each dealing with a different topic, which suggests that its main purpose is to allow students easily to dip in and out of the volume. The problem with the resulting series of descriptive vignettes is that they do not allow C. to develop a coherent argument as to how or why the Roman republican economy progressed as it did. C. does talk of the 'runaway development of the Roman economy' in the second century B.C. (138) and correctly concludes that the Romans' success in war resulted in an influx of land, booty and tribute which in turn led to the development of agriculture, manufacturing and 'services' (167–8), but there is little attempt to connect the dots and explain in more detail how warfare might have produced these effects. Indeed, by the end of the volume, this reviewer was not entirely clear how C. felt that the size and composition of the Roman economy in 27 B.C. differed from earlier periods of the Republic. Perhaps a more fulsome, rather than a two-page, conclusion to the book or the inclusion of a summary at the end of each chapter might have allowed a clearer argument to be developed.

There are more serious issues. To begin with, the secondary sources which C. cites are principally written in French, with Andreau, Nicolet, Morel and Tchernia (rightly) looming large. However, while this Anglophone reviewer found the references to some of the more recondite French scholarship useful, this approach does mean that the narrative which C. produces is somewhat unbalanced. For much of the scholarship in English, German and Italian that should be very relevant receives no mention (there are, for example, no citations of the work of Coarelli or indeed of that of any Italian archaeologists). Secondly, C. claims that he wishes to produce 'a synthesis of more recent research' (7), but the only citations of scholarship produced in English, German and Italian since 2000 are to a few articles in the *Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World* (2007) and to A. Wilson, *JRS* 92 (2002), 1–32. This means that a number of important studies which have appeared over the last fifteen years or so simply do not figure in C.'s account. For instance, there is no sign of the work by Scheidel, Rathbone, de Ligt, Rosenstein, Erdkamp, Roselaar and others which has advanced the debate over demography, the *ager publicus* and the role of peasants in the second century B.C. and resulted in a more nuanced version of Hopkins's theory of the deracination of free Roman peasants and their replacement by slaves (a theory which, by the way, C. summarises without citing its origin). Similarly, although C. mentions, early on, the primitivist/modernist debate, he does not touch (even briefly) on more recent attempts to develop different methodologies for and approaches to analysing ancient evidence of economic performance, such as those discussed in Scheidel and Von Reden's *The Ancient Economy* (2002) and in Bowman and Wilson's *Quantifying the Roman Economy* (2009). Finally, C.'s coverage of key features of the early Roman economy is uneven. As an example, the volume contains an excellent seven pages on the evolution of law (145–51), but only seven lines on aqueducts (136). Surely the latter deserve more extensive discussion, both as major and enormously expensive civic undertakings (and the implications thereof) and, arguably, as proxies for population growth in the city of Rome.

In sum, a well-produced volume that is in parts very interesting but which could have been so much more useful if recent foreign scholarship had been considered and a clearer argument pursued.

Wolfson College, Oxford PHILIP KAY
philip.kay@wolfson.ox.ac.uk
doi:10.1017/S007543581800014X

W. V. HARRIS, *ROMAN POWER: A THOUSAND YEARS OF EMPIRE*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016. Pp. xxi + 357, illus. ISBN 9781107152717. £30.00.

Few would dare undertake as broad a subject as 'power' in the millennium of Roman history from 400 B.C.E. to 600 C.E., but few are as well positioned as W. V. Harris to do so. His decades-long career has carried him across all the centuries of Roman history and into most of its subfields.

This book is divided into three sets of two chapters, each covering about three hundred years. The introductory chapter lays out its chronological parameters, from the middle Republic to the Battle of Yarmuk in 636. It then explores in more detail the meaning of power, surveying theorists such as Montesquieu, Weber, Arendt, Andreski, Foucault and Mann. Although H. professes no loyalty to

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0075435818000709 Published online by Cambridge University Press

any one, the book relies most heavily on Michael Mann's categories of social power (ideological, economic, military and political).

Ch. 2, 'The Romans Against Outsiders, 400 BC to AD 16', returns to territory familiar from H.'s first monograph, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome (327–70 BC)* (1979). H. abides by his characterisation of republican Rome as a brutally efficient war machine that converted calculated aggression into a massive world empire in short order. Rome's belligerence stemmed from greed and hunger for military glory, but its empire quickened because of the invention of effective organisational techniques, including colonisation, freehandedness with citizenship, success in enlisting support from former foes and the widespread deployment of slaves. The pattern continued into the late Republic, although some factors initiated fissiparous processes: the growing importance of Hellenism; increasing financial corruption.

Ch. 3, 'The Romans Against Each Other, from Republic to Monarchy', focuses on the construction of state power, which H. insists (*contra* Millar) was based on 'citizen power' without being democratic. Collective political action was channelled through assemblies that were always controlled, structurally and informally, by aristocrats. After asserting that the elimination of property qualifications for military service was the most important factor in bringing the Republic to an end, H. argues that Augustus managed to consolidate power by channelling popular discontent to his advantage through the promise of stability and benefactions, and the projection of charisma.

Ch. 4, 'The Romans Against Outsiders, AD 16 to 337', argues that the high Empire witnessed a withdrawal of interest on the part of emperors, elites and commoners in the project of military expansion. Whereas republican citizens of all social classes had shown an eagerness for conquest by undertaking heavy military service, in the imperial period senators came increasingly to refrain from service, while the military rank and file was drawn from provincials and, above all, non-Roman auxiliaries. H. is sceptical of those who contend the fourth-century army was larger than ever, and he also argues that military effectiveness dropped off.

Ch. 5, 'The Romans Against Each Other: from Empire to Nation?' plots the web of social structures on which internal power was based in the high Empire. An emperor, assisted by a larger bureaucracy than has often been assumed (provided we count imperial slaves) was able to command the loyalty of the military and civilians (primarily through manipulation of senatorial, equestrian and local elites), even despite the absence of a systematic succession process and severe limitations of money, information and time. Ultimately, H. argues, Rome had become something like a nation, but this unity became threatened by the political instability of the third century, by the decoupling of citizenship from military service, by the growing stagnation of the economy and by the rise of religious conflict.

Ch. 6, 'The Romans Against Outsiders, AD 337–641', asks how and why Roman power collapsed in the fourth through seventh centuries. H. is happy to answer the first question conventionally: a hostile takeover by barbarians, first in the West between 370 and 430, and then the East between the 560s and 640s. More complex is the relationship between these events and changes in the 'organizational techniques' that had permitted the rise and maintenance of Roman power. H. has no doubt that the problems were internal to the Empire and attributes them to four discrete spheres: ideological (Christian religion, particularly its penchant for irrationality and doctrinal dispute), military (an army reduced in size and manpower and overpopulated with barbarians), economic (a reduced tax base, occasioned by territorial losses but also by inefficiencies), and political (civil war, and Justinian's misguided decision to reconquer the West).

Ch. 7, 'The Romans Against Each Other in Two Long Crises', emphasises internal weakness while arguing against much of the prevailing scholarship on a variety of fronts: the late Empire saw less, not more centralisation; the later bureaucracy was probably smaller than generally agreed; the government was less effective at extracting taxes; emperors had less power; bishops were less a force for social cohesion than a drain on the system. Instead, society was plagued by internal social disintegration and a decline in personal freedom, social mobility, gender parity, rationality and loyalty to the state.

Obviously the argument ranges widely, but if any single thread can be traced, it is that Roman power was fundamentally a question of military might; thus Roman decline reflected a loss of military mojo.

The book is impressive in its scope and breadth of learning. We owe H. a debt of gratitude for inviting us to think about the macro-question of 'Roman Power'.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0075435818000709 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Inevitably, the nature and style of the argument reflect much about H. himself. The snappy writing makes the book easily readable but is sometimes marred by a penchant for sarcasm, which too often stands in for developed argument. Important work is mocked rather than debated: Eckstein's 'silly historical falsehood' (42); Isaac's 'insufficient familiarity' with republican history (125); the impact of a 'prolonged period of bourgeois western comfort' on Averil Cameron's scholarship (220–2).

Also apparent is H.'s greater familiarity with the scholarship on earlier rather than later periods, a deficit in a book with so strong a teleological trajectory. Material mistakes arise because H. shows no awareness of frontier archaeology on the Rhine and middle Danube (231); of Giardina and Grelle on late Roman tax collection (231–3); of Frakes on the invention of the *defensor civitatis* (286); of Carrié and Grey on the colonate (287). Especially regrettable is the absence of engagement with the important work on fiscality by Carrié, Mazzarino, Delmaire, Bransbourg and Banaji.

Perhaps most notable is the absence of work on non-Roman peoples — with the exception of the Goths and early Muslims. The increasing power of Germanic confederations (Alamanni, Franks, Vandals, Lombards), of Sasanian Persia, of steppe nomads (Huns and Avars) and above all of the pre-Islamic Arabs goes a long way toward explaining the collapse of Roman territorial hegemony. This, enforced through military superiority, is by and large the subject of H.'s book, for what H. attempts to demonstrate is that the ruthlessly belligerent but astonishingly efficient Rome of the middle Republic is a thing of the past by Late Antiquity. Given that in many ways this goes without saying, one might have wished for an effort to look outside the Empire in search of the causes of the rise of a new world power order.

Yale University NOEL LENSKI
noel.lenski@yale.edu
doi:10.1017/S0075435818000709

C. B. CHAMPION, *THE PEACE OF THE GODS: ELITE RELIGIOUS PRACTICES IN THE MIDDLE ROMAN REPUBLIC*. Princeton, NJ/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2017. Pp. xxv + 270. ISBN 9780691174853. £32.95/US$39.95.

Craige Champion tackles a thorny, long-standing question: did Roman elites of the middle Republic believe in their gods? Recognising the complexity and cultural specificity of 'belief', C. defines the term for the present study as 'a genuine, collective conviction on the part of the governing élites that Roman success, and indeed the city's very existence, depended on maintaining correct relations with the gods through orthopraxy' (xiv). C.'s analysis is motivated by the persistence in the work of ancient historians and classicists of what he terms 'élite-instrumentalism', that is, the idea that Roman elites either consciously or unconsciously used religion to control non-elites, while themselves remaining religious sceptics. Instead of jettisoning elite-instrumentalism entirely, C. aims to circumscribe its influence and to open new avenues for complementary approaches to elite religious practices.

The period under consideration stretches from *c.* 275 to 114/13 B.C. This era witnessed acceleration of Rome's imperial expansion, which exerted new pressures on existing social, political and religious structures. C. seeks to understand the beliefs of Roman elites from the actions they undertook in the midst of these strains on their community. His primary interest is the psychological and emotional states of individual historical agents. While acknowledging the impossibility of directly recovering these states, C. holds that they can be inferred based on what individuals actually did and with reference to anthropological, sociological, psychological and cultural theories. Elite-instrumentalism, although criticised in its more egregious forms, nevertheless is deployed by C. as a 'counterfactual interpretative strategy' intended to highlight, through contrast, what elites' subjective experiences are likely to have been (ix).

Following the introduction and ch. 1, which delineate these parameters, the core analysis is divided into four chapters. Ch. 2 addresses official religious structures in Rome itself, including priesthoods and the religious roles of the *populus Romanus*. For both priests and populace, C. usefully distinguishes between formal and functional authority, with both groups emerging in different ways as limited in the latter despite claims to the former. Most interesting is his discussion of the diffusion of religious

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0075435818000709 Published online by Cambridge University Press