

both of oneself and of others' (*Roman Homosexuality*, 1999, 151; my emphasis). While G. acknowledges that 'control of the self, both in and outside of sex, was imperative' (16), he does not fully integrate this aspect of the *communis opinio* into his critique, which is aimed at a model of Roman manliness based solely on 'martial and political aggression' (19). In fact, many of the examples he proffers to illustrate the *vir bonus* or *malus* boil down to questions of self-control. Scipio Africanus and the Elder Cato were praised for various forms of restraint (47–50), whereas Catiline and Clodius were impugned as effeminate on the basis of their perceived lust for power (22–3). This overlap between the familiar prerogative of self-mastery and G.'s 'republican masculinity' obscures, though by no means vitiates, the distinctiveness of the latter.

Considering the performance of masculinity by people other than male aristocrats would also have helped G. identify precisely what, if anything, was characteristically 'manly' about the subordination of personal interests to the public good. For instance, G. depicts poor urban voters as a body that 'cared only for action, and for active men, not the finer points of republican principle' (88); but the *populus* regularly overrode the senate on matters of principle, as well as for material gains (R. Morstein-Marx in C. Steel and H. van der Blom, eds, *Community and Communication: Oratory and Politics in Republican Rome* (2013), 29–47). Roman historians have become increasingly sensitive to the ways in which women leveraged their wealth, religious authority and social networks to intervene in political life (for a recent survey, L. Webb in R. M. Frolov and C. Burden-Stevens, eds, *Leadership and Initiative in Late Republican and Early Imperial Rome* (2022), 151–88). While demonstrations of civic virtue by women tended to be coded as masculine, one wonders how G. would account for a text like Cornelia's letter to C. Gracchus, whether authentic or not, in which a matron urges her son to follow her lead in prioritising the public good over personal vengeance. Likewise, if Thræsea Paetus exemplifies for G. 'an imperial dissident motivated by the *vir's* traditional drive toward *gloria*' (117), could the same not be said of his mother-in-law, Arria Maior, whose suicide Pliny describes as driven by *gloria et aeternitas* (*Ep.* 3.16; R. Langlands, *Eugesta* 4 (2014), 214–37)?

By raising these questions, I do not mean to undervalue G.'s ambitious attempt to bring the insights of masculinity studies to bear on 500 years of Roman history. Any reader interested in the role of gender norms in Roman political life will benefit from engaging with his wide-ranging and lucid discussion.

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doi:10.1017/S0075435823000667

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BRENDA LONGFELLOW and MOLLY SWETNAM-BURLAND (EDS), *WOMEN'S LIVES, WOMEN'S VOICES: ROMAN MATERIAL CULTURE AND FEMALE AGENCY IN THE BAY OF NAPLES*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2021. Pp. 408, illus. ISBN 9781477323588. \$55.00.

'Facitis vobis suaviter' ('enjoy yourselves') proclaims a woman in a banqueting scene in the House of the Triclinium (V.2.4) in Pompeii (*CIL* IV 3442a). Her voice is one among many that appear in Brenda Longfellow and Molly Swetnam-Burland's edited volume, which charts the dynamics of female agency in the Bay of Naples—primarily in Pompeii and Herculaneum—up until 79 C.E.

This well-illustrated volume comprises an introduction, thirteen essays, an epilogue, a collective bibliography and a general index. The essays are distributed over three sections: 'Public and Commercial Identities', 'Women on Display' and 'Representing Women'. The contributions are commendably accessible, avoid jargon, and offer translations of ancient textual sources. The volume will be an invaluable teaching tool for undergraduate and graduate students studying Roman Italy and a welcome addition to the library of any scholar working on women in the ancient Mediterranean.

The contributors bring novel approaches and interpretations to well-studied evidence (including inscriptions, wall-paintings, honorific statues, monuments, buildings) as well as highlighting

underused corpora (graffiti, sculptures from extra-mural tombs). They challenge preconceptions about women's roles and provide many avenues for future research.

In their introduction, the editors contend that 'civic, religious, and funerary monuments built by and for women cannot be visually distinguished from those built by or for men', nor can 'the handwriting of a woman be identified in a graffito' (2). This lack of differentiation has meant that previous scholars have often envisioned Pompeii as 'a city inhabited by men' (2). Women were rendered invisible as much—if not more—by scholarly myopia as the Vesuvian communities of antiquity. To remedy these problems, contributors adopt an interdisciplinary approach, a focus on female agency, an intersectional lens through which to view 'women of a range of ages and social classes' (3), and a principle of inclusion that reads 'women into the picture' (4). This admirable method might have been even more effective if there had been more explicit engagement with theoretical frameworks around female agency and intersectionality (and with their definitions and problems), but there is no doubting the contributors' intentions and the value of their results.

Lauren Petersen's illuminating opening essay shows just how productive reading women back into the story can be. Revisiting the Temple of Isis (VIII.7.28) in Pompeii, she notes that scholarship has focused on the father of the young male dedicator N. Popidius Celsinus and not his mother Corelia Celsa. This even though Celsa's name appeared on the mosaic floor of the *ekklesiasterion* and in her son's cognomen (*CIL* X 848)! Such omissions efface women and 'belong to a larger pattern of silences in the scholarship' (13). Petersen demonstrates how source and archive reassembly can produce new narratives of a more heterogeneous Pompeii. Her challenge to 're-see' ancient sources and to make women 'integral to the city's material history' is taken up by her fellow contributors (24).

The subsequent four essays explore economic and public roles for women in the Bay of Naples and beyond. Swetnam-Burland compares the epigraphic evidence for freedwomen *nummulariae* (money-handlers) in the *familia Caesaris* under Claudius and Nero (*CIL* VI 8639) with Campanian material evidence to argue that women of all social classes could possess substantial social and financial agency. Lauren Caldwell continues in this vein, maintaining that the *peculium* (allowance) and spinning and weaving work offered free daughters-in-power and enslaved women some opportunities for economic roles. Barbara Kellum contends that the public priestesses who dedicated public monuments on the east side of Pompeii's Forum (Eumachia, Mamia, Alleia Decimilla) innovatively drew on imperial precedents (Livia, Octavia) to 'structure a monumental public persona' (82). Earlier precedents from Republican Rome could also have been adduced (e.g. Publicia and a temple of Hercules: *CIL* VI 30899). Eve D'Ambra offers a reappraisal of the Forum Frieze in the so-called atrium of the estate of Julia Felix (II.4.3) and sheds light on subaltern identities and goals. She argues that Julia Felix commissioned a vision of market days at Pompeii's Forum that rendered visible the city's 'working and commercial classes' (102).

Contributors in the second section disclose the multifaceted ways in which women self-identified and were identified by others. Longfellow re-examines female portraiture in Pompeii, particularly funerary statues from extra-mural tombs, and considers how they served as precedents for later female honorific statues in civic spaces. Elaine Gazda closely attends to the Bacchic frieze in Room 5 of the Villa of the Mysteries, hypothesising that the faces, especially those of the 'domina' and 'bride', were portraits of individual household members. Erika Zimmermann Damer offers an important carto-onomastic foray into female names in the graffiti of Pompeii and Herculaneum. Her analysis indicates that such names appeared in domestic and public contexts throughout these cities, and that many non-elite and non-Roman women left their mark. Sarah Levin-Richardson uncovers the visibility of Pompeian prostitutes as they moved through the cityscape, obtained water from fountains and worked in the purpose-built brothel (VII.12.18–19). She also sheds lights on their various roles, speculates on their private lives, and situates them firmly in the 'physical, economic, and social landscape' (192).

Essays in the third section explore the relationships between idealised representations of women and their lived experiences in Pompeii. Jennifer Trimble considers the multiple possible responses of different female viewers to the banqueting scenes in the *triclinium* of the House of the Chaste Lovers (IX.12.6). Luciana Jacobelli identifies the woman drinking from an elevated rhyton in the banqueting scene in *triclinium* r of the House of the Triclinium (V.2.4) as its sometime owner: an educated courtesan who 'in a free and autonomous manner had decided to use her house for parties and amorous meetings' (225). Jessica Powers zooms in on an erotic marble relief from a tavern (VII.7.18), arguing that it had multiple meanings for the tavern's owner, clients and workers. Finally, Margaret Laird offers an arresting study of a corpus of graffiti drawings of women by non-professional artists, revealing their lack of conformity to images in elite media. She

suggests that ‘the markers that we consider emblematic of Roman womanhood had limited appeal to the person on the street’ (264).

In her insightful epilogue, Allison Emmerson encourages future scholars to respond to Petersen’s call to embrace ‘messiness, equivocality, and uncertainty’ and to recognise the full complexity of ‘the silences in our evidence’ (280). She maintains that scholarship on women in antiquity has demolished the ‘idea that the lives of Greek and Roman women are inaccessible from the present’ (280). In her view, future projects will reveal how ‘the silence of other groups likewise results from the questions we ask and the narratives we uphold’ (280). This reviewer wholeheartedly agrees.

Contributors to this volume are involved in essential and exciting work: the recovery of information about women’s lives. More attention to what is meant by female (or other) agency and to intersectional perspectives on female categories and communities would, for example, have helped to explain further the gulf in agency between enslaved and elite women. However, this is a minor reservation. This volume offers innovative ways of looking at evidence, helps to correct the scholarly blindness of the past and unveils the diverse lives of the women who dwelt in Pompeii and Herculaneum.

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doi:10.1017/S0075435823000710

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DEBORAH KAMEN and C. W. MARSHALL (EDS), *SLAVERY AND SEXUALITY IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY* (Wisconsin studies in classics). Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2021. Pp. xv + 317, illus. ISBN 9780299331900. £92.95/US\$99.95.

‘Bitinna, I am a slave. Use me as you want!’ Thus enslaved Gastron to his free female mistress Bitinna (Herod. 5.6). Yet, in the same poem, Gastron insists ‘I’m human’ (5.27). In a condensed way, these two statements aptly summarise the tension involved in the use of fellow human beings as sexual objects. From the standpoint of universal human rights, this counts for all cultures of all time periods. So, one may ask about the purpose of compiling historical evidence about slaves used for the purposes of sexual gratification. Does it not always come down to that inescapable paradox? It is one of the great merits of both the editors and the contributors of this beautiful volume to have made clear that more should and could indeed be done.

The introduction by Deborah Kamen and C. W. Marshall offers all the readers could wish for, including references to much needed comparative evidence. In ch. 1, E. Wilson introduces us to slaves and sex in the *Odyssey*. The fact of a husband having intercourse with female slaves at least had the potential to disturb household and marriage (*Od.* 1.429–433). From the comparative point of view, there sadly is a ‘striking common ground’ in men’s sexual desire towards captive women in times of war. In the engagingly written ch. 2, K. L. Gaca offers a long and sobering list of cases of rape and other violence during war. Yet she offers much more than case studies, by showing how freeborn wives often functioned as gatekeepers, deciding whether the master of the household could take sexual advantage of an enslaved person. Rather than ‘human rights’, it all was a matter of ‘household rights’. Pleasure in punishment, sandal spanking, the depiction of dwarfs and the ‘deformed’ slave Aesop are dealt with by K. L. Wrenhaven in her chapter on slaves and sex in classical Greek art. She raises the interesting point that viewers may have felt more sympathy for war captives because they realised such a fate could also befall them. In ch. 4, on the sexual agency of slaves in Classical Athens, J. D. Porter excludes the possibility of studying relationships between masters and slaves under this heading, as they would always fall in the category of domination and abuse. Yet this exclusion leaves ample ground for the exploration of fascinating cases of agency such as *de facto* freedom in work performed independently (with a beautiful parallel on pearl-diving slaves in the Arabian Gulf, 95–6) or slaves attending brothels (98–9). In his chapter on same-sex relations between free and slave in Athens, R. Matuszewski is prepared to accept the possibility of slave involvement, emotionally and psychologically, in relationships with free persons. This contribution also stands out for its enlightening and intriguing anecdotes and case studies, such as an episode from Lysias 3 *Against Simon* (where