

*Phang* (S.E.) *The Marriage of Roman soldiers (13 BC - AD 235). Law and family in the imperial army.* Pp. vi + 470. Leiden, Boston, Cologne: Brill, 2001. \$112 hbk ISBN: 90 04 12155 2

This substantial book, a revision of a Columbia Ph.D., is a major contribution to the increasingly popular study of the relations between Roman military and civilian communities. Although there have been a number of substantial articles on the particular issues here addressed, Phang's treatment is the first to bring together such a range of approaches and material. She commences (Part One) with a treatment of the legal texts, both those preserved in the various late legal collections and the rulings recorded in the papyri. Part Two is rather more mixed with a treatment of the epigraphic evidence for 'marriage', including an extended discussion of the age at marriage of the soldiers, a further consideration of the law in relation to marriage, and discussions of non-marital sexual relations between soldiers and men and women, concluding with an assessment of the evidence concerning the results of at least some of these liaisons: children. Part Three assesses the rationale for the ban on soldiers marrying. There are ten appendices, providing translations and brief commentaries on key texts, bibliographic material on specific discussions, and a consideration of the epigraphic material.

All future discussions of military marriage and the family will start from this point, which, given the number of attempts to shed some light on this issue over the last decade, is in itself no mean achievement. P. summarises previous scholarship clearly and at justifiable length, exposing the complexities of the various arguments. She comes to her own conclusions in a clear, careful and rational manner, and is nearly always convincing. Her control of the primary material and the secondary literature is exemplary. Moreover, she deploys a variety of approaches to the problem. In the first section, her use of the legal texts elucidates problems clearly. In Part Two, she employs the methodologies

pioneered in the area of Roman family studies by Richard Saller and Brent D. Shaw to reconstruct patterns from the epigraphic data. Towards the end of the book, she turns to the literary sources and the methodologies of the cultural historian to expose attitudes towards sexuality and family values, concluding with considerations of the political and institutional aspects of Roman military life which led to the imposition of the ban on marriage in the Roman military and then maintained that ban for more than two centuries. The variety of approaches adopted allows P. to approach the core problems of her book from many different angles so that we are forced to reconsider issues fundamental to our understanding of the workings of the Roman empire and the various societies which constituted the Roman world, such as attitudes towards sexuality, marriage patterns, and cultural assimilation.

Some discussions are broadly conventional and thus familiar, for example the discussion of Roman sexuality, but I found the most thought-provoking section to be P.'s consideration of the epigraphic data. The method of family reconstruction adopted draws heavily on that adopted by Saller and Shaw. It relies on the assumption that the 'significant others' in a soldier's life would be those he would be most likely to commemorate in a funerary inscription or to commemorate the soldier on such a stone. One might have reservations about this, worrying about the distorting effects of changes in epigraphic fashion across the empire and the still little understood issue of the function of funerary epigraphic as social display and commemoration. It is, of course, very possible that social and emotional significance do not closely correlate, that a soldier close to his wife might to be commemorated by his colleagues. P. uses the assembled data to suggest that there were changes in the epigraphic record over time, with soldiers moving closer to more 'normal' patterns of epigraphic commemoration. This would tend to confirm the more impressionistic evidence of earlier studies. There are, of course, major problems in the dating of the epigraphic material and P. was unable to view each

stone assessed and was forced to rely on changes in the formulations on the stones to provide primary dating criteria. Nevertheless, given that the numbers are comparatively robust, this method, as long as its imperfections are recognised, produces convincing results. Yet more interesting was confirmation that epigraphic evidence of soldiers' marriages suggests that soldiers not only show a tendency not to marry but also married significantly later than civilians. Moreover, P. shows that this was a regional pattern, with sailors marrying earlier than Danubian soldiers and African soldiers being the most tardy. P. concentrates on the demographic implications of this and is greatly to be thanked for demolishing some of the more outlandish but extremely popular explanations for the regulation of military marriages which saw in the policy a kind of demographic and social engineering aimed at producing the next generation of recruits. Yet, I think the implications of the study run deeper, suggesting irregularities in the behaviour of Roman soldiers that must stem either from very particular social circumstances of the soldiers in the different provinces. These patterns should give both military historians and historians of the family some pause and raise fundamental questions. Why did men and women 'marry' and why should individuals in different social groups have different marital patterns? Do the seeming local patterns in age at marriage suggest local attitudes to marriage? Are we right to think about Roman soldiers as being a single coherent society, or merely sub-groups of the various local societies? P.'s explanation of late marriage concentrates on economic limitations but her depiction of a soldiery too poor to marry seems to me unconvincing in circumstances in which a dowry was an essential and valued component of a marriage, and it seems to me likely that many soldiers had alternative sources of income, such as inherited property, other than their pay. Given that many soldiers appear to have turned to the economically less beneficial practice of freedwomen wives or concubines, I suspect we need a more fundamental explanation.

Nevertheless, this book will be an important study for years to come and is of considerable value for historians of the Roman military and family.

*Royal Holloway, University of London*

RICHARD ALSTON