

PART THREE. ASPECTS OF LIVELIHOOD IN GREECE, ISRAEL AND DAHOMEY

Section I. From Hesiod to the establishment of an Eastern
Mediterranean corn market

Chapter 30. Reciprocity and Redistribution in Archaic Greece

- (I) The Thucydidean archaeology
 - (A) Origin of the Hellenes
 - (B) Original settlement
 - (C) Coastal settlement
- (II) Reciprocity
 - (A) Tribal elements
 - (1) Dowry, bride price, etc.
 - (2) Gift friends
 - (B) External trade
 - (1) Gift trade
 - (2) Piracy
 - (3) Chieftain trade
 - (C) Elite circulation and the role of treasure
 - (1) Sources of treasure
 - (2) Elite circulation
 - (3) Translation of treasure into power
 - (a) Command over men and resources
 - (b) Taxation
- (III) Redistribution
 - (A) Land
 - (B) Booty
 - (C) Sacrificial meal
 - (D) Metals; gold and silver
 - (E) Corn
 - (F) Stores

(IV) Colonization

Chapter 31. The Hesiodic Age

(I) Kinship tie replaced by neighborhood

(A) Treasure: establishment of wealthy and powerful families, outside of the clan tie

(B) Princes: local kings, crooked judgments, unprotected freeman

(C) Reciprocity made relative to

- (1) Village group (neighbor)
- (2) Personal relationship
- (3) Personal behavior

(D) Village marriage

(E) Passing of blood feud
(Draconian legislation)

(II) Individualization

(A) Personality and judgment

(B) Aloneness of man

(C) Work

- (1) Thrift
- (2) Don't 'put off' things
- (3) Work is honorable

(D) Competition and strife

(E) Hunger

- (1) Individual starvation
- (2) Fear of lonely helpless winter
- (3) Borrowing; begging
- (4) Concern for the future

(III) Property

(IV) Debt

(A) Generally present

(B) No transactional origin

(C) No loaning, interest, usury

(V) Trade

- (A) Profession of despair
- (B) No money mentioned
- (C) No market place: no politics
- (D) Anti-commercial attitude
 - (1) Don't take risks
 - (2) Don't speculate
 - (3) Self-sufficiency
- (E) Anti-innovation
 - (1) Traditional
 - (2) Anti-urban

Chapter 32. The Solonic Crisis and its Resolution

(I) The Attic background

- (A) Migration
- (B) Settlement
- (C) Crop yield
- (D) In the backwater of history
- (E) Tradition of autochthony, hence more tribal elements
- (F) Feasant economy of Hesiodic type
 - (1) Thurnwald: loosening of the clan tie a general phenomenon
 - (2) Imminence of famine and debt in Hesiod

(II) The Solonic crisis

- (A) Economic elements
 - (1) Land in 'the hands of a few'
 - (a) Territorial rule
 - (b) Public and private debt
 - (c) Serfdom
 - (d) Debt bondage

- (2) Food problem
 - (a) Inadequacy of soil
 - (b) Probable export of corn by large landowners
- (3) Passive trade
- (B) Social elements
 - (1) The people 'had no part nor share in anything'
 - (2) Serfdom was 'the bitterest part'
- (C) Political elements
 - (1) Oligarchical constitution
 - (2) Formal vs. actual rights of the people
- (D) Class war the result
- (III) The Solonic solution: successful elements
 - (A) Elimination of immediate crisis
 - (1) Simultaneous cancellation of public and private debts and prohibition of debt bondage
 - (2) Embargo on corn export
 - (B) Partial democratization of constitution, avoiding permanent oligarchy
 - (1) Class division by wealth rather than birth
 - (2) Admission of thetes to assembly and jury
 - (3) Right of appeal to law courts
 - (4) Right of redress
 - (C) Reform of weights and measures and coinage
 - (D) Food problem
 - (1) Embargo on corn exports
 - (2) Encouragement of olive and vine planting, control of planting, etc.
 - (3) Areopagus given supervision of 'the sources of supply of necessities'
 - (4) Compulsory artisanship

(IV) Inadequacies of the Solonic solution

(A) Failure to establish the central political force needed to make market elements effective as integrating forces

- (1) No taxes or tithes; no means of collecting them
- (2) No army or police
- (3) No government mint: Eupatrid money
- (4) No sources of credit for peasantry
 - (a) Large capital required to convert to olive planting
 - (b) Prohibition of debt slavery

(B) Foreign trade appears to have remained purely passive

(C) Continued conflict between formal and actual rights of the people

- (1) Areopagus remained as 'guardian of the Constitution': it was a Eupatrid body
- (2) Renewed strife after four years
- (3) Reversion to old social divisions (dominance by Eupatrids) after twenty years

(V) The resolution of the crisis: tyranny and democracy

(A) Origin of the tyranny

- (1) Continual disorder
- (2) Territorial rule
- (3) Treasure and coinage
- (4) Armed guards and mercenaries

(B) The Pisistratid solution: establishment of the necessary central political power

- (1) Constitutional measures
- (2) Tithe - Pisistratus' oikos
- (3) Loans to peasantry
- (4) Improved administration of justice
- (5) Police; army and navy
- (6) Foreign trade
- (7) Money and coinage
- (8) Popular religion
- (9) Public buildings

(C) The Cleisthenian constitution: the final elimination of tribal elements from political life, thus establishing the absolute power of the polis

- (1) Extension of citizenship
- (2) Franchise on new basis, cutting across all old tribal and territorial lines

- (a) Demos
- (b) Trittus
- (c) Ten new tribes

Chapter 33. The Economy of the Classical Polis

Introduction:

I. The power of the polis.

(a) the institutional embodiment
of law and justice.

(1) Aristotle: civilization means polis

(2) Self-enforcing character of law: Rostovtzeff
Socrates
(Crito)

(b) the discipline of the polis: Riezler, Pt. I.

II. The integrative role of redistribution

(a) tribal traditions: Themistocles, Cimon

(b) citizens' livelihood:

(1) redistribution of land and booty

(2) empire as a source of livelihood:

(aa) Aristides

(bb) Periclean public works

(cc) the dioboloi

(dd) Xenophon's Poroi

(c) the oikos: Cimon and Pericles

III. Internal-external polarity is at the root of the functioning of trade, money, and market.

(a) trade:

(1) personnel:

- (aa) internal: citizens only (metic tax)
kapelos - small huckster caterer
- (bb) external: metics
transient foreigners
no middlemen
attitude to trade

(2) goods:

- (aa) internal: retail trade, foodstuffs
- (bb) external: slaves, corn, oil, wine, luxuries

(b) market elements:

- (1) (aa) internal: the agora
physical boundaries: Athens, Piraeus
time boundary
stalls
moving the agora (armies & markets)
- (bb) external: emporium city gate (Aristophanes)
Belgae
emporium has its own agora
Aristotle: Problem of placing
the emporium

(2) terms of trade - regulation:

- (aa) internal: market officials
corn officials
price control
quality control
market spies Aristophanes
cheap or free grain
- (bb) external: corn inspectors
2% duty
prices

(c) money and coinage:

- (aa) internal: small coins - silver, copper, bronze, alloys
token coinage
alteration of value (Oeconomica II)
restricking and countermarking
- (bb) external: large coins - gold
bullion value
uses (Oeconomica II)

- (d) contemporary opinion: despite their genius for abstract speculation, neither Aristotle nor Plato ever thought of agora and emporium as being similar.
 - (1) agora: market trade; subsistence of population
 - (2) emporium: source of profit
 - "outside the city"; regulate who shall have traffic with whom.

IV. Internal aspects of the polis.

- (a) plan and market: the mutual relations between market elements and redistribution (Oeconomies II)
 - (1) market elements made effective by redistributive action
 - (2) redistributive system made effective by market elements
 - (3) the discipline of the agora: transformation of markets into redistributive devices.
- (b) banking: market elements are made more effective through the banking functions of deposit and payment
- (c) privatization, leasing, and contracting
 - (1) Rostovsteff thesis
 - (2) Athenian budget
 - (3) Byzantium

V. External aspects of the polis.

- (a) external trade: "Greek-speaking" trade
 - (1) types of trade
 - (2) types of trader
 - (aa) Bosporan princes, Egyptian kings
 - (bb) the metic
- (b) food supply and the grain trade
 - (1) supply:
 - (aa) dependence on imports
 - (bb) food supply as public policy
 - (cc) sources of supply and trade routes
 - (2) the port of trade (emporium)
 - (aa) price
 - (bb) demand
 - (cc) regulation
- (c) banking activities (changing and testing, deposit, payment) facilitate linking of trade with market elements.

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Chapter 34. Cleomenes of Naukratis and the Formation of the
Mediterranean Grain Market

I. The immediate background:

- (a) Alexander's conquest of Egypt
- (b) Cleomenes of Naukratis: identity and roles
 - (1) in charge of the revenues of Egypt:
Arrian, Curtius Rufus
 - (2) satrap of Egypt:
Pausanias, Arrian; Tern, Ehrenberg
 - (3) construction of Alexandria:
Justin, Ps. Callisthenes, Oeconomica II
- (c) the great famine of 331-324 B.C.
 - (1) the fact of the famine: Demosthenes; Stele
dei Ceresii, etc.
Rostovzoeff
 - (aa) import crisis, not crop failure
("wheat scarcity")
 - (bb) problem of dating
 - (cc) extent of the famine: Greece, Egypt
 - (2) immediate causes:
 - (aa) loss of Bosporan supply
 - (bb) breakdown of Athenian control
of grain trade
 - (3) relief measures
 - (aa) the sitonia
 - (bb) donations of grain

II. Establishing the market

- (a) Procedure within Egypt
 - (1) export embargo on corn
 - (2) government export monopoly
 - (aa) elimination of middlemen
 - (bb) price fixing
 - (3) lifting the export embargo
 - (aa) 32 drachmae price
 - (bb) participation by private individuals

(b) Organization of the market:

- (1) centered at Rhodes: grain transhipped there
 - (aa) agents in Egypt
 - (bb) supercargos
 - (cc) agents in Greek ports
- (2) organization of communications
 - (aa) Rhodian agents kept informed of price movements in the Greek ports
 - (bb) grain transhipped from Rhodes in accordance with price movements
 - (cc) cf. the general importance of communications in market development: Mentoux, Sombart

III. Results: a price-making market, but under strict administrative control

(a) Effects on the Greek cities

- (1) rationalization of supply: a great advance
- (2) stabilization of price
- (3) functional dependence on Cleomenes' organization: the movement of goods in accordance with price ratios resulted from administrative decisions, not "spontaneous" action of private merchants.

(b) Effects on Egypt

- (1) elimination of the Greek middlemen
- (2) Egyptian farmers benefited
- (3) Egyptian consumers benefited
- (4) Treasury profits: ref. 8000 talents (Diodorus)
- (5) Analogous organizations:
 - (aa) Ptolemaic export monopoly in slaves
 - (bb) contemporary British dual pricing for coal and steel

IV. The probable reasons for establishing the market

- (a) Alexandria as the emporium of the eastern Mediterranean
- (b) Alexander's attempt to integrate the polis and the chore
- (c) Ptolemaic rationalization of Egyptian rule

(1) use and extension of market elements to make the redistributive system more effective

(aa) Cf. Johnson & West and others on top level of Ptolemaic rule

(d) revenue: 8000 talents profit.

V. The Athenian reaction

(a) recognition of the threat to Athenian security

(1) violent hatred of Cleomenes

(b) the response: an attempt to develop new sources of grain in the west, out of the range of Alexander's power.

(1) colony of Hadria, 325/4 B.C.: "in order that for all time the people may have a market and a source of corn supply of their own..." (SIG 305)

(2) special naval force to convoy western grain

APPENDIX: A Reappraisal of Cleomenes' Place in Hellenic History

(a) the need for a reappraisal:

(1) his achievements hardly known or recognized

(aa) exceptions: Rostovzoff, Wilcken

(2) his evil reputation

(aa) unjustified

(bb) irrelevant, since the achievements are important

(b) a critique of the case against Cleomenes

(1) Alexander's alleged letter of rebuke (Arrian, Anabasis)

(aa) letter now regarded as a forgery: Fern, Mahaffy

(bb) origin of forgery: political attack on Cleomenes by Ptolemy Soter. (Diodorus, Pausanias)

(cc) relationship between Alexander and Cleomenes indicated by fact that Cleomenes was one of seven men present at Alexander's deathbed, and one of three men who interceded with the gods in his behalf. (Arrian)

- (2) the grain-export monopoly
 - (aa) no personal profit: gains accrued to the treasury
 - (bb) cf. III above for effects on Greece and Egypt
- (3) minor Oeconomica II incidents
 - (aa) relations with priests and temples:
cf. Wilcken's comparison with Stele of Naukratis
 - (bb) bribe offered by Cenopus:
cf. Groningen, Ashaffy
 - (cc) tricking his mercenaries
- (c) Cleomenes' achievements:
 - (1) establishment of the Mediterranean grain market.
 - (2) brilliant administration of Egypt.
 - (aa) financial genius: ref. 8000 talents
 - (bb) probable anticipation of the main elements of Ptolemaic rule: cf. Rostovsteff, Wilcken, Ehrenberg
 - (3) construction of Alexandria
 - (aa) his role in it: Oeconomica II, Justin, etc.
 - (bb) importance of Alexandria
 - (4) Confirmation of this view: presence at A.'s deathbed