

scholars' national allegiances, or the very controversial reception of Pais in the Italian intellectual community, were more explicitly addressed, historically contextualized, and theoretically framed. On a more practical level, a stronger general framework might have prevented the numerous repetitions of episodes from Pais's life in different papers, and collecting together each chapter's bibliography into a single one would have provided a more useful research tool. Having said that, it is precisely the multifocal approach chosen by P., together with the dissonances that this entails, that succeeds in raising questions of interest not only relating to Pais's biography, but also concerning nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century historiography of the ancient world *tout court*.

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II. HISTORY

C. EDWARDS and G. WOOLF (EDS), *ROME THE COSMOPOLIS*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Pp. xv + 249. ISBN 0-521-80005-6. £45.00.

'This book is for Keith Hopkins' (xiii). As this review was being completed, news of Hopkins' untimely death added resonance to so many of the contributions, whose authors seem to have kept his quizzical scepticism ever before their minds during the writing. The editors determined that this was not to be a conventional 'festschrift', but 'a real book' (xiii) on a subject of interest to Hopkins. One of the key themes underlying the work is the important question of why Rome continued to flourish and play a central role in people's minds long after it had ceased to be the main administrative centre of the Empire. The answer was summed up by Ovid (*Fasti* 2.684), 'Romanae spatium est urbis et orbis idem' ('The world and the city of Rome occupy the same space'). The booty, the art, the wealth, the food, and, above all, the peoples of all parts of the Empire flooded into Rome and made it the 'epitome' of that empire (Athenaeus, *Deip.* 1.20 b-c); as the editors argue, 'Rome the City was so deeply inscribed in the master texts of empire that it could never safely be erased' (19). Another approach which binds many of the contributions together is a shared emphasis on the varied and shifting perspectives of the viewer of the city and its monuments and activities and on the 'Romes of the mind' conjured up in ancient writing about Rome, a topic on which Catherine Edwards has already given the lead in her *Writing Rome* (1996).

Several essays seek to explain some of the processes by which Rome became this unprecedented cosmopolis. Walter Scheidel builds on his earlier important work on disease and demography to present a picture of Rome as the disease capital of the ancient world. The numerous immigrants brought with them their own diseases to add to the hyperendemic malaria of the city. Scheidel offers a gloomy estimate of life expectancy at birth in Rome, which meant that the huge population of the city could only be sustained by continuous large-scale immigration. Willem Jongman agrees with this and offers a useful model for what was happening in the Italian countryside in the last two centuries of the Republic. This rightly dismisses all notions of agrarian crisis and emphasizes the 'pull' factors of Rome, rather than the 'push' of rural upheaval. At long last Hopkins' much-quoted, but misguided, first chapter of *Conquerors and Slaves* can be laid to rest. Neville Morley provides a useful collection of passages and commentary illustrating the varied experiences of the immigrants; this is presented as a script for a TV programme *à la Hopkins' A World Full of Gods* — as with Hopkins' experiment the format adds nothing. The rather dire picture of life in Rome which emerges from these essays needs to be balanced with at least some recognition of the real attractions of Rome: the possibilities of employment, of social mobility, greater variety and excitement of life. However, the impact of this picture of restless mobility, an ever-changing population, and fluid social groups, rightly emphasized by Purcell in *CAH IX*², 644–88, has yet to be fully absorbed into studies of Roman political and economic life.

The cosmopolitan nature of Rome's population is a key factor emphasized in the excellent essays by Edwards, Vout, and Elsner on various aspects of art in the city. What was a visiting Jew to make of the triumphal scenes on Titus' arch? Catharine Edwards considers the varied and ambiguous responses to the statuary that flooded into Rome as a result of its imperial conquests — along with the conquered peoples who came as slaves, immigrants, envoys, and visitors. Caroline Vout in a very thoughtful piece considers the nature of 'Egyptianizing' monuments and

art in Rome (such as the pyramid of Cestius, Tomb Z beneath St Peter's, the 'Aula Isiaca', and the 'Basilica' of Junius Bassus). She rightly rejects the Isis cult as an overarching explanation. As she points out, much of the 'Egyptian' imagery was combined with other more conventional Graeco-Roman images; to concentrate purely on the exotic elements or to record and catalogue them out of context, as much art history has tended to do, is to distort their meaning and significance. What was being created was something new — a 'Roman cosmopolitan' style. Vout plausibly suggests that the artists and patrons saw Egyptianizing iconography as a mechanism for referring to the afterlife. She makes a powerful case for the need to explore meaning in terms of genre or functional category: 'not Egyptianizing versus Hellenizing, but domestic, imperial, funerary' (202). The same sort of tantalizing amalgam is presented by major works of early Christian art in Rome, where, for example, the casket of the Esquiline Treasure combines Venus and eros with an inscription exhorting the owner to live in Christ. Jaś Elsner's important chapter goes beyond the usual discussions to argue that a key aspect of Christian art in Rome in the fourth century A.D. was its attempt to appropriate one of the most distinctive features of pagan cults, their localism (the way they were rooted in specific communities). The purpose of the Roman Church was to assert its claim to primacy in the Christian world and it sought to do this by rooting the Church in Rome's past. Hence Peter and Paul figure prominently in the art of the period. Here too was the impetus for Pope Damasus' frenetic activity in the mid-fourth century to establish the cults of saints and identify martyr-sites in the city.

The written texts remain one of the key ways we come to understand Rome. Mary Beard, in a taster for her much-anticipated study of the Roman triumph, emphasizes just how much of what we claim to know about the Roman triumph rests upon a limited number of texts. She emphasizes the performance aspects of the triumphal procession, viewing it as a form of street theatre. Like all theatre this involved an issue of belief (so Pompey is described by Appian, *Mith.* 117, as wearing the cloak of Alexander the Great at his triumph 'if anyone can believe that'). This in turn opens the way of the sceptic to undermine the effect (as for example in the 'false' triumphs of Gaius and Domitian (Suet., *Gaius* 47 and Tac., *Agr.* 39)). Richard Miles points to the curious way in which the rivalry between Rome and Punic Carthage moulded literary references to Carthage for centuries after the destruction of the city and, indeed, after the creation of the Roman city on the same site. As Roman Carthage became a rich and influential city through its key role in the North African corn trade, so it also became an attractive base for challengers to imperial authority (Papius Dionysius in A.D. 190, the Gordians in A.D. 238, Domitius Alexander in A.D. 308) — Punic perfidy and rivalry with Rome re-emerge in the texts. Greg Woolf, for his part, explores the ways in which Rome was reinvented as a cultural capital. This suited an élite, whose real power had slipped away to reside with the emperor. Poets and writers played up to their desire to represent themselves as at the forefront of culture. Woolf has a healthy scepticism of the real depth of cultural knowledge of the élite, and he has an acute analysis of Pliny the Younger's creation of himself as a man of letters. The whole essay goes a long way to explaining why Latin literature, both in Rome and the provinces, became a literature centred on the city and the preoccupations of its élite.

Space might have been found for consideration of plebeian culture in cosmopolitan Rome (Nicholas Horsfall, *La Cultura della Plebs Romana* (1996) has shown the possibilities) and the effects of the cosmopolitan make-up of the population on political and public life. But this remains a rich and rewarding collection, which amply demonstrates that the recognition of the cosmopolitan nature of the city of Rome opens up the possibility of new literary, archaeological, historical, and artistic narratives of the city. It is worthy of its dedicatee, although the contributors would be the first to recognize that he would not necessarily agree with all of what they have to say.

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G. DALY, *CANNAE: THE EXPERIENCE OF BATTLE IN THE SECOND PUNIC WAR*. London: Routledge, 2002. Pp. xviii + 253, 10 figs, 7 maps. ISBN 0-415-26147-3. £45.00.

A. GOLDSWORTHY, *CANNAE*. London: Cassell, 2001. Pp. 201, numerous illus. ISBN 0-304-35714-6. £14.99.

Keegan's classic study, *The Face of Battle* (1976), has had a transforming impact on the study of ancient warfare by focusing attention on combatants' experience in battle. The most notable