

Article

Mustis revisited: unpublished inscriptions from the Parisian archives

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Abstract English

The Roman town of Mustis (*municipium Iulium Aurelium Mustitanum*) is near present-day Mest Henshir (Tunisia). Its epigraphic corpus has around 200 inscriptions mainly published at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, when the French archaeological campaigns took place. However, a group of Latin inscriptions discovered during the 1960s remained unpublished. In the reorganisation of the archives of the Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art (Paris) the original photographs, negatives, slides and documents revealed new data. In this article I present five new inscriptions (three votive texts, a quadruple funerary epitaph and a new boundary stone) and new data and photographs of three already known inscriptions published by G. Wilmanns in the *CIL*. All these texts reveal new data about the territory of the *res publica Mustitana*, the sacred life of the city (including the confirmation of a Capitol) and new onomastic information about its inhabitants.

إعادة زيارة لموستي. نقوش غير منشورة من الأرشيف الباريسي
سيرجيو إسبانيا تشامورو

تقع بلدة موستيس الرومانية (*municipium Iulium Aurelium Mustitanum*) بالقرب من هنشير المست الحالية (تونس). يحتوي مخزونها الكتابي على حوالي 200 نقش نُشرت بشكل أساسي في نهاية القرن التاسع عشر وبداية القرن العشرين، مع الحملات الأثرية الفرنسية. ومع ذلك، ظلت مجموعة من النقوش اللاتينية المكتشفة خلال الستينيات غير منشورة. و عند إعادة تنظيم أرشيف المعهد الوطني للتاريخ (باريس)، تم العثور على صور فوتوغرافية و سلبات و شرائح عرض و وثائق أصلية كشفت عن بيانات جديدة. أقدم في هذه الورقة خمسة نقوش جديدة (ثلاثة نصوص نذرية، مرثية جنازية رباعية وحجر حدود جديد) و بيانات و صور جديدة لثلاثة نقوش معروفة و نشرها ج. ويلمانس في *CIL* (موسوعة النقوش اللاتينية) تكشف كل هذه النصوص عن بيانات جديدة عن أراضي موستيتانا (*res publica Mustitana*)، والحياة الدينية بالمدينة (بما في ذلك تأكيد لمبنى الكابيتول) ومعلومات جديدة عن أسماء سكانها.

Keywords: boundary stone, dedication votive inscription, epigraphy, funerary inscription

Introduction

Parisian archives still hold many epigraphic surprises from North Africa. They are the result of scientific missions undertaken by members of the French colonial administration during almost a century and a half of subjugation (beginning with the French conquest of Algeria in 1830 and the end with the independence of Tunisia and Algeria in 1962/3). The colonial institutions were particularly interested in studying the Roman documentation of the sites, paying particular attention to epigraphic monuments. The documentation process began early on with the paradigmatic case of Capitaine Delamare (expeditions made between 1840–1845) (Delamare 1850, see also Dondin-Payre 1994), who made numerous drawings and sketches of North African ruins (mainly in Algeria), including inscriptions. Subsequently, a profusion of new colonial *sociétés savantes historiques et géographiques* in North African towns led to the creation of archaeological, historical, and geographical societies that began to publish systematic biannual or annual bulletins (Laporte 2012, 40 provides the dates of the beginning of this process in 1881 for Algeria and 1912 for Tunisia). Metropolitan France also created a specific section for North Africa in the *Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques* (CTHS), which systematically published all the latest news. Information flowed in the form of reports, drawings, squeezes and, in rare cases, photographs. However, the well-known Poinssot family, present in Tunisia since the 19th century, held

positions of responsibility in the French colonial organisation. Active in the documentation and protection of archaeological heritage, they would go on to generate private documentation that was eventually acquired by the French *Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art* and the ANHIMA centre, then the *Centre Gustave Glotz*, in 2006 (Dondin-Payre *et al.* 2016). Julien Poinssot (1844–1900), Louis Poinssot (1879–1967) and Claude Poinssot (1928–2002) gathered a huge amount of documentation (Dondin-Payre 2016) that represents an archival wealth that has been only partially explored (Benzina Ben Abdallah *et al.* 2014; Dondin-Payre 2020) and is generally called as *Fonds Poinssot* (Archives 106, documentation between 1875–2002). An exhaustive cataloguing by the ANHIMA team has provided new information on the excavations carried out in Algeria and Tunisia.

A new examination of the documentation relating to the North African town of Mustis has also revealed new epigraphic material. Most of the photographs used for this research were taken between 1959 and 1961 except some rare photographs taken in the 1930s. This article presents five new inscriptions and provides details of others that have already been published. We worked with printed photographs, negatives and slides, although the written information does not reveal much about their measurements, their specific context beyond the name of the town, or the specifications of the support. Some of the inscriptions are still preserved at the site itself, while the locations of the others are unknown. Excavation reports for the site have been sought unsuccessfully during the various 2020–21 study campaigns at the INHA, the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, and the *Archives nationales*. The data provided here are taken from 'Dossier 106, 110,

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02. 7. Musti' and 'Dossier 106, 111, 02. 4' (the cataloguing process of the *Fonds Poinssot* were made between 2006 and 2014).

The Roman town of Mustis is near present-day Mest Henshir (Tunisia). This important town in the Roman province of Africa Proconsularis has a corpus of about 200 inscriptions, in addition to some 90 that remain unpublished and those that can be documented through archival information. Major excavations were carried out in the mid-20th century, with the Beschouch (1968) corpus being the last major update for the town. After the end of French imperial period, the site remained abandoned until a couple of years ago, when the team from the Uniwersytet Gdański (Poland) quietly resumed interest in it (Kłodziński and Abid 2021).

It should be noted that Beschouch (1968) was assisted by Louis Poinssot in the publication of his corpus, even using many of his photographs (also in the Paris archive). However, he must not have had access to all the documentation from the excavations of the 1950s and early 1960s, as the inscriptions presented here were already catalogued at the time.

Votive inscription to Minerva

This votive inscription dedicated to Minerva is found with a group of inscriptions documented by Louis Poinssot on the 1961 trip (Figure 1).

Minervae
Aug(ustae)

3. sacrum.

Translation: *Consecrated to Minerva Augusta*

Quadrangular pedestal with a prepared, although undecorated epigraphic field. Symmetrical *ordinatio*, although its palaeography



Figure 1. Inscription dedicated to Minerva (Fond Poinssot, INHA).

is not as meticulous as in other epigraphs. *It leads us to propose a late-Antonine or Severan chronology between the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 3rd centuries.*

This is the first dedication to Minerva found in the town of Mustis, although she was a popularly venerated deity in surrounding towns and in the province. Marmouri's study (2008) reveals that the cult of this goddess was found mainly in two very specific areas: the Carthago-Theveste road and the central area of the province around Thysdrus. This new inscription is located in the former (Carthago-Theveste road). Specifically, it is in the neighbouring *fundus Turris Rutunda*¹ (Saumagne 1927; Beschouch 1981, 107), part of the *patrimonium Caesaris* (González Bordas, forthcoming), that a slab with the same text was found, albeit with slight differences.² Although neither a drawing nor an image has been preserved, a height of about 70 centimetres is given, which would make it similar to the Mustis inscription. A temple dedicated to this goddess was also documented in the neighbouring town of Thugga, as well as several epigraphic attestations³ along the same road, but to the south, at the site of Hr. Zarounine. There is also epigraphic evidence of the worship of the goddess at sites such as Vazari,⁴ Tichilla or Obba⁵. It has been suggested that there is a certain relationship between Minerva and Venus (Astarte), which in the end would be a different double interpretation of the same Libyco-Punic divinity (Cadotte 2006, 223).

Votive inscription to Neptuneus

This inscription (Figure 2), like the previous one, is the first known dedication to Neptune to be found at Mustis. Its text is similar to the previous one:

Neptuno

2. Aug(usto) sacr(um).

Translation: *Consecrated to Neptunus Augustus*

With elegant letters and neat *ordinatio*, its palaeography is similar to that of other inscriptions found in the town. This suggests a Hadrianic chronology from the second half of the 2nd century. It has a triple moulding that frames the epigraphic field, although the text only occupies the upper half, suggesting that at least a third line of text was originally planned but never inscribed. Unfortunately, these short texts do not provide information about the dedicant, as is the case of more elaborate texts also found in Mustis (regarding the role of dedicators and



Figure 2. Inscription dedicated to Neptune (Fond Poinssot, INHA).

divinities with the epithet Augustus/a, see Panciera 2003 for Rome and Arnaldi 2006 for Mauretania Tingitana).

The epithet Augustus/a borne by both the Minerva and Neptune inscriptions has always been somewhat controversial and has been interpreted from various perspectives (Étienne 1958, 339–340; Fishwick 1991, 446–454; Liertz 1998, 163–188; Clauss 1999, 280–289; Panciera 2003; Arnaldi 2006; Villaret, 2016; Cases Mora 2020). The epigraphic record from Africa, and above all its placement in specific contexts, makes it possible to link the cult of these divinities with the imperial cult in numerous cases (Mastino 2018); this however is something that has not always been accepted by all researchers and is not easy to clarify. Again, in the neighbouring colony of Thugga, at least two of the four inscriptions (Mabrouk 2015, 478–482; Maurin 2016, 517) dedicated to Neptune were associated with the emperor (Mastino 2018, 10).

In Africa, Neptune inscriptions followed by the epithet Augustus are quite common. Cadotte's compilation (2002; 2006, 308–14) has revealed that at least 29 of the 51 inscriptions bear such an epithet. Its use or not must have involved nuances in the dedication and was neither casual nor trivial (Lott 2014–2015, 131), at least originally, although from the 2nd century onwards its systematic use was interpreted in the West as a mechanical process (Fishwick 1991). However, in North Africa and specifically in the Mustis area the syncretisation process makes the analysis of this factor much more complex. The beginning of an epigraphic *habitus* later than in coastal areas would only be evidence that the use of the epithet was introduced as a part of a process of formally imposing religious epigraphic uses that had already functioned in previously Latinised African regions (mainly on the coast). In the nearby town of Thugga the epithet Augustus is often linked to the emperor. That is why we should consider that the epithet Augustus and the imperial cult had a similar relationship in Mustis. Perhaps these inscriptions were once placed in an imperial cult precinct in the town itself. Whether or not the linking of these epithets is accepted, both inscriptions offer us a broader picture of the religious panorama of Mustis. This epigraphic evidence can be added to that already known, such as Mercurius Augustus,⁶ Apollo Augustus,⁷ (Pluto) Frugiferus Augustus,⁸ dii Mauri Castores Augustis,⁹ Nutrix,¹⁰ Tellus Augusta,¹¹ Caelestis Augusta (together with Aesculapius),¹² Liber Pater (together with Venus),¹³ Virtus Augusta¹⁴ and Ceres Augusta.¹⁵ The complex syncretic panorama of a town of Libyco-Punic origin such as Mustis is a factor to be taken into account. The whole pantheon of Mustis has a pre-Roman origin but it was adapted through the Roman interpretation. This syncretisation, together with the Latinisation process, could have boosted the predominance of the use of the Augustan epithet and its link to the imperial cult. In this way, the epigraphic construction of the Latinised divinities also underwent a process of epigraphic standardisation while it was linked it to the imperial household. As in other regions (Cases Mora 2021), the use of the epithet on local divinities would have meant their officialisation and inclusion in the local pantheon. In the African case, the syncretisation of local gods to Roman standards would emphasise even more the officialisation of local cults, which, as Cadotte (2006) has already pointed out, still maintained pre-Roman rites or particular local ascriptions, as seems to be evidenced by the Frugiferus Augustus with Pluto rather than with the African Saturn.

Votive inscription to Jupiter from Septimius Severus

This inscription (Figure 3) has not been formally published, although it does appear in the Clauss Slaby database under the number EDCS-59800107 (©Manfred Clauss). The record in the Poinssot collection indicates that it was found during the excavations of the Capitol in 1961 and bears the following text:



Figure 3. Dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus (Fond Poinssot, INHA).

- [—]o Maximo
[—S]everi ☞ Pii ☞ Pertinaci[s—]
3. [—Antoni]ni ☞ Pii Felicis ☞ Augu[sti—]

EDCS reintegration can be corrected and extended as follows:

- [Iovi Optim]o Maximo [Iunoni Reg(inae), Minervae Aug(ustae) sacrum]
[pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) L(uci) Septimi S]everi ☞ Pii
☞ Pertinaci[s Aug(usti) Arabici Adiab(enici) Parth(ici) max(im)i et]
3. [Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aureli Antoni]ni ☞ Pii Felicis ☞ Augu
[sti et P(ubli) Septimi Getae nob(ilissimi) Caes(aris) et Iuliae Aug(ustae)
matris Aug(usti) et castrorum totiusque domus divinae].

Translation: *Consecrated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva Augusta, for the health of the emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus maximus and emperor Caesaris Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus and Publius Septimius Geta, very renowned Caesar, and Iulia Augusta, mother of the Augusti and the military camps and to all the divine imperial household.*

This monumental inscription reflects a typically painstaking Severian palaeography and a planned, regular *ordinatio* decreasing in size from the upper to the lower lines. The only interpuncts on l. 2 are in the form of hedera, but they are in every single space, so we can speculate that they were used throughout the text. The inscribed area is bordered at the bottom by three horizontal bands. This local sandstone inscription is definitely a product of a local workshop that produced pieces of excellent quality. Its text is very similar to Severan inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter. It is therefore necessary to add Iulia Domna and Geta (later erased), which is present in all inscriptions of this type, as well as a closing expression that could well have been [*totiusque domus divinae*], also very common on similar epigraphic monuments. We could also consider a final formula quoting the *res publica Mustitanorum* as a form of closure, since it is present in similar inscriptions, although that is somewhat more hypothetical.

A parallelepiped block of greyish limestone contains only the central part of the text (proposed restitution in Figure 4); the right and left parts are missing. It appears to have been carved like this in a process of reuse. This inscription probably met the same fate as others published by Beschtaouch (1968) that he was able to document as having been reused in the Byzantine fortress.

18 and 262). Kajanto himself (1982, 69) indicates that this cognomen was quite common in persons of slave or freedman origin.

Quintus Iulius Ampliatus Veteranus does not present great onomastic particularities, although he is the only person in the inscription who does not present filiation. The cognomen Ampliatus is widely known, predominating in female names and slaves/freedmen (Kajanto 1982, 349). What is interesting is the agnomen Veteranus, a distinctive onomastic element that would have referred to the military origin of the branch of Ampliatus' family that settled in Africa (probably not in Mustis, which was not a veterans' colony, but in a nearby one).

Quintus Iulius Respectus is a cognomen widely used in the Trajanic or Hadrianic period (Kajanto 1982, 355). After the epitaph of Iulius Respectus we find another partial name: Ae[—] *Castricius*. It is not common to find a name here of another deceased person after the indication of the years, and we can hypothesise that *Castricius* was a member of the family who died unexpectedly and that his name was entered in this small space. So, we can say that the total number of individuals was perhaps five and not four.

A boundary stone from Mustis from the reign of Antoninus Pius

This inscription is not included in the information provided by the Parisian archives, but is given through the photograph of EDCS-55701564 (©Manfred Clauss, see Figure 6), where it has been included without epigraphic editing or comment. This is the third text of a known series, as it is the same text that appears on two other *termini*. Carton (1895, 61–63) published the first text that Wilmanns included as *CIL* VIII, 27459 (= after Dessau in *ILS* 5943a). The second (Figure 7) was published by Saumagne in the *BCHS* in 1927 (p. IX = *AE* 1929, 71). All three have their own characteristics with minor differences in

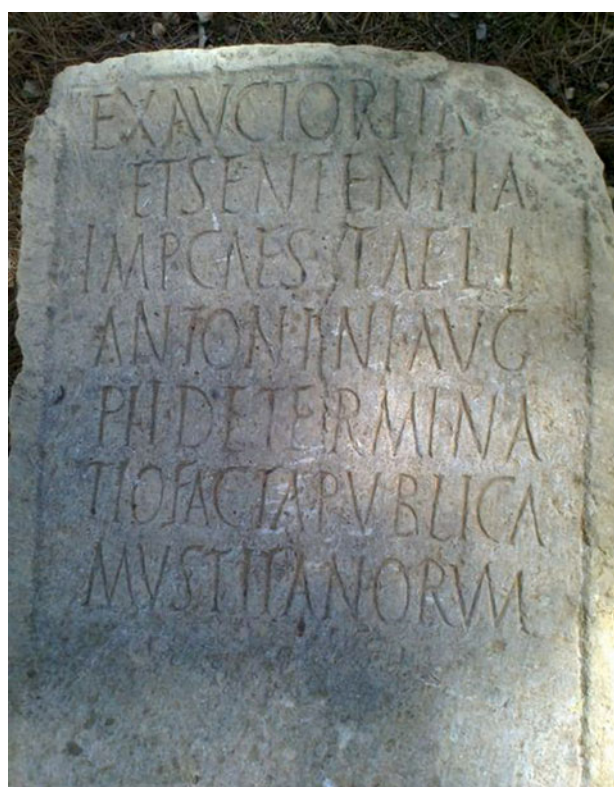


Figure 6. New *terminus* from Mustis (EDCS©).



Figure 7. First published *terminus* from Mustis (Saumagne 1927).

the *ordinatio* that confirm this new inscription is not one of the earlier ones.¹⁹

Ex auctorita[te]
et sententia
Imp(eratoris) ■ Caes(aris) ■ T(iti) ■ Aeli
Antonini ■ Aug(usti)
5. Pii ■ determina-
tio facta publica
Mustitanoru^m.

Translation: By the authority and according to the decision of the emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Antoninus Augustus Pius, the surveyed demarcation of the limits of (the community of) Mustis was made public

This inscription reveals the confirmation of the public limits of the *res publica Mustitanorum*. Beschtaouch had already indicated that Mustis was located in a particular geographical position. The epigraphic repertoire shows it was between the *perita* of Carthago (*AE* 1981, 866), to the north and east, and the *ager* of Sicca Veneria (*AE* 1981, 867), to the south and east.²⁰ Beschtaouch also indicates that, during the first two centuries of Roman rule in Africa Proconsularis, its territory was divided between the three great colonies founded by Julius Caesar (the two aforementioned and Cirta). This created administrative anomalies and peregrine communities such as Mustis, which achieved municipal status during this period, must have remained as exclaves within the large tracts of land.

This new piece confirms the text of the previous *termini* (slightly correcting the reintegration by Saumagne, who had omitted part of Antoninus Pius' titles). Unfortunately, the decontextualisation of this piece makes it impossible to know exactly where it was located in the *territorium* of Mustis. However, the other two boundary stones were found in the hills of Jeberi Bou Khil (Figure 8), which suggests that the delimitation was centred on the southern part of its *territorium*.

One aspect of this series of boundary stones that has not been dealt with is the expression *determinatio facta publica*. This determination of the limits made public is a part of the legal process rarely indicated in liminal epigraphy and requires a specific legal investigation. This *determinatio facta* was carried out on a specific date and consisted of the process prior the *terminatio* (draft plan), including figures such as the distance between *termini*. Until recently it was thought that it had been undertaken by the *ensor*, but new epigraphic evidence in Italy (Dalmiglio et al. 2019) has revealed the existence of the figure of the *determinante* together with the *ensor*. What is interesting is that these

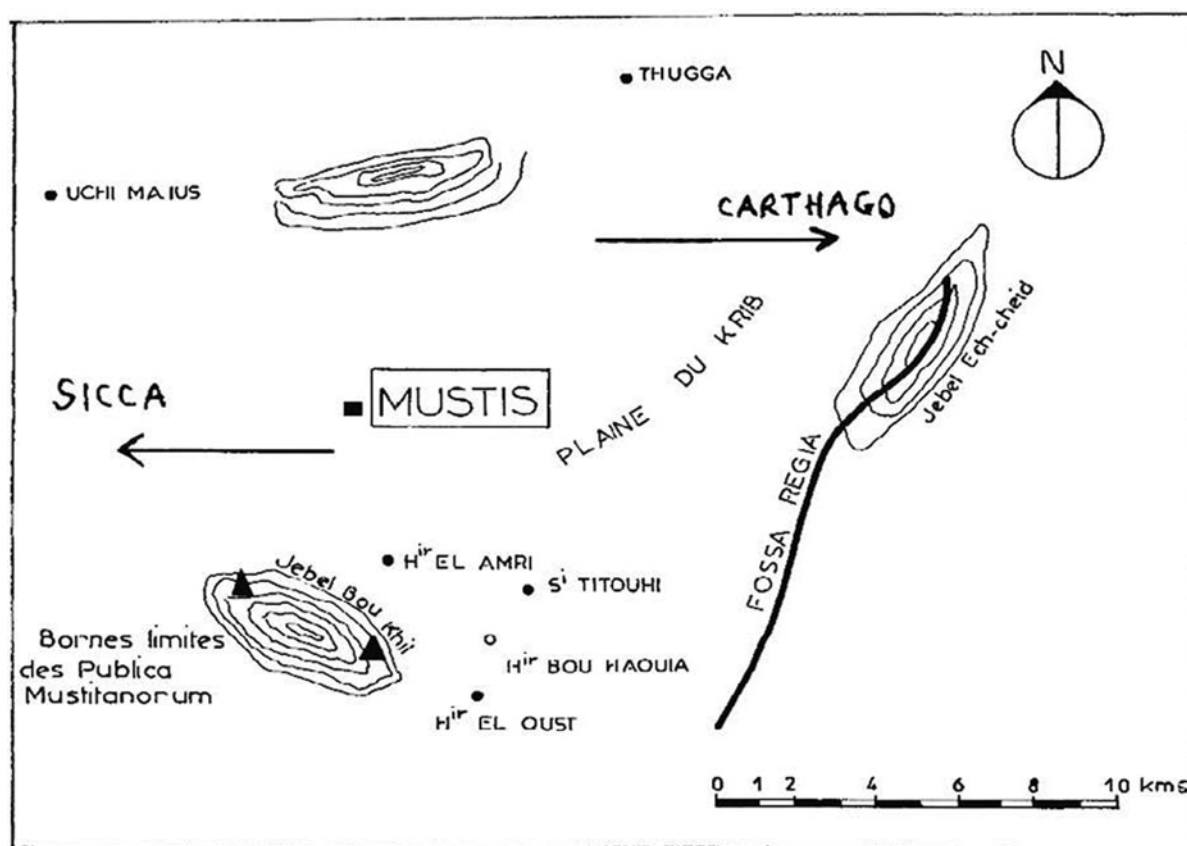


Figure 8. Limits of Mustis (by Beschouch 1981, 114, fig. 6).

positions, *determinante* and *ensor*, are indicated as two different roles. In the Italian dispute, the person who applied the emperor's verdict was a *primus pilus*, an important military figure in the community. In Mustis only one *primus pilus* has been documented (Kłodziński and Abid 2021), and only in the 3rd century.

There is sparse evidence for the intervention of Antoninus Pius in the re-examination of the African public boundaries (vid. Romanelli 1959, 361). There is only this verdict, in addition to the confirmation of the limits of a *ratio privata* (imperial property)²¹ in Medjana, Bordj Bou Arreridj, Algeria. In the case of Mustis it is difficult to know the reason for the redefinition of the municipal boundaries. The *municipium Iulium Aurelium Mustitanum* was promoted by Caesar and its inhabitants were included the *tribus Cornelia* (Beschouch 1967, 1968, 1981, 2014), although the cognomen Aurelius indicates a refoundation in the time of Marcus Aurelius. This could be related to a need to revise the municipal boundaries due to a conflict. This problem is indicated by the expression "*ex sententia*" (by the verdict), as well as the fact that the emperor was exercising "*auctoritas*" to finalise the resolution of this boundary problem. For arbitration trials between towns, the resolution (*sententia*) had to do with the substance and the effects, while the *decretum* indicated who performed the arbitration and how it was carried out, with prior knowledge of all the circumstances from both parties (Cortés Bárcena 2013, 275; España-Chamorro 2021, 388).

The erection of the boundary stones of the colony of Sicca Veneria may suggest similar problems (although these inscriptions appear to be slightly earlier, with the palaeography suggesting a Hadrianic chronology). In contrast, the inscription indicating the *pertica* of Carthago appears to correspond to internal partitioning and is probably not related to the dispute (Beschouch 1981, 2014). Therefore, we must consider a possible conflict involving the eastern limit of Sicca Veneria and the south/south-western limit of the

territory of Mustis. Another important fact is that the sentence comes from the emperor himself, meaning that the conflict and the trial involved a Roman colony (España-Chamorro 2021, 389 note 53). Therefore, everything points to a redefinition of the boundaries of Mustis in the time of Marcus Aurelius that led to a problem with Sicca Veneria

Other known inscriptions

The other inscriptions presented here are already known texts, but for which we had no information other than the text itself and, only in some cases, information about their epigraphic medium. The Poinssot photographic collection allows us to see for the first time an image of these texts and to compare the original information that was published at the beginning of the 20th century, such as the twin inscriptions of Iulius Bari and Iulia Iambaria (Cagnat 1923, CXXVIII = ILT 1536, see Figure 9). This shows that the Poinssot collection includes some of the original papers that were sent from Tunisia and Algeria to the *Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques*, although they were never kept in their archives and remained the property of the Poinssot family. In particular, it is necessary to comment on a *hapax* from ILT 1536. As it is a duplicate inscription, the formula of the heading has been imitated as a mirror image *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / S(acrum) M(anibus) D(is)*. This inversion is unique in a twin inscription and is only found in three other African inscriptions and one from Baetica.²²

The inscription CIL VIII, 1578 was described by Wilmanns in two fragments. Figure 10 shown here corresponds to a fragment of the beginning of the titles of the emperor, who was subsequently subjected to the *abolitio memoriae*. Wilmanns proposed that the titles of Alexander Severus could be seen on such a

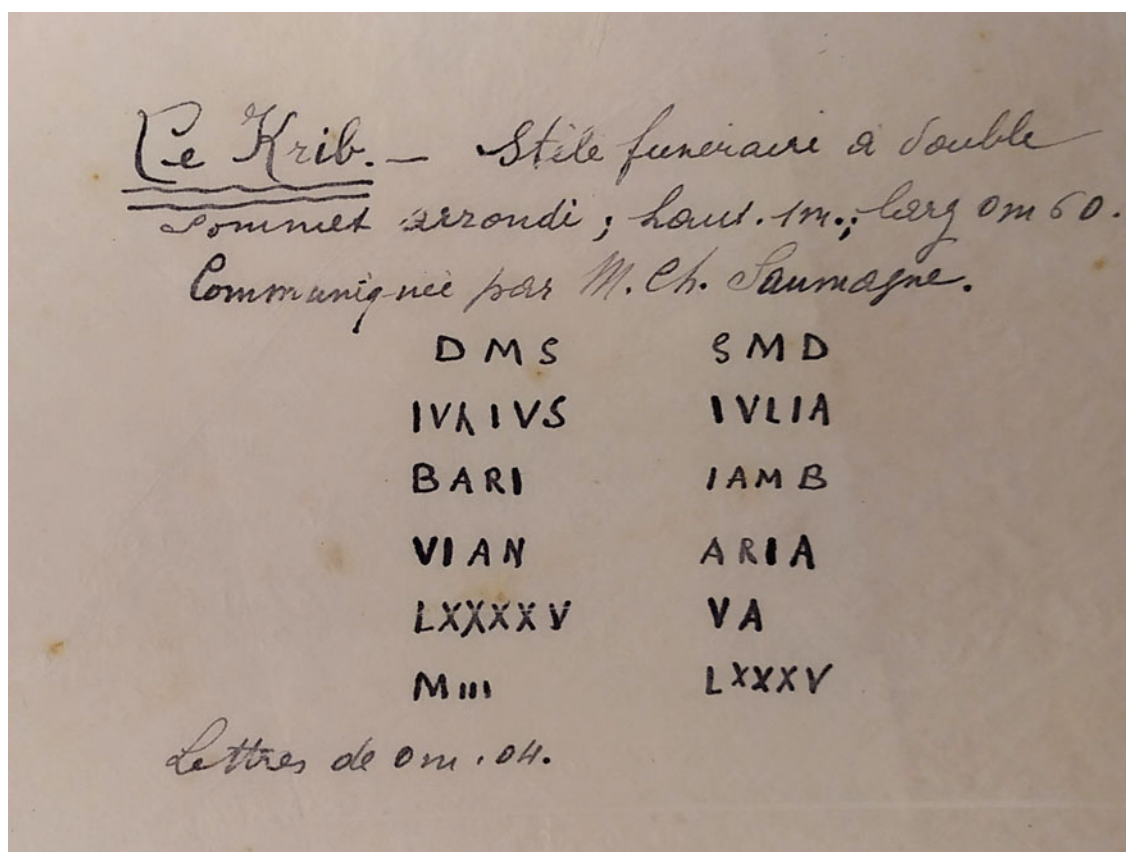


Figure 9. Original document for publishing the information in the *BCTHS* (Cagnat 1923, p. CXXVIII).

piece. It appears to have been made in the same *officina* as Inscription 3 referring to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Figure 11 is an even older photo from Louis Poinssot's collection of notes and photographs sent to the *CTHS*. It shows that this piece was made as a *tabula ansata* and that Fragment b had already lost the first letters on its left side compared to the Berbrugger's notes received by Wilmanns for publication in the *CIL*.

The set of four blocks from *ILT* 1538 (*AE* 1933, 33) contains a double inscription: a first text with the title of Marcus Aurelius, which, from the title of Armeniacus, allows it to be dated to between 164–5 (Figure 12). The second text was made under the reign of Valentinian and Valens from 364. The photograph shows that the medium used must have been part of a building structure. The *ordinatio* of the first inscription had a text with wide margins on the side and at the top and bottom, which

allowed the second text to be added after the first inscription. The palaeography is obviously different: the Marcus Aurelius text is neat and regular, while that from the 4th century shows signs of little prior preparation, given the different sizes of the letters and a certain irregularity in the outline. Modern EDCS photographs (©Manfred Clauss) show that some of the text has since deteriorated, although it is still largely preserved, and Fragments b and c remain in situ. Of the blocks indicated in *ILT* 1538, photos of a, b, c and e are provided.

A further archive photograph (Figure 13) presents an inscription of which we only previously knew the text *CIL* VIII, 15627). The monument is apparently of marble in the form of an altar with an inscribed area bordered by decorative frames. The *ordinatio* reveals an error by the *lapicida*. In l. 2 the artisan appears to have omitted the initial P and then added it, as it is the only letter that does not respect the margin; the last line is also smaller than the rest.

The photographic collection also includes recently published inscriptions such as the epitaph of the *primus pilus* (Kłodziński and Abid 2021) or the group of milestones published in 2016 by Chaouali (2016 = *AE* 2016, 1914–1916). Claude Poinssot indicates that they were found during the 1961 excavation.²³



Figure 10. Photograph of *CIL* VIII, 1578a by Claude Poinssot (Fond Poinssot, INHA).



Figure 11. Photograph of *CIL* VIII, 1578a and b by Louis Poinssot (Fond Poinssot, INHA).



Figure 12. Photographs of ILT 1538 (Fragments a, b, c, e) (Fond Poinssot, INHA).



Figure 13. Photograph of CIL VIII, 15627 (Fond Poinssot, INHA).

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Notes

1 Place name known by the inscription ILT 1571 *Caelesti* [Aug(ustae)] *sacrum* [pro] salute / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) C(ai) [[M[aximini(?)]]] Pii Felicis Aug(usti) pont(ificis) [max(imi) trib(unicia)] potest(ate) p(atris) p(atriciae) totiusq(ue) domus / eius divinae coloni *fun[di Tur]ris Rutundae d(omini) n(ostri)* Aug(usti) templum de[lapsu]m denuo sua pecunia fecerunt / cum columnis ornatis idem[que] dedicaverunt magisterio L(uci) Corneli [---] su[b] cura Anni Cornelianus sacerdotis.

2 Minerv(a) / Aug(ustae) sac(rum), vid. ILT 1571 quoting the note by Saumage, Poinssot and Lantier published in Cagnat 1923, p. CXXVIII.

3 CIL VIII, 1545 with the same text; AE 1968, 584; CIL VIII, 1472; CIL VIII, 1491; AE 1987, 1022; AE 1997, 1655.

4 CIL VIII, 14349.

5 CIL VIII, 16354.

- 6 AE 1968, 591.
- 7 AE 1968, 587 associated with Eshmoun, Cadotte (2007, 187).
- 8 As Pluto Frugiferus Augustus together with the Genius of Mustis, Caelestis and Aesculapius (AE 1968, 595) see Beschouch 1968 no. 6; Nutrix Frugiferus Augustus (AE 1898, 45) and also together with Janus CIL VIII, 15577 and CIL VIII, 27436. Beschouch (1973, 103–5) showed that this divinity was syncretised with Pluto instead of with African Saturn, replacing his role at least in the town of Mustis (see also Cadotte 2006, 6). To this, we should add another epigraph that quotes Pluto Augustus (Beschouch 1968).
- 9 AE 1968, 590 = Beschouch, 1968, no. 15 assimilated to the Dioscuri.
- 10 *Nutrici deum/basem M(arcus) Ovi/us Maximus v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) a (nimo)* Beschouch, 1968, n° 17. AE 1968, 592 = Beschouch (1968 no. 9), this was probably associated with the Phoenician Goddess Anat (Le Glay 1966, 220).
- 11 AE 1968, 596 = Beschouch (1968).
- 12 AE 1968, 586 = Beschouch (1968); Beschouch (1968). See also note 8 on Pluto Frugiferus, seeing a certain association between telluric divinities. On the Dea Caelestis, see also note 15. In this inscription Caelestis does not use the epithet Augusta, but she does in CIL VIII, 16415.
- 13 CIL VIII, 15578. According to Cadotte (2006, 220–1) the cult of Venus is syncretised with that of Astarte. In this case, the association with Liber Pater (which would be syncretised to Shadrapha) commemorates the rehabilitation of an *idurio* (a term of Semitic origin referring to a sacred enclosure, vid. M'Charek 1998). This leads M'Charek to consider a Libyo-Punic temple in which such a dual cult was already being performed, based on certain links that are also found on some reliefs on the stelae of La Ghorfa, Mactar and Thuburbo Maius. There is also another mention of the Liber Pater Augustus in the town (AE 1992, 1815).
- 14 CIL VIII, 27437.
- 15 Together with Jupiter Victor (AE 1968, 588) or without the epithet of Augustus and with Dis Pater (AE 1968, 599). Also, without epithet and together with the Dea Caelestis, CIL VIII, 27430.
- 16 CIL VIII, 2194; 14369; 25484; 25500 (the difference is also the inclusion of Augustus) and the only different inscription is CIL VIII, 1628.
- 17 Abthungi, Althiburos, Avedda, Cesarea, Carthago, Chemmakh, Cincaris, Cirta, Lambaesis, Madauros, Moph(-), Numluli, Pupput, Saia Maior, Sala, Segermes, Thamugadi, Theveste, Thuburbo Maius, Thubursicu Numidarum, Thugga, Tituli, Henchir Medkis, Uzelis, Verecunda, Volubilis, Henchir el-Gonai (Quinn and Wilson, 2013: 34–6 and 55–7).
- 18 Ain Nechma, Belalis Maior, Bisica, Cuicul, Maraci, Maxula, Thagura, Ucubi, Zucharis (Quinn and Wilson, 2013: 34–6 and 55–7).
- 19 AE 1929, 00071 = ILT 1560 [Ex auctoritate] / [et sententia] Imp(eratoris) / [Caes(aris) T(iti) Aeli] Antonini Aug(usti) / Pii determina(tio) [fac]ta publi(ca) M[us]titanorum; CIL VIII, 27459 Ex auctoritate et sententia Imp(eratoris) Caesaris T(iti) Aeli Anto(nini) Aug(usti) Pii determina(tio) facta publica Mustita(norum).
- 20 Beschouch 1981, 108 also indicates that the so-called Gordian III arch to the east of Mustis would have marked the end of the municipal territory. This inscription was found during restoration work on the arch. In addition to this brief inscription C(olonia) I(ulia) K(arthago), there is another inscription found at Thugga which is more explicit (AE 1933, 94) and which speaks of the pertica Carthaginensium.
- 21 CIL VIII, 8810; Cortés Bárcenas 2013, 198–200.
- 22 Henchir Deheb CIL VIII, 27961; Madaurus ILAlg I, 2578; Theveste AE 1995, 1683; Ategua CIL II 2/5, 475.
- 23 Musti. Fouilles 1961. Photo CP pellicule données à Morus.

Abbreviations

- AE *L'Année épigraphique : revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine*, Paris 1888–
- BCTHS *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques*, Paris 1883–
- CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. CIL VIII: Inscriptiones Africae Latinae. Collegit G. Wilmanns. Ed. Th. Mommsen. 1881 (impr. Iter. 1960).
- EDCS Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby <https://db.edcs.eu/>
- ILAlg *Inscriptiones Latines de l'Algérie*. Paris 1922–2003.
- ILS *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. Berlin 1892–1916.
- ILT *Inscriptiones Latines de la Tunisie*. Paris 1944.

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