

wealth of evidence that C. has amassed here lays to rest once and for all the question asked 30 years ago (M. Golden, *G&R* 35 [1988], 152–63). Many inhabitants of the Roman empire cared very much when their children died, including the youngest ones.

The text is accompanied by many illustrations (both photographs and line drawings), maps marking the named sites and an appendix with tables of the infant burials from eight sites. The bibliography is extensive. An *index locorum* would have been a useful addition as C. makes good use of written texts throughout the book, even though they are not its focus.

There are times when the sudden shifts in chronology and geography can become disorienting, and it is not always easy to determine whether C. sees the evidence as reflecting Roman influence, continuing local traditions or some combination of the two. This is perhaps inevitable in a work of such ambitious scale and certainly does not detract from the book's important and manifold contributions to scholarship. C. has taken a veritable mountain of evidence and produced an engaging and erudite monograph, which will be of interest to all scholars of childhood and the family, not just those of the ancient world. There is no excuse now to privilege the literary sources when C. has made the material culture, epigraphic, archaeological and iconographic evidence so accessible. Her book will surely become a foundational work in the field.

McMaster University

ANGELA HUG
huga@mcmaster.ca

FREED SLAVES AND ROMAN ARISTOCRATIC VALUES

MACLEAN (R.) *Freed Slaves and Roman Imperial Culture. Social Integration and the Transformation of Values*. Pp. xii + 208, ill. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. Cased, £75, US\$99.99. ISBN: 978-1-107-14292-3.

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Formally manumitted slaves (*liberti*) were given citizen status in Rome. M. assumes that this distinctively Roman practice resulted in the formation of a subculture ('freed culture' or 'slave and free culture'; pp. 16–17) that influenced Roman values, including those of the elite. After the rise of monarchy, aristocrats, not unlike *liberti*, were forced to fashion 'their commemorative personae from within the confines of a subordinate status' (pp. 172–3) and therefore 'turned to commemorative strategies that were adapted in part from ex-slaves' (p. 4).

The first chapter, 'Freed Slaves and the Roman Elite', is, in effect, an introduction including theoretical and methodological considerations and a summary of the argument for each of the following chapters (pp. 32–4). While continuing to carry the stigma of their previous status, freedmen, according to M., participated in 'a discernible subculture', visible especially in funerary inscriptions, which freedmen in imperial Rome and Italy commissioned 'in significantly higher proportions than did *ingenui* of any rank' (p. 3). Their 'models' for commemoration, including 'the derivation of honor from hard work and loyal service', were borrowed by members of the elite and 'provided one mechanism

for the transformation of elite culture' (p. 4). The tomb of the baker Eurysaces at the Porta Maggiore in Rome serves as a point of departure for discussing 'freed culture' (pp. 5–15).

Chapter 2, 'Achieving Immortality under the Principate', includes sections on: behavioural norms for ex-slaves (pp. 37–41); inscriptions of ex-slaves mentioning *fama* ('fame') (pp. 41–54); the impact of the rise of autocracy on the commemorative strategies of the aristocracy, including the importance of *obsequium* and *industria* (pp. 55–61); the possible contribution of Christian ideals and particularly Paul's 'slave of God' *topos* in accepting 'service and deference' (p. 62) as something worth commemorating (pp. 61–70). The epigraphic sources chosen for discussion are not always conclusive in respect to the argument advanced. The parallels that M. draws between commemorative strategies found in ex-slaves' monuments and the 'path that Tacitus [in *Agricola*] charts for those seeking to be good under bad emperors' (p. 60) are nevertheless worth considering.

Chapter 3, 'Cultural Exchange in Roman Society', examines literary evidence in an attempt to measure 'influence from the bottom up' in Roman society, and 'the probable mechanisms for exchange across status boundaries' (p. 73). Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis* (pp. 81–6) is explored for 'aspects of freed culture' (p. 83) that were known to Petronius and his readers. Horace's approach to *libertas* and his claim to be the proud son of a freedman (pp. 86–91), and Seneca's Stoic concept of universal virtue irrespective of status (pp. 91–5) lead M. to conclude that identifying with *liberti* might have been a fruitful strategy under the Julio-Claudians (p. 91). M. is convinced that Phaedrus was indeed the freedman that he professes to be (p. 97) (as opposed to a member of the Roman elite masquerading as a man of the people, as E. Champlin argues in 'Faedrus the Fabulous', *JRS* 95 [2005], 97–123, at 117) and reads his *Fables* as an example of ex-slaves' participation in Roman literary production (pp. 95–103).

Chapter 4, 'Imperial Freedmen and Imperial Power', asks how imperial slaves and freedmen may have provided '*exempla* that aristocrats could apply fruitfully to their own situation' (p. 105), beginning with Claudius' freedman M. Antonius Pallas and the honours he received from the Roman senate (pp. 107–11). In this case, according to M., the senate 'endorsed an ex-slave's ability to stand as a positive *exemplum*' (p. 129). More plausibly, M. puts forward the hypothesis that the *familia Caesaris* contributed to the dissemination of imperial ideology and in the integration of personal ties with political institutions during the early imperial period by setting up disproportionately many inscribed funerary monuments and by regularly including their imperial *nomina* in their inscriptions (p. 123).

Chapter 5, 'Telling Life Stories', investigates how some epitaphs demonstrate continuity in the life course of former slaves despite the change of status from slavery to freedom (pp. 136–43). Some freedmen referred to their spouse as *contubernalis* even after manumission (pp. 142–4). A few *liberti* evoked work as a source of continuity between their status as freedmen and their servile past (pp. 144–6). Votive inscriptions containing the formula *servus vovit, liber solvit* are adduced as evidence that religion could serve the same purpose (pp. 147–51). M. argues against the view that the formula was used by *liberti* to express gratitude for a god's assistance in attaining their freedom. She suggests instead that the juxtaposition of *servus* and *liber* was used 'to advertise upward mobility' (p. 150). In the last section of this chapter, M. returns to Stoic and early Christian philosophy and contends that Seneca's, Epictetus' and Paul's focus on ethics as a source of prestige is comparable with ex-slaves' commemorative practices, in that it appealed to 'sources of meaning' (p. 164) beyond ancestry and political office.

As a minor point of criticism, although M. is otherwise aware of methodological problems, her concept of a 'freed culture' risks being anachronistic and projecting backward onto Roman society an attitude formed by modern identity politics. It is not self-evident that common experiences would result in shared values among ex-slaves (p. 18 and

passim) or that stigmatised members of Roman society would want to be associated with each other and to form communities or groups, real or imagined.

A serious objection to M.'s argument is her treatment of epigraphic evidence. She opts for a qualitative as opposed to a quantitative approach, but her conclusions are not always borne out by the inscriptions she chooses to discuss. M. takes Eurysaces to have been a *libertus*, 'to illustrate commemorative strategies examined in the rest of this study' (p. 11). The sole indication that Eurysaces may have been an ex-slave is his Greek *cognomen*. He may have been an enfranchised provincial instead. Further, despite doubts concerning the reading of APPARET as *apparet(oris)* on the western face of this monument (p. 5 n. 24; p. 13), M. assumes Eurysaces had passed 'a range of statuses' (p. 14) and, 'buoyed by wealth and personal connections' (p. 11), had succeeded in becoming a public servant (pp. 11, 13).

Further, M. takes the epitaph *CIL* 6.14211 as evidence of a connection between *fama* and the economic activity of a *libertus*. This inscription is known only from a copy of Cyriacus of Ancona and presents difficulties, discussed by P. Boyancé in *REL* 33, 1955 [1956], 113–20. Boyancé saw in the deceased, who carried the very unusual name Ikadium, a child or young person (p. 120), the son of a freedwoman named Calpurnia Anthis. Ikadium was himself a freedman: of Calpurnia, the third and last wife of Julius Caesar. M. adopts Boyancé's reading of the text but not his interpretation. Though the epitaph clearly suggests that the source of Ikadium's fame and luck were his famous patroness and his loving friends, M. sees in Ikadium a successful professional who enjoyed *fama* and *fortuna* thanks to his occupation and 'financial success of some kind' (p. 47).

The book is always readable and often engaging, and can be recommended for its perceptive exploration of aspects of Roman society, for its insightful analysis of literary sources and for suggesting plausible alternatives to the trickle-down effect to explain the diffusion of paradigms and ideals.

The bibliography includes approximately twice as many titles as are cited in the text. Misprints seem concentrated in the first chapter, whereas the rest of the book is well edited: p. 4 n. 19, 'Petersen and Joshel (2014)' should be 'Joshel and Petersen (2014)'; p. 4 n. 19, Certeau 1984 is missing from the bibliography; p. 10, in the caption of fig. 5, what should have been 'with permission of' has been printed in Italian ('su concessione del'); p. 22 n. 89, 'Eck 2010b' should be Eck 2010a.

National Hellenic Research Foundation

CHRISTINA KOKKINIA
kokkinia@cie.gr

MORE THAN A CENTURY OF PROSOPOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH

ECK (W.), HEIL (M.) (edd.) *Prosopographie des Römischen Kaiserreichs. Ertrag und Perspektiven. Kolloquium aus Anlass der Vollendung der Prosopographia Imperii Romani*. Pp. viii + 259, ill. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2017. Cased, £65.99, €79.95, US\$91.99. ISBN: 978-3-11-055714-5.

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The volume's preface, signed by the two editors, explains the nature of the work and the motivations for its coming into existence. The book is the indirect result of a colloquium on *PIR*, its development and its completion and is meant to be an occasion of remembrance