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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

monuments. Additional focus is given by concentration on the cities of Classical Athens and of Rome from the time of the Punic Wars to the end of the Augustan era, both of which represented periods of significant imperial expansion. The book is characterised by a very thorough and careful consideration of all this evidence and its limitations. It seeks at all times to keep itself grounded by not drifting off into the atmospheric landscape and topographies of "imaginary geography", but rather looking at concrete and specific details of non-elite "factual geography" (p. 67).

What quickly becomes clear is that popular geography was never a phenomenon that was characterised by any degree of uniformity. As D. argues (p. 84), the essence of unwritten oral geography is that "it is not necessarily accurate or well defined, but is an impressionistic, amorphous body of knowledge embedded in reality". It represented the practical information gleaned from trading, holding minor imperial posts and serving in military campaigns. It would be wrong to expect coherence from such a variety and many of the popular geographic ideas were relatively vague. It would equally be wrong, however, to confuse a lack of coherence with a lack of interest. The fact people had an inconsistent and undefined understanding of geography did not mean they had no knowledge at all. Rather it reflected the fact that popular geography expressed itself in many diverse forms and so lacked the intellectual focus of elite texts. Much of the evidence is also secondhand, reported in elite texts or written for public performance where popular ideas have to be inferred. We are not simply hearing the voice of the ordinary Athenian or Roman when we read such evidence. But D. is always properly tentative in her conclusions, never forcing the evidence to say any more than can be safely ascertained.

It is, however, possible to draw out some of the main characteristics of this somewhat inchoate body of ideas. The first is that geography was never simply related to the topographical but was closely related to the past. Herodotus, for example, reflects the growing interest of his audience in the wider world and how it came to be formed. Pausanias' guide shared some similarities with what we would expect from a travel guide: factual information, an eye for the unusual and an invocation of the emotions and associations evoked in the author. But there were also some profound differences: Pausanias reported on the various mythological and folkloric traditions associated with places. For the ancients, there was no distinction between the legendary and historical past and so relaying the myths linked to a place was part of the required background reading for any serious traveller.

Geography was also tied to religion. The festivals of Greece were one of its key visitor attractions and appealed to a whole range of tastes, both sporting and artistic. From early in Greek history, groups of neighbouring city states had begun to hold collective religious ceremonies, financed at state expense. The most famous, the Olympics, took place in the north-west corner of the Peloponnese, a location certainly not chosen for its ease of access, particularly given that the games were held during the heat of the summer, yet thousands upon thousands of ordinary Greeks still made the considerable effort to attend and spectate.

Both Athenian and Roman empires encouraged many forms of travel. Imperial officials went to perform local governmental tasks, soldiers moved to wherever they were stationed, and trade and commerce thrived. Artists and craftsmen went where the work was, and all kinds of street entertainers, fortune-tellers and religious practitioners passed through towns in search of an audience. The sick went in search of cures at the renowned healing centres. Rome's famed network of roads, while primarily for military use, also encouraged travel. All these travellers took their cultures, including their gods, with them and the result was that many cities acquired a new level of cosmopolitanism. But empire also forced travel upon many. The crushing of revolts, such

as those of the Jews, resulted in the displacement of whole peoples. Millions more slaves were shipped away from their homelands to wherever their owners decreed.

Geography was always political. Many elite Roman accounts of travels in Egypt note that the local temples were in decline and that the number of priests was dwindling. In their eyes, this was a reasonable response to the fact that their gods had been overpowered by those of first Greece, when Alexander invaded, and then Rome. When Romans visited these temples it served to reduce such local beliefs to a sideshow, turning its ancient religious significance into a mere entertainment for the economically powerful visitor. But geographic knowledge could be used to resist such domination. Pausanias, for example, also had another agenda. His interest lay in recovering Greece's great past, both mythical and historical, and in ignoring its present day subordination. Reading his guide, it is as if the Romans had never conquered Greece. Rome has been written out.

Trade must have heavily influenced the non-elite's experience of travel. The rubbish heap of amphorae in Rome, the Monte Testaccio, which is estimated to consist of over fifty million containers used to import oil, primarily from Spain, served as a visible reminder of the scale of commerce. Or the detail found in the trading manual *Sailing Around the Red Sea* gives an excellent sense of what each side of the trading relationship had a taste for buying. Practical considerations played a sizeable role in non-elite thinking about travel, whether it was the problem of asking for directions given the lack of street names (see Terence *The Brothers* 581–4) or the threats posed by bandits. Fear of shipwreck is a common theme in popular sources, such as Artemidorus' *The Interpretation of Dreams*. The dangers of sea travel also meant that all kinds of superstitions grew up around ships, and the frequency with which these crop up in Artemidorus' manual suggests that these were a frequent cause of what we would now call "anxiety dreams".

The chapter dealing with proverbs highlights how downright nasty the non-elite attitude towards foreigners could be. Full of hostility, jealously noting those richer than themselves, intensely normative and morally judgemental about all manner of different behaviours, this was not a mentality marked by any generosity of spirit. As D. notes, the geographical "other" was stereotyped and dehumanised; accuracy was never the aim.

D.'s approach is resolutely focused on factual geography but she discusses many other elements which are ripe for further work. One issue is the degree to which the non-elite audience actively shaped ideas of geography or whether they sat as largely passive recipients. It is easy to argue, like Zanker did, that the Roman spectacles were all about indoctrination, but they did also spell out to the crowd what was in it for them. Evidence from the political sphere would suggest that we should not underestimate the degree of active popular involvement in the process. Whether this constituted a distinctly popular culture is contentious. Was there any fundamental difference between the popular geography and its elite counterpart or did it simply involve a different degree of complexity? And, finally, can we discern any shift to a new popular geography with the advent of Christianity? Did pilgrimage and the cult of the saints bring a new focus on the importance of place and its relationship with the world of the divine? Whatever the question, D.'s detailed and thoughtful work will provide much of the groundwork for all such studies in this area.

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