

# Diplomatic Relations of Rome with Local Forces in North Africa 202 BC - 284 AD

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**Abstract:** *This study presents a historical view of Roman diplomacy toward the local powers in North Africa which was known as “the province of Africa” from the end of the third century BC until the end of the third century AD. There is no doubt that Rome’s diplomacy toward these powers paralleled with general Roman policy, which is based on in containment diplomacy before resorting to the use of military powers. This study presents a Trackless topic, It is rare to talk about it, as usual when talking about the Roman Empire, we are talking about wars and expansions and the use of forces was talking about Roman diplomacy is something new worth checking. The study shows Rome’s diplomacy toward the local forces in North Africa, how to deal with Carthage, when Romans succeeded in pursuing a diplomatic policy with the barbaric and violent tribes in the desert, they were able to achieve their colonial objectives in North Africa without fighting. The same success with the Moorish tribes which indicates the extent of Roman wisdom in the use of this flexible mechanism through different stages of its application both at the level of the Kingdom and at the level of tribes that formed an economic and political force.*

**Keywords:** Diplomatic, Roman, Africa, province, policy

## 1. Introduction

This study presents a historical view of Roman diplomacy toward the local powers in North Africa which was known as “the province of Africa” from the end of the third century BC until the end of the third century AD. There is no doubt that Rome’s diplomacy toward these powers paralleled with general Roman policy, which is based on in containment diplomacy before resorting to the use of military powers.

The word “diplomacy” originated from the Latin word *diploma*, which in turn originated from a Greek word “*δέβλομα*” which means “a folded paper” or “an official document.” Since the ancient time, diplomacy has been linked to the concept of negotiation between nations and the formulation of foreign policy as adopted by nations to contain and influence other powers to end any conflict without resorting to war. [1]

Carthage (814-146 BC) was the first powers that Rome had to face in North Africa if it wanted to enter the maritime trade and competition in the region to gain a foothold in the eastern Mediterranean region. Carthage took control of maritime trade routes and founded many of the commercial centers and colonies were authorized to impose political and economic dominance from the western Mediterranean and even the Atlantic coast of Central Africa.

Rome was not able to wage a real war against the Carthaginian Empire before 264 BC, because Roma was weak at that time. It resorted to various political and diplomatic means, mainly treaties, to achieve some economic gains and to regulate the political relationship between them, and even imposed the war on these two rival powers (Rome and Carthage) to resolve the conflict in favor of Rome after the three major wars, namely the First Boyen War (264-241 BC), the Second Boyen War (219-201 BC), and the Third Boyen War (149-146 BC), which ended with the destruction of Carthage.

After converting Africa to a Roman state in 146 BC, Rome had to find ways to contain various local forces in Africa such as the Kingdom of Punishment in Libya [2] and the Moorish tribes of Morocco [3] to control and assimilate the region through diplomatic means as a more effective alternative to fighting military battles in these remote desert areas.

### Roma and Carthage until 146B.C

Official diplomatic relations between Rome and Carthage began during the republican era, particularly at the end of the 6th sixth century BC, through the conclusion of a number of treaties regulating political relations between them. The historian Polybius (200-120 BC) tells us wrote about three treaties between Rome and Carthage, The first of these which treaties was signed in 509 BC. Polypeus pointed out how difficult it was because it was written in an ancient Latin, and no body in his era can translated it.

Polypeus mentioned two other treaties but did not specify a date for the second. He pointed out that the third treaty was contemporary to the demise of King Berthus (319-272 BC) [4] in the Italian territories. [3] The three treaties cited by Polybius were carved on boards of bronze that were then hung in the Roman Capitol in order to preserve them, although the Romans did not know it before his time.

Diodore Sicily (90-30 BC) referred to one treaty alone, the Treaty of 348 BC, which he considered as the first treaty between Rome and Carthage. [5] In his view, Livius (59 BC - 17 AD). The treaty did not clarify its arrangement in the series of treaties held between the two parties, but when he spoke of the Treaty of 306 BC, he considered it merely a renewal of the Treaty of 348 BC, [6] while referring to the Treaty of 279 BC as a fourth treaty, 509 BC was the first political treaty between Rome and Carthage.

However, Roman diplomacy achieved its vital political objectives above it the resistance of Carthage’s greed in Mediterranean sea through the Treaty of 509 BC. One of the most important items in this treaty was: “Carthage

undertakes to avoid exposure to Latin cities for any reason as long as these cities remain in their loyalty to Rome. So, Rome must control Carthage to restore the influence of Rome.” In return, “Rome undertakes not to exceed the cost – Rome or its allies - while sailing in the well head, except for compelling reasons such as storms or chasing enemies The Romans are not allowed to buy or acquire anything except what was necessary to repair their ships or to perform religious rites, they must not exceed five days [7]”

From the treaty, the extent of competition between both powers in the western basin of the Mediterranean is clear. The aim of the treaty was to resist the ambitions of both parties alone, especially since the Mediterranean basin was the scene of a long struggle among the Romans, Greeks, and Carthaginians. Each side had to determine its position against the other in light of political, diplomatic, and economic data [8].

Carthage signed these treaties with Rome while simultaneously maintaining good relations with the anti-Roman Italian (Etruscans) [9] in Italy. Carthage changed its diplomatic policy as the situation developed, especially when an inevitable clash between Rome and the Etruscans arose because of their stand against the Semites [10] and against Rome in the question of Campania. Carthage retreated from its relationship with the Etruscans and chose Rome, especially since the Etruscans supported the Greeks in the region against the interests of Carthage. Thus, the Greeks had been threatening the Punic territories significantly since 310 BC, which led to separation from the Etruscans who turned their hostility toward Carthage by assisting the Syracuse [11], which was besieged by the Carthaginian forces [12].

Livyus stated that the Treaty of 306 BC is considered a third renewal of unknown old treaty and it seems that its renewal was the result of Rome's declaration of its intention to become a naval force since 310 BC. In the face of this, the acceptance of Carthage to Convention 306 BC Justified, it is normal to act Carthage to ensure the friendship of Rome to its side and not to clash at this stage, as it is clear that these treaties were aimed at maintaining the interests of the two forces against any threat in the region, especially against the Greek threat.

This was confirmed by the last treaty between both parties in 279 BC, which represented a renewal of the previous agreements with new agreements to their provisions stipulating that both sides had to assist each other against their common enemy, King Berthaus, and that neither party could sign a single agreement with him. One of the provisions of the treaty stated that if either party requested assistance from the other, the force that was required had to assist in all the countries where the war was fought [13].

Rome benefited more from the treaty in which one provision stated that no matter who was in need of assistance, Carthage would be obliged to provide ships back and forth, although the clause required each party to provide necessary supplies to its troops, as the Carthaginians had unilaterally helped the Romans at sea whenever they needed. [14]

However, if the previous treaties between Rome and Carthage had played an important role in maintaining the balance of power in the western basin of the Mediterranean, but Rome was the most useful of Carthage, and we can justify Carthage's acceptance of this Treaty in this way that Rome in this period hadn't a naval force or a fleet that makes Carthage waiting to help them in this field; there was another reason that Carthage was ready to offer any help to stop the danger coming from afar. Thus, Carthage preferred to help Rome to put an end to the Greek alliance led by Berthaus. [15]

In the period following these treaties, the situation in the Mediterranean changed in a way that changed the balance of power in favor of Rome, wherein Rome was transformed from a regional force into an international one that sought to build a huge empire on the ruins of the Greek and Carthaginian influence. From here on, Rome began to get rid of Carthage, its biggest rival in the Mediterranean, and was able to defeat it in the battle of Zama in 202 BC. Then, Rome entered into an unfair agreement with Carthage for peace, which resulted in the elimination of the influence of Carthage and in curbing it entirely, so that Carthage could not restore its power again. [16]

#### **Diplomatic ceremony between Rome and Carthage**

The Roman and Carthaginian Treaties established the exchange of diplomatic embassies between both parties in accordance with a specific diplomatic ceremony such as the need for the ambassadors of Carthage to obtain prior permission before entering Rome. Similarly, the ambassadors of Rome had to obtain a permit to enter Carthage.

According to the Roman side, Rome required any ambassador of Carthage who wished to enter Rome to request a truce or reconciliation to discuss the matter first with the Roman commander in the battlefield, and obtain official approval to enter Rome and appear before the Senate, And try to obtain the ratification of the Senate on its proposals.

Sometimes when the Roman leader in the field wanted Senate 's approval, he would send some close friends or some influential figures to ensure that the Senator would ratify the agreement reached. [17]

For example, after the defeat of the Carthaginians by the Roman Commander Cornelius Scipio (240-183 BC), known as Scipio Africanus, Rome offered a truce with Carthage in 205 BC. Although Commander Cornelius Scipio agreed to the truce, they were unable to send their Embassy until the Senate approved in 202 BC, and because of the desire of Cornelius Scipio to make peace he sent his brother Lucius Scipio with the Carthaginian Embassy, which arrived in Rome in 202 BC, to persuade Senate to approve the embassy's request and obtain his ratification about the treaty of reconciliation between the parties. [18] In contrast, the ambassadors of Carthage in 149 BC did not send any Embassy to Rome when consuls refused to allow them to send the Roman embassy in Utica to Rome to hold a truce. [19]

Generally, Senate had to meet diplomatic embassies officially, but welcoming the embassies was linked to the relationship between Rome and the country that send embassies. Anti-Roman countries often received their ambassadors in Rome as enemies, as the Romans did with the Carthaginian ambassadors in 202 BC. Where they met with suspicion [20] and hatred pointed out that the Senate did not allow the ambassadors of Carthage to enter the city, and ordered them to stay outside walls of Rome, because they are ambassadors of hostile state to the Senate and roman people. [21]

There were some embassies that Senate was Procrastinate in listening to, because of the inconvenience of the timing of their arrival in Rome. For example, the Embassy of Carthage in 202 BC, which arrived at the time of the elections of the consuls and then the hearing was postponed until the end of the elections. [22]

The Romans imposed war reparations estimated at 10, 000 talent on Carthage. One of the conditions of peace was to prevent Carthage from retaining more than 10 vessels only to protect its coast from pirates, and to prevent it from forming any army without obtaining prior permission from Rome [23].

As for the diplomatic ceremony at the reception, the priority of the entry of ambassadors at Senate was according to the priority of arrival in Rome, considering the friendship or hostility with their countries, as the embassies of the allies had priority to enter. In 201 BC, when both the Embassy of Macedonia under the reign of King Philip and the Embassy of Carthage entered in Rome, the Senate decided to meet the Embassy of Macedonia first and then the Embassy of Carthage "However, Carthage had a good choice of ambassadors that affected Senate's attitude toward them. For example, Hasdrubal, one of Carthage's ambassadors to Rome, was a prominent figure in 201 BC. She was a supporter of peace with Rome, was bold and courageous, and was highly influential in addressing Senate's men when she demanded the release of Carthage's prisoners [24]."

As for the position of the public in Rome from some embassies, it was often a position directed by some prominent figures within Rome, which exploited the public and managed to provoke them against some embassies to pressure the Senate Council to take a hostile stance against the state to which those ambassadors belonged. Sometimes the anger of the public went beyond resentment and went so far as to attack some ambassadors. For example, the ambassadors of Carthage in 188 BC when they were attacked by two of the public and beat them, but the city's Praetor Marcos Claudius (Breitore in 188 BC) saved the ambassador. [25]

The embassies of Carthage had many diplomatic objectives, including the conclusion of political treaties, whether in the form of a truce, a peace agreement, alliance, friendship, or exchange of prisoners. [26] The aim was to declare submission and pay tribute. For example, the Embassy of Carthage, in 191 BC, pledged to pay 500 modios of wheat and 500, 000 modus ormodios of barley. The members of that embassy offered to transport half the grain to Rome and

declared their country's readiness to provide the remaining tribute amount in one installment, which they owed under and were obliged to pay in accordance with the Convention of 202 BC. [27]

Some embassies had other political objectives. For example, the Embassy of Carthage came to announce the surrender of the Romans in 150 BC to avoid war against their country, but Rome rejected it and hastened to elimination of Carthage and the destruction of the capital of Carthage in 146 BC. And replaced them in their property in Sicily and Spain, and worked on the establishment of kingdoms revolving in North Africa such as the Kingdom of Numidia [28] and other kingdoms that became a political ally of the Garamantes peoples [29].

#### **Roman Diplomacy toward the Kingdom of Reus:**

The relations between the Romans and the Garamantes people began from the inception of the imperial era(27B). The Roman domination of the three Libyan coastal cities of Leptis Magna, [30] Sabratha, [31] and Oea [32] resulted in direct contact with the Libyan kingdoms in the south, which had a close relationship with these third cities since they were established by the Phoenicians on the Libyan coast between the seventh and fifth centuries BC. The three cities were known as the "Emporium" and the "commercial center. The other Phoenician colonies on the northern coast of Africa were known for trade, and the Garamantes people were associated with extensive trade relations with these colonies. [33]

The three Phoenician cities Leptis Magna, Sabratha, and Oea were under Roman control at the end of the republican era, in 146 BC, the Carthaginian capital was transformed into a Roman state, and Rome replaced Carthage in the northern coast of Africa. Later, Rome was able to subjugate the three cities after the battle of Thapsus [34] (46 BC), in which Julius Caesar defeated the army of Commander Pompeii and took control of Numidia and called it the new mandate of Africa. [35]

In 27 BC, Emperor Octavius Augustus (27 BC-14 AD) ruled and ended the republican system and founded imperial rule. Emperor Augustus adopted a new policy in North Africa where he decided to merge the ancient Africa and the new state of Africa into a single state called the proconsul State, It is a state under the administration of a Senate Council

In 25 BC, Numidia was added to this parochial state. In the second century AD, citizens of the three cities acquired Romanian citizenship rights.

Roman-Garamantes relations were very carefully guarded by the Garamantess in the beginning of the Roman occupation of the Libyan coas, Because of the commercial activity of the Romans. The objectives and intentions of the Romans were not clear to the Garamantess in23-BC Prompting Strabo to say "that a small number of Garamantess visiting the three cities were cautious when talking about their country".

Having settled on the coast, Rome sought to impose control over the three areas to the south to find a security and

strategic belt that could protect the three coastal cities that were linked to activities in the Libyan kingdoms. The Emperor August sent a Roman Band known as the "Third Augustan Band," to defend the southern border and to push the Libyan tribes toward the desert to the far south. The Augustan third band assisted in assisting Auxilia soldiers, who were recruited from various states and also included soldiers from the Roman subjects. Since the middle of the second century AD. [36]

The Roman contingent and its auxiliary forces assisted in a civil activity, as securing the southern border. They dug trenches around the state borders to confront Libyan tribes and to prevent their movement further the north. They also set up wide networks of roads in North Africa to facilitate the movement of Roman troops to the south, if they so desired. The policy of paving roads was one of the most important factors that encouraged the success of the Roman campaigns in the heart of Africa, and the presence of strategic sites on the caravan routes to Central Africa facilitated the next activity of the Romans, which was to go further south. [37]

Rome began to build fortifications to secure its provinces from the threat of the Libyan tribes on the southern border and in the desert, where these tribes were annoying Roma. This was why the Romans built some of the fortified forts of retired soldiers along the borders of the Sahara, which was an external defense line to protect the cities on the Roman coast.

Roman diplomacy paid attention to the vital role played by the Garamantes people in the south. The Kingdom of the Garamantes peoples imposed control over vast areas extending from the great Sahara to the borders of the three cities on the coast. In the middle of the first century BC, after the demise of the Kingdom of Numidia in 40 B.C, the influence of the Garamantes people increased over the rest of the Sahara tribes. They formed military alliances with the Sahara tribes and became so powerful that they threatened the security of Romans in Africa.

The alliances between the Kingdom of Garamantes and the Libyan tribes are indicative of the strength and influence of the Kingdom. These alliances formed with the Libyan tribes against the Romans, the great force on the coast, thus demonstrating to the Romans the importance of the Kingdom's properties. These elements are human, political, military, and economic. In 2121 BC, The Gaetuli tribes appealed to the Garamantes peoples in their revolt against the Romans during the era of August. The Gaetuli tribes lived in the eastern deserts of Algeria and were known for their skills in equestrian and fighting. The Garamantes peoples provided military assistance to them [38].

The Roman policy in North Africa was based on the idea that the Romans were the only force in that region Without a competitor, which made the Garamantes people a rival force Must be controlled. The Romans launched campaigns against them to strike their strongholds in Phasania [39]. The first campaign was in 19 BC under the leadership of the Roman leader Cornelius Balbus. [40] The Romans wanted to

destroy the power of the Garamantes peoples and to inform them of its power so as to reach the sources of desert trade.

Cornelius began his campaign by taking over the town of Cydamus, [41] the most important commercial center for the Garamantes people in the north. However, eventually, Balbus' campaign produced limited results, leaving no trace of its arrival in Phasania whatsoever. He was unable to take over Gemrma Because of its fortress and the strength of its people defending it, and he did not leave a Roman garrison there perhaps because the Garamantes people fought and expelled him. He realized that it was dangerous to keep a Roman garrison in a heavily populated land that showed great disloyalty. The Garamantes people realized that it was not impossible for the Romans to access their strongholds in the heart of Phasania. The Romans also had an important gain from the campaign: the conquest of Cydamus, which became an advanced Roman base in the south.

The second campaign took place in 17 AD and was led by Cornelius Dolabella [42] during the reign of Emperor Tiberius (14-37 AD). Its goal was for the Garamantes people to eliminate the Tacfarinas revolution [43] against the Romans and to force them to abandon his assistance. Dolabella was able to pursue Tacfarinas and his forces. He succeeded in eliminating a large number of his followers, and after intensifying attacks against him Dulapela was able to besiege Tacfarinas until he was defeated in a 24 AD battle at the fortress of Osia. [44] Dulapela succeeded in defeating his seven-year rebellion (17-24AD) Takfarinas himself was killed in the battle after he threw himself in front of the arrows when he was sure of defeat [45]

The defeat of Tacfarinas led to the surrender of the Garamantes people and their submission to Rome. The Garamantes people sent with the commander Dolabella in his return with the diplomatic Embassy to Rome in 24 AD to announce submission and apologize to Emperor Tiberius and asked for forgiveness for what they had received from the help of Tacfarinas. To the state of Africa.

The ambassadors of the Garamantes peoples in Rome managed to persuade Senate to erase all the fears of the Garamantes peoples and to forgive them for the revolution and to start building good relations with them instead of invading their country. Rome won the war and agreed the ambassadors' requests immediately. Because launching a new campaign against Phasania is very expensive and it's results are not guaranteed with a strong people surrounded themselves with more protection and means of defense desert and it is not in the interest of Rome to provoke the tribes of the region supporting each other as well as the fear of Rome against the perpetrators of retaliation against them.

The third campaign was during the era of Emperor Vespasian (69-79 AD), where the cities of Lebda al-Kabri and Oia (Tripoli) exploited the disorder as a result of the political situation in Rome after the death of Niron (68 AD) and the occurrence of a struggle on the throne In what is known as a year of the four emperors. The Garamantes people helped Oia against Lambda and siege, which means the intervention of the Garamantess peoples in Roman affairs, Vespasianus decided to send a campaign led by

Valerius Festus, [46] the Roman commander of Numidia, For the liver and recover many Of the spoils of criminal forces and seized Oia and then restored harmony between the two cities Leptis and Oia under the auspices of Rome after holding a reconciliation between the two.

### **Treaty of Peace between Rome and the Garamantes peoples**

After the campaign of Valerius Festus in 70 CE, peaceful relations between the Garamantes people and the Romans prevailed over time. This led to the flourishing of trade and mutual cooperation in the Vespasian era. Rome strengthened its friendship and diplomatic relationship with the Garamantes people through a peace treaty during the reign of Emperor Domitian. After the elimination of the revolution of the tribe of Nasamones [47] in the year 86 AD who were threatening the interests of the Romanian trade and constantly oppose trade routes.

Rome recognized the need to cooperate with the Garamantes people, to harness their strength, to seek their help against other local forces, to spread peace and stability in the region, and to secure trade routes. Roman Emperor Domitianus (51-96m) received a Garamantes Embassy under King Marcis [48]. The meeting was held in Gallia [49] and resulted in the conclusion of a peace treaty between both parties [50]. One of the most important provisions of the treaty was to assist the Roman garrison of the Garamantes in clearing commercial caravans south of Germa from the Ethiopian gangs that threaten the routes of commerce [51].

The treaty proved the success of Roman diplomacy in dealing with the situation in North Africa. Rome gained a strong ally that was difficult to subjugate by force. With the help of the Garamantes people, for the first time the Romans entered the Great Sahara and then Central Africa. through the mediation of Germa, and it continued to reconcile until the late second century AD and yielded to the parties where commercial convoys were active and coastal cities flourished significantly [52].

### **Rome's diplomacy to contain the Moorish tribes in Morocco:**

The Moorish Kingdom ruled Maghreb from the fourth century BC and continued until the year 40AD, with the city of Tengi (Tangier) as its capital. In 40 the Romans overthrew the Moorish Kingdom and it became a province of Morocco under the name of Mauretania Tingitana after the death of Ptolemy the last Moorish kings. By the Emperor Caligula (37-41AD), and included a number of cities such as Tangier, Salé, [53] Lili, [54] Bnasa, [55] Lixos [56] and others.

Rome's relationship with the Moorish tribes passed through several stages. Rome began by identifying these tribes and familiarizing them with their political and social systems. They developed relations with the tribes in Western Mauritania during the reign of the Moorish Kingdom. This was followed by a period where they used diplomatic means under the reign of Emperor Claudius (41-54), who promoted the policy of integrating the pacifist and Roman-allied tribes into Roman society, thus giving them a legal basis to apply for Roman citizenship. [57]

The Romans were very interested in the border tribes such as the Pocatians, [58] the Caecilli, [59] the Zagrebens, [60] and the Silesians [61]. Rome did not wish to clash directly with the various tribes that were encamped within its borders, and preferred diplomatic action to contain these tribes and convert them into federal tribes. Serves the interests of the Roman and acts as a wall against the southern tribes anti-Roman, has succeeded in this diplomatic vision to facilitate the process of legal control of the Romans on the vital areas where these tribes were moving [62].

### **a) Diplomatic relations with the Caecilli:**

The Romans had privileged relations with the tribes stationed in the Ahwaz, adjacent to the city of Caecilli. The Romans were able to turn the Caecilli tribes into active participants in the extension of Roman control over the surrounding areas. They also benefited from their lands and exploitation according to the Roman economic perspective. [63]

The development of legal relations between the Romans and the Caecilli began at the inception of the imperial era, when Emperor Augustus (27 BC-14 AD) considered them allies. [64] Roman diplomacy followed the policy of "Romanization" with the Caecilli by granting them the right of Roman citizenship and preparing their children to adopt and implement the policy of Rome settlement in Africa. Some members of the Caecilli family were sent to Rome to prepare them so that they could help Rome implement its settlement policy in the region. [65]

The relationship between Rome and the Caecilli developed during the Aedemon revolution [66] against Roman presence in Mauritania in 41 AD, which followed the fall of the Moorish Kingdom after the death of the last king, King Ptolemy, at the hands of Emperor Caligula (37-41AD) and the annexation of Mauritania to the Roman Empire. At the same time that Aedemon was able to stir up most of the Moorish and Neumanian tribes, Rome sought to win Caecilli's friendship. Rome decided to deploy the Romanization policy by attaching some of the Caecilli to the Roman tribes [67]. This is evidenced by the names of nine Welshmen who have been placed on the list of members of the Galeria of the Roman tribe [68].

During Emperor Claudius' (41-54 AD) reign, Rome's relationship with the Caecilli entered a new phase that was characterized by cooperation and integration for the exploitation of the region and the service of Roman interests. The Caecilli were given the title of the municipality in 44 or 45 AD after the visit of Marcus Valerius Severus son of Pustar to Rome in 43 AD And as a result, the Caecilli obtained the rights of Romanian citizenship. It is clear from the inscription of Marcos Valerius that the Caecilli had obtained a number of privileges from Emperor Claudius. [69] These privileges included the right to marry Romans and the exemption of ten year [70].

The most important inscription in Marcos Valerius' engraving:

*On the honor of Marcos Valerius Severus, son of Pustar of the Caleria tribe and commander of the auxiliary forces participating in the war*

*against the defeated Edimon - the municipality of the Valleians is erecting a statue on his honor for the success of his mission to convince the faithful Claudius to grant his family Romanian citizenship and the legitimacy of marriage without Romanians and tax exemption for ten years [71].*

The legal, economic, and social privileges that Rome granted Caecilli can be interpreted as a reward for their continued support and cooperation with the Roman authorities. However, when we place these privileges in the context of the development of legal relations between the Romans and the Caecilli, it is clear that these privileges are in fact legal measures taken by the Romans to extend their control over Caecilli's lands and to turn them into instruments that served their own interests in the region. [72]

#### **b) Diplomatic relations with Zagrebens**

The development of the relationship between the Romans and the Zagrebens was similar to the development of the relationship between the Romans and the Caecilli, which was based on the use of legal and diplomatic tools that helped establish the bases of control over the Moorish tribes and to achieve Rome's colonial goals in Mauritania Tingitana. Through the development of Rome's relationship with the Zagrebensians, the extent of Rome's development of the effective diplomatic tool has been transformed into a means of extending its influence from the individual to the tribe and then to the federalism, by granting it the right of Romanian citizenship to the Zagrebens [73].

The list of Banasa is the most important document that provides us with information about Rome's relationship with Zagrebens, and it's also the oldest document on the diplomatic relations of Rome with North Africa. This document presents the sequence of legal actions and measures aimed at the consolidation of the interests of Rome that was finally fortified by legal ties make the holder of this privilege linked to the Romanian civil society in exchange for the performance of the duties of citizenship [74].

The city of Banasa was one of the settlements founded by the Romans between 33 and 27 BC was the removal of surplus soldiers after the end of the civil wars in Rome between Marcus Antonius and Octavius August, [75] by giving them land outside Rome. The official inscriptions found during the excavations, including political, diplomatic, and military ones, are of great importance in the study of Roman relations in North Africa. [76]

The publication of this list lead to increase attention on the diplomatic relations between the Romans and the Zagharnes, [77] where this bronze dish presented three Latin texts containing information that offers a lot of interest to studies that shed light on the relationship between the Romans and the Moorish tribes. [78] It seems that this official list was hung on one of the walls of the Forum, the main arena in Banassa, so that all inhabitants of the city would be aware of it. It talked about granting Roman citizenship to some dignitaries of the Zagharnes tribe as part of disseminating the Romanization policy among its people, as the aim was to

expand the circle of access from the individual to the family, and then to the tribe. [79]

The Zagharnes lived in their original homeland near the Red Plains in the province of Haouz until King Ptolemy transferred them to Morocco. [80] After the annexation of Mauritania to the Roman Empire, Zagharnes was one of the tribes that settled in Western Mauritania. [81] During the reign of Emperor Vespasianus (69-79) The Zagharnes tribes settled in Banassa. Historical studies have confirmed that they moved between the Middle Atlas depression toward the inland areas of Ainun [82], where they practiced grazing and moved from place to place as part of their seasonal migration. [83]

By the middle of the second century AD, the Romans had incorporated them into the interior of the state and reduced their seasonal movements by encouraging them to settle. [84] In 168-169 AD, the Julienus family, the most famous Zagharnes family, obtained Roman citizenship from Emperor Marcus Aurelius (161-180).

#### Expansion of Romanization policy [85]

The list that was hung in Banassa included two important texts on the granting of Roman citizenship:

The first text was the decision of Emperor Marcus Aurelius to accept the citizenship application of Prince Julianus I, the Prince of Zagharnes, [86] and in view of the influence of this family within the tribe and what it gave to serve the interests of the Romans, the Emperor accepted the recognition of the legitimacy of Prince Julianus to rule Zagharnes, and the granting of the rights of Romanian citizenship to him and to his wife and four children [87]. Prince Julianus and his family, and then the entire tribe, obtained these privileges, thus linking the Zagharnes tribe administratively with the Roman settlement of Banassa [88].

As a result of recognizing the reign of Julius I and the resettlement of the Zagharnes in their new homeland, the Romans gained the right to exploit their vital areas, as it was the Romans who gave the Zagharnes land and appointed a legitimate prince with the rights of Roman citizenship. Which also gave them the right to control the interests of their citizens and thus enabled them to impose a management style that is in line with their economic interests in Mauretania Tingitana [89].

The second text is the request made by Prince Julianus II on July 6, 177, to settle his family, which did not have Roman citizenship at that time. His request was accepted by Roman Emperor Commodus (177-192) who granted Prince Julian II, his wife, and four children citizenship. The Emperor also recognized his legal authority [90].

It is thus possible to say that the Romanization policy enabled the Roman authorities to include the Princes of the Zagharnesin and other neighboring tribes within their control. It also enabled the roman to protect their economic and strategic interests and stabilized the tribes of the central region of Mauretania Tingitana which helped them integrate them into the Muslim community.

### c) Diplomatic relations with the Pocatians

The Romans were able to make the most of their diplomatic relations with the Pocatians to establish security and stability in the southern border areas. They also managed to contain the threat of the neighboring Mechanic and Bavarian tribes [91], by sponsoring the traditional alliance system.

The Romans began to search for a diplomatic means to undermine and control the power of the Pocatians by working to destabilize and adapt the tribal structures to serve the interests of the Romans in the region. The Romans began this strategy during the reign of Emperor Vespasianus, in 75 CE. [92]

Rome's strategy of adapting the populace was to use legal and diplomatic measures to abolish the title of king, and replaced him with the title of prince as ruler of the tribe, and the identification of this status could lay the foundations of changes in the social relations of the Moorish tribes where the change of the title of the King of the Crown lead to legalize his legislative and legal powers and then reduce the scope of his influence and control of the tribe to which he belongs, and then weaken his authority on the tribes that revolve in its orbit [93].

In light of their diplomatic relations with the Romans, the Pocatians engaged in direct mediation between Roman authorities and the rest of border tribes throughout the imperial era, except for some periods in which there were tensions between them, such as during the Pocatian revolution in 118 AD. The revolution against Roman rule because of the policy of the confiscation of the Romans and the reduction of pastoral space for them, where the Pocatians used the death of Emperor Trajan 117 (98-117 AD) and the beginning of the reign of Hadrian (117-138AD) to revolt until Hadrian was able to extinguish their revolution in 122 AD [94].

Relations between the two sides improved again at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD). With the Meccanite tribe next to them, and after 152 AD, the Pocatian returned to their good relationship with the Romans and continued harmony between them until the reign of Emperor Propus 277-282 AD [95].

Official diplomatic relations between the Romans and the Pocatians began in 140 AD when Prince Aelius Tuccuta presented a collection of gifts to Emperor Antoninus Pius (138-161) as a form of friendship and diplomatic exchange. [96]

However, the most important development in their diplomatic relations took place during Emperor Marcus Aurelius' reign (161-180 AD), who manage to merge all the border tribes under the influence of the Roman Empire, and came under the control of the Romans. A victory the Santothought it should be immortalized as part of the Emperor's victories over the Maori tribes of Africa. This was followed by Rome's establishment of diplomatic relations with the Pocatians to control the tribe politically and socially and to exploit it for Roman interests. [97]

The policy of Emperor Marcus Aurelius toward the Pocatians and other Moorish tribes relied more on the use of diplomatic and legal means than on military moves to control and extend power. Thus, Rome succeeded in transforming the Pocatians into an allied force that could be harnessed to contain the neighboring tribes by sponsoring the traditional tribal alliance system. With their neighbors, for example the formation of an alliance between the Pocatians and the Meccanists under the patronage of the Romans in 173 AD [98]. Thus, through its diplomacy with the Pocatians, Rome succeeded in subjugating the other tribes to the influence of the Roman Empire. [99]

At the end of 180 CE, Prince Canarta [100], the Prince of the Pocatians at the time, acquired Roman citizenship and legal recognition of his status as the Prince of the Pocatians. However, this privilege was limited to Prince Canarta as his personal power, and did not extend to his family or tribe; therefore, Roman citizenship did not move to the rest of his tribe. [101]

During the reign of Emperor Septemius Severus (193-211 AD), diplomatic talks were held between the prince of the Pocatians and the Roman authorities in 200 AD, specifically addressing Roman patronage of alliances between the Pocatians and their neighboring tribes. [102] The same was repeated during the reigns of Emperor Alexander Severus in 226 AD and Philippe Arabe in 245 AD [103]. The Pocatian tribes received the largest share of Roman patronage because of their alliances with their neighboring tribes [104]. Over time, the Romans tolerated the recognition of the legitimacy of the Pocatian princes and the granting of the Romanian citizenship rights to many of the Pocatians families [105].

One of the result of the development of diplomatic relations between the Romans and the Pocatians, that they became human shields in the south-eastern region of Mauritania Tingitana. It was also easy for Roman authorities to use them to monitor the desert trade routes without having to recruit military forces, where its legal ties with the Pocatians ensured these economic privileges in the region.

### d) Roman diplomacy toward the Silesians

The Romans had to deal with the attacks of the southern Berber tribes on the Romanian city of Salé. Since the Silesian lands were initially attacked as the most important roads leading to the city of Salé, the Romans took upon themselves the task of dealing with these attacks and did not leave them to the Silesians. Specially, as they had good relations with the Roman city of Salé. It was the duty of the Romans to deal with the danger of the southern tribes that had changed the land of the Silesians to pass through Salé and target the lands of the empire [106].

The Silesian tribes were associated with the Roman city of Salé. The city's legal status had been upgraded to that of a municipality under Roman law under Emperor Claudius. Their relationship was developed in view of their common interest. The Roman authorities organized military campaigns in the territory of these tribes to intimidate neighboring tribes and deter attacks by them. [107] Rome justified the legitimacy of its military campaigns claiming that they had carried them out at the request of the Silesians

themselves. They claimed to appear as the patron of peace that struggled to establish security and stability in the region. Rome had reassured the Salastian family. Which are associated with the rights of Roman citizenship. As well as the cultural role of Rome in the protection of Roman cultural civilization, represented by Salé the Roman municipality, which enjoys Roman law [109].

## 2. Conclusion

It is clear from the above assessment that:

- 1) Rome's diplomacy toward the local forces in North Africa stemmed from its general policy of appeasement, containment, and the achievement of goals through diplomatic means before resorting to the use of military force.
- 2) Carthage was the first empire that Rome had to confront in North Africa. It took control of maritime trade routes and imposed its hegemony over the western Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts of Central Africa. Rome resorted to various political and diplomatic means led by treaties to make economic gains and regulate its political relationships with them, until war broke out eventually.
- 3) The Romans succeeded in pursuing a diplomatic policy with the barbaric and violent tribes in the desert, enabling them to achieve their colonial objectives in North Africa without fighting costly armed battles against these tribes. Thus, they spread security and stability and created allied and organized political entities. The success of this policy is attributed to the Roman methods of control, which combined diplomatic, legal, and military mechanisms depending on the circumstances and course of events. [108]
- 4) Romans began to implement their diplomatic policy in North Africa at the end of the republican era by establishing a cooperative relationship between the Mauritanian throne and the Roman political and military forces. This relationship became a means for the Romans to annex the Moorish Kingdom. With the beginning of the imperial era, the Romans ruled the Moorish Kingdom and annexed the country to the kingdoms of the Roman Empire under the name of Mauritania Tangerine and then Romans began to settle and find a way to deal with the ancient Moorish tribes.
- 5) Diplomatic methods were the best way to deal with the Moorish tribes. The Romans began by defining the legitimacy of tribal chiefs and recognizing some of them by formally acknowledging the legitimacy of their empire over their tribes and then over the entire lot of the federal tribes they controlled. This point was the beginning of the colonial policy pursued by the Romans with the internal tribes where the results of determining the legal status of the tribal princes obtained what Rome considers privileges given to some of its friend, which is enjoying the right of Romanian citizenship.
- 6) The development of diplomatic relations between the Romans and the Moorish tribes indicates the extent of Roman wisdom in the use of this flexible mechanism through different stages of its application both at the level of the Kingdom and at the level of tribes that formed an economic and political force. By strengthening this legal tool, military institutions used to ensure their

implementation to control the Moorish tribes and impose hegemony with as little effort as possible.

## References

- [1] R.P. Barston, *Modern Diplomacy*, (City 2006) 1.
- [2] The Germanic Kingdom is one of the tribes that formed a large part of the south of Libya. The Garmians was founded by the Garmians in Fezan in 400-200 BC after the migration of many groups to the valley of Fezan to settle there. See: D. J. Mattingly, *The Archaeology of Fezzan*, Vol. II (London, 2007) 294.
- [3] Moorish tribes are a group of ancient tribes that ruled Morocco. They were a strong force that was spread out along the border between the Mediterranean coast to the north and the Great Sahara in the south. The Kingdom of the Moorish began in Maghreb in the fourth century BC and continued until the year 40 BC, and its capital was the city of Tenge. The more famous ones among these tribes included the Bukayites, the Julians, Zagharnis, and the Silesians, see: M. Euzennat and J. Marion, *Inscriptions Antique du Maroc*, 2, *Inscriptions Latines* (Paris 1982) 69.
- [4] Piraeus or Peros is a Greek Hellenic military commander who was a member of the royal family. Later, he became the King of Macedonia and was most opposed to the establishment of the Republic of Rome. J. Heurgon, *Rome et La Mediterranee Occidentale* (City YEAR) 386.
- [5] Polyb, III, 22.
- [6] Diodor, XVI, 19, 1.
- [7] Livy, IX, 43, 26.
- [8] Picard G Ch et Picard C, *Vie et Mort de Carthage*, Hachette, 1970, p.182
- [9] Gsell St, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique*, p. 67, N n.2.
- [10] The Etruscans are the owners of an ancient civilization that lived in Italy in the present Tuscany region. The Etruscan civilization arose in at an unknown point in time period before that pre-dated the prehistoric times and before the founding of Rome M.A. Cary.M, , *A History of Rome*, (London 1979, ) P 28
- [11] The question of Campania :The Samanatiens are the inhabitants of the province of Semen on the east coast of Italy. It was part of the city of Samania. The Romans sought to annex Campania to under their influence and cut them out of Samanatiens Semen, which led the Etruscans to stand alongside the Semanites and help them against the Roman military expansion. See: Livy, IX, 43, 26.
- [12] The Seragosians or Syracuse in relation to the settlement of Zaragoza or Syracuse in Sicily. Carthage sought to extend its influence to Zaragoza and to compete with the Greeks there. The Carthaginians tried to siege and control it several times.
- [13] J. Heurgon, *Rome et la Mediterranee Occidentale* (City YEAR) 182.
- [14] Gsell St, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique*, III, 73.
- [15] Warmington B.H, *Histoire et Civilization de Carthage* 814 AV.JC.a146 AV.JC. Trad.Fr.
- [16] Gsell St, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique*, III, 73.
- [17] Hallward L, "Scipioand Victory, CAH, VIII (Ch.V)1979, P.83-115; Halwad L, Charswart "he Fall



- of Carthage", CAH, Vol.VIII (Ch, IV)1979, PP.466-494.
- [18] Ibid.
- [19] Livy, XXX(XXXVIII).
- [20] Appian, Punic, XIII (90:93).
- [21] Polyb, XXX (I-4).
- [22] Appian, Punic, VI (31).
- [23] Livy, XXX(XL 1-8); Zonaras, 9, 14.
- [24] Livy, XXII(XXXIII.1
- [25] Polyb, XXXVI (I); Doi's Roman History, Vol III;Frg. Books XVI-XXO, eng.trans. by E. Cary, LCL, London, 1989, Frag, XXI(Zonaras, 9, 26)
- [26] Livy, XXXVIII (XLLI.7).
- [27] Livy, XXX(XLIII, 1-13); Val. Max, V-1-1a.
- [28] Livy, XXXVI (IV 5-7).
- [29] Numidia (202-46 BC) represented the ancient North African kingdom. It occupied a large area of covering present Algeria, and parts of Libya and Tunisia. It was initially two political systems during the Second Punic War until the Romans helped unite and establish one kingdom after the end of the war. M. Christol and J. Cascou, *La Politique Municipale de Rome en Afrique du Nord I, De La Mort d' Auguste au Debut du IIIem siècle*, ANRW II, 10, 2, 1982, P185.
- [30] Halwad L, Charswart "He Fall of Carthage", CAH, Vol VIII (Ch, IV)1979, PP.467-469.
- [31] Also known by other names in antiquity, Leptis Magna was a prominent city in the Carthaginian Empire and Roman Libya at bottom of the Wadi Lebdam in the Mediterranean. W. Brogan, "Lepcis, " in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (City 2012) 821.
- [32] Sabratha was the westernmost of the ancient "three cities" of the Roman Tripolis. It lies on the Mediterranean coast about 70 km (43 mi) west of modern Tripoli. Ghaki, Mansour (2015), "Toponymie et Onomastique Libyques: L'Apport de l'Écriture Punique/Néopunique" (PDF), *La Lingua nella Vita e la Vita della Lingua: Itinerari e Percorsi degli Studi Berberi*, Studi Africanistici: Quaderni di Studi Berberi e Libico-Berberi, No. 4, Naples: Uniorp 67.
- [33] Oea was an ancient city in present-day Centreville à le Souq Yafran in Tripoli, Libya. R. Bartocchini (1924), "*Le Ricerche Archeologiche in Tripolitania*", *Rivista della Tripolitania*, Vol. I, pp. 59-73.
- [34] Silius Italicus, *Punica*, V, 11, 55-56, P.62.
- [35] Ras Al-Dimas, Tunisia.
- [36] Strabo, 17, 3.12, 3.25.
- [37] Strabo, 18, 3.25.
- [38] C. M. Danils, "The Garmantes of Fezzan, " In *Libya in History* (Benghazi 1971) 260.
- [39] Bovill. E W, *The Golden Trade of The Moors*, PP 35, -36.
- [40] Fezan is located in southwestern Libya and was the home of the Kingdom of Germa from the fifth century BC to the fifth century AD. It has played a large role in the trade where it was the link between the Romans and the Sahel countries in West and Central Africa. M. Christol and J. Cascou, *La Politique Municipale de Rome en Afrique du Nord* (City YEAR) 280.
- [41] Born in Spain in the first century BC, Cornelius was born in a very unknown history but was appointed governor of Africa in 21 BC to confront the Libyan tribes there. He campaigned for their elimination in 19 BC and returned to Rome in a triumphant procession. Is the first time that a native of Rome enters Rome in a procession of victory. Pliny, V, 5.
- [42] Kidamus (Ghadames) is located southwest of the Libyan capital of Tripoli, an ancient Libyan city dating back to the 4th millennium BC. It was a major conduit for commercial convoys in antiquity. Pliny, V, 5.
- [43] Cornelius was in Rome, in Italy, in an unknown point in history. It is believed that he lived during the era of Emperor Tiberius (14-37m), the son of Cornelius Dolabella, who was a leader from 55-20 BC and the grandson of Cornelius Dolabella, 43 BC). Tacitus, *Annals*, V, 26.
- [44] Tacfarinas was the leader of Numidians and was one of the most powerful rebels against Roman rule in Africa. He grew up in a noble family of the Musalmas tribe. He joined the Roman army at the age of 16 years as an auxiliary force and soon escaped from the army against Roman oppression and led some tribes to form an army against the Romans. From 17 AD, his revolution continued for seven years until he was killed in one of the battles in 24 AD. Tacitus, *Annals*, II, 52.
- [45] The area of Sur Algazlan in Algeria currently.
- [46] Tacitus, *Annals*, IV, 26.
- [47] He was a Roman Senator, and Nero appointed him as the commander of the Third Ogiste Division in Numidia. During the four Emperors' era, he offered much assistance to Emperor Vespasian and became close to him and his family. After he fought in a war in Africa, Tacitus described him as "a young man with infinite ambition." Tacitus, *Hist*, IV, 50
- [48] Nasamones was a Libyan tribe. Their homeland was in west Libya near the coast around the Gulf of Sirte where they cared for herds, and they were a source of danger to the Romans because they used to cut trade routes and attack Roman ships on the Mediterranean coast. O. Roland and B. M. Fagan, *Africa in the Iron Age: c. 500 B.C. to A.D. 1400* (Cambridge 1975) 47.
- [49] The historian and traveler Ptolemy pointed out that this king is the leader of the tribe of Nasamones, but this is not true because the interview took place after the final elimination of the Nasamones in 86 AD, which indicates that he was not the leader of the Nasamones at all, where he was king of the Garamantes, and the excavations confirm that this is tombs of the fourth class At the Sannah Howeiدي cemetery in Phasania discovered a type of pottery known as the Sanyonian pots made in Lizo, which was famous for the production of Gaul where the interview was made between the Roman Emperor and King Mareses, and this is an archaeological evidence of the visit of the King of Germa to the Gaul, which confirms that the interviewer Gaul with the Emperor Domitianus is the king of the Garamantes and not the king of the Nasamones for more details see: Bovill. E W, *The Golden Trade of The Moors*, PP39-40.
- [50] It is the name given to the Romans by the region extending over northern France, Belgium and part of Germany
- [51] Bovill. E W, *The Golden Trade of The Moors*, P 39.
- [52] E. W. Bovill, *The Golden Trade of The Moors* (City YEAR) 39.
- [53] Danils, *The Garmantes of Fezzan* , P 26.

- Danils, *The Germantes of Fezzan*, 26.
- [54] An ancient Moroccan city located on the northern bank of the Abi Raqraq river near its estuary in the Atlantic Ocean, which is now near Rabat. J. D. Fage, *The Cambridge History of Africa* (Cambridge 1979) 663.
- [55] An ancient Moroccan city currently located near Meknes. Fage, *The Cambridge History of Africa*, 664.
- [56] An ancient Moroccan city currently located on the west bank of River Spo. Stability returned in the fifth century BC. David Bensoussan, *Il était une fois le Maroc : témoignages du passé judéo-marocain*, Éd. du Lys, 2010, p75.
- [57] An ancient city founded in 1180 BC by one of the Amazigh kings, a little away from the city of Larache. David Bensoussan, *Il était une fois le Maroc*, p75.
- [58] Christol and Cascou, *La Politique Municipale de Rome en Afrique du Nord*, 185-186
- [59] The Pocatians of the tribes of the famous historical tribes in Mauretania Tingitana which have moved from Numidia to Mauritania since ancient times and were known as the Great Tribe because of the role they played in Roman politics. A. W. B. Mansour, *Tribes of Morocco* (Rabat 2016) 60.
- [60] They are a group of ancient Moroccan tribes that had settled in Ahwaz, adjacent to the city of Laili, near today's Meknes. They also settled on the Zerhoun plateau and played an important role in the stabilization of the Roman presence in Morocco. Mansour, *Tribes of Morocco* (Rabat 2016) 61.
- [61] Their original habitat was the Red Arrow, but they were subsequently forced to settle in and around the Roman colony of Pensa. Mansour, *Tribes of Morocco* (Rabat 2016) 61.
- [62] One of the most important tribes in western Mauritania, they lived near the city of Salé Mansour, *Tribes of Morocco* (Rabat 2016) 62.
- [63] J. Cascou, *Municipia Ciuium Romanorum* (Latomus 1971) 139-140
- [64] Strabo, XVII, 3.2.
- [65] Christol and Cascou, *La Politique Municipale de Rome*, 185-186.
- [66] I.A.M, IL, 457.
- [67] Aimon lived in Mauretania Tingitana during the first century AD and was an Amazigh military commander in the army of King Ptolemy, who later appointed him minister of the kingdom. He led fierce resistance against the Romans in Africa during the period from 40 to 44 AD. Caligula died 41 AD before the eradication of this revolution, which bothered the Romans so much that his successor Claudius eliminated the revolution of Aydemon 44 AD. Christol M, Cascou J, *La Politique Municipale de Rome*, P 191.
- [68] Christol M, Cascou J, *La Politique Municipale de Rome*, PP 191-194.
- [69] Lemousse M, *Le Regime des Relations Internationales dans le Haut-Empire Romain*, ed. Sirey. Paris, 1967, P 125.
- [70] Christol and Cascou, *La Politique Municipale de Rome*, 148-150.
- [71] P. Weuillermier P, *Le Municipale de Volubilis* REA, 28, (CITY 1926, ) P 327.
- [72] Christol and Cascou, *La Politique Municipale de Rome*, 148-150.
- [73] J. Cascou, *Municipia Ciuium Romanorum*, 139-140.
- [74] W. Seston and M. Euzennat, *Un Dossier de la Chancellerie Romaine* (Rome 1980) 83.
- [75] M. Euzennat and J. Marion, *Inscriptions Antiques du Maroc*, (City, YEAR) 69.
- [76] Antonius was a politician and a military commander born in 83 BC. Following the assassination of Julius Caesar in 4 BC, he allied with Octavius Augustus, Caesar's adopted son, to avenge Caesar's killers. Soon, the dispute between Antonius and Octavius August led to a civil war between them. Octavius defeated Antonius in the Battle of Actium, which ended with the suicide of Antonius in 30 BC. Octavius ended the republican rule and the foundations of the imperial system in 27 BC and continued until he died in 14 AD. Cicero, *Philippicae* 2.38.
- [77] Frezouls L, *Rome et la Mauretanie*, dans *Ant.Afr.*, 1980, P 83.
- [78] Euzennat M, *les Zergenses dans Melanges*, 1974, PP 177-182.
- [79] Seston W, Euzennat M, *Un Dossier de la Chancellerie*, P 85
- [80] Christol. M, *Rome et les Tribus indigenes en Tingitane*, les *Afr.Rom*, V, 1987, PP 313, 315
- [81] Ptoleme, IV, 1-5.
- [82] Seston W, Euzennat M, *un dossier de la chancellerie*, P 87.
- [83] The Ainun Valley is located in western Morocco and runs between Fez and Taza.
- [84] Euzennat M, *les Zergenses dans Melanges*, 1974, PP 177-182.
- [85] Christol. M, *Rome et les Tribus indigenes*, PP 313, 315.
- [86] Rebuffat, *les Principes du camp romain*, PP 386-287.
- [87] Sherwin-Whitt A N, *the tabula of Banasa and the constituto Antonian* dans *J.S*, 63, 1973, PP 86-89.
- [88] Seston W, Euzennat M, *un dossier de la chancellerie*, PP 475-476.
- [89] Sherwin-Whitt A N, *the tabula of Banasa*, PP 88-90.
- [90] Tertullien, *De Anima*, 30, 3-4.
- [91] Seston W, Euzennat M, *un dossier de la chancellerie*, PP 475-476 .
- [92] One of the old Amazigh tribes that settled in the old Maghreb and rivaled the tribe of the Pequatians in Mauritania Tingitana.
- [93] Marcais Ph, *Reflexions sur la structure de la die familiale chez les indigene de l' Afrique du Nord*, dans *Memorie a A.Basset*, 1895-1956, Paris, 1975, P 74.
- [94] Rebuffat R, *Les Principes du Camp Romain de lalla Djilalyatebernae*, *B.A.M.*, IX, 1973-1975, P 285.
- [95] Rebuffat.R, *Enceintes urbaines et insecurite en Mauretanie Tingitane*, *M.E.F.R.Ant*, 86, 1974, PP 501 ff.
- [96] Rebuffat.R, *Enceintes urbaines et insecurite en Mauretanie Tingitane*, *M.E.F.R.Ant*, 86, 1974, PP 501 ff.
- [97] CIL, VIII, 9663.
- [98] Euzennat M, *les troubles en Mauretanie* CRAI, 1984, P 383
- [99] I.A.M, I.L, 376.
- [100] M. Lemousse, *Le Regime des Relations Internationales dans le Haut-Empire Romain* (Paris 1967) 115.
- [101] I.A.M, I.L, 348.
- [102] Sherwin-Whitt A N, *the Tabula of Banasa*, PP 88-90.

- [103]I.A.M, I.L, 349.
- [104]I.A.M, I.L, 361.
- [105]Christol. M, Rome et les Tribus indigenes en Tingitane, les Afr.Rom, V, 1987, PP 309, 310 .
- [106]Bouaghaz, Rome et la super-tribu des Baquates, these de Doctorat, Paris I, Sorbonne, 1984, p, 105.
- [107]Gzell, la base de Marcus Sulpicus Felix et le docret des decurions, 1971, P 135.
- [108]R. Rubuffat and M. Sulpicius Felix a Sal, dansL'Afr. Rom., Atti del X Convengro di Studio, Oristano11-15 dicember, 1993, Sassari, 1994, p, 185-219.
- [109]I.A.M., I.L., 307, , (L.17-18), et voir les commentaires de ce passage dans S.
- [110]On the exploitation of the Romans by their legal relations in their expansionary policy see: P. A Brunt, *Amicitia in the late: Roman Republic*, danspap.Cambr. phil. Soc., XI, 1965, p.152-170et voireaussi, R. Reager, *The Crisis of the Roman Republic: Studies in Political History* (Cambridge 1969) 199-218.