careful revision of the earlier version, providing an updated bibliography, and to making the work accessible to a new readership in English. Accessible it certainly is, though there are far fewer illustrations than in the French edition. Claims to careful revision, however, may be exaggerated, for there are some minor errors in the work, some of which do not actually exist in the French edition, and the translation is sometimes so literal as to risk confusing the English reader used to conventional terms: an obvious example is Alexander's Exiles Decree, referred to as the Return of the Banished. This raises the difficult question of the intended readership of this book, difficult because although it seems to be aimed at students, there are sufficiently few references to primary sources to irritate even undergraduates in UK universities. This is, in fact, an infuriating aspect of the work, and it is difficult, therefore, to see how this could reasonably be recommended as a general survey book for students, particularly when the likes of G. Shipley, *The Greek World after Alexander* (London, 2000) and D. Ogden, *The Hellenistic World* (London, 2002) are available. For a more general readership, however, there is a useful lexicon of terms, and the chronological tables provide historical and cultural synopses of events in Greece, Asia, Africa, and the Western World.

University of Leeds JANET SULLIVAN

HELLENISTIC ECONOMIES

Z. H. Archibald, J. Davies, V. Gabrielsen, G. J. Oliver (edd.): *Hellenistic Economies*. Pp. xvi + 400. London and New York: Routledge, 2001. Cased, £60. ISBN: 0-415-23466-2.

Twelve contributors here offer new treatments of aspects of the economy, or economies, of the Greek world after Alexander, mostly deriving from a 1998 Liverpool conference. The chapters are grouped into six themed sections. This is somewhat artificial but allows the first editor, Archibald, to introduce Part 1 and then give helpful, short introductions to each of Parts 2–5. The illustrations are well presented, the index good. (The only editing flaw I spotted is the lack of page numbers in more than a few bibliography entries.)

In Part 1, 'Setting the Scene', Archibald's introduction formulates the central question as 'What can we accept as a satisfactory analysis of the economic activities and interactions of the Hellenistic world?' The organizers of the original conference also identified key issues such as the use of the term 'Hellenistic', centre–periphery models versus local or regional interaction, the extent of the public or fiscal sector of the economy, period-specific change, and 'flows of resource' (a concept familiar from Davies's recent work). A. acknowledges that some aspects receive only partial coverage and flags them as needing further work: the economy of cult, raw materials, monetization, economic networks, and the scale of production and consumption.

Both A.'s introduction and D.'s keynote essay make it clear that Hellenistic economies, pinioned for too long by the alternative ideal-types of Finley and Rostovtzeff, are overdue for reassessment—which is, of course, already happening wherever new archaeological and epigraphic finds from specific regions are published well. The opportunity results from decades of new data, the accelerating pace of research, and the desire of scholars to escape the tyranny of overarching models. Finley's scheme, itself a reaction against Rostovtzeff's modernism, has taken a battering recently, and the profit motive and regionalism are now watchwords for

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ancient historians. Is it, then, legitimate to generalize at all? D. uses the examples of timber, salt, spices, and amphoras to illustrate both the varieties and the common features of economic activities. His discussion of the strengths and (especially) weaknesses of models such as peer polity interaction, centre–periphery, world systems theory, regionalism, and even the familiar 'royal economy', amounts to a clarion call to other scholars to draw eclectically on these and other models while building new ones.

Part 2, 'Structures', begins with A.'s short introduction, which comments tellingly on the economic typology of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Oikonomika*. Makis Aperghis attempts to quantify the Seleukid economy, and derives reasonably hard data for population and treasury in-flow. Revenues from agriculture and water represented the greater part of the king's income. Tetradrachms were coined mainly for payments by and to the state, not for private transactions. Amos Kloner reports on excavation at the large town of Maresha in Israel–Palestine, where the economy centred on olive oil and pigeons and there were many underground workspaces but, as at Pompeii, no separate industrial zone.

Part 3, 'Geographies and Place: Regional Economies', contains three chapters. Oliver emphasizes intra-regional economic variation, focusing on the grain supply at Rhamnous in Attica and noting (but not, for the moment, detailing) different, overlapping strata and scales of production, transportation, and redistribution. Kenneth Kitchen gives a lengthy introduction to the pre-Hellenistic archaeology of Arabia, where knowledge is fast-growing and patchy. This outline is useful but is not germane to the Hellenistic period except in so far as it sets the scene for a very brief sketch of the components of trade from southern Arabia and India into the Gulf, and across to Egypt. What emerges strongly is that developments in Arabia in the Seleukid and Parthian periods are almost independent of those in Greek lands. Benedict Lowe's study of the trade in salted fish (not salt, as the table of contents has it!) in eastern Spain stresses the two-way nature of Iberian trade with Phoenicians and Greeks. Salt production and fish salteries pre-date the Hellenistic period, when much of Spain was Carthaginian. The Roman conquest stimulated an upturn, but now, as earlier, economic growth was not a process passively undergone, but involved internal change within Iberian societies.

In Part 4, 'Economic Relationships', Klaus Bringmann examines royal grants to cities, finding that rulers preferred to pay in kind rather than coin. Alternatively, they financed recurrent projects using income from particular lands, or transferred real estate to individuals who were to pass the income on to the community. As B. notes, these socially mediated practices do not exclude economic motives. Gabrielsen, accepting that the economy was 'embedded', shows that the numerous clubs (*koina*) of Rhodes served social and economic needs, transcended the citizen–foreigner boundary, and were geared to ensuring a supply of manpower for the fleet. Archibald reviews archaeological and epigraphic evidence for town–country relations and inter-regional networks, particularly proxeny, in south-western Asia Minor. Proxeny is, at best, only indirect evidence of commerce, but she rightly emphasizes the differences individuals could make to economies.

Part 5, 'Movements and Markers', begins with David Gibbins's survey of shipwrecks. After methodological remarks and examples of classical wrecks, he uses Hellenistic cases to show that merchant ships were now generally smaller but still carried mixed cargoes. His appendix tabulates sixty-one wrecks of the late fourth to mid-first centuries B.C. in the eastern Mediterranean and three in the Black Sea. Katerina Panagopoulou, in a study that complements Apergis's, examines Antigonid minting of tetradrachms. With the help of algebraic formulae, detailed tables, and

clear maps she estimates production rates and argues that the coins were distributed more widely as time went on. The Pan type was introduced around the time of the Chremonidean war, Poseidons in the aftermath of the naval victory at Andros. Gonatas, Demetrios II, and Doson 'did not aim to provide currency for international or large-scale national commerce', neither was there a Ptolemaic-style monopoly. Production was too low to fund known military ventures, implying that a mixture of coinages was employed. New types were introduced for ad hoc political and economic reasons.

Part 6, 'Destinations', rounds off the book with papers that widen the viewpoint. Jeremy Paterson picks up Rostovtzeff's unfulfilled intention to include Rome in his Hellenistic study. Emphasizing local and regional factors in economy and settlement, P. invokes his own typology of 'natural', 'political', and 'market' economies. He points to recurrent 'natural' patterns that reassert themselves, notes economic intentions behind Roman laws and policies (such as road-building), and makes the link between empire and increasing (average) wealth. Archibald concludes with a juxtaposition of Rostovtzeff and Finley. Reflecting on the preceding papers, she calls for investigations of minorities (i.e. non-subsistence actors), the nature of change, and relations in space and time.

This volume does not offer a harmonious research agenda, and there are inevitable gaps in coverage. There is almost nothing on Old Greece and Magna Graecia, where many field surveys have yielded important data, and there are irreconcilable theoretical differences between contributors. But there are important, if sporadic, theoretical reflections, and the wide mix of datasets itself makes the book a key text on ancient economies. Tutors might even exploit the ideological spread of views pedagogically, encapsulating different positions within key debates. In the end, the most persuasive voices are those that privilege (in the manner of Horden and Purcell) regions and localities as units of analysis. Davies's programmatic essay seems to make the case for a general methodology for reading and combining classes of evidence, rather than for some account of change that would strait-jacket the interpretation of different places. We do need rules of evidence, otherwise we run the risk of excessive regionalism, of un-joined-up thinking (and writing).

University of Leicester GRAHAM SHIPLEY

AFTER ALEXANDER

A. B. BOSWORTH: *The Legacy of Alexander. Politics, Warfare, and Propaganda under the Successors*. Pp. xiii + 307. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. Cased, £42.50. ISBN: 0-19-815306-6.

The full title is a fair description of the scope of this latest, and most valuable, book by Bosworth, though the cataloguer would need to add, as subject entries, chronological and geographical considerations.

In the chapter on the politics of the Babylon Settlement, Bosworth is at his best in reconstructing the geometry of the political relationships of the key players over time and the alignment of the (virtually lost) primary sources. If, as B. argues and Curtius indicates, Arrhidaeus was indeed capable of political initiatives, and if he consciously decided that Ptolemy should be satrap of Egypt and confirmed him in that position, and if of his own volition he parted company with Polyperchon in 318 B.C. and went over to Cassander, with whom Ptolemy sided, then the favourable presentation of

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