

ARCHAIC GREECE

The oikos was not the only source of income of the most powerful amongst the nobles. They may own towns, which have been distributed among them, at the time of conquest. Again the high chief is endowed with the largest share. In the Iliad, Achilles boasts of having possessed himself of 23 towns. "Towns full of people - rich in sheep and cattle, who honour him as a god through their gifts and bountiful tribute." Whether the tribute is called gift or themistes i.e. tribute, what they represent is feudal income. The subject people, though personally free, sink to the status of clients. Agamemnon owns a considerable number of such tributary towns, and actually offers Achilles to pay indemnity through the gift of seven Messenian cities. Such holdings are transferred at will, and the high chief may organise the administration of the conquered territory by indirect means - the typical method of feudalism. The subject people remain owners of their lands and flocks, and their dependence is more political than economic.

Apart from this the high chief is also endowed with a part of the public domain, the temenos, set aside for him as his official holding. The temenos represents such part of the public domain as has not been distributed in the form of lots (kleros) to freemen. The temenos, too, may be settled by subject cultivators, who thus labor for the chief.

The nobles and chiefs possess therefore enormous economic and political superiority over the freemen of the tribe. Their power and possession is exclusively due to military exploits. They are not, in Hasebroek's words, "a group of business minded farmers and ranchers, who are engaged in the peaceful entre-preneurial pursuit of maintaining and increasing and putting to the

best profit what they hold. Free of all care of earning a living, their existence is centered on war and leisure." They are a community of warriors.

Now war as an occupation, at this stage of development, means raids and plunder; consequently booty is regarded as a legitimate form of acquisition of property. But even in peace time, gifts and booty are normal ways of accretion of property. Not sale and purchase, but gifts and counter-gifts, and, though not with equal regularity, raids and counter-raids are their sources. Confer Herodotus account of the origin of the Persian Wars which he traces back to raids and counter-raids started well before the time of the Trojan wars. Piracy is a rather misleading word, since we tend to think in terms of the romantic business of high sea piracy. Of this there was very little since the ancient Greeks rarely ventured on the high seas. It was the coasting practice which made regular piracy possible, since strange ships could be easily surprised. But by far the most important part of warlike trade consisted in raiding coastal settlements. This is a different matter altogether. One way carrying, raiding and piracy is in many cases the origin of trade with hunters, pastoral as well as seafaring tribes. This was especially so in the early times, when the Greeks were not yet generally seafarers, though many of their settlements were coastal. The reason for this type of settlement, was strategic - not so much in regard to active piracy than to their neighbours on the land side, where the settlement was made. Thucydides put it with inimitable precision: "In later times when navigation had become general and wealth was beginning to accumulate, cities were built upon the sea-shore and fortified; peninsulas were occupied and walled-off with a view to commerce and defense against the neighbouring tribes. But the older towns both in the islands and on the continent, in order to protect themselves against the piracy which so

long prevailed, were built inland; and there they remain to this day. For the piratical tribes plundered not only one another, but all those who, without being seamen, lived on the sea coast. "

It should be realised that part of this piracy was economically productive. Two forms of it are not strictly productive: 1) the cattle raid or horse thieving type, which does not really produce horses, or cattle, but only lift them; and 2) the treasure hunting type which robs gold, silver, tripodes, slaves. But as to local produce mutual raiding results in the exchange of raw materials found in the different regions (salt, timber, metals clay, as well as the manufactures made from them.) In this regard, value is added on to them by transporting them to a spot where they are scarcer. Mutual raids may have roughly the same effect as bilateral trade -- with all the advantages to the unilateral way as long as preconditions of the latter are absent, those of the former are given. According to Wilamowitz - Mollendorff the Homeric age knew only marriage by purchase, i.e., by bride price, which is in conformity with exogamy indeed, the marriage ritual reveals remnants of the earlier practice of marriage by robbery. Historical Greece practiced marriage with dowry as contrasted to bride price. Incidentally, most savage peoples have both bride price and dowry institutions, which are not regarded as mutually exclusive. They are institutionalized separately, which is greatly helped by distinction between male and female goods. The contract is never synallagmatic. The double payment results to some extent in integration of economic activities as if regular exchange had taken place. It should be said here that the robbing of women is productive in the sense of increasing the value of the object since under exogamous rules, only strange women can be married. As to their value as slaves or even as wives in regard to their skill and craftsmanship, that is a different matter. Skilled craftswomen were highly prized, but then the raid would have to be directed towards a territory

of higher culture, and is not simply covered by the mutuality formula.

For centuries the Greek tribes were the cautious and preferably 'coasting pirates of the Aegean.' This occupation was exclusively reserved to the seafaring nobles and their private bands. The regular trade of such peoples as the Phoenicians, was the victim of this kind of sea raiding, not its partner.

The every day life of such a community of warlike nobles is all hunt, sports and carousing, adorned by dance, music and song. Homer's Epics are full of reference to the hunt of the wild boar, deer, hares and lion. There is nothing more exciting than the reliefs of the capture of wild bulls on the golden cups found in Vaphio near Sparta. But there is also the standing phrase which recurs innumerable times, how the heroes "sat at meal all day". The common meal is the natural form of taking food during a campaign, or an expedition or a hunt, or during long periods of migration or wandering. The joint meal of the nobles of the Homeric Age as the basic institution of civilian life and the outstanding feature of everyday is characteristic of a feudal upper class which regards military pursuits the normal content of its existence to which it is uniquely suited by training, tradition and outlook. Hunt and common meals are accompanied by athletic competition, the agon - - the ideal pastime of a warrior people permanently on the alert. The funeral of a noble warrior is the occasion for large scale athletic competition which almost partakes of religious earnestness. The dances which accompany the meals are - as mostly with savage tribes - performed by the male participants of the meals; every town has its rocky dancing square. There are indications that the dance is of the war-dance type, rhythmic movements to accompanying music or of a gymnastic type such as of the two ball players who perform their solo dances to the beat of the clapping bystanders. Dances performed by women alone, are very common. But mixed dancing of men and women are most exceptional; probably an exotic innovation which we find recorded only on the

shield of Achilles.

The military technique of the time was highly favorable to the maintenance of the knightly prerogatives underlying such a sub-feudal condition.

The superiority of the heavily armed and highly trained professional warrior over the ordinary unskilled and unprotected crowd is so great that warfare takes on the form of single combat between these towers of strength. (Typical description of Menelaus etc: -- like the lion driven off from his slaughter.) Dreadnought tactics -- They are conveyed to the battlefield in a chariot -- the war chariot -- since they should not meet their opponent exhausted by the strain of long walk, under a heavy shield. The shield is very large and very heavy, huge and cumbersome, designed to protect against a shower of arrows. A very large spear has to be carried, also a sword, apart from the helmet with the long main of Carian design. The Ajax shield is 7 hides i.e., the weight of 7 hides. Only a nobleman attended by a male attendant (therapontes) the charioteer who drives him to the spot is capable of fighting under conditions such as these. The ordinary tribal levies on foot are mere bystanders who are not much good except as archers fighting from a safe distance, and, of course, counter-balancing the similarly haphazard performance of the other side.

He is, however, needed also in his capacity of sailor and oarsman, as well as herdsman and husbandman for the provisioning of the long campaign. For there is no supply from home and a ten-year campaign means ten harvests off the neighbouring countryside. So under the walls of Troy there must be a large camp of the investing host and labourers producing food -- a camp which must be protected against surprise attacks of the heroes of Troy, since even one of them alone might set fire to the camp unless it was protected by a Greek hero able to meet him in open combat. The 'knightly' conditions of the combat are therefore to

be taken realistically, not as a poet's device. This explains the overwhelming social superiority of the nobles who are surely as formidable when raging against their own dependent people as they are against the enemy. No wonder the true nobleman's epithet is volkverzehrend:destroyer of people -- presumably of the common people in battle.

Of the traits characteristic of a feudal society, we find a sufficient number to describe the Homeric Age as sub-feudal.

The basic situation is that of a tribal community expanding into a larger territory as a result of migration. How far conquest by force, or gradual infiltration, how far military subjection or peaceful assimilation was prevalent, how much of the native population was killed or expelled, we cannot know nor do we need to decide.

Of feudal traits the following have been seen to be present:

- (a) war or pirate bands such as that which is constituted by Odysseus and his hetairoi -- Gefolgeschafft -- his comrades who are the oarsmen in the boat; that he can trust them and that they are of his ilk, is shown by the episode of the Sirenes when he makes his comrades bind him to the mast, while they stop their ears with wax, so as not to succumb to the blandishments of the Sirenes.
- (b) the tribal levies which follow the chief to the war as for instance Achilles' ^{My}Myidonos and the rest. But the heroes themselves follow Agamemnon the war-king, and owe him allegiance. True, no homage is in evidence, nor is there any reference to enfeoffment either of cattle or land. Though the gift of 7 towns offered to Achilles by Agamemnon may carry implications of a fief, in so far as the people settled on the land obviously are meant to go with it.

dependent later

- (c) the attendants of the nobles show some deference which is obviously due to the social standing of the chief. They are certainly not officials, elevated to office; nor employees paid for their services; nor kinsmen acting under clan law. The social bond is essentially feudal.
- (d) the dues and tributes mentioned as themistes are purely customary; they are not truly taxes since no organized government or state is in being, nor are they truly rents in the economic sense of the term.

Now let us proceed to the economic organization of the society. The main forms of integration with which we meet are householding, reciprocity, and redistribution.

(a) The predominant form is householding since provision with the primary necessities of life is entrusted to it.

The manorial system is based on the large estate of the nobles which provide them, their families and a number of dependents with all their needs. Food, clothing, furniture, implements, utensils, containers, buildings, weapons, carts, yokes, harnesses and chariot are produced in the oikos. Most crafts are performed on a handyman basis. Odysseus prides himself not only on ploughing and mowing but also on making a bedstead or building a house or ship. This is the stage at which most craftsmen are not yet sufficiently specialized to make a living by a single craft (On the whole it bears out Weber's thesis that skilled crafts originate in the internal requirements of the large household). Not the economic, but the social class is primary. He who is without land and therefore compelled to earn his living by working for others, is not socially equal to the full landed members of the tribe. He is in the same position as the physically disabled or the stranger. He is either

a thete or a demiourse. The smith is typically lame, Hephaistos was lame, so was Wieland, his Germanic counterpart. Homer mentions as craftsmen who are called in from outside the medicine man, the seer, the singer and the carpenter. These are wandering craftsmen, professionals, who are engaged by the lord of the manor for a time. The smith, however, may perform in the smithy, the potter in his shop, the other usually work in the household on material provided by the lord at whose behest they are doing the job. The thete is mostly an agricultural labourer employed in the corn field, i.e., agriculture proper, not so much in garden orchard and vineyard and olive plantation. Where slave labour might pay better. The demi-ourse is an artisan, a craftsman, a specialist or public servant. Both are free, but not full citizens.

But while the upper view of life thus reveals the absence of trade and commerce, the lower and more modest view may reveal some degree of barter. Hesiods peasant definitely mentions the sale of some of his produce. In vain does he hate the sea, he must take some of his produce by boat and get what he needs in exchange. Carrying by boat (phortos) is compared by Hesiod to carting. But this kind of empory or nautily he practices only under the stress of debt and hunger. He decries selling as "foolish," though respectable. If he has food stored for a year to keep a year, then he "can hang the rudder in the smoke." There is no need to go sea faring, "if the land can keep you". This is the type of seasonal trading, which the peasant does to barter a sheep or ox from the surplus of his corn. Hesiod repeatedly insists on the fact that only lack of food in store would induce him to sell anything. He is, of course, not a servant or thete but a free peasant, employing servants, hiring labour, and maybe owning slaves, like Eumaios, the swine herd. But there is no mention in Hesiod of any Greek professional trader or merchant.

The normal ways of acquisition which he discusses at length are gift and robbery. He argues that gift is better than robbery -- obviously a very paradoxical view. He even argues for a living gained by work. This is his main point. One feels in every line the conscious originality of the seer and poet who insists on so unnatural an ideal.

The oikos is the dominant form of organisation, nothing that conflicts with it has full standing in the community.

Like industry, trade also is undeveloped. Homer has no name for a trader or merchant. The Phoenicians who are obviously traders he describes by a general term of travelers (poros). Mentes, in whose guise Athena appears to Odysseus, is engaged in trading ^{iron} ~~copper~~ for ^{copper} ~~iron~~. But the Taphians whose king he is, are noted pirates and Mentes is definitely not a trader but a king. He needs some copper for himself and his household, that's all. Hesiod's poor peasant is bartering some of his produce, carrying it in his own boat. Markets in the economic sense are unknown in the epic. A market means invariably a meeting place of the tribe, never a place of sale and purchase (even in Hesiod p.2.). This alone should prove the predominance of householding. The Phoenicians "Commander of sailors who is watchful of the cargo and of greedy gains."

Reciprocity is the most important survival of earlier tribal society. The main form in which valuables pass from owner to owner amongst nobles is gift and counter gift. It is genuine gift giving -- not barter -- for the counter gift is neither strictly equivalent to the gift, nor is it supposed to be given in return for the gift. They are given by virtue of independent sociological situations. Typical instances are xenia, gifts given to a foreign friend of the family or gifts given to a stranger of distinction. The basic gift is that given in honour of the gods. This is the archetype of gift.

Even here a "return" is expected. That is in effect the point in giving gifts to the gods -- to gain their good will. A gift may be a bribe. Confer Athena's speech in the first Song of the Odyssey when she pleads Odysseus's case ---

The number of instances in which gifts are mentioned is endless. Yet never is the gift a real present, i.e., given for sheer love of the person out of kindness. * When Diomedes and Glaukos discover on the field of battle their kinship they exchange armours. The poet remarks that Diomedes must have been struck with insanity by the gods since his armour was worth 100 oxen, against the 9 of Glaukos. However such a mercenary attitude is on the whole quite foreign to the poem. But the ratio of 9:100 was too much for him -- he simply couldn't stand it ... The typical gift and counter-gift occurs in relations of (1) god (2) kings (3) nobles -- nowhere else. Whether lesser people exchanged gifts is not known to me. The matter lies in the realm of prestige economy; the prime interest lies in the kudos connected with the transaction. Though there is, of course, no indication of destruction as in the potlatch, the competitive element is not quite absent. There is endless talk about the gifts a person is going to give, and the gifts he once upon a time has given. Practically all the gold and silver that has not been robbed, has been received at one time or other, as a gift. Nowhere is there any mention of gold and silver having been traded for commodities. Nor, singularly enough of gold having been mined or gained from river sand, though the latter must surely have been the case ^{ad} in Lydia. By far the larger amount of gold is given as a present to the gods to gain their favour. The amount of gold gifts testified in this way by Herod^{otus} is astounding. To gain prestige with the god, and favour with the Pythoness²⁵ was of prime political importance.

*[Irobrlanders]

It was no use bribing a king, unless one had assured oneself first of the good will of the god. It might be said that gold could not be used in any other way than a gift, i.e., bribe, offering, present, honour, sacrifice -- is on record not a single instance of buying anything useful. Very few instances in effect. I have found none!

The third form of integration was redistribution. Whether communal forms of land tenure ever existed, and how long the possession of cattle by the clan was communal, we do not know. It hardly survived the loosening of the blood-tie connected with the migrations and settlement. It is very probable that pastures remained common, certainly, in the wastes, maybe also in the village common. (Kithairon in Attica) The institution which outlived communal possession, was redistribution of anything commonly acquired amongst the members of the clan. Not communal ownership, but redistribution is the essential legacy of tribal existence. Thus distribution of land by lot, the assignment of a kleros enough to keep a small family, was traditional. The later quadrances ^{remains were} ~~was~~ only one instance, ⁵ since ~~was~~ the distribution of land, and redistribution of it, if necessary, was the basis ^{permanent method} of colonization. The repeated demands for the redistribution of land during the course of Greek history, ^{were} ~~was~~ on the direct line of tribal tradition. ⁵ ~~The~~ abolition of debt ^{is} ~~is~~ another instance of the same attitude: in either case the community redistributed the shares.)

The principle of redistribution is firmly rooted in religious and ceremonial rites. The central rite of burnt offerings is invariably connected with the distribution of the meat among the participants. Apotechai. (1) In temple, (2) at the king's table (3) prytany. (In Egypt this is the institution out of which the vast oikos system developed: an empire run on oikos-form by redistributive methods. The same was practiced in Macedonian

court, and later by Alexander the Great in Persia.)

Redistribution of booty: Menelaos quote Odyssey, The Iliad conflict.

The silver of Laureion: Themistocles. ~~Themis~~.

The gold of Sykion: Herodotus ^{300/3 B.C.}

The corn of Teos and Lebedos. The ¹⁵ sites of later Greece. The annona of the Romans.

Athenian finance and even Roman — ^{collected} no surplus, no state property. Land, corn, money — ^{all} to be distributed.

The extreme value of citizenship: sharing in redistribution

(Restrictive character of such a concept of citizenry.)

Colonization was a main achievement of the aristocratic cities:

Chalkis, Eretria, Corinth and Megara. The noble families led the ventures and the purpose was power and influence through the founding of agricultural colonies. Not Athens, Sparta, or Thebes ^{led}, but these seats of knightly nobles of ancient tradition.

Homeric Age: 12th century to 9th century

Primitive age.

Sub-feudal society: 3 social classes: Noble, freemen, slave.

The class of freemen falls into two significant groups:

1. Citizens of full status.

2. Citizens of inferior status:)hektemoroi; sharecroppers
)thetes and demiourgoi — Labourers and craftsmen

A. The economic institutions of this stage primarily embody householding as a form of integration. The ruling class relies for its every day necessities on its large estates, the peasants on their cattle and crops. As late as the beginning of the 6th century, Solon's military system is based on

revenue in kind. (homegrown) produce. (ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας)

B. Reciprocity is still in evidence in gifts and counter gifts - mainly amongst the nobles, as with or between their own rank and the gods, kings.

The survival of feudal gift - and counter gifts exists only in attenuated form. (1) Hesiod's: "gift eaters" (2) Aparchai as a feature of all public feasting, the chief's table: The prytanies, the sacrifices, etc.

C. Redistribution prevails in the public sphere. Distribution of food, booty, spoils including women and slaves, land, gold and silver treasure; It is from here that later the redistribution of public funds, posts and offices derives — spoils system — *Themistocles, Laurium (Laurium) 480*
Herodotus: Syphnos (gold)

The collection side of this looms large in:

(a) liturgie: trierarchy
choregy
pompe
gymnastarchy
Stasyis στήσις

- (b) naucraries: (organization of the)

(c) participation in gifts and pompe. (*Alkinoos of Scheria*)

Large part of this is in prestige economy. The approved aim of the activity is honor, prestige, kudos, public standing, SOCIAL privilege.

(1) the treasure, possession of which enables the person to give offerings to the gods (sacrifices); bribes, ransom; pay composition and fines; make political friends, cement alliances; secure a bride of high standing; ^{involving family alliances.} these acts are within the field of prestige economy; i.e., aims "social" and the means of achieving them also. The treasure itself is not the result of thrift or gainful use of economic assets, or other business like methods but raid, piracy, plunder, ransom, tribute, and gifts — in often acquired ⁱⁿ expeditions, adventures, as in the case of the legendary Golden Fleece.

- (2) Liturgies are an honor and duty; it is the honor which makes them of value; the hierarchy entitles to naval command; choregy goes with patronage at the great festivals; and so on.
- (3) a following of armed men, of vassals, of "lesser kings" (as they are called) (therapontes)
- (4) the gifts and tribute with which the feudal lord is honoured is an asset of prestige economy.
- (5) The privilege of feasting foreign guests of standing is another asset of prestige economy.
- (6) Prizes set at athletic or musical contests. This prestige economy is partly linked with subsistence economy (as in food distribution, sacrifices, kleroi, etc.) partly it is not (as in the sphere in which gold moves, as well as objects made of precious metals as well as female slaves.)
- (7) Chariot Racing at the Olympic games may result in the highly prized win -

ARCHAIC AGE

Beginning of 8th century to end of 6th. (Beginnings: primitive,
End: totally transformed.)

The beginning of this period is still that of Homeric society, for:

- (a) the Epic shows the rise of the aristocracy and the fading of kingship with the Phaeacians. But this happened not before the 8th century: remember 683 B.C. is the traditional date of the establishment of archontage in Attica.
- (b) The social and economic structure of the society described in the epics cannot, therefore, have been that of an earlier period. Homer and Hesiod must have reflected their own time, i.e., 8th century conditions. These were primitive ...

- Technology:
- a. earliest Gk. stone temple beg. 7th century (wood, before).
 - b. geometrical pottery-down to 7th century
 - c. writing about beg. 7th century.

Trade
Money
Markets

Economically: no iron for weapons only for some implements, (axe). no trader or merchant yet in evidence in Greek society -- no one who lives by buying and selling; in the economic sense, no market place; the agora is not a market place. No coins. No metal money is in use for the purpose of economic transactions (though metal objects may be "treasure"). Cattle -- the standard of value, though not actual means of exchange.

By the end of this period the Greeks have spread to the confines of the known seas; many dozens of colonies have been established; the social situation has entirely changed; fierce class struggles are waged (621).

Draco's publication of the laws; loosening of the clan tie; end of blood feud; party strife continues unabated; Solon liberates the poor from their indebtedness; abolishes debt slavery, cancels private and public money debts, deprives the supatrids of some of their privileges, reforms the currency; sets up monetary equivalents for some revenue in kind -- the whole picture is worlds removed from the barbarian idyll of the Homeric Age, and its tribal unity in a subfeudal state. (U. Wilcken contra: Hasebroek, Wade-Gary, Heichelheim.⁽²⁾)

(POLANYI: Establishment of equivalents: a concession to the poor: (7) XII Tables; Solon; ESHUNNA, State of Manistatish)

560-510 - This is followed by the Pisistratid tyranny --

- a. an incisive change towards monetarisation
 - b. an expansive foreign policy
 - c. a public policy favouring the poor.
- 50 yrs, {
- ~~Analogy~~ Analogies to Babylonian regime (Istammurabi)
- (aa) oikos
 - (bb) absolutism
 - (cc) favoring the poor

508-501

By the end of the century the Cleisthenian constitution introduces reforms which cut at the root. The democratic Athens has been born; popular democracy has started out on its career.

What happened between the 8th and the middle of the 6th century to transform the Greek society from top to bottom?

The traditional answer given by the "modernizing" school was very plausible: Ed. Meyer, Julius Bezech, also Glotz, Toutain, (extreme: Pohlmann; URE) pointed to three groups of facts.

A. Colonies, migration

(a) the vast colonizing movement supported by governments from middle of 8th to middle of 6th century.

Money: (b) the coined metal money invented at the beginning of the 7th century in Lydia;

Trade: (c) the Greek begins to take the place of the Phoenicians in the Mediterranean trade. Rise of Greek sea power in evidence.

Markets:

The obvious interpretation appeared to be this:

(a) colonization suddenly opens up avenues of trade and commerce, markets and supplies of raw materials;

(b) manufacturers get a powerful stimulus, industrial activities for export increase; gainful pursuits in trade and commerce create wealth which seeks an outlet; it is invested in commerce and industry;

(c) the old landed aristocracy -- traditionally ship-owning -- is the first to grow tremendously wealthy; its piratic monopolies turn into commercial monopolies; they make use of the state to further their interests: "the landed aristocracy is thus

transformed into a merchant aristocracy." (Ed. Meyer.)

- (d) a new middle class of traders, brokers, manufacturers, shipowners, carriers, independent craftsmen and artisans comes into being; the classes press for recognition in the Solonian constitution; their money income becomes equivalent to landed income, and, consequently, claims equal status; result: the privileges of the aristocracy are extended to the new middle class.
- (e) the sudden vast expansion of capitalist activities is impossible without a proletariat as its counterpart. There is not only a great increase of the slave population -- bought slaves are general now -- but the former peasant sinks into proletarian status; the tenant and hektemoros sinks into debt; he is threatened with debt bondage and, eventually, sold as a slave to foreign parts;
- (f) the thetes are no better than slaves; lacking civic rights they are ruthlessly exploited by capitalist entrepreneurs; in the factories which spring up like mushrooms in the wake of the "get rich quick" rush an industrial proletariat makes its claims felt and the atmosphere of industrial strife spreads over the country. This is the process by which Greece was transformed within hardly more than a century from the Homeric idyll to the classical country of classwar in the time of Draco, Solon, the Pisistratid tyrannis, and culminating in the Cleisthenian apotheosis of the victorious people -- but the people not being economically but only politically enfranchised.

(B) According to the other view this is hardly better than a fairy tale:

The facts, it is agreed, are not in doubt:

(a) a vast colonization movement; Not the settlement of Attic Asia Minor and ~~but from~~ the islands,

but from Here Caucasus, Massiglia, Syria

(b) the use of money;

(c) predominance of Greek speaking trade in the Eastern and Central Mediterranean and fierce ^(d) class warfare arising out of the deterioration of the status and condition of the poor.

But as to the interpretation of these facts, it springs from the misplaced identification of a tribal society and its military aristocracy with a Western European community of 2000 years later. (Continued: page 65)

Now, it is doubtful whether this is the whole story, but on the balance the truth seems to be with primitivists.

(a) Colonization: Who were the colonizers?

Questions Who organized and benefitted from them?
Which were the colonizing towns, which were not?
What were the colonizing sites like?
What was the trading value of the colony to the founding city?
What was the social organization of the colonics?
(On Euboea Chalkis and Eretria - twin colonizing cities. Megara and Corinth - On the isthmus)

Answers The leaders of the colonizers were clan chiefs of rather younger sons of the most archaic communities: for whom war, piracy, land conquest, slave raids, acts of violence and adventures were ^a daily occupation.

The colonists formed part of the community itself, sometimes selected by lot, more often a motley crowd of homeless vagrants under a military leader. • Nausithoos (father of Alkinoos) lead the Phocaicians (The Phalax) to Scheria, divided there the land. Chalkis and Eretria's leading clans act together. Numerous old colonies -- Rhodes under a Heraclide, Ionia under the Melides,

the "nobles lead the people" -- it is said -- and as a result big new landholdings are founded in the colonies (not all the land is divided by lot...)

Serfdom rather general in these colonies: so in Crete, Byzantium, Heracles (Pontus), Syracuse.

(Aristocratic interest prominent even much later:)

older Miltiades in Chersonnesos
Pisistratus in Sigaeon
Corinthian tyrannies: Numerous

H. Prinz: "Naukratis" is put in the same category. Middle of 6th century; the focus of all modernizing argumentation; the pièce de résistance.

A parallel to the Hanse: A Plantation of Miletus as a factory on Egyptian soil. Greek exporting industries: Samos, Lesbos, Melos, Corinth, Klazomenai Pyrene and others.

Herodot: 2. 173)

Amasis 570-526 B.C.

Strabo?: 17 1.18)

The pottery finds of Flinders Petrie. (Naukratis etc.)

650 Psammetich I: the Milesians were warriors and adventurers (mercenaries) the Nile valley was their preferential haunt.

Strabo: founding of Milesian strong point after battles, founded Naukratis. They were probably assisting Psammetich.

How much export pottery involved?

Was Naukratis autonomous?

Innumerable colonies were pirates' nests; small islands off coasts such as (~~Islands~~) Lipari (Islands) or in Straits: Abydos; Ortygia (off Syracuse).

Lehmann - Hartleben Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeers.

p. 31. Emporium - and silent trade.

24ff Epineion type of relation between port and town.
Corinth: 2 Epineions.

10ff Definite absence of natural or artificial port facilities on site
of Greek towns, take Corinth.

31. Religious safeguards of ports: Altar, etc. Reason for non-fortified
character of trade. Two meanings of market (?)

(31) Delos: trade emporium "pirates respected it."
"Emporien" "ohne Siedlung"

p. 32 Charax Arpoblanda Anpolitania

Cyrene and Carthage Strabo C. 836
Herodot IV. 196 on silent trade.

32. An uninhabited Isle of Mole off Crete had an agora. cf. Wrydah
Piraeus.

Haseb.

p. 113. "Colonization was the ^{akme} ~~aim~~ of Greek clan rule, on a historical scale."

The culta of the Phyle's, Phratries, clans were transferred to the
colonies - - not trade.

Which towns? Chalkis, Eretria, Corinth, Megara.

rather than Athens, Sparta, Thebes, Argos, Thessaly or Elis

{ Chalkis first in Sicily: Nexus
Sea-straits Thrace: Chalcidike
They possess Italy: Rumae (Gym)
a powerful Iolentian plain
aristocracy

{ purely land-
owning

No trade or commerce interest involved: "Hippocrotas"
chivalry.

{ Eretria was one of the top aristocracies.

{ Corinth leading clans: shipowners, seafarers,
land toward Sikyon: Thucydides "first sea fight" 664 B.C.

It was not a commercial aristocracy .

Herodot: "least contempt for manual worker."

{ isthmus/tyrants made her industrial.

Syracus; serfdom Bakchiads; Kerkyra

{ Megara "Hippels" ... Byzantium (ca. 7th: serfdom)

{Both above are piratic, the one on sea straits, the other on isthmus.!}

Miletos: More "Homeric" than the rest ... In the nature of things towns were founded on the sea coast, or near the coast. But the agricultural interest equals that of security.

Pre-Greek Town Sites

Analogy: Wandering of cities not unknown --- In the early middle ages, with the passing of the Pax Romana, numbers of towns moved from the coast to the more secure higher sites of land whence they moved much later, back again, when security had returned.

It appears that a similar process - or at least the second half of it -- took place in 2 millennium B.C. in the Aegean. The peace of the Minoan Thalassocracy brought towns from the summit of the hills down the coast. Kastro on Crete wandered from the mountain peaks, down to the coast. The ancient cemetery is on the north slopes, the later town in the southern plain. After its destruction the town moved back again on to the heights at the end of Minoan period. Other towns such as Psedra, Mochlos Kastro show somewhat similar movement though none as explicitly as Palao-Kastro.

In Greece itself, the typical prehistoric site of settlement was near the coast. Two circumstances very surprising.

(a) Many towns are situated in coastal regions very rich in natural ports, and yet at a spot which lacks such a port completely.

In the Kyklades -- very dependent upon sea communication -- the central town. Philakopi, a trading town, has no port, while the neighbouring later town of Melos, has an excellent haven.

The prehistoric town near Korinth had no port. Troja had no port, in any sense of the term. It is ^{an} ascertained fact that numerous important cities were lacking in port facilities.

(b) Even less comprehensible is the equally ascertained absence of any artificial landing facilities.

Imnumerable architectural remains have come down upon us, but nowhere is there even a sign of a port construction of ancient origin.

No other explanation offers than this: Navigation did not demand such a contraption.

No natural nor artificial port was needed. Ships were made to run ashore, and were then hauled on to the beach.

The Phaeacians — top of everything — have no port, only the isthmus itself; ships are beached; the agora is on the isthmus; it is surrounded by a low wall; (The market place was anyway not the center of the ancient town. Take ancient Athens. The town comprises the market only later on — apart from the "planned towns" of the city builders.) It seems that there were two market-places (plural used) Lahn. suggests two different uses of, maybe, physically separated (!) markets. (Polanyi: What if the famous emporium is meant?)

Anfang einer "Differenzierung" zwischen Handelsmacht

und Mittelpunkt des politischen Lebens.

(Polanyi: May have been the opposite of Differenzierung)

L.H.: "The ^{fenced} hedged-in (fenced) agora is a sacrosanct spot — it does not need the protection of walls. Poseidon, the patron."

(The holy market precinct is "archaic", not Mycenaean, he says.)

Many ~~may~~ cases cited.

Altars are general at landing places (thanks) outside the walls. In Ephesos probably agora and market separately situated, outside the walls.

"Vorgriechische,
Strato"

Greek period begins up to end of geometric period.

- (a) lessening of maritime trade and seafaring.
- (b) removal of towns from the coast.

18. (a) Korinth: Under the protection of Akrokorinth is now settled. The new Dorian town does not continue on the site of the pre-historic coastal settlement. It was probably not a trading place. Even later, it was land communications that made Corinth important. cf. Th. 1.13.

quote

- (b) Megara, I, $1\frac{1}{2}$ off the pre-Dorian coastal place, Epineion; Nisaa - Minoa.
- (c) Troizen 15 stadia off the coast of the Kalaureia port -- the center of the ~~at~~ Amphictyony of Kalaureia.
- (d) Hippola considerable distance of port-bay, high above sea level-- later discarded! Only in the M.A. was a place founded there.
- (e) Arens, on the coast beach disappears instead Sandkona, on 300 m high rugged rock. On the beach nothing remains but an ancient altar of Poseidon.

The early colonists in Asia Minor selected "front to the land" sites: Islands off the coasts, capes.

This offers often good ports, but especially SAFETY. Greek specialty: safe capes often have several good ports!

Miletos
Halikarnasos: small island settled first
Syrakus)
Byzanz)
Miconia) cape sites
Tarent)

Hyblaean Megara: first settled cape of Thapsos; Beresan, off the Bug delta. Kyme: first island of Ischia settled.

Negative: Bocche di Cattaro Brundisi (deep wonderful harbour: unsettled) taken for a river delta by Polybius.
~~1/2 km to the north~~
 one km to the north

the rock peninsula of Breno was settled: Epidaurum
(Ragusa Vecchia)

called: "allgemeingültige Ortstypus"

p. 22.:

Another typical case was settlement near agricultural land.

(a) Aolian Nymæ: off the coast, in the depth of a bay dominating the entrance to a fertile plain.

Strabo (622. It was said, it took them 300 years to discover that the city they had founded lay on the sea.)

(b) Kolophon: 13 km. off the coast, near a fertile plain.

(c) Ephesos: off the coast, on a hill dominating the plain. They displaced the Karian mountain stronghold people. Nevertheless they settled not here, but off the plain. Consequently, Lydian period: Ephesos was unimportant. The overwhelming importance of the sea began to to come out later. This causes later the development of the Epineion.

Epineion

The "port town of a region" (regional port.)

: Port of region, tribe or town. No Latin for it. Aristotle regarded it as an ideal arrangement. Anti-commercialist anti-navalist.

(a) political danger of independence

(b) rapid growth: Naples (Rome) } cases of epineion
Antwerp (Brussels) }
Amsterdam (Hague) }

answers: agrarian capital holds it own

Corinth: two Epineia

Some became an Epineion of a new town; others arise as E. of old town.

Corinth: East: Kenchrea (former) pre-Dorian site
West: Lechaion

Incidentally: Phoenicians 1000 - 700 their shipping hardly advanced over Greeks. No Western factories; no ports, no island fort. (Carthage: different.)

Philistines: even less "Epineion" type.

Egypt: no ports.

"West": nothing.

EMPORION

Silent trade: well known in ancient world. Her. IV, 196. Carthaginians on Libyan coast.

Other instances: Wilcken: Philostrat. Tya. VI., 2.

Emporia without settlement may have played a role. Strabo c 836 Carthage and Cyrenaean Greeks met on the Tripolitanian coast, at Charax. On the isle of Mole (off Crete) it was recorded that an agora existed ...

Colonies usually settled near strange semi-hostile tribes ... Trade demanded a neutral meeting place. Happened in Samos. Its original settlement was in touch with Karians. Halikarnassos the same. Spanish emporium (of Carthage)

NEORION: Ships house. (Naval term)

Main reason: an extraterritorial region outside the town: in order to keep the stranger at bay.

Naukratis - from the Greek side / - was something similar.

The nature of the social changes

according to the primitivist school.

(A) Colonization

The differences are these: the primitivists deny:

(1) that there was a sudden large scale development towards capitalism

- (2) a change to merchant aristocracy
- (3) the birth of a middle class
- (4) the emergency of an industrial proletariat.

Manufacture

The main point is the assertion that colonization was purely agricultural; that industry remained throughout handicraft; even though cumulative, no machines were used; no investment in industrial plant took place.

Commerce

But even as to commerce, no Greek citizen class engaged in commerce existed. The Greek society remained a rural society and the fierce class struggle that was waged was one between strata of an agrarian society. The Solonian constitution was roughly amounted to the emancipation of the peasantry! *Attica became a hoplit polis, the capital of a citizen army, where the peasantry had equal constitutional rights with the aristocracy.*

The rise of sea power and the status of the thetes as sailors in the navy brought in its wake the emancipation of the landless agricultural strata, the Cleisthenian constitution brought the thetes into the confines of the citizenry. But the citizen was still what he was before, a privileged individual, a member of the ruling class separated by a chasm from the non-citizen: the slave and the resident alien, the metic.

Herodotus: *flourished* middle of 5th century.

II.167 "Whether the Greeks borrowed from the Egyptians their notions about trade like so many others, I cannot say for certain. I have remarked that the Thracians, the Scythians, the Persians, the Lydians, and almost all other barbarians hold the citizens who practice trades and their children in less respect than the rest while they esteem as noble those who keep aloof from handicrafts and especially honor such as are given wholly to war. These ideas prevail throughout the whole of Greece, particularly among the Lacedaemonians,

Corinth is the place where merchants are least despised." (H60)

(Herodot: merchants despised throughout the whole of Greece...")

At no time in Greece was trade compatible with a nobleman's status. Contempt for the occupation of trader was general. In the *Odyssey* the suggestion of a man being a trader is thrown out as an insult. The philosophers of the classic age regarded not only the trader and the merchant, not only the craftsman and artisan, but whatever occupation which would involve earning a living as unworthy of a free mind.

The resident alien, or metic, a second class citizen, doing heavy physical labour, for poor pay, was the typical maritime trader in Attica.

The kapeios was the local retailer. The naukleros and the emporos were occupied in maritime trade. The naukleros was a poor shipowner - a trading skipper - like a man owning a truck - without capital. Since he could not own land, he could not invest nor grow rich save by an exceptional stroke of luck. (The local retailer dealt mainly in victuals and drink, his canteen or stall was in the market place or in its immediate neighbourhood. At least in classical times, the keeping of a stall in the agora was evidently a privilege of the poor Athenian citizens, but at other times, and in ~~the~~ other ways, the kapeios was usually a metic.)

The benefit of the business went largely to the money lender ^{the} wealthy Athenian or metic who lent him a sea loan at high interest. Such financial speculation on a considerable scale was far from disreputable. Except in some special circumstances as e.g. in order to make a voyage of adventure, study or exploration possible, the nobleman did not himself venture into commerce.

Sappho's brother sells his wine to Naucrati.

As Solon put it: "If a man is poor and borne down by misery, he is

still able to earn. There are many ways: the one errs on the seas and tries to gain a living by seafaring; the other ploughs the soil and serves as a labourer for a year, another who knows the work of Athense and Hybalstoi earns a living by the skill of his own hands." Result: the typical representatives of a landless proletariat are the traders, agricultural labourers and the poorest artisans."

We must clearly realize that Naukleros—trading shipper—and metoikos were practically synonymous, most traders were metics, most metics were trying to make a living by the heavy physical labour as artisans or as seatrader.

There was no merchant aristocracy in Athens; no patriciate: no class of nobles which would have given status and prestige to trade by engaging in it themselves.

Continued: Rise of the Market

The constitutional change was caused by a war chariot and therewith ~~the~~ sudden radical change in military tactics. The passing away of the single combat form of fighting.

The hoplit phalanx is an infantry formation. It is :

- (a) heavily armed but not comparable in expense to a war chariot equipment.
- (b) the hoplit is well trained, high above the level of the fighting multitude.
- (c) the phalanx was effective against cavalry, which could not break it.
- (d) it originated in Sparta but was taken over by Athens. (The state of Naran-Sin, 3rd mill., Babylonia)

The peasant who procured his own hoplit equipment and was trained

to fight in the phalanx superseded the "cavalry man," who also had to fight in infantry rank in order to be effective.

Though the hoplit polis was a polis of armed citizens, the citizenry was not of the medieval ^{business} type, the ideal of the warrior nobleman had never been uprooted.

Eventually, the aristocracy's privilege was broken—in Sparta even more completely—and the peasant enjoyed the same political rights as the nobleman (with some significant qualifications in regard to archonship and treasure of the temple.)

But the great change came after the Solonian reform: through the tyrannis:

- (a) naval expansion brought the thetes together
- (b) peasant policy ~~rehabilitated the country side~~ gave social security to the country side.
- (c) popular religion was fostered, the people were made to feel ceremonially privileged.

The Cleisthenian constitution carried these social changes politically into effect.