

highlight a range of approaches and their potential, but what they mean for broader discussions of Roman history remains to be seen.

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Tamara M. Dijkstra, Inger N.I. Kuin, Muriel Moser and David Weidgenannt (eds) *Strategies of Remembering in Greece under Rome (100 BC – 100 AD)* (Publications of the Netherlands Institute at Athens VI). pp. 190, b/w and colour illustrations. 2017. Leiden: Sidestone Press. ISBN 978-90-8890-480-6, paperback € 34.95, hardcover € 95.00, PDF e-book € 9.95.

This collective book is the result of a conference 'Strategies of Remembrance in Greece under Rome,' held at the Netherlands Institute at Athens in October 2016, and it stemmed from three research projects run in Germany and the Netherlands, in which the editors participated. It consists of 11 articles (two papers presented at the conference are not included in the volume), and geographically it is focused on the Roman province of Achaëa.

The present volume, clearly inspired by exemplary publications of a similar kind,¹ questions the view that the period of the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD was one of economic, political or cultural decline and weakness for Greece, pointing to the cultural vitality and the persistence of traditional

forms of power, as the editors note in their introduction. 'It seeks to show that even though the cities of ancient Greece underwent major political and cultural transformations during this time, it was also a period of great dynamism, innovation, and adaptation.' Moreover, it seeks to establish 'how communities and individuals of Roman Greece used their cultural and historical legacy to engage actively with the increasing presence of Roman rule and its representatives' (p. 13).

That the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD was a period of great dynamism is sure, self-evident and already known (it suffices to remind ourselves of the historical facts that took place on Greek soil and the consolidation of Rome in Greece). It is also sure, despite the editors' questioning, that the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD, was, actually, a period of economic and political weakness for the Greek cities. Economically, in this period the Greek cities were still suffering the consequences of the turbulent situation of late Hellenistic times, while politically they have definitely become subjects of Rome. The use, thus, of the 'engagement' of the cultural and historical legacy of the Greeks, as a counterargument against the view of the political and economic weakness of the Greek cities in the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD, cannot stand. What is interesting, however, is the cultural aspect of this engagement.

The editors have divided the eleven articles of the volume into four sections: the first, entitled 'Building Remembrance,' focusses, according to the editors, on urban and provincial landscapes. It includes three articles, but the first, 'Roman Greece and the Mnemonic turn. Some critical remarks,' by Dimitris Grigoropoulos, Valentina di Napoli, Vasilis Evangelidis, Francesco Camia, Dylan Rogers and Stavros Vlivos, has basically nothing to do with the theme of this section. It is an introductory article which offers a keynote on the subject and creates the framework in which the rest of the contributions (not only of the section but generally of the volume) move. Discussing Greece as a whole and also retrieving evidence from the rest of the empire, the authors illuminatingly conclude that valorisation and mobilisation of the past were neither unprecedented in earlier Greek self-perception, nor unique amongst other conquered societies of the empire. As they note, '[b]y the time of the Roman conquest Greek communities had already developed the frameworks, elements and specific practices through which perceptions of the past were shaped and materialized'. Under Roman rule the tradition of commemoration has been reproduced and, additionally, has acquired a special

¹ Alcock 2002; Spawforth 2012.

significance due to the importance attached to Greek culture within Roman imperial ideology: this is, as the authors note, what differentiates Achaia from other provincial cultures.

The second article of the section 'Strategies of remembering in the creation of a colonial society in Patras' written by Tamara Dijkstra, discusses (a) how the transfer of the cult of Artemis Laphria from Kalydon to Patras functioned as a unifying religious focus that was acceptable for both the local inhabitants and the colonists, (b) the way in which Augustus 'copied' the local foundation myths and presented himself as a modern *oikist* of Patras, and (c) how the consolidation of the Italian colonists in the social hierarchy of the city was expressed through their burials in cardinal locations. Although the matters Dijkstra points out are interesting, the deviation here is that the author does not describe how 'the communities of Roman Greece mobilized their past as a political resource to respond to change,' as the editors clearly state in their introduction (p. 13), but she actually presents evidence of change from the pre-colonial to the colonial status of Patras, employed by Augustus and the new settlers.

The same, more or less, applies to the last article of the section by Catherine Vanderpool and Paul Scotton, on the Julian basilica in Corinth. The authors propose that this massive building, erected on the east end of the Forum, was a clear statement of Rome. The basilica was the first and most prominent building that challenged the still standing and imposing Archaic temple of Apollo. The sculptural programme within the basilica contained more sophisticated elements related to the subject of the volume, as it accommodated statues of Augustus's sons interpreted as Classical Peloponnesian heroes and statues of the imperial family as Hellenistic generals. Despite this common phenomenon of Hellenic influence (many times discussed, and in this volume outlined by Grigoropoulos *et al.*), the Julian basilica was not the result of the mobilisation of the Greek past as a political resource by the Greek communities, but 'the local response to Augustus's empire-wide effort to give physical structure to the new political order,' as the authors state (p. 63).

The second section of the volume is entitled 'Competing with the Past' and focuses on uses of the past as these were expressed in associations and agonistic festivals. In the first article of the section we find the first clear elements related to the subject of the volume, i.e. acts of remembering initiated by *the Greeks* as a response to the changes occurring with the advent of Rome in this part of the

Mediterranean. Benedict Eckhardt examines private associations in Roman Greece and he convincingly shows that while in other regions of the empire these associations shared features characterized as provincial responses to imperial ideologies, in Greece these features were limited, and detected mainly in the colonies. What he, interestingly, shows is that the private associations of Roman Greece seek to continue and revive terminology clearly referring to the Classical period and to engage in mythologizing organisations of the past. The author characterizes the Greeks of the Roman period as 'reluctant Romanizers' and he concludes that 'Greeks were not immune to the challenges posed by an imperial framework surrounding private corporate organisation, however much they chose to cultivate the differences' (p. 80).

In the second article of the section, Zahra Newby examines the commemoration of the Persian Wars and particularly the battle of Salamis by the Athenian *Ephebeia* in the Roman period. This paper is interesting, but again it is not exactly serving the scope of the volume, if this was to identify strategies of remembering initiated by *the Greeks*, as a political response to the Roman impact: firstly, as the author illuminatingly presents, the memory of the Persian Wars was continuous, through verbal and visual means, without interruption since the 5th century BC through Hellenistic and Roman times. Thus it would be wrong to conceive the celebration of the Persian Wars in the Roman period as a 'response' to Roman domination: the Athenians continued to do what they used to do since the 5th century BC. Secondly and more importantly, it has been argued that Athens' revival of the memory of the Persian Wars and particularly the battle of Salamis, might have been provoked by Augustus, who used the battle of Salamis as a parallel to his own naval victory at Actium.² If this is true, it would be more correct to see the commemoration of the battle of Salamis by the Athenian *Ephebeia* not as an Athenian mobilisation of the past which has been used as a response to the Roman domination, but rather as a (Roman-promoted) means which served the imperial ideology.

Similarly, the return of the Isthmian games to Corinth, which Lavinia del Basso discusses in the last article of the section, was not initiated by the old Corinthians, but by the new settlers and magistrates of the Roman colony, to legitimate themselves as inheritors of the Greek city and to increase the prestige of the colony amongst the Greek world. It is also telling, as the author states,

² Spawforth 2012.

that after Actium the Isthmian games was the only Panhellenic festival associated with the Caesarean games, creating thus a link between Greek traditions and imperial ideology (p. 102).

The third section of the volume, 'Honouring Tradition' examines the honorific practices of communities in Roman Greece for local elites. In the first article of the section Johannes Fouquet presents three intra-mural burials in the Peloponnese, namely the heroon of the Saithidai in Messene and two Roman heroa on the agorae of Mantinea and Argos, which originally accommodated local Classical heroes and were then reused as monuments in honour of their descendants. Although Fouquet's article is to the point of the volume, the subject is not sufficiently developed. At the end of the article the reader remains just with the evidence of the presence of the burials. Some more interpretative commentary would be needed here.

In the next article Christopher Dickenson discusses 'Public statues as a strategy of remembering in early imperial Messene.' The author presents in detail the large statuary assemblage of the city, dividing the material into two categories: statues of locals and statues of Roman rulers, using examples coming from the three major public spaces of Messene: the agora, the sanctuary of Asklepios and the gymnasium. Although Dickenson's article is more an outline of the early Roman statuary of Messene than a contribution on the subject of the volume, the author pinpoints the multifaceted perspectives that public statuary can open up. As he concludes, 'The array of statues that strung out through the public spaces of an ancient city like Messene constitutes a rich and ever evolving tapestry of civic memories through which local identity was expressed and defined, through which power relations within the local community were negotiated and contested and through which sense was made of relations to higher powers [...]' (p. 140).

Lastly, David Weidgenannt, in a clever article, approaches Greek honorific culture from a different angle. Based on examples from Boeotia, the Argolid and Arcadia from the 2nd century BC to the 1st century AD, he tries to show that the honorary decrees and honorary inscriptions that cities used to dedicate to local *euergetes*, were not only acts of remembering, but also strategies for future actions. The language used in these inscriptions targeted the 'commitment' that the *euergetes*' behavior would continue in the same way, beneficial for the city. It aimed, thus, to the construction of the 'eternal benefactor,' as the author notes (p. 145). The critical element in this procedure, without

which this contribution would be outside the scope of the present volume, is the lineage of these benefactors. They were descendants of, apparently, noble families with a tradition of *euergetism*; a fact which is outlined in the civic honorific acts. In this way, these honorific practices are transformed from, purely speaking, commemorative acts to acts of remembrance of local ancestors.

The last section of the volume is dedicated to Athens. Inger Kuin, in the first article of the section, and one of the most interesting of the volume, reveals how political changes occurring in Athens in the 1st century BC were 'anchored' to traditions of the Athenian past. The hoplite general Athenion renewed the Athenian democracy based on old decisions of the old Areopagus, while Sulla, regardless of whether he delivered a new 'Athenian constitution' or laws after the sack of the city in 86 BC, certainly intervened in the political system of Athens, being compared (probably by local initiation) to the tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogeiton; this on the grounds that with the sack of Athens Sulla defeated the Mithridatic 'tyrant' Aristion, who in 87 BC had replaced Athenion in the post of hoplite general. In a methodological discussion, the author shows that the reference to pre-existing structures was considered a 'prerequisite' for the successful implementation of any political innovation in the ancient world, and thus she shows that the remembering of the past has been drafted in for the political changes occurring in Athens during the Roman conquest.

Finally, Muriel Moser, in the last article of the volume, gives an interesting reading on the reused statues dedicated by the Athenian demos to Roman politicians in the period between the sack of Sulla and the reign of Nero. The author persuasively concludes that the numerous Classical-Hellenistic monuments rededicated in Roman times, were a mark of special respect and distinction for the honoured person. These reused monuments were far more impressive than the newly made, and more importantly, they have carefully preserved the signatures of the famous artists of the past. Art from Classical Athens was highly respected among the Roman elites, and thus these statues had an important antiquarian value. But beyond that, the reused monuments played with memories of the admired Classical past and implied a comparison between the honorand and the Athenian citizen who originally had been represented. 'In these monuments,' as Moser concludes, 'the past was remembered in a careful, strategic manner in view of gaining Roman support and favour for the city,' and 'at the same time, the reuse of private monuments

as public honours also powerfully asserted the demos' authority over the Acropolis, a crucial place of Athenian memory and remembering.' (p. 179).

Overall evaluation of the volume: undoubtedly, the authors of the 11 articles have tried to touch upon a difficultly caught subject; the task was ambitious. In some cases there is an overlapping in the material presented, while the sections are ill-defined; their sophisticated titles do not help their clarification. Moreover, although Inger Kuin and Muriel Moser state in the volume's concluding remarks that the assembled cases studies were spread over a wide geographical area (p. 185), the places which have been extensively discussed in the volume are Athens, Patras, Corinth, Messene, Argos and Mantinea. But in the Peloponnese and central Greece there were more than 120 cities active in Roman times. Having this in mind, the aforementioned selection remains fragmentary.

As to the question as to whether this volume achieves the goals set by the editors, this depends on whether the subject of the volume was, generally, strategies of remembering in Greece under Rome, or if the target was to show how 'the communities of Roman Greece mobilized their past as a political resource to respond to change,' as the editors clearly state in their introduction (p. 13). If the answer is the first, then the volume has definitely achieved its task. If the answer is the second, in this case only some of the contributors have managed to correspond (namely Eckhardt, Fouquet, Weidgenannt, Kuin and Moser; I also highlight the article by Grigoropoulos *et al.* which offers a well-defined framework on the subject). In fact, a large number of the volume contributions present evidence for 'strategies of remembering' employed not by the Greeks but by the Romans, which served imperial ideology and propaganda. It remains open whether the authors failed to detect examples initiated by Greek communities or if this situation reflects, indeed, a historical reality. If the answer to this question is the latter, then this weakens the central idea (on which this volume is actually built), of the mobilisation of the Greek past by local communities against the political changes occurring in Greece with the advent of Rome.

Lastly I disagree with the opinion of the editors, expressed both in the introduction and their concluding remarks, that the 'strategies of remembering' (whether or not they have been successfully presented in this volume) can function as a response to the traditional view of the weakness of Greece in this time-span. Nobody has argued that the Greek cities (as a whole) ceased to exist in Roman times and nobody has denied their continuity;

and indeed, Greece was a place of great vitality, dynamism and cultural experimentation in Roman times, as the editors correctly stress (p. 183). This, however, cannot erase the political and economic weakness that, undoubtedly, the majority of Greek cities experienced between 100 BC and 100 AD.³

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Spawforth, A.J.S. 2012. *Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Georgios Deligiannakis. *The Dodecanese and the Eastern Aegean Islands in Late Antiquity, AD 300–700*. pp. xxii+232, b/w illustrations. 2016. Oxford: Oxford University Press. ISBN 978-0-19-874599-0 paperback £105.

This substantial book derives from Deligiannakis' doctoral thesis, and for this reason it is bibliographically updated until 2006, although it has been published 10 years later in 2016. It focuses on a particular chronological period – Late Antiquity (300–700) – during which insular communities played a major role on multiple levels. Despite the fact that it places a particular focus on the Dodecanese and the Eastern Aegean Islands, the author adopts a broader geographical perspective, using comparative material from both island (Crete, Cyprus, Cyclades etc.) and mainland regions (Asia Minor, Greek mainland etc.). This factor,

³ See, for example, Bintliff 2012: 310–336; Rizakis 2014; Karambinis 2018.