

senators were involved in a variety of religious activities, ranging from commitment to local cults, attendance at festivals and the provincial imperial cult, to arbitration in religious conflicts. It is regrettable that two very important phenomena are merely touched upon in this context: the absence of provincial high priests of senatorial status, and the bestowal of titular honours on senatorial office holders in the Greek East, i.e. honorific titles with religious connotations such as *sōtēr*, *hērōs* and *ktistēs*. A more in-depth discussion of these peculiarities would certainly have enriched the socio-religious spectrum of V.'s otherwise interesting analysis.

In Chapter 5 ('Towards a "Theology" of Roman Religion', pp. 153-85), V. tackles the sensitive issue of a "theological" background of 'senatorial religion' in the sense of common notions of religion among senators, which she attempts to identify by examining various forms of religious discourse, e.g. the use of mythological language or legislation on religious matters, and the question of basic religious convictions as regards moral-philosophical ideas of divine benevolence and virtue. The latter is singled out by V. as essentially formative in the conceptualization of the divine among senators. It comes to the fore in the iconography and epigraphy of senatorial funerary commemoration, which places emphasis on virtue ethics, thus suggesting a philosophically-inspired transcendental element. Chapter 6 ('Innovations and Aspirations', pp. 186-208) finally turns to what the author calls 'less mainstream religious interests' (p. 186) of senators and discusses new religious ideas and developments among the elite and their relation to the imperial cult. This is illustrated by the examples of the worship of the genius of the senatorial Volusii, which may have been influential in the development of the worship of the emperor's genius, furthermore by the modeling of posthumous honours for senators on the traditions and practices of the imperial cult and the inclusion of senators in *pro salute* prayers for the emperor.

All in all, V. has covered a wide range of aspects of 'senatorial religion', providing several stimulating observations for the ongoing debate over the issue. Throughout her analysis the nexus between power and religion is expounded in subtle and complex argumentation and on a level of reflection that at times runs the risk of obscuring clarity. Her methodological approach is centered on a micro-historical concept with special attention to the 'exceptional typical' (p. 9). As a consequence, instead of grounding her analysis on ample evidence from the sources, V. is inclined to draw general conclusions from the examination of several isolated instances. Although this undoubtedly generates new insights, the tension between the general and the particular and the overemphasis on individual phenomena occasionally weaken the strength of her deductive reasoning.

The significance of the religious factor for senatorial status and power in the Roman Empire is well argued by the author. In her attempt to work out a comprehensive profile of the 'religion of senators', it would, of course, have been expedient and instructive to touch upon the role of religion in the second Roman order, the equestrians, in order to pinpoint further distinguishing features of 'senatorial religion'. These remarks do not impair the fact that the book constitutes a welcome contribution to the study of Roman elites and the intricate question of the interplay of religion and power. There is no doubt that it provides important incentives and impulses for future investigations into the socio-religious idiosyncrasies and facets of the *amplissimus ordo*.

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Michael Alexander Speidel, *Heer und Herrschaft im römischen Reich der hohen Kaiserzeit*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2009. 706 pp. ISBN: 978-3-515-09364-4.

In this book, the sixteenth in the *Mavors* series that specializes in the publication of collections on

Roman army studies, M.A. Speidel (hereafter S.) presents thirty-two articles, twenty-eight of which were published between the years 1992-2008. Three appear here for the first time, and another is in fact a new contribution although published almost simultaneously elsewhere. Save for six in English and one in French, all the articles are written in German. The re-published articles have been slightly revised, in order to allow for cross-references and for updating to some extent the sources and the scholarly literature. Some additions to the original text were introduced by the author as responses to critiques.<sup>1</sup> Uniformity in the citation of references was only partly achieved by the adoption of a few alterations. The integration of the new material within the original versions of the published articles and the omission of the original pagination make it difficult to trace the changes that have been introduced, unless one takes the trouble to systematically compare the two versions. This is in contrast to several collections of papers that have appeared in the *Mavors* series and preserved the original format of the articles, supplying new material, comments, corrections, etc. in *addenda* or *Nachträge*.

Some of the articles have appeared in publications which are not easily accessible, and their inclusion in the present volume will surely make them more readily available to scholars (although this is not the main object for its publication). In the introduction (13-15) S. states that the collected contributions elucidate, from various points of view, the essential nature of the Roman army as a remarkable, successful instrument of governance. His aim in selecting these articles was to expose the role, character and effect of this instrument as an integral part of the history, life, culture, values, structure and functioning of the *Imperium Romanum* in the imperial period; that is, throughout the entire Empire and from the establishment of the standing, professional army under Augustus — rationally and hierarchically organized — to the military reforms introduced after the mid-third century CE. However, right at the opening paragraph of the introduction, S. makes an important qualification about the role and functioning of the Roman army: without denying that it formed the mainstay of the imperial power, he maintains that the concept 'military monarchy', applied by Th. Mommsen to the imperial regime from the very beginning and by M.I. Rostovtzeff from the Severan period, might convey misleading notions. According to S., the state was not heavily militarized and warlike: amounting to less than 0.8% of the population and usually stationed on the frontiers of the empire, the army was not particularly visible in daily life; the society was not oriented towards military customs and values; the routine life of the army was, in historical perspective, little affected by wars and great campaigns; the assignment of soldiers to various branches of the imperial administration had nothing to do with militarism; the employment of the army against civilians in civil wars and in the quelling of disorders and revolts was too rare for it to be defined as a characteristic feature of the empire; and finally, despite its decisive role in the crowning of many emperors the army may not be considered as a war machine which ruled over the state, nor as an unscrupulous union of soldiers devoted to the suppression of the empire population in defense of the emperor.

One way to read the present book is by concentrating on the contribution of each article to our understanding of a certain topic or aspect of the functioning of the Roman army in the imperial period, be it organizational, structural, tactical, strategical, logistical or social. Another way is to consider whether the diverse articles, published in a span of sixteen years and, presumably, with no master plan, add up to form a meaningful, instructive whole which provides us with a new comprehension of the role of the army in the imperial period and an insight into its function, which cannot be gained by reading each article separately. It seems that this is the way in which the author would like his readers to approach the book. Indeed, the immediate question that comes to mind is whether the published articles substantiate S.' claims about the multi-functionality of the army as a successful ruling instrument, and whether this instrument, said to be

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., 424 n.100: the critical comment on R. Alston's rejection in *JRS* 84 [1994], 113-23, of S.' interpretation of the available evidence on the question of the army pay scales.

connected with many and various facets of the life and history of the empire, did not cause a significant degree of militarization of the society.

S. believes that — thanks to the extant literary and legal sources, particularly inscriptions, papyri, coins and archaeological finds — the role of the army can be investigated by various methods and from different angles: that of the emperor, of the commanders, of the soldiers and of the civilian population of the empire. This optimistic belief in the capability of the sources to reflect historical reality has some solid basis, as can be appreciated when going through S.' presentation and analysis of them in the individual articles. In addition, the different angles he speaks about show up in not a few of the articles, although they apparently were not considered important enough to affect the grouping of the thirty-two articles into five sections entitled: Kaiser, Heer und Reich, seven articles; Militärischer Alltag und Verwaltung, eight articles; Rangordnung und Sold, seven articles; Heer und Herrschaftstraum, eight articles; Heer und Erinnerung, two articles. However, the organization of the articles under these headings is important, for it points out the frameworks and parameters by which, according to S., the role of the army in the Roman Empire may be studied and evaluated. This is one way to present the diverse articles as adding up to form a meaningful, instructive whole, a way which may challenge some readers to reflect on, and perhaps question whether these headings wholly and adequately reveal the full range of the role, function and activities of the army from Augustus to the mid-third century CE.

Another way is to present a new, comprehensive but relatively short review of the imperial army, in particular its place in the empire and its relations with the emperor and the civilian population, delineating its essential characteristics with the help of references to the relevant articles included in this collection, which is what S. has sought to achieve in the opening article, published here for the first time ('Augustus' militärische Neuordnung und ihr Beitrag zum Erfolg des Imperium Romanum. Zu Heer und Reichskonzept', 19-51). For example, the argument that various factors affected the military's loyalty to the emperor, an essential characteristic of the imperial regime as structured by Augustus according to S., finds its corroboration in a reference to six articles, where these factors are extensively discussed (24 with n.15), and indeed most of the articles are cited to substantiate the analysis of the Augustan achievement in the opening article. In the wake of the Einleitung, the army reforms of Augustus are interpreted as the introduction of a new military culture which lasted until the third century CE. The now standing, professional army was mostly stationed in the frontier provinces, and its main task changed from winning wars of expansion to maintaining security and peace, with the soldiers performing police duties, servicing in administrative positions, and carrying out public works or other non-military missions, rather than preparing for war and fighting a foreign enemy. The mainstay of the new organization was the *disciplina militaris*, which pervaded all aspects of the army and enabled it to endure successfully for a considerable time.

This valuable, suggestive article — and my sketchy account omits not a few of the ideas and interpretations, not all of them new, discussed and argued in it — will surely attract attention and call for some reaction. I will confine myself to commenting on two matters only. Unlike some scholars who pointed out the origins of some of the military reforms of Augustus in various developments that had occurred in the late republic, S. hardly refers to the relevant republican background in this respect. One notable example is the development and existence in practice of a standing, professional army in the late republic (cf. R.E. Smith, *Service in the Post-Marian Roman Army* [Manchester 1958], esp. 70-4). My second comment concerns the modern controversy over the question whether Augustus' campaigns and conquests continued, basically, the pattern set by the never-ending aggressive wars of expansion that had dominated Rome's foreign policy in the past, particularly in the Late Republic, or were based on a new, rationally thought out strategy that did not aim at endless extension of Rome's territorial rule, but rather at establishing defensible borders. S. presents sources and refers to modern works that mainly

support the second position (37-44). To me this seems a one-sided exposition of the evidence and its treatment by modern scholars, for the author neglects to take into account competing explanations for the relevant sources he cites; see especially J. Ober, *Historia* 31 (1982), 306-28; P.A. Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford 1990), 96-109 (originally published in *JRS* 53 [1963], 170-6), 433-75; C.R. Whittaker, in D.L. Kennedy (ed.), *The Roman Army in the East* (Ann Arbor, MI 1996), 25-41, answering and contesting the views of E. Wheeler (*The Journal of Military History* 57 [1993], 7-41, 215-40), and referred to twice by M.A.S (42 n.104; 43 n.110). Much more is needed to solve this issue satisfactorily.

Three of the other articles included in the first section deal with Trajan, Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus. The points of view and sources presented in them give much food for thought on the question to what extent the problems faced and policies pursued by these emperors, as well as their achievements, can be accommodated within the framework of Augustus' reorganization of the empire and the army, as interpreted by S. in the opening chapter. The article entitled 'Geld und Macht' (53-84) is a sensible discussion of the inter-relationship between the financial measures and the army reforms introduced by Augustus, and certainly helps to substantiate S.' view. On the other hand, the contribution of the other two articles — on certain small coins found in the Rhein area and dated to the early first century CE ('Kaiser, Kommandeure und Kleingeld', 85-108) and on Germans in the service of the Roman army ('Germanische Verbände im römischen Heer', 109-20) — to the main topics discussed in the opening article is less significant, although they are interesting and instructive.

The second section includes one article on recruitment of soldiers for service in distant provinces ('Rekruten für ferne Provinzen', 213-34) and another on honorable discharge ('Honesta Missio', 317-46), two topics that have often been dealt with in the scholarly literature. Two other articles deal with the army supply, a subject usually neglected until the last decade of the last century: the first ('Auf kürzestem Weg und gut gepflegt an die Front', 255-71) examines in particular the participation of Pannonian troops in the Parthian war of Septimius Severus; the second ('Einheit und Vielfalt in der römischen Heeresverwaltung', 283-304) relates to a general question: aspects of uniformity and diversity in provisioning the army. S.' claim that militarization was far from being the hallmark of the culture that developed during the imperial period finds good support in three articles, treating different aspects of this issue. One presents epigraphic evidence of construction works carried out by *legio IV Scythica* ('Legio Operosa Felix', 249-53); another ('Militia. Zu Sprachgebrauch und Militarisierung in der kaiserzeitlichen Verwaltung', 273-81) shows the non-military consequences and character of the employment of soldiers in the provincial administration, as well as the use of the term *militia* in non-military meaning; in the third ('Dressed for the Occasion', 235-48) S. argues that the number of images of soldiers depicted fully armed on gravestones declined during the first three centuries CE, replaced by images that can be construed to express the will of the deceased to be remembered not as warlike persons but as fellow-citizens, fathers and family members; other evidence, too, testifies to the varied representations of the soldiers in daily life, depending on the circumstances.

Questions of rank and payment for the various imperial forces are discussed in four articles included in the third section. Discovery of new relevant texts and reconsideration of old evidence may occasion a revaluation of all the known data, hence S.' repeated treatment of the topic, although each time from a somewhat different perspective. Thus the first article in this section, written in 1992, is a thorough survey and analysis of the entire evidence ('Roman Army Pay Scales', 349-80); the second (1995) deals particularly with the pay of the *vigiles* ('Rang und Sold im römischen Heer und die Bezahlung der *Vigiles*', 381-94); the third, written in 1995 ('Carrière militaire et solde', 395-406), is an attempt to reconstruct the annual salaries of a soldier who joined the army as *miles* of the *cohors I Flavia urbana* in 73 and reached the post of *centurio* in 90 (*CIL* XII 2602); the fourth (2000) offers an assessment of the economic condition of the soldiers as related to the pay-rises and depreciation of the coinage from Augustus to Maximinus

(‘Sold und Wirtschaftslage der römischen Soldaten’, 407-37). S.’ analysis of the evidence is clear and thorough. However, due to the shortage of relevant sources there are gaps in our knowledge and the reconstruction of the salaries of the different grades and of the pay-rises is notoriously difficult and in many a case is based on extrapolation and not on direct documentary or literary evidence; scholarly disagreement on certain points is understandably unavoidable. Of the remaining articles in this section, one concludes that professional skills did not enhance much chances of promotion in the military service (‘Specialization and Promotion in the Roman Imperial Army’, 439-49), and the two others offer admirable interpretations of the phrases, respectively, *albata decursio* (‘Albata Decursio’, 451-62) and *miles ex cohorte* (‘Miles ex Cohorte’, 463-70), known particularly from epigraphic evidence.

Roman rule and the presence, size, and functioning of the Roman army in a number of the regions of the Roman Empire is presented in several articles in the fourth section. One such region is the eastern frontier in Anatolia (Commagene and, particularly, Cappadocia), discussed in detail in three articles: ‘Early Roman Rule in Commagene’, 563-80; ‘Cappadocia — Vom Königreich zur Provinz’, 581-94; and ‘The Development of the Roman Forces in Northeastern Anatolia’, 595-631.<sup>2</sup> In another article (‘Der römische Neubeginn im Gebiet der Helvetier und in der Vallis Poenina’, 545-62) it is argued that Augustus took control of the Alps not only by force of arms but also by winning the loyalty of the local population, as may be inferred from his becoming a patron of the *Natuant*es and the *civitas Sedunorum* of the *vallis Poenina* (ILS 6754 and 6755, respectively). It is interesting and may be significant that the latter also recognized him as *pater patriae* in 8/7 BCE, that is, almost a decade before this title was granted to Augustus in Rome. The recent discovery of new inscriptions at Hegra and especially in the island of Farasan in the Red Sea, attesting to the presence of a Roman army there, gives occasion for re-evaluating Roman policy in southern Arabia (633-49). To the present writer the discussion seems to weaken the position that Augustus’ expansive policy merely aimed at establishing defensible borders. Another article in this section (‘Das römische Heer als Kulturträger’, 515-44) discusses the role of the legions in promoting Roman culture in the northern frontiers of the empire in the first century CE; another (‘Heer und Strassen’, 501-13) attempts to elucidate the nature of the *viae militares* (but to argue that these roads were named *militares* less because of strategic considerations — the need to transfer troops — but rather in order to take care of the army supply and the communication needs of the military [512], is to take too narrow a view of strategy); and another, a new publication (‘Soldaten und Zivilisten im römischen Reich’, 473-500), examines to what extent soldiers abused their power in daily relations with the civilian population of the provinces; the evidence presented is varied and, in S.’ view, to draw general conclusions would be hazardous.

The fifth section consists of two articles: one points out the uncertainties involved in the study of the battle of Cannae (‘Halbmond und Halbwahrheit: Cannae’, 653-65), and the other exposes historiographical elements used by Christian hagiography to create a legend about the destruction of a non-existent Christian legion by Diocletian (‘Die Thebäische Legion’, 667-77). Instructive as these articles may be, it is difficult to understand why this section is included in a collection of articles that aims at delineating the functioning of the Imperium Romanum from Augustus to about the mid-third century CE.

I have noted a number of misprints in the volume (e.g., 252: ‘To little is known’; 441: ‘the actives performed’; 605 n. 54: ‘P. Hoder’ [correct: ‘Holder’]; 661 n. 4: dres.). Note also that the abbreviation ‘Alföldi, Gesellschaft’ in 381 n. 1 is not explained, neither here nor in the original

<sup>2</sup> One may note that two other useful articles by S. deal with the Roman army in this region: ‘*Legio IIII Scythica*, its Movements and Men’, in D. Kennedy (ed.), *The Twin Towns of Zeugma on the Euphrates* (Portsmouth, RI 1998), 163-204, and (with M. Hartmann) ‘The Roman Army at Zeugma: Recent Research Results’, in R. Early *et al.*, *Zeugma: Interim Reports* (Portsmouth, RI 2003), 100-26.

version (it apparently refers to G. Alföldi, *Die römische Gesellschaft*, Stuttgart 1986) and that fig. 2 mentioned in 403 is nowhere to be found. It is curious that S. does not use B. Niese's division of the works of Flavius Josephus into paragraphs (e.g., 30 n. 48; 521 n. 28) and that the appendix to 'Geld und Macht' is written partly in English and partly in German, but this presumably has to do with the original publication of this article. However, these are quibbles. All the articles are valuable and instructive contributions to the understanding of the role of the Roman army as an essential instrument of the imperial regime. Although I have expressed reservations concerning some of S.' interpretations of the evidence, his main thesis about the multi-functionality of the Roman army as a successful ruling instrument is amply demonstrated in this book. The two appended indexes, of sources (literary, epigraphic and numismatic) and persons and subjects, are very helpful.

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Arjan Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire: Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor* (Greek Culture in the Roman World), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 204 pp. ISBN: 978-0-521-51930-4.

Paul Veyne's 1976 magisterial study of euergetism, which covered the history of private munificence for public benefit from the classical Greek period to the high Roman Empire, not only established the centrality of this theme to our understanding of the functionality of ancient societies but also strongly influenced all later studies of this subject.<sup>1</sup> The monograph by Arjan Zuiderhoek (henceforth Z.), which is based on his PhD thesis and focuses on the well-documented region of Asia Minor, sets out to provide a fresh re-assessment of the subject. His study, which he describes as a 'long interpretative essay' (p. 5), focuses on the imperial period — an age which Veyne had succinctly characterized as 'the golden era of euergetism'. Asia Minor is used here as a model testing ground for the study of euergetism, which, as Z. postulates, may also provide basic insights into the motives and practices of munificence in other parts of the Roman Empire.

In the Introduction and in Chapter 1 ('Introducing Euergetism: Questions, Definitions and Data'), the author sets the scene for his analysis by defining key terms, introducing the set of data on which his investigation is based (a sample of c. 500 epigraphically recorded benefactions) and discussing the methodological and heuristic problems of the source material. The central question on which Z.'s study focuses concerns the causes behind a most striking socio-political phenomenon: 'Why was there such an unprecedented proliferation of elite public giving in the provincial cities of the Roman Empire during the late first, second and early third centuries AD?' (p. 5). 'My answer', Z. immediately continues, 'is that the extreme popularity of civic euergetism during the early and high Empire resulted from the fact that the phenomenon was indispensable for the maintenance of social harmony and political stability in the Empire's provincial cities at a time when these communities experienced a growing accumulation of wealth and political power at the top of the social hierarchy' (p. 5). As Z. argues in this concise summary, euergetism was (and must be recognized as) essentially a socio-political instrument in the running of civic affairs

<sup>1</sup> P. Veyne, *Le pain et le cirque: sociologie historique d'un pluralisme politique*, Paris, 1976 (*Bread and Circuses: Historical Sociology and Political Pluralism*, abridged with an introduction by O. Murray; trans. B. Pearce, London, 1990); P. Gauthier, *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs (IV<sup>e</sup> – I<sup>er</sup> siècle avant J.-C.): contribution à l'histoire des institutions*, Paris, 1985; K. Lomas – T. Cornell (eds.), 'Bread and Circuses': *Euergetism and Municipal Patronage in Roman Italy*, London, 2003.