

# THE ROMANS BEFORE ADVERSITY

FORMS OF REACTION AND STRATEGIES  
TO MANAGE CHANGE

*edited by*

**JORDI PÉREZ GONZÁLEZ**

**JUAN MANUEL BERMÚDEZ LORENZO**

*prologue by*

**TONI ÑACO DEL HOYO**



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Università della Calabria  
Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici — Sezione di Storia

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Sede della Redazione:  
Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici — Sezione di Storia  
Università della Calabria  
via Pietro Bucci (Cubo 28D)  
87037 Rende (CS)  
redazionemiscellanea@gmail.com



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JORDI PÉREZ GONZÁLEZ  
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TONI ÑACO DEL HOYO

*Contributions of*

ÁLEX CORONA ENCINAS, RÚBEN DE CASTRO, ALESSANDRA DI MEGLIO  
LORENA GARRI CATCHOT, MARÍA AIDE GÓMEZ ROBLEDO  
JAVIER HEREDERO BERZOSA, MARIO LORENTE MUÑOZ  
PERE MAYMÓ I CAPDEVILA, MARIANO MORGANTI, JUAN MOROS DÍAZ  
LLUÍS PONS PUJOL, DIEGO ROMERO VERA, ANDRÉS SÁEZ GEOFFROY  
GABRIEL ESTRADA SAN JUAN, DAVID SERRANO ORDOZGOITI  
FILIPE N. SILVA, DILETTA VIGNOLA



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## PROLOGUE

According to a notorious passage from the seventh book of Orosius' *Histories against the Pagans*, a disaster of great proportions struck the city of Fidenae — today's Castel Giubileo, right in the middle of the *ager romanus*— in 27 AD, during the twelfth year of Emperor Tiberius' reign. During a gladiatorial show in the amphitheater, a large section of the stands collapsed, killing over 20,000 people (Oros. 7.12.11). This figure was most likely borrowed from Suetonius (*Tib.* 40), whereas Tacitus reports a death toll of 50,000 (Ann. 4.62). After a very brief description of the events, Orosius attempted to justify them to for his readers. In his reasoning, God destroyed the amphitheater in order to punish those who rejoiced in the death of other human beings for pleasure. This episode, moreover, almost coincided with the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, making it even more reprehensible, according to the bishop's doctrinal principles (Oros. 7.12.12). In his works, Orosius compiles disasters both natural and manmade, from the original sin of Adam and Eve to his own presence as a Christian bishop in North Africa at the beginning of the 5th century. In the seven books, Orosius' narrative maintains a common thread as an overarching moral message: divine punishment of the wicked. Orosius' interpretation of history hinges on the view projected by the author's own beliefs and ideology, which was a product of his own existence. As a result, the theological explanation he offers cannot be dissociated from a simple account of the facts; indeed, he never pretended to do so.

If Orosius' interest in catastrophes directly echoes his own existence, it is no coincidence that the editors of this volume are also interested in delving into the impact of catastrophes in the Roman world precisely when we are

still in the midst of a global health crisis (2020-2021). In this volume, the reader will thus find a kaleidoscopic analysis of the phenomenon of disasters—both natural and manmade—in the Roman world, with a particular focus on the Imperial period. The chapters of this book, written both by experienced and younger researchers but with a genuinely international vocation, connect ancient evidence with the concerns of modern scholars. Several chapters address the aftermath of such ancient crises, leading both to the extinction of certain economic, social, or even political phenomena, as well as the creation of new opportunities for those who knew how, or were able to take advantage of them. As such, this book does not approach catastrophe as a mere collection of anecdotes about calamities, as many have done before. On the contrary, its main goal is to highlight the dynamics of change that are generated by such disasters, mostly unconsciously, but in fact only appreciated in the long run. In my view, both editors, J.M. Bermúdez Lorenzo and J. Pérez González, are to be congratulated for having compiled a cohesive volume by bringing out the right approach from each of their contributors, despite the diversity of topics covered. As an overall conclusion, one of the greatest contributions of this project is the integration of ‘misfortunes, changes, and opportunities’ into a single discussion forum. In all likelihood, these three items can only be understood as being interconnected, both in the Roman world and in any other historical period, the present-day included.

TONI NÁCO DEL HOYO

ICREA & Universitat de Girona

## INTRODUCTION

The book was born with the aim of offering a space for reflection and debate on the forms of intellectual analysis and reaction developed by Roman society in relation to catastrophic phenomena, both those of natural origination and those derived from concrete human decision-making. The main interest was focused on understanding those moments in which the daily life of Romans changed for the worse and on describing the different responses on the part of policy-makers and individuals before these critical situations, in which not everyone is able to overcome these episodes and some even take advantage of the situation opportunistically. This interpretation is reflected in the Chinese character that is translated as ‘crisis’, is pronounced as ‘wei-yi’ and consists of two characters: the character ‘wei’, which means ‘danger’, and the character ‘yi’, which means ‘crucial occasion’, ‘critical point’ and ‘opportunity’. Already the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche expressed a similar idea in the maxim “what doesn’t kill me, makes me stronger” or the corresponding maxim of Winston Churchill, “Never let a good crisis go to waste”. These reflections on the ‘critical moment’ serve as an example of the meaning of the word ‘crisis’, which derives from the Greek noun ‘krisis’ and the verb ‘krino’ which can mean, variously, ‘separate’, ‘decide’, ‘make a distinction’ and also ‘decisive moment’. Crises can thus be related to the moment of truth, a turning point in which the difference between the conditions observed before and after the given ‘moment’ becomes more noticeable than most all other moments.

This ‘incident’ marked by a critical moment within the normality of our day-to-day lives constitutes a challenge. It puts pressure on us to be able to devise new methods to manage these episodes, discarding previous



inadequate methods that prove ineffective in the face of new challenges. In this way, if a person or country manages to design new and better methods to deal with these personal or national crises, we usually say that the crisis has been successfully resolved. We sometimes even emphasize that these are the moments that force us to change, since normally, if we do well, we do not need changes.

Along these lines, the book focuses on both individuals and groups of a diverse nature in all areas of social, political, and economic life, and the perceptions resulting from overcoming these moments.

With these objectives, researchers from Italy, Portugal, Spain, Brazil, Argentina and Chile were invited to participate in the book, with a total of 16 chapters. In order to facilitate and enhance the debate on the various issues raised, the meeting was grouped into 3 thematic sections. The first two followed a time-frame extending from the 1st to the 6th centuries “Part 1: A golden age? Ways of reacting to change: perception and management strategies (1st-2nd Centuries AD) and “Part 2: An age of crisis? ways of reacting to change: perception and management strategies (3rd-6th centuries AD). The third section analyzed the reception of disasters and their individual and collective responses.

In the first section, various case-studies were addressed on a national scale, offering various perspectives related to the instability caused by a war conflict, noting responses and, in turn, highlighting the deceleration of the Empire in some regions in what they tended to observe historiographically as a golden age. – The first of the chapters, Ll. Pons Pujol from the University of Barcelona, analyzed the massacre of the population of *Volubilis* (40/41 AD) during the conquest of *Mauritania*, debating whether or not the episode really existed. During his presentation he offered the audience a rich debate concerning the contested archaeological evidence of the massacre and considering whether, on the contrary, it was a historiographic construct that survives to this day. – After this, R. De Castro, a researcher at CHAM, NOVA University of Lisbon – School of Social Sciences and Humanities (NOVA FCSH) (The Year of the Four Emperors: Perspectives on Civil War and Imperial Legitimacy in the Omens of 68 and 69 AD) collected the omens of the Roman rulers, offering a unique insight into these future visions during the chaotic period of AD 68 and 69 and its importance in manipulating public opinion and showing how political propaganda and Roman religion worked together to design, in these omens, to shape the collective memory of those turbulent years. – Thirdly in this section, the contribution of D. Romero Vera (University of Seville; *Ab*

*aetate aurae ad aetatem ferream*. Causes and interpretations on the beginning of the urban crisis in Hispania during the Late Antonine age) noted from an archaeological standpoint a series of changes and transformations that led to an urban crisis or loss of splendor of many Hispanic civic communities in the middle of the second century AD, examining the different historiographic approaches to this peculiar phenomenon. – Next M.A. Gómez Robledo of the University of Barcelona (La decadencia del *Municipium Augusta Bilbilis*: el ejemplo del teatro (s.I d.C.– VI d.C.)) examined the urban changes of Bilbilis and the progressive abandonment of the city, focusing his research on the use and disuse of the theater. – Conclude the section J. Moros Díaz of the University of Barcelona closed the session with a presentation dedicated to learning about the transformations of the agrarian structure of the Betic oil production area through a detailed analysis of the amphorae epigraphy from the Severian period, contextualizing and geolocating the changes in the administration of several ‘confiscated’ potteries just after Septimius Severus’s victory over Clodius Albinus (Transformations of the Baetican olive oil production area in the Severian period).

The second section starts by P. Maymó i Capdevila from the University of Barcelona focused on making known the effects of the Plague of Justinian and the strategy of meeting the crisis by the new pontiff, Gregory of Tours, who organized a new massive procession by Rome that exceeded the earthly response, requesting a divine response. – It is followed by the contribution of G. Estrada San Juan from the University of Barcelona (La peste antonina y el auge de la Nueva Profecía) focused on an anecdote (SHA Marc. 13, 4-6) about a false prophet which warned Roman citizens about the end of the world, in the context of the Antonine plague, to which was added the shortage of food, the İzmir earthquake, the overflowing of the Tiber and strange astronomical phenomena. The passage shows the speaker’s sense of hysteria during the rule of Marcus Aurelius and his subsequent pardon, perhaps in order to exemplify the emperor’s clemency. – Next, and overview is provided by A. Sáez Geoffroy from the University of La Frontera continued the proceedings with a presentation that re-evaluated the geographical context and the impact of the Antonine plague on the changes experienced in the Roman Empire at the end of the 2nd century AD. Here, the audience was able to follow the progress of the pandemic in connection with the geographical integration generated by the Roman communication networks. – The fourth chapter details analyze the persecutory edicts of Decius and Valerianus, the first persecutions generated against the Christian community and the beginning of their anti-Christian

policies to approach the causes of this situation (M. Lorente Muñoz (University of Murcia). – Close the section M. Morganti (University of Messina; Sicily in the Vandal Age: socio-economic continuity) also made use of the changes in the material culture of North African tableware spread in Sicily in the new ‘vandal kingdom’ and offered a new vision of the period, with a restructuring of production, a revitalization of ceramic workshops and a commercialization of trade.

The third section begun with an interesting presentation by A. Di Meglio from the Università degli Studi di Napoli ‘Federico II’ (*Interitus*, o l’omicidio politico. Studio sull’uso di *interitus* e sulle sue occorrenze nelle orazioni ciceroniane). Its purpose was to analyze how the use of the term *interitus* was associated with the phrase *res publica* or with historical and political figures in Rome. A particular type of death can be defined as *interitus*: the dismemberment of the Republic and its crisis; a violent death, carried out to the detriment of the tyrant (for example, G. Gracchus, Catiline, Clodius, Caesar, Antonius) or which was commissioned by the tyrant to the detriment of a politically involved and tyrannical character (such as Trebonius, L. Domitius Ahenobardus, Callisthenes, Cicero himself). The death of those who have assumed tyrannical attitudes was shown both to decree the overcoming of the crisis and the elimination of danger and to lay the foundations for the beginning of a new era and the renewal of the State. – This was followed by a review by D. Serrano Ordozgoiti (Complutense University of Madrid) of the traditionally negative image of Emperor Gallienus which was promoted in later historiography by Constantinian historians and senatorial elites of the 3rd and 4th centuries AD. In particular, the author sought to analyze the representation of the monarch created by the epitomist Aurelius Victor in his *Liber de Caesaribus* and considered how the partisan use of decenviral records and the overflowing of the Tiber River served to reinforce the position against the emperor. This offered a clear example of the objective of this third session, which focussed on the reception of disasters through the sources and the different ways of understanding or disseminating a single critical episode. – Next Á. Corona Encinas of the University of Navarra, ICS, Cátedra Álvaro d’Ors (*Apuntes sobre la fundamentación política de las reformas justinianas ante la crisis de las estructuras administrativas protobizantinas*) discussed the crisis of Roman municipal institutions and the reforms during the Justinian era, which were developed in the *Novellae* and promulgated by Emperor Justinian I. Here, the speaker delved into the transformation of the classic model of municipal administration through a detailed analysis

of the legislative sources of the period. – Another critical examination of the sources presented D. Vignola from the University of Genoa offering an interesting gender-based vision of the response of Roman women to the pressure of the Carthaginian army led by Hannibal during the Second Punic War. To learn about the heroic Roman civil response, the author analyzed the *Punica* of Silius Italicus, a text in which the resilience of the population in the face of desperate moments is specified. – The last two chapters could well be conceived as a space for personal critical episodes in the daily lives of Romans. Firstly, L. Garri Catchot from the University of Barcelona offered a theoretical reflection on the concept of rape as a weapon of war and how this sexual assault became consecrated in the case of the Vestal Virgins during Late Antiquity (with consideration of its consequences). – Finally, F. N. Silva of the Universidade Estadual de Campinas / UNICAMP (*Evergetismo e integración social: una mirada de la munificencia cívica de los libertos*) used epigraphy as the main source of study for understanding the basic civic benevolences used in overcoming servile origins and as a mechanism of social integration among freedmen in Roman public life.

Although the total number of presentations was quite heterogeneous, we believe that these stories ideally illustrate the objective of our book, which was intended to understand the changes necessary for the correct management of these critical episodes. At a general level, points of kinship could be highlighted between all the chapters. A time-scale could also be perceived which registered a series of unique decisive moments in the life of an individual, in which a dramatic and unusual event happened suddenly and without prior warning, such as the tsunamis, or a serious accident or sudden death. But in parallel, a broader time-frame could be linked to most of these crises as the culmination of a series of gradual changes linked to long intervals sustained over many years. In this way crises show themselves to be more ‘elastic’ in time, without having a notion of the original moment where, effectively, everything became worse. A connection between the microscopic and macroscopic scales can also be noted between the personal and the national crisis. How and when to resolve these crises thus became the center of many of the discussions included in the book, where the existence of different endings for the same episode became clear.

JORDI PÉREZ GONZÁLEZ<sup>1</sup>

JUAN MANUEL BERMÚDEZ LORENZO<sup>2</sup>

University of Girona<sup>1</sup> & King Juan Carlos University<sup>2</sup>

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Universidad  
Rey Juan Carlos

PART 1

**A GOLDEN AGE?  
WAYS OF REACTING TO CHANGE: PERCEPTION AND  
MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES (1ST-2ND CENTURIES AD)**



# THE MASSACRE OF THE POPULATION OF *VOLUBILIS* DURING THE CONQUEST OF MAURITANIA (40/41 AD)

## 1. The context: the war of conquest of the Kingdom of Mauritania

Various hypotheses have been proposed concerning the reasons why Emperor Caligula ordered the assassination of his cousin King Ptolemy of *Mauritania*,<sup>(1)</sup> as well as various hypotheses about when this event occurred.<sup>(2)</sup> In 40 AD, as a result of the murder of Ptolemy, his kingdom was annexed as a province, receiving the name *Mauretania*.<sup>(3)</sup> It would only be after its total pacification that the *Tingitana* and *Caesariensis* was created, at the end of 42 AD or early 43 AD,<sup>(4)</sup> governed thereafter by procurators of equestrian rank.

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(1) There are no objective reasons to doubt the fidelity and loyalty of the Mauritanian monarch towards Rome until the moment of his assassination: he did not alter the regime of the Roman colonies of Mauritania, and tried to repress the part of his subjects who were opposed to Roman domination, collaborated in the war against Tacfarinas, whose monetary issues sent unfavorable signals to the Senate, etc. In our opinion, Caligula believed that his cousin was linked to the *Gaetulicus* conspiracy. Cf. Ll. Pons, *Luxuria mauretaniae. ¿La explotación de los productos de lujo como causa de la conquista?*, *Anuari de Filologia. Antiqua et Mediaevalia*, 11.1, 2021, 25-46.

(2) A synthesis can be found in M. Coltelloni-Trannoy, *Le royaume de Maurétanie sous Juba II et Ptolémée*, Paris, 1997, 55-59. In our opinion, the assassination of Ptolemy would have occurred in the first months of AD 40, since the revolt of Aedemon and its repression had already ended before the assassination of Caligula and the advent of Claudius (24 of January 41 AD), and the era of the province undoubtedly begins in 40 AD.

(3) G. Di Vita-Évrard, La dédicace des Horrea de Tubusuctu et l'ère de la province dans les Maurétanies, in: A. Mastino (a cura di), *L'Africa romana. Atti del IX Convegno di studio, Nuoro, 13-15 dicembre 1991*, Sassari 1992, vol. 2, 843-864; *idem*. L'ère de Maurétanie: une nouvelle attestation, in: A. Mastino, P., Ruggeri (a cura di), *L'Africa romana. Atti del X Convegno di studio. Oristano, 11-13 dicembre 1992*, Sassari, vol. 3, 1994, 1061-1070.

(4) J. Gascou, M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, légat de Claude en Maurétanie. *Mélanges de Philosophie, de*



The death of the king led to a war of conquest, centered on two conflicts: the so-called revolt of the freedman Aedemon,<sup>(5)</sup> and the rebellion of the *mauri* tribes in the south of the province. Both conflicts occurred in the western half of the province, while on the eastern side, the future *Caesariensis*, the situation remained calm.<sup>(6)</sup> As for the duration of this conflict, it lasted from an indeterminate time after the assassination of Ptolemy<sup>(7)</sup> until a point in time, also unknown, before the advent of Claudius on January 25, AD 41, at which point the fighting had ended.<sup>(8)</sup> The destruction of numerous cities in the north of the province (*Tamuda*, *Lixus*, *Tingi*) are attributed to this war, as well as the supposed massacre of *Volubilis*. The war against the Roman conquest continued with the so-called rebellion of the *mauri* tribes from the south of the province, during the years 41 and 42 AD; Cassius Dio (60. 9. 1-5) and Pliny (*Nat.* 5. 14-15). *Marcus Licinius Crassus Frugi* were sent by Caligula to *Mauretania* during the period 40 - 41 AD, along with two legions, the *X Gemina* and the *IV Macedonica*, stationed in *Hispania*,<sup>(9)</sup> who subdued

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*Littérature et d'Histoire Ancienne offerts à Pierre Boyancé*, Paris, 1974, 307-308, note 5; B. E. Thomasson, *Zur Verwaltungsgeschichte der römischen Provinzen (Proconsularis, Numidia, Mauretaniae). Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römische Welt*, Berlin; New York, vol. II.10.2, 1982, 32; P. Biongiorno, *Senatus consulta claudiani temporibus facta. Una palinogenesi delle deliberazioni senatorie dell'età di Claudio (41-54 d.C.)*. Napoli, 2010, 140-141.

(5) He probably had a Roman name, *Caius Iulius Aedemon*. Cf. M. Coltelloni-Trannoy, Note sur la guerre d'Aedemon: système d'alliance et composition de l'armée royale, in: M. Coltelloni-Trannoy; Y. Le Bohec (éds.), *La guerre dans l'Afrique romaine sous le Haut-Empire*, Paris, 2014, 85-99, for whom the freedman had important troops "le plus étrangers à l'univers des cités, le plus éloignées de la zone des plaines et du littoral," (p. 93), well trained and organized, "... dont la composition et les techniques étaient "modernes", c'est à dire, composites, à la fois de type romain et de type africain. On y trouvait des unités variées, recrutées parmi les populations des cités et les tribus du royaume; elles étaient capables d'affronter et leurs alliées en combat "régulier", de les harceler grâce à une cavalerie chevronnée, capables aussi de d'attaquer et d'endommager les villes" (p. 96).

(6) M. Coltelloni-Trannoy, *Le royaume de Maurétanie...*, 61-64; R. Rebuffat, *Romana arma primum Claudio principe in Mauretania bellavere*, in: Y. Burnand; Y. Le Bohec, J.-P. Martin (éds.), *Claude de Lyon. Empereur romain*, Paris, 1998, 287-291.

(7) Cf. M. Coltelloni-Trannoy, *Le royaume de Maurétanie...*, 60, note 57.

(8) D.C. 60. 8. 6; *I.A.M.lat.*, 448. Pliny is wrong to situate the events in the principality of Claudius, undoubtedly confused by the emperor having accepted the honors of a triumph that would correspond to Caligula (*Nat.* 5. 11).

(9) *CIL VI 31721; P.I.R.*, (5), L: 190; J. Carcopino, *Le Maroc Antique*, Paris 1943, 37; M. Tarradell, *Nuevos datos sobre la guerra de los romanos contra Aedemón. I Congreso Arqueológico del Marruecos Español. Tetuán 22-26 Junio, 1953*, Tetuán 1954, 338; M. Rachtet, *Rome et les Berbères*, Bruxelles, 1970, 131; J. Gascou, *M. Licinius Crassus Frugi...*, 299-310. J. Carcopino, *Le Maroc Antique...*, 36-37, consider that 20,000 men were sent. Cf. to the synthesis of G. Bernard, *Nec Plus Ultra. L'extrême occident méditerranéen dans l'espace politique romain (218 av. J.-C.-305 apr. J.-C.)*. Casa de Velázquez, Madrid, 2018, 253-254, for which only the presence of the *X Gemina* at this time in *Mauretania* can be considered relatively safe.

the supporters of both Aedemon and the *mauri*.<sup>(10)</sup> The other generals sent to subdue this province were *Gaius Suetonius Paulinus* (41-42 AD)<sup>(11)</sup> and *Cnaeus Hosidius Geta* (42-43 AD).<sup>(12)</sup> I have been the first to warn of the difficulty of considering these three soldiers as governors of *Mauretania*, considering them military legacies; the governors of AD 40-42 are unknown, who, in my opinion, resided in *Caesarea*, far from military operations.<sup>(13)</sup>

## 2. The specific data

The data relating to this tragic incident are of three types: three inscriptions of *Volubilis*; the classical sources (essentially Pliny); and two archaeological references.

The inscriptions *I.A.M.lat.*, 369,<sup>(14)</sup> 370<sup>(15)</sup> and 448<sup>(16)</sup> have been

(10) *CIL* VI 31721. After achieving this victory, he was sent to *Britannia*. Cf. J. Carcopino, *Le Maroc Antique...*, 37; M. Rachtet, *Rome et les Berbères...*, 133.

(11) *P.I.R.*, (2), S: 957, precisely «*Dux militum in Mauretania praetorius bellum gessitum Mauris, usque ad Atlantem pervenit*».

(12) *P.I.R.*, (4), H, 216.

(13) I proposed this in our communication from 2014, “*Nec solum consulatu perfunctis* (Plin. *HN.*, V, 11). Los gobernadores de la provincia Mauritania entre los años 40-43 d.C.” in Congress *Espacios y formas de autoridad en las orillas del Estrecho de Gibraltar desde la Antigüedad a la Edad Media. Entre tentaciones centrifugas y reafirmaciones del poder central de la segunda guerra Púnica (218 a.C.) hasta la conquista de Granada (1492)*, organized by the Casa de Velázquez at the Colegio de España in Paris on February 6-7, 2014, currently going to press: G. Bernard, P. Buresi, (eds.), *Le détroit de Gibraltar: espaces et figures de pouvoir (218 av. J.-C.-1492)*, Casa de Velázquez, Madrid. On *Marcus Licinius Crassus Frugi*, cf. Ll. Pons, La legación de *M. Licinius Crassus Frugi* en *Mauretania* (*CIL* VI 31721), in: V. Revilla Calvo; A. Aguilera Martín; Ll. Pons Pujol; M. García Sánchez (eds.), *Ex Baetica Romam. Homenaje a José Remesal Rodríguez*, Barcelona, 2020, 389-409. Cf. also R. Olmo López, La política africana de Calígula y los primeros legados imperiales de la *legio III Augusta*: Una revisión. *Revue des études anciennes*, 2019, 121(2), 413-430, esp. 420-422, for whom the creation of the *Mauretania* province is unfeasible until AD 43, precisely because of the need to wage the war of conquest; *Suetonius Paulinus* and *Hosidius Geta* would be, in his opinion, the first known legacies of the *III Augusta*.

(14) *I.A.M.lat.* = M. Euzennat et al., *Inscriptions Antiques du Maroc. Inscriptions latines du Maroc*, Paris, 1982. *I.A.M.lat.*, 369 (= *I.L.M.*, 56): *Ti(berio) Claud(io) Caes(ari) Aug(usto), / divi [sic, per Drusi] fil(io), Germanico, p(ontifici) m(aximo), trib(unicia) pot(estate) / IIII, cos(uli) III, desig(nato) IIII, imp(eratori) VIII, p(atr)is / a(triae), munic(ipium) Volub(ilitanum), im / petrata c(ivitate) R(omana) et conubio, / et oneribus remisit, / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) d(edit). / Marcus Fadius Celer Flavianus / Maximus, pro(cunator) Aug(usti) proleg(ato), / dedicavit. Claudius' fourth *tribunicia potestas* dates from between 25-1-44 A.D. and 24-1-45 A.D. The other elements of his titulare can also be dated: *consul III* = 43 AD; *consul IV* = 47 AD; *imperator VIII* = 43-45 AD. Cf. the comments of the *I.A.M.lat.*, 369.*

(15) *I.A.M.lat.*, 370 (= *I.L.M.*, 57): *Divo Claudio, / Volubilitani civitate / romana ab eo donati. Cf. to the comments of the I.A.M.lat.*, 370.

(16) *I.A.M.lat.*, 448 (= *I.L.M.*, 116): *M(arco) Val(erio), Bostaris / (f)ilio, Gal(eria) tribu, Severo, aed(ili), suferi, Ilvir(o), / flamini primo / in municipio suo, / praef(ecto) auxilior(um) adversus Aedemo / nem oppressum bello. / Huic ordo municipii Volub(ilitani) ob me / rita erga rem pub(licam) et legatio / nem bene gestam qua ab divo / Claudio civitatem Ro / manam et conubium cum pere / grinis mulieribus, immunitatem*

interpreted in different ways, due to their polyhedral nature (Roman law, the factual history of the empire, social history, Romanization), although since its discovery a century ago, research has indirectly alluded to the death of a large part of the population.<sup>(17)</sup> The *I.A.M.lat.*, 448 is the most complete, stating that Claudius granted the city the following benefits in recognition of the help he had provided during the war: citizenship and municipal statute; the property of those who had died without leaving an inheritance (*bona vacantia*)<sup>(18)</sup>; *ius conubii* with the *peregrinae* women; being brought under

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*l annor(um) X, incolas, bona civium bel / lo interfectorum quorum here / des non extabant suis impetra / vit. / Fabia Bira, Izeltae f(ilia), uxor, indulge / ntissimo viro honore sua impensam / remisit / et d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) d(edit), d(e)d(icavit).* The mention of Claudius as divinized dates this inscription to a chronology after 13-X-54 AD. Cf. the comments of the *I.A.M.lat.*, 448. We must specify with regard to the bibliography cited by Gascou in the comments of the *I.A.M.lat.*, 448 that of L. Chatelain, *Inscription relative à la révolte d'Aedemon*, in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, Paris, 1915, 394-399, just mention the pp. 395-396; É. de Cuq, *Les successions vacantes des citoyens romains tués par l'ennemi sous le règne de Claude d'après une inscription de Volubilis*, *Journal des Savants*, 15<sup>e</sup> année, Paris 1917, 481-497 and 538-543, just mention the pp. 481 y 484; de *idem*, *Note complémentaire sur l'inscription de Volubilis*, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions*, Paris, 1918, 227-232, just mention the p. 227; y de G. De Sanctis, *Epigrafica*, IV - La iscrizione de Volubilis. *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 53, 1925, 372-380, esp. 372.

(17) For a synthesis of the historiographical evolution of the interpretations of these inscriptions, see Ll. Pons Pujol, *Volubilis i els bona vacantia: una síntesi*. *Pyrenae* 28, 1997, 133-149; *idem*, *Consecuencias jurídicas de una masacre: Volubilis, 40/41 d.C.* *IVRA*, 2008, 157-174: esp. 160-170. A list of the bibliography corresponding to the latin inscriptions of *Volubilis* in C. Cesaretti, *Gestione e Studio delle iscrizioni latine volubilitane. Volubilis Database Epigrafico*, Ancona, 2008.

(18) The *bona caduca* are the goods from an inheritance that remain vacant, that is without an owner, by virtue of the *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* or *Iulia Caducaria* (18 BC) and the *lex Pappia Poppaea* (9 AD). The goods from wills left to single people (*caelebes*), married citizens without children (*orbi*; these could receive half of the inheritance), etc. were ceased. Goods that remain vacant due to a lack of heirs are called *bona vacantia*. The difference with the previous case is that, in the *bona caduca* there are living heirs, although they are legally incapable of inheriting, while here there are no heirs. The goods that no one from the family of the deceased could legally receive passed, if no-one else claimed them, to the *aerarium populi romani*, in the senatorial provinces or to the  *fiscus caesaris* in the imperial provinces. Cf. Cic. *Quinct.* 19; Ulp. *dig.* 38, 1-3; G. Humbert, s.v. *Bona*, in: C. Daremberg; E. Saglio (éds), *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines. Tome premier. Première partie (A-B)*. Paris, 1877, 720-721; *idem*, s.v. *Bona caduca*, in: C. Daremberg; E. Saglio (éds), *Dictionnaire des antiquités...*, 721-724; *idem*, s.v. *Bona vacantia*, in: C. Daremberg; E. Saglio (éds), *Dictionnaire des antiquités...*, 732-733; J. Gascou, *La succession des bona vacantia et les tribus romaines de Volubilis. Antiquités Africaines* 12, 1978, 109-124, esp. 110; O. E. Tellegen-Couperus, *Diocétien et les biens vacants. Revue d'Histoire du Droit* 54, 1986, 85-95, esp. 91-96; L. Amirante, *Una storia giuridica di Roma*, Napoli 1992, 421-439; F. Millar, *The emperor in the Roman World*, London, 1992, 161. About Late Roman Empire, cf. R. Delmaire, *Largesses sacrés et res privata. L'aerarium impérial et son administration du IV<sup>e</sup> au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Roma, 1989, 611; P. Jaillet, *Les dispositions du code Théodosien sur les terres abandonnées. Le III<sup>e</sup> siècle en Gaule Narbonnaise. Données régionales sur la crise de l'Empire*, Sophia Antipolis, 1996, 333-404; C. Buenacasa, *La figura del obispo y la formación del patrimonio de las comunidades cristianas según la legislación imperial del reinado de Teodosio (379-395). Vescovi e pastori in epoca teodosiana* (Studia ephemeridis Augustinianum 58) Roma, 1997, 121-139.

the jurisdiction of the nearby city *incolae*; and a 10-year tax exemption.<sup>(19)</sup> The most widely accepted interpretation is that the city effectively suffered a massacre at some point during the war of conquest, and at the end of the war Emperor Claudius rewarded it with the benefits we have just enumerated.

Among the authors who have debated this issue, the most determined to accept the existence of the massacre was Gascou,<sup>(20)</sup> who believes that *Volubilis* was so Romanized before the annexation that he decided to take the side of Rome in Aedemon's war, taking the decision (in his interpretation) for its inhabitants. Therefore, annexation would be a logical consequence of this fact, rather than the result of a military invasion.<sup>(21)</sup> Regarding the concrete interpretation of the *I.A.M.lat.*, 448, he draws these conclusions: first, from AD 40, the moment of annexation, there was a large contingent of Roman citizens in *Volubilis*; and second, the war caused not only the death of those who joined the side in favor of Rome, but also a large part of the civilian population, producing a true massacre.<sup>(22)</sup> When a city suffers a massacre, the victims would be many and the goods affected by the *leges caducariae* would be abundant.

Interest in these inscriptions has not ceased in recent years. Fasolini, in a work on the literary and epigraphic sources of Claudius' principality, makes an interesting synthesis of the problem, without aligning himself.<sup>(23)</sup> Gagliardi, who deals especially with the use of the term *incolae* in the *I.A.M.lat.* 448,<sup>(24)</sup> accepts the death of many Roman citizens in *Volubilis* (even including women, children and old men)<sup>(25)</sup> and validates the data offered by archeology - as we

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(19) For other examples of donations to cities by the emperor during the 1st-3rd centuries AD, cf. F. Millar, *The emperor...*, 161, 257, 420-434; A. N. Sherwin-White, *The letters of Pliny: a historical and social commentary*, Oxford, 1985, 680ff.

(20) J. Gascou, *Municipia Civium Romanorum*. *Latomus* 30, 1971, 133-141; *idem*, *La succession...*, 109-124.

(21) J. Gascou, *La succession...*, 124.

(22) J. Gascou, *La succession...*, 113. Cf. esp. 115-121 in which he justifies the presence of Roman citizens before the concession of municipal statute by means of a study of the tribes that appear in the epigraphy of the city. Cf. M. Christol, *Rome et les tribus indigènes en Maurétanie tingitane*. *L'Africa romana* 5, 1987, 312; Y. Le Bohec, *Onomastique et société à Volubilis*, in: *L'Africa romana. Atti del VI Convegno di studio, Sassari, 16-18 dicembre 1988*, Sassari 1989, 339-356; *contra* E. A. En-Nachioui, *Aportaciones al estudio de la romanización de la Mauritania Tingitana: un siglo de arqueología colonial* (Tesis doctoral microfichada) Barcelona 1996, 272-276.

(23) D. Fasolini, *Aggiornamento bibliografico ed epigrafico ragionato sull'imperatore Claudio*, Milano, 2006, 73-78.

(24) L. Gagliardi, *Mobilità e integrazione delle persone nei centri cittadini romani. Aspetti giuridici*. *I. La classificazione degli incolae*, Milano, 2006, 288-302.

(25) "sotto il profilo demografico, se, come pare, dovevano essere molto numerosi i soggetti morti in guerra senza avere lasciato eredi a Volubilis, possiamo presumere che si fossero verificati molti decessi anche tra donne, vecchi e bambini", L. Gagliardi, *Mobilità e integrazione...*, 296.

will now see - indicating the existence of a destruction layer.<sup>(26)</sup> Terranova, in a highly erudite work on Roman Law concerning the edict of Claudius, takes up the problems related to these three inscriptions by Volubilis,<sup>(27)</sup> and considers that many of its inhabitants did indeed die during the war and that “*come è stato recentemente sottolineato le singole concessioni imperiali appaiono strettamente connesse tra loro e tutte finalizzare allo scopo di favorire una ripresa economica di Volubilis e un incremento della sua popolazione, finalità che si inquadrano bene nel contesto storico che abbiamo poc'anzi per grandi linee delineato, seguendo il quale Volubilis subì gravi perdite a seguito delle rivolte nella provincia che comportarono una vera e propria decimazione dei suoi abitanti*”.<sup>(28)</sup>

As for literary sources, only Pliny, in *N. H. V*, 11, expressly mentions the freedman Aedemon, although he is wrong in terms of chronology: *Romana arma primum Claudio principe in Mauretania bellauere Ptolemaeum regem a Caio Caesare interemptum ulciscente liberto Aedemone*. Indirectly, the assassination of Ptolemy and the war are also mentioned in various sources. Cassius Dio in LIX 25.1, indicates that Caligula killed Ptolemy; in LX 8, 6, he indicates that the war of conquest had ended before Claudius came to power; and in LX, 9.1, he offers data on the *Salabos* revolt. Tacitus, in *Annales*, IV, 23, 1, affirms that freedmen and slaves ruled alongside Ptolemy, ... *adhuc raptabat Africam Tacfarinas, auctus Maurorum auxiliis, qui Ptolemaeo Iuba, filio iuventa incurioso, libertos regios et servilia imperia bello mutaverant*. Suetonius, in *Caligula*, 37, 2 takes advantage of the mention of the murder of Ptolemy to continue his excessive criticism of Caligula: *Ptolemaeum (...) et arcessitum a regno et exceptum honorifice, non alia de causa repente percussit, quam quod edente se munus ingressum spectacula conuertisse hominem oculos fulgore purpureae abollae animadvertit*.

As for the data provided by archeology,<sup>(29)</sup> we have two mentions relating to the finding of a destruction layer. The first, published without offering many

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(26) “resti archeologici volubilitani mostrano tracce di incendi e di distruzioni, all'interno di Volubilis, in un'epoca che è possibile collocare intorno agli anni della guerra. Ciò combacia con l'ipotesi che la città fosse stata messa a ferro e a fuoco dai nemici e che, forse approfittandosi dell'assenza di gran parte degli uomini, concentrati altrove per combattere, essa fosse stata oggetto d'un massacro, che non aveva risparmiato neppure le componenti più deboli e più indifese della sua popolazione”, Gagliardi, 2006, 297-298.

(27) F. Terranova, L'editto di Claudio del 44-45 d.C. e alcune concessioni agli abitanti di Volubilis (FIRA, I2, 70), in: G. Purpura (a cura di), *Revisione e integrazione dei Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani (FIRA). Studi preparatori. I. Leges*, Torino, 2012, 487-522, esp. 500-502.

(28) F. Terranova, L'editto di Claudio..., 510.

(29) On Colonial Archeology in *Volubilis*, cf. Ll. Pons, El urbanismo de Volubilis (Marruecos). Construcción de la imagen de una ciudad romana. *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales* 473, 2014 [En línea] <<http://www.ub.es/geocrit/sn/sn-473.htm>>.

details, was found by Euzennat in the *decumanus* that runs along the southern side of Temple C, with a chronology close to the war of conquest:<sup>(30)</sup> "...un horizon d'incendie continu (sol 3) le sépare d'une installation préromaine..."<sup>(31)</sup>. Among the authors most critical of the use of these non-verifiable data would be Lenoir (1989), who doubts that the supposed "massacre", truly existed. There are several reasons that he adduces: first, the prospecting work carried out in the *decumanus* near Temple C does not show as clearly how certain authors have wanted to interpret the fire in the city; in fact, the director of the excavations is very cautious on this point.<sup>(32)</sup> While the surface of the prospecting work is only 8 m<sup>2</sup> (2 x 4 m) and in no other part of the rest of the deposit are there other fire strata, later studies do show the continuity in the occupation during the 1st century AD.<sup>(33)</sup> Second, we must take into account the *I.A.M. lat.*, 369, which dates back to 44 AD and does not indicate the benefits that the city received from Claudius, namely the *bona vacantia*. The *I.A.M. lat.*, 448, which is dated at least 10 years later, does indicate these. For Lenoir, if the *ordo* did not consider it necessary to name this event here, it was because they did not consider it important; it did not represent a real interest for the city as no significant number of citizens died during the war.<sup>(34)</sup> Third,

(30) M. Euzennat, *Le temple C et les origines de la cité* in *Bulletin d'Archéologie Marocaine* 2, 1957, 41-64, esp. 48-51.

(31) *Idem*, 49. The *sol 3* refers to a layer indicated in figure 4 (p. 49), entitled "Stratigraphie du *decumanus* au sud du temple".

(32) "Il est possible que la ville ait souffert de la lutte contre *Aedemon* à laquelle elle participe; peut-être le quartier fut-il alors incendié; peut-être fut-il simplement rénové par les duumvirs du nouveau municpe romain de Claude; mais il ne conserve aucune trace de construction des Ier et IIe siècles de l'ère chrétienne et paraît abandonné (...) *Labandon de ce quartier* voisin du forum pendant les deux premiers siècles de l'occupation romaine est inattendu...", M. Euzennat, *Le temple C...*, 51-52. The highlighted words are from M. Lenoir, *Histoire d'un massacre*. A propos d'IAMlat. 448 et des *bona vacantia* de volubilis in: *L'Africa romana. Atti del VI Convegno di studio, Sassari, 16-18 dicembre 1988*, Sassari, 1989, 93 que precisa: "Point n'est besoin d'insister sur les «peut-être» transformés en quasi-certitude et sur le quartier «voisin du forum» transformé en «quartier central» y en la nota 22: "Malgré les précautions oratoires prises par les uns et les autres (...) l'hypothèse se transforme en quasi certitude, puis en certitude".

(33) M. Lenoir, *Histoire d'un massacre...*, 94. Cf. also A. Jodin, *Volubilis regia Iubae. Contribution à l'étude du Maroc Préclaudien*, Paris, 1987, 319, note 232, which is not mentioned by Lenoir: "Certains auteurs ont inclus Volubilis dans la liste des villes dévastées, et même incendiées en l'an 40, lors de la guerre d'*Aedemon*: (...) Pour notre part, nous n'avons rien constaté d'aussi radical dans le sol de Volubilis. Le fait même que des *insulae* entières aient traversé les siècles depuis la fondation de la ville, ainsi que nous l'avons démontré, témoigne qu'elles n'ont pas subi de dommages majeurs. Les massacres, s'ils sont incontestables, ne furent pas obligatoirement suivis d'un incendie généralisé...". On the other hand, the area around Volubilis lost a significant number of its settlements from the Roman conquest: "Il est en effet possible que l'abandon de 40% des sites préromains soit une conséquence des troubles suscités par l'assassinat de Ptolémée (...) Il n'est pas impossible que la population des campagnes et les établissements ruraux aient été touchés par ces événements", A. Akerraz, Lenoir, *Volubilis et son territoire au Ier siècle de notre ère in L'Afrique dans l'occident romain. Ier siècle av. J.-C. - IVe siècle ap. J.-C.*, Roma, 1990, 228-229.

(34) M. Lenoir, *Histoire d'un massacre...*, 96.

in the middle of the 1st century AD, according to Lenoir, the emperor still did not have the full power to alter the fate of these goods.<sup>(35)</sup> Lenoir considers that, as Cuq (1917) already demonstrated, the deceased were Roman citizens, since if they were not, the hereditary transmission would have been governed by the *peregrinae* custom, and the *fiscus* would consequently not have been able to dispose of them. Two facts demonstrate that the children of the Roman citizens of *Volubilis* could not legally inherit: they had received citizenship *ex viritum*, which implied the exclusion of the family from the category of citizens; furthermore, Claudius conceded them the *ius conubii*, which they lacked. The children of the Roman citizens of the city who died on the Roman side - Lenoir accepts that an undetermined number of citizens and *peregrini* collaborated in the defense - would thus not have been able to legally inherit the property of their parents, a legal anomaly that Claudius resolves with the concessions.<sup>(36)</sup> This would explain why this information did not appear in the *I.A.M.lat.*, 369, which is official, and did appear in the *I.A.M.lat.*, 448 which is private.

Gascou has responded to this Lenoir article. He does not believe that the children of a citizen and a *peregrina* would necessarily be *peregrini*, but that they might be citizens, in the event that the latter had the *ius conubii*.<sup>(37)</sup> If the citizens before Claudius had the *ius conubii*, their children could legally inherit; he believes they had this by virtue of the *foedus* that *Volubilis* established with Rome.<sup>(38)</sup> When Claudio wished to thank the city for its support in the war, he gave them the same as Augustus: the *ius conubii*. We must thus consider that a large part of the adult population of *Volubilis* died.

The second mention of the discovery of a destruction layer corresponds to some unpublished excavations. Coltelloni-Trannoy, in his work on the kingdom of Mauritania under Juba II and Ptolemy, still maintaining scientific caution,<sup>(39)</sup> believes the hypothesis of the massacre<sup>(40)</sup> to be plausible as it

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(35) *Idem*.

(36) M. Lenoir, *Histoire d'un massacre...*, 101.

(37) Gaius *Inst.* 1. 75-76; J. Gascou, Sur une inscription de Volubilis. *Antiquités Africaines* 28, 1992, 133-138, esp. 137.

(38) M. Christol, J. Gascou, Volubilis, cité fédérée?. *Mélanges de l'École Française à Rome* 92, 1980-1981, 329-345.

(39) "Nous devons considérer avec prudence l'hypothèse d'une massacre localisé à l'intérieur de Volubilis: les traces indiquées par M. Euzennat se limitent à une couche d'incendie de faible extension (sur 8 m.), mise au jour entre le niveau pré-romain et le niveau claudien (...) Contrairement à d'autres villes, le noyau urbain de Volubilis aurait été relativement épargné, et la massacre a fort bien pu, ici, se dérouler dans les campagnes, au cours des attaques inopinées", M. Coltelloni-Trannoy, *Le royaume de Maurétanie...*, 61, note 61.

(40) "Pourtant, si la révolte fut brève, de six à neuf mois, elle n'en fut pas moins violente (...) on sait qu'elle provoqua la mort de nombreux combattants de Volubilis et d'une partie de sa population civile: pour



indicates that there are other unpublished excavations that would confirm the finding of an extensive fire layer: “*Toutefois, M. Euzennat a conduit d'autres fouilles à Volubilis qui n'ont pas été publiées et au cours desquelles une couche noire de 20 cm d'épaisseur aurait été mise au jour, au nord de la ville, sur une surface aproximative de 600 m*”<sup>(41)</sup>.

As we can see, the debate on the alleged massacre is “radiated” by the wealth of jurisprudential and legal information that the inscriptions provide, ignoring the debate regarding the quality of the data provided by archeology as to the existence of a physical destruction (fire) of the city. A true destruction layer is very striking: two very clear cases are known in *Hispania*, with mutilated corpses, and the destruction of furniture and homes.<sup>(42)</sup> Therefore, the information provided by archeology on the alleged massacre is highly inconsistent, as it is based on assumptions and inferred data.

We would like to bring a new element to the debate: the possibility that Euzennat confused a fire layer with a layer formed by organic matter, *humus*. The color and texture of the two types of strata would be similar (a very dark reddish burnt soil, with the *humus* a very dark brown); in the 1950s, lacking the possibility of carrying out chemical analysis to elucidate it, this confusion is plausible.<sup>(43)</sup> However, given that the archaeological record of *Volubilis* has not to date contributed anything that could corroborate the existence of the fire layer, we believe that the most prudent thing is to no longer use it as a scientific argument in favor of the massacre.

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*comblent les pertes, l'empereur concéda l'envoi d'incolae dont on voit mal le statut et les obligations, peut-être liées à la remise en culture d'un territoire dévasté*”, M. Coltelloni-Trannoy, *Le royaume de Maurétanie...*, 61.

(41) M. Coltelloni-Trannoy, *Le royaume de Maurétanie...*, 61, note 61.

(42) As in the case of the destruction of Valentia carried out by the Pompeian troops, it is a destruction layer of 10 m<sup>2</sup>, with a depth of 20-30 cm., but contains at least 7 burnt bodies, with signs of torture and mutilation; cf. A. Ribera, *La primera evidencia de la destrucción de Valentia por Pompeyo. Journal of Roman Archaeology* 8, 1995, 19-40, esp. 30-37. Or the case of the massacre and violent destruction of the Iberian town of Cerro de la Cruz (Almedinilla, Córdoba), with the generalized remains of a deliberate fire and (at least) four individuals mutilated in a small space; the chronology would be from the middle of the second century BC. and has been related to the final episodes of the Portuguese wars; cf. F. Quesada Sanz, I., Muñiz Jaén, I., López Flores, La guerre et ses traces: destruction et massacre dans le village ibérique du Cerro de la Cruz (Cordoue), et leur contexte historique au IIe s. a.C., in: F. Cadiou; M. Navarro caballero (eds.), *La guerre et ses traces. Conflits et sociétés en Hispanie à l'époque de la conquête romaine (IIème-Ier s. a.C.)*, Bordeaux, 2014, 231-271, esp. 239-260.

(43) For the macroscopic determination of a fire layer, cf. R.V. Bellomo, A methodological Approach for identifying Archeological Evidence of Fire resulting from Human Activities, *Journal of Archeological Science*, 193, 20, 525-553; M.G. Canti, N. Lindorf, The Effects of Fire on Archeological Soils and Sediments: Temperature and Colour Relationships. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 66, 2000, 385-395; F. Berna et al., Sediments exposed to high temperatures: reconstructing pyrotechnological processes in Late Bronze and Iron Age Strata at Tel Dor (Israel). *Journal of Archeological Science* 34, 2007, 358-373.



### 3. Our proposal

I believe that there was a massacre of the population of *Volubilis* during the war of conquest: it is reasonable and scientifically legitimate to conclude this from the inscriptions we have discussed. Another, different problem is the inclusion in the scientific argument of two destructions layers (fire) that have not been well published, or are unpublished. Whether this is fire layer, or layer formed by *humus*, is not essential to affirm the existence of the massacre, which could have occurred outside the city.

In our opinion, at the time of the invasion, a group of the city's pro-Roman elite managed to raise troops, which were integrated into a military unit similar to the *auxilia*: this is indicated by the *I.A.M.lat.*, 448, *M(arco) Val(erio), Bostaris / filio, Gal(eria tribu), Severo (... ) praef(ecto) auxiliior(um) adversus Aedemo / nem oppressum bello*. Their intention was to prevent the destruction of the city by the Roman invaders. They fought for Rome, and much of the population died. Claudius conceded the municipality as a whole, and consequently all its citizens benefited from this concession, without exception, including all the aforementioned elements: citizenship, *ius connubii*, tax exemption, *incolae*, and *bona vacantia*.

LLUÍS PONS PUJOL

University of Barcelona  
CEIPAC. UBICS

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University of Barcelona

Università della Calabria  
Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici — Sezione di Storia

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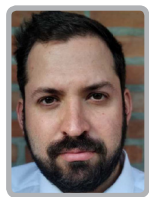
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## THE ROMANS BEFORE ADVERSITY FORMS OF REACTION AND STRATEGIES TO MANAGE CHANGE

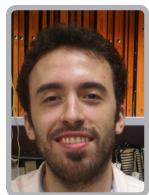
The book was born with the aim of offering a space for reflection and debate on the forms of intellectual analysis and reaction developed by Roman society in relation to catastrophic phenomena, both those of natural origination and those derived from concrete human decision-making. The main interest was focused on understanding those moments in which the daily life of Romans changed for the worse and on describing the different responses on the part of policy-makers and individuals before these critical situations, in which not everyone is able to overcome these episodes and some even take advantage of the situation opportunistically.

*Contributions of* Álex CORONA ENCINAS, Rúben DE CASTRO, Alessandra DI MEGLIO, Lorena GARRI CATCHOT, María Aide GÓMEZ ROBLEDO, Javier HEREDERO BERZOSA, Mario LORENTE MUÑOZ, Pere MAYMÓ I CAPDEVILA, Mariano MORGANTI, Juan MOROS DÍAZ, Lluís PONS PUJOL, Diego ROMERO VERA, Andrés SÁEZ GEOFFROY, Gabriel ESTRADA SAN JUAN, David SERRANO ORDOZGOITI, Filipe N. SILVA, Diletta VIGNOLA.



### JORDI PÉREZ GONZÁLEZ

Is a postdoctoral researcher 'Juan de la Cierva-Formación' at the University of Girona (Department of History and Art History). He is a Doctor from the University of Barcelona, obtaining the Extraordinary Doctorate Award (2017).



### JUAN MANUEL BERMÚDEZ LORENZO

Is lecturer at King Juan Carlos University (Ancient History Area).



*on the cover*  
*The Last Day of Pompeii*, Karl Bryullov, 1833.  
Russian Museum, Saint Petersburg, Russia.

18,00 EURO



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THE ROMANS BEFORE ADVERSITY EDITED BY JORDI PÉREZ GONZÁLEZ, JUAN MANUEL BERMÚDEZ LORENZO