

twin sucklings who may or may not be Romulus and Remus (illustrated and discussed in T. P. Wiseman, *Remus* (1995), 65–71).

The denarius issue of P. Satrienus in 77 B.C. (RRC 388.1) shows a she-wolf standing and looking forward, with one foreleg raised and no suckling infants beneath her. She is a fierce maternal beast, but what does she represent? Given that the turned head ('tereti ceruice reflexa', Virg., *Aen.* 8.633) and the act of licking the twins (Livy 1.4.6; Virg., *Aen.* 8.634; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.79.6; Ovid, *Fasti* 2.418; *Origo gentis Romanae* 20.3) seem to be essential to the suckling scene, one might even doubt whether Satrienus' she-wolf refers to the founders' myth at all.

There is a reason why these details matter, and for more than five centuries it has been on display at the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Campidoglio in Rome. The wonderful bronze *lupa Capitolina* was a gift to the city from Pope Sixtus IV in 1471; the twins beneath her are a fifteenth-century addition, attributed to Antonio Pollaiuolo (c. 1426–1496). She is first attested in a chronicler of about A.D. 995, reporting a ninth-century verdict at the pontifical judgement-seat at the Lateran, which was called *ad lupam* after 'the mother of the Romans' (MGH *Scriptores* 3.712); at some point she was placed high on the wall of the Torre degli Annibaldi on the north side of the Lateran piazza, as illustrated in the drawing of a lost fresco of 1438–40 that was in the right transept of the Lateran basilica. Standing, with her head only half turned and not looking down, she has much more in common with the she-wolf of the Satrienus denarii than with what we know of the Ogulnian suckling-twins group.

All this, and more, can be found in an excellent book by the Director of the Capitoline Museums (Claudio Parisi Presicce, *La lupa Capitolina* (2000)), written for a Millennium exhibition welcoming the she-wolf back to public view after a detailed restoration programme. That work revealed that the clay of the original model, some of which survives inside, came from the Tiber valley between Orvieto and Rome, while the metal itself contained lead mined in Sardinia. That is consistent with the scholarly *communis opinio*, that the *lupa* is an archaic Etruscan masterpiece. But the opportunity was also taken to apply radiocarbon testing to the surviving material inside, and though Presicce is evasive about the results, the technical director of the programme insists that they suggest the piece was cast in the eighth century A.D. (Anna Maria Carruba, *La lupa Capitolina: un bronzo medioevale* (2006)). So who is right, the scientists or the connoisseurs?

This, surely, is a moment for 'cultural studies'. The talisman of Rome, a symbol universally recognized, is being fought over by two apparently irreconcilable intellectual traditions. What is at stake in this contest? What difference will the outcome make?

It has to be said that Cristina Mazzoni's new book does not rise to the occasion: for her, the dating dispute is just a dinner-party discussion topic (38–9). The book itself is intelligent, well written, very wide-ranging, and fashionably reluctant to privilege the significant over the banal (Presicce gets less attention than *The Lonely Planet Guide to Rome*). Readers who are taken aback to find ancient texts referred to by the page numbers of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century translations must be content with the author's declaration that 'the eclectic style of my criticism comes from training in comparative literature' (xiii). But what strikes one most is the absence of an identifiable argument: 'Although scholars eventually may agree on one detail or another of the she-wolf's significance, the beast's full meaning is and will likely remain inscrutable. One would do well to suspect at this point in our interpretive journey that there may be no single, complete, and ultimate meaning to be discovered' (172). Well, of course — but in that case, is the purpose of the book merely to show what we already knew, that the she-wolf symbolizes Rome, and Rome means different things to different people?

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doi:10.1017/S0075435812000202

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S. DYSON, *ROME: A LIVING PORTRAIT OF AN ANCIENT CITY*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010. Pp. xv + 467, illus. ISBN 9780801892530 (bound); 9780801892547 (paper). £39.00 (bound); £18.00 (paper).

Dyson states at the outset that his aim was to write a book designed as 'an introduction to the ancient city for the student or tourist who wants an overview rather than a detailed consideration of individual sites and remains'. One of the problems with the standard tourist image of ancient Rome is that it never changes. Rome is the eternal city of the Colosseum, the Pantheon and the

ruins of the Forum complex. What D.'s book succeeds in doing is demonstrating how much more complicated and ever-changing the ancient city really was.

The introduction surveys the history of 'writing Rome' and examines the kinds of evidence that survive. The rest of the book is organized into two sections with different methods. The first comprises chapters dividing the history of Rome into simple chronological tracts. These start with the creation of Rome as a megalopolis, before moving through the Republic, the transformation of Rome into an imperial capital, and ending with the Antonine city. The aim of these chapters is primarily to provide a broad context for understanding the way in which Rome was almost completely rebuilt during this long period. The later chapters then approach the city thematically. Four chapters examine the neighbourhoods and rituals of the city, the urban economy, the people of Rome, and the city that lay beyond the *pomerium*. A final chapter returns to the chronological approach and outlines the changes that occurred in the city during the third century and after Constantine's conversion to Christianity and move to Constantinople left the old pagan capital in a more marginal position.

The varying approaches of the chapters reflect D.'s desire to combine a variety of historical and archaeological styles. He is largely successful in this, but the downside of the chronological method is that a vast amount of information and history has to be crammed into a fairly small space. Even then, the book runs to over 360 pages, plus almost 60 pages of notes. I am not sure that there are many tourists who will have the stamina to work their way through this level of detail. But this is not really a complaint. What D. has actually succeeded in producing is a masterful overview of the state of current scholarship on the ancient city of Rome, which reflects a lifetime spent studying it. The book will be accessible to those who are studying the subject at university, and most professionals will also learn much from its extensive coverage. It is at its best when it is digging deeper into the broader underlying themes that affected Rome's development. It is in the sections on the problems of supplying so vast a city in a pre-industrial society and in his analysis of the everyday difficulties faced by the common people that his account most succeeds in creating a living portrait. If the aim was to write a more popular book, it would probably have been better to focus on a few key examples to try to evoke something of the experience of being in the city. Political detail could have been sacrificed in favour of giving a better idea of the sensory overload which living in the capital seems to have involved. But overall, this book successfully manages to link the tangible remains to the wider themes of Roman history.

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doi:10.1017/S0075435812000214

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R. J. B. BOSWORTH, *WHISPERING CITY: MODERN ROME AND ITS HISTORIES*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011. Pp. xvii + 358, illus. ISBN 9780300114713. £25.00.

An unapologetically personal history of the city of Rome, R. J. B. Bosworth's *Whispering City: Modern Rome and its Histories* focuses on the past two centuries of the city's story. But, like the city itself, earlier remains are always peeking through, being dusted off, and shaping what we see. The points of reference are material remnants of the past, and each chapter uses a monument, inscription, or other fragment of the physical city to situate the reader within the spatial and material Rome before departing to the textual and historical one. B. details the ways in which politicians, popes, and archaeologists created the modern Rome, and in so doing reveals the myriad ways they selectively revealed, restored, and rebuilt the city, leveraging the Classical and other pasts where it suited their purposes.

B.'s Rome is far more than a palimpsest, and he reveals many complex entanglements. Thus the turn of the century monument on the Janiculum to revolutionary hero Garibaldi has a date reckoned *ab urbe condita* and a later, nearby, monument to his first wife Anita was shaped by Mussolini's interventions, recast to fit with Fascist ideologies. The contested meanings and readings of Garibaldi's place in Roman history continued in the communist 'Garibaldi brigades' and into contemporary conflicts over his memory. B. demonstrates the ways that public monuments, like those of the Garibaldis and other characters of the Risorgimento in Rome, are themselves records of the disputed and changing views of the unification.

Classical Rome, again and again, proves to be among the most usable of pasts, mutable for use by papal, imperial, and national principles, as detailed in B.'s rich account. From the 1870s