From Conquest to Consumption: Identifying Wartime Sexual Violence and the Traffic of Captive Barbarian Women in the Iconography of Roman Conquest (1st c. BC – 2nd c. AD)

by
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Abstract

In Roman conquest iconography, the captive woman was a potent image used to reflect and reinforce the power of Roman rule and expansion and signalled the complete destruction of the non-Roman family. Wartime rape gestures depicted on captive women have been recognised by scholars as metaphors for the penetration of foreign lands and peoples by Rome. However, there has been no analysis from the perspective of sex trafficking or an evaluation of how wartime rape was used to define the captive woman in a plurality of ways.

What has yet to be fully understood is the purpose of depicting wartime rape gestures, how the Roman audience consumed messages of sexual violence, and what these depictions reveal about the lived experiences of captive women. This thesis analyses these questions through a multidisciplinary approach that draws from Gender Theories and Wartime Rape Theory. The methodology and typologies created and enacted here have provided, for the first time, a comprehensive analysis of the depiction of the captive woman in conquest iconography.

The key findings within this thesis are as follows:
> 1) The message of depicting captive women with active and passive gestures that insinuate wartime rape and abuse has enabled the identification of the three-step process of trafficking.
> 2) The images of captive women were created by and for the pleasure of the male observer. Gestures that insinuate wartime rape and abuse served to break the body into erotic pieces to be consumed by the Roman viewer.
> 3) Applying modern Wartime Rape Theories highlight the grim realities, and certain wartime rape gestures, when analysed in the wartime context, are featured in images that commemorate battles of Roman punitive warfare.

These findings enhance the meaning of the captive woman and purposeful display as a wartime raped, sex trafficked woman. By displaying her in this way, a baseline is created from which to measure and legitimise sexual violence against non-Roman and Roman women in Rome.

Contents

Declaration

I, the author, confirm that the thesis is my own work. I am aware of the University's Guidance on the Use of Unfair Means (www.sheffield.ac.uk/ssid/unfair-means). This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, university.

Kelsey Madden

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Roman conquest iconography was a visual tool to express Roman power over vanquished peoples. This iconography legitimised and codified this power into the urban fabric of Rome. Captive women in the imagery of conquest held significance in conveying the message of a population who had been defeated and incorporated or consumed into the Roman Empire. They acted as symbols to reflect the infertility of 'barbarian' peoples; they now produced offspring for Rome, not for their own families and compatriots. These images of captive women, children, and men proliferated as motifs in imperial imagery in Rome from the first to second centuries AD. However, behind this stereotypical image of captive women lies a gruesome reality.

It has rarely been considered how the bodies of captive women were used in conquest iconography to express Rome as a predatory and exploitative political economy. Alicia Jiménez (2020) and Manuel Fernández-Götz et al. (2020) introduced the alternative notion of a 'predatory' political economy for conceptualising the late Republican (146–31 BC) and Imperial Roman periods (31 BC–AD 193), evidenced through archaeological investigations. A predatory regime in this context is defined as 'the militarization of power and trade, pillage as an economic strategy, the pursuit of private interests under public command and the conversion of brute violence into legitimate authority' (González-Ruibal, 2015: 424). The Roman military employed this economic strategy during the first two centuries AD (Goldsworthy, 2000).

Roman imperialism and expansionism were a dark business filled with brutality and predation. As scholars, we should aim to illustrate the brutality and cruelty of expansionism and imperialism; if we are to have an inclusive, balanced account of the past, we need the dark sides as well (Fernández-Götz et al., 2020). I think we are ready to engage in this meaningful debate about ancient Rome as a 'predatory regime' (Jiménez, 2020). This thesis adds to this discussion of how Rome acted in a predatory manner in many ways towards captive women. This act of predation was realised through submission and gestures of vulnerability that suggest wartime rape was suffered by captive women in imperial conquest iconography on large public monuments and smaller material objects.

My intent is not to demonise Rome, but to provide an inclusive, balanced account of the past to show the brutality involved in Roman imperialism regarding the taking of captive, non-Roman women, and to explore the processes of this dark side to make visible real-life suffering and oppression. Furthermore, this thesis aims to demonstrate how to conceptualise better and contextualise their representation in the iconography of Roman conquest during the first two centuries AD through the application of two social theories.

Throughout this thesis, I will demonstrate that using this methodology removes the limitations to the context in which captive women are shown in the iconography of conquest. Moreover, the lived experiences of female prisoners displayed through gestures have not been fully appreciated and considered extensively. It is not enough to acknowledge that the captive women suffered wartime rape at the hands of their Roman captors. We must understand better what wartime rape meant for women of the enemy forced to submit to and taken by Rome. Without identifying these realities, we cannot fully understand and appreciate what their depiction in Roman conquest iconography expressed to the contemporary Roman viewer. Furthermore, those who viewed most of the figural sources under investigation were closely connected to the Roman military and the imperial ruling elite; the body of the captive woman in Roman art was dictated and consumed primarily by the elite male gaze.

Roman men wrote the ancient literary sources, and the men of the imperial ruling elite controlled what images were produced and disseminated to bolster their propaganda plans. Bias is present in the evidence presented below. The written sources and material evidence are not from the perspective of the enslaved women but from their male adult captors.

The captive women not only served the purpose of displaying the destruction of the complete family unit but, in the context of war, was also a prized possession, a trophy to own and to be treated in any way the owner wished, including for sexual gratification (Phang, 2004; Marshall, 2013; Cohen, 2014; Green, 2015). Enslaved girls and women were in a physically and morally vulnerable position. However, the topic of the sexual exploitation of captive women in the Roman world has been extremely limited because of the prioritisation of the gaze of the Roman victor and not the conquered, the general inherited and perpetuated reverence for classical tradition, and the perpetuation of Victorian puritanical ideas regarding sex. The time is ripe for appropriately exploring and considering openly the realities lived by the dominated and enslaved captive women in Roman antiquity and how this reality was displayed and read in Roman visual art.

While the term trafficking does not appear in Latin, considerable textual evidence exists for the abuse of unfree individuals whose bodies were at the disposal of others and for the circulation of attractive slaves for the sexual pleasure of those in power and control, as this thesis seeks to demonstrate (Polybius, *Histories* 10.38.1–2, 10.19.3–7; Tacitus, *Germania* 8*;* Cicero, *In Verrem* 2.4.116; Phang, 2004; Marshall, 2013; Cohen, 2014; Green, 2015). It is important to note that the term 'barbarian' does not reflect a value judgement on my part. However, it is a general term I will be using sparingly throughout this thesis because it was the label placed on and used to describe foreign population groups by the Romans. Where possible, I aim to use the terms 'captive' women to reflect the actual state of the physical existence of the female victims.

In the context in which these images sit – war – it is evident that these captive women are depicted as being taken as booty, prisoners from a battle between Romans and barbarians, and also displayed as trophies. The fates of these people must have been varied; some became prostitutes, some shopkeepers, others wet nurses and teachers to elite children, and still others agricultural labourers (Scheidel, 1995).

Identified gaps in research include, but are not limited to, the fact that the main focus of scholarship is given to the male captive barbarian (Ferris, 1995, 2000, 2003, 2005; Bradley, 2004; De Souza, 2011), with only a few pages (Zanker, 2000; Ferris, 2009; George, 2011; Reeder, 2017; Carroll, 2018) and one work (Dillon, 2006) dedicated to the captive barbarian woman. However, not one publication focuses solely on the representation of the captive women depicted with gestures of vulnerability and in situations of wartime rape and what it fully means for them to be depicted in this way. This thesis aims to fill this gap by asking the first research question: what are the underlying purposes and intended messages behind the portrayal of captive women with gestures that insinuate wartime rape and abuse in Roman art?

The commissioners of the art were of the male ruling elite, and the imagery absolutely reflects this. What is missing, however, and what this thesis, methodology, and analysis bring to light is how this specific male audience would have visually consumed these images. Therefore, Gender theories, such as Feminist Film Theory, have been used to interpret images. These theories provide a valuable approach to the reading and analysis of the way captive women are depicted (Section 3.6) and help to answer research question two: how did the Roman audience interpret and internalise these depictions, particularly considering their awareness of wartime rape and the reality of enslaved women who may have experienced such violence firsthand?

Another gap identified in the current scholarship is the lack of analysis of the type of warfare conducted to successfully win a war that was then celebrated on monuments or private art pieces. Moreover, no analysis has been conducted on how and if these tactics inform the types of wartime rapes that are perpetrated against captive women (Ferris, 2000, 2005, 2009). By integrating Historical Wartime Rape Theory, first introduced by the ancient historian Kathy Gaca in 2013 and refined within this thesis to depict the nuances of the warfare climate from the latter half of the first century BC to the second century AD (Section 3.7; Table 2.), the context to wartime sexual violence is firmly situated behind the artistic gestures that suggest wartime rape and abuse to varying degrees. The application of this theory will aid in answering the third and final research question of this thesis: through the lens of the applied theoretical framework, what insights can we glean about the experiences and treatment of women subjected to captivity and potential wartime rape in the context of Roman imperialism?

Applying Wartime Rape Theory to the images studied here makes it possible to appreciate, acknowledge, and better understand the possible realities these women faced. Comparative material from contemporary accounts, as reported by women who suffered rape during conflicts such as those in the former Yugoslavia, will be used, even though these are from more modern periods.

Defining Trafficking and Sex Trafficking
The modern terms 'trafficking' and 'sex trafficking' carry two associations: a moral stigma and a particular set of steps. In this thesis, the terms trafficking and sex trafficking will be used to expand our knowledge of the steps taken in trafficking women during times of war for various purposes, including sexual exploitation (see below). Use of the terms will go beyond our modern sensibilities of the activity and into the early and mid-Roman Imperial period as it relates to sexualised captive women in conquest imagery. To avoid being anachronistic with its use, we must remove the modern moral stigma lens from the term trafficking and instead focus on similar macro logistical processes. Although using the terms trafficking and sex trafficking can appear anachronistic, this thesis will demonstrate through primary sources and pictorial evidence that the recorded activity mostly fits the modern definitions without the modern moral stigma. The similarities between the modern and ancient trafficking process include but are not limited to the following acts and participants: wartime rape, traffickers, middlemen (middlewomen have been identified in the modern context), purchasers, and a demand that secular ruling authorities must meet. They both include various forms of enslavement. They are both gendered. They both exploit female vulnerability and shame through rape to capture women and make them submit. They both involve forced sexual exploitation. They both involve the forced movement of people away from their own culture and homeland.

For women enslaved by Rome, sexual exploitation could occur as a primary means of exploitation or secondary to labour; after a long day of manual labour, they could be sexually exploited at night. Whether sexual exploitation was a primary or secondary act, it can fall under the definition of sex trafficking because they were taken by force to fulfil a sexual demand ultimately. In the Roman world, military commanders, soldiers, slave dealers, people who followed the army to help move goods and people, and even the emperor all had the power and ability to traffic women (Phang, 2001). These people could also act as middlemen in moving women from their moment of capture to their purchase. Wartime rape is intrinsically linked with sex trafficking. In a modern comparison, Kathryn Farr (2009) examined twenty-three modern countries torn by civil war and found that, during armed conflicts, rape and sexual enslavement increase women's risk of being trafficked. This increased risk is linked to demand. She found that the trafficking of women for sex and enslaved labour extends beyond wartime, making wartime abuse a general form of violence against women and continued exploitation (Farr, 2009: 23). The same can be said for women raped and enslaved by Rome. Wartime rape was used as a weapon, and captive women were immediately

enslaved. Captive women had no legal reprieve or protection. Brothels in military camps, taverns, and the homes of wealthy slave owners would have been a place in which many captive women would find themselves.

While the legal definition and cultural stigmas of slavery vary depending on the culture and time period in which it is practised, trafficking has a universally agreed-upon definition, as outlined by international humanitarian organisations: the systematic act of transporting and exploiting human beings for myriad purposes (Paolella, 2020: 12). By applying this definition, we will gain a nuanced understanding of such practices prevalent during the early to mid-Imperial Roman era, with a specific emphasis on the representation of women in conquest iconography. The slave trade of Imperial Rome could be considered the most obvious form of trafficking. Still, this form cannot be fully understood without considering the sexual aspects (Paolella, 2020: 11). Sex trafficking must be considered more thoroughly than in past scholarship because a key component is the wartime rape of captive women. The following section will delve into the contemporary definition of trafficking and its intricate connection with morality. Furthermore, it will explore the contrasting perspectives on the forceful enslavement of individuals between the modern era and ancient Roman times. In particular, the focus will be on examining how the forceful taking of people during wartime for sexual exploitation was rationalised and labelled within the Roman context.

In the modern sense, trafficking should be used when discussing the illegal, usually clandestine, forceful taking of people. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2023) defines trafficking victims as people of any age that are forced to provide usually illegal and morally reprehensible services in a dangerous and degrading environment for little or no remuneration. The United Nations (UNODC, 2023) takes an anti-trafficking approach to help countries identify, prosecute, and dismantle the individuals and groups who conduct it. They also work towards policy reform and education to aid in the conviction of traffickers and support for victims (UNODC, 2023).

Forced labour, sex, and organ harvesting all fall under the modern term of trafficking. However, sex trafficking dominates the categories for **women** in the modern world. In 2022, fifty human trafficking experts met in Croatia to discuss strategies for combating the demand for sex trafficking in Southeastern Europe. Silke Albert, the Head of UNODC's Global Programme against Trafficking in Persons and Smuggling of Migrants, in discussing the demand for victims trafficked to Western and Southern Europe, highlights that 'sexual exploitation is the most prevalent form of trafficking, accounting for around sixty-five per cent of all detected cases' (2022). During times of conflict, the number remains as high. Moreover, conflict can create sexual demand in the afflicted area and the exploitation of the vulnerability of women to traffickers that are not associated with military forces (UNODC, 2018).

Demand is what drives this prevalent form of trafficking, and combating this demand is at the heart of the UN's operations. The anti-trafficking response is fuelled by 'human rights', the

idea that we are all entitled to basic rights as human beings. In 1948, the United Nations defined basic human rights with thirty articles in their official Universal Declaration of Human Rights. How to protect those rights is constantly negotiated by law and legislation. The United Nations defines basic human rights as follows (UNDHR, 1948):

> Human Rights are rights inherent to all human beings, regardless of race, sex, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion, or any other status. Human rights include the right to life and liberty, freedom from slavery and torture, freedom of opinion and expression, the right to work and education, and many more. Everyone is entitled to these rights, without discrimination.

Ethics and morals are at the heart of what defines these basic human rights. However, the concept that every human on earth deserves these basic rights is relatively new, and human trafficking lacked an agreed definition until 2000 (Paolella, 2020). The Human Rights Watch was created in 1978 in response to investigations of genocides and massacres in countries (mostly those behind the Iron Curtain) that signed the Helsinki Accords, and has since expanded their watch to include marginalised people groups such as women, members of the LGBTQ+ community, and people with disabilities. This brings ethical relativism into the discussion. Ethical relativism holds that morality is relative to the norms of a specified culture (Velasquez et al., 1992). As demonstrated above, in the 21st century, Western culture believes that human trafficking, with an outcome of enslavement, is morally reprehensible and unlawful. Institutions such as the United Nations and Human Rights Watch were born out of an identified need to stop traffickers and aid victims because slavery does not align with Western cultural values. This desire to combat human trafficking has aided our understanding of the cause, demand, and steps taken in the trafficking process. When we look at trafficking characteristics for the 21st century, similarities arise when compared to the Imperial Roman period.

What attitudes towards trafficking and sexual exploitation are recorded for antiquity in the context of slavery? Some criticism of Roman slavery existed during the first two centuries AD, primarily by Stoic philosophers (Diogenes Laertius, *Lives* 7.32–3, 7.121–2; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 267b; Seneca, *De Beneficiis* 3.22.1). However, these Stoic philosophers were more interested in the slavery of the soul rather than the slavery of the body (Garnsey, 1996: 131–133) and did not conclude that slavery was morally reprehensible. For example, Seneca the Younger, a Roman Stoic philosopher, statesman, and orator writing in the first half of the first century AD, believed that masters and slaves were born of the same stock and that there was a 'common kinship of all people as rational beings' (*Epistulae* 47.10; Garnsey, 1996: 142). However, Seneca approached this topic from a practical perspective. He wrote during a time filled with reports of runaway slaves and assassinated masters (Garnsey, 1996: 240). While Seneca believed that enslaved men shared humanity with free men (*Epistulae* 47.10), he noted the benefits the enslaved brought to their masters (*Epistulae* 47.8). on the matter of enslaved women Seneca is silent. Seneca concluded that the enslaved would quicker defend

their master should they be treated with respect instead of abuse, which leads to fear (*Epistulae* 47.17–19). At the heart of Seneca's debate is that flagrant abuse of enslaved people might upset the social hierarchy: if enslaved people were so unhappy, they revolted. Treating them as humans and not animals to maintain the social status quo was best.

There is simply little or no evidence (currently) of Graeco-Roman humanitarian criticism of slavery for the period under study that called for action to be taken to combat the capturing and enslavement of human beings or to provide support for its victims (pers. comm. Judith Evans-Grubbs, 2023; Garnsey, 1996). Criticism of the sexual or other abuse of captive women was not recorded until the fifth century AD by the Romano-Briton Patrick (later St Patrick) in his Epistle to the Soldiers of Coroticus (pers. comm. Evans-Grubbs, 2023). But again, the institution of slavery was not criticised by Patrick, nor did he call for its abolishment or aid for victims. Peter Garnsey (1996: 238) summarises this discourse best: 'Interventions of a critical or justificatory nature did occur, anxieties and tensions surfaced, and ideologies were actively engaged in keeping them in check […] the overt attacks on slavery are few and isolated, their impact limited.' There was little sympathy towards the treatment of enslaved people. The literary evidence that masters should treat their enslaved people properly merely reflects utilitarian ideas of estate management. Masters meted out appropriate punishment when required.

1.2. Literature Review

The male barbarian has been the primary focus in Roman archaeological scholarship when examining the depictions of barbarians in Roman conquest iconography (Caló, 1952; Marszal, 1990; Gergel, 1994; Ferris, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2009; Hölscher, 2003; Jensen, 2018). Therefore, this section will explore and critique the scholarship that exists on the representation of captive women. The analysis of such women is limited in terms of scope and applied methodologies (Kampen, 1991, 2009; Bradley, 2004; Dillon, 2006; George, 2011; Carroll, 2018). Moreover, analysis of the gestures of sexualisation and suggestive wartime rape and abuse given to these women has been tragically limited (Ferris, 1995, 2001; Kellum, 1997; Zanker, 2000; Phang, 2004; Dillon, 2006).

In current scholarship, two opposing arguments of historicity ground who the captive women are and what Roman social ideals they represent. First is the 'historical reality' argument. In this argument, scholars have argued that since the women are not mythical but mortal, they reflect real, lived histories (Zanker, 2000; Bradley, 2004; Kampen, 2009; De Souza, 2011). Second is the 'non-historical' argument. Scholars have argued that captive women, in some respects, reflect historical people, but they should not simply be interpreted as such (Hölscher, 2003; Dillon, 2006; Ferris, 2009). Dillon (2006) argues that we should be cautious in reading them in this way and that they are first and foremost a part of a visual narrative of Roman power. Both arguments are essential and applied throughout this thesis.

Scholars have spilt a lot of ink on the composition, artistic choices, and thematic display of barbarians over time (Caló, 1952; Picard, 1957; Brilliant, 1963; Rossi, 1971; Silberberg-Pierce, 1986; Zanker, 1988; Pirson, 1996; Kleiner, 1992; Walter, 1993; Kuttner, 1995; Scheid and Huet, 2000; Beard, 2000; Dillon and Welch, 2006; Smith, 2006; Hartshorn, 2006; Aillagon, et al., 2008; Thill, 2010; Rodríguez, 2020). It is not the purpose of this thesis to add to this ever-growing repertoire of work. This thesis examines the captive women and their gestures from a gendered perspective; therefore, this literature review will focus on the scholarly works of the same perspective. This gendered perspective includes how Feminist Theories, such as Feminist Film Theory, are applied to the reading of Roman art (Kampen, 1982, 1994, 1995, 1996; Koloski-Ostrow, 1997; Fredrick, 1997; Severy-Hoven, 2012) and how rape and slavery should be looked at separately in the context of war (Dillon, 2006; Ferris, 2009; Buss, 2009). Throughout this thesis, rape is analysed separately from slavery through the gestures that suggest wartime rape depicted in the images of captive women in art. The works that have previously identified wartime rape gestures and their meaning will be explored to highlight the contributions and limitations to the study of wartime rape in conquest iconography (Section 1.2.3.). First, we must examine the 'historical reality' argument to serve as a point of departure for the more in-depth analysis of captive women as both a figure of historical reality and the deeper meaning behind their representation as eroticised and sexually assaulted.

1.2.1. Historical Reality and Visual *Topoi*

A large part of the relevance of war in history lies in mentally constructed behaviour and perceptions. In this respect, images are a highly revealing form of historical evidence: whether they conform to or complement written texts, they constitute an autonomous world of visual experience.
– Tonio Hölscher (2003: 2)

Tonio Hölscher's influential work on Roman visual representations of war (2003) highlights the intricacy of the ability of images to reflect lived historical realities. It also illustrates the role of mentally constructed behaviour and perceptions in repeating images, like the subjugated barbarian family. The repetition of images, or *topoi*, in various media continually upheld the contemporary social ideals of Roman power. More importantly, this repetition of barbarian images reinforced how the Romans defined who they were and were not. Repetition does not diminish the lived realities that inspired these images, as some scholars have argued; rather, it strengthens it (Hölscher, 2003, 2006; Dillon, 2006; Welch, 2006; Ferris, 2009; Kampen, 2009). To use the words of Keith Bradley (2004: 304), 'A *topos* cannot be a *topos*, whether in art or literature, unless it has some relationship to a recognisable and comprehensive reality on the part of the audience for which it is intended.' Captive barbarian women have been noted to be the most common mortal women in Roman historical relief sculpture (Kampen, 1991), and the ways in which these women are represented reflect some form of historical reality. In the case of this thesis, the gestures apparent in the depiction of these women reflect the reality of how vulnerability creates the threat of wartime rape and

sexual assault in scenes of capture and transportation. The realities underlying these images are relevant to social constructions, namely gender and power.

Natalie Kampen (2009: xv) describes this process perfectly: 'visual representation is a form of discourse that not only brings social constructions into material form; it is itself socially constructed and therefore shapes those constructions as it renders them visible.' Including captive barbarian women in conquest iconography added a gendered layer to the messages behind the images. Scholars have identified three gendered *topoi* represented by the captive barbarian women in conquest imagery. The first topos represents the subjugation of the barbarian land and family, i.e. the complete destruction of the non-Roman family (Kampen, 1991; Ferris, 2000, 2009; Zanker, 2000; Dillon, 2006; Östenberg, 2009); to have Roman imperial dynastic success, there must be complete generational victory (Kampen, 2009: 60). To effectively convey the concept of securing a generational triumph against Roman adversaries, the representation must incorporate elements of gender and sex; the generation cannot be destroyed without destroying the sex that produces life. Elements of both Roman and barbarian realities reinforce these recurring themes or *topoi*.

Kampen's chapter entitled 'Gender Theory in Roman Art' (1996) explored how gender functioned as a model for social relations by depicting barbarian couples on monuments, gems and cameos, and sarcophagi. Kampen concludes with two points. First, the barbarian couples represent male aggression and female passivity as normative social behaviour among non-Romans. Ferris (2009: 130) reaches the same conclusion: barbarian men who were depicted bound or in chains imply male aggression, while the depiction of barbarian women as unbound and in a mournful pose suggests that they were passive and posed no threat. Second, the barbarian couple represented Roman power over conquered barbarians; the family and future of the barbarian's world had been forever changed by defeat (Kampen, 1991: 20). Paul Zanker (2000) similarly concluded in his analysis on the Column of Marcus Aurelius that barbarian women on the column represent the eternal sorrow of conquered barbarians and are visual evidence of the destruction and last traces of social unity among the barbarian family. Östenberg re-enforced this idea (2009) that women as captives signalled the complete destruction of their culture and family.

Kampen (1991: 20) notes that the pairing of male and female barbarians was how the Romans stressed their commonality with the barbarians, suggesting that barbarians could become Roman in the right circumstances. This interpretation, however, is naive, as this road to 'Romanisation' is not depicted positively on the monuments or small-format materials; the primary theme in all of them is the submission of the barbarians. Moreover, their incorporation into art revealed that the Romans believed in an ever-expandable empire.

While Kampen's 1991 case study is short and limited to a few examples, she provided crucial points to interpreting captive barbarian women from a gendered perspective; this was further

developed and supported by Zanker (2000) and Östenberg (2009). This thesis seeks to incorporate Gender Theory into how wartime rape was visualised and used to portray and suggest the complete destruction of the barbarian family. Kampen's work is a starting foundation for the gendered analysis applied in Chapters 2, 4, and 5.

The second visual *topos* identified by scholars is that captive barbarian women represent the fundamental difference between what it means to be Roman and non-Roman based on ethnicity and social inferiority, thereby reinforcing Roman identity (Ferris, 2000; De Souza, 2011). De Souza (2011: 43) reiterates how enslavement through warfare, expressed through the captive barbarian in Roman art, reflects the power and prestige of the imperial family. This *topos* is reflected most poignantly on the cameos of Augustus and Claudius. Ian Ferris's *Enemies of Rome: Barbarians through Romans Eyes* (2000) was one of the first comprehensive analyses of the representations of barbarians in Roman art. Ferris (2000: 15) states that 'the evident suffering of the barbarian protagonists presented the viewer with a study in more generalised human suffering that was easier to contemplate mediated through the bodies of the barbarians than through the depiction of such agonies upon fellow Greeks'. The Romans followed this ideology and consistently displayed their power by representing the defeated foe in art. Ferris explores the use of the barbarian body in Augustan art (27 BC – AD 13), noting that men appear to be surrendering, seeking clemency, or bound, stating that they are depicted in 'states of impotence rather than action'. For Ferris, barbarian women and children were used as a strategy for eroding the power and potency of men. This eroding of male power and potency directly affected the future reproductive choices of women and how the bartering and controlling of women and children 'contrasts with, but nevertheless contributes towards, social policies of the reign aimed at establishing different types of control over women and families at Rome, at least in the upper echelons of Roman society' (2000: 32).

On Trajan's Column, erected in AD 113, Ferris notes the depiction of the transport of Dacian noblewomen into exile signals an uncertain future for the surviving women who were relocated in the political, social, and sexual framework of Roman society. Ferris tackles the consideration of Roman self-definition by portraying barbarian population groups. He states that the depiction of the defeated barbarian would not have been viewed entirely in a negative way, with any admiration being well disguised by mockery (Ferris, 2000: 149). For Ferris, the depiction of barbarian couples was a way for the Romans to find 'some element of common ground, of a common humanity between the Romans and the barbarian people portrayed' (2009: 130). Ferris concludes on this point that should the barbarian couple be absent, or the man and woman be depicted separately, this is a 'declaration of a state of complete otherness' (2009: 130). In other words, should the barbarians be depicted as a familial pair, the Romans could connect with them on a human level. By contrast, should the barbarian man and woman be depicted separately, the Romans could find no commonality, thus creating a separation between Roman and non-Roman.

The third visual *topos* dictates that the barbarians stood to uphold Roman foreign policy; the display of captive women reinforced the divine right of the Romans to press their rule over the world (Ferris, 2000, 2009; Bradley, 2004; Kampen, 2009; De Souza, 2011; George, 2011). An in-depth reading of the displayed captive barbarians on a range of media was provided by Bradley in his article 'On Captives Under the Principate' published in 2004. In this work, Bradley sought to provide a more realistic reading of the depiction of captive barbarians and argues convincingly that the images must represent 'some relationship to a lived historical reality' (2004: 299). Bradley concludes that the images reflected the reality that warfare was a major source of the slave supply, and that since these images of captives appeared in numerous works over a significant period, imperial Rome 'regularly and consistently enslaved significant numbers of captives of both sexes, children, as well as adults' (2004: 307).

Ferris (2009: 130) argues that the defeated and dejected barbarian couple represents the transformation they would undergo through the incorporation of barbarian land into the Roman Empire. Through this incorporation, the captive barbarians themselves would not be made Roman citizens, but their future children and their grandchildren could achieve that status through military service (Ferris, 2009: 130). Natalie Kampen's *Family Fictions in Roman Art* (2009) provides a thorough analysis of captive barbarian women in Trajanic art (AD 98–177), again moving us forward in this field of study. In Chapter 2, entitled 'Trajan as Father: Depicting the *Pater Patriae'*, Kampen (2009: 2) asked the following questions:

> Why then did the Romans choose occasionally to include in state art the images of barbarian families or even families of peoples who clearly are presented as pacified, allied to Rome, or even provincials? What is the function of the adult-child combination in the context of great public monuments throughout the Empire, both for those who commissioned the monuments and those who looked at them?

Kampen argues that throughout the imperial period, the representation of barbarian adults with barbarian children consistently concerns foreign policy and dynastic politics, with a shift in uses under Trajan (2009: 39). She concludes that this change occurred due to Trajan's desire to keep himself as a *pater* in the eyes of the people because of his lack of a biological or official heir. Thus, the barbarian family was represented on his monuments mostly in a non-violent way, showing how the once barbarian foe could now become the children of Trajan and aid in the expansion of the empire.

Similarly, De Souza's 2011 article, "War, Slavery, and Empire in Roman Imperial Iconography," resonates with Bradley's 2004 assertion: capturing barbarians and enslaving them was seen as a valid objective in warfare. This idea was notably illustrated by the barbarian motif, prominent from the reign of Augustus to Severus (De Souza, 2011: 31). Additionally, De Souza argues that the use of captive barbarians in conquest iconography reflects real Roman

attitudes towards war, imperialism, and enslavement. Finally, he argues that while Greek art used captives, they did not do so in such a manner and with the same frequency as the Romans, making the use of the captive barbarian unique to Roman art for this period (De Souza, 2011: 31).

Sheila Dillon (2006) warns against reading captive women as representative of lived realities. However, in the same work, she acknowledges that captive women did suffer wartime rape. She provides an example from Tacitus (*Histories* 3.33) to highlight how women and other vulnerable groups are treated in reality during wartime compared to the peaceful scenes depicted on Trajan's Column (Dillon, 2006: 261).

The studies of all the scholars mentioned above are essential and seminal in their own right. However, more work is necessary, as these scholars have seldom examined the larger question of the significance and meaning behind the presence of barbarian women and their depicted rape, either literally or metaphorically. This gap needs assessing and bridging promptly, as it has been ignored for far too long. This thesis seeks to address this and raise awareness of the biases that the scholarship has overlooked prior to and over the last three decades. Bradley (2004) and De Souza (2011) lacked a separate analysis of captive men and women, which limited them to broad interpretations of the representation of captive people overall. This thesis aims to fill the gap by providing a separate, comprehensive analysis of the captive woman in conquest iconography.

Using a multidisciplinary approach to analyse the depiction of wartime rape, this work follows Bradley's (2004) and De Souza's (2011) argument that the captives must represent some lived reality and Dillon's (2006) argument that it involved realities of sexual violence (see Chapter 3). Like Bradley, I argue that the representations must contain some window into the historical past, but more specifically, a window into how these women were sexually assaulted and abuse. Should Bradley (2004) and De Souza (2011) have analysed gender more specifically, which this thesis does, they would have had a more thorough picture of the lived realities discussed in their works. These captive women were used to bolster the propaganda of each emperor's reign and reflect the power of the imperial family. However, they represent real, sexually assaulted women, vulnerable victims of war. To add to this multidisciplinary approach, the next section will examine the work of David Fredrick (1997), Ann Koloski-Ostrow (1997), and Beth Severy-Hoven (2012), all of whom successfully applied Feminist Film Theory to the reading of Roman wall paintings in Pompeii.

1.2.2. Feminist Film Theory and Roman Art

In 1993, a book edited by Nancy Rabinowitz and Amy Richlin, entitled *Feminist Theory and the Classics*, is one of the first comprehensive works that implemented different aspects of Feminist Theory, including Film Theory, in reading the Classics. However, the focus of the work is on literary evidence, not on visual representation. The first scholar to apply feminist film

theory to the reading of Roman art is David Fredrick in his 1997 article 'Beyond the Atrium to Ariadne: Erotic Painting and Visual Pleasure in the Roman House'. Fredrick applies the theory to mythical wall paintings in Pompeian houses, noting that rape scenes are more common than epic battle scenes (1997: 267). He further states that gender must be considered when interpreting erotic and violent scenes, as gender was a means for ascribing power or powerlessness to the figures on display (Fredrick, 1997: 267). Fredrick uses Feminist Film Theory from Laura Mulvey's 1975 seminal work, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' (discussed further in Chapter 3), to outline his hypothesis of a correlation between the 'visual command of space in domestic architecture and the gaze at the erotic object in mythological wall paintings, which not only adorn this architecture but enjoy a privileged place within its framing system' (Fredrick, 1997: 269). He notes the importance of applying the theory because it 'connects ways of looking at the female body with power and powerlessness in a society deeply stratified by gender and class' (Fredrick, 1997: 269). Fredrick defines the scenes that fall under Mulvey's two types of 'gazes': scopophilic and sadistic voyeurism. Scopophilia is the breaking up of the woman into distinct, revealing body parts like the breast, shoulder, face, legs, and long hair. Sadistic voyeurism includes the pleasure men might derive from watching or looking at women from a safe advantage point or the thought of themselves as the cause of women to cry, scream, cringe, flee, and die (Clover, 1992: 18). The protection from the loss of power and status, power being mapped onto the physical differences between the sexes (the absence of the penis), is termed by Mulvey (1975) as 'castration anxiety'. Both of the gazes enable the male viewer to escape castration in this theory. Fredrick applies Mulvey's theory to the Pompeian painting theme of Ariadne being abandoned and rediscovered.

For example, the scenes in which Dionysus discovers a sleeping Ariadne come in two forms: one where Ariadne's torso is turned towards the viewer with exposed breasts while Dionysus looks down at her body; and the second where Ariadne's body is turned over, revealing her buttocks to the viewer while Cupid, Pan, or a Satyr are lifting her robe to uncover her vagina (Fredrick, 1997: 273). Fredrick (1997: 273) argues that the removal of her robe and the different angles painted of Ariadne's body are related. Importantly, Fredrick (1997: 273) notes that these two aspects fit Mulvey's definition of the tension in scopophilia expressed between the uncovering of Ariadne's body and the delaying and denial of the revelation of sexual difference. Ariadne is being disrobed for Dionysus who is in the scene looking at Ariadne, which 'confirms the scopophilic interest of the external viewer. At the same time, the paintings voyeuristically insist on sexual difference in the absolute division of mobility and power between Ariadne on the one hand and Dionysus on the other' (Fredrick, 1997: 273). Fredrick surmises that these ways of looking are not only for anatomical differences but act as a map for social differences in that 'they protect the assumption that the upper-class male possesses not just the [physical] penis, but the [metaphorical] phallus' (1997: 278). The phallus here represents a powerful symbol to ward off the 'evil eye' or bad luck. The phallus highlights the opposition between the enslaver and the enslaved and patron and client. For

Fredrick, instead of the pleasure of scopophilia being used to escape castration, pleasure in the paintings was a subtle indication of being unable to escape.

Ann Koloski-Ostrow, in 1997, followed Fredrick's application of Mulvey's Feminist Film Theory to Roman art in her work 'Violent Stages in Two Pompeian Houses: Imperial Taste, Aristocratic Response, and Messages of Male Control'. Rather than look at a large selection of wall paintings, Koloski-Ostrow focuses on paintings in two houses: the House of the Vettii and the House of the Menander. This narrowed scope has allowed Koloski-Ostrow's application of the theory to be more succinct and impactful than Fredrick's broader scope. Fredrick's argument gets muddled in the description of scenes and his exploration of power represented in the art. Unlike Fredrick, Koloski-Ostrow focuses on using Feminist Film Theory to read rape scenes, specifically in *The Rape of Cassandra* painting in the House of the Menander. Here she concludes that as the male viewer is looking at the scene of rape, he actually becomes involved in the rape (Koloski-Ostrow, 1997: 255). Moreover, she used Feminist Film Theory with the understanding that the Roman house, its design, and its decoration were used as a 'kind of stage set where ancient public and private life intersected and was acted out among members of the ruling Roman class' (Koloski-Ostrow, 1997: 243). In *The Rape of Cassandra*, Helen is pulled by the hair by Menelaus. Koloski-Ostrow notes that Helen will survive Menelaus's anger to serve him in his bed at home later; this scene, she notes, is a prime example of Mulvey's fetishism and voyeurism formula (Koloski-Ostrow, 1997: 255).

Fredrick (1997) and Koloski-Ostrow (1997) both flag the idea that Mulvey's theory (1975) does not take sexualised men into account. Men were not typically sexualised to the extreme that women were in modern film during the time of Mulvey's work, but they featured prominently on Roman wall paintings. Beth Severy-Hoven fills this gap in her 2012 article, 'Master Narratives and the Wall Painting of the House of the Vettii, Pompeii'. Severy-Hoven seeks to outline how Pompeian wall paintings contradicted the patterns identified by Mulvey. Along with Fredrick and Koloski-Ostrow, she suggests that the images should be studied for how they dictate and display (or inscribe) power structures in the house and community (Severy-Hoven, 2012: 555). She employed the Feminist Film Theory work of Carol Clover's 1992 book, *Men, Women, and Chain Saws*, in which Clover studied different violent art and American and British horror films from the 1970s and 1980s. Here, Severy-Hoven applies Clover's theory of the 'assaultive gaze', the masculine and predatory first-person view of the camera, and the 'reactive gaze', the view of the feminine and assaulted spectator (Severy-Hoven, 2012: 559). She also employs Clover's theory to explore further how masochism is used in the paintings for both men and women. Severy-Hoven (2012: 572) concludes that we should rethink how we use gender alone to analyse power dynamics in Pompeian wall paintings, noting an overlap between gender, sexuality, and enslavement.

Fredrick, Koloski-Ostrow, and Severy-Hoven have all provided seminal works that were subsequently improved upon by each scholar, identifying limitations and filling gaps in how

Feminist Film Theory can be used to analyse wall paintings in Pompeian houses. The work of all three scholars has been incorporated into my use of Feminist Film Theory, especially in the second half of this thesis. What is useful but has not yet been done in scholarship is the application of Feminist Film Theory to the analysis of conquest iconography, specifically when looking at the gestures given to the barbarian women (Chapters 4 and 5). These scholars do not delve deeper into the connection between gestures of vulnerability and shame, such as loose or pulled hair, garments, and exposed breasts and shoulders, and how these gestures suggest sexual violence. Additionally, they did not explore how vulnerability permits the assaultive masculine gaze to fantasise and participate in the visual depiction of sexual assault against enslaved women. In Roman conquest iconography, gestures of vulnerability often convey sexual assault and abuse. The reactive gaze is reflected in the women's facial expressions, wide eyes, open mouths, and downturned heads, which convey sadness, mourning, and pain. Therefore, vulnerability and sexual violence in the context of war are crucial elements in analysing imperialism and its discourse on gender, sexuality, and enslavement, as discussed further in Chapter 3.4. Sexual assault in the form of rape is a significant component of the depiction of captive women. Therefore, the following section will outline the innovative works that recognise gestures of rape and the function of these gestures for captive women.

1.2.3. Captive Barbarian Women and Rape

To ignore the issue of sexual power and competition is to miss a vital avenue of research that would appear to raise uneasy questions about the process of conquest and assimilation, and about Roman perceptions of empire.
– Ian Ferris (1995: 30)

Ferris uses a gendered perspective and provides a novel interpretation of a personified woman within a frieze on the Sebasteion of Aphrodisias, in his 1995 seminal work 'Insignificant others; barbarians on military art from Roman Britain.' Within this frieze on the Sebasteion of Aphrodisias, a monument erected by Nero in the first century AD, is a message of sexualised conquest and subjugation. Here, the figure of the emperor Claudius, in recognition of his successful conquest of Britain in AD 43, is engaging in an act of violence against the female personification of Britannia. With his right hand, Claudius is depicted in the act of lowering a sword, an element now absent from the portrayal, down upon Britannia. With his left hand tightly gripping and pulling her hair, symbolising Roman military dominance over a feminised enemy, he presses his right knee assertively into her back (Plate 1). Britannia's tunic hangs down, revealing her left shoulder and breast, and she expresses visible pain on her face with a wide-open mouth. Britannia's bare shoulder and breast prompts Ferris (1995: 27) to suggest that Britannia 'may be about to be raped'. Ferris does not provide further insight into why these gestures suggest she may about to be raped. However, this scene suggests Claudius is in the act of dealing her a death blow with the now missing sword. Britannia's bare shoulder, breast, and hair being pulled are gestures of physical vulnerability

to violence. They *suggest* and *invite* the viewer to relate them to wartime rape and abuse (details of suggestive wartime rape and abuse gestures are discussed further in Chapter 3.4).

Irrespective of Ferris's misinterpretation of the scene, we must heed his warning quoted above, we must accept that the overt undertones of the gestures on the frieze represent wartime rape and sexual violence as a part of the process of conquest and assimilation. This thesis adds to this vital avenue of enquiry on Roman imperial sexual power. More specifically, it will analyse how rape or the threat of rape expressed this power over the captive women's bodies through the methodology defined here.

Similarly, Barbara Kellum, in her book chapter 'Concealing/revealing: gender and the play of meaning in the monuments of Augustan Rome', published in 1997, uses gender as a category of analysis when thinking about and studying Roman art and architecture. Kellum uses a gendered perspective in this context because gender 'tends to destabilise our understanding of the past' (1997: 159). In this work, Kellum notes that the Augustan forum, where captive women in the form of Caryatids were displayed, was a space that was 'sexually fraught theatre for the engendering of the masculine' (1997: 168). Most importantly, she notes the correlation between captive women and the penetration of their bodies and that 'the connection between the actual women hostages and the Caryatids, as well as the linkage between women and subdued barbarians, were likely not lost on a Roman audience' (1997: 167–168).

Ferris notes that there may have been significance to the number of instances captive barbarian women appeared in Roman art and with whom they are depicted: on their own, with young children, with a male companion or husband, or with a male companion and children as a family unit (2000: 165). He does not expand any further on this observation. While his study is highly comprehensive and provides monuments and other archaeological evidence that carry this imagery in Italy and the surrounding provinces, the overall focus is on the male barbarian. Except for well-studied Augustan and Trajanic art pieces, Ferris fails to provide further analysis on the images of barbarian women, mainly noting the characters at play.

In 2001, Ferris attempted to analyse further the sexuality assigned to barbarians in Roman art in a book chapter titled 'The body politic: the sexuality of barbarians in Augustan art'. However, most of the work again focuses on the male barbarian, with few mentions of the female. He references his novel interpretation of the frieze from the Sebasteion of Aphrodisias of Claudius dominating Britannia as a scene of rape. Ferris upholds Cohen's interpretation from 1997 (p. 117) that sees rape in Greek art as a symbol of dominance and control, suggesting that this perspective could similarly be applied to the scene depicting Britannia's rape. Ferris (2001: 107) concludes that Britannia is objectified, sexualised, eroticised, and sexually assaulted. Ferris cites Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson's (1991: 91)

question of whether it is possible to navigate the fundamental issue of actual rape and its representations in 'high' art; by representing rape, the victim's subjectivity is destroyed, rendering her invisible. Ferris (2001: 103) leaves this quote open-ended without further interpretation or application to a specific scene.

Ferris offers a limited interpretation of the sexuality of captive barbarian women. Drawing on Kampen (1991: 220), he suggests that these captive barbarian women might represent a form of reproductive sexuality subject to influence by military and political actions (Ferris, 2001: 107). Moreover, male violence towards women seeks to control their sexuality and reproductive capacities, leading to the 'taming' and objectification of these captive barbarian women. Kampen's work is a brief overview of the representation of the sexualisation of the captive barbarian body and presents more questions than answers. The overall focus of rape here is its implication for reproductivity. A primary goal of this thesis is to move beyond this restricted perspective, emphasizing that while reproductivity is one reason for representing rape, factors such as shame and vulnerability are equally crucial. These narratives, often overlooked, play a significant role in the broader discourse.

In 2003, Ian Ferris delved into the representation of captive barbarians in Trajanic art within his chapter titled 'The Hanged Men Dance: Barbarians in Trajanic Art'. While the title might suggest a primary focus on male barbarians, Ferris's exploration surprisingly encompasses the portrayal of barbarian women. His analysis covers Trajan's Column in Rome, the Arch of Trajan at Benevento, and the *Tropaeum Traiani* (Trophy of Trajan) at Adamklissi in Romania. Rather than solely describing style, Ferris concentrates on characterising these depictions, which, in turn, informs the interpretation of their intended messages (2003: 53–54). By concentrating on these specific monuments, Ferris brings to light aspects that could otherwise be overshadowed by discussions of historicism and artistic style (2003: 53–54). The deliberate selection of Trajanic art allows Ferris to consider the captive barbarian as a hallmark of the Trajanic era, considering the abundance of images and statues available for analysis.

Ferris identifies recurring patterns in Roman art's portrayal of captive barbarians. From the era of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, there's a discernible shift towards the dehumanisation of barbarians in the artwork (2003: 55). Ferris underscores variations in the depiction of barbarian women, emphasising their reproductive potential. Once more, he leans on the reproductive argument, neglecting the possibility that these women symbolise their significance as prised and useful hostages for the Romans (further discussed in Section 5.5 of this thesis). A critical point Ferris raises is that the fate of barbarian women became intertwined with the political, social, and sexual landscape of Roman society (2003: 57). Notably, however, he doesn't elaborate on the meaning of the "sexual framework of Roman society." I address this gap in Chapter 2.

In analysing the *Tropaeum Traiani* at Adamklissi, Ferris notes that the dedication to Mars Ultor represents Roman revenge. However, he doesn't elaborate on how this revenge manifests, particularly concerning wartime rape. I address this shortcoming in Section 6.4. However, Ferris (2003: 68) broadly concludes that using the images of captive barbarians on each monument in their different social settings, aspects, or interpretation of aspects outlines Trajan's rule: each story depended on the monument's audience. The use of gestures that suggest wartime rape and abuse also depend on audience (discussed further in Chapter 6). Using such a broad lens prevented Ferris from deeply examining the captive barbarians as individuals and how their gender influenced the overarching narrative in each setting. As previously mentioned, the analysis of female barbarians is notably limited.

In 2005, Ferris built upon his earlier exploration of barbarians in Trajanic art, delving deeper into the gestures attributed to barbarians on the Column of Marcus Aurelius (Plate 28) in his article titled 'Suffering in Silence: The Political Aesthetics of Pain in Antonine Art'. Based on the title, one would think the focus is on the aesthetics of the pain of both captive barbarian men and women on the column. However, unfortunately, this is not the case. Ferris focuses on two barbarian men, one on the column and another on the Pannonian tombstone of Roman legionary C. Septimus. Ferris does devote a few paragraphs to the barbarian women being attacked and killed by Roman soldiers, albeit in a very general manner. Ferris concludes that 'these scenes seem to be suggesting that war is inevitably something that affects all society, and that women and men are equally affected, even if victims rather than active protagonists' (2005: 74). Ferris overlooks the pressing question of why captive women on the column are depicted as being assaulted and killed. He also does note probe into the wartime strategies employed during Marcus's Germanic campaigns and the potential implications these tactics might have had for women. This thesis aims to bridge this contextual void, examining the social and political motivations behind engaging the Germanic people. It delves into how these motivators influenced war tactics, leading to diverse outcomes in terms of the sexual assault and abuse of captive women. This investigation provides essential context for comprehending the visual portrayal of these women on the Column of Marcus Aurelius (Chapters 4 and 5).

Ferris's impactful contribution to the study of the representation of barbarian women finally comes in a chapter in his 2009 book, *Hate and War: The Column of Marcus Aurelius*. Ferris (2009: 111) states that his analysis here could 'provide an insight into the Roman male imperial psyche', drawing on the works of Kampen (1995), and Kellum (1997) Dillon (2006). In interpreting the scenes of violence against barbarian women, Ferris sees the woman in Scene 102 (Plate 33) on the column as the only woman who has suffered rape. Ferris does not explain why this particular woman is the only one who is depicted as possibly raped. This woman bears the same gestures as other captive women on the column, such as in scenes 20 (Plate 29) and 97 (Plate 32). The lack of inquiry into the meaning of gestures, such as a pulled tunic that has revealed a bare shoulder or breast, has left Ferris's interpretation of the

remaining scenes depicting violence against women feeling flat and in need of further analysis. This thesis fills this gap regarding the relationship between wartime tactics and the gestures used to indicate wartime rape (Section 3.4 and Chapter 4). Ferris notes that in addition to the expression of gendered imperial power, images of female captives 'almost certainly also testified to a fear of female transgression and unsuitable behaviour, both by barbarian women and by the women of Rome and the empire' (2009: 128). This suggestion is not novel and has been previously noted by Cosgrove (2005: 79) regarding the depiction of unbound hair and by Cohen (1997) regarding the exposed breast in Roman art, both expressions of untamed female sexuality. Overall, Ferris's book chapter is filled with more description than interpretation of the scenes.

Sheila Dillon provides a more thorough analysis of captive barbarian women and the gestures of rape and sexualisation associated with them in her 2006 book chapter 'Women on the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius and the Visual Language of Victory'. Dillon starts the chapter with the following quotation: 'For the imperialist romancer, the earth is the eternal feminine – the body to be conquered, penetration by possession' (2006: 244). The use of this quote leads the reader to think that her analysis will heavily feature the sexual exploitation of the barbarian woman. However, Dillon's main argument is that women on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius played particular roles in the discourse of Roman imperialism (2006: 244). Dillon compared the representation of women in both monuments based on gesture and dress. I have drawn from her basic analysis regarding the dress and gestures of the barbarian women (Chapters 2, 4, and 5), and developed an original and groundbreaking approach to this topic. Dillon interprets the women in Scenes 104–105 on the Column of Marcus Aurelius as being physically and sexually assaulted (2006: 246, see Plate 34). Dillon's gesture analysis is particularly influential in discussing lived experiences, even though she holds firm that these images should not be seen as accurate representations of these wars (2006: 244). As it will become clear in Chapter 4, I cannot entirely agree with her on that statement concerning the Column of Marcus Aurelius.

Dillon notes that loose hair could represent sexual violation, especially since the barbarian women in Scenes 104–105 on the Column of Marcus Aurelius have loose hair and have had their tunics pulled down to reveal their bare shoulders (2006: 249). In her final analysis of gesture, she notes that drapery slipping off the shoulder that sometimes exposes a bare breast denotes physical vulnerability and sexual availability (Dillon, 2006: 258).

She notes that rape of enemy women was standard practice when sacking a city, rape being a part of the spoils (2006: 260). Additionally, there is no compelling historical reason to think Dacian women were treated differently. She suggests that this erasure of violence towards women was deliberate to reassure the people in Rome that their historical distrust in Rome until this point was unfounded and that Roman soldiers did not engage in acts of debauchery any longer (2006: 260). Dillon parallels the notion of territorial expansion with male sexual

conquest, drawing from Adams (1982) who explored Latin sexual vocabulary. This idea is further mirrored in her discussion of the depictions of captives and provinces as vanquished females, a perspective underscored by Smith (1988) and Dougherty (1998).

Drawing inspiration from Bahrani's 2001 study on the portrayal of Babylonian women — where territorial conquest parallels the violation of the feminine land — Dillon (2006: 262) posits that this analogy holds true for Roman art as well. Moreover, she notes that the choice to show captive women with falling tunics to reveal a bare breast or shoulder, loose, flowing hair, and expressions of fear were gestures of subjugation that 'operate here as visual tropes that signify the humiliation and destitution of the conquered land' (Dillon, 2006: 262). Dillon concludes that the function of the women represented on the Column of Marcus Aurelius was to express the male-centred discourse of imperialistic war through rape, defined by Ruth Seifert as the 'final symbolic expression of the humiliation of the male opponent' (Seifert, 1994: 59). Finally, Dillon concludes that without the insertion of women into the wartime narrative of the columns, Roman victory, which included the complete destruction of the opponent physically and culturally, would not have been realised. Dillon's work has provided a foundation for interpreting rape gestures afforded to captive women in this thesis (Chapter 3.4), with particular attention paid to the analysis of pulled hair (Chapter 4). Additionally, Dillon's application of modern wartime rape studies by Ruth Seifert and other feminists has been applied to the methodology of this thesis (Chapter 3).

Most surprisingly, Ferris (2005, 2009) and Dillon (2006), the former who at times took a gendered approach and the latter who took a wholly gendered approach to their respective analysis of the representation of the barbarian woman, did not utilise the work of Sara Phang (2004). In her work 'Intimate Conquests: Roman Soldiers' Slave Women and Freedwomen', Phang delves into the role of Roman soldiers in the gendered narrative of imperialism, specifically through the lens of the rape of captive women. Her analysis takes a cultural perspective to examine gender dynamics within Roman soldiers' relationships with these women. She explores how imperialism and conquest are gendered and sexualised, and are expressed through rape. Phang explores how rape is prominent in Roman culture through marriage and sexual assault of enslaved people. This part of Phang's work influenced my thesis and is featured in Chapter 2. She explores war as a sexual conquest and concludes that 'Rape was not a mere allegory of conquest: it expressed conquest in practice and constituted a "rape culture", though we can never know how many Roman soldiers actually raped women' (Phang, 2004: 212). She explores how an exposed breast, slipped clothing, and undone hair indicate rape and how specific female personifications in Roman art were represented as having endured sexual assault (Phang, 2004: 216).

Moreover, Phang (2004: 220) uses modern comparative material from the former Yugoslavian wars and how the rapes were recorded on tape. She draws on the work of Hallett (1977) and Kellum (1997) to further explore the gendered discourse of conquest. The work of Sara Phang

on the gendered perspective of conquest and the rape of captive women would have significantly benefited the studies of Ferris and Dillon. Certainly, the approach taken by Phang has heavily influenced how I employ the cultural perspective of the captive barbarian woman in Roman art.

Teresa Ramsby and Beth Severy-Hoven, in their 2007 article, 'Gender, Sex, and the Domestication of the Empire in Art of the Augustan Age', provide a thorough overview of how Augustus used images of matrons and female personifications of conquered territory to serve as symbols of Rome's restored patriarchy and trophies of conquest. Additionally, they argue that Augustus used images of women as significant participants in the peace and prosperity of the Roman family system. By displaying the good, matronly behaviour of Roman women and personifications dressed as matronly women, they were in part responsible for the health of the state (Ramsby and Severy-Hoven, 2007: 45). The authors explore art in Rome and the triumphal monuments in southern Gaul. They do not stray from the idea that the captive women on display represent power structures: Rome is the masculine centre and the periphery is the conquered feminine. They contrast their analysis of art with Ovid's *Amores*. They conclude that the use of personifications in Roman art served to represent the empire as varied female dependants of the family of Rome, 'as formerly independent families now adopted into that of *Pater* Augustus household slaves, and as a sexual buffet available to the appetites of the masculine capital' (Ramsby and Severy-Hoven, 2007: 71). Similarly, my thesis analyses Ovid's *Amores* 1.7 to aid in providing the social contexts for pulled hair (Section 4.3) and rape and marriage (Section 2.4).

Nonetheless, Ramsby and Severy-Hoven do not analyse why these images were sexualised and what that could mean for the new Augustan Roman family. Sex, in the work's title, is not explicitly defined. Therefore, the reader does not know if they will be discussing sex in terms of biological sex or sex as an act. They only touch on the sexual realities of the captive women twice, albeit very briefly and broadly, with statements like 'the images suggest that they will serve at the pleasure of their masters as slaves in the family of Rome' (Ramsby and Severy-Hoven, 2007: 57) without further explanation of what that service entails. Sections 2.2 and 2.4 of this thesis provide an overview of the captive woman's sexual service to the Roman family. In doing so, this thesis sets the barbarian woman in the sexual and social context of the Roman family (Chapter 2).

Caryn Reeder (2013) was one of the first scholars to explore the types of punishment experienced by women during a siege, such as rape, and how it relates to the depiction of captive women in Roman art. By analysing the works of historians, Reeder provides us with a complete, excruciating picture of the realities endured by captive women and their representation in art. In Reeder's article in 2013, 'Pity the Women and Children: Punishment by Siege in Josephus's *Jewish War*', she expertly highlights and analyses what she has identified as a neglect of the theme of suffering women and children in Josephus's *Jewish*

War. Reeder analyses mostly ancient historians and their descriptions of siege warfare and how women and children suffer the horrors of rape. She argues that the 'rhetoric of suffering women and children is empowered by the actual experiences of women and children in sieges (including during the First Jewish Revolt). As such, the suffering of women and children is a common feature of Greek and Roman historiography and monumental art' (Reeder, 2013: 176). Reeder does this first with personifications:

> The pain and humiliation of rape was insult on injury for all its victims (the raped women and children and their failed male protectors). It is no wonder that in Roman art, captive women sit in positions of mourning, and captured peoples are represented as defeated women (2013: 184).

Here, Reeder argues that women become pawns in the practice and rhetoric of war. Reeder (2013: 186) draws on the work of Kampen (1991), Dillon (2006), and Ferris (2000, 2009) in following their point that by representing captive women and children, the future of that people group has come to an end, and the visual images represent their total decimation. Reeder does not spend much time on the correlation of analysing the warfare context, the rape of women in that specific war tactic, and their representation in conquest art. However, she was one of the first to note these connections. This thesis advances this exploration by exploring into the intricacies of warfare tactics and their connection to the diverse levels of rape and abuse depicted on each monument and chosen private artworks (Chapters 4 and 5).

The culmination of preceding scholarly work culminates in Myles Lavan's examination of wartime violence (albeit non-sexual) of barbarians in the context of lexicon and imagery. In his 2020 article 'Devastation: the destruction of populations and human landscapes and the Roman imperial project', Lavan explores how the language of destruction expressed violence and devastation on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. Lavan deems this language of destruction as an 'erasure' of whole peoples in the Roman public discourse. He focuses on the significance of the visual and verbal language of destruction tropes for the imperial elite as a part of a larger imperial project. He follows the work of Kampen (1991), Zanker (2000), Dillon (2006), and in interpreting the barbarian woman as representative of the trope of complete familial and *ethne* destruction. Lavan explores how the Latin word *deleo* can be translated as 'destruction' and as 'erased', and how it was used in the lexicon of aristocratic achievement (2020: 17–18). He explores historians' use of the term concerning battles fought by Caesar, Titus, and Mummius. To this point, he concludes that 'to claim to have erased a people or a city was to inscribe oneself into a long tradition of Roman excellence' (Lavan, 2020: 17). Lavan most importantly argues how our modern term of genocide can be applied to the ancient Roman past. His survey of literary accounts of intentions of total eradication of a people group by Caesar, Cicero, Nero, and Marcus Aurelius, in particular, proves that 'the annihilation of whole peoples was evidently not transgressive in itself, as long as the circumstances were appropriate' (Lavan, 2020: 27).

Additionally, the idea of destroying an entire *ethnos* with mass violence is equal to what we term today as genocide, although collective identity was constructed differently in the ancient world. Moreover, that group destruction could have a different outcome, for example in enslavement. Lavan (2020: 35) concludes that the imperial elite did not think that they engaged in mass destruction indiscriminately and that annihilation was a last resort. Latin writers always prided themselves on acts of clemency. However, the textual and iconographic evidence proves that 'the empire's capacity to destroy was regularly evoked and celebrated' (Lavan, 2020: 35). Lastly, Lavan notes that the discourse of barbarism is what 'authorised mass destruction when linked to the idea that certain people groups were uncooperative or untrustworthy and deemed ungovernable' (Lavan, 2020: 35). In this context, complete destruction of people and land was justifiable and necessary (Lavan, 2020: 35).

1.2.4. Literature Review Conclusion

The initial Section (1.2.2) of this chapter delves into scholars' gendered analyses of captive barbarian women's representation in conquest iconography and their connections to wartime rape. This literature review emphasises three fundamental areas: current findings, the application of Feminist Theories, and the association between barbarian women and wartime rape indicators in art. Key scholars like Keith Bradley (2004), Philip De Souza (2011), Ida Östenberg (2009), and Natalie Kampen (2009) have shaped the understanding that these representations in Roman art signify real brutalities to bolster Roman imperialism. Their work sheds light on the broader theme of mass enslavement during the principate and the symbolic annihilation of entire groups through depictions of barbarian women and their families. Building on this foundation, subsection 1.2.2 highlights the pivotal contributions of Natalie Kampen (1991) and Barbara Kellum (1997), whose gendered lens on Roman art and architecture deeply informs my approach and understanding.

Furthermore, this section highlighted the utilisation of Feminist Film Theory by David Fredrick (1997), Ann Koloski-Ostrow (1997), and Teresa Ramsby and Beth Severy-Hoven (2007) in their examination of erotic wall paintings within Pompeian homes, particularly those linked to captivity. Their collective efforts have contributed to a cumulative understanding. This thesis aims to expand upon their approach, employing Feminist Film Theory similarly but directing it toward an analysis of the barbarian women depicted in conquest iconography.

In Section 1.2.3, the works of Ian Ferris (2000, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2009), Sheila Dillon (2006), Sara Phang (2004), Teresa Ramsby and Beth Severy-Hoven (2007), Caryn Reeder (2013), and Myles Lavan (2020) were delineated. These scholars have all identified and offered extended insights into the link between wartime rape and the representation of barbarian women. However, their analyses lack a comprehensive examination of both the social context and wartime tactics, critical for understanding the diverse forms that rape assumed under varying circumstances and in alignment with Roman conflict strategies. The absence of this contextual

analysis limits our understanding of the experiences of barbarian women and restricts our comprehension of their portrayal in conquest iconography for each celebrated Roman victory.

Kampen (1991), Ferris (2000), and Dillon (2006) have delved into the motifs and visual tropes that barbarian women embody in conquest art. Their insights highlight representations of a vanquished populace, infertility, and imperialist growth. They also underscored how gestures, like kneeling, convey mourning and loss, particularly for captive women facing the loss of their families and personal identities. Furthermore, these scholars pinpointed that the portrayal of captive women in such artwork not only added emotional depth but also communicated a gendered narrative of total subjugation, wherein the female form symbolised an entire gender and population (refer to Section 3.4).

The scholarship from 1991 to 2020 on this topic lacks a holistic, multidisciplinary examination of the portrayal of barbarian women, which integrates these foundational works to offer a richer understanding of their societal and wartime contexts. Without this holistic analysis, we confine and risk reducing the portrayal of captive women in conquest iconography solely to their reproductive roles and familial ties. It also constrains our comprehension of the implications of rape in the ancient world and how its representation in conquest iconography signifies more than a mere symbol of subdued territories or peoples. A core objective of this thesis is to merge Gendered Theories in Roman art with Wartime Rape Theory, offering a comprehensive analysis of the barbarian women, situating them fully within the socio-cultural and military contexts that shaped their reality.

1.3. Hostage vs. Captive in the Context of Rape

Cicero stated that rape is a custom of war (*In Verrem* 2.4.116), and Virgil equated the enslavement of captives with rape (*Aeneid* 3.320–329). At the same time, Dionysius of Halicarnassus labels rape as essential for a captive (*Antiquitates Romanae* 4.82.1). Therefore, wartime rape committed by the Romans can be classified as a manifestation of 'pathological character' to uphold the custom of war and an essential act expected to befall a woman taken captive. However, as will become clear, noble hostages could suffer or be threatened with wartime rape.

In the biography of Augustus (*Life of Augustus* 21.2), Suetonius credits Augustus with being the first to take a new kind of hostage, namely women. However, this claim is incorrect, as evidenced first by the Scipio story recounted below (Allen, 2006: 180). As this section will prove, the act of wartime rape, both literary and pictorially, muddles the definition of hostage and captive. Contrary to the Roman literary evidence that suggests that general captives should be met with rape and noble hostages should not, it will be argued that this is not the case. Captive women who fall into both categories could be and were sexually abused, as evidenced in the primary source material (discussed further in Section 6.2.2). The quality of the clothing displayed on the women is the only factor that distinguishes between the elite

and the non-elite woman in conquest iconography. Furthermore, the function of a captive and a hostage in wartime differs.

Roman hostages have two functions that are defined by social status: 1) noble barbarian women taken as political hostages to ensure a lasting peace between the enemy and Rome; 2) noble and non-noble barbarian women taken hostage to be tortured and raped in front of their families to create fear and force compliance and submission of the enemy. Noble captives (*captivi nobiles*) in the literature were individuals of high birth, whether male or female, who continued to submit to and align themselves with Rome (Allen, 2006; Ferris, 2000). These *captivi nobiles* consisted of two groups: 1) the family and relatives related by blood and marriage to the primary adversary; 2) the commanders and friends of the king or chief whose bonds to him were political and who were military opponents of Rome (Östenberg, 2009: 129). Noble foreigners are distinguished in art by their high quality of clothing (discussed further below). As the artistic and literary evidence will show, the nobility of a female hostage did not protect her from wartime rape. The following will examine the first type of hostage: women who were taken to be used to coerce peace.

The rape of noble female hostages transpired at the hands of Romans and non-Romans. An example from the Second Punic War in 215 BC has noble Iberian women treated horribly by Hannibal's soldiers who were given to the Roman general Publius Scipio. Andobales, the leader of the Iberian army, sided with Carthage but wanted to side with Rome and so pleaded to Scipio for his protection (Polybius, *Histories* 10.38.1–2):

> Andobales spoke still further on the subject, and when he had finished Scipio in reply said that he perfectly believed his statements and himself had the clearest evidence of the tyrannical conduct of the Carthaginians in their licentious treatment of the wives and daughters of the speaker and his friends, whom he himself had found in the position not so much of hostages as of prisoners and slaves, adding that he had kept faith to them with a loyalty that not even they, their fathers, could have displayed.

Polybius (*Histories* 10.38.1–2) notes a distinction between hostages and captives based on treatment. He states that they had found the Iberian women not treated like hostages but like captives and enslaved people. This evidence suggests that the Iberian women were sexually assaulted and raped, which is what 'licentious treatment' here must mean. This separation of terms suggests that the standard treatment of noble hostages was higher in most circumstances than that of captives and enslaved people. In other words, there was a general understanding among the Romans that noble hostages should not be sexually assaulted. The Carthaginians, as evidenced in the passage above, however, raped these noble hostages. And artistic evidence also demonstrates that noble hostages were not always treated better than more lowly captives. The Germanic noble hostages on the left side of the Portonaccio sarcophagus in Rome display suggestive gestures of having suffered rape: a pulled tunic revealing a bare breast and shoulder, and loose, flowing hair. The loose, flowing

hair of both Germanic women on the sarcophagus creates an erotic charge (Dillon, 2006: 258), indicating their sexualisation for and by the male gaze (see Plates 12 and 13). The erotic charge of their hair can draw the male gaze in to participate in the display of the sexual assault of these women (Koloski-Ostrow, 1997).

Furthermore, when Scipio states that he 'kept faith to them [the Iberian hostages] with a loyalty that not even they, their fathers, could have displayed' (*Histories* 10.38.1–2), he meant that these Iberian women were not sexually exploited while in his hands. Scipio further suggests that the women were unsafe from such acts while under their fathers' protection. This sentiment could be about how Iberian fathers 'married' off their daughters or allowed them to be raped. Scipio claims that Rome is their new father, the only one who can keep them safe, even more than their biological fathers. Polybius goes on (*Histories* 38.3–5):

> When they acknowledged that they agreed and did obeisance and all saluted him as king, those present applauded, and Scipio, who was much touched, exhorted them to be of good cheer, for they would meet with all kindness at the hands of the Romans. He at once handed over their daughters to them, and next day made a treaty with them, the essential part of the agreement being that they should follow the Roman commanders and obey their orders.

Scipio clarifies that if the daughters of the defeated Iberians were to be released, the conquered first had to salute Scipio and Rome as their new rulers. The daughters were handed over on the condition that the Iberians now follow and obey the Roman commanders. Scipio assures Andobales that the Iberian daughters were unharmed by Roman soldiers and would not be harmed by the Romans if the Iberians followed the treaty. The Iberian daughters here are being transformed from the state of captives to noble hostages by Scipio based on treatment. By submitting to and accepting Roman rule, the Iberians took the first step towards Roman acculturation and were more deserving of protection as a result. If the Iberians had initially obeyed Rome, their daughters would not have been sexually assaulted and raped by the Romans as captives deserved.

This narrative created by Polybius of one of 'good cheer' and 'kindness at the hands of the Romans' was clearly for the Roman audience to accept Scipio and the Roman military as exercising the honourable Roman male virtue of clemency. In reality, the Iberian female captives were met with the opposite fate, especially when there was a cultural standard in place of how captive women should be treated. It was not with cheer and kindness. Why omit the realities that befell these women? Because labelling them as a captive provided enough context for the contemporary reader. This tale of Scipio and the Iberian daughters is a prime example of how taking noble female hostages could benefit Roman rule. It shows the complexity of the differences between what it means to be a hostage or a captive. The Iberian women were used to barter for peace and to force the submission of the Iberian tribes. In

doing so, the Iberian women effectively were transformed from captives who deserved to be raped to noble hostages not to be touched.

In "Germania 8," Tacitus points out that the Germans held their women in high esteem. He observed that a defeated Germanic state could be more readily persuaded to accept surrender terms if the daughters of their nobility were demanded as part of the agreement. Tacitus highlighted that Augustus recognised the lesser value placed on male German captives; they were inadequate as hostages to guarantee subjugation and sustained peace. However, grasping the elevated status German women held in their society, Augustus sought to exploit this unique aspect of the Germanic social hierarchy, ensuring more effective leverage over the Germanic people (*Germania* 8)

> Tradition says that armies already wavering and giving way have been
> rallied by women who, with earnest entreaties and bosoms
> laid bare, have vividly represented the horrors of captivity,
> which the Germans fear with such extreme dread on
> behalf of their women, that the strongest tie by which a
> state can be bound is the being required to give, among the
> number of hostages, maidens of noble birth. They even
> believe that the sex has a certain sanctity and prescience, and they do not
> despise their counsels or make light of their answers.

Tacitus notes that maidens of noble birth were required to be given as hostages. This inclusion of noblewomen with the rest of the women suggests that women of any class could be used as a hostage. It is interesting to note the actions of the noble Germanic women described by Tacitus, namely the baring of breasts and outcries. These actions mirror the treatment of barbarian women by Roman soldiers and future owners while in captivity. Following the survey of the images examined in this study, these are the same gestures, including hair pulled by Roman soldiers, that are exhibited on the *Gemma Augustea* cameo and the Column of Marcus Aurelius.

Tacitus here might be stereotyping the Germans. He was feminising the enemy when stating that Germanic society revered their women. To avoid their women being sexually assaulted while in Roman captivity, the German men would instead surrender and hand over their noblewomen as hostages. Offering noblewomen as hostages could safeguard all Germanic women from sexual assault, forging a strong bond between the tribe and Rome. If these noblewomen were given as hostages, they were likely protected from rape. Yet, if not surrendered, they faced potential assault and subsequent shame for their tribe. The threat of rape positioned Germanic noblewomen uniquely, determining their status as either a hostage or captive.

Having established the first function and definition of taking barbarian women hostage, we can now establish the second function. The Romans believed that noble and non-noble barbarian women, when necessary, could be used as hostages in threatening and coercive ways (Allen, 2006: 182). The women were lucrative because they could be raped or threatened to be raped in front of their families to shame them and the local community, thereby forcing the submission of the group to Roman rule and conquest. Taking women as hostages to be tortured could guarantee the enemy's submission to Rome and quell their future attempts at rebellion for fear of their women being tortured again. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, writing his history of Rome around 7 BC, relayed information about the conflict between the patrician ruling class and the plebeian lower class that occurred between 495 BC and 493 BC (*Antiquitates Roma*nae 6.62.5):

> But if I am mistaken after all, and any state should receive them [the plebeians], they would thereupon reveal themselves as enemies and men deserving to be treated as such. We have, as hostages for them, their parents, their wives, and the rest of their relations, and better hostages we could not ask of the gods in our prayers; let us place these in the sight of their relations, threatening, in case they dare to attack us, to put them to death under the most ignominious tortures. And once they understand this, be assured you will find them resorting to entreaties and lamentations, and delivering themselves up to you unarmed, and ready to submit to anything whatever. For such natural ties have remarkable power to upset all arrogant calculations and bring them to naught.

Dionysius, here, has made it evident that in Republican Rome, even Roman women of the plebeian class could be taken as hostages and tortured to ensure subjugation and compliance. If the Romans were willing to do this to their women, then they could easily utilise barbarian, non-noble hostages as leverage to ensure their men avoided conflict with Rome, instead resorting to treaties and submitting themselves, unarmed, to whatever was asked of them. Rape must be one of these 'ignominious tortures', an act that 'inscribes the impotence of defeated men through the violated bodies of "their" women' (Belser, 2014: 17). Rape is the first forceful act of submission (discussed in Section 5.4). Dionysius describes these acts as being committed in front of family members. This act could bring about psychological violence to the bystanders who are forced to watch and are unable to intervene, forcing the family and community to experience their helplessness and display their inability to protect their loved ones from the conqueror (Belser, 2014: 16).

Dionysius (*Antiquitates Romanae* 6.62.5) calls this connection between family members a 'natural tie'. This natural tie could be exploited through the act of rape. The link between rape acting as forced submission and the psychological effects it brings results in the normalisation of this treatment towards captive women. It is unclear in the literary and artistic evidence if the hostages used for torture were then let go or enslaved. Fear was used as a weapon and instilled in women, men, and children who beheld such an act as described by Dionysius,

forcing the family unit and entire tribe to submit. This fear of what future captivity and slavery held for the women of the Ceni, a Germanic tribe at war with Caracalla from AD 214 to AD 224, was recorded by Cassius Dio (*Roman History* 78.14.2):

> Some of their women who were captured by the Romans,
> upon being asked by Antoninus whether they wished to be sold or slain,
> chose the latter fate; then, upon being sold, they killed themselves and
> some slew their children as well.

The ordeal faced by barbarian women during their capture, transportation, and eventual sale was so brutal that many chose death over enduring what can be inferred as relentless sexual abuse by Roman soldiers and others who exploited them. In *Philippics* 3.31, Cicero laments the actions of Lucius Antony, Mark Antony's brother, and his troops, who captured matrons and virgins in Gaul, intending to deliver them to the soldiers during the course of Caesar's civil war (49–45 BC). It's important to recall that the presence of soldiers within civilian territories during times of conflict often facilitates instances of sexual assault (Reeder, 2017: 370).

Having established how rape was used to define the two functions of taking captive women hostage, we are in a position now to examine how rape defines the function of a captive. A captive is a member of any social class taken before, during, or after a battle for the express purpose of being sold close to the battlefield or transported back to Rome or another of its provinces to be sold (Bradley, 2004; Östenberg, 2009). Some were then selected to be put on display for a triumph through the streets of the capital, as seen on a Julio-Claudian relief from an unknown monument in Rome, now in Naples Archaeological Museum. It depicts a Gallic captive family paraded in a triumphal display (Plate 3; Kuttner, 1995: 99, note 15).

An example of a non-noble captive woman can be seen in the reliefs on the lid of the Portonaccio sarcophagus (Plate 6). She is crouched, holding on to her toddler, and wears a generic short tunic that falls to reveal her bare right shoulder and has loose, flowing hair. Like the Germanic women on the body of this sarcophagus discussed above, this captive woman displays gestures suggestive of wartime rape and eroticism. Therefore, all barbarian women examined will be referred to as captive women for the remainder of this thesis. The utilisation of these women as hostages is a step used after their capture, a phase conspicuously absent from their depictions found in conquest iconography.

1.4. Conclusion

The imagery of Roman conquest resulted from violent cultural interactions between Rome and northern barbarians and how the Romans interpreted the outcome of those interactions. These visual images reflect or mirror Roman society's values, imaginations, and traditions. In particular, the state of these societal elements is most revealing during times of crisis or transition (Zanker, 1988: v). Interpreting the state of values, imagination, and traditions in

these Roman images can be challenging. The reason for this lies in the active role these depictions play in constructing societal elements of Roman culture that are constantly responding to critical events (Kampen, 1990; Dillon, 2006), thus revealing the discourse of the ruling class and their contact with people they perceived as barbaric or lacking the core Roman value of *humanitas* (civilisation).

It also is related to the challenge of ruling diverse cultures and conceptualising these distant places and people. Diversity can be interpreted as a symptom of trauma, as diversity is the movement of people (Pandey, 2021). Conquest imagery boils down the diversity of people in the northern provinces to stock images, commodifying the bodies of the conquered and thereby weaponising diversity (Pandey, 2021). Moreover, these images reflect how the Romans perceived the sexual and social status of captives in a suspended state – most of the images commissioned were done so many years after the initial conflict.

In exploring the literary evidence, the difference between the terms hostage and captive is sometimes blurred. Both could be subject to wartime rape and used in coercive ways. Artistic representations show gestures suggestive of rape for both noble and non-noble captive barbarian women, and only those dressed in better-quality clothing can be recognised as noble women. What is unclear in the artistic representation of the noble captive barbarian women is if their function was to be taken as hostages to create and maintain peace or if they were used as hostages to be tortured to ensure peace through subjugation and fear (discussed further in Section 6.2.2). While the noble captive barbarian can encompass both terms simultaneously, a trophy as a captive or used as a hostage because of their status, the definition is controlled and defined by Rome depending on the tactics required to force submission. Regardless of being labelled a noble hostage or a captive, one fact persists: during the imperial period, the bodies of barbarian women served as strategic tools to exert Roman dominance, primarily through the means of wartime rape and the looming threat thereof.

Chapter 2: A Background of Roman Social and Sexual Life

2.1. Introduction

This chapter will provide a brief background on the reality and treatment of Roman women to better understand the social ideas that connect them to captive non-Roman women. In most cases, both groups of women are shaped and controlled by the patriarchal Roman social order. Thus, this chapter will demonstrate how intertwined the captive woman's role was with Roman ideas of marriage, economy, and family after her capture, transport, and sale. In exploring such topics, this chapter contextualises the commonalities in social customs, societal norms, and events between Roman women and captive women during the latter half of the first century BC to the second century AD in Roman Italy. Such a contextual analysis aids in assessing the use of rape and the three stages of the trafficking cycle expressed in the imagery (Chapters 4 and 5) and the analysis (Chapter 6) of the captive woman's social position in Roman society.

This chapter delves into key themes, drawing on archaeological, literary, and visual evidence. It will explore the sexual exploitation of enslaved women in Rome (2.2), the Roman family structure with a focus on the *paterfamilias* (2.3), the representation of marriage paralleled with wartime rape of a captive (2.4), and the portrayal of a notable Roman matron as a symbol of wartime sexual aggression and imperialism (2.5). Addressing these themes is vital to provide a comprehensive perspective on both Roman and captive women within the Roman societal framework. This comprehensive lens ensures that the interpretation of the associated art is not solely based on modern views of gender and family dynamics.

2.2. Use Behind Closed Doors

This section will provide a brief background to how captive women could be enslaved and sexually exploited, providing the context of the lived realities expressed throughout this chapter. The enslaved women could be sexually exploited in the *domus*, brothels or inns, bathhouses, circuses, theatres, and amphitheatres (McGinn, 2004: 15–30). Once enslaved women are owned, so is their sexuality. During the latter half of the first century BC to the second century AD, many prostitutes in Rome and its surrounding territories were the first-generation, enslaved, and sexually assaulted war captives or their female offspring, who also held the status and title of enslaved person (Gaca, 2021: 41). Moreover, the ancient textual evidence frequently registers the status of prostitutes as enslaved (McGinn, 2004: 59). Robin Winks (1972: 6) states that 'if a prostituted female is someone to whom a male has unrestricted sexual access, then that female is a sort of slave, whether or not a legal construct allows her to be formally "owned" by anyone'. This 'sort' of slavery, in my judgement, can be called sexual slavery or sex trafficking. Sexual exploitation in the form of prostitution was the final stage of trafficking the bodies of captive women. During the dedication of the Colosseum in AD 80, Cassius Dio (*Roman History* 66.25) describes the games held at the arena. He notes how the citizens could partake of the war booty from Vespasian and Titus: wooden balls were

thrown out to the crowd with goods labelled on them to go collect from the dispensers of the bounty, and enslaved captives were one of those available prizes. Moreover, the emperor Elagabalus knew he could find prostitutes at the theatre, circuses, stadia, and baths whenever he needed to fill his sexual desires (HA *Elagabalus* 26.3).

In the latter half of the second century AD, the Jurist Ulpian (*Digest* 3.2.4.2.) describes a pimp as someone who primarily profits from prostituting enslaved individuals, including potentially using enslaved women in enterprises such as running an inn, tavern, or bathhouse. Similarly, in his reflection on the current morals in Rome, the orator and writer Dio Chrysostom, writing in the early second century AD, denounced brothel-keepers. Dio states (*Discourses* 7.133–134):

> They must not take hapless women or children, captured in war or else purchased with money, and expose them for shameful ends in dirty booths which are flaunted before the eyes in every part of the city, at the doors of the houses of magistrates and in market-places, near government buildings and temples, in the midst of all that is holiest. Neither barbarian women, I say, nor Greeks – of whom the latter were in former times almost free but now live in bondage utter and complete – shall they put in such shameful constraint, doing much more evil and unclean business than breeders of horses and of asses carry on, not mating beasts with beast where both are willing and felt no shame, but mating humans beings that do feel shame and revulsion…

While Dio denounces prostitution here, his connection of captive women with prostitution and the sale of their sexuality from many different venues is most revealing. Inns and taverns were a haven for violence and were known to be dirty, noisy, damp, greasy, smoky, and roach-infested (McGinn, 2004: 20). High-class Romans did not need to go to brothels because they had access to these women at the market and could purchase them there and keep them at home (Stumpp, 2001: 27). However, the home of the elite Roman could be described as a type of brothel, one for the more affluent citizens, for the captive women to be passed around to friends during dinner parties. A graffito on the wall in the Basilica in Pompeii says, 'Take hold of your servant girl whenever you want to; it's your right' (ILS: VIII.2). This commonly held attitude could be attributed to Roman slave law, as enslaved people were objects that the master could do whatever he wanted to, without impunity (Saller, 2003; Gardner, 2011: 434; Van der Berg, 2016). The word girl (*puella*) in the above graffito suggests a young female. However, the use of *puella* is ambiguous in determining age.

True brothels were frequented by a lower-class clientele (Levin-Richardson, 2019). The social status of prostitutes that worked in brothels could be varied. Some women were free rather than enslaved, as Antonio Varone (1994) noted in his study of names in the graffiti in the purpose-built brothel in Pompeii. However, there were legal penalties for citizen women who practised prostitution (Edwards, 1997). Levin-Richardson (2019: 111) suggests that female prostitutes were emotionally exploited as well as sexually. At the same time, they were able

to foster relationships with clients, craft complex performances for their personas, and make friends while visiting the water fountain, resulting in the expression of their subjectivity and a chance to reclaim their humanity (Levin-Richardson, 2019: 111). The violence prostitutes faced in the Roman world is not to be ignored. Prostitutes could be robbed with impunity and were unprotected by the law should they be raped, beaten, or murdered (McGinn, 1998; Levin-Richardson, 2019). Their masters routinely used physical and sexual violence, including flogging, shackling, branding, confinement, and collaring (Bradley, 1987: 116–121; Green, 2015; Marshall, 2015; Levin-Richardson, 2019). An example of a lead slave collar comes from North Africa, dating to the late fourth century AD (Levin-Richardson, 2019: 112). The collar was inscribed:

> Adultera meterix tene quia fugivi de Bulla Rg,
>
> Adultera, I am a slutty prostitute. Restrain [me] because
> I have fled from Bulla R(e)g(ia)

Harper (2011: 310) translates *adultera* here as slutty, because the combination of *adultera* and *meterix* is problematic since an enslaved person legally cannot have committed adultery. The collar was found around the neck of the skeleton of Adultera (Levin-Richardson, 2019: 112). Trimble (2016: 466) and Levin-Richardson (2019: 112) note that a collar of this type would have required a forcible hold of Adultera while a rivet was hammered on the back to secure the collar at two ends of the band permanently. The life of a prostitute could be a horrific one. In the case of our captive women turned prostitutes, it is hard to imagine surviving the torment of battle, capture, transport, and sale, only to be treated the same and in other horrific ways at the hands of those who purchase them. While they could create a form of subjectivity and autonomy, could such a concept exist with the overwhelming male authority constantly watching and demanding so much of them physically and mentally? Only they could tell us.

Prostitution did not stigmatise enslaved women once freed (*Digest* 3.2.24; 38.1.38). The captive women would never be able to escape the social stain that stuck to them from being raped during and after war. Modern comparative examples of the sexual treatment of captive women can be seen, among others, in reports from the war in Bosnia–Herzegovina in 1994. Twenty-nine-year-old Mirsada states, when talking about when the Serbian army invaded her village and several men raped her in her home in Miljevina, 'I was lucky I was only raped once' (Stiglmayer, 1994: 106). Mirsada's statement of being raped only once is in reference to only one gang rape event. Sadeta, a 20-year-old woman from Bosnia who was also raped during the invasion and occupation by Serbian soldiers, states:

> they want to humiliate us…and they've done it, too. Not just in my case, either, all the women and girls will feel humiliated, defiled, dirty in some way for the rest of their lives […] I feel dirty somehow. And I feel as though everybody can see it when they pass me in the street. Even

though it isn't true, no one could know about it. But the humiliation is there (Stiglmayer, 1994: 96).

While these are examples from a modern genocidal conflict, they illuminate the grim realities of being a woman during wartime. There is no reason at all to imagine that women in the ancient world did not have similar experiences.

2.3. The Roman Family and the *Paterfamilias*

In Latin, the word for 'family' does not exist in the modern sense of the word; the *familia* was more focused around the *domus*, the home or the household (Saller, 1984; 1994: 74–101). The *familia*, in essence, was the ancestral, patrilineal line represented by the *paterfamilias*. This institution encompassed everyone and everything under his power: his children, wife, enslaved people, and other property (Bradley, 1991a, 1991b; George, 2005). The *domus* is the household created by marriage, with the wife possibly under the control of her father (also known as marriage *in manu*), with everyone living under one roof. Bradley (1991a: 145), on the Roman *familia*, suggested that its vague nature 'was the result of the physical presence in the residential unit of the domestic service retinue as well as those tied together by marriage or blood'.

The Roman family was, first and foremost, a unit of production, consumption, labour, and religion; the families owned and deployed most of the capital (Saller, 2011: 199–227). Within rural Italy, the family provided primary resources of perishable goods, while the urban family ran local businesses; both played integral parts in the Roman economy. For the average Roman citizen, the household was relatively small, allowing for close relationships to form between its members (Rawson, 1992: 15). Legitimate children took the father's family name, and illegitimate children took the mother's. However, upper-class families did not produce many children and failed to ensure the continuity of the family and the family name (Rawson, 1992).

A Roman wife (*matrona*) functioned as a vessel to bring new life into the world and expand the family name, as evidenced in literary works (Dixon, 1988). Moreover, she was to be a pious wife, loving mother, and, most importantly, homemaker (Dixon, 1988). For the elite wife, this meant that she had to support the political careers of her husbands and sons, attend public functions with her husband, and hire and oversee a suitable *nutrix* (a wet nurse, usually an enslaved person) (Carroll, 2018: 229; Bradley, 1991a: 18). She oversaw tutors (also a slave position) for the children and managed household affairs and staff. The non-elite Roman wife would have worked alongside her husband on the farm or in a trade while managing household affairs and nurturing her children. Some non-elite families had the financial means to hire a *nutrix* or tutor, although not all did, and they would not have been able to maintain a large enslaved staff (Bradley, 1991a).

The *paterfamilias*, the male head of the family, had physical (even the right to kill a family member, known as *ius occidendi*) and social power (*patria potestas*) over his wife and children during the Republic (509 BC – 27 BC), although this later became more relaxed during the Principate, specifically under Augustus (27 BC – AD 14). Benke (2012: 288) reminds us that if a law fell into disuse, this did not remove the original policy. Additionally, Benke (2012: 288) argues that even though the *ius occidendi* was rarely used during the Principate, it must have exerted strong symbolic influence based on its presence in the law until at least the fourth century AD. Lacey (1992: 140) suggests that 'for government, *patria potestas* was the institution of the Romans which shaped and directed their world-view'. This power held by the father may have had a more considerable significance in the elite family (Lacey, 1992). Furthermore, the *patria potestas* was a principal legal tool to pass property down the male line, which started to change during the Principate when matrons were allowed more inheritance rights.

The *paterfamilias* oversaw all his family members' activities, and promoted, embodied, and represented the family interests as a collective. In addition, the *paterfamilias* identified with his daughter's *pudicitia* (sexual virtue). This quality substantially impacted his family's social standing due to its importance for marriage alliances with other prominent families (Benke, 2012: 286–287). This power held by the father may have had a greater significance in the elite family, as it was the upper classes that always strove to display and practise traditional Roman values that harked back to a more ancient time. In the farming and working classes, consisting of ex-slaves (freedmen), slaves, and plebeians, the paternal figurehead still had a role to play, but these social groups were less motivated economically and politically to strictly enforce family roles or to seek the dissolution of marriages in favour of 'better connected' partners, as, unlike the elite, they had little hope of gaining political improvement and influence in this way (Rawson, 1992: 7).

Life expectancy could influence the *patria potestas*. The statistics from Laes (2011: 28–29) shed light on the life expectancy of fathers in the given era: At age 15, a mere 10% of children had living grandfathers. By age 20, fewer than half still had their fathers alive. When men typically married around age 25, less than 40% had their fathers present. And by 30, just five years into their marriages, only 20% of these men still had living fathers. Although these numbers may not fully represent Roman familial life, many children and families still needed a father figure, making the *patria potestas* a falsehood or irrelevant for a sizable number of families. Additionally, the proportion of living mothers was slightly higher due to the age difference between men and women at the time of marriage (Laes, 2011: 29). Other family members, however, could uphold this disparity of living men to sustain the *paterfamilias* and *patria potestas*.

Concerning the servile population, enslaved people were essential because once they were manumitted and entered the freedman class with civil rights, they took the family name of

the patron or former owner, thus perpetuating that name (Rawson, 1992: 8–15). The more enslaved people one owned and freed, the more ubiquitous the owner's name would be. This perpetuation of the owner's name can be seen archaeologically in inscriptions on tombstones commissioned by freedmen, who often exhibited 'elite' habits much more forcefully than actual elite families to display their newly acquired status (Peterson, 2006). In addition to archaeological evidence, Augustine (*Confessions* 9.8.17), for example, recounts his mother Monica's childhood wrought with physical abuse by an elderly enslaved woman. Clark (1998: 114) notes that this enslaved woman had gained a 'masculine' authority and status equal to that of a man to transmit family and social values with moral and physical power in the home because of her length of dutiful service, strong morals, and her owner's trust. Furthermore, this enslaved woman's use of 'masculine' power stood in for and instilled a social behaviour of male control over free women (Clark, 1998: 114).

Overall, these examples demonstrate how the concept and institution of the *paterfamilias* and the *patria potestas* can be a social construct that can be upheld by both men and women, whereby both sexes can make use of masculinity. It then becomes the progression of a set of social ideals and actions predicated by a patriarchal system and upheld in a masculine manner. In the farming and working classes, consisting of freedmen, enslaved people, and plebeians, the paternal figurehead still played a role. However, these social groups were less motivated economically and politically to enforce family roles. It is an interesting notion that an enslaved woman could take over and perpetuate the *paterfamilias* and *patria potestas* in the absence of male authority in the home, as in the case of Monica. There is currently no way of knowing if a captive enslaved woman could reach such heights in the hierarchy in the home. It is a topic that needs further exploration.

2.4. Rape and Marriage

Elements of sexual coercion existed in Roman marriages, as can be demonstrated by marriage traditions. For example, there was a 'well-established rhetorical tradition in the ancient world that includes rape within the cultural and ideological concept of marriage' (Phang, 2004: 227). Similarly, Veyne (1987: 34–35) notes that 'the Roman wedding night took the form of a "legal rape" or "lawful violation"'. Miles (1992: 166–167) discusses the possibility of bride capture in Roman marriage, an act committed during the Republic, preserved in the wedding ritual. Phang notes that (2004: 228; see also Treggiari, 1993: 167, 169; Plutarch, *Romulus* 15.5):

> For the wedding rights, the bride's hair was parted with a spear, in token of days when brides were won by the spear, and the bride was lifted over the threshold of her new house by the groom or his attendants, recalling a time when she was carried in against her will.

This spear conquest is also reflected in the act of taking and raping of conquered women after killing the military-aged men (Gaca, 2013; see Section 3.7 for further discussion).

The rape of the Sabine women by Roman captors to force the assimilation of the Sabines to Roman rule is one of many famous Roman tales of rape and marriage. Carol Dougherty explores this connection between rape, marriage, and imperialism in her 1998 chapter 'Sowing the Seeds of Violence: Rape, Women, and the Land' by comparing Livy's account of the Rape of the Sabines and the rape of Bosnian women during the conflict in the former Yugoslavia in 1994. She explores the relationship between the historical accounts of rape and how its metaphorical role is represented in ethnic conflict and territorial conquest. Most importantly, she notes that Roman marriage, as represented in myth and art, represents the expression of culture and violent nature (1998: 269).

As noted by several scholars (Dougherty, 1998: 269; Joshel, 1992), Livy recounts the city's founding to celebrate and firmly fix its 'rebirth' as an imperial power under the guidance of Augustus. In doing so, this firmly highlights the idea of rape, marriage, and imperialism as interconnected in the Roman way of thought during the latter half of the first century BC to the second century AD. This way of thinking would have affected the way that Roman women experienced marriage through rape; this provided a different propensity for Roman males to associate captive women with rape (Gaca, 2013; Phang, 2004). No woman in Roman society, Roman or non-Roman, was safe from rape associated with wartime captives. One was to be conquered socially and in the bedroom, the other on the battlefield. While there were laws to protect the free women of Rome from rape at the hands of another man, this did not include her husband (Nguyen, 2006: 77; Dixon, 2001: 49, note 9).

Furthermore, Dougherty (1998) and Phang (2004) note that non-Romans' political and social assimilation could be represented as marriage, articulated through imperialism in gendered terms such as rape and enslavement; the connection of many Roman women to captive women is close. While Plutarch (*Moralia* 140e–f) says that marriage should be a binding partnership, the concept of the *paterfamilias* and the patriarchal world order that functioned through both men and women to oppress women in general, as discussed above, reflects a real gender imbalance. The Roman poet Catullus further illustrates the connection between rape and marriage. In *Carmina* 62, he expresses the violence and rape in marriage through the dialogue between maidens and male youths.

The maidens start by exclaiming to unwedded girls that they should resist the male youths who intend to marry and take their virginity. The male youths proclaim that this victory is not easily accomplished. This proclamation notes that a maiden's virginity must be taken by force. The maidens exclaim how cruel it is and are bewildered at how they could 'pluck a clinging maid from her mother's embrace and could give the chaste girl to a burning youth. What more cruel could victors accomplish in a vanquished city?' Here, Catullus compares the forceful taking away of a maiden's virginity through rape with the conquest of a city. The male youths respond that taking their virginity by force strengthens the marriage vows. The maidens proclaim that one girl has been stolen away from the collective and that once her

virginity is taken in this forceful and degrading way, 'she does not remain a delight for the boys, nor is she dear to the girls'.

The male youths note a 'benefit' to the forceful taking of her virginity. She would then become 'dearer to her husband and less of a trouble to her father'. At the end of the poem, Catullus, from the mouths of the male youths and the maidens, states that the virgin should not resist or struggle with the male. He provides a warning to those who resist the forceful taking of her virginity (i.e. rape):

> It is improper to struggle with him to whom your father has handed you over, your father himself together with your mother whom you must obey. Your maidenhead is not wholly yours, in part it is your parents': a third part is your father's, a third part is given to your mother, a third alone is yours: be unwilling to struggle against two, who to their son-in-law their rights together with dowry have given.

Catullus says that the new husband now has a legal right to rape her and that she should not resist because her virginity belongs partly to her mother and father. They have now given it to their new son-in-law, in effect transferring the right to take her virginity by law forcefully. To better understand how women could be seen to react to the violence that this marriage rape entails, we now turn to Ovid.

In his *Ars Amatoria*, Ovid provides the mythical account of the Rape of the Sabines with some added plays on sexual and violent themes, explicitly noting the state and treatment of his mistress's hair. Dougherty (1998: 275) notes that while this poem does not have first-hand testimony of rape victims, Ovid does eroticise the fear, 'and this conflation of sexuality and violence provides the framework for rape as a military weapon in ancient Rome'. The poem provides us with the imagery of a violent and chaotic scene (*Ars Amatoria* 1.114–30; translated by Carol Dougherty, 1998: 275):

> The king gave the awaited sign for booty to the people.
> They sprang up immediately, voicing their enthusiasm,
> And threw eager hands upon the girls;
> Like the most timid flock of doves flees hawks
> And like the newborn lamb flees the hated wolf,
> So these girls feared the men rushing at them without legal right
> And they all lost their previous colour.
> For although fear was unanimous, it took different appearances;
> Some tore their hair, some stood still in shock;
> Others kept silent in grief, others called in vain upon their mothers;
> One complained, another was silent; one stayed still; another fled.
> The raped girls were led, like marriage booty, and fear itself
> Caused many to look becoming.
> If anyone fought back too much or denied her partner,

> Her husband picked her up and carried her off in desire
> Saying, 'why do you ruin your sweet eyes with tears? What
> Your father is to your mother, I will be to you', he said.

Note the use of the military term *booty*. Here, marriage booty is used to express the idea that marriage is a conquest, and by right, the free woman can be taken as war booty and raped. If the woman resisted, she would be taken to be raped continuously. Ovid even references the father's treatment of the raped girl's mother, noting that rape in marriage was an established and understood convention. Ovid even compares women to meek animals of prey and men to predatory animals. It is important to note that Ovid wrote this piece during the reign of Augustus; thus, this firmly places this tale of rape and marriage with imperialistic conquest, similar to Livy's account of the Rape of the Sabines. I do not propose that all Roman women were raped on their wedding night. This is anyway impossible to prove. However, the literary works discussed thus far, especially that of Ovid, reflect cultural and social ideas related to the forceful taking of women for marriage purposes manifested as imperial conquest.

The normalisation and inclusion of such narratives demonstrate that it was commonplace and signifies to the Roman male that this type of behaviour is a standard and accepted part of life, should he choose to exercise that right. Ovid paints a vivid image of the fear of this forceful taking of women, possibly expressing real anxieties by free Roman women. The following section will explore how rape, in a wartime setting, can be used as a threat to Roman noblewomen, with particular attention paid to the case of Fulvia.

2.5. Gendered Conquest: The Case of Fulvia

A gendered discourse to imperialism in which the enemy was feminised is unmistakable. This discourse is rooted in the social and military discipline of the Roman male. Roman art often portrayed foreign lands and their inhabitants as feminine figures to symbolize domination and penetration (Dougherty, 1998). An illustration of this motif emerges from a first-century AD frieze at the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias, featuring Claudius engaged in an aggressive portrayal against Britannia, as previously examined in section 1.2.3. (Plate 1). The following paragraphs will provide a case study on the expression of this sexual discourse of conquest in the late Republic, and how Fulvia, a noble Roman woman, was used as a tool to vent sexual hostilities. As we have previously seen, with the ability of any sex to uphold the *paterfamilias* ideology, masculinity can be expressed and employed by anyone. In this case, masculinity is used by both a noblewoman and an opposing army.

The aristocratic Fulvia made her mark in late Republican history in war. She is possibly the earliest Roman woman whose face we can recognise, in this case as the face of Victory on a surviving coin commissioned by Mark Antony (Balsdon, 1962: 49). She was married several times, having been the wife of Clodius, Curio the Younger, and Mark Antony, producing children from each marriage. Fulvia accompanied Antony in the autumn of 44 BC to Brindisi,

where he executed mutinous centurions, and during the winter, while Antony was in Gaul, she was in Rome working to prevent politicians from declaring Antony a public enemy (Cicero, *Philippics* 3, 4, 5, 13, 18, 22; Appian, *Bellum Civile* 4, 136; Balsdon, 1962). She refused to support the 1,400 wives of the proscribed in the civil war in 43 BC. With her brother-in-law as a subordinate, she commanded the army of the discontented opponents of Octavian (later Augustus). The following paragraphs will examine the *Perusinae glandes* and Martial's *Epigrams* (11.20) in the context of the sexual assault of women during wartime and its direct relation to female wartime captives.

The act of war itself was expressed as phallic, sexual penetration, as evidenced by the *Perusinae glandes*, lead slingshots used by Octavian's besieging army in Perugia (41–40 BC) against Lucius Antony (Mark Antony's brother) and Fulvia (Antony's ex-wife). The lead slingshots were used as a physical metaphor for the sexual penetration of the enemy. The Latin word for sling bullet is *glans*, originally meaning 'acorn'. Ancient medical writers used *glans* to describe the tip of the penis, the actual shot itself symbolising the Roman male sexual persona, the phallus, ready to penetrate (Williams, 2010: 29). Hallett (1977: 154) suggests that the Romans employed the sexual terms and the vernacular of sexual activity to vent feelings of military hostility.

The army besieged Perugia, where Lucius Antonius resisted them. Fulvia was not physically at Perugia (Appian, *Bellum Civile* 5.3.21; Vellius Paterculus, *The Roman History* 2.74.3; Dio, *Roman History* 48.10.3–4) but did take charge from Praeneste and urged Antony's generals to quickly leave Gaul to aid Lucius in the siege (Delia, 1991: 204). Two examples of the obscenities etched into the slingshot directed at Fulvia are: 'Bald Lucius Antonius and Fulvia, open up your asshole' and 'I seek Fulvia's clitoris' (Williams, 2010: 29). Clitoris was regarded as one of the crudest obscenities, an enlarged clitoris associated with female hypersexuality (Adams, 1982: 97–98). Amy Richlin (1992: 68) notes that in Latin literature, female genitalia are only mentioned in terms of extreme loathing and that all pathic orifices (those that receive and submit to the penis) were perceived as lowly female genitalia and used in Latin abusive insults. Additionally, the clitoris is 'mentioned only as a flaw in the appearance of ugly genitalia' (Richlin, 1992: 69). If we assume that clitoris was representative of the ugly, flawed, hypersexual woman, the exploitative use of the word on these lead shots was most likely a reaction to Fulvia behaving in a masculine way for her benefit. She then, in turn, threatened the masculinity of the men in opposition and was a woman that needed to submit to the penis.

It did not matter to Fulvia's fellow Romans, who were the enemy in this battle, that she was the wife of a noble. Moreover, Fulvia would not have seen these profanities because she was not at the siege of Perugia. However, targeting Fulvia by name on a lead shot was to situate her as a primary target for expressing hostile sexual aggression. This aggressive sexual language reflects the sexual treatment, namely rape, expected to be meted out to female

wartime captives. Literary and pictorial evidence supports this claim and is further discussed in the next chapter. Metaphorically, then, Fulvia was being treated per wartime customs. The *glandes* are used here to portray warfare as sexual assault and to question Fulvia's femininity (Hallett, 1977: 162).

An epigram supposedly written by Octavian is preserved in Martial's *Epigrams* (11.20) and it explicitly attacks Fulvia for the Perugian War (translated by Sententiae Antiquae, 2018):

> Creep, who looks upon Latin words with sad eyes,
> Read by Augustus Caesar these six dirty lines:
>
> 'Because Antony fucks [*futuit*] Glaphyra, Fulvia has assigned
> This penalty as mine: I need to fuck Fulvia too.
> I should fuck Fulvia? What if Manius would beg
> That I sodomize him? Would I? Probably not, if I were wise.
> "But fuck, or let us fight" she says. But what is my life
> Dearer than my penis [*mentula*]? Let the war-trumpets sound.'
>
> Augustus, you endorse these charming little books for me
> Since you know how to speak with such Roman honesty.

Hallett concludes that the epigram characterises Fulvia as a 'typical scheming woman: motivated exclusively by jealousy of her husband's overseas philandering, eager to spite him [and hence hasten his return from the East], sex-starved in his absence' (1977: 162). Additionally, by demanding war, Fulvia displays masculine rather than feminine behaviour to which Roman matrons were to adhere. Hallett notes (1977: 154–163) that the language used on the shot and the *glandes* is analogous to Octavian's epigram in that both use 'vulgar sexual language, obscene humour and an ultimately abusive purpose'. They also enhance Octavian's virility, which had been under attack by Antony (Hallett, 1977: 161–162; Delia, 1991: 205).

Moreover, Octavian portrays Fulvia in the epigram as an ordinary Roman woman that stood out only for her 'self-assertiveness and unattractiveness' (Hallett, 1977: 162). Fulvia, then, deserved the sexual assault and exploitation because of the alleged unattractiveness of her face and her clitoris as representing the ugliest flawed part of her because she was not acting in a feminine manner. The sexual language used in Octavian's propaganda and on the *glandes* metaphorically removed Fulvia from the position of the Roman matron and moved her into that of the female war captive, someone who could now be vulnerable and subjected to sexual assault. By using Fulvia in this way, Octavian and his besieging army are using the body of Fulvia to express the right of conquest and imperialism, which would be later expressed in the visual representation of captive barbarian women.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This thesis poses three research questions:
1. What are the underlying purposes and intended messages behind the portrayal of captive women with gestures that insinuate wartime rape and abuse in Roman art?
2. How did the Roman audience interpret and internalise these depictions, particularly considering their awareness of wartime rape and the reality of enslaved women who may have experienced such violence first-hand?
3. Through the lens of the applied theoretical framework, what insights can we glean about the experiences and treatment of women subjected to captivity and potential wartime rape in the context of Roman imperialism?

This chapter will outline the necessary methods to address each question. The scope of the project is limited to conquest iconography in Italy from the latter half of the first century BC to the second century AD. The chronological parameters reflect the periods in which barbarian women began to be depicted in conquest iconography and appeared thereafter with the greatest frequency: from the reign of Augustus to Marcus Aurelius. While the figures of captive barbarian women are used sporadically in conquest iconography of later emperors, such as Septimius Severus and Constantine, the focus on Augustan and Aurelianic art provides a deeper insight into the use of captive women in Roman art of the early to mid-imperial period.

This study employs a multidisciplinary approach to unravel the intricate social nuances embedded within the Roman conquest iconography's depictions of captive women, effectively addressing the posed questions. Thus, various sources are used to explore the topic: visual, textual, and artefactual. Ethnographic descriptions of the captive women from historical documents written by Suetonius, Florus, Tacitus, Josephus, and Cassius Dio, and poems and epigrams by liny, Catullus, and Cicero are all critical written contributions. The chosen modern theoretical frameworks, Wartime Rape Theory, Gender Theories, and Feminist Film Theory are essential to answering the research questions.

Section 3.2 details the material selections. In Section 3.3, I present a framework for identifying instances of trafficking within Roman conquest iconography. Section 3.4 specifies the criteria for selecting images and gestures, while Section 3.5 delves into how barbarian women are represented in Roman art. This approach is pivotal for all research questions, especially the first, focusing on understanding the intention behind depicting captive women with gestures implying wartime rape and abuse. Section 3.6 elaborates on gender theory definitions, including Feminist Film Theory, which underpins the second research question. Finally, Section 3.7 discusses the primary warfare strategies adopted by the Romans explored in this study, and it introduces how Wartime Rape Theory will be consistently applied throughout

this thesis to address the third research question. The insights from this question significantly influence the interpretation aspect of the first question.

3.2. Material Collection

The archaeological material and monuments in Roman Italy used in this thesis include private pieces such as cameos, sarcophagi, and a Campanian terracotta mould, and public architectural monuments such as the temple of Apollo Sosianus, Trajan's Arch at Benevento, and the Column of Marcus Aurelius. Comparative and supporting material evidence is cited when necessary; however, the above monuments and objects are given primary attention. Coins were initially included in the material to be studied; however, the images do not change throughout the centuries, and collecting all the coins that display this type of imagery is beyond the scope of this research. Therefore, coins will only be mentioned as a part of the repertoire of media that carry this image, but no further analysis is carried out.

I utilise material published, for example, by I.M. Ferris (2000), *Enemies of Rome: Barbarians through Roman Eyes*; R. Brilliant (1963) *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art*; and in sculpture catalogues such as the many volumes of the *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani* (from 1963). I also recorded and photographed material during personal visits in Rome to the Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Museo Palazzo Altemps, the Baths of Diocletian, the Musei Vaticani, the Musei Capitolini, and the Forum Romanum (all accessible to the public). I used published photographs and my own photographs of the relevant monuments to read the images displayed. Any material that is unpublished or not available to the public is excluded from this study.

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, from March 2020, I could not conduct any further field research to visit museums and archaeological sites in Italy. Therefore, all research conducted after March 2020 was library-based at the University of Sheffield, the British Library in Boston Spa, and the Institute of Classical Studies in London. Comparative works, such as Christopher Paolella's *Human Trafficking in Medieval Europe: Slavery, Sexual Exploitation, and Prostitution* (2020), are used throughout this thesis to find similarities in more recent sex trafficking of women and to provide further context and background for the captive women of Rome. The following methods have been put in place for the identification of captive women in Roman conquest iconography and the associated gestures of wartime rape. The images have been broken into the three identified steps of trafficking to ascertain the number of respective scenes that appear in the first and second centuries AD, the number of captive women in each scene and period, and the number of scenes that are on private and public pieces. Breaking up the data in this way provides a better analysis of the visibility of the scenes and the number of captive women depicted in either public or private imagery.

3.3. Identifying Trafficking and Sex Trafficking

This thesis will outline the evidence for the trafficking of captive women in conquest iconography. Captive women have been identified in three steps of trafficking: 1) capture, 2) transportation, and 3) trophy/triumphal display. I have identified a typology for each step in the visual depictions (Table 1; Figure 1; see also Tables 2, and 3 for the material that depicts trafficking scenes, which step in the process is depicted, and the number of scenes and captive women that are depicted in the first and second centuries AD).

After the battle, it was common practice for captives to be traded by a slave dealer who followed the Roman army. A Roman commander also had the option of taking captives to Rome (Appian, *Iberica* 98) or could distribute captives among his troops (Caesar, *Gallica Bellicum* 7.89). The troops could then take their newly acquired property back to Italy or their home country upon discharge (Bradley, 1987: 44–45). As will be argued, captive women were threatened, used by force, coerced, deceived, and their vulnerability exploited during their capture, transportation, and trophy display (Chapter 5).
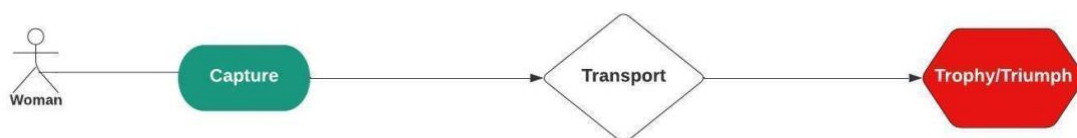
Figure 1: The Three Steps of Trafficking Identified in Conquest Iconography

Capture Dynamic	Transport Dynamic	Trophy/Triumph Static/Dynamic
Roman soldier(s) actively grabbing or pulling a woman by the arm or hair.	Captive woman sat on a cart.	Captive woman sat tied or untied at the base of a *tropaeum.*
Captive woman stood in a group or actively being put in a group with other captive women.	Captive woman near a transport ship.	Captive woman sat on a litter at the base of a *tropaeum.*
		Captive woman walking in a family group in a procession.

Table 1: Corresponding Scenes to Trafficking Steps

Material	Century	Capture	Transport	Trophy/ Triumph	Private	Public	# of Scenes	# of Women
Gemma Augustea	1st	X		X	X		1	1-Capture
								1-Trophy
Grand Camée de France	1st			X	X		1	2
Temple of Apollo Sosianus	1st			X		X	1	1
Terracotta Lamp	1st			X	X		1	1
Gladiator Helmet	1st			X		X	2	2
Campana Relief	1st			X		X	1	1
Trajan's Arch at Benevento	2nd			X		X	1	2
Column of Marcus Aurelius	2nd	X	X			X	11	19-Capture
								8-Transport
Farnese Frieze	2nd			X		X	1	1
Portonaccio Sarcophagus	2nd	X		X	X		2	2-Trophy
								1-Capture
Palermo Sarcophagus	2nd			X	X		1	2
Villa Borghese Sarcophagus	2nd			X	X		1	2
Palazzo Giustiniani Sarcophagus	2nd			X	X		1	2
Large Doria Pamphilj Sarcophagus	2nd			X	X		1	2
Large Campo Santo Piso Sarcophagus	2nd			X	X		1	2
Vatican (Clemency) Sarcophagus	2nd	X	X	X	X		3	1-Capture
								1-Transport
								2-Triumph
Mantua Sarcophagus	2nd	X			X		1	1

Florence Sarcophagus	2nd	X			X		1	1
Frascati Sarcophagus	2nd	X			X		1	1
Poggio a Caiano Sarcophagus	2nd	X			X		1	1
Los Angeles Sarcophagus	2nd	X			X		1	1
Palazzo Mattei Sarcophagus (a)	2nd	X			X		1	1
Palazzo Mattei Sarcophagus (b)	2nd	X			X		1	1
Via Appia Sarcophagus	2nd	X			X		1	3
TOTAL: 24	1st – 6 2nd – 19	12	3	15	18	7	39	71

Table 2: Material, Century, Trafficking Steps, Audience, Number of Scenes, and Number of Women
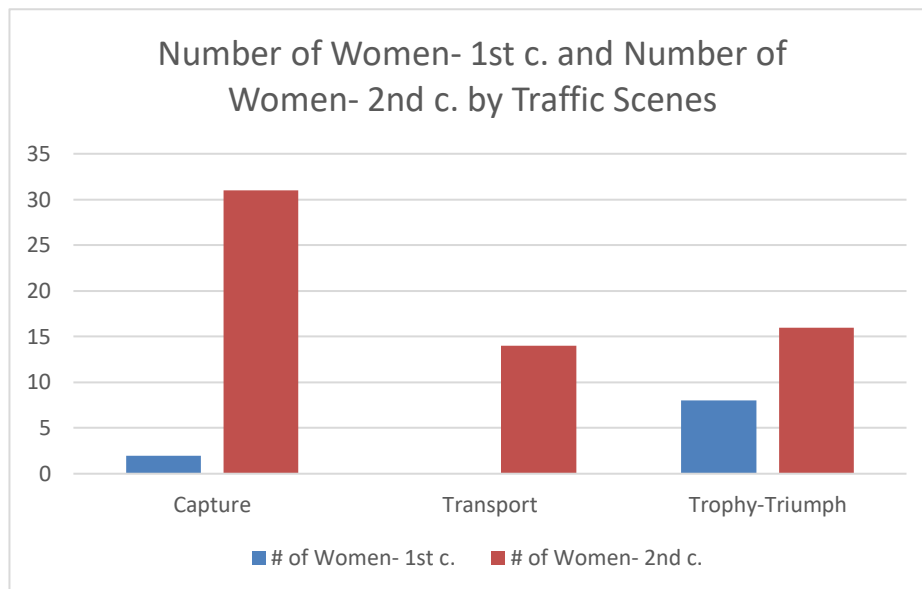
Figure 2
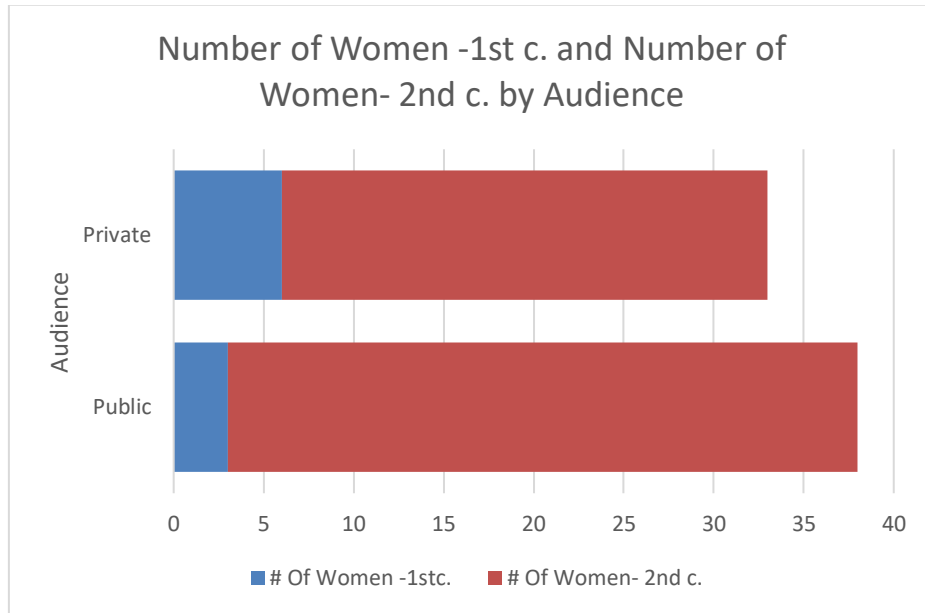
Figure 3
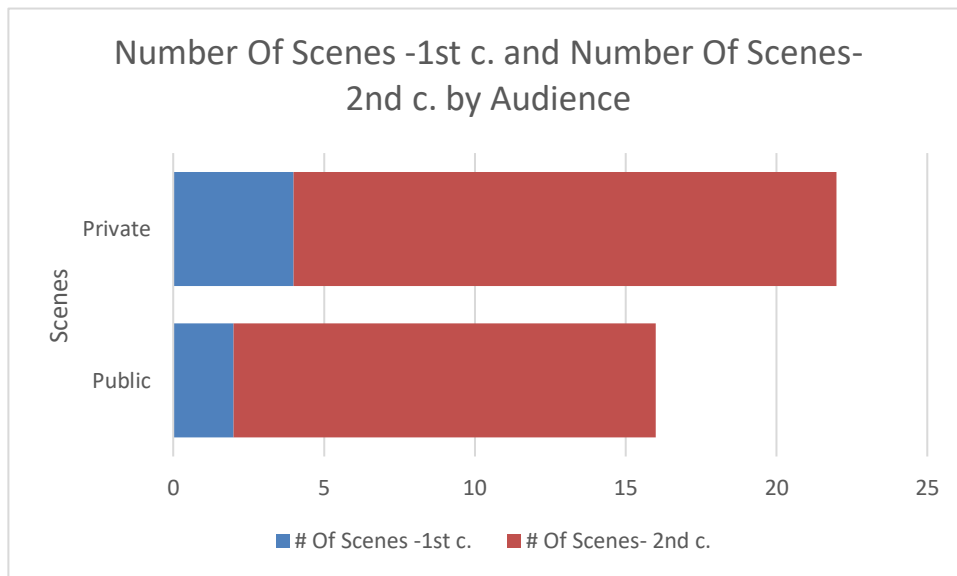
Figure 4

3.4. Image Selection and Gestures

My selection criteria for images of captive women in a wartime context are as follows: there must be at least one captive woman in a scene, regardless of the presence of a male. They must also appear in scenes that depict the by-product of war, which include subjugation, submission, clemency, and trophy/triumphal display, as captive women are never shown engaging in battle scenes and are rarely seen being killed. An exception is a woman seen being stabbed by a Roman soldier in Scenes 97-98 on the Column of Marcus Aurelius (Plate 32).

The following typology has been established to define the actions of subjugation, submission, clemency, and their associated active and passive gestures (Table 3). These definitions need to be defined here to understand their meaning when discussing the scenes used in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

Subjugation is the action of bringing someone under domination or control; slavery falls under this category.

Submission is the action of yielding to a superior force or the authority of another person.

Clemency (*clementia*) is the Latin word for mercy and is portrayed in two ways in the images. First, clemency is given by the victorious general or emperor to the begging captive. Second, clemency is begged for by the captive; in this thesis, this relates to this action by the captive woman.

The different wartime rape gestures, the material they are featured on, the century to which they belong, the number of scenes, and the number of women depicted with the gestures are listed in Appendix I. Figures 5 and 6 provide the percentage of women depicted with and without wartime rape gestures in the first and second centuries AD. Figure 7 outlines the multiple values of the women who carry the gestures and which material these gestures feature on. The data presented in these figures is necessary for analysing gestures that insinuate wartime rape and violence to add to the discussion of research questions 1 and 3. I have created a typology for separating the combination of gestures. Some wartime rape gestures are used alone or in combination with others on one captive woman. A pulled tunic and pulled hair are the leading gestures that can be depicted alone or in several combinations (Figure 7). Hair-pulling requires further exploration of its context and is discussed in Chapter 4.3

ACTION	PASSIVE AND ACTIVE GESTURES
SUBJUGATION	Hair pulled by a soldier. Arm or wrist pulled by a soldier. Kneeling or sitting with head in hands.
SUBMISSION	Kneeling. Sat with arms crossed over knees with head hanging. Arms and hands in upward gesture towards a higher authority.
CLEMENCY	Bent over or standing with head tilted up and arm(s) reaching out with palm(s) open.

Table 3: The Active and Passive Gestures Associated with the Actions of Subjugation, Submission, and Clemency

Wartime and No Wartime Rape Gestures for the latter half of the 1st Century BC to the 1st Century AD

38%

62%

- Wartime Rape Gestures for the 1st Century
- No Wartime Rape Gestures for the 1st Century

Figure 6

Wartime and No Wartime Rape Gestures for the 2nd Century
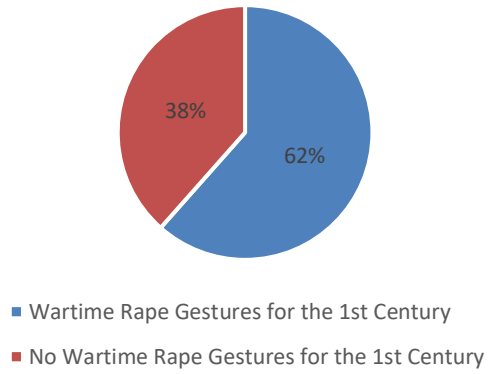
34%

66%

- Wartime Rape Gestures for the 2nd Century
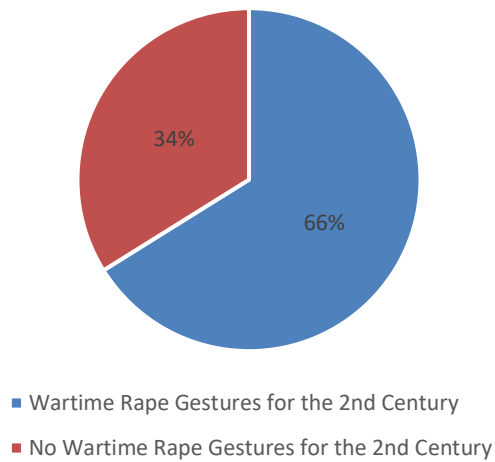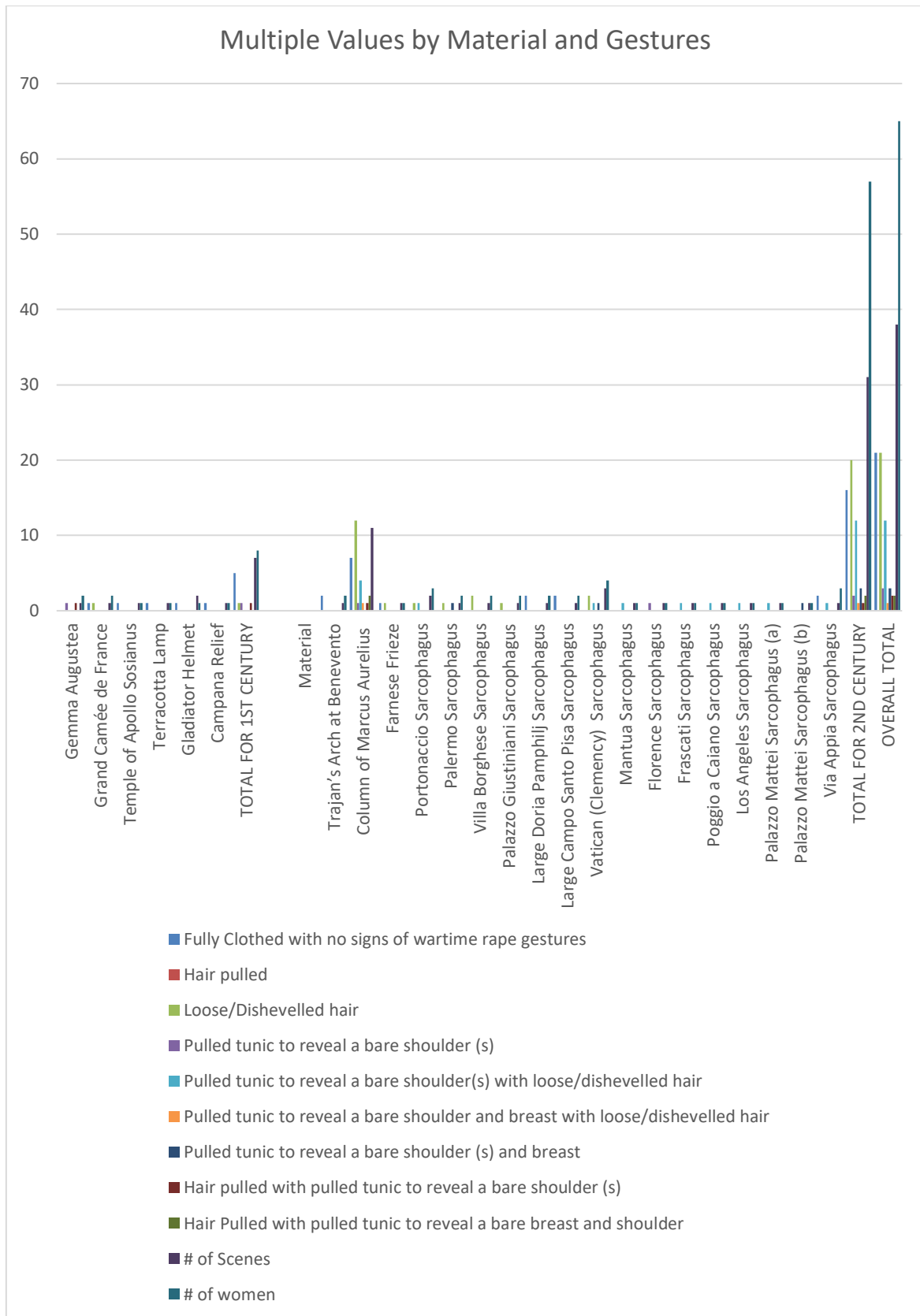- No Wartime Rape Gestures for the 2nd Century

Figure 5

Figure 7: The Combinations of Insinuated Wartime Rape Gestures and Number of Appearances on each Piece

3.5. Identifying a Captive Woman in Roman Art

Dress and bodily adornment are essential in expressing the 'ethnic' identity and social status of Romans and non-Romans depicted in iconography (Carroll, 2013a, 2013b). Roman funerary art functioned as an appropriate vehicle to convey the social and legal status of men, women, and children of Rome and members of Roman society in the provinces (Carroll, 2006). In this regard, clothing and objects of bodily adornment played a particularly significant role.

Specific garments clearly and succinctly distinguished a Roman citizen. Citizen clothing for men includes the most essential garment of all, the toga, to which only citizen men were entitled (Rothe, 2012a). The respectable Roman matron typically wear a long tunic with the *stola* and the *palla* over it, enveloping her in cloth and modestly covering the body (Sebesta, 1998; Edmondson, 2008; Olson, 2008). Citizen boys and girls wear a tunic with a toga over it, although girls abandon the toga at puberty, whereas boys continue to wear the toga throughout life (Edmondson et al., 2001). On their own or in combination, these items are rapid visual signals of civic and social status (Rothe, 2012a). Additional adornments, such as rings, bracelets, or earrings, hinted at wealth and standing. All these components are essential in expressing the public identity of the ideal Roman.

The concept of expressing identity through clothing similarly extends to the depiction of captive women. The Romans conflicted with Germanic tribes in the late 1st c. BC, at various points in the 1st c. AD, and again in the AD 160s. They were at war with Parthia from 54 BC to AD 217 and Dacia in AD 101–102 and AD 105–106. The Gauls had haunted the Roman psyche since 223 BC, and their images continued to be displayed visually until the 4th century AD, expressing never-ending intense Roman anxiety about the 'north' (Ferris, 2000). Based on this history, we can be sure that the captive women represented come from one of those regions, each appearing on monuments commemorating a Roman victory over the specified peoples and region. When the provenance of a piece is unclear, identifying a captive woman depends on the context of the image and what is known about the setting and the other male barbarians who surround them. If reading the female is difficult due to a damaged frieze or an ambiguity in dress, the accompanied male barbarian almost always has an 'ethnic' marker in the form of clothing that informs the identity of the rest of the group, for example on the clemency series of battle sarcophagi.

The depictions of captive men are limited to two main ethnotypes: a young eastern figure wearing a Phrygian helmet or cap, and a bearded westerner or northerner with a neck ring representing the populations of the Gallic-Germanic area (Rosso, 2008: 163; Rothe, 2012b). As a primary identifier, captive women have long sleeves, long trousers, and sometimes a hood or headdress. Roman funerary portraits on the empire's frontiers provide much more detailed insight than conquest iconography into how peoples in those regions expressed their

ethnic identity by wearing the traditional indigenous dress or their cultural belonging by wearing a Roman costume (Carroll, 2015). This detailed approach to identifying captive women in conquest iconography represents the fourth and final method of the core methodologies – material selection, the identification of trafficking, image selection, and identifying a captive – all of which are essential for tackling the first research question. Having elaborated on the methods used for the first research question, we are now equipped to discuss the subsequent strategies that will be utilised for analysing the second research question of this thesis.

3.6. Gender Theories

Gender theories will be used to answer question two of this thesis: how did the Roman audience interpret and internalise these depictions, particularly considering their awareness of wartime rape and the reality of enslaved women who may have experienced such violence firsthand? Generally, Gender Theory is defined as a study of masculine and feminine behaviour in any given context, community, society, or field of study (Jule, 2014). Further, Gender Theory helps to reveal the links between ideology and imagery through its concerns with the construction, role, and instability of gender (Kampen, 1996: 20). In her 1987 paper 'Rescuing Creusa, New Methodological Approaches to Women in Antiquity', Marilyn Skinner provides a methodology to avoid the bias that might be inherent in male scholarship. Skinner notes that 'Real women, like other muted groups, are not to be found so much in the explicit text of the historical record as in its gaps and silences – a circumstance that requires the application of research methods based largely upon controlled inference' (1987: 3). Gender Theory, its application in Roman Art, Feminist Film Theory, and the integration of contemporary first-hand accounts from women assaulted during wartime collectively offer the controlled inference required to deepen our understanding of captive women and their portrayal in Roman antiquity. Ruth Seifert's 1994 psychological analysis on war and rape is instrumental in this context.

Seifert (1994: 67) discusses rape as a naturalised behaviour. According to Seifert, the rhetoric of patriarchal military training and the social acceptance of rape during a war is what makes rape a natural by-product of war. When rape is naturalised, 'an extreme and structural act of violence against women disappears from the cultural memory. The experiences, the reality, and thereby the subjectivity of women are being denied' (Seifert 1994: 67). The 'naturalised behaviour' referred to by Seifert (1994: 67) is depicted in Roman art through combinations of gestures that suggest wartime rape and abuse. Seeing captive women depicted this way would be perceived as natural to the Roman audience. Like Seifert's point that rape denies subjectivity, Feminist Film theorist Mary Ann Doane (1987: 8), in her analysis of the male gaze, argues that the categorised alignment of observed and observer is one in which 'the male is the mover of narrative while the female's association with space or matter deprives her of her subjectivity'. In examining the depiction of wartime rape in conquest iconography, it's

clear that the gestures attributed to captive women, suggesting vulnerability and shame, bestow upon them a distinct subjectivity (Chapter 6).

There is a gendered relationship between the viewer and the viewed in Roman art. I have used the work of Natalie Kampen (1982, 1991, 1994, 1995, 1996, 2009) to read this gendered relationship. According to Kampen (1996: 20), two contradictory notions occur when imagining such gender relationships, revealing the instability of gender and gendered thinking. First, the Roman object of desire is like the conquered, enslaved woman, to the extent that it is possessable; feminising the works of art makes the possessor more powerful like a man, even if the possessor is a woman (Kampen, 1996: 20). Vulnerability is what feminises these women, and as this thesis argues wartime rape gestures are what create this vulnerability. These gestures act as a tool for the male gaze to possess the women's bodies. If the object is feminised somehow, 'then the very act of Roman looking can be understood as active and possessing and thus a manly one' (Kampen, 1996: 20).

Second, the object attracts, addresses, and dominates the viewer. The viewer is then found desiring the object (Kampen, 1996: 20). Feminist Film Theory explains how the image of captive women is used as an expression of male desire. The viewer then can be possessed by the object (Kampen, 1996: 20), as designed by public and private erotic images on various mediums throughout the capital (Williams, 2010). Consequently, this study interprets the representation of most captive women as sexually charged based on active and passive gestures. Feminist Film Theory will be employed for the reading of the captive women and the assessment of research question two.

Laura Mulvey pioneered Feminist Film Theory in her 1975 seminal work, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema'. Mulvey (1975: 62) describes the male gaze as a product of a sexually imbalanced world 'where the pleasure in looking has been split between the active male and the passive female'. The male gaze then 'projects its phantasy on the female figure which is styled accordingly. In their traditional exhibitionist role, women are simultaneously looked at and displayed with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact' (1975: 62). For Mulvey (1975: 64), the display of women in images poses a psychoanalytical problem for the male viewer. She lacks a penis which in visual art implies a threat of metaphorical castration and 'unpleasure' to the male viewer. 'Unpleasure' is a psychoanalytical term defined as 'the psychic pain, tension, and ego suffering that is consciously felt when instinctual needs and wishes, such as sex, are blocked by the ego and denied gratification' (American Psychological Association, 2022: 1). Similarly, Feminist Film theorist E. Ann Kaplan explains the construction of the observer as male and the observed as female in her essay 'Is the Gaze Male?', which I argue can also be applied to the assessment of Roman art (1983: 30–31):

> The gaze is not necessarily male (literally), but to own and activate the gaze, given our language and the structure of the unconscious, is to be in the 'masculine' position… men do

not simply look; their gaze carries with it the power of action and of possession which is lacking in the female gaze. Women receive and return a gaze but cannot act upon it. Second, the sexualization and objectification of women is not simply for the purposes of eroticism; from a psychoanalytic point of view, it is designed to annihilate the threat that woman (as castrated and possessing a sinister genital organ) poses.

The woman is displayed for the gaze and enjoyment of men. When this enjoyment is denied through the threat of metaphorical castration, the male can unconsciously escape this threat in two ways: by investigating the woman to demystify her or by representing the female figure as an object of fetishisation known as fetishistic scopophilia (Mulvey, 1975: 64). Fetishistic scopophilia is the breaking of the woman into distinct, revealing body parts like the breast, shoulder, face, legs, and long hair. Moreover, the male fetishises the woman and breaks her into idealised pieces to destroy her wholeness (Mulvey, 1975: 62; Koloski-Ostrow, 1997: 254). This breaking of women into individual erotic parts gives the viewer more power over the female on display. Additionally, Koloski-Ostrow notes that this breaking of body parts (1997: 254–253):

> disavows gender equality since the parts appear only as idealised fragments of a whole. The (male) viewer thereby escapes from the 'danger' of confronting the full complexity of woman, for she would certainly threaten his own power and status if she were a whole person.

Similarly, anything associated with femininity in the context of war is seen as 'corrosive of the required militarised masculinities', with the violence being directed inwards towards the 'others within killing the "women in them" becomes necessary for soldiers in their attempts to live up to myths of militarised manhood' (Baaz and Stern, 2009: 499; see also Witworth, 2004: 76).

The second aspect of the male gaze, as defined by Mulvey (1975), is sadistic voyeurism. Sadistic voyeurism is when the male gazer can alleviate his 'unpleasure by seeing the woman punished, and a fetishistic-scopophilia look whereby the gazer salves his unpleasure by fetishising the female body in whole or part' (Clover, 1992: 8). This aspect of the male gaze was applied to Feminist Film Theory by Carol Clover (1992) in her analysis of horror films. Sadistic voyeurism encompasses the gratification some men may feel from observing women from a secure vantage point or the idea of themselves instigating women's visible distress, as seen in actions like crying, screaming, cringing, fleeing, or dying (Clover, 1992: 18). The facial expressions and gestures of captive women in Roman conquest iconography fit well with this approach, and I will use this methodology to read the images from the perspective of the male gaze as used in Feminist Film Theory following its application to reading Roman art (Koloski-Ostrow, 1997; Ramsby and Severy-Hoven, 2012). Men can obtain further pleasure knowing that the captive woman is being displayed as a trophy; she has been subdued and tamed and is no longer a threat to inferiority in male power, status, and subconscious metaphorical castration.

The method for analysing the question of how the viewer of the captive woman would have consumed her image has now been outlined. The following section will now define the methods put in place to analyse research question three.

3.7. Historical Wartime Rape Theory, Warfare Strategies, and Roman Tactics Used in the Latter Half of the First Century BC to the Second Century AD

Wartime Rape Theory is the primary method for analysing the wartime rape gestures portrayed in captive women. This theory will aid in understanding the possible realities these women face, thereby bolstering the context in which these images sit. The motivation to rape in ancient and modern warfare exhibits many similarities. To better understand such motives, we must look to the institution of imperialism and how masculinity, gender, and sexual exploitation are intricate in the success of such a convention. The term wartime rape does not indicate an isolated example in this context. However, it is employed interchangeably with mass wartime rape to distinguish distinct patterns of rape committed by soldiers (Gottschall, 2004: 129). This section will draw from the work of Kathy Gaca (2013, 2014, 2016 a and b) and Sara Phang (2004) on ancient warfare, and scholars on rape in modern warfare, such as Elizabeth Wood (2006), Doris Buss (2009), Jonathan Gottschall (2004), and Nicola Henry (2014). The motivation behind wartime rape varies and can be confined to the types of warfare conducted, as outlined in Table 5.

There is a large, noticeable gap in the ancient literary sources of the imperial period that deal with the treatment of non-Roman women during wartime. Two sources have contributed to this gap: Stoic philosophers and ancient historians. Greek Stoic philosophers of the second century AD, like Epictetus and Dio, generally disagreed with Roman war (Sidebottom, 1993: 249). However, these philosophers could regard the participants (soldiers) and the moral effect of war on them as good, just so long as the soldiers remain at a distance from Rome in time and space (Sidebottom, 1993: 249). The philosophers conceived of war as happening on the periphery, because conflicts were restricted to the frontier zones under Roman occupation during the latter half of the first century BC to the second century AD. This means that the general population in Rome had no direct physical contact with any conflict on the frontier zones during the principate. However, state-sponsored visual imagery of battles and biased literary accounts from philosophers and historians firmly placed warfare into the imagination of those at the centre. The philosophers did not participate in wars and held contempt for soldiers, which resulted in a negative attitude when discussing the life of soldiers (Sidebottom, 1993: 253). Moreover, Dio wrote about the wars between kings instead of soldiers and local populations, and, like his counterparts, drew his knowledge from classical sources (Sidebottom, 1993: 258). The principate was not led by kings but by autocrats. Therefore, in addition to the Stoic view of life, the philosophers' focus on kings has resulted in what can be interpreted as the downgrade and omission of any discussion of the local populations affected by Roman soldier occupation.

Ancient historians are also partly to blame for the lack of detailed information regarding the capture of barbarian women and the wartime tactics used to quell revolts. Tim Cornell notes that 'we have to reckon with the possibility that the suppression of internal unrest and routine campaigning in frontier zones have been systematically under-recorded in the surviving sources' (1993: 153). Cornell posits two reasons for this: 1) the Roman emperor was always viewed as leading and fighting in a war; thus, for fear of placing him in a negative light, official propaganda would avoid going too deep into the conflict where the emperor would not be personally involved; 2) small-scale wars or conflicts on the frontiers and suppression of internal revolts in the provinces would have brought the generals and the emperor little prestige and glory, so they would have been of minimal interest to historians and their readers. With this gap in literary information and the potential reasons for it, we must use a new approach. For this, I propose a theoretical framework for wartime rape grounded in historical and material culture analysis.

The primary method used to force women to submit to Rome in war was through rape. Gestures that insinuate wartime rape attached to these women in Roman art confirm that practice. I argue that rape and physical abuse are one of the first steps in the submission process to ensure compliance and instil the enemy with fear and shame. This fear and shame are then used in visual motifs to uphold and communicate a regular wartime practice resulting in captive women entering the slave trade. To tease out what we can of the historical warfare context that these images celebrate, it is essential to outline the associated rapes with specific wartime tactics. The primary commemorated battles will be analysed; while not entirely representative of one historical event, they do reflect one of two general warfare strategies and tactics used by the Romans: conquest or a response to a revolt (Section 3.7.1.7.). Each strategy can be informed by predatory, parasitic, expansionist, and punitive tactical behaviours (Figure 7; Section 3.7.1.9.).

What must be considered is the dissonance between suggestive wartime rape depicted in monumental and private art and what we know might have happened from other literary sources and Wartime Rape Theory. The foundational motivations for wartime rape have not changed much over the millennia. This situation provides comparative material to understand how sexual violence was used in antiquity and why. Therefore, Wartime Rape Theory and modern accounts of wartime rape can help bridge this gap between what is a suggestion or insinuation of wartime rape and the actual wartime rape committed centuries ago. The intention is to provide an overview of the general types and motivations for wartime rape to understand better the types of submission forced on captive women. Once we apply this further context and understand the types of forced sexual submissions, we can better assess the possible realities these women faced compared to the constructed imagination of sexual violence in warfare. This analysis will then be applied to the interpretation of reading the art using Feminist Film Theory (Chapters 4, 5, and 6). Before we examine the various war

strategies, tactics, and associated wartime rapes in the Roman period, we must first outline the foundation of Wartime Rape Theory.

3.7.1. Foundation of Wartime Rape Theory and Motivations for Wartime Rape

As laid out by Gottschall (2004: 129), there are four theoretical avenues that aid in identifying the root causes of wartime rape and how we interpret its use: 1) Feminist Theory, 2) Cultural Pathology Theory, 3) Strategic Rape Theory, and 4) the Biosocial Theory. Feminist Theory, Cultural Pathology, and Strategical Rape Theories are termed 'Sociocultural Theories' and connect the following ideas: rape in war is functional, and power serves the collective's interests over the soldier through sadistic violence and strategy, not sex itself. All three factors are 'unified in their ability to rule out sexual desire as a major causal factor' of wartime rape (Gottschall, 2004: 129). The theory most accepted by modern scholars is the Biosocial Theory, which interconnects the sociocultural factors and the evolved sexual psychology of human males to emphasise sexual desire as a primary influence on soldiers' decision to rape (Gottschall, 2004: 129). The following subsections will explore these different theories and argue against using the Biosocial Theory in the context of ancient captive women for its lack of variability, a crucial component of wartime rape.

3.7.1.1. Feminist Theory

Feminist theory of wartime rape, in partnership with Feminist Theory in Roman art, is used throughout this thesis when grounding the use of rape and its depiction to gain a female perspective. This perspective also follows the established artistic conventions of analysing Roman art from a gendered and feminist lens (Section 1.2.2.). Shame and humiliation were the main motivational characteristics behind wartime rape, with many assaults occurring in front of family or the public (Wood, 2006: 312). This is particularly true for the captive women depicted in conquest iconography; in scenes that appear throughout the two centuries under study, the women with gestures suggesting wartime rape are always accompanied by onlookers: a child, husband, or other captive women. Similarly, when the former Yugoslavia was under investigation by the European Union for sexual slavery, sexual violence, and ethnic cleansing conducted against Bosnian Muslims by Bosnian Serbs in the early 1990s, five distinct patterns of sexual violence were identified (Wood, 2006: 312). One is important here: in conjunction with fighting, public rape of selected women in front of the assembled population *after* the domination of a village.

However, many scenes of captive women in Roman art who bear these gestures, especially on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, are parallel to scenes of burning huts and the destruction of the local population. The women in these scenes invite the viewer to imagine the rape occurred *during* the domination of their village. Many victims of sexual assault in the former Yugoslavia reported that their perpetrators stated that they (Wood, 2006: 312):

were ordered to rape and sexually assault the victims, or that they were doing it so that the victims and their families would never want to return to the area, and every reported case occurred in conjunction with an effort to displace the civilian population of a targeted ethnic group from a given region.

In Scene 20 (Plate 29) of the Column of Marcus Aurelius, the depictions of women exhibiting gestures implying wartime rape depict Roman soldiers forcibly pushing and pulling them into groups, preparing to transport them away from their homes. This composition effectively prompts viewers to infer the occurrence of wartime rape and the subsequent loss of agency or desire to return home. This portrayal serves as a visual representation reflective of a crucial aspect of trafficking, underscoring the forced displacement and loss of autonomy endured by the captive women.

3.7.1.2. Cultural Theory

Cultural Pathology Theory analyses the history of social behaviour in the culture under study to see what developmental factors have contributed to men's propensity for rape (Gottschall, 2004: 131). Many scholars who study wartime rape committed during contemporary conflicts suggest that military culture fosters hostile behaviour towards women, leading to an entitlement to rape (Chang, 1997; Morris, 2000). The cultural pathology of Roman society was inherently militaristic, patriarchal, and hyper-masculine as a means to compete and display power (Phang, 2001, 2004). This remains true, especially in elite and imperial-sponsored art; this context persists throughout this thesis. Furthermore, the way this masculinity is used is dependent on group cohesion. Men are expected to follow orders from the general, whether they like it or not. As an example, in Russia's current invasion of Ukraine, Russian soldiers have stated that they did not want to rape Ukrainian women but were made to by their commanding officer (Myroniuk, 2022).

Modern social studies attest to social pressures back home creating an increased pressure on expectations for the expression and testing of masculinity (Baaz and Stern, 2009; as discussed in Sections 2.3. and 2.5.). Using a modern parallel, in the Congo, Congolese men stated that socio-economic factors led to their inability to provide for their families and their commitment of rape during war (Baaz and Stern, 2009). For men of the Congo, sexual violence was linked with 'manhood', money, and material wealth, with heterosexuality intimately connected to being a provider for his family. The interviews are described as having elicited (Baaz and Stern, 2009: 507-508):

> the sense that the man's value, superiority, and right to decision making in the family was linked to the role as provider […] a man that does not fulfil his obligations is somehow deprived of manhood and is not considered to have the same rights to demand submission from his wife. [The male soldiers] established a normative idea of heterosexual masculinity that was premised by successfully performing a masculine role as economic provider for women and children as well as sexually potent fighter […] the precarious masculinity is coupled with a

femininity that is at once weak, subordinate, and treacherous and in doing so, the soldiers set the stage for making sense of the sexual violence they commit.

Similar is true for the Roman male and his familial and economic roles. In the latter half of the first century BC through the second century AD, Roman society underwent significant changes, especially due to the shift from Republic to Empire. However, many social pressures remained consistent. These pressures include but are not limited to: 1) political influence and public service; 2) economic success; 3) military expertise; 4) patronage; 5) masculinity and virtue; 6) family and marriage; and 7) religion. It should be noted that these pressures could vary depending on the social class, with patricians (the aristocracy) generally under more scrutiny and expectations. The pressures faced by the plebeians (commoners) were different, often relating more to survival, economic stability, and navigating the complexities of the patronage system. However, masculinity and virtue can be argued to be the core foundation for patrician and plebeian life pressures.

Roman masculinity comes from *virtus*, derived from *vir*, which means 'manliness' (Williams, 2010: 132). *Virtus* encompasses a tradition of moral traits considered admirable and essential for men. The ones relevant here are: *gravitas* (seriousness; restraint; moral rigour), *pietas* (religious devotion), *dignitas* (dignity; personal reputation; ethical worth), and *disciplina* (self-control). Due to Stoic teaching, *disciplina* became one of the most important virtues for obtaining ideal masculinity by the first century AD (Conway, 2008: 24). For Roman soldiers, they were meant to follow *disciplina militaria* (Phang, 2004). Sara Phang (2004: 20) concludes in her work on Roman military service ideologies of discipline that imperial soldiers' military status conflicted with their social and economic status, equated to a low-status plebeian labourer dependent on wages. Moreover, Phang found that *disciplina* was necessary to control soldiers' attainment and consumption of goods and money. For the Roman elite, the soldiers' rise in material status had to be handled with care; while the 'Roman elite ideal of discipline was a repressive one, it had to be made acceptable and legitimate to the soldiers, who retained the ability to mutiny' (Phang, 2004: 20).

Wood (2006: 326), in her study on variations of sexual violence during war, suggests that a difference in military discipline, rather than training and socialisation, helps better explain sexual violence. Additionally, goals may deviate between leaders of the armed group and its individual members, resulting in a potential gap between orders given at the top and priorities among smaller units on the ground (Wood, 2006: 328). In Morris's analysis of U.S. military violence and primary group practices (1996), she notes that a primary group is a small number of people who share a common ideology where personal affective bonding occurs. At the same time, other bonds are undermined through initiation rituals (Morris, 1996: 692). Joshua Goldstein (2001) argues that what enables men to fight under the horrifying and harsh conditions of war is the bonding among loyal members of a small unit, not the army or the nation, with the bonding taking gendered forms, reinforcing the militaristic masculinity

indoctrinated by military training. The importance of bonding between men in the same primary unit might account for gang rape during wartime (Wood, 2006: 326). These masculine qualities are instilled in the Roman male (Phang, 2001), with an added fear and aversion to female sexuality. Further studies conducted into the contexts and periods of militarised, sexualised violence show that such acts must be seen in the light of globalised discourses defining militarised masculinity and heterosexuality (Bazz and Stern, 2009: 499; Connell, 1995; Ehrenreich, 1997; Enloe, 1990, 2000, 2007; Goldstein, 2001; Higate and Hopton, 2005; Morgan, 1994; Shepherd, 2007; Stern and Nystrand, 2006; Witworth, 2004).

3.7.1.3. Strategic Theory

Strategic rape theory holds that rape is used as a strategic military objective against an enemy (Gottschall, 2004: 131–132). Genocidal rape is an alternative definition to strategic rape commonly used by modern scholars and modern human rights advocates (Allen, 1996; Barstow, 2000; Salzman, 2000). Sherrie Russel-Brown (2003: 1) provides the most relevant definition of genocidal rape:

> Like all rape, genocidal rape is particular as well as part of the generic, and its particularity matters. This is ethnic rape as an official policy of war in a genocidal campaign for political control. That means not only a policy of the pleasure of male power unleashed, which happens all the time in so-called peace; not only a policy to defile, torture, humiliate, degrade, and demoralize the other side, which happens all the time in war; and not only a policy of men posturing to gain advantage and ground over other men. It is specifically rape under orders. This is not rape out of control. It is rape under control. It is also rape unto death, rape as massacre, rape to kill and to make the victims wish they were dead. It is rape as an instrument of forced exile, rape to make you leave your home and never want to go back. It is rape to be seen and heard and watched and told to others; rape as spectacle. It is rape to drive a wedge through a community, to shatter a society, to destroy a people. It is rape as genocide.

By depicting wartime rape and sexual violence, or even the threat of this action, in Roman conquest iconography, a choice is made to render it a spectacle meant to destroy the conquered community and their society. It is to be seen by passers-by who gaze at the motif. In the lived experience, there is no literary or pictorial evidence to suggest that in the imperial period, the Romans purposefully set up rape camps to ethnically cleanse or eradicate a population, unlike in the modern Yugoslav, Bosnian, World War II, and Rwandan conflicts. Rather, the Romans used rape as a punitive weapon of war to instil fear, create vulnerability, and shame the enemy. This does not mean that punitive tactics resulted in more or less sexual violence compared to other tactics such as expansionist or predatory.

The Romans did not always conceive of collective identity by ethnicity, but by social class (citizen and non-citizen) and the barbarian discourse (civilisation versus barbarism). As discussed in Section 1.2.3., Myles Lavan points out that the rhetoric of barbarism provided the rationale for widespread devastation, particularly when associated with the notion that

specific groups were uncooperative, untrustworthy, and considered ungovernable (2020: 35). Within this framework, the complete annihilation of both people and their land was deemed justifiable and imperative (Lavan, 2020: 35). In the imperial period, group destruction could reach an alternative outcome to death, for example enslavement and forced migration. In the imperial language of the first century, the term *provincialis* (provincial or of a province) was used to impose a divide between the population of the empire: inhabitants of the provinces versus those of Italy (Lavan, 2013: 59). In what Lavan (2013: 59) terms the 'imaginary geography of empire', there is a proliferation of references to *provincialis* that reveals a new focus on geography rather than legal status (citizen or non-citizen) which placed the provincial citizens with non-citizens in opposition to the inhabitants of Italy. Here, a distinction was made between centre and periphery (Lavan, 2013: 59). Remember, the first century was categorised by the consolidation of provinces and responses to the pains of empire-building, primarily through revolts met with a punitive response (discussed further in Sectin 3.7.1.7.).

Lavan (2020: 35) asserts that the imperial elite believed they did not resort to mass destruction impulsively, viewing annihilation as a measure of last resort. Imperial Latin writers always prided themselves on acts of clemency. The clemency-themed Antonine battle sarcophagi from the second century AD epitomise this elite male cultural ideal virtue, emphasising the semi-public demonstration of mercy (discussed further in Section 5.4.1). However, the textual and iconographic evidence proves that 'the empire's capacity to destroy was regularly evoked and celebrated' (Lavan, 2020: 35). Lavan's survey of literary accounts that mention the intentions of total eradication of a people group by Caesar, Cicero, Nero, and Marcus Aurelius proves, at the very least, that 'the annihilation of whole peoples was evidently not transgressive in itself, as long as the circumstances were appropriate' (Lavan, 2020: 27).

3.7.1.4. Weaknesses: Biosocial Determinism

These outlined theories do not account for how wartime rape is used in the context of imperialism or empire-building. Each of the theories discussed above has its own limitations. However, the biological determinist theory stands out among the rest. Gottschall champions the biological determinism theory because it (2004: 133):

> hinges on the assumption of biological adaptations functioning to promote rape in a war that is all but insensitive to environmental condition and it generates the expectation that virtually everywhere we find hostile soldiers amid civilians identified with the enemy, there will be high rates of rape. It comes closest to accounting for the pervasiveness of rape and predicts that young women will be overpowered as victims of rape.

The idea that where there are hostile soldiers amid civilians equals high rates of rape does not need to be defined by or hinged on biological determinism but can be explained from an ethnographic perspective. Caryn Reeder (2017) has demonstrated this in her ethnographic analysis of the use of wartime rape during the Roman siege of Masada of the First Jewish

Revolt (AD 66–73). Gottschall identified the key weakness of the biosocial determinist theory: 'it does not account well for variation from conflict to conflict and variation in motivation and willingness of individual soldiers to rape' (2004: 133). Biological determinism, therefore, is an unviable theory for this thesis. Examining wartime rape through an evolutionary framework is equally unviable.

In 2009, Walter Scheidel attempted to explain rape in the context of empire-building from the Darwinian perspective in his chapter 'Sex and Empire: A Darwinian Perspective'. Scheidel argues how polygyny (multiple sexual partners and/or marriages that were not always consensual) and male fitness (the natural desire to procreate and spread progeny through competition with other men) played a primary role in ancient empire-building. For Rome, Scheidel runs into a problem with marital culture which is characterised as monogamous marriage. To get around this, Scheidel identifies 'Socially Imposed Monogamy' (SIM) as the root cause for oppressed male sexuality (who are 'naturally' non-monogamous) and suppressed natural reproductive competition. As such, there is a need for men to seek sexual encounters (consensual or not) outside of marriage to maintain competitive fitness.

In Roman law, rape was punishable if committed against a Roman citizen, especially with someone else's wife. It was not punishable should the rape have been committed against a non-Roman citizen of low social status (Joshel, 2010; Phang, 2001). In turn, for Scheidel, wartime was an environment for men to release this so-called 'sexual and fitness oppression' by raping non-Roman women of low social status (2009: 281). He argues that slavery was a 'major means of facilitating fitness transfers' and slavery was 'instrumental in stratifying reproductive success without violating the socially desirable principle of SIM' (2009: 284). At first glance, a Darwinian perspective seems an attractive explanation for why Roman men could socially and lawfully justify the rape of enslaved and captive women during wartime while maintaining their monogamous marriages. But what Scheidel continuously overlooks and what has been demonstrated by other scholars is that Roman imperialism is inherently gendered and dictated by social status and power (see contributors in Cornwell and Woolf, 2023).

A Darwinian perspective, when applied to the representation of war and sexual violence in imperial art, oversimplifies the imagery by reducing it solely to the aspect of sex. The sociocultural theories and anthropological perspectives are more relevant for explaining and examining the representation of rape on conquest iconography in the imperial Roman context. Tonio Hölscher's anthropological perspective is more applicable for explaining war and representation in art: 'We need to remember that war, and even war in art, has to do with very immediate experience of enmity, danger, fear, and death' (2003: 8). These are prominent in conquest imagery via gestures and passive and active facial expressions (Section 3.4; Brilliant, 1963; Beard, 2000; Ferris, 2000, 2009; Hölscher, 2003; Dillon, 2006).

As noted previously in Chapter 1.2.1, Roman visual motifs are social, institutional constructions grounded in demonstrations of power, identity, social status, and gender. Imperial imagery is determined by the contemporary political and social climate informing the context of the visually celebrated conflict. Moreover, during the imperial period, the method and effect of war and its visual representation were of popular interest because the ideology of war was central to Roman self-identity (Welch, 2006: 11). Socio-economic terms can also be used to explain the interest of Roman men in vulnerable, foreign women, and as a consequence, their display in conquest art. Elite men relied economically on holding and transmitting property (also what sub-elites aspired to). Pregnancy as a result of wartime rape could be fruitful for slave owners who were looking to grow their *familia* and property via the children who were a product of wartime rape. Should the mother be sold into slavery, the child would also immediately inherit the slave status of its mother.

This thesis examines the art and the social context that informs it from the Roman and non-Roman points of view through a sociocultural perspective. Examining wartime rape in Roman Imperial imagery from a biological perspective – that is, that all men are driven to rape because they have a natural desire for sex – is reductionist and does not account for the sociocultural or socio-economic variables that the Romans used to define and express themselves. While examining the wartime rape of women using a biological framework can be useful, it is not so for our purposes. This brings us to Kathy Gaca's ethnographic and historical analysis of wartime rape used by ancient Mediterranean societies.

3.7.1.5. What is Ancient Historical Wartime Rape Theory?

In her 2013 paper, 'Girls, Women, and the Significance of Sexual Violence in Ancient Warfare', Gaca maintains that warfare and modes of warfare under imperialistic rule generally remain the same throughout time in Mediterranean societies. Gaca identified these warfare modes through an analysis of primary source material, mainly that of ancient Greek historians, that record the use of rape during war in ancient society. She does not give a name to this analysis. For ease of reference, then, I have named it Ancient Historical Wartime Rape Theory, since the primary analysis comes from historical texts rather than visual material culture. Gaca (2013) identifies four types of warfare and how rape is used in each one: predatory, parasitic, expansionist, and retaliatory. These types of warfare are outlined in Table 4. Unlike the biodeterminist theory, this theory and its four different warfare types account more for variations from conflict to conflict and potential variations in motivations to commit wartime rape.

This theory provides a framework to analyse a particular conflict to ascertain if it falls under one of the four warfare types, providing general exploitative outcomes for women who find themselves caught up in a conflict. With the historical context provided through this framework, the context can then be applied to the specific artwork that represents the conflict in question and judge if the sexual violence represented in the motif reflects the

potential sexual assault scenarios. A detailed 'how and why' is missing from the written record that accounts for the use of sexual assault against women in wartime during the early to mid-imperial period. This missing information renders the women of the past, whose bodies are used and exploited in the name of empire-building, invisible. Ancient Historical Wartime Rape Theory is employed throughout this thesis to aid in bridging this knowledge gap, to create and gain some semblance of lived realities, to provide the missing 'how and why', and to create a holistic context for the imperial imagery. Before we do this, a few issues need to be addressed in the framework laid out by Gaca (2013).

	PREDATORY	PARASITIC	EXPANSIONIST	RETALIATORY
DEFINITION	Sexual Taking women and girls as captives as the primary objective. Can inform retaliatory.	Sexual The conquerors do not forcibly remove the women and girls, but adopt the location of their captives. Can inform retaliatory.	Asexual Desires to conquer land and resources (women seen as a resource of the land).	Sexual Aggressive military action motivated by a genuine grievance against the opposing group. Can contain a mix of predatory and parasitic.
ACTIONS	Women and girls are hunted down first in battle and the conqueror strives to eliminate the men who try to stop their women and girls from being taken; targets people of foreign ethnicity of unguarded or little-guarded communities.	Men in the conquered community are killed and the conquerors take the slaughtered men's place with the surviving women and girls.	Beaten, raped and subjugated women and girls kept alive to be of use in sex and other trades. If predatory and/or retaliatory inform expansionist goals, taking women and girls to be concubines, prostitutes, and slaves remains a main objective.	The conquered group angered the Romans by aiding Roman enemies militarily, failing to surrender, or showing signs of resisting Roman administrative and military occupation. The women are mostly gang-raped in this instance with few survivors.

Table 4: Historical Wartime Rape Tactics per Gaca 2013

The predatory and parasitic warfare definition defined by Gaca (2013) needs to be reconsidered and redefined here. Taking women and girls as a primary objective during the early to mid-imperial period may not be an initial motivating factor, as Gaca says, but a secondary one. While this might be the case for Archaic Greek, Republican Roman, and Late Antique periods of warfare, as Gaca has expertly proven in her historical analysis, there is no evidence to suggest that the taking of women and girls before hunting down and killing all of the fighting-aged males was a primary objective of predatory warfare during the early to the mid-imperial period. However, the literary evidence suggests that the fighting-aged males were killed or forcibly removed from a settlement in response to resistance to Roman rule and occupation.

The Romans used this tactic to ensure those who rose in revolt could not do so again. For example, in 25 BC in the western Alps, when the Salassi rose in revolt, Augustus employed A. Terentius Varro to quell it (Dio, *Roman History* 53.25.3; Livy, *Periochae* 135, 7.9; Powell, 2018: 46). As a form of punishment, Varro 'arrested those who were of military age and sold them, on the understanding that none of them should be liberated within twenty years' (Dio, *Roman History* 53.25.3). In 15 BC, the Raeti of Gallia Cisalpina (northern Italy south of the Alps) were reluctant to accept the encroachment of Roman settlers and travellers in the area, and the Raeti attacked them (Dio, *Roman History* 54.22.2; Powell, 2018: 74). Augustus chose Nero Claudius Drusus, his youngest adopted son, and Claudius Tiberius, his eldest adopted son, to quell these attacks, prevent a revolt, and create lasting peace in the western Alps. In light of the Raeti attacks on Roman settlers and travellers, Dio notes that the Raeti had a large population of fighting-aged males who would create continued revolts in the region, so Drusus and Tiberius deported the strongest military-aged males and left behind only enough 'to give the country a population, but too few to begin a revolution' (Dio, *Roman History* 54.22.5). Here, Dio suggests that Drusus and Tiberius intentionally left many Raeti men alive to continue their roles as husbands among the women. The Roman soldiers did not kill all of the Raeti men to replace them.

Before the defeat of the Raeti and once they had run out of material with which to fight the Romans, Florus notes, 'how savage these Alpine peoples were is proved by the action of their women, who…dashed out the brains of their own children against the ground and hurled them in the faces of the soldiers' (*Epitome* 2.22). Powell (2018: 360) notes that Florus does not see this as a desperate last act of defiance to defend their homeland but as a possible trope to portray the Raeti as uncivilised savages. By incorporating the theme of suicide, this passage delves into the realm of 'tragic' historiography. This particular approach to historiography utilises pathos through literary or visual mediums to distinguish the conqueror from the conquered. In the realm of visual art, it aims to evoke 'pity' in the viewer, thus magnifying the triumph of the victor (Hölscher, 2003: 34). Within the context of 'tragic' historiography, the pinnacle of this pathos is often portrayed through acts of suicide, particularly among family members (Hölscher, 2003: 32). A profound illustration of this sentiment is evident in the Roman copy of the 'Dying Gaul' statue group from the second-century BC Greek era, wherein a Gallic man is depicted mercifully ending his wife's life with a sword (Hölscher, 2003: 32). The emotional impact of this statue group lies in its portrayal of motifs such as 'killing one's own wife, especially out of pity, and succumbing to suicide in desperate circumstances' – themes that hold the utmost emotional power (Hölscher, 2004: 29). Curiously, this form of tragic historiography is not directly employed in conquest iconography.

Adopting an ethnographic perspective, these actions could potentially be interpreted as acts of desperation by mothers who chose death for their children to shield them from the horrors of sexual assault and captivity. Remarkably, Florus and Dio fail to mention any instances of

sexual assault against the women of the Salassi or Raeti by the Roman troops, a glaring omission that has been previously outlined. This account serves as compelling evidence further reinforcing the significance of the chosen methodology. In the following section, I will thoroughly examine the four categories of warfare outlined by Gaca, assessing their frequency of occurrence and determining their representation within the material confined to my specified chronological parameters.

3.7.1.6. Examining Warfare During the Latter Half of the First Century BC to the Second Century AD and Building on Historical Wartime Rape Theory

The following section will involve a critique and expansion of Kathy Gaca's Historical Wartime Rape Theory, aimed at reflecting on and examining the climate and nature of warfare from the latter half of the first century BC to the second century AD. To initiate this investigation, I will begin with a comprehensive survey of the main strategies employed during this era to procure enslaved individuals and supply them to Rome.

The supply of slaves during the first two centuries AD is contested among scholars as either coming from procuring war captives or the reproduction of enslaved people (*vernae*) in the Roman home. In her 1966 study, Rawson examined 1,500 lower-class epitaphs dating to the first two centuries AD. Her criterion dictated that there must be two parents named with a child (or children) and that at least one family member had a name representative of citizenship. Those omitted were soldiers, freedmen, tradesmen, and those who never moved out of the slave class. Rawson (1966: 82) concluded that this class of society was largely composed of slaves, ex-slaves, and people of recent slave origin. Keith Bradley's comprehensive study on the Roman slave supply demonstrated that a 'flexible model of supply is needed for Rome's central period with no single source having an absolute claim to the primacy in the late Republic or in the early Empire' (Bradley, 1987: 43). Furthermore, Bradley notes that the demand for slaves in Rome and Italy remained constant until approximately the end of the second century AD. Written accounts further support this conclusion.

Cicero remarks that Caesar's presence in Britain would at least put captives on the market (*Letters to Atticus* 89.7) and Varro (*Res Rusticae* 2.10.4) mentions acquiring slaves from Spain or Gaul for use in Italy. Augustus sold rebellious Cantabrians into slavery as a form of punishment for revolting (Florus, *Epitome* 2.33.52), and thousands of Helvetii were sold similarly in AD 70 (Tacitus, *Histories* 1.68). Cn. Domitius Corbulo, after he captured the Armenian Fort of Volandum in AD 58 (Tacitus, *Annals* 13.39.6–7), killed the males and sold the rest of the people into slavery. Women and children were identified among the people sold in T. Didius' sale of all of the inhabitants of Colenda in Spain in 97 BC (Appian, *Iberica* 99). In 25 BC, Augustus sold the remaining Salassi population into slavery. However, after the Augustan period, mass enslavement was limited to major expansionist wars such as the sack of Ctesiphon in Parthia in AD 198, and large-scale revolts such as The Jewish Wars in AD 66–

73 and 132–137 (Scheidel, 2011: 296). Additionally, written records of mass enslavements are few, and small-scale enslavements are non-existent (Bradley, 2004: 314). The capturing and enslaving of the conquered were such normalised warfare practices that ancient historians did not feel the need to provide further detailed accounts of the process (Bradley, 2004: 314). Wartime rape and other physical assaults on local populations, however, are not always connected to enslavement but also to subjugation and punishment for resistance to Roman rule.

3.7.1.7. Expand or Response to Revolt?

To what extent was expansionism practised during the period under discussion? Conflicting views regarding Roman expansion dominated the literature from the first century BC to the second century AD. Views ranged from complete opposition by Roman and Greek historians (Suetonius, Dio, and Strabo) to criticisms by the Roman rhetorician Fronto and the late antique Roman historian Eutropius (*Breviarium Historiae Romanae*) who criticised Hadrian's withdrawal from Britain and Trajan's Dacian conquest (Woolf, 1993: 184). Greg Woolf summarises this time period best: 'the provinces were pacified, but repeatedly pacified, rather than once and for all' (1993: 189).

Expansion into north-west Europe peaked during the first century BC under Pompey, Caesar, and Augustus (Woolf, 1993). Augustus rapidly added provinces to the Roman Empire at the beginning of his reign from 31 to 9 BC. This expansion included Egypt, Hispania, Germania, and the final pacification of Gaul, with a total of ten battles fought (Powell, 2018). After the Illyrian revolts in the 20s BC and the Varian disaster east of the Rhine in AD 9, Augustus approached expansionist wars with more caution (Woolf, 1993: 181). As a result, Augustus reportedly instructed his heir, Tiberius, to halt military expansion and remain inside the existing borders (Tacitus, *Annals* 1.11; Dio, *Roman History* 56.33). This left Germany unoccupied by the military until AD 83 when Domitian attacked the Chatti.

Claudius expanded the empire again in AD 43 with his invasion of Britain, which later became an official province. In the AD 60s, the Iceni, led by Queen Boudicca, would later revolt against the Roman occupation of Britain, with aggressive taxation and the rape of her daughters by a Roman soldier among the reported reasons. These reasons were all fuelled by the political conflict at the time that thrust the Empire into yet another civil war after the death of Nero. It was not until Trajan invaded Dacia in AD 102 that there was a possible motivation for expansion. And whether Trajan had the ambition for expansion is still debated among scholars (Stefan, 2005; Wheeler, 2011).

These wars fought to expand the Roman Empire should be seen as a few sporadic events of expansionism in an era dominated by wars fought to consolidate power in existing occupied territories and by responses to internal uprisings, all dictated by an emperor's personal or dynastic ambitions (Cornell, 1993: 153, 163). These expansionist wars can also be categorised

as acts of predation because many were shaped by predatory and punitive war tactics. In contrast to the early Republican period, the principate was also characterised by long-term military occupation in Germany, Dacia, Spain, Britain, and northern Italy to maintain peace and quell small revolts (Cornell, 1993: 159). This long-term military occupation almost certainly would have been seen from a non-Roman perspective as an act of predation.

Serious threats to the *pax Romana* came from provincial revolts (Woolf, 1993: 186). Greg Woolf (1993: 186) has identified revolts as being primarily confined to and reported in the first century AD compared to the subsequent century. Additionally, little information is known about each revolt, including their origins, failures, and especially the treatment of captive women. Therefore, we must rely on the recorded information we have, with the addition of the theoretical framework outlined in this chapter.

Augustus employed A. Terentius Varro to deal with the Salassi revolt, successfully invading their territory and conquering them (Dio, *Roman History* 53.25.3; Livy, *Periochae* 135, 7.9; Powell, 2018: 46). Prisoners of war were taken to Eporedia (modern Ivrea in northern Italy). Strabo (*Geography* 4.6.7) claims that Varro captured 36,000 (probably fewer) men, women, and children and sold them as slaves (Powell, 2018: 46). Varro then founded the new *colonia* of Augusta Praetoria Salassorum (modern Aosta in north-west Italy) by putting 3,000 Roman army veterans at the location of his camp in the hope that the veterans' presence would help keep the peace in the critical region to ensure that the road through the western Alps stayed open (Strabo, *Geography* 4.6.7; Powell, 2018: 46).

The revolt of the Salassi required a punitive response from Varro and his soldiers, as Strabo (*Geography* 4.6.7) states that the Salassi were a powerful people with the customs of brigandage, who persisted in inflicting damage to people who crossed their territory over the mountains, robbing even Caesar of money and placing tolls on the number of men passing through. The Salassi were 'wiped out' (Strabo, *Geography* 4.6.7) as a result, and Varro instituted a heavy punishment (Dio, *Roman History* 53.25.3):

> After forcing them to come to terms he demanded a stated sum of money, as if he were going to impose no other punishment; then, sending soldiers everywhere ostensibly to collect the money, he arrested those who were of military age and sold them, on the understanding that none of them should be liberated within twenty years.

Elsewhere, the subjugation of the Vindelici was next on the list of Roman conquests (Powell, 2018: 77). These groups settled in fortified cities near the Danube, which Drusus' men stormed, with one known siege conducted against the stronghold of the Genaunes, a sub-group of the Vindelici (Vellius Paterculus, *The Roman History* 2.95.2; Powell, 2018: 77). Storming towns usually resulted in the taking of the town's resources, including women (Gaca, 2013: 77). Drusus was looking to conquer the Alpine tribes to expand Roman control

and clear the way for the upcoming German campaigns in 15 BC. All of Tiberius' battles with Alpine people, as well as Drusus' military campaigns over the Raeti, and Drusus and Tiberius' campaigns over the Vindelici and Norici in 15 BC, were celebrated on the Trophée d'Auguste at La Turbie in modern Monaco (Powell, 2018: 178, Plate 46). There is no doubt from the inscription on the monument and recorded in Pliny's *Natural History* 3.20.138 and the *Res Gestae* 26.3 of Augustus that the conquest of the Alpine people was deemed to be a 'just war' (Harrison, 2011: 8).

In AD 21, the Aedui and the Treveri, two important central and northern Gallic tribes, revolted (Woolf, 1993: 187). Tiberius delayed any announcement of the revolt until he could suppress it (Tacitus, *Annals* 3. 40–7; Vellius Paterculus, *The Roman History* 2.129–33). Tiberius refused to visit Gaul then and forbade his adopted son Germanicus to do so. Tiberius also publicly denied an *ovatio* (a celebration one step below a triumph for wars that are not fought against a nation or state) for the quelling of the revolt. Woolf (1993: 187) rightly interprets these actions by Tiberius as a deliberate downplay of the significance of the revolt. It would have been prudent for Tiberius to keep information about the revolt to himself to prevent fear and panic spreading through the Roman public, especially in the post-civil war era. Tiberius likely would also not want to be seen as an unfit ruler of Rome and unable to control a province that, since Augustus's 'final pacification of Gaul' around 14 BC, had been publicly hailed as unarmed and fully pacified (Tacitus, *Hist*ories 1.16; Josephus, *Jewish Revolt* 2.372–3). The truth is that many battles fought against the Alpine tribes were responses to revolts (Strabo, *Geography* 4.6.7).

Punitive strikes to quell a revolt or to restore military confidence were violent and deadly. In AD 13–14 in Germania Inferior, due to a transition of power to Tiberius caused by the death of Augustus, legions were rising up in mutiny. Tiberius sent Germanicus to quell the mutiny and eventually succeeded. However, to restore the legions' sense of duty, Germanicus took around 12,000 men (it is likely this number was lower) to raid the villages of the Marsi (Tacitus, *Annals* 1.50). Tacitus (*Annals* 1.49–50) states that Germanicus allowed his soldiers to kill everyone, regardless of age and sex, describing the soldiers as eager and having a savage spirit of desire to attack the enemy so that they might atone for their mutinous actions. Tacitus does not provide any specific insight into how the women of Marsi were killed. Still, it would be naive to think that such a punitive strike instilling duty and boosting confidence in military soldiers would not involve the wartime rape of some of the women, even to the point of death. In applying wartime rape theory to this scenario, I have added punitive strikes to the retaliatory category of Roman war tactics, since death is the ultimate outcome (see Table 5). The choice of the vanquished to die by suicide rather than be captured by the Romans is one option for women noted in the literary evidence for Roman warfare of the imperial period. The fear of rape and enslavement was so fierce that the women chose to avoid it through suicide. In some instances, they even took their children with them.

So, certainly after AD 16, most of the battles fought were punitive strikes to quell a revolt, often serving to restore the confidence in once-mutinous legionnaires and responding to migrant invasions and bandit raids. Greg Woolf (1993) notes that many conflicts were described as operations to suppress 'banditry'. Woolf makes the convincing point that the term 'bandit' was used to downplay and delegitimise a threat (see also Shaw, 1984). Of the 53 battles fought from 31 BC to Augustus' death in AD 14, 18 were caused by revolt, 4 responded to migrant invasions, 13 confronted 'bandit raids', 4 were punitive strikes, and 1 was in answer to a usurpation. If we assume going forward that the term 'bandit' was used to downplay revolts, the number of revolts during the Julio-Claudian era (27 BC – AD 68) jumps from 18 to 31.

Now to the military tactics used by Marcus Aurelius in the Marcomannic Wars of AD 166–180. The sources report that the first war broke out because the Germanic peoples beyond the frontier, being pressured by the Goths migrating from the Baltic to the Black Sea, demanded reception and acceptance into the Empire (Birley, 2013: 222; Kovács, 2008: 204). Additionally, the vassalage system that prevailed firmly in the region since the reign of Trajan-Hadrian suddenly collapsed. The *Historia Augusta* author stated it should be called a 'war of many nations' (22.7) and that 'all the peoples from beyond the Rhine and Danube conspired against Rome' (22.1). The reason for the attack on the Germanic tribes by Marcus Aurelius is varied. The second Marcomannic war broke out, and the *Historia Augusta* says that the plan for attacking and invading Germanic territory was still, or once again, to annex new provinces (*Marcus* 27.10). A medallion of Marcus and his son Commodus labels them as *propagatores imperii*, or 'extender of the Empire' (Birley, 2013: 221). This inscription could also be translated as 'for those who enrich the Empire' (Kovács, 2008: 257). Kovács (2008: 158, 247) explicitly states that these wars with the Germanic peoples were not wars of conquest to annex new provinces, but the destruction of the enemy for the following reasons: 1) evidence of the foreign policy was to divide the enemy, not to annex them; 2) occupation was not economically viable since Rome was already economically ruined from the war and the plague. The latter translation of the inscription on the medallion would fit better with the foreign policy and military tactic followed by Marcus Aurelius.

Birley (2013: 223) notes that the Roman attempts to control the Germanic peoples beyond the frontier by traditional means had failed. Traditional means refer to the expansionist tactic: Rome would have invaded the territory, subdued their enemies, taken war booty, annexed the province, and replaced the home style of governance with a leader loyal to Rome and its interests (Goldsworthy, 2003). Kovács (2008) suggests that this form of occupation and expansion into the Germanic territory was complicated because the Germanic peoples, who were still formed of bands and tribes that governed in different ways, lacked political cohesion and a form of governmental structure for the Romans to take over and replace. This problem of non-political cohesion may have been the reason for Marcus Aurelius choosing to divide the enemy. Dividing the enemy would have removed the men and left the Germanic women

vulnerable to sexual assault by the Roman army, as seen in the visual evidence on the Column of Marcus Aurelius.

3.7.1.8. Siege

Generally, a siege is the surrounding of a fortified enemy stronghold to force the enemy out and ultimately conquer the area. The Romans would build a ditch and wall around the stronghold to prevent anyone from escaping. Isolation of supplies and aid is the main tactic to force the enemy to surrender. In some instances, the besieged would choose not to surrender, which would lead them to starve to death or even die by suicide out of fear of being assaulted and enslaved (e.g. Masada in AD 74). As rightly argued by Levithan (2013: 1), combat motivation is the central circumstance of any siege. Motivation and morale should be at the forefront of the analysis of Roman siege warfare because it had its own customs, structure, and governing intentions. The commonly accepted model of military engagement in the Roman context was the 'consensual engagement in the open field […] when the gates were closed, and no army marched out to defend the walls, the defenders were signalling their rejections of the preferred mode of combat and their willingness to move to a different one' (Levithan, 2013: 6). This apparent reluctance by the enemy to engage the Romans in open territory and cooperate in standard battle etiquette could prompt retaliation by the cohesive group of Roman soldiers at the forefront of the conflict.

Roman siege attacks taking place in inhabited settlements were obviously visible to the women, children, and the elderly living there, as well as the combatant men (Levithan, 2013: 17). Levithan (2013: 17) notes that 'This "public" dimension changes the moral terms of otherwise intimate close combat, and the fact that failures might be witnessed – and jeered – by non-combatants added to the sense of forced embarrassment'. Returning from the siege or failing to take the city would be 'unmanly' and could cause embarrassment on the part of the Romans (Levithan, 2013: 6). In this instance, the siege becomes a moral issue for the Romans. With all eyes on the Roman military, this would cause further motivation for soldiers to express their masculinity through the rape of women to foster the enemy's subjugation and humiliation. Women, children, and the elderly are normally not directly involved in combat. However, these vulnerable groups can take part in siege warfare by way of aiding the soldiers in defence of the fortification or hiding within the fortification to be found later by Roman soldiers and taken as booty (Reeder, 2017: 178).

In general, siege warfare tactics employed by the Romans were retaliatory and predatory, with growing frustration on the Roman side if it took an extended period to reduce a besieged target city (Gaca, 2013; Levithan, 2013). Women in the besiegement of Masada in Judaea, for example, killed their children and themselves out of fear of the horrors that awaited them at the hands of Roman soldiers (Josephus, *Jewish Wars* 7.389–401; see Reeder, 2017: 182; Livy, *The History of Rome* 21.14.3–4). Reeder (2017: 183) states that 'once the walls were breached, the city was defeated. All inhabitants, soldiers or not, were liable to be killed, raped,

pillaged, imprisoned, enslaved, or deported.' Similarly, using a useful modern parallel, rape was used as a form of punishment for prolonged sieges by Soviet soldiers in Berlin and Budapest during World War II (Wood, 2006: 309). In this instance, troops who came through later during the offensive were more prone to rape than the initial frontline troops (Wood, 2006: 309). This is due to what Madeline Morris (1996) terms 'break-out periods' when soldiers are not engaged in combat and have significant contact with civilians, creating opportunity (Wood, 2006: 322). Wood (2006: 324) argues that wartime rape during or after a successful siege is consistent with the relationship between engagement in sexual violence, competition, and increased testosterone (as a result of competition).

Details of a siege in progress can be found on the Column of Marcus Aurelius (Scenes 54, 71, 76). None of the siege scenes on either column depicts women and other vulnerable groups as an active or passive part of the attack. This exclusion of vulnerable people is likely due to the official Roman choice to highlight to the public the skills and success of the Roman army during a siege rather than the taking of war booty (for further discussion on the depiction of architecture and their interpretations on the columns, see Thill, 2010).

Fear and psychological warfare were used to force the besieged to surrender. This tactic included acts like publicly crucifying and displaying the captives' bodies, throwing the heads of captives into the city, and ravaging the surrounding land (Reeder, 2013: 180; Goldsworthy, 2000: 144–146). The screams of women and children were used as an additional weapon to scare the attackers, while the screams of women also could warn the besieged of an attack (Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* 2.4.2; Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 13.56.6–7). Once the Roman soldiers breached the city walls or the besieged surrendered, men were liable to be killed, and the women were targeted, raped, and enslaved (Reeder, 2013: 182–183; Goldsworthy, 2000: 145). The mass suicide of women and children at Masada (Josephus, *Jewish Wars* 7.382, 385), as we have seen, is a testament to the fear of the rape and enslavement that awaited them. The women who would become captives in siege warfare were liable to endure rape motivated by retaliatory, predatory, and expansionist goals (Gaca, 2013). Assaults would include beatings, gang rapes, and enslavement, during which captive women could be sexually assaulted at any time up until their point of sale and after by their master whenever he pleased. Throughout this work, several visual depictions of siege warfare will be identified.

3.7.1.9. *Predatory Warfare and Expansionism As an Act of Predation: An Archaeological Perspective*

What can be interpreted as evidence of predation in the archaeological context is the presence of Roman military forts and veteran settlements in enemy territory that would place soldiers in close proximity to a civilian population. The outcomes of this predatory tactic would ensure a lasting fear in the local population and leave women vulnerable to continued sexual assault and trafficking as long as the Roman army occupied the area. Predatory warfare

includes assaults against rural communities with little or no fortifications, the types of settlements of most Alpine tribes, and in most cases, informed Augustus's expansionist conquest of Gaul (Gaca, 2013: 84). The army would move to the next town after depleting another town of its resources. The more depleted a region becomes, the more the remaining vulnerable inhabitants retreat to a well-defended area with walls and defences. This, in turn, creates the need for the offensive army to conduct a siege with bands of predatory and punitive warriors; as Virgil's *Aeneid* states (6.853):

> remember, Roman, it is for you to rule the nations with your power,
> (that will be your skill) to crown peace with law,
> to spare the conquered (*parcere subiectis*), and subdue the proud.

All of the evidence compiled in this thesis suggests that the Romans deemed most of the barbarian peoples as 'proud'. Moreover, Roman soldiers who lived among the local undefended population had access to vulnerable people for sexual and physical exploitation and abuse (Reeder, 2017: 371). Moreover, the longer an area was unstable, with the Roman army as an occupying presence and soldiers and civilians being hostile to one another, the greater the frequency of sexual harassment of civilians (Phang, 2001: 259). It might be that the time between settlement of an area by Roman soldiers and when inhabitants of these new cities and regions were granted Roman citizenship was the clearest window for Roman predation. Once a people were granted Roman citizenship, and, unless the local women were not technically enslaved, they would have some legal protection or access to the legal system to file a claim once an act of sexual assault or rape had been committed (Phang, 2001).

Cicero (*In Verrem* 2.4.116), for example, lawfully accused Verres, the Roman governor of Sicily from 73 to 71 BC, of continuously committing violence against free, noble, local women (*mitto adhibitam vim ingenuis*) and of violating local matrons (*matres familias violatas*) for Verres' entire tenure. In Tacitus' *Agricola* 15, the Britons complain that the Roman occupation has brought violence (*vis*) and lust (*libidini*) (Reeder, 2017: 371). In *Agricola* 31.1, there are reports of the capture or, literally, the dragging away (*abstrahi liberos*) and enslavement (*liberos… servituri auferuntur*) of local children (Reader, 2017: 371). The women (wives and sisters) are described (*Agricola* 31.2) as being polluted or defiled (*polluuntur*) not by the enemy, but by their occupiers who label themselves as friends and come in the name of hospitality (*nomine amicorum atque hospitum polluuntur*).

In the context of Roman occupation, the socio-economic status of non-citizen women could determine their vulnerability to sexual attacks by soldiers (Phang, 2001: 259). Servants could protect these women of the elite and middle classes at home and attendants would accompany them in public (Phang, 2001: 259; McGinn, 1998: 334). Known prostitutes and those deemed as unclean prostitutes, such as entertainers and waitresses, would fall in the category of those vulnerable to sexual assault (Phang, 2001: 259). For example, in the first

century AD, the rape of civilians by Roman soldiers is reported in the Talmud by rabbis who debated the status of a priest's wife who was 'embraced' by a Roman soldier (Isaac, 1990: 117; Phang, 2001: 256). The rabbis conclude that 'priests' wives were considered unclean collectively and as a matter of principle when soldiers entered a town in large numbers (Isaac, 1990: 117). The threat of rape of a Jewish woman taken by bandits was considered low, compared to being taken by Roman soldiers (Isaac, 1992: 84–85).

During Augustus's expansionist military campaign against the Cantabrians in Iberia, archaeological evidence provides insight into Roman occupation during and post-war. During the Cantabrian Wars (29–19 BC), the Roman army led by Augustus destroyed the hillfort of La Loma in northern Palencia (Fernández- Götz et al., 2018: 131). Excavations show evidence of the siege, with seasonal Roman camps controlled by a larger camp and a fortlet (*castellum*) found surrounding the hillfort, as well as evidence for the assault (over 400 arrowheads recovered) and destruction (evidence of ash, coal, and burnt wood) of the settlement (Peralta, 2003, 2007). The Roman army then moved to the oppidum of Monte Bernorio, one of the main centres of Cantabria until it was destroyed by Augustus's army at the end of the first century BC (Fernández-Götz et al., 2018: 132; Torres-Martínez et al., 2011). The taking of Monte Bernorio was a part of a wider plan of conquering sites on the same route so that Augustus could control a strategic position at the centre of the foothills of the mountains and its intersection with natural routes to the Northern Plateau and the sea (Fernández-Götz et al., 2018: 132).

Material from the local people of the oppidum (decorated plaques, hair rings) and from the Roman military (hobnails from *caligae*) have been recovered in the area identified as the possible battlefield outside and inside the oppidum (Fernández-Götz et al., 2018: 136; Torres-Martínez et al., 2011: 132–135). A *castellum* was built in the north-west part atop Monte Bernorio after the destruction of the oppidum, and it was occupied for several decades (Fernández-Götz et al., 2017: 139). This *castellum* was to maintain territorial control during the Cantabrian War and during the pacification of the region in the first part of the first century AD (Fernández-Götz et al., 2018: 139; Torres-Martínez et al., 2011: 137–143). Located just a few kilometres from the *castellum* on the plain, a Roman settlement was established that was occupied from the first century BC to the third to fourth century AD, according to the material culture excavated. Finds at the settlement include coins, *terra sigillata* ceramics, glass beads, and military equipment. The military finds have been interpreted as evidence for the settlement starting as a military base during or immediately after the Cantabrian Wars (Fernandez-Götz et al., 2018: 139). The excavators concluded that the site is a testament to the continued occupation of the Roman military in the region after the conquest of Monte Bernorio.

Archaeological evidence also attests to a substantial military presence throughout Gaul after its so-called 'final pacification' by Augustus. This presence extends into the second century

AD, challenging the idea put forward by Tacitus (*Histories* 1.16) and Herod (Josephus, *Jewish Wars* 2.372–3) that Gaul had been demilitarised by this point. A stone-built fort from the Flavian period was found in Mirebeau. Tiles with a stamp of the XIII legion, dating the fort to ca. AD 70, have led excavators to interpret the fort being built as a result of the so-called Batavian revolt of the Treveri, Ubians, and Lingones against Rome in AD 69/70. It was not occupied after AD 86–90 because the XIII legion was moved to Strassberg permanently by AD 90 (Fernandez-Götz et al., 2018). Other forts that were built in Gaul during the first century AD include Arlaines (built during Tiberius or Claudius and then abandoned by the time of Domitian) and Aulnay-de-Saintonge (Reddé, 1985). The direct connection between these forts and known revolts remains uncertain. However, the crucial aspect to consider is that Gaul did not come under Roman control in the manner that Tiberius or Claudius may have presented (Woolf, 1993: 187).

In the mid-first century AD, the native Celtic and Germanic population in north-west Europe adopted the Roman custom of setting up stone tombs and carving stone grave markers for funerary and religious reasons, with the earliest dating to the first decades of the first century AD belonging to non-local Roman soldiers (Carroll, 2006: 17–18). The Roman military occupation of the Rhine and their cultural markers were quickly taken up by the locals and military men and their 'wives', meaning women who were taken as concubines, manumitted enslaved people, or free women in unofficial marriages, as Roman soldiers were not allowed to legally marry until the second century AD (Phang, 2001). Many partners of soldiers may well have been non-consensual. At one point in time, enslaved people or war captives were marketed as sex slaves or prostituted, as suggested by the names of Aphrodisia and Veneria on grave stelae throughout the empire (Phang, 2004: 207, 224; for soldiers and local women, see Allison-Jones, 1989: 59, 1999: 46–47).

A Roman tombstone found at the Roman legionary fort at Bonn, Germany (established in 12 BC) attests to the presence and movement of enslaved women in areas of Roman military occupation. The monument was commissioned by an enslaved man from Baetica (southeast Hispania) named Gemellus. He dedicated it to the memory of his partner, Euthenia, an enslaved woman also from Baetica (Carroll, 2006: 134; *CSIR* III, 2.8). Euthenia could have been a war captive who was enslaved by a military official, slave dealer, or another middleman who then brought her to Bonn. She also could have been purchased multiple times before reaching Bonn. The funerary monument is silent on this matter. Iron fetters at Hedemünden fort in Germany reinforced the presence of enslaved people in a wartime setting to be transported and kept in camps along the Rhine (Thompson, 2003).

3.7.2. Conclusion

This section has outlined in detailed fashion how the first two centuries of the imperial period were not entirely focused on the expansion of the Empire. Rather, they were responding to revolts in territories that had been conquered and occupied by the Romans. What is meant

by expansion here is the acquisition of new provinces (Woolf, 1993: 180). There was a window of time in which non-Roman women were vulnerable to rape and sexual assault by Roman soldiers who had recently occupied a region. I disagree with Gaca (2013) that expansionist warfare was asexual. For the Romans, the idea of warfare, including battles fought in the name of expansion in the early to mid-imperial period, is characterised literarily and pictorially as sexual penetration of the land and its inhabitants (discussed in Sections 1.2.3. and 2.5.). I have changed Gaca's use of the term 'retaliatory' as a form of battle tactic to 'punitive'. Her use of the term suggests that the Romans were always seeking revenge for grievances against them. While these terms are similar in meaning, the literary evidence presented in this chapter suggests that the Romans were not seeking retaliation, but were looking to punish those who rose up against them in order to deter them from doing so again. Retaliation or revenge suggests that the Romans dealt in kind, an 'eye for an eye'. Retaliation implies that there is no lesson to be learned, while punitive does. Table 5 reflects more accurately the warfare tactics and their results discussed above.

	PREDATORY	PARASITIC	PUNITIVE	EXPANSIONIST
DEFINITION	Sexual Taking women and girls as captives as the primary or secondary objective (except in the case of suicide). Can inform punitive.	Sexual The conquerors do not forcibly remove the women and girls, but adopt the location of their captives. Can inform punitive.	Sexual Aggressive military action motivated by a genuine grievance against the opposing group. Primarily used in the case of a revolt or siege. Also used to restore military confidence. Can contain a mix of predatory and parasitic.	Sexual Desires to conquer land and resources (women seen as a resource of the land).
VARIABLE ACTIONS	Women and girls are hunted down first or second in battle. They are targets of rape, subjugation, enslavement, and even death. Targets people of rural communities with little or no fortifications, and the remaining communities in sieges. This can include suicide for fear of rape, beatings, and enslavement.	Men in the conquered community are killed or taken captive to be enslaved. The conquerors take the conquered men's place with the surviving women. Local women in this instance are subject to capture and continued rape and harassment. This can also happen in situations of veteran resettlement.	The conquered group angered the Romans by aiding Roman enemies militarily, failing to surrender, or showing signs of resisting Roman administrative and military occupation. Local women are mostly publicly humiliated in the form of gang rape, which could end in death. Women also made to suffer beatings and harassment.	Beaten, raped, and subjugated women and girls kept alive to be of use in sex and other trades. If predatory and/or punitive inform expansionist goals, taking women and girls to be concubines, prostitutes, and slaves remains a main objective.

Table 5: Updated Historical Wartime Rape Theory

Chapter 4: Pulled Hair and Wartime Rape Theory: Augustan and Antonine Conquest Art

4.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to provide further wartime context of chosen battle strategies of conflicts to assess the types of rape that occurred in these circumstances. The relevant battles include the commemorated Roman successes in Illyria in the first century AD, referenced in the carving of the Gemma Augustea (Plate 27), and the Marcomannic Wars in the second century AD, depicted on the Column of Marcus Aurelius. To provide a visual reference aid, Table 5 outlines the types of warfare and their associated types of rape. This chapter seeks to answer the following questions: 1) Why are captive women having their hair pulled on the Gemma Augustea and the Column of Marcus Aurelius? 2) How would the Roman viewer of the motif have perceived the gesture based on social customs regarding the eroticism of hair? 3) What role do the wartime rape tactics play in each commemorated battle? I will demonstrate that the hair-pulling motif, in addition to being indicative of wartime rape, appears on monuments that commemorate conflicts related to revolts and predatory and punitive warfare.

4.2. Tracing Captive Women from the Time of Augustus: Background

The captive barbarian motif starts in Roman monumental art during the Augustan period. Prior to this, the only time the captive woman is depicted in Roman art is in the non-monumental form of coins of Caesar in celebration of his conquests in Gaul (Plate 48). On the coin is a trophy (*tropaeum*) with two bound captives, a male and a female, sat at the base. Similar images could have been used during the Republic by way of paintings made to recreate battles fought and would be carried in triumphs. Still, there is no evidence to suggest that the barbarian motif found prominence in any other form of media (De Souza, 2011: 40). Captives would certainly have been on display for Republican triumphs, like the captives and hostages from many kingdoms in Asia that were put on display and carried in Pompey's two-day triumph in 61 BC (Östenberg, 2009: 147). However, most known women displayed in Roman triumphs are described by ancient historians as wives or sisters of conquered leaders or mothers of royal children (Östenberg, 2009: 139). This has led to the interpretation that the early Imperial period was when this new theme of non-mythical captive barbarian men and women were added to the image selection of artistic commemoration of warfare (De Souza, 2011: 40).

In monumental format, an interior frieze on the temple of Apollo Sosianus (Plate 15), built in c. 20 BC on the Campus Martius by the Roman general Gaius Sosianus, is the first time the captive barbarian woman was placed on prominent display on a public triumphal monument. Moreover, this triumphal frieze is the first representation of a triumph in monumental sculpture (Kleiner, 1992: 86). Various fragments of the frieze depict a battle scene between Romans and Illyrians and a triumphal and sacrificial procession (Kleiner, 1992: 86). The battle

frieze is derivative of Greek precedents, while the triumphal procession frieze represents the new Roman tradition of depicting non-mythical barbarians (Kleiner, 1992: 86).

The triumphal scene analysed here depicts attendants about to lift a large bier (*ferculum*) that holds a chained male and female captive sat at the base of a trophy (*tropaeum*) to be carried in the procession. The frieze would have decorated the top interior of the temple whose pediment was filled with classical Greek statuary brought by the temple's patron or another Roman general as spoils of war (Kleiner, 1992: 86; Ferris, 2000: 37; De Souza, 2011: 41). The scene probably celebrates the campaigns of Octavian against Illyrian tribes in Dalmatia, which were fought from 35–33 BC (Kleiner, 1992: 86; Ferris, 2000: 37; De Souza, 2011: 41). Four years later, in 29 BC, the now-proclaimed Augustus was awarded a triumph for this victory (Ferris, 2000: 37). This triumphal frieze would serve as a precedent for other triumphal scenes on later monumental arches such as the Arch of Titus and Septimius Severus in the Forum Romanum (Kleiner, 1993: 86).

A relevant artefact in small format for private use, the Gemma Augustea is a carved sardonyx cameo (Plate 27). This cameo was likely made as diplomatic gift that demonstrated dynastic loyalty within the imperial family, high courtiers and inner imperial ruling circle and then was later displayed during imperial occasions like the emperor's dinner (Smith, 2021; De Souza, 2011; Ferris, 2000; Kleiner, 1992) or was made for Augustus himself (Pollini, 2003). It is a piece that some scholars have hailed to be 'one of the most important private artistic creations of the Augustan Age' (Pollini, 2003: 260). The cameo displays how peace would be upheld by the familial Julio-Claudian dynasty. The three imperial figures in the top register (left to right) are Tiberius (Augustus' adopted son) in the chariot and Germanicus (Augustus' other adopted son) in armour, and Augustus is sat on the double throne with the personification of Roma (Smith 2021: 87). Only through pacification and peace would the barbarian family eventually become a part of the Roman family as enslaved people or, metaphorically, by being conquered and subsumed into the empire.

This idea of expanding the Roman family to conquered barbarians was a prominent motif in Augustus' propaganda-filled art in Rome, as seen on the public monument of 9 BC, the Ara Pacis (Rose, 1990; Lamp, 2009). This idea of familial expansion continued in private art, as seen on the silver Boscoreale Cups dating to between the latter half of the first century BC and the early first century AD (Kuttner, 1995); however, only Gallic males are seen giving up their sons in an act of clemency here, and no captive women appear on the cups. On the Gemma Augustea, the theme of contrasting families is clearly expressed by the placement of the imperial family in the top register and the submitted barbarian family in the lower register (Smith, 2021; Andreae, 1978: 147). The positioning of the two family groups in this way, and their young members who represent the future of each family, represent a continuous future under the protective aegis of the deified Augustus and his heirs.

Interpretations of the barbarian women on the Gemma Augustea range from personified pacified states, potentially Dalmatia and Pannonia (Jeppesen, 1994), to their identification as personifications or simply defeated women (Ferris, 2000; Burliga, 2013). However, I adhere to Diana Kleiner's interpretation (1992) of the barbarian women as real women on the lower register of the cameo. In this interpretation, the identified barbarians are Illyrians from the north. This piece would have only been visible to the ruling elite in the close circle of the emperor, perpetuating and reinforcing the idea of what it means to obtain peace through war among those who lead it.

The Grand Camée de France (AD 26–29) (Plate 45), another elite cameo directly inspired by the Gemma Augustea, depicts submitted eastern 'barbarian' men and women in pairs, with the woman in the middle holding her infant (Kleiner, 1992: 149; Ferris, 2000: 49–50). This cameo had a message of 'dynastic strength and future continuance and is to be contrasted with the opposite fate of the defeated and dejected barbarian opponents of Rome' (Ferris, 2000: 187). The presence of an infant in its mother's arms only strengthens the message of familial conquest. This infant's presence further underscores the idea that the next generation of the captive will be raised as property in Rome's customs and is less likely to return to its ethnic and cultural roots.

No more public monuments or private pieces depict captive women in Augustan Rome, as far as the evidence suggests. However, Augustus engaged in an active monumentalisation programme in Gaul. Early Roman tradition identified boundaries and crossroads with arches and trophies on new major frontier crossroads, cities selected for maximum visibility. The arches were commemorative, erected to celebrate Julius Caesar and Augustus' founding or development of civilian and veteran colonies, granting rights to significant port towns and trading centres (Silberberg-Pierce, 1986: 311). This visibility was expanded during the latter half of the first century BC and the first century AD when Agrippa expanded the road system in Gaul, later known as the Via Agrippa, to help ease troops through the province and prepare for the German invasion. Captives are depicted chained to the *tropaeum* on civilian arches erected at Roman civilian settlements. Civilian settlements here encompassed peoples with or without Roman citizenship and were not military personnel.

Augustus's symbols and imperial political imagery that were effective in Rome were adapted for a broader audience in the provinces, as many provincial inhabitants would never travel to Rome in their lifetime (Reyman-Lock, 2014: 56). Rome was ideologically present in using Roman-style architecture, orthogonal grid systems for city planning, and imagery of prosperity and power. Augustus used Gallia Narbonensis, Gallia Aquitania, and Gallia Lugdunensis to bolster his image as a victorious emperor and bringer of *pax* (peace) and *felicitas* (prosperity) to the Roman Empire. *Felicitas* especially surrounded the Gauls in Narbonensis so that they would never forget that Rome was the bringer of such prosperity through the conquest of the region (Ramage, 1997: 139). The concept is expressed in the form

of cornucopias, garlands, vines of paradise, fruits, flowers, and vegetation. These symbols are displayed on the Augustan trophies at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges and La Turbie, and on the arches at Saint-Remy, Orange, Beziers, Carpentras, Narbonne, Arles, and Vienne (Ramage, 1997). Some of these trophies and the arches also depict male and female captives, namely at Saint-Remy and Orange.

Another public monument in Gaul is the Trophée d'Auguste, built in 7/6 BC (Plate 46). The trophy was dedicated to Augustus by the senate and people of Rome at La Turbie in the Maritime Alps in Monaco (Silberberg-Pierce, 1986: 313). The monument was visible from land and sea with an inscription on the western façade of the base that lists the 45 subjugated Alpine tribes (Silberberg-Pierce, 1986: 313; see Formigé, 1910, for further information on the inscription). The trophy monuments at La Turbie and Saint-Bertrand, the former in the east and the latter in the west, had geographic significance. Ferris (2000: 44) posits that each monument was strategically located at a significant juncture in the provincial road system, situated where cultural, political, and military interests intersected during the late Republic and early Empire. These monuments serve as territorial markers within the landscape and stand as testaments to Augustus' military and political triumphs.

Two friezes survive on the Trophée d'Auguste at La Turbie and they frame the dedicatory inscription. They both depict a *tropaeum* with a captive man and woman chained at the base. It is important to note that depictions of actual captive women in conquest iconography in Italy (the frieze at the temple of Apollo Sosianus being the only exception) do not show them as chained, while their male counterpart usually is. The frieze on the left-hand side of the inscription (Plate 47) has the captive woman placed on the left side of the *tropaeum*, making her one border of the entire ensemble. By contrast, the right-hand-side frieze (Plate 47) has the woman on the right side of the *tropaeum*, effectively making her the other side of the border. Together they frame Roman masculinity (see Section 5.3. for further discussion of women used as borders).

It has been argued that a statue of Augustus may have been present on the top of the trophy with an assumed male captive barbarian at his feet, appealing for clemency like the statue of Augustus with a male barbarian at his feet on the back wall of the theatre stage at Orange (Ramage, 1997: 146; Picard, 1957: 296). Ramage (1997: 147) argues that this figure of Augustus and the suppliant barbarian 'should be seen as not only behaving with clemency but also as dealing with the vanquished in a fair and just way', this clemency being related to the 'growing consciousness that Romans were destined by the gods to conquer, rule and civilise the world' (Woolf, 1998: 48). However, there are no scenes of clemency with regard to the captive woman on the trophies. Perhaps only male barbarians were worthy of being granted clemency or seen accepting clemency in the provinces. After all, this motif of a captive woman begging for clemency does not appear in Roman art until the marble battle sarcophagi in the second century AD in Rome (discussed in Section 5.4.2.).

4.3. Understanding the Loose and Pulled Hair of Captive Women: A Brief Overview

The eroticism of hair appealed to most male writers and observers, with its erotic potential being a reoccurring theme in literature during the first and second centuries AD (Bartman, 2001: 4). The erotic implications of hair stirred significant anxieties concerning public decorum and female sexuality, culminating in the veiling practices and stringent regulations on Roman women's headwear (Bartman, 2001: 5). Given these societal concerns surrounding Roman women and their hair, it's understandable that the portrayal of captive women's hair contrasts starkly, often shown being pulled or in a dishevelled state, reflecting the deep-rooted concerns Romans harbored about them. Moreover, the motif of hair-pulling could be a projection of social anxieties that plagued the Romans during times of war. Hair-pulling is an erotic gesture that insinuates wartime rape and abuse that would have been read as such by contemporary Roman viewers (Zanker, 2000: 165) and appears in early Greek art scenes of Amazonomachy and the rape of Cassandra (Stewart, 1995). The attractiveness of unbound, dishevelled hair is equated to a captive, a barbarian, who deserves to have her hair pulled, and/or her tunic ripped, revealing the shame of her bare skin. To better understand this provocative gesture, we turn briefly to Ovid.

Ovid's poem *Amores* 1.7 plays on sexual and violent themes, explicitly noting the state and treatment of his mistress's hair. Ovid uses hair to symbolically mediate the power imbalance between the poet and his *puella*: 'it simultaneously marks and masks the literal and structural violence women experienced at men's hands' (Pandey, 2018: 465). In a literal reading, Ovid has committed assault against his girlfriend, for which he expresses deep remorse by covering his shame and embarrassment with an attempt at humour (Turpin, 2016). Moreover, the marital, social, and economic status of the girlfriend (*puella*) is ambiguous (Sharrock, 1991; Wyke, 1994; Miller, 2013). Turpin urges readers of this poem, at the risk of reading it too literally, to focus on Ovid's apology not as a reflection of a serious assault on his girlfriend but as an accident for messing up her hair (lines 11 and 49), even if Ovid scratched her face in the process (lines 40–50), because 'the question of what we do with our modern sensibilities about subjects like sexual violence is complicated' (Turpin, 2016: 90). This explanation is inadequate. Ellen Greene's (1999: 409) scopophilic male gaze (see also Chapter 3.6) analysis of the poem provides a more insightful, feminist analysis of the connotations of Ovid's words:

> My own analysis extends this latter feminist reading of Ovid's critique
> of amor, by showing how the version of amor practiced by the male
> lover exposes the amator's cynical mercantilism and reveals how his
> hegemonic discourse is bound up with the colonizing and patriarchal
> value system that had existed in Rome for centuries…By portraying women
> as commodities of exchange in the sexual and economic marketplace, Ovid
> not only shatters the myth of the elegiac lover as upholding ideals of fides,
> pietas, and castitas, but also presents amatory arrangements as transactions
> that consolidate masculine authority and privilege and reinforce the
> integration of male sexual and social dominance.

Suppose Ovid portrays Roman women as commodities of exchange in the sexual and economic market, as Greene suggests. This would further bolster my argument that the sexualisation of captive women in conquest iconography is linked to their actual sex trafficking and sexual exploitation. Moreover, *Amores* 1.7 demonstrates the female as a fetishised object of the narrator's male gaze which turns her into an 'object of male fantasies of erotic domination' (Greene, 1999: 411). What does Ovid have to say about hair-pulling? (*Amores* 1.7, lines 11–12):

> So can't I tear at her done-up hair?
> Or unravel the girls flying locks?

Ovid, here, is sexually attracted to the girl's hair being undone (Turpin, 2016). Ovid then goes on to elaborate on the dishevelled hair of his mistress. Ovid compares her to three mythological women: Atalanta, Ariadne, and Cassandra (lines 13–18). These women were renowned for having been raped or threatened by rape, and famous for having dishevelled hair and being treated like sex objects made to suffer violence at the hands of men (lines 13–18) (Turpin, 2016). Other people were present to witness and comment on the assault without intervention (Pandey, 2018: 466; *Amores* 1.7, line 19):

> Who'll not say 'madman, **barbarian**!' to me? (my emphasis)

Here, Ovid switches the roles, and suggests that the very act of speaking about pulling at and undoing a woman's hair is an act that belongs to 'barbarians'. Moreover, Pandey (2018: 467) notes that 'by equating an urban woman's plight with that of foreign victims, the narrator's self-ironic "triumph" exposes the possibility that the men who abuse women are the real savages within, and atop, the Roman social hierarchy'. Ovid then proudly celebrates his assault and provides a visual analogy of the *puella* as a captive similar to those displayed in art, depicted with gestures of mourning, loose hair, and an exposed breast or shoulder (Turpin, 2016). Ovid's mistress here is his captive, and captives have dishevelled hair (*Amores* 1.7, lines 35–40):

> She'll go ahead, sad dishevelled captive,
> all pale, except for her wounded cheeks.

The wound the poet speaks of is one that he gave her with his fingernails, further explained in line 50. However, before that, he says that if his blind anger were to make her his prey, would it not have been better to shout at her or shamefully tear her tunic from neck to waist, a 'better' experience that he could have provided her with (*Amores* 1.7, lines 43–50):

> Lastly, if I had to act like a swollen torrent,
> And my blind anger make her my prey,
> Wouldn't it have been enough to shout at the frightened girl,
> Or thunder away with harsh threats,

> Or shamefully tear her tunic from throat to waist?
> Only her waistband would have felt my strength.

Instead of this 'better' experience, the mistress endured something worse; Ovid pulled her hair and, in doing so, cut her face with his fingernails (*Amores* 1.7, lines 49–52). Ovid ultimately wanted sex, and the way he went about getting it was through threats and actual acts of physical assault (Turpin, 2016).

This act of violence reminds us of the treatment of captive women during war, where the 'ravaging forces would tear off the garments and adornments of female captives with such force that even the act of stripping caused injuries' (Gaca, 2014: 306). Additionally, to justify the violence towards his mistress, 'the amator creates "beautiful" images of defenceless women who are rescued and subjugated by men' (Greene, 1999: 414). Ovid's description of his mistress standing there with a pale and bleeding face (*Amores* 1.7, lines 49–52) is one of shock and horror and a physical reaction that captive women would have experienced during the time of their capture and rape, albeit at a much more severe level. If we believe Ovid's varying degree of sexual assault associated with gestures, hair-pulling being a graver offence than tunic ripping, the captive women in these art pieces could, therefore, reflect a certain degree of assault the soldier deemed appropriate for his victim (discussed further in Section 6.2). It can be argued that the visual artist created beautiful, erotic images of the captured and subjugated woman to accompany the literature circulating in Rome during the first century AD.

In Katherine De Boer's analysis of the whole of Ovid's *Amores*, which contains a cast of enslaved people whom the poet physically assaults, she concludes that 'the poet of the *Amores* repeatedly juxtaposes the brutalised bodies of slaves with the body of the elegiac beloved in order to expose her social inferiority and consequent physical vulnerability' (2010: 1). Therefore, Ovid's *Amores* 1.7 perfectly exemplifies the Roman social interconnectedness with sexual assault and hair. To pull a woman's hair was to equate her with the treatment of barbarian captives. It exposes and puts on prominent display the sexual vulnerability necessary to submit captive women. It reinforces a social understanding of how captive women deserve to be treated as socially inferior women. In Roman art, the motif of hair-pulling can serve to emphasize the colonization of the captive female body to the male observer, as highlighted by Greene (1999: 409), while also tapping into the erotic undertones associated with loose, dishevelled and pulled hair.

As is described in *Amores* 1.7 and evident on the Gemma Augustea and, as we shall see, on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, the motif of the ripped tunic and hair-pulling can carry a similar meaning of degradation and eroticism. If Ovid's *puella* were of slave status and a previous war captive, she would have been considered deserving of this violent treatment by Ovid. If she were a free woman, to treat her like a captive woman appealed to the Roman masculine conquest of women's bodies and reflected the discourse of rape and marriage (discussed in Section 2.4.). Having established how hair and hair-pulling functioned and was

eroticised in Roman society during the first and second centuries AD, we are in a position to examine the wartime tactics used in the conflict that the Gemma Augustea commemorates and how the motif of hair-pulling, used for the first time on the cameo, is a reflection of wartime anxieties that are informative of Roman retaliation.

<u>4.4. The Gemma Augustea, Roman Wartime Tactics, and Hair-Pulling</u>

The chariot, driven by Victory as a female personification, likely commemorates Tiberius' AD 7 triumph following his conquests in Illyricum, spanning Dalmatia in the south to Pannonia in the north. This places the cameo's origin between AD 12 and 14 (Smith 2021: 86). The piece symbolises Tiberius' triumphs over the Illyrians, including his AD 9 entry into Rome after quelling an Illyrian uprising prior to his campaigns in Germania and his second triumph in AD 12 celebrating the revolt's suppression (Kleiner, 1992). Given that the cameo lauds Tiberius' success in suppressing rebellions, it strongly suggests that the warfare he conducted was punitive in nature (refer to Table 5).

The Illyrian revolt began in AD 6 due to the frustration of the Breuci over Roman occupation (Powell, 2018: 136). Bato, the chief of the Breuci, led his people to attack the Roman town of Sirmium (Dio, *Roman History* 55.29.3) and overpowered the Roman citizens and massacred traders and veterans stationed in the region (Powell, 2018: 136; Velleius Paterculus, *Roman History* 2.110.6). The Romans struck back in retaliation, but this did not slow Bato and his people down; in fact, their resistance encouraged others who were dissatisfied with Rome to join Bato's ranks (Powell, 2018: 136).

Additionally, Bato attacked two more Roman settlements in the area, which led to Augustus' fear that he could lose Illyricum in his collection of provinces. Velleius Paterculus, in his *Roman History* (2.110.6), describes the emperor's fear: 'Such a panic did this war inspire that even the courage of Caesar Augustus, rendered steady and firm by experience in so many wars, was shaken with fear.' In the third year of fighting, Augustus wanted to quell the revolt. He sent Germanicus (the son of Drusus) to join Tiberius and other generals. Germanicus attacked the Illyrian settlement of Splanaum (Splonum) on the Dalmatian side of the Dinaric Alps, which was the centre of mining for precious metals in Illyricum (Powell, 2018: 144). In AD 8, Germanicus besieged the citadel's fortifications and 'the Roman troops exacted a terrible revenge' (Powell, 2018: 144). There continued to be bloodshed on both sides, and in AD 9, Germanicus set out to punish the rest of the rebels in Illyricum by laying siege to a critical stronghold called Arduba (Velleius Paterculus, *Roman History* 2.110). Dio (*Roman History* 56.15.2–3) describes the horrors faced by the women at Arduba:

> But the deserters fell into a dispute with the inhabitants, because the latter were anxious for peace, and came to blows with them. They were assisted by the women in the fort, for these, contrary to the decision of the men, craved liberty and were ready to suffer any fate whatever rather than servitude. Accordingly, a fierce struggle ensued, and the deserters were worsted

and surrendered, though some of them made their escape; but the women, catching up their children, either threw themselves into the flames or hurled themselves into the river below.

Dio (*Roman History* 56.15.2–3) notes that the women wanted freedom and were ready to suffer any fate other than enslavement to the Romans to get it. It is likely that some of these women suffered wartime rape. Other fortifications held by the rebels surrendered after learning of the siege of Arduba (Powell, 2018: 149). The Illyrians had been subdued and the revolt successfully quelled. This response was motivated by punitive retaliation. The desire to exact revenge on the Illyrians could be caused by two things: 1) many lives were lost in the Roman settlements attacked by Bato; 2) the ongoing conflict with Bato and his people took over three years, which gave Augustus great anxiety and would have given the Roman commanders and soldiers time to harbour feelings of vengeance. Therefore, force had to be used, as evidenced above. According to Gaca (2013: 84), retaliatory-motivated warfare produces 'aggressive military action motivated by a genuine grievance against the opposing group'. This retaliation is provoked by the conquered group who angered the Romans by aiding Roman enemies militarily, failing to surrender, or showing signs of resistance to Roman administrative and military occupation, all of which the Illyrians did. This situation would set the scene for the gang rape of women to gain payback (Gaca, 2013: 87). Moreover, punitive warfare is sexual and can have a mix of predatory and parasitic methods (Table 5).

During the Illyrian revolt, it is most likely that the women and girls were hunted at all stages of the conflict during break-out periods, a time when soldiers were not engaged in combat and had contact with the civilians (Section 3.7.1.8.). No doubt, when looking at the scenes on the Gemma Augustea, memories and stories from this battle would have surfaced among its owner and onlookers. In addition to the growing anxiety of Augustus and Germanicus to quell the rebellion, the siege of Splanaum would have brought with it further wartime anxieties. As discussed in Section 3.7.1.8., siege warfare can add to the pressures of Roman embarrassment if the Roman army is seen as failing. This could put more pressure on the soldiers to express their masculinity through acts of rape to foster the subjugation and humiliation of the Illyrians. The 'terrible revenge' exacted by Germanicus's troops (Powell, 2018: 144) would have sent a strong message to the Illyrians and to other people groups in the area not to revolt against Rome, risking the rape and death of their women. As Gaca (2013: 85) suitably states, 'the lust for vengeance is no skimpy pretext to justify predatory or parasitic aggression against outsiders, but an impassioned force that burns from hatred and anger and fuels these emotions further'.

The realities of this successful quelling of the Illyrian revolt would have included punitive wartime rapes and were expressed through the hair-pulling scene in the bottom register of the Gemma Augustea. The action of hair-pulling can indicate the level of punitive force needed to quell the rebellion. If Augustus was as concerned about the revolt's outcome as suggested by Velleius Paterculus (*Roman History* 2.110.6), especially when compounded by the embarrassing loss of Varus and his legions around 9 BC, emphasising his dominance over the Illyrians in artistic depictions would have been paramount. Such representations would

serve to reassure fellow politicians of Rome's continued control and imperium over the known world. Furthermore, this scene of hair-pulling could carry with it erotic tones that would feed into the possessive male gaze. By pulling the hair away from her body, it allows the male gaze to focus on, possess, and participate in the erotic connotations that dishevelled and pulled hair carry (Mulvey, 1975; Koloski-Ostrow, 1997). The negative sexual connotations that the unbound hair of women in Roman society carry (Cosgrove, 2005: 79) can easily be quelled by forcefully taking the captive woman's hair by hand, thereby reducing the female threat to male virtue. The hair-pulling motif makes another appearance in the second century AD on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, as will be discussed in the next section.

4.5. The Column of Marcus Aurelius, Wartime Tactics, and Hair-Pulling

After the death of Marcus Aurelius in AD 180, the Column of Marcus Aurelius was erected by his son Commodus on the Campus Martius in Rome in clear view of the Via Flaminia. It depicts the campaigns between the victorious emperor and the Germanic tribes, the Marcomanni and a confederation of Quadi, Vandals, and Sarmatians (Plate 28) (Dillon, 2006: 245; Beckmann, 2011: 54). Marcus Aurelius was at war with the tribes of Germany for 14 years (AD 166–180), and it was split into two parts in the historical narrative: the First Marcomannic War in AD 166–170 and the Second Marcomannic War in AD 178–180. The different battles are separated on the column. Beckmann interprets the presence of often extreme violence against barbarians in the scenes as potent (2011: 200):

> not because Romans felt frightened and in need of sending a message of superiority to their enemies; rather, the violence of the frieze reflected the actual violence of the war it depicted, a violence whose necessity was dictated – in Roman eyes – by the tradition of hard dealing with rebels.

In addition to violence being a necessity of dealing with rebels, the violence of hair-pulling specifically reflects the contemporary social and gendered anxieties, explored further below. The first battle on the lower half of the Column comprises Scenes 1–56, and the second battle on the upper half contains the remaining Scenes. The number of women depicted in the section dedicated to the first battle is limited to one. In the second battle, 11 women are depicted as being assaulted or herded by Roman soldiers. The increased depiction of attacked women in the second battle could likely signify the Romans' initial expansionist warfare approach during the first battle, which subsequently shifted towards more punitive and predatory tactics during the second battle once expansionist goals were thwarted (discussed further below). I argue that the women were depicted as targets of the frustrated Roman troops because of the Roman failures experienced in the first battle, combined with the social stresses aggravated in Roman society due to the spread of the devastating plague in Rome and the empire.

In Pirson's study of figure types on the Column of Marcus Aurelius (1996), he found that barbarian women make up 5% of the figures depicted. Overall, 5% of the total scenes on the column are dedicated to the violence against captive women. This number appears

significant, since women were not participants in the military sphere unless they were foreign and taken captive. The captive women lack male protection, are witnesses to brutal executions, and when seen fleeing, are caught by the hair and forcibly restrained to be taken captive (Scene 20, Plate 29; Scenes 97–98, Plate 32; Scenes 104–105, Plate 34). The majority of the women wear a ripped tunic that reveals their bare shoulder and/or breast, have dishevelled hair, and some are pulled by their hair, or a combination of all of the above (see Figure 7; Scenes 20, 73, 97, 98, 102, 104–105, Plates 29, 30, 32, 33, 34). Two specific women display all three gestures suggestive of sexual assault (Scene 20, Plate 29; Scenes 104–105, Plate 34). One of these women clings to her child's arm, seemingly trying to shield the child, even as a soldier pulls her away by her hair. At this juncture, she is treated as disposable and pulled by her hair akin to the poor treatment of an animal. This instance of hair-pulling serves as an act of dehumanisation, visually reducing the captive woman from a person to mere chattel. The sequence of hair-pulling in the depiction is challenging to determine, leaving the interpretation open to the viewer.

The motivations behind Marcus's assault on the Germanic tribes are multifaceted. Dio's fragmented account and the convoluted *Historia Augusta* biography of Marcus provide limited insight into the actual war tactics employed or detailed descriptions of specific battles (Birley 2013: 266). However, applying the Wartime Rape Theory may offer clarity, suggesting probable outcomes for women affected by these attacks. However, amidst this uncertainty, there are clear and definitive details available regarding the factors that compelled Marcus to initiate a punitive campaign against the Marcomanni, Quadi, and Iazyges tribes. The *Historia Augusta* author stated that the Marcomannic Wars should be called a 'war of many nations (22.7) … and all the peoples from beyond the Rhine and Danube conspired against Rome' (22.1). Just before war with the Germanic tribes, Marcus was at war with Parthia and sent troops home to Rome. The troops, unfortunately, brought more than war booty from the east: the plague (Kovács, 2008: 212). The disease had a devastating effect on the Roman people and social stability. Because of the plague, Marcus was delayed leaving Rome to the front lines. When his troops finally arrived in the city of Aquileia (north-east Italy) and set up winter camp with the attack planned for spring, the plague broke out in the camp, causing heavy losses and a financial crisis that forced Marcus to auction off his palace treasures rather than choosing to raise new taxes (Birley, 2013: 222). In AD 168, Marcus arrived in Pannonia at the same time the Germanic peoples threatened war with Rome unless they were let into the Empire. Additionally, in AD 170, two eastern Germanic peoples invaded Italy for the first time in 300 years. The tribes did not reach Rome, but this convinced the Roman people that the threat from the frontier was now at their doorstep (Birley, 2013: 222).

The second Marcomannic war broke out, and the *Historia Augusta* says that the plan for attacking and invading Germanic territory was still, or once again, to annex new provinces (*Marcus* 27.10). A medallion of Marcus and his son Commodus labels them as *propagatores imperii*, or 'extenders of the Empire' (Birley, 2013). However, this inscription could also be

translated as 'for those who enrich the Empire' (Kovács, 2008: 257). Kovács (2008: 158, 247) explicitly states that these wars with the Germanic peoples were not wars of conquest to annex new provinces, but were designed to destroy the enemy for the following reasons: 1) evidence of the foreign policy at the time was to divide the enemy, not to annex them; 2) occupation was not economically viable since Rome was already economically ruined from the Parthain war and the plague. Therefore, the latter translation of the inscription on the medallion would suggest expansion was the initial goal of Marcus Aurelius. While the official stance in Rome continued to champion expansion as the paramount goal—a sentiment reinforced by the (Historia Augusta, 27.10) and the medallion discussed above. The writers of the *Historia Augusta* (*Marcus* 24.5) claimed that after the Quadi and Marcomanni signed a treaty with Rome in AD 174, Marcus planned to create a new province named 'Marcomannia and likewise Sarmantia, and he would have done so had not Avidius Cassius just then raised a rebellion in the East'. Whether it was the fault of Cassius or the plague from Parthia, engaging the Germanic tribes shifted from broad territorial expansion and more about retribution for their transgressions into Italy and attacks on Roman citizens.

During the Second Marcomannic War, Dio states that Marcus desired to punish the Marcomanni, Quadi, and the Sarmatian Iazyges (*Roman History* 72.7, 8, 13). Dio elucidates this punishment further (*Roman History* 20.1-2):

> The Quadi, accordingly, being unwilling to endure the forts built to keep watch over them, attempted to migrate in a body to the land of the Semnones. But Antoninus learned beforehand of their intention and by barring the roads prevented their departure. This showed that he desired, not to acquire their territory, but to punish the men themselves.

Punitive and predatory modes of warfare occurred once expansionist goals were no longer viable. Marcus Aurelius lost the battle that led to the reported loss of 20,000 men (Birley, 2013). The Marcomanni-Quadi troops breached the Italian border for the first time in 300 years, besieged Aquileia, and destroyed the town of Opitergium (Kovács, 2008: 181). These reasons could root punitive means in the Roman army, much like during Augustus's quelling of the Illyrian revolt. The presence of Roman forts in the Germanic territory attests to predatory war tactics.

Aerial photography has now revealed 34 known temporary Roman forts in the Moravian part of northern Austria, primarily along the Thaya River, the region of the Quadi and Sarmatians (Kovács, 2008: 247). Additionally, stamped tiles and stone buildings with perimeter walls were found relating to the army. This is interesting since the column has hardly any scenes of building (Pirson, 1996: 140). Dio (Roman History 72.20.1) provides further insight into these Roman forts:

> With regards to the Quadi and the Marcomanni, who sent envoys: the twenty
> thousand soldiers that were stationed in forts among each of these tribes would
> not allow them to pasture their flocks or till the soil or do anything else in
> security, but kept receiving many deserters from the enemy's ranks and captives

of their own; yet the soldiers themselves were enduring no great hardships,
inasmuch as they had baths and all the necessities of life in abundance.

The Mušov fortress in southern Moravia, with its defensive perimeter encompassing roughly forty hectares, showcases indications of long-term military intent (Birley, 2013: 229). Excavations at this fort revealed a bathhouse, hospital, commander's quarters, and workshops primarily purposed for wartime (Komoróczy, 2008: 437). The infrastructure hints at prolonged occupation, not merely temporary use (Komoróczy, 2008:404). Stratigraphic analysis dates the fort between AD 172-180, bridging the First and concluding the Second Marcomannic War (Komoróczy 2008: 437). An AD 172-dated coin features an *adlucatio*, symbolic of a campaign's inception, and by that year's end, Marcus had adopted the title Germanicus (Birley 2013: 226). Nevertheless, the period wasn't devoid of challenges; one noted clash saw the Marcomanni triumphing over Marcus Vindex, the Roman prefect (Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 72.3.5). Additionally, by AD 175, Cassius' Parthian revolt prompted his emperor proclamation, compelling Marcus to divert attention from the Germanic campaign. The fort might have been conceptualised during intentions of annexing a fresh province, and it likely persisted till the Second Marcomannic War's culmination in AD 180. However, post-war archaeological remnants are sparse, casting doubts on any extended occupation. While Birley (2013: 229) views such forts as emergent provincial markers, an eight-year occupation seems brief for any provincial formation. A more plausible theory is that the Mušov fort and its associated establishments were strategically positioned as a launching pad for assaults and a sanctuary for tactical withdrawals. Building these structures would have kept soldiers engaged, warding off potential restlessness that might lead to revolts. Josephus' writings in *Jewish Wars* validate this as a practiced Roman military strategy (3.76-78):

> The Roman never lay themselves open to a surprise attack; for, whatever hostile
> territory they may invade, they engage in no battle until they have fortified their
> camp. This camp is not erected at random or unevenly; they do not all work at
> once or in disorderly parties; if the ground is uneven, it is first leveled, a site for
> the camp is then measured out in the form of a square. For this purpose the army
> is accompanied by a multitude of workmen and of tools for building

Alternatively, these forts and temporary camps can be interpreted as a form of parasitic and predatory warfare. It is reasonable to assume that the creation of many temporary forts along the Thaya River and across the Danube in the case of Mušov brought many men willing and able to take advantage of the local population's women (Discussed further in chapter 6).

In the context of expansionist ambitions driven by predatory and punitive strategies, the acquisition of women emerges as a nuanced objective, taking on either a primary or secondary role. Within the chaos of battle, women and girls find themselves in the crosshairs, pursued either immediately or subsequent to other targets (Table 5). They face threats of rape, subjugation, enslavement, and death. Such brutal tactics predominantly impact rural

communities with minimal fortifications, leaving the residents of these communities vulnerable and in some cases, leading them to resort to desperate measures like suicide out of fear of violent rape, abuse, and harassment (discussed in Section 3.7.1.8.). Archaeological evidence suggests that the pre-conquest communities in this region of the Marcomanni, Quadi, and Sarmatian Iazyges consisted of unfortified agrarian settlements with few fortified settlements, or *oppida* (Carrol 2001: 20-25). Moreover, with punitive war tactics, Germanic women would likely have been publicly humiliated in the form of gang rape, which could end in death. The women also have been made to suffer beatings and harassment (see Table 5). These reasons could account for the prominent level of sexually charged violence against women in the later scenes on the column.

While only a few women on the column are portrayed with their hair being pulled, many have hanging garments revealing a bare shoulder. Uzzi (2005: 140) infers that disordered hair might symbolise immorality, potentially hinting at the illegitimacy of offspring born from such encounters. If messy hair is a sign of rape and denotes immorality, culminating in illegitimate children, it bolsters the case for these women being subjected to genocidal rape. Furthermore, due to the significant toll the Antonine plague had on Roman legionary forces, auxiliary soldiers assisting Marcus Aurelius against the Germanic tribes often came from those very tribes (Birley, 2013). This dynamic—where members of one Germanic tribe might assault women from the same or other Germanic tribes—fits the mold of genocidal rape.

It is not a coincidence that the hair-pulling motif is only found in the iconography of conquered Germanic peoples. Bartman (2001: 14) notes an explicit link between the commodification of hair and Roman power. Moreover, hair is connected, even now, with the expression of ethnicity. In modern London, a study conducted on the types of trafficked women preferred and purchased by men found that men highly preferred women of a specific ethnic or racial background; they sought the 'exotic other' (Turner, 2016; Coy et al., 2007). Turner (2016: 198) notes that this interest intertwines gender and ethnicity with 'male demand for sexual access to the bodies of female strangers', which derives 'from a sense of "male privilege" that corresponds with the power vested in men'. Moreover, Bartman (2001: 14) notes that blonde hair of the Germans was a spoil of war. This is further corroborated in Ovid (*Amores* 1.14.45–46). This type of hair is known as *captivos crines* (captured hair). It is clear that the two hair colours that the Germanic women are famous for in ancient literature, red or auburn and blonde, were in demand among the Roman elite household, which placed a high value on these women and their hair in the slave market economy (Lapatin, 2015). Even Messalina, the emperor Claudius's third wife, had a blonde wig (Juvenal, *Satires* 6.120) that she no doubt 'purchased' from the head of a captive woman.

4.6. Conclusion

Using the refined Wartime Rape Theory (Table 5), this chapter offers enhanced contextualisation for the representation of captive women on the Gemma Augustea and the

Column of Marcus Aurelius. Their depictions resonate with the discussed modes of sexual warfare (Table 5). The surge of politically-motivated art during Augustus's reign stems from Rome's tumultuous shift in the latter half of the first century BC, transitioning from the Republic's collapse to a single ruling power (Zanker, 1990). This era, marked by widespread violence and killings, drove Augustus to emphasize and champion core Republican values— peace, prosperity, piety, family, humanity, and clemency—in his art. This artistic direction aimed to restore tranquility and replenish Rome's populace after two devastating civil wars. While art from this period echoed these principles, Augustus's military forces in the provinces brutally quelled revolts. The hair-pulling imagery on the Gemma Augustea mirrors the violent tactics employed against those resisting Roman rule.

Regarding prominent public monuments in Rome, none from the Augustan era depicting captive women have withstood the consequences of time. Notably, the frieze in the temple of Apollo Sosianus was not noticeably displayed nor displayed as part of a triumphal monument. Instead, it was an art piece within a sacred space, intertwining religious and martial themes, and celebrating the gods to whom Romans attributed their military successes (Kleiner, 1993: 86). The conspicuous absence of non-mythical captive women in public monuments sponsored by Augustus, during an era rich in military conflicts, is indeed noteworthy.

Gestures that subtly allude to wartime rape on the Gemma Augustea and the Column of Marcus Aurelius serve to encapsulate the Roman cultural archetype of captive women succumbing forcefully, their vulnerability and abuse exposed by the looming threat of wartime sexual assault, abuse, and enslavement. The portrayal of dishevelled and pulled hair signifies that a captive woman was both a physical object within the scene and a visual objectification for the observer. My contention is that these scenes prophesy the captive's impending fate as a commodity for sexual exploitation during enslavement. The act of forcefully pulling the captive's hair and their tunic hanging open is laden with symbolism, evoking the sexualisation, violation, abuse, and subjugation of their bodies, laying bare their vulnerability to enslavement. Simultaneously, it is a means of subduing the unsettling sexual anxieties that could unsettle the established Roman patriarchal male-dominated hierarchy. These Roman conflicts were propelled by vengeance, and the weaponising of wartime rape and other sexual and non-sexual abuses stood as a potent method of retributive punishment against adversaries. Additionally, the recurring motif of hair-pulling might also serve to mirror the societal anxieties that men in Rome grappled with during their respective periods (discussed in Section 3.7.1.2.).

Chapter 5: The Trafficking Cycle of the Captive Barbarian Woman in Roman Art in Italy

5.1. Introduction

Wars, both historically and in contemporary times, create an environment ripe for the sexual exploitation, abuse, and trafficking of vulnerable individuals (Wölte, 2004). Currently, in the ongoing conflict in Ukraine, sex traffickers target women trying to escape the turmoil (Bunkall, 2022). Some Russian soldiers even warn Ukrainian women of the danger, advising them to hide from potential rape by certain military units (Myroniuk, 2022); the mother of a 25-year-old daughter overheard a Russian soldier tell her husband, 'Hide the girls' (Myroniuk, 2022). This dynamic resonates with the treatment of captive women during the early to mid imperial Roman era. Upon capture, these barbarian women were stripped of their legal protections. Under Roman dominion, their identity shifted from individuals to mere commodities (Van den Berg, 2016). This transformation is vividly illustrated through the depiction of captive women in conquest iconography. The representations of these women in conquest imagery are typically confined to one of three stages of trafficking: 1) capture; 2) transport; and 3) display as trophy/triumph. Beyond the overarching male gaze, the portrayal of captive women in Roman art reinforced, validated and perpetuated the Roman patriarchal order (Ramsby and Severy-Hoven, 2007).

In this chapter, I outline the dress of the captive women on the Column of Marcus Aurelius and the Antonine Battle Sarcophagi to establish background information on these motifs examined further in subsequent sections. I then outline the visual evidence of capture scenes, the first step in the trafficking process, on the Gemma Augustea, the Column of Marcus Aurelius and the Antonine battle sarcophagi. Additionally, I will explore how the gesture of clemency on Antonine battle sarcophagi was used as a form of submission. Finally, I will outline the scenes that depict transport, trophy, and triumph display as the last steps in the trafficking of captive women.

5.2. Identifying Noble Captives

Dillon (2006: 249) identifies three garment types that allow us to recognise elite Germanic women in Scenes 104–105 (Plate 34) on the Column of Marcus Aurelius: a long sleeve under tunic, a short-sleeved over-tunic belted twice, and a mantle draped diagonally across the back. Fillets (*vittae*), thin bands worn around the head and usually reserved for Roman matrons, further suggest that these women represent members of a higher class (Olson, 2008: 36–38). However, hardly any Roman matrons in the art are seen wearing a fillet, suggesting that the fillet of a matron was ideal and not a constant reality (Olson, 2008: 36–38). The depiction of Germanic captive women likely mirrors the Roman artists' familiarity with the attire and symbols of Roman noblewomen. In Scenes 104–105 of the column, some captive women in the backdrop have unbound hair, accentuated with a fillet, with one woman's tunic revealing a bare shoulder. In contrast, the forefront presents two captive

women, seemingly of nobility, subjected to rough treatment by Roman soldiers. One soldier pulls at a woman's hair as she desperately pleads for mercy with an uplifted right hand. Adjacently, another soldier drags a Germanic woman by her right wrist, with her mirroring the same imploring gesture of her counterpart. This portrayal juxtaposes noblewomen, suggesting sexual assault, alongside other women who do not bear such indicators. It is unknown whether these women represent the status of hostages in this scene (Section 1.3.). As Dillon rightly notes, 'Bare shoulders, beautiful flowing drapery, and long loose hair give many of these figures an erotic charge' (2006: 258). This erotic charge would not have been lost on a Roman audience. Moreover, depicting the Germanic woman in a sexualised manner was a conscious choice that reflects the sexualisation and abuse of her body in real life.

Noble Germanic women are depicted on six marble sarcophagi termed the 'trophy series' (Biénkowski, 1908: 43; Brilliant, 1963: 186; Rivière, 2008: 166–170; Ferris, 2000). In some instances, they are depicted with an infant or toddler. Their figures are on a larger scale than non-noble captive women (as indicated by their casual short and long tunics) and take more space on the sarcophagus than the figures in the middle depicted in a chaotic battle. Their prominence on the sarcophagus in this way must represent a group of nobles whose status was of use in the Marcomannic Wars. Moreover, both the man and woman are dressed in high-quality clothing. The woman in this sarcophagi series wears a long tunic that covers the tops of her feet, similar to how Roman matrons are depicted to represent their chastity (Olson, 2008). They stand in front of a *tropaeum*, indicating their status as wartime booty and representing the subjugation of an entire people (see Section 5.5.2).

The Portonaccio sarcophagus in Rome, dating to ca. AD 180–190 (Rivière, 2008: 170; Plate 6), portrays two pairs of noblemen and women, presumably married. The hair of the male is tied in a knot, attributed to the Suebian tribe. The sarcophagus was made for an Antonine general victorious in battles in the German wars, found on the Via Tiburtina in Rome, and is one of the most stunning pieces of artistic work with high relief figures reaching out to the viewer (Brilliant, 1963: 156). The reliefs on the body of the sarcophagus depict the military victories of the Roman male owner. At the same time, the lid tells the story of his personal life and clemency granted towards the defeated enemy (Kampen, 1981: 56; see also George, 2011, for more on Roman biographies on sarcophagi). Luisa Musso (1985) suggests that based on the depicted standards, the inhabitant of the sarcophagus may have belonged to a decorated general of senatorial descent and consul under Marcus Aurelius, A. Iulius Pompilius. However, the uncarved faces atop the sarcophagus lid meant to represent those interred in the sarcophagus suggest that this detailed sarcophagus might not yet have been commissioned or purchased for a specific decorated general, such as A. Iulius Pompilius. Alternatively, the sudden death of A.Iulius Pompilius might have left no time to incorporate his likeness into the portrait.

The woman on the left side of the sarcophagus wears a long-sleeved tunic and a decorative belt under a cloak with a fringe similar to the one her husband wears. She wears a band on her loose hair flowing onto her left shoulder. She rests her right hand loosely on her body; her left arm is held at her waist. She is fully clothed. The woman on the right side of the sarcophagus wears a similar costume but with short sleeves and no cloak. However, she clasps her lowered hands together, and her tunic has been pulled down to reveal her right breast. Unlike her counterpart, she wears a necklace.

Based on gestures, these two women might be representative of two tactics used against the Germanic tribes during the Marcomannic Wars. The woman on the left, not displaying gestures that suggest wartime rape and abuse, could possibly symbolize those groups who opted for peaceful diplomatic negotiations (Birley, 2013). This notion of peaceful negotiation aligns with the Roman male virtue of clemency. Consequently, the portrayal of this woman further reinforces the virtue of clemency, more closely tied to the virtue than the clemency scene depicted on the lid (discussed further in Section 5.4.1).

On the other hand, the woman on the right, exhibiting gestures implying wartime rape and abuse, might embody the concept of punitive force that was employed in other instances of the Marcomannic Wars to suppress the Germanic adversaries (as discussed in Section 4.5.) As such, her portrayal stands as representative of the formidable and just adversary.

The shields behind each couple on the *tropaeum* are different in style and shape, corroborating the interpretation that these two pairs represent different Germanic tribes. Moreover, the cultural markers identifying to which tribe the barbarian woman belongs can be limited due to her generic clothing, adornments, and hairstyle. Poor preservation of the relief might hinder her identification. Therefore, the woman's ethnic identity can rely upon the male and his *habitus*. In the Portonaccio sarcophagus, the male's hairstyle identifies the tribe to which his wife also belongs.

On the Palermo sarcophagus (Plate 7), dating to ca. AD 180, two noble captive couples bordering the battle scene can be identified as Gauls (Brilliant, 1963: 186). The woman on the left is fully clothed, and the woman on the right has her tunic pulled down to reveal her left breast. These women on the Palermo sarcophagus closely resemble the two women on the Portonaccio, with similar clothing, and both women on the right have their left breast exposed. The Villa Borghese sarcophagus (Plate 8), dating to ca. AD 190–210, portrays two fully clothed noble female captives who, I would argue, are German, as the clothing on both women is almost identical to those on the Portonaccio sarcophagus (see Brilliant, 1963, and Picard, 1957, for Gallic identification argument).

The Large Doria Pamphilj sarcophagus (ca. AD 190–200; Plate 10) depicts two pairs of noble Gallic barbarians on each side of the sarcophagus (Biénkowski, 1908: 43). The woman on the left side of the sarcophagus holds her infant while breastfeeding, and the woman on the right

side has her tunic pulled by a standing male toddler. Similarly, the Palazzo Giustiniani (Plate 9) fragment, dating to the end of the second century AD, depicts a pair of presumably married noble barbarians with the woman holding and breastfeeding her infant (Biénkowski, 1908: 43). The Large Campo Santo Pisa sarcophagus (ca. AD 180; Plate 11) on the left side depicts a fully clothed standing barbarian woman (Rodenwaldt, 1935). However, her male counterpart is crouching. On the right side stands a male barbarian, but the artistic female figure is all but destroyed. While the right side of the sarcophagus has not survived, it can be presumed, based on this series of sarcophagi, that there was another married pair of noble barbarians and possibly a child. The inclusion of children in this motif series might be driven by pathos, as well as the concept of representing generational conquest.

Sarcophagi from the Antonine period (AD 138–193) reflect a transformative era in Roman art, often seen as an artistic means of self-promotion (Brilliant, 1963: 160). The motif of captive noblewomen without children, as seen on the Portonaccio, Palermo, and Villa Borghese sarcophagi, embodies two prevailing Roman military virtues: clemency, manifested through diplomacy, and the conduct of a 'Just War'—a necessity to avert religious impurity and divine displeasure (Livy, *Roman History* 9.1.10; Cicero *On Duties* 9.1-3). These art pieces also suggest their patrons' desire to project themselves as influential figures in society who upheld the core Roman male virtues and, using their private art to convey power and prestige to onlookers.

5.3. Gendered Boundaries

Drawing on Kampen's work, images of women in Roman art act to subordinate and restrict women to a specific boundary, highlighting men and manliness and clarifying and enhancing male power, 'providing the edges against which Roman manliness can be defined' (1995: 46). This gendered restriction is evident in six pieces in an assemblage of 20 marble battle sarcophagi from Rome that were explicitly designed as funerary containers for victorious, elite Roman generals during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (Borg, 2019: 49): the Portonaccio sarcophagus, the Palermo sarcophagus, the Villa Borghese sarcophagus, the Doria Pamphilj sarcophagus, the large Palazzo Giustiniani sarcophagus, and the Vatican (Clemency) Battle sarcophagus (Rivière, 2008: 166–170; Brilliant, 1963: 186; Biénkowski, 1908: 43; Ferris, 2000). This section will explore the barbarian women on the Antonine battle sarcophagi in the context of gendered boundaries.

Sheila Dillon (2006: 246) noted that barbarian women occupied and defined the borders or edges of scenes on the Column of Trajan. Dillon concluded that making the women spectators of events in scenes ensures that they stay and act in the feminine and passive roles. In these scenes, the Dacian civilian women are not involved in altercations with a Roman soldier or unaccompanied by a Dacian male. This constant male presence keeps the Dacian civilian women placed firmly in their boundaries. In placing the women in this way, they act as

spectators to male-dominated activities. This placement of women on the borders and edges of scenes is also employed on the Antonine marble battle sarcophagi.

A battle rages in the middle of the long side of the Portonaccio sarcophagus. The two noble Germanic women frame the battle scene on either end of the sarcophagus and are standing on the inside of their husbands (Plates 12 and 13). By placing the figures in this way, the women are under the control of male power. The male and female barbarian couple on the corners of the sarcophagus provide an edge to the displayed Roman manliness, as Kampen (1995) implies, while the women are being controlled by this manliness. On the lid of the sarcophagus, a non-noble Germanic woman and her child frame the far right side, juxtaposed with the Roman matron on the far left (Plate 14). This purposeful positioning of the non-noble captive woman and the Roman matron allows both women to enhance male power by framing the biographical scene of the life of the general. Their juxtaposition in Roman family life was put on prominent display here on the lid. Moreover, the Palermo (Plate 7), Villa Borghese (Plate 8), and the Large Campo Santo Pisa (Plate 11) sarcophagi are similar in style to the Portonaccio sarcophagus. These sarcophagi depict two northern non-Roman noble women that frame the battle scene, each placed on the inside of her husband to reassure that she frames the acts of manliness while simultaneously being cognisant of its control.

The cultural markers that identify the barbarian woman's tribe are limited because of her generic barbarian clothing, adornments, and hairstyle, or due to poor preservation of the reliefs. On the Portonaccio sarcophagus, the male's hairstyle on the right side of the sarcophagus identifies his and his wife's ethnic origin as members of the Suebi; his hair is also tied in a knot, the so-called Suebian knot (Carroll, 2001, 2015). Identification markers on the female that are less clear force us to rely on the more intricate detail put into the male and his *habitus* by the artist, further establishing her confinement and acting as a vehicle to promote and define 'manliness' and identity, as Kampen (1995) suggests.

The Doria Pamphilj and the large Palazzo Giustiniani sarcophagi (Biénkowski, 1908: 43) are the only two examples of women who act as gendered borders with a child. The women are seen breastfeeding with one breast out and on display. A bare breast does not always have sexual connotations; it can also be interpreted as another form of vulnerability, as the infant relies on the mother's milk to survive. The breastfeeding woman on the Doria Pamphilj sarcophagus does not glance at her child but instead looks away with a facial expression suggesting despair at the situation she is in. Another captive pair is on the right side of this sarcophagus. The woman has a toddler that is pulling at her tunic. The infants and toddlers here represent the next generation of the captive people that will be used to ensure the future subjugation of the captive group (Kampen, 2009). Therefore, the reproductivity of the noble captive on these sarcophagi is subordinated, restricted, and defined by the male and his manliness.

Apart from the non-noble captive woman on the lid of the Portonaccio sarcophagus, all other women on the sarcophagi are depicted in a standing pose. In addition to being featured on these sarcophagi, the image of a *tropaeum* (trophy) with a male and female barbarian captive is a stock image that features on other monuments and cameos, like that of the temple of Apollo Sosianus (Plate 15) and the Gemma Augustea (Plate 27) (discussed further as part of the trafficking cycle in Chapter 5.5.2). However, most images depict the defeated barbarian as sitting or kneeling against the trophy, as on the *Judaea Capta* commemorative coins issued by Vespasian in celebration of his son Titus's successful capturing of Judaea and the destruction of the Second Jewish Temple in AD 70 during the First Jewish Revolt (Plate 2). In the case of the six Antonine battle sarcophagi discussed here, social class distinguishes the gesture of sitting or standing, standing being reserved for the noble barbarian women. While being restricted to a specific boundary and controlled by manliness, the gesture of standing affords the elite barbarian woman more agency in this restricted boundary than the downtrodden local village woman on the lid of the Portonaccio sarcophagus (Plate 6).

Making these women borders to scenes of male-dominated actions removes them from the scenes of chaotic battles and crowds of people to be singled out and visible to the male gaze. Moreover, these gendered borders reinforce the social hierarchy of noble captive women. Now that these women have been successfully subdued and acculturated to Roman society or are on the edge of said acculturation, as indicated by the lack of sexual assault and abuse gestures afforded to them, they are put in their rightful place in Roman society. This social position is reinforced in their positioning on the battle sarcophagi. From the time of Trajan's Column (AD 113) to the Antonine battle sarcophagi, this function of gendered boundaries is an artistic idea that was employed in Roman art precisely in the second century AD. Having determined how noble captive women were restricted to define and enforce Roman manliness in Roman art of the second century AD, I next explore how the barbarian woman was forced into submission to be captured in conquest iconography.

5.4. Submission and Capture

The act of submission of the non-elite female captive is evident through active gestures and dress. The ordinary female captive, who does not wear noble clothing, sits, kneels, or stands. She stretches her hands to the Roman victor to seek clemency (see the clemency series of the battle sarcophagi in Section 5.4.2. for examples). Most of these women, in addition to the gesture of kneeling in submission, have dishevelled hair, a ripped tunic, and an exposed breast. Henry (2014: 23), in studying parallel attitudes in Greek art towards the trafficking and sexual abuse of captured women at the end of war, suggested, 'the nature of subordination is clearly founded in women's sexuality'. I argue that, for Roman art, the physical gesture of submission is not only the submission of the captive woman and her family required by the victor but also the submission of her sexuality through gestures that insinuate wartime rape and abuse. The next paragraphs will explore how rape was used to submit female captives,

followed by an examination of submission and capture scenes in the Gemma Augustea, the Column of Marcus Aurelius, and the Antonine battle sarcophagi in Section 5.4.1.

Rape, I suggest, is the first step in the submission processes necessary for the trafficking of captive women Rape for the Romans, according to Reeder (2017: 373), was an expression of their victory, functionally destroying the enemy's future. In her book 'Women on the Market', Luce Irigaray (1985: 180) describes the commodity of the woman in wartime as 'divided into two irreconcilable bodies: her "natural" body and her socially valued, exchangeable body, which is a particularly mimetic expression of masculine values'. The documentation of the traffic in captive women in Rome remains elusive in the written sources. But the subordination of captive women through rape produced shame for them, this shame normalising the expendability and vulnerability of the women's bodies. Separated from their families, they become invisible chattel in the slave market. However, this apparent elusiveness in historical sources can be corrected and become visible by shining light on the iconography of conquest in Roman art. The choice to depict the capture of vanquished women and their display as war booty reinforces their status and place in Roman imperial conquest as resources of the foreign land. Set against the backdrop of conflicts characterised more by punitive measures than expansionist warfare (refer to Table 5 and Section 3.7.1.7.), the motif of captured women serves as a powerful warning to those challenging Roman authority.

Through her violation, a woman's body is turned into a weapon to destroy her community through the act of shame (Murphy, 2015). The raped woman's body then shames and humiliates the body politic, aiming the consequent trauma to spread throughout her community (Murphy, 2015: 350; Bergoffen, 2012: 41–43). The deliberate impregnation resulting from the rape of captive women could effectively ensure the continued burden of her shame and solidify her coerced submission. This form of rape, aligning with modern definitions, can be identified as genocidal rape (Mackinnon, 2007). Through the forcible impregnation of a captive woman, the ensuing child could serve as a reinforcement of her subjugation to Rome. Both she and her child would inherit servile status, despite the child also carrying Roman lineage. Drawing a more contemporary analogy, a relevant parallel can be found in the conflicts of the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s, wherein Serbian or Chetnik forces orchestrated a self-proclaimed reproductive ethnic program by means of mass rape against Bosnian Muslim women (United Nations Security Council, 1994). The UN recorded the testimonies of the victims of this atrocity: 12 women in Foca and Kalinovik counties who were taken and raped were told by the soldiers, 'Now you are going to have our children. You are going to have our little Chetniks' (United Nations Security Council, 1994, paras. 110, 123). A Serbian guard told one woman who was taken to a forest in Tesanj to be serially raped, 'Now you will have Serbian babies for the rest of your life' (United Nations Security Council, 1994, para. 223).

Unfortunately, we do not have written testimonies of the conquered women during the Roman period. There is epigraphic evidence that identifies a captive woman. At the fall of Jaffa during the First Jewish War in AD 66, according to Josephus (*Jewish Wars* 3.7.31), once all the fighting-aged men were killed, 'there were no males now remaining, besides infants, which, with the women, were carried as slaves into captivity'. Over 2000 women and children were reported taken captive. A funerary inscription possibly attests to the capture of one of these women. The funerary epitaph of Claudia Aster reads (*CIL* X):

> Claudia Aster, a captive [*captiva*] from Jerusalem. Tiberius Claudius Proculus, imperial freedman, took care (of the epitaph). I ask you, make sure through the law that you take care that no-one casts down my inscription. She lived 25 years.

Claudia, bearing a two-part Roman name typical for female citizens, is identified as a captive from Jerusalem. Likely, she was initially taken as a war captive, enslaved, and later freed by Tiberius Claudius Proculus. Upon her manumission, she would have adopted the feminine form of her benefactor's name, resulting in her two-part Latin name (Noy and Sorek, 2007). The epitaph does not provide her age at capture or sale, and the inscription cannot be dated accurately, so it is unclear if she was enslaved as an infant or an adolescent (Noy and Sorek 2007:3). It has been suggested that she was probably captured during or just before the siege of Jerusalem in AD 70 (Noy and Sorek 2007:3). She was then transported to Puteoli, the second largest slave market in Italy (Harris 1980: 126). Capturing women could take place over a longer period of time post-battle. At the fall of Jotapata (Josephus, *Jewish Wars* 3.7.36), 'on the following days they [Roman soldiers] searched the hiding places, and fell upon those that were under-ground, and in the caverns, and went thus through every age, excepting the infants and women, and of these there were gathered together as captives twelve hundred'.

A conceivable motivation behind the capture and enslavement of women during times of conflict could have been to harness them for reproductive purposes, thereby generating additional Roman slaves and enhancing the holdings of the Roman proprietor (Bradley, 1987). Cato is said to have allowed his male slaves admission to the female slave quarters (Plutarch, *Cato* 21.2), and his wife, Licinia, is said to have nursed the offspring of the slave women herself (Plutarch, *Cato* 20.3). Similarly, Appian (*Civil Wars* 1.7) states, 'At the same time the ownership of slaves brought the rich great gain from the multitude of their progeny, who increased because they were exempt from military service.' Therefore, it is not a far stretch to presume that women raped during wartime by Roman soldiers were impregnated and that some of the soldiers would have boasted about filling their wombs with an 'ethnic Roman'. Modern testimonials from women affected by the Yugoslav Wars, combined with the potential outcomes and motivations behind capturing women, shed light on the possible experiences of ancient captive women. When contextualised historically, these insights lend deeper significance to their experiences (Gaca, 2018: 312). The following section will examine scenes of capture coupled with wartime rape that were used to express a woman's shame.

5.4.1. The Portrayal of Capture

Capture scenes are all dynamic and depict many different methods of capturing women. There is only one capture scene identified in Augustan art. The scene of submitting captives in the bottom register of the Gemma Augustea falls under two trafficking cycles due to its dynamism: capture and trophy. As discussed extensively in Chapter 4.4., the scene depicts soldiers actively placing captured barbarians underneath a *tropaeum* (further discussion of the *tropaeum* motif in section 6.2.5. of this chapter). The scene of capture is in the right side of the register which depicts a soldier pulling the hair of a captive woman, pulling her by the hair to capture and place her under the tropaeum with the rest of her counterparts. This motif projects a forceful method of capture.

The Column of Marcus Aurelius provides the most dynamic capture scenes in all of conquest iconography under study. Scenes of capture on the Column of Marcus Aurelius are as follows: Scene 73 (Plate 30) depicts captive women being grouped together by soldiers; in scene 94 (Plate 35) women and animals are captured and placed into a group in the background of the scene; in scene 100 (Plate 36) a woman who shelters her son and looks back in distressed is grabbed by her back by a soldier; in scenes 97 (Plate 32) a woman standing among shrubbery has her hair pulled by a soldier; in scenes 104- 105 (Plate 34) a woman with her son clinging to her in fear is captured by a soldier who pulls at the back of her head while another captive woman opposite her is being captured by a Roman soldier who pulls her by the left wrist.

These modes of capture vary in degrees of severity, direct and indirect contact with soldiers, and in different moments of conflict- before, during, and after. They are all depicted in accompaniment of either their children, husbands, other captive women, and in the rare case of the scene on the Gemma Augustea and scene 97 of the Column of Marcus Aurelius, alone. The level of visibility is discussed in Section 6.2.3. to ascertain the impact these would have made on the Roman viewer and to identify the target audience. The subsequent section will explore how the clemency motif in the Antonine battle sarcophagi series represents an added layer of submission, contextualised within Roman male virtues that underpin the primary purpose of the sarcophagi imagery.

5.4.2. Clemency as Submission on the Antonine Battle Sarcophagi Series

The act of clemency bestows upon the military officer a deeply esteemed trait within the array of Roman male virtues. Displaying clemency is a societal expectation encompassing all facets of his life (Dowling, 2006: 2), an emulation of the triumphant emperor who serves as the embodiment of this quality. Notably, it was not until the Antonine period that clemency scenes were incorporated within the context of private funerary art, gaining popularity during the latter half of the second century (Dowling, 2006: 219). It is crucial to recognise that the depiction of clemency extended to barbarians by a Roman military figure did not originate in private funerary art; rather, these generals and elites were adopting the motif from the emperor himself. The roots of clemency imagery can be traced back to imperial state

monuments that celebrate military triumph and showcase the emperor's embodiment of male virtues, particularly evident in emperors such as Trajan and Marcus Aurelius.

The emperor's embodiment of mercy is prominently showcased in various relief scenes on public monuments from the second century AD. An early instance can be found in the *clementia* scene (Scene 29-30; Plate 4) on the column of Trajan. Its significance lies in its scale, placement, and framing, rendering it "one of the most crucial moments in the column's narrative" (Dowling, 2006: 257). Notably, this scene was strategically positioned to be visible from ground level. Dacian women are observed imploring for clemency, directed toward the emperor himself as he points towards her towards an awaiting Roman boat, destined for transport (Scenes 29-30; Plates 4 and 5). In another scenario, a young Dacian woman seeks mercy in Scene 39 (Plate 26), wherein she appears alongside a group of captive men, women, and children fleeing the battle and seeking refuge at a Roman army camp (Dillon, 2006: 249).

A significant clemency scene adorns a panel of a monument dedicated to Marcus Aurelius reused on the triumphal Arch of Constantine (Plate 49; Uzzi 2005:99). This relief depicts a captive young boy, dressed in leggings and a tunic, supporting his father as they approach Marcus Aurelius, who sits on a raised tribunal. The father, leaning on his son with his left arm, extends his right hand toward the emperor in a gesture of supplication, his eyes fixed intently on the emperor. The posture of the boy is hunched, while the father exhibits a slight bend in his knees. In the backdrop, soldiers observe the scene, bearing witness to the captives' plea for mercy.

A comparable clemency scene in an Antonine relief panel on the triumphal arch located along Via di Pietra in Rome (Plate 50; Uzzi 2005: 101). In this depiction, the emperor is portrayed with his right arm and hand extended, poised to receive a group of male barbarians. The supplicant kneels and raises both arms with open palms in a plea for clemency from the emperor, while a young boy stands behind the foreground figure and extends his right hand in a similar gesture. Behind the foreground figure, two other male barbarians reach out with open palms, further symbolising their appeal for mercy. Consequently, captive women depicted in clemency scenes are exclusively shown requesting clemency in contexts of safety, such as securing passage on a ship or seeking entry into a Roman army camp. The offer of clemency on the battlefield, however, was appropriate only for enemy males.

An illustration of a captive womans' plea for clemency is portrayed in a relief from a mid-second century AD sarcophagus, now embedded in the wall of Palazzo Mattei in Rome (Plate 25) (Brilliant, 1963: 157). In the scene, a Roman soldier pulls the captive woman by her right arm, directing her towards a Roman official who is no longer preserved on the relief. She is forced into a posture of begging for mercy. Her tunic hangs open, exposing her breast and rendering her vulnerability undisputable. Her gaze appears vacant, suspended in that moment, averted from the imperator and directed outward, engaging the viewer.

An exceptional illustration of the clemency motif can be found on a general's sarcophagus, now housed in the Musei Vaticani (Plate 16; Brilliant, 1963: 160). This particular sarcophagus stands out due to its departure from the common motif of a mother kneeling in submission before the victorious general. Instead, it portrays an elderly *nutrix*, or wet nurse, whose aged breast hangs from her tunic as she kneels. The captive *nutrix* is attired in the customary fashion of *nutrices* in Roman art, distinguishable by her kerchief head covering, advanced age, and a tunic that often slips off her shoulder (Carroll, 2018: 134). *Nutrices* typically originated from slave backgrounds and often played a pivotal role in the care and upbringing of children for those who could afford such a privilege (Bradley, 1991a; Sparreboom, 2014). While *nutrices* were employed even when both parents were alive, their services were particularly sought after when one or both parents had died.

The depiction of the submissive *nutrix* on this sarcophagus is unique, lacking any known counterparts from the same era. Significantly, the woman portrayed is a barbarian *nutrix* attending to a barbarian child, identifiable by his long hair and tunic. The *nutrix* attending to the child implies that he representative of elite status. Given the absence of analogous imagery, it is possible that the inclusion of this elderly *nutrix* in the sarcophagus' narrative was a deliberate choice on the commissioner.

Seven mid-to-late second-century marble battle sarcophagi from Rome are termed 'clemency sarcophagi' due to their central scene depicting a victorious general or senior officer showing mercy to his captives (Brilliant, 1936). These are the Vatican (Plate 16), Mantua (Plate 19), Florence (Plate 20), Frascati (Plate 21), Poggio a Caiano (Plate 22), Los Angeles (Plate 23), and Palazzo Mattei sarcophagi (Plates 24 and 25). Out of these, eight showcase a captive woman. These women typically depicted kneeling, plea for mercy for themselves and their offspring. While each sarcophagus shares this motif, their preservation varies. In most depictions, a child and the female captive are at the forefront, appealing for clemency, while the male, often assumed to be the husband, stands behind them. This motif's recurring nature suggests its appeal among men involved in Marcus Aurelius' wars against the Germanic tribes. These sarcophagi likely catered to lower ranking military officials, not just exclusive to generals, as seen in the Portonaccio sarcophagus. Compared to the Portonaccio sarcophagus, the clemency sarcophagi are carved with less ornate detail, feature a less pronounced relief, and are notably smaller in size.

Appealing for clemency indisputably symbolised submission (Uzzi, 2005). The Roman elite perceived that an empire extending mercy to its captives projected benevolence toward its citizens (Dowling, 2006: 140). These overt displays of clemency were not just acts of kindness but symbolised a more favourable future for the recipients, underscoring the empire's broader benevolence. Instead of focusing on strict imperial laws and punitive actions, conquest iconography emphasised the Roman male virtue of clemency. Dowling (2006: 7)

highlights the antithesis of clemency, referred to as savagery (*severitas*), characterised by sternness and strictness in dealing with the enemy. While excessive *severitas* is deemed inappropriate, a measured amount is deemed essential to maintain order. Hence, 'savagery displaces men, while clemency replaces them' (Dowling, 2006: 7). Therefore, the choice of the battle sarcophagus owner to use the motif of clemency bestowed upon a captive woman extends beyond a mere display of mercy. Firstly, such an act serves to absolve the owner of any excessive *severitas* he might have used against captive women, either directly or indirectly, during the course of battle and capture. Secondly, the interaction portrayed involves the captive woman extending her hand toward the general, imploring for clemency, while the general reciprocates by extending his hand in acceptance. This visual exchange could be interpreted as a symbolic pact between the conqueror and the conquered.

Consequently, any individual enslaved in wartime and taken into the home of the military officer as an enslaved person would be persistently reminded of this 'clemency contract' when tending to his funerary rights. Upon examining the clemency motif in the funerary context, it becomes evident that the act of clemency is offered solely to a vanquished individual who adopts the posture of submission (kneeling or bowing down with an outstretched arm and an open hand reaching out to the conqueror). The gestures that insinuate wartime rape and abuse, as evidenced by the woman's dishevelled hair and pulled tunic, revealing a bare shoulder and breast, underscores a narrative of wartime sexual violence and the suppressive control of female sexuality.

The clemency narrative was both visually engaging and strategically discerning, underlining the emperor's ability to bestow forgiveness even upon those perceived as least deserving. Such depictions allowed Romans to internalise this benevolence, feeling it resonate personally (Dowling, 2006: 140). The Roman elite military members, eager to be glorified for their compassion, prominently featured this motif in their funerary art. This portrayal bolstered the image of an empire extending its benevolence even in the face of death. Yet, the actual treatment of captives starkly contrasted these idealised depictions.

While these monuments painted a picture of merciful generals and benevolent emperors, the actualities of war presented a harsher reality. Captives, in many instances, were subjected to degrading treatments, including wartime rape and other abuses. These sarcophagi, in essence, conveyed a narrative to the viewers — the deceased's family and associates — of a general characterised by mercy, who granted the depicted barbarian captives not just life, but a chance to assimilate into the Roman hierarchy. But beneath this veneer of compassion lay the grim realities of war, where fear, suffering, and mourning dominated the lived experiences of these captives.

<u>5.5. Transport, Trophy, and Triumph</u>

A crucial step in the trafficking process involves transporting women considerable distances from their homes (Paolella, 2020: 32). This relocation ensures their complete disconnection from familiar surroundings and diminishes their chances of finding their way home, even if they manage to escape, given that many would have never travelled as far as the Roman army would take them. Isolation would increase the further they were taken from their geographical and cultural home (Paolella, 2020: 32; see also Bradley, 1991b). Suetonius (*Life of Augustus* 21.2) notes that Augustus understood this as an essential aspect of trafficking captives: 'On those who rebelled often or under circumstances of especial treachery he never inflicted any severer punishment than that of the selling the prisoners, with the condition that they should not pass their term of slavery in a country near their own.'

Once the female enemy was taken captive, if she was not promptly sold near the battlefield or awarded to a soldier as a prize — similar to Josephus' account where Vespasian instructed him to choose a virgin captive for himself after the First Jewish Revolt (*Life* 414–415) — she would be grouped with other captives and transported to Rome or one of its provinces. Generals ensured that peddlers and merchants followed the army, equipped with ready cash and transport means (Polybius, *Histories* 14.7.3; Livy, *Roman History* 10.17.6; Harris, 1980: 125; Bradley, 1987: 46). If the captives were sold off in the theatre of warfare where they were captured, a questor sold them if he was available (Bradley, 1987: 45). Reeder (2017: 370) notes that the collection of captives 'exposes them to the attention of soldiers, creating the sort of easy accessibility that would have facilitated rape'.

Here, I examine two figural depictions that definitively portray transport scenes: the Column of Marcus Aurelius, and the Vatican (Clemency) Battle sarcophagus. Transport is obvious when captives are pulled in a cart, marched in a convoy, or if they are ushered to board a boat. The relative infrequency of actual transport scenes makes this the least represented step in the trafficking cycle in both public and private conquest art compared to the capture, subjugation, and trophy or triumph scenes (discussed further in Section 6.2.5; see also Table 2).

Trafficked women are plainly evident in documents recording transport tariffs. The Koptos Tariff, a fee charged for using the roads between Koptos and the Red Sea, from the first century AD in Roman Egypt lists taxation of prostitutes (Phang, 2001: 245; McGinn, 1989: 97) (Figure 8). The women travel by land and sea and are described as the property of sailors or soldiers and labelled as prostitutes.

Red Sea captain	8 drachmas
guard	5 dr.
sailor	5 dr.
craftsman	8 dr.
women "for prostitution" (γυναικῶν πρὸς ἑταιρισμὸν)	108 dr.
women "arriving by sea" (γυναικῶν εἰσπλεουσῶν)	20 dr.
soldiers' women (γυναικῶν στρατιωτῶν)	20 dr.

The πιττάκιον follows:

camel	1 obol
man "going up" (from the Nile valley to the desert)	1 drachma
"all women going up" γυναικῶν πασῶν ἀνα(βαινουσῶν)	4 drachmas

Figure 8: Koptos Tariff. AD 90. After Phang 2001: 245.

The tax for prostitutes is extraordinarily high. It has been suggested by McGinn (1989: 97) that this was 'what the market would bear' and by Pomeroy (1975: 141) as evidence of the high profitability of prostitution in Egypt. Additionally, McGinn (1989: 106) posits that many prostitutes would have been kidnapped and shipped by slave dealers, a common practice in Ptolemaic Egypt. 'Soldiers' women' have been identified as their concubines (McGinn, 1989) and 'women arriving by sea' as sailors' prostitutes (Wallace, 1938: 274; McGinn, 1989). These women could have been on their way to other professions or work other than prostitution, as McGinn (1989) points out, but it seems unlikely that these women were not sexually assaulted at some point during their journey, as they seem to be someone's property and have no personal autonomy. It is impossible to say definitively that these women listed were war captives. In the broader picture, however, many likely were.

5.5.1. The Portrayal of Transport

As I have argued, transportation was essential to the trafficking process. Once subdued and taken captive, slave dealers deemed essential for the distribution of war prisoners could trade captives. This trade in slaves could go wrong, however, as in AD 83 when enslaved survivors of the Usipii reached the Rhineland by passing from one dealer to another, whereupon they started a revolt (Tacitus, *Agricola* 28.3; see also Bradley, 1987: 44–45). A Roman commander could take captives to Rome (Appian, *Iberica* 98) or distribute captives among his troops (Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 7.89). Upon discharge, the troops could return with their newly acquired property to Italy or their home province in the empire (Bradley, 1987: 44–45).

Scenes on the Column of Marcus Aurelius depict captive women grouped to be transported either by foot (Plates 31 and 35) or cart (Plate 37) (Pirson, 1996). These scenes can be interpreted as a liminal moment just before transport where these women are being prepped for transportation. An additional transport scene on the Column of Marcus Aurelius depicts a captive woman sitting on the back of a cart pulled by an ox, with a scene of three other captive women being rounded up by soldiers to be put in the transport convoy (Scene 100, Plate 36)

(Depeyrot, 2010: 313). In Scenes 104–105 (Plate 34), the women previously described as being ushered away by soldiers are seen here being transported as a collective group.

Transport scenes depicting the captive woman alone or with her child in the back of a cart drawn by draught animals can be found on the left panel of the Vatican (Clemency) Battle sarcophagus (Plate 18; Brilliant, 1963: 160). This particular sarcophagus is the only example in this study that exhibits all three steps in the trafficking cycle in one piece. The reliefs on the long side of the sarcophagus show the captive woman's suppression and subjugation in a moment of physical and mental capture, portrayed through her begging for clemency. The left short side depicts a woman and child riding in the back of a transport cart driven by a soldier, and the right short side is a triumph scene with captive women carried on a litter by soldiers. A total of four captive women are depicted on this sarcophagus, the most of any sarcophagus in this study.

The captive woman is sitting on the back of a cart. Her left arm is wrapped around her torso, and her right arm is crossed to the left and resting on her knee to hold her head in a gesture of mourning and despondency. Her tunic is ripped, revealing her bare shoulder, and her hair is unbound, all gestures suggesting a forceful capture, symbolic of the aftermath of sexual assault and abuse. Her male child is leaning against her back, standing on the Roman soldier's armour, seemingly reaching out to touch his spear. The artist here introduced new elements, pathos, and apparent childlike playfulness to depict captives who are otherwise portrayed as subjugated, dejected, and pleading (Ferris, 2000: 106). Ferris suggests that the use of the child in this manner was to elicit sympathy and to raise a smile at the child's wilfulness which 'perhaps alludes to the fact that *clementia* of the general and by the association of the Roman state, had positively affected the future of those children and the overall future of their people or tribe' (2000: 106). In addition to Ferris's interpretation, the child's gestures could be seen as the playful nature of an unwitting child.

A similar scene is found on a marble sarcophagus from the Via Appia in the Musei Capitolini in Rome (Plate 37). The sarcophagus dates to AD 150 and depicts a battle between Romans and Gauls; the choice of the enemy may be again referring 'back to a time of Roman uncertainty over the eventual outcome of their wars and battles against newer and different barbarian foes' (Ferris, 2000: 107). Even if the women represented here are depicted as Gallic, the anxiety surrounding a new type of enemy might have created a demand from artists who already had the stock Gallic motif, with little time to research the ethnic dress of the current threat.

As argued previously, the transport away from their home and home country is critical to the success of trafficking. Modern accounts emphasise the importance of the removal from the home country and seizure of identification documents to ensure that the victims are trapped, never able to escape back to their homeland (Hume and Sidun, 2017). As seen on the Vatican

(Clemency) Battle sarcophagus, Rome similarly displays the removal and transportation of captives.

Transport is as important to Rome as it is to modern-day traffickers. Rome expresses this by first taking advantage of the captive's vulnerability, forcing them to submit, and displaying captives as they should be treated, as described in Ovid's *Amores* 1.7 and Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Antiquitates Romanae* 6.62.5 (hair pulled, tunic ripped, bare breast and or shoulder). This act of submissive rape strips the women of their native identity and forces them to be identified as expendable products in the Roman sex market. The female captive is then transported from her home country, guaranteeing that she will not be able to return, and her reproductive capacity is seized. She can no longer voluntarily produce children for her people group and land, but must now involuntarily do so for Rome.

5.5.2. The Portrayal of Trophy and Triumph

The point of displaying captives in a Roman triumph was to express the physical realisation of empire and imperialism, the idea of Roman territorial expansion and global conquest (Beard, 2007: 123). At the same time, the exotic foreignness of the captives was used to put on a show of Rome's world power to the people in the crowd (Beard, 2007: 123). In figural art, the captive woman sits at the base of a trophy (*tropaeum*), bound or unbound, next to a male-bound captive. Together, the trophy and the captives formed a scene 'frozen in time', thus termed a 'tableau' (Kinnee, 2018: 74).

The temporary physical trophy that the Greeks put on display on conquered battlefields was adapted for the Roman narrative of conquest and subjugation to influence this tableau. The visual depiction derives from the parading of war booty with live-bound captives in triumphs of successful conquerors in Rome (see Östenberg, 2009: 1–18, on triumph performative ritual). The *tropeaum*, a mannequin trophy with a standard set of captured enemy arms and armour arranged in an anthropomorphic form with two bound captives at the base, was carried on litters in triumphal processions, as seen on an internal relief from the temple of Apollo Sosianus on the Campus Martius in Rome (constructed in 20 BC), as mentioned earlier in Section 4.2. (Plate 15). The frieze probably relates to the campaigns of Augustus against Illyrian tribes in the north, for which he celebrated a triumph in 29 BC (Ferris, 2000: 37).

Prior to the Republican era, the spectacle of captives in a triumph was typically reserved for chieftains, kings, and queens (Ferris, 2000). The visual portrayal of captives emerged as a popular late Republican trend, monumentalised in art by Marius in 101 BC. This trend was favoured by Sulla and Julius Caesar – conquerors of the Germanic and Celtic tribes – and was subsequently refined under the reign of Augustus (Kinnee, 2018: 79). During the Imperial period, however, Roman conquest was noticeably curtailed, with wartime narratives conspicuously absent from Augustan art. The political turbulence and struggle for sole power in Rome, following the collapse of the Republic in the second half of the first century BC, has

been identified as the driving force behind the creation and widespread distribution of politically charged Augustan art (Zanker, 1990).

This transition period, marked by widespread violence and bloodshed, prompted Augustus to consciously instil and promote the conservative values of the bygone Republic in his art, with the intent of restoring peace to the city and reviving its inhabitants after two devastating civil wars. The core values reflected in this art included peace, prosperity, piety, family, humanity, and clemency. While art within Rome echoed these values, predatory and punitive wars were concurrently being waged on its periphery, as detailed in Section 3.7.1.7.

According to Kinnee, a noteworthy shift occurred in the portrayal of captives on triumphal displays under Augustus, who utilised the trophy tableau in an innovative and prolific manner (2018: 79). Due to the lack of abundant booty returning to Rome, the dynamics of triumph had to be adjusted, leading to the incorporation of more non-noble captives in chains (refer to Beard, 2007: 119–122, for more on noble captives during the Republic).

The *tropaeum* tableau derives from the triumphal parade of bound captives at the base of a trophy carried on a litter through Rome (Kinnee, 2018). The motif of triumph and the parading of captives before the Roman audience is a more active one, however, and it appears in the early second century AD on Trajan's arch at Benevento (Plates 43 and 44). The arch straddled the road leaving Benevento on the north-east side of the town, marking one end of the Via Traiana, the road laid by Trajan to extend the old Via Appia to Brindisi to connect the east-coast port city to Rome and west-central Italy (Kuttner, 1995: 156; Currie, 1996: 163). These arch reliefs are the only Italian pieces studied here that are located outside the city of Rome. The reliefs contain women and children. Most large reliefs depict predominantly peaceful scenes, such as the emperor's distribution of assistance to poor and orphaned children, in line with Trajan's *pater patriae* message, seen on his column in Rome (Kuttner, 1995: 156; Kampen, 2009: 38).

Additionally, the reliefs at Benevento commemorated Trajan's victory in Dacia, mapping out the space of the empire with two facades, the country (facing away from Benevento) and the town (facing towards Benevento) (Currie, 1996: 164–165). The country-facing façade evokes Dacia and the rest of the empire, while the town façade is located 'itself at Rome and within the Italian landscape' (Currie, 1996: 164–165). On the frieze on the upper part of the arch, the female captives are not depicted as immediate victims of violence; they have already been subdued, taken captive, and marched in a Roman triumph.

The Dacian women do not appear with men and are separated into two groups on the arch. They are seen with other captive women or children (Plate 43) (Östenberg, 2009: 139). Family members and units appear as crucial exhibits in the triumphal procession depicted in the reliefs, 'testifying to the complete takeover of the enemy elite and announced Roman control also of the domestic sphere' (Östenberg, 2009: 141). The captive men paraded on the

triumphal frieze at Benevento are represented as single prisoners or separated into one group and their families in another group (Plates 43 and 44) (Östenberg, 2009: 140–141). The men in carts are in two groups, one with his hands bound and the other unbound. This visual separation ensures the complete takeover of the non-Roman family, which will never be a unit again.

The message of the annihilation of familial bonds can be seen on other small-format objects for use in private contexts, for example the Grand Camée de France (AD 26–29) (Plate 45). This cameo, directly inspired by the Gemma Augustea, depicts submitted eastern 'barbarian' men and women in pairs, with the woman in the middle holding her infant (Kleiner, 1992: 149; Ferris, 2000: 49–50). This cameo had a message of 'dynastic strength and future continuance and is to be contrasted with the opposite fate of the defeated and dejected barbarian opponents of Rome' (Ferris, 2000: 187). The presence of an infant in its mother's arms only strengthens the message of familial conquest.

Perhaps artists were testing this new display of conquest on the elite, who would have appreciated it as they were already partaking in the spoils of war. The captive women on both the Grand Camée de France and Trajan's arch at Benevento (Plates 45 and 43) are unbound and do not exhibit signs of forced submission. This lack of sexual connotation with the women may be due to their role in the triumph and display of familial conquest to represent the 'exotic other'. To be successful, they would need to look the part. Roman spectators of all ages and sex would enjoy the illustrious triumphal parade through the city of Rome (Beard, 2007), enabling the viewer of the art pieces in the collection of this study to see the real live captive.

The trophy tableau was not only on public display on temples and privately financed monuments and buildings. It also held value in a more private setting: the Roman villa and tombs. Campana reliefs, named after their 19th-century collector, Marchese Campana, are terracotta plaques used as decorative revetment on house roofs and tombs in Rome, mass-produced from the Augustan period until the second century AD (Ferris, 2000: 169). Ferris (2000: 169) occasionally identifies the captives depicted on them as Gauls. An exceptional cast from a mould of the Campana reliefs comes from the Terme di Caracalla in Rome, which depicts a male and female captive seated at the base of a *tropaeum* (Plates 38 and 39).

This terracotta plaque was discovered in Tomb 24 from the Grottaperfetta necropolis in Rome and dates to the end of the first century AD, a time of unrest on the frontiers with fighting in Britain, Parthia, Judaea, and Dacia (Perry, 1997). The relief has a maker's stamp VALES (*CIL.* XV 2553) on the left. Until the discovery of this plaque, the subject matter of captives was unknown in the workshop production, except for a small fragment found in Ostia (Perry, 1997). This captive motif is on other Campana reliefs from other workshops, but the Grottaperfetta plaque is the only one featuring the female captive. The relief features arms

typical of northern European tribes, including two lances, a trumpet, and a dragon head on the right side (Perry, 1997). The female captive sits on top of a circular shield and other weapons, covered in clothing from head to toe with long sleeves and long trousers, and she is completely veiled. She pulls her veil back slightly with her left hand (Plate 38).

This gesture is a general pose of mourning in Roman art and can be seen in a similar motif of a Roman man and woman mourning the death of their child on a sarcophagus in Agrigento (Plate 41; Amedick, 1991: 62; George, 2000: 195; Carroll, 2012: 136). The Gallic female captive on the Campana plaque is placed on public display for further shame and degradation. Unlike her male counterpart, she is unbound, who has a chain wrapped around his neck and hands bound behind his back. Unbound, she can be seen as a lesser threat than her male counterpart. The displayed captives, more than likely Gauls, further illustrate Rome's equation of the Gauls with a foreign enemy put on display during times of unrest. A tomb with such a display could have housed a victorious general. Of all the pieces discussed in this study, this tableau affords the female captive some of the most detail regarding her dress while being the most shrouded figure.

This Campana relief cast is a perfect example of the medium and popular captive message widely dispersed throughout Rome during the first century AD, in both private and public sectors. The trophy tableau appears on a terracotta oil lamp (Plate 41), depicting a captive German female with her male counterpart. The lamp dates to AD 70–100, was manufactured in Italy, and was found in Corfu, Greece (British Museum, 2019). Its production in Italy makes disseminating this motif on lamps throughout the peninsula possible. The female is on a larger scale than the male and is completely covered, much like the captive woman on the Campana relief (Plate 39). Lamps like the one in this study were a cheap and portable commodity, making them available to all classes and social strata (Griffiths, 2018: 503). This trophy tableau was undoubtedly a popular motif to stamp onto portable or smaller terracotta pieces. A similar captive Gallic woman is depicted standing in front of a *tropaeum* on a gladiator helmet found at Pompeii from the first century AD (Plate 42). This image would have been visible to the spectators closest to the ground floor of the arena, the elite class.

Finally, triumph and display, the final step in the trafficking cycle, is evidenced on the right-side relief of the Vatican (Clemency) Battle sarcophagus, depicting two captive women being carried on a litter (Plate 17). Even though the litter itself has not survived, a litter pole evident below the woman that a soldier is carrying indicates that this scene is one of a triumphal procession. Perhaps the owner of this sarcophagus was one of the few members outside the imperial family who participated in a triumph during the second century.

5.6. Conclusion

This chapter categorised captive women as victims of trafficking and identify their phases of capture, transportation, and display as trophies in Roman conquest iconography. The

incorporation of gestures insinuating wartime rape and abuse into the depictions of captive women ensured their constant visual subjugation under the male gaze. These gestures, depicted during scenes of capture, vividly underscore the alignment with the Roman cultural ideal that positioned wartime sexual violence as an integral tool of war.

In Roman society, it was thought that unchecked female sexuality could potentially jeopardise the political and military achievements of men. Essentially, since men were reluctant to restrain their own desires, they sought to control women's sexuality as a means to safeguard their societal accomplishments. The narrative depicted in scenes of capture, transportation, and trophy/triumphal displays serves to emphasise the coercive suppression and control imposed upon the expression of captive women's sexuality. In his 1997 study, *Political Paranoia: The Psychopolitics of Hatred*, Robert Robins and Jerrold Post state that 'by defining ourselves in terms of who we are not, we separate ourselves psychologically from an empathic connection with the enemy' (1997: 104). Intentionally portraying the bodies of captive women in vulnerable forms in the three steps of trafficking within Roman conquest iconography served as a deliberate strategy through which the Romans forged their identity by distinguishing themselves from the role of being dominated and objectified property, subjected to sexualisation and enslavement. This representation weaves a sexually violent narrative that charts the path forcibly taken by captive women – from their capture and submission to trophy and triumph – skilfully encapsulating the trajectory from conquest to consumption.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion

6.1. Research Questions

The implementation of my methodological approach has, for the first time, facilitated a comprehensive analysis of the wartime backdrop framing the representation of captive women in Roman conquest iconography. Importantly, positioning these captive women within the accurate context has enabled a more complete and nuanced understanding of their depiction and role within this artistic genre.

Imperial monuments were a result of big imperial military campaigns which in turn influenced the artistic output of the motifs on other objects and materials. Thus, this has resulted in the motif of captive women appearing across diverse contexts in Italy and Rome, spanning from grand commemorative public monuments to private luxurious goods to sarcophagi designed to venerate the life and virtues of the deceased male (Chapters 4 and 5). The motif appears even on everyday household items such as oil lamps and ornamental house fittings like the Campana reliefs as well as on more obscure objects like the bronze gladiator helmet (Section 5.5.2.). This wide-ranging presence underscores the motif's strong appeal within the Roman cultural ideal.

This recurrent theme both mirrors and bolsters Roman perspectives on captive women, while the broader prevalence of slavery within Roman society further nurtured these attitudes. In its ubiquity, the motif serves not only as a reflection of societal norms towards conquered women but also as an instrument in perpetuating these prevailing attitudes during a time when Roman warfare was characteristically punitive and predatory (Chapter 2 and Section 3.7.1.9).

This thesis has posed the following research questions:

1. What are the underlying purposes and intended messages behind the portrayal of captive women with gestures that insinuate wartime rape and abuse in Roman art?
2. How did the Roman audience interpret and internalise these depictions, particularly considering their awareness of wartime rape and the reality of enslaved women who may have experienced such violence first-hand?
3. Through the lens of the applied theoretical framework, what insights can we glean about the experiences and treatment of women subjected to captivity and potential wartime rape in the context of Roman imperialism?

My principal conclusions can be summarised as follows. The portrayal of captive women, marked by both active and passive gestures suggestive of wartime rape and physical abuse, has facilitated the delineation of a three-step process associated with trafficking (Sections 3.3. and 3.4.). The patronage of public commemorative monuments, private luxury cameos, and

semi-private battle sarcophagi primarily originated from individuals closely associated with the Roman military and the imperial ruling elite. Consequently, the depiction of female captives, complete with suggestive gestures of wartime rape and abuse, such as dishevelled hair and a partially exposed shoulder and/or breast, was crafted for the visual consumption of men (Section 3.6). These visual cues served to fragment the woman's body into eroticised pieces, as explored in Section 1.2.2. Utilising Feminist Film Theory proved insightful for interpreting depictions of captive women displaying gestures suggestive of wartime rape and abuse, particularly as these gestures highlighted specific aspects of the women's bodies. However, for captive women not exhibiting these gestures, this theoretical framework becomes inapplicable.

The transition of motifs, initially featured on imperial-sponsored monuments, to mass-produced everyday items underlines their broad acceptance of this motif and popularity within Roman society (Sections 4.2 and 5.4.2). This trend testifies to an inherent societal connection to and idealisation of captive women. The mass adoption of the trophy/triumphal motifs on commonplace items attests to the profound cultural resonance and acceptance of these depictions within the framework of Roman society. Moreover, this migration broadens the intended audience, encompassing individuals of all genders. Offering consumers the autonomy to purchase these objects for use in their homes implies a willingness to expose these motifs to family members (Section 2.3). In this sense, the commonplace presence of these motifs subtly demonstrates their assimilation into daily life and domestic spaces, further embedding these representations within the societal psyche.

The incorporation of both active and passive gestures, whether emerging from artistic liberty or innovations in scenes that became standardised by the second century AD, fostered a multifaceted platform for portraying an expansive spectrum of humiliation and violent punishments, encompassing sexual abuse. The cultural ideals embodied within this motif are uniquely illustrative of how Romans visualised and articulated their dominion over conquered populations (Sections 1.2.3. and 2.5.). This thesis has concluded that this was possible by accentuating elements of vulnerability, shame, through sexual and non-sexual abuse gestures, which became defining characteristics of Roman power expression.

With the application of Historical Wartime Rape Theory, the grim reality of what it meant to be a female taken captive by the Roman army during a time when Roman warfare was more characteristic of punitive and predatory tactics becomes more apparent (Section 3.7.1 and subsequent sections). Gestures like hair-pulling, when analysed in the wartime context, are featured in images that commemorate battles of Roman punitive and predatory warfare (Chapter 4). When battles are motivated by punitive means, captive women may well have been made to endure public humiliations in the form of gang rape, which could end in death, or beatings and harassment (Table 5). When predatory warfare is used, this includes the tactics used in punitive methods as well as women killing themselves out of fear of rape and beatings (Table 5).

In this instance, the fear of being raped and beaten is greater than the act itself. The literate populace of Rome and Italy would have been aware of the depth of fear conveyed through the accounts of their contemporary tragic historians, such as Cassius Dio and others (Section 3.7.1.5.). Notably, in the capture, transport, and trophy and triumph scenes depicted on conquest iconography, the captive women are never explicitly shown being raped (Sections 5.4. and 5.5.). However, it is precisely the suggestive gestures that insinuate wartime rape that serve to symbolise the intense, pulsating fear experienced by these women. The power of these gestures lies in their ability to allude to the traumatic experiences endured by these captives, leaving an unforgettable impact on the viewer's imagination and reinforcing the immense fear that permeated the lives of female captives.

This chapter is designed to pursue the three research questions stated above and discuss key evidence (Sections 6.2., 6.3., and 6.4). Section 6.5. will examine further discoveries outside of the stated questions. Section 6.5. will discuss limitations faced during data collection, and Section 6.6. will examine two critical future avenues of enquiry that have arisen out of this project.

6.2. The Purpose and Message of Depicting Captive Women with Gestures that Insinuate Wartime Rape and Abuse

The material at hand (Section 3.2.) and the current scholarship (Section 1.2.) were used to inform and answer the first research question. This involved examining gestures suggestive of wartime rape and abuse to determine the underlying purpose and the intended message. As discussed in Section 1.2., current scholarship agrees on three themes represented by the motif of captive women:

> 1) The subjugation of the barbarian land and family (Ferris, 2000, 2009; Zanker, 2000; Dillon, 2006).
> 2) The fundamental difference between what it meant to be Roman and non-Roman based on ethnicity and social inferiority, thereby reinforcing Roman identity (Ferris, 2000; Bradley, 2004; George, 2011).
> 3) The reinforcement of the Romans' divine right to extend their rule over the known world (Ferris, 2000; Bradley, 2004; George, 2011).

The gestures that insinuate wartime rape and abuse have been previously identified by Ferris (1994), Zanker (2000), and Dillon (2006). However, these gestures have not been analysed in the context of trafficking and wartime sexual violence. Moreover, the scenes analysed here are informative about the trafficking process. They depict three key steps: 1) capture; 2) transport; 3) trophy/triumphal display. These scenes and the motif of captive women within them stand in the context of punitive warfare used to quell revolts and uprisings through the seemingly conquered territories of Gaul and Germany from the latter half of the first century BC to the second century AD. Even in instances of intentional expansionist warfare by

Augustus, there were punitive battles fought (Section 3.7.1.7.). These suggestive gestures are reflective of the chaos and force that comes with punitive warfare (Table 5).

In Chapter 5.4., wartime rape was discussed as the first step in the submission process necessary for the trafficking of captive women. To better understand trafficking, it must be ascribed to a patriarchal gender order that relies on the subordination of women to men and that brings focus to the vulnerability of women (Turner, 2016: 196). This definition applies to the context of Roman patriarchal society. Vulnerability is interconnected with the act of rape to produce shame. Thus, the gestures insinuating wartime rape make up the visual language of vulnerability to physical and sexual abuse.

The gestures and scenes examined within this thesis, while not overtly depicting the act of wartime rape itself, must be comprehended as intricate portrayals of vulnerability and shame. In their essence, these depictions serve as potent signifiers, intricately linked to the broader context of wartime rape and abuse. This nuanced visual vocabulary, which subtly yet unmistakably hints at the horrors of wartime rape and abuse, is not confined to the narrow constructs of the represented ethnicity limited to northern barbarians. Rather, it manifests universally, cutting across demographic boundaries, representing all women who come into conflict with the Roman military.

This visual discourse operates through a delicate interplay of suggestive gestures, skilfully crafted to allude to the distressing experiences of wartime rape and abuse. By drawing on these suggestive representations, this thesis reveals the complexity of wartime abuse, looking beyond the surface to recognise the undertones of violence and degradation. Through this lens, the visual language becomes a poignant testament to the countless silent stories of wartime victims, emphasising the need to acknowledge and address these traumatic experiences in broader societal and historical discourses. By focusing on this language of vulnerability, the thesis taps into a shared human experience that resonates across different demographics, driving home the universality of the trauma inflicted by wartime rape and abuse.

The gestures also serve as a representation of Roman masculinity through the lens of the male gaze. The deliberate exposure of captive women, with their tunics pulled down to reveal their bare shoulders and/or breasts, along with their dishevelled hair, provided male viewers with a controlled and non-threatening way to visually engage with their bodies while avoiding any sense of vulnerability or inadequacy within their own sexuality. Since these gestures allude to sexual violence in scenes that do not explicitly depict the rape or any other sexual abuses action, this insinuation creates a space for male viewers to envision and speculate about the circumstances that led to the women looking this way, and even project themselves into the role of the abuser, thus indulging in fantasies of wartime rape and other sexual abuse that reinforce notions of Roman masculinity and sexuality. Not every Roman soldier participated

in combat, rendering this aspect of masculinity untested for some. Consequently, captive women who bear these gestures provide a guideline for untested masculinity to conform to and emulate.

Ovid's writings illuminate societal nuances regarding what might have been deemed acceptable levels of sexual aggression and mistreatment. In *Amores* 1.7, Ovid offers insight into distinct levels of sexual aggression against his lover, drawing a parallel between her and a female captive, categorising certain actions as more severe than others (as explored in Section 4.3). Ovid deliberates on whether he should unravel or even forcefully pull apart his lover's carefully styled hair (lines 11–12). He then suggests that exposing her breast by pulling at her tunic is even more desirable than pulling her hair and scratching her face (lines 49–52).

This differentiation in the degree of assault expressed by Ovid is apparent in the visual images portraying wartime rape gestures. Figure 7 lists the different types of gestures, and, in identifying their different combinations, it can be argued that they represent seven varying degrees suggestive of sexual assault. The number of times the combinations are represented indicates that the more exposed the body of a captive woman is, the more potent the message. More specifically, a pulled tunic and pulled hair have varying combinations in their respective category. The degrees of rape gestures in ascending order of severity are as follows: 1) loose and dishevelled hair; 2) a pulled tunic to reveal a bare shoulder; 3) a pulled tunic to reveal a bare shoulder with loose/dishevelled hair; 4) a pulled tunic to reveal a bare shoulder and breast; 5) a pulled tunic to reveal a bare shoulder and breast with loose/dishevelled hair; 6) hair pulled with a pulled tunic to reveal a bare shoulder; 7) hair pulled with a pulled tunic to reveal a bare breast and shoulder. Figure 5 outlines the percentages of the first century's suggestive wartime and no wartime rape and abuse gestures. Similarly, Figure 6 outlines the suggestive wartime and no wartime rape gestures for the second century. In the first century, suggestive wartime rape and abuse gestures were used 62% of the time, while in the second century, this increased slightly to 66%. The percentages of gestures that depict no hint of suggestive wartime rape and abuse for both the first (38%) and second (34%) centuries are reasonably high in that regard.

The depicted gestures can be categorised into two primary types: pulled hair and tugged tunic. For instance, the imagery that combines hair-pulling with a tunic pulled to expose a shoulder and breast symbolises a severe degree of assault. In contrast, a portrayal of dishevelled hair represents a milder form of violation. Throughout the period under study, gestures 6 and 7 rank as the most severe within the hair category. Intriguingly, the act of pulling hair, irrespective of the tunic's depiction, is the least frequent wartime rape gesture (refer to Appendix 1). This rarity implies that harsher interactions with a captive woman's hair were not deemed necessary to be regularly depicted, given the already potent symbolism of the act. The constrained usage of this motif — primarily associated with the private Augustan imperial elite, as seen in the Gemma Augustea, or the scenes high on the Column of Marcus

Aurelius — indicates a preference for this intense symbolism among elite commissioners. The cameo's exclusive visibility to the imperial elite (discussed in Section 4.4.) and the column's commissioning by Commodus after Marcus Aurelius's death reflect this elite inclination. The planning of the column's imagery likely involved Commodus or his inner circle, with the motif's visibility clearly not being a primary concern. If the intention was for a wider public viewership, the scenes would have been placed closer to the ground. This motif, perhaps, was not widely popular among the general Roman populace, as evidenced by its absence on common materials like the Campania reliefs (Plate 38), terracotta oil lamps (Plate 41), or even unique items like the bronze gladiator helmet (Plate 42). This motif's scarcity in non-mythical contexts tells of its selective appeal.

The most extreme suggestive wartime rape gesture, termed as gesture 7 in the category of pulled hair, appears only twice, both instances on the Column of Marcus Aurelius. This representation aligns with the column's overarching theme of intense violence, serving to emphasise the profound threat the Germanic tribes posed to Rome's stability, as outlined by Beckmann (2011: 200). This imagery could also mirror the punitive war tactics employed against the Germanic tribes, reasons for which are elaborated in Section 4.5. Dio (*Roman History* 72.13.1-2) highlights Marcus Aurelius's deep disdain for the actions of the Marcomanni-Quadi troops, emphasising his wish to "annihilate them utterly." While this sentiment does not confirm that Marcus did, in fact, annihilate the Quadi, it does hint at a vengeful mindset that could have potentially been communicated to the Roman army on the part of Marcus. The column's initial scenes depict Roman soldiers decimating a village and capturing its inhabitants, resonating with known punitive war strategies (refer to Table 5). Through its visual narrative, the column reinforces this notion of retribution.

Punitive tactics often involved the public humiliation of captive women, primarily through acts of gang rape, which could end in death. In addition, women might endure physical beatings and persistent harassment. Even when the initial expansion and annexation strategies of the Marcomannic Wars proved challenging, as discussed in Section 4.5, the goal of capturing women and girls for enslavement — to serve as concubines or prostitutes — would persist within these punitive measures that align with expansionist objectives (refer to Table 5). The ramifications of such violent acts could have enduring and traumatic impacts. In describing Vespasian's Jewish Triumph following the successful quelling of the First Jewish Revolt in AD 70, Josephus notes (*Jewish Wars* 7.5.5.):

> Those that were chosen for carrying these pompous shews having also about them such magnificent ornaments, as were both extraordinary, and surprizing. Besides these, one might see that even the great number of the captives was not unadorned. While the variety that was in their garments, and their fine texture, concealed from the sight the deformity of their bodies.

No doubt Josephus is describing the deformities the captives obtained during the conflict. Josephus does not mention any more details regarding the captives' sex or age.

Within the category of pulled tunic gestures, those that reveal the most body parts are categorised as gestures 4 and 5. The presence of loose and dishevelled hair intensifies the perceived level of assault. The most severe manifestations of this category, namely gestures 5, 6, and 7, each appear just once, all within the context of the Column of Marcus Aurelius. The limited representation of these more explicit gestures can be attributed to their inherent potency, necessitating a limited use to convey the intended message.

The subtlest form of suggestive rape gesture, characterised by loose and dishevelled hair (gesture 1), is notably prevalent and frequently employed. Its initial appearance can be traced back to the first century AD, showcased on the intimate and private object known as the Grand Camée de France (Plate 45). However, its usage gained momentum during the second century, becoming a recurring feature in the depiction of 20 women across public state art and private funerary contexts. This gesture is recognisable in the contemporary clemency-themed series of battle sarcophagi (refer to Table 2). The loose and dishevelled hair gesture served as a nuanced way to imply wartime rape and abuse, enabling artists to convey a fraction of the experiences endured by these women while adhering to the chosen propagandistic themes of monuments, small luxury cameos, or the everyday materials featuring trophy and clemency motifs. Furthermore, these gestures drew inspiration from established Greek visual artistic conventions seen in mythological scenes like Amazonomachy and depictions of the Trojan War, such as the fresco portrayal of *The rape of Cassandra* found in the Pompeii Villa of Mysteries, a readily accessible motif from common pictorial sources (Section 1.2.1.). Beyond this, these gestures contribute to the affirmation of Roman masculinity during warfare, signifying that the *disciplina militaris*, or military discipline, was properly exercised – captive women were subdued, yet controlled and confined within the boundaries set by the cultural ideals of *disciplina militaris* (Section 3.7.1.2.).

In the clemency series of sarcophagi, the portrayal of a captive woman with a pulled tunic exposing a bare shoulder, paired with loose, dishevelled hair, prominently conveys the implications of wartime rape — a deemed justifiable act that affirms Roman conquest. However, while these suggestive gestures allude to wartime rape and abuse, they do not overshadow the dominant act of clemency extended by the Roman general. Clemency, a highly valued male virtue in Roman society, emerges as the primary message of the scene. The indications of wartime assault on the captive woman amplify the significance of the bestowed clemency upon the vanquished. Through these juxtaposed gestures — one suggesting the suffering endured by the woman and her people and the other offering solace and redemption — the narrative underscores the transition from tragedy to mercy. Furthermore, the clemency scenes associated with Trajan and Marcus Aurelius predominantly showcase male adult and child barbarians. It's only when this motif is adopted from the

imperial elite and adapted for funerary contexts in the second century AD on the marble battle sarcophagi that the imagery begins to feature female captives. This specific depiction of gendered clemency remains unique to funerary settings.

Captive women were not universally depicted with gestures implying wartime rape and abuse. Notably, these gestures are absent from the motif of captive women in trophy and triumphal scenes. They are exclusively present in scenes depicting the capture and transportation of captives. This deliberate artistic decision might be rooted in the cultural ideal that women who have reached this stage of the trafficking process have already been effectively subdued, removing the need for further force. The captive women on display in the frieze in the temple of Apollo Sosianus in the Augustan period and on smaller works of art in the latter half of the first century AD such as the terracotta oil lamp and bronze gladiator helmet display no suggestive gestures of wartime rape and abuse; the women, who have been identified as Gauls, are fully clothed (Ferris, 2000).

In addition to the 'motif as a stock image' argument (Section 1.2.1.) the amount of time that had passed after the first pacification of Gallic peoples could account for this lack of suggestive sexual violence and abuse depicted. By AD 14, Augustus, Tiberius, and Germanicus had successfully quelled the Alpine tribes and pacified the rest of Gaul (Powell, 2018: 77). Therefore, it was no longer necessary in the latter part of the first century AD to depict Gallic captive women with suggestive gestures of wartime rape and abuse. The wartime tactics used against the Alpine and other Gallic tribes have not affected how captive women are displayed here.

Scenes of hair-pulling are not limited to women. Scenes depicting a soldier grabbing the hair of a male opponent while kneeling to prepare or in the act of delivering a death blow derive from Greek battle art (Beckmann, 2003: 109). For example, the West Frieze of the Great Altar at Pergamon depicts Doris pulling the hair of Oceano, and the North Frieze depicts Fate pulling the hair of a male snake-legged giant (Stewart, 2000). A non-mythical example is the Borghese Sarcophagus, which depicts Romans and Gauls mid-battle as the centre scene (Plate 8; Beckmann, 2003: 148). Here, a Roman soldier pulls the hair of a male barbarian who has fallen among the chaos. The male barbarian is surrounded by the dead and dying Gauls. The Roman soldier in this scene is clearly pulling the barbarian up by the hair to deal him a death blow (as indicated by the position of the soldier raising his right arm, which is partially destroyed and was probably holding a sword).

The only male hair-pulling on the Column of Marcus Aurelius is scene LXXIX (Beckmann, 2013: 148). Again, this scene is one of fighting and killing. The Roman soldier is in the act of dealing a death blow to the male barbarian. The commonality of pulling male barbarian hair is linked to scenes of death. That is not to say that the hair-pulling of men does not carry a sexual connotation. However, it is mostly directly linked to scenes of slaughter in battle. The male

barbarian hair is often messy and dishevelled, which could also be linked to a form of sexualisation (further analysis of this topic is beyond the scope of this thesis). The messy and dishevelled hair of captive women is an erotic, sexual symbol that signifies movement: the movement away from abuse and sexual assault, movement away from capture, and forced movement towards the subjugator when pulled.

It is essential to recognise that the motif of vulnerable captive women symbolises not only those perceived as passive by the Romans but also anyone vulnerable to sexual and non-sexual abuses in the Roman world. This could include older people and people with disabilities, and those who identified outside the conventional male or female gender roles. Consequently, vulnerability and shame should be regarded as an integral addition to the core themes represented by the motif of captive women within the Roman social ideal listed at the top of this section. Furthermore, the exploitation and assertion of Roman power and dominion over a people inherently rely on the visual representation of the oppressed and subjugated as vulnerable. Only by depicting vulnerability can the visual narrative of oppression and subjugation be effectively communicated.

6.2.1. Captive Women: A Numerical Analysis

The comprehensive list of captive women featured in conquest iconography during the first two centuries AD is presented in Table 2, with additional details regarding capture, transport, and trophy/triumph scenes provided in Tables 1 and 3. Of the 25 public and private pieces examined in this study, 6 belong to the first century and 19 to the second, showcasing a total of 71 captive women. These depictions are nearly evenly divided between public and private art, featuring 38 and 33 captive women, respectively.

The violence towards captive women in images from the first century AD is generally subtle, with only one captive depicted with a gesture suggestive of wartime rape: hair-pulling, as seen on the Gemma Augustea. It was not until the second century that imagery alluding to wartime rape of captive women became more prominent, corresponding with an increased proliferation of images featuring barbarians in Roman art, most notably on public monuments under Trajan and Marcus Aurelius (Ferris, 2000).

The public monument from Trajan's reign, the arch at Benevento, features only three captive women in contrast to the numerous oversized statues of Dacian male captives adorning Trajan's forum (Ferris, 2000: 65). It is not until Marcus Aurelius' reign that captive women feature prominently, with a total of 61 instances on his column and 15 contemporary sarcophagi. Of these 61 depictions, 35 appear on Marcus Aurelius' column, and 27 feature on private sarcophagi.

While the overall numbers seem high, the majority of captive women are depicted on the imperial column of Marcus Aurelius, standing 100 Roman feet high, would have offered

limited visibility. If the figures on the columns were painted, it would have enhanced their visibility; the higher relief carving on Marcus Aurelius' column would have also contributed.

The sarcophagi, accounting for 91% of captive women images on public monuments during this period, would have had a varied audience. Recent research by Barbara Borg (2013, 2019) suggests that these sarcophagi were displayed prominently and quite publicly, often in front of the tomb or its precinct, before the interment. However, the visibility would have been relatively limited compared to public monuments in a forum.

6.2.2. Captive vs Hostage: Results

Section 5.2 delved into how primary literary sources categorised conquered women as either captives or hostages. The analysis revealed ambiguity in these terms, and when wartime rape was introduced into the discourse, it became evident that a noble captive woman could simultaneously embody both labels: being showcased as a trophy while potentially leveraged for her status as a hostage.

Rome dictated the criteria for what constituted a captive or hostage, tailoring these definitions to suit the tactics employed to enforce submission. When juxtaposing literary evidence with pictorial representations, these boundaries appear even more indistinct (Section 5.2.). The contexts presented in the scenes of capture, transport, and trophy/triumphal display do not offer enough clarity to determine if these women represent the status of hostages. This ambiguity arises from the motif's primary function: to represent the Roman social ideals concerning conquered women. In scenes of capture and transport, complete subjugation is symbolised by the women's vulnerability and shame, evidenced through gestures alluding to wartime rape and abuse. In contrast, trophy and triumphal scenes, absent of any suggestive gestures, depict an idealised woman. Often fully clothed, as seen in the Campania relief where she even dons a head covering (Plates 38 and 39), this woman, once marked by vulnerability and shame, now embodies the conquered population's assimilation into the Roman Empire, relegating them to their destined roles as enslaved individuals.

The depictions clearly indicate the captured women are subjected to threatening and coercive actions. In artworks like the Gemma Augustea, the Column of Marcus Aurelius, and the Antonine battle sarcophagi, these women, bearing signs suggestive of wartime rape and abuse, often appear alongside their families or other captive women. The implication here invites the viewer to envision that these women were potentially violated in the presence of their loved ones and their community. This subdued demeanour is especially evident in the Column of Marcus Aurelius capture scenes and the clemency and transport scenes on the Antonine battle sarcophagi. The women appear 'subdued' or 'tamed'. For instance, on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, women whose hair is being pulled simultaneously display exposed shoulders or breasts. This invites the spectator to infer a narrative of prior sexual

violations. Moreover, the act of hair-pulling not only indicates a desire for dominance and control but ominously hints at impending abuse. Thus, the aggressive gesture combination serves as a distressing prelude to the abuses these women might face next.

6.2.3. Scenes of Capture

Augustan conquest iconography noticeably lacks scenes of capture, reserving such portrayals predominantly for exclusive, high-end art, like on the Gemma Augustea. This seems to be a deliberate choice in Augustan artistic propaganda, highlighting the incorporation of barbarian male children into the imperial household. This narrative strategically bolstered Augustus' image of *patria potestas*, paternal authority (refer to Section 2.3), reinforcing his esteemed position as the *pater patriae*, the nation's father.

Tacitus suggest that Augustus held women as hostages during his Germanic campaigns (see Section 1.3). However, Augustan artistic expressions appeared more focused on portraying hostage children in submissive stances or religious processionals. An instance of this is observed in his triumphant celebration following the Actium victory. Instead of showcasing Cleopatra, Octavian (who would later be known as Augustus) highlighted her children, Helios and Selene, in the ceremonial parade (Dio, *Roman History* 51.21.8–9).

Moreover, during Gaul's conclusive pacification, Augustus introduced a unique 'son-giving' strategy. This mandated that the offspring of Gallic leaders be placed under Augustus's guardianship, ensuring they were nurtured under the imperial family. Upon maturity, these sons would then resume leadership roles in their native territories, solidifying their unwavering loyalty to Rome. Artistic portrayals of this custom can be discerned in material like the Boscoreale silver cups and the Ara Pacis (Kuttner, 1995).

In addition to the Gallic sons, Augustus also integrated the Parthian children of King Phraates into his imperial household (Suetonius, *Augustus* 43.3). However, in his *Res Gestae* (32.1), Augustus only makes specific mention of the elite children given to him from the West and the East (Kuttner, 1995: 116). The only identifiable female elite non-Roman, non-mythical woman portrayed in Augustan art is a woman interpreted based on her dress as an Eastern queen on the Ara Pacis (Rose, 1990: 94). She is represented resting her hand on the head of her male child, both of whom have been 'generously' welcomed into the imperial *domus* (Rose, 1990: 456).

Of particular relevance to this context is the Gemma Augustea. While this cameo represents the only Augustan private work showcasing a capture scene, the Grand Camée de France similarly portrays defeated captives (Plate 45). Other 'state cameos' created during the Julio-Claudian period might have also exhibited analogous imagery (Henig, 1983: 156). An example is the fragmented cameo of Caligula, where he is depicted seated beside the goddess Roma in a manner akin to Augustus alongside Roma on the Gemma Augustea (Seipel, 2006). As only

a fragment of the Caligula cameo survives, it might have originally featured a lower register of captives, similar to the Gemma Augustea and the Grand Camée de France.

Intriguingly, the capture scene depicted on the Gemma Augustea is of a private setting, suggesting that witnessing this particular phase of the trafficking process might have been a privilege solely for the exclusive imperial circle during the first century AD. This elite cohort would possess an in-depth understanding of Rome's methodologies for subduing and capturing captive women. Given that the Gemma Augustea was designed to elevate Augustus and his lineage, underscoring the legitimacy of his reign through divine backing, it seems apt to showcase a more truthful representation of the physical subjugation and abuse of these women. This is further highlighted through suggestive wartime rape and abuse motifs, such as the act of hair-pulling, as detailed in Section 4.2, serving as potent symbols of imperial power and control.

Section 5.4.1. examined the scenes depicting the capture of women onthe Column of Marcus Aurelius and the Antonine battle sarcophagi. The portrayed status of captive women on these monuments suggests nobility, as inferred from the fillets adorning their heads, an accessory typically indicative of higher social standing. As these captive women recur as a motif across multiple sarcophagi, their status becomes generalised.

These women, often depicted with male counterparts, symbolise the comprehensive nature of Rome's victory, encompassing all enemy status groups, including the local elite. Iconographic distinctions, such as clothing and the Stoic Roman social ideals surrounding the attire of elite Roman women, including fillets, would be readily recognisable to the Roman viewer. Here, status serves as a signal of Rome's ability to conquer even the elite women of a culture, thereby reinforcing the profound extent of Roman conquest.

6.2.4. Scenes of Transport

The examination of transport scenes involving captive women reveals that this particular stage of trafficking is least represented in conquest iconography (Section 5.5.). No surviving examples from the first century AD is known (Figure 2). However, in the second century AD, transport scenes are portrayed on the Column of Marcus Aurelius and the Vatican (Clemency) Battle Sarcophagus, collectively featuring a total of 13 women (Table 2).

Despite the scarcity of transport scenes, we should not undervalue their significance within the trafficking process. Notably, these surviving pieces provide insight into the primary methods employed for transporting captive women. They are shown preparing to travel by a horse-drawn cart (the Column of Marcus Aurelius, Scene 100, Plate 36; Vatican (Clemency) Battle Sarcophagus, Plate 18), or on foot (the Column of Marcus Aurelius, Scenes 68–69, Plate 31).

At this juncture, Scene 100 on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, which depicts the transport of captive women, merits a critical reassessment. Depeyrot (2010: 313) interprets this scene as barbarian women being relocated 'under Roman protection'. However, this interpretation appears somewhat naive. The scene does not provide evidence that these women are being rehomed. In the broader context of the Marcomannic Wars and the other scenes on the column depicting captive women being forcibly seized by soldiers, it seems more plausible that these women are considered spoils of war.

Two of the women walking in the background display loose and dishevelled hair, a gesture indicative of wartime rape and abuse. A soldier aggressively nudges a captive woman in the foreground towards the transport convoy. The distressed expressions on the faces of all the women in the scene, coupled with the chaotic gestures of the soldiers, underscore a tumultuous atmosphere.

These women might represent the wives of Germanic chieftains, leading Depeyrot to interpret the scene as them being 'rehomed' out of respect for their status, rather than being held captive to be later sold or used as hostages. The woman on the cart appears to be wearing a head covering, and the woman being pushed by the soldier in the foreground has her hair tied in a loose bun. The two women standing in the background have their hair worn loose and fillets around their heads, suggesting a higher status. As discussed above, the noble captives stand to represent the all-encompassing power of Roman conquest over all social statuses. None of the women display gestures explicitly signifying wartime rape and abuse.

Instead, the depiction of punitive warfare tactics on the column strongly implies that these captive women do not stand to represent a generous gesture of delicately being rehomed but based on the chaotic tone of the capture scenes, the viewer could be invited to imagine that these women would have also been forcefully captured and herded together for transportation away from their homeland. The visual depiction suggests to the viewer that they stand to represent hostages rather than being rehomed. The overall message conveyed by the column is one of punitive conquest, and the portrayal of these captive women aligns with the brutal realities of war, further supporting the notion that they were not being rehomed but were victims of war's devastating impact.

The reason behind the limited depiction of the transport of captives in conquest iconography can be attributed to the specific purpose of these visual representations. Scenes of suppressing captives and displaying war booty served as potent images showcasing Rome's power and might throughout the known world. These portrayals reinforced the propagandistic message of conquest and legitimised imperial rule, projecting an image of dominance and control.

In contrast, the transport of captives could be perceived as merely a logistical step in the trafficking process, lacking the same symbolic impact as scenes of conquest. Consequently,

artists might have chosen to focus on the more visually impactful aspects of capture and trophy and triumphal display rather than illustrating the less dramatic act of transportation.

Furthermore, without additional sources such as logistical documents like the Koptos Tariff (Figure 8), understanding transport routes for captive women during the Roman period can be challenging. The trafficking of people was and continues to be inherently concealed, making it difficult to track specific transportation details even in modern times, let alone in antiquity.

Despite these challenges, evidence of the transport of captive women can be found 'concealed' in plain sight on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, and the Vatican (Clemency) Battle Sarcophagus. These artistic depictions provide valuable insights into this lesser-explored aspect of the trafficking cycle, shedding light on the journey these captive women underwent as part of the larger process of conquest.

6.2.5. Scenes of Trophy and Triumph

Scenes that depict trophy and triumphal display mark the final step in the trafficking process of the captive woman in Roman conquest iconography. The analysis of the relevant assemblage here has revealed that this step is the most represented in Roman art. This is not a surprising result, as the *tropaeum* tableaux are derived from the traditional Greek practice of displaying captives under a *tropaeum* made of wood and adorned with the arms of the conquered (Kinnee, 2018). The *tropaeum* without captives displayed underneath it was another popular stock motif that had been used since the Republican period (Kinnee, 2018). The message of the captive woman as a trophy to be won through Roman military power was disseminated widely through small-format media such as coins and lamps. At the same time, Rome itself was the primary location for the display of the final step in the trafficking process. With this city being the final destination for many captive women, Roman artists appear to be keener on displaying this final stage than the other steps in trafficking. In the context of the male gaze, Roman men could obtain further pleasure knowing that the captive woman is being displayed as a trophy. She has been subdued and tamed and is now no longer a threat to male power, status, and metaphorical castration. The female captive was displayed as a trophy to express male power and status over her body and sexuality.

6.3. How the Message of the Captive Woman Was Consumed

Research question two, outlined in the introduction to this chapter, addressed how the Roman audience, knowing about the existence of wartime rape would have consumed this message. In addition to representing sexual assault, wartime rape gestures are a product of the male gaze. Figure 7 was created to aid in the analysis of the different combinations of suggestive wartime rape gestures. By applying feminist film theory to the combinations of wartime gestures, we can better understand how the captive woman's male audience visually consumed her. The concept of the male gaze states that images of women were created by

and for the pleasure and satisfaction of the male observer (Mulvey, 1975). This concept has been applied to the reading of the captive women in conquest art. This thesis has demonstrated how the male gaze was used to objectify the captive women and sexualise them and allow the Roman male viewer to participate in her rape (Koloski-Ostrow, 1997). Moreover, the sexualisation of the captive woman is representative of her commodification in the traffic of sex (Chapter 4.2.). The male viewer would wonder what the captive woman's body looked like, should the ripped tunic fall a few more inches. The male gaze was triumphant in eroticising her exposed breast, pulled or unbound dishevelled hair, and her bare shoulder. The accentuation and breaking apart of the woman's body by revealing only certain parts of it allowed the male viewer to consume the captive woman piece by piece without having his masculinity displaced, challenged, or threatened by her uncontrolled female sexuality.

Each wartime rape gesture focuses on the woman's hair, shoulder, breast, or all three. The period with the highest number of women displaying signs of rape is the second century AD. Loose and dishevelled hair is the most frequently used motif, and this can be attributed to the eroticisation of hair in Roman society (Figure 7; discussed in Chapter 4.3). It is representative of a power imbalance between the captive woman and her male onlooker. Moreover, this gesture represents the captive women being a commodity of exchange and exploitation in the sexual and economic marketplace and the object of 'male fantasies of erotic domination' (Chapter 4.3.; Greene, 1999: 411). The second most popular wartime rape gesture is a pulled tunic to reveal a bare shoulder with loose/dishevelled hair (Figure 7).

The next popular wartime rape gesture is pulled hair with a pulled tunic to reveal a bare breast and shoulder (Figure 7). The captive woman's body is exposed even further than in the previous gesture. Having her hair pulled exposes her vulnerability and reinforces her treatment as an object rather than a human being. She has now been pulled apart into three different parts of her body for the male gaze to consume. Here the male viewer can put himself in the place of the soldier who is doing the action of pulling her hair, making him an active participant in her rape (Koloski-Ostrow, 1997: 225). As discussed in Section 4.2., the negative sexual connotations that the unbound hair of non-women in Roman society carries (Cosgrove, 2005: 79) are easily thwarted by violently taking the captive woman's hair in hand. This action could reduce the threat of her untamed female sexuality to his male virtue. Scenes that depict the captive woman with this insinuating wartime rape gesture are exclusively on the Column of Marcus Aurelius (Plates 28, 31, and 33). Only two women on the column are depicted in this way. When depicted in a scene, there is never more than one captive woman with this combination of insinuating wartime rape gestures. They are either the only captive woman in the scene (Scene 20, Plate 29) or in the company of several other women who display one of the other gesture combinations (Scenes 104–105, Plate 34). The exposed breast, while a potent visual representation of the anxieties and dangers of a world turned upside down (Bonfante, 1997: 175), combined with pulled hair, could have posed too much

of a threat to the male gaze, hence its minimal representation in the Roman conquest iconography.

The sadistic-voyeuristic gaze, a component of the male gaze (Mulvey, 1975; Severy-Hoven, 2012), pertains to depictions of captive women in Roman conquest iconography (Section 3.6). It involves the male viewer deriving pleasure from the punishment or objectification of women (Clover, 1992). This form of voyeurism includes men taking pleasure from seeing women in distress, such as witnessing their fear of abuse, exemplified by the barbarian woman in Scene 98 on the Column of Marcus Aurelius. In Roman conquest imagery, captive women often display expressions of abject fear with wides and open mouths. The captive women in Roman conquest imagery who are crouched are cringe expressions.

A woman on the Column of Marcus Aurelius screams while her hair is pulled (Scene 20; Plate 29). The captive women in the two series of battle sarcophagi display facial gestures of discomfort, including wide eyes, a raised brow, and pursed lips. These gestures can all feed into sadistic voyeurism, especially on the columns because the scenes of captive women would be high in the air at a safe distance from which the male viewer can ease his unpleasure by enjoying looking at her pain and suffering. He can do this in part by looking at the different parts of her body that are accentuated through suggestive wartime rape gestures, or he can do it in whole by consuming scenes that depict multiple captive women in a state of vulnerability and shame. Without the gestures that insinuate wartime rape and abuse, the male viewer would not be able to safely consume her without a threat to his ego or psychoanalytically eliminate the threat of castration.

6.4. What the Depictions Tell Us About the Experiences of Captive Women

The representations of captive women, particularly their depictions as victims of rape, provide crucial insights into their traumatic experiences during wartime. These insights become even more profound when we interpret them through the lens of modern accounts of wartime rape and contemporary theories regarding the same. This methodology, developed in Section 3.6, was implemented throughout Chapters 4 and 5.

While the artistic depictions of wartime rape in Roman art are indirect and implied through passive gestures, and not present in every wartime scenario or tactic identified, the frequent references to it in ancient texts allow us to confidently infer its prevalence. In this regard, first-hand accounts from modern survivors of wartime rape offer a more in-depth understanding of the potential experiences endured by these captive women at the hands of Roman soldiers.

Significantly, it wasn't until the 1990s that such data from wartime rape survivors was systematically and thoughtfully collected by war crime investigators (Stiglmayer, 1994). These

accounts serve as an invaluable resource for enhancing our understanding of the experiences of captive women in the Roman period of study.

Emerging research highlights the pervasive use of rape as a weapon of war, not just in Roman warfare, but also in modern conflicts (Stiglmayer, 1994; Buss, 2009; Henry, 2014; Murphy, 2015). Rape has even been utilized as a military strategy for committing genocide (Askin, 2003; Buss, 2009). Kathy Gaca (2013) has made significant contributions to our understanding of rape as a weapon of war in the context of Greek and Roman warfare. Gaca's comparative studies between ancient and modern wartime rapes provide crucial insights, challenging the misconception that the sexual abuse endured by women in antiquity was fundamentally different from the experiences of modern survivors.

By applying the period-specific framework outlined in Section 3.7.2, grounded in Gaca's research, to the broader scope of victories commemorated in both public Roman monuments and private pieces, we enhance our comprehension of the military strategies implemented and their repercussions for the treatment of captive women. This approach facilitates the differentiation between those women destined for the slave market—where they were subject to further sexual exploitation—and those ensnared in punitive, predatory or parasitic warfare conditions, wherein they were forced to coexist with their occupiers and continually faced the looming threat of rape. In the art of the latter half of the first century BC and the first century AD, punitive military strategies are buried beneath propagandistic messages in the prevailing public art commissioned by and for Augustus and strictly limited to the imperial ruling elite. The more frequent use of the motif in the second century AD suggests that more consideration was given to the punitive war tactics used when crafting the visual narrative of conquest, one that Roman viewers were able to consume on public imperial monuments and eventually purchase on everyday objects.

The harrowing testimony of Sadeta, a twenty-year-old Bosnian woman subjected to sexual violence by Serbian soldiers during the 1994 Bosnia-Herzegovina invasion (Stiglmayer, 1994:93), provides a stark picture of the lifelong humiliation, defilement, and emotional scarring endured by rape victims. Drawing parallels with the depictions of vulnerable, sexually assaulted captive women in Roman conquest iconography - their hair forcibly pulled, and breast or shoulder exposed - we can infer the similar terrors that such women would have experienced in antiquity. The temporal and cultural distance should not lead us to believe that these ancient women would have processed the trauma of wartime rape any differently than their modern counterparts.

Retaliatory war tactics, as discussed in Chapter 4, encompass the horrific act of gang rape. The contemporary correlation can be seen in the grotesquely brutal incidents of gang rape in current conflicts, which are often enacted publicly, in front of the victim's relatives, and sometimes used as a genocidal tool (Copelon, 1994: 205). This brings us full circle to the potential threat posed by captives. Gang rape continues to be weaponised in modern warfare,

as evidenced by recent reports from Ukraine of such atrocities committed by Russian soldiers amid the ongoing conflict (Myronuik, 2022).

In summation, the examination of captive women's experiences in Roman conquest iconography—particularly those alluding to rape—yields invaluable insights into their lived traumas. Moreover, the application of modern wartime rape testimonies and theoretical frameworks further enhance our understanding of these experiences, underscoring the timeless and universal impact of sexual violence in the context of war.

6.7. Conclusion

There were some limitations to this research, but the data set is representative of the reassessment of current scholarship on the subject and the limitations do impact overall conclusions. The assemblage discussed in this study consists of 25 private and public pieces of art that have been well published. Prior to March 2020, I was able to go to Rome and the museums and sites listed in Chapter 3 to take photographs of specific images. Because of the Covid-19 pandemic, conducting further research for other pieces in museums and libraries outside of the United Kingdom was simply impossible and unsafe. By the same token, the inability to travel to libraries outside of the United Kingdom has limited my ability to obtain higher-quality images from publications that have been poorly scanned (provided by the interlibrary loan service at the University of Sheffield).

Moreover, the state of preservation of Roman art plays a crucial role in the material available for study. As a result, the sample size cannot reflect the number of captive women on display in Italy with 100% accuracy. Additionally, the likelihood that surviving examples of public art available for study are lower in number than those from the private sphere could reflect the tendency of public monuments to be destroyed, dismantled, or moved over time. Private art has a higher survivability rate because the relevant pieces are found either in tombs or in private collections. The quality of photos also has hindered my ability occasionally to gauge the ages of the women, which would have added a quality analysis between the literature that predominately discusses the rape of virgins and beautiful women compared to the women depicted in the iconography.

Utilising a multidisciplinary lens to analyse Roman conquest imagery reveals distinct stages in a captive woman's trafficking journey: 1) capture; 2) transport; and 3) trophy/triumph. The study sought to interpret the reasoning behind depictions of captive women with gestures hinting at wartime rape. Drawing from Wartime Rape Theories and evaluating these gestures provides the context of wartime sexual violence that is inherent in the imagery. This research underscores that interpretations of captive women in Roman conquest imagery should be contextualised within trafficking, acknowledging them as victims of sexual assault.

Gestures with connotations of wartime rape and abuse vividly manifest the visual language of shame and vulnerability. This suggests a deliberate employment of these gestures to symbolise the utilisation of wartime rape and abuse as instruments of warfare. Within the framework of Roman cultural ideals, such depictions epitomise the prescribed method of subduing female enemies. For instance, a pivotal insight garnered from this study highlights the alignment of Roman military tactics with strategies during the Augustan Gallic and Germanic Wars and the Marcomannic Wars, underscored by punitive tactics and vengeance. Consequently, the depiction of certain captive women, accentuated by the most obvious rape gestures—hair-pulling, and bared breast and shoulder—materialises as a manifestation of exacted vengeance within the fabric of conquest iconography.

Mieke Bal (1991:91) doubted if it is possible to reconcile actual rape with its depictions in 'high' art, concluding that by representing rape, the victim's subjectivity is destroyed, rendering them invisible. Contrarily, I posit that while depictions that suggest rape might underscore the shame, degradation, and vulnerability of captive women, the choice to include it in the imagery also serve as an affirmation of its occurrence. By acknowledging these acts, a semblance of subjectivity is attributed to the captive women within Roman conquest iconography. Furthermore, the suggestive nature of these gestures bestows upon viewers the authority to envision, and potentially fantasise, the extent and intensity of the depicted sexual assault and abuse. The onus then lies with future scholars to preserve and amplify this perspective.

6.6. Future Research

Two critical avenues of future research have come about from this project. The first is the analysis of captive children in Roman conquest iconography in the context of sex trafficking. The captive children are depicted in the same trafficking steps as their mothers in this study, albeit without wartime rape gestures. Their journey in conquest iconography requires analysis by using a similar methodology applied to the study of captive women. Children, in reality, were made to suffer wartime rape (Livy, *Roman History* 21.57.14, 29.17.15–16). Young, pretty boys have a specific mention in poems and epigrams (Asso, 2010). Additionally, information in the Roman literary sources can be used to gain insight into how young boys were trafficked, explicitly for sex (Tacitus, *Histories* 4.14). The sexual abuse (Roth, 2021) and exploitation (Richlin, 1992; Laes, 2003; Pollini, 2003; Green, 2015) suffered by children once enslaved informs the argument of the sex trafficking of young boys. This future project would include ancient literary accounts of the Roman slave market that include information about age and ethnicity (Martial, *Epigrams* 5.34; 5.37; 10.61; Straton, *Greek Anth*. 12.4); this could be compared with modern accounts and methods in the traffic of children for sex (Campagna and Poffenberger, 1988; Estes and Weiner, 2001) to find similarities that can shed light on the ancient process. A social contextual analysis of the various media in which the enslaved boy is featured would help inform some of the ethnic preferences for enslaved boys (Statius, *Silvae* 2.1.72–6; George, 2003; Fentress, 2011).

The second avenue for future research is a comparative study conducted on conquest iconography in the Roman provinces, as this thesis has focused on Italy. It needs to be determined if the messages of the captive women and the treatment to which they were subjected were depicted differently in Italy from similar images in the Roman provinces. Monuments to be explored that were erected during the first two centuries AD are in Gaul, Germany, Tunisia, and Moesia Inferior. These locations were chosen because they are the locations of monuments erected by Augustus and Marcus Aurelius and are concurrent with successful battles commemorated in Italy. The focus here is primarily on arches as city gates to towns and settlements in Gaul and Germany and on two trophies, the *Tropaeum Traiani* at Adamklissi and the trophy statue group at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges.

Preliminary results suggest that the location, audience, and circumstances of conquest made a difference in how Romans saw and depicted the captive female. Moreover, the intended audiences in the northern provinces included non-Italian citizens, non-citizens, and newly 'civilised barbarians'. This study will prove, at least in the Roman mindset of propagandistic art, that there was an absolute separation between the centre (Rome) and the periphery and all other provinces under Roman control. The audience in southern Gaul had already experienced Roman rule and ethnic mixing of tribes displaced by conflict for over 100 years by the time the arches were constructed under Augustus. Conquest was not a new experience for the local inhabitants, and the proximity of southern Gaul to Italy meant greater familiarity with Rome.

The intended propaganda message on the arches was to promote the unity of the Roman military veterans and the local inhabitants. They served as a warning to those outside Roman rule. Those travelling from Britannia, the Three Gauls, Germania, Lusitania, and Hispania would have seen the arches when travelling to Italy. This visibility of the arches along the way has been argued to have 'exerted strong social control, while also allowing the viewer to confront and accept or reject his or her past' and helped to 'reaffirm his or her identity as Roman' (Reyman-Lock, 2014: 58). The visual of the captive woman on these arches and monuments would have exerted substantial social control and were reminders to captive women travelling through the area of the horrors of the sexual assault endured at the time of their capture and transport. Their sexuality was no longer their own, but Rome's. The propaganda reinforced the idea of the Pax Augusta; peace can only be made a reality through the actions of conquest. However, the depiction of the captive woman reinforced and added an extra message to the local and non-local women.

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List of Abbreviations

CIL   *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin: Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, (1863 –).

CSIR   *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani* (from 1963).

ILS   *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. Translated by Dessau, H. Berlin: Weidmann. (1892–2016)

Digest   *The Digest of Justinian*, Vols. 1–2. Translation by Watson, A. (1985) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

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Figures, Tables, and Plates

Plate 1. Imperial Clemency Scene on Antonine relief panel on the triumphal arch located along Via di Pietra in Rome. After Uzzi 2005: 101, Fig. 39.

List of Plates

Material	Century	Fully Clothed with no signs of wartime rape gestures	Hair pulled	Loose/Dishevelled hair	Pulled tunic to reveal a bare shoulder (s)	Pulled tunic to reveal a bare shoulder(s) with loose/dishevelled hair	Pulled tunic to reveal a bare shoulder and breast with loose/dishevelled hair	Pulled tunic to reveal a bare shoulder (s) and breast	Hair pulled with pulled tunic to reveal a bare shoulder (s)	Hair Pulled with pulled tunic to reveal a bare breast and shoulder	# of Scenes	# of women
Gemma Augustea	1st	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
Grand Camée de France	1st	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Temple of Apollo Sosianus	1st	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Terracotta Lamp	1st	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Gladiator Helmet	1st	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
Campana Relief	1st	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
TOTAL FOR 1ST CENTURY		5	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	7	8

Material	Century	Fully Clothed with no signs of wartime rape gestures	Hair pulled	Loose/Dishevelled hair	Pulled tunic to reveal a bare shoulder (s)	Pulled tunic to reveal a bare shoulder(s) with loose/dishevelled hair	Pulled tunic to reveal a bare shoulder and breast with loose/dishevelled hair	Pulled tunic to reveal a bare shoulder (s) and breast	Hair pulled with pulled tunic to reveal a bare shoulder (s)	Hair Pulled with pulled tunic to reveal a bare breast and shoulder	# of Scenes	# of women
Trajan's Arch at Benevento	2nd	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Column of Marcus Aurelius	2nd	7	0	12	1	4	1	0	1	2	11	19-Capture 8-Transport
Farnese Frieze	2nd	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Portonaccio Sarcophagus	2nd	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	3
Palermo Sarcophagus	2nd	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2
Villa Borghese Sarcophagus	2nd	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Palazzo Giustiniani Sarcophagus	2nd	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Large Doria Pamphilj Sarcophagus	2nd	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Large Campo Santo Pisa Sarcophagus	2nd	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Vatican (Clemency) Sarcophagus	2nd	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	3	4
Mantua Sarcophagus	2nd	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Florence Sarcophagus	2nd	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Frascati Sarcophagus	2nd	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Poggio a Caiano Sarcophagus	2nd	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Los Angeles Sarcophagus	2nd	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Palazzo Mattei Sarcophagus (a)	2nd	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Palazzo Mattei Sarcophagus (b)	2nd	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
Via Appia Sarcophagus	2nd	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	3
TOTAL FOR 2ND CENTURY		16	0	20	2	12	1	3	1	2	31	57
OVERALL TOTAL		21	0	21	3	12	1	3	2	2	38	65