more theoretically minded scholars; the basic framework of his interpretation does, in spite of sceptical reservations and a toned down presentation, owe a great deal to the ideas developed by Austin and Vidal-Naquet in *Économies et sociétés en Grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1973) and Finley in *The Ancient Economy* (London, 1985). In the conclusion, Braudel's three tier model of pre-industrial, predominantly agrarian economies is briefly evoked to describe the pre-capitalist blend of agricultural self-sufficiency and market exchange which characterized the Greek world. He also discusses less traditional themes, such as the economic effects of endemic violence and insecurity (pp. 21–4). One could do worse than to start with M.

On the other hand, I fear, one could also do better. The consciously source-driven approach easily falls into the trap of reproducing the blind spots of our surviving source material. Rather than an analysis, it risks becoming an inventory or descriptive survey of our very imperfect evidence. Most of our source material, in spite of archaeological efforts, relates to the urban world. It is not at all surprising that by far the longest of the three survey chapters is that dealing with trade and the degree of control exercised by city authorities over markets. However, if most production and consumption took place outside the market sphere within the same (mostly peasant) household, the family with dependants surely deserves a lot more than the scant attention it receives here as an organizer of the economy. Another example is M.'s treatment of manufacture. Private activities of all sorts are dealt with in less than five pages. The more conspicuous public activities, on the other hand, such as mining and temple construction, receive twelve pages. I suspect this choice has more to do with the surviving sources than a careful estimate of the relative importance of the two 'sectors'. The analytical or theoretical weaknesses of the book are also revealed in an occasionally unhelpful use of concepts. Why is market-oriented élite agriculture automatically perceived as speculative? Any pre-industrial élite, living in a sufficiently urbanized society, has preferred to market a substantial part of the agricultural surplus in its control. This allowed it far greater flexibility in disposing of its resources. In the absence of a market option, the élite would literally have had to eat its way through its stores of produce before they went stale.

A more fundamental objection to Migeotte's approach, however, is the relative neglect of analytical ideas. Introducing students to an ancient economy is not primarily a question of historical 'facts'. Just as important is the ability to catch their attention and awaken their enthusiasm through comparisons and the invocation of 'grand theories', models, or ideas. These improve our understanding of the relevant problems and tell us why we should bother about the ancients in the first place. In that respect, I would still recommend students to start with Austin and Vidal-Naquet or Finley.

University of Copenhagen PETER FIBIGER BANG

THIRTY YEARS AFTER FINLEY

W. SCHEIDEL, S. VON REDEN (edd.): *The Ancient Economy* (Edinburgh Readings on the Ancient World). Pp. xxi + 282, maps. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002. Paper, £16.99. ISBN: 0-7486-1321-8 (0-7486-1322-6 hbk).

The publication of *The Ancient Economy* three decades ago by Finley represented a

© The Classical Association, 2003

https://doi.org/10.1093/cr/53.1.151 Published online by Cambridge University Press

watershed in the study of classical antiquity. Its radical re-interpretation of ancient economic life, openly comparative and theoretical approach, and unapologetic polemics were all well suited to provoke and stir up debate within a field of scholarship still dominated by an old-fashioned empiricist, almost positivist conception of history. In *JRS* the reviewer dismissed the book with an admonition to stick with 'the old laborious methods, of collecting evidence and interrogating it with an open mind' (1975, 171). Since then, the economy of the Graeco-Roman world has remained a hotly disputed battlefield. Numerous studies have engaged with the agenda set by *The Ancient Economy*. Unfortunately much of this scholarship has descended into a rather sterile discussion *pro et contra* Finley. The debate has increasingly come to seem polarized, repetitive, and barren. *The Ancient Economy*, however, was never intended as the final word. It was a forward-looking book aiming to stimulate research by advocating a style of reasoning, a new, more sophisticated approach to the economy of the Graeco-Roman world. This is, in fact, what it has brought about. Whatever the disagreements about some of the answers, the best research has heeded Finley's call for methodological reform to the extent that the field has been changed almost beyond recognition within the last two decades. In spite of common perceptions, ancient economic history has been far from barren. Comparative analysis, theoretical and conceptual sophistication, and model-building, to name but some of the new developments, are now considered necessary and essential to the study of the economic life of antiquity.

It is to the great credit of the editors, Sitta von Reden and Walter Scheidel, that they have chosen to focus on this aspect of the Finley-revolution in preparing a reader for Edinburgh University Press. The selection comprises twelve papers by leading scholars, the oldest dating from 1987, the two most recent published for the first time in this volume. The collection has a heavy Anglo-Saxon bias, understandable in a reader intended for an international student audience, but two important articles by French and Italian scholars have been included in translation. The range of topics is broad. There are two general historiographical assessments of developments in research on Greek and Roman economy since Finley by Paul Cartledge and Jean Andreau. Archaeology is covered by three papers giving examples of ethnoarchaeology (Paul Halstead), analysis based on field work (Bruce Hitchner), and amphorae studies (André Tchemia and Clementina Panella). Cultural and text based approaches are represented in two papers on Greek economy by Leslie Kurke and Robin Osborne. The first tentative attempts at price analysis are exemplified by an article of Gary Reger. A paper by Dominic Rathbone demonstrates the great potential of papyrology for sophisticated economic historical analysis. Scot Meikle provides a sharp theoretical discussion of competing conceptual paradigms for the analysis of ancient economies. Finally, Keith Hopkins and Richard Saller demonstrate the value of model building and (speculative) quantification for analysis of the ancient economy, Saller focusing in particular on different kinds of growth scenarios for the Roman empire and Hopkins restating his taxes and trade model in an article originally published in a relatively inaccessible Japanese journal. One can always argue about specific choices in such a collection; we all have our own personal favourites and hobbyhorses. But generally the editors seem to me to have chosen well. The only really noticeable absence is a paper on ancient demography, which has developed enormously in the last decade, not least through the efforts of one of the editors.

The reader is well equipped with tools to assist the students. Apart from the general introduction, each article receives a useful, short presentation of its author and theme. Additionally there are a list of abbreviations, a glossary, an intellectual

https://doi.org/10.1093/cr/53.1.151 Published online by Cambridge University Press

chronology, a guide to further reading, and three maps. Again, one may object to specific choices, such as the exclusion of works pre-1800 in the intellectual pedigree, since Montesquieu, Hume, and Adam Smith have been crucial for defining some of the fundamental problems in ancient economic history; or the almost complete neglect of French and Italian scholarship in the guide to further reading. Surely Tchemia's fundamental *Le vin de l'Italie romaine* and Veyne's classic *Le pain e le cirque* (available in abbreviated form in English translation) merited inclusion. These, however, are minor points. Only the maps leave a lot to be desired. In Map One, Greece and the Near East, Troy and Prusa are indicated in Asia Minor but not Milet or Ephesos. In the Middle East room is found for Damascus, Palmyra, and even Carrhae, but not for Antioch, the Seleucid capital and principal city in the area under the Romans. In Map Two, Italy and the West, outposts such as Vindolanda and Aquae Sulis (Bath) make an appearance, but not Lugdunum (Lyon), Aquileia, or Pompeii.

Nonetheless, in the broader picture these are but mere quibbles and cannot detract from the fact that the editors have done a brilliant job. In general, student and teacher alike are very well served by this reader. The editors are to be congratulated on a splendid and inviting selection of papers, which ought to appear stimulating to new students even if economic history is not exactly *en vogue* at present. It is to be strongly recommended.

University of Copenhagen PETER FIBIGER BANG

ÉDOUARD WILL—TOTAL HISTORIAN?

É. WILL: *Historica Graeco-Hellenistica. Choix d'écrits 1953–1993*. Pp. xi + 893. Paris: de Boccard, 1998. Paper, €95. ISBN: 2-7018-0113-3.

Edouard Will's selection of essays and articles on Greek and Hellenistic history appeared in 1998, the year after his death. The author chose his *opera minora* from half a century of historical output, aware of the *Zeitgeist* in which the chapters were written (p. vii). The historian's view of history is in the end a view perceived from his or her own time, 'L'historien est nécessairement homme de son temps' (p. 793). W. shows this to be as true of the work of Beloch and Rostovtzeff (Chapter 57) as his own writing. The 'longue durée' that was W.'s career can be seen in terms of 'histoire événementielle'. The collected articles, written over 40 years, reveal much of the 'mentalités' which W. perceived to be important both in his own lifetime but also in his approach to writing ancient history.

It is not possible to cover in any detail the content of all sixty-four reviews and articles (appearing in chronological order of publication) which W. selected for this collection. Almost all have appeared in journals or conference proceedings elsewhere. The papers range from the archaic period to the Hellenistic, and cover topics including the economy, historiography, political and social organization, cultural history and acculturation, and political history and institutions. W. has added numerous, and often illuminating, editorial comments to over half of the chapters; various themes can be traced through the index. This review attempts to focus on aspects of W's. historical methodologies.

W. worked at a time when the *Annales* school dominated French history writing (see J. Bintliff, *The Annales School and Archaeology* [Leicester, 1991], p. 5; P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea* [Oxford, 2000], p. 38). In the late 1960s, W. refused to compromise on the title of what became his *magnum opus*, and left as his legacy a view

© The Classical Association, 2003

https://doi.org/10.1093/cr/53.1.151 Published online by Cambridge University Press