

Institutional Change

'The Cartel': Institutionalizing Cooperation (not only in Archaic Greece)

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Institutionalization – a Greek miracle?

a) evolution vs. creation; b) dynamics of socio-political change; c) agonality vs. cooperation

Building blocks for an alternative model

1. *Competition* („Konkurrenz“) following Georg Simmel (1908, *Soziologie*): „Victory lies not in the defeat of the opponent, it lies in the favour of a Third Party“ – triadic structure and socializing effects
2. “*Institutionalization* occurs whenever there is a reciprocal typification of habitualized actions by types of actors.” (Berger/Luckmann 1966, *The Social Construction of Reality*)
3. *Cartelization*: a heuristic tool to analyse „alliances of rivals in social systems characterized by competition, who agree to forego certain practices of competition in selected sociopolitical spaces and aim to secure this cooperation through an institutional framework – to exercise power as a collective and under controlled conditions over those excluded from this group.“
4. Game theory: ‘Prisoner’s dilemma’ – reputational effects – ‘free-riding’

Main traits of cartelization in Archaic Greece

main goal of strategic individuals: to secure participation in the best way possible, given the circumstances

1. countering social mobility – performance and prominence – lack of ‘hard’ criteria for full participation
e.g. ideologizing of ‘noble blood’, ‘innate virtue’ in *Theognidea*; diacritical self-staging
2. securing one’s own position: a) downward and b) upward mobility
e.g. Achaean camp in the *Iliad*; new actors in the world of Theognis; scenarios of *tyranneis* und *dynasteiai*
3. meeting an outside-pressure which affects numerous actors
e.g. socializing effect of war in the *Iliad*; scenario around Deioces in Herodotus
4. calming internal conflicts
e.g. no *polykoiranie* in *Il. 2*; staggering participation in the Solonian classes; forbidding enslavement for debt
5. controlling social inferiors: a) ‘predatory coalitions’; b) potential for action of the *demos*; c) integration of (segments of) the *demos* under controlled conditions / ‘outsourced’ authority
e.g. Odysseus and Eupheithes (‘cartel solidarity’); relevance of the *demos* in laws
6. (structural) instability of cartel-formations
e.g. fluctuation of alliances in Alkaios and Theognis; non-compliance of functionaries reflected in laws

Signs for cooperation as a cartel

stability by: scenarios unlimited in time – ethical homogenization – rules, sanctions – ‘outsourced’ authorities

1. Practices and social spaces of cooperation

- a) smaller units of sociopolitical participation within and outside of the *polis*: *phylai*, councils ...
- b) ‘delayed reciprocal action’: consensus-decisions in the *Iliad*; rules of guest-friendship
- c) diacritical practices: feasts
- d) inter-groupal sanctuaries, cf. Oikos and Colossus of the Naxians

2. Mechanisms, manifestationen and normative discourses of ethical homogenization

- a) *metrios*-ideology: geometric equality; condemning *pleonaxia*, idealizing *eunomia*
- b) material culture: standardization, ‘austerity’; e.g. Crete
- c) laws: political institutions; passing on of property; using resources; ‘luxury’ etc.
- d) exclusion: expulsion and exile; ‘colonization’

Theognis

We seek out rams and asses and horses that are purebred, Kynos, and everyone wishes that they mount females of good stock (*agathos*); but a noble man (*esthlos*) does not mind marrying the base daughter of a base father (*kakos*) if the latter gives him riches (*chremata*). (...) Wealth has mixed up the blood, (...) so don't be surprised that the townsmen's stock (*genos astōn*) is becoming enfeebled. (Theogn. 183–192, transl. Gerber)

Theognis

Fortune (*daimōn*) gives even an utterly wicked man (*pankakoi*) riches (*chremata*), Kynos, but excellence (*arete*) is allotted to few as their companion. (Theogn. 149–150, transl. Gerber)

Alkaios

I long to hear the assembly being summoned (...) and the council: the property in possession of which my father and my father's father have grown old among these mutually destructive citizens. From it I have been driven (...). (Alk. fr. 130B.3–8 L/P, transl. Campbell)

Homer Iliad

Nireus led three shapely ships from Syme, Nireus who was son of Aglaia and the *anax* Charopos, Nireus, the handsomest man who came under Ilios of all the other Danaans after the incomparable son of Peleus. But he was a weakling, and only a few men followed with him. (Hom. Il. 2.671–675, transl. Murray & Wyatt)

Homer Odyssey

Penelope: Do you not remember the time, when your father came to this house a fugitive in terror of his people? For in very truth they were greatly angry with him because he had joined Taphian pirates and harried the Thesprotians, who were in league with us. Him, then, they meant to slay, and take him from his life by violence, and utterly devour his great and pleasant property. But Odysseus held them back and prevented them despite their eagerness. (Hom. Od. 16.424–430, transl. after Murray & Dimock)

Examples for broader participation in decision-making

In Cretan **Dreros** “the Polis decided after having convened the *phylai*”; in **Tiryns** it was to be valid, “what the *demos* decides” and in **Sparta** the Elders and Kings should only then dissolve the assembly if the *demos* spoke crookedly. In **Chios** there was “the *bole demosie* which had penal authority and was selected, 50 man of each *phyle*”, and in Cretan **Datala** things were decided by “the *Dataleis* and us, the *polis*, 5 of each *phyle*”.

Alkaios

(...) let the avenger (i.e. of our killed companions) pursue the son of Hyrrhas (i.e. Pittakos), since once we swore, cutting (i.e. the throat of an animal for sacrifice), never to abandon any of our comrades, but

either to die at the hands of men who at that time came against us and to lie clothed in earth; or else to kill them and rescue the people from their woes.

But Pot-belly did not talk to their hearts; he recklessly trampled the oaths underfoot and devours our *polis* (...) (Alk. fr. 129.13–24 L/P, transl. Campbell)

Theognis

(...) and those who were noble (*esthloi*) before are now base (*deiloi*). Who can endure the sight of this? They deceive one another and mock one another, knowing neither the distinctive marks of the base nor those of the noble.

Make none of these townsmen your sincere friend, Polypaïdes, because of any need. Seem in speech to be friend of everyone, but share with no one any serious matter whatsoever. If you do, you will come to know the minds of men who are wretched, since there is no trust to be placed in their actions (...). (Theogn. 57–67, transl. Gerber)

Law from Tiryns, 7th c. (SEG 30.380)

(...) the drinking leaders (*platiwoinarchoi*) shall impose fines on the drinkers (*platiwoinoi*) in each case. If they do not punish them, they shall owe to the goddess [Athena] thirty *medimnoi* [of grain?] (...)

Law from Gortyn (IC 4.72.2.2–45), Sanctions for rape reflecting sociopolitical divisions

rape	of an <i>eleutheros/eleuthera</i>	by a slave (<i>dolos</i>)	200 St
	of an <i>eleutheros/eleuthera</i>	by an <i>eleutheros</i>	100 St
	of a free 'non-citizen' (<i>apetairos</i>)	by an <i>eleutheros</i>	10 St
	of a slave (<i>woikeal woikeus</i>)	by a <i>woikeus</i>	5 St
	of a slave (<i>woikeal woikeus</i>)	by an <i>eleutheros</i>	2,5 St

Herodotus

Miltiades was persuaded by what they said; for he was impatient of the rule of Peisistratos and desired to be away from it. (...) Thereupon Miltiades son of Cypselus – that Miltiades who had before won the four-horse chariot-race at Olympia – took with him all Athenians who desired to share his enterprise, and sailing with the Dolonkians gained possession of their country; and they who had brought him in made him their *tyrannos*. (Hdt. 6.34–36, transl. after Godley)

John K. Davies 2018, State Formation in EIA Greece: The Operative Forces

“Given the clear evidence of intra- and inter-community conflict which runs through the entire corpus of literary evidence and ought therefore to be factored into any model of institutional development (at least as a contingency), which forms of conflict theory and/or of social integration is it most appropriate to apply to this EIA context of secondary state formation? (...) No model framed in purely Greek terms has adequate explanatory force. (...) No model which consciously or unconsciously focuses wholly or mainly on the polis and cannot generate these other forms of polity [i.e. monarchy, the so-called ethne, and the temple-state] with equal facility has adequate explanatory force.”