>5</sup> The probable chronology of the text has been determined as the second century, or the middle of the first century AD (Levi Della Vida, Caputo & Amadasi 1987, 31).

Therefore, there are two ancient testimonies at hand. The claim postulated by A. Di Vita, that the object was built in the first years of the first century AD, and was dedicated to Milk'Ashtart-Hercules, seems reasonable. At the same time, it can be assumed that the Punic deity was worshipped in this part of the forum at least half a century earlier. It has been suggested that the original temple could have existed in the place where the presence of the goddess Roma and the Imperial cult were recorded (Ward-Perkins 1970, 104-105). However, the hypothesis, seen as attractive for a long time, appears to have no confirmation in the archaeological sources. The pre-Roman structures in the old forum were registered in its north-eastern part (De Miro & Polito 2005, 21-35), and perhaps that is where material relics of the Punic religion should be looked for. This does not change the fact that the cult of Milk'Ashtart-Hercules, is characterised by the earliest origin, recorded in the Leptis pantheon of deities, which, given the location of the house of Roma and the Imperial cult, seems significant. This significance is further emphasised by the placing of the image of the deity,

---

<sup>5</sup> The text of Levi Della Vida, Caputo, & Amadasi, 1987, no.31 is reconstructed, although accepted as a highly probable.

or its attribute in the form of a club, in the Leptis coinage, in issues from the Augustan period, when Hercules was often shown on the reverse.

It should be noted that the pseudoperipteral plan of the early temples in Leptis is dominant (Brouquier-Reddé 1992, 238). Considering the broader urban context, joining adjacent objects with piers seems like quite a peculiar solution. The depicted model of spatial organisation presupposes the existence of a central object, which hosts the official cult. It would be surrounded by temples of deities, being city patrons. Perhaps, during the proto-Imperial period, such a solution was a counterpart of *Capitolium*, which aimed to introduce the official Roman pantheon in the Punic environment. A similar solution was applied in the nearby *emporium* of Zitha (Mattingly 2005, 215-216), which makes such organisation of a cult complex a specificity of Tripolitania.

### The Liber Pater Temple

The temple was located along the north western side of the square. It was a compact, regular building, situated between the temple of Augustus and Roma, and the later *sacellum* from the period of the Antonines (Brouquier-Reddé 1992, 73-91). The structure was erected on a platform with dimensions of 20.72m in length (34.80m including a staircase) and 20.50m in width (Mastruzo 2005, 109-111). A *cella*, with dimensions of 12.89m and 9.38m, was built of sandstone, while the floor was made of white marble (Mastruzo 2005, 74). The sacred room was located at a height of approx. 5m above the level of the forum (Mastruzo 2005, 109). They were surrounded on three sides by a Corinthian colonnade (Di Vita 1982, 553-556). Inside, was a separate room, with three individual entrances, which bears resemblance to the plan of *Capitolium* in Sabra (Kenrick 1986 99-115). However, the crucial difference in the case of Leptis, is the fact that the substructures did not directly face the courtyard, but the sacred space. It is therefore proposed that they functioned as vaults, or priestly rooms, or constituted *sacella* of associated deities. The temple was connected with the neighbouring sanctuary of the divine Augustus and Roma by an arch-based bridge (Brouquier-Reddé 1992, 83).

In light of the epigraphic sources discovered *in situ*, the sanctuary appears as a place of worship of Liber. It is confirmed by an inscription, probably from the second century AD, which has been determined based on the style of the letters (Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 2009, 275). A votive offering to the temple was made by a marble merchant - Marcus Vipsanius Clemens. Apart from the Italic name of the deity, an invocation of the

divine patrons of Leptis Magna was found (Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 2009, 275, lines 1-3). The rest of the dedication mentions Quintus Servilius Candidus, an official and priest of deified Vespasian, performing administrative functions, determined by the *terminus post quem* as 79AD, the year attributable to the moment of the deification of the emperor.<sup>6</sup>

It seems that Liber Pater did not remain the only patron of the temple. Testimony to that is both the organisation of the sacred space and the epigraphic sources – a votive plaque of white marble discovered in the ruins of the sacred room. As appears from the text, it was offered by the inhabitants of Leptis Magna. It had been dedicated to the divine Antinous, who was assigned attributes of the one who bears fruit - *Antinoo deo Frugifero* (Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 2009, 279). The document is dated to the second century AD. In this case, the *terminus post quem* sets the date of the death of the emperor's favourite at 130AD, although the sources are silent on the official deification of the youth (Cass. Dio 14.5.7).<sup>7</sup> His cult was particularly popular in Greece, and its most important centre was Mantinea in Arcadia (Birley 1997, 180).

The commemoration of the Emperor Hadrian's lover as *Frugifero* (Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 2009, 279), in the context of the discussed worship, seems natural. Liber Pater is among the deities focusing on the domain of fertility and harvest, next to Ceres, responsible for vegetation and fertility, as well as Libera, the guardian of fertility, germination and growth (Lipka 2009, 40). The domain was associated with the flourishing of nature and abundance of wine, which stemmed from archaic Italic beliefs. The deity was especially popular among the plebeian class, which was best exemplified in the seat of the Aventine Triad in Rome. There, the divine trinity, apart from Liber Pater, was made up of his divine spouse and Ceres (Lipka 2009, 18). From the second century BC, he had been worshipped in the Roman centre of religion as the Greek God of wine, which explains the success of religion among the population of the southern Italy (former

---

<sup>6</sup> Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 2009, p. 275, line 5-7. The official figure is mentioned in the other second-century inscriptions, cf. Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 2009, no. 357, no. 358, no. 359. He was known for his public activity related to investments in water supply. A different opinion suggesting we are dealing with two different citizens was presented by Bassignano 1974, p. 40.

<sup>7</sup> The author describes the young with the word *devotum*. It seems that the official process of deification through the Senate did not take place. Perhaps the drowning in the Nile alone was perceived through the prism of the ancient Egyptian custom, which assumed the sanctity of people who died in the life-giving river: see Birley, 1997 pp. 248-249.

territories of *Magna Grecia*), mostly freedmen (Lipka 2009, 141). This influenced the later syncretic nature of the deity, and also had repercussions in the form of statues of iconic imagery; imaginations of fertility deities often occurred with the Romanised retinue of Dionysus (Collins-Clinton 1977, 38-39). An example of this phenomenon is the late ancient temple of Liber in Cosa (Ansedonia in southern Tuscany), where he received the attributes of Dionysus, Liber, and Hercules. This was observed based on the analysis of the temple's design - a group of sculptures exhibited in the main sacred room (Collins-Clinton 1977, 40-41). The same situation should be noted in the case of Leptis Magna, where a *cella* was decorated by sculptures, probably belonging to one group, composed of figures of Liber, a satyr, and a panther. Most likely, the whole was complemented by a statue of Bacchus (Bartoccini 1922, 73-84).

The cult of Liber is also mentioned in sources discovered outside the strict area of the temple. A bilingual inscription, dated to the first century AD on linguistic grounds, was buried in the rubble of the Punic market (Levi Della Vida, Caputo & Amadasi 1987, 25, Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 2009, 294). The Latin text contains information on public investment dedicated to Liber Pater by someone of apparently Semitic origin; Boncarth, son of Muṭhumbalis. He was a member of the Punic city administration, one of the three administrators of the market. For the public purpose, 62 denarii were collected in taxes, to which 53 pieces of silver were added by the donor from his own funds. This information was repeated consecutively in four verses written in the neo-Punic language. Apart from the above information, also mentioned was the object of offering, which was a statue (Levi Della Vida, Caputo & Amadasi 1987, 25). From the viewpoint of the reconstruction of the cult, the Punic definition of the deity in the inscription appears interesting. The name mentioned there, The Lord Shadrapha (DN ŠDRP<sup>o</sup>), is treated as an *interpretatio punica* of Liber Pater, which was first noticed by G. Levi Della Vida (1942, 29-32). The domain of the deity coincides with its Roman correlate - he was responsible for fertility and fruitfulness, and was also attributed the power to dispatch cures (Huss 1990, 369). The observation affects the interpretation of the cult's transformation in the era of the second century. It seems that it was developed towards dissemination of the official imperial ideology based on the divine authority of the Semitic deities. The above conclusion is strengthened by finding a base made of grey limestone, which was the pedestal of the statue of Liber. The monument was discovered near *chalcidicum* in region III, insula 8 (Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 2009, 299). The inscription on it reads: *I am Liber, and the God Amor, and beautiful Apollo* (Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 2009, 299).

In the public space of Leptis, the worship of the God of the grape harvest occupied an important place. This is evidenced by the quoted votive offerings and dedications from the temple, as well as inscriptions recovered in other parts of the city. Ancient documentation is plentiful, compared to the testimonies of other cults, which may indicate a particular fondness among the commoners. The feast in honour of Liber and accompanying deities fell on March 17, under the name of Liberalia. It was associated with fertility, mainly identified with masculinity (Ov. *Fast.* 3.459-516). During the ludic festival a phallic procession ran through the streets of cities, which was to bring prosperity and fertility (Lipka 2009, 141). Manifestations of such rituals included, among others, *fascina* (Plin. *HN.* 7.2, Plut. *Symposium* 5.7, August. *De civ. D.* 7.21), preserved in the public space through reliefs and graffiti depicting an often winged and erected *phallus* of unnatural size. These had an apotropaic meaning, protecting against harmful magic in the form of an evil eye.<sup>8</sup> Among the examples from Leptis Magna, save for a small terracotta piece, are the well-known cartouches with reliefs carved in limestone blocks. They were registered in the regio II, near the *decumanus*, next to the baths of Hadrian.

The epigraphic sources show Liber Pater as present in all social strata, from plebeians to the city aristocracy, regardless of the ethnic origin. This phenomenon lasted for over three centuries, from the period of *municipium*, through the middle of the Roman Empire until the third century. The popularity of the divine character was surely influenced by its syncretic traits, but also the domain of fertility, emphasising the type of economy as an important centre of production of cereals, fruits, and olive oil, across the entire Mediterranean. Those elements are reflected in the monetary iconography of Leptis Magna. Next to Bacchus and Hercules, the majority of silver coins minted in the first century AD depicted Liber or his attributes.<sup>9</sup> This attests for a formed religious identity already in the proto-Imperial period. In the second century the divine patrons of Leptis had been successfully exploited in the construction of the official Imperial propaganda (Müller 1964, Falbe, Linberg, & Müller 1861).

---

<sup>8</sup> This phenomenon was common throughout the ancient Mediterranean world; for the recently undertaken comprehensive study see Elliot 2015.

<sup>9</sup> From the period of Augustus the obverses show the portrait of the emperor wearing a laurel wreath, turned to the right. There are bilingual inscriptions, but predominantly Latin. The reverses of coins show the guardian deities of Leptis, or their attributes: the leopard, the sceptre as symbols of Liber and Bacchus, as well as the club as a symbol of Hercules.

## The Temple of Rome and Augustus

The central place in the row of sacred buildings at the northern end of the forum square was occupied by a temple dedicated to the Imperial cult and the goddess Roma. It is located between the previously described temple of Melqart-Hercules and the temple of Liber, with a platform connecting the two buildings. Due to the architectural solutions, and analysis of the detail, it is believed that the joined temples were erected at the at the same time (Livadiotii & Rocco 2005, 230-231). They were separated from the neighbouring objects by streets, creating separate spaces. Archaeological excavations were carried out here after 1932, coordinated by G. Guidi, then S. Aurigemma. The result of the work was the unveiling of well-preserved architectural relics, and the identification of a Byzantine wall, based on elder structures at the back of the temple (Guidi 1934, 241).

The dimensions and plan of the structure are similar to those of the temple of Liber; Ionic pseudo-peripteral, with an entrance from the south-east which is 41.41m long and 21.20m wide. Individual elements on the podium were built mainly from the local yellow limestone from the outcrops of Ras el-Hammam, with a height of approx. 5.30m (Livadiotii & Rocco 2005, 236-239). The area had underground *favissae* that served as warehousing for votive offerings. They could be accessed through the door near the Rostra. They were lit by small, rectangular windows (Guidi 1934, 243-245). The sacred room could be accessed from the square through two pairs of stairs, situated on the sides, by platforms which acted as a lecterns. Another way was to overcome the central steps leading directly to the *cellae*. The surrounding colonnade was heterogeneous. Observations on the construction materials lead to the conclusion that the objects had been restored, probably in the mid-second century AD (Brouquier-Reddé 1992, 86-87). Pillars from the front are made of white marble, while the rear parts are of limestone. The sacred room was preceded by a vestibule, decorated with white marble tiles. On the lintel of the temple gate, an inscription in Punic was placed (Levi Della Vida, Caputo & Amadasi 1987, 22).

The cited epigraphic document remains the only written testimony which makes it possible to reconstruct the details. The text is quite extensive. It mentions Baliaton, son of Hannibal Saturninus, and Bodmelqart, with his son, Tabahpi Graeculus (Levi Della Vida, Caputo & Amadasi 1987, 22), who, it seems, were the initiators of the construction. The former held the office of (sufetes) shophet - the highest among the administrators of the city. They were to construct (probably at their own expense) a portico,

courtyard, decorated ceiling, and bronze gates. Decoration of the temple is mentioned as the personification of Rome, which is identified by the image of the goddess Roma and the statue of the deified Augustus, along with Tiberius and Julia Augusta, Germanicus, Drusus, and his wife Antonia (Levi Della Vida, Caputo & Amadasi 1987, 22, lines 1-2). The testimony has been confirmed by archaeological sources. In the ruins of the temple, fragments of sculptures of the above-mentioned members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty were discovered (Aurigemma 1941, 22-30, 43, 91). They must have been exhibited on a platform where the Rostras were placed. The identification was easier, thanks to Latin dedications placed on the bases of individual statues.<sup>10</sup>

As noted above, the object had been subjected to numerous modifications over the century. Some researchers have suggested that the first construction could have occurred as early as the mid-first century BC, as indicated by the location in the part of the forum which was influenced by the oldest urbanisation processes (Di Vita 1982, 553-556). But the argument is not confirmed by archaeological sources. It is commonly accepted that the neo-Punic inscription should be seen as the first testimony to the organisation of a new Imperial cult (Brouquier-Reddé 1992, 86-87). The works mentioned in it are dated presumably for years 14-19 (Levi Della Vida, Caputo & Amadasi 1987, 22). The range of dates should be taken as the *terminus ant quem* of the completion of the temple (the early years of the reign of emperor Tiberius). The document emphasised the connection of the *emporium* with Rome, which at this stage initiated the process of shaping the image of the Empire in the society of Leptis. The indicated place of worship was a religious and state institution. In the space discussed, political events must have taken place, evidenced by the oratory stands. The urban context should also be taken into account. The surrounding temples were dedicated to the holy patrons of the city. The location of the Imperial cult, between the temples of Liber and Hercules-Melqart, lent the divine Augustus and Roma a special authority, putting them amongst the most important religious symbols. The temple worshipping the Julio-Claudian dynasty functioned successfully, at least till the second century, when it went through a marble restoration. It was probably abandoned with the

---

<sup>10</sup> Octavian (Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 2009, no. 326), Livia (Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 2009, no. 327), Tiberius (Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 2009, 333), Germanicus (Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 2009, no. 334), Drusus (Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 2009, no. 335) Claudius (Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 2009, no. 337) and Messalina (Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 2009, no. 340).

advent of Christianity, and, over time, its form was used for the construction of the defensive wall of the already-existing Byzantine centre.

To summarize the data on the architectural form, the object corresponds to the type originated in Rome, as seen in the example of the temple of Venus Genetrix, in *Forum Romanum*. In the African provinces, analogous monumental buildings of cult during the proto-Imperial period were erected in most cities of economic importance. Among them were the *Capitolia* in Sabra, Timgad and Subaitila. In the referenced examples, the presence of the oratory stands – *rostrae*– was also recorded (Rocco 2010, 23). The diffusion of the pseudo-peripteral model on a high podium was not solely reserved for the temples of the Triad. A similar plan of a cult building was recorded at Dougga in Tunisia. There, it was dedicated to Saturn (Rocco 2010, 24).

## The Theatre Temples

The temple of the Imperial propaganda of Domus Augusta in the forum was not the only one during the time discussed. Another place of worship of Octavian Augustus, initially regarded as the temple of Dionysus (Romanelli 1925, 136), was located in the complex of the theatre, at the centre of an adjacent portico *postscenam*. The structure was located on the axis marked out by the temple of Ceres, at the top of *cavea*, and at the main door of the *scenae frons* (Hanson 1959, 56-57). The plan of the object was kept in the *prostylos tetrastylos* type, with dimensions of 9.5m and 16.5m and an entrance on the short side (Caputo 1987, 52-53). The facade of the temple was turned towards the south-west. A Corinthian colonnade surrounding the *cella* was made of grey granite. Its existing form is the result of a renovation from the third century (Caputo 1987, 52-53). In the back of the room the presence of three plinths, which were intended for the exhibition of the cult statues, was recorded. The middle part of the entablature was inscribed (Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 2009, 273). The inscription tells of the dedication of the temple to the Augustinian deities; Dis Augustis, by the proconsul of the province named Q. Marcius Barea, who held office in 43AD (Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 2009, 273), at the initiative of an influential representative of a local aristocracy, Iddibal Tapapius.<sup>11</sup> Prosopography indicates the moment of completion of the building.

---

<sup>11</sup> He was a member of the family of the founder of the theatre - Annobal Ruso, mentioned in the epigraphic sources from the discussed place Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 2009, pp. 321-323.

A likely interpretation, which arises through the observation of the three cult plinths, is the thesis of worship of the deified members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, in the persons of Augustus, Livia, and Claudius. However, the context of the portico, decorated with various images of Roman gods, may suggest that all guardian Gods of the Empire were worshipped in the temple (Brouquier-Reddé 1992, 279). At that time, the theatre was also perceived as a basic institution in promoting the idea of the Empire. Apart from the social role, it manifested functions of cult, which was the result of both tradition and customs law.<sup>12</sup> It seems that, in the Leptis theatre, one of the temples was intended initially for the deified members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

Another sanctuary was a small *tempietto* of *in antis* type, with dimensions of approx. 12m and 9.3m, decorated with Corinthian columns in *prostylos hexastylos* layout (Brouquier-Reddé 1992, 164-165). It was situated on a low podium at the top of the auditorium. Inside was a *favissa*, which could be accessed through an internal staircase. The establishment was closed off with a wall that ran along the line of the *theatrum*. Fragments of architrave block were preserved, informing about the dedication of the structure to the goddess Ceres as the divine guardian of the Empress – *Cereri Augustae sacrum*.<sup>13</sup> It is worth noting that it constitutes an *ex voto* of a woman coming from a wealthy Punic family. The dedication must have corresponded with the decor of the temple. It is believed that the interior of the *cella* was originally adorned by a cult statue of supernatural size, discovered in the lower parts of the building, showing Livia Augusta in the type of Ceres-Tyche (Caputo & Traversari 1976, no. 58, 76-79). The size of the sculpture was approx. 3.10m, which was estimated based on the exposed head of 0.7m (Caputo & Traversari 1976, 64). The monument must have dominated the entire premises. In the ruins of the theatre, two smaller examples of the portrait of Livia (Caputo & Traversari 1976, 79-81, no. 59, 60) were encountered, which have no finding place assigned. In the

---

<sup>12</sup> During the period of the Republic, the Senate would ban the construction of permanent theatre facilities. A trick in the form of connecting a complex to an object of cult made it possible to circumvent the regulation. It is worth noting that in the case of the theatre of Pompey in Rome, the main reason for allowing the foundation was attaching the temple of Venus Victrix, to which auditorium steps were added, see Erasmo 2004, p. 84.

<sup>13</sup> Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 2009, p. 269: The founder was the daughter or wife of Annobal Ruso - Sphunibal, and the temple was dedicated by Gaius Rubellius Blandus, the consul, proconsul, and the priest of the province, which allows estimate the foundation date for 35-36.

subsequent years, already in the Imperial period, the place retained its character. In the first half of the second century, the decor was reorganised, and in the *cella*, a statue in the type of *statua seduta* was placed, depicting Sabina, wife of Hadrian, with Cupid (Caputo & Traversari 1976, 89-91, no. 68). The type of the statue showed elements of the iconography of both Ceres and Aphrodite. It is significant that, despite the age of Romanisation, continuous references were made to the deity of fertility, in order to promote the official image of the reigning Emperor and his spouse.

### **Conclusions: Promoting Ideas of Rome among the Gods of Fertility**

The first Roman religious institutions were located in the oldest district of the city within the *Forum Vetus*. The introduction of official Emperor worship took place through the promotion of local guardian deities. Among them were those derived from old Carthaginian beliefs - Shadrappa and Milk'Ashtart/Melqart. They played a central role in the society of Leptis Magna. In the light of the bilingual inscriptions from the first century AD, residents remained strongly attached to Punic rituals and language. These elements were used in the construction of the temple of Augustus and Roma in *Forum Vetus*, where the object of worship was connected to the adjacent temples of Liber and Hercules, built in a new manner. During the proto-Imperial period, three temples could act as a local type of *Capitolium*. The official elements are highlighted by the decor of the central *aedes*, decorated with statues of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, as well as by a platform acting as a tribune (Rostra). At approximately the same time, another institution of Romanisation was completed, planned on the outskirts of the then city centre. It is hard to say whether it was the original Roman idea to situate the monumental building in a Punic cemetery, but this is a fact attested by archaeology. The theatre, in the light of Roman law and custom, had also to fulfil religious functions.

The monumental building was enriched by two places of worship. At the top of the auditorium was a *sacellum* of Ceres-Tyche, and in the portico connected with the complex, was a small *templum* for the guardian deities of Augustus' home. In the case of the former, the purpose of such choice should be emphasised. Ceres in *interpretatio punica* corresponded to Tanit, the Goddess of heaven and fertility. Therefore, the first three Roman temples revolved around the traditional Punic Triad. By these means, the Greco-Roman pantheon was introduced. At that time, it seems, this was done by means of the above-mentioned objects in *quadriporticus post scenam*.

The advent of a new dynasty did not change the approach to the organisation of the sacred space. Probably in the third quarter of the first century AD, the temple of Magna Mater was established in the forum. The eastern Goddess of fertility represented the desired domain in the centre, where the key sectors of the economy remained agricultural production and trade of agricultural goods. The historical circumstances of adoption, and the covenant of the Goddess with Rome, could have their propaganda value, thanks to which, according to legend, the course of the Second Punic War was changed.

Despite the introduction of the new deities, the cult of the local Triad remained important until the period of the first quarter of the third century, as indicated by the epigraphic sources. Cultural identity of the diverse society was shaped by the universal images of Gods shared through coins, décor, architecture, and urban space. Liber-Shadrapa appears as the divine patron of Augustus, Hercules-Melqart as the patron of Tiberius, whereas Ceres-Tanit appears as the patroness of Livia Augusta; the Imperial dynasty gained a strong divine support.

## Bibliography

- Aurigemma, S. (1941). Sculture del Foro Vecchio di Leptis Magna. Raffiguranti la dea Roma e principi della casa Giulio-Claudi. *Africa Italiana* 7, (pp. 1-91)
- Bartocchini, R. (1922). Gruppo di Dioniso con fauno e pantera. *Notiziario Archeologico Ministero delle Colonie* 3, (pp. 73- 84).
- Bassignano, M. S. (1974). *Il flaminato nelle province romane dell' Africa*. Roma: "L'Erma" Di Bretschneider .
- Birley, A. R. (1997). *Hadrian, the Restless Emperor*. New York: Routledge.
- . (2008). *Septimius Severus, the African Emperor*. New York: Routledge.
- Brouquier-Reddé, V. (1992). *Temples et cultes de Tripolitaine (Etudes d'Antiquités africaines)*. Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique.
- Caputo, G. (1987). *Il teatro augusteo di Leptis Magna, scavo e restauro (1937-1951)*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Caputo, G., & Traversari, G. (1976). *Sculture del teatro di Leptis Magna*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Caputo, G., & Vergara Caffarelli, E. (1966). *The Buried City. Excavations at Leptis Magna*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

- Collins-Clinton, J. (1977). *A Late Antique Shrine of Liber Pater at Cosa (Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain 64)*. Leiden: Brill.
- De Miro, E., & Fiorentini, G. (1977). Leptis Magna. La necropoli greco-punica sotto il teatro. In *QAL 9* (pp. 5-66). Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- De Miro, E., & Polito, A. (2005). *Dieci anni di scavi archeologici nell'area del Foro Vecchio*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Decret, F., & Fantar, M. H. (1981). *L'Afrique du Nord dans l'antiquité: histoire et civilisation (des origines au Ve siècle)*. Paris: Payot.
- Di Vita, A. (1968). Shadrapa e Milk'ashtart dei patroni di Leptis ed i templi del lato nord-ovest del Foro vecchio leptitano. *Orientalia 37/2 (nova series)*, (pp. 201-211).
- . (1982). Gli "emporia" di Tripolitania dall'eta` di Massinissa a Diocleziano: un profilo storico istituzionale. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, vol. II *Principat 10.2*, (pp. 553-556).
- . (1994). L'urbanistica nelle città punico-romane della Trypolitania. In A. Mastino, & P. Ruggeri, *Africa Romana 10* (pp. 685-688).
- Di Vita, A., & Livadiotti, M. (2005). *I tre templi del lato nord-ovest del Foro Vecchio a Leptis Magna*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Di Vita-Evrard, G. (1990). IRT 520, le proconsulat de Cn Calpurnius Piso et l'insertion de Lepcis Magna dans la provincia Africa. In M. Lenoir, & C. Pietri, *L'Afrique dans l'Occident romain. Ier siècle av. J.-C. - IVe siècle ap. J.-C. Actes du colloque de Rome (3-5 décembre 1987)* (pp. 315-331.). Rome: École Française de Rome.
- Elliot, J. H. (2015). *Beware the Evil Eye. The Evil Eye in the Bible and the Ancient World 1-2*. Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books.
- Erasmus, M. (2004). *Roman Tragedy: Theatre to Theatricality*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Falbe, C. T., Linberg, J. C., & Müller, L. (1861). *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique II. Les Monnaies de la Syrte, de la Byzacène et de la Zeugitane*. Paris - Leipzig - Copenhagen: Impr. de B. Luno.
- Favro, D. (2005). Making Rome a World City. In K. Galinsky, *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus* (pp. 234-263). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Floriani Squarciarino, M. (1966). *Leptis Magna*. Basel: Raggi.
- Gascou, J. (1972). *La politique municipale de l'Empire Romain en Afrique Proconsulaire de Trajan et Septime Sévère*. Paris: École française de Rome.

- Guidi, G. (1934). I recentissimi scavi nel Foro Vecchio di Leptis Magna. In C. Galassi Paluzzi, *Atti del III Congresso nazionale di Studi Romani I* (pp. 241-246). Bologna: L. Capelli.
- . (1935). I monumenti della Tripolitania romana. *Africa Romana XIV*, (pp. 237-253).
- Hanson, J. A. (1959). *Roman Theatre Temples*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Haynes, D. E. (1965). *An archeological and historical guide to the pre-Islamic antiquities of Tripolitania*. Tripolis: Antiquities, Museums and Archives of Tripoli.
- Huss, W. (1990). *Die Karthager*. München: München Beck.
- Hvidberg-Hansen, F. O. (1985). Egyptian fertility magic with Phoenician and Punic Culture. In A. Bonanno, *Archaeology and fertility cult in the ancient Mediterranean : papers presented at the first International Conference on Archaeology of the Ancient Mediterranean, the University of Malta, 2-5 September 1985* (pp. 197-206). Amsterdam: B.R. Grüner.
- Kenrick, P. M. (1986). *Excavations at Sabratha 1948-1951*. London: Society for Libyan Studies.
- Kotula, T. (1972). *Afryka północna w starożytności*. Wrocław - Warszawa - Kraków: Ossolineum.
- Kreikenbom, D. (2011). *Lepcis Magna unter den ersten Kaisern*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Levi Della Vida, G. (1942). The Phoenician God Satrapes. *BASOR 87*, (pp. 29-32).
- Levi Della Vida, G., Caputo, G., & Amadasi, M. G. (1987). *Iscrizioni puniche della Tripolitania (1927-1967)*. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Lipiński, E. (2004). *Itineraria Phoenicia (Orientalna Lovaniensisia Analecta 127)*. Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies.
- Lipka, M. (2009). *Roman Gods. A Conceptual Approach (Religions in the Graeco-Roman world 167)*. Leiden - Boston: Brill.
- Livadiotii, M., & Rocco, G. (2005). Il tempio di Roma e Augusto. In A. Di Vita, & M. Livadiotti, *I tre templi del lato nord-ovest del Foro Vecchio a Leptis Magna* (pp. 165-298). Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Markoe, G. E. (2000). *Phoenicians*. California: University of California Press.
- Mastruzo, N. (2005). Il tempio occidentale - tempio di 'LiberPater'. In A. Di Vita, & M. Livadiotti, *I tre templi del lato nord-ovest del Foro Vecchio a Leptis Magna* (pp. 35-164). Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.

- Matthews, K. D. (1957). *Cities in the sand, Leptis Magna and Sabratha in Roman Africa*. Philadelphia, Pa: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Mattingly, D. J. (2005). *Tripolitania*. London: BT Batsford Limited.
- Mosiejczyk, J. (2013). Limes Tripolitanus – południowa granica Imperium. O kontaktach mieszkańców Trypolitanii z plemionami Garamantów. In P. Gorazd, & K. Karski, *Granica w ujęciu nauk humanistycznych* (pp. 68-81). Rzeszów: Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego - Fundacja Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego.
- Müller, L. (1964). *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique. Supplément ... avec trois planches et une table alphabétique de tout l'ouvrage*. Bologna: A. Forni.
- Reynolds, J. M., & Ward-Perkins, J. B. (2009). *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*. Rome: British School at Rome, enhanced electronic reissue by Gabriel Bodard and Charlotte Roueché.
- Ricciardi, M. (2005). Il tempio di Milk'Ashtart Ercole. In A. Di Vita, & M. Livadiotti, *I tre templi del lato nord-ovest del Foro Vecchio a Leptis Magna* (pp. 309-393). Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Rocco, G. (2010). Tradizione locale e influssi esterni nei tre templi giulio-claudii del Foro Vecchio di Leptis Magna. *Bollettino di Archeologia Online A9/4*, (pp. 22-36).
- Romanelli, P. (1925). *Leptis Magna*. Roma: Soc. Editrice d'Arte.
- . (1959). *Storia delle province romane dell'Africa*. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Scheid, J. (2005). Augustus and Roman Religion: Continuity, Conservatism, and Innovation. In K. Galinsky, *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus* (pp. 175-194). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ward-Perkins, J. B. (1970). Pre-Roman elements in the architecture of Roman Tripolitania. In F. F. Gadallah, J. al-Lībīyah, & K. al-Ādāb, *Libya in history: historical conference, 16-23 March 1968* (pp. 101-119). Benghazi: University of Libya, Faculty of Arts.