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CHAPTER VI

LOCAL MARKETS AND OVERSEAS TRADE

The market place in Athens was not meant to be the cradle of a market system. The market was one thing, foreign trade another. They had their separate and independent origins; there was no point in connecting them in thought. Whether in the open space reserved for public meetings, or rather in its immediate neighbourhood grain was distributed or sold at a fixed price at times, or whether such a practice was unknown; whether victuals were or were not offered for sale in the commercial agora, a part of the town separate and distinct from the political agora, may have depended upon many factors each of them of domestic concern. Such were the frequency with which shortages of supplies arose from overcrowding due to religious festivities, to the influx of refugees, or a dislocation of the rural population, the manner in which public works on city walls or temples happened to be organized; the character of the labor employed there and the person or authority responsible for the undertaking; the availability of small coin for purchases and so on. These and maybe other reasons were responsible for the development of a local food market.

Trade was an altogether different affair. It probably antedated the market; it reached the coasts of Attica from outside; it was a foreigner's show; the authorities

would see to it that traders did not turn raiders or kid-nappers; that they were discouraged from roaming the country; that after getting a chance of displaying their ware at princes' court and in manorial halls they were sure to depart again in peace. Active trade also may have been carried on occasionally by king or chiefs in search of metals or other military stock. But such events would be as little related to the agora as those much more regular actions of the foreign trader. Market and trade had nothing in common. There was yet no reason to suspect that the time would come when the two would not only appear to be, but actually would be, comprised in one and the same institution, the market system.

The distinction between local and overseas trade was most clear-cut with respect to the person of the trader. Their designation was different, as was the identity and probably the status of their person. The local trader was the kapēlos, the overseas trader was the emporos. Plato defined the kapēloi as "those who, planted in the agora, serve us in buying and selling," the emporoi as "those who roam from city to city." <sup>1/</sup> Emporos originally meant "traveller," <sup>2/</sup> an etymological root that is by no means rare since the purpose of travelling was invariably supply. For example, of the four words used to connote trade or trader in the elaborate description of Tyre, the great emporium, in Ezekiel 27, two words have as their root "to roam about" and two others "to intertwine, tie together." The two groups of words are used distinctively. In the one case the reference is to distance and carrying, in the other to dealing

and negotiating - two kinds of functions that later were merged in the term "trade." The researches of Knorringa,<sup>3/</sup> Hasebroek,<sup>4/</sup> and Finkelstein<sup>5/</sup> have confirmed the fact that the distinction between kapēlos and emporos referred primarily to locality - not to retail versus wholesale trade, as was assumed. Plato refers the local trader to the agora. Xenophon, too, distinguishes in the Memorabilia between the emporoi and the "traffickers in the market-place."<sup>6/</sup> Since throughout antiquity the volume of overland trade was negligible,<sup>7/</sup> the phrase "to roam" referred to those engaged in trading by river or sea. Of the small volume of over-land trade - excepting expeditionary and caravan trade - the bulk must have consisted of peasants trudging to the local market to dispose of their surplus crops and purchase some other articles of which they may be short.

However, the distinction was not merely functional. According to an Athenian law ascribed to Solon, and reenacted by Aristophon, no alien was permitted to offer goods for sale in the market.<sup>8/</sup> This was qualified in the period from which our evidence stems, the middle of the fourth century, so as to forbid aliens from selling in the market unless they paid a tax.<sup>9/</sup> This amounted in practice to a licensing arrangement; thus in one case the defendant refutes the charge that his mother, a ribbon-vendor, was an alien by saying that

If she was an alien, they ought to have examined the market-tolls, and have shown whether she paid the alien's tax, and from what country she came...<sup>10/</sup>

That having a stall in the agora was at some periods the

citizens' prerogative seems evident; granting the right to an alien on payment of a tax was a qualification of that right. That resident aliens did actually vend in the market in the early fourth century is borne out by Lysias' speech against the grain dealers, where the grain retailers admit they are metics; however, they are all the more strictly to be kept in hand. Also the grain trade may have stood under special rules.

Differences of sex may well have entered into the matter of agora regulations. Traveling traders are with rare exceptions men. Retailers in the market place, on the other hand, need not be of the male sex; indeed, in some regions of the Sudan they are exclusively women. The distinction between the institutions of trade and market runs there rigidly along the lines of sex: traders are males, market vendors are females. In Hammurabi's Babylonia the inn-keeper was a female person. In Sardis, and maybe in Halicarnassos whence the institution of retailing food in the market probably spread to Greece, the kapēlos up to the middle of the sixth century almost certainly was a woman. Herodotus made great play of an anecdote, dated about that time, which turned on the emasculating effect of the practicing of kapēlikē. The inference appears to be that kapēlikē originally had been a female occupation. For Herodotus held that retailing in the market was a custom of ancient Lydian origin; the gold dust, he said, was carried from Mount Tmolus right into the agora of Sardis. Yet allegedly it was only much later, after their defeat at the hands of the Persians, that the Lydian men were forced by Cyrus

to become shopkeepers in order to make them effeminate. As to Athens at times both sexes were permitted to keep stalls in the market and the practice may well have varied, possibly even according to the wares offered for sale. Lydian pre-marital prostitution appears to have been an adjunct of the market habit. Aristophanes certainly never missed an opportunity to twit Euripides about his mother having sold vegetables in the market. Demosthenes' speech against Eubulides would be beside the point unless a female person could keep a stall in the commercial agora. In classical Attica then, it may be said that the emporos was a man, while the kapēlos was either a man or a woman, depending upon the goods sold and other circumstances of the case.

Though the kapēlos was at most periods a citizen-type trader, he was not, for that, in Attica, a trader by status. Rather than acting from duty or for honor his motive was merely to make a living from his gains made 'off the other man' (ap' allelōn). Accordingly the regard in which he was held could not have been lower. In the Xenophontian passage quoted above, the "traffickers in the market place" are scornfully referred to as those who "think of nothing but buying cheap and selling dear." The long-distance trader, on the other hand, was in classical times rarely a citizen -- and hardly ever a citizen of high standing as he had certainly been in the archaic days of chieftains' trade. He was now as a rule a foreigner, i.e. a citizen of another state, or a resident alien. By and large, the emporos was a Greek of the islands, Magna Graecia,

Asia Minor or some mainland city such as Corinth -- at the same time he only exceptionally would be of lesser standing than a trader by status in the country of which he was a citizen. <sup>11/</sup>

The fact that in classical times the vast majority of emporoi were Greeks has led to considerable confusion, and to much misunderstanding of the structure of Greek trade. We are concerned here largely with Athens, which was the great trade center of the Greek world in the fifth and fourth centuries. Yet, although this was so -- although the Piraeus was the great emporium for the Greek world -- only infrequently do we find a citizen actively engaged in trade, except to grant sea-loans. And an examination of Demosthenes' private orations reveals that even the majority of sea-loans were made by metics or foreigners. That in Attica traders were foreigners, and, on the other hand, that citizens were as a rule not traders, emerges with power and clarity from an examination of a few important sources. Outstanding among them is Ways and Means, a mid-fourth-century pamphlet which justly, it seems, has been ascribed to the aged Xenophon, and to which we will return presently.

The two main types of traders, we submit, were the foreigner and the metic. The metic -- the resident alien -- was one of the results of the almost ceaseless warfare between and within the Greek cities. Nowhere in known history were these two forms of strife as intimately linked over long periods of time as they were among the Greek city states. Party struggles inside many Greek states as well as regular wars

between the petty states produced a multitude of stateless men, a floating population of the ports, who had no alternative but to turn to trade for a living. We have seen how the dissensions of the Solonian period produced hosts of exiles, men who no longer spoke the Attic tongue -- so wide had been their wanderings. 12/

The fierce nativism of the Periclean democracy -- and Pericles' rigid exclusion from citizenship of all men who were not second generation native born, could hardly have been exceptional -- meant that normally no higher status than that of metic was open to the exile. That intra-state and inter-state warfare remained an abundant source of metic populations seems evident from Xenophon's confident conclusion that if his proposals to improve the status of metics in order to attract them are adopted,

all without a city would covet the right of settling in Athens. 13/

We may assume that the foreigners trading at Athens were largely metics hailing from some Greek city, the balance being made up of the full fledged citizens of such a city or even a Greek trading community such as Rhodes.

Athens herself had a considerable metic population, mostly settled in the Piraeus. Many of them were emporoi, mainly grain importers; more than a few made sea-loans, essential to the functioning of foreign trade.

Much of our knowledge of foreign trade, sea-loans, banking, and traders comes from the forensic orations of Demosthenes. 14/ Almost all traders appearing in these speeches are

metics or foreigners, a motley crew mostly of hard-working folk who travel with their goods and handle the goods themselves. The goal of most trading skippers seems to be to accumulate a small fortune, enough to permit them to retire from seafaring and apply themselves to making sea-loans. <sup>15/</sup> The small scale of operations of the trader is indicated by his utter dependence on the sea-loan; one lender boasts

The resources required by those who engage in trade come not from those who borrow, but from those who lend; and neither ship nor shipowner nor passenger can put to sea, if you take away the part contributed by those who lend. <sup>16/</sup>

While this is undoubtedly exaggerated, it has a measure of truth.

One of the most important of private orations is the speech against Dionysodorus. <sup>17/</sup> The case involves default on a sea-loan. The plaintiff -- the lender -- is a metic. In his peroration he warns the jury of the unfortunate consequences that would ensue from their failure to give him the verdict.

...while you are today deciding one case alone, you are fixing a law for the whole port, and... many of those engaged in overseas trade are standing here and watching you to see how you decide this question. <sup>18/</sup>

If he, the plaintiff, loses, overseas traders will be convinced that nothing can prevent the voiding of contracts, hence none will be willing to risk their money in sea-loans, and so trade will cease to be carried on. Do not permit this, he warns.

The passage is conclusive:

...for it is not to the interests of the mass of your people any more than of those engaged in trade, who are a body of men most useful to your public at large and to the individuals who



have dealings with them. For this reason  
you should be careful of their interests. 19/

The plaintiff appears to be contrasting the group of traders with the citizen body, but insists that the interests of the citizens are in this instance identical with those of that group. He seems to be hired by the big merchants, who also make sea-loans to the mass of the smaller merchants.

It was the metics who manned the tiny cargo boats -- and therefore helped man the navy, in time of war -- and performed many of the myriad jobs that go with the operation of a great port. The shrewd "Old Oligarch" refuses to express surprise at the freedom accorded to slaves and the crowd of metics in his new-fangled democracy. The Athenians, he says,

have established an equality of speech between our slaves and free men; and again between our metics and citizens, because the city stands in need of her metics to meet the requirements of such a multiplicity of arts and for the purposes of her navy. 20/

This shows how little the citizens of substance thought of themselves as traders. Their complaint of democracy was not that it promoted the metic to the status of a trader, but that democracy by doing so was strengthening the navy, and thereby its hold on the nation.

Nothing could be more decisive on the whole issue, however, than the pamphlet ascribed to Xenophon. It leaves no doubt about the status of trade in Athens. For a long time, scholars denied the authenticity of Ways and Means because they deemed its proposals unworthy of the famed author. Yet if its attribution by the Ancients to Xenophon was mistaken, it is rather, we submit, for the opposite reason, namely, that nothing

else we possess from that author's pen can compare with this pamphlet in sheer power of conception and execution.

Its originality lies in the thought that wealth, power and security can be the product of peace rather than of war. That force was not the best means of acquiring wealth was an idea that Hesiod had first conceived in regard to the individual in his maxim of "little by little"; but in regard to the state this idea had hardly even occurred to the Greeks.

The structure of the pamphlet shows great vigor. It was probably a political pamphlet issued by the extreme pacifist party of Eubulus; it would therefore offer the strongest possible arguments for a peaceful increase in state revenues. It takes its stand on moral grounds: The acts of injustice committed by the Athenians themselves towards their supposed allies but actual dependents had been a subject of acrimonious debate. Xenophon concedes some weight to the argument that Athens was compelled to act as she did in order to sustain her population. First preference should be given to the question

whether by any means the citizens might obtain food entirely from their own soil, which would certainly be the fairest way. I felt that were this so, they would be relieved of their property, and also of the suspicion with which they are regarded by the Greek world. 21/

He then, after a brief eulogy of Attica's allegedly great natural resources, suggests three major methods of increasing Athens' revenues: the attracting of more metics to the Piraeus, 22/ the attracting of foreign traders, 23/ and measures to make the silver mines more profitable to Athens. 24/

There is nothing to show that the plan suffered from any inherent defect that would have condemned it as utterly impracticable. After having argued the almost certain success of these measures, he shows that they one and all would depend on, and be furthered by, the maintenance of peace. War, on the other hand, only serves to deplete resources. <sup>25/</sup> Thus, if his suggestions are followed,

we shall be regarded with more affection by the Greeks, shall live in greater security, and be more glorious. <sup>26/</sup>

But it is some of his proposals bearing directly on trade that alone interest us here. Let us consider the first two. The one would be to take positive steps to encourage the settlement of aliens.

But instead of limiting ourselves to the blessings that may be called indigenous, suppose that in the first place, we studied the interests of the resident aliens. For in them we have one of the very best sources of revenue, in my opinion, inasmuch as they are self-supporting and, so far from receiving payment for the many services they render to states, they contribute by paying a special tax. <sup>27/</sup>

To attract aliens, all disabilities placed on metics should be lifted unless this would cause a financial loss to the state. Exempt them from infantry duty, but permit them to enter the cavalry - an honorific organization. Give them the right to own property that was not being used, provided they build houses on it. Lastly, appoint an order of guardians of foreigners, comparable to the guardians of orphans, with honors going to those who attract the greatest number of foreigners. <sup>28/</sup> Such a plan "would increase our revenues."

The other proposal, closely linked with the first, is to attract foreign merchants in large numbers in addition to the metic merchants.

The rise in the number of residents and visitors would of course lead to a corresponding expansion of our imports and exports, of sales, rents and customs. 29/

To this effect only a few carefully thought out measures would be needed. Prizes awarded to the judges in the Athenian commercial court who decide controversies with the greatest expedition would induce foreigners to trade in the Piraeus, since they would not be unnecessarily detained. 30/ Merchants and shipowners who bring particularly important cargoes to Athens should be honored with seats of distinction at public events. 31/ And a fund should be established, in order to build lodging-houses for sailors in the Piraeus, around the harbor, as well as others for merchants convenient to the Emporium; "public houses for entertainment for all that come to the city" should also be built. 32/ If, along with these measures, peace is maintained, prosperity would be assured. For,

if the state is tranquil, what class of men will not need her? Shipowners and merchants will head the list. Then there will be those rich in corn and wine and oil and cattle; men possessed of brains and money to invest... Besides, where will those who want to buy or sell many things quickly meet with better success in their efforts than at Athens? 33/

Nowhere in this discussion is there as much as a hint that the Athenians themselves were engaged in trade. Even less is there a suggestion that the revenues might be increased

through the increased commercial activities of the citizens. On the contrary, foreigners should be induced to visit, or to settle in Athens. The visit or residence of traders would increase revenue by way of the two percent tax on imports and exports, and the harbor taxes, while additional revenues could be obtained from renting the state-owned inns and public houses. Export interests are, as it were, non-existent. Sole emphasis is on the income to be derived from foreigners buying and selling in the Piraeus; insofar as the interest is in the trade itself rather than the revenues to be derived from it, it is the import of essential commodities that is discussed. The attracting of metics has the further advantage of the considerable revenue derived from the metic residence tax.

Apart from the absence of any suggestion that citizens take up or extend their volume of trading -- and this is even more impressive -- there is no sign of any fear of the damaging effects foreign competition might have on native traders. Considering the degree to which the state acted as the guarantor of the citizens livelihood -- the proposals themselves were aimed at securing alternative means for a state guarantee of livelihood -- it is inconceivable that Xenophon's plan could have harmed Athenian trade. Trade to Xenophon meant trade carried on by foreigners, from which Athens would benefit partly directly, through the import of a variety of goods, partly indirectly, through the revenues derived from trade.

To sum up: Different types of traders, then, were engaged in local and in foreign trade. The two forms of trade

Greece, Ch. 6, p. 14

were sharply distinct. Local trade was market trade -- no other trade was. Overseas trade was partly administered trade, partly gift trade; but the stray market elements which made their appearance here were relatively ineffective.

Footnotes to Chapter 6

1. Republic 371 D.
2. H. Knorrings, Emporos, p. 114
3. Ibid., passim
4. Hasebroek, Trade and Politics in Ancient Greece, pp. 1-8
5. M.I. Finkelstein, "Emporos, Naukleros, and Kapēlos" Classical Philology, v. XXX (1935) 320-36 - Finkelstein qualifies this judgment somewhat by adding, "How carefully the distinction was retained is another matter" (p. 336).
6. III, 7, 6.
7. Finkelstein, p. 328, n. 37 for Greece. For the ancient world in general, cf. Max Weber, General Economic History p.
8. Dem. LVII, 31-32.
9. Ibid., 33-34.
10. Ibid., 34
11. This assertion may need qualification for the case of the Thodians, who appear to have been a "trading people."
12. Aristotle, C. of A., XII, 4. (v. Fritz-Kapp translation).
13. Xen., Ways and Means, II, 7.
14. No attorney was permitted in Athenian courts; plaintiff and defendant had to plead for themselves. Accordingly, the habit developed of hiring a skilled speaker to prepare the speech for the individual, which was then memorized.
15. Ps.-Dem. XXXIII, 4.
16. Ps.-Dem. XXXIV, 51 (?)
17. Cf. Chapter 8 below.
18. Ps.-Dem. LVI, 48.
19. Ibid., 50.
20. Ps.-Xen., Const. of Athens, I, 12.
21. Xen., Ways and Means, I, 1.

22. Ibid., II.
23. Ibid., III, 1-5.
24. Ibid., IV.
25. Ibid., V.
26. Ibid., VI, 1. (?)
27. Ibid., II, 1. The metic-tax was 12 drachmas a year for men, and, under some conditions, 6 for women.
28. Ibid., II, 7.
29. Ibid., III, 5.
30. Ibid., III, 3.
31. Ibid., III, 4.
32. Ibid., III, 12.
33. Ibid., V, 3-4.



## CHAPTER VI

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The Athenian agora, then, was not meant to be the cradle of a market system. The market place was one thing, foreign trade another. The two had their separate and independent origins; there was no point in connecting them in thought. Whether in the open space reserved for public assembly and civil proceedings food was distributed or sold at times, or whether such a practice was unknown; whether victuals were or were not retailed there; whether necessaries of life were or were not offered for sale in any other spot than the political agora - all this may have depended upon the frequency with which shortages of supplies arose from an overcrowding of the town, whether from religious festivities, an influx of refugees, or a dislocation of the rural population; on the manner in which military or other public works on city walls or temples were organized; on the character of the labor employed and the person or authority responsible for the undertaking; on the availability of small coin for purchases; and so on. These and maybe other factors were responsible for the market habit.

Trade was an altogether different matter. It reached the coasts of Attica from outside; it was a foreigner's show; public authorities would see to it that traders were kept from turning raiders or kidnappers; that they were discouraged from roaming the country; that after getting a chance of displaying their ware at princes' court and in manorial halls they were sure to depart again

in peace. Active trade also may have been carried on occasionally by king or chief in search of metals or other military stock. But such events would be as little related to the agora as those much more regular actions of the foreign trader. Market and trade had nothing in common. There was yet no reason whatsoever to suspect that the time would come when the two would not only appear to be, but actually would be, comprised in one and the same institutions, the market system.

The distinction between local and overseas trade was most clear-cut with respect to the person of the trader. Their very designations were different, as was the identity and probably the status of their persons. The local trader was the kepelos, the overseas trader was the emporos. Plato defines the former as "those who planted in the agora, serve us in buying and selling", the latter as "those who roam from city to city." <sup>1/</sup> (Republic (II, 12) ). Emporos, originally meant "traveller," <sup>2/</sup> an etymological root that is by no means rare since the purpose of travelling was invariably supply. For example, of the four words used to connote trade or trader in the elaborate description of Tyre, the great emporium, in Ezekiel, 27, two words have as their root "to roam about" and two others "to intertwine, tie together." The two groups of words are used distinctively. In the one case the reference is to distance and carrying, in the other to dealing and negotiating - two kinds of functions that later were merged in the term "trade." The researches of Knorrings, <sup>3/</sup> Hasebroek, <sup>4/</sup> and Finkelstein <sup>5/</sup> have confirmed the fact that the distinction

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However, the distinction was not merely functional - the regulation of the personnel was involved. ἑκξκσπεῖκας According to an Athenian law ascribed to Solon, and reenacted by Aristophon,<sup>8/</sup> no alien was permitted to offer goods for sale in the market. This was qualified in the period from which our evidence stems, the middle of the fourth century, so as to forbid aliens from selling in the market unless they paid a tax.<sup>9/</sup> This amounted in practice to a licensing arrangement; thus in our case the defendant refutes the charge that his mother, a ribbon-vendor, was an alien by asserting

If she was an alien, they ought to have examined the market-tolls, and have shown whether she paid the alien's tax, and from what country she came...<sup>10/</sup>

That having a stall in the agora was at some periods the citizens' prerogative seems evident; granting the right to an alien on payment of a tax was simply a qualification. That resident aliens did actually vend in the market in the early fourth century is borne out by Lysias' speech against the grain dealers, where the grain

retailers admit they are metics; however, they are all the more strictly kept in hand.

Differences of sex may well have entered into the matter of agora regulations. Except in a very few instances traveling traders are at all times men. Retailers of the market place, on the other hand, need not be of the male sex; in wide regions of the Sudan they are, in fact, regularly and generally women. The distinction between the institutions of trade and market here runs rigidly along the lines of sex: traders are men, market vendors are women. In Babylonia the inn-keeper was a female person. In Lydia, whence the institution of retailing food in the market spread to Greece, the kapēlos very probably was a woman. Herodotus made great play of an anecdote, dated about 545, which turned on the emasculating effect of the practicing of kapēlikē. The inference is that it was originally a female occupation. For Herodotus, as we know, insisted that retailing in the market was a custom of ancient Lydian origin; the gold dust, he said, was carried from Mount Tmolus right into the agora of Sardis. Yet it was allegedly only much later, after their defeat at the hands of the Persians, that the Lydian men were forced by Cyrus to become shopkeepers. As to Athens both sexes were permitted to keep a stall in the market and practice may have varied at times, maybe even in regard to the wares offered for sale. Aristophanes certainly never missed an opportunity to twit Euripides about his mother having sold vegetables in the market. And in Demosthenes' speech against Eubulides a similar point is made. In classical Attica, too, the emporos then was a man, while the kapēlos was either a man or a woman.

Though the kapēlos was at most periods a citizen-type trader, he was not, for that, in Attica, a trader by status. Rather than acting from duty or for honor or prestige, his motive was merely to make a living from his gains made 'off the other man' (ap' allēlōn). Accordingly the regard in which he was held could not have been lower. In the Xenophontian passage quoted above, the "traffickers in the market place" are scornfully referred to as those who "think of nothing but buying cheap and selling dear." The long-distance trader, on the other hand, was in classical times only rarely a citizen -- and hardly ever a citizen of high standing as ~~xxx~~ he had certainly sometimes been in the archaic age of chieftain's trade. He was now usually a foreigner, i.e. a citizen of another state, or a resident alien. By and large, the emporos was a Greek of the islands, Magna Graecia, Asia Minor or some mainland city such as Corinth -- but only exceptionally would he act otherwise than as a tanker for ~~ix~~ the state of which he was a citizen. 11/

The fact that these were Greeks has led to considerable confusion, and to gross misunderstanding of the structure of Greek trade. We are concerned here largely with Athens, which was the great trade center of the Greek world in the fifth and fourth centuries. Yet Athens herself -- the metropolis of trade -- although this was so - although the Peraeus was the great emporium for the Greek world - only rarely do we find a citizen actively engaged in that trade, except perhaps to grant sea-loans. And an examination of Demosthenes' private rations reveals that the majority of sea-loans, too, were made by metics or foreigners. That in Attica traders were foreigners, and alternately, that

citizens were not traders, emerges with power and clarity from an examination of a few important sources, most notably the Ways and Means, a mid-fourth-century pamphlet which justly, it seems, has been ascribed to the aged Xenophon.

The two main types of traders, we submit, were the foreigner and the metic. The metic -- the resident alien -- was one of the results of the almost ceaseless warfare as between and within the Greek cities. Nowhere in known history were these two forms of strife as intimately linked over long periods of time as among the Greek city states. Party struggles inside many Greek states as well as regular wars between the petty states produced a multitude of stateless men, - a floating population of the ports - who had no alternative but to turn to trade for a living. We have seen how the dissensions of the Solonian period produced hosts of exiles, men who

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The fierce nativism of the Periclean democracy -- Pericles' rigid exclusion of all but second generation native born men from citizenship could hardly have been exceptional -- meant that frequently no higher status than that of metic could await the exile. That intra-state and inter-state warfare remained an abundant source of metic populations seems evident from Xenophon's conclusion that if his proposals to improve the status of metics are adopted,

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While this is undoubtedly exaggerated, a measure of truth remains.

One of the most important of private orations is the speech against Dionysodorus.<sup>17/</sup> The case involves default on a sea-loan. The plaintiff - the lender - is a metic. In his peroration the plaintiff warns the jury of the unfortunate consequences that would ensue from their failure to give him the verdict.

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If the plaintiff loses, he warns, overseas traders will be convinced that nothing can prevent the voiding of contracts, hence none will be willing to risk his money in sea-loans, and so trade will not be carried on. The passage is conclusive.

Do not permit this he warns,

for it is not to the interests of the mass of your people any more than of those engaged in trade, who are a body of men most useful to your public at large and to the individuals who have dealings with them. For this reason you should be careful of their interests. 19/

The plaintiff appears to be contrasting the group of traders with the citizen body, insisting that the interests of the citizens are in this instance identical with those of that group.

Incidentally, he seems to be speaking for the big merchants, who also make sea-loans to the mass of the smaller merchants.

It was the metics who manned the tiny cargo boats - and therefore helped man the navy, in time of war - and performed many of the myriad jobs that go with the operation of a great port. The "Old Oligarch," in his shrewdly aimed attack on Athenian democracy, complains of the freedom accorded to slaves and the crowd of metics. The Athenians, he says,

have established an equality of speech between our slaves and free men; and again between our metics and citizens, because the city stands in need of her metics to meet the requirements of such a multiplicity of arts and for the purposes of her navy. 20/

Nothing could be more decisive on this issue, however, than the pamphlet in ways and means ascribed to Xenophon. For a long time, scholars denied its authenticity because they deemed its proposals unworthy of the famed historian. Yet if it was wrongly



attributed to Xenophon, it is rather, we submit, for the opposite reason, namely, that nothing else we possess from that author's pen can compare with this pamphlet in sheer power of conception and execution.

Its striking originality lies in the thought that wealth, power, and security can be the product of peace rather than of war. That the exercise of force was not the best means of acquiring wealth was an idea that Hesiod had summed up in regard to the individual in his maxim of "little by little"; but this same idea had hardly even occurred to the Greeks in regard to the state.

The structure of the pamphlet is of great vigor and incisiveness. The pamphlet, probably, was a political pamphlet issued by the extreme pacifist party of Eubulus; it would therefore offer the strongest possible arguments for a peaceful increase in state revenues. It takes its stand on moral grounds: The injustices committed by the Athenians towards their supposed allies but actual dependents had been a subject of acrimonious debate. Xenophon concedes some weight to the argument that Athens was compelled to act as she did in order to subsist her population. The aim therefore, is to consider

whether by any means the citizens might obtain food entirely their own soil, which would certainly be the fairest way. I felt that were this so, they would be relieved of their poverty, and also of the suspicion with which they are regarded by the Greek world. 21/

He then, after a brief eulogy of Attica's allegedly great natural resources, suggests three major methods of increasing Athens' revenues: the attracting of more metics to the Piraeus, 22/ the attracting of foreign traders, 23/ and measures to make the silver

mines more profitable to Athens. <sup>24/</sup> After having argued the almost certain success of these measures, he shows that they one and all would depend on and be furthered by the maintenance of peace. War, on the other hand, only serves to deplete resources. <sup>25/</sup> Thus, if his suggestions are followed,

we shall be regarded with more affection by the Greeks, shall live in greater security, and be more glorious. <sup>26/</sup>

But it is some of his proposals for increasing the revenues that interest us here. Since they bear directly on trade. Let us consider the first two. The one would be to take positive steps to encourage the settlement of aliens.

But instead of limiting ourselves to the blessings that may be called indigenous, suppose that in the first place, we studied the interests of the resident aliens. For in them we have one of the very best sources of revenue, in my opinion, inasmuch as they are self-supporting and, so far from receiving payment for the many services they render to states, they contribute by paying a special tax. <sup>27/</sup>

To attract aliens, all disabilities placed on metics should be lifted unless this would cause a financial loss to the state. Exempt them from infantry duty, but permit them to enter the cavalry - an honorific organization. Give them the right to own property that was not being used, provided they build houses on it. Lastly, appoint an order of guardians of foreigners, comparable to the guardians of orphans, with honors going to those who attract the greatest number of foreigners. Such a plan

would add to the loyalty of the aliens and probably all without a city would covet the right of settling in Athens, and would increase our revenues. <sup>28/</sup>

The other proposal, closely linked with the first, is to

attract foreign merchants in large numbers in addition to the metie merchants.

The rise in the number of residents and visitors would of course lead to a corresponding expansion of our imports and exports, of sales, rents and customs. 29/

To the effect only a few carefully thought out measures would be needed. Prizes awarded to the judges in the Athenian commercial court who decide controversies with the greatest expedition would induce foreigners to trade in the Piraeus, since they would not be unnecessarily detained. 30/ Merchants and shipowners who bring particularly important cargoes to Athens should be honored with seats of distinction at public events. 31/ And a fund should be established, in order to build lodging-houses for sailors in the Piraeus, around the harbor, as well as others for merchants convenient to the Emporium; "public houses for entertainment for all that come to the city" should also be built. 32/ If, together with these measures, peace is maintained, prosperity would be assured. For

For if the state is tranquil, what class of men will not need her? Shipowners and merchants will head the list. Then there will be those rich in corn and wine and oil and cattle; men possessed of brains and money to invest... Besides, where will those who want to buy or sell many things quickly meet with better success in their efforts than at Athens? 33/

Nowhere in this discussion is there as much as a hint, that the Athenians themselves engaged in trade. Even less is there a suggestion that the revenues might be increased through the increased commercial activities of the citizens. On the contrary, foreigners should be induced to visit or settle in Athens. The visit or residence of traders would increase revenue by way of the

two percent tax on imports and exports and the harbor taxes, while additional revenues could be obtained from renting the state-owned inns and public houses. Export interests are as non-existent. Sole emphasis is on the income to be derived from foreigners buying and selling in the Piraeus; insofar as the interest is in the trade itself, rather than the revenues to be derived from it, it is the import of essential commodities that is discussed. The attracting of metics has the further advantage of the considerable revenue derived from the metic residence tax.

Apart from the absence of any suggestion that citizens take up or extend their volume of trading - what is even more impressive, there is no sign of any fear of the damaging effects foreign competition might have on native traders. Considering the degree to which the state acted as the guarantor of the citizens livelihood-- the proposals themselves were aimed at securing alternative means for a state guarantee of livelihood -- it is inconceivable that Xenophon's plan could have involved harm to Athenian trade. Trade to Xenophon meant trade carried on by foreigners, from which Athens would benefit partly directly, through the import of a variety of goods, partly indirectly, through the revenues derived from trade.

Different types of traders, then, were engaged in local and in foreign trade. The two forms of trade were sharply distinct. Local trade was market trade -- but no other trade was. Overseas trade was partly administered trade, partly gift trade; but the stray market elements which made their appearance here were relatively ineffective.

The overseas trade of the polis involved two main groups of commodities; public requirements and luxuries. The slave trade -- or at least that branch of it of which we have any knowledge, while undoubtedly important, was more the occasional by-product of warfare during the period we are considering. Also it raised administrative and technical problems of a special character. The public requirements group included both staple foods such as corn, oil, wine, dried fish, and wool, and military requirements such as timber, tar, hemp, and metals. Stones and other materials needed for public buildings should also be included in this group. Thus Xenophon, summing up the fruits of his plan, queries

Would not those who have plenty of corn, and ordinary wine, and wine of the sweetest kind, and olive oil, and cattle, block to us...?

And even the Old Oligarch is forced to admit the value of the empire which he considers as an asset to be credited to democracy.

The Athenians are the only nation among Greeks and barbarians that can secure wealth; for if any state is rich in timber for ship-building, where shall they dispose of it, unless they gain the favor of the rulers of the sea? Or if any state abounds in iron, or brass, or flax, where shall they dispose of it, unless they obtain the consent of the lords of the sea? It is however, from these very materials that our ships are constructed, for from one nation comes timber, from another iron, from another brass, from another hemp, from another wax.

Another, but smaller, advantage of empire, according to this spokesman, is the access to luxury goods it provides.

If we may allude, in addition, to some smaller advantages, the Athenians, through their intercourse with other nations, in consequence of their maritime ascendancy, have discovered various sorts of luxuries; since whatever is attractive in Sicily, or Italy, or Cyprus, or Egypt, or Lydia, or Pontus, or the Peloponnesus, or anywhere else, may be collected into one spot through enjoying the command of the sea.

But of these various items of trade, one -- corn -- dominates the scene so completely as to justify the conclusion that the representative trade of antiquity was the corn trade. As a tribute to its overwhelming importance, the majority of our evidence relating to trade concerns the corn trade. We therefore will concentrate our attention on it.

Footnotes to Chapter 6

1. Republic 371 D.
2. H. Entringer, Empores, p. 114
3. Ibid., passim
4. Hasebroek, Trade and Politics in Ancient Greece, pp. 1-8
5. M.I. Finkelstein, "Empores, Naukleros, and Kapēlos" Classical Philology, v. XXX (1935) - Finkelstein qualifies this judgment somewhat by adding, "How carefully the distinction was retained is another matter" (p. 336).
6. III, 7, 6.
7. Finkelstein, p. 328, n. 37 for Greece, For the ancient world in general, cf. Max Weber, General Economic History, p.
8. Dem. LVII, 31-32.
9. Ibid., 33-34.
10. Ibid., 34
11. Ibid., 34. This assertion may need qualification for the case of the Rhodians, who appear to have been a "trading people."
12. Aristotle, C. of A., XII, 4. (v. Fritz-Kapp translation).
13. Xen., Ways and Means, II, 7.
14. No attorney was permitted in Athenian courts; plaintiff and defendant had to plead for themselves. Accordingly, the habit developed of hiring a skilled speaker to prepare the speech for the individual, which was then memorized.
15. Ps.-Dem. XXXIII, 4.
16. Ps.-Dem. XXXIV, 5
17. cf. Chapter 8 below.
18. Ps.-Dem. LVI, 48.
19. Ibid., 50.
20. Ps.-Xen., Const. of Athens, I, 12.
21. Xen., Ways and Means, I, 1
22. Ibid., II.

23. Ibid., III, 1-5.
24. Ibid., IV.
25. Ibid., V.
26. Ibid., VI, 2.
27. Ibid., II, 1. The metic-tax was 12 drachmas a year for men,  
and, under some conditions, 6 for women.
28. Ibid., II, 7.
29. Ibid., III, 5.
30. Ibid., III, 3.
31. Ibid., III, 4.
32. Ibid., III, 12.
33. Ibid., V, 3-4.



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~~Chapter 35, page 1.~~

The distinction between local and overseas trade was most clear-cut with respect to the person of the ~~trader~~ trader. Their <sup>probably the</sup> very designations were different, as was the identity and status of the persons involved. The local trader was the kapelos, the overseas trader was the emporos. Plato defines the former as "those who planted in the agora, serve us in buying and selling", the latter as "those who roam from city to city". (Republic

(II, 12) ). Emporos, originally meant "traveller", an etymological root that is by no means rare. <sup>for example,</sup> Of the four words used to connote trade or trader in the elaborate description of Tyre, the great emporium, in Ezekiel, 27, two words have as their root "to roam about" and two others "to intertwine, tie together". The two groups of words are used quite <sup>distinctly</sup> distinctly. In the one case the reference is to distance and carrying, in the other to dealing and negotiating - <sup>two kinds of</sup> the functions that later were merged in the term "trade".

The ~~researches of~~ <sup>2/</sup> Knorringa, <sup>3/</sup> Hasebroek, <sup>4/</sup> and <sup>5/</sup> Finkelstein <sup>have</sup> confirmed the fact that the distinction between kapelos and emporos referred primarily to locality - not to retail versus wholesale trade, <sup>was</sup> as formerly assumed. Plato specifically refers the local trader to the agora. Xenophon, too, distinguishes in the Memorabilia (III, 7, 6) between ~~the merchants~~ <sup>6/</sup> ~~emporoi~~ and "the traffickers <sup>7/</sup> in the market-place." Since throughout antiquity the volume of overland trade was negligible, <sup>ing</sup> the phrase "to roam about" referred to those engaged in ~~foreign~~ <sup>local</sup> trade by river or sea. Of the small <sup>- excepting expeditionary and caravan trade -</sup> volume of over-land trade, the bulk must have consisted of peasants trudging to ~~the~~ <sup>the local</sup> market to dispose of their surplus crops and purchase

the overlapping very faintly

failure to retain the distinction in the actual language

The personnel of the local  
which was under  
regulation + restrictions.  
There was a curfew  
of that

firm + [unclear]  
male

Some other articles of which they may be short. <sup>infantile</sup> ~~the few household articles they needed, - the picture drawn by Aristophanes in 'The Acharnians'.~~ <sup>example</sup>

However, the distinction was not merely functional - ~~different~~ <sup>the regulation of the</sup> personnel was involved in the one case and the other. <sup>(need not be.)</sup> The kapelos was ~~necessarily~~ a resident, the emporos ~~was not~~. 2

According to an Athenian law ascribed to Solon, and reenacted by Aristophen, no alien was permitted to offer goods for sale in the market. <sup>§ 8/</sup> This was qualified in the period from which our evidence stems, the middle of the fourth century, so as to forbid aliens from selling in the market unless they paid a tax. <sup>§ 9/</sup> ~~again,~~ This amounted in practice to a licensing arrangement; thus in our case the defendant refutes the charge that his mother, a ribbon-vendor, was an alien by asserting

If she was an alien, they ought to have examined the market-tolls, and have shown whether she paid the alien's tax, and from what country she came... <sup>10/</sup>

That ~~selling in~~ <sup>having a stall in</sup> the agora was at some periods the citizens' prerogative seems evident; granting the right to an alien on payment of a tax was simply a qualification. That <sup>resident</sup> aliens did actually vend in the market in the early fourth century is borne out by Lysias' speech against the <sup>grain</sup> ~~corn~~ dealers, where the <sup>grain</sup> ~~corn~~ retailers admit they are metics; however, they are all the more strictly kept in hand.

Differences of sex may well have entered into the matter <sup>(of agora regulations)</sup>

Except in a very few ~~Central African~~ instances travelling traders are at all times men. ~~Local~~ <sup>R</sup>etailers of the market place, on the other hand, need not be of the male sex; in wide regions of the Sudan they are, in <sup>fact</sup> ~~effect~~, regularly and generally women. The distinction between the institutions of trade and market here runs

(No other reference to this)

*status cetera type*  
*to that class + in*

from, Ch. 4, p. 5

rigidly along the lines of sex: traders are men, market vendors are women. <sup>In Babylonia the inn-keeper was a female person.</sup> In Lydia, whence the institution of retailing food in the market spread to Greece, the kapēlos <sup>very was probably a woman.</sup> frequently may have been a woman. ~~There is some circumstantial evidence.~~ Herodotus made great

play of an anecdote, dated about 545, which turned on the emasculating effect of the practicing of kapēlike, ~~by persons of both sexes.~~

<sup>For</sup> ~~Herodotus~~ <sup>The inference is that it was originally a female occupation.</sup>, as we know, insisted that retailing in the market was a custom of ancient Lydian origin; the gold dust, he said, was carried <sup>from Mount</sup> ~~by the river~~ Tmolus right into the agora of Sardis. Yet it was <sup>only</sup> much later, after their defeat at the hands of the Persians, that the Lydian men were <sup>by Cyrus</sup> allegedly forced to become shopkeepers.

~~Clearly, the inference was that kapēlike with the Lydians had been a female occupation before.~~ <sup>were actually</sup> As to Athens both sexes may have been

~~permitted to keep a stall in the market~~ <sup>mitted</sup>, and practices may have varied at times, <sup>(Aristophanes</sup> ~~certainly never missed an opportunity to twit Euripides about his~~ <sup>maybe even in regard to the wares offered for sale.)</sup>

mother having sold vegetables in the market. And in Demosthenes' speech against Eubulus <sup>ides</sup> a similar point is made. ~~We are, then,~~

~~fairly safe in assuming that~~ <sup>categories</sup> ~~in classical Attica, too, the emporos~~ <sup>Then</sup> was a man, while the kapēlos <sup>was either a man or</sup> ~~may have been~~ a woman.

Though the kapēlos was at most periods a citizen-type of trader, he was not, for that, in Attica, a trader by status. Rather than acting <sup>from duty or</sup> for honor or prestige, his motive was <sup>merely</sup> to make a living from his gains made 'off the other man' (*ap' allēton*); ~~and~~ <sup>Accordingly</sup> the regard in which he was held could not have been lower. Thus, in the Xenophon passage quoted above, the "traffickers in the market-place" are scornfully referred to as those who "think of nothing but buying cheap and selling dear". The long-distance trader, on the

*[incidentally a definite indication that they were not supposed to sell at the price.]*

too many things  
telescoped

tanka) - in the Greek

context the receptor  
is Akasha -

Business with the job or the  
at hand,

restricted to the handling of landed property. It supplies,  
arrangements, valuable undertakings were supported  
can honor + treasure; finance was a gentleman's  
what. Carrying, catering, raising was not,

other hand, was in classical times only rarely a citizen -- and <sup>hardly ever</sup> ~~certainly never~~ a citizen of ~~high~~ standing, <sup>certainly sometimes</sup> as he had ~~occasionally~~ <sup>now</sup> been in the archaic age of chieftain's trade. He was usually a foreigner, i.e. a citizen of another state, or a resident alien.

By and large, the emporos was a Greek of the islands, Magna Graecia, Asia Minor or some mainland city such as Corinth -- but only exceptionally <sup>would</sup> ~~did he act as a professional trader~~ <sup>otherwise than as a tamkar for</sup> in the state of which he was a citizen. ~~Of~~ <sup>III</sup> The fact that these were Greeks has led

to considerable confusion, and to gross misunderstanding of the structure of Greek trade. We are concerned here largely with Athens,

which was the great trade center of the Greek world in the fifth and fourth centuries. Yet Athens herself -- the metropolis of trade -- <sup>although this was so -- although the Piraeus was</sup> ~~the great emporium for the Greek world -- only rarely do we find a~~ <sup>hardly knew a citizen trader!</sup> Such trade should not be termed 'Greek', but rather 'Greek-speaking' trade. <sup>had an examination of Demosthenes' private rationes reveals</sup>

<sup>We need not enter into an extended discussion of the matter; that the majority of sea-loans, too, were made by metics or foreigners,</sup> ~~that the overseas trader was typically a non-citizen has been~~

~~established by the researches of Hasebroek, Finkelstein, Knorrige in recent times and by such an authority as Boeckh in a much earlier period. Even such a "modernizing" scholar as Andréides seems to take this fact for granted.~~ <sup>so</sup> That, in Attica traders were

foreigners, and alternately, that citizens were not traders, emerges with power and clarity from an examination of a few important

sources, <sup>most</sup> notably the ~~brilliant and under-estimated~~ <sup>Always and Means</sup> ~~of increasing the revenues of Athens~~, a middle of the <sup>mid-</sup> fourth-

century pamphlet which justly, it seems, has been ascribed to the aged Xenophon.

The two main types of traders, we submit, were the foreigner

Not clear perhaps not accurate

emphasis

The Greek citizen was engaged in business; his financial interests were varied and were in no way

and the metic. The metic -- the resident alien -- was one of the results of the almost ceaseless warfare as between and within the Greek cities. No where in known history were <sup>these</sup> ~~there~~ two forms of strife as intimately linked over long periods of time as among <sup>the Greek city states,</sup> the Greeks. <sup>Part of the struggles many Greek</sup> ~~The endless class war~~ inside the ~~Greek~~ states as well as ~~the~~ regular wars between the petty states produced a multitude of stateless men, <sup>except for a living</sup> a floating population of the ports - who had no alternative but to turn to <sup>disquisitions</sup> ~~trade~~. We have seen how the ~~class struggles~~ of the Solonian period produced hosts of exiles, men who

no longer spoke the Attic tongue -- so wide had been their wanderings. <sup>12/</sup>

The fierce nativism of the <sup>Periclean</sup> democracies -- Pericles' rigid exclusion of all but <sup>second generation</sup> native born Athenians <sup>men</sup> from citizenship could hardly have been exceptional -- meant that <sup>frequently</sup> no higher status than that of metic could await the exile. That intra- <sup>state</sup> and inter-state warfare remained an abundant source of the metic population seems evident from Xenophon's conclusion that if his proposals to improve the status of metics are adopted,

all who have no <sup>whereas a</sup> residence in any other city would <sup>covet the right of</sup> eagerly seek a settlement <sup>in</sup> at Athens. <sup>11/13/</sup>

We may assume that the foreigners trading at Athens, <sup>the full</sup> were largely metics belonging to some other Greek city, the balance made up of citizens of some Greek trading community such as Rhodes, ~~as in~~ <sup>Quaest.</sup> ~~earlier times of Argine or Corinth.~~

Athens herself had a considerable metic population, mostly settled in the Piraeus. Many of them were emporoi, <sup>many</sup> ~~to a considerable~~ extent grain importers; more than a few <sup>made</sup> ~~specialized~~ in making sea



*citizens*

loans, essential to the functioning of <sup>foreign</sup> trade.

Much of our detailed knowledge of foreign trade, sea loans, banking, and traders comes from the <sup>forensic oration</sup> ~~private speeches~~ of Demosthenes. <sup>12/14/</sup>

Almost all traders appearing in these speeches are metics or foreigners, a motley crew <sup>mostly</sup> of hard-working folk who travel with their goods and handle the goods themselves. ~~One is a prince, where trading is rather of the king's trade kind.~~ The goal of most trading skippers seems to be to accumulate a small <sup>fortune</sup> amount of money, enough to permit them to retire from seafaring and <sup>apply themselves to making</sup> simply make sea-loans. <sup>13/15/</sup>

The small scale of operations of the trader is indicated by his utter dependence on the sea-loan; one such lender boasts

The resources required by those who engage in trade come not from those who borrow, but from those who lend; and neither ship nor shipowner nor passenger can put to sea, if you take away the part contributed by those who lend. <sup>16/</sup>

*While this is undoubtedly exaggerated, a measure of truth remains.*

One of the most important of Demosthenes' private orations is the speech against Dionysodorus. <sup>17/</sup> Much of our information about the establishment of the first "world" grain market in the eastern Mediterranean, in the last quarter of the fourth century, comes from this speech. <sup>14/</sup>

The case involves default on a sea-loan. The plaintiff - the lender - is a metic. In his peroration the plaintiff warns the jury of the unfortunate consequences that would ensue from their failure to give him the verdict.

... While you are today deciding one case, <sup>alone</sup> you are fixing a law for the whole port, and many of those engaged in overseas trade are standing here and watching you to see how you decide this question. <sup>18/</sup>

If the plaintiff loses, he warns, <sup>overseas</sup> the foreign traders will be convinced that nothing can prevent the voiding of contracts, hence none will be willing to risk his money in sea-loans, and so trade

will not be carried on. The passage is conclusive.

Do not permit this

he warns,

for it is not to the interests of the mass of your people any more than of those engaged in trade, who are a body of men most useful to your public at large and to the individuals who have dealings with them. For this reason you should be careful of their interests. 15/19/

freely installed!

The plaintiff is ~~contrasting~~ <sup>appears to be contrasting</sup> with a remarkable clarity

the group of traders with the citizen body, insisting that the interests of the citizens are in this instance identical with those of that group. Incidentally, he seems to be speaking for the big merchants, who also make sea-loans to the mass of the smaller merchants.

It was the metics who ~~named~~ <sup>helped man</sup> the tiny cargo boats - and therefore the navy, in time of war - and performed <sup>many of</sup> the myriad jobs that go with the operation of a great port. The "Old Oligarch", in his shrewdly aimed attack on Athenian democracy, complains of the freedom accorded to slaves and ~~to~~ the crowd of metics. The Athenians, he says,

(emphasis)

have granted to slaves a certain equality with the free, <sup>as well as to metics with citizens;</sup> <sup>and</sup> <sup>of speech between our slaves and</sup> <sup>men;</sup> <sup>because the city</sup> <sup>need of metics, through the great number of trades and</sup> <sup>to meet the</sup> <sup>requirements of such a multiplicity of arts and for the purposes of her navy. 20/</sup> ~~for the services of the fleet.~~

and again between our slaves in requirements

Nothing could be more decisive on this issue, however, than

the pamphlet <sup>in ways and means</sup> ascribed to Xenophon. For a long time, scholars denied its authenticity because they deemed its proposals unworthy of the famed historian. Yet if it was wrongly attributed to Xenophon, it is rather, we submit, for the opposite reason, namely, <sup>that</sup> because nothing else we possess from that author's pen can compare

The pamphlet, probably, was a political pamphlet issued by the extreme pacifist party of Eretria. It would therefore offer the strongest possible arguments for a peaceful increase in state revenues.

to this pamphlet in sheer power of conception and execution.

Its striking originality lies in the thought probably expressed for the first time, that wealth, power, and security can be the product of peace rather than of war. That the exercise of force was not the best means of acquiring wealth was an idea that Hesiod had expressed in regard to the individual in his maxim of "little by little"; but this same idea had hardly even occurred to the Greeks in regard to the state.

The structure of the pamphlet is of great vigor and incisiveness. It takes its stand on moral grounds: The injustices committed by the Athenians towards their supposed allies but actual dependents had been a subject of acrimonious debate. Xenophon concedes some weight to the argument that Athens was compelled to act as she did in order to subsist her population. The purpose of the pamphlet, therefore, is, he says, to consider

to consider whether (the citizens) may by any means be maintained from the resources of their own country, from which it is more just that they be maintained, than from the resources of other countries. I think that if this should be the case, remedy would at once be afforded for their wants, and for the jealousy which they incur from the other Greeks.

He then, after a brief eulogy of Attica's great natural resources, suggests three major methods of increasing Athens' revenues: the attracting of more metics to the Piraeus, the attracting of foreign traders, and measures to make the silver mines more profitable to Athens. After having argued the almost certain success of these measures, he demonstrates that they all would depend on the maintenance of peace, in fact would be furthered by peace. War, on the other hand, only serves to deplete resources. Thus, if his suggestions are followed,

<sup>be regarded with more affection by</sup>  
we shall secure increased attachment from the Greeks, shall live  
in general, dwell in greater security, and be distinguished with greater honour. 21/

But, <sup>some of</sup> it is his proposals for increasing the revenues that  
interest us most here, <sup>since they bear directly on trade,</sup> particularly the first two. Let us  
consider ~~them in some detail.~~ The first would be to take positive  
steps to encourage the settlement of aliens.

<sup>indigenous, suppose</sup>  
<sup>For in them we have</sup>  
<sup>one of the very best</sup>  
<sup>inasmuch as</sup>  
<sup>and so far from receiving</sup>  
<sup>services they render to states,</sup>  
<sup>paying a special</sup>  
But instead of limiting ourselves  
to the blessings bestowed by nature there <sup>that may be called</sup>  
we should <sup>we should the</sup>  
be joined, <sup>that</sup> in the first place, an attention to the interests of strangers sojourning in it, (for that <sup>the resident aliens.</sup>  
source of revenue, appears to me one of the best, in my opinion,  
since strangers, while they maintain themselves, and <sup>are self-supporting</sup>  
confer great benefits on the states in which they <sup>payment for the many</sup>  
live, receive no pension from the public, but pay the <sup>they contribute by</sup>  
tax imposed on aliens 22/ such attention would seem  
to me likely to be of the utmost benefit... 23/ 27/

To <sup>attract</sup> stimulate the influx of aliens, he suggests the removal  
of all disabilities placed on metics unless this would cause a  
financial loss to the state. <sup>should be lifted</sup> They should be exempted <sup>and not allowed</sup>  
from infantry duty, but <sup>shall</sup> should be permitted to enter the cavalry - ~~an~~ honorific  
organization. They should be <sup>in the</sup> given the right to own property  
that was not being used, provided they built <sup>d</sup> houses on the land. ~~it~~  
Lastly, <sup>d</sup> an order of guardians of foreigners, comparable to the  
guardians of orphans, should be appointed, with honrs going to  
those who, attract the greatest number of foreigners. Such a  
plan, he concludes,

<sup>add to the loyalty of the aliens</sup>  
would make the foreigners more contented under us; and <sup>probably</sup>  
as is likely, all who have no residence in any other <sup>would</sup>  
city would eagerly seek a settlement at Athens, and <sup>without a</sup>  
would thus increase the public revenue. 24/ 28/

The <sup>other</sup> second proposal, closely associated with the first, is <sup>linked</sup>  
to attract greater numbers of foreign merchants, <sup>in large numbers</sup> in addition to the  
metic merchants. For

Free, Ch. 6, p. 12

The rise in the number of residents and visitors would of course lead to a corresponding expansion of our imports and exports, of sales, rents and customs. 28/

the more people settled among us and visited us, the greater quantity of merchandise, it is evident, would be imported, exported, and sold and the more gain would be secured and tribute received.

To effect such augmentations of the revenue <sup>to</sup> only a

few carefully thought out measures would be needed. Prizes awarded to the judges in the Athenian commercial court who decide controversies with the greatest expedition would induce foreigners to trade in the Piræus, since they would not be unnecessarily detained. <sup>25/</sup> Merchants and shipowners who bring particularly important cargoes to Athens should be honored with seats of distinction at public events. <sup>26/ 30/</sup> And a fund should be established, in order to build lodging-houses for sailors in the Piræus, around the harbor, as well as others for merchants convenient to the Emporium; "public houses for entertainment for all that come to the city" should also be built. <sup>27/ 31/</sup> If, together with these measures, peace is maintained, prosperity would be assured. For

<sup>For</sup> who indeed, if the city were in the enjoyment of state tranquility, peace, would not be eager to resort to it, and <sup>use her?</sup> Shipowners and merchants most of all? <sup>would not</sup> those who have plenty of corn, and ordinary wine, and wine of the sweetest kind, and olive oil, and cattle; flock to us; as well as those who can make <sup>men possessed</sup> profit by their ingenuity and by money lending? <sup>to invest... Besides,</sup> Where would... such as desire to make a quick <sup>would those who</sup> sale of purchase of many commodities, obtain their <sup>things quickly</sup> objects better than at Athens? <sup>success in their efforts.</sup> 29/ 32/

Nowhere in this discussion ~~this deserves to be emphasized~~

is there as much as a hint, that the Athenians themselves engaged in trade, <sup>is there</sup> even less a suggestion that the revenues might be increased through the increased commercial activities of the citizens. <sup>On the contrary,</sup> quite the reverse, <sup>no</sup> foreigners should be induced to either visit or settle in Athens. The visit or residence of traders would

what class of men would  
Then there would be  
of brains and  
want to buy or sell  
most with

increase revenues <sup>by way of</sup> through the two percent tax on imports and exports and the harbor taxes, <sup>while</sup> and additional revenues could be obtained from renting the state-owned inns and public houses. Export interests are as non-existent. Sole emphasis is on the income to be derived from foreigners buying and selling in the Piraeus; insofar as the interest is in the trade itself, rather than the revenues to be derived from it, it is the import of essential commodities that is discussed. The attracting of metics has the further advantage of the considerable revenue derived from the metic residence tax.

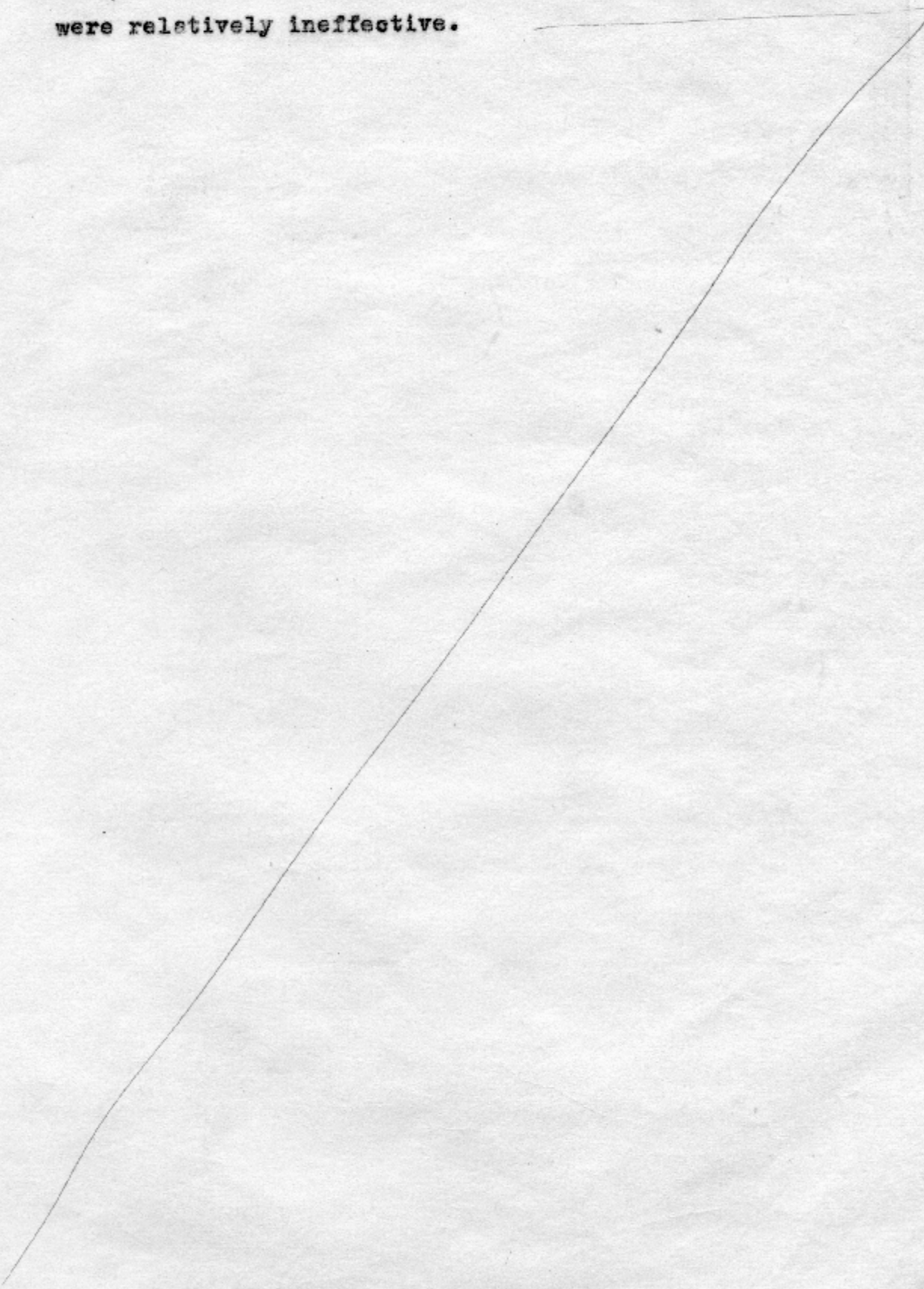
<sup>Apart from the absence of any</sup>  
~~Not only is there no~~ suggestion that citizens take up or extend their volume of trading, what is even more impressive, there is no sign of any fear of the damaging effects foreign competition might have on native traders. <sup>Considering</sup> ~~If one considers~~ the degree to which the state acted as the guarantor of the citizens' livelihood -- <sup>proposals themselves were</sup> the ~~phamphlet itself was~~ aimed at securing alternative means for a state guarantee of livelihood -- it is inconceivable that Xenophon's plan could have involved any harm to Athenian trade. Trade to Xenophon meant trade <sup>carried on</sup> by foreigners, from which Athens would benefit partly directly, through the import of a variety of goods, partly indirectly, through the revenues derived from trade.

Difererent types of traders, then, were engaged in local and in foreign trade. The two forms of trade were sharply distinct. Local trade was market trade -- but no other trade was.

press, lib, p. 10

~~Chapter 35, page 18~~

Overseas trade was partly administered trade, partly gift trade; but the stray market elements which made their appearance here were relatively ineffective.



free a, ~~Chapter 34~~ ~~page 48~~

The <sup>over seas</sup> external trade of the polis involved two main groups of commodities; public requirements and luxuries. The slave trade -- or at least that branch of it of which we have any knowledge, while undoubtedly important, was more the occasional by-product of warfare during the period we are considering, ~~and so will be considered separately.~~ Also the <sup>it</sup> ~~slave trade~~, vital both in war and peace, raised administrative and technical problems of a special character. The public requirements group included both staple foods such as corn, oil, wine, dried fish, and wool, and military requirements such as timber, tar, hemp, and metals. Stones and other materials needed for public buildings should also be included in this group. Thus Xenophon, summing up the fruits of his plan, queries

Would not those who have plenty of corn, and ordinary wine, and wine of the sweetest kind, and olive oil, and cattle, flock to us...? <sup>69</sup>

And even the Old Oligarch is forced to admit the value of the empire which he considers as an asset <sup>to be credited to</sup> ~~of~~ democracy.

The Athenians are the only nation among Greeks and barbarians that can secure wealth; for if any state is rich in timber for ship-building, where shall they dispose of it, unless they gain the favor of the rulers of the sea? Or if any state abounds in iron, or brass, or flax, where shall they dispose of it, unless they obtain the consent of the lords of the sea? It is however, from these very materials that our ships are constructed, for from one nation comes timber, from another iron, from another brass, from another hemp, from another wax. <sup>70</sup>

Another, but smaller, advantage of empire, according to this spokesman, is the access to luxury goods it provides.

If we may allude, in addition, to some smaller advantages, the Athenians, through their intercourse with other nations, in consequence of their maritime ascendancy, have discovered various sorts of luxuries;



since whatever is attractive in Sicily, or Italy, or Cyprus, or Egypt, or Lydia, or Pontus, or the Peloponnesus, or anywhere else, may be collected into one spot through enjoying the command of the sea. <sup>71</sup> 11

But of these various items of trade, one -- corn -- dominates the scene so completely as to ~~lead almost to the~~ <sup>justify the</sup> conclusion that ~~ancient trade was corn trade.~~ <sup>the representative trade of antiquity was the corn trade.</sup> As a tribute to its overwhelming importance, the majority of our evidence relating to trade concerns the corn trade. We therefore will concentrate our attention on it.

~~Our main over point must be this: To what extent did the conditions of the corn trade permit the development of market trade? To what extent did these circumstances favor the use of political and administrative methods of trading, in order to ensure the supply of corn?~~

~~49~~

Chapter 35 . The capitalistic features in antiquity

(I) The nature of the problem

(a) The controversy

- (1) Mommsen, Meyer, Beloch
- (2) Rodbertus, Buecher, Weber, Hasebroek
- (3) Oertel, Tenny Frank
- (4) Marx, Salvioli, Pöhlmann

(b) An institutional analysis of the concepts and terms underlying the discussion

(II) Recapitulation of the oikos controversy and relation to the problem of ancient capitalism.

The subject of the discussion: to what extent did economic life in classical antiquity show a 'modern', i.e., 'capitalistic' character? The answer was sought in different directions:

(a) Extent and intensity of economic activities

- (1) Production
- (2) Transportation
- (3) Trade
- (4) ~~Banking and~~ Finance

(b) Culture traits associated with the presence of market elements

- (1) Speculative situations and activities
- (2) Profiteering
- (3) Political lobbying
- (4) Conjunctural situations
- (5) Value of inside information
- (6) Antipatriotic profiteering
- (7) ~~Banking facilities of market transactions~~
- (8) ~~general use of money loans...~~

(c) Capitalistic features of economic life due to the presence of market elements

- (1) Gain made on prices
- (2) Risks related to ~~fluctuating~~ <sup>change of</sup> prices
- (3) Risks due to debtor's insolvency
- (4) Credit instruments produced through market transactions
- (5) Organizing of production through purchase of factors of production

made on gain/price

credit instr.

gain risks <sup>prices</sup> <sub>fluctuating</sub> credit instruments <sub>enterprise</sub>

capitalism

Extensive use of

change of

the the to be combined

(1) The nature of the problem

(a) The controversy

- (1) Hume, Kant, Mill, Bentham
- (2) Berkeley, Locke, Hume, Reid, Hutcheson
- (3) Hutcheson, Hume, Reid, Hutcheson
- (4) Reid, Hutcheson, Hume, Reid

(2) An historical analysis of the concepts and terms underlying the situation

(3) Comparison of the above controversy and relation to the problem of epistemology

Darwinism: An 18th century negro

Kingdom in Africa

- (1) Hume
- (2) Hutcheson
- (3) Reid
- (4) Hutcheson

(4) Other points associated with the progress of the controversy

- (1) Hume's influence on Hutcheson and Reid
- (2) Hutcheson's influence on Reid
- (3) Reid's influence on Hutcheson and Hume
- (4) Hutcheson's influence on Hume
- (5) Hume's influence on Hutcheson
- (6) Hutcheson's influence on Hume
- (7) Hume's influence on Hutcheson

(5) The scientific method of controversy and its relation to the progress of the controversy

- (1) Hume's method of controversy
- (2) Hutcheson's method of controversy
- (3) Reid's method of controversy

(6) The scientific method of controversy and its relation to the progress of the controversy

(7) The scientific method of controversy and its relation to the progress of the controversy

- 35
1. Becker regards this as the most important passage on the *kapelos* and on local trade.
  2. H. Snorringa, *Agones*, p. III *was he all that definite?*
  3. Snorr., p. ...
  4. Hausdröck, Trade and Politics in Ancient Greece
  5. Finckelstein, "Agones, *hankleros* and *kapelos*" in Classical Philology, v. XXI, Oct., 1926. - Finckelstein qualifies this judgment somewhat by adding "save carefully the distinction was kept is another matter!", p. 336
  6. Finckelstein, p. 328, n. 37 for Greece. For the ancient world in general, cf. Max Weber, General Economic History, p. ...
  7. Demosthenes, *Contra Sabulides*, 31-32
  8. 33-34
  9. This assertion may need qualification for the case of Rhodes, which appears to have been a "trading people".
  10. Andreades, History of Greek Finance, p. 137
  11. *Xen., Rev.*, II, 7
  12. No attorney was permitted in Athenian courts; plaintiff and defendant had to plead for themselves. Accordingly, the habit developed of hiring a skilled speaker to prepare the speech for the individual, which was then memorized.
  13. Demosthenes, *Contra Apaturian*, 4-5
  14. Cf. Chapter 37 below.
  15. Demosthenes, *In Euxodorus*, 51
  16. *In Nymphodoros*, 48-50
  17. *Xen., Rev.*, I, 1
  18. II
  19. III
  20. IV
  21. V
  22. VI, 2
  23. 12 drachmas a year
  24. ....
  25. *Xen., Rev.*, III, 5, 6
  26. III, 3
  27. III, 4
  28. III, 12
  29. V., 3-4.

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2. H. Knorringa, Eporos, p. 114
3. Knorr., p. ...
4. Hasebroek, Trade and Politics in Ancient Greece
5. Finkelstein, "Eporos, Naukleros and Kapēlos" in Classical Philology, v. XXX, Oct., 1935. - Finkelstein qualifies this judgment ~~by~~ by adding "how carefully the distinction was kept is another matter!", p. 336 x2
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13. Demosthenes, Contra Apaturium, 4-5
14. Cf. Chapter 37 below.
- 14a. Demosthenes, In Phormionem, 51
15. In Dionysodorum, 48-50
16. Xen., Rev. I, 1
17. II
18. III
19. IV
20. V
21. VI, p 1
22. 12 drachmae a year
23. III!
24. III!
25. Xen., Rev. III, 5, 6
26. III, 3
27. III, 4
28. III, 12
29. V., 3-4.