

# **Trade, Transport and Society in the Ancient World**

A sourcebook

Fik Meijer

and

Onno van Nijf



London and New York

# Contents

<i>Preface</i>	xiii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xv
<i>Measures, weights and coins</i>	xix
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xxi

## Part I Ideology and practice of ancient trade

1 GREEK AND ROMAN VALUES	3
I <i>Greek values</i>	3
1 Thucydides I.2.1–2	3
2 Homer, <i>Odyssey</i> XIV.288–9	4
3 Homer, <i>Odyssey</i> XV.415–17	4
4 Hesiod, <i>Works and Days</i> 618–94	4
5 Plato, <i>Laws</i> IV.704b5–705b8	6
6 Plato, <i>Laws</i> XII.952d–953e	6
7 Xenophon, <i>Oeconomicus</i> V.17	7
8 Aristotle, <i>Economics</i> II.1.1–6	7
9 Aristotle, <i>Politics</i> I.3.1–18	9
10 Xenophon, <i>Spartan Constitution</i> VII.1–5	13
11 Herodotus II.166–7	14
12 Athenaeus XII.526d–e	14
II <i>Roman values</i>	15
13 Livy XXI.63.3–4	15
14 Cicero, <i>II Against Verres</i> V.45–6	15
15 Paulus, <i>Opinions</i> V.28a3	16
16 Cicero, <i>On Duties</i> I.150–2	16
17 Cicero, <i>II Against Verres</i> V.167	17
18 Cicero, <i>II Against Verres</i> IV.8	17
19 Cicero, <i>Letters to his Friends</i> XVI.9.4	17

20 Tacitus, <i>Annals</i> IV.13.2	18
21 Philostratus, <i>Lives of the Sophists</i> II.21	18
22 Libanius, <i>Progymnasmata, Comparationes</i> (edition Foerster, vol. VIII pp. 349-51)	18
23 <i>Ecclesiasticus</i> 26:29-27:2	19
24 Ambrosius, <i>De Elia</i> 70-1	20
<b>2 FORMS OF EXCHANGE IN HOMERIC SOCIETY</b>	<b>21</b>
25 Homer, <i>Odyssey</i> I.306-18	21
26 Homer, <i>Odyssey</i> IV.593-608	22
27 Homer, <i>Iliad</i> VI.224-36	22
28 Homer, <i>Odyssey</i> IX.39-47	23
29 Homer, <i>Iliad</i> XI.670-89	23
30 <i>Hymn to Apollo</i> 452-5	24
31 Homer, <i>Odyssey</i> VIII.159-64	24
32 Homer, <i>Odyssey</i> VIII.555-63	24
<b>3 FORMS OF EXCHANGE IN ARCHAIC GREECE</b>	<b>25</b>
33 Thucydides I.5	25
34 Meiggs and Lewis 44B lines 2-14	26
35 Meiggs and Lewis 16	26
36 Herodotus III.39	26
37 Herodotus I.69-70	27
38 Herodotus IV.196	28
39 Strabo III.4.8	28
40 Herodotus II.178-9	29
41 Solon, <i>Fragments</i> XII.41-6	30
42 Plutarch, <i>Solon</i> II.3-III.1	30
43 Herodotus IV.152	31
44 Strabo XVII.1.33	32
45 B. Bravo, <i>Dialogues d'histoire ancienne</i> , 1 (1974), 123	32
<b>4 ATHENS AND THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>I Empire and trade</b>	<b>33</b>
46 Pseudo-Xenophon, <i>Constitution of the Athenians</i> II.11-13	33
47 Tod II.162	34
48 Meiggs and Lewis 45	35
49 Thucydides I.67	36
50 Isocrates, <i>Panegyricus</i> 42	37
51 Andocides, <i>On the Mysteries</i> 133	37
52 Aristotle, <i>Athenian Constitution</i> 51	38

II <i>Metics, aliens and trade in Athens</i>	38
53 Aristophanes of Byzantium, <i>Fragments</i> 38	39
54 Demosthenes, <i>Against Aristocrates</i> 211	39
55 <i>IG</i> II <sup>2</sup> 207 lines 0–10	39
56 Pseudo-Xenophon, <i>Constitution of the Athenians</i> I.10–12	40
57 Xenophon, <i>Ways and Means</i> II.1–III.5	40
58 Isocrates, <i>On the Peace</i> VI.21	42
59 <i>SIG</i> <sup>3</sup> 304	42
60 Tod II.189	43
61 Demosthenes, <i>Against Euboulides</i> 30–1; 33–4; 35	44
62 Demosthenes, <i>Against Aristogeiton</i> I.50–2	44
63 Lysias, <i>Against Diogeiton</i> 4–7	45
64 <i>Digest</i> XLVII.22.4	46
III <i>Maritime loans</i>	46
65 Demosthenes, <i>Against Aphobus</i> I.9–11	46
66 Demosthenes, <i>Against Apaturius</i> 4–5	47
67 Theophrastus, <i>Characters</i> XXVIII.1–2	48
68 Demosthenes, <i>Against Lacritus</i> 10–13	48
69 Demosthenes, <i>Against Zenothemis</i> 4–6	49
70 Demosthenes, <i>Against Phormio</i> 6–9	50
5 THE GREEK WORLD OUTSIDE ATHENS	52
71 Polybius IV.38.1–10	52
72 Heraclides Creticus I.23.4–24	53
73 Strabo XIV.2.5	53
74 Polybius XXX.31.10–12	54
75 <i>SEG</i> XI 1026	54
76 Strabo X.5.4	55
77 <i>SIG</i> <sup>3</sup> 493	55
78 Dio Chrysostomus VIII.9	56
79 <i>I. Delos</i> 1520	57
80 H.W. Pleket, <i>Epigraphica</i> I, no. 10	58
81 <i>IG</i> XII 5 129	60
82 <i>IG</i> XII 9 1186 lines 28–9	61
83 Athenaeus IV.173b–c	61
84 P. Herrmann, <i>Istanbul Mitteilungen</i> 15 (1965), 73, 84–6	62
85 <i>SIG</i> <sup>3</sup> 525	62
86 Athenaeus VI.232a–b	63

<b>6 EGYPT UNDER THE PTOLEMIES</b>	<b>64</b>
87 Diodorus Siculus XVII.52.5	64
88 <i>P. Hibeh</i> I 39	64
89 <i>C. Ord. Ptol.</i> 73 lines 1-8	64
90 <i>P. Cairo Zen.</i> I 59021	65
91 <i>P. Mich. Zen.</i> 60	66
92 <i>BGU</i> VIII 1741	66
93 <i>P. Cairo Zen.</i> V 59823	67
94 <i>P. Cairo Zen.</i> II 59240	67
<b>7 TRADE IN THE ROMAN WORLD</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>I <i>Elites and trade</i></b>	<b>69</b>
95 Plutarch, <i>Cato the Elder</i> XXI.5-6	69
96 Plautus, <i>The Merchant</i> 64-74	70
97 Pliny, <i>Letters</i> III.19	70
98 <i>Historia Augusta, Pertinax</i> III.1-4	71
99 Dio Chrysostomus VII.104	71
100 <i>SEG</i> XVII 828	72
101 <i>SIG</i> <sup>3</sup> 838	72
102 Lucian, <i>The Ship</i> 13	72
<b>II <i>Freedmen and commerce</i></b>	<b>73</b>
103 <i>ILS</i> 7029	73
104 Petronius, <i>Satyricon</i> 76	73
<b>III <i>Associations of traders</i></b>	<b>75</b>
105 <i>P. Mich.</i> V 245	75
106 <i>Digest</i> L.6.5.3-6	76
107 <i>CIL</i> III 14165	77
<b>IV <i>The authorities and trade</i></b>	<b>78</b>
108 <i>P. Lond.</i> inv. 1562 verso	78
109 H. Engelmann and D. Knibbe, <i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i> 14 (1989), par. 1-9 and 25	80
110 <i>Theodosian Code</i> XIII.1.4	82
111 Pollux, <i>Onomasticon</i> IX.30-1	82
<b>V <i>The city of Rome and the provinces</i></b>	<b>82</b>
112 Aelius Aristides, <i>To Rome</i> 10-13	82
113 <i>Expositio Totius Mundi</i> 23-33	83
114 C.P. Jones, <i>AJP</i> 99 (1989), 58	85
115 Dio Chrysostomus XXXV.14-16	86
116a <i>AE</i> (1973), 362	87
116b <i>AE</i> (1973), 364	87
116c <i>AE</i> (1973), 365	87

116d <i>AE</i> (1983), 720	88
116e <i>AE</i> (1973), 370	88
116f <i>AE</i> (1973), 372	88
116g <i>AE</i> (1973), 375	88
116h <i>AE</i> (1975), 646	88
116i <i>AE</i> (1975), 647	88
116j <i>AE</i> (1975), 651	88
116k <i>AE</i> (1983), 721	89
116l <i>AE</i> (1980), 658	89

## Part II The commodities

8 GRAIN	93
I <i>Greek cities and the import of grain</i>	93
117 Herodotus VII.147	93
118 Demosthenes, <i>Against Leptines</i> 31-3	94
119 Demosthenes, <i>Against Lacritus</i> 51	95
120 Lysias, <i>Against the Grain Dealers</i> 11-17	95
121 <i>SIG</i> <sup>3</sup> 354	96
122 Tod II.30	97
123 Tod II.196	97
II <i>Grain for Rome</i>	98
124 <i>Epitome de Caesaribus</i> I.6	98
125 Flavius Josephus, <i>Jewish War</i> II.382-3 and 385-6	98
126 Pliny, <i>Natural History</i> XVIII.66-8	99
127 Cicero, <i>On the Appointment of Gnaeus Pompeius</i> 44	100
128 Cicero, <i>On his House</i> 11	100
129 Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 18-19	101
130 M. Wörrle, <i>Chiron</i> 1 (1971), 325	101
9 WOOL AND TEXTILES	103
131 Pliny, <i>Natural History</i> VIII.190-3	103
132 <i>IGSK</i> I 15	104
133 <i>Price Edict</i> XXV	105
134 Strabo V.1.12	105
135 Strabo V.1.7	106
136 <i>CIL</i> V 5929	106
137 W. Judeich, <i>Altertümer von Hierapolis</i> , <i>Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen</i> <i>Instituts, Ergänzungsheft 4 (Berlin 1898)</i> , 156	107
138 <i>Expositio Totius Mundi</i> 42	107
139 <i>CIL</i> XIII 2003	107

140	<i>Price Edict XIX</i>	108
10	<b>WINE AND OIL</b>	110
141	Homer, <i>Iliad</i> VII.465-75	110
142	Herodotus III.6	111
143	H.W. Pleket, <i>Epigraphica</i> I, no. 2, I and II	111
144	Diodorus Siculus V.26.2-3	112
145	Plutarch, <i>Solon</i> XXIV.1	113
146	Aristotle, <i>Economics</i> II.2.16	113
147	<i>IG</i> II <sup>2</sup> 903	114
148	<i>SEG</i> XV 108	114
11	<b>BUILDING MATERIALS</b>	116
149	Theophrastus, <i>Plant-researches</i> IV.5.5	116
150	Plato, <i>Critias</i> 111c	117
151	Xenophon, <i>Hellenica</i> VI.1.11	117
152	Strabo IV.6.2	117
153	Strabo XII.8.14	118
12	<b>SLAVES</b>	119
154	Herodotus V.6	119
155	Philostratus, <i>Life of Apollonius</i> VIII.7.12	119
156	Aristophanes, <i>Wealth</i> 501-27	120
157	Strabo XIV.5.2	121
158	J. Roger, <i>Revue Archéologique</i> , 6th series, 24 (1945), 49 no. 3	122
159	<i>TAM</i> V.2 932	122
13	<b>TRADE WITH THE ORIENT AND THE BARBARIANS</b>	123
160	Strabo XI.2.3	123
161	Diodorus Siculus V.22-3	123
162	Strabo II.5.12	125
163	Strabo XVII.1.13	125
164	Pliny, <i>Natural History</i> VI.104-6	125
165	<i>Periplus Maris Erythraei</i> 41-5	126
166	<i>P. Vind.</i> G. 40822	127
167	Pliny, <i>Natural History</i> XII.84	129
168	Pliny, <i>Natural History</i> VI.101	129
 <b>Part III Transport and means of transportation</b>		
14	<b>THE COSTS OF ANCIENT TRANSPORT</b>	133
169	Cato, <i>On Agriculture</i> XXII.3	133
170	<i>Price Edict</i> XVII.3-5	134

171 <i>Price Edict</i> XXXVII.1-42	134
172 <i>BGU</i> III 802, col. 22	135
15 TRANSPORT OVER LAND	136
173 <i>IG</i> II <sup>2</sup> 1673	136
174 <i>Theodosian Code</i> VIII.5.30	137
175 <i>Theodosian Code</i> VIII.5.17	138
176 S. Mitchell, <i>JRS</i> 66 (1976), 109	138
16 THE ROADS	141
177 Herodotus V.52-3	141
178 Pausanias VIII.6.4-6	142
179 Pausanias VIII.54.5	143
180 Strabo V.3.8	143
181 Plutarch, <i>Gaius Gracchus</i> 7	143
182 Statius, <i>Silvae</i> IV.40-55	144
183 Procopius, <i>Histories</i> V.147	144
184 <i>CIL</i> III 7203	145
185 <i>CIL</i> III 8267	145
186 Galen, <i>On Methods of Healing</i> X.632-3	145
187 Strabo IV.6.6	146
188 Ammianus Marcellinus XV.10.3-5	146
189 <i>CIL</i> I 206 lines 56-67	147
17 RIVER TRANSPORT	149
190 Strabo IV.1.14	149
191 Pliny, <i>Letters</i> X.41.1-2	149
192 Tacitus, <i>Annals</i> XIII.53.2-4	150
193 <i>P. Erasm.</i> II 50	150
18 TRANSPORT BY SEA	152
194 Homer, <i>Odyssey</i> II.418-28	152
195 Thucydides I.10.4	153
196 Plutarch, <i>Pericles</i> XXVI.3-4	153
197 Athenaeus V.206d-209b	154
198 Lucian, <i>The Ship</i> 5	157
199 Pliny, <i>Natural History</i> XVI.201-2	157
200 Flavius Josephus, <i>My Life</i> 15	158
19 CONSTRUCTION	159
201 Homer, <i>Odyssey</i> V.244-55	159
202 <i>P. Flor.</i> I 69	160
203 Theophrastus, <i>Plant-researches</i> V.7.1-3	161
204 Strabo IV.4.1	162
205 Pliny, <i>Natural History</i> XVI.158	162



206	<i>Anthologia Palatina</i> XI.248	162
207	Pliny, <i>Natural History</i> XVI.56	162
208	Herodotus II.96	163
209	Caesar, <i>Gallic War</i> III.13	163
210	Caesar, <i>Civil War</i> I.54	164
211	Seneca, <i>Letters</i> LXXVII.1-2	164
212	Pliny, <i>Natural History</i> XIX.5	164
20	THE SAILING SEASON	165
213	Vegetius, <i>Epitome Rei Militaris</i> IV.39	165
214	<i>Theodosian Code</i> XIII.9.3	165
215	Apuleius, <i>Metamorphoses</i> XI.5 and 16	166
216	Demosthenes, <i>Against Dionysodorus</i> 30	167
21	THE HAZARDS OF THE SEA	168
217	<i>Acts of the Apostles</i> 27	168
218	Synesius, <i>Letters</i> 4	170
219	Strabo VIII.6.20	176
220	SIG <sup>3</sup> 1229	176
221	Strabo III.2.5	177
222	Suetonius, <i>Augustus</i> 98.2	177
22	SPEED AND DURATION OF SEA VOYAGES	178
223	Pliny, <i>Natural History</i> XIX.3-4	178
224	Achilles Tatius III.1.3-6	178
23	HARBOURS	180
225	Homer, <i>Odyssey</i> VI.262-9	180
226	Herodotus III.60	180
227	Plutarch, <i>Themistocles</i> XIX.2-4	181
228	Pausanias I.1.2-3	182
229	Demosthenes, <i>Against Lacritus</i> 28	182
230	IG XII suppl. 348	182
231	Appian, <i>Punic Wars</i> 96	183
232	Strabo XVII.1.6-9	183
233	Flavius Josephus, <i>Jewish War</i> I 408-13	185
234	Vitruvius, <i>On Architecture</i> V.12.2-3	186
235	Cassius Dio LX.11.1-5	187
236	Pliny, <i>Letters</i> VI.31.15-17	188
237	Properce I.14.1-4	188
238	SEG XIX 684	189
	<i>Select bibliography</i>	190
	<i>Index of passages cited</i>	192
	<i>General index</i>	199