

elect the first consuls? But one may assume that it was Republican magistrates—in contrast to the kings—who needed investiture by the *Comitia curiata*, granting formally but limiting their annual term of office. The *Comitia curiata*, Magdelain holds, operated before the *Comitia centuriata* and *Comitia tributa* took their historical place. From the mid fifth century he sees two stages of appointment: first election, then investiture by the *Lex curiata*.

Magdelain now comes to the *auspicia* in the light of their importance in the exercise of *imperium*. The evidence is largely familiar. He discusses such topics as the origin of *imperium*, the dictatorship, the auspices of the *Comitia centuriata*, the censors and *lustrum*, and the changing position of promagistrates, as well as personal examples, e.g., Flaminius, Scipio Africanus in Spain, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus in 163 B.C. All familiar enough, but no less difficult and contentious for that. How does one allow for the kind of evidence itself, then the various dates and circumstances of the cases? Magdelain looks for the ritual logic of the *auspicia*. I have mentioned topics of interest—but his treatment must be studied as a coherent piece of argumentation.

The context, then, casts back to the basic significance of the *auspicia*. A Republican magistrate entering on office, a general departing for his province, the victorious general returning to celebrate a triumph, had to proceed with due augural ceremony. For within the *pomerium*, as Magdelain emphasizes, Rome was Jupiter's city, founded and governed with ritual; Mars and his works stayed outside, with their ritual. This was not (he holds) a Republican division of an earlier unitary *imperium*: it represented a sacral duality of civil and military *imperium*, i.e. *domi* and *militiae*, from regal times; also, it had a topographical relation with the conception of *urbs* and *ager Romanus*. The *urbs* was dedicated after the fashion of a *templum*, with the rites of *inauguratio*, *effatio*, and *liberatio*, as a place of peace within the *pomerium*, excluding connection with war and death. Even to cross to the Campus Martius required its degree of ceremony, until the *imperium domi* was extended. All this explains why features of the Romulus myth associate the 'inauguration' of the *urbs* with the conferring of *imperium domi*, and the *auspicia* of *imperium militiae* reflect the external relations.

The brief summary of an intricate argument can do no more than direct attention to it. Of course, the context itself is a reconstruction from the evidence, in which the original details are again set; but this is the regular method of 'working hypothesis'. Magdelain was not in time to consider J. J. Nicholls's criticism (*A.J.P.* 1967, 274–8) of his preliminary studies. But there is scope for further consideration from the side of Roman religion as well as the Roman constitution—providing one does not rely too much on the traditional account of the first years of the Roman Republic, because the evidence here affects that problem also.

Clare College, Cambridge

A. H. McDONALD

THE CLIMAX OF ROME

MICHAEL GRANT: *The Climax of Rome: The Final Achievements of the Ancient World, A.D. 161–337*. Pp. xvii+299; 100 plates, 8 maps. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1968. Cloth, £3. 3s. net.

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