

Rome beginning *c.* 350, tying the coins to the *res publica*. The standardisation of coin types in the first half of the second century was followed by the appearance of ‘private types’, advertising families or other specific messages. This harkens back to the situation prior to the later third century, when a variety of types were produced. Caprariis challenges the current identification of the structure once identified as the porticus Aemilia but now generally identified as Rome’s *Natalia* or ship sheds. She contends on a variety of grounds that the old identification is far more plausible. Taylor argues that the decrease in military deployments after 167 led to a decrease in combat experience among those recruited for the legions as well as those who led them. That in turn was the cause of repeated military failures and of a reluctance among citizens to serve. Thus, the second half of the century was characterised not by an increasing professionalism but rather amateurism among Rome’s soldiers. Bellomo surveys the conflict between the principle that consuls should have the most important provincial assignments and the need for prorogation to meet foreign policy needs and the desire of commanders for glory.

Lanfranchi argues that the second century saw an important movement from *mos* to laws and plebiscites at Rome, offering an interesting statistical and graphic analysis in support. He further discusses an increase in private law legislation, focusing on the Lex Laetoria, which he connects to the Lex Villa annalis, as well as the Leges Furia and Volconia. Gallo surveys interactions between the tribunes and the senate. She finds that in many cases the tribunes acted at the behest of the senate, while in others they did not. Sometimes tribunes vetoed the senate’s decrees; at others the senate interposed its *auctoritas* against a veto. Landrea’s chapter examines the patrician *gentes maiores*’ rivalry for the consulship, noting that the *gentes* were not monoliths but divided into *stripes* that did not necessarily cooperate. When in 172 patricians lost their monopoly on one of the two consulships, the number of patrician consuls declined. Steele identifies two narratives for the development of oratory in the period 201–134: one based on the embassy of the philosophers in 154 and its effect on aristocratic youth, represented by Cicero’s account in the *de Oratore*; the other version he offers in the *Brutus*, stressing the importance of written versions of speeches starting with Cato’s early in the second century. Neither is necessarily correct, and multiple narratives are possible. Santangelo argues that the years between 201 and 133 were not characterised by religious conservatism. Change and adaptation occurred in the areas of prophetic divination, popular involvement in religious affairs, the role of the senate and of statute law as well as in the calendar. Finally, Flower offers some general thoughts on the period and examines a few areas, notably the position of women and slaves, not touched on by other contributors.

All in all, a mixed bag: some very interesting papers, many offering little that anyone familiar with the second century does not already know. More troubling, all too often transition is assumed rather than demonstrated. Were relations between the senate and tribunes significantly different prior to 218? How exactly did political rivalry among patrician clans change from what it had been before that date? Was conflict over access to land less then? The career of Flaminius might suggest otherwise. And were adaptation and change in religious practice really unknown prior to Hannibal? The absence of argument leaves a reader with doubts. Yet the truly big changes — in economy and demography; in relations with the allies, in art and intellectual and cultural life — for the most part go unexamined. So, in many ways a missed opportunity to reveal what was genuinely transitional between Hannibal and the Gracchi.

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OBERT BERNARD MLAMBO, *LAND EXPROPRIATION IN ANCIENT ROME AND CONTEMPORARY ZIMBABWE: VETERANS, MASCULINITY AND WAR*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2022. Pp. xxiv + 239. ISBN 9781350291850. £28.99.

Scholars of the late Roman Republic are keenly aware of the role of veterans: as loyal clients of their generals, beneficiaries of forcible land expropriations and intimidating mobs in post-war political

spaces. The ancient sources, however, provide little to help us see these veterans as individual agents of history rather than anonymous masses supporting one military dynast or another. Hoping to mitigate that evidentiary difficulty, Mlambo offers a transcultural comparison with the much better documented case of Zimbabwean veterans of the liberation and civil wars of 1965–80, who shared with their Roman counterparts the experiences of civil war, land expropriations and post-war politicisation. M. acknowledges the chronological and geographical distance between his two case studies, but emphasises common humanity and cites, among methodological precedents, MacMullen's 1984 use of interviews with WWII veterans to illuminate social aspects of Roman legenary experience.

M.'s introduction clarifies that his focus is not land expropriation *per se*, but rather the masculinity of veterans in two historical contexts that featured expropriation, before noting his debt to masculinity studies and practice theory and providing a review of the relevant ancient sources. Here and elsewhere, some readers will find M.'s treatment of the ancient material overly introductory and his treatment of the Zimbabwean material insufficiently introductory, suggesting an assumption of greater familiarity with the Zimbabwean case than the Roman. Ch. 2 acknowledges fundamental differences between the two case studies: e.g. Zimbabwean veterans were dispossessed indigenous people reclaiming land from European colonisers, while the Romans appropriated land confiscated from fellow Italians. Without underplaying the differences, M. argues that there nevertheless existed a 'Roman "colonial masculinity" in Zimbabwe' (36ff.), emphasising the occurrence in both cases of veterans driven by the desire for land as reward for service and leaders like Caesar, Octavian and Mugabe willing to satisfy that desire in service of their own power.

The heart of the book is an episodic collection of studies in 'veteran masculinity'; though M. provides basic signposting, much of the work of establishing connections between chapters and sections is left to the reader. Ch. 3 introduces the 'masculinity of the polis': Roman and Zimbabwean soldiers alike associated military service and land ownership with an ideal of male citizen power: hence the association (well attested in oral testimony from Zimbabwean veterans) of landlessness with emasculation and the consequent hunger for land on the part of veterans who believed their heroic military service for the state entitled them to benefit from post-war expropriations.

Ch. 4 examines 'warfare-madness' of veterans whose wartime *intentio* and *ferocia* persisted in post-war expropriations. M. compares ancient examples like Lucan's depiction of savagery in the mutiny of Caesar's veterans at Placentia (5.237ff.) with rich imagery and testimony of Zimbabwean veterans, introduced 'as aids to re-imagine Caesar's ferocious men' (98): photos of encounters between farmers and veterans during farm invasions from 2000; interviews with veterans justifying their use of violence in expropriations; lyrics of Zimbabwean veteran songs celebrating 'the glory of brutality'. The material is certainly thought-provoking, but M. here mostly leaves the comparison to speak for itself, juxtaposing the two cases without explicitly providing further comparative analysis.

Ch. 5 adduces the concepts of homosociality and hegemonic masculinity to show 'how masculinity functioned as a governing ethos' among veterans and between veterans and their former commanders (112). Bound by shared experience of wartime violence, veterans established exclusive social cohorts acting collectively to acquire and maintain power. In Zimbabwe, Mugabe's veterans emphasised comradeship and relied on their shared military skills and 'untouchable' status as war heroes. The client-armies of Rome's military dynasts gave rise to interdependence between soldier and general and homosocial bonds among veterans who constituted 'power blocs to negotiate, fight, acquire and protect their privileges and gains' (121).

Ch. 6, on the 'politics of the physical bodies of client-army veterans', examines the practice of violent masculinity through 'combat motion, appropriation of space and exertion of force in land expropriation' (134). M. notes the prominence in both societies of references to wounds and scars as evidence of heroic service and, explicitly in the Zimbabwean record, as justification for land rewards, arguing that a 'culture of masculinity, martial aggression and heroism' characterised veterans in both contexts (142). Moving beyond farmland, ch. 7 examines the occupation of public spaces by mobs of politicised veterans in spectacles of intimidating 'martial masculinity'. M. compares the practice of 'spatial masculinities' in well-known late-Republican examples like Pompey's amassing of veterans in 59 B.C.E. to ensure passage of Caesar's agrarian legislation with Mugabe's incitement of veterans to secure their land gains and his political dominance.

Scholars of masculinity studies will likely find much of interest here, though M. sometimes pushes the multiplicity of 'masculinities' so far that the concept's analytical usefulness weakens. The book

might also appeal to scholars interested in similarly transcultural comparative methods, both their promise and their limitations. Scholars of the late Republic might appreciate ways in which the Zimbabwean material enriches hypothetical visualisations of the Roman, as for example when M. puts high-resolution oral and photographic accounts of forcibly expelled Zimbabwean farmers up against the fictional encounter of Virgil's Moeris with an aggressively entitled veteran (*Ecl.* 9), noting in both cases the humiliation of the dispossessed and the 'performance of a violent masculinity' by the dispossessors (146). The comparison also suggests new questions: the voices of Zimbabwean veterans certainly provoke thoughts about what we *might* hear if we had similar access to voices of individual Roman veterans. M.'s greatest contribution is likely to be his demonstration of the potential fruitfulness of comparing Roman phenomena with similar phenomena in modern Zimbabwe and the encouragement of further experimentation with transcultural comparisons.

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MARTIN HALLMANSECKER, *ROMAN IONIA: CONSTRUCTIONS OF CULTURAL IDENTITY IN WESTERN ASIA MINOR* (Greek Culture in the Roman World). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022. Pp. xvi + 308 pages, illus. ISBN 9781009150187 £75.00.

Previous scholarship on the cities of Ionia has mainly been interested in the Archaic and Classical periods, even though a large amount of the evidence is actually of Roman date. Studies of Greek identity under the Roman Empire have largely addressed Greekness at large, resulting in a somewhat homogenising picture, and ignoring potentially different ways of being Greek in different places. In this important and insightful book, Hallmansecker focuses on Roman Ionia and shows there is much to be gained from taking a regional approach to Greek identity under Roman rule. H. seeks to demonstrate both that Ionian Greeks shared certain cultural traits that allow us to recognise them as possessing an identity distinct from that of other Greeks and that they themselves deliberately took pride in and cultivated that identity. The investigation is carried out primarily through analysis of epigraphic and numismatic material, supplemented where necessary with particularly pertinent literary sources. All types of evidence are handled with a high degree of competence. The book contains many insightful readings of texts and inscriptions — with plausible emendations suggested for several inscriptions — and convincing new interpretations of coin iconography. H. takes us far beyond the well-known west *versus* east clichés of the literary sources that paint the Ionians as effete, effeminate and soft, to highlight ways in which we can distinguish the Ionians from other Greeks under the Empire. Whether all of the hallmarks of Ionianness H. identifies would have been recognised as such by the Ionians themselves is less clear, as is the extent to which they purposefully fostered these traits.

The Introduction sets out the book's aims, and the first chapter 'Mental Geographies' provides an overview of the development of the conceptual and political boundaries of the region of Ionia from Archaic down to Roman times. Chs 2–5 interrogate how Ionian identity was constructed by considering in turn the nature and function of the Ionian Koinon, Ionian cults and myths, names (of months, political offices and institutions and people), and the use of the Ionian dialect, above all in literature. The last discussion is slightly off-topic, since authors who employed the dialect are shown to have done so for literary reasons and not to express their identity: historians used Ionian to emulate Herodotus, and medical writers Hippokrates, regardless of where they came from. It is, nonetheless, an interesting and entertaining digression. Throughout these chapters the main focus is on the Greeks in Ionia itself, though the identity of Ionians in other parts of the Greek world — the Black Sea, Pisidia and Phrygia — is touched on in passing. These groups are explored in more depth in chapter 6.

Throughout these chapters, H. persuasively highlights ways in which Ionianness can be recognised, largely in aspects of culture that tenaciously persisted from the Archaic and Classical