Married to the Military: Soldiers' Families in the Ancient World & Beyond

ABSTRACTS

Session 1: *Challenges Faced by Military Families*

Friday 11th Nov. (Remembrance Day), 10.40 - 12.40

Chair: Emma Bridges

Adrienne White (Australian National University): Families at war: glimpses of military families in the Athenian law courts

Through the Athenian law courts' vibrant and colourful speeches we get a rare glimpse into the strain placed on military families. In Demosthenes' *Apollodoros against Polykles*, the trierarch Apollodoros lists the grievances that he has suffered due to his extended service abroad. We hear of the pressure his service placed on his aged and ailing mother, his wife and his young children, and, in turn, on Apollodoros himself. His concerns are startlingly similar to pressures faced by modern soldiers:

> How do you suppose I felt when I heard about this, some of it from the reports of arriving travellers, and some from letters sent by my family? How many tears do you imagine I shed as I reckoned up my circumstances and longed to see my children and wife and the mother I had little hope of finding alive? What does a man find sweeter than these? Why would he want to do on living without them?" (Dem. 50.60-62)

Many other law court speeches also provide brief but equally telling insights into how military service affected the *oikos*—and vice versa. These law court speeches are some of the only accounts we have of how ordinary interpersonal relations were strained by military service. They are, of course, presented through the filter of a speaker attempting to win a case. Nevertheless, this anecdotal evidence provides personalised, down-to-earth descriptions of the consequences of war, which are rarely discussed in the more elevated works of Xenophon and Thucydides. In these speeches, ancient Greek servicemen—and their families—can have their voices heard and inner aspects of their lives revealed.

Sophie Raudnitz (OU): The singing of 'old songs': trauma and testimony in Euripides' *Trojan Women* and Begley's *Wartime Lies*

I offer a paper which examines the testimony of traumatised military family members in texts about the Trojan War and World War II, particularly Euripides' *Trojan Women* and Louis Begley's *Wartime Lies*. Though

Begley's protagonist is a boy whose father is away fighting, both texts concern those who have witnessed the horrors of the defensive war being fought around them.

The trauma of bereaved wives and mothers is expressed in the laments of the Trojan women, who bear witness to the savage murder of loved ones. However, their interpretation of the war and its impact on themselves varies widely, from Hecuba's staunch endurance of her suffering, to Cassandra's strange celebration, to Andromache's desire for death.

Begley's narrator, Maciek, tells the story of his childhood as a Jew in Nazi-occupied Poland. He compares himself in later life to the war-traumatised Aeneas of the *Aeneid*, fled from Troy, finding in him an expression of his own survivor's guilt, and speaks of trauma as a disease of which he cannot be cured but which he must repeatedly retell.

Scholarship on the *Trojan Women* has been sympathetic to Hecuba but through a study of her words in the light of post-Holocaust memory and testimony theory, and through the actual testimony of *Wartime Lies*, my paper will explore the way in which memory reveals a sinister aspect to Hecuba's behaviour and to our relationship with her. I suggest that scholarly sympathy with Hecuba is generated by Hecuba's own rhetoric with the effect that it leads her audience into an uncomfortable complicity with her politics and actions. In its examination of military families, my paper will offer a position on contemporary debates surrounding the politics of tragedy and on those concerning the effect of the artistic representation of trauma on its audience.

Owen Rees (MMU): Challenging a seamless transition: ideological incongruence between the classical Greek *oikos* and the military

Modern research into the manifestation of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) in the ancient world has predominantly relied upon comparative literature, and personal experiences, to fill in the extensive gaps within the available source material. This, in turn, allowed for a thorough deconstruction by Crowley (2014), who raised serious questions about the universalist underpinning to this line of research. Crowley went as far as to argue that the classical Athenian hoplite would not have been under any threat of suffering from PTSD, nor would he have needed any form of re-socialisation after military duty, due to the overarching influence of the social environment that produced him.

This paper will challenge an underlying assumption to Crowley's thesis, that there was a seamless transition of ideals between the home and the military, while concurrently using his line of enquiry to redress the PTSD debate, moving away from one of universalist analysis towards one that is more context specific to the period in question. By examining the hoplite's departure from his home, this paper will explore the ideological tension between the individualist agency of the warrior and his family members as portrayed in the home, with the communalist demands of his military service. Through the exploration of literary and artistic representations of this departure, a deeper understanding of the ideological influences pressed upon the hoplite can occur, and the important role that was played by his immediate family. In turn, this would allow for a more diachronically sensitive analysis of combat trauma in the ancient world to begin.

Emma Long (Lancaster): How has the changing perception of the 'military family' affected the support available to partners, wives and husbands of military personnel?

Prior to the twentieth century, military personnel were not encouraged to have a family and if they did, their needs were generally neglected, as the military demanded their time, energy and focus. This is particularly evident during military periods that enforced conscription. However, the current voluntary nature and professionalisation of the British military has created a need for the institution to offer an appealing package to maintain recruitment and retention numbers. This has given the military family a more accepted position and a valued identity within the institution. However, their identity continues to be read in relation to that of

the serving personnel. The British military has linked family well-being to personnel well-being, and thus regards family support as not only 'the right thing to do' but also necessary to ensure a readily mobile force and combat effectiveness. If a family member is suffering this will affect the related personnel and in extreme cases may disrupt deployment periods. Therefore, the Ministry of Defence works to mitigate negative impacts of a military lifestyle in order to improve family and personnel well-being. I will consider how the military family has evolved in its status from being neglected by the state to a more considered, albeit limited status, due to conscription, towards a growth in policies designed to mitigate the negative effects of military life. Finally, I will consider future changes that will likely have an impact upon the military family and will reflect on the possible consequences of these changes. Ultimately, I argue that the military family has become much more demanding over the past century and therefore the relationship between the institution and the family has been and will continue to undergo constant change.

Session 2: *Daily Lives of Military Families*

Friday 11th Nov. (Remembrance Day), 14.00 - 15.00

Chair: Ursula Rothe

Annie Truetzel (Princeton): A different 'Scipionic circle': a case study of a family in the Second Punic War

Although the Second Punic War (218-201 BC) has been studied from many angles, its effect on Roman family dynamics has been addressed but rarely and cursorily (in, for example, Evans 1991, Bauman 1992, Rosenstein 2004, Hin 2014). Yet the hitherto unprecedented level of casualties in this conflict affected the makeup of almost every household in Rome, as families lost fathers, sons, brothers, and husbands. Perhaps exaggerating only slightly, Livy reports that after the battle of Cannae in 216 BC there was not "a single matron who was not bereaved" (22.56.5). Even women whose male kin survived still experienced altered domestic dynamics. Many of these men, though alive, spent the majority of the war's seventeen years away on campaign. Others, captured in battle and taken prisoner, were either ransomed after the war or died in captivity.

This paper aims to assess the impact of this war on Roman women and their family structures primarily through a case study of the lives of three women about whom we are unusually well-informed because of their relationships to the great general, Scipio Africanus: Pomponia (his mother), Aemilia Tertia (his wife), and Cornelia (his daughter and the "mother of the Gracchi"). The case study demonstrates the types of situations that women may have faced during this war, such as a father's violent death, an absent husband or brother, changing relations with in-laws, single-parenting of young children, and unusually large intervals between childbirths. By contextualizing this case study within the broader historical framework of this conflict between Rome and Carthage, I explore how these experiences may have been unique to women living through this particular war and how Roman families throughout the republican era may have undergone similar experiences.

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Sofie Waebens (Leuven): Soldiers and their families in Roman Egypt: legal issues and daily life

The unique papyrological evidence from Roman Egypt provides us with a wealth of information on the lives of soldiers and their families. They are shown buying and selling property, paying taxes, inheriting property, writing letters, travelling, engaging in legal disputes, and so on. The documents also illuminate the impact of the Roman army on their daily lives, in particular the limitations imposed by the marriage ban: starting from Augustus' reign, soldiers were not allowed to contract legal Roman marriages while serving in the army, though a large number of soldiers ignored this ban and engaged themselves in long-term relationships with women. Although the Roman government took no punitive actions against such relationships, the effects of legal marriage were denied to them. Through examination of legal documents and private letters, particularly those preserved in family archives, this paper will examine whether soldiers were in fact "bad husband" material, as has been assumed by some scholars, and to what degree the Roman army played a role in their everyday lives.

Session 3: *The Role of Soldiers' Wives*

Friday 11th Nov. (Remembrance Day), 15.30 - 17.30

Chair: Sophie Raudnitz

Alexander Hardwick (Cambridge): Women in battle? Reassessing the military wives of Troy

In the war-torn context of the *Iliad*, a military wife's role is passive, condemned to eventual enslavement and humiliation. In Quintus Smyrnaeus' *Posthomerica*, though, the Trojan women explicitly challenge this: Penthesileia's presence in *Posthomerica* 1 inspires them to confront and reject their passive position. On a superficial level, the suggestion that women should enter battle is rejected; however, this paper will argue that the women's debate in itself encapsulates a powerful reassessment of the *Iliad*'s military wives. By considering entering battle, the Trojan women assert their ability to control their fate; moreover, they implicitly reject male warriors' criteria, culminating in an emphatic disregard for the significance of κλέος. *Posthomerica* 1 provides an excellent setting for discussing the Trojan women's role, given Penthesileia's strident presence, the overtly Homeric focus of the *Posthomerica* and the context of philosophical and scientific debate surrounding women's role in society at the turn of the millennium. This paper will focus on setting the Trojan women's striking debate against its Homeric models, in order to understand how the women subvert the notion of passive dependence on their warrior husbands. The debate refigures and reverses several debates in the *Iliad* (especially the famous scene at the Scaean Gate in *Iliad* 6) in which the Trojan women are restricted and even objectified: in response, the arguments advanced in the *Posthomerica* challenge the restrictions which warfare inflicts on women. Even more strikingly, the women's arguments revolve around scientific (rather than Homeric) criteria, and seem to reject the importance of κλέος by embracing utter, ignominious destruction. Finally, in the *Iliad*, the walls of Troy emphatically delimit women's agency and knowledge: Quintus' suggestion that the women could charge into battle from the walls therefore challenges the spatial restrictions found in the *Iliad*.

Helen Tank (Birmingham): Women's perspective on war: a view from Herodotus

I will use case studies from the text of Herodotus' *Histories* to explore the theme of women, families and war.

There are many stories in Herodotus in which the experience of conquest is abduction, displacement, forced marriage, enslavement, gang rape and death. Sometimes these stories have a mythic quality whose function is propaganda in competing claims for territory and the colonisation of an expanding world.

However, by focalising some of these stories through the eyes of women and constructing speech for them (unlike Thucydides), he draws our attention to the wider consequences of war and women's agency in transmitting language and culture, in being guardians of *nomos*, a significant theme throughout the *Histories*, even in the circumstances of defeat. For example, Carian women (1.146) resist cultural assimilation because of the massacre of their husbands, fathers, and children by Athenians when they colonised Miletus. They make a rule, which they pass on to their daughters, not to share meals with their husbands or call them by name, an act of resistance whereby they reject a social expectation of reciprocity.

In a story, told to explain the origins of the conflict between Athens and Aegina, and a cultural change of dress, Athenian women respond to the death of their husbands in the Aegina campaign by stabbing to death the survivor with their dress pins (5.87). However, by including an interrogation whereby they ask where their husband was, Herodotus dramatises the extreme emotion as well as the transgressive behaviour of these women and invites us to consider the complex roles that women as well as men had to negotiate in war and the impact of bereavement. Women who advise and warn on matters of war and diplomacy are shown to have a profound determinative effect on the direction and outcome of events.

Carol Atack (Oxford): Xenophon's military wives and the embodiment of virtue

Whether writing history, philosophy or social commentary, Xenophon is unusually concerned for an ancient thinker with family life and women's contributions to it (*Oeconomicus*, *Symposium*). This paper explores his depiction of women, especially military leaders' wives, as moral agents and exemplars of character virtues, and the grounding of his ethical thought in his lived experience of war, exile and loss. It argues that the specific circumstances of women as military wives provide Xenophon with an important broader model for ethical choice and agency. While Xenophon's interest in women and gender has long been noted (Cartledge 1993, Pomeroy 1984, Glazebrook 2009), his acknowledgement of women outside the world of myth as moral agents remains underexplored (Sandridge 2012).

Within Xenophon's philosophical and historical narratives of war, elite women, separated from or accompanying their husbands, demonstrate the important character virtues of loyalty, self-control and courage also shown by male characters. Compared with Aristotle, whose ethical thought denies full rational agency to women (Nicomachean *Ethics*, Connell 2016), Xenophon generates positive exemplars of ethical and political choice and action by women by narrating the stories of individual women, especially non-Greek women, acting in the extreme circumstances of war to support their husbands on campaign and to preserve their households.

The Asian queen Panthea advises her husband Abradatas, resists sexual assault in his absence, and commits suicide after his death in battle (*Cyropaedia*); Mania takes over her husband's role as satrap until she is murdered by her son-in-law (*Hellenica*); the Armenian prince Tigranes' un-named wife demonstrates both affection and manly courage (*Cyropaedia*) as she accompanies her husband on campaign; Mandane's analysis of Cyrus' character is prescient (*Cyropaedia*). Xenophon's evaluation of these women's actions and embodiment of character virtues repositions epic tradition (Foley 1995) within the historical world to provide a distinctive ancient view of women as moral agents.

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Emma Bridges (OU): The Homeric Penelope: a model 'military wife'?

Presented in the *Odyssey* as patiently awaiting the return of her husband from the Trojan War, the figure of Penelope has long been imagined as the archetypal faithful wife. Recent receptions focusing on her character (for example, Caroline Horton's one-woman play *Penelope RETOLD*, performed in 2014 and 2015, and Jehanne Dubrow's 2010 poetic collection *Stateside*) have sought to explore more fully her responses to her situation more by drawing parallels between the Homeric Penelope and her contemporary counterparts. As the spouse of a soldier and wife of an absentee husband, the mythical Penelope shares elements of her experience with 'military wives' the world over – the challenges and coping strategies associated with separation from a partner on active military service, the readjustment process on his return, and the struggle to assert her own identity. This paper will consider whether elements of the Homeric presentation of Penelope can be explained more clearly if we have a better understanding of the psychological processes and emotions which a 'military spouse' undergoes during separation from, and reunion with, a partner who serves in the armed forces.

Session 4: *Socio-familial Networks*

Saturday 12th Nov., 10.20 - 12.20

Chair: Penelope Allison

George Cupcea, Rada Varga (Babes-Bolyai University): An inquiry on the typology and structure of the military families in Roman Dacia

Dacia was a heavily militarised province and one of the strategic places on the Danube frontier of the Roman Empire. Its garrison consisted in at least two full legions and more than 30 auxiliary units. The trace these military men have left in the provincial history is deep. The Roman epigraphic heritage of the province is in quantum of almost 6000 inscriptions, including military diplomas and tile stamps or other inscriptions on *instrumenta*. From this total, at a first glance, the inscriptions attesting a military gather at around 20%. For example, we have more than 100 veteran attestations in Dacia alone, which, by comparison to the German provinces (around 15) is a significant sample for any study.

Nonetheless, a synthesis on the military families of the province hasn't been written yet. The current research will analyse the inner typologies and structures of military families as revealed by Dacia's epigraphic sources. Thus, we will try to identify marriage patterns and socio-familial networks (sometimes onomastics reveal marriage within a given ethnic group), specific epigraphic habits (e.g. in northern Dacia, feminine dedications for/by soldiers are much rarer than in central Dacia), the relationships between family and army unit (designation of heirs, tutors etc.) and all these elements' potential meaning for the lives of all military family members. Beside the general statistics, we will also present revealing case studies: military familial networks from cities as compared to the environment of military *vici*, cross-sectional commemoration patterns from the most militarised areas of the province, prosopographical reconstructions of certain families in which the military career was "inherited" etc. The epigraphic representativeness of militaries and their families in Dacia is high and an insight can only bring forth valuable information for the general understanding of the military familial life and environment in the Roman Empire.

Elizabeth Greene (University of Western Ontario): What's in a name? Tribal memory and acculturation on display in the Roman military diplomas

Roman military diplomas have been used in the past to catalogue the affairs of the Roman army mostly from an organisational perspective (e.g. disposition of units, their commanders, etc.). However, diplomas also give us a wealth of information about the personal lives of individual soldiers and their families, most of whom were non-citizens hailing from provincial regions. Many diplomas record the soldiers' wives, their origin, and the names of their children, which allows us a closer look at the social and cultural identity of these individuals. This paper focuses on the names chosen for the children of soldiers and shows patterns of either maintenance of "ethnic" onomastic practices or the adoption of "Roman" names. It also considers the factors that may have come to bear on this decision such as tribal affiliation, choice of wife or unit in which one served.

As an example, a Syrian soldier names no wife on his diploma issued in AD 92, but three children are included: Marcus, Saturninus and Augusta. These names suggest some attempt was made to fit all children suitably into a Roman framework. At the same time, in AD 99 a Thracian couple, both husband and wife from the Bessan tribe, named their son Flavus but their daughters Nene and Benzi, indicating an attempt to retain tradition for the girls while the son is given the tools to incorporate into the Roman public world. This paper uses epigraphic and material evidence to investigate the choices made by soldiers and their families regarding their cultural affiliations while in the army. The paper problematises how we might discern the motivations or aspirations to either 'become Roman' or 'remain native' in various aspects of life, while soldiers and their dependents negotiated being non-citizen provincials as well as Roman soldiers and military families.

Claire Millington (KCL): Testing the stones: inscriptions as a source for the households of Roman auxiliary commanders under the Principate

This paper deals with one important question of my PhD research into the frontier households of Roman army auxiliary commanders during the principate: what potential have stone inscriptions as a source for the composition and dynamics of such households? The commanders themselves have been well-studied, and epigraphic, archaeological and literary evidence for them is plentiful; this is not the case for members of their households at forts and fortresses, although sufficient epigraphic and archaeological evidence exists to demonstrate their presence. The small quantities of such primary evidence limits potential for statistical (or similarly positivist) analyses of the household, and means that findings obtainable from a careful, best-case studies approach must also be considered.

In this paper therefore I discuss one such example, the family of Aurelius Gallus, equestrian and legionary tribune of VII Claudia, whose wife, Aurelia Amma, her mother-in-law, Laeta, and daughter, Gallitta, acted as his commemorators, probably in the later 2nd century AD (CIL XI 705). Through a close examination of the activities, *origines* and relationships expressed through this inscription, and by considering these in their geographical and historical contexts, a biography can be constructed that places these women at or around the Danube fortresses of Brigetio and Viminacium, prior to their travelling to Bologna, where they put up the marble epitaph. Aurelia Amma may also have commemorated a second husband at Brigetio (CIL III 4316), which is also where the father of Aurelius Gallus was legionary legate. It was at Brigetio, perhaps, that she was widowed and subsequently married Aurelius Gallus.

These biographies are fragmentary and in part can only be based on probabilities. This is a wider – and insufficiently acknowledged – aspect of prosopographical work. This is, however, mitigated by working through as many of the individual examples as we do have in order to establish more realistic views of these households.

Ornella Salati (PLATINUM Project, Naples): The soldiers' partners in Latin *papyri* and tablets from Egypt: a survey

The studies on marriage policy in Roman army traditionally focus on the existence of the marriage ban for the soldiers and employ the material evidence to discuss technical legal questions, such as the juridical status of the unions and of the children of such unions. More recent studies have rather emphasised the anthropological and sociological perspective in this inquiry, and stressed therefore the distinctive features of the military families, such as timing, size and structure.

The present paper collects all Latin documents from Egypt (both *papyri* and tablets) which mention the soldiers' partners and re-assesses them in the modern perspective with the aim of highlight the identity of women. The seven manuscripts considered span from imperial decrees (*BGU* II 628 *verso*, *T.Alexandria* inv. 19045, *T.Mich*. VII 432) to private legal transactions (*P.Ryl*. IV 611, *T.Diog*. 1, *BGU* VII 1690, *T.Cair*. inv. JdE 72033, *P.Mich*. VII 442) and will be analysed by chronology, region, typology and military ranks.

In particular, a great deal of attention will be devoted to the data provided by the private documents (birth declarations, wills, divorces), focusing on the onomastics and the several (not marital) terms given to the women. In this respect it is possible to reconstruct the ethnic and civil status of the soldiers' partners, their social role across their life course and their legal standing as regards their men and within their family.

The second part of the survey will provide an insight into the types of unions women were involved in (*e.g.* endogamous/exogamous, stable/not stable, contracted before/during the service) and by comparing the data yielded by other sources it will point out the existence of marriage patterns specific to the Roman army.

Session 5: *Families a Long Way from Home*

Saturday 12th Nov., 13.20 - 14.20

Chair: Myles Lavan

Niels Bargfeldt (Aarhus): Tagging along and blending in? The families of Roman marines stationed in Rome

The two main Roman fleets stationed on the Italian peninsula were comprised of individuals drawn from many of the Roman provinces. The enrolled men arriving at the main bases at Misenum and Ravenna brought with them hopes, ideas and expectations of what it meant to serve and live close to the heart of the empire and far from their native soil. From preserved letters we have testimony of the high regard and deep feelings such men could have for the families and friends that they had left behind. Nevertheless, many of them would in due course create families at their new homes and would live out the remainder of their life under these circumstances. Depending on the season, the marines would spend stretches of time away from their wives, partners and children in Misenum and Ravenna, but for extended periods they could also be stationed at bases elsewhere. In the case of the Misenum fleet it had a permanent base and barracks situated east of the Flavian amphitheatre in Rome – in a part of the city sometimes envisioned as a rough neighbourhood. Did the families travel along to such (temporary) postings? Where and under what circumstances should we imagine that they lived? What would they do while there? And just as important, what hopes and anxieties did it produce?

Using (mainly) epigraphic evidence and comparisons the paper will seek to qualify and possibly answer these questions. The epigraphic evidence is above all drawn from the epitaphs commissioned for and by the marines, and tentative comparisons can be made to case studies done by others on for instance garrisons on the northern Roman Frontier.

Ursula Rothe (OU): Military families in Pannonia

In the Roman provinces, in the absence of written narratives, sometimes the best insight we have into the intracies of local societies is through the grave monuments that Roman rule – and especially the army – brought to such regions. These always consisted of an inscription with details of the deceased, and often also sported a portrait in relief. We have an extraordinary number of such gravestones from the provinces of Pannonia Inferior and Superior on the middle Danube River (roughly modern Hungary), and through them we are able to see social groups who would otherwise be invisible to us. An interesting category of grave-stones are those that were set up for (according to dress and name) local women on their own that tend to be found in the vicinity of some of the many military camps on the Danube frontier. The anomaly of the lone commemoration, rather than in a family and with the family portrait that was the norm in this region, coupled with the mention, in the inscriptions, of children but no husbands, suggests that what we are looking at here is military wives. Other stones show soldiers with children in the absence of mothers. This paper will explore the evidence for military wives and families in the funerary art of the Pannonias, looking at what we can glean from this evidence about their lives, family relations and cultural orientations.

Session 6: *Military Children and Orphanhood*

Saturday 12th Nov., 14.50 - 16.50

Chair: Carol Atack

Helen Roche (Cambridge): Spartan pedagogy, German style? Prussian military education and the Spartan paradigm

The Royal Prussian Cadet-Corps, which educated boys from the age of ten upwards in order to train them to become brave and loyal officers in the Prussian Army, explicitly inculcated its charges with a supposedly "Spartan" ethos. Indeed, cadets were often described in the press, in literature, and even in Parliament, as well as in their own private ego-documents, as "Spartanerjünglinge" (Spartan Youths).

One of the manifold ways in which cadet-school life was supposed to emulate the life of ancient Spartan youths was in the stark separation from home and family which it inevitably entailed. Despite having been subjected to the (often highly brutal) military discipline of the cadet corps at such a tender age, boys were often able to find some comfort in the fact that they were following a Spartan paradigm, replacing the comfort of familial relations with the companionship of a hierarchy of likeminded peers.

This paper will aim to explore the way in which cadets' partial estrangement from their families – a very large proportion of whom would already have had strong military connections – affected their relationships, both with family members and with each other, whilst also demonstrating the ways in which cadets sought to find and cultivate affinities with a more ancient mode of military life, in order to help them to bear the trials and tribulations of life in a total institution.

In so doing, the paper will consider a number of questions relevant to the themes of the conference, including the influence of parents, and particularly officer fathers (whether gloriously dead or heroically alive), on the attitude of their offspring to cadet-school life, as well as contemplating the essentially symbiotic relationship between families with a strong military tradition and the cadet-corps.

Fayah Haussker (Tel Aviv/OU Israel): Between innocence and precocity: battle heritage and orphanhood in Sophocles' *Ajax*

Sophocles' *Ajax* (449 BCE) is the first dramatic presentation to provide a platform for a child character and military orphan. The farewell scene played between Eurysaces and his father, just before Ajax committed

suicide, is unique in the extant tragedies, portraying a father's verbal and physical interaction with a prepubescent child (indeed, a very young child) and also a departure scene wherein a military character separates from his son. Ajax provides the child with a guardian, with his personal shield and with an ethical will (545-77), bequeathing to him manhood and masculine values and drafting his expectations for Eurysaces' adulthood. After Ajax' death, the child, now an orphan, is taxed with additional duties and expectations, although his life and freedom are endangered. Eurysaces is expected to defend his father's corpse and acquires an active role in Ajax' funeral rites, a role that places him on the stage till the end of the play (1168-1420).

In this paper I shall analyse Eurysaces' visual appearance as dramatic *persona*, while exploring his character as military orphan in both the private and the public spheres. The discussion will focus on the sharp contrast between Eurysaces' young age, defined by helplessness, mental and physical immaturity, and the societal expectations of precocity by assigning to him comprehension, responsibility and actions that characterise the mature individual.

In conclusion, I will argue that Eurysaces' character can serve to illustrate the concept of military orphanhood as a literary imagination and as a social issue in various aspects in the democratic state of Athens in the fifth century BCE. Furthermore, the role of the child will broaden our understanding of contemporary experience and challenges faced by military families experiencing loss and bereavement.

Myles Lavan (St. Andrews): Roman auxiliaries' missing children

From the reign of Claudius, soldiers who served at least 25 years in the *auxilia* and fleet were entitled to a grant of citizenship for themselves and their children (the latter discontinued in 140) and a grant of *conubium* – the right to form a marriage recognised by Roman law – with one peregrine woman. These grants were documented on bronze diplomas issued to all or most beneficiaries. The ever-increasing corpus of Roman military diplomas – which now number more than 1100 – are an invaluable source for soldiers and their families, because they cite the name and origin of the beneficiary, the name and origins of any wife with whom they claimed *conubium* and the names of any children for whom they claimed citizenship.

The corpus of diplomas reveals a markedly depressed level of family formation among auxiliaries, with around half of all auxiliaries declare no dependents at all. There is also a notable under-representation of daughters among their children.

This paper will present the data and explore several factors inhibiting family formation among soldiers, notably the strictures of regular redeployment (which were somewhat ameliorated by greater stability and lower mobility under Hadrian). The paper will also explore the hypothesis that the lack of dependents on the diplomas is at least partly due to the abandonment of dependents, rather than their absence – i.e. that soldiers had partners and children but did not claim for them the legal rights to which they were entitled – because soldiers often abandoned existing families when they were redeployed and/or because there was a gender bias affecting their decision whether or not to seek citizenship for their children.

Jeroen Wijnendaele (Ghent): 'Won't somebody please think of the children?' Marriage alliances in the western Roman military aristocracy (c. 400-470 CE)

The fifth century CE was one of the most turbulent eras in Roman history, witnessing the dissolution of the western Roman emperorship and the replacement of its provincial governance by so-called 'barbarian kings'. Before the final disintegration of the imperial west's state apparatus, however, a new military aristocracy emerged inside its armed forces. Scholars have dubbed the most notorious powerbrokers within this class as 'generalissimos'. While emperors transformed into harmless ceremonial rulers, an internecine competition

was enacted behind their thrones between various commanders seeking to dominate the imperial government.

Marriage alliances were a vital tool in this quest for power to further consolidate military support for ambitious generals. We are often left in the dark about the exact circumstances in which these events transpired. Marriage alliances at the level of barbarian royal houses and imperial families have been extensively studied (Demandt 1980; 1989). Nevertheless, there is still much work to be done vis-à-vis the lower strata in the chain of command. This paper will look in particular at the case of the Visigothic noblewoman Pelagia. She first married the warlord-commander Bonifatius (c. 422-432), with whom she had two children. Yet, after his violent death in the struggle with his rival Aëtius, Pelagia would end up as the latter's wife. But what came of her children? With this paper I want to further explore the role of women and children in these marriage alliances. Were they merely bartering tools for military elites or did they have more agency than the sources suggest?

KEYNOTE LECTURE 1: Edith Hall (KCL): Warriors' wives in the Chicago 'hood: Rapping with Lysistrata in Spike Lee's *Chi-Raq*

Of the 3000 shooting victims in Chicago in 2015 alone, most were young, black and male. The war in the streets between rival gangs has led to Chicago acquiring its slang soubriquet *Chi-Raq*, or *Chi[cago/l]raq*. The name also reminds us of the disproportionately high number of African Americans in the U.S. military. Spike Lee's new feature-length film *Chi-raq* (2015), written by Kevin Willmott, sets an updated musical-theatre adaptation of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, using versified rap performances, in south Chicago. The wives, mothers and girlfriends of the gangland shooters stage a revolt to make their warrior men see sense, identify their true enemies as poverty and ignorance, and win back the streets for peace. This lecture analyses the relationship between the ancient Greek playscript and the recent movie. It argues that the tragic undertow of *Chi-raq* must remind us of the suffering of the bereaved military wives in the war-traumatised classical Athens where *Lysistrata*, however amusing, was first produced in 411 BCE.

KEYNOTE LECTURE 2: Penelope Allison (Leicester): Changing attitudes to women and families inside Roman military bases

Until a couple of decades ago the widely-held perspective of most Roman military scholars was that Roman military bases, particularly in the first and second centuries CE but also before and after this early imperial period, housed essentially segregated communities of male combatants. With the exception of the households of commanding officers, all women and families, and other hangers on, were thought to have lived and worked in external settlements outside the fort walls. This paper reviews the development of and continued adherence to this socio-spatial perspective, some of the reasons for it and the arguments that have been used to justify it. It then discusses some of the approaches taken in the last two to three decades, especially to epigraphy and archaeological evidence, to demonstrate the biased nature of this perspective and to provide undoubtedly more accurate perspectives on the diverse communities no doubt that occupied many of these Roman forts and fortresses.