



Emporos: data on trade and trader in Greek literature from Homer to Aristotle

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EMPOROS

DATA ON TRADE AND TRADER
IN GREEK LITERATURE FROM
HOMER TO ARISTOTLE

BY

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EMPOROS

BRONKORST

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EMPOROS

*Data on trade and trader in Greek literature
from Homer to Aristotle*

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PREFACE

The object of the present treatise is to offer a contribution to the investigation into the trade and the traders of ancient Greece. To this end I have collected data from Greek authors from Homer to Aristotle. From this it is evident what period is covered by this investigation, and also that it is intentionally one-sided, being restricted to the data supplied by literature. Not until all the rest of the material for study that can throw a light on the trade of ancient Greece will have been collected and duly arranged it may become possible to give a complete description of the history of trade in ancient Greece. Yet the literary data are in themselves sufficient to answer various questions. To mention some, this treatise tries to fix with some certainty the meaning of the principal words relating to trade, the difference in meaning between the terms in which the Greek traders were referred to, their lives and business, the opinion on trade and traders formed by the authors themselves or handed down by them; and in general to ascertain the nature and the extent of trade as well as the circumstances under which it was carried on, while some attention has been paid to the financial system. A consequence of the fact that the data have been borrowed from literature is that many of them bear on the trade of Athens and Attica exclusively.

I have treated the authors in chronological order; however, for the sake of coherence in the treatment of the subject-matter it seemed advisable to treat certain questions to the full when I was discussing those authors that offered the best opportunity for it; so that there I also stated the data, bearing on the question, found in other authors, likewise as much as was possible in chronological order. This makes the treatise not easy to survey; to make up for this deficiency an index of the subjects discussed has been added.

I HOMER

If we use Homer to collect data for our purpose, we must, in order to estimate these at their exact value, take the following factors into account.

Homer does not describe Greek society in all its ranks, but his epos principally treats of the Greek nobility, while it is almost exclusively in the "similes" that we hear some incidental remarks on the rest of the population. Moreover it was the poet's object to ignore sober reality as much as he could and to give a poetical colouring to all things, a fact which especially appears in the description of the island of Scheria.

Barter

The entire absence of trade and traffic, assumed by Thucydides¹⁾ at the beginning of the development of peoples, belongs to the past at the time of the Homeric epos.

The trade that the Homeric poems speak of is however principally barter, which exchanges the remainder of products and superfluous possessions of one person for those of the other. Thus, in order to obtain copper, people take iron with them as a medium of exchange²⁾.

In the expression *ἐπείγετε δ' ὄνον ὄδαιων*³⁾ the word *ὄνος* (of the verb *ὄνεισθαι* which at a later time means "to buy") has still the meaning of "bartering". — In this way we can also explain why, while the verbs of "buying" and "selling" in later Greek are construed with a genitive, in Homer the verb *πράσσειν* is construed with an ablativus sc. instrumentalis⁴⁾.

How the barter was carried on

In what way this barter takes place is best demonstrated by a tale of Eumeus⁵⁾. He relates that he is a native of the island of Syria, which abounded in cattle, sheep, wine, and wheat. One day the

1) Thuc. I, 2 sqq.

2) Od. I, 184; Cf. Od. VIII, 163 ed. Ameis-Hentze.

3) Od. XV, 445.

4) Od. I, 430; XIV, 115, 452; XV, 483.

5) Od. XV, 403 sqq.

Phoenicians come there, carrying a large amount of knick-knacks (*ἀθύρματα*) in their black ship. They come to a secret understanding with a Phoenician slave-girl of the house of the father of Eumaeus the ruler of the country, promising her to take her back with them to Phoenicia. The slave urges them to make haste with the bartering of the goods and to send word to her as soon as their ship will be loaded with a fresh cargo (*βιότοιο*). The Phoenicians stay in the island for a whole year taking into their ship a large cargo and then send word to the Phoenician slave in the following cunning way. A Phoenician goes to the house of Eumaeus' father with a gold necklace set with small pieces of amber (*γλέκτρουσιν*). Eumaeus' mother and the maid-servants look at it and finger it and in their delight they do not notice that, while bargaining with them over the price, the Phoenician makes a sign to the slave-girl. As soon as the Phoenician has returned to his ship the slave takes Eumaeus, then still a young boy, by the hand, takes some stolen objects of great value with her and, favoured by the darkness, she runs to the harbour where the Phoenician ship lies, which puts to sea directly after this. The wind blows the ship to Ithaca, where the young Eumaeus is sold to Laertes.

So in this tale the island of Syria is visited by Phoenician merchants who barter their jewellery for other goods, in this case probably consisting of cattle, sheep, wine or wheat¹⁾. We may therefore assume that in Homer's time trade in Greece was generally passive, while the active trade was in the hands of foreigners, especially Phoenicians²⁾ who often exchanged their articles of luxury for the products of the country, as the former have been the objects of barter at an earlier time than the ordinary necessities of life³⁾.

The goods are exposed for sale in the harbour near the ship⁴⁾ or, as in the tale of Eumaeus, the merchant visits the houses with his goods.

It is remarkable that the Phoenicians, though we may suppose they followed the slave's advice and made haste, wanted a whole year to exchange their goods⁵⁾.

1) Cf. Od. XV, 406.

2) See p. 9.

3) Cf. Bücher, Die Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft I¹⁶ p. 111.

4) Il. XXIII, 745; Cf. at the silent trade pp. 26 and 27.

5) Cf. however Herodotus I, 1, who relates of the Phoenicians at Argos that they had sold nearly everything in 5 or 6 days.

Of the combination of trade with piracy we will speak later on.

Standard of value

The most usual standard of value (not the *medium of exchange* though, for all sorts of goods were given in payment, as will be discussed further on) was the cow. This appears from words expressing value like *βοὸς ἄξιος*¹), *τεσσαράβοιος*²), *ἐννεάβοιος*³), *δυωδεκάβοιος*⁴), *ἕπτασάβοιος*⁵), *ἕκατόμβοιος*⁶).

One paid with those things one happened to have in store. The Lemnians for instance get copper, iron, hides, cattle and slaves in payment for their wine⁷).

For all this, trade is no longer exclusively barter in Homer. The use of small pieces of metal (here especially gold) having a fixed weight is well known at that time. Homer speaks of *τάλαντον*⁸), and even of *ἡμιτάλαντον*⁹).

The bestowal of gifts

The bestowal of gifts, so usual a thing in Homer, may also be considered as barter in a very primitive form¹⁰). For though in the Homeric poems it is the host only that offers gifts (with the exception of Il. VI, 218) and exchange of gifts only takes place when friends meet somewhere else¹¹), yet the gift received by the guest tacitly obliges him to offer a gift of about the same value in case the host should pay him a return visit. The gifts exchanged in this way may be considered as money in the form of articles of daily use.

That the offering of gifts was considered as an exchange rather than a present is very evident from the following.

It is a disappointment if the guest one has entertained dies before one has received gifts in return at his house¹²). The poet calls Glaucus

1) Il. XXIII, 885.

2) Il. XXIII, 705.

3) Il. VI, 236.

4) Il. XXIII, 703.

5) Od. I, 431.

6) Il. II, 449; VI, 236.

7) Il. VII, 473.

8) Il. IX, 122, 264; XVIII, 507; XXIII, 269, 614; Od. IV, 129; VIII, 393; IX, 202.

9) Il. XXIII, 751, 796.

10) Cf. Bücher, op. cit. I p. 62 sqq.

11) Il. VI, 235; Od. XXI, 13—15.

12) Od. XXIV, 283.

“out of his senses” because he makes such an unprofitable exchange ¹⁾). A gift one has received is afterwards unscrupulously given away to somebody else ²⁾). Gifts that one has no use for may be refused ³⁾). Odysseus, on taking leave of the Phaeacians, openly acknowledges that the object he has had in view was to get an escort and gifts ⁴⁾). The latter are so numerous that Poseidon complains of Odysseus’ getting more in the form of gifts than he could have won out of Troy ⁵⁾, while at another place it appears that he can support ten generations with it ⁶⁾). Gifts are often called “possessions” (*χρήματα*) ⁷⁾ and Odysseus counts his gifts as if they were merchandise in order to verify whether the boatmen have not stolen anything ⁸⁾).

According to Thucydides ⁹⁾ this custom of offering and receiving gifts was practised even in later times among the Thracian peoples and especially among the Odrusians, where even the kings asked for gifts. Traces of this custom are to be found in Euripides. Thus he makes Odysseus urgently request the Cyclops: “Give us presents and provide us with clothes”, and even the poor peasant to whom Electra has been married, offers to Orestes ¹⁰⁾: “come in and you will get *ξέρια*”.

The presents that in the Homeric poems the princes receive from merchants, are not given in expectance of reciprocity, but to get permission for free trade. So it is an old form of the paying of *duties*. Thus the Lemnians present the commanders Agamemnon and Menelaus with *μέθυ χίλια μέτρα* ¹¹⁾; merchants offer Alcinoos a slave-girl ¹²⁾, and Thoas receives a mixing-bowl from Phoenician merchants ¹³⁾.

Presents
from mer-
chants to
princes

In later times, when usually goods were no longer bartered but

- 1) Il. VI, 234.
- 2) Il. X, 266 sqq; Od. IV, 615 sqq.
- 3) Od. IV, 600.
- 4) Od. XIII, 41.
- 5) Od. XIII, 137.
- 6) Od. XIV, 325.
- 7) Od. XIII, 203, 363; XIV, 286.
- 8) Od. XIII, 215.
- 9) Thuc. II, 97, 3 and 4.
- 10) Eur. Electra, 359.
- 11) Il. VII, 470—1.
- 12) Od. VII, 10.
- 13) Il. XXIII, 745.

Barter in
post-Home-
ric times

paid for in money, this barter was still practised among less civilized tribes and peoples. Thus a fragment from Menander¹⁾ where a Thracian is called *πρός ἄλας ἡγορασμένος* shows that the merchants got from the Thracians slaves in exchange for salt²⁾. Thucydides, treating of the Spartans who live in the interior³⁾ speaks of exchange of the products of their country for those that the continent is provided with by the sea.

With regard to Athens some traces of barter in later times are to be found in the Acharnenses of Aristophanes; we must take into consideration however that the poet takes us to a period of war. Here⁴⁾ Dicaeopolis buys the supposed pigs from the Megarensian for garlic and salt and he asks the Boeotian who has come to the market with fish, fowl and game: "Do you also accept other goods in payment of these?" "Certainly", answers the Boeotian, "all things available in Attica and not in Boeotia", at which Dicaeopolis offers him anchovy and earthenware⁵⁾. Elsewhere⁶⁾ Aristophanes makes a silver cup serve as a means of payment.

Also in the attempted trading transaction between Odysseus and Silenus, that take place in Euripides' Cyclops⁷⁾ Odysseus offers to pay with wine. We are not certain however in how far we may draw conclusions from this for real trade at Euripides' time, especially because mythical times are depicted in the Cyclops.

It is remarkable that Aristoteles makes a clear distinction between primitive barter as spoken of above (*μεταβλητική*) and trade (*καπηλική*) in his Politics⁸⁾. He does not disapprove of barter, which at his time still took place among many uncivilized tribes⁹⁾ who only exchanged goods meant for use, such as wine for corn, and only in quantities necessary for use. His sharp disapproval is directed against trade (*καπηλική*) which has the object to acquire gold and riches

1) Men. fr. 828, Kock III, p. 223.

2) Cf. Bekker Anecd. 380, 16 : *ἄλωνητος : οἷον βάρβαρος καὶ εὐτελής. οἱ γὰρ Θρακες ἀνδράποδα ἀλῶν ἀπεδίδοντο*; Cf. Thuc. II, 97, 3.

3) Thuc. I, 120, 2.

4) Ar. Acharn. 813 sqq.

5) Ar. Ach. 899 sqq.

6) Ar. fr. 71, Kock I, p. 410.

7) Eur. Cycl. 120 sqq. See p. 29.

8) Ar. Pol. 1257 a 19 sqq.

9) Ibid. 1257 a 25.

and to find out in what way the largest profit may be got out of the object of trade¹).

A special word denoting "trader" is not used by Homer. The word *ἐμπόρος* generally used for this purpose in later Greek authors means in Homer² "passenger on another's ship". When Odysseus is suspected of being a merchant³ he is spoken of as a leader of *πορητῆρες*. In another place however⁴ the word *πορητής* appears to have the general meaning of "performer". It seems that Odysseus has been called "leader of *πορητῆρες*" in the place mentioned above to distinguish him from "captain of a pirates' ship"; so here the term *πορητῆρες* has been chosen to denote people coming with a fixed purpose viz. for purchasing or selling goods. This distinction is very evident in another place⁵ where the newcomers are asked: "have you come ἵνα πορητής εἰς τὴν μαριδίων ἀλάλησθε οὐαὶ τε ληστῆρες?" That *πορητής* however does not specially mean "trade" here but "affair", appears from the answer where Telemachus speaks of *πορητής* ἰδίη οὐ δήμος⁶).

The fact that Homer does not use a special word to denote the idea of "trader" is in accordance with the factors mentioned in the beginning of this paper. Homer speaks of the nobility and though these (at least in the Ionian towns on the coast) have acquired their riches by trading, Homer purposely blurs reality and makes it appear as if the nobility despise trade, so as to enhance the poetical fairylike colouring. So, for instance, Homerus' hero Odysseus is indignant at the supposition that he should be a trader⁷). Yet it is very probable that the nobility made sea-voyages. That the sea was generally often navigated for trading purposes appears from the circumstance that it is easy to find a ship, if wanted, to sail somewhere⁸); moreover the frequent use of *τέκτων* for *ship-carpenter* is in favour of this theory⁹).

The terms
for "trade"
and "trader"

The poet's
attempt at
blurring
reality

1) Ar. Pol. 1257 b 4 sqq.

2) Od. II, 319 and XXIV, 300.

3) Od. VIII, 162.

4) Il. IX, 443.

5) Od. III, 72.

6) Od. III, 82; Cf. the Latin "negotium" and *χρηματίζειν* in Attic.

7) Od. VIII, 165 sqq.

8) Od. II, 319; XIII, 272; XIV, 334.

9) Il. V, 59; XIII, 390; XVI, 483; Od. IX, 126; See also Pierson, Schiffahrt

Peoples and towns carry-
ing on trade

While trade in Greece itself is mostly passive in the Homeric epos¹⁾, and it was moreover the poet's object to give a poetical colouring to all things, hardly a trace of commercial towns is to be found in Homer's Greece. In the shipping-catalogue Aegina is called only a part of the Argivian territory²⁾. The fact that Corinth, which according to some people is identical with Ephyre³⁾, is called "rich" by the old poets⁴⁾ makes Thucydides⁵⁾ draw the conclusion that as early as that time this town had acquired riches by trading.

Greece is principally visited for trading purposes by merchants coming from the islands and especially by the Phoenicians. Among the islanders it is in the first place the Taphians that are mentioned⁶⁾, who inhabit the islands near the coast of Acarnania. In Homer they especially deal in slaves⁷⁾ whom they have captured or bought. The fact that Athena pretends to Telemachus to be a Taphian and to go to Temesa (in the South of Italy; according to others Tamasos in Cyprus) in order to exchange iron for copper⁸⁾ proves that such a thing was nothing unusual⁹⁾.

Cretan traders too were certainly known in Greece. Odysseus by preference pretends to be a Cretan when he wants to remain unknown¹⁰⁾. He also pretends to have undertaken a predatory expedition with nine ships against Egypt as a Cretan¹¹⁾.

The islands of Lumnos¹²⁾, Imbrus and Samus¹³⁾ are mentioned in the Iliad as selling-places of slaves, perhaps in consequence of

und Handel in der Homerischen Zeit, Rheinisches Museum N. F. 16, 1861, p. 83 sqq. The conclusions however which Pierson draws in his chapter "Handelsobjekte, Waaren", are in my opinion often not well founded.

- 1) See p. 3.
- 2) Il. II, 562.
- 3) Od. I, 259 and II, 328.
- 4) Il. II, 570. Cf. Pind. Olymp. XIII, 4.
- 5) Thuc. I, 13.
- 6) Cf. also Eur. Iph. in Aul. 284; Suidas s.v. Τάφιος ἐθνικόν. δ ληστής.
- 7) Od. XIV, 452; XV, 427.
- 8) Od. I, 184.
- 9) Cf. Hesiod Shield of Herad. 19.
- 10) Od. XIII, 256; XIV, 199; XVI, 62; XIX, 172.
- 11) Od. XIV, 245 sqq.
- 12) Il. XXI, 40; XXIII, 747; XXIV, 753.
- 13) Il. XXIV, 753.

the situation of Troy. Wine, too, is furnished from Lemnus¹⁾ as well as from Thracia²⁾ and from Pramna (a mountain in the island of Icaria or near Smyrna in Asia minor)³⁾.

In the *Odyssey*⁴⁾ Thesprotans (in the South of Epirus) sail to Dulichium, well known for its wheat, so probably with the object of getting wheat.

Sicilians are mentioned as slave-dealers⁵⁾.

A few times mention is made of people sailing to Egypt⁶⁾, where the town of Thebes was apparently known to be very rich⁷⁾.

The Phoenicians however are preeminently the best traders. The poet gives them the epitheton *τρωγκται* because of their cunning⁸⁾, so that Odysseus remarks as something uncommon in them: *ονδ' ἡθελον* *ξεπατησαι*⁹⁾. Mention has been made above of Phoenician merchants in the island of Syria¹⁰⁾ and of the silver mixing-bowl that had been placed in the harbour of Lemnus and had afterwards been given to king Thoas¹¹⁾.

A Phoenician merchant too was supposed to have enticed Odysseus from Egypt into Phoenicia with the object of selling him afterwards in Libya¹²⁾.

In the case last mentioned as well as in the tale of Eumaeus the Phoenician merchants combine their profession of trader with that of pirate.

The Taphians too who have been mentioned above¹³⁾ as traders, carry on the same practises¹⁴⁾. Nor do the Greek nobility scruple

Piracy

1) Il. VII, 467.

2) Il. IX, 72; Od. IX, 196.

3) Il. XI, 639; Od. X, 235; according to some people however *πρόδμυειος* is not to be explained geographically, but has the meaning of "durable" derived from the verb *πραγμάτευειν*, see schol. ad Il. XI, 639.

4) Od. XIV, 35.

5) Od. XX, 383; Cf. Od. XXIV, 211, 366 and 389.

6) Od. III, 200; IV, 251; XIV, 246; XVII, 426 sqq.

7) Il. IX, 381; Od. IV, 126 sqq.

8) Od. XIV, 289; XV, 416.

9) Od. XIII, 277.

10) See p. 3.

11) See p. 5.

12) Od. XIV, 287 sqq.

13) See p. 8.

14) Od. XV, 427; XVI, 426.

to enrich themselves by predatory expeditions, according to the Homeric poems; on the contrary, they glory in them. This is quite in keeping with the mood of the epic, which tries to replace the sober reality of life by a world of heroes that has a very romantical colour. Odysseus who indignantly rejects the supposition that he should be a merchant ¹⁾, afterwards ²⁾ boasts of having nine times led bands of pirates in order to win spoils, and thus, he brags, *δειρός ι' αἰδοῖος τε μετὰ Κορύτεσσι τετύγμην*. To make up for the damage done by Penelope's suitors Odysseus intends to go and win spoils ³⁾. Nestor tells Telemachus that Menelaus on returning from Troy undertook predatory expeditions ⁴⁾, and Menelaus himself openly declares to Telemachus that in this way he has amassed great riches ⁵⁾. Piracy was in general a usual means of providing for necessities ⁶⁾.

What Thucydides ⁷⁾ tells us of piracy is entirely in accordance with this. According to him all Greeks and non-Greeks living by the sea and in the islands were originally pirates. The leaders of such undertakings were rich people, who had their own profit in view as well as sustenance for the poor. That one did not incur any disgrace by this sort of business is proved by Thucydides from the circumstance that even in his time there are some peoples on the continent (by whom he means the Ozolian Locrians, Aetolians and Acarnanians, mentioned by him further on ⁸⁾) where it reflects honour upon a person to perform such a thing skilfully. A further proof of this is found by him in the old poets where the sailors are asked merely by way of inquiry if they happen to be pirates ⁹⁾. It is from fear of pirates, he thinks ¹⁰⁾, that the old towns were built at some distance from the coast.

By the side of the figures of Odysseus and Menelaus who appear to us as piratical heroes in Homer, we may also consider Nauplius,

1) Od. VIII, 165 sqq.

2) Od. XIV, 230 sqq.

3) Od. XXIII, 357; Cf. Od. I, 398.

4) Od. III, 301 and 312.

5) Od. IV, 90.

6) Od. IX, 40; XI, 401; XIV, 85 and 262 sqq.

7) Thuc. I, 5 sqq.

8) Thuc. I, 5, 3.

9) Cf. Od. III, 72; IX, 253.

10) Thuc. I, 7.

well known from mythology, who practised piracy as a profession, as a type of common occurrence among the oldest inhabitants of those countries ¹⁾.

It was king Minos of Crete who according to Thucydides ²⁾ made a first attempt at clearing the Aegean Sea of pirates. In accordance with this information the fact that the towns in Crete that have been excavated are not walled in proves that at that time no fear of pirates was felt in Crete. A further proof of this is that there were relations between Crete and Egypt, as appears from the excavations ³⁾.

If we start from the distinction made by Karl Bücher ⁴⁾ between Wanderhandel, Markthandel and Stehender Handel, by which he characterizes the stages of development in trade, we may denote the trade Homer speaks of as Wanderhandel. For Homer does not speak of fixed market places. The word *ἀγορή* means everywhere "gathering place", nowhere "market". As an advantage of the iron disc (*σόλος*) given by Achilles as a prize, he mentions that it will provide the winner with iron for five years and then he says ⁵⁾ οὐ μὲν γάρ οἱ ἀτεμβόμενος γε σιδήρον ποιμήν οὐδὲ ἀροτῆρος εἰσὶ πόλιν, ἀλλὰ παρέξει. From this "going to town" it is however not necessary to conclude that there was a *market* in the town; it is quite possible that the iron was sold in the town in a *smithy*.

In connection with the preceding passage we may understand that the word *κάπηλος* by which in later Greek especially the market trader is indicated ⁶⁾ does not yet occur in Homer. The woman who weighs wool with the scales "in order to obtain the meagre wages for her children" is called "spinner" (*χειροτῆτις*) not "trader" ⁷⁾.

With regard to the means of communication by land and the safety of traffic the following data are given by Homer.

The men sent by Odysseus to the country of the Laistrygonians

"Wander-handel"

1) Cf. Ormerod, Piracy in the ancient world p. 69 sqq.

2) Thuc. I, 4; I, 8, 2.

3) Cf. Ormerod, op. cit. p. 80 sqq.

4) Bücher, op. cit. I, p. 155.

5) Il. XXIII, 833.

6) See p. 114.

7) Il. XII, 433.

Means of communication by land go along a *λείην ὁδόν*¹⁾. Mention is even made of a *ἀμαξιτός* sc. *ὁδός* near Troy²⁾. Telemachus drives with Pisistratus from Pylos to Sparta during two days on *ἀγυιαῖ*³⁾ and in the Iliad⁴⁾ a *λαοφόρος* *ὁδός* is mentioned on which pedestrians and carriages move.

Safety of traffic

The fear of *Ζεὺς ξείνιος* and the sacredness of the right of hospitality will probably have been conducive to the safety of traffic. Often *φιλόξεινος* is mentioned in one breath with *θεονδῆς*⁵⁾. As soon as the stranger has come to a house and has been admitted to it he is certain of protection. Even a beggar may not be offended in one's house⁶⁾; not until one has been admitted to the house, one's name is asked⁷⁾. In the Odyssey we can see for instance in the way Odysseus is received in Scheria, how a good host does not restrict himself to a hospitable reception of the stranger and an offering of gifts but also gives him the opportunity of continuing his journey or returning homewards.

1) Od. X, 103.

2) Il. XXII, 146.

3) Od. III, 486—497 and IV, 1.

4) Il. XV, 682.

5) Od. VI, 121; VIII, 576; IX, 176; XIII, 202.

6) Od. XVIII, 225.

7) Od. VIII, 550.

II HESIOD

In Hesiod's "Works and Days" mention is made of people who in order to support themselves sail the seas during some part of the year on ships loaded with merchandise. Hesiod is the first author in whom we find *εμπορίη* in the sense of "trade" ¹⁾. Here the trader is a poor peasant who during a short time of the year takes the products of the soil with him on his ship to trade with them. During the whole of the winter no sailing is done and the ship is entirely unrigged ²⁾. When storms make sailing dangerous people go and till the soil ³⁾.

It appears however that Hesiod is not very much in favour of this trading, primarily because of the dangers attached to it ⁴⁾ and further because the failure of their father frightens him ⁵⁾. The words *ει δέ... ιμερος αἰρεῖ* already, which are the beginning of a series of verses speaking of trade ⁶⁾ express Hesiod's not very highstrained expectation of supporting himself in this way. He only mentions it as a means of escaping poverty and supposes that it will be more in the line of his adventurous, less laborious brother Perses. He further advises the latter to take a large ship ⁷⁾ and not to risk the larger part of his fortune on the ships ⁸⁾.

While in Homer ⁹⁾ it is mentioned as something unusual to be absent from one's house for more than a month we see in later

The author's
opinion on
trade

The time of
year usual
for sailing

1) 648.

2) 629.

3) 622.

4) 618: *δυσπεμφέλον ναυτιλίης.*

5) 633 sqq.

6) 618—695.

7) 643.

8) 690.

9) II. II, 292.

Greek authors that this has changed in the course of some centuries.

For Hesiod the usual season of navigation is from the beginning of August to the end of September. One began *ἐς τέλος ἑλθόντος θέρεος*¹⁾ and one ought not to wait for *οἶνον τε νέον καὶ ὀπωριὸν δύμβρον*²⁾. People also sail in spring at his time, but Hesiod advises his brother Perses not to do so and says that the *εἰαριὸς πλόος* is only practised by those who have devoted heart and soul to moneymaking³⁾.

This sailing in spring, considered so dangerous by Hesiod, did not deter the merchants of later times. For the ordinary season of navigation at the time of Demosthenes begins at about the middle of April and ends at about the middle of September, as according to Demosthenes⁴⁾ it is between the months of *Βοηδρομιῶν* and *Μουρνυχιῶν* (so from about the middle of September to the middle of April) that the commercial law-suits took place in Athens, because then of course most of the merchants used to be at Athens. Yet it sometimes happened that merchants sailed out when it was not the season for navigation. Thus a certain contract about an agreement on bottomry⁵⁾ takes into account the possibility of sailing from the Pontus even after the rising of the *Ἄρκτοῦρος* in the month of *Βοηδρομῶν*⁶⁾.

It appears from Thucydides⁷⁾ that at that time the traffic between Greece and Sicily is entirely at a standstill during the four most violent months of winter (by which is probably meant from about the middle of November to the middle of March). Plato too⁸⁾ indicates that it was only in summer that people sailed from Sicily to Greece.

In winter the navigation from and to Egypt seems to have been most frequent. Thus Pindarus⁹⁾ speaks of an inhabitant of Agrigen-

1) 664.

2) 674.

3) 686.

4) Dem. XXXIII, 23.

5) See p. 92 sqq.

6) Dem. XXXV, 10; Cf. L, 19.

7) Thuc. VI, 21, 2.

8) Plato Epist. 345 D.

9) Pind. Is. II, 41.

tum who is supposed to have sailed to the Phasis in summer and to the banks of the Nile in winter. Xenophon ¹⁾ tells of king Agesilaus that he sailed from Egypt to Sparta in the middle of winter and Demosthenes ²⁾ mentions as something remarkable that the navigation between Egypt and Rhodus need not even be stopped in winter.

1) Xen. Ages. II, 31.

2) Dem. LVI, 30.

III EARLY LYRICAL POETS

The terms for "trade" "trader" and "market" While in Homer the word *ἔμπορος* is still used to indicate a "passenger on another's ship", and though Hesiod already uses *ἔμπορίη* in the sense of "trade", it is not until the above mentioned Greek authors that *ἔμπορος* is found in the meaning of "trader" ¹⁾. The term *κάπηλος* is not to be found in the lyrical poets; we do find however the verb *καπηλεύειν* ²⁾. Contrary to Homer the word *ἀγορά* here frequently occurs in the meaning of "market".

Ἔμπορος with special reference to corn-dealer Aeschrio ³⁾ speaks of *ἔμποροι* crowding the narrow passage of the Hellespont like ants, by which he undoubtedly means merchants who conveyed especially corn from the district of the Pontus, which was so rich in corn. For as *ἔμπορος* specially indicates a travelling trader ⁴⁾ and as it was principally corn that was imported in Athens, it is especially for a corn-dealer that *ἔμπορος* is used. This is very evident in Xenophon's *Economicus*, where Socrates says to Ischomachus: "You assert that your father naturally is as fond of landed property, as the *ἔμποροι* are of corn" (*φίλοστοι*) ⁵⁾. Thus in a dissertation "On the good and the bad" belonging to the *δισσοι λόγοι* ⁶⁾ we find as an example that a good harvest is a blessing for the *γεωργοί*, but a calamity for the *ἔμποροι*.

Aegina It is certainly not by accident that, in an encomium on an inhabitant of Aegina, Pindarus praises the latter's family as *ἴδια νανοτολέοντες ἐπικόμια* ⁷⁾, so with an allusion to the trading practise of this Aeginian house. Thus meaning to say of a certain Aegi-

1) Hiller-Crusius; Semonides fr. 16, 2; Aeschrio fr. 2, 1.

2) Hipponax fr. 48, 2; For the meaning see pp. 30 and 47—49.

3) L.c.

4) See pp. 114 and 115.

5) Xen. Econ. XX, 27.

6) Diels, Fragm. d. Vorsokratiker 636.

7) Pind. Nem. VI, 37 (32).

nian that he obtained all that was possible, he uses the following metaphor: "He could not possibly go further on the unknown sea than the pillars of Hercules whom the divine hero erected as renowned testimonies of the boundary of navigation" ¹⁾). While according to Aristophanes ²⁾ the island of Aegina facilitated smuggling in the Peloponnesian war, Aristotle mentions ³⁾ that in his time a large part of the inhabitants of the island practised sea-trade.

In the last verses of the first Ode Pindarus addresses in the following words those who scoff at the large expenses that Herodotus, sung by the poet, makes for the match: "but if someone secretly possesses riches in his house (*ερδον*) and attacks others with mockery, he does not bear in mind that he will have to render his gloryless life to Hades".

Here Pindarus mentions a custom frequently practised among the ancients viz. to hide, and especially to bury (*κατορύττειν*) one's money. Thus it appears from Herodotus that the inhabitants of Delphi buried their treasures in the ground ⁴⁾, and Euripides makes Polymnestor say: "The money you, Hecabe, have given to bring with you is kept in my tent" ⁵⁾ and a little further Hecabe pretends that some money lies buried in the temple of Athena under a black stone. Of the Pre-Socratic philosophers it is the Anonymus Jamblichus who complains: "people hide their money out of distrust and want of social feeling and will not let others partake in the enjoyment of it; thus the money becomes scarce, even if there is much of it" ⁶⁾. Among the fragments of the sophist Antiphon too ⁷⁾ there is a tale of a man who sees another man digging up a large sum of money and then asks him if he may borrow it at interest. The man refuses this and after his burying the money again it is stolen, to his great sorrow; he expresses his regret to the man whom he had refused to lend the money to; the latter gives him the advice to imagine that the money is still there, which must be the same thing to him, as he did not use it at all. From these last quotations it also

1) Pind. Nem. III, 21 sqq; Cf. Scholia.

2) Aristoph. Ranae 363.

3) Aristot. Politica 1329 a 12.

4) Herod. VIII, 36.

5) Eur. Hec. 995.

6) Diels 634; Cf. Democritus, Diels 364.

7) Fr. 54, Diels 600.

The burying
of treasures

appears that some people disapproved of the method of burying money and so withdrawing it from circulation.

This custom appears very clearly in Xenophon¹⁾ there where, in glorification of silver he alleges that nobody yet has got so much of it that he does not wish to have more, and he goes on: "but if a few people possess a very great quantity, they bury what is superfluous and this gives them as much pleasure as using it would do".

Plato too speaks of this custom which he calls *ἡ γῆ παραθήκη*²⁾. It appears from the same author³⁾ that people did not only use their own piece of ground for this purpose, but that they hid their fortunes everywhere in the town, even in the market-place!

In later times the authors also mention boxes where the money was kept⁴⁾. Plato even speaks of private treasuries and safes⁵⁾.

In the fourth century, when the means of making one's money productive, especially by means of a *τραπεζίτης*, were better known, people yet often kept large amounts unproductive in their houses. This money is indicated as *τὰ ἔνδον κείμενα* in distinction to the capital that is lent out, this being named *τὰ ἔξω δεδόμενα*⁶⁾.

The custom of burying one's money or in general of keeping it unproductive but safe is easily accounted for if we consider that there was always some danger connected with the *ἐμπορία*⁷⁾, which moreover was almost entirely stopped in winter⁸⁾, while laying out money with a *τραπεζίτης* often proved to be unsafe. Moreover this custom was a natural reaction against the boundless liberty of the state to dispose of the fortunes of her citizens, who, weighed down as they were by the enormous duties imposed upon them by the state, were moreover threatened with confiscation of their possessions in almost every political revolution⁹⁾.

1) Xen. De Vect. IV, 7.

2) Plato Leges 913 A and B.

3) Plato Leges 913 D.

4) *κιβωτός*: Lysias XII, 10; Theophrastus Char. XVIII, 4; *ἀργυροθήκη*: Theophrastus Char. X, 14.

5) Plato Rep. 548 A: *ταμεῖα καὶ οἰκεῖοι θησαυροί*.

6) Cf. Hasebroek, Zum Griechischen Bankwesen, Hermes 1920, p. 143 sqq.

7) See pp. 33, 34, 93 and 96.

8) See p. 14.

9) Cf. Hasebroek l.l. p. 156.

IV HERODOTUS

In this author we must take into account that, especially in his first books, Herodotus describes various peoples and in doing this goes a long way back in time. Therefore these tales, which often give us more data than the later books treating of the Persian wars proper, must first be chronologically fixed in order to prevent confusion.

In connection with trade Herodotus a few times mentions the Phoenicians. He mentions them as exporters of *στύραξ* from Arabia to Hellas¹). He also supposes they took Egyptian and Assyrian merchandise to Argos in mythical times, on which occasion they also carried off some Argivian women²); at another place they are also mentioned as slave-dealers³). The Phoenicians keep up their reputation of being good sea-farers. For his expedition to Greece Xerxes makes use of Sidonian and Tyrian admirals⁴). The Sidonian ships are considered the best of Xerxes' fleet⁵) and at a mock-fight by sea watched by Xerxes the Sidonians carry the prize⁶). Xerxes shows his appreciation of them at the council of war preceding the battle of Salamis, when he assigns the most prominent place to the king of Sidon, the next to the prince of Tyre⁷). In the other Greek authors too the Phoenicians are repeatedly mentioned as sea-farers.

In Homer we saw the Phoenicians as traders par excellence. As traders however they are only mentioned a few times in the authors after Homer besides the places cited above. When Pindarus for instance wants to point out that his poem has come from far away

1) III, 107; *στύραξ*: fragrant wood, cf. Dar. et Sagl. III, 1251 b; see also ed. How and Wells I.1.

2) I, 1.

3) II, 54.

4) VII, 98.

5) VII, 99.

6) VII, 44.

7) VIII, 67.

and therefore must be duly appreciated, he expresses this by comparing it to Phoenician merchandise¹⁾). It is a Phoenician trading-ship too that Ischomachus holds up to his young wife as an example of orderliness and tidiness in Xenophon's *Economicus*²⁾). Perhaps we may even conclude from the expression *τὸ μέγα πλοῖον τὸ Φοινικόν* that it was a large Phoenician ship that *regularly* visited Athens.

The fact that the Phoenicians were so ready to support the Persian king against Greece may be explained by the Phoenician merchants' envy of the rising Greek traders. In Libya³⁾ the Phoenicians form, by the side of the Greeks, the non-autochthonic part of the population⁴⁾). But in most cases the Greeks have ousted the Phoenicians, as in the rich corn-districts of Sicily⁵⁾ and by the Pontus Euxinus where the Greeks have established their factories⁶⁾.

In Herodotus it is not the Phoenicians but the Greeks that are preeminently called the traders in foreign countries. The Egyptians that receive merchants in their towns are indicated by: *καὶ Ἑλλῆνες σφι ἔωσι ἐπιδήμους ἐμπόροι*; those who are not visited by merchants are briefly indicated: *τοῖσι δὲ ἄν μὴ παρέωσι Ἑλλῆνες*⁷⁾. It is exclusively *Ἑλλῆνες* that are mentioned as foreigners whom the Taurians immolate to their goddess⁸⁾. Herodotus thinks that it goes without speaking (*ῶς οἰκός*) that when Cambyses king of Persia went to Egypt some Greeks went with him to trade (*καὶ ἐμπορήην*)⁹⁾.

Greeks the
traders par
excellence

Greeks from
the islands
and the coast
of Asia
Minor

In Herodotus the Greeks living in the islands and on the coast of Asia Minor have the lion's share of trade. For Croesus king of Lydia the Greek islanders are the undisputed rulers of the sea¹⁰⁾. The inhabitants of Phocaea on the coast of Asia minor, says Her-

1) Pind. Py. II, 67: *κατὰ Φοίνισσαν ἐμπολὰν*.

2) Xen. Econ. VIII, 11.

3) For connections between this country and Athens cf. Thuc. II, 48, 1; between the same and Sparta cf. Thuc. IV, 53, 3.

4) IV, 197.

5) VII, 158.

6) IV, 24 and 108.

7) II, 39.

8) IV, 103.

9) III, 139. On traders in the armies see pp. 39, 59, 60, 65 and 66.

10) I, 27.

dous¹⁾), were the first Greeks to make far voyages and to sail to the South of Spain and to Italy. The commercial spirit of the Phocaeans appears from the attempts they made at buying from the inhabitants of Chius the Oenussae islands that lay near Phocaea. The attempts of the Phocaeans were frustrated however by the Chians who feared that it would be detrimental to their own trade if these Onussae islands became trading stations of the Phocaeans²⁾.

Among the important works carried out in the island of Samus Herodotus³⁾ mentions a dam round the harbour which was 37 metres deep and more than 370 metres long. Of a Samian ship under captain Colaeus Herodotus tells⁴⁾ that while on its way to Egypt it drifts off to Tastessus in the South of Spain and that in this country, so rich in silvermines, it makes with the merchandise the greatest profit ever gained by Greek traders, with the exception of Sostratus of Aegina, who is incomparable in this respect⁵⁾.

The circumstance that the Milesians deeply mourned for the capture of Sybaris because, as Herodotus says⁶⁾, the inhabitants of these towns were on very friendly terms, probably points to commercial traffic between these two places.

As regards the Greeks in the mother country the circumstance that Periander, son of Cypselus, tyrant of Corinth is called *ξεῖρος* of Thrasybulus, at that time lord of Milet, makes us suppose that there were commercial connections between Corinth and Milet⁷⁾. Moreover, according to Herodotus⁸⁾, the Corinthians have in a less degree than all other Greeks that contempt for manual labour which the Greeks are so often reproached with.

Corinth

Thucydides tells of Corinth that as early as the 8th century it

1) I, 163.

2) I, 165; see How and Wells I.c. who herein see an expression of trade-rivalry they suppose to have existed between Milet, Aegina, Megara and Eretria on the one hand and Corinthe, Samus and Chalcis on the other.

3) III, 60.

4) IV, 152.

5) On this silver-country see G. Oppert, Tarshish und Ofir, who treats of all the biblical passages and all Greek and Latin authors speaking of Tarshish — Tarsessus; the place in question on p. 17.

6) VI, 21.

7) I, 20.

8) II, 167.

had begun to organise its fleet after the manner usual at the time of Thucydides¹⁾; that triremes so often used in later times were built here for the first time²⁾; he mentions the use of *όλκοι* (wind-lasses) by means of which the ships were "drawn over"³⁾ and declares that Corinth has become a commercial town in consequence of the situation of the town. As in antiquity there was more communication among the Greeks by land than by sea, the town of Corinth, situated on the Isthmus, formed the connecting-point between the Greeks in the Peloponnesus and those living outside it, and thus soon developed into a trade-town. And when afterwards people turned to navigation it was the Corinthians who took action against the pirates and made of their town a place of commerce by land as well as by sea⁴⁾.

Sparta

As regards Sparta however Herodotus relates⁵⁾ that in antiquity there was no communication neither with foreigners nor among the Spartans themselves. Their want of gold and silver appears from the fact that they sent an iron cup to king Croesus as a present⁶⁾. In later times too their contempt of manual labour⁷⁾ and the whole form of their constitution were an impediment to trade. For according to Xenophon⁸⁾ an old law forbade a free man to exercise any branch of *χορηματισμός*. But in the same way as it proved practically impossible in Sparta to enforce the prohibition of going abroad⁹⁾, so the respect for the above mentioned law was not always sufficiently strong with the Spartans to suppress the desire for *χορηματισμός*, as appears from the following tale about king Agesilaus. Once when king Agesilaus had won great spoils in the interior of Asia and therefore everything was sold at a ridiculously low price (*ἀντίπροικα*), he advised his friends to buy and said that he would soon break up camp and go to the coast where they could sell the spoils. And he ordered the *λαφυροπῶλαι* to note down for

1) Thuc. I, 13, 2.

2) Thuc. I, 13, 3.

3) Thuc. III, 15, 1.

4) Thuc. I, 13, 5.

5) I, 65.

6) I, 70.

7) II, 167.

8) Xen. De Rep. Lac. VII, 1, 2.

9) Xen. De Rep. Lac. XIV, 4.

what amount they sold to everybody, and to give them the goods on credit for the present¹).

The *λαφυροπῶλαι* mentioned in the above cited communication *λαφυροπῶλαι* of Agesilaus are Spartan officials whom the Government sent with the expeditions, though they were no military men²). When a Spartan soldier had won spoils he was obliged to hand them over to the *λαφυροπῶλαι*³). Thus in Agesilaus' army⁴) and elsewhere at a Spartan expedition⁵) *λαφυροπῶλαι* are mentioned who have to look after the selling of the spoils. Xenophon also calls *λαφυροπῶλαι* the men whom the rest of the "ten thousand", returning to their country with Xenophon for their leader, appointed to sell spoils⁶).

Thucydides⁷) mentions the island of Cythera as the Spartans' landing-place for the trading-ships coming from Egypt and Libya; the same island also served as a place of defence against pirates. The same author relates⁸) that the Spartans, when they want wood for besieging Pylus, fetch it from Asine on the coast of Argolis.

Herodotus makes a sharp distinction between *ἔμποροι* and *κάπηλοι*. By *ἔμπορος*⁹) he denotes the foreign trader, by *κάπηλος*¹⁰) the inland trader¹¹).

When Herodotus speaks of *κάπηλοι* it appears that these were not highly esteemed. In Egypt where before the time of king Amasis (570—526) manual labour was considered dishonourable, they formed the fifth class out of seven¹²). At an invasion into Egypt king Sethos (ca. 700) is only supported by the lower ranks of the population, viz. by the *κάπηλοι*, *χειρώνακτες* and *ἀγοραῖοι ἀνθρωποι*¹³).

Opinions on
κάπηλοι

1) Xen. Ag. I, 18.

2) Cf. Gilbert, Griechische Staatsaltertümer I^a p. 84.

3) Xen. De Rep. Lac. XIII, 11.

4) Xen. Ag. I, 18.

5) Xen. Hell. IV, 1, 26.

6) Xen. Anab. VII, 7, 56.

7) Thuc. IV, 53, 3.

8) Thuc. IV, 13, 3.

9) II, 39; IV, 154.

10) I, 94; II, 141.

11) See p. 114 sqq.

12) II, 164.

13) II, 141; for the meaning of *ἀγοραῖοι ἀνθρωποι* see pp. 123 and 124.

Among the Lydians these ἀγοραῖοι ἄνθρωποι are not mentioned in the company of κάπηλοι but of prostitutes¹⁾. The title κάπηλος too which the Persians gave Darius because he tried to get pecuniary profit out of all things²⁾ is of course not to be looked upon as a title of honour.

Herodotus³⁾ mentions as the first κάπηλοι the people of the Lydians⁴⁾. It is probably in this connection that he mentions that Cyrus the elder made the Lydians familiar with trade, at the advice of Croesus, in order to enfeeble them⁵⁾.

A greater appreciation of labour in general underlies the law of the above mentioned king Amasis of Egypt, who decreed that every one of his subjects was to state his means of subsistence⁶⁾.

Staple-right at Naucratis During the reign of king Amasis many Greek traders settled in the Greek colony of Naucratis situated in the Nile-delta where the staple-right was in force, while the Phoenicians of old had a settlement near Memphis⁷⁾. Naucratis was, says Herodotus⁸⁾, the only staple-place. And when someone put into port at another Nile-mouth than the Canopian by which Naucratis lay, he had to swear this had not happened on purpose and after this oath he had to correct his mistake and to put into the Canopian Nile-mouth. If this was impossible because of the unfavourable wind, he had to carry his goods round the Delta in little boats and so take it to Naucratis. Such an exceptional position was occupied by Naucratis.

Piracy Herodotus repeatedly speaks of piracy. Especially defeated admirals applied themselves to piracy. Thus, after the Ionian rebellion,

1) I, 93: οἱ ἀγοραῖοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ οἱ χειρώνακτες καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδικαὶ.

2) III, 89 : ὅτι ἐκαπήλευε πάντα τὰ πράγματα.

3) I, 94.

4) According to How and Wells this is right in so far that the Lydians were proverbially known as a people of shopkeepers.

5) I, 155, 156.

6) II, 177; According to Herodotus Solon had borrowed this law from Egypt. How and Wells l.c. however point out on chronological grounds that Solon cannot have borrowed this law from Amasis and consider this decree of Amasis itself as "a great exaggeration of the Egyptian custom of taking a sort of census".

7) II, 112.

8) II, 179.

Dionysius of Phocaea turns pirate off the coast of Phoenicia and later on in the neighbourhood of Sicily, on which occasion he captures Carthaginian and Etrurian ships, but spares Greek ships¹⁾. Histiaeus of Milet too at a later time plunders in the neighbourhood of Byzantium²⁾ and after the battle of Salamis Themistocles' behaviour differs not much from that of a piratical hero³⁾. That the Phocaeans on their trading expeditions to far-off countries used περιηκόντεροι in stead of στρογγύλαι may probably be explained by their tactics, known from Homer, of suddenly changing from a trader into a pirate⁴⁾.

In general people now followed the method of sparing their friends or allies and of trying to injure their enemies. Herodotus relates of Polycrates of Samus however⁵⁾ that contrary to this method he plundered friends and enemies indiscriminately⁶⁾.

Herodotus gives also some proofs of the unsafety of the country-roads. He relates⁷⁾ that Xerxes' army was at night attacked by lions in Chalcidice. These animals infested the country from Macedonia to Acarnania⁸⁾. The inhabitants of Chius who come at night to the country of Ephesus with peaceful intentions are killed because they are suspected of being robbers⁹⁾.

How greatly the market-system had developed in Greece at the time of Cyrus the elder may appear from the latter's words¹⁰⁾ that the Persians are not afraid of the Greeks who keep markets and cheat each other on oath. Herodotus relates that a few Egyptian towns too have markets, but here it is not the men but the women who stand in the market and do the trading; the men on the contrary stay at home and weave, which Herodotus considers an abnormal thing¹¹⁾.

1) VI, 17.

2) VI, 26.

3) VIII, 12.

4) I, 163; Cf. How and Wells I.c.

5) III, 39.

6) Cf. Ormerod, Piracy in the ancient world p. 102 sqq.

7) VIII, 125.

8) VIII, 126.

9) VI, 16; Cf. Aesch. Choeph. 1001 and Xenophon Mem. II, 1, 15.

10) I, 153.

11) II, 39 and 35; Cf. Soph. Oed. Col. 337. As regards Athens the market was in later times a great deal more frequented by men than is usual with us. Cf. Aristoph. Lys. 557 sqq.

For Herodotus the market-system is such an ordinary thing that he uses the times when the market is much frequented (*ἀγορῆς πληθώρη*)¹⁾ and when it is closed (*ἀγορῆς διάλυσις*)²⁾ to indicate the time of day.

Profits

The profit made at the commercial undertakings is hardly ever mentioned. Herodotus, however, relates³⁾ that the Samian ship which some lucky chance took to Tartessus made a profit of sixty talents, as appeared from the offering at Hera's sanctuary. Lysias⁴⁾ tells us of a man who sailed out to the Adriatic sea on a ship loaded with merchandise to a value of two talents, and made a profit of a hundred percent. It must be borne in mind, however, that both cases are mentioned as something exceptional.

The religious feeling as a corrective That the fear of punishment by the deity and the religious feeling in general had the same correcting influence with the ancients that political laws and regulations have with us, appears from the following examples.

One day when there was want of money in Egypt and therefore much credit had to be given, the creditor got as a security the disposal of the corpse of the debtor. If the debtor died without having paid his debt the creditor could prevent his burial⁵⁾. So the sacredness of the corpse acted as a corrective in this case.

As a second example we may take the tale of the Milesian who had deposited money with a Spartan⁶⁾. When in course of time the children of the Milesian come to the Spartan to prove their identity (*ἀποδεικνύντες τὰ σύμβολα*) and to claim the money, the Spartan refuses to give it them. It is the deity who then, according to Herodotus, heavily punishes the Spartan.

"Silent trade"

As in Homer⁷⁾ we met with the exchange of presents as a primitive form of barter, so we find in Herodotus⁸⁾ an example of "silent trade"⁹⁾, a form of trade used in very old times between the Carth-

1) II, 173 and VII, 223; Cf. IV, 181.

2) III, 104.

3) IV, 152.

4) Lys. XXXII, 25.

5) II, 136.

6) VI, 86.

7) See p. 4.

8) IV, 196.

9) Cf. Bücher, op. cit. II p. 3.

genians and the inhabitants of a Libyan country farther off than the pillars of Hercules.

The Carthaginians put down their goods on the beach, went back to their ships and sent up smoke. When the natives saw the smoke they went to the beach, put down gold in front of the goods and went away. Then the Carthaginians went ashore again and if they were satisfied with the gold they took it and sailed home. If however they were not satisfied they went on board again and waited calmly. Then the Libyans appeared again and added to the gold, until the Carthaginians were satisfied. They did not cheat, for the Carthaginians did not touch the gold before they were satisfied with the payment, and the Libyans did not take possession of the merchandise before the Carthaginians had taken away the money.

It is not improbable that we have here an example of trade on neutral ground¹⁾, where the trader need not have any fear of hostile treatment and was protected by the sacredness of the place. Thus Demosthenes²⁾ cites the term *ἀγορὰ ἐφόρια* from an old law, meaning by this term, as appears from further explanation³⁾, a market in the borderland between the various towns, which was by reason of its neutral position a very suitable marketplace. Thucydides⁴⁾ tells us of a market set up near the town of Rhegium on the holy ground consecrated to the goddess Artemis. This too is a reminiscence of the time when market was held on neutral and sacred ground.

As regards the objects of trade Herodotus tells us what follows. Gelon of Syracuse offers the Greeks to supply the Greek army with corn during the whole time of war⁵⁾. — Corn-ships sail from the Pontus to Aegina and the Peloponnesus even in war-time⁶⁾. — The Greeks get amber (*ηλεκτρον*) and tin

Trade on
neutral
ground

Objects of
trade

1) Cf. Lehmann—Hartleben, *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres*, *Klio* Beiheft XIV, 1923 p. 31.

2) Dem. XXIII, 37.

3) Ibid. XXIII, 39.

4) Thuc. VI, 44, 3.

5) VII, 158.

6) VII, 147.

(*κασσίτερος*) from the North of Europe¹⁾. — They export jars of wine to Egypt²⁾. — Mention has been made³⁾ of the Phoenicians as exporters of *στύραξ* from Arabia to Hellas⁴⁾.

1) III, 115.

2) III, 6. Cf. II, 77. See also II, 105 and IV, 152.

3) See p. 19.

4) III, 107.

V THE TRAGEDIANS

As all data drawn from real life are wanting in these authors we have to turn to observations and remarks, which have the same value for our research, as they are an image of real life.

In Euripides' Cyclops for instance there are negotiations about a trading transaction between Silenus and Odysseus who wants to buy food for his crew. Odysseus says then to Silenus: "Produce your goods; merchandise must be well visible" ¹⁾. "How much money will you give for it" asks Silenus and Odysseus answers that he will not pay with money but with wine. Upon this Silenus asks whether this wine is still in the ship or whether he has it with him ²⁾. When Odysseus further asks if he shall let Silenus taste the wine, Silenus answers: "Of course! For tasting induces buying" ³⁾.

So from this we can reconstruct the image of a trader who takes samples of his merchandise with him and leaves the rest in his ship. We also find indications of this in Isocrates ⁴⁾ who speaks of *τῶν καρπῶν ἐξενεγκεῖν ἐκάστον δεῖγμα* and in Plato in the expression *ολον δείγματα ἐξενεγκόντα* ⁵⁾.

In Euripides' Cyclops as well as in Sophocles' Philoctetes the submissive attitude of the trader appears from his tone. In Euripides this appears most clearly in the words *εἰ τε τις θέλει βορὰν ὁδῆσαι ναυτίλους πεχοημένοις* ⁶⁾; in Sophocles in the request of the would-be merchant to Neoptolemus: "Don't slander me to the army of the Greeks, for they have rendered me many services in return for my services (in so far as a poor man can render services)" ⁷⁾.

Submitting samples

The submiss-
ive attitude
of the
trader

1) Eur. Cycl. 137: *ἐκφέρετε. φῶς γὰρ ἐμπολήμασι πρέπει.*

2) Eur. Cycl. 138 sqq.

3) Eur. Cycl. 150: *ἡ γὰρ γεῦμα τὴν ὀνήρην καλεῖ.*

4) Isocr. XV, 54.

5) Plato Leg. 788 C. So in both expressions *δεῖγμα* is used in the sense of "sample" Cf. Harpocration s.v. *δεῖγμα: κυρίως μὲν τὸ δεικνύμενον ἀφ' ἐκάστον τῶν πωλουμένων.*

6) Eur. Cycl. 98.

7) Soph. Phil. 582.

Use of
the terms
ἐμπορος,
κάπηλος,
ἀγοραῖος and
καπηλεύειν

So though in both passages quoted mention is made of merchants, usually indicated as *ἐμποροι*, the poets avoid using this name. For, in keeping with the epical language, the word *ἐμπορος* as well as its compound *συνέμπορος* are repeatedly used by the tragedians to indicate resp. "traveller" and "fellow-traveller". The terms *κάπηλος* and *καπηλεύειν* too, do not occur in these authors in the real meaning. Aeschylus does use the words: *ἔοικεν οὐ καπηλεύειν μάχην*, where the scholiast explains *καπηλεύειν* by *ψεύσεσθαι* and *προδώσειν*¹⁾. In this way he speaks in another place²⁾ of *κάπηλα τεχνήματα*, where *κάπηλος* has the meaning of "dishonest". In the same way a comedian uses *κάπηλον φρόνημα*³⁾. In this way also Euripides and Aristophanes use the expression *ἀγοραῖος τοῦς*⁴⁾; and Aristophanes speaks of *σκώμματα ἀγοραῖα* in the sense of „trivial”⁵⁾

Opinion on
trade and
trader

The above mentioned use of *κάπηλος* and *καπηλεύειν* in my opinion prove very little with regard to the disparagement of trade. No more can we draw such a conclusion from the use of *διεμπολᾶν* with the meaning of "to bargain away" in Sophocles⁶⁾. But the judgment on money, which he puts into Creon's mouth, and which opens with the words "there is no more pernicious institution than money", is withering⁷⁾.

The choir in Euripides' Iphigenia in Tauris disapproves of those "who convey the burden of wealth, wandering over the sea, passing through foreign towns"⁸⁾. He makes king Theseus, the tribal hero of the Athenians, state as the purpose of navigation: that there may be a mutual exchange of things of which there is a surplus or a deficiency⁹⁾. So here we have not a single word which points to the

1) Aesch. Sept. 545.

2) Aesch. fr. 322, Nauck, Fragm. Trag. Graec.

3) Adespota, fr. 867, Kock III p. 559; Cf. Phrynicus in Bekker Anecd. p. 49, 9: *κάπηλον φρόνημα: παλίμβολον καὶ οὐχ ὑγίες. ή μεταφορὰ ἀπὸ τῶν καπῆλων τῶν μὴ πιπασκόντων εἰλικρινῆ καὶ ἀκέραια τὰ ὄντα*; Cf. Suidas s.v. *κάπηλος*.

4) Eur. fr. 1114, Nauck; Arist. fr. 471, Kock I p. 513.

5) Arist. Pax 750.

6) Soph. Phil. 578.

7) Soph. Ant. 295 sqq. Cf. ibid. 222.

8) Eur. Iph. i. T. 416.

9) Eur. Suppl. 209.

exchange of spiritual values that may be promoted by this navigation. Yet we see glimpses of another opinion as early as in the *Odyssey*, though here it is not emphasized either. When the poet has described the country of the Cyclops as backward in culture¹⁾ he adds by way of explanation: *οὐ γὰρ Κυκλώπεσσι νέες πάρα μικτοπάροι*²⁾. While however some of the Greek authors treated by me speak unreservedly of the moral dangers attached to navigation and trade³⁾, not a single author clearly mentions the advantages to culture they offer.

In these authors navigation and trade are often mentioned in similes, and many expressions adopted from this sphere of language are used metaphorically by them. So for instance the Cyclops says that he is as satiated as a goods-ship that is loaded up to the thwarts⁴⁾. In order to save many treasures one has to throw the ballast overboard⁵⁾. When need grows too urgent one throws the too great riches into sea⁶⁾. Deianeira says: "In the same way as a skipper takes cargo into his ship, I took a young girl into my house, as ignominious merchandise in exchange for my love"⁷⁾. Curious is the expression: *τὰ πλεῖστα ἀμείρονα ἐμπολᾶν*⁸⁾ in the sense of „to be generally lucky".

A similar metaphorical use of expressions adopted from navigation also occurs in Plato. People who are tossed to and fro by anger are compared by him⁹⁾ to ships that are bobbing up and down because they sail without any cargo and are not made heavier by ballast either (*ἀνεργάτιστα πλοῖα*). In another passage¹⁰⁾ he speaks of *δεύτερος πλοῦς* in the sense of: the method that is left, if the best method can no longer be applied.

But strikingly numerous are the metaphorical expressions adopted

Metaphorical
use of ex-
pressions
adopted from
navigation
and trade

- 1) *Od. IX, 118 sqq.*
- 2) *Od. IX, 125; Cf. ibid. 130.*
- 3) See pp. 42, 47—51, 102, 110—113 and 121—123.
- 4) *Eur. Cycl. 505.*
- 5) *Aesch. Ag. 1007.*
- 6) *Aesch. Sept. 769.*
- 7) *Soph. Trach. 537.*
- 8) *Aesch. Eum. 631; Cf. also Soph. Ajax 978.*
- 9) *Plato Theaet. 144 A.*
- 10) *Plato Phaedo 99 D; Polit. 300 B; Phileb. 19 C.*

Metaphorical from the dangers of the sea. In Aeschylus we find the following expressions adopted from the dangers of the sea examples of this. Eteocles asks the praying women ¹⁾: "Does a skipper who flies from the stern to the prow (where namely the images of the genii are) find by this act a way to rescue, when the ship is fighting against the furious waves". Further on ²⁾ a messenger relates: "The storm is over and though the town has been battered by many waves, it has not swallowed any seawater". Aeschylus calls a great number of calamities "a wave of calamities" (*κλύδων κακῶν*) ³⁾. Sophocles makes Jocaste say with regard to Oedipus ⁴⁾: "He stands bewildered like a steersman of the ship". "A dissolute town, says Menelaus ⁵⁾, will one day sink into the deep, sailing with all sails set".

Euripides makes the nurse say to Phaedra ⁶⁾ "You are more turbulent than the sea". In another passage ⁷⁾ he speaks of "a sea of calamities" (*κακῶν πέλαγος*) and, in the same way as Aeschylus, of "a wave of calamities" ⁸⁾. Hecabe compares herself in her need to sailors who work hard as long as there is any hope; when however the storm becomes too violent, they wait passively ⁹⁾. "If you obey me, the herald of Creon calls to Theseus ¹⁰⁾, you will govern a town that is free from storms". "Now a favourable wind blows for us after calamities", Creusa says to Io ¹¹⁾. In the same way "harbour" is spoken of in the sense of "deliverer of calamities" ¹²⁾. Very remarkable in this connection is the use Euripides makes of *συμπλεῖν* ¹³⁾ in the sense of "take part in the suffering", "suffer together", and the frequent metaphorical use of *σαλεύειν* in the sense of "to fluctuate", "to be unlucky".

What precedes points to the fact that with the Greeks the fear

- 1) Aesch. Sept. 208.
- 2) Ibid. 795.
- 3) Aesch. Pers. 599.
- 4) Soph. Oed. Rex 923.
- 5) Soph. Aj. 1083.
- 6) Eur. Hipp. 304.
- 7) Eur. Hipp. 822.
- 8) Eur. Med. 362.
- 9) Eur. Troj. 225.
- 10) Eur. Suppl. 473.
- 11) Eur. Io 1509.
- 12) Eur. Med. 769; Andr. 749 and 891.
- 13) Eur. Heracl. 1225.

of the dangers of the sea was always deeply felt and that they did not consider the sea as a trusted and reliable element, as did for instance the Dutch. In as early an author as Homer one of the Phaeaci-
 ans, familiar though all of these people were with the sea, declares ¹⁾: *οὐ... τι... κακότερον ὅλο θαλάσσης*. In Sophocles Antigone says ²⁾ that Oedipus has been taken away neither by Ares nor by the sea; so here she places the dangers of the sea by the side of those of war. Euripides makes it seem not improbable that a certain ship will be lost ³⁾, and elsewhere in this author that man is called lucky who has eluded the waves and has reached a safe harbour ⁴⁾. The sea that has subsided after a storm is compared by him ⁵⁾ to the appearance of a good friend when the need has become very urgent. As one of the aphorisms of Pittacus is mentioned: *πιστὸν γῆ, ἀπιστὸν θάλασσα* ⁶⁾. Aristophanes mentions the custom of sacrificing when one has returned safe from the sea ⁷⁾. Xenophon relates that king Cyaxares when he wants to admonish Cyrus to moderation, reminds the latter of the fact that many people who were lucky in navigation would not stop until they had found their death in the waves ⁸⁾. Sea-farers are mentioned among those who fear dangers ⁹⁾; it is to these Cyrus compares himself when he knows that he is surrounded by enemies ¹⁰⁾. Antiphanes declares that he prefers toiling on land to sailing the sea in riches ¹¹⁾. He calls that man unhappy who passes his life at sea ¹²⁾ and says that the merchandise of which a trader is so proud, will be one day taken away from him by the winds of the sea ¹³⁾. In Demosthenes a certain Parmenon says: "For a long time I occupied myself with sea-trade and went through dangers" ¹⁴⁾, as in another

1) Od. VIII, 138; Cf. Od XIV, 224.

2) Soph. Oed. Col. 1680.

3) Eur. Iph. i. T. 755.

4) Eur. Bacch. 902.

5) Eur. Orest. 727.

6) Diels 522.

7) Arist. Plut. 1180.

8) Xen. Cyr. IV, 1, 15.

9) Xen. Cyr. III, 1, 24.

10) Xen. Cyr. VI, 1, 16; Cf. An. V, 8, 20 and Mem. III, 5, 6.

11) Antiph. fr. 101, Kock II, p. 51.

12) Antiph. fr. 100, Kock II, p. 51.

13) Antiph. fr. 151, Kock II, p. 73.

14) Dem. XXXIII, 7.

Fear of the
dangers of
the sea

place an *ευπορος* speaks of his former dangers at sea¹⁾. So that Plato declares that those who navigate only do this to grow rich. For otherwise, he asks, who would choose to navigate, to brave dangers and to bring difficulties upon himself²⁾.

The sea pre-
eminently
perilous to
the wicked

Therefore the sea is considered as a place preeminently chosen by the Gods to punish offenders. In this way Aeschylus makes the unrighteous find their graves in the waves³⁾. And therefore Andocides advances in his defence that the Gods, if he really should have sinned against them, would certainly have caught hold of him at sea⁴⁾. So it stands to reason that Lysias considers it as a proof of foolhardiness to venture on the sea, after having sinned against the Gods⁵⁾.

This notion that the sea was a dangerous place for guilty people naturally led to the opinion that it was dangerous to be in the same ship with people of that kind, as the ship, which by the will of the Gods will be lost, will also bring ruin upon the others. In this way Aeschylus threateningly puts death in prospect of him who, in the company of impious skippers, goes into a ship⁶⁾; and Xenophon relates that Cyrus considered the piety of those about him as something fortunate for himself, in the same way as sea-farers had rather not sail with people who are suspected of having done wrong⁷⁾. After what precedes it is clear that the joyful greeting of the sea by Xenophon's "ten thousand"⁸⁾, and the Thurian's hope that there would be an end to the calamities now that the sea had been reached, are to be considered in connection with the great dangers to which they had always been exposed in the interior⁹⁾.

In the Tragedians there are some data on the question whether

1) Dem. XXXVII, 54.

2) Plato Gorg. 467 D; The Adriatic was considered to be extremely dangerous, cf. Lys XXXII, 25 and fr. 1 = Ath. 13 p 612 D.

3) Aesch. Eum. 555.

4) Andoc. I, 137.

5) Lys. VI, 19.

6) Aesch. Sept. 602.

7) Xen. Cyr. VIII, 1, 25; Cf. also the Book Jonah I, 5—15.

8) Xen. Anab. IV, 7, 24.

9) Cf. however Zimmern, the Greek Commonwealth³ p. 317 note 1, who has an extremely high opinion of the Greeks' familiarity with the sea, and sees a proof of this among other things in these words of the rest of the "ten thousand".

there was also navigation during the night. The blind Tiresias compares the assistance his daughter renders him to that which the stars render to the skippers ¹⁾). In another place it also appears that the skippers calculate their course by the stars ²⁾). In the same way Thucydides measures the extent of the empire of the Odrusians by the number of days and nights in which a trading-ship can sail round it ³⁾). But navigation at night is always considered dangerous and is mentioned as something extraordinary. Homer already relates that in urgent cases people sailed on during the night ⁴⁾), and in the Tragedians the fact that Medea sailed with Jason at sea in the night is counted as a deed of courage ⁵⁾), and Danaus declares that the night often brings difficulties even to experienced sailors ⁶⁾).

At that time, when tidings were still very difficult to get, the coming of the merchants must have been often greeted with joy by those who lived isolated and for whom the trader not only brought merchandise but also political news and personal tidings or letters. In this way the choir of Greek women in the Iphigenia in Tauris expresses the hope that a skipper from Greece has come ⁷⁾) and Iphigenia wants to give a letter to her brother Pylades whom she has not yet recognized, to take with him to Argos ⁸⁾). Whether Menelaus is still alive or has died may be heard from skippers ⁹⁾). Orestes, who passes himself off as a trader or a traveller to Clytaemnestra, pretends that Strophius, king of Phocis, has asked him to inform Clytaemnestra of the death of Orestes ¹⁰⁾). When Phaedra apparently has sorrow the choir supposes that a skipper may have brought her sad tidings from her relatives in Creta ¹¹⁾). It goes without saying that the merchants made use of the fresh tidings to their

Navigation
during the
night

Merchants as
reporters of
all sorts of
news

1) Eur. Phoin. 835.

2) Eur. Her. 667.

3) Thuc. II, 97, 1.

4) Od. XV, 34 and 476; XVI, 367.

5) Eur. Med. 211; I here follow the version of the M.S.S. δι' ἀλα νύχιον. Wecklein however reads δι' ἀλα μύχιον.

6) Aesch. Suppl. 769.

7) Eur. Iph. i. T. 447.

8) Eur. Iph. i. T. 756.

9) Aesch. Agam. 631.

10) Aesch. Choeph. 680.

11) Eur. Hipp. 155.

own profit and spared no trouble to be beforehand with other people in getting information that might influence the price of the merchandise. So in Lysias the *σιτοπώλαι* are reproached with trying to be beforehand with other people in getting information about the calamities of the town of Athens that influenced the corn-supply¹⁾. In other passages too²⁾ it appears that they always found the means to get such information as they thought necessary, either by means of agents³⁾ or in another way. Further on we will see that the Egyptian governor Cleomenes worked the custom of using agents into a system⁴⁾.

Objects of trade

With regard to the objects of trade we find the following data in the Tragedians:

Aeschylus speaks of:

Syrian balm⁵⁾. — Etrurian trumpet⁶⁾ — purple from the far sea⁷⁾ — $\pi\delta\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\sigma\varsigma$ $\xi\epsilon\nu\sigma\varsigma$ ⁸⁾, by which is meant a sword imported from the Pontus.

Sophocles mentions:

the electron from Sardes and Indian gold as very precious things⁹⁾. — Oedipus asks the messenger if he has bought him as a slave when he was young¹⁰⁾.

Euripides mentions:

iron $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ *Xaλύβoις*¹¹⁾. — iron from Sicily¹²⁾. — Polyxena

1) Lys. XXII, 14.

2) Isaeus fr. 15 ed. Thalheim; Xen. Econ. XX, 27.

3) See p. 126.

4) See pp. 99, 100, 125 and 126.

5) $\Sigma\delta\mu\sigma\varsigma$ $\dot{\alpha}\gamma\lambda\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$, Ag. 1312.

6) $\Tau\varrho\sigma\eta\mu\kappa\eta$ $\sigma\alpha\lambda\mu\iota\gamma\varsigma$, Eum. 568 = Eur. Phoin. 1377 and Her. 830; cf. Soph. Ajax 17.

7) Ag. 959.

8) Sept. 942.

9) Ant. 1038.

10) Oed. Rex 1025. The difference in position between the bought slave and one that has been born in the house is evident from the following answer: I am a slave, only not such a one as has been bought, but one born in the house; *ibid.* 1123.

11) Alc. 980; Cf. schol.: *Xάλυβες* $\dot{\epsilon}\theta\mu\sigma\varsigma$ $\tau\o\iota\mu\pi\varsigma$ *Πόντoυ*, $\dot{\epsilon}\nu\theta\mu\alpha$ $\sigma\iota\delta\eta\sigma\alpha$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\kappa\lambda\alpha$ $\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\mu$.

12) *Aίτναια σφαγεῖα*, Cycl. 395; it may be that this iron was from Elba and

fears that she will be sold as a slave¹). — Pentheus threatens that he will sell the women caught in the act of worshipping Bacchus²). — Silenus pretends that Odysseus had wanted to throw the Cyclops into his ship in order to sell him³). — Creüsa asks the young priest Io if he has been bought by the Delphians⁴). — Etrurian robbers are mentioned as slave-dealers⁵). — The Lydians and Phrygians furnish much slave-material⁶).

that the Sicilians acted as intermediaries; Cf. Wilamowitz, Gr. Tragödien III, 16, 1.

1) Hec. 360.

2) Bacch. 512.

3) Cycl. 1238.

4) Io 310.

5) Cycl. 12.

6) Alc. 675. Orestes depreciatingly calls the latter „superintendants of mirrors and balms”, Orest. 1112.

VI PRE-SOCRATIC PHILOSOPHERS

Trading philosophers In a fragment on the life of Thales we hear incidentally that the Phoenicians owe their accurate knowledge of numbers to traffic, and Thales himself is there said to have occupied himself with *εμπορία*, in the same way as the astrologer Hippocrates; Plato too is supposed to have got travelling-money by selling olive oil in Egypt¹⁾. Of Democritus on the contrary we hear that by his astrological knowledge he foresaw that there would be a scarcity of olive oil and that therefore he bought up all the olive oil in the neighbourhood, but that later, when the scarcity had really set in, he gave it back to the original owners without any profit²⁾.

Aristotle gives us more ample information about Thales of Milet than that above; he relates namely in his *Politica* that one time Thales' astrological knowledge made him see that the olive trees would yield a rich harvest. During the winter he rented all olive presses in Milet and Chius at a low price, as nobody outbade him. When however harvest-time had come there suddenly was a great demand for olive presses, which Thales now leased at a high price; in this way he got much money and showed thereby, says Aristotle, that for philosophers it is an easy thing to grow rich if only they want to; but that riches are not what they strive after³⁾. In the same way Aristotle mentions briefly that Solon went to Egypt *καὶ ἐμπορίαν καὶ θεωρίαν*⁴⁾.

Many occasions *εμπόροι* From the preceding remarks, even if they are not historical, it appears how every one, if he wanted to, could occupy himself with trade on a certain occasion, especially with foreign trade (*εμπορία*)⁵⁾ and so by that act could temporarily become an *ἐμπόρος*. When for

1) Diels 8.

2) Diels 354.

3) Arist. *Politica* 1259 a 7 sqq.

4) Arist. *Αθ. Πολ.* 11, 1.

5) See p. 114.

instance in Aristophanes a sycophant is asked if he happens to be an *ἐμπόρος*, he answers: "well, I occasionally pretend to be one" ¹⁾; and a young man who wants to shirk a task that is disagreeable to him says: "I shall pretend to be an *ἐμπόρος*" ²⁾. When Thucydides relates how much money and goods have been withdrawn from Athens as a result of the Sicilian expedition, he mentions among other things *ὅσα ἐπὶ μεταβολῇ τις ἡ στρατιώτης ἢ ἐμπόρος ἔχων ἔπλει*, so all goods which soldiers or *ἐμπόροι* took with them with the object of trading with them ³⁾. So here trading soldiers who practise *ἐμπορία* are mentioned side by side with the proper *ἐμπόροι* ⁴⁾. The distinction *στρατιώτης* and *ἐμπόρος* is here only made to indicate that the former at the same time performed military service. In Isocrates a certain Sopaeus, who occupies an influential post with Satyrus a Bosporian prince, sends his son to Athens with two ships loaded with corn. As the motive is given here, in the same way as in the above mentioned remark on Solon in Aristotle, *κατ' ἐμπορίαν καὶ κατὰ θεωρίαν*. In Demosthenes' orations even people who only borrow a sum of money for sea-trade are called *ἐμπόροι* ⁵⁾.

After what precedes we can understand that, differently from *ταύχληρος* ⁶⁾ the term *ἐμπόρος* is not used as an indication of a profession by the side of a proper name, as the addition of the word *ἐμπόρος* would not have identified an individual more exactly.

I will speak below ⁷⁾ of the reasons why it might be profitable to call oneself an *ἐμπόρος*.

The fact that the above mentioned philosophers occupied themselves with trade proves little with regard to the appreciation of trade in those times, as these remarks are meant as exceptions. In a few of these authors one may probably draw this conclusion with greater certainty from their opinion on the acquisition of money. So for instance the *Anonymus Jamblichii* disapproves of the various

Opinions on
trade

1) Arist. Plut. 904.

2) Arist. Eccl. 1027. Cf. Lys. XVII, 5 and Lycurgus c. Leocr. 55.

3) Thuc. VI, 31, 5.

4) Cf. also Herod. III, 139.

5) Dem. XXXV, 49.

6) See pp. 96 and 97.

7) See p. 129.

incentives to *χοηματισμός*¹⁾; Democritus calls the acquisition of money not useless; but if it takes place in a dishonest way, he calls it a very great evil²⁾.

Few data regarding trade

In a fragment of the sophist Critias there is an enumeration of eighteen traders, all compounded with *πωλης*³⁾. While in these authors there is hardly any further mention of trading the sophist Antiphon still uses the verb *ἐμπορεύεσθαι* in the sense of "to travel" (not "to trade")⁴⁾. Heraclitus also speaks metaphorically of *ψυχῆς ὀνεῖσθαι* „to pay with one's life"⁵⁾; in the same way Epicharmus gives the beautiful aphorism: *τῶν πόνων πωλοῦσιν ἡμῖν πάντα τᾶγαν* 'οἱ θεοί⁶⁾.

Uncertainty of possession

The great uncertainty of possession and the difficulty of protecting one's fortune appear from various expressions. So for instance an admonition of Pittacus runs: "παρακαταθήκας ἀπόδοσ"⁷⁾ and an utterance of Pittacus: that he who gives back the pawn does not deserve praise, but that he who does not give it back deserves scorn and punishment⁸⁾. A symptom of this uncertainty is the great fear of giving security. Epicharmus speaks warningly: "Surety is the daughter of blindness; the daughter of surety is loss!"⁹⁾, and we hear as a short cry of distress: "ἔγγύα πάρα δ' ἄτα!"¹⁰⁾.

Fear of giving security
A Pythagorean's debt paid

The following story gives a good example of the way in which a debt of a Pythagorean could be got in at that time.

A poor, sick Pythagorean, travelling in a long and lonely road puts up at a *πανδοκεῖον* where the *πανδοκεύς* gives him all he wants. When the Pythagorean is about to die he writes down *τι σύμβολον* on a *πίναξ* and he instructs the inn-keeper to hang this *πίναξ* in front of his *πανδοκεῖον* by the roadside, as soon as he (the Pythagorean) is dead, expecting that one of the passers-by will read the *σύμβολον* and will pay the inn-keeper for his kindness. When the Pythagorean

1) Diels 632.

2) Fr. 78, Diels 402.

3) Fr. 70, Diels 629; Cf. also fr. 60, 64 and 67, Diels 628.

4) Fr. 49, Diels 598.

5) Fr. 85, Diels 74.

6) Fr. 36, Diels 95.

7) Diels 522.

8) Fr. 265, Diels 432.

9) Fr. 25, Diels 94.

10) Ascribed to Chilon, Diels 7; to Thales, Diels 521; Cf. 520.

has died and the *πίναξ* has been hung the latter is indeed noticed by a Pythagorean and the *παρδοκεύς* gets his reward.

As regards the objects of trade, an elegy by Critias praises¹⁾:
 the very beautiful and valuable *δέκος Σικελικός* — the luxurious *Θεσσαλικὸς θρόνος* — the beautiful *εὔραιον λέχος* of Miletus and Chius — the *χρυσότινπος φίλη* and *πᾶς χαλκὸς ὅτις κοσμεῖ δόμον ἐν τινι χρείᾳ* of Etruria — the *ἀρματόεις δίφρος* of Thebes — the goods-ships of the Carians — the earthenware of Athens.

Objects of
trade

1) Fr. 2, Diels 614.

VII PS-XENOPHON, RESPUBLICA ATHE-NIENSIMUM

This oligarchic pamphlet, probably dating from the beginning of the Peloponnesian war and directed against the policy of Pericles, furnishes us some data regarding trade, especially as far as Athens is concerned.

The author's
opinion on
trade

In the same way as Plato acknowledged, as we shall see below¹⁾, that even in his ideal state trade could not entirely be eliminated, the author of this booklet declares²⁾ that not a single town can do without import or export; but in this respect too he agrees with Plato that he considers this fact rather a calamity than an advantage to the town. When for instance he speaks of the sea-trade of Athens he asserts³⁾ that hearing various languages has made the Athenians adopt something from every one of these languages and in this way, he continues, while the Greeks prefer their own language, their own way of living and of dressing, the Athenians use a mixture of that of all Greeks and non-Greeks. This assertion, exaggerated though it certainly is⁴⁾, is probably meant more seriously by the author than his observations on the advantages of naval forces. The latter are however more in accordance with truth. He remarks for instance⁵⁾ that land-forces may be greatly inconvenienced by a disease of the fruits of the earth, in contrast with naval forces which always get the products of a prosperous district. In another place he observes⁶⁾ that, differently from voyaging by sea, travelling by land can only be done slowly, and that it is impossible for a pedestrian to take food with him for a long time. This is one of the very few places where overland trade is mentioned. We also have Hesiod's advice

1) See pp. 103, 104 and 105.

2) II, 3.

3) II, 8.

4) Cf. ed. Kalinka p. 203.

5) II, 6.

6) II, 5.

Overland
trade

not to overload a waggon, because this might cause the axle to break and the merchandise to become unfit for use¹⁾). The overland trader is further represented in Aeschylus, where Orestes passes himself off to Clytaemnestra as a trader from Argos who carries his own luggage²⁾.

Among the advantages of the naval forces of Athens the author of this pamphlet mentions, of course mockingly³⁾, that they give the Athenians an opportunity of feasting. All the dainties (*ἡδύ*), he declares, from Sicily, Italy, Cyprus, Egypt, Lydia, the Pontus, the Peloponnesus or elsewhere, have flown together to one place, as a result of the sovereignty of the seas.

The above mentioned observation cannot but impress us with the importance of Athens as a trade-centre, and the more so when we read of the measures connected with trade, which Athens, according to the author of this pamphlet, made free to take against its allies. After adducing the fact that the towns on the continent want Athens for their import and export as the cause of their submissiveness⁴⁾ he further⁵⁾ explains this more in detail.

"They only (viz. the Athenians), says he, can draw towards themselves the abundance of Greeks and non-Greeks. For if some town abounds in wood suitable for ship-building, how else shall it dispose of this but by winning the rulers of the sea to it? And further! If a town abounds in iron, copper, or flax, how else can it dispose of these things but by winning the rulers of the sea to them? It is exactly these materials, the Athenian further declares, with which I build my ships; from one town I obtain wood, from the other iron, copper, flax or wax." So the meaning of this quotation is⁶⁾ that of their own accord the various towns take their products to the harbour

1) Hesiod *Erga* 692.

2) Aesch. Choeph. 675 : *αὐτόφορος οἰκεῖα οαγῆ*. Cf. Soph. fr. 251 ed. Jebb. The term *αὐτόφορος* is here used by Aeschylus in its original meaning; at a later time it serves to indicate a merchant who conveys his goods in his own ship, cf. Hesychius *αὐτόφοροι* : *αὐτοδιάχοροι. κυρλως δὲ οἱ ἐν τοῖς ιδίοις πλοῖοις*. Cf. Cratinus fr. 248, Kock II, p. 88.

3) II, 7.

4) II, 3.

5) II, 11 and 12.

6) Cf. ed. Kalinka p. 215.

of Athens, because here the selling prospects are most favourable. The author further relates¹⁾ that the Athenians do not even allow them to take their goods elsewhere, and that they exclude those who are recalcitrant from sea-trade.

So by its exceptionally favourable position as a selling-place, and by the coercive measures which it made free to take with regard to the materials for ship-building Athens was a trade-centre, where the various goods had come together, differently from other towns, the district of which could only furnish one of these products at a time²⁾. In this way Pericles too says in the famous funeral oration, put into his mouth by Thucydides: "The largeness of our town causes a continual supply of various goods from all parts of the world and we do not enjoy the products (viz. of mind and matter) of our own country more intensely than those of foreigners"³⁾. In his booklet "De Vectigalibus" Xenophon discusses at length the extraordinary advantages offered by Athens as a trading place⁴⁾. In the first place he points to the ship-houses (*ὑπόδοχα*) where the ships are sheltered from storm. Moreover, says he, in most towns the *ἐμπόροι* are bound to take return-cargo with them, because the coins of these towns are not accepted elsewhere. In Athens on the contrary, he adds with some pride, they can take with them nearly everything they want as return-cargo. If they do not wish to do so they export good merchandise when exporting money. For wherever they sell it they get more than they paid for it.

In another place in this same booklet⁵⁾ he gives a long list of people who in time of peace want Athens as a trade-centre. By the side of *ἐμπόροι* and *ταύχληροι* he mentions *οἱ πολύσιτοι, πολύοινοι, ἡδύοινοι, πολυέλαιοι* and *πολυπρόβατοι*; further *οἱ γυάρη καὶ ἀργυρίῳ δυνάμενοι χρηματίζεσθαι* (by which probably *τραπεζῖται* are meant⁶⁾) and finally all those who want to quickly buy or sell some merchandise. At a later time too Isocrates, when singing the praise of Greece in his Panegyricus, speaks of Athens in about the

1) II, 12.

2) II, 12.

3) Thuc. II, 38, 2.

4) Xen. De Vect. III, 1 and 2.

5) Xen. De Vect. V, 3.

6) See p. 83 sqq.

following words¹⁾: "As some of the towns of Greece produce more, other towns less than is necessary for their own use the Piraeus has been placed as ἐμπόρου in the centre of Greece in behalf of import as well as of export. Here in the Piraeus all merchandise is concentrated in one place, to meet the convenience of both sellers and buyers".

1) Isocr. IV, 42. See p. 138.

VIII ARISTOPHANES

In this comedian we find some important data, especially with regard to the *κάπηλοι*. Though on the one side we must be careful lest we too readily believe everything which Aristophanes criticises in Athenian conditions for the sake of a certain effect he has in view; yet on the other side we may assume that, if he makes a certain group of individuals the butt of his mockeries wherever he has an opportunity to do so, his feelings towards that group probably were shared by many of his contemporaries, though the influence of personal antipathy may be obvious¹⁾. So Aristophanes gives us a more complete picture of the *κάπηλοι* than of the *ἐμποροι* whom he mentions only incidentally and never chooses as the object of his mockery²⁾.

Κάπηλος with special reference to wine-dealer The frequent use of *κάπηλος* for female wine-dealer in Aristophanes is very striking. When for instance Lysistrata asks a man whether he thinks that women have no gall, the latter answers³⁾: "Certainly, a great quantity of it, especially when a *κάπηλος* is near them", in other words, when they are irritated by wine⁴⁾. In this way women who are fond of wine are called a blessing to *κάπηλοι*⁵⁾.

In another passage⁶⁾ we hear of a *κάπηλος* or *καπηλίς* who does not quite fill the decilitre (*νόμισμα*), of which fact a *καπηλίς* is also accused in another comedy of Aristophanes⁷⁾. In this way he also uses *καπηλεῖον* in the sense of "ale-house"⁸⁾. In the other comic

1) See p. 51.

2) See p. 55.

3) Lys. 466.

4) Cf. scholia l.c.

5) Thesm. 737.

6) Thesm. 347.

7) Plut. 435.

8) Eccl. 154. Cf. the scholiast ad Plut. 1120 which explains the word *καπηλίς* by *ἡ τὸν οἶνον πωλοῦσσα*; in this connection I may also point to the amusing etymological explanation of *καπηλίς* mentioned in the schol. ad Plut. 427: *εἴρηται καπηλίς παρὰ τὸ κακύνειν τὸν πηλόν. πηλός δε ὁ οἶνος.*

writers too *κάπηλος* is repeatedly used in this sense¹⁾. Plato too speaks of a *κάπηλος* to indicate a wine-dealer²⁾.

So, when using the words *ἔμπορος* (which, as we saw above³⁾ was "Εμπόροι" and especially used to indicate "corn dealer") and *κάπηλος* by which often "wine-dealer" was indicated, people especially thought of dealers in victuals, meat and drink. So in Plato *ἔμποροι* and *κάπηλοι* are mentioned among those who take care of the human body⁴⁾; an *ἔμπορος* asserts that he sees to the feeding of his fellow-men⁵⁾; a merchant who conveys and sells meat and drink is called *ἔμπορος*⁶⁾; *καπηλεία* is used for the selling of meat and drink⁷⁾, and *ἔμπορος* and *κάπηλοι* are mentioned in one breath with *πανδοκεύς*⁸⁾. An "eating- and drinking-place", "refreshment-room" is called *καπηλεῖον* by Isocrates⁹⁾.

In the comedies of Aristophanes there are many allusions, explained by the scholia, in which the *κάπηλοι* are criticised as people who are notorious for their jobbery and their cheating¹⁰⁾. At a match between Aeschylus and Euripides, who have both recited a verse, Aristophanes makes Bacchus declare mockingly: Aeschylus' verse sinks far deeper because it has been moistened as if it were wool, in the manner used by a wool-dealer (*ἔριεπωλικῶς*)¹¹⁾. Here the scholia explain: *ἔριεπωλικῶς. ὡς οἱ τὰ ἔρια πωλοῦντες βρέχονται αὐτὰ, ἵνα βαρύνωσιν ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ*; so here the wool-dealers are accused of moistening their goods in order to make them weigh

1) Antiphanes fr. 24, Kock II, p. 19; Eubulus fr. 80, Kock II, p. 192; Plato fr. 174, Kock I, p. 648; Diphilus fr. 3 Kock II, p. 541; Adespota 567 Kock III, p. 511.

2) Plato Gorg. 518 B.

3) See p. 16.

4) Plato Prot. 517 D.

5) Plato Polit. 267 E.

6) Plato Soph. 224 A; Cf. Protag. 314 A.

7) Plato Leg. 849 D.

8) Plato Leg. 842 D and 918 D; Cf. Leg. 919 A.

9) Isocr. VII, 49 and XV, 287; in this connection we may also think of the frequent use of *ἀγορά* for victuals-market in Thucydides, Xenophon and other authors.

10) Cf. the above mentioned etymology of *καπηλίς* in the schol. ad Plut. 427.

11) Ran. 1386.

more. Of the lamp-dealer Hyperbolus Aristophanes asserts¹⁾ that he has made much money διὰ πονηρίαν, which is explained by the scholia in the following way: οὐ γὰρ χαλκῷ μόνον ἔχοντο πρὸς τὴν τῶν λύχνων κατασκευὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μόλυβδον ἔνεινθει, ἵνα πολὺ βάρος ἔχοντες πλείονος ἄξιοι ὔσι. καὶ οὕτως ἡπάτα τὸν πριαμένους. So this lamp-dealer was supposed to have fraudulently filled brass lamps with lead, while they seemed to be heavy with solid brass. Of an old woman who has trimmed herself up in order to seem young he says: "She acts like the κάπηλοι" (καπηλικῶς ἔχει)²⁾, the scholiast adding: καπηλικῶς ἔχει. ἀντὶ τοῦ πανοργικῶς ἔπει οἱ κάπηλοι χρίειν καὶ ἀναποιεῖν τὰ ιμάτια εἰώθασι καὶ τὸν οἶνον δὲ ὀνθυλένουσι συμμιγνύντες αὐτῷ σαπρόν.. So the κάπηλοι apparently did not scruple to gloss, to alter or to dye clothes, or to mix wine. A similar grievance on the mixing of wine, here with water, is uttered by a woman in the Ecclesiazusae when she says³⁾: "I shall not tolerate that water-ponds are made in the ale-houses". Bird-dealers apparently render themselves guilty of blowing up thrushes, of course in the hope of increasing the value by increasing the size of the birds⁴⁾. The sausage-dealer, Demos' latest favourite, accuses his rival Cleon the tanner of having often sold leather made of a sick animal to the peasants⁵⁾.

A very usual jobbery was also the cheating with weights and measures. So in the Plutus⁶⁾ the question is put: "Is not that the female wine-dealer of this neighbourhood who always cheats with the measure (κοτύλαι)?" Strepsiades complains⁷⁾ of having been cheated for two χοινίκες by a flour-dealer (ἀλφιταμοιβός). When singing the praise of quiet rural life the poet mentions as one of the advantages that there at least one does not get fish that is three days old, very expensive and maltreated by the law-violating hands of the fishmonger⁸⁾. Therefore the above mentioned sausage-dealer declares that among the latest oracular apothegms that have become

1) Nub. 1066.

2) Plut. 1063.

3) Eccl. 154.

4) Av. 1080.

5) Eq. 316.

6) Plut. 435.

7) Nub. 640.

8) Fr. 387, Kock I, p. 492: ἐπὶ ἵχθυοπάλου χειρὶ παρανομωτάτη.

known there is one that bears upon those who measure corn unfairly in the market¹⁾. Alexis, another comic writer, also gives an example of a trader's cheating²⁾. He says namely that a fig-dealer puts the shrivelled and the bad figs at the bottom of the baskets and the fine and ripe ones on the top, to cheat the buyers in this way. The scholiast to Pindarus too, notes down by the words *ἀργυρωθεῖσαι πρόσωπα*³⁾: *ἀργυρωθεῖσαι ἦτι πρόσωπον. κεκομημέναι καὶ λαμπρωθεῖσαι ὡς τὰ ὄντα ὑπὸ τῶν πωλ ὑπώρειαντο*⁴⁾.

In the comedies of Aristophanes the *καπηλοι* are further reproached with their noisiness, their quarrelsome disposition and their ousting the old Attic citizens. Now the two first mentioned qualities are such as may be disapproved of as well as excused, according to the mentality and disposition of the judge. And the last mentioned reproach is probably connected with the conservative character of Aristophanes⁵⁾. The phenomenon as such may be explained as a result of the shifting of riches and power which accompanies every great revolution or war.

The noisiness and
quarrelsome
disposition of
the *καπηλοι*;
their ousting
the old Attic
citizens

The reproach of noisiness and quarrelsome disposition is especially directed against the *women*-traders. In this way Dionysus says to Aeschylus⁶⁾: "Don't call Euripides names; it is unseemly that poets should scold like female bread-sellers (*ἀρτοπώλιδες*)". Penia is taken for a *πανδοκεύτρια* (explained by the scholia as *καπηλίσ*) or a *λειμόπωλις* (peasepudding-seller) by Clepsidemus and Chremylus, because she had cried to them without any reason⁷⁾. Therefore Lysistrata calls in the help of *σπερμαγοραιολειμθολαχανοπώλιδες* and *σκοροδοπανδοκεύτριαρτοπώλιδες* to assist her in her attempts at compelling the men to make peace⁸⁾. Also in the following amusing market-scene⁹⁾ Aristophanes marks the qualities he dis-

1) Eq. 1009.

2) Alexis fr. 128, Kock II, p. 343.

3) Pind. Is. II 8.

4) On the measures proposed by Plato against the cheating of traders see pp. 109 and 110.

5) Cf Heitland, Agricola p. 40 and 47.

6) Ran. 858.

7) Plut. 427.

8) Lys. 457 and 458; perhaps these words, untranslatable as they are, point to the custom of trading in various goods at the same time, cf. fr. 569, Kock I, p. 536.

9) Vesp. 493 sqq.

approves of. If somebody buys expensive sea-fish in the market and does not want cheap sardines, the nearest sardine-dealer says at once: "That man buys fish as if he were absolute monarch of the town". If somebody asks garlic for anchovy-sauce the greengroceress looks at him askance and says: "Look here, you ask for garlic, maybe you want to become absolute monarch in Athens, or do you think Athens has to provide you with its herbs by way of tribute?" The well-known sausage-dealer of the Equites is not only called *πονηρὸς καὶ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς* but also *θρασύς*¹.

Aristophanes' aversion against *κάτηλοι*

Aristophanes' irritation at the increasing influence they have, according to him, on the government of the state, and at their ousting of the old citizens appears most clearly in the Equites. In this play he lays the entire fault of the breakdown of the state on four merchants who consecutively govern the town. In the first place a rope-dealer (*σινπειοπώλης*)² by whom, according to the scholia, Eucrates is meant; then a dealer in goats and sheep (*προβατοπώλης*)³, by whom Callias or Lysicles are indicated⁴; in the third place the Paphlagonian leather-dealer (*βυρσοπώλης*)⁵, as the demagogue Cleon is called; at last Aristophanes makes a scoundrelly sausage-dealer (*ἀλλαντοπώλης*)⁶) appear on the stage, who in the course of the play makes the tanner fall into disfavour with the old, ailing Demos, in order to sway the sceptre himself. In various passages the poet here betrays his disgust.

When Demosthenes, one of the slaves of Demos, urges the sausage-dealer to hold his own against the leather-dealer, he asks: "But how can I, an *ἀλλαντοπώλης*, become a real man (*ἀνήρ*)?", to which the other answers: "The very reason why you will become great is that you are *πονηρὸς καὶ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς καὶ θρασύς*"⁷). "You possess, says Demosthenes, all the antecedents necessary for a demagogue, namely *φωνὴ μιαρά, γέγονας κακῶς, ἀγοραῖος εἰ*"⁸.

1) Eq. 181; Cf. Ran. 1015.

2) Eq. 129 sqq.

3) Eq. 132 sqq.

4) Cf. schol.

5) Eq. 136 sqq.

6) Eq. 143 sqq.

7) Eq. 179 sqq.

8) Eq. 217 sqq.

When, in their race for the favour of Demos, Cleon says: "Look straight into my eyes, if you dare", the sausage-dealer answers: "Why not; I, too, have grown up in the market" ¹⁾. To Demos himself the sausage-dealer says ²⁾: "You do not mix with noble, civilized citizens, but you *do* debase yourself to mix with lamp-dealers, (*λυχνοπῶλαι*) ³⁾, cobblers (*τευρορράφοι*) ⁴⁾, tanners (*σκυτοπόμοι*) and leather-dealers (*βυρσοπῶλαι*)". To persuade Demos of the pernicious influence of Cleon the *βυρσοπώλης*, the *ἀλλαντοπώλης* warns ⁵⁾: "You see by how large a retinue of young *βυρσοπῶλαι* this *βυρσοπώλης* is surrounded. These are surrounded in their turn by honey-dealers (*μελιτοπῶλαι*) and cheese-dealers (*τυροπῶλαι*), who are all hand in glove. And if you should want to punish the leather-dealer they would occupy the entrances to the cheese-market in the night".

It is obvious that such utterances rather point to great dislike on the part of the poet than to a really pernicious influence the *κάπηλοι* had on the government of the state in those days. It is the same prepossession which makes him stamp Socrates as a sophist, and Euripides as a hater of women and a son of a green-groceress ⁶⁾.

Aristophanes makes hardly any difference between *κάπηλοι* and *καπηλεῖον*. In this way he mentions the *λυχνοπῶλαι*, *τευρορράφοι*, *σκυτοπόμοι* and *βυρσοπῶλαι* side by side as people who form a contrast with noble citizens ⁷⁾. In the communist state of women the fullers (*κναφῆς*), so artisans, will furnish a fur coat to all who want one ⁸⁾, but dealers in flour (*ἀλφιταμοιβολ*) will furnish corn ⁹⁾. The usual word for "workshop" (*ἔργαστήριον*) may also mean "shop" ¹⁰⁾. Conversely, in other authors we also find *καπηλεῖον*

Hardly any difference between *κάπηλοι* and *καπηλεῖον*

- 1) Eq. 293, cf. 636.
- 2) Eq. 739 sqq.
- 3) Here Hyperbolus is meant, cf. p. 48; Nub. 1065; Pax 690.
- 4) Probably Lysicles.
- 5) Eq. 852 sqq.
- 6) Thesm. 387.
- 7) Eq. 739 and 740.
- 8) Eccl. 415.
- 9) Eccl. 424.
- 10) Eq. 744.

used in the sense of "workshop" ¹⁾). In Lysias we hear that it is the custom to frequent a *μυροπωλεῖον*, *κονυμεῖον* or *σκυτοτομεῖον* ²⁾.

Details concerning some *κάπηλοι*

The famous sausage-dealer of the Equites has for instrumentarium an *ἔλεόν* ³⁾ which the scholia explain as *μαγειρικὴ τράπεζα*, so a table used especially by cooks to carve meat ⁴⁾. So his work consisted in: washing the guts (*πλύνειν τὰς κοιλίας*) ⁵⁾, cutting the meat, filling the cleaned guts, then selling the sausages.

Very curious is what Aristophanes tells about the hawking of lamps in troughs ⁶⁾, the selling of amulets ⁷⁾, and the selling of birds, which, gathered to a string, are sold on a board, the seller of which is therefore called *πυραπωλης* ⁸⁾.

In this connection it is remarkable that Antiphanes tells of an *ἰχθυοπωλης* that he went round the country hawking (*εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν ἥλθεν*) to sell fish ⁹⁾. Diphilus mentions the case of a man who prefers hawking in the street (*κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πωλεῖν περιπατῶν*) with roses, radishes etc. to being a *περιβοσκός*, ¹⁰⁾.

The work of the *κάπηλοι* wearisome and unremunerative

How wearisome and unremunerative the work of the *κάπηλοι* appears clearly from Aristophanes. People who owned a shop had to open it early in the morning, lest they should miss some profit ¹¹⁾. An old saleswoman is injured by a *φύλαρχος* ¹²⁾. Another hero intimidates a female fig-dealer and after this eats her figs ¹³⁾. Ten breads of a female bread-seller are struck away, and moreover

1) Adespota 493, Kock III, p. 500; Sophocl. fr. 645, Nauck; cf. Pollux 7, 193.

2) Lys. XXIV, 20. It stands to reason that, as appears further in this passage, the nearer such a workshop was to the market, the greater was the number of customers. Therefore a sensible man had his shop or workshop near the market. Cf. Lys. fr. 1 ed. Cobet; Xenophon Mem. IV, 2, 1.

3) Eq. 152 and 169.

4) Homer Il. IX, 215 and Od. XIV 432 called *ἔλεός*.

5) Eq. 160.

6) Eq. 1315.

7) Fr. 592, Kock I, p. 542.

8) Av. 14.

9) Fr. 68, Kock II, p. 38.

10) Fr. 87, Kock II, p. 570.

11) Plut. 1120.

12) Lys. 561.

13) Lys. 563.

four that had to serve as extra's¹⁾). Though it is true that they were protected by the law²⁾ we may assume that it was only hard necessity which compelled many of them to carry on this trade. So for instance the poor widow who, after the death of her husband, has great trouble to support herself and her five children by making wreaths³⁾. So we can very well understand the statement made in Demosthenes by a young man who, together with his mother, sold ribbons in the market, that such an existence was very far from their ideal⁴⁾.

The above mentioned poor widow leaves the feast of the Thesmophoriazusae to make twenty wreaths for the market, which had been ordered⁵⁾; so she makes these wreaths and then sells them personally in the market. In this way female slaves, too, took what they had woven to the market and there sold it for the benefit of their lord⁶⁾. Aeschines, too, speaks of a female slave who takes her own exquisite product to the market⁷⁾.

The part of the market where one particular kind of merchandise was sold is often indicated by Aristophanes by the merchandise itself, often in the plural; so for instance *οἱ ἰχθύες* means the fishmarket⁸⁾.

When Aristophanes uses the name *Κυκλ. βόρεις*⁹⁾ the scholiast notes: ὁ δὲ κύκλος Ἀθήνησιν ἔστι ἐνθα δὴ πιπράσκεται χωρὶς κρεῶν τὰ ἄλλα ὄντα, καὶ ἐξαιρέτως δὲ οἱ ἰχθύες; so the word *κύκλος* would indicate the market where various goods were sold, especially meat and fish¹⁰⁾.

That every kind of merchandise usually had its special place appears also from the Economicus of Xenophon, where Ischomachus points out this phenomenon to his young wife as an example

1) Vesp. 1390.

2) See pp. 129 and 131.

3) Thesm. 446 sqq; Cf. Plut. 167. On this subject see P. Herfst, *Le travail de la femme dans la Grèce ancienne* p. 91 sqq.

4) Dem. LVII, 31.

5) Thesm. 457.

6) Ran. 1350.

7) Aesch. I, 97.

8) Ran. 1068; Vesp. 789. Cf. ed. Blaydes ad Vesp. 789 which very accurately notes all places, also in other authors, where this custom is found.

9) Eq. 137.

10) According to Pollux X, 18 τὰ σκεύη were sold here.

Women offering the productions of their own manual labour for sale

of orderliness and regularity¹⁾. Menander speaks of the *ἀγορὰ γυναικεία*²⁾, a market where especially necessaries for women were sold, and where the sellers were mostly women³⁾.

Selling at the πύλαι Those who pitched their booths (*συγραῖ*) in the market⁴⁾, were in more favourable circumstances than the traders who stood *ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις*, by which is probably meant the gateway to the Piraeus. When Cleon asks the sausage-dealer⁵⁾: "Do you sell your sausages *ἐν ἀγορᾷ* or *ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις*?" the latter answers "Near the gateway where the cheap salt-fish is sold"⁶⁾. So a few traders with secondrate goods stood by the gateway. So when the sausage-dealer has supplanted Cleon he punishes him by decreeing that henceforth Cleon is to take over his trade and is to sell alone sausages near the gateway⁷⁾.

Στοιά ἀλφιτόπωλις A peculiar selling-place in Athens was the *στοιά ἀλφιτόπωλις*, where, according to Praxagora⁸⁾, in the communist state people whose name begins with the letter K will go to, in order to get food. By this *στοιά ἀλφιτόπωλις* is meant, according to the scholiast, a warehouse in the Piraeus, where among other things the corn bought by the government was sold. For the expression *στοιάς συνεχούσης* which occurs in another place in Aristophanes⁹⁾ is explained by the scholiast as follows: *τῆς λεγομένης ἀλφιτοπώλιδος, ἦν φκοδόμησε Περικλῆς, ὅπου καὶ στοις ἀπέκειτο τῆς πόλεως. ἦν δὲ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ*¹⁰⁾.

Market-days Probably market was held every day, at any rate as far as victuals are concerned. But the first day of every month (*νομηρία*) was great market-day¹¹⁾. So the words of the scholiast: *ἔθος ἦν Ἀθήνησιν ἐν νομηρίᾳ πιπράσκειν*¹²⁾ only refer to the great market-day. In

1) Xen. Econ. VIII. 22.

2) Fr. 456, Kock III, p. 130.

3) This subject is treated at length by P. Herfst, op. cit. p. 36 sqq.

4) Thesm. 658; Pax 731.

5) Eq. 1246 sqq.

6) Cf. Vesp. 491; Athenaeus 7, 285 d.

7) *ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις ἀλλαγιτοπώλικοι μόνοι*, Eq. 1398; In this connection we can also understand the words of Isaeus VI, 20: *παρὰ τὴν πυλίδα, οὐδὲ οἴνος ὄντος*.

8) Eccl. 686.

9) Ach. 548.

10) Cf. Thuc VIII, 90, 5.

11) Eq. 43; Cf. the scholia: *ἐν δὲ ταῖς νομηρίαις οἱ δοῦλοι ἐπωλοῦντο*.

12) Schol. ad Vesp. 169.

this way we can also conclude from Lysias that on the first day of every month cheese market was held at Athens; on this day the peasants of the neighbourhood of Plateae sold their products in the market¹⁾.

As has been observed at the beginning of this chapter, Aristophanes occupies himself only incidentally with the *ἐμπόροι*. For to a specifically Athenian comedy writer like him the *ἐμπόροι* who are principally foreigners²⁾ and whose trade is carried on largely out of Athens, afford no opportunity of directing his mockeries against them.

Very remarkable is an explanation of the term *ἐμπόρος* in the *Eupolis* not scholia ad Plutum 521, apparently influenced by the etymology of the word as mentioned there and running as follows: "Εμπόρος ὁ πραγματευτικὸς ἄνθρωπος. κυρίως δε ὁ πλέων θάλασσαν, παρὰ τὸ πόρος. πόρος δὲ κυρίως ἐπὶ θαλάσση λέγεται. This explanation is correct in so far that the goods of the *ἐμπόρος* are nearly always conveyed by sea by the *ἐμπόρος* himself³⁾. Still it appears that this is not an essential factor, as *ἐμπορία* may also denote overland trade. This appears clearly from the *Acharnenses*⁴⁾ where the choir calls Dicaeopolis lucky because, in consequence of the peace he had made himself, he was able to get *ἐμπορικὰ χρήματα*, by which are meant the merchandise of a Megarensian and a Boeotian peasant⁵⁾. So on account of the geographical situation of Megara and Boeotia with regard to Athens *ἐμπορικὰ χρήματα* can not mean here "merchandise conveyed by sea", but "merchandise conveyed from elsewhere". Even Xenophon, in his booklet "De Vectigalibus", says emphatically that Athens gets many goods overland⁶⁾.

1) Lys. XXIII 6 . . . τὸν χλωρὸν τυρὸν τῇ ἔρῃ καὶ τέλη. ταύτῃ γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου ἐκεῖσε συλλέγεσθαι τοὺς Πλαταιᾶς.

2) See pp. 79 and 80.

3) See pp. 67 and 98.

4) Ach. 974.

5) Ach. 729 sqq and 871 sqq.

6) Xen. De Vect. I, 7; that, however, the ship was considered as the means of conveyance par excellence appears, as far as Aristophanes is concerned, i.a. from the astonishment of the daughters of Trygaeus, who ask their father when the latter ascends into heaven: "but what πόρος will you use; for a ship will not carry you on this way", Pax 124. Cf. also fr. 142, Kock I, p. 426, where ἀποπλεῖν is used in the sense of: to ride away.

Eμπορία considered of great importance

The choir in the comedy of the Birds advises to consult the oracle of the birds before beginning to do *ἐμπορία*, looking for a means of living in general or resolving to marry¹⁾. So here the first place is given to *ἐμπορία*. In another place too²⁾, where the birds are mentioned as advisers in important matters, we also hear of *ἐμπορία κερδαλέα*. How important *ἐμπορία* was in general appears clearly from the fact that Aristophanes regards the Megarensian edict which excluded the Megarensians from all the harbours and markets of the Attic alliance, as one of the causes of the Peloponnesian war³⁾. In the same way the Megarensians mention this edict as one of their principal grievances⁴⁾.

Thessalia

Thessalia is mentioned as the country where most slave-dealers live⁵⁾, who often pay for their dangerous trade with their lives⁶⁾.

Egypt

Remarkable is the use of *Αἰγύπτιοι* as porters⁷⁾. In this connection we may also point to the use of *Αἰγυπτιάζειν* in the sense of "being cunning"⁸⁾.

"Law of Gresham"

In the Ranae a passage deserves attention from which appears Aristophanes' insight into a phenomenon which in its consequences is known as the "law of Gresham"⁹⁾; according to this law the bad coins always oust the good ones in every country where two kinds of lawful coins are current. "It often seemed to us, says the choir, that the public behaved towards our good citizens in the same way as towards the old gold coin and the new one. For those old coins which are of good alloy (*οὐ κεκιβδηλευμένοις*), the finest ones, the only ones that are well minted, and are known for their good sound (*κεκωδωνισμένοις*) among the Greeks as well as elsewhere, these coins are not used by us; but we use the bad brass

1) Av. 718.

2) Av. 594.

3) Pax 609; Ach. 533.

4) Cf. Thuc. I, 67; Plut. Pericl. 29.

5) Plut. 521.

6) Plut. 524; see also p. 75.

7) Ran. 1406; Av. 1133; as buyers Pax 1253.

8) Thesm. 922; Cf. Bekker Anecd. p. 354, 13: *Αἰγυπτιάζειν. τὸ πανοργεῖν καὶ πανοργοπεύεσθαι*; See also p. 74.

9) Ran. 717 sqq; Cf. Mr. G. D. Willinck "De wet van Aristophanes, alias Gresham, en hare werking", Economist Jan. 1921.

coins minted only lately with a very ugly stamp (*κακίστωρ κόμματι*”). By these inferior coins possibly the brass coins are meant minted under the archonship of Kallias, which however after a short time were suddenly proclaimed invalid by the herald ¹⁾). It is however also possible that hereby the weak gold coins, mixed with a great deal of copper, are meant, which were made out of gold *Nixη-*images ²⁾).

While we find some traces of Hermes being regarded as the God of trade in as early an author as Homer ³⁾), this deity is mentioned a few times by Aristophanes too as the protector of trade. He is invoked by the Megarensian peasant as ‘*Ἑρμῆς ἐμπολαῖος*’ ⁴⁾), by the sausage-dealer as ‘*Ἑρμῆς ἀγοραῖος*’ ⁵⁾), by the choir in the *Pax* i.a. as *μεγαλοδωρότατος* ⁶⁾). When Plutus has got his eye-sight, Hermes offers his services as *ἐμπολαῖος*, but Carion declines and says: “We are rich; Why should we keep a ‘*Ἑρμῆς παλιγκάστηλος?*’” ⁷⁾ By this designation Carion undoubtedly meant to emphasize the inferiority of this trade ⁸⁾). In his old quality of protector of tricks he is still invoked as ‘*Ἑρμῆς δόλιος*’ ⁹⁾). In this way Hermes boasts to Carion: “Every time you wanted to steal some object from your lord, it was I who brought about its remaining concealed” ¹⁰⁾.

With regard to the objects of trade the following appears from Aristophanes: Objects of trade

As merchandise furnished by the Athenians are mentioned:

1) Eccl. 815.

2) Scholia ad Ran. 720; Cf. Gardner, History of ancient coinage p. 291; Wochenschr. 1 f. klass. Philolol. 1918 p. 210. It is very striking that, while the economists think almost with certainty that they can find in these verses an indication of the above mentioned phenomenon, the commentators in loco do not mention it with a single word. Which is an almost inevitable consequence of the specialisation of science.

3) Hom. Il. XIV 491 and Od. XIX, 397.

4) Ach. 816.

5) Eq. 297.

6) Pax 394.

7) Plut. 1155.

8) See p. 118.

9) Thesm. 1202.

10) Plut. 1139.

anchovy (*ἀσφύη*)¹), earthenware (*κέραμον*)² and Attic honey (*μέλι* 'Αττικον)³.

Megaris furnishes salt⁴) and garlic⁵).

From Boeotia fish, game and fowl are supplied⁶). Especially ἐγχέλεις *Κωπαΐδες* (sometimes exclusively indicated as *Κωπαΐδες* e.g. Pax 1005) are very famous⁷), so that, if Boeotia should be ruined, one would only wish to keep the eel⁸). The expression *τὰκ Βοιωτῶν ταῦτα συντυχούμενα*⁹) indicates that Boeotia also furnished cheese for the market, as the scholiast explains *ὅτι παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς πολύς τυρός*.

Shoes are called *Λακωνικαὶ*¹⁰). — A thick cloak is called *Περσίς*¹¹). The poet speaks of *βάμμα Σαρδιανικόν*¹²). — *στρώματα Μιλήσια*¹³). — *ἔρια Μιλήσια*¹⁴). — *τυρὸς Σικελικός*¹⁵). — *μύρον Ρόδινον*¹⁶). — *οἶνος Πράμνιος*¹⁷). — *οἶνος Θάσιος*¹⁸). — *οἶνος Χίος* and *Πεπαργήθιος*¹⁹).

Cleon is represented as a slave coming from *Paphlagonia*²⁰). In another place²¹) we hear of a slave from *Caria*. To express large wealth Aristophanes speaks of *τὸ Βάττον σίλφιον*²²), i.e. the silphium of *Cyrene* founded by Battos, because this article brought great wealth into the country.

1) Ach. 901; Av. 76; fr. 507, Kock I, p. 522; Cf. Eq. 645; Athenaeus p. 135 A en 244 C; Eubulus fr. 75, Kock II, p. 190: *τευθίς καὶ Φαληρικὴ κόρη*.

2) Ach. 899.

3) Pax 252.

4) Ach. 760; Cf. schol: *ἐν Νιοαίᾳ τῆς Μεγαρίδος ἄλες πήγρυνται*; Ach. 521.

5) Ach. 521 and 761; cf. Pax 246, where the scholiast notes: *ἡ γὰρ Μεγαρικὴ γῆ σκορδοδοφόρος*.

6) Ach. 878; Pax 1003.

7) Ach. 880 and 962.

8) Lys. 36; Cf. schol. and Athenaeus 297 D.

9) Eq. 479.

10) Vesp. 1158; Thesm. 142; Eccl. 74, 269, 345, 508, 542; Cf. Thesm. 421.

11) Vesp. 1137; Cf. *Κρητικόν*, Thesm. 730; See also Eq. 237.

12) Ach. 112; Pax 1174.

13) Ran. 542.

14) Lys. 729; Cf. Eubulus fr. 90, Kock II, p. 195. See also Av. 493.

15) Vesp. 838 and 897; Cf. Pax 250.

16) Lys. 944.

17) Eq. 107; fr. 317, Kock I, p. 473; fr. 579, Kock I, p. 539.

18) Lys. 196; fr. 317, Kock I, p. 473; Cf. Plut. 1021; Eccl. 1119.

19) Fr. 317, Kock I, p. 473; Cf. Aesch. Pers. 884.

20) Eq. 43 sqq.

21) Av. 764.

22) Plut. 925.

IX THUCYDIDES

From this author we can get some information on *εμπόροι*; on *κάπηλοι* he is silent, which fits in with the nature of his work.

The *εμπόροι* who formed the aristocratic element in Corcyra, a town preeminently fitted for trade by its situation ¹⁾, live near or in the market and in the neighbourhood of the harbour ²⁾. It stands to reason that the *εμπόροι* generally lived near the harbour, in Athens for instance in the Piraeus-quarter. In Lysias the merchants are even indicated as *οἱ ἐν τῷ Πειραιῷ* ³⁾; at the same time this author relates that the widow of Diodotus, who had gained much money *καὶ ἐμπορίαν*, continues to live in the Piraeus for another year ⁴⁾. The *χοηματοτής* Cephalus, Lysias' father, also lives in the Piraeus, according to Plato ⁵⁾.

Thucydides relates ⁶⁾ that among the soldiers who went with the Athenian expedition to Sicily there were some who at the same time occupied themselves with trading ⁷⁾. On these soldiers Nicias expresses himself in his letter to the Athenians in words to this effect ⁸⁾: "Some of them who had been enticed by the high pay (the Acarnanians among them ⁹⁾ and rather expected to earn money than to fight, now felt disappointed; a few of these put slaves in their places to perform their military duties in the ships, while they occupied themselves with trading (*αὐτοὶ ἐμπορευόμενοι*)". Thucydides distinguishes this group of soldiers who at the same time do some trading (*σιρατιώτης*) from those who follow the army

1) See p. 64.

2) III, 72, 3; 74, 2.

3) Lys. ed. Cobet fr. 1.

4) Lys. XXXII, 4.

5) Plato Rep. 328 C.

6) VI, 31, 5.

7) See p. 39.

8) VII, 13, 2.

9) VII, 57, 10.

exclusively for trading purposes (*ἐμπορος*)¹). The latter group will be discussed below. In my opinion it is uncertain whether the Greeks who, according to Herodotus²), went with Cambyses to Egypt, must be counted among the first or the second category.

When Themistocles, on his flight from Athens, has come to Pydna, he there finds a trading-ship (*δληάς*) ready to set sail for Ionia³). Themistocles goes into this ship, which by the storm is driven into the direction of Naxus, where the Athenian fleet lies. Then, says Thucydides, Themistocles makes himself known to the *ναύληρος* and succeeds in moving the latter to keep him out of the reach of the Athenians and to take him to Ephesus. This relation may serve as an example of the so called "wild navigation" of trading-ships. In another place⁴) there is an even clearer example of this. A certain man who wants to betray the approaching of the Athenian fleet to the Lesbians crosses from Athens to Geraestus and there finds a trading-ship that is on the point of putting to sea (*ἀναγομένης*). Apparently the ship has no fixed destination, but for him it now sails to Mytilene, which it reaches in three days. When Alcibiades wants to cross from Thurii to the Peloponnesus⁵) he at once finds a trading-ship (*πλοῖον φροτηγικόν*) which takes him to Cylene in Elis, according to his wish. From other authors too it appears that people used to sail to the place where they thought the constellation was for the present most favourable for buying or selling, or often for both⁶); sometimes too it was the winds that fixed the course⁷).

The size of the trading-ships On the size of the trading-ships at that time Thucydides gives some information that is worth attention. At the armistice which the Athenians make with the Peloponnesians in the spring of 423 it is decreed⁸) that the Peloponnesians are not allowed to sail the sea adjoining the territory of the Athenians and their allies *μακρὰ νηὶ*,

1) VI, 31, 5.

2) Herod. III, 139.

3) I, 137, 2.

4) III, 3, 5.

5) VI, 88, 9.

6) Xen. Econ. XX, 27 and 28; Dem. LVI 8.

7) Herod. IV, 152.

8) IV, 118, 5.

but only in a ship moved by rowers (*κωπήσει πλεῖστοι*); the carrying capacity of this ship was not to exceed 500 talents (*ἐς πεντακόσια τάλαρα ἄγοντι μέτρα*). So here small ships are meant with a carrying capacity of 131000 kilogrammes or 13,1 tons; such ships were used for traffic in the island district, and even in our time they are still used in the eastern part of the Mediterranean for inland navigation ¹⁾). The ship indicated as *ναῦς μυριοφόρος*, which the Athenians used in the harbour of Syracuse as a floating fortress against the fortifications of the Syracusians, has a quite different size and serves another purpose ²⁾). This was apparently a large trading-ship with a carrying capacity of 10.000 talents or 261,9 tons, which was the type of the large trading-ships in antiquity ³⁾).

The ships that convey various victuals and persons at the expedition against Syracuse, are called *όλκάδες οἰναγωγοί* ⁴⁾). Probably these words indicate "trading-ships" in general ⁵⁾.

That the difference between money as a means of payment and gold and silver objects was not strongly felt appears among other things from the encouraging communication Pericles makes to the Athenians ⁶⁾), that the town of Athens, besides possessing the treasure of 6000 talents of coined silver, also had, among other things, a large amount of uncoined gold and silver in sacred objects etc. When the inhabitants of Egesta want to give a favourable impression of their wealth to the Athenian ambassadors, who have come to inquire into the pecuniary resources of the town, they show them the sacred objects in the temple of Aphrodite ⁷⁾). In order to strengthen this impression a few inhabitants of the town give them a dinner-party, at which they make them wonder at the amount of gold and silver objects. Not suspecting that these objects have been collected from the whole town and the Phoenician and Greek towns in the neighbourhood, the ambassadors, on the ground of their

• Ολκάδες
οἰναγωγοί

Money
equivalent to
valuables

1) Cf. A. Köster, *Das antike Seewesen* 1923, p. 161. Cf. also Herod. I, 194 and II, 96.

2) VII, 25, 6.

3) Cf. Daremb. et Saglio IV p. 31 s.v. *navis*; see A. Köster l.c.

4) VI, 44, 1.

5) Cf. *οἰναγωγὸν πλοῖον* Cratinus fr. 370, Kock I, p. 117; *όλκάδες οἰναγωγοί* Pherecrat. fr. 143, Kock I, p. 187.

6) III, 13, 3 and 4.

7) VI, 46, 3.

experience, in Athens manifest their delight at the wealth of Egesta (*διεθρόνσαν*). In the same way, when Thucydides relates ¹⁾ that the Athenians decide to send out ambassadors to inquire into the pecuniary resources which, according to the inhabitants of Egesta, are also to be found *ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς*, we may assume that valuable objects are in part meant by this. Herodotus too relates that at Plateae the Persians took with them silver cups, besides a large amount of coined and uncoined gold, to bribe the Greeks, if possible ²⁾. In Xenophon money and valuable objects are mentioned side by side as equivalents ³⁾. In Demosthenes the context is often ambiguous because the term *χρήματα* may denote money as well as objects of value.

Money considered as merchandise

As money was often considered more as merchandise than as a standard of value, as we have seen in what precedes, it stands to reason that Greek authors, too, speak of "buying" and "selling" of money as if it were merchandise. So Xenophon says of the Athenian coins that the traders can sell them with profit (*πωλῶσι*) everywhere out of Athens ⁴⁾, and in another place the same author speaks of *ἀργυρίῳ χρηματίζεσθαι* (deal in money) ⁵⁾.

Money considered as a standard of value

We can however also find some citations where money is considered as a standard of value and a means of exchange, so not as merchandise. So for instance an aphorism of Heraclitus runs as follows ⁶⁾: "Exchange of the Universe for the Fire and of the Fire for the Universe takes place in the same way as exchange of gold for merchandise and of merchandise for gold". Aristotle in his *Politica* speaks of money exclusively considered as a standard of value and a link in the exchange trade. The great distance over which trade extended is taken by him as the reason why coins came to be made ⁷⁾. He explains in another place that the object of coins must be that they can serve as a general standard of value (*μέτρον*) ⁸⁾.

1) VI, 6, 3.

2) Herodot. IX, 41.

3) Xen. Cyrop. V, 2, 7.

4) Xen. De Vect. III, 2.

5) Xen. De Vect. V, 3; Cf. also Arist. Econ. 1346 b 25; Isocr. XVII, 40.

6) Heracl. fr. 90, Diels 75.

7) Arist. Pol. 1257 a 30 sqq.

8) Arist. Ethic. Nicom. 1119 b 26; 1133 a 19 and 28.

As appears from the quotation above¹⁾ on the wealth of the inhabitants of Egesta, the temples make safe depositaries of money and objects of value. So says for instance Nicias of the Sicilians that they have pecuniary resources individually as well as in their temples²⁾. The Athenians keep their treasures of state in the Acropolis³⁾. At the conference at Sparta the Corinthians give the advice to take money out of the sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia, which, according to the Greek idea, is considered as money borrowed from the deity⁴⁾. In the same way Herodotus relates that money is kept in the temple of the Branchides⁵⁾.

In the last part of the Peloponnesian war Euboea was of considerable importance for Athens, as a result of the occupation of Decelea and of the enmity against Syracuse; it was specially important with regard to the import of corn⁶⁾. Then the Athenians see to a good communication road with Euboea being made along cape Sunium, though this was more expensive than the former route Athens-Decelea-Oropus-Euboea; the result of this was a scarcity of all articles of import (*ἐπαγκάτια*) in the town⁷⁾. Therefore the Athenians fortify Sunium after the catastrophe in Sicily, that the corn supply at least should not be endangered⁸⁾. Expressions like "Euboea meant every thing to them (sc. the Athenians), as Attica was obstructed"⁹⁾ and "from which country (meaning Euboea) they drew more profit than from Attica itself"¹⁰⁾, give a clear impression of the importance of Euboea for Athens at that time.

Thucydides tells of the Macedonian coast¹¹⁾ that Potidaea is important for the exploitation of Thracia. He says¹²⁾ that only a

The Macedonian coast

- 1) VI, 6, 3.
- 2) VI 20, 4; with Steup I would strike out *Σελινουργίοις* here.
- 3) II, 13, 3.
- 4) I, 121, 3.
- 5) Herod. V, 36.
- 6) Cf. Aristoph. Vesp. 715; L. Gernet, l'Approvisionnement d'Athènes en blé p. 309.
- 7) VII, 28, 1.
- 8) VIII, 4, 1.
- 9) VIII, 95, 2.
- 10) VIII 96, 2.
- 11) I, 68, 4.
- 12) IV, 106, 1.

small number of Athenians lived in Amphipolis, for the greater part it was a mixture of various tribes; so in this regard it had the character of a trading town ¹⁾. To all probability it supplied the Athenians especially with wood from Macedonia, as Thucydides, speaking of the dejection of the Athenians at the loss of Amphipolis, gives as the reason for it the supply of wood which the Athenians used to get from there ²⁾. So in Xenophon ambassadors from Acanthus and Apollonia relate at Sparta about Olynthus, which lies in the same district, that this country is rich in wood, suitable for building ships; that ample profit is yielded by the harbours and commercial navigation, and that corn is abundant in the country ³⁾. The same author makes a Thessalian relate at Sparta that the Athenians get their wood from Macedonia ⁴⁾. According to the same Thessalian Thessalia has such an abundance of corn that it is even exported. So when the Thebians are in want of corn, they send two triremes with ten talents to the Thessalian harbour Pagasae, in order to buy corn ⁵⁾.

Corcyra

From Thucydides it appears that the ordinary way from Greece to Italy went past Corcyra ⁶⁾, which owed an exceptional power and wealth to this circumstance, and at the same time a violent envy from the metropolis Corinth ⁷⁾. In a curious observation of Aristotle we hear of *Κερκυραϊκοὺς ἀμφορεῖς* ⁸⁾.

Italy

When the Peloponnesian war breaks out, a certain number of ships from Italy and Sicily are in the Greek harbours ⁹⁾. The latter were probably loaded with corn ¹⁰⁾, those from Italy with wood of which, according to the story of Alcibiades with the Spartans, there were large quantities in Italy ¹¹⁾, where the Athenians, among others, supplied themselves with wood ¹²⁾.

1) See p. 42.

2) IV, 108, 1.

3) Xen. Hell. V, 2, 16.

4) Xen. Hell. VI, 1, 4; Cf. also Andocides II, 11.

5) Xen. Hell. V, 4, 56.

6) I, 36, 2; I, 44, 3; VI, 30, 1; VI, 44, 2.

7) I, 25, 3; I, 30, 2; I, 38, 5.

8) Arist. De Mirab. Ausc. 104.

9) II, 7, 2.

10) See pp. 98 and 99.

11) VI, 90, 3.

12) VII, 25, 2.

X XENOPHON

If we want to establish the meaning of the word *ἱμπορος* it is of some importance to know that Xenophon several times calls *ἱμποροι* the merchants who supply the army with victuals. So for instance he relates that in one of his campaigns Cyrus allows the *ἱμποροι* who wanted to follow the army, to sell the victuals at the end of a fixed term ¹⁾. In the Hellenica Xenophon relates how the Spartan commander Eteonicus orders the *ἱμποροι* to take their goods to their ships in silence and to sail elsewhere ²⁾; and as one of the charitable deeds of the Spartan commander Agesilaus he mentions the latter's care of the little children of prisoners of war left by the *ἱμποροι* at the breaking up of the army ³⁾. When Xenophon has reached the sea with his "ten thousand" and has come to the neighbourhood of Sinope, some *ἱμποροι* from Heraclea and Sinope join the army, of course with the intention to trade ⁴⁾.

Sutlers

Those who practise this trade are in other places mentioned by Xenophon in terms that make the meaning of the word clearer. In the story of the battle between the inhabitants of Corcyra and the Spartans, Xenophon relates how once the inhabitants of Corcyra would have entirely pushed back the Spartans, if they had not taken *τὸν ἀγοραῖον ὅχλον* and the servants who were with the army, for combatants ⁵⁾. In another place this sort of people are indicated as *οἱ τὴν ἀγορὰν παρεσκευακότες* ⁶⁾, or *οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς* ⁷⁾. In the Cyropaedia the salesmen in the *ἀγορά* in the camp are called *χάρηκοι* ⁸⁾.

1) Cyr. VI, 2, 38.

2) Hell. I, 6, 38.

3) Ag. I, 21.

4) Anab. V, 6, 19, sqq.

5) Hell. VI, 2, 23.

6) Hell. VI, 4, 9.

7) An. I, 2, 18.

8) Cyr. IV, 5, 42; such is the tradition of group X of the M.S.S. The M.S.S.

In the same way Thucydides calls *ἐμποροι* the merchants who accompany the Athenian army to Syracuse¹⁾. The Greeks, who according to Herodotus, march with Cambyses king of Persia to Egypt, perhaps merely as traders without taking part in the battle, also do this *καὶ ἐμπορίην*²⁾.

Should
ἐμποροι be
translated
by "Whole-
sale dealer"?

So here the *ἐμποροι* are sutlers, traders who often march with the army, selling necessaries, especially victuals, to the soldiers and sometimes buying spoils from them. These people are elsewhere, as we have seen, indicated in terms that do not in the least point to an extensive trade. We may draw the same conclusion from the observation of Xenophon that the peasants, when agriculture appears to yield very little profit, betake themselves among other things to *ἐμπορία*³⁾. In the same way Aristophanes indicates by *ἐμπόρικα χρήματα* the few goods procured by Megarensian and Boeotian peasants⁴⁾. Thucydides uses the term *ἐμπορεύεσθαι* for the trading of soldiers that have enlisted from a desire of pay and of gain⁵⁾. Isocrates relates that in former times wealthy citizens enabled poor people to make profit *καὶ ἐμπορίαν*⁶⁾, and that children of poor parents were trained for agriculture and *ἐμπορία*⁷⁾. In the same way Aristotle suggests that the state might distribute the remainder of the *πρόσοδοι* among the *ἄποροι*; by preference so much that the latter will be able to buy a small piece of ground with it (*εἰς γηδίον κτῆσιν*) or if it is not sufficient for that purpose, that then it may serve as capital for *ἐμπορία* and *γεωργία*⁸⁾. From Demosthenes it appears that law-suits of *ἐμποροι*, the so-called

groups Y and Z in margin have *καπήλους καὶ ἐμπόρους*. In the edition of Schneider Oxonii 1812 preference is given to the version of group X with this argumentation: "Nec ullus *ἐμπόροις* locus esse in castris videtur, sed solis *καπήλους*"!!

1) Thuc. VI, 31, 5.

2) Herod. III, 139; perhaps we may find an indication of the presence of female sutlers in the army in the words of the choir in the Vespa of Aristoph. line 238: "When we were besieging Byzantium we secretly took away a trough from the *ἀρτόπωλις*".

3) De Vect. IV, 6.

4) Ar. Ach. 974; see p. 55.

5) Thuc. VII, 13, 2.

6) Isocr. VII, 32.

7) Isocr. VII, 44.

8) Arist. Pol. 1320 a 39.

ἐμπορικαὶ δίκαι¹⁾ are for instance about amounts of twenty, thirty and forty minae²⁾. Androcles who has lent thirty minae to Artemon of Phaselis calls himself ἐμπόρος³⁾, though he could not provide the money to him without financial participation of a friend from Carystus⁴⁾. All ἐμπόροι want the assistance and cooperation of a τραπεζίτης for their commercial enterprises, who does especially small business⁵⁾.

It appears from what precedes, that the trade of the ἐμπόρος was not extensive, sometimes even small. That the merchandise of the ἐμπόροι was usually not sold wholesale appears from the *Economicus* that is ascribed to Aristotle. Here it is said⁶⁾ that the authorities of Heraclea buy up the corn of the ἐμπόροι. He emphatically adds⁷⁾ that the ἐμπόροι now had the advantage of not having to sell by retail (*κοτυλίζειν*) but that now ἀθρόα τὰ φροτία were sold.

In general the ἐμπόροι also give the impression of people who personally perform every detail of the commercial enterprise and often have a hard existence. So Hasebroek has pointed out that they usually accompany their merchandise in person⁸⁾. Even the ἐμπόροι in Corcyra, who there formed the aristocratic element and so were richer than most of the ἐμπόροι elsewhere, use their own dwelling-houses at the same time as store-houses for their merchandise⁹⁾.

What precedes may have proved sufficiently that the translation "wholesale dealer", usually given for ἐμπόρος, is not right. As by ἐμπόρος is indicated the "foreign trader" or the „merchant trading with foreign countries"¹⁰⁾, it is very likely that in most cases he naturally traded with greater turnover than the *κάπηλοι*; this however is no sufficient reason for calling him a wholesale dealer. This also makes it easier to understand why, as has been pointed out

1) See pp. 129 and 130.

2) Dem. Or. XXXIV, XXXV, XXXIII.

3) Dem. XXXV, 49.

4) Dem. XXXV, 8.

5) Dem. LII, 3.

6) [Ar.] Econ. 1347 b 2.

7) [Ar.] Econ. 1347 b 8.

8) J. Hasebroek, Die Betriebsformen des griechischen Handels im IVten Jahrh. *Hermes* 1923 p. 399 sqq; Cf. also Xen. Econ. XX, 27 and 28.

9) Thuc. III, 72, 3; 74, 2.

10) See p. 114.

above¹⁾, so many people called themselves *έμποροι* and could take part in *έμπορία*²⁾.

Xenophon's proposals to promote business In his booklet "De Vectigalibus", Xenophon enumerates a few desiderata he has with regard to the attitude of the Athenian state towards the traders; the object he has in view is: increase of public revenue. He advises to fit up inns (*ναταγόνια*) for the traders; for the *ταύχηληροι* these inns must be near the harbours, and for the *έμποροι* in those places that are suitable for trade³⁾. Further he proposes to promise prizes to the members of the *ἀρχή τοῦ ἐμπορίου* (by which probably *ταντοδίκαι* are meant), to those who could settle the differences between the traders in the justest and quickest way, so that the latter would suffer the least possible delay in their business⁴⁾. The author even deems it proper that *έμποροι* and *ταύχηληροι* will be honoured with *προεδρία* and even in certain cases will be fed in the Prytaneum at the expense of the state, if they have been of service to the state with large trading-ships or with important merchandise. Then the traders will be stimulated not only by the desire of gain but also by ambition⁵⁾, "and, he continues, the larger is the number of people settling in our town or visiting us (meaning the *έμποροι* who either do or do not settle in Athens), the more will undoubtedly be imported and exported, be bought and sold and, besides, the more will be received in rent-money and taxes⁶⁾." He also wants to increase the number of the *μέτοικοι* (to which category most of the *έμποροι* could be considered to belong⁷⁾ in Athens⁸⁾ and to act as much as was possible in good will towards them in order to increase public revenue⁹⁾, by which he principally means increased harbour-dues and market-dues. Kind treatment of *μέτοικοι* and *έμποροι*, says he, can only benefit the exchequer.

1) See pp. 38 and 39.

2) See further H. Bolkestein, *Het economisch leven in Griekenlands bloeitijd* p. 165 sqq. who points out that the first condition for actual wholesale trade was wanting, namely the general want of articles of consumption that were much in demand.

3) *De Vect.* III, 12.

4) *De Vect.* III, 3.

5) *De Vect.* III, 4.

6) *De Vect.* III, 5.

7) See p. 80.

8) *De Vect.* II, 1.

9) *De Vect.* II, 7.

The great importance Xenophon attaches to the presence of the traders with regard to the flourishing of Athens appears from what precedes; even though he is entirely silent on the advantages that traffic offers for culture¹⁾. This may perhaps be explained from the fact that in this booklet Xenophon occupies himself with the question, in what way public revenue may be increased. At any rate the wisdom of Socrates has led in Xenophon to a view on trade and traders widely differing from the depreciatory judgment which Plato, Socrates' great disciple, has pronounced on this same subject²⁾.

The great appreciation Xenophon has for traders is clearly visible there where he says³⁾ that Athens can only flourish in time of peace, and he adds⁴⁾: "for if she follows a policy of peace, who can do without her, to mention first the *ταύκληροι* and *ἐμπόροι*?" The presence of *ταύκληροι* and *ἐμπόροι* and the others he then mentions as traders, is for Xenophon an important argument in favour of peace-policy. But the contrast with Plato is very striking there where he advises the government to get trading ships (*δλιάδες*), which may be leased to private persons, so that the state will get a new source of revenues out of trade⁵⁾. For Plato thinks trade a necessary evil, which has to be reduced to the smallest possible proportions⁶⁾.

Appreciation of *ἐμπορία* and of the *ἐμπόρος* also appears from the other works of Xenophon. In the Hipparchicus he mentions *ἐμπόροι* as people who are preeminently fit to be sent to hostile territory for reconnoitring, as all towns receive as friends those people who import things⁷⁾. Hiero of Syracuse mentions, among other things, harbours as desirable possessions of a ruler⁸⁾ and from Simonides he gets the advice to assemble still more *ἐμπόροι* in the town, if *ἐμπορία* may yield profit to it; for this purpose one should honour those people who practise trading most of all⁹⁾. Also,

1) See pp. 30 and 31.

2) See pp. 111—113.

3) De Vect. V, 2.

4) De Vect. V, 3.

5) De Vect. III, 14.

6) See pp. 110 and 111.

7) Hipp. IV, 7.

8) Hiero IV, 7.

9) Hiero IX, 9.

according to Simonides, a town that is provided, among other things, with markets and harbours, reflects honour upon the ruler¹⁾. The fact that Lydia is washed by the sea, in consequence of which a great deal of merchandise reaches the country, is mentioned as a particular advantage²⁾. In the same way the sea is in another place³⁾ considered as the cause of the fortune of most of the Athenians.

The *εμποροι* in the armies are apparently treated kindly, though of course they have to comply with the orders of the commander. In this way Cyrus promises presents and honours to the *εμπορος* who will have sold most to the soldiers; he even offers to provide the *εμποροι* with the money necessary for them to buy their goods, on condition that he may be certain that they will follow his army⁴⁾.

Yet we see here and there expressions, testifying of a less great appreciation of the *εμποροι*, so for instance there where ability to collect money is considered a quality peculiar to the *εμποροι*⁵⁾; or there where Socrates, in order to deliver Charmides from his fear of addressing the assembly of the people, asks him mockingly if he should be afraid of addressing people like for instance *εμποροι*, or people who trade in the market (*μεταβαλλομένοις*) or people who reflect on how to sell dear what they bought cheap⁶⁾.

These last utterances are more in the nature of the reflection developed in the *Economicus*; for here not only a withering judgment is pronounced on all *βαρανσικαὶ τέχναι*, but moreover only agriculture and warfare are mentioned as occupations befitting a citizen⁷⁾.

In his work there is also hardly ever question of contempt of the *κάπηλοι*. To his proposal to fit up *καταγώγια* for the *ταύκληροι* and *εμποροι* in the Piraeus, he joins the advice⁸⁾ to build houses (*οἰκήσεις*) as well as small shops (*πωλητήρια*) for the *ἀγοραῖοι* in the Piraeus and in the town. Depreciatory expressions too, they share with the *εμποροι* in other passages. The only place where especially this group of traders (here called *ἀγοραῖοι*) is spoken of with con-

1) Hiero XI, 2.

2) Cyrop. VI, 2, 22.

3) Hell. VII, 1, 4.

4) Cyr. VI, 2, 38 and 39.

5) Mem. III, 4, 2.

6) Mem. III, 7, 6.

7) Econ. IV, 2 sqq.

8) De Vect. III, 12.

tempt occurs in the *Cyropaedia*¹⁾). Here the Persians are said to possess an *ἐλευθέρα ἀγορά*, where stood the royal and public buildings and out of which they kept merchandise and merchants with their cries and their meanness (*αἱ τούτων φωναὶ καὶ ἀπειροκαλλαῖ*), lest the noise of these people should mingle with the *εὐκοσμία* of the civilized citizens²⁾). We must however not forget that this measure and its argumentation are only mentioned by Xenophon as something peculiar to the Persians.

One of the results of the Peloponnesian war and the destruction of the Athenian naval forces was a revival of piracy³⁾. In this connection we may point to the equipment of the large Phoenician ship which raised the admiration of Ischomachus. The latter relates⁴⁾ that the trading ship was fitted out against hostile vessels by various kinds of equipment (*μηχανήμασιν*) and that it carried a great number of arms for the crew. Xenophon relates⁵⁾ that at Trapezus he himself suggested to ask the inhabitants for battle-ships, in order to "run in" (*κατάγειν*) the passing ships. He does consider the possibility of paying wages (*ραῦλον*) to the crew of the captured ships for their passage⁶⁾; but this would naturally have hindered the merchants in their liberty of action⁷⁾. Demosthenes relates that this running in of ships was especially a favourite business of the inhabitants of Byzantium⁸⁾, Calchedon⁹⁾ and Cyzicus¹⁰⁾. In this way the Rhodians, too, are said by Lycurgus¹¹⁾ to have run in the ships that were bound for Athens. Also in the *Economicus* ascribed to Aristotle we are told that the above mentioned inhabitants of Byzantium ran in the cornships coming from the Pontus, when they were in want of corn¹²⁾. At the same time however we hear that the traders got their price for the corn.

Piracy;
"Running
in" of ships

1) *Cyr.* I, 2, 3.

2) See p. 123.

3) Cf. Ormerod, *op. cit.* p. 110 sqq.

4) *Econ.* VIII, 12.

5) *Anab.* V, 1, 11.

6) *Anab.* V, 1, 12.

7) *Anab.* V, 1, 16; V, 7, 15.

8) *Dem.* V, 25; L, 6, 17.

9) *Dem.* L, 6, 17.

10) *Dem.* L, 6.

11) *Lyc.* c. *Leocrat.* 18.

12) [Ar.] *Econ.* 1346 b. 29 sqq.

Influence of the import of foreign corn upon agriculture in Attica An observation in "De Vectigalibus" throws some light on the question in how far the import of foreign corn influenced agriculture in Attica¹⁾. Xenophon says here that, when a large quantity of corn is imported, agriculture no longer remains productive, so that many people give up the latter and turn to *ἐμπορία*, *χαπτλεία* and *τοκισμοί*. So Xenophon indicates hereby that the peasants could not compete with a large import of foreign corn. A certain comicus too probably speaks of a peasant who gives up farming and becomes a trader²⁾. That however agriculture, too, sometimes yielded profit, appears from the story of the father of Ischomachus, who was continually buying badly tilled ground, having it well tilled and then selling it again at a profit³⁾.

A great deal of corn imported into Athens That the import of foreign corn into Athens had to be well seen to by good demagogues appears from the mocking remark made by Socrates to Glaucon, the would be demagogue, that of course the latter had made himself well acquainted with the question of how much corn grew in Attica and how much had to be imported from abroad. According to Aristotle a discussion *περὶ σίτου* is on the paper of the assembly of the people in every prytany⁴⁾. It is generally known that Athens wants foreign corn; a Thessalian declares at Sparta that the Athenians would not have sufficient corn if they did not buy it elsewhere⁵⁾ and Demosthenes declares: "We use most imported corn of all people⁶⁾."

Objects of trade With regard to the objects of trade, the following facts appear from Xenophon.

Megaris apparently exported *ἔξωμίδες*, as we hear that half of her inhabitants earned their living by the manufacture of these men's clothes⁷⁾.

It is probable that olive oil was exported from Athens to the Pontus district, as Xenophon says of these districts that they

1) De Vect. IV, 6.

2) Adespota fr. 181, Kock III, p. 443.

3) Econ. XX, 22 sqq. Cf. L. Gernet, op. cit. p. 330.

4) Arist. Αθ. Πολ. 43, 4, cf. Rhetor. 1359b 22 sqq. and 1360 a 12 sqq.

5) Hell. VI, 1, 4.

6) Dem. XX, 31. See pp. 127, 128, 134 and 137.

7) Mem. II, 7, 6; cf. Ar. Ach. 519.

produce everything save olive oil¹). Perhaps we may conclude from a passage in the *Memorabilia*²) that breast-plates were exported from A t h e n s.

We cannot fix the origin of the *κλῖναι*, *κιβώτια* and *βίβλοι* that were often washed ashore in the neighbourhood of Salmydessus, as remains of shipwrecks³).

About the Chal y b e s we hear that the greater part of the inhabitants make their living by the winning and working of iron (*σιδηρεία*)⁴).

Xenophon speaks of a Boeotian helmet (*κράνος βοιωτιονόργες*)⁵); The flax from Phasis, as well as that from Carthage, is recommended for the making of nets⁶).

1) An. VI, 4, 6; VI, 6, 1.

2) Mem. III, 10, 9. Cf. Aristoph. Pax 1255. See p. 137.

3) Anab. VII, 5, 14.

4) Anab. V, 5, 1. Cf. Aesch. Prom. 714 and Sept. 727.

5) De Re Eq. XII, 13.

6) Cyneg. II, 4; cf. Pollux V, 26.

XI THE COMIC FRAGMENTS

That the *ἱμποροι* attracted much attention in the IVth and the IIId century may appear from the circumstance that three fabulae bear the title of *ἱμπορος*¹⁾.

Markets at the old festive gatherings It is certain that at the old festive gatherings markets were held at the same time, where the feasters bought various necessaries. Passages pointing to this fact are however very scarce in the authors discussed by me. In a fragment of Menander²⁾ we find an indication of this³⁾.

Opinion on foreigners We cannot find an opinion on *ἱμποροι* in these authors; we do find it on foreigners who formed part of the *ἱμποροι*⁴⁾, though in such an opinion national feelings too have their say. In this way the Lydians are called *πορηροι*, then the Aegyptians and as the most depraved of all the Carians are mentioned⁵⁾. A certain Phoenician is said to have taken back with one hand what he has given with the other⁶⁾. Antiphanes⁷⁾ calls the Scythian people *μιαρώτατοι*; he has almost as low an opinion on the *ἰχθυοπάλαι*; most depraved however are in his opinion the *τραπεζῖται*.

Objects of trade As regards the objects of trade we get extensive information from a fragment of Hermippus⁸⁾, who enumerates a list of articles which a certain *ναύληρος* Dionysus takes with him in his ship from various places.

From Cyrene *καυλός* (stalk, especially silphium) and cowhides;—

1) Diphilus fr. 32, Kock II, p. 549; Epicrates fr. 6, Kock II, p. 284; Philemon, Kock II, p. 484.

2) Fr. 481, Kock III, p. 138.

3) Cf. further Hom. Hymn on Apollo 146 sqq.; Schol. ad Theocr. XV, 16: *ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν σκηνάς ἐποιούρ οἱ πωλοῦντες*; cf. Pausanias X, 32, 15.

4) See pp. 79 and 80.

5) Adespota fr. 387, Kock III, p. 481.

6) Adespota fr. 397, Kock III, p. 483.

7) Fr. 159, Kock II, p. 75.

8) Fr. 63, Kock I, p. 243. See pp. 134—136.

from the Hellespont σκόμβρος (tunny fish) and various kinds of salt-fish = Antiphanes, too, speaks of μῆς Ποντικοῖ¹⁾, and somewhere else²⁾ of Βυζαντία θυρρίς; Cratinus³⁾ speaks of ταρίχοι Ποντικοῖ and Nicostratus⁴⁾ of Βυζαντίδν τέμαχος; Diphilus⁵⁾ calls Byzantium "rich in fish"⁶⁾. — From Thessalia⁷⁾ χόρδης (corn) and πλευρὰ βόεια = Antiphanes, too⁸⁾, mentions χόρδης from Thessalia, by the side of that from Megara⁹⁾. — From Syracuse pork and cheese = From Sicily are further mentioned: cheese¹⁰⁾, talc (στέαρ)¹¹⁾, couches and pillows¹²⁾; earthenware, by the side of that from Cnidus and Megaris¹³⁾. — From Egypt κρεμαστὰ ιστία and βύβλοι = Other people mention the Egyptian μύρον¹⁴⁾, and Eubulus¹⁵⁾ speaks of Egyptian ψάγδας. That in general Egypt produced a great amount of merchandise appears from a fragment of Aristophanes¹⁶⁾. — From Syria incense¹⁷⁾; — from Crete cypress wood; — from Libya ivory; — from Rhodes raisins and figs; — from Euboea pears and apples; — from Phrygia slaves (ἀνδράποδα); — from Pagase (harbour of Thessalia) slaves (δοῦλοι, στιγματιαῖ); — from Paphlagonia acorns and almonds; — from Phoe-

1) Fr. 193, Kock II, p. 92.

2) Fr. 77, Kock II, p. 43; fr. 181, Kock II, p. 85.

3) Fr. 40, Kock I, p. 24.

4) Fr. 4, Kock II, p. 220.

5) Fr. 17, Kock II, p. 545.

6) Pollux VI 48 begins his enumeration of ταρίχη with ταρίχη Ποντικά. Cf. also Archestratus ed. Brandt XXIV, 5; XXXIV, 5; XXXV, 11; XXXVII, 2; XXXVIII, 3 and 8; XL, 1; cf. Demosth. XXXV, 32 and 34.

7) According to the version of Kock I.c.

8) Fr. 34, Kock II, p. 24.

9) Cf. also Alexis fr. 191, Kock II, p. 368 and Ephippus fr. I, Kock II, p. 250.

10) Philemo fr. 76, Kock II, p. 499; Antiphanes fr. 236, Kock II, p. 115.

11) Diphilus fr. 119, Kock II, p. 576.

12) Eubulus fr. 121, Kock II, p. 208.

13) Eubulus fr. 132, Kock II, p. 211.

14) Plato fr. 69, Kock I, p. 620; Antiphanes fr. 106, Kock II, p. 53; Ephippus fr. 8, Kock II, p. 255.

15) Fr. 102, Kock II, p. 199.

16) Fr. 569 line 15, Kock I, p. 536: Αἴγυπτον αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν πεποίκας ἀντὶ Αθηνῶν.

17) Cf. Mnesimachus fr. 4, line 59 sqq., Kock II, p. 438; Anaxandrides fr. 41, line 36 sqq., Kock II, p. 151.

n i c i a dates and σεμιδαλις (fine wheaten flour)¹⁾; — from C a r t h a g e carpets (δάπιδες) and pillows.

In a fragment of Antiphanes²⁾ various kinds of fish are enumerated: from B o e o t i a λγγέλεις³⁾; — from the P o n t u s μῆς⁴⁾; — from M e g a r i s θύρνοι; — from C a r y s t u s μαινίδες; — from E r e t r i a φάγροι; — from S c y r u s κάραβοι.

In another place Antiphanes mentions λγθίες from S i c y o n⁵⁾ = Philemon, too⁶⁾, speaks of γόγγρος from S i c y o n; τάριχος from G a d e s⁷⁾. Eupolis, too⁸⁾, mentions τάριχος from G a d e s, by the side of that from P h r y g i a⁹⁾. Philemon¹⁰⁾ mentions καπρός from A r g o s¹¹⁾.

Eubulus¹²⁾ mentions:

from C y p r u s ρᾶπν (mustard) and σπαμωνίας ὄπος (sap of a plant); — from M i l e t e κάρδαμον (hellebore); — from S a m o t h r a c e κρόμμυνον (onion); — from C a r t h a g e κανλός (stalk, especially silphium); — from T e n e d u s ὀριγανόν (sharp tasting plant).

In Antiphanes¹³⁾ we further find:

from A r g o s kettles (λέβης); — from C o r i n t h carpets (στρώματα); — from A t h e n s oil (μύρον)¹⁴⁾.

It would lead us too far to enumerate all places that, according to these authors, produced wine.

1) Cf. Antiphanes fr. 34, Kock II, p. 24.

2) Fr. 193, Kock II, p. 92.

3) Cf. fr. 236, Kock II, p. 115; fr. 217, Kock II, p. 105.

4) See above.

5) Fr. 236, Kock II, p. 116.

6) Fr. 79, line 22, Kock II, p. 500.

7) Fr. 77, Kock II, p. 43; cf. Ar. Ran. 475.

8) Fr. 186, Kock I, p. 310.

9) Cf. Nicostratus fr. 4, Kock II, p. 220.

10) Fr. 79 line 21, Kock II, p. 500.

11) On fish from the P e l o p o n n e s u s, see further Archestratus ed. Brandt IV, 14; LVI, 4; from I t a l y and S i c i l y, Archestratus VIII, 1; XI, 1; XII, 3; XVI; XXIV, 5; XLV, 10; sqq.; LI.

12) Fr. 19, Kock II, p. 171.

13) Fr. 236, Kock II, p. 115.

14) Cf. Amphis fr. 40, Kock II, p. 248 where Μαύρον from T h u r i i is mentioned.

XII THE EARLIER ATTIC ORATORS

In the fourth century, when the contributions of the allies have ceased and Athens has become economically weaker, the question of the corn supply becomes more urgent every day. A result of this is a greater appreciation of those who contribute to providing Athens with corn; among whom may be principally counted the princes of the Pontus region, who promote the corn supply to Athens, and the *εμπόροι* and *ναύπληροι* who see to the transport of the corn.

The so-called dynasty of the Spartocides who reigned by the Bosporus always saw to the corn supply for Athens, according to Isocrates¹⁾ even if they let other ships depart without corn. There is a regular navigation between Athens and the Pontus region²⁾. How intimate the relations were appears from the fact that Athenian parents sent their children there in turbulent times³⁾. Bosporian parents on the other hand may often have sent their children to Athens, in order to widen their horizon. In this way Sopaeus, who occupies an influential post with Satyrus, a Bosporian prince, sends his son to Athens with two ships loaded with corn, with the object of selling this corn as well as of becoming acquainted with Athens⁴⁾. Perhaps we may even conclude from Lysias⁵⁾ that private persons had every year a shipment of corn imported for their own use (here from the Thracian Chersonnesus⁶⁾).

The Pontus
region
and the
corn supply
of Athens

L. Gernet⁷⁾ has in my opinion pointed out convincingly that the

1) Isocr. XVII, 57.

2) Isocr. XVII, 20 and 52.

3) Lys. XVI, 4.

4) Isocr. XVII, 4; *καὶ εμπόροι καὶ κατὰ θεωρῶν*.

5) Lys. XXXII, 15.

6) That corn, in contrast with our time, was frequently stored by private persons, appears from the arrangement of the house of Ischomachus (Xenophon *Economicus* IX, 3) where the corn is kept in dry rooms and the wine in cool ones.

7) Op. cit. p. 314 sqq.

very great importance usually ascribed to the Pontus region with regard to the corn supply of Athens must be principally limited to the fourth century. Especially the observation of Herodotus¹⁾ that during the Persian war cornships from the Pontus were on their way to Aegina and the Peloponnesus (so not to Athens) is in favour of this opinion²⁾. In the fifth century the people's attention is entirely taken up by Sicily, but the Pontus they do not think of. As a reaction to this Pericles then directs his policy towards the Pontus region³⁾. Not until after the unfortunate ending of the Peloponnesian war the Pontus has to supply the corn which before that time was supplied not only by this region, but especially by Sicily and Euboea. Gernet however points out⁴⁾ that even then the thought of the Pontus did not occupy the Athenian people to the same degree as Sicily did the age before. The passages from Lysias and Isocrates cited above prove however that, apart from Demosthenes' conduct, the relations with this region were very intimate. It is Demosthenes however who purposely directs his whole line of policy towards the North. The veneration manifested by him⁵⁾ for the princes of this region is very striking. According to Demosthenes, Leucon, who reigned by the Cimmerian Bosphorus from 393 to 353 b.C., granted the Athenians various privileges to improve the corn supply of Athens; which Isocrates also tells us of Satyrus⁶⁾. He gave freedom of export-duties to all people who conveyed corn to Athens⁷⁾, which meant for Athens, according to Demosthenes' calculation⁸⁾, a profit of 10.000 medimni a year, as at that time 400.000 medimni a year were imported from the Pontus and as Leucon used to get a thirtieth part of the corn in export-duties. The Athenians also derived great advantage from the latter's decree that cornships bound for Athens were to have priority in loading⁹⁾. He

1) Herod. VII, 147.

2) Thuc. III, 86 however is wrongly cited by Gernet p. 316, as here there is no question of corn from the Pontus, but from Sicily.

3) Cf. Plut. Pericl. XX.

4) Op. cit. p. 319.

5) Cf. Dem. Orat. XX.

6) See p. 77.

7) Dem. XX, 31.

8) Dem. XX, 32.

9) Dem. XX, 31.

also had a new harbour made for the Athenians in Theodosia¹⁾ which, according to Strabo²⁾, could contain three hundred ships and offered shelter from storms.

After the battle of Chaeronea the flourishing trade between Athens and the Pontus comes to an end. It is true that Paerisades, the son of Leucon, accidentally reestablished one of the privileges granted by his father by giving freedom of export-duties to cornships that were bound for Athens³⁾, but Egypt and Sicily now again occupied, by the side of the Pontus, an important place in the corn trade of Athens⁴⁾.

Among the *έμποροι* mentioned by the orators are a great number of foreigners who either did or did not settle in Athens. There are, for instance, in Athens corn traders from the Pontus region⁵⁾. A merchant from Pherae in Thessalia regularly sails the route Athens — the Pontus⁶⁾. In Isaeus mention is made of a certain Egyptian Melas, who gives advice to an Athenian, probably with regard to finances⁷⁾; and of a Cretensian⁸⁾ who in a time of need gave the town more than three minae; both are probably merchants. The Cretensian is mentioned by the pleader in order to throw a clear light on the less great open-handedness of an Athenian. In the same way Lysias⁹⁾ speaks of an Athenian *ναιζληρος* Andocides who had not the courage to put to sea in a time of scarcity of corn in order to get corn, while *μέτοικοι* and foreigners risked their lives. Not only foreigners but also many Athenians undoubtedly occupied themselves with *έμπορία*, in the same way as did this Andocides¹⁰⁾. Yet the number of foreigners among the *έμποροι* must have been very great. This appears most clearly from an oration of Aeschines¹¹⁾, where he speaks of *τῶν έμπόρων ἡ τῶν ἀλλων ξένων*. Also the above men-

Foreigners
among the
έμποροι

1) Dem. XX, 33.

2) Strabo VII C. 309.

3) Dem. XXIV, 36; probably of the year 329.

4) See pp. 98—100.

5) Isocr. XVII, 5.

6) Isocr. XVII, 20.

7) Isaeus V, 7.

8) Isaeus V, 37.

9) Lys. VI, 49.

10) See p. 91.

11) Aeschines I, 40.

tioned advice of Xenophon¹⁾ to build inns (*καταγώγια*) in Athens for the *ναύκληροι* and *ξυπόροι*²⁾ points to the same fact. In Demosthenes' orations concerning questions of trade we often hear of foreign *ξυπόροι*. He speaks of merchants from Massilia³⁾, Byzantium⁴⁾ and Cyrene⁵⁾. The *ξυπόροι* from Phaselis are mentioned as notorious for their chicanery⁶⁾. It further appears from Demosthenes that some of them only stay at Athens for a very short time⁷⁾. That many *μέτοικοι* occupied themselves with *ξυπόροια* appears also from an observation in the *Respublica Atheniensium* (the oligarchic pamphlet) that Athens wants the *μέτοικοι*, among other things, for their navigation⁸⁾. Also when in his booklet "De Vectigalibus" Xenophon projects means of adding to public revenue by increasing the proceeds of harbour- and marketdues⁹⁾ he advises to increase the number of the *μέτοικοι* and to act in good will towards them¹⁰⁾; and in another place he advises to treat both *μέτοικοι* and *ξυπόροι* kindly in behalf of the exchequer¹¹⁾.

*Opinions on
ξυπόροι and
ἐπιτροπία*

As we saw above¹²⁾ Isaeus contrasts the great open-handedness of a Cretan with the attitude of an Athenian, and Lysias praises the courage and willingness to sacrifice of *μέτοικοι* and foreigners in comparison with the cowardice of a certain Athenian *ναύκληρος* Andocides. This shows a greater appreciation of foreign *ξυπόροι*. The *ξυπόροι* mentioned in the 22d oration of Lysias are probably¹³⁾ also foreigners. In this oration appreciation has turned into an almost

1) See p. 68.

2) Xen. De Vect. III, 12.

3) Dem. XXXII, 8.

4) Dem. XXXIII, 5.

5) [Dem.] LIX, 9.

6) Dem. XXXV, 2.

7) Dem. LII, 3; of some foreigners, such as Antipatros of Citium (Dem. XXXV, 32) it is very difficult to decide whether they are to be called *ξυπόροι* or *τραπεζῖται*.

8) Resp. Ath. I, 12.

9) Xen. De Vect. IV, 40.

10) Xen. De Vect. II, 1 and 7.

11) Xen. De Vect. IV, 40; cf. also Hesychius *ξυπόρος*: *μέτοικος*. On the large number of foreigners among the *τραπεζῖται* see p. 89.

12) See p. 79.

13) Cf. Lys. XXII, 17 *τοῖς εἰσπλέοντις*.

servile respect¹). We must not forget however that in law-suits we often see a representation of things that is one-sided and grossly exaggerated, and that especially the 22d oration may have been delivered by Lysias with the money of the *ξυπόροι*²). But still the appreciation, or at least the outward appreciation of the *ξυπόροι*, who were mostly foreigners, must have increased by the greater dependence of the Athenians. As is ever the case with foreign elements however they ran the risk of being taken into the country in times of expansion³), to be caught as scape-goats after an unsuccessful war⁴).

Lysias also shows his admiration for the work of the energetic *ξυπόροι* by holding up these people, who cross so many seas in order to increase their fortune, as an example to young men who have opportunities of increasing their knowledge without having to travel far for it, and who often let these opportunities slip through their fingers⁵). He also says in praise of king Euagoras that the latter provided with *λιμήν* and *ξυπόροιον* a town which lacked these things⁶), and he reproaches the "thirty" not only with the selling of the temples but also with the pulling down of the ship-building yards⁷). Though in a certain passage⁸) Lysias makes his client bring greed on a level with dissipations, it is greed in its immoral sense which is meant in this connection.

Isocrates, too, gives evidence of seeing the importance of *ξυπορία*. As a thing which his own time lacks he mentions⁹) that in earlier times wealthy citizens enabled poor people to make profit *κατ'* *ξυπορίαν*, and that at that time children of poor parents were trained for agriculture and *ξυπορία*¹⁰). And he mentions as one of the advantages of peace that now the Athenians need no longer have any fear of sailing the seas¹¹).

1) Cf. Lys. XXII, 17 and 21.

2) Cf. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Aristoteles und Athen II, p. 378.

3) As happened for instance to Lysias' father, cf. Lys. XII, 4.

4) Cf. Lys. XII, 6.

5) Lys. I, 19.

6) Lys. IX, 47.

7) Lys. XII, 99.

8) Lys. XXI, 19.

9) Isocr. VII, 32.

10) Isocr. VII, 44.

11) Isocr. VIII, 20.

Lysias' oration against the *σιτοπώλαι* In the 22d oration of Lysias the *σιτοπώλαι* who may be reckoned among the group of *κάπηλοι*¹⁾ are represented as the image of wickedness, in contrast to the mighty *χρυποροι*. They are principally charged with having bought up more than fifty *φορμοι*²⁾ of corn in consequence of their boundless greed³⁾ and want of patriotism⁴⁾. They had stored the corn in depots⁵⁾, referring to the advice of an archont who, when corn was dear in winter, had advised them not to try and outbid each other, but to buy cooperatively from the *χρυποροι*⁶⁾. The accuser strongly disapproves of their making the price of a medimnus vary about a drachme a day⁷⁾. — This *πλειστηριάζειν* and want of a uniform price is also disapproved of in another passage in Lysias⁸⁾. From Demosthenes it appears that the price of the corn may vary in a short time from 5 to 16 drachmes per medimnus⁹⁾. Therefore Plato demands in the state which he develops in the *Leges*, that the seller who has once stated the price of his goods, shall keep to this price for the whole day¹⁰⁾. If he does not succeed in finding buyers at that price he is to take his goods off the market, according to Plato, and to try his luck another time with lower demands or with a public that is more inclined to buy¹¹⁾.

In Lysias the *σιτοπώλαι* are further reproached with being on the

1) Cf. Lys. XXII, 21. Generally the traders who are indicated by compounds with *πώλης* belong to the group of the *κάπηλοι*. Lysias ed. Cobet fr. 1 = Ath. 13 p. 611 D, where we hear of a *κάπηλος* who has worked himself up to a *μυροπώλης* must probably be explained in this way, that formerly the man used to sell a less profitable article than ointments. So the "working up" must not be sought in the difference between *κάπηλος* and *πώλης*.

2) On the meaning of this see v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, op. cit. p. 375 note 2; Boeckh, op. cit. I p. 116; Gernet, op. cit. p. 329.

3) L.c. § 20.

4) L.c. § 15.

5) L.c. § 9.

6) L.c. § 8.

7) L.c. § 12.

8) Lys. fr. 7 = Pollux 7, § 14.

9) Dem. XXXIV, 39.

10) Plato Leges 917 B.

11) Plato Leges 917 C; cf. ed. England l.c. where from Athenaeus p. 226 a, a comedy by Alexis is cited in which the eminent legislator Aristonicus decrees that a fishmonger who has once stated a price and afterwards lowers it a little has to be put in prison. By this Aristonicus he may mean Plato, the son of Ariston.

look-out for the calamities or coming calamities of the state and taking an undue advantage of these¹). They are said to make every possible attempt at being beforehand with the others in hearing of the calamities of the town that have influence on the corn supply; or when there were no calamities they are said to have feigned them. As this kind of calamities Lysias then²) mentions: cornships from the Bosphorus being shipwrecked, ships being captured by the Spartans, blockade of the harbours or termination of the armistice. The *σιτοπώλαι* (whose spokesman is a *μέτοικος*³) have, according to Lysias, great influence in Athens⁴), based on the population's economical dependence on these people, especially when corn was scarce⁵). In this lashing criticism of the *σιτοπώλαι* we must however not forget that in order to flatter the *ξυποροι* Lysias represents the *σιτοπώλαι* in a most unfavourable light⁶). So the great bitterness of this oration probably does not represent the disposition of the Athenian people but of the *ξυποροι*. The fact that the *ξυποροι* probably greatly influenced this oration when it was being made, and the circumstance that at that time the corn supply happened to go through a critical period⁷) explain the fact that nothing like hatred of the *σιτοπώλαι* appears in any other Greek author.

In the 17th oration of Isocrates and in other places especially in the earlier and later orators we repeatedly hear of a *τραπεζίτης*. This word is usually rendered by "banker", though a banker's business does not entirely correspond to that of a *τραπεζίτης*, as will be pointed out below⁸).

The original task of the *τραπεζίτης* was the exchange of the various species; the agio (*καταλλαγή*) then made the profit of the *τραπεζίτης*. That this agio was not inconsiderable may appear from the circum-

The
τραπεζίτης

First passive
transaction:
the changing
of coins

1) Lys. XXII, 13.

2) L.c. § 14.

3) L.c. § 5; see p. 80.

4) L.c. § 1.

5) L.c. § 15.

6) Cf. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, op. cit. p. 374 sqq.

7) Cf. Gernet, op. cit. p. 333.

8) In the whole of this discussion I have made a grateful use of an extensive article by J. Hasebroek, Zum griechischen Bankwesen der klassischen Zeit, *Hermes* 1920 p. 113 sqq., where some literature on this subject is also mentioned.

stance that a man who regularly keeps accounts also notes down the rate of the agio¹⁾). Later on, when this branch of business had fallen into the background, the changing of coins was probably done by beginning *τραπεζίται* or by private persons. In this way the Bosporian young man who is the plaintiff in the 17th oration of Isocrates and is a client of the *τραπεζίτης* Pasion has a sum of money changed at somebody else's²⁾. As in this case relations and trustworthiness were not of much account, probably people who charged less agio-profit were usually chosen for changing money.

As there was generally not much stability in the value of the coins³⁾ and as the coins of the various towns, with the favourable exception of Athens, usually only had their face-value in those towns themselves⁴⁾, it was only the *τραπεζίτης* who could fix the value of the various coins. So in payments he could act as an expert who could appear in court as a witness in case of differences⁵⁾.

Second
passive
transaction:
mediation in
payments

It was an important step forwards when later on the *τραπεζίτης* was used to act as an intermediary in payments between two individuals. An example of such a mediation in payments⁶⁾ is to be found in the 52d. oration of Demosthenes. Here Lycon a merchant of Heraclea deposits a certain sum of money at the *τραπεζίτης* Pasion's and orders this sum to be kept at the disposal of Cephisiades of Scyrus, and to be remitted to him as soon as he had returned from his business journey⁷⁾. Lycon had also charged Archebiades and Phrasias with introducing Cephisiades to Pasion, on the former's return to

1) Dem. L, 30.

2) Isocr. XVII, 40.

3) Arist. Ran. 720 sqq.; Eccl. 815 sqq.; Dem. XXIV, 214; [Ar.] Econ. 1347 a 4 sqq; 1348 b 22 sqq.; 1349 a 32 sqq.; 1349 b 27 sqq.

4) Xen. De Vect. III, 2.

5) [Dem.] XLVII, 51; Dem. LVI, 15.

6) Here I cannot agree with Hasebroek; in my opinion we cannot speak of a clearingtransaction (Giroverfahren) here. The conclusion drawn by B. Laum, Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift 1922, p.p. 427—431, with regard to this question seems to me quite right; this conclusion runs as follows: "Girokonten, auch einseitige, hat die Bank des Pasion nicht gekannt; da sie die bedeutendste und entwickelteste im Athen des 4 Jahrh. ist, darf man den Schluss auf alle athenischen Banken der Zeit ausdehnen; und was für Athen gilt, gilt für ganz Griechenland der Zeit." See also Edgar Salin, Schmollers Jahrb. 1921 p. 492 sqq.

7) Dem. LII, 3.

Athens¹⁾). From the whole connection it appears that Cephiades would not claim his money with a written order, as it was the custom at that time to do business orally and personally. In this way we also see in another passage in Demosthenes²⁾ that a creditor is referred to the *τραπεζίτης* of the debtor without any written order; another time the creditor and the debtor apparently go together to the *τραπεζίτης* to settle up³⁾.

In this connection I may also point to the 17th oration of Isocrates. Was a letter of credit usual?

The Bosporian young man, the son of Sopaeus, who when he is in Athens likes to get money from the Pontus without the risk of an oversea-transport, moves Stratocles, who happens to be going to the Pontus, to leave 300 gold staters in Athens, which the latter is to get back afterwards from his father Sopaeus in the Pontus⁴⁾). For this purpose he gives Stratocles a letter which juridically may certainly be considered as a letter of credit; economically however it can not pass as such, as the giving of such a written order is to be considered as an exceptional case. For the fact that Stratocles gets a guaranty in case Sopaeus should refuse to accept the letter of credit⁵⁾ is a proof of the unusualness of a written order for payment, and moreover we have here the unusual thing that it is a letter of credit from a son to his father.

How unusual a letter of credit must have been may also appear from the circumstance that even people who had been mentioned by name before could not get the money without some further proof⁶⁾, and that the *τραπεζίτης* noted down in his books who was to be the recipient of the sum of money⁷⁾. In my opinion it also appears convincingly from the tacit supposition that, when at Athens a debt has been squared, the payment must have been in ready money and that slaves must have conveyed the money⁸⁾.

So while a written order for payment was yet unusual, it also seems to have happened only sporadically that a certain object was

Was some object shown as a proof of identity?

- 1) Dem. LII, 4, cf. [Dem.] XLIX, 26.
- 2) [Dem.] XLVII, 51 and 57.
- 3) Dem. LVI, 15.
- 4) Isocr. XVII, 35.
- 5) Isocr. XVII, 37.
- 6) Dem. XXXVIII, 12 and 14.
- 7) Dem. LII, 4.
- 8) Dem. XXX, 23.

shown as a proof of identity (*σύμβολον*), a thing very usual in later times. We can find a trace of this in as early an author as Herodotus ¹⁾ who relates that the children of the Milesian who had deposited money with a Spartan claim this money on showing proofs of their identity (*ἀποδεικνύντες τὰ σύμβολα*) ²⁾. The gold bowl however which Lysias ³⁾ says to have come from the Persian king and which is also called *σύμβολον*, can not have been meant as a proof of identity; it was given by the Persian king as an exceptional proof of friendship ⁴⁾.

The
mediation of
the *τραπεζίτης*
in payments
not interurban We may suppose that the mediation in payments of the *τραπεζίτης* generally did not go further than the town. The unsafety of traffic, the independence of each state as regards jurisprudence and monetary system, and in Athens especially the interdict on lending out Athenian capital for trading purposes out of Athens ⁵⁾ made interurban mediation in payments almost impossible. Therefore we always hear of money being conveyed personally from one place to the other ⁶⁾. The Bosporian young man, too, asserts that Pasion did not scruple to be dishonest towards him, because he was a stranger ⁷⁾ and because Pasion thought that this Bosporian would soon leave Athens ⁸⁾; so in this case Pasion had thought (and this shows the local character of Pasion's business) that his business would not suffer by his dishonesty.

It stands to reason that local transactions took place among the "banks" in Athens itself. When for instance Pasion is for the present not able to furnish security for one of his clients he turns to the *τραπεζίτης* Archestratus ⁹⁾, and when the pleader of the 33d oration of Demosthenes cannot lend money to his client he furnishes security for him with the *τραπεζίτης* Heraclides ¹⁰⁾.

1) Herod. VI, 86; see p. 26.

2) Cf. also Diels 286 where a sick Pythagorean writes *τι σύμβολον* on a *πίναξ*.

3) Lys. XIX, 25.

4) Cf. Lipsius Attisches Recht p. 720 note 155; L. Goldschmidt, Zeitschrift d. Savigny. Stift. 1889 p. 384 shows an inclination to consider this *κτάλη* as a proof of identity, with which I do not agree.

5) See pp. 128 and 132.

6) Isocr. XVII, 4; Lys. XIX, 24; Dem. V, 8; L, 18; Aeschines ep. 6; or. I, 95; Plato ep. 346 C and 309 C.

7) Isocr. XVII, 34.

8) Isocr. XVII, 9.

9) Isocr. XVII, 43.

10) Dem. XXXIII, 7.

Except for bringing about payments this depositing without interest probably happened principally in safe-keeping objects of value. In this way Phormio, the servant and afterwards the successor of the *τραπεζίτης* Pasion receives, besides other objects of value (*χρήματα*) also two Lycian bowls on deposit from a business friend on the latter's going abroad¹⁾. From another passage it appears that agreements were deposited with the *τραπεζῖται*²⁾.

The safe-keeping of objects of value

So while at a mediation in payments the *τραπεζίτης* made use of the money deposited with him for this purpose without interest, the third function of the *τραπεζίτης* existed in accepting interest-bearing deposits, which principally formed the working capital of the bank. We can find an example of such an interest-bearing deposit in the above mentioned 17th oration of Isocrates. That here we really have a case of interest-bearing deposit appears from the words *δι τοῖς ξμοῖς χρήμασι τυγχάνει χρώμενος*³⁾ and from the circumstance that in the Delian bottomry Pasion himself was not able to furnish seven talents to the Bosporian⁴⁾. The amount of the sum of money deposited with Pasion by the Bosporian young man cannot be fixed with certainty. But that it must have been a considerable sum appears from the expressions *τοσαῦτα χρήματα*⁵⁾ and *τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων*⁶⁾.

Third passive transaction: the acceptance of interest-bearing deposits

Something very curious is declared by the pleader in this oration, viz. that transactions of *τραπεζῖται* always take place without witnesses⁷⁾. We may take it that this happened with a view to the depositor's wish to keep his fortune a secret as far as this was possible⁸⁾.

By the side of the above mentioned passive transactions of the *τραπεζίτης* we may mention the lending out of moneys as his principal active transaction. These moneys have been deposited with him at interest and are lent out by him at a higher interest. For this distinguished them from occasional money-lenders who traded with

First active transaction: lending out moneys received as interest-bearing deposits

1) [Dem.] XLIX, 31.

2) Dem. XXXIV, 6; LVI, 15.

3) Isocr. XVII, 41.

4) Isocr. XVII, 43.

5) Isocr. XVII, 34.

6) Isocr. XVII, 46.

7) Isocr. XVII, 2.

8) Cf. Isocr. XXI, 4.

their own capital¹⁾). In this way Demosthenes²⁾ relates that the *τράπεζα* of Pasion brought in a hundred minae, while his manufactory of shields only brought in sixty minae. Still Demosthenes approves of the choice of Apollodorus, one of the two sons of Pasion, who, when the inheritance is divided, chooses the manufactory of shields (*ἀσπιδοπηγεῖον*) because there is less risk attached to it, while the *τράπεζα* yields less certain profits as one is always dependent on other people's money. The *τραπεζῖται* who trade with their own money run too many risks and must necessarily go bankrupt³⁾.

As regards the standard of interest Billeter⁴⁾ has pointed out that in the fourth century the interest for loans on great security was usually 12 %. For loans on a less great security, such as commercial credit which was usually furnished by *τραπεζῖται*⁵⁾ the standard of interest was higher. It seems to have varied between $16\frac{2}{3}\%$ and 18 %, while the interest of $16\frac{2}{3}\%$ was considered as normal in this case⁶⁾. The interest in bottomry will be discussed below⁷⁾.

As an example of productive commercial credit we may for instance point to the *τραπεζῖτης* Blepaeus furnishing 20 minae for the purchase of mines⁸⁾. There was no maximum of interest fixed by the law in Athens; a law of Solon had left people free in this respect⁹⁾ and this freedom could be abused especially in consumptive credit. In this way Lysias¹⁰⁾ speaks of a sum of money offered by Sosinomus and Aristogiton at 36 %.

Second active transaction: By the side of transactions of credit the *τραπεζῖτης* also does pawnbroker's business, in which capacity the *τραπεζῖτης* shows a doing a pawnbroker's greater resemblance to a pawnbroker than to a modern banker. It business is he who takes copper¹¹⁾ and at another time cups and a gold

1) See p. 91.

2) Dem. XXXVI, 11.

3) Dem. XXXVI, 51.

4) G. Billeter, Geschichte des Zinsfusses im Griechisch-Römischen Altertum bis auf Justinian, Leipzig 1898, p. 18 sqq.

5) Billeter, op. cit. p. 23, note 1.

6) Billeter, op. cit. p. 20 sqq.

7) See p. 95.

8) Dem. XL, 52; cf. also Xen. De Vect. III, 9 and 10.

9) Lys. X, 18; Billeter, op. cit. p. 5 and 57.

10) Lys. fr. 1.

11) [Dem.] XLIX, 21.

wreath¹⁾ as a guaranty for a loan. When Alcetas, king of the Molossians and Jason prince of Pherae pay a visit to Timotheus the Athenian strategist, the latter sends to the *τραπεζίτης* Pasion for *στρώματα* and *ἱμάτια* and two silver bowls²⁾.

When money was lent out on a mortgage of ground³⁾ there was this difficulty that if the *τραπεζίτης* was not an Athenian citizen he could not take possession of the piece of ground in case of non-payment. And the fact was that most of the *τραπεζῖται* were foreigners who, when they had earned sufficient merit and had influence, as for instance Pasion⁴⁾ and Phormio⁵⁾, got the freedom of the city.

Third active transaction:
lending out
money on
mortgage

There is not a single passage from which it appears that a *τραπεζίτης* was a born Athenian, from which fact we must of course not conclude that there were no born Athenians among the *τραπεζῖται*. But the authors give numerous examples of *τραπεζῖται* and cooperators of these who were foreigners. Besides the above mentioned Pasion and Phormio it appears that the very honest *τραπεζίτης* mentioned by Isaeus⁶⁾ was not a born Athenian. A servant of Pasion comes from Milet⁷⁾ and the man who brought the son of Sopaeus into relation with Pasion is a Phoenician⁸⁾. Demosthenes mentions *τραπεζῖται* coming from Cyprus⁹⁾ and Phoenicia¹⁰⁾. In the introduction to a fragment of Isaeus¹¹⁾ we hear of *μέτοικος τις τῶν τραπεζιευόντων Αθήνησιν*, and in the same way elsewhere *μέτοικοι* are mentioned as money-lenders¹²⁾.

Foreigners
and *μέτοικοι*
among the
τραπεζῖται

The law-suits naturally give us more often examples of fraudulent *τραπεζῖται* than of honest ones. Still we may assume that the *τραπεζίτης* usually made an attempt at acquiring a reputation of honesty, as in these petty relations the greatest capital of the *τραπεζίτης* is the

Fraudulent
and honest
τραπεζῖται

- 1) Dem. LIII, 9.
- 2) [Dem.] XLIX, 22; cf. Lys. XIX, 27.
- 3) Dem. XXXVI, 6.
- 4) [Dem.] LIX, 2.
- 5) Dem. XLVI, 13.
- 6) Is. fr. 15 ed. Thalheim.
- 7) Isocr. XVII, 51.
- 8) Isocr. XVII, 4.
- 9) Dem. XXXV, 32.
- 10) Dem. XXXIV, 6.
- 11) Is. fr. 16.
- 12) [Ar.] Econ. 1347 a 1 sqq.; 1349 a 2 sqq.

confidence he enjoys, as Demosthenes says ¹⁾), and virtue is more profitable for him than riches ²⁾). It is true that the pleader of the same oration ³⁾ says that it is a great wonder if *ἐν ἐμπορίῳ καὶ χρήμασιν ἐργαζόμενοι* have the reputation of being active as well as honest, but we must take these words "cum grano salis", as they are meant to emphasize the contrast with Phormio. Probably Pasion was not condemned in the action brought against him by the Bosporian young man ⁴⁾, as we can otherwise not account for the flourishing of his business after this action ⁵⁾). In Isaeus ⁶⁾ we also hear of a very trustworthy *τραπεζίτης*, who at the rumour of his client's death at once looks up the amount of the client's deposit in his books, shows it to the latter's relatives and very correctly pays out everything.

The economical importance of the *τραπεζίτης*

In the 36th oration of Demosthenes, delivered in behalf of the *τραπεζίτης* Phormio, the economical importance of the *τραπεζίτης* is estimated very highly ⁷⁾). In my opinion it should not be overestimated in a town like Athens where so many occasional money lenders lived ⁸⁾). A few of them, such as for instance Pasion, undoubtedly had a very great influence. This Pasion originally was a slave and a servant of the *τραπεζίται* Antisthenes and Archestratus ⁹⁾). He was set at liberty and started a business of his own, into which he received the slave Phormio ¹⁰⁾ who, set at liberty in his turn, began to do business at his own risk, and afterwards married the wife of Pasion, as had been stipulated in the latter's testament. Such marriages between the wife of the deceased *τραπεζίτης* and the latter's liberated slave and successor seem to have occurred frequently for the sake of the continuation of the name of the firm ¹¹⁾.

That the *τραπεζίται* also occupied themselves with other industrial and commercial undertakings appears for instance from the circum-

1) Dem. XXXVI, 44; cf. also Isocr. XVII, 2 and 18.

2) Dem. XXXVI, 52.

3) Dem. XXXVI, 44.

4) Lys. orat. XVII.

5) Cf. Drerup, Jahrb. f. klass. Phil. Suppl. XXII 1896, p. 363.

6) Is. fr. 15.

7) Dem. XXXVI, 57 and 58.

8) See p. 91.

9) Dem. XXXVI, 43 and 48.

10) Dem. XXXVI passim.

11) Dem. XXXVI, 29.

Τραπεζίται
who occupied themselves with industrial and commercial undertakings

stance that a manufactory of shields (*ἀσπιδοπηγεῖον*) was attached to the *τραπέζα* of Pasion¹⁾). At the time when Phormio was still a commissioner of Pasion's he apparently also was *κοινωρός* of the merchant Timosthenes; as a *τραπεζίτης* Phormio apparently also possesses ships of his own²⁾.

Conversely probably almost all *ἔμποροι* in Athens were occasional moneylenders. In this way a certain Nicobulus, in combination with Euergus, lends a sum of money to a lessee of a silver mine in Laurium. Immediately after this he himself goes to the Pontus for business³⁾. We may assume that the aim of all *ἔμποροι* was to get a capital sufficiently large to enable them to leave navigation to other people; so that in Athens they themselves could use their routine and capital for loans to less well to do *ἔμποροι*. So Parmenon says⁴⁾: "for a long time I occupied myself with sea trade and went through many dangers. It is not quite seven years since I ceased navigating and as I have gained a small capital I try to make it productive by lending the money out for sea trade." The above mentioned Nicobulus too speaks first of his former dangers at sea and of his thriftiness, and then he states as a reason for his present money lending: "that the money may not imperceptibly melt away"⁵⁾. The object of these observations of Parmenon and Nicobulus probably was to improve the judges' opinion of them. They take a great deal of trouble to distinguish themselves from the professional men (*οἱ τέχνην τὸ πρᾶγμα πεποιήμενοι*) "who know no compassion and for whom nothing counts except making money"⁶⁾. They try to bring the hatred which, according to Nicobulus, the Athenians felt towards the *δαρεῖορτες* generally, on the heads of the professional moneylenders, i.e. *τραπεζίται*, exclusively. In reality however the only difference between these two groups no doubt consisted in the circumstance that the *τραπεζίτης* lends out other people's money, whereas the occasional money lender lends out his own money, usually in combination with others.

Occasional
moneylen-
ders

1) Dem. XXXVI, 4.

2) Dem. XLV, 64.

3) Dem. XXXVII, 6.

4) Dem. XXXIII, 4.

5) Dem. XXXVII, 54.

6) Dem. XXXVII, 53.

XIII DEMOSTHENES¹⁾

“Foenus
nauticum”

In the orations of Demosthenes we often hear of a certain kind of sea-loan, which at that time entirely dominated sea-trade and which was called *ναυτικὸν δάρειον* by the Greeks, “foenus nauticum” or “trajecticia pecunia” by the Romans²⁾.

This sea-loan, which is usually, though not quite correctly, rendered by “bottomry”³⁾ and which has much resemblance to the commenda of the middle ages⁴⁾, was contracted in Greece between *ἐμπόροι* and *ταύχληροι* on the one hand, and *τραπεζῖται* and occasional moneylenders on the other, the latter lending a certain sum of money to the former, usually on a mortgage of ship, cargo or both⁵⁾. It was stipulated that the money was only to be repaid if the ship with the cargo safely reached the harbour. So it is a loan combined with assurance, the lender bearing the whole risk of the passage. It stands to reason that an *ἐμπόρος* or a *ταύχληρος*, who had to pay cash for their goods or for the wages and victuals for the crew of the ship,

1) Though some orations and contracts inserted into some orations ascribed to Demosthenes are certainly not by Demosthenes, yet they afford equally important material for an investigation into the indications of trade, because in that case they are mostly by contemporaries of Demosthenes and so render equally well the aspect of trade at that time.

2) On this institution, usually indicated as foenus nauticum, compare Boeckh, *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener* I⁸, p. 166 sqq. and H. Sieveking, *Das Seedarlehen des Altertums*, Leipzig, diss. 1893. Sieveking has very succinctly considered the principal points from a juridical standpoint. For details on this subject I may refer to this dissertation and the literature mentioned in it. With a view to the importance of this sea-loan as well as for the sake of completeness I could not entirely omit discussing it, while on the other hand a profound discussion of it was impossible within the scope of this study.

3) The difference lies principally in the fact that in bottomry the borrower is only liable with his security, while in *ναυτικὸν δάρειον* the borrower is liable with the whole of his fortune.

4) An important difference is here that in the commenda the lender and the borrower do business in common and share profit and loss proportionally, while in antiquity the relation between lender and borrower is that of creditor and debtor.

5) See p. 93.

made a frequent use of this institution, while on the other hand the citizens looked upon it as an opportunity of getting a high interest on their money, with the advantage of a quick adjudication of differences that might arise¹⁾. As bills of exchange did not exist in antiquity, it also served to do overseas payments; in this case the debtor probably lent money to an *έμπορος* or *ταύκληρος*, who was sailing to the place of residence of the creditor, with the instruction to hand the money with the interest to his creditor. To persons who made a sea-voyage, too, it afforded an opportunity of making their money productive during this voyage. The great risk attached to it for the lenders was lessened by them by participation of the capital. According to Chrysippus, who however was a moneylender himself and so did not judge quite objectively, this institution of sea-loans was so important that he declares: *οὐτε ναῦν οὐτε ταύκληρον οὐτε ἐπιβάτην ἔστι ἀραχθῆναι, τὸ τῶν δανειζόντων μέρος ἀν ἀφαιρῆτε*²⁾.

When such a loan was contracted a contract (*συγγραφή*) was drawn up, which was of great value to the lender, as it was impossible to find a true bill for the case, if there was no contract³⁾.

In such loans mortgage was usually given on cargo, ship or both; this mortgaging was however not necessary⁴⁾.

A sea-loan could be contracted for a single⁵⁾ or for a return voyage⁶⁾. In Athens however loans were usually contracted for return voyages, which was greatly to the advantage of the lenders, as it was too late for them to make the money productive if they got it back in the middle of the season of navigation. For now they lend it out at the opening of the season, when all the ships of the Piraeus are putting to sea, and they get it back at the end of the season, when the ships with their cargoes are putting in. In this way a certain pleader⁷⁾ asserts that money lenders in Egypt who have lent out money for a

1) See p. 130.

2) XXXIV, 51.

3) XXXIII, 30; LVI, 15; a similar contract is to be found in the 35th oration § 10 sqq.

4) L, 17 sqq.; the question whether mortgage was also given on the freight depends on the opinion one has on the meaning of the words *ἐπι τῷ ναύλῳ* in the 35th oration § 32; cf. Boeckh, op. cit. I, p. 166; Sieveking, op. cit. p. 20.

5) XXXIV, 28; LVI, 29.

6) XXIII, 25; XXXIV, 6; LVI, 6.

7) LVI, 29.

voyage to Egypt will have no objection to get their money back in Rhodus, even with a partial restitution of the interest fixed. They can easily make their money productive there by lending it out for a voyage to Egypt, as this navigation was not even interrupted in winter¹⁾. In Athens one had to await the following season for navigation in such a case.

Those who had lent out money for a single journey sometimes sailed with the ship²⁾ and then got the money back at the end of the journey. Probably it also occurred that they sent a representative with the ship, or that they had the money paid at a friend's or *κοινωνός* in the other harbour. When money was lent out for a return journey a representative was usually sent with the ship in combination with others³⁾; this representative was to act in the interest of the money lenders if attempts at fraud should take place⁴⁾. The money was then refunded at a certain time after the ship's return to the harbour of Athens; for instance a term of twenty days is mentioned⁵⁾.

Not only the time of the voyage was fixed in the contract because the extent of the danger mainly depended on it, for which reason the interest for instance was fixed accordingly⁶⁾, but also the terminal-point of the journey was indicated⁷⁾, and sometimes even the route was exactly mentioned⁸⁾.

If the loan had been contracted on lien of the cargo it sometimes happened that the goods with which the ship was to be loaded were indicated⁹⁾, but probably always the value of the cargo¹⁰⁾, which in the two cases mentioned amounted to twice the sum of the loan. The fact that so much overvalue was demanded for the goods can easily be accounted for by taking into consideration the fluctuation of the price of corn, which in most cases formed the cargo of the ship

1) See pp. 14 and 15.

2) XXXIV, 8 and 26.

3) XXXII, 8 and 11; XXXV, 20 and 34.

4) XXXII, 8.

5) XXXV, 11.

6) XXXV, 10.

7) XXXIV, 6; XXXV, 3; LVI, 5.

8) XXXV, 10.

9) XXXV, 10.

10) XXXIV, 6; XXXV, 18.

that returned to Athens¹⁾. Therefore we see that in loans on lien of the ship, the value of which was more or less stable, the value of the ship is secured without any overvalue²⁾.

As it often happened that fraud was practised by not taking the due cargo into the ship³⁾, the bona-fide traders called many persons to witness, when they were loading on their ship the goods that were meant for return freight⁴⁾.

A stipulation that was often trespassed against, as appears from the law-suits⁵⁾, is the interdict on twice mortgaging a thing⁶⁾.

In the contract inserted into the 35th oration it was also stipulated that, if an accident should happen on the journey but part of the goods should be saved, this part was the common property of the lenders⁷⁾. If the ship reached the harbour safely this contract only allowed a discount to the borrower in two cases, viz. in case of *ἐκβολή*, so when by common consent part of the cargo had been thrown overboard to lighten the ship, and when they had been obliged to pay money to the enemy⁸⁾.

If the ship returned safe and well to Athens and no difficulties had to be solved, the refunding of the capital with the interest took place in the presence of many witnesses⁹⁾. This interest varied for sea-loans between 20 % and 31 $\frac{1}{3}$ % for a return voyage, for instance for half a year; if the money was lent out for a single voyage, so for instance for three months, half of the interest was usually charged¹⁰⁾. Here we can clearly see the difference from the commenda of the middle ages, as in this loan no interest was fixed for the lender, who took part in profit and loss.

If the ship was wrecked or was captured by a pirate, the lender lost capital and interest.

If the contract was trespassed against and the money with the

1) XXXII, 25; LVI, 9.

2) XXXIII, 6 and 12.

3) XXXIV, 6; XXXV, 19 and 25.

4) XXXIV, 28 and 29.

5) XXXIV, 6; XXXV, 22, 32 and 52.

6) XXXV, 11.

7) XXXV, 13.

8) XXXV, 11 sqq.

9) XXXIV, 30.

10) Cf. Billeter, op. cit. p. 30 sqq.

interest was not paid, the lender could lay hold on the security ¹⁾. For the sake of greater safety the security could be watched by the orders of the lender ²⁾, in order to prevent withdrawal. Withdrawal made a man liable to death-penalty ³⁾.

No law or regulation could be adduced against such a contract ⁴⁾. It is obvious however that, without referring to regulation or law, many merchants tried to escape repaying what they had borrowed by fraudulent means, such as "scuttling" ⁵⁾ ships or making leaks into them ⁶⁾. The orations XXXII to XXXVI owe their existence to conflicts that had arisen from this kind of sea-loan.

The difference between the terms *ἐμπόρος* and *ναύκληρος* In Demosthenes *ἐμπόροι* and *ναύκληροι* are repeatedly mentioned side by side. The difference between these terms has been examined by Hasebroek ⁷⁾, in so far as data from the 4th century are concerned. He came to the following conclusions: there where *ἐμπόρος* is used by the side of *ναύκληρος* we must understand by *ἐμπόρος* a trader without a ship of his own, who sails with a *ναύκληρος* in the latter's ship. By the side of the use in this limited sense *ἐμπόρος* occurs, in contrast with *πάπηλος*, as the bearer of interurban and international trade. "In diesem weiteren Sinne, Hasebroek adds, ist folglich auch der *ναύκληρος* ein *ἐμπόρος*". So Hasebroek does not answer the question when a trader with a ship of his own was called *ναύκληρος* and when *ἐμπόρος*.

Now when we examine the various data, not only in the orators but also in other authors, it appears that also a trader with a ship of his own was usually called *ἐμπόρος*, and that, if such a trader was called *ναύκληρος*, he was more looked upon as the owner of a ship than as a trader, and that especially the ship was emphasized. So in one of the pre-Socratic philosophers ⁸⁾ the fact that a ship is wrecked is called a calamity for *ναύκληροι*. In Aristophanes Euelpides says

1) XXXII, 14 and 17; XXXIII, 6.

2) XXXIII, 10.

3) XXXIV, 50.

4) XXXV, 13 and 39.

5) XXXII, 8.

6) XXXII, 5.

7) J. Hasebroek, Die Betriebsformen des griechischen Handels im 4en Jahrhundert, Hermes 1923 p. 393 sqq.

8) Diels 636.

that he will at once get a ship and then, he adds, *ναύκληρος*¹). The trader, who, as the crane leaves for warmer regions, hangs his rudder in the smoke, is indicated as *ναύκληρος*²). Thucydides calls *ναύκληρος* (not *ἐμπόρος*) the trader who is persuaded by Themistocles to take him out of the reach of the Athenians, because Themistocles makes use of this man in the capacity of ship-owner, not of trader³). The Phoenician whose ship is so greatly admired by Ischomachus is called *ναύκληρος* by Xenophon, because he wants to emphasize the ship⁴). For the same reason Plato indicates by *ναύκληρος* the trader who would not dare to take him away with him from the castle which Dionysius had assigned to him, unless the tyrant ordered him to do so; in the same way as he calls *ἐμπόρος* the trader who would find him in Sicily, if he should escape, and would take him back to Dionysius; for in this case the ship would not come in at all⁵).

That in most cases a trader with a ship of his own was also called *ἐμπόρος* may further appear from the fact that in places where at first, for the sake of completeness, *ναύκληροι* and *ἐμπόροι* were both mentioned, the two groups were later on sometimes only indicated as *ἐμπόροι*. In his advice to entice traders to come to Athens Xenophon first speaks of *ναύκληροι* and *ἐμπόροι*⁶); but when he summarizes his plans he only mentions *ἐμπόροι*⁷); in the same way he makes Simonides who gives a similar advice to Hiero, the tyrant of Syracuse, only speak of *ἐμπόροι*⁸). While in the same way *ναύκληροι* and *ἐμπόροι* are both mentioned in a law cited by Demosthenes, he indicates them only as *ἐμπόρος* when discussing the law⁹).

If however by *ναύκληρος* is meant a trader in the possession of a ship of his own, the question arises whether his chief work consisted in conveying goods of his own or of others. In my opinion Hasebroek¹⁰) lays too much stress on the fact that at this time the goods

Goods-dispatsch

1) Arist. Av. 598.

2) Arist. Av. 711.

3) Thuc. I, 137, 2.

4) Xen. Econ. VIII, 12; cf. Anab. VII, 5, 14; Hell. III, 4, 1.

5) Plato, Epist. 329 E.

6) Xen. De Vect. III, 4 and V, 3.

7) Xen. De Vect. IV, 40.

8) Xen. Hiero IX, 9.

9) XXXIII, 1.

10) L. c. p. 402.

were usually accompanied by the trader, for which reason there could be no question of goods-dispatch in modern sense. We may certainly assume that, on account of the difficulty of finding an outlet, the dispatch of goods usually took place under the supervision of the owner of the goods conveyed; but in my opinion this does not imply that the conveying of goods of others did not occupy a more important place in the business of the *raúkliqos* than Hasebroek supposes. Because the number of those who occasionally occupied themselves with *éμπορία* was so great, the conveyance of other people's goods by the *raúkliqos* must have been an important part of the latter's business. To this we may add that on account of the dangers of a sea-voyage, which compelled people to participation of the capital, it was probably an exception when a ship was freighted by one single person.

Ships leaving Athens without any cargo We may assume that it frequently happened that a *raúkliqos* left Athens without any cargo, and got his cargo on his way. So we hear of wine that was conveyed from Periparethus, Cos, Thasos and Mende to the Pontus-district¹⁾). In another place wine is taken from Mende or Scione²⁾ to the Pontus³⁾). In Athens the ship was then probably made heavier by ballast (*έρμα*)⁴⁾. The chief aim of the trading expeditions was usually the conveying of corn to Athens, and the voyage to the corn districts was then used to convey large and small cargoes in passing. Such an incidental cargo are for instance the 80 jars of wine (in a ship that could hold 3000 jars⁵⁾) and some salt-fish that are conveyed for a peasant from Panticapaeum to Theodosia⁶⁾.

Sicily The Pontus region, for which many ships are bound in Demosthenes, has been discussed above⁷⁾). Among the other corn districts Sicily occupies an important place. Even Herodotus relates that Gelon of Syracuse wants to defend the Greek factories in the Persian

1) XXXV, 35.

2) XXXV, 10.

3) XXXV, 20.

4) Cf. Aesch. Agam. 1007; Arist. Av. 1492; Plato Theaet. 144A, where people that are tossed to and fro by anger are compared to ships without ballast (*άνερμάτιστα πλοῖα*).

5) XXXV, 10.

6) XXXV, 32.

7) See pp. 77—79.

war and that he offers them to supply the Greek army with corn during the whole time of the war¹⁾. Also at the time of the Peloponnesian war Sicily appears to have been important as a corn country. Thucydides relates for instance that the Athenians rendered assistance to the inhabitants of Leontini, at their request, in order to prevent the shipment of corn from those districts to the Peloponnesus²⁾. At the congress of the Sicilians Hermocrates declares openly³⁾ that the Athenians come to Sicily in order to enjoy the advantages of the country; and when Nicias wants to make the Athenians realize the dangers of the Sicilian expedition he points out to them that the Sicilians possess horses and have corn of their own, which has not been imported⁴⁾. When the Peloponnesian war breaks out there are in the Greek harbours i.a. a certain number of ships from Sicily⁵⁾. Xenophon says of the *ἐμπόροι* who are *φιλόσιτοι* that they sail i.a. on the Sicilian sea⁶⁾. At a later time Demosthenes relates that the return of ships that had gone to Sicily to get corn made the price of the corn fall in Athens and thereby the calculations of the corn speculators fail⁷⁾.

By the side of the Pontus and Sicily, Egypt was an important corn-district. In such an early author as Bacchylides⁸⁾ we hear of ships that convey corn (*πυρωρόροι*) from Egypt. Thucydides relates that during the Peloponnesian war Peloponnesian ships kept watch near the promontory of Triopium (near Cnidus) against the trading-ships coming from Egypt⁹⁾, by which probably cornships are meant. From the 56th oration of Demosthenes it appears that the corn-supply from Egypt was for a certain time entirely in the hands of Cleomenes, governor of Egypt in the years 331 to 323. This man did a great deal of harm to Athens, but especially to the rest of the

Egypt

1) Herod. VII, 158.

2) Thuc. III, 86, 4; cf. VI, 90, 4.

3) Thuc. IV, 69, 3.

4) Thuc. VI, 20, 4.

5) Thuc. II, 7, 2.

6) Xen. Econ. XX, 27.

7) LVI, 9; the expression *δι Σικελίας κατάπλους* makes us suppose that there was a regular corn supply from Sicily to Athens, cf. XXXII, 4.

8) Bacch. fr. 18, 10.

9) Thuc. VIII, 35, 3.

Greeks, by monopolizing the retail trade and the quotation of prices^{1).} It seems probable to me that from the statement that the harm was greater for the other Greeks we may conclude that the other Greek towns were dependant on Egypt for their corn, while at the time of Demosthenes Athens got the greater part of its corn from the Pontus, because of the good relations it entertained with the potentates of that district^{2).} Cleomenes and the corn trust will be discussed below^{3).}

Rhodus

The way from Egypt to Athens often went via Rhodus⁴⁾, which, according to the pleader of the 56th oration of Demosthenes⁵⁾, treated the traders that brought corn very obligingly. A great advantage of Rhodus was that the navigation from Egypt to Rhodus had not to be suspended during the wintermonths⁶⁾, as was the case with the route to Athens⁷⁾. According to Lycurgus⁸⁾, the merchants of Rhodus sail all over the world *δι' ἐγγασίαν* and corn is conveyed from Rhodus to Athens⁹⁾. However, as Gernet rightly remarks¹⁰⁾, we nowhere find any indication of corn-export by Rhodus itself. On the contrary, it appears from the obliging treatment of the merchants who shipped corn to Rhodus, and besides from the circumstance that, according to Demosthenes¹¹⁾, Egyptian corn was sold there, that Rhodus did not export corn, but only served as a trans- port.

Cyprus

A similar part was played by the island of Cyprus. Andocides¹²⁾ boasts of having frustrated the plans of people who had attempted to obstruct cornships that were sailing from Cyprus to Athens; and

1) LVI, 7.

2) XX, 31; see pp. 77—79.

3) See p. 125. On the large cargo of corn which the Egyptian prince is supposed to have sent to Athens in the year 445/4 see Philochorus fr. 90 = Schol. ad Aristoph. Vesp. 718; Plut. Pericl. 37.

4) LVI, 3 and 9.

5) LVI, 47.

6) LVI, 30.

7) See pp. 13—15, 93 and 94.

8) Lycurg. c. Leocr. 15.

9) Lycurg. c. Leocr. 18; cf. §§ 14 and 55.

10) Gernet, op. cit. p. 307.

11) LVI, 3.

12) And. II, 20.

that by his doing fourteen ships loaded with corn sailed from Cyprus to Athens¹⁾.

At the time after the Kings' peace the pirates had a period of great power, as Sparta did not take sufficiently strong measures against them. At this time Isocrates complains *καταπονοῦσται τὴν θάλατταν κατέχονται*²⁾. From Demosthenes it appears that it could happen at that time that a little town on the Thracian Chersonnesus was entirely occupied by pirates³⁾. We therefore always hear complaints on the dangers of a sea-voyage⁴⁾ where one had not only to be in fear of shipwreck but also of pirates. Even near the continent, in the bay of Argos, a merchant who had embarked at Athens was attacked by pirates' ships. He himself was mortally wounded and his goods were taken to Argos⁵⁾. And yet Athens apparently took strong measures against the pirates at that time. The inhabitants of Melus were fined 10 talents because they had admitted pirates into their town⁶⁾. It appears that there was at least a possibility for Athens of managing the pirates by itself, as Demosthenes dissuades the Athenians from taking measures against the pirates with the help of Philippus of Macedonia; for then it would seem as if Athens was not capable of doing this by herself⁷⁾. Demosthenes' policy of isolation was undoubtedly detrimental to trade, and so was his unfavourable advice to Philippus' proposal of concluding a *σύμβολον* in which i.a. the commercial differences between citizens of the Athenian state and subjects of the Macedonian king would be solved by common concert⁸⁾.

Piracy

1) And. II, 21.

2) Isocr. IV, 115; cf. Ormerod, op. cit. p. 114; Beloch, Gr. Gesch. III. 1 p. 329.

3) XXIII, 166.

4) L, 28; LII, 20; [Dem.] LVIII, 54.

5) LII, 5.

6) [Dem.] LVIII, 56.

7) [Dem.] VII, 14.

8) [Dem.] VII, 12.

XIV PLATO

In Plato we must make a distinction between the data bearing on trade in the ideal state outlined by Plato in his Republic and Leges, and the rest of the data. Yet the data in the Republic and the Leges are not only of theoretical importance, as many conditions and institutions mentioned in the Republic and the Leges have been drawn from existing frames of government¹).

**Trade and
trader in
Plato's ideal
state of the
Leges** The ideal state imagined by Plato in the Leges has to be founded at a distance of at least 80 stadia from the coast²). It is true that it may have a good harbour³), but the district of the town is to supply

the citizens with nearly all necessities⁴), so that only very little has to be imported. For, says Plato⁵), if the town was situated by the sea, possessed a good harbour and lay in a district that did not provide all necessities, it would be a superhuman task to prevent bad morals from sneaking into the town. For though it might seem to be an advantage to a town to be situated by the sea, in reality it has to pay for this advantage with the loss of honesty and sincerity of the citizens, as cunning and unreliableness are bound to become inherent in those who occupy themselves with trade and with the acquisition of money⁶). With a view to this fact he stipulates emphatically that no citizen, head of one of the 5040 families, is allowed to be an *ἐμπόρος* or a *κάπηλος*⁷). As the second argument why the citizens of his ideal state, nor their slaves, are allowed to occupy themselves with trade he alleges that the citizens are to work exclusively for the

1) Cf. Bruno Keil, Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft III² p. 423.

2) Leges 704 B; 705 A.

3) Leges 704 B.

4) Leges 704 C.

5) Leges 704 D.

6) Leges 705 A.

7) Leges 919 D; cf. Rep. 371 C, where Plato declares that in a well regulated state *καπηλεία* should be in the hands of weaklings and of those who are not fit to do anything else.

state and that their slaves must till the soil for their masters, as landed property is the only source of income allowed to the citizens¹⁾. For everybody (and this principle Plato tries to follow out very rigorously) is only allowed to perform one single task, because only then this task may be well performed²⁾. Tresspassers against the above mentioned interdict on trading are liable to one year's imprisonment³⁾ and in case of repetition of the offence the imprisonment will ever be doubled⁴⁾.

The few *εὐπολοι* that were wanted would entirely consist of foreigners⁵⁾, while non-citizens, whether they lived in the town (*μέτοικοι*) or not (*ξένοι*), were allowed to occupy themselves with *καπηλεύειν*⁶⁾. In order to repress also the pernicious influence of the contingent riches of these people on the morals of the citizens he fixes a limit to their fortune and their stay in his town⁷⁾.

In order to reduce export he decrees that the district of the town must not produce much more than the citizens want for their own use⁸⁾. On that which is to be exported no export duties will be paid, and in the same way the goods imported, too, will be free of import duties⁹⁾. And in the same way as only those things which are absolutely necessary for the citizens may be imported¹⁰⁾, so only those goods may leave the town, the citizens' want of which has been entirely satisfied¹¹⁾; so here we have the phenomenon, paradoxal in our eyes, of abolition of customs joined to restriction of import, as usually customs are abolished in order to promote import¹²⁾. Especially the import of perfume, such as incense, used in sacrificing to

1) Leges 806 D.

2) Leges 846 D and 847 A.

3) Leges 919 E.

4) Leges 920 A.

5) See p. 104.

6) Leges 920 A.

7) Leges 915 A and B; cf. Rep. 370 E, where Plato gives as his ideal a town that does not want any import from elsewhere, but at the same time sees the practical impossibility of this ideal.

8) Leges 705 B.

9) Leges 847 B.

10) Leges 847 B.

11) Leges 847 C.

12) Cf. Zimmern, The Greek Commonwealth³ p. 324.

the Gods is interdicted by Plato and further bright and purple fabrics¹⁾.

As goods the import of which is allowed, he mentions arms and materials like wood and metals, which are necessary for making war material²⁾; for the town cannot do without these. These objects and raw materials must however not be furnished to the citizens by importers, but the buying and selling of them will be entirely in the hands of the *τιμαρχοι* and *στρατηγοι*, two municipal colleges of magistrates³⁾.

The merchants who import these goods are foreigners and belong to a group which in another place⁴⁾ Plato compares to birds of passage, because in summer, the season for navigation⁵⁾, they fly from one country to the other, to trade with their goods. These foreign traders are not allowed to enter the town itself, but the magistrates will assign them a place in a harbour, a market or a public building outside the town⁶⁾. What Plato would like best would be to deny these and similar foreigners all admittance to the district of the town⁷⁾, but Plato sees the impossibility of this and moreover he fears that this would bring the town projected by him into discredit with the other states⁸⁾. So he does not advise to keep out and expel foreigners, a thing which happened from time to time in Sparta⁹⁾.

Plato does not object to selling that which is no longer absolutely necessary for citizens, probably in order to pay the above mentioned importers. For as there is no town in the neighbourhood¹⁰⁾, and as hardly any wood suitable for ship-building grows there¹¹⁾, it is practically impossible for the citizens themselves to export these goods, apart from the above mentioned interdict on trade. So the

1) *Leges* 847 C; as regards victuals he advises in the *Republic* to practise frugality in meals, so that foreign dainties need not be imported (*Rep.* 559 A and B).

2) *Leges* 847 D.

3) *Leges* 847 D.

4) *Leges* 952 E.

5) See p. 14.

6) *Leges* 952 E.

7) *Leges* 950 A.

8) *Leges* 950 A.

9) *Leges* 342 C.

10) *Leges* 704 C.

11) *Leges* 705 C.

citizens are free to have these superfluous goods sold in the town-markets ¹⁾ or to exchange them with the aforesaid foreign traders for the things they want of these foreigners. The magistrates however would pay arms and war material with current Greek coins ²⁾. Current Greek coins of gold and silver must not be in the possession of the citizens; for the possession of precious metals is not allowed to them ³⁾. Gold and silver coins are only to be found in the public treasury and are only used by the magistrates, when the town or its citizens enter into relations with foreign countries. Besides being used by the government as a means of paying the foreign dealers in war material, these Greek coins are further used for purposes of state in military or peaceful expeditions ⁴⁾. For daily use, to pay farmers and labourers, Plato supposes the citizens to be in the possession of coins that will only be current in his town ⁵⁾, in order to be relieved of the necessity of having to eliminate all means of exchange ⁶⁾.

When a citizen wants to make a journey abroad and has got leave for it from the magistrates of the town, he on this occasion can get Greek coins out of the public treasury ⁷⁾, probably in exchange for coins of the town. On ending the journey such a man has to change in the public treasury the Greek coins he has left and the foreign coins he may have received on his journey, for coins of the town ⁸⁾. If he detains the money, it is confiscated; a man who knows that a citizen has not changed his Greek money, and omits to inform the magistrates of it, is fined the amount of the sum detained ⁹⁾, which fine has of course to be paid in money of the town.

So in the above mentioned way the state is provided with the few things it wants from elsewhere. As regards the victuals produced by the district of the town and the cattle which is not used for

1) See pp. 106 and 107.

2) *Leges* 742 A.

3) *Leges* 742 A and 801 B; cf. *Rep.* 417 A.

4) *Leges* 742 A and 950 D.

5) *Leges* 742 A.

6) Cf. *Rep.* 371 C, where he considers the eliminating of all means of exchange an impossibility.

7) *Leges* 742 B.

8) *Leges* 742 B; cf. ed. England.

9) *Leges* 742 B.

agriculture, they will be distributed every month ¹⁾). One third part of it will be distributed among the citizens for their own use, another for their slaves, and the rest will be taken to a market by means of foreigners or slaves appointed for that purpose ²⁾), in order to be sold there to foreigners living in the town ³⁾). The town is divided into twelve quarters and each quarter has its market, which stands under the supervision of the ἀγοράρους ⁴⁾). These ἀγοράρους, who will be chosen to the number of ten ⁵⁾), will be charged with the supervision of the temples of the market, will see to the good order in the selling of the goods, and further have to see to only one third of the victuals being sold ⁶⁾). If their orders are not obeyed they may chastise slaves and foreigners and fine citizens ⁷⁾.

No citizen is allowed to buy or sell in the above mentioned market. On the first day of every month the non-citizens living in the town buy there their stock of corn for the whole month, on the tenth day liquids (probably wine and oil are principally meant hereby), on the twentieth day cattle, hides and objects made of these ⁸⁾). On the last mentioned market-day the sellers are, according to Plato, peasants of the environs of the town. I think we may assume that here, too, he thought of the mediation of slaves or foreigners.

Besides these three market-days every month, two markets will be regularly held, viz. the ἀγορὰ τῶν ξένων ⁹⁾ and the νοτιὴ ἀγορά ¹⁰⁾.

In the first mentioned market, where both buyers and sellers are foreigners, victuals are sold by retail. So here in the first place those victuals will be found that have been sold in large quantities on one of the above mentioned market-days, and further victuals that have been imported ¹¹⁾.

All this relates to the victuals. Wood will be sold in any quantity

- 1) Leges 847 E.
- 2) Leges 849 B.
- 3) Leges 848 A.
- 4) Leges 849 A.
- 5) Leges 763 E.
- 6) Leges 849 A.
- 7) Leges 764 B.
- 8) Leges 849 B.
- 9) Leges 849 D.
- 10) Leges 849 E.
- 11) See p. 102.

out of the market, of course with a view to the difficulties in the transport of it and the large extent of market-ground that would be necessary for the selling of it. Here, too, the sellers are not the citizens themselves but people especially designated for that purpose (*ἐπίτιχοποι*) who are only allowed to sell to non-citizens¹⁾.

The so-called *κοινὴ ἀγορά* will serve for all merchandise other than victuals and wood; in this market the *ἀγοραρόμοι* together with the *ἀστυνόμοι* assign a special part of the market-ground to every kind of merchandise²⁾. If, a bargain having been struck in another place than the part of the market-ground destined for it, afterwards a judicial decision should be asked, the state would not find a true bill for the case³⁾. Perhaps the citizens, too, may sell (or make somebody else sell for them) in this market what they no longer want themselves⁴⁾. Plato emphatically states here that no market-dues will be claimed⁵⁾.

The object of these regulations no doubt is to stamp market-traffic (since market-holding proves to be an indispensable thing⁶⁾ to a trade that is dishonourable for citizens, by which the state must in no way profit, and in which the state has only to intervene to prevent too great moral damage being done to its inhabitants⁷⁾.

This tendency appears most clearly in the stipulation that not a single form of credit will be acknowledged and protected by the state⁸⁾. This stipulation makes a trading transaction of any importance impossible, which is in accordance with the legislator's intention⁹⁾. Plato emphatically forbids money or goods to be handed over unless an equivalent is at once got for it¹⁰⁾. If this stipulation is trespassed against, all further risk is for the seller¹¹⁾.

The interdict on laying out money on deposit or lending it out

1) Leges 849 D.

2) Leges 849 E.

3) Leges 915 E.

4) Cf. ed. England ad Leges 849 E.

5) Leges 850 B.

6) Cf. Rep. 371 B.

7) Leges 919 C, see pp. 110 and 111.

8) Leges 742 C, 849 E, 915 E.

9) Cf. Rep. 556 A.

10) Leges 849 E.

11) Leges 849 E and 915 E.

at interest points in the same direction¹). If a sum of money is lent out at interest, Plato gives the borrower leave to keep the capital as well as the interest²). Friends are allowed to lend money to each other without interest, but in this case, too, the state will not find a true bill if afterwards difficulties should arise³). When speaking of these loans Plato exclusively thinks of those that have an improductive object, viz. of helping a man who is short of money. But neither would he have approved of loans with a productive object, which enable traders to do business on a larger scale, partly with foreign capital.

Curiously in contrast with this aloofness of the state in questions of lending out money is the stipulation concerning the furnishing of security. In the same way as Plato demands that, but for exceptional circumstances, all kinds of obligations are strictly carried out, and allows action to be taken if they are not carried out⁴), so he also gives the following stipulations on the furnishing of security. If a man furnishes security for another he must fully explain the conditions under which he engages himself by mutual consent; in the presence of at least three witnesses if the sum for which he gives security is less than a thousand drachms; of at least five witnesses if this sum exceeds a thousand drachms⁵).

If there has been cash payment, and in the part of the market-ground destined for it, the buyer can invoke the protection of the law, if it should appear afterwards that he has been duped. With a view to this fact a stipulation is made that everybody who, in a transaction acknowledged by the state, has sold a thing to the value of at least fifty drachms, is to stay in the town for ten days⁶), and that in general the buyer is to be acquainted with the place of residence of the seller⁷). A broker (*προπωλῶν*) will be liable to the same extent as the seller himself, if fraud is practised; so for instance if after all the man by whose instructions, according to the broker, the

1) Leges 742 C and 921 C.

2) Leges 742 C.

3) Leges 915 E.

4) Leges 920 D.

5) Leges 953 E.

6) Leges 915 E.

7) Leges 916 A.

selling transaction has taken place appears to be not the real owner or if the latter cannot furnish the thing sold¹).

Plato explicitly discusses the cases in which the bargain may be, annulled and so restoration of property (*ἀναγωγή*) may take place. In this way he discusses the selling of a slave who suffers from consumption, calculus in the bladder, defective urination, epilepsy, or who has another physical or psychic deviation of long duration and difficult to cure, the symptoms of which are unknown to laymen. Such a transaction will be declared valid if the buyer is a physician or a gymnastic-teacher, so an expert, or if the seller had truthfully informed the buyer of the state of health of the slave²). If the seller is an expert and the buyer a layman in this case, the buyer may demand annulling of the bargain within six months after the transaction. In case of epilepsy this request may even be made within a year. As experts the judges will appoint physicians, chosen by mutual consent. He who is condemned by the judges pays his opponent twice the purchase price³). If both buyer and seller are laymen, the person condemned will only have to pay the purchase price⁴). In case a man sells a slave who has committed a murder nullification will not take place if this fact was known to both buyer and seller⁵). If the buyer was unacquainted with the murder, the bargain may be annulled. If at the same time the seller is proved to have been acquainted with the fact, he has to pay the seller three times the purchase price, apart from the cleaning of the buyer's house, which in that case has to take place at his expense⁶).

By various laws Plato tries to repress extravagances of the sellers in the market. It is however impossible to conclude with any certainty from his words whether he meant to fix maximum prices for the various goods⁷). He does demand however that the seller who has once fixed the price of his wares, will keep to this price for the whole day⁸). The stipulation that the college of *τομοφύλακες* shall

1) Leges 954 A; cf. ed. England.

2) Leges 916 A.

3) Leges 916 B.

4) Leges 916 C.

5) Leges 916 C.

6) Leges 916 C.

7) Leges 850 A; cf. ed. England.

8) Leges 917 B; see p. 82.

fix the margin of profit for the various goods, after having been enlightened on this subject by experts, also points in the direction of fixing maximum prices (though it is not to be identified with it)¹).

A simular enlightenment by experts is demanded by Plato for the *ἀγοραρόμοι* and *αιτοφύλακες* so that they may be able to decide what has to be considered as *κιβδήλευμα* and *κακονοργία* of the sellers. When they have been sufficiently enlightened on this subject, regulations are drawn up on the ground of their decision, which are posted up on a pillar in front of the office of the *ἀγοραρόμοι*²).

By *κιβδήλευμα* (*κιβδηλεία*) Plato understands especially the taking to market of adulterated goods. If a non-citizen who is able to judge of the goods delates such an adulteration to the magistrates, he is allowed to take possession of the goods by way of recompense. A citizen who detects adulterated goods has to make mention of it, if he wants to be taken for a worthy citizen, and has to consecrate the goods to the Gods under whose protection the market has been put. He who is condemned will not only be punished by seizure of the merchandise, but will also get as many lashes as the merchandise is worth drachms, while in the market a herald cries out at the top of his voice the reason for this lashing³).

In this connection Plato not only disapproves of varying market-prices, but also of the recommending of the goods and adjurations by the Gods which were to enforce the words of the sellers. Plato gives a citizen who is over thirty the right of chastising a trader whom he hears sinning against this regulation⁴).

It seems however that Plato did not want to deny to foreigners mutually the use of such means of enforcing their words, not even in trading transactions; because he considered these people's stay in the town too short to corrupt the morals of the citizens⁵).

For this is his leading motive in his laws and regulations concerning trade: in what way can I see to trade, which cannot be entirely abolished, exercising a minimum of demoralizing influence on the

1) Leges 920 C.

2) Leges 917 E.

3) Leges 917 D and E.

4) Leges 917 C.

5) Leges 949 B.

citizens¹⁾). As a consequence of this he deprives the citizens of the liberty and possibility of trading²⁾, restricts the trading of non-citizens to what is strictly necessary³⁾, and moreover makes the above mentioned regulations for repressing the extravagances of these traders that have been reduced to a minimum.

The low opinion of trade, manifested by Plato in his ideal state, Plato's opinion on the acquisition of money
is also based on his opinion on the acquisition of money in general. All human endeavour is divided by Plato into three parts, viz. that which relates to the soul, to the body, and the least laudable part, usually called *χρηματισμός* by him, which has the sole object of increasing a man's fortune⁴⁾. The element of desire is called *φιλοχρήματος*, because it is especially by money that many desires are satisfied. Above this the desire for honour is placed, and on the highest level the desire for wisdom⁵⁾. In this way the work of a *χάπτηλος* or an *έμπορος* for instance is called ignoble, compared with the task of a gymnastic-teacher or a physician⁶⁾. For the latter look after the human body, while he who strives after money does not look after himself (his soul) nor after that which is his (his body)⁷⁾.

The above mentioned *χρηματισμός* or *χρηματιστική τέχνη* has the object of providing sustenance⁸⁾. He who practises this art, however, called *χρηματιστής*, is at the same time called "procurer of riches"⁹⁾. Abolition of poverty cannot but be in the line of Plato, who detests *πενία* as well as *πλοῦτος*¹⁰⁾; he objects however against the unsatisfiability of the *χρηματισταί* who, when they have driven out *πενία*, strive after *πλοῦτος*, which is an equally great evil¹¹⁾.

According to Plato¹²⁾ this insatiability is very obvious in *χαπτηλεία* Plato's opinion on trade (by which he also means *έμπορεία* in this connection¹³⁾). For, says he, and trader

1) Leges 919 C.

2) Leges 919 B; see p. 102.

3) Leges 919 C; 920 B; see p. 104.

4) Leges 743 E.

5) Rep. 581 A.

6) Gorg. 518 A.

7) Alcib. 131 B.

8) Gorg. 477 E.

9) Gorg. 452 C.

10) Leges 679 B; 729 A; 919 B.

11) Leges 918 D.

12) Leges 918 B.

13) See p. 117.

if one considers the real nature of *χαπηλεία*, it should be a blessing to the town, as it everywhere brings the stock of goods in good and equal proportion to the wants of the individuals¹⁾. The traders however have become notorious because they lose their simple habits as soon as they have an opportunity of getting much money; because they make immense profit, while they might be satisfied with moderate gain²⁾. If only all good people would *χαπηλεύειν* and *πανδοκεύειν*, these professions, says Plato³⁾, would soon be esteemed and liked.

As Plato considers landed property as the only respectable basis for a man's income⁴⁾, his disapproval is directed against all *χρηματοτά*, so also indiscriminately against all traders. We call those people slaves, says Plato⁵⁾, whom we have bought and who are our property. There are however also free men who voluntarily count themselves among the group of menials and who mutually transport and exchange the products of agriculture and the results of other professions. Some of these establish themselves in the market, others go from one town to the other, exchanging money for merchandise, or one kind of merchandise for the other; these people are called by us *ἀργυρωμοιβοί*, *ἕμποροι*, *ταύκληροι* and *κάπηλοι*. In the Republic, too, *ἕμποροι* are called menials (*διάκονοι*)⁶⁾. Thirst for money, says Plato in another place⁷⁾, changes peaceful and kind people into *ἕμποροι*, *ταύκληροι* and *διάκονοι* and those who are of a more turbulent nature i.a. into robbers, burglars and plunderers of temples. The trade of a seller of salt-fish is represented as ignominious, as well as that of a cobbler and a prostitute⁸⁾. The traders do not know whether the goods they deal in are good for the body or harmful to it; they recommend everything they have for sale⁹⁾. And all this from love of gain, for which all kinds of faults are committed¹⁰⁾. And

1) Leges 918 B; cf. ed. England.

2) Leges 918 D.

3) Leges 918 E.

4) Leges 741 E; 846 D; 847 A; 919 D.

5) Polit. 289 D.

6) Rep. 371 A.

7) Leges 831 E.

8) Charmid. 163 B.

9) Leges 313 D.

10) Leges 649 D.

the worst of it is, says Plato ¹⁾, that the people approve of the excesses of greed. The adulteration of merchandise for instance is not disapproved of by the people, if only it is done in the right time ²⁾). In the beginning peace reigned and quarrels were unknown because the people were at that time *ἀχρυσοι* and *ἀράγυνχοι* ³⁾). For the real purpose of money, viz. supplying the wants of mankind, especially taking care of mind and body ⁴⁾, is often overlooked. Therefore gold and silver coins are the greatest calamity for the town ⁵⁾, for in his striving after riches man has no time for other occupations ⁶⁾.

So we see that Plato speaks disparagingly of all kinds of trade and of earning money. Only in a few passages he sounds a less rigorous moral. We must teach people, says he ⁷⁾), that, with a view to their own happiness, they should only try to grow rich *δικαίως* and *σωφρόνως*. In another place he also approves of the acquisition of gold and silver, if it is attended with virtue ⁸⁾). His appreciation of a man who by his own exertions has acquired riches is evident from words like: "He has a sensible rich father, who has grown rich by his own exertions; the money has not been given to him, but he has acquired his wealth by his own good sense and attention ⁹⁾).

So in general Plato strongly objects to trade, because he disapproves of the incentive to it, and moreover because he is afraid of the new ideas that might steal in as a result of it. Here, too, we have a sign of the absence of wholesale trade ¹⁰⁾, as Plato would undoubtedly have had a milder opinion of those who practised this kind of trade.

We find a few important data in Plato with respect to the meaning of the words *ἱμπορεός* and *κάπηλος*. Plato devides in his Sophist ¹¹⁾ ce between the terms buying and selling transactions (*τὸ ἀγοραστικόν* or *τέχνη ἀγοραστική*) *ἱμπορεός* and *κάπηλος*

1) Leges 916 D.

2) Leges 916 D.

3) Leges 679 B.

4) Leges 743 D.

5) Leges 705 B.

6) Leges 831 C.

7) Leges 870 B.

8) Menon 78 E.

9) Menon 90 A.

10) See pp. 65—68.

11) Soph. 223 D.

into *αὐτοπωλική*, when a man sells the things he has made himself, and *μεταβλητική*, when other people's products are sold. This *μεταβλητική* is again divided into *καπηλική* and *ἐμπορική*. Plato defines *καπηλική* as *ἡ.. κατὰ πόλιν ἀλλαγή*, so selling in the town itself, while *ἐμπορική* is called *τὸ.. ἐξ ἀλλης εἰς ἀλλην πόλιν διαλλαττόμενον ὄντη καὶ πράσει* i.e. the conveying of goods from one town to the other with the purpose of selling them. Plato adds to this that *καπηλική* is practised about as frequently as *ἐμπορική*.

Similarly Plato says in another place¹⁾, when he wants to distinguish *κάπηλοι* and *ἐμπόροι*, that the former stay in the market to buy or to sell *πρὸς ὄντη τε καὶ πρᾶσιν διακονοῦντας ἴδρυμένους ἐν ἀγορᾷ*, while the *ἐμπόροι* go from one town to another (*πλανήτας ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις*).

Meaning of the term *ἐμπόρος* This meaning of the word *ἐμπόρος*, mentioned by Plato, is entirely in accordance with the original use of *ἐμπόρος* for "traveller" and *ἐμπορεύεσθαι* for "travelling"²⁾. Entirely in accordance with this fact is the conclusion I have come to in my investigation into the meaning of *ἐμπόρος*. There where *ἐμπόρος*, in the authors discussed by me, is not used in the sense of "traveller", it always means "travelling trader", so "foreign trader", or "trader to foreign parts". This meaning is not equally clear in all places, but I have nowhere met *ἐμπόρος* in a connection where there could be no question of "foreign trader" or "trader to foreign parts"³⁾. The foreign trader naturally conveyed his goods nearly always by sea; this is however something accidental, not inherent in the meaning of the word⁴⁾. But, as has

1) Rep. 371 D.

2) See pp. 30, 40; according to Boisacq, Dict. Etym. de la langue Grecque there is also an etymological connection between *ἐμπόρος* and the words *πόδος* "road" and *πορεύεσθαι* "to take the road"; Zimmern, the Greek Commonwealth³ p. 317, on the ground of the etymology supposed by him, wrongly translates *ἐμπόρος* by "cross-channel man" as, apart from the questionable etymological explanation, *ἐμπόρος* does not especially mean "overseas trader"; see p. 55.

3) With a view to the town-state in these times we may speak of "foreign" i.e. in a foreign country, though to prevent misunderstanding, we had better substitute "town" for "country"; the word "trader" must here be taken in a very wide sense because, as has been pointed out before (see p. 38), every body who in some way or other, for instance by borrowing money, takes part in foreign trade may be called *ἐμπόρος*.

4) With regard to other words derived from the same root I have pointed out (see p. 55) that also overland-trade may be indicated by these.

been pointed out above¹⁾ in many places the translation "wholesale trader" for *ἐμπορος* appears to be impossible²⁾.

The trade of the *ἐμπορος*, the *ἐμπορία* is called by Aristotle³⁾ the Meaning of principal part of the *μεταβλητική τέχνη*⁴⁾, and he goes on: *καὶ ταύτης μέρη τρία, ναυκληρία φορτηγία παράστασις* διαφέρει δὲ τούτων ἐτεραν τῷ τὰ μὲν ἀσφαλέστερα εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πλειω πορίζειν τήν ἐπιαργίαν.

The various explanations given to these words are discussed by Hasebroek⁵⁾; he himself comes to the conclusion that Aristotle divides *ἐμπορία* into the following three parts: 1°. trading while using a ship of one's own (*ναυκληρία*), 2°. trading while conveying the goods in another man's ship (*φορτηγία*), 3°. selling the goods on the spot (*παράστασις*). The meaning of the last mentioned words of Aristotle is probably that the risk incurred by the *ναύκληρος* is greater than that of an *ἐμπορος* without a ship because not only the goods but also the ship of the former may incur danger; on the other hand the *ναύκληρος* has more opportunity of making profit because he has no transport-cost and even receives transport-cost from the *ἐμπόροι* that are sailing with him. When the goods are sold on the spot the risk is of course slight, but at the same time there is hardly any opportunity of making profit. This opinion of Hasebroek's is in my eyes very plausible. The great difference between his opinion and that of others lies especially in the fact that he does not

1) See p. 65—68.

2) The principal places in which *ἐμπορος* obviously means "foreign trader" or "trader on foreign parts" are: Semonides ed. Hiller fr. 16, 2; Aeschrio fr. 2, 1; Herodotus II, 39; *Διοσοὶ λόγοι*, Diels 636; Aristophanes Pax 296; Thucydides II, 67, 4; III, 74, 2; VI 31, 5; VII, 24, 2; Xenophon Cyr. VI, 2, 38; Anab. VI, 19; Hell. I, 6, 38; V, 1, 21; Ag. I, 21; Hiero IX, 9; Mem. III, 7, 6; Hipp. IV, 7; Econ. XX, 27; De Vect. III, 1, 4, 12 and 13; IV 6 and 40; V, 3; Antiphanes fr. 151, Kock II p. 73; fr. 168, Kock II p. 79; Menander fr. 67, Kock III p. 23; Plato fr. 183, Kock I p. 651; Lysias XVII, 5; XIX, 50; XXII, 17 and 21; Isocrates I, 19; XVII, 57; Demosthenes passim, see p. 80; Aeschines I, 40; Lycurgus c. Leocr. 15 and 18; Plato Rep. 317A and D; 525 C; Leges 831 E; 918B; 919 D; Gorg. 518 A; Protag. 313 C; 319 D; Soph. 223 E; 224 A and B; 231 D; Pol. 267 E; 289 E; Ep. 329 E; Aristoteles Pol. 1259 a 27; 1327 a 17; *Ἀθ' Πολ.* 51, 4 [Ar.] Econ. 1347 b 5; 1352 b 17.

3) Arist. Pol. 1258 b 21 sqq.

4) See p. 120.

5) J. Hasebroek, *Betriebsformen des griechischen Handels*, Hermes 1923 p. 405 sqq.

explain *φορτηγία* as the trade of the skipper who takes upon him the conveyance of goods the owner of which does not accompany him; for the trader himself always accompanied his goods.¹⁾

Though *ἐμπορία*, as well as *ἐμπορος*, is nearly always used to indicate trade to foreign parts, Aristotle in the above mentioned quotation uses this word in the general sense of "trade". In other places, too, it is used in this way, and it seems that the word *ἐμπορία* was especially chosen to indicate "trade" in general, when, in contrast with *καπηλεία*²⁾, nothing derogatory was intended. When for instance Isocrates observes that in former times the filling of a public office in Athens was not considered as a business, a means of enriching oneself, but as a public service, he expresses this by the words: *οὐ γὰρ ἐμπορίαν ἀλλὰ λειτουργίαν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι*³⁾. Also there where the same author says that those who give presents to princes consider this *οὐ δόσιν ἀλλ᾽ ἐμπορίαν*⁴⁾ he uses *ἐμπορία* in the general sense of "trade". Because this word is used in a less derogatory sense than *καπηλεία* Plato, probably out of respect for the Gods, chooses the expression *τέχνη ἐμπορική* (and not *καπηλική*) to point out that man's piety towards the Gods is based on commercial motives of "do ut des"⁵⁾.

Meaning of
the terms
κάπηλος and
καπηλεία

A similar extension of meaning occurs in Plato himself with regard to the words *κάπηλος* and *καπηλεία*. While he explains *καπηλική*, as we saw above⁶⁾, as the selling of goods in the town itself, and while he calls *κάπηλοι* people who sit in the market to buy and to sell, he uses in another place *κάπηλος* in the sense of *κάπηλος καὶ ἐμπορος*. When for instance he compares the relation between a herald and a king with that between a *κάπηλος* and an *αὐτοπώλης*, he says that the similarity between them is that a herald as well as a *κάπηλος* take to other people the commands and the goods respectively, which they have got from a king or an *αὐτοπώλης*⁷⁾. Also in the further explanation

1) See p. 98. We need not wonder at the fact that Aristotle chooses another word than *καπηλεία*, because, contrary to Plato, he seldom uses the words *κάπηλος* and *καπηλεία*, cf. Newman, *The Politics of Aristotle* IV p. 167.

2) See p. 118.

3) Isocr. VII, 25.

4) Isocr. II, 1.

5) Plato Euthyphr. 14 E.

6) See p. 114.

7) Pol. 260 C.

added to this: πωλήθεντα πον πρότερον ἕογα ἀλλότρια παραδεχόμενοι δεύτερον πωλοῦσι πάλιν οἱ κάπηλοι¹⁾), κάπηλοι is used in the general sense of "traders". In the same way an ἔμπορος is mentioned in the Leges²⁾ in a place where καπηλεῖται is being discussed, and when for his ideal state Plato prescribes measures to restrict καπηλεία³⁾ he stipulates that no citizen is allowed to be a κάπηλος or an ἔμπορος⁴⁾). Plato calls those people ἀπαίδεντοι whose education has been directed to καπηλεία, τανκληρία and similar occupations⁵⁾; so here ἔμπορία is not even mentioned.

From the examples cited above it appears that by the side of the use of κάπηλος for a trader who sells his goods in the same town where he has bought them, κάπηλος is used in a wider sense for every trader who does not sell his own make nor the products of his own soil; this in contrast with αὐτοπώλης⁶⁾).

By the side of the above mentioned real and of the extended meaning of κάπηλος and other words of the same root, this root was also

1) Pol. 260 D.

2) Leges 918 B.

3) Leges 919 C.

4) Leges 919 D.

5) Leges 643 E.

6) The latter distinction is clearly expressed by the scholiast on Polit. 260 C: αὐτοπώλης πᾶς δ τὸ ἴδιον ἐργάζειον η̄ οἶνος η̄ σῖτον ἐξ οίκειον γεωργίου πιπράσκων δε παρὰ τούτων ἀγοράζων η̄τοι ὀνομάνετος καὶ πιπράσκων ἄλλοις κάπηλος λέγεται.

About in the same way as has been mentioned above the words ἔμπορος and κάπηλος are explained in the scholia on Aristophanes Plutus 1155 which run as follows: πέτρε εἰσὶν αἱ διαφοραὶ τῶν πωλούντων, αὐτοπώλης, κάπηλος, ἔμπορος, παλιγκάπηλος, μεταβολεύς. καὶ ξεινοὶ αὐτοπώλης μὲν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἴδιᾳ χώρᾳ πωλῶν τὴν ξενιοῦ πρόσοδον. κάπηλος δὲ δὲ ἀγοράζων ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοπώλου καὶ πωλῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ δὲ η̄ ἡγόρασσεν. ἔμπορος δὲ δὲ ἀγοράζων καὶ ἐπὶ ξένης πωλῶν [η̄ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοπώλου η̄ ἀπὸ τοῦ καπήλου]. παλιγκάπηλος δὲ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔμπορου ἀγοράζων καὶ πωλῶν. μεταβολεύς δὲ δὲ κατὰ τὴν κοινήν πωλῶν ὥσπερ οἱ νῦν λεγόμενοι κάπηλοι. εἰρηται δὲ παρὰ τὸ συνεχῶς μεταβάλλειν. καὶ αὗται μέν εἰσι αἱ οημασίαι κυρίως τῶν πωλούντων. καταχρησιῶς δὲ πᾶς πωλῶν κάπηλος λέγεται.

So in these scholia a general use of κάπηλος is indicated, which comprises all kinds of traders, even the αὐτοπώλης. So this extends even farther than the general use of κάπηλος, mentioned by Plato. Entirely in accordance with this and with the scholion on Plato Pol. 260 C cited above are the words which the scholiast on Aristophanes Pax 447 uses in explanation of the expression κάπηλος ἀσπίδων, viz. οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀσπίδας ποιῶν, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἄλλων λαμβάνων καὶ πωλῶν. καπήλους γάρ φασι πάντας τοὺς μεταβόλους.

The terms *κάπηλος*, *καπηλεία* and *καπηλεύειν* used especially to accentuate the contempt of this trade used if contempt of the trade had to be emphasized¹⁾. For instance, Plato calls the study of the number a useful occupation, at least if we occupy ourselves with it for the sake of widening the scope of our mind, and not to *καπηλεύειν*²⁾. After having spoken of falsifying cognate theme³⁾). While Isocrates, as has been discussed above⁴⁾, speaks of *ἐυπορία* in people who give presents to princes, he later on compares the trade of these same people with *καπηλεύειν* when he wants to accentuate the cunning element in their work⁵⁾.

The use of the terms *καπηλάπηλος* and *μεταβολεῖς* To express intense contempt the compound *παλιγκάπηλος* was also used⁶⁾. For instance in the *Plutus* Aristophanes makes Carion turn away the God Hermes who offers his services for trade, in the following contemptuous words: "We are rich, so why should we keep a 'Ερμῆς *παλιγκάπηλος*⁷⁾. When Demosthenes wants to express his contempt of the selling of corn by retail which takes place under the direction of Cleomenes, governor of Egypt⁸⁾, he uses the expression *παλιγκαπηλεύειν*⁹⁾. In another place¹⁰⁾ the same author speaks of a *κάπηλος πονηρίας* and then uses the climax *παλιγκάπηλος καὶ μεταβολεῖς* to enforce his words¹¹⁾.

1) See also p. 30.

2) Rep. 525 D.

3) Leges 918 A.

4) See p. 116.

5) Isocr. III, 1; cf. Pollux VI, 128 where *ποροβοσκός* is mentioned as the first of the *βίοι ἐφ' οἷς ἀν τις ὀνειδισθεῖται*, and *κάπηλος* as the second.

6) On the meaning cf. scholia ad Arist. Plut. 1155 cited above; Pollux VII 12: *τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τι πιράσκειν ἀναπολεῖν καὶ ἀναπιπράσκειν λέγονται, καὶ τὸ ἔγον τὸ δέ τε δεύτερον ἀνάπρασιν καὶ τοὺς τοῦτο ποιοῦντας ἀναπιπράσκοντας καὶ ἀναπωλοῦντας, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον πιρασκόμενα ἀναπωλούμενα καὶ ἀναπιπράσκομενα παλίμπορατα ἡ παλίμπολα, καὶ δι ταῦτα πωλῶν παλίμπολος καὶ παλιγκάπηλος; Suidas s.v. παλιγκάπηλος δι μεταπράτης; Hesychius s.v. παλιγκάπηλος: δι μετάβολος. δι τὸ αὐτὸ δει ἀγοράζων καὶ πωλῶν; Photius s.v. παλιγκάπηλος: σκοτεινῷ. τὸ γὰρ πάλιν ἐπίτασιν δηλοῖ, ὡς παλιγκάπηλος καὶ παλίμπρατος.*

7) Ar. Plut. 1155.

8) See pp. 125 and 126.

9) Dem. LVI, 7.

10) [Dem.] XXV, 46.

11) Cf. Pollux VI, 127 where a *κίναιδος* is called a *παλιγκάπηλος τοῦ οὐαλλοντος*. On the meaning of *μεταβολεῖς* cf. scholia ad Arist. Plut. 1155, cited above; Pollux I, 50: *εμπόροι καὶ κάπηλοι καὶ μεταβολεῖς, οἱ δόθοι τι πράσπιτοντες. οἱ δὲ καθήμενοι, βάνανσοι; Suidas and Photius s.v. μετάβολοι: πραγματευταί, μεταπράται.*

With regard to the objects of trade the following appears from Plato: Objects of trade
 Plato himself sends to Dionysius of Syracuse twelve small jars of sweet wine, two small jars of honey and he mentions the sending of figs ¹⁾. This was rather meant as a present for the children of Dionysius; still we may learn from it what goods were often sent from Athens.

As data for the slave-trade we may take the fact that according to Plato some people, prompted by greed, betake themselves to kidnapping and sell their victims as slaves ²⁾. In another place he discusses the fact that a father sells his son or daughter, in order to gain possession of money ³⁾.

1) Ep. 361 A.

2) Rep. 575 B.

3) Rep. 589 E.

XV ARISTOTLE

It is especially in Aristotle's *Politics* and in the *Economica* ascribed to Aristotle that we can find a few data that are of some importance for our research. We must however be aware of the fact that the last mentioned work with its motley of stories, tinged with anecdote, takes us to a time and to circumstances widely different from those in which Aristotle lived; Riezler for instance, when discussing the *Economica*, declares ¹⁾: "In dieser Sammlung liegt ein ausserordentlich heterogenes Stück Überlieferung vor. Sie erstreckt sich zeitlich über vier Jahrhunderte, örtlich von Syrakus bis Mesopotamien von Aegypten zum Schwarzen Meer".

In the *Politics* Aristotle has expounded his opinion on trade and traders.

He distinguishes the art of acquisition (*πιητική*) into the natural part which looks after the things necessary to life, which comprises agriculture, cattle-breeding and hunting ²⁾, and on the other hand *χρηματιστική* which knows no bounds ³⁾, which in another place ⁴⁾ he calls *μεταβλητική*. But in the course of his argument he uses *μεταβλητική* to indicate the exchange traffic that has the object of getting things that are necessary, while by *καπηλική* he indicates the exchange traffic that has the object of making profit ⁵⁾. The exchange traffic which was practised in the original family-community and which in Aristotle's time still occurred among many uncivilized tribes, exchanging goods meant for use such as wine for corn, and only in quantities necessary for use, is called *μεταβλητική* by him ⁶⁾. When this exchange traffic began to extend over more and more

1) K. Riezler, *Ueber Finanzen und Monopole im alten Griechenland*, Berlin 1907 p. 39.

2) *Pol.* 1256 b 26 sqq.

3) *Pol.* 1256 b 40 sqq.

4) *Pol.* 1257 a 6 sqq.

5) *Pol.* 1257 a 14 sqq.

6) *Pol.* 1257 a 19 sqq.

distant regions and so the inevitable consequence was the ensuing use of money, *καπηλική* came into existence¹⁾. The object of this *καπηλική* is the acquisition of gold and riches and its task is to find out in what way the greatest profit may be got out of the object of exchange²⁾. This *καπηλική* which comprises all branches of trade equally is disapproved of by Aristotle because it is unnatural, has riches for its object and knows no bounds³⁾. The money trade (*δρολοστατική* or *τοκισμός*) which is still more remote from nature and which uses money not only as a means but also as a purpose is, according to Aristotle, "justly hated"⁴⁾.

This conception of trade and trader appears also in other places of his work. Of the democracies mentioned by Aristotle⁵⁾ he prefers such a one as consists for the greater part of husbandmen; somewhat less preferable is the one the inhabitants of which principally do cattle-breeding⁶⁾; but far worse are the other democracies, i. a. those that consist principally of merchants, because the life of these is bad and is in no way connected with virtue⁷⁾.

On the other hand Aristotle acknowledges the necessity for all states to buy and to sell what each state wants; for this is the easiest way to self-sufficiency (*αὐτάρκεια*), which each state should strive after⁸⁾. Therefore he deems it necessary that the state, by means of its magistrates, superintends the trading transactions and the good order in the market⁹⁾. So he does not shrink from advising to distribute the remainder of the revenue of the state among the *ἄποροι* to serve trade or agriculture¹⁰⁾. He also thinks it detrimental to the

1) Pol. 1257 a 30 sqq.

2) Pol. 1257 b 4 sqq.

3) Pol. 1258 a 37 sqq; cf. Newman, *The Politics of Aristotle* p. 131 note: Aristotle seems to regard *καπηλική* *χρηματιστική* as being little else than systematic cornering; cf. *ibid.* p. 135 note.

4) Pol. 1258 b 1 sqq.

5) Pol. 1318 b 5 sqq.

6) Pol. 1319 a 19 sqq.

7) Pol. 1319 a 24 sqq. According to Ar. Pol. 1278 a 25 there was in Thebes a law that no man who in ten preceding years had occupied himself with market trade, was allowed to fill an office.

8) Pol. 1321 b 14 sqq.

9) Pol. 1321 b 12.

10) Pol. 1319 b 39.

whole town if something is stolen in the harbour¹⁾). Among the five subjects which have to be discussed in the common interest he mentions i.a. *περὶ τῶν εἰσαγομένων καὶ ἐξαγομένων*²⁾; and further he says³⁾, that it should be a subject of careful consideration how much the town itself may yield in victuals, and the import and export of what goods is necessary in the interest of the citizens, that contracts may be concluded with those who may be of assistance in these things.

This conception is very evident in the ideal state outlined by him. He wants this state to be as much as possible *αὐτάρκης*⁴⁾ and the communication with the sea as well as with the interior to be good⁵⁾.

Trade and traders in Aristotle's ideal state

So here he differs from Plato, who thinks a great distance from the sea necessary for the best town. This is what Aristotle i.a. alludes to when he declares⁶⁾ that according to some people the consequence of communication with the sea will be that the morals of the town will be corrupted by foreigners educated to other morals, who will come into the town, and by *ξυνοροι* that travel all over the world. He then states as his own opinion⁷⁾ that, if the morals are not corrupted by the traders, communication with the sea is useful for a town for the sake of safety as well as of import and export. The import should however be restricted to the goods wanted by the citizens, and only things of which they have a plentitude shall be exported. For the town may be a commercial town for itself, says Aristotle⁸⁾, but not for others. He criticizes the love of gain of those states that open markets for all people in order to increase their income; he prefers to take example by those towns where the dockyards and harbours are situated in such a way that they do not form part of the town and are not too far removed from it either. He thinks one might further prevent incidental bad influence of the tradespeople by fixing by law which persons are and which are not allowed to have intercourse with each other. With regard to the

1) Problem. XXIX, 14.

2) Rhetor. 1359 b 22 sqq.

3) Ibid. 1360 a 12 sqq.

4) Pol. 1326 b 27 sqq.

5) Pol. 1327 a 4 sqq.

6) Pol. 1327 a 11 sqq.

7) Pol. 1327 a 18 sqq.

8) Pol. 1327 a 28 sqq.

arrangement of the *ἀγορά* he demands ¹⁾ that there shall be one *ἀγορά* in which the state buildings and the temples will be situated, after the example of Thessalia where this *ἀγορά* was called *εἰλευθερά*; in this *ἀγορά* no merchandise may be sold ²⁾. Apart from this the trade market is to have good communication with sea and land ³⁾, and in its neighbourhood the magistrates who regulate the market-traffic are to reside ⁴⁾.

From these observations it is evident that he considers buying and selling necessary for all states, even for the best state imagined by him. The citizens of this state however are not allowed to be *ἀγοραῖοι*, because such a life is ignoble ⁵⁾. We need not wonder at this if we hear that even agriculture must not be practised by the citizens, that their time may not be taken up by it.

So though, after the example of Plato, he equally disapproves of every kind of trade, he is less rigorous than the latter in the consequences of this disapproval and he is more convinced than Plato of the impossibility of eliminating traffic for any state.

As I have observed above ⁶⁾ Aristotle hardly ever uses the word *κάπηλος*. It is typical of his attitude of mind that he uses the words ^{Use of the term *ἀγοραῖος*} *τὸ ἀγοραῖον* and *οἱ ἀγοραῖοι* which often have a contemptuous meaning ⁷⁾, to indicate all groups of traders. When for instance he divides the people into groups ⁸⁾ he mentions i.a. *τὸ ἀγοραῖον* and in a further place he defines *τὸ ἀγοραῖον* ⁹⁾ as: *τὸ περὶ τὰς πράσεις καὶ τὰς ὀντὰς καὶ τὰς ἐμπορίας καὶ καπηλείας διατριβῶν*. So here *ἐμπορία* is mentioned as a part of *τὸ ἀγοραῖον*. But further ¹⁰⁾ he defines *τὸ ἀγοραῖον* as: *τὸ περὶ ὀντὴν καὶ πρᾶσιν διατριβῶν* and he mentions *τὸ ἐμπορικὸν* among the special group indicated as *τὸ περὶ τὴν θάλατταν*. So according to this grouping, *ἐμποροι* did not from part of

1) Pol. 1331 a 30 sqq.

2) See p. 71.

3) Pol. 1331 b 1 sqq.

4) Pol. 1331 b 6.

5) Pol. 1328 b 39 sqq.

6) See p. 116.

7) See p. 30.

8) Pol. 1289 b 32 sqq.

9) Pol. 1291 a 4.

10) Pol. 1291 b 19 sqq.

τὸ ἀγοραῖον or οἱ ἀγοραῖοι¹⁾). But when Aristotle speaks of ἀγοραῖον without ἔμποροι he means all groups of traders. For instance, as one of the democracies he mentions the one which consists entirely of ἀγοραῖοι ἀνθρώποι²⁾), and the citizens of the best state are not allowed to pass their lives as ἀγοραῖοι³⁾). When the magistrates of Lampsacus seize the opportunity of compelling their merchants to pay 50 % sale tax⁴⁾), the latter are called ἀγοραῖοι.

In the other authors where the term ἀγοραῖοι is used to indicate traders, they are mentioned by the side of or instead of κάπηλοι. Herodotus for instance mentions them by the side of κάπηλοι and χειρώνακτες⁵⁾), and another time by the side of κάπηλοι and prostitutes⁶⁾). Xenophon⁷⁾ uses a few times the word ἀγοραῖοι where κάπηλοι could be expected as well⁸⁾).

Monopolies In a different connection⁹⁾ I have mentioned the renting of all available olive presses by the philosopher Thales of Milet, who afterwards leased them out at a great price, when they were much in demand. In consequence of this observation Aristotle, from whom it has been borrowed,¹⁰⁾ declares that the acquisition of a monopoly (*μονοπωλία*) is a system for enriching oneself. And therefore, says he, some towns make use of this means when they are in want of money; they make a monopoly of the goods.

Hereby most of the monopolies, a few of which are mentioned in the *Economica*, are characterized; they are for the greater part selling-

1) In the *Economica*, too, ἔμποροι and ἀγοραῖοι are mentioned side by side in the army of the Athenian commander Timotheus.

2) Pol. 1319 a 28.

3) Pol. 1328 b 39.

4) [Ar.] Econ. 1347 a 32.

5) Herod. II, 141.

6) Herod. I, 93.

7) Xen. Cyr. I, 2, 3; De Vect. III, 13; in the former place this word is perhaps chosen because of the unfavourable meaning.

8) One would perhaps be inclined to suppose that especially market-traders are meant by ἀγοραῖοι but for the above cited place in Xenoph. De Vect. III, 13, where we hear of the building of *οἰκήσεις* and *πωλητήρια* in the Piraeus and in the town!

9) See p. 38.

10) Ar. Pol. 1259 a 19 sqq.

monopolies of a passing nature, only instituted for necessity's sake¹⁾.

Perhaps the monopoly given by the Byzantines to a certain *τραπεζίτης*, probably dating from the sixth century, was not of a passing nature²⁾. The monopoly of changing money was given to this man; he who changed money at another man's or for another man was threatened with confiscation.

More numerous are the examples of occasional selling-monopolies of the all-powerful state at the expense of its own subjects who by the very occasionality of each monopoly were never free from fear of repetitions, which could not but increase the uncertainty in the economical life. A striking example of this is the state of Selymbria³⁾ where a prohibition of exportation existed, dating from a time when there was want of corn. When the state wants corn it buys up the whole corn-stock and then abolishes the prohibition of exportation. When the price of the corn has risen by the impossibility of exporting it, the state sells it again and now can stipulate for a higher price.

Equally detrimental to the citizens was the proposal of the Athenian Pythocles⁴⁾ to buy the lead of the Laurian mines from the farmers at the market-price and then to sell it for six drachms.

A striking example of a monopoly in a foreign market in favour of the state is furnished by an observation of Cleomenes, governor of Egypt⁵⁾. For when there was scarcity of corn in various countries (in the years 330 to 328) under which Egypt hardly suffered at all, he prohibited the corn export from Egypt. When the corn was sold in the country for four drachms he bought it from the peasants at the same price they would have got from the merchants, though they offered him to reduce the price. So the Egyptian peasants did not suffer any loss by his tactics; but the foreign countries did, for if there had not been a prohibition of corn-exportation from Egypt the mutual rivalry of the exporters would have made them get cheaper corn from Egypt, which was so rich in corn; but now they had to pay Cleomenes eight times the cost price⁶⁾. So it stands

1) On this subject compare Riezler, *Op. cit.* vol. II.

2) [Ar.] *Econ.* 1346 b 24 sqq.

3) [Ar.] *Econ.* 1348 b 33 sqq.

4) [Ar.] *Econ.* 1353 a 15 sqq.

5) [Ar.] *Econ.* 1352 a 16 sqq.

6) [Ar.] *Econ.* 1352 b 14 sqq.

to reason that the Greeks on their side were greatly embittered against Cleomenes, as we see in Demosthenes¹⁾. We can see from the same author how this corn corner worked. Some members saw to the shipping off of the corn. Others looked after it during the transportation. The members living in Athens saw to the sale on the spot. The branch in Athens was continually sending quotations of prices to the branches in other places.

But except in the *Economica* there is hardly any mention of monopolies in Greek literature. Still, not only from the above quoted advice of the Athenian Pythocles but also from Aristophanes it appears that the cornering of goods and the acquisition of a monopoly was a not unusual phenomenon in Athens²⁾. In the *Equites* of Aristophanes namely³⁾ the sausage-dealer makes the proposal of forestalling a few dainties. But he does this from political rather than from economical motives. For, in order to gain the favour of the people, he intends to buy up all dishes, so that he may be the only person who can lay up large quantities of anchovy. And then he means to buy all the coriander and all the onions in the vegetable market, in order to divide them among the people as a condiment to the anchovy⁴⁾.

Opposition In the *Politics*⁵⁾ we also find an example of the fact that measures of the state were taken against a monopoly. In Sicily a certain man bought up all the iron from the smithies; consequently he was the only seller forestalling; to the *εμπόροι*; in this way he made a profit of a hundred talents on controlling of the prices fifty talents, though he had hardly raised the price. When the tyrant Dionysius hears of this, he allows the man to keep his money, but banishes him from Sicily.

In Greek authors we only hear of measures against forestalling in Athens when corn is concerned⁶⁾. But we do hear in Aristophanes of the intervening of the Athenian state in the quotation of salt at the time of the Peloponnesian war. For Aristophanes⁷⁾ discusses the short duration of the resolution *περὶ τῶν ἀλῶν*. Here the scholiast

1) Dem. LVI, 8.

2) On the cornering of corn see p. 82.

3) Aristoph. Eq. 650 sqq.

4) Aristoph. Eq. 676 sqq.

5) Pol. 1259 a 23 sqq.

6) See pp. 82 and 128.

7) Aristoph. Eccl. 814.

marks: ἐψηφίσαντο γὰρ αὐτοὺς (sc. τοὺς ἄλλας) εὐωνοτέρους εἶναι καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα ἀκνησον γέγονε; so the resolution to oppose the rising of the price of the salt had soon lost its effect, probably because great scarcity set in.

In the *Economica* some cases are also mentioned in which the state controls the prices to enrich the public treasury at the expense of foreigners or of its own citizens, so with an object entirely opposed to that mentioned above. For instance, when a large fleet was about to put into the harbour of Lampsacus ¹⁾, which fleet would have to be supplied with necessaries, the magistrates compelled the merchants to raise the price of barley from 4 to 6 drachms and that of a *χοῦς* of wine from 3 to 4½ drachms. The merchants had to hand over the extra profit to the state; so this profit may be regarded as a sale-tax of 50 %. In the same way the Athenian commander Chabrias advises to levy a sale-tax of 5½ % in Egypt ²⁾.

We must always bear in mind that nearly all that has been said in the preceding pages about monopolies and influence of the state on traffic has been borrowed from the *Economica*, and comprises various states and times ³⁾. As however by far the greatest part of the literature discussed by me gives information on the traffic of Athens it seems advisable here to add a discussion on the relation between the Athenian state and the trader, and its influence on traffic.

In the opinion of the ancients the state rules all sorts of relations so that there can be no question of absolute freedom in the case of trade. As we saw above ⁴⁾, Aristotle mentions import and export among the subjects that ought to be discussed in the general interest, and in another place ⁵⁾ it is regarded as part of the task of a good demagogue to know how much corn has to be imported into Athens every year. The corn trade was under the supervision of the state and was strictly regulated by some laws. He who, while living in Athens, conveyed corn to another harbour than that of Athens was liable to

1) [Ar.] *Econ.* 1347 a 32 sqq.

2) [Ar.] *Econ.* 1351 a 8; cf. Riezler I.c.

3) See p. 120.

4) See p. 122.

5) See p. 72.

heavy punishment¹⁾. Two thirds of the corn which the *εμποροι* brought to the Athenian harbour had to be put on the market in Athens itself²⁾. Every Athenian citizen and *μέτοικος* was forbidden to borrow money on a ship that did not return to Athens with corn or other goods³⁾. In Athens itself it was unlawful to buy more than fifty *φορραι* of corn⁴⁾. Tresspassers against this law were liable to death penalty⁵⁾.

Restriction of trade in time of war It goes without saying that in time of war the check of the state was even more strongly felt; and how seldom there was peace in Hellas! At the time of the Peloponnesian war the so-called Megarensian edict was proclaimed by Pericles, which excluded the Megarensians from all harbours and markets of the Attic alliance⁶⁾. So goods coming from Megara could be confiscated⁷⁾. Necessaries of war such as ship's apparel⁸⁾ and further victuals⁹⁾ might of course not be exported to the enemy¹⁰⁾. At the time of Philippus death penalty attached to a man who, like a bad patriot, was caught in

1) Dem. XXXIV, 37; XXXV, 50; Lycurgus c. Leocr. 27.

2) Arist. *Αθ. Πολ.* 51, 4.

3) Dem. XXXV, 51; LVI, 6; cf. Boeckh., op. cit. p. 71, who contests the opinion that this law should bear on the corn trade exclusively; cf. Lipsius, *Das Attische Recht* p. 854.

4) Lys. XXII, 5; see p. 82.

5) Lys. XXII, 18. Regarding the other states it appears from Andocides II, 1 that during the government of the "four hundred" Archelaus, king of Macedonia, only allowed him in his capacity of friend of the family to export as much wood for oars from Macedonia as he wanted; so a special permission was necessary for the export of wood from Macedonia. Herodotus V, 88 relates that even in early times products from Attica were interdicted in Aegina and Argos on the ground of so-called religious motives.

6) Aristoph. *Pax* 609; *Ach.* 533. Thuc. I, 67; cf. Plut. *Pericl.* 29.

7) Aristoph. *Ach.* 819.

8) Aristoph. *Ran.* 362; Eq. 278.

9) Aristoph. Eq. 282.

10) These goods were briefly called *ἀπόρρητα*, cf. Aristoph. *Ranae* 362 and Eq. 282; in the same way as the scholia on *Ranae* 362 explain *ἀπόρρητα* by *ἀπειρημένα ἔξαγεσθαι*.

In Aristophanes *Ach.* 916 the sycophant Nicarchus wants to indict the Boeotian for import of torches. From this we must however not conclude that at that time there was a general interdict on importing torches from Boeotia. As Nicarchus explains further he suspects the Boeotian of intending to set important state-buildings on fire; cf. however Boeckh, op. cit. p. 69.

the act of providing the enemy with arms or ship's apparel¹⁾.

By the side of the above mentioned regulations that restricted trade the interests of money-lenders and traders were served by the following laws and resolutions. According to Demosthenes²⁾ the son of an Athenian strategist was sentenced to death because in *foenus nauticum*³⁾ he had withdrawn the security from the lender. "And it is quite right, says pleader⁴⁾, that this penalty has been fixed, because such people do not harm one individual, but bring discredit on Athens' trade in general". *Naúkληροι* and *ἐπιβάται* who put a mortgaged ship into another harbour than the mortgagor had stipulated were liable to a heavy fine⁵⁾. Apparently⁶⁾ this law was often used by way of threat. When the person indicted was a foreigner he could be put in prison or be compelled to furnish security⁷⁾. False indictments against traders were punished by immediate imprisonment and other penalties⁸⁾. Imposing on traders was declared a fact liable to punishment in a special resolution⁹⁾.

Gradually the commercial law-suits (*δίκαι εμπορικαῖ*) were regulated greatly to the convenience of the traders. At the time of Lysias (in the year 397) these law-suits were still dealt with by the college of *ravtōdikai* in the winter months; these *ravtōdikai* were chosen every year¹⁰⁾. The disadvantage of this method was that if the law-suit had not been settled in winter, parties had to continue it in summer, or, and this is probably what happened in most cases, the law-suit was put off till the next winter and in that case was

Laws and regulations in Athens in the interest of money-lenders and traders

Commercial law-suits in Athens

1) Dem. XIX, 286.

2) Dem. XXXIV, 50.

3) See p. 92.

4) Dem. XXXIV, 51.

5) Dem. XXXIII, 1.

6) Dem. XXXV, 46; LVI, 4.

7) Dem. XXXII, 29; cf. Lipsius, op. cit. p. 633-34.

8) [Dem.] LVIII, 10; cf. Lipsius, op. cit. p. 328.

9) [Dem.] LVIII, 53; according to [Dem.] LVII, 30 that man is also liable to punishment who reproaches a citizen or citizenship with their trading in the market; cf. Lipsius op. cit. p. 648-49. In my opinion it is very unlikely that, as Hasebroek, Hermes 1923 p. 418 points out, this law should have been intended to prevent dishonest rivalry. According to the schol. ad Aristoph. Plut. 904 and Eccl. 1027, an *εμπορος* was exempt from military service and property tax; compare however Boeckh, op. cit. p. 109.

10) Lys. XVII, 8; see pp. 131 and 132.

heard by an entirely different college. As nearly everybody could assert that he was an *ἐμπορος*¹⁾ this afforded to many a chicaner an opportunity of drawing a law-suit out. To relieve this evil Xenophon proposes in his booklet "De Vectigalibus"²⁾ to promise prizes to those members of the *ἀρχή τοῦ ἐμπορίου* (by which he probably means the *ταντοδίκαι*) who solve in the justest and quickest way the differences between the traders. Soon after this (so between the years 355 and 342) this wish was fulfilled, for in the year 342 the commercial law-suits were *ἐμμηνοι δίκαι*³⁾, so law-suits that had to be settled within a month. These law-suits then took place between the months Boëdromion and Munychion, when sea-trade was usually⁴⁾ at a standstill⁵⁾.

In foreign countries the Athenian trader has to resort to the resolutions of foreign magistrates; Demosthenes speaks for instance of an Athenian ship on which a loan with foenus nauticum had been contracted and which was riding at anchor at Cephallenia⁶⁾. Part of the crew wanted to steer their course to Massilia, instead of sailing back to Athens, in order to take the ship out of the reach of the lenders in Athens; the magistrates of Cephallenia however decided in favour of the return to Athens⁷⁾.

The Athenian state exercised its authority over the traders by means of the following magistrates.

The
ἀγορανόμοι
in Athens

The college of the *ἀγορανόμοι*, five in the town and five in the Piraeus, was charged with the supervision of the market traffic; according to the *Ἄθηναίων Πολιτεία* of Aristotle they had to see to

1) Cf. Lys. 1.c.; see pp. 38 and 39.

2) Xen. De Vect. III, 3.

3) [Dem.] VII, 12.

4) See p. 14.

5) Dem. XXXIII, 23; cf. Dem. XXXII, 1; XXXIII, 1; XXXIV, 42, 45; XXXV, 46. That at the time of the *Ἄθηναίων Πολιτεία* of Aristotle the *δίκαι* *ἐμπορικά* were no longer *ἐμμηνοι*, as some people think, is not likely; the argument that in the *Ἄθ. Πολ.* (Cap. 52, 2) the *ἐμπορικά* are not mentioned among the *ἐμμηνοι δίκαι* is not convincing, for it is silent on the *τελωνικά* too; cf. Lipsius, op. cit. p. 87.

6) Dem. XXXII, 8 sqq.

7) The trader in a foreign country could of course also find support with the *πρόξενος* of his town; cf. Dem. LII, 5 and 10.

good merchandise being sold¹). Their task was further to look after the good order in the market²). In Aristophanes for instance their protection is called in by a female bread-seller for damage done to her goods³).

The *ἀγοραρόμοι* were assisted by the *μετρονόμοι* in the discharge of their function; these *μετρονόμοι*, also to the number of ten, had to see to good weights and measures being used⁴).

The selling of the corn did not take place under the supervision of the *ἀγοραρόμοι*; a special college of *οιτοφύλακες* had been appointed for this purpose⁵). This college, too, originally consisted of ten members, which number was increased to thirty five, viz. twenty for the town and fifteen for the Piraeus. According to Aristotle they had a triple task, viz. to see to the raw corn being sold at a reasonable price, to the millers charging the price of barley-flour conformably to the price of barley and lastly to the *ἀλφιτοπῶλαι* selling bread conformably to the price of wheat, while using the weights assigned by them⁶). According to Lysias however their sphere of action was wider and they had also to prevent the forestalling of corn⁷); dereliction of duty made them liable to penalty of death⁸). They were in the possession of lists on which the quantity of the imported corn was mentioned, undoubtedly to enable them better to control the corn-dealers⁹).

While the above mentioned magistrates were charged with the supervision of the *χάπηλοι*, the college of the *ναυτοδίκαι* had originally

The
μετρονόμοι
in Athens

The
οιτοφύλακες
in Athens

The
ναυτοδίκαι
in Athens

1) Ar. *'Αθ. Πολ.* 51, 1.

2) Aristoph. Ach. 824 and 968; cf. further Gilbert, op. cit. p. 288; Lipsius, op. cit. p. 93; Busolt, Gr. Staatsk. ³ p. 1118.

3) Aristoph. Vesp. 1407; Büchsenschütz, Besitz und Erwerb im griechischen Altertum p. 536 wrongly takes *βλάβη* in this place for: damage done by the seller.

4) Ar. *'Αθ. Πολ.* 51, 2; cf. Gilbert, op. cit. p. 289; Lipsius, op. cit. p. 95; Busolt, op. cit. p. 1119.

5) Cf. Gilbert, op. cit. p. 289; Lipsius, op. cit. p. 96; Busolt, op. cit. p. 1119.

6) Ar. *'Αθ. Πολ.* 51, 3.

7) Lys. XXII, 16; see p. 82.

8) Lys. 1.c.

9) Dem. XX, 32. In exceptional circumstances a college of *οιτῶραι* or one *οιτόνης* was occasionally chosen for the purchase of corn; so for instance Demosthenes after the battle of Chaeronea, cf. Dem. XVIII, 248; cf. Busolt, op. cit. p. 433.

been instituted for the *ἐμποροι*¹⁾. This college, which probably consisted of ten members and which was chosen every year anew, at the time of Lysias instructed the law-suits of the *ἐμποροι* during the winter-months²⁾. At the time of Demosthenes³⁾ their task had been taken over by the Thesmothetes⁴⁾.

The *ἐμποροι* ^{ἐπιμεληται}¹¹⁾ in Athens The *ἐμποροι* were superintended by the ten *ἐμποροιν* *ἐπιμεληται* who looked after the Athenian shipping-port and had to see to the exercising of the laws concerning import and export. Aristotle⁵⁾ only mentions their most important task, viz. to see to two thirds of the corn unloaded by the *ἐμποροι* in the *σιτικον* *ἐμποροιν*⁶⁾ being conveyed to the town itself. According to Demosthenes, indictments on the ground of two laws discussed above⁷⁾, containing an interdict on conveying the corn to another place than Athens and on borrowing money on a ship that did not return to Athens with corn or other goods, were also lodged with the secretary of the *ἐμποροιν* *ἐπιμεληται*⁸⁾ or with the harbour-masters⁹⁾.

The revenues of the Athenian state from trade The revenues which the Athenian state got from trade can only be touched on slightly in this connection, while the questionable points cannot be gone into here¹⁰⁾.

In general the following may be said:

The state claimed 2 % of the value of all goods imported or exported in the Athenian harbour, as import and export duties (*πεντηκοστη*). It is uncertain whether harbour-dues (*ἐλλιμένιον*) existed by the side of these, or that *ἐλλιμένιον* must be identified

1) See p. 129.

2) Lys. XVII, 8; cf. Lipsius, op. cit. p. 86.

3) Dem. XXXIV, 45; Ar. *Aθ. Πολ.*, 59, 5.

4) That *ναυτοδίκαι* as well as Thesmothetes also dealt with the *γραφή ξενίας* proves that the number of foreigners among the *ἐμποροι* must have been very great; see pp. 79 and 80.

5) Ar. *Aθ. Πολ.* 51, 4.

6) I.e. a part of the harbour where the corn was unloaded; cf. ed. Sandys I.c.

7) See pp. 127 and 128.

8) [Dem.] LVIII, 8.

9) Dem. XXXV, 51.

10) Discussed at length with statement of literature by Boeckh, op. cit. p. 382—395; Gilbert, op. cit. p. 391—394.

with πεντηκοστή¹⁾). In the market a market-due (*ἀγοραῖον τέλος*) was levied by the *ἀγοραρόμοι* or their subordinates; all details were arranged by a *νόμος ἀγοραρομικός*, i. a. the amount that had to be paid for each kind of merchandise²⁾). Apart from this is the stall-money (*ξενικὸν τέλος*), which had to be paid by foreigners exclusively for trading in the market³⁾). It is probable that by the side of the *ἀγοραῖα τέλη* there was a gateway-due (*διαπύλιον*), which was raised on all goods conveyed to the town through the gateways; so only *διαπύλιον* was raised on the goods if they were taken at once to a private house, but both *διαπύλιον* and *ἀγοραῖον τέλος* if they were sold in the market⁴⁾). We cannot decide with any certainty whether the purchase-due (*ἐπώνιον*) which was levied in various Greek states to the amount of 1 % may be identified with the *ἐκατοστή* mentioned by some Greek authors⁵⁾).

As long as we have no greater certainty about the money levied in the Athenian harbour it is impossible to draw an important conclusion from a place in Andocides⁶⁾ from which it appears that in the year 401/0 the import and export duties in the Piraeus were leased out for thirty talents and in the next year for thirty six talents. From the fact that these duties amounted to 2 % (πεντηκοστή) Beloch has concluded⁷⁾ that the import and export in the harbour of Athens must at that time have amounted to at least 1500 to 1800 talents a year. He adds to this "Erhebungskosten, Defraudationen, Zollfreien Eingänge und den Gewinn der Zollpächter" and so gets a balance of trade of about 2000 talents⁸⁾). As Attica had no hinterland, Beloch

Nature and extent of traffic in Athens

1) As among others J. H. Thiel, *Klio* XXI, 1, makes plausible, in contrast with Boeckh.

2) That this amount varied and therefore the *ἀγοραῖον τέλος* cannot be regarded as stall-money appears from Aristoph. Ach. 896 and the schol.; cf. also schol. ad Ilias XXI, 203.

3) Dem. LVII, 34.

4) Cf. Daremberg et Saglio s.v. *ἀγοραῖα τέλη* and *διαπύλιον*.

5) Aristoph. Vesp. 658; [Xen.] Resp. Ath. I, 17; cf. Pauly—Wissowa R.E. s.v. *ἐπώνιον*.

6) And. I, 133.

7) J. Beloch, *Die Handelsbewegung im Altertum*, *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik* 1899 p. 626—631; cf. also his *Griechische Geschichte* III, 1, 2e Aufl. p. 324 sqq.

8) Beloch further calculates that in money-value this corresponds to at least 33 million marks and as he estimates the number of inhabitants at 150.000

argues, all things imported in the Piraeus were meant for consumption in Attica itself and the articles for export were Attic products. On the ground of a supposition of Boeckh¹⁾ that a special harbour-due (*ἐλληνίον*) was levied on ships the cargo of which was not unloaded for the Athenian market he concludes that the aforesaid 30 and 36 talents had been exclusively levied on goods that had been imported or exported in Athens. The fact that Athens was entirely thrown on its own resources since the end of the Peloponnesian war proved, according to Beloch, that its import was more or less covered by its export. On the basis of a place in Demosthenes²⁾ Beloch further proves that in Athens the import of corn only amounted to 800.000 medimni (± 400.000 H. L.) in the middle of the fourth century and further he refers to "das Verzeichnis der Einfuhrartikel" in Hermippus³⁾. For the balance of trade of part of the Attic empire in the year 413 he finally points to a citation from Thucydides⁴⁾ from which it appears that in this year the Athenians claimed, instead of the usual tribute, an amount of 5 % of the value of all goods imported or exported in the harbours of the allies. As the Athenians had the object of increasing their revenues in this way and as in those years the tribute amounted to about a thousand talents, the import and export in the harbours of the allies must at that time have amounted to at least twenty thousand talents. The balance of trade in Attica itself is not included in this sum, nor is that of the three principal islands of the Aegean Sea viz. Chius, Lesbus and Samus who did not pay any tribute.

These data were meant by Beloch to prove the falseness of a statement by Bücher⁵⁾: "dasz weder bei den Antiken Völkern noch im früheren Mittelalter die Gegenstände des täglichen Bedarfs einen

he concludes from this that there was a balance of trade of at least 220 marks per head (Kopfquote). But as a few disputable questions arise in the changing of the value of the old coins into contemporary money and in the fixing of the number of inhabitants, I shall not enter into this calculation.

1) Boeckh, op. cit. p. 388.

2) Dem. XX, 32.

3) Discussed by me on pp. 74—76.

4) Thuc. VII, 28, 4.

5) K. Bücher, Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft² p. 81; maintained in the 16e Auflage 1922 I p. 111.

regelmäszigen Austausch unterlagen. Seltene Naturprodukte und¹⁾ gewerbliche Erzeugnisse von hohem spezifischen Wert bilden die wenigen Handelsartikel". "Sollen wir denn wirklich glauben, says Beloch, eine Familie von 5 Köpfen hätte im Durschschnitt 1000 M. auf Luxusartikel verwendet, in einer Zeit, wo Athen wirtschaftlich so tief danieder lag? . . . Es ist also klar dasz Luxusartikel nur ein kleinen Teil der Einfuhr bilden konnten; in der Hauptsache bestand die Einfuhr, ganz wie in den heutigen Industrieländern, in Nahrungsstoffen und in Rohmaterial für die Industrie"; here he then draws the attention to the above mentioned place in Demosthenes. "Für die Ausfuhr", says Beloch, "kam von Bodenprodukten im wesentlichen nur das Oel im Betracht; das übrige waren Industrie-erzeugnisse, und zwar, da es sich um so grosze Beträge handelt, in der Hauptsache offenbar Artikel für den Massenkonsum".

Against this various objections might be put forward, and Bücher has not refrained from attacking the observations of Beloch in a fierce article²⁾. Bücher points out that it is very dangerous to draw a conclusion from the place in Andocides, because it is emended and because moreover various levies are perhaps reckoned in these 30 and 36 talents that should be subtracted from them in the calculation of import and export. Hereby all conclusions one might come to by the citation from Andocides fall away³⁾.

I agree with Bücher that a place like the one in Andocides, which gives us so little certainty, should not be used as an argument, unless it is supported by other data. Of the three other places in support of Beloch's theory Bücher only uses the fragment of Hermippus and thinks that from this we may not draw any conclusions with regard to trade; he compares with it German expressions like "Schweizerkäse", "Rüdesheimer Wein", "Nürnberger Lebkuchen", "Saazer Hopfen" or "Leipziger Gose". In my opinion Bücher here overshoots the mark. If an Athenian comic writer mentions various kinds

1) Here Bücher inserts in the 16e Auflage: "vereinzelt auch".

2) K. Bücher, a contribution to: *Festgaben für A. Schäffle* 1901; afterwards reprinted in: *Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1922 p. 17 sqq.

3) In my opinion Bücher is right in saying, even if the citation from Andocides should not contain any ambiguousness, that Beloch has been too much led by "merkantilistischen Ideen über die Handelsbilanz". Moreover Beloch ought to have taken into account the slave-trade, as Bücher points out.

of articles which a *ταύχλητος* takes with him from various places it is but natural to assume that these articles were really imported into the Piraeus from those places¹⁾ and were known to the Athenian public. The comparison with "Schweizerkäse" for instance does not hold good because, in consequence of our international relations the public has been made acquainted with Swiss cheese by the press and by literature even in those countries where it is not imported; so in consequence of this in our time an expression like "Swiss cheese" will be at once understood in a country where Swiss cheese is not consumed. But in my opinion it is unlikely that in Athens a comic writer should mention *χαντός* from Cyrene and *σκορπιός* from the Hellespont, unless these articles were imported into Athens itself.

But in my eyes Bücher is quite right when he remarks that the list of Hermippus only mentions slaves, dainties²⁾ and articles of luxury, and that beside hides no goods that might serve as raw material for industry are mentioned anywhere.

Nor do the two other places mentioned by Beloch and not discussed by Bücher furnish a single argument for this. From the citation from Demosthenes it appears (as we have seen before³⁾ that a great deal of corn was imported into Athens, and from Thucydides we cannot draw any conclusion for Athens itself as regards the import of raw material for industry⁴⁾.

From my own investigation it appears that, apart from these places, we hardly ever hear in the Greek authors discussed by me of a regular import of raw material that might have served for the Athenian industry, except of wood for ship-building⁵⁾.

And yet Bücher's statement, too, is in my eyes not quite complete when he says that three kinds of goods were regularly conveyed to

1) The question whether they were sold in Athens or were bartered away among the traders will be discussed below; see p. 138.

2) The corn (*χόρδας*) from Thessalia and the cheese from Syracuse for instance were probably intended for gastronomers!

3) See pp. 72, 77—79 and 98—100.

4) Even the hides mentioned in Dem. XXIV, 10 and the goatskins and wool of Dem. XXXV, 34 are probably not intended for Athens, as Bücher supposes, but only an occasional cargo.

5) See pp. 43 and 64; an occasional remark on iron (see pp. 36, 43 and 73) can in my opinion hardly be of any importance in this connection.

Athens, viz. corn, luxuries¹⁾ and materials for ship-building. For it seems to me that salt-fish, too, was regularly taken to Athens; for indications of this as well as of the luxuries we must chiefly turn to the comic writers²⁾.

What Bücher observes about the export seems to me quite right. Like Beloch he takes oil for the principal product of the soil that was exported. Products of Attic industry however that served as staple commodities for the export trade, in the way supposed by Beloch, are, according to Bücher, not mentioned in a single place, unless earthenware that was used in the wine trade should be reckoned among them. Bücher also considers it an unproved fact that there should have been an Attic manufacture of arms as a consequence of the interdict on providing king Philippus with arms, which I have discussed above³⁾. Of course there were some Attic products that had a certain reputation. "Honingkuchen, says Bücher, und wohlriechende Salben, Trinkbecher und Brustharnische, Tonfiguren, Schuhe; wer auf seine Reisen nach Athen kam, mochte dergleichen seinen Freunden als Geschenk mitbringen. Man konnte in Athen als Fremder sein Geld so gut loswerden, wie heute in Paris oder Nizza". But these articles were probably not regarded as important articles of trade⁴⁾.

To bear out his opinion Bücher alleges the following argument against Beloch: "Es sind uns bei Thukydides und Xenophon so vielfach Beratungen der Volksversammlung über Krieg und Frieden überliefert; wo ist in den dabei im Wortlaut mitgeteilten Meinungsäußerungen der Parteimänner, wo in den Reden des Demosthenischen Zeitalters ja auch nur eine Anspielung auf die Exportinteressen der Athenischen Grossindustrie zu finden, wo in den Bedingungen der Friedensverträge auch nur eine, die auf die künftige Sicherung auswärtiger Absatzgebiete für die Industrie hinauslief?"

In my investigation into the various authors I have no more than

1) Bücher uses the hardly translatable expression: Mittel feineren Lebensgenusses.

2) See pp. 75, 76; I suppose Bücher does not reckon this among the "Mittel feineren Lebensgenusses", as the *τάρηξος* was not exactly the food of the rich.

3) See p. 128.

4) Perhaps one might conclude from Xenophon, Mem. III, 10, 9 and Aristoph. Pax 1255 that breast-plates were exported from Athens; the extent of this export can however not be ascertained.

Bücher found anywhere a citation of this kind. An important place was given to *ἐμπορία* in Athens by some authors though¹⁾ and *ἐμπόροι* were often mentioned²⁾. Xenophon for instance mentioned as an advantage of peace that *ταύχληροι* and *ἐμπόροι* would come to Athens again³⁾. How can we explain this if apparently no raw materials for the industry were imported and no staple products were exported? The *ἐμπόροι* that are so frequently mentioned in most cases fetched their goods from elsewhere and took them to Athens. Here in the Piraeus the exchange for other goods took place, that had in the same way been transported from foreign countries. Or they were sold in the Piraeus for Athenian coins, which were readily accepted everywhere⁴⁾. For in the flourishing period of Greece Athens, or rather the Piraeus, was an important centre of trade, as I have discussed at length above⁵⁾; Bücher says with regard to this: "Wie heute in Nischny-Nowgorod oder Irbit die Völker des unermeslichen Zarenreiches und ihre Nachbarn zusammenströmen, so trafen sich in dem attischen Emporion die an der Wasserkante wohnenden Stämme des weit zerstreuten Hellenenvolkes, die Phöniker, vielleicht auch einzelne Italiker, um ihre nicht überall in genügender Menge vorkommenden Ueberschuszprodukte gegen einander auszutauschen."

So in my opinion Bücher's answer to the article of Beloch is, apart from a few details, quite in accordance with the image the Greek authors give us of the trade of Athens. But let us bear in mind what the starting-point was! Beloch's object was, as we have seen, to prove the inaccuracy of the above cited statement of Bücher⁶⁾ in his "Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft", in which he denies that there should have been a regular exchange of daily necessities of life among the ancients. While contesting this opinion Beloch has in my opinion overshot the mark on the other side by speaking of "Rohmaterial für die Industrie" and "Artikel für den Massenkonsum", and further by drawing a picture that is not in accordance

1) See pp. 30, 42, 68, 69 and 81.

2) See pp. 42, 68, 69, 74, 79 and 80.

3) Xen. De Vect. V, 3.

4) Xen. De Vect. III, 1 and 2.

5) See p. 43—45.

6) See p. 134.

with the data from Greek authors. And yet Bücher too, while contesting Beloch's arguments, has acknowledged that corn i. a. was imported into Athens in large quantities; in this connection he might in my opinion also have mentioned salt-fish¹⁾. Now Bücher asserts, when he catches Beloch using "Luxusartikel" as identical with "Seltene Naturprodukte und gewerbliche Erzeugnisse von hohem, spezifischem Werte", that in Attica even corn and wood for shipbuilding might be counted among "Seltene Naturprodukte". Even if this last assertion of Bücher's is right he will have to acknowledge on the other hand that here in Athens there was apparently a regular trade in "Gegenstände des täglichen Bedarfs"; at the same time his statement "Seltene Naturprodukte und gewerbliche Erzeugnisse von hohem spezifischen Wert bilden die wenigen Handelsartikel" must be characterized as at least misleading, as far as the flourishing period of Athens is concerned. The inaccuracy of Bücher consists in my opinion in the fact that he regards the whole classic time with its rise, flourishing period and fall as one whole. Perhaps it would have been more accurate if he had compared the Middle Ages with the Middle Ages of Greek culture, with the Homeric period.

1) See p. 137.

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STELLINGEN

I

In den bloeitijd van het oude Griekenland vertoonde de handel niet den vorm van groothandel.

II

Het essentieel verschil tusschen de termen *εμπορος* en *καπηλος* moet niet in den omvang van de koopwaar gezocht worden.

III

Gewoonlijk wordt door de Grieksche auteurs een handelaar, ook indien hij eigenaar van een schip is, niet met *ναύκληρος* maar met *εμπορος* aangeduid. Slechts waar een handelaar als eigenaar van een schip optreedt, wordt hij *ναύκληρος* genoemd.

IV

Met het door Josephus B. J. III, 1, 3 genoemde *Αλεξανδρεία* is het Egyptische Alexandria bedoeld (cf Mommsen, Röm. Gesch. V, 533).

V

De door Wilhelm Götz (Klio 1920 p. 187 sqq.) aangehaalde inscriptie uit Priene maakt het niet aannemelijk dat het college der *οικοφύλακες* ten tijde van Lysias uit drie leden bestond.

VI

Voor het bestaan van een passenstelsel in Athene is in Aristophanes (Aves 1208, cf schol. ad 1213) geenerlei aanwijzing te vinden (cf. Boeckh, Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener 3I p. 263).

VII

Isaeus VI, 46: *καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κλήρου τοῦ Εὐκτήμονος πέμπτον μέρον*

Men leze: *ἐν μέρει*.

VIII

Soph. Oed. Tyr. 190 sqq:

**Αρεά τε τὸν μαλερόν, δις νῦν ἄχαλκος ἀσπίδων φλέγει με περιβόατος ἀντιάζων, παλίσσαντον δράμημα νωτίσαι πάτρας*

Men leze: *νώτισον*.

IX

Hesiodus Erga 236—7:

οὐδέποτε νηῶν νίσσονται, καρπὸν δὲ φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρονρα

Ten onrechte slaat van Lennep εῦ δ' voor.

X

Het is onwaarschijnlijk dat in het verhaal van Cleobis en Biton bij Herodotus (I, 31) de moeder van deze jongelingen als priesteres van Hera bedoeld is, zooals Stein l.c. aanneemt.

XI

Livius XXIII, 5, 13:

His infandis pastos epulis, quos contingere etiam nefas sit
Men leze: quas.

XII

De spreekwoordelijke uitdrukking „sexagenarii de ponte” is niet ontleend aan het wegstooten van oude lieden bij verkiezingen (Mommessen, Röm. Staatsrecht³ II p. 408, noot 2); kan niet in verband gebracht worden met de salische dansen naar aanleiding van Catullus Cap. XVII (Th. Birt, Rhein. Mus. f. Phil. N. F. 75, 1 p. 115 sqq.); maar is aan een bepaald voorval ontleend.

XIII

Het is zeer aannemelijk dat het woord *δραχμή* van Semitischen oorsprong is en niet in verband gebracht moet worden met het verbum *δράσσεσθαι*.

XIV

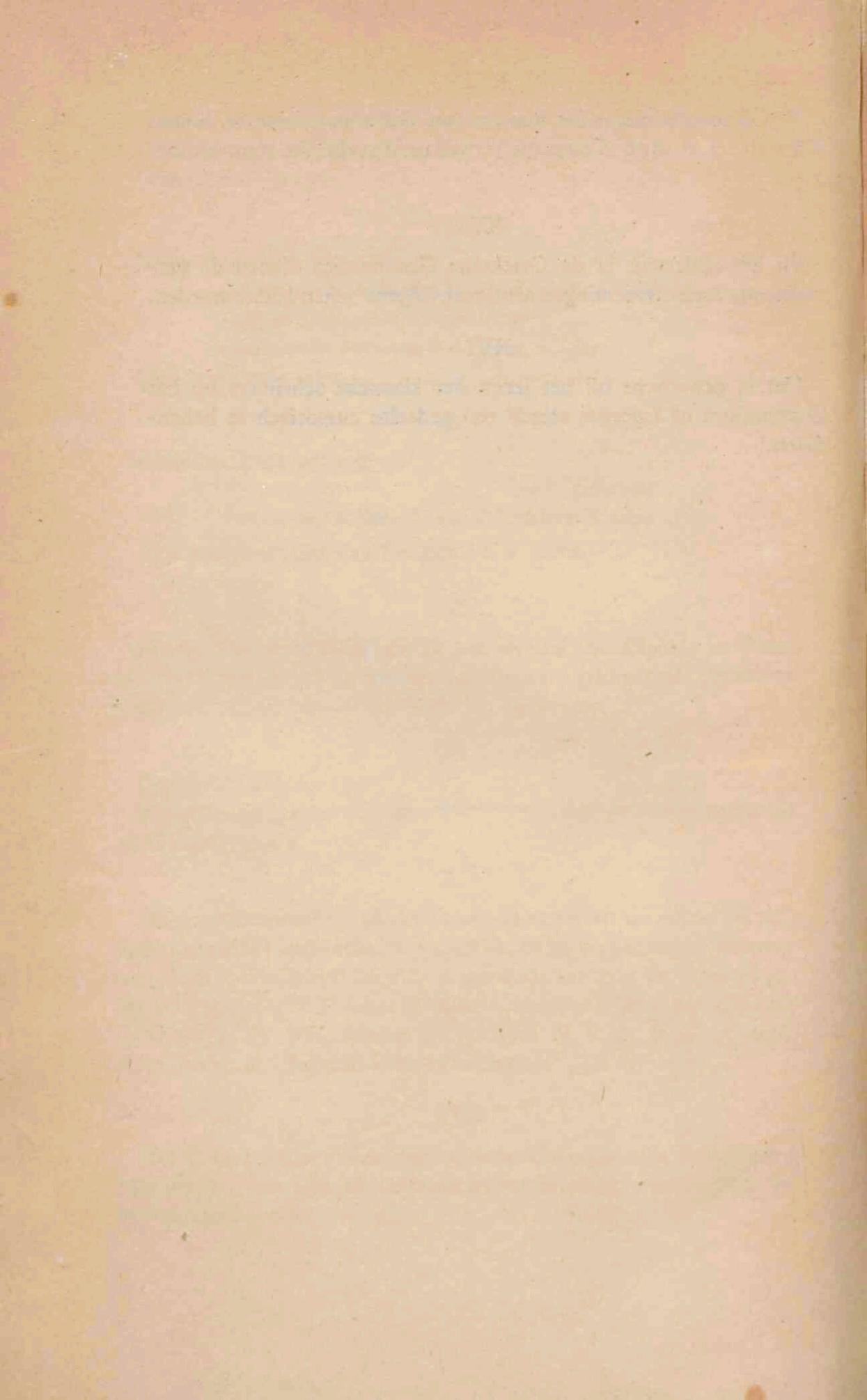
Ten onrechte neemt het lexicon van Gesenius (Hebr. u. Aram. Wörterb. ü. d. Alte Testament) twee onafhankelijke stammen נָא
aan.

XV

Bij het onderwijs in de Grieksche Grammatica dienen de verschillende aoristusvormingen achtereenvolgens behandeld te worden.

XVI

Het is gewenscht bij het lezen der klassieke schrijvers op het Gymnasium of Lyceum steeds een gedeelte cursorisch te behandelen.



Rijksastel "Veldzicht"
te Avereest

