

by Clifford Ando, which provides the overall historical context for the discussions contained in the book. The bibliographies accompanying each chapter cover literature in all relevant languages, not only in English.

Kaj Sandberg

A. J. S. SPAWFORTH: *Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2012. ISBN 978-1-107-01211-0. VIII, 319 pp. GBP 60, USD 99.

In this book Antony Spawforth, a well-known authority on Roman Greece, sets out to study the impact of the Roman cultural revolution under Augustus on the Roman province of Greece. The argument set out in the start is that the transformation of Roman Greece into a classicizing "museum" was a specific response of the provincial Greek elites to the cultural policies of the Roman imperial monarchy. The mounting exposure of Greek elites to cultural "Roman-ness" gave rise to new forms of identity, leading to a process of the Greeks' acculturation to Roman values. At the core of the argument lie the moral values promoted by Augustus (hence the cultural revolution, a concept originally introduced by Bowersock) and the communication, adoption and use of these values by the Greek local notables in the acculturation process, the visible results of which are studied through a number of aspects. An underlying discourse is how to address the paradox of Roman (moral) depreciation of Greek culture which, however, was at the core of Roman (Hellenistic) culture. The conceptual tool for achieving this was the promotion of "proper" Hellenism and the distinction between 'good' (Attic) and 'bad' (Asiatic) Greekness. This methodologically difficult question Spawforth sets out to answer by "paying detailed attention to historical and social context".

Spawforth acknowledges his intellectual debt especially to Glen Bowersock's influential book *Augustus and the Greek World* (1965), but also makes frequent reference to Andrew Wallace-Hadrill's *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (2008) as well as to Clifford Ando's *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (2000). The whole concept of the book is built upon acceptance of an idea of a specific Augustan ideology of the restoration of *mores*.

The reflections of this ideology in the acculturation process are studied in an interrelated series of chapters. The first chapter, titled "Greece and the Augustan Age" (pp. 1–58), is extensive and makes a sound exploration of the approach used and of previous research on the discussion of the Augustan impact on Greece in terms of imperialism and 'cultural politics'. This chapter introduces topics like the Augustan "moral revolution", Roman images of Greece, Augustan classicism, Augustus' relationship with the Greek world, Augustan urban foundations in Greece and the position of Greek provincial elites. The focus is astutely directed, e.g., to the reciprocity of the "cultural dialogue": how Greek cultural trends were adopted and used in Rome, and how the educated elite of the Greek east was already familiar with Roman cultural values prior to the expansion of the empire. Spawforth sees the promotion of Augustan cultural values in Greece as an extraordinary Roman intervention, where Romans are active players, the regime recommending its ethical standards to elite Greeks in order to consciously create a particular climate of opinion. This "cocktail of culture, power and coercion" (p. 25) is introduced to a specific class of Greek (and Roman) cultural brokers.

The concept of 'Romanization' is also taken up (p. 28). However, a theoretical discussion of the concept is not a key issue to Spawforth. His view is that as a concept, 'Romaniza-

tion' still has explanatory significance, but due to its ambiguities, it is best avoided as a term (Schörner 2005 as a source is rather limited in this respect). Instead, Spawforth introduces the term 'Romanity' to express the disposition on the part of the Greek provincials to imitate the culture of the Romans and Italy in general. As a result, the book describes a 'Romanization' of Greece achieved through a process of "re-Hellenization" for which the impulse came from the west. The mechanics of this takes the form of an acculturative discourse, a term taken from Wallace-Hadrill (2008). Also of note is the author's view that the Greek east has often been seen as exempt from official attempts to impose Roman culture – a view that has been challenged, along with the traditional view that Romanization is a process that only takes place among less civilized peoples. In all this, Spawforth is on the right track, but his discussion remains limited in relation to the current debate.

Chapter 2, "Athenian Eloquence and Spartan Arms" (pp. 59–102), starts expanding the themes introduced in Ch. 1. It explores cultural initiatives in two famous cities of *Graecia vera*, Athens and Sparta. Building programmes, such as the Agrippaeum in the Athenian Agora, or the revival of traditional aspects of public life in Sparta, visible in epigraphy and in other ancient sources, underline Rome's willingness to promote a set of specific Hellenic values perceived to be related to the Classical Greece of Roman imagination. Chapter 3, "The Noblest Actions of the Greeks" (pp. 103–41), looks at the renewed interest in Athens, Sparta and Plataea in the celebration of old Greek victories, especially related to the Persian Wars. These were used as an ideological theme (in monuments and other ways of commemoration) to underline the historical parallelisms between contemporary eastern threats, with Rome as the defender of the western world.

Chapter 4, "The Gifts of the Gods" (pp. 142–206), explores the impact of Augustus on the civic religion of Greece. According to Spawforth, there is, before and during the Augustan period, evidence of an active movement to reconstruct old cults in part to "create the province of Greece as a museum of art, architecture and rites". In Chapter 5, "Constructed Beauty" (pp. 207–32), Spawforth takes a closer look at urbanism and building activities as a keynote of Augustan culture, and at the general picture in urban centres in Greece: in Athens and Sparta, but also in Nicopolis and Messene, exploring the trends and analysing the role of the local elites in this Roman-style urban transformation. To Spawforth, this supports a picture of active cultural interference but also shows a stratum of provincial nobles eager to work with the new regime. Chapter 6, "Hadrian and the Legacy of Augustus" (pp. 233–70), looks at Augustan and later Greece in a larger context, and in comparison with other provinces. It also discusses a number of other themes, such as opposition to the expansion of empire. In Spawforth's view, the "Roman cultural" movement was essentially a concern of the civic elites, and it is unclear how much the rest of the provincial community engaged in this cultural dialogue. This aspect would have merited a longer discussion. The "Roman cultural revolution" in Greece is thus presented as a kind of cultural veneer, a view not very much in favour in recent research on cultural identities. The chapter is concluded with a look at the Second Sophistic as a phenomenon supporting 'Romanity' rather than being reactionary, and at the Roman interest in later Greece – described at best as "a tepid embrace" (excluding the Hadrianic period).

In the Conclusion (pp. 271–4), Spawforth briefly reiterates his main points. The book argues against any notion that Greece fell into a state of history-free limbo following the imperial incorporation in 146/5 BC. The imperial state intervened in a variety of ways across the whole cultural landscape for reasons of *Realpolitik*, but also to prompt a preferred kind of Hel-

lenism, especially under Augustus and later under Hadrian. The Conclusion is followed by an extensive Bibliography (pp. 275–308) and an Index (pp. 309–19).

In sum, the book is a very well documented scholarly debate about a complex and interesting issue, using extensive and very recent literature, presenting well-justified paradigms and offering a skilfully written narrative. The sources Spawforth uses are primarily ancient authors, epigraphy and architecture, although the focus is heavily on the first two categories. Forays into archaeology and the theoretical side of 'Romanity' are of a more limited nature, but in general the bibliography provides a fresh look at research on Early Imperial Greece, and can be recommended to anyone interested in this area and in this period.

The discussion is not so much about power and the effects of imperialism, colonization and dominance and responses to this as about moral discourse as the linchpin of cultural change and the (positive) responses to this discourse by the provincial elite. This is, however, the slight drawback of the approach. The top-down view of elite agency adopted in this book offers a rather narrow perspective of cultural changes in a complex society. Current scholarship on responses to Roman imperialism stresses the diversity of local responses, which certainly should also be evident on the elite level, but recognizable also in other spheres of society. The nature of our evidence leads us to concentrate on the elite but to bypass other strata of society, and this cannot be beneficial for the understanding of the whole. Spawforth makes a brief reference to this aspect in his book (p. 274) but still it is a pity that, in a book so filled with insightful discussions, the issues involved in this are not more fully explored.

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*The Barbarians of Ancient Europe: Realities and Interactions.* Edited by LARISSA BONFANTE. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-19404-4. XXIII, 395 pp. GBP 60, USD 90.

While barbarians have never really been neglected within the field of Classics, the study of European Iron Age communities, in particular, seems to have gained in self-assurance in the past decade or so. The apologetic tone has been shed, and together with the rehabilitation of the term 'barbarian' for scholarly use, the study of "non-classical" cultures of the ancient world has proliferated. A wide array of studies has managed to cover most conceivable aspects of not only the barbarian interaction with Mediterranean civilisations, but also their 'factual' archaeological cultures and, not less importantly, the reception and use of ancient 'barbarian' identities in more recent centuries. With the increasingly confident modern recourse to the concept of barbarity within ancient studies, attempts have reappeared to bring into negotiation literary sources and archaeological interpretations – a technique with great potential to both enrich and muddle our understanding.

Enrichment is most emphatically what is achieved by the work under review, along with tolerable amounts of muddle. Based on papers given at the University of Richmond in March 2003, the collection presents a selection of perspectives into the relationships between Mediterranean and 'barbarian' archaeological cultures. Ancient literary testimonies are dealt with in most of the contributions, and in a large majority of them this strategy is well handled. Occasionally, however, inherited scholarly presuppositions grounded in the literary sources do