and wine-drinking paraphernalia—penetrated societies all around the Mediterranean. The sharp jump in Greek public spending, construction of state navies, and rising standards of living in the later sixth century probably reflect a several-fold increase in the volume of trade, and I suspect that this is the point at which the early archaic noble adventurers and aristocrats' agents abruptly became obsolete. Finally, Chapter 8—sketching four key differences between the position of traders in classical Greece and their position in twenty-first-century North Carolina—is interesting, but too condensed. R. suggests in passing that dependence on imports made Greeks despise traders less than people in most premodern economies. This claim strikes me as being as sweeping as the generalizations of historical sociologists that R. sometimes criticizes (e.g. p. 75); Chapter 8 would have been a good place to explore it further.

This is a remarkably clear book. Its conclusions are sensible, and the appendices present the relevant evidence in easy-to-use form. Everyone interested in ancient Greek economic and social history should read it.

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doi:10.1093/clrevj/bni314

SEA ROUTES

N. C. Stampolidis, V. Karageorghis (edd.): *ΠΛΟΕΣ. Sea Routes. Interconnections in the Mediterranean 16th–6th c. BC. Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Rethymnon, Crete, September 29th–October 2nd 2002*. Pp. 374, maps, ills. Athens: The University of Crete and the A. G. Leventis Foundation, 2003. Paper, €50. ISBN: 960-7143-25-6.

The conference that produced this stimulating collection of thirty-one articles was the second in an ongoing series that began at Heraklion in 1997 with an international symposium entitled *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus–Dodecanese–Crete, 16th–6th Century BC* (Athens, 1998). The geographical horizon of the volume under review explicitly includes the entire Mediterranean basin, and most of the contributions cite evidence for or assume the activity of traders across the region. Only four of the articles, however, focus on the western Mediterranean, presenting evidence for long-distance trade and cultural connections involving Sardinia, Carthage, and the Etruscans. The rest of the volume involves Egypt, the Near East, the Aegean world, and Crete. Mercantile and prestige trade is the most common theme, followed by cultural and artistic influence. The articles, all of which are in English, for the most part focus on these themes rather than recounting the results of recent field excavation. Bibliographies follow each article. The book has been attractively produced and is adequately illustrated with crisp images. The list of contributors includes many Greek, European, and North American scholars distinguished for their research concerning the movement of ideas and goods around the Mediterranean in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age. Only a portion of the papers can be mentioned in this short review.

The articles are arranged in approximate order of their chronological focus. Although the introductory article by F. Lo Schiavo, 'Sardinia between East and West: Interconnections in the Mediterranean', concerns material from the thirteenth to the

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https://doi.org/10.1093/clrevj/bni315 Published online by Cambridge University Press

tenth century, the author provides an effective introduction to the overall theme of the volume. Lo Schiavo points out that the 'center–periphery–margin' model does not work for Sardinia in this period, and that cultural development can be better explained by 'spheres of interaction' surrounding this centrally placed island. The two following articles concern the foreign relations of Bronze Age Egypt (R. S. Merrillees) and Bronze Age Ugarit (M. Yon). The immensely rich and powerful kingdom of Egypt projected direct and indirect political power around the Levant, along with direct and indirect cultural influence around most of the Mediterranean region. Because of the maritime and land routes it controlled, Ugarit, a small vassal state of only 20,000–25,000 individuals, served as the channel for a surprisingly rich and varied trade extending from the Euphrates to the Western Mediterranean.

L. Vagnetti highlights the important rôle played by Mycenaean Crete in facilitating commercial and cultural interchange between the Aegean and the Central Mediterranean, documenting the simultaneous operation of several different patterns of contact. Y. G. Lolos underlines the significance of the ceramic cargo of the 'Point Iria Wreck' as evidence for commercial, non-élite Cypro-Aegean contact around 1200 b.c. R. Palmer, J. D. Muhly, and V. Matoïan present the literary and archaeological evidence for trade in specific materials: wine, oil and other foodstuffs, metal, and vitreous materials, respectively. Palmer emphasizes the fragility of the evidence for the important bulk trade in foodstuffs but evaluates the trade in élite organic cargoes as evidence for 'shared cultural values where status is conferred through rituals of drinking and anointing'. In his breezy, polemic article Muhly highlights the pivotal rôle played by Cypriot smiths in both the copper trade and, paradoxically for an island without iron ore, the development of useful iron objects. T. J. Barako recounts the evidence in favour of the large-scale migration of the Philistines from some part of the Aegean to the Levant around 1175 B.C., in the context of an evaluation of recent theories that object to hypotheses of mass migration in antiquity.

The Phoenicians obviously participated in commercial and cultural contact across the entire Mediterranean region, and six articles in this volume concern the movement of Phoenician and Carthaginian merchants, the rôle of Phoenician art as a cultural stimulus, the ambiguous character of metalwork attributed to Phoenician artists but found outside areas of Phoenician settlement, and the presence of Phoenicians in the Aegean. It is clear that the identity of the artists who produced 'orientalizing' art around the Mediterranean in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. is still uncertain. Most of the authors find evidence for the presence of Phoenicians in non-Phoenician settlements throughout the Mediterranean world. G. Markoe carries this hypothesis to its extreme, proposing that 'Phoenician' luxury goods found in the Aegean, for example, were produced locally by Phoenician craftsmen and are thus not by themselves evidence for trade. L. Stager presents a well-documented account of the two eighth-century Phoenician shipwrecks found in 400 m of water west of Ashkelon in 1997, bound for either Egypt or Carthage with a cargo consisting mainly of wine.

The last third of the book concerns questions of intellectual exports and interactions, such as the alphabet (A. Johnston) and writing styles (J. S. Smith), styles in seal engraving (J. S. Smith, J. Boardman), and weights, bullion currency and coinage (J. H. Kroll). There are also presentations concerning cross-influence in funerary architecture on LBA Crete (P. Belli) and Cyprus (V. Karageorghis), and the eastern Mediterranean origin of the 'naked goddess' motif in early Greek art (S. Böhm). Johnston's heady review of recent evidence for the spread of the alphabet presents such striking data as the earliest example of an alphabetic text outside Phoenicia, on an imported pot in Latium dating *c.* 775 B.C., and suggestions that there

https://doi.org/10.1093/clrevj/bni315 Published online by Cambridge University Press

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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doi:10.1093/clrevj/bni315

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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https://doi.org/10.1093/clrevj/bni315 Published online by Cambridge University Press