
A.J.S. Spawforth’s new book should be required reading for scholars interested in Roman-period Greece. With it Spawforth (hereafter S.) provides a rich and interesting discussion of the history, literature, politics and monuments of the Augustan period in Greece. Especially important is his investigation of the cultures, events, and goals of the Augustan and Hadrianic period as seen from Roman as well as Greek cultural perspectives. Spawforth’s study is characterized by careful, detailed treatment of ancient and modern writers, sources that he draws upon to advance nuanced views of the intersection and cross-fertilization of Greek and Latin cultures during the Augustan period.

S. brings his exhaustive knowledge of Greek inscriptions, onomastics, and historical sources to bear on his ‘reconstruction’ of the cultural milieu of Greece during the Augustan and Hadrianic periods. In his previous work as an ancient historian S. has conducted thorough investigations of epigraphical and onomastic issues in the Greek East. He has focused on the elite families of Athens, Corinth, Epidaurus, and Sparta, on the definition and reception of the imperial cult, on the establishment of the Panhellenion during the later Hadrianic period, and on court societies under monarchies. Having also produced the well laid-out *Greece: An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (with C. Mee, 2001) and co-edited a vastly expanded 3rd edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (with S. Hornblower, 2000), he is unusually well positioned to attempt a detailed synthesis of the complex developments in Greek and Roman culture in Greece under Augustus.

In this book, which begins with a broadly-based introduction to the cultures in the Mediterranean of the last century BC and early first century AD, S. advocates use of the term ‘Romanity,’ rather than the outmoded ‘Romanization,’ which he defines as a disposition on the part of the provincials to imitate the culture of the Romans of Rome and Italy. He sees the acquisition of Roman cultural elements through a process of re-hellenization, which took place gradually, with the impulse coming from the west through a cultural interchange between elites from east and west. This acculturative process could include promotion of Roman values by the state and its agents and was accomplished by various means, including fostering the cultural traditions of Classical Greece and supporting the pro-Roman elites.

S. suggests that from an early date Greek elites consciously pursued strategies of Roman advancement, by adopting Roman names and offices and focusing on wealth conservation. Service to the imperial cult, for example, was seen as a way of ensuring a rise to the highest of the Roman social orders. ‘Diaspora Romans’ were gradually Hellenized culturally, while also retaining a Roman identity, as indicated by the wearing of the toga, by their names, and by bilingualism. Interaction and communication of cultural outlooks occurred naturally, as Romans went to Greece as pilgrims, tourists, and students, often staying with Athenian elites as guests.
S. argues that Roman debates regarding the moral decline and civil unrest in Late Republican Rome led to Augustus’ use of Hellenism to establish a new framework for the definition of the Romans. The Augustan regime promoted the view that old Greece, especially Athens and Sparta, stood for the cultural and historical traditions of Greece that the people of Rome should admire and adapt. Augustus took advantage of the fact that the Greeks had always idealized the past, as in using memories of the Persian Wars, in his promotion of the idea of ‘old’ Greece. Athens became a particular focus, as so many elite Romans went there to study.

For Athens S. develops the importance of the Agrippeum and of the Greek temples that were moved into the Athenian Agora. Bringing in the older, Classical Attic buildings, which created a ‘museum effect,’ is seen as linked to Augustan moral reform. S. argues convincingly that the Agrippeum was used as a ‘lecture hall’ for declamations or show speeches from the beginning, not only after its reconstruction in the 2nd century, as is usually thought. To support this view, he draws attention to the practice of recitatio in Rome in the 40s BC, popularized by Asinius Pollio. An emphasis on declamation would correspond with Augustan interest in emphasizing the oratory of Attic style rather than the florid Asiatic. Many leading Romans came to Athens in this period, as it was an important center of education, especially of rhetoric. S. argues that these people would have provided the audience for the Agrippeum.

For Sparta, discipline provides the most important model for the Romans, especially the strict military training that supports their virtue. S. argues that the “Augustan emphasis on family values and female virtue appealed to the naturally conservative stratum of leading ‘houses’ (oikoi), whose moral outlook was undoubtedly closer to that of the Italian municipalities, the world from which Livy came, than to that of the super-rich Roman aristocracy whose immorality the Augustan regime publicly rejected” (97–8).

A number of the inscriptions discussed have uncertain or debated dates, but S. provides good reasons for his assumptions. For the important inscription from the sanctuary of the Great Gods at the Carneasium, near Andania, Messenia, S. follows Themelis’ date of AD 24. The inscription specifies the regulations about the mysteries of the Great Gods, the organization and finances, the rules for the priests, the procession, the correct dress, the size of tents for initiates, and the repair of buildings. The emphasis on re-creation of older religious customs seems appropriate to the early Roman period. Renewals of older rituals also occur in Athens in this period.

Cultural change is often linked to building activity. In Greece as in Rome, Augustus restored many old buildings, especially those with a religious function. Along with cultural renewals elsewhere is the adaptation of the Metroon at Olympia into a temple housing statues of the emperors. S. refers to the east end of this building as the front, which featured the architrave inscription, although interpretations of the front end and the inscribed block are problematic.
Whereas the first five chapters deal extensively with evidence for cultural features of the Augustan period in Greece, the sixth chapter turns to the period of Hadrian, as it is the only other period that focuses strongly on Classical Greece. The consideration of Hadrianic literature and monuments in Greece acts as a useful counterpart for the primary thrust of this study, the Augustan period.

**Minor Points:**

p. 145 n. 17: Lambert 2011: is not in the bibliography.

For chapter titles S. uses phrases that give little idea of the chapter's content, which the reader may find frustrating. Additional subheads would bring more focus into some discussions.

For herms used to decorate theaters other than Sparta's, see M. Fuchs, *Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung römischer Theater in Italien und den Westprovinzen des Imperium Romanum*, Mainz 1987. Comparisons for stone herms on Augustan pulpita fronts have not survived, but the herms of the Agrippaeum notably present not the more common Hermes, Dionysos, or Dionysiac subjects, as in the theater of Verona (Fuchs, pl. 57). On the Athenian building the herms take the form of ephebes and young women, the former possibly related to the declamation.

On the important shield-decorated bases from the Agrippaeum, it may be most likely that these bases supported statues celebrating land-based victories, but shields were also used in naval battles, as illustrated by reliefs from Praeneste and Cordoba on which figures standing on board hold shields. See, e.g., William M. Murray, *The Age of Titans: The Rise and Fall of the Great Hellenistic Navies*, Oxford 2012, pp. 150, 248.


For the Roman arch on the south side of the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, add (to p.165 n.113) the direct citation of A. Mallwitz, XI. *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Olympia*, Berlin 1999, p. 274, who designates it Augustan, rather than Neronian, and tentatively associates it with Agrippa, ca. 15 BC.


In summary, this very readable book will become an important source of information on Roman Greece, which is steadily receiving increased attention, for students and scholars alike.

Mary Sturgeon on A.J.S. Spawforth, Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution

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