after his death. In Gaul, Spain, and other provinces, those who fostered the ruler cult naturally often received the best opportunities to rise in the local hierarchy. In Spain economic prosperity, the development of the ruler cult, and the forming of personal ties to the *familia Caesaris* helped pave the way for eventual provincial organization.

Colonization furthered Romanization and fostered imperial ties in the eastern as well as the western provinces. S. states that it is harder to separate the three concepts from each other in the eastern provinces. Restoration of freedom and economic prosperity were particularly important here. Augustus assumed the rôle of founder of the New Age. When he visited Athens in 19 B.C., he celebrated the Eleusinian Mysteries and guaranteed the supply of grain. It is interesting to note also that Livia was worshipped as Demeter on Lesbos and Augustus as Hermes on the island of Kos.

The chief value of *Augustus—Vater der res publica* lies in S.'s careful documentation of her three themes so extensively and in her comparing them across geographical and chronological barriers. The author's synthesis of so much material around the three concepts is both her greatest strength and also a weakness in that such a focus may give the reader the impression that these themes were more monolithic and exclusive within Augustan imperial ideology than they in fact were. The work could have benefited from the inclusion of illustrations of many of the monuments mentioned, but this would naturally have resulted in a much larger volume and prohibitive expense. Although S. includes numismatic evidence along with her extensive epigraphical documentation, it is used sparingly, and the imperial issues collected in *Roman Imperial Coinage* tend to be her main source rather than the local types, generally in bronze, assembled in *Roman Provincial Coinage*. She could also have benefited from reading Jane DeRose Evans' *The Art of Persuasion: Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus* (Ann Arbor, 1992), and from considering in more depth the rôle that the republican statues and *elogia* in the Forum Augustum played in the *restitutio* effort. Aside from these deficiencies, S.'s work is a valuable contribution to Augustan studies that will hopefully spark additional research in this fascinating and important subject.

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TOTA ITALIA

M. TORELLI: *Tota Italia. Essays in the Cultural Formation of Roman Italy*. Pp. xv + 191, ills, pls. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999. Cased, £65. ISBN: 0-19-814393-1.

Over the past forty or so years, the name of Mario Torelli has been associated with some of Italy's most significant archaeological excavations, while a stream of publications on an enormous variety of subjects has poured from his pen. With some justification, he may be classed as one of the 'gods' of Roman studies in Italy. Here now is a welcome collection of papers in English, which, along with those translated by H. Fracchia and M. Gualtieri in *Studies in the Romanization of Italy* (Edmonton, 1995), makes more of T.'s influential work on this topic accessible to a non-Italian-speaking and student audience.

Tota Italia comprises a series of essays, mainly reworkings of articles previously published in Italian, all originating as lectures delivered in Oxford in 1988. Though a glance at the contents page may suggest a book with quite disparate elements, in fact there is a clear central theme and approach. The work embraces both cultural and historical aspects of the republican and early imperial periods. It offers an analysis of

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how, in these periods of great social change, the manipulation of mythic and cultural elements provided legitimacy for those who acquired power, enabling both 'winners' and 'losers' to restructure and renegotiate their place in the new order and construct a new, unified 'Italian' identity. As a result an intense revival of local cultures occurred in Italy following the Roman conquest, exhibited in literature (e.g. Cato's *Origines*) and in art (e.g. temple-friezes), and contributing to the creation of *tota Italia*.

T.'s perspective on republican history is particularly powerful because his work is informed by expert command of past and current Italian archaeology. This is fully integrated with an extensive knowledge of literary and epigraphical sources, creating an influential analysis. For example, Chapter 2 ('Religious Aspects of Early Roman Colonization') offers an imaginative approach to a traditional topic, revealing Roman mentalities determining the establishment of colonial cults (much, however, is hypothetical). The vitality of T.'s analysis may be seen most strongly in the concluding chapter, '*Tota Italia*: At the Roots of Augustan Nostalgia', which pursues an archaeological inquiry into the uses (dynastic and collective) of the Trojan myth, a unifying theme of the volume. The development and employment of the myth in archaic and republican Italy is usefully examined; T. then describes how, through the colonization process, there was a drawing together under the Roman umbrella of various Trojan myths adopted (and reworked) by various peoples of Italy.

Chapter 6, which unravels the fascinating history of the Corsini throne, demonstrates characteristic features of T.'s scholarship. T. argues that the throne is a copy of a lost fifth-century-B.C. bronze original, created for an aristocrat claiming descent from Etruscan kings for purposes of self-glorification in the rapidly evolving world of Augustan Italy. T. proposes Livia's friend Urgulania as the owner of the original throne, then copied for display in the house of the family she entered around 40 B.C. (the Plautii Silvani). Following the extinction of both branches of the family and the confiscation of their villa (A.D. 64), the throne and other prized family possessions (including portrait busts) were dumped, to be rediscovered only in the 1732 excavations of St John Lateran (p. 161). This chapter illustrates, first, T.'s wide interests: a few brief pages cover Etruscan art and history, the creation of *tota Italia* by the new Augustan and Tiberian municipal élites, prosopography, the reconstruction of Roman topography, the classical tradition, and the history of archaeology in the city of Rome. Secondly, it highlights his mastery of a wide range of source material, and from this the creation of a dense network of coincidences, possibilities, and probabilities, sometimes fanciful, but sometimes highly plausible.

Perhaps more typical of the volume as a whole is Chapter 4, 'The Romanization of Daunia'. Once again, the evidence drawn into the argument is impressive and comprehensive. Yet key questions surrounding the issue of Romanization get short shrift, as a result of T.'s conception of the nature of Roman imperialism, and belief in the Rome-driven nature of Romanization. The massive scholarly interest in and problematization of Romanization over recent years has little place here. T. explicitly comments that the 'profound economic and social transformations' of Romanization were '*imposed* on subjugated peoples' (p. 89; my italics). In the religious sphere, he argues that specific cults were 'developed by the ruling Roman class' as part of a deliberate strategy to make colonies 'centres of ideological integration' with indigenous peoples (p. 96). But was there really a 'Roman model'? To what extent did Rome have a coherent policy for extending 'Romanization' over the peninsula? T. has a desire to see Romanization present at all levels and in all periods, emphasizing how the Roman conquest changes everything—but is this really supported by the evidence? Moreover, the notions of the superiority of Roman culture implicit here

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are particularly problematic, not least a mindset which sees cultural acquisitiveness and openness as a 'weakness' on the part of local peoples (p. 89). (Is Rome's famed openness, in contrast, a strength?) The overall impression is of a somewhat old fashioned, Rome-down, Rome-dominated view of Italy during the last four centuries B.C.

Despite these criticisms, *Tota Italia* remains a fertile study of Roman Italy; it is written with verve, and illustrated, beautifully, by maps, plans, drawings, and photographs. A number of illustrations are wrongly cited in the text, and there are various minor typographical errors—the 'tomb of the Jogglers' (p. 155) ought to have rung bells with proof-readers. But these niggles should not detract from a volume which is always a pleasure to read. T.'s great value has always been as a creator of complex constructions which stimulate rather than close off debate; he does that here.

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THE SPREAD OF ROMAN CULTURE

R. MacMullen: *Romanization in the Time of Augustus*. Pp. xi + 222, ills. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000. Cased, £16.95. ISBN: 0-300-08254-1.

Professor MacMullen sets himself the task of exploring, in the form of a synthesis, 'how Roman civilization eventually appeared everywhere, as one single thing, so far as it was ever achieved' (p. ix). His chronological focus is the 'long' Augustan period, spanning from the time of the *princeps*' birth to his death, because that was the period when, M. believes, there was unrivalled 'progress' towards 'one single way of life' (p. x). The book is divided into four 'area' chapters (The East', 'Africa', 'Spain', and 'Gaul'), and one chapter on 'Replication', which is concerned with the processes by which the cultural homogeneity emphasized by M. were achieved. Each of the 'area' chapters offers an overview of Roman intervention, conquest, colonization, and rule, and some description and characterization of cultural change.

This is not, as M. is aware, a book for the expert: there is indeed 'little new to interest specialists' (p. x). However, this is a book that is also likely to frustrate many students and general readers. M. is clearly impatient with modern theoretical approaches: recent discussions, which he characterizes by the terms 'colonialism' and 'ideology' (the inverted commas are his), are 'entirely legitimate, but they lose sight of the people themselves whose way of life embodied change' (p. xi). M.'s style is undeniably clear and free from jargon, but the book is also short on questions, problems, argument, and complexity. In the place of modern theoretical frameworks, unquestioned assumptions abound. Given M.'s tendency to make sweeping generalizations, one might also well wonder how effectively M.'s concern with 'the people themselves' is carried over into the substance of the book. For example, ancient ideological constructions are read as 'fact', without acknowledging their long and revealing ancient and modern histories: Greeks tend to 'fawn and flatter' (p. 5); Romans 'do' warfare, administration, and technology, while the Greeks 'do' culture (p. 29). Elsewhere, M. has decided on the 'values' that characterize Roman society: 'those attaching to superiority, to favors, and to triumphal display' (p. 24). Perhaps the most dangerous assumption M. makes is that cultural change 'on the ground' works according to a mixture of ancient and modern value judgements about relative civilization of peoples. Thus, for example, in the 'civilized' 'East', Roman culture was eventually pushed out or 'digested' due to its

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