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instruments in Chrestos Terzes' survey of ancient musical instruments. Furthermore, in the above-mentioned article on 'Music and the Emotions', I would have expected some synthesis with contemporary cognitive, physiological, and anthropological research that dominates the modern study of music and the senses. On a similar note, I found it slightly odd to encounter a discussion of music from an ethnomusicology standpoint only as late in the collection as in Mark Griffith's illuminating introduction to the role of music as a signifier of local/global ethnic identities and class differences (chapter 27). Issues of ritual, gender, dance, musical competitions, or medicine could benefit greatly by corresponding to current comparative ethnomusicological data and research. The relationship between music and religion is another matter that is a bit downplayed. Even though different essays stress the pervasive religious nature of most Greek musical performances, a dedicated chapter dealing with the affiliation of music and cult practices would have been most welcome.

Overlooking the slight shortcoming just described, this is the most up-to-date and comprehensive survey of a field of study significant in numerous ways beyond the strictly musical. The first of its kind, an English-Language volume that surveys the entire field of music in classical antiquity, covering both Greek and Roman materials, is long overdue and this collection will unquestionably turn out to be the new point of departure for future students, researchers, and performers interested in the captivating world of ancient *mousikē*.

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Tazuko Angela Van Berkel, *The Economics of Friendship: Conceptions of Reciprocity in Classical Greece*. Mnemosyne Supplements, Monographs on Greek and Latin language and literature, volume 429. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2020. viii+539 pp. ISBN 9789004416130.

The main focus of this book, as its title indicates, is how Greeks thought about *philia* in light of the development of a market economy, what the author calls "folk-theories" of social relations, a sub-division of the "history of mentalities." This was a subject that engaged Greek writers from every genre, and Dr. Tazuko Angela van Berkel has investigated the widest variety of sources, from the fragments of Sophocles to the speeches of Lysias, from lyric poetry to historiography and philosophy. Dr. van Berkel makes good use of the theories of Menger, Carsten, Bloch and Parry, Simmel, Hochschild, Weber, Polanyi, and others, among modern theorists. She is not an adherent of any particular interpretational school of thought, and does not apply one particular methodology to the Greek world, but is comfortable with almost all the contemporary schools of thought about humanistic subjects, using their insights as a means of illuminating the thought of the ancient world. In doing so, she propounds an innovative, compelling, and pivotal thesis about the mind-frame of ancient Greece that will be valuable for anyone working on almost anything Greek.

Van Berkel argues that the rise of monetization created a model of exchange that challenged the way people thought about *philia* relations. Barter had never played a major role in the ancient Greek economy (van Berkel speaks of the "Myth of Barter" and the "Flintstone Effect," which projects backwards contemporary practices), so the development of a monetized market created a

new form of interpersonal interaction, an impersonal interaction.¹ This development caused Greeks to reflect not only about this new reality, but also, by contrast, about alternatives to it, more traditional, long-term relationships characterized by *philia* and *charis*. “This book is about both sides of the coin: about the way in which *philia*-reciprocity and commercial exchange have come to define each other in a mutually dependent way” (5). One reaction was to seek comfort in older embedded conceptions (or imaginative reconstructions of them); but van Berkel shows that thinkers like Plato, Aristotle, and Xenophon were not so much concerned to restore the older forms of social embeddedness, as to create a new form of relation that maintained long-term *philia* and *charis*, but on the basis of a new kind of rationality focused on the good.

One of her fundamental points is the prevalence of isomorphism. That means that a particular relationship can be conceptualized in two radically different ways. Marriage bonds and bonds between parents and children (among others) can be conceived as cases of unconditional solidarity and reciprocity (*philia*) or as rational this-for-that exchanges. A single person can at one time conceptualize such a relationship one way, and then, in another mood, look at it in the other way. As she notes, a review of modern divorce proceedings can create the impression that a marriage is, from the beginning, nothing other than a business relationship, a view that is reductionary and misleading, and one that is destructive to the relationship. In order to maintain the emotional solidarity of a relationship, it is often necessary to ignore the alternative conceptual paradigm, a phenomenon she refers to as deliberate *méconnaissance*.

In this context she argues that *philia*, and even the verb *philein*, signifies a relationship, and not merely the positive emotions that may accompany one (14–29). This is an important point, even if she may overstate the evidence in places. For example, I am not sure it is impossible to understand references to friendly cities as reflecting emotion (15–16). Citizens can have a range of emotional attitudes towards other cities, and when Greeks spoke of a friendship between two cities, it may indeed have evoked more than a tactical alliance. Similarly, there are cases where *phil-* words can indicate a strong emotion, almost equivalent to *eros* (e.g. Soph. *Trach.* 462–463) and Aristotle, as she notes, includes *to philein* as a *pathe*. Perhaps the truth is that *phil-* words do signify relationships, but since the relationship in its ideal form is accompanied by emotions, the term can also signify those emotions themselves.

In chapter two, van Berkel discusses the multivalence of *charis*-terminology. It is not that *charis* (like other seemingly difficult Greek terms) has many meanings, but rather that the whole that it describes is divided by us in terms of distinctions between subject-object, passive-active, and subjective attitude vs. objective gesture. The Greeks of course recognized such distinctions, but they did not confine every word to one side of a dichotomy. This analysis is important not only for understanding this term, and for providing a model for how we need to think about so many Greek terms, it is also important for helping us un-think our own highly refined conceptions and for enabling us to see things from a perspective less clouded by our particular inherited conglomerate of values and concepts.

In chapter three, van Berkel applies the concept of isomorphism to one of the most fundamental relationships, that of parents and children, showing how tempting it was to conceptualize these relationships in terms of market economics. Her analysis of Xenophon's view

¹ As she notes, the market was never completely free of embeddedness (51). Although monetization had a huge effect on the conceptualization of relationships, we find an incipient contrast between the two modes of conceptualization already in Homer, as in the famous story of the exchange between Glaucon and Diomedes.

of *philia* is particularly interesting, because some scholars have yielded to the temptation to reduce Xenophontic *philia* to pure utility. She argues convincingly, however, that utility is important in Xenophontic *philia* not only for the sake of the utility but also for the sake of the *philia*.² The moral dimension of the relationship is an important factor: mothers are exemplary *philoï* precisely because they take the initiative in giving and because they do so with no certainty that they will ever receive the hoped-for return (179–180). Although they are not altruistic, since they do hope for a return, the hopes and risks they entertain in “paying it forward” make them a model of true *philia*. This is an important correction to prevailing views of Xenophon, even if in places van Berkel may overstate the evidence. I do not completely follow her provocative translation of the last line of text 15 on 150–151, which gives extra weight to intention and effort (better evidence might be found at *Anabasis* 1.9.24). Elsewhere, van Berkel recognizes that while the goal is *philia*, and while effort and signs of affection are very important, actual utility or benefit always plays a role in producing such relationships. In contrast to Aristotle and others (as van Berkel notes in her analysis of Aristotle; see esp. 249), Xenophon always interweaves utility and friendship.

Chapter four discusses the ways in which philosophical thinkers raised doubts about the validity of the “Debtor Paradigm.” A key text is the first book of *Republic*, where Socrates easily exposes the limitations of Cephalus’ market-friendly criteria for justice: paying one’s debts, and not deceiving others. As she argues, Plato wishes to show that the Debtor Paradigm he invokes does not explain the nature of justice, but stands in need of further principles. “To understand what we owe, we must first understand what we ought to do.” (222). Here she shows that Plato is moving towards the re-embedding of the economy, not in the older social relations, but in a new rationalistic theory of justice: “helping friends and harming enemies is not a principle that helps us understand morality, but *requires* an understanding of morality” (233).

Chapter five addresses the question of the proper use of friends, focusing on Socrates’ refusal to take fees and the challenge he faced on this account from Antiphon (*Mem.* 1.6). Antiphon applies a market principle, claiming that the fact that Socrates charges no fees shows that his wisdom is worthless; Socrates replies by distinguishing the exchange of wisdom from the exchange of other commodities, “decommodifying” it by drawing an analogy to the exchange of intimate sexual favors. These are exchanges that properly belong within bonds of *philia*, and gaining a *philos* is categorically better than earning a wage. What, then, are we to do with other discussions (e.g. *Mem.* 2.10) in which Xenophon seems to treat friends as commodities that need to be priced in accordance with their utility? Van Berkel answers this by denying the validity of the dichotomy between a utilitarian view of friendship and a view of a friend as an end in himself. “Utility friendships are grounded in mutual benefit, not mutual exploitation.” (297). Noting that *chresthai* terms do not mean “use” in an instrumental sense, she argues that for Xenophon and Aristotle, relating to friends is a complex activity involving both mutual benefit and mutual good will. “There is no such thing as conflicting interests, because genuine knowledge will point out that happiness and the good are not distributed according to the logic of a zero-sum model” (307). It is by privileging the long-term relationship of *philia* over the short-term transaction that this mutuality of interest becomes possible (314–326).³ While Antiphon has money in the bank, Socrates (*Oec.* 2.8) and Cyrus (*Cyr.* 8.2.13–23) can always count on contributions from friends.

² She develops this thought further in “Relational Virtues and Moral Emotions: Xenophon’s Psychology of *charis*,” (forthcoming).

³ See also T. A. van Berkel, “Pricing the invaluable: Socrates and the Value of Friendship,” in R. Rosen and I. Sluiter (eds.) *Valuing Others in Antiquity*, Leiden, 2010, 249–278.

Chapter six explores the dynamics of friendship by focusing on Socrates' much discussed interview with Theodote, "a beautiful woman who spends time with whoever persuades her." (*Mem.* 3.11.1). This description is something of a euphemism, since Theodote is a *hetaera*. But Socrates takes the description at face value, and persuades her, among other things, to offer friendlier services than she has done in the past. Being a friend means taking an active role in the friendship, and not just waiting for someone to show up, as a spider waits for a fly. By the end of the conversation, Theodote is eagerly seeking Socrates as a useful associate or pimp (another isomorphism). In this sense, Theodote comes to resemble the willingly obedient followers of Cyrus, those who identify Cyrus as a winner, and wish to associate with him and obey him of their own free will in view of long-term potential benefits, and not because of any *quid pro quo*. Citing Godelier, van Berkel argues that in a genuine friendship each act of benefit is not a repayment of a previous debt, but a new affirmation of the friendship (394). These relationships do not have to be equal, and an imbalance in favors legitimizes power and hierarchy (399).

In the final chapter of the book, van Berkel tackles Aristotle's notorious equation, "As builder is to shoemaker, so are shoes to a house." (*NE* 1133a22–24). It is not easy to summarize her detailed and nuanced treatment of this complex and much-studied problem. Suffice it to say that she recognizes the metaphysical incommensurability of exchange, and sees that for Aristotle the function of exchange is not only to meet the individual needs of the partners to the exchange, but also to strengthen the *koinonia* of the polis. In effect, Aristotle shows that even the market itself can be thought of isomorphically, either as a purely instrumental form of exchange or, preferably, as a means of building long-term *philia*.

I have offered a few glimpses into this rich, nuanced, and original work of scholarship. The book will serve as a wonderful challenge for graduate students in any area of the ancient world, a means of introducing them to the serious potentialities of contemporary scholarship. It also reminds us of the complexity and vitality of Xenophon's writings, and of their usefulness for research focusing on conceptions of social relations in ancient Greece.

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Daniela Dueck, *Illiterate Geography in Classical Athens and Rome*. Routledge, 2021. 274 pp. ISBN 9780367439705.

Knowledge of other places has always been closely linked to power: to economic power as expressed through trade, to military power through war, and to cultural power through travel and tourism. There has been much academic interest recently in ancient elite geographical treatises, such as that written by Strabo. This book attempts to combine this with the growing trend towards studying the non-elite in the ancient world. The result is a detailed investigation of the geographical knowledge displayed in a wide variety of popular texts and images that adds significantly to our understanding of non-elite ideas.

Dueck starts by setting out her terms of reference. She is focused on establishing what constituted the kind of "common sense" or "naive" geography of the illiterate or largely illiterate masses in antiquity. To achieve this, D. limits the range of evidence to the aural and visual – an unwritten rather than a textual geography – by looking at three distinct types of source: oral communication preserved in writing; public non-textual performance; and visual artefacts and