mobilized by politicians like Clodius, they were miserably paid (p. 60 n. 5), and, when corrupted, they were usually paid only after the announcement of the successful result (p. 111). The above picture seems too simplistic; also, it would be interesting to follow up the rôle of the *boni*.

Although not always convincing in his *pars destruens* of the 'democratic' reading of the Roman republic (very well taken, though, is the point about the non-identity of 'public' and 'democratic', p. 46), M.'s *pars construens*, especially in Chapter 5, is extremely interesting. The dismissal of *clientela* as a leading force of Roman socio-political structure, the technicalities of voting procedures—a subject not much discussed in modern scholarship—and a comprehensive picture of bribery (completed by the appendix on the *lex Licinia de sodalitatibus*) are amongst the most interesting and valuable parts of the book.

What M. seems to find difficult to insert in his picture is the relationship between ideology and political practice. Although sometimes he seems to argue that ideology is completely separated from political practice, and thus will not be able to tell us much about the working of politics (p. 15), he also admits the complexity of such a relationship and the centrality of *libertas* to Roman political identity. He is right in stressing the double nature of the *populus Romanus* as political concept and as real entity, but seems to fall into a methodological contradiction when discussing the people addressed by Cicero in the *de lege agraria* II (p. 55). But, to stay on M.'s ground, why was so much effort spent on rhetoric, if the audience were the *boni*, the speaker's supporters, and a very small number of common people who, in any case, would not have had a great say in the final result? In front of such a limited and apolitical crowd, would this eloquence and the meetings where it was delivered be useful in 'maintaining social peace and stability by offering the people a formal rôle in the political process' (p. 13)? Would it not have been easier to resort to a solution similar to that adopted for the *comitia curiata* and their 30 *lictores*?

This book, short but very densely packed, touching upon many issues currently under debate with an up-to-date bibliography, offers an innovative interpretation. Regardless of how many people will buy its arguments, this provocative book will certainly make people consider the Roman political system from a different perspective.

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PATER PATRIAE

M. STROTHMANN: *Augustus—Vater der res publica. Zur Funktion der drei Begriffe* restitutio—saeculum—pater patriae *im augusteischen Principat*. Pp. 320. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2000. Paper, DM 98. ISBN: 3-515-07663-8.

The Augustan Age was a crucial period in Roman history because it brought to an end destructive civil wars that marked the end of the republic and also forged a new government that both imitated and yet was very different from the one that it replaced. Reassessment of Rome's first emperor and what he intended and achieved has been a major theme of classical scholarship for much of the past century. In the immediate past much of that work has been carried on by German scholars. The current work, a revision of the dissertation the author submitted at the

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Ruhr-Universität Bochum in 1996, complements many of those works quite admirably.

Meret Strothmann, in *Augustus—Vater der res publica*, focuses on three themes—*restitutio*, *saeculum*, and *pater patriae*—in her assessment of the development of Augustus' principate. She traces these three subjects in visual images, literature, and inscriptions, and documents their varying patterns of evolution and interaction in Rome, in Italy, and in both western and eastern provinces of the Roman empire. *Restitutio* includes the restoration of individual legal status and rights lost during the civil wars, the physical reconstruction of buildings, particularly sacred spaces, damaged or destroyed, and restitution of the state as well. *Saeculum* refers to the dawning of a new age that is inaugurated by the holding of Ludi Saeculares in 17 B.C. The *princeps* presides over the arrival of this new era, which is linked to the past through *restitutio*, while it also augurs continued peace, moral change (fostered by Augustan legislation), and economic prosperity. *Pater patriae*, the title Augustus assumed in 2 B.C., casts the emperor as father of the Roman family and state. In this rôle Augustus is the new founder of Rome, a second Romulus, whose *providentia* secures the needs and freedom of Romans in the dawning *saeculum*. It is S.'s task to document the reception and acceptance of these three concepts in Rome, in Italy, and in provinces both east and west, and she does that very well.

S. connects *restitutio* to the period from Octavian's rise to prominence in 43 to the *princeps*'s assumption of the post of *pontifex maximus* in 12 B.C. The emphasis on the new *saeculum* she begins with the Secular Games in 17 and concludes with the bestowal of his *pater patriae* title in 2 B.C., when Augustus also held the consulship for the last time. The *pater patriae* phase then concludes Augustus' rule, a period when he governs more through his personal *auctoritas* than by virtue of a specific public office. As the author documents examples of her three main themes, the reader is often struck by the balancing act between past and future that Augustus had to effect so that he could benefit from the legitimization of the *restitutio* while still embarking on the new *saeculum aureum* and lead the empire as *pater patriae*. His reliance on his ties to Julius Caesar and Jupiter therefore diminished gradually as time went on, and his reliance on the new imperial triad of Apollo, Diana, and Ceres increased. During the same time personified virtues, including Victoria, Fortuna, Virtus, Felicitas, Clementia, Pietas, Salus, Concordia, Pax, Iustitia, and Providentia, assumed greater prominence in the *restitutio* effort as vehicles for the *mores maiorum*.

The author acknowledges that the introduction of the three concepts into the rest of Italy and into the provinces cannot be followed as chronologically as in Rome, but some examples are datable and representations of the three themes can still be found in abundance. It is clear from numerous citations that their use did help bind together vast geographical spaces, although they varied in intensity and emphasis from one place to another. In general, oaths of loyalty and personal bonds to the *princeps* and the *familia Caesaris*, which relate to the principle of *pater patriae*, were established in the provinces well before the other two concepts appeared. Augustan ideology reached the provinces through public monuments, inscriptions, literature, and coins, at times in conjunction with an imperial visit, but also through private acts and individual construction, which both strengthened local ties to Rome and served as examples of the benefits of peace and prosperity in the new *saeculum*.

The ruler cult and public games also bound local communities and their residents to Rome and to the imperial family. S. points out that in Greek south Italy and Sicily the cult of the emperor was well established, whereas in north Italy recognition of the *Genius Augusti* served as an intermediary step and the *princeps* was only worshipped

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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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