

Augustine is shown to have Christianised the Platonic form of dialogue, using it in more and more authoritarian ways to defend orthodoxy for the Christian masses. These two essays are balanced by Gillian Clark, 'Can we talk? Augustine and the Possibility of Dialogue' (pp. 117-34) and Kate Cooper and Matthew Dal Santo, 'Boethius, Gregory the Great and the Christian "Afterlife" of Classical Dialogue' (pp. 173-89). These three authors endeavour to show that dialogue was not completely shut down, but continued to exist within certain theological limits and subject to certain pedagogical strategies. Gillian Clark rightly stresses that doubts about the dialogue were not distinctly Christian (p. 127). As I mentioned before, it would have been very profitable to study Christian adaptations and limitations of dialogue in the context of Roman ambivalence towards the genre.

In conclusion, this book is highly recommended as a thought-provoking study of a crucial topic during a crucial span of time. It can only be hoped that the editor will choose additional topics to be studied by an equally excellent and interdisciplinary team of scholars, thus throwing further light on the complexity of early Western civilisation.

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Angelos Chaniotis, Annika Kuhn and Christina Kuhn, eds. *Applied Classics. Comparisons, Constructs, Controversies*. HABES. Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien 46. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2009. xx + 425 pp. ISBN: 978-0-520-25727-6.

For unusual reasons, reviewing this book is a challenge. The essays, all concerned with the continued importance of Greek and Roman studies, are inquisitive, original, and well executed; but their energy is centrifugal, radiating outward, raising new points, resistant to "branding". So the reviewer must seek moments of convergence.

First, three contributions concern "culture": For Angelos Chaniotis ('European Identity Learning from the Past?' pp. 27-56) and Geza Alföldy ('The Imperium Romanum. A Model for a United Europe?' pp. 57-82), classical studies deepen our understanding of modern Europe, while Stefan Rebenich's rich and original contribution ('Wilhelm von Humboldt oder Die Entstehung des Bürgertums aus dem Geiste der Antike,' pp. 97-118) explores the Greek roots of German bourgeois culture.

Chaniotis' Eco-style parody hilariously reveals how standard practices of archaeological inference may lead future excavators to declare that 'Europe's greatest enemy' was the 'United Kingdom', and to label the ubiquitous Turks the 'Ur-Europeans'; this is, he adds, what 'ancient historians unknowingly do ... all the time'. Chaniotis' succinct but rewarding case studies reveal the complexity of ancient 'identities'. In Cretan Lyttos, 'civic' identifications ('citizenship') clashed with 'social' (age or wealth): 'as is common with Cretans' (Polybius, 4.53.5-6). Different towns can share identity, while Cretan identity includes the distinct birthplace of Zeus. Similarly, tales of shared military exploits bound the motley settlers of Aphrodisias in Caria.

These 'identities' were 'constructs'. So is modern Europe, where the lack of both 'cultural identity' and a sense of economic supremacy make 'political identity' all the more important (pp. 48-51).

Alföldy comments on the paradoxical formation of the Roman Empire and the European Union. Rome conquered others, sometimes brutally, and extracted wealth from subject states; yet, he says, the empire was not a 'prison of peoples ... it is surprising how fast and closely most of the peoples, which once had fought so bitterly for their freedom, became part of the Roman *res publica*,' (p. 62) and by the third century CE every freeborn inhabitant was a citizen. (MacMullen's famous three-word summary, 'Fewer have more' [*Roman Social Relations, 50 B.C. to A.D. 284*, New Haven, 1974, p. 38], or Shaw's comments on wealth distribution and

problematization of 'becoming Roman' [CAH 11.372-4] merit consideration here. Note that 'culture' is as important for Shaw as for Alföldy.)

For united Europe to become a 'superior state order' requires 'equalization' of members' communications, military, administrative, legal and other capacities. The Roman Empire's economic structures were 'backward', and economic integration followed rather than caused political and cultural integration. Latin language became a 'precondition' for membership in the community of citizens, and spread everywhere, though without obliterating Celtic, Germanic and other local cultures. EU survival, Alföldy insists, requires continued cultural integration. He quotes Monnet's significant counterfactual: 'If I had to do the same again, I would start with culture' (p. 79).

These essays alone make the volume worthwhile, but it has many other riches. Recognizing that a self-conscious national historiography 'transformed the landscape', Constanze Güthenke discerns meaningful patterns over two centuries of Greek intellectual and cultural history (pp. 135-49); as she shows, 'transformed' has an imperfect not an aoristic aspect. Rebenich stresses the Greek contribution to German bourgeois identity, as mediated by Wilhelm von Humboldt. Humboldt presented the ancient Greek language as so 'noble and exalted' that learning it shaped the mind. 'Das Signum bürgerlicher Vornehmheit war nunmehr die souveräne Beherrschung der griechischen Sprache' (p. 103). Rebenich echoes Faust: 'die Suche nach Wahrheit', 'das Streben nach Bildung'. Endless bourgeois Selbsterziehung brought real achievement, trumping the aristocratic pedigrees of Latinate French court culture. Though 'available to all', Humboldtian education required effort and brought no worldly reward beyond a 'wahren Adelsprädikat' (p.103).

'Searching and striving' influenced the study of history, which became an endless quest for full understanding of the 'object of research', i.e. Greek culture. Humboldt historicized antiquity and relativized its normative function, making historical writing 'an essential element of bourgeois culture' (p.106). Dechristianization of bourgeois society went hand in hand with a growing cult of antiquity.

Of the remaining eight contributions, three cover classical studies before the twentieth century: François Hartog, 'From Parallel to Comparison [or Life and Death of Parallel]' (pp. 15-26); Alexander Demandt, 'Die Klassische Antike in Amerika' (pp. 83-96); and Kai Brodersen on German songs celebrating the defeat of Quintilius Varus, in ' "Als die Römer Frech Geworden." Historische Kontexte eines "Volkslieds" ' (pp. 119-34).

Parallels with antiquity, Hartog begins, lose their 'heuristic capacity' once the past ceases to be 'imitable' (p. 15). Charles Perrault, in the late seventeenth century, inverts Plutarch's model to promote the 'radical superiority' of the modern during the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*: 'anteriority becomes inferiority' (p. 16). Chateaubriand, predicting the outcome of the French Revolution in 1797, looks to a future that is so radically different that the 'parallel' loses its utility (p. 16).

Though the epistemological weakness of the Parallel (Hartog's capitalization) became apparent, Perrault lacked the 'intellectual capacity' to move from Parallel to Comparison and did not allow himself to 'go beyond the present', the age of Louis XIV, 'the perfect model for all kings' (p. 19).

In the early nineteenth century, Constant and Chateaubriand declared antiquity not parallel but incommensurable, Constant because the 'liberty' of ancient collective participation was incomparable with modern 'private independence', Chateaubriand because 'the discovery of the representative republic', the United States, 'changed the whole question'. In 'over little more than a century ... the Parallel lost its obviousness' (p. 22). From about 1830 until Durkheim, it remained out of fashion.

Alexander Demandt's full and original survey of classicizing political institutions, art and architecture in young America includes (*inter alia*) Crawford's *Libertas* statue on the Capitol

Building, Thoreau's use of Ovid, Franklin's of Plutarch, Jefferson's 1788 Rheinreise, Monticello, the influence of Cincinnatus, the tension between federalism and centralization, and 'astounding' parallels with Achaean League. Demandt's enlightening brief comments will win praise, while their brevity generates regret.

Kai Brodersen reviews songs and poems from the nineteenth century concerning Arminius victory over 'Herr Quintilius Varus' at the Teutoburg Forest, including Heine's 'Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen', without exploring this rich work very deeply at all.

All but one of the remaining essays concern the twentieth century. The "one" is 'The Making of a Classic. Lasting Significance of Hippocratic Medicine', by Elizabeth Craik (pp. 183-96). Well-known for her research on the Hippocratics, Craik effectively and without condescension summarizes dominant features of the writings, including medical ethics, anatomy, notions of disease, and cutting and cautery, and noting similarities between Hippocratic and Chinese, and between Hippocratic and western, medicine in the days before 'modern scientific medicine'.

In 'Die Krise der klassischen Bildung während des Ersten Weltkriegs', Thomas A. Schmitz (pp. 151-66) focuses most strikingly on the 1914 'Aufruf "An die Kulturwelt"' by 93 German intellectuals including Wilamowitz and Eduard Norden, justifying invasion of a neutral power (the 'Schlieffen Plan', itself influenced by the a 'klassischen Vernichtungsschlacht', the Battle of Cannae) (p. 154). Schmitz notes that classicists, members of a leading discipline, were influential in wartime propaganda, and that this was found, not in German scholarly journals but in publications for gymnasia.

Thomas Harrison, in 'The Campaign for the Ancient History A-Level in Great Britain' (pp. 167-82), traces the successful resistance by British ancient historians to elimination by an 'Awarding Body' of an Advanced Level paper on ancient history in secondary schools. 'Resistance' is the correct term, since it refers to asymmetric academic warfare that ultimately paid off. This detailed account may provide a model for other groups. All readers will appreciate the vivid storytelling: a secretive assault, initial hopelessness, resistance against substantial odds, sudden heroic entrances by Boris Johnson and Robin Osborne, negotiations with powerful politicians, legal drama, threats, embarrassing personal confrontations, cunning propaganda, costumed demonstrators, a "mole", a debate in the House of Lords, internal tensions among the authorities ('That it was reversed because of Lord Adonis' instruction was hotly denied by OCR ...', p. 180). In Harrison's hands, the story seems to write itself.

Harrison concludes that authorities are now listening better than they had been, that British support for classics turned out to be broader and deeper than expected, that some structural improvements ensued and that within the field, 'history' is now more clearly distinguished from 'classical civilization'.

Every academic discipline regards itself as distinctive, 'bounded' by chronology, language and culture; its members risk, as Sally C. Humphreys insists in 'De-Modernizing the Classics', failing to realize that they have been 'museumized' (pp. 197-206). 'Literature itself', she notes, is 'a modern concept', linked, astoundingly, with tourism. She suggests changes: junk standard 'maps of learning-tasks'; stress 'basic skills of decoding and combining verbal combinations'; study parallels with Sanskrit and avoid the Mediterranean 'historicist frame'. Though brief, this striking essay is packed with suggestions on how to open up the field. Humphreys seems more intent on detonating than constructing, and leaves little sense of what 'structure' a new sort of 'classics' would have — which may be her point.

Josiah Ober ('Can We Learn from Ancient Athenian Democracy? Historical and Modern Perspectives', pp. 207-30) matches Humphreys's 'museums' with an image of his own: ancient Greek democracy as a Tower of Babel on which modern subdisciplines cavort. 'Land of Cockaigne' might work as well: Athens rains down paradigms as abundantly as the sky does cheeses in that medieval neverneverland. Like Humphreys, Ober urges boundary crossing and mastery of new disciplines. He reviews the sometimes conflicting 'lessons' of Finley, de Ste.

Croix, Kagan, Grote and others on law courts, rhetoric, leadership, identity and education, and other topics, and praises recent work by Forsdyke and Balot, noting the linkage between democracy and equality — a salutary comment as soaring Gini Coefficients in the US and Israel point to rising inequality. Ober writes so well that readers may not credit the incisiveness and sleeves-rolled-up breadth of his coverage: this is above all a *useful* survey, worth saving. (One might ask for an additional page in the final section on ‘the American Empire’.)

Good footnotes and bibliography contribute to the value of this collection. Angelos Chaniotis adds a useful short introduction that (perhaps inevitably) lacks the verve of his own and others’ essays (pp.1-14).

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Seth Schwartz, *Were the Jews a Mediterranean Society? Reciprocity and Solidarity in Ancient Judaism*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010. 212 pp. ISBN: 978-0-691-14054-4.

The book begins with the widest possible question: can we write a realistic social history of the ancient Jews, not from the top-down, and not from the ‘center-out’ (3)? That is, can we know much about ordinary life, as it was lived, rather than about a religious system, as described by those who were devoted to it and composed normative texts that were dedicated to setting out the rules that should be followed? Not surprisingly, when the question is framed in such broad terms the very real limitations of the evidence are such that a meaningfully complete answer is impossible.

Nevertheless, some light can be shed on these issues by reading the extant evidence with the help of known social scientific models that have proved their utility in other analyses. The role of these models is largely heuristic, sensitizing scholars to issues in the extant sources that can now be organized (better, reorganized), compared and contrasted, with similarities and differences noted, and with gaps in the evidence filled in with the aid of these theoretical constructs, to achieve partial answers to some of the largest questions (24). This is the path taken by Seth Schwartz (henceforth S.) in the book under consideration here.

What S. offers the reader is a treasure hunt for lost or concealed patterns and structures that will help explain the Jews’ social relations and cultural practices (5). Once these hidden structures are revealed, S. maintains, one can better understand ‘why the Jews’ integration was so much more difficult than that of other provincial populations’, and in what ways that integration did eventually succeed (5). Not surprisingly, in this endeavor, since the search is defined from the start as one for lost or concealed structures, there are few if any passages in ancient texts that explicitly articulate the patterns S. seeks to tease out. Instead, S. offers close readings of sources intended to prove that his hidden structures are in fact the basis on which those passages turn. S. concedes that an ancient Jew would probably prefer to explain his behavior and his response to events in other terms than those S. proposes, and that an ancient Jew might well not even recognize himself and his attitudes towards the world as portrayed in S.’s book (10). This state of affairs raises a legitimate problem: how can S. convince his reader that he has found the structures underlying ancient Jewish life, and analyzed and presented them accurately, when the reader is informed from the outset not to expect an academic “smoking gun”? To borrow a term from detective novel writers, how will the reader distinguish a successful solution from a “red herring”?

The book opens with an extended theoretical introduction (‘Reciprocity and Solidarity’, 1-20), in which S. emphasizes the place of reciprocity in the Jewish conception of the relationship of the Jews with God, expressed in terms of the mutual obligation to observe the terms of the covenant, with its attendant rewards and punishments — this is ‘one of the central theological tendencies of