

of the volume, and the resultant likelihood that many will access it *carptim* through the Taylor and Francis online platform, it is worth underscoring that readers should heed P.'s careful (and appreciated) internal references to prior and subsequent stages of her argument when citing or otherwise engaging with her conclusions.

A related matter concerns the bibliographic bases for P.'s arguments, which often lie in the 1990s or earlier and are heavily anglophone; this affects the utility of her assessments of subjects from Italian demography to Polybius' account of the Roman army. To take one example, Chapter 6, while presenting detailed and interesting explorations of a number of questions related to the production and preservation of records, offers little engagement with paradigms of enslaved labour; recent critical work on Roman authors' assertions of agency offers a genuine challenge to the reconstructions here, while alternative types of evidence – from references to soldiers' wills to the staffs of the *duumviri navales* – could suggest different lines of interpretation. Others can already be found in French-, German-, Italian- and Spanish-language scholarship on (for example) *scribae* or the *stipendium*. A competently literate plurality of legionaries and an unseen reliance on the enslaved would transfer the innovative impetus of an emergent bureaucracy away from the magisterial class and thence undercut the proposition that it was tribunes, quaestors, praetors and consuls who (with their staff) developed practical and efficient solutions to the demands of Rome's expanding empire. My point here is not to dwell on minutiae, but to note that P.'s reconstructions, while they may well be correct, do not necessarily reflect the 'state of the question' on matters of detail.

It would be a shame to end on a critical note. This book contains a wealth of detailed argument supported by a broadly interdisciplinary appreciation of the surviving evidence and models for its interpretation. P. pursues important questions to intriguing conclusions and has provided a welcome stimulus to the further integration of mid-Republican military history within Roman historical studies.

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DISPLACEMENTS IN ANCIENT ITALY

SILVA RENESES (L.) *Deducti, traducti. Les déplacements de communautés organisés par Rome en Italie et dans la péninsule ibérique (268–13 av. n. è.). (Historia Einzelschriften 268.)* Pp. 315, ills, maps. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2022. Cased, €64. ISBN: 978-3-515-13219-0.

doi:10.1017/S0009840X23001543

Any burgeoning Latin student of a certain age raised on reading Caesar's *Gallic War* will recall that his conquest began with the defeat of the Helvetii (Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 1.2–29), what they may not recall is the reason for Caesar's attack and the desire of the Helvetii to relocate from an area bounded by the Rhine, the Jura Mountains, Lake Geneva and the River Rhône to the vicinity of Saintonge on the Bay of Biscay. The relocation of defeated peoples features prominently in the expansion of the Roman Republic, but

without explaining the why and wherefore. This aspect of Roman imperialism has only recently received the attention it deserves especially with the work of F. Pina Polo. S.R. provides the first monograph to examine the subject in detail across provincial boundaries – the only preceding synthesis being Pina Polo's chapter in an edited volume on emigration and cultural interaction in the ancient world ('Deportaciones como castigo e instrumento de colonización durante la República romana. El caso de Hispania', in: *Vivir en tierra extraña: emigración e integración cultural en el mundo antiguo* [2004], pp. 211–46; cf. also Pina Polo, '¿Existió una política romana en el nordeste de la península ibérica?', *Habis* 24 [1993], 77–94).

S.R.'s book is derived from his Ph.D. completed at the Université de Genève in 2019. It is divided into two halves. Part 1 consists of a series of case studies from Italy and Hispania examining the displacement of populations. These are broken down into two categories: either relocations within their own territory (the *deducti*) – typically from pre-Roman hilltop to the neighbouring plain, for example, the Volsinii and Falerii, the Ligurians, the Termestini, the inhabitants of Mons Herminius, the Cantabrians and Astures; or the *traducti* who were displaced outside their territory to *ager publicus* elsewhere, such as the Picentini, Sallentini and Ligures Apuani in Italy, and the Celtiberians and Lusitani in Iberia. Only one of these, the relocation of the Ligures Apuani in Samnium in 180 BCE (Livy 40.38, 40.41.3–4), has attracted significant scholarly attention.¹ S.R. expands upon previous discussions by increasing the list of case studies, for example, the resettlement of the Ligures along the eastern face of the Apennines at Veleia, Forum Novum, Luceria, Regium Lepidi and Campi Macri (pp. 27–43), the foundation of Gracchuris in 178 BCE (pp. 104–10), the settlement of the Lusitani in Caepiana and Brutobriga (pp. 132–46), Titus Didius' relocation of Tiermes (pp. 43–55), the relocation of the Arevacian town of *ś.e.ko.bi.ř.i.ke.s* (perhaps El Alto de San Pedro) to Segobriga in the mid first century BCE (pp. 118–25), and the foundations of Iuliobriga and Asturica Augusta during or shortly after the conclusion of the Cantabrian War (pp. 69–83). His analysis of each is exhaustive, complementing the often meagre information provided by literary sources with discussions of the numismatic and archaeological evidence for the impact of Rome upon the settlement of the respective regions.

On several occasions (Nuceria and Acerra in 210 BCE, Salapia in the second half of the first century and Sabora in 77 CE) the relocation was triggered not by Rome but by local initiative. In Part 2 S.R. explores more abstract questions raised earlier. Some will perhaps be of more interest to those working on displacements specifically, such as the practical aspects of displacing such large bodies of populations (pp. 173–95). Others will be of interest more widely such as what is meant by a 'community' – either as cities (*populi*, *civitates* or *πόλις*) or peoples (*gentes*, *ἔθνη* or *populi*) – and the hazards posed by the application of these terms (pp. 157–72), the use of displacements as a means to bring an end to internecine warfare (pp. 196–225) and as a means of integration into the Roman world while at the same time preserving elements of their pre-Roman identities (pp. 226–46). Relocation was not only a statement of Roman power creating a 'topografía de la derrota' (E. García Riaza, 'Territorios indígenas y derecho de guerra

¹A. Barzanò, 'Il trasferimento dei Liguri Apuani nel Sannio nel 180–179 a.C.', in: M. Sordi (ed.), *Coercizione e mobilità umana nel mondo antico* (1995), pp. 177–201; F. Pina Polo (2004), pp. 211–46; M.-M. Pagé, *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne* 38 (2012), 125–62; J.R. Patterson, *Samnites, Ligurians and Romans Revisited* (2013); J. Thornton, 'Marginalità e integrazione dei Liguri Apuani: una deportazione umanitaria?', in: U. Roberto, P.A. Tuci (edd.), *Tra marginalità e integrazione* (2015); Silva Reneses, *Ktēma* 41 (2016), 191–210.

romano en Hispania’, in: J. Santos Yanguas et al. [edd.], *Romanización, fronteras y etnias en la Roma Antigua* [2012], p. 213), but an opportunity to reassert one’s ethnic identity with the inhabitants of Falerii Novi recreating elements of Falerii Veteres (M. Millett, ‘Urban Topography and Social Identity in the Tiber Valley’, in: R. Roth and J. Keller [edd.], *Roman by Integration* [2007], pp. 77–81; S. Keay, M. Millett, ‘Republican and Early Imperial Towns in the Tiber Valley’, in: A. Cooley [ed.], *A Companion to Roman Italy* [2016], pp. 364–5). The Romans would exploit internal divisions and reward those who displayed loyalty to Rome, for example, at Falerii, where several families attested before 241 BCE (the Egnatii, Hirmii, Latrii, Neronii, Tirrii and Vecilii) monopolised control after the relocation to Falerii Novi (p. 202). Relocations could be initiated by the indigenous peoples, so the Ligures Apuani petitioned Rome in 182 BCE for permission to settle in Gaul (Liv. 40.16.5) and again took the initiative in negotiating with the proconsuls P. Cornelius Cethegus and M. Baebius Tamphilus two years later (Liv. 40.38.3–5). The Apuani had been defeated by the consul C. Flaminius in 187 BCE (Liv. 39.2.6) and may have been amongst the Ligures who sent ambassadors to Rome in 181 BCE to seek a perpetual peace (Liv. 40.34.8). The proconsuls’ decision is caused by their desire to bring the war to an end (Liv. 40.38.2): *nullium alium ante finem rati fore Ligustini belli*. By showing that the Romans alternated military intervention with treaties and displacements S.R. gives us a more pragmatic Rome that was prepared to use whatever means necessary to achieve its goals.

Scholarship builds on what has gone before, and S.R.’s work does not hide its debt to the groundbreaking article of Pina Polo, but it goes far further in the breadth and depth of its analysis. The result is an authoritative and thought-provoking study that should be read by anyone interested in the mechanics of Roman Imperialism during the Middle and Late Republic.

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A FARM OF THEIR OWN

MLAMBO (O.B.) *Land Expropriation in Ancient Rome and Contemporary Zimbabwe. Veterans, Masculinity and War*. Pp. xxvi + 239, ills. London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2022. Cased, £85, US\$115. ISBN: 978-1-350-29185-0.

doi:10.1017/S0009840X23000124

The history of the final century of the Roman Republic cannot be told without the story of veterans and land expropriation. Following the military reforms of Marius in 107 BCE, soldiers were much more attached to their commanders. This meant that at the conclusion of their time of service, these soldiers, now bona fide client armies, were expecting their commanders to provide a hefty retirement bonus for them, preferably in the form of land. Available farmland in Italy by this point, however, was in short supply. As anywhere else in world history, after all, fertile land did not just sit idle and ownerless. And so, the practice of land expropriation – confiscating land from individuals in order to reallocate it to veterans – was born. Or, rather, as W. Broadhead terms it, a second phase of Roman