C. Calame offers a subtle analysis of Callimachus' fifth hymn (*Bath of Pallas*), with its account of Athena's blinding of Tiresias. He comments on the significance of the Alexandrian poet's choice of this particular Theban myth, and finds a poetic manifesto in the contrast with Hesiod's encounter with the Muses, also on Mt Helicon. I. Krauskopf examines artistic representations of Theban myths, noting the lack of visual evidence from Thebes itself. She finds no systematic anti-Theban bias, and comments on the absence from art of the Theban disaster stories popular in tragedy, until they eventually appear on fourth-century South Italian vases influenced by drama.

This useful volume concludes with three papers on fourth-century Theban history. J. Buckler surveys Thebes' relations with Athens from 403 to 371, blaming Athens for the disintegration of the alliance. H. Beck examines the nature of the Boeotian League after 379/8, arguing that the rise of federalism in Greece was a by-product of Theban power rather than a calculated strategy. D. Knoepfler revisits his conjecture 'Daitondas' (Cic., *De Leg.* 2.15.37), defends his identification of this individual with a boeotarch contemporary with Epaminondas, and discusses various aspects of the boeotarchy.

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NAUCRATIS

A. MÖLLER: *Naukratis, Trade in Archaic Greece*. Pp. xvii + 290, figs, pls. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. Cased, £55. ISBN: 0-19-815284-1.

How and Wells compared Naukratis with the treaty ports of Canton and Nagasaki. Since Polanyi's exposition of 'Ports of Trade in Early Societies' in *The Journal of Economic History* 23 (1963), 30–45, ancient historians, led by S. C. Humphreys, have frequently applied that model to Naukratis. This book concludes that they were right: 'This *empórion* where two different economic systems and cultures met, we may confidently take as most closely resembling the ideal-type of the "port of trade" ' (p. 215).

Möller's monograph confesses to being in substance a Berlin doctoral thesis of 1990. After an Introduction, which fails to explain what the scope of the book is, there are five chapters. The first sets out Polanyi's 'Anthropological Theory of Economy', the second explains what we know about Saïte Egypt, the third, entitled 'The Greek Economy and Its Market Elements', looks at archaic evidence for trade, the fourth describes at length the excavations of Naukratis and the archaic material from them (selected finds are listed in a long Appendix), and the fifth goes through the literary evidence for Naukratis and explores issues relevant to its status and its rôle in trade that arise from that status.

All interested in the archaeology of Naukratis have reason to be grateful to M. The Naukratis excavations were carried out in difficult conditions and published inadequately. Many types of material were not found by the excavation methods or not retained from the excavations. The finds were distributed to museums all over the western world without adequate records being kept. Much potential information has been lost permanently, but M.'s painstaking listing of material and careful description provide a firm basis for future study.

It is less clear to me whether the volume is of the same importance for the study of the economy. For M., 'the "port of trade" model, if it is to be used sensibly, requires the simultaneous acceptance of Polanyi's other concepts, and especially those of the economy's embeddedness within the society in question, the absence of markets, and

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the separation of external and internal trade' (p. 25). For her, although she does not put it this way, to show that Naukratis was a 'port of trade' is to show that Finley's picture in *The Ancient Economy* was correct. I am doubtful.

From the economic point of view the essential features of the 'port of trade' (by contrast to such non-Polanyian concepts as the 'gateway community') are that it lies on the boundary between two different economic systems and is a device of administered trade, in which long-distance trade and local exchange are kept separate, so that the market place operates only for local goods, and access to the goods from the hinterland is controlled by a political power and not by market forces. But to accept that at Naukratis Egyptian grain, linen, etc. were acquired in conditions where price was determined by political considerations rather than by supply and demand says nothing at all about the conditions that applied elsewhere in the Mediterranean (at p. 42 M. seems to see that she needs to have 'ports of trade' everywhere, but sensibly retreats from claiming that).

The weakness of this book as a contribution to the study of the ancient economy lies in its failure to identify what might be at issue. M. admits (p. 41) to 'failing to find one satisfying definition of trade' and proceeds instead to list the possible ways in which an object might be exchanged. But the dispute is not over whether or not objects were exchanged in a variety of ways and on a variety of conditions. It is over whether or not the terms and conditions of exchange at one place at which Greek goods were exchanged might affect the terms and conditions of exchange at other places at which Greek goods were exchanged, or, to put it more crudely, whether there were those whose primary concern was not obtaining particular goods but obtaining profit, who would 'play the markets' to achieve that goal. Even if the terms on which Greeks obtained goods at Naukratis were not affected by the terms on which they obtained the same goods elsewhere—and nothing in the Naukratis evidence actually demonstrates that the political conditions of sale in Egypt were impermeable to 'market forces'—that does not mean that the reverse was true.

Naukratis was an exceptional place and, as this book shows more clearly than ever before, has produced a unique archaeological assemblage. But to understand the implications of that assemblage we need not just a clear hypothetical model of the economy as a whole but an equally full knowledge of the archaeology of the east Greek cities and of the eastern Mediterranean more generally, tasks that await a future cohort of graduate students.

M. has not been well served by her translator or her copy editor. Mistranslated phrases such as 'the supposition . . . cannot be ascertained archaeologically' (p. 63) and 'either erroneously or consciously' (p. 193) obscure her prose, and the treatment of level 5 headings as if they were level 1 headings (printing, in both Chapter V itself and in the Contents, the headings of excursuses to the sub-sub-sub-sections of the chapter in the same style as the heading to the chapter itself!) makes nonsense of her structure.

King's College, Cambridge ROBIN OSBORNE

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

D. J. MATTINGLY, J. SALMON (edd.): *Economies Beyond Agriculture in the Classical World.* Pp. xii + 324, figs. London and New York: Routledge, 2000. Cased, £50. ISBN: 0-415-21253-7.

The debate on the economy of classical antiquity has in recent years been dominated

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