was borrowing from Etruscan to Greek rather than the other way round. Kroll's discussion emphasizes the continuity between the long eastern tradition of bullion as portable wealth and the advent of coinage in the Greek world around 600 B.C.

Merrillees provides a summary discussion of interconnections in the Mediterranean in the sixteenth to sixth centuries B.C., 'beginning with a positivist evaluation of 'the unity of the Mediterranean' as 'a physical fact and a conceptual reality'. This approach suits the papers in the volume, although it seems a facile assumption in the face of P. Horden and N. Purcell's recent and controversial study, *The Corrupting Sea* (Oxford, 2000). His main conclusion is that the conference papers highlighted the need for the careful examination of the archaeological record throughout the Mediterranean for further evidence of long-distance and cross-cultural contacts of all kinds.

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## GIFT-EXCHANGE

S. VON REDEN: *Exchange in Ancient Greece*. Pp. xii + 244, maps, pls. London: Duckworth, 2003 (1995[1]). Paper, £16.99. ISBN: 0-7156-3179-9.

In the 1990s a new generation of work on the ancient economy began to appear. A prime specimen of this scholarship is Sitta von Reden's *Exchange in Ancient Greece*. It has now been reissued as a paperback with a short new preface commenting briefly on the most recent developments in the study of ancient Greek trade and exchange.

Finley, Austin, Vidal-Naquet, and Veyne, among others, had reinvigorated the field of ancient economic history by fostering an interest in economic anthropology. Following in their footsteps, classicists began to look for the otherness of the economy of the Greeks and Romans. The embeddedness of economic phenomena in social, political and cultural systems became a key area of research. Gift exchange, in particular, attracted much attention as an alternative form of economic behaviour guided by social norms and status considerations rather than the disinterested calculation of personal interest in the market.

The distinction, however, between socially embedded gift-exchange and disembedded market trade is both false and misleading. Market trade and the formation of value are as embedded in social, political and cultural processes as the exchange of gifts. It is the great merit of v. R.'s study to call attention to this fact. Indeed, one of the primary interests of the ancient Greek economy to the modern student is precisely, as v. R. sees it, to confront us with a cultural discourse on the market and exchange which makes this clear. The Greeks did not treat the economy as an autonomous system, such as modern economics has tended to do. Studying the Greeks, therefore, may help us to see how even modern markets are steeped in social values and cultural symbols (pp. 9 and 221).

This programme has enabled v. R. to view market trade and gift-giving, not as absolute opposites in the Greek world, but as forms of exchange on a continuous spectrum with one form imperceptibly turning into the other (pp. 2–3). The emphasis of her analysis is on the cultural semantics of economic exchanges. Part 1 examines the meaning of exchange in the Homeric poems. The author demonstrates how the selfish calculation of interest was intrinsic to the ideology of gift-exchange whereas

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trade was heavily invested with cultural symbolism. Part 2 takes the investigation into the archaic and classical *polis*. The author shows how the ability to act in the market, too, formed part of the ideology of autarky and status shaping so much of the world-view of the Greek communities. Finally, Part 3 attempts to situate the introduction of coinage firmly within the cultural and religious belief-systems of the Greek world.

In total, the study marks an important effort to develop further the inspiration from social and cultural anthropology in the study of the ancient Greek economy. By focusing on the 'thick description' of the culture of exchange, v. R. has managed to show how market activities took shape and colouring from the social, political, and cultural universe of the Greeks. As such, her book is invested with a robust scepticism of every kind of universal model. Economic phenomena are always treated as unique, products of a particular cultural context. While this is true, they should not only be seen as culture-bound. After all, markets, gift-exchange, and coins have been adopted by many different cultures. We also need to explain some of their general properties. The challenge ahead of us, therefore, is to devise an analysis of ancient markets which combines sensitivity towards particular cultural and historical conditions without shrinking away from generalization. Comparative, cross-cultural study of the institutions of exchange may suggest a way forward here.

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## THEMISTOCLES' EXILE

A. KEAVENEY: *The Life and Journey of Athenian Statesman Themistocles (524–460 B.C.?) as a Refugee in Persia*. (Studies in Classics 23.) Pp. x + 179. Lewiston, NY, Queenston, and Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2003. Cased. ISBN: 0-7734-6809-9.

K. has gone over with meticulous care all the ancient of Themistokles' last, 'hidden' years from his condemnation and exile to his death in Asia, trying to sort out fact from fiction and come up with a plausible narrative of what actually happened.

Many (myself included) have tended to despair of ever reaching the truth about this particularly enigmatic period in a career in which even the earlier phases are often clouded by obscurity and contradiction, so time devoted to looking again at the sources is not misspent.

Here is how K. reconstructs events. Upon his ostracism in 471/0, Themistokles went to Argos which he used a base for drumming up opposition to Sparta in the Peloponnese. The Spartans tried to implicate him in a treasonous scheme with the Persian King for which they claimed to have found evidence amongst the papers of their now disgraced Regent Pausanias. Through the machinations of his enemies at Athens, Themistokles was tried on a charge of treason brought by *eisangelia* before the Areopagos and condemned to death (sometime between 469 and 466). He sensed that his days as a free agent in Argos were numbered and so he fled to Kerkyra (early 466), where he had built up good feelings by a previous benefaction. His intention to make a permanent home there was not to be realized, so he made his way to Epeiros and the Kingdom of the Molossoi. There through the good offices King Admetos's

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