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The Hesiodic age: Tribal decay

"For the gods have hidden the livelihood of men"
(Hesiod: Works and Days)

A new world ignored by the epics comes into view in the works of Hesiod, the eighth century Boeotian poet. It has endured unchanged to the present, at least in wide regions of the planet. This is the world of the independent peasant householder: fiercely individualistic, moralistic, superstitious, ever complaining and thrifty.

In perspective, "Works and Days" is a documentary manifestation of the birth of the isolated individual - a painfully anomalous figure in tribal society. ~~For~~ With the independent peasant a bitter ingredient accrues to the existence of the vast majority of men: individual concern for livelihood. It reflects the novel threat of lonely starvation, a contradiction in terms under tribal conditions. Its specter haunts the glorious rhythms of 'Works and Days' and invests them with an eerie note of prophecy.

Eduard Meyer, recognized the identity of technique used in the poetic construction of "Works and Days" and the Book of Hosea. Hesiod's troubles with his brother, foolish Perses, over the family inheritance are paralleled by Hosea's matrimonial miseries; the personal note introduces an agricultural almanac here, a foreign policy tract there. But as to prophetic content, the Hesiodic poem is nearer to the driving out of Adam from the Garden of Eden. For with the decay of the tribe a new kind of

uncertainty, that of the livelihood of man, is born, which gnaws at the core of existence while forcing into being, even if in an uncouth form, an element latent in the human frame: personality. Under tribal conditions economic fate had been collective, not individual; when it shifted with the turn of the pastures, the run of the seasons, the favor of sun, wind and rain, it shifted for all. Henceforth it was to become a fearful companion of the individual, who could rely no longer on the traditional tissue of redistribution and reciprocity to keep stark hunger away.

Hesiod discovered hunger as a part of the human condition. In the *Odyssey*, the pressing need for food makes its appearance only on the fringes of the community. It is a shameful event which befalls the outcast, the out-of-town beggar, the unaccepted guest. The urgency of its animal impulses stamps the owner of the belly a man sans kin, law and hearth. 'To belong' is to get one's food in the natural course of things; not 'to belong' is to be concerned for one's food. Apart from the whine of the warrior doomed to die at the hands of the victorious foe; the laments of the wandering hero whose return home is cut off by a god's spite no outcry is as bitter as the hungry man's cursing of his belly which betrays his shame by its craving for food. The arrival of a stranger, guest or wanderer is conventionally staged in the *Odyssey* as a step-by-step change from the wretched individual denouncing his belly to his eventually being welcomed and encouraged freely to partake of the offered food as it would not be grudged to him however much he decided to eat.

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 46 }

With Hesiod this peripheric figure of Homeric court poetry moves to the center of the scene. The spectre of hunger is ever present in the unfolding picture of the people's life. Though he registers realistically the symptoms of tribal decay, Hesiod himself was too close to the underlying process of dissolution to understand it in natural terms. Hence the mystery of the doom, the finality and the unspeakable horror of the Iron Age. How was man thrown back upon himself for his nourishment? Had (in Hesiod's words) Zeus in his anger hid the bread of life, for that Prometheus of crooked council had deceived him? "For the gods have hidden the livelihood of men!" Man is alone, and care must never leave him. "But pass by the smith's forge and sunny place of dalliance in the winter season, when cold constraineth men from work, wherein a diligent man would prosper his house, lest the helplessness of evil winter overtake thee with poverty, and thou press a swollen foot with a lean hand." To ward off starvation is the meaning of human life.

Hesiod's poetry records the first appearance of isolated households on the scene of human affairs; very soon corn would have to be bought and sold. Almost contemporaneously with him, Amos, first of the great prophets, was calling down Jehovah's wrath on those who bought and sold the produce of the land. But the temple state of Judah had by the middle of the 5th century returned to redistributive methods, except for subordinate local food markets in Jerusalem. Israel stopped traffic in food and returned to the earlier ways. The Greeks alone went on experimenting with market elements. So far as the historian is able to date changes in the awareness of the human race, it was

conduct raised by this disturbing new feature of life.

Greek social history from the Homeric period down to the beginning of the fifth century is mainly the story of neighbour gradually replacing kin. *Some where on this continuation the peasant had to ask himself, who now was friend and who was foe?*

Call to meet him that loveth thee,
but leave thine enemy alone. And call him
chiefliest who dwell nigh thee. For if
sught untoward happen in the township, the
neighbors come ungirt, the kinsmen gird
themselves.

Personal safety now depends on the neighbor, not on the mutual protection offered by the clan.

The good neighbor is an economic asset:

An ill neighbor is a bane, even as
a good neighbor is a great blessing. He
who findeth a good neighbor findeth a
precious thing. Not an ox even will perish
if thy neighbor be not bad. (345)

Few institutions are as deeply rooted in tribal life as marriage; in fact, marriage order is tribal order. Yet Hesiod, explaining precisely at what age to marry, and what sort of women, advises his brother to "marry a neighbor best of all." (700)

Only ^{very} gradually does the neighbor take the place of the kinsman. ^{Already in} In the Odyssey Telemachos is asked

the name by which they were wont to call
thee in thy home, even thy mother and thy
father and other folks beside, the townsmen
and the dwellers round about ... Tell me
too of thy land, thy township, and thy city ...
(VIII, 552).

Yet by and large the blood-tie still prevails.

For the aristocracy

With Hesiod the hold of the tribe weakens, but its lingering comes in for many subtle ambiguities. Blood feud is enjoined, but the revenge is made more personal: he who is hurt should retaliate, not any more the members of the clan by virtue of their relations to the injured party. But even the injured man should fit his action to the circumstances -

...sin not thou against him first, neither lie for the pleasure of the tongue. Yet if he first sin against thee, whether with unkindly word or with deed, remember thou to pay him twofold: yet if again he would take thee into friendship, and is willing to give thee satisfaction, receive him. (710).

Not even the tie of brotherhood is excepted:

let the promised reward of a friend be sure.
And with a smile set a witness even on a brother.
For faith and unfaith are alike the bane of men. (373)

The new individualism disrupts the closest bonds of kinship: no one should ever be trusted.

The structure of the family itself undergoes a change; Malthusianism is expressly advocated. One son constitutes the desirable family "for so, wealth will increase in the home." (376) Life is still possible if there are two sons; but only if the father manages to grow old. In that case, the advantages of division of labour may outweigh the burden of the fragmentation of the land through inheritance.

One of the great themes of the poem is the injustice of the times. Tribal bonds were wearing thin while feudal bonds had not yet had time to develop. The greed and cruelty of the princes, the helplessness of the individual against their rapacity were equally great. Hesiod describes the callous rich

and the helpless state of the poor in magnificent imagery.

Now I will tell a tale of princess who themselves are wise. Thus spake the hawk to the nightingale of speckled neck, as he bore her far aloft to the clouds in the clutch of his talons, while she, on his crooked talons impaled, made pitiful lament: unto her he spoke masterfully: 'Wretch: wherefore dost thou shriek? Lo! thou art held in the grasp of a stronger. There shalt thou go, even where I carry thee, for all they minitrelsy. And as I will, I shall make my meal of thee, or let thee go. A fool is he who would contend with the stronger. He loseth the victory and suffereth anguish with his ~~xx~~ shame.! So spake the swift-flying hawk, the long-winged bird. (200-210)

The traditional political structure of tribal settlements had been viciously distorted by the "gift-devouring princes", who now failed to return the law and justice that was their responsibility. The empty forms of chieftainship remained; but meaning and content were gone. The tribal obligations which those forms expressed had faded. Justice became an abstract ideal to be pursued, and was no longer the institutional setting for the life of the tribe.

There is a noise when Justice is being dragged in the way where those who devour bribes and give sentence with crooked judgments take her. (219)

Politics now is for the wealthy: "little concern hath he with quarrels and courts who has not a year's victuals laid up betimes" - gone and forgotten is the popular assembly of tribal Ithaca.

The common meal apparently survived as an occasional if somewhat poorly affair; Hesiod must plead: "be not intolerant of common feast when many guests are bidden: greatest the pleasure, and the cost is least." (720).

But the vanishing tribal reciprocity could not be simply transferred from kin to neighbour, from clan to village. In vain

does "Works and Days" attempt to base reciprocity on neighbourhood.

Take just measure from the neighbour and
give him just return with the same measure or
yet better if thou canst, that even so after-
ward in thy need thou mayst find him a sure
help. (34)

Interchange of gifts has here been transformed into a somewhat erratic transaction in which interest shyly makes its appearance. This kind of mutuality is necessarily selective and unpredictable: one must be very careful to whom one gives.

Love him that loveth thee, and visit him
that visiteth thee. And give to him that
giveth, and give not to him that giveth not.
To the giver one giveth, but none giveth to
him that giveth not. (353)

Note the emphasis on the stringent necessity of fully returning a gift: this is in contrast to tribal reciprocity, with its absence of all precise equivalency. One who would all the time give inadequate counter-gifts will be regarded as stingy and perhaps completely lose face - but the gifts must continue, since they are decreed by the situation in which the giver finds himself. Hesiod's version, in fact, more closely resembles the modern idea of personal mutuality than the impersonal but rigidly effective reciprocity of the tribe.

And so Hesiod ends on a note of bitter warning: There may come a day when

with wife and children in anguish of soul
thou seek livelihood among the neighbours and
they regard thee not. (396) ... For an easy
thing it is to say, Give me a team of oxen and
a waggon; but easy it is also to refuse: Mine
oxen have work to do. (453)

No-one but the individual himself, through unceasing hard work, can avert "debt and joyless hunger": "Whatever be thy lot,

work is best." "Work ...that hunger may abhor thee...
For hunger is ever meet companion of the man who will not
work." (301)

Such a concept of work is strikingly new-- a far cry
from the Homeric ethos which knows not, for the freeman,
compulsion to work. Hesiod spells it out in so many words
that "work is no reproach, the reproach is idleness." (302)
Work must be steady and carefully scheduled:

Neither put off till the morrow nor the
day after. The idle man filleth not his barn,
neither he that putteth off. Diligence prospereth
work, but the man who putteth off ever wrestleth
with ruin. (400)

Independence is understood almost as much in negative as
in positive terms. Positively, independence means a full barn,
negatively, the avoidance of the loss of one's land, of debt
and of hunger. Work, as suggested above, can prevent hunger;
proper organization of work can provide a larger measure of
independence, in which

you shall not look to others, but another
shall have need of thee. (478)

But the help and good will of the gods themselves is needed to
avert the greatest evil, loss of land. Evil deeds must be
avoided, and Hesiod warns

With all thy might do sacrifice to the
deathless gods in holy wise and purely, and
burn glorious meat offering withal, and at
other times do thou propitiate them with
libations and with incense, both when thou
layest thee to rest and when the holy daylight
cometh, that they may have a gracious heart
and mind toward thee, and that thou mayest
buy the lot of others, not another thine. (335ff) 1

The meaning of these neatly-phrased alternatives is identical with the Biblical hope that "thou shalt lend to another, and not another to thee."

The economic unit is the small household, members of which should be carefully selected. The danger of having more than one, or at most, two sons was mentioned above. A wife should be chosen with great circumspection, not only to avoid the neighbour's censure (and one should preferably marry a neighbour), but because

no better spoil doth a man win than a
good wife, even than as a bad wife he winneth
no worse -- a gluttonous woman, that roasteth
her husband without a brand and giveth him
over to untimely age. (703)

A man should not marry until the age of thirty; first it is necessary to acquire the proper servants and the proper tools.

Get a house first and a woman and a
ploughing ox--a slave woman, not a wife,
who might follow the oxen; and get all
gear arranged within the house, lest thou
beg of another and he deny thee and thou
go lacking... (404)

This woman should have no children (602). Beside her, Hesiod suggests a male servant of forty, since he will be interested in his work rather than in his friends.

In such a small household, not a moment can be wasted throughout the year if the struggle against debt and hunger is to be won: the idle man "garnereth many sorrows for his soul." Preparations for the winter begin in summer.

Declare thou to thy thralls while it
is still midsummer: It will not be summer
always; build ye barns. (502)

But winter is no time for relaxation, either: Hesiod warns his

brother to shun the smithy, where men gather. And the public assembly (agora) must be avoided at all times; for "little time hath he for wrangling and contention who hath not laid up at home store of food for the year." (30)

Besides work, thrift is enjoined: this was an entirely novel idea. Wealth ~~previously~~ ^{had been} acquired by fraud, violence, or gifts - and that, overnight, Hesiod not only risks the paradox that fraud and violence are the wrong way of acquiring wealth, but also says that "if thou addest but little to little and doest it often, soon will even that be great" (361) Rarely, in economic history, has a departure of great consequence been put in simpler terms.

Yet another new chord is struck by Hesiod: competition serves as a stimulus to work, clearly playing an economic role in Greek society for the first time. Hesiod has trouble describing this new phenomenon. He observes in the very beginning of the poem that there are two kinds of strife on earth, one of which is to be praised, the other "a thing of reproach", which increases evil war and contention. The new kind is "the elder child of black night", who "stirreth even the helpless to labour. For even when he that hath no business locketh on him that is rich, he hasteth to plow and to plant and to array his house: and neighbour vieth with neighbour hasting to be rich: good is this strife for man. So potter with potter contendeth: the hewer of wood with the hewer of wood: the beggar is jealous of the beggar, the minstrel jealous of the minstrel." (12-25) None was offering to underbid his competitor. Each wished to excel in prowess, to

retain the privilege of being regarded as the best, or at least the best liked. Hesiod's ^{own} minstrelsy was ~~of course~~ the famed prototype of this kind of strife.

Trade is, of course, in evidence, but certainly not as a force in peasant life. Hesiod distinguished two forms of trade, neither of which are very desirable in his eyes. The one he refers to simply as "sea-faring"; this is limited to an occasional bartering of surplus by coasting along the shore in a small ship, in the proper season.

Howbeit, if desire of uncomfortable sea-faring seize thee -- when the Pleiades, fleeing the mighty strength of Orion, plunge into the misty deep, then do blow the blasts of all winds: then keep thou no more the ship upon the wine-dark sea, but mind thee to till the soil as I bid thee, and draw the ship on land and cover it about with stones to keep off the violence of wet winds... And thyself await the coming of the sailing season, and then hale the ship to the sea, and therein bestow the cargo, that thou mayst bring profit home. ...Praise thou the small vessel, but set thy goods in a large. Greater the cargo, and greater the gain upon gain will be, if the winds refrain their evil blasts. (619 ff)

The other form, which he specifically calls trading ² (emporía), would appear to be more of an occupational affair. Even this is not a regular occupation, but only a last resort for the unfortunate.

If ever you turn your misguided heart to trading and wish to escape from debt and joyless hunger, I will show you the measures of the loud-roaring sea, though I have no skill in sea-faring nor in ships. (646)

In any case, the season for trading is very limited. The only time which Hesiod approves of at all is July and August; unless Poseidon is determined, it is possible to escape death during

that period, but one must be sure to return before the autumn winds. Those who are really desperate sail during the spring also, but Hesiod warns against it.

Such a sailing is snatched, and you will hardly avoid mischief. Yet in their ignorance men do even this, for wealth means life to poor mortals; but it is fearful to die among the waves. (685)

Only a small part of one's goods should be carried on any voyage, because of the risks.

Footnotes -

1. Loss of land involves loss of status. The origin of the small scale ancestral holding in the tribal redistribution of land is clear: the word kleros is used here.
2. This is the first instance in which emporion is employed in the sense of trade. H. Knorringa, Emporos, p. 13.

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Chapter 31. The Hesiodic age: Tribal decay

"For the gods have hidden the livelihood of men"
(Hesiod: Works and Days)

A new world comes into view in the works of Hesiod, the eighth-century Bceotian poet, a world of which there are only hints in the epics. Yet it has endured unchanged to the present, at least in wide regions of the planet. This is the world of the independent peasant householder: fiercely individualistic, moralistic, superstitious, ever complaining and thrifty.

In perspective, "Works and Days" is a documentary manifestation of the birth of the isolated individual - a painfully anomalous figure in tribal society. For with the independent peasant a bitter ingredient accrues to the existence of the vast majority of men: the concern for livelihood. The new fear reflects the novel threat of lonely starvation, a contradiction in terms under tribal conditions. Its specter haunts the glorious rhythms of 'Works and Days' and invests them with an eerie note of prophecy.

Eduard Meyer, the first notable historian to perceive the greatness of Hesiod, recognized the identity of technique used in the poetic construction of "Works and Days" and the Book of Hosea. Hesiod's troubles with his brother, foolish Perseus, over the family inheritance are paralleled by Hosea's matrimonial miseries. The personal note introduces an agricultural almanac here, a foreign policy tract there. But as to essential content, the Hesiodic poem recalls another part of the Old Testament, the driving out of Adam from the Garden of Eden. With the decay of

the tribe a new kind of uncertainty, that of the livelihood of man, is born, which gnaws at the core of existence while forcing into being, even if in an uncouth form, an element latent in the human frame: personality. Economic fate had been collective, not individual; when it shifted with the turn of the pastures, the run of the seasons, the favor of sun, wind and rain, it shifted for all. Henceforth it was to become a fearful companion of the individual, who could rely no longer on the traditional tissue of redistribution and reciprocity to keep stark hunger away.

Hesiod discovered hunger as a part of the human condition. In the *Odyssey*, the pressing need for food makes its appearance only on the fringes of the community. It is a shameful event which befalls the outcast, the out-of-town beggar, and the unaccepted guest. The urgency of its animal impulses stamps the owner of the belly a man sans kin, home and hearth. 'To belong' is to get one's food in the natural course of things; not 'to belong' is to be concerned for one's food. Apart from the warrior doomed to die at the hands of the victorious foe⁹ the wandering hero whose return home is cut off by ill fate, no abuse is as bitter as the hungry man's cursing of his belly which betrays his shame by crying out for food. The arrival of a stranger, guest or wanderer is conventionally staged in the *Odyssey* as a step-by-step change from the wretched individual denouncing his belly to his eventually being welcomed and encouraged freely to partake of the offered food as it would not be grudged to him however much he decided to eat.

With Hesiod this peripheric figure of Homeric court poetry moves to the center of the scene. The spectre of hunger is ever present in the unfolding picture of the people's life. Though he registers

realistically the symptoms of tribal decay, Hesiod himself was too close to the underlying process of dissolution to understand it in natural terms. Hence the mystery of the doom, the finality and the unspeakable horror of the Iron Age. How was it that man was thrown back upon himself for his nourishment? Had (in Hesiod's words) Zeus in his anger hid the bread of life, for that Prometheus of crooked council had deceived him? "For the gods have hidden the livelihood of men!" Man is alone and care must never leave him. "But pass by the smith's forge and sunny place of dalliance in the winter season, when cold constraineth men from work, wherein a diligent man would prosper his house, lest the helplessness of evil winter overtake thee with poverty, and thou press a swollen foot with a lean hand." To ward off starvation is the meaning of human life.

The cry of anguish was to grow fainter as the new conditions of ~~angrish~~ existence became accepted and normal. But not before men created by peaceful changes and by violent a society no longer embedded in the aboriginal security of tribal bonds. Exchange would eventually rise to importance and produce a functioning market and the institutions of the city state, capable of protecting society against the novel dangers of the market. The transcending significance of Hesiod's poetry lies in its recording of the appearance of exchange elements on the scene of human affairs. Almost contemporaneously with him, Amos, first of the great prophets, was calling down Jehovah's wrath on those who bought and sold the produce of the land. The very fact that Amos challenged the use of different measures for buying and for selling shows that exchange was at proclaimed equivalencies or, as we would say, at controlled prices. By the middle of the 5th century, the temple state of Judah had returned to

redistributive methods, except for subordinate local food markets in Jerusalem. Israel stopped traffic in food and returned to the earlier ways. The Greeks alone went on experimenting with market elements. So far as the historian is able to date changes in the awareness of the human race, it was at this juncture that the 'economic' as a concern of personal existence rose from the deep. For better or worse, a stark force of Nature, the fear of hunger, had been unfettered.

Himself an independent peasant farmer, Hesiod was concerned with the problems of the peasantry. There are also ominous hints at a differentiation in the higher orders of society through the amassing of wealth by the masterful individual outside of tribal relationships. At all levels, the emergence of a still deeply traditionalist individualism was thus the consequence of the passing of the tribal order. The philosophic sections of the poem deal with the problems of conduct raised by this disturbing new feature of life.

Indeed, Greek social history from the Homeric period down to the beginning of the fifth century is mainly the story of the gradual substitution of territorial or neighborhood organization for tribal or blood-tie organization. The replacement of the kin by the neighbor is shown in the following passage of 'Works and Days':

"Call to meet him that loveth thee,
but leave thine enemy alone. And call him
chiefliest who dwell nigh thee. For if
aught untoward happen in the township, the
neighbors come ungirt, the kinsmen gird
themselves."

(342-345)

Personal safety now depends on the neighbor, not on the mutual

protection offered by the clan.

The decline of the clan as the guarantor of livelihood is indicated by this comment on the economic importance of the neighbour:

"An ill neighbour is a bane, even as
a good neighbour is a great blessing. He
who findeth a good neighbour findeth a
precious thing. Not an ox even will perish
if thy neighbour be not bad." (845) 346-348

Few institutions are as deeply rooted in tribal life as marriage; in fact, tribal structures are frequently classified according to the characteristic type of marriage institution. Yet Hesiod, explaining precisely at what age to marry, and what sort of women, advises his brother to "marry a neighbour best of all." (700)

The loosening of the clan tie had begun some time before; tendencies in this direction may be observed in the Odyssey. Telemachus was asked, for example,

"the name by which they were wont to
call thee in thy home, even thy mother and
thy father and other folks beside, the
townsmen and the dwellers round about ...
Tell me too of thy land, thy township, and
thy city ..." VIII, 552).
350-51

By and large, however, the blood-tie remains basic with the Odyssey.

The weakening of the hold of the tribe is indicated in many subtle ways. Blood feud is enjoined, but the revenge is made more personal: he who is hurt should retaliate, not any more the members of the clan by virtue of their relations to the injured party. Even he should fit his action to the circumstances -

"...sin not thou against him first, neither lie for the pleasure of the tongue. Yet if he first sin against thee, whether with unkindly word or with deed, remember thou to pay him twofold: yet if again he would take thee into friendship, and is willing to give thee satisfaction, receive him." (710).
708-12

Not even the tie of brotherhood is excepted:

"let the promised reward of a friend be sure.
And with a smile set a witness even on a brother.
For faith and unfaith are alike the bane of men." (373).
370-372

The new individualism thus disrupts the closest bonds of kinship: for no one should ever be trusted.

The structure of the family itself undergoes a change; Malthusianism is expressly advocated. One son constitutes the desirable family "for so, wealth will increase in the home." (376) Life is still possible if there are two sons; but only if the father manages to grow old. In that case, the advantages of division of labour may outweigh the burden of the fragmentation of the land through inheritance.

One of the great themes of the poem is the injustice of the times. Tribal bonds were wearing thin while feudal bonds had not yet had time to develop. The greed and cruelty of the princes, the helplessness of the individual against their rapacity were equally great. Hesiod describes the callous rich and the helpless state of the poor in magnificent imagery.

"Now I will tell a tale of princes who themselves are wise. Thus spake the hawk to the nightingale of speckled neck, as he bore her far aloft to the clouds in the clutch of his talons, while she, on his crooked talons impaled, made pitiful lament: unto her he spoke masterfully: 'Wretch: wherefore dost thou shriek? Lo! thou art held in the grasp of a stronger. There shalt thou go, even where I carry thee, for all they minstrelsy.

And as I will, I shall make my meal of thee,
 or let thee go. A fool is he who would contend
 with the stronger. He loseth the victory and
 suffereth anguish with his shame. So spake
 the swift-flying hawk, the long-winged bird." (200-210)^{2 2}

The traditional political structure of tribal settlements had been viciously distorted by the "bribe-devouring princes", whose lawlessness was not yet subject even to feudal limitations. The empty forms of chieftainship remained; but meaning and content were gone. The tribal obligations which these forms expressed had faded. Justice became an abstract ideal to be pursued, and was no longer the institutional setting for the life of the tribe.

"There is a noise when Justice is being dragged in the way where those who devour bribes and give sentence with crooked judgments take her." (219) ²²⁰⁻²¹

Politics now is for the wealthy: "little concern hath he with quarrels and courts who has not a year's victuals laid up betimes" -
 a far cry from the popular assembly of tribal Ithaks. (30-31)

The common meal apparently survived as an occasional if somewhat poorly affair; Hesiod must plead: "be not intolerant of common feast when many guests are bidden: greatest the pleasure, and the cost is least." (720)²⁻³.

But the vanishing tribal reciprocity could not be simply transferred from kin to neighbour, from clan to village. In vain does "Works and Days" attempt to base reciprocity on neighbourhood.

"Take just measure from the neighbour and give him just return with the same measure or yet better if thou canst, that even so afterward in thy need thou mayst find him a sure help." (349)-

³⁴⁹⁻⁵¹
 Intexchange of gifts has here been transformed into a somewhat erratic transaction in which interest makes shyly its appearance.

This kind of mutuality is necessarily selective and unpredictable: one must be very careful to whom one gives.

"Love him that loveth thee, and visit him that visiteth thee. And give to him that giveth, and give not to him that giveth not. To the giver one giveth, but none giveth to him that giveth not." (353)

Note the emphasis on the stringent necessity of fully returning a gift: this is in contrast to tribal reciprocity, with its absence of all precise equivalency. One who would all the time give inadequate counter-gifts will be regarded as stingy and perhaps completely lose face - but the gifts must continue, since they are decreed by the situation in which the giver finds himself. Hesiod's version, in fact, more closely resembles the modern idea of personal mutuality than the impersonal but rigidly affective reciprocity of the tribe.

And so Hesiod ends on a note of bitter warning: There may come a day when

"with wife and children in anguish of soul thou seek livelihood among the neighbours and they regard thee not." (396) ³⁹⁹⁻⁴⁰⁰ "For an easy thing it is to say, Give me a team of oxen and a waggon; but easy it is also to refuse: Nine oxen have work to do." (453)

No-one but the individual himself, through unceasing hard work, can avert "debt and joyless hunger": "Whatever be thy lot, work is best." ³¹⁴ "Work...that hunger may ^b ²⁹⁹ abhor thee... For hunger is ever meet companion of the man who will not work." ³⁰¹ (301)

Such a concept of work is strikingly new-- a far cry from the Homeric ethos which knows not, for the freeman, compulsion to work. Hesiod spells it out in so many words that "work is no

311

reproach, the reproach is idleness." (302) Work must be steady and carefully scheduled:

"Neither put off till the morrow nor the day after. The idle man filleth not his barn, neither he that putteth off. Diligence prospereth work, but the man who putteth off ever wrestleth with ruin." (400) 410-413

Independence is understood almost as much in negative as in positive terms. Positively, independence means a full barn, negatively, the avoidance of the loss of one's land, of debt and of hunger. Work, as suggested above, can prevent hunger; proper organization of work can provide a larger measure of independence, in which

"you shall not look to others, but another shall have need of thee." (478)

But the help and good will of the gods themselves is needed to avert the greatest evil, loss of land. Evil deeds must be avoided, and Hesiod warns

"with all thy might do sacrifice to the deathless gods in holy wise and purely, and burn glorious meat offering withal, and at other times do thou propitiate them with libations and with incense, both when thou layest thee to rest and when the holy daylight cometh, that they may have a gracious heart and mind toward thee, and that thou mayest buy the lot¹ of others, not another thine." (335ff) 6 - 341

The meaning of these neatly-phrased alternatives is identical with the Biblical hope that "thou shalt lend to another, and not another to thee."

The economic unit is the small household, members of which should be carefully selected. The danger of having more than one, or at most, two sons was mentioned above. A wife should be chosen with great circumspection, not only to avoid the neighbour's

censure (and one should preferably marry a neighbour), but because

"no better spoil doth a man win than a good wife, even than as a bad wife he winneth no worse -- a gluttonous woman, that roasteth her husband without a bread and giveth him over to untimely age." (703)

703-705

A man should not marry until the age of thirty; first it is necessary to acquire the proper slaves and the proper tools.

"Get a house first and a woman and a ploughing ox--a slave woman, not a wife, who might follow the oxen; and get all gear arranged within the house, lest thou beg of another and he deny thee and thou go lacking..." (404)

*Inclaire
1952*

This slave should have ⁴⁰⁵⁻⁸ children (602). Besides the slave-girl, Hesiod suggests a male slave of forty, since he will be interested in his work rather than in his friends. (441 66)

(ND)

In such a small household, not a moment can be wasted throughout the year if the struggle against debt and hunger is to be won: the idle man "garnereth many sorrows for his soul." Preparations for the winter begin in summer.

"Declare thou to thy thralls while it is still midsummer: It will not be summer always; build ye barns." (502)

But winter is no time for relaxation, either: Hesiod warns his brother to shun the smithy, where men gather. And the public assembly (agora) must be avoided at all times; for "little time hath he for wrangling and contention who hath not laid up at home store of food for the year." (30)

Besides work, thrift is enjoined: this is a completely new idea. Wealth previously was acquired by fraud, violence, or gifts - and that, overnight, Hesiod not only risks the paradox

that fraud and violence are the wrong way of acquiring wealth, but also says that "if thou addest but little to little and doest it often, soon will even that be great" (361) ^{361-v} Rarely, in economic history, has a departure of great consequence been put in simpler terms.

Yet another new chord is struck by Hesiod: competition serves as a stimulus to work, clearly playing an economic role in Greek society for the first time. Hesiod has trouble describing this new phenomenon. He observes in the very beginning of the poem that there are two kinds of strife on earth, one of which is to be praised, the other "a thing of reproach", which increases evil war and contention. The new kind is "the elder child of black night", who "stirreth even the helpless to labour. For even when he that hath no business looketh on him that is rich, he hasteth to plow and to plant and to array his house: and neighbour vieth with neighbour hasting to be rich: good is this strife for man. So potter with potter contendeth: the hewer of wood with the hewer of wood: the beggar is jealous of the beggar, the minstrel jealous of the minstrel." (12-25) ¹¹⁻⁷⁶

Trade is, of course, in evidence, but certainly not as a force in peasant life. Hesiod distinguished two forms of trade, neither of which are very desirable in his eyes. The one he refers to simply as "sea-faring"; this is limited to an occasional bartering of surplus by coasting along the shore in a small ship, in the proper season.

"Howbeit, if desire of uncomfortable sea-faring seize thee -- when the Pleiades, fleeing the mighty strength of Orion, plunge into the misty deep, then do blow the blasts of all winds:

then keep thou no more the ship upon the
 wine-dark sea, but mind thee to till the
 soil as I bid thee, and draw the ship on
 land and cover it about with stones to keep
 off the violence of wet winds... And thyself
 await the coming of the sailing season, and
 then hale the ship to the sea, and therein
 bestow the cargo, that thou mayst bring
 profit home. ... Praise thou the small vessel,
 but set thy goods in a large. Greater the
 cargo, and greater the gain upon gain will
 be, if the winds refrain their evil blasts."
 (619 ff).

The other form, which he specifically calls trading ⁽³⁾ (emporion),
 would appear to be more of an occupational affair. Even this is
 not a regular occupation, but only a last resort for the unfortunate.

"If ever you turn your misguided heart
 to trading and wish to escape from debt
 and joyless hunger, I will show you the
 measures of the loud-roaring sea, though
 I have no skill in sea-faring nor in ships." (646)

In any case, the season for trading is very limited. The only
 time which Hesiod approves of at all is July and August; unless
 Poseidon is determined, it is possible to escape death during
 that period, but one must be sure to return before the autumn
 winds. Those who are really desperate sail during the spring
 also, but Hesiod warns against it.

"Such a sailing is snatched, and you will
 hardly avoid mischief. Yet in their ignorance
 men do even this, for wealth means life to poor
 mortals; but it is fearful to die among the
 waves." (665)

Only a small part of one's goods should be carried on any voyage,
 because of the risks.

- 1 The relation of this small-scale landholding to the older tribal redistribution of land is clear: the word klaxos is used here.
- 2 This is the first instance in which agoria is used in the sense of trade. H. Hering, Agoria, p. 13.

p. 9

*only
change last
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The Hesiodic age: Tribal decay

"For the gods have hidden the livelihood of men"
(Hesiod: Works and Days)

A new world ignored by the epics comes into view in the works of Hesiod, the eighth century Boeotian poet. It has endured unchanged to the present, at least in wide regions of the planet. This is the world of the independent peasant householder: fiercely individualistic, moralistic, superstitious, ever complaining and thrifty.

1000

In perspective, "Works and Days" is a documentary manifestation of the birth of the isolated individual - a painfully anxious figure in tribal society. For with the independent peasant a bitter ingredient accrues to the existence of the vast majority of men: individual concern for livelihood. It reflects the novel threat of lonely starvation, a contradiction in terms under tribal conditions. Its specter haunts the glorious rhythms of 'Works and Days' and invests them with an eerie note of prophecy.

Eduard Meyer, recognized the identity of technique used in the poetic construction of "Works and Days" and the Book of Hosea. Hesiod's troubles with his brother, foolish Perses, over the family inheritance are paralleled by Hosea's matrimonial miseries; the personal note introduces an agricultural almanac here, a foreign policy tract there. But as to prophetic content, *the Hesiodic poem is nearer to the driving out of Adam from the Garden of Eden.* For with the decay of the tribe a new kind of

uncertainty, that of the livelihood of man, is born, which gnaws at the core of existence while forcing into being, even if in an uncouth form, an element latent in the human frame: personality. Under tribal conditions economic fate had been collective, not individual; when it shifted with the turn of the pastures, the run of the seasons, the favor of sun, wind and rain, it shifted for all. Henceforth it was to become a fearful companion of the individual, who could rely no longer on the traditional tissue of redistribution and reciprocity to keep stark hunger away.

Hesiod discovered hunger as a part of the human condition. In the *Odyssey*, the pressing need for food makes its appearance only on the fringes of the community. It is a shameful event which befalls the outcast, the out-of-town beggar, the unaccepted guest. The urgency of its animal impulses stamps the owner of the belly a man sens kin, law and hearth. 'To belong' is to get one's food in the natural course of things; not 'to belong' is to be concerned for one's food. Apart from the whine of the warrior doomed to die at the hands of the victorious foe; the laments of the wandering hero whose return home is cut off by a god's spite no outcry is as bitter as the hungry man's cursing of his belly which betrays his shame by its craving for food. The arrival of a stranger, guest or wanderer is conventionally staged in the *Odyssey* as a step-by-step change from the wretched individual denouncing his belly to his eventually being welcomed and encouraged freely to partake of the offered food as it would not be grudged to him however much he decided to eat.

With Hesiod this peripheric figure of Homeric court poetry moves to the center of the scene. The spectre of hunger is ever present in the unfolding picture of the people's life. Though he registers realistically the symptoms of tribal decay, Hesiod himself was too close to the underlying process of dissolution to understand it in natural terms. Hence the mystery of the doom, the finality and the unspeakable horror of the Iron Age. How was man thrown back upon himself for his nourishment? Had (in Hesiod's words) Zeus in his anger hid the bread of life, for that Prometheus of Crooked council had deceived him? "For the gods have hidden the livelihood of men!" Man is alone, and care must never leave him. "But pass by the smith's forge and sunny place of dalliance in the winter season, when cold constraineth men from work, wherein a diligent man would prosper his house, lest the helplessness of evil winter overtake thee with poverty, and thou press a swollen foot with a lean hand." To ward off starvation is the meaning of human life.

Hesiod's poetry records the first appearance of isolated households on the scene of human affairs; very soon corn would have to be bought and sold. Almost contemporaneously with him, Amos, first of the great prophets, was calling down Jehovah's wrath on those who bought and sold the produce of the land. But the temple state of Judah had by the middle of the 5th century returned to redistributive methods, except for subordinate local food markets in Jerusalem. Israel stopped traffic in food and returned to the earlier ways. The Greeks alone went on experimenting with market elements. So far as the historian is able to date changes in the awareness of the human race, it was

In Hesiod's Greece that the 'economic' as a concern of personal existence rose from the deep. For better or worse, a stark force of Nature, the fear of hunger, had been unfettered.

The historicity of the Hesiodic age lies in the conjuncture of two otherwise disparate events in a definite time and place: the one a political catastrophe, the other a technological revolution. The effects of the Dorian invasion of Greece and those of the coming of iron combined to make Hesiod's verse so poignant an expression of pain and horror. The Dorians had destroyed the Mycenaean civilization, its arts and crafts, as well as its order, justice and administration; about the turn of the millennium Central Greece was a heap of ruins and the Dark Ages were on. A century or two later the spread of iron tools and weapons began in many subtle ways to degrade men's lives in war and work. The incidence of this slow technological change that centered on the Western Caucasus and maybe the Eastern Alps, made itself felt in Greece in the opening centuries of the first millennium B.C., gripping one geographical area and sphere of human activity after another, with unexpected results, comparable in their violent impact only to that of the so-called Industrial Revolution, some 25 centuries later. For reasons that we can not yet trace with precision, the growing use of hardened iron appeared nefariously to intensify some processes of everyday life, outweighing by much the liberating effects for which, in spite of all, the modern machine remains conspicuous. War was the one, agriculture the other realm revolutionized by the iron age. An entirely new kind of discipline seems to have been forced upon tillers of the soil. With the growing of corn outside of irrigated areas, where, after all, several harvests made for abundance. Stripped of its poetic glamour "Works and Days" is an almanac of heartbreaking drudgery, spelt out in strident

notes of warning to such as are unremittingly toiling on the land. It is the record of some unique and cruel change that has interfered with the natural flow of life as lived by pastoralists, hoe gardeners or semi-nomadic crop-snatching folk. To tend animals and to grow plants is one thing; to depend for subsistence on the harvesting of corn from poor soil is another. The free man, labouring on his own land, had fallen into an almost unbearable form of servitude to the soil. It communicated to him its dictates through the rigour with which the procession of the seasons and of plant life laid down the law to him. This fierce regime of constraint was exacerbated by the whims of the weather which trapped him into the eternal vigil of an humiliating uncertainty. Man who has become the servant of the machine is well understood ~~now~~ as a modern problem; what we have forgotten, is his subjection to Nature in the early forms of agriculture.

Such were the forces which may have been responsible for that long ebb-tide of Greek life of which the deathless dirge Hesiod has bequeathed to us. Thus did it come to pass that the loosening of the clan tie which the political and military upheavals precipitated, did not release that more ample flow of life which as a rule accompanies the transition from tribalism to feudalism. Recollections of a glorious past and the continued advance of culture overseas created, on the contrary, an almost insufferable sense of desolation and despair.

Himself an independent peasant farmer, Hesiod was concerned with the political and social problems of the peasantry, above all with the growing insecurity of the prospects of the individual's livelihood, the dangers of indebtedness and consequent loss of land, to his luckier neighbour. There are ominous hints at a differentiation also in the higher orders of society through the amassing of wealth by the masterful

individual outside of tribal relationships. The emergence of an individualism, however traditionalist, was thus the consequence of the passing of the tribal orders. The rich peasant enslaves the poorer, the princely robber holds sway over tribal chiefs. The philosophic sections of the poem deal with the problems of

conduct raised by this disturbing new feature of life.

Greek social history from the Homeric period down to the beginning of the fifth century is mainly the story of neighbour gradually replacing kin.

Call to meet him that loveth thee,
but leave thine enemy alone. And call him
chiefliest who dwell nigh thee. For if
sught untoward happen in the township, the
neighbors come ungirt, the kinsmen gird
themselves.

Personal safety now depends on the neighbor, not on the mutual protection offered by the clan.

The good neighbor is an economic asset:

An ill neighbor is a bane, even as
a good neighbor is a great blessing. He
who findeth a good neighbor findeth a
precious thing. Not an ox even will perish
if thy neighbor be not bad. (345)

Few institutions are as deeply rooted in tribal life as marriage; in fact, marriage order is tribal order. Yet Hesiod, explaining precisely at what age to marry, and what sort of woman, advises his brother to "marry a neighbor best of all." (700)

Only gradually does the neighbor take the place of the kinsman. In the *Odyssey* Telemachos is asked

the name by which they were wont to call
thee in thy home, even thy mother and thy
father and other folks beside, the townsmen
and the dwellers round about ... Tell me
too of thy land, thy township, and thy city ...
(VIII, 552).

Yet by and large the blood-tie still prevails.

With Hesiod the hold of the tribe weakens, but its lingering comes in for many subtle ambiguities. Blood feud is enjoined, but the revenge is made more personal: he who is hurt should retaliate, not any more the members of the clan by virtue of their relations to the injured party. But even the injured man should fit his action to the circumstances -

...sin not thou against him first, neither lie for the pleasure of the tongue. Yet if he first sin against thee, whether with unkindly word or with deed, remember thou to pay him twofold: yet if again he would take thee into friendship, and is willing to give thee satisfaction, receive him. (710).

Not even the tie of brotherhood is excepted:

let the promised reward of a friend be sure.
And with a smile set a witness even on a brother.
For faith and unfaith are alike the bane of men. (373)

The new individualism disrupts the closest bonds of kinship: no one should ever be trusted.

The structure of the family itself undergoes a change; Malthusianism is expressly advocated. One son constitutes the desirable family "for so, wealth will increase in the home." (376) Life is still possible if there are two sons; but only if the father manages to grow old. In that case, the advantages of division of labour may outweigh the burden of the fragmentation of the land through inheritance.

One of the great themes of the poem is the injustice of the times. Tribal bonds were wearing thin while feudal bonds had not yet had time to develop. The greed and cruelty of the princes, the helplessness of the individual against their rapacity were equally great. Hesiod describes the callous rich

and the helpless state of the poor in magnificent imagery.

Now I will tell a tale of princess who themselves are wise. Thus spake the hawk to the nightingale of speckled neck, as he bore her far aloft to the clouds in the clutch of his talons, while she, on his crooked talons impaled, made pitiful lament: unto her he spake masterfully: 'Wretch: whersfore dost thou shriek? Lo! thou art held in the grasp of a stronger. There shalt thou go, even where I carry thee, for all they minstrelsy. And as I will, I shall make my meal of thee, or let thee go. A fool is he who would contend with the stronger. He loseth the victory and suffereth anguish with his aa shame.' So spake the swift-flying hawk, the long-winged bird. (200-210)

The traditional political structure of tribal settlements had been viciously distorted by the "gift-devouring princes", who now failed to return the law and justice that was their responsibility. The empty forms of chieftainship remained; but meaning and content were gone. The tribal obligations which those forms expressed had faded. Justice became an abstract ideal to be pursued, and was no longer the institutional setting for the life of the tribe.

There is a noise when Justice is being dragged in the way where those who devour bribes and give sentence with crooked judgments take her. (219)

Politics now is for the wealthy: "little concern hath he with quarrels and courts who has not a year's victuals laid up betimes" - gone and forgotten is the popular assembly of tribal Ithaca.

The common meal apparently survived as an occasional if somewhat poorly affair; Hesiod must plead: "be not intolerant of common feast when many guests are bidden: greatest the pleasure, and the cost is least." (720).

But the vanishing tribal reciprocity could not be simply transferred from kin to neighbour, from clan to village. In vain

does "Works and Days" attempt to base reciprocity on neighbourhood.

Take just measure from the neighbour and
give him just return with the same measure or
yet better if thou canst, that even so after-
ward in thy need thou mayest find him a sure
help. (24)

Interchange of gifts has here been transformed into a somewhat erratic transaction in which interest shyly makes its appearance. This kind of mutuality is necessarily selective and unpredictable: one must be very careful to whom one gives.

Love him that loveth thee, and visit him
that visiteth thee. And give to him that
giveth, and give not to him that giveth not.
To the giver one giveth, but none giveth to
him that giveth not. (363)

Note the emphasis on the stringent necessity of fully returning a gift: this is in contrast to tribal reciprocity, with its absence of all precise equivalency. One who would all the time give inadequate counter-gifts will be regarded as stingy and perhaps completely lose face - but the gifts must continue, since they are decreed by the situation in which the giver finds himself. Hesiod's version, in fact, more closely resembles the modern idea of personal mutuality than the impersonal but rigidly effective reciprocity of the tribe.

And so Hesiod ends on a note of bitter warning: There may come a day when

with wife and children in anguish of soul
thou seek livelihood among the neighbours and
they regard thee not. (396) ... For an easy
thing it is to say, Give me a team of oxen and
a waggon; but easy it is also to refuse: Mine
oxen have work to do. (453)

No-one but the individual himself, through unceasing hard work, can avert "debt and joyless hunger": "Whatever be thy lot,

work is best." "Work ...that hunger may abhor thee...
For hunger is ever meet companion of the man who will not
work." (301)

Such a concept of work is strikingly new-- a far cry
from the Homeric ethos which knows not, for the freeman,
compulsion to work. Hesiod spells it out in so many words
that "work is no reproach, the reproach is idleness." (302)
Work must be steady and carefully scheduled:

Neither put off till the morrow nor the
day after. The idle man filleth not his barn,
neither he that putteth off. Diligence prospereth
work, but the man who putteth off ever wrestleth
with rain. (400)

Independence is understood almost as much in negative as
in positive terms. Positively, independence means a full barn,
negatively, the avoidance of the loss of one's land, of debt
and of hunger. Work, as suggested above, can prevent hunger;
proper organization of work can provide a larger measure of
independence, in which

you shall not look to others, but another
shall have need of thee. (476)

But the help and good will of the gods themselves is needed to
avert the greatest evil, loss of land. Evil deeds must be
avoided, and Hesiod warns

With all thy might do sacrifices to the
deathless gods in holy wise and purely, and
burn glorious meat offering withal, and at
other times do thou propitiate them with
libations and with incense, both when thou
layest thee to rest and when the holy Daylight
cometh, that they may have a gracious heart
and mind toward thee, and that thou mayest
buy the lot of others, not another thing. (335ff) 1

The meaning of these neatly-phrased alternatives is identical with the Biblical hope that "thou shalt lend to another, and not another to thee."

The economic unit is the small household, members of which should be carefully selected. The danger of having more than one, or at most, two sons was mentioned above. A wife should be chosen with great circumspection, not only to avoid the neighbour's censure (and one should preferably marry a neighbour), but because

no better spell doth a man win than a good wife, even than as a bad wife he winneth no worse -- a gluttonous woman, that roaseth her husband without a bread and giveth him over to untimely age. (703)

A man should not marry until the age of thirty; first it is necessary to acquire the proper servants and the proper tools.

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This woman should have no children (602). Beside her, Hesiod suggests a male servant of forty, since he will be interested in his work rather than in his friends.

In such a small household, not a moment can be wasted throughout the year if the struggle against debt and hunger is to be won: the idle man "gernereth many sorrows for his soul." Preparations for the winter begin in summer.

Declare thou to thy thralls while it is still midsummer: It will not be summer always; build ye barns. (502)

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brother to shun the smithy, where men gather. And the public assembly (agora) must be avoided at all times; for "little time hath he for wrangling and contention who hath not laid up at home store of food for the year." (30)

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retain the privilege of being regarded as the best, or at least the best liked. Hesiod's ^{own} minstrelsy was ~~of course~~ the famed prototype of this kind of strife.

Trade is, of course, in evidence, but certainly not as a force in peasant life. Hesiod distinguished two forms of trade, neither of which are very desirable in his eyes. The one he refers to simply as "sea-faring"; this is limited to an occasional bartering of surplus by coasting along the shore in a small ship, in the proper season.

Howbeit, if desire of uncomfortable sea-faring seize thee -- when the Pleiades, fleeing the mighty strength of Orion, plunge into the misty deep, then do blow the blasts of all winds: then keep thou no more the ship upon the wine-dark sea, but mind thee to till the soil as I bid thee, and draw the ship on land and cover it about with stones to keep off the violence of wet winds... And thyself await the coming of the sailing season, and then hale the ship to the sea, and therein bestow the cargo, that thou mayest bring profit home. ...Praise thou the small vessel, but set thy goods in a large. Greater the cargo, and greater the gain upon gain will be, if the winds refrain their evil blasts. (619 ff)

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Such a sailing is snatched, and you will hardly avoid mischief. Yet in their ignorance men do even this, for wealth means life to poor mortals; but it is fearful to die among the waves. (685)

Only a small part of one's goods should be carried on any voyage, because of the risks.

Footnotes -

1. Loss of land involves loss of status. The origin of the small scale ancestral holding in the tribal redistribution of land is clear: the word kleros is used here.
2. This is the first instance in which emporion is employed in the sense of trade. H. Knorringer, Emporos, p. 13.

CHAPTER II

THE HESIODIC AGE: TRIBAL DECAY

"For the gods have hidden the livelihood of men."
 (Hesiod, Works and Days)

A world ignored by the epics comes into view in the works of Hesiod, the seventh century Boeotian poet. It has endured unchanged to the present, at least in wide regions of the planet. This is the world of the independent peasant householder; fiercely individualistic, moralistic, superstitious, ever complaining, and thrifty.

In perspective, Works and Days is a documentary manifestation of the birth of the isolated individual -- a painfully anomalous figure in tribal society. A bitter ingredient accrues to the existence of the vast majority of men: individual concern for livelihood. It reflects the novel threat of lonely starvation, a contradiction in terms under tribal conditions. Its specter haunts the glorious rhythms of Works and Days and invests them with an eerie note of prophecy.

With the decay of the tribe a new kind of uncertainty is born, which gnaws at the core of existence while forcing into being, even if in an uncouth form, an element latent in the human frame: personality. Under tribal conditions economic fate had been collective, not individual; when it shifted with the turn of the pastures, the run of the seasons, the favor of sun, wind and rain, it shifted for all. Henceforth it was to become a fearful companion of the individual, who could rely no longer on the traditional tissue of redistribution and reciprocity to keep stark

hunger away.

Hesiod discovered hunger as a part of the human condition. In the Odyssey, the pressing need for food makes its appearance only on the fringes of the community. It is a shameful event which befalls the outcast, the out-of-town beggar, the unaccepted guest. The urgency of its animal impulses stamps the owner of the belly a man sans kin, law, and hearth. "To belong" is to get one's food in the natural course of things; "not to belong" is to be concerned for one's food. Apart from the whine of the warrior doomed to die at the hands of the victorious foe, ^{or} the laments of the wandering hero whose return home is cut off by a god's spite, no outcry is as bitter as the hungry man's cursing of his belly which betrays his shame by its craving for food. The arrival of a stranger, guest, or wanderer is conventionally staged in the Odyssey as a step-by-step change from the wretched individual denouncing his belly to his eventually being welcomed and encouraged freely to partake of the offered food as it would not be grudged to him however much he decided to eat.

Though Hesiod registers realistically the symptoms of tribal decay, he was too close to the underlying process of dissolution to understand it in natural terms. Hence the mystery of the doom, the finality, and the unspeakable horror of the Iron Age. How was man thrown back upon himself for his nourishment? Had (in Hesiod's words) Zeus in his anger hid the bread of life, for that Prometheus of crooked counsel had deceived him? "For the gods have hidden the livelihood of men!" Man is alone, and care must never leave him. "Pass by the smithy and its crowded lounge in winter time, when the cold keeps men from field work ---

for then an industrious man can greatly prosper his house -- lest bitter winter catch you helpless and poor, and you chafe a swollen foot with a shrunk hand." (493-97) To ward off starvation is the meaning of human life.

Hesiod's poetry records the appearance of isolated households on the scene of human affairs; there is no mention of common pasture; soon grain would be bought and sold. Almost contemporaneously with him, Amos, first of the great prophets, was calling down Jehovah's wrath on those who bought and sold the produce of the land. But by the middle of the fifth century the temple state of Judah had returned to redistributive methods, except for subordinate local food markets in Jerusalem. Israel stopped traffic in food and returned to the earlier ways. Some Greeks alone went on experimenting with market elements. So far as the historian is able to date changes in the awareness of the human race, it was in Hesiod's Greece that the "economic" as a concern of personal existence rose from the deep. For better or worse, a stark force of nature, the fear of hunger, had been unfettered.

Historically, the somber horror of the Hesiodic age probably lay in the conjuncture of two extraneous and otherwise disparate events, the one a political catastrophe, the other a technological revolution. The effects of the Dorian invasion and of the coming of iron combined to make his verse pregnant of ultimate despair. The Dorians had destroyed civilization, its arts and crafts as well as its order, justice, and administration; about the turn of the millennium central Greece must have been a heap of ruins; the Dark Ages were on. A century or two later the spread of iron tools and weapons began in many subtle ways to degrade men's lives

in war and work. The incidence of this slow technological change that centered on the western Caucasus and maybe the eastern Alps, made itself felt in Greece in the opening centuries of the first millenium B. C., gripping one geographical area and sphere of human activity after another. The effects were extremely varied and comparable in their violent impact only to that of the Industrial Revolution some twenty-five centuries later. For reasons that we cannot yet trace with precision, the growing use of hardened iron appeared in many cases nefariously to intensify some processes of everyday life, outweighing the liberating effects for which, in spite of all, the modern machine remains conspicuous. Thus war was the one, agriculture the other realm revolutionized by the spread of iron instruments and tools. An entirely new kind of discipline seems to have been forced upon tillers of the soil, with the growing of grain outside of irrigated areas, where no iron-edged plow was needed and several harvests made for abundance. Stripped of its poetic glamor, Works and Days is an almanac of heartbreaking drudgery, spelled out in strident notes of warning to such as are fated unremittingly to toil on the land. It is the record of some cruel change that has interfered with the natural flow of life as lived by pastoralists, hoe gardeners or semi-nomadic crop-snatching folk. To tend animals and to grow plants is one thing; to depend for subsistence on the harvesting of grain from poor soil is another. The free man, laboring on his own land, had fallen into an almost unbearable form of servitude to the soil. It communicated to him its dictates through the rigor with which the procession of the seasons and of plant life laid down the law to him. This fierce regime of constraint was exacerbated by the whims of the weather which trapped him into the eternal

vigil of a humiliating uncertainty. Man who has become the servant of the machine is well understood as a modern problem; what we have forgotten is his subjection to nature in the early forms of agriculture.

Such may have been the forces responsible for that long ebb-tide of Greek life of which Hesiod has bequeathed to us the dirge. The loosening of the clan tie, which the political and military upheavals precipitated, in no way released that more ample flow of life which sometimes accompanies the successful transition from a purely tribal organization to all-round feudalism. The dim recollections of a glorious past and the continued advance of culture overseas may have created, on the contrary, an almost insufferable sense of desolation.

Himself an independent peasant farmer, Hesiod was concerned with the political and social problems of the peasantry, above all with the growing insecurity of the prospects of the individual's livelihood, the dangers of indebtedness, and consequent loss of land, to his luckier neighbor. There are ominous hints at a differentiation also in the higher orders of society through the amassing of wealth by the masterful individual outside of tribal relationships. The emergence of a crude individualism, however traditionalist, was the consequence of the passing of the tribal order. The rich peasant ensorfs the poorer, the princely robber holds sway over tribal chiefs. The philosophic sections of the poem deal with the problems of conduct raised by this disturbing new feature of life.

We repeat: Greek social history from the Homeric age down to the beginning of the fifth century B. C. is mainly the story of the village neighbor and citizen gradually replacing kin. Somewhere on this continuum the peasant had to ask himself, who now was friend, who foe?

Call your friend to a feast; but leave your enemy alone; and especially call him who lives near you: For if any mischief happen in the place, neighbors come un-girt, but kinsmen stay to gird themselves. (342-45)

Personal safety now depends on the neighbor, not on the mutual protection offered by the clan.

The good neighbor is an economic asset:

A bad neighbor is as great a plague as a good one is a great blessing; he who enjoys a good neighbor has a precious possession. Not even an ox would die but for a bad neighbor. (346-48)

Few institutions are as deeply rooted in tribal life as marriage; in fact, marriage order is tribal order. Yet Hesiod, explaining precisely at what age to marry, and what sort of woman, advises his brother: "and especially marry one who lives near you" (700).

Only very gradually does the neighbor take the place of the kinsman. Already in the Odyssey Telemachus is asked

the name by which they were wont to call thee in thy home, even thy mother and thy father and other folk beside, the townsmen and the dwellers round about....And tell me thy country, thy people, and thy city....
(VIII, 550-55)

Yet by and large for the aristocracy the blood-tie still prevails.

With Hesiod the hold of the tribe weakens, but its lingering comes in for many subtle ambiguities. Blood feud is enjoined, but the revenge is made more personal: he who is hurt should retaliate, not any more the members of the clan by virtue of their relations to the injured party. But even the injured man should fit his action to the circumstances:

...do not wrong him first, and do not lie to please the tongue. But if he wrong you first, offending either in word or in deed, remember to

repay him double; but if he ask you to be his friend again and be ready to give you satisfaction, welcome him. (708-12)

Not even the tie of brotherhood is excepted:

Let the wage promised to a friend be fixed, even with your brother — and get a witness; for trust and mistrust alike ruin men. (370-72)

The new individualism disrupts the closest bonds of kinship: no one should ever be trusted.

The structure of the family itself undergoes a change; Malthusianism is expressly advocated. One son constitutes the desirable family, "for so wealth will increase in the home" (376). Life is still possible if there are two sons; but only if the father manages to grow old. In that case, the advantages of division of labor may outweigh the burden of the fragmentation of the land through inheritance.

One of the great themes of the poem is the injustice of the times. Tribal bonds were wearing thin while feudal bonds had not yet had time to develop. The greed and cruelty of the princes, the helplessness of the individual against their rapacity were equally great. Hesiod describes the callous rich and the helpless state of the poor in magnificent imagery.

And now I will tell a fable for princes who themselves understand. Thus said the hawk to the nightingale with speckled neck, while he carried her high up among the clouds, gripped fast in his talons, and she, pierced by his crooked talons, cried pitifully. To her he spoke disdainfully: "Miserable thing, why do you cry out? One far stronger than you now holds you fast, and you must go wherever I take you, songstress as you are. And if I please, I will make my meal of you, or let you go. He is a fool who tries to withstand the stronger, for he does not get the mastery and

suffers pain besides his shame." So said the
swiftly flying hawk, the long-winged bird. (202-12)

The traditional political structure of tribal settlements had been viciously distorted by the "gift-devouring princes," who now failed to return the law and justice that was their responsibility. The empty forms of chieftainship remained; but meaning and content were gone. The tribal obligations which those forms expressed had faded. Justice became an abstract ideal to be pursued, and was no longer the institutional setting for the life of the tribe.

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dragged in the way where those who devour
bribes and give sentence with crooked judgments take her. (220-21)

Politics now is for the wealthy: "Little concern has he with quarrels and courts (agorai) who has not a year's victuals laid up betimes" (30-31) — gone and forgotten is the popular assembly of tribal Ithaca.

The common meal apparently survived as an occasional if somewhat poorly affair; Hesiod must plead: "Do not be boorish at a common feast where there are many guests; the pleasure is greatest and the expense is least" (722-23).

But the vanishing tribal reciprocity could not be simply transferred from kin to neighbor, from clan to village. In vain does Works and Days attempt to base reciprocity on neighborhood.

Take fair measures from your neighbor and pay
him back fairly with the same measure, or better, if
thou can; so that if you are in need afterwards, you
may find him sure. (349-51)

Interchange of gifts has here been transformed into a somewhat erratic transaction in which interest shyly makes its appearance. This

kind of mutuality is necessarily selective and unpredictable: one must be very careful to whom one gives.

Be friends with the friendly, and visit him who visits you. Give to one who gives, but do not give to one who does not give. A man gives to the free-handed, but no one gives to the close-fisted. (353-55)

Note the emphasis on the stringent necessity of fully returning a gift: this is in contrast to tribal reciprocity, with its absence of all precise equivalency. There one who would all the time give inadequate counter-gifts would be regarded as stingy and perhaps completely lose face — but the gifts must continue, since they are decreed by the situation in which the giver finds himself. Hesiod's version, in fact, more closely resembles the modern idea of personal mutuality than the impersonal but rigidly effective reciprocity of the tribe.

And so Hesiod ends on a note of bitter warning: There may come a day when

In bitter anguish of spirit you, with your wife and children seek your livelihood amongst your neighbors, and they do not heed you. (399-400)

For it is easy to say: "Give me a yoke of oxen and a wagon," and it is easy to refuse: "I have work for my oxen." (453-54)

No one but the individual himself, through unceasing hard work, can avert "debt and joyless hunger": "And whatever be your lot, work is best for you." (314)"Work that hunger may hate you...for hunger is altogether a meet companion for the sluggard." (299-302)

Such a concept of work is strikingly new — a far cry from the Homeric ethos which knows not, for the truly free, compulsion to work. Hesiod spells it out in so many words that "work is no disgrace: it is

idleness which is a disgrace." (311). Work must be steady and carefully scheduled:

Do not put your work off till tomorrow and the day after; for a sluggish worker does not fill his barn, nor one who puts off his work: industry makes work go well, but a man who puts off work is always at hand-grips with ruin. (410-13)

Independence is understood almost as much in negative as in positive terms. Positively, independence means a full barn; negatively, the avoidance of the loss of one's land, the avoidance of debt and of hunger. Work, as suggested above, can prevent hunger; proper organization of work can provide a larger measure of independence, in which

you...will not look wistfully to others, but another shall be in need of your help. (477-78)

But the help and good will of the gods themselves is needed to avert the greatest evil, loss of land. Evil deeds must be avoided, and Hesiod warns,

As far as you are able, sacrifice to the deathless gods purely and cleanly, and burn rich meats, and at other times propitiate them with libations and incense, both when you go to bed and when the holy light has come back, that they may be gracious to you in heart and spirit, and so you may buy another's holding and not another yours. (336-41)

The meaning of these neatly-phrased alternatives is identical with the Biblical hope that "thou shalt lend to another, and not another to thee."

The economic unit is the small household, members of which should be carefully selected. The danger of having more than one, or at most two, sons was mentioned above. A wife should be chosen with great circumspection, not only to avoid the neighbor's censure (and one should preferably marry a neighbor), but because

...a man wins nothing better than a good wife,
and again, nothing worse than a bad one, a greedy soul
who roasts her man without fire, strong though he may
be, and brings him to a raw old age. (702-05)

A man should not marry until the age of thirty; first it is neces-
sary to acquire the proper servants and the proper tools.

First of all, get a house, and a woman, and an ox for
the ploughing -- a slave woman and not a wife, to follow
the oxen as well -- and make everything ready at home, so
that you may not have to ask of another, and he refuse you,
and so...you are in lack..." (405-08)

This woman should have no children (602). Besides her, Hesiod
suggests a male servant of forty, since he will be interested in his work
rather than in his friends.

In such a small household, not a moment can be wasted throughout
the year if the struggle against debt and hunger is to be won: the idle
man "garnereth many sorrows for his soul." Preparations for the winter
begin in summer.

While it is yet midsummer, command your slaves:
"It will not always be summer, build barns." (502-03)

But winter is no time for relaxation, either: Hesiod warns his brother to
shun the smithy, where men gather. And the public assembly (agora) must
be avoided at all times; for "little concern has he with quarrels and
courts who has not a year's victuals laid up betimes" (30-31).

Besides work, thrift is enjoined: this was an entirely novel idea.
Wealth had been acquired by fraud, violence, or gifts. Yet Hesiod not
only risks the paradox that fraud and violence are the wrong way of ac-
quiring wealth, but also says that "if you add only a little to a little
and this often, soon that little will become great" (361-62). Rarely
in economic history has a departure of great consequence been put in

simpler terms.

Still another new chord is struck by Hesiod: competition serves as a stimulus to work, clearly playing an economic role in Greek society for the first time. Hesiod has trouble describing this new phenomenon. He observes in the very beginning of the poem that there are two kinds of strife on earth, one of which is to be praised, the other "blameworthy," increasing evil war and contention. The new kind is "the elder daughter of dark Night," who "stirs up even the shiftless to toil; for a man grows eager to work when he considers his neighbor, a rich man who hastens to plow and plant and put his house in good order: and neighbor vies with his neighbor as he hurries after wealth. Strife is wholesome for man. And potter is angry with potter, and craftsman with craftsman, and beggar is jealous of beggar, and minstrel of minstrel" (12-25). None was offering to underbid his competitor. Each wished to excel in prowess, to retain the privilege of being regarded as the best, or at least the best liked. Hesiod's own minstrelsy was the famed prototype of this kind of strife.

Trade is, of course, in evidence, but certainly not as a force in peasant life. Hesiod distinguished two forms of trade, neither of which is very desirable in his eyes. The one he refers to simply as "seafaring"; this is limited to an occasional bartering of surplus by coasting along the shore in a small ship, in the proper season.

But if desire for uncomfortable seafaring seize you when the Pleiades plunge into the misty sea to escape Orion's rude strength, then truly gales of all kinds rage. Then keep ships no longer on the sparkling sea, but bethink you to till the land as I bid you. Haul your ship up on the land and pack it closely with stones all round to keep off

the power of the winds....You yourself wait until the season for sailing is come, and then haul your swift ship down to the sea, and bestow a convenient cargo in it so that you may bring home profit....Admire a small ship, but put your freight in a large one; for the greater the lading the greater will be your piled gain, if only the winds will keep back their harmful gales.
(618-45)

The other form, which he specifically calls trading (emporía),¹ would appear to be more of an occupational affair. Even this is not a regular occupation, but only a last resort for the unfortunate.

If ever you turn your misguided heart to trading and wish to escape from debt and joyless hunger, I will show you the measures of the loud-roaring seas, though I have no skill in sea-faring nor in ships. (646-49)

In any case, the season for sea-faring is very limited. The only time which Hesiod approves of at all is July and August; unless Poseidon is determined, it is possible to escape death during that period, but one must be sure to return before the autumn winds. Those who are really desperate sail during the spring also, but Hesiod warns against it.

Such a sailing is snatched, and you will hardly avoid mischief. Yet in their ignorance men do even this, for wealth means life to poor mortals; but it is fearful to die among the waves. (684-87)

Only a small part of one's good should be carried on any^{one} voyage, because of the risks.

Footnote to Ch. II.

1. This is the first instance in which emporía is employed in the sense of trade. H. Knorringer: Emporia, p. 13.

CHAPTER II

THE HESIODIC AGE: TRIBAL DECAY

"For the gods have hidden the livelihood of men."
 (Hesiod, Works and Days)

A world ignored by the epics comes into view in the works of Hesiod, the seventh century Boeotian poet. It has endured unchanged to the present, at least in wide regions of the planet. This is the world of the independent peasant householder; fiercely individualistic, moralistic, superstitious, ever complaining, and thrifty.

In perspective, Works and Days is a documentary manifestation of the birth of the isolated individual -- a painfully anomalous figure in tribal society. A bitter ingredient accrues to the existence of the vast majority of men: individual concern for livelihood. It reflects the novel threat of lonely starvation, a contradiction in terms under tribal conditions. Its specter haunts the glorious rhythms of Works and Days and invests them with an eerie note of prophecy.

With the decay of the tribe a new kind of uncertainty is born, which gnaws at the core of existence while forcing into being, even if in an uncouth form, an element latent in the human frame: personality. Under tribal conditions economic fate had been collective, not individual; when it shifted with the turn of the pastures, the run of the seasons, the favor of sun, wind and rain, it shifted for all. Henceforth it was to become a fearful companion of the individual, who could rely no longer on the traditional tissue of redistribution and reciprocity to keep stark

hunger away.

Hesiod discovered hunger as a part of the human condition. In the Odyssey, the pressing need for food makes its appearance only on the fringes of the community. It is a shameful event which befalls the outcast, the out-of-town beggar, the unaccepted guest. The urgency of its animal impulses stamps the owner of the belly a man sans kin, law, and hearth. "To belong" is to get one's food in the natural course of things; "not to belong" is to be concerned for one's food. Apart from the whine of the warrior doomed to die at the hands of the victorious foe, the laments of the wandering hero whose return home is cut off by a god's spite, no outcry is as bitter as the hungry man's cursing of his belly which betrays his shame by its craving for food. The arrival of a stranger, guest, or wanderer is conventionally staged in the Odyssey as a step-by-step change from the wretched individual denouncing his belly to his eventually being welcomed and encouraged freely to partake of the offered food as it would not be grudged to him however much he decided to eat.

Though Hesiod registers realistically the symptoms of tribal decay, he was too close to the underlying process of dissolution to understand it in natural terms. Hence the mystery of the doom, the finality, and the unspeakable horror of the Iron Age. How was man thrown back upon himself for his nourishment? Had (in Hesiod's words) Zeus in his anger hid the bread of life, for that Prometheus of crooked counsel had deceived him? "For the gods have hidden the livelihood of men!" Man is alone, and care must never leave him. "Pass by the smithy and its crowded lounge in winter time, when the cold keeps men from field work --

for then an industrious man can greatly prosper his house -- lest bitter winter catch you helpless and poor, and you chafe a swollen foot with a shrunk hand." (493-97) To ward off starvation is the meaning of human life.

Hesiod's poetry records the appearance of isolated households on the scene of human affairs; there is no mention of common pasture; soon grain would be bought and sold. Almost contemporaneously with him, Amos, first of the great prophets, was calling down Jehovah's wrath on those who bought and sold the produce of the land. But by the middle of the fifth century the temple state of Judah had returned to redistributive methods, except for subordinate local food markets in Jerusalem. Israel stopped traffic in food and returned to the earlier ways. Some Greeks alone went on experimenting with market elements. So far as the historian is able to date changes in the awareness of the human race, it was in Hesiod's Greece that the "economic" as a concern of personal existence rose from the deep. For better or worse, a stark force of nature, the fear of hunger, had been unfettered.

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you...will not look wistfully to others, but another shall be in need of your help. (477-78)

But the help and god will of the gods themselves is needed to avert the greatest evil, loss of land. Evil deeds must be avoided, and Hesiod warns,

As far as you are able, sacrifices to the deathless gods purely and cleanly, and burn rich meats, and at other times propitiate them with libations and incense, both when you go to bed and when the holy light has come back, that they may be gracious to you in heart and spirit, and so you may buy another's holding and not another yours. (336-41)

The meaning of these neatly-phrased alternatives is identical with the Biblical hope that "thou shalt lend to another, and not another to thee."

The economic unit is the small household, members of which should be carefully selected. The danger of having more than one, or at most two, sons was mentioned above. A wife should be chosen with great circumspection, not only to avoid the neighbor's censure (and one should preferably marry a neighbor), but because

...a man wins nothing better than a good wife,
and again, nothing worse than a bad one, a greedy soul
who roasts her man without fire, strong though he may
be, and brings him to a raw old age. (702-05)

A man should not marry until the age of thirty; first it is neces-
sary to acquire the proper servants and the proper tools.

First of all, get a house, and a woman, and an ox for
the ploughing -- a slave woman and not a wife, to follow
the oxen as well -- and make everything ready at home, so
that you may not have to ask of another, and he refuse you,
and so...you are in lack..." (408-08)

This woman should have no children (802). Besides her, Hesiod
suggests a male servant of forty, since he will be interested in his work
rather than in his friends.

In such a small household, not a moment can be wasted throughout
the year if the struggle against debt and hunger is to be won: the idle
man "garnereth many sorrows for his soul." Preparations for the winter
begin in summer.

While it is yet midsummer, command your slaves:
"It will not always be summer, build barns." (502-03)

But winter is no time for relaxation, either: Hesiod warns his brother to
shun the smithy, where men gather. And the public assembly (agora) must
be avoided at all times; for "little concern has he with quarrels and
courts who has not a year's victuals laid up betimes" (30-31).

Besides work, thrift is enjoined: this was an entirely novel idea.
Wealth had been acquired by fraud, violence, or gifts. Yet Hesiod not
only risks the paradox that fraud and violence are the wrong way of ac-
quiring wealth, but also says that "if you add only a little to a little
and this often, soon that little will become great" (361-62). Rarely
in economic history has a departure of great consequence been put in

simpler terms.

Still another new chord is struck by Hesiod: competition serves as a stimulus to work, clearly playing an economic role in Greek society for the first time. Hesiod has trouble describing this new phenomenon. He observes in the very beginning of the poem that there are two kinds of strife on earth, one of which is to be praised, the other "blameworthy," increasing evil war and contention. The new kind is "the elder daughter of dark Night," who "stirs up even the shiftless to toil; for a man grows sager to work when he considers his neighbor, a rich man who hastens to plow and plant and put his house in good order: and neighbor vies with his neighbor as he hurries after wealth. Strife is wholesome for man. And potter is angry with potter, and craftsman with craftsman, and beggar is jealous of beggar, and minstrel of minstrel" (12-25). None was offering to underbid his competitor. Each wished to excel in prowess, to retain the privilege of being regarded as the best, or at least the best liked. Hesiod's own minstrelsy was the famed prototype of this kind of strife.

Trade is, of course, in evidence, but certainly not as a force in peasant life. Hesiod distinguished two forms of trade, neither of which is very desirable in his eyes. The one he refers to simply as "sea-faring"; this is limited to an occasional bartering of surplus by coasting along the shore in a small ship, in the proper season.

But if desire for uncomfortable seafaring seize you
 when the Pleiades plunge into the misty sea to escape Orion's
 rude strength, then truly gales of all kinds rage. Then
 keep ships no longer on the sparkling sea, but bethink you
 to till the land as I bid you. Haul your ship up on the
 land and pack it closely with stones all round to keep off

the power of the winds....You yourself wait until the season for sailing is come, and then haul your swift ship down to the sea, and bestow a convenient cargo in it so that you may bring home profit....Admire a small ship, but put your freight in a large one; for the greater the lading the greater will be your piled gain, if only the winds will keep back their harmful gales.
(618-45)

The other form, which he specifically calls trading (emporion),¹ would appear to be more of an occupational affair. Even this is not a regular occupation, but only a last resort for the unfortunate.

If ever you turn your misguided heart to trading and wish to escape from debt and joyless hunger, I will show you the measures of the loud-roaring seas, though I have no skill in sea-faring nor in ships. (646-49)

In any case, the season for sea-faring is very limited. The only time which Hesiod approves of at all is July and August; unless Poseidon is determined, it is possible to escape death during that period, but one must be sure to return before the autumn winds. Those who are really desperate sail during the spring also, but Hesiod warns against it.

Such a sailing is snatched, and you will hardly avoid mischief. Yet in their ignorance men do even this, for wealth means life to poor mortals; but it is fearful to die among the waves. (684-87)

? Only a small part of one's good should be carried on any voyage, because of the risks.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. This is the first instance in which asporia is employed in the sense of trade. H. Knorrings, Asporos, p. 13.