

**‘SMALL IS BEAUTIFUL’ AND CHALLENGING IN *THE HUNTER VALLEY*: WINE
HISTORIES
AND IDEAS – PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE?**

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ABSTRACT

“History makes us...” goes the saying but understanding what has happened over time, let alone, what might happen remain open questions. Leaving aside, for the moment, the challenges presented by the diverse faces in the Hunter Valley of industrial, mining and residential activity, which continues apace, viticulture, winegrape growing and the complex of farming/agrarian ventures present especial niche opportunities.

Understanding the development of the production, distribution and consumption of speciality produce, namely, the histories of wine and food, could well shed useful light upon the past and assist in illuminating future potential. History, socio-geography and economy all play key roles in shaping the Hunter Valley’s high quality, mostly small to medium scale winemaking and viticulture enterprise. The excellence of these ventures is arguably the key to the future of the wine industry in the Hunter. Moreover, excellence and a spirit of hard-working enterprise, albeit with many a turn and tumble, stretch back to James Busby’s seminal, late Georgian optimism and venturesome practical spirit embedded in the title of his agricultural report: “*Journal of a recent visit to the principal vineyards of Spain and France:...with observations relative to the introduction of the vine into New South Wales*” (London, 1834).

What kinds of historical understanding could be useful in “The Business of Wine” and its non-identical twin, “The Wine Industry”? First, the historical legacies and traditions associated with wine, viticulture and winemaking remain central to the rise of Mediterranean-wide/Black Sea civilizations and Western traditions of thought. Second, Wine Industry practices and traditions as well as innovations grow in the presence, conscious or otherwise, of history, people, geography and the land. Note, “Wine Country” is an affectionate tasting and welcoming badge in The Hunter Valley – at once evoking ideas of locale and produce. Third, the contemporary histories and practices of viticulture, winegrape growing and winemaking need to harness the histories – social,

economic and cultural/geographic of wine in society and culture through time. Markets and ideas of market-trading are as venerable as the ancient Mediterranean and certainly prefigure the pathfinding work of Adam Smith (as Smith himself was aware)*, and yet the dynamics and locale of markets remain both elusive and challenging. Wine is certainly a beverage but it is much more: wine accompanies histories, cultures and traditions, and it is a possessive and exchangeable commodity. Wine is a cultural food taken through history and over time.

* Vivenza, G. (2002). *Adam Smith and the Classics: The Classical Heritage in Adam Smith's Thought* (Oxford: Oxford U.P.)

‘SMALL IS BEAUTIFUL’ AND CHALLENGING IN *THE HUNTER VALLEY*: WINE HISTORIES AND IDEAS – PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE?

The history of wine in Australia, not unlike wine’s closely related social and economic passages-in-society, has had a roller-coaster ride.ⁱⁱ History, culture, economics and demography all have import. From the very beginnings of European agricultural practices in Australia the vine, *vitis vinifera*, was present and its experiential learning curve – agriculture in viticultural practice – has been long, hard and remarkable. Dr A. C. Kelly, 1861, *The Vine in Australia*, well captured Australian experience:

*If the influence of direct sunlight is so important to the perfect ripening of the grape, we may rest assured that in this respect there is no portion of Europe that can equal the Australian colonies. To the inhabitant of a gloomy and cloudy climate, the description of our clear skies “where the sun shines for six or eight months with unclouded splendour in the northern heavens,” – may appear very glowing and delightful in imagination; but the Australian settler, who feels the reality, would gladly see this splendour somewhat veiled, and a few more cloudy days.*ⁱⁱⁱ

In the case of the Hunter Valley and its viticultural cultivation (“vine cultivators” after A.C. Kelly, p.18), this is a wish/fulfilment statement.

This paper will seek to explore, generally and by way of a preliminary overview, the rise of fine winemaking, its agricultural practices and vision through recent Australian history and its contemporaneous practices but with an especial eye to traditions of thought and their long-lived histories.

The Hunter Valley: distance, historical time and traditions of viticulture/farming: Past and Present

Alii in praedia sua proficiscuntur ut locupletiores** revertantur, ego ut pauperior. Other people visit their estates to come away richer than before, but I go only to return the poorer.* (Pliny the Younger, Book VIII.2, trans., Betty Radice, Loeb Classical Library: Harvard U.P., 1975; first printed, 1969).

* landed-estates or farms

** with general emphasis upon wealth or substance

There is much more to Pliny's and other ancient authors' knowledge of the practical, theoretical and on-going experiential world and activities – socio-cultural/economic and historical – of viticultural and winemaking than witty and insightful remarks and aphorisms – as will be further outlined.

However, first much more attention should be paid to the utility of long-lived, educative, historical, scholarly writing which was essentially, often didactic, and remarkably pre-scientific in its agrarian/natural world explorations, descriptions, analyses, even qualitative reasonings, and of course, plain curiosity driven enquiry.^{iv} If one were to put these ideas firmly in their argumentative place, it would be with the following observation: 'we', namely, writers, critics and practitioners of the art, or 'arts and sciences' under discussion, dismiss knowledge, let alone, information and insights into and of the past, darkly, ironically and unwisely, at the expense of the present. Taking this point a little further, the infamous phrase, "the dustbin of history" when attached to people of ideas and terms such as 'economic', 'agrarian', and their once contemporaneous personalities and minds, often rounds upon its later or 'more modern minds' (read relevant – an almost a priori urgency of ideas-in-the-present), blissfully unaware, and preoccupied with their own 'present time' and its often equally subjective demands – alas blind to the past and its potential for other perspectives and understanding.^v

Ancient and Modern histories and forces in play...

The ancient and modern worlds of winemaking and mixed agriculture/viticulture are littered with examples of speculative activities which by turn have promoted and undermined the very long-term character (indeed Annales school of 'long term' historical forces in play... la longue durée) of viticulture/winemaking enterprise.^{vi} Small family based farms and companies have been subject to these forces, both voluntarily and unwillingly/unwittingly but they were not, by any means, the only farming enterprises to face such pressures and opportunities. One need only, in recent times, mention the names, Southcorp and Rosemount and Fosters... to capture the scale and indeed reductive character of events in the Australian agrarian/regional viticultural and winemaking scene, and indeed well beyond.^{vii}

It is well worth reconsidering or taking long historical views to frame or rather capture the social dynamics which have contributed to the contemporary challenges in working productive, small

viticultural/winemaking ventures in a complex of competing regional pressures, land-usage and environmental/sustainability concepts and practices.

Operating in a world simultaneously subject to the forces of nature and agrarian/human activity is inherently challenging.^{viii}

Consider, for a moment, the following elemental list:

- weather, climate...in its macro-regional and micro-agrarian and environmental forms;
- the particular and general character of the foregoing in human and scientific, and humanist terms-in-practice;
- the intricate and intimate related biological/organic activities and their systems of life (recall the phrase “web of life”, its imagaic character and presence);
- dynamic geographies and geology, literally and physically, forged in complexity; given the above – competing, complementary, innovative and traditional social, economic and cultural economic drives, forces and motives – remain clearly present;
- and emphatically last, none of the above elements should be viewed as static.

Separating out these forces is, of course, both possible and necessary but viewing them in academic, rational and practice/practical senses in-the-end outside or truly apart from their social and economic geographies and living environments would be unwise...self defeating. Comparative studies and interdisciplinary studies (economic, historical, scientific and social...note the alphabetic bias) committed to the foregoing conceptual worlds *in praxis*, that is, theory and practice in action, are not only necessary but imperative.

Acquiring new knowledge perspectives can build both social utility and intellectual strength in cultural terms and in productive society. Viticulture and wine remain, at once, social, cultural and economic kin-in-society, that is, many forms of exchange take place in this political/cultural economy of interests.^{ix} Values are derived, given and exchanged.^x

In the current highly competitive and immediate, driven environment for winemaking and all related, productive activities – marketing, scales of activities, size/scale and quality (or otherwise) of winemaking – an eye to history is often lacking with its long term perspectives upon land, labour (in all its complex agrarian and economic senses), and the particular and general economic and

social worlds which gave rise to, and continue to work in smaller and larger environments, namely, the worlds in which viticulture and winemaking is positioned.^{xi} History does not guarantee the correctness or otherwise of human decisions in society in time but it can offer insight and comparative depth and weight in reaching decisions which produce a cultural good for particular, partial and general elements of a vibrant society or societies.^{xii}

We grow and produce for ourselves and others...

Thinking outside the proverbial box and adaptability: responses to **always human* business relationships in good times and bad...

* Whatever scholars and writers think about Nietzsche, this turn of phrase is apposite.

Viticulture and agriculture in the contexts of business and economic activity or vice-versa can be characterized by the following terms: *experiential, elemental, experimental and traditional*.

Moreover, these forms of small agricultural enterprise, knowingly or not, are subject to history and seasonality, namely, larger, smaller and even micro-historical and environmental conditions and forces, and the ever complex fashions of visitors and travellers as conscious and opportune ‘buyers’ of wine/food/culture. Dynamic is an apposite term here but its weight is as truistic as it is ironic and historical. The sovereign worlds or rather quilted universe of farmers, farming and agriculture in which viticulture and winemaking is historically embedded is, at its best, conservative and conserving. Yet, these material, social, environmental and cultural relations of production-in-society (a plurality of worldly economic relations) are dogged by, and remain, inherently risk-laden propositions.^{xiii}

These worlds of production and life, or rather, production-in-life wrestle with hope and risk, gain and loss. Viticulture and winemaking are places of ideas, knowledge in theory and practice, and consciously or not a residence for traditions of thought, of history and science, and philosophical encounter.^{xiv}

Observations and lessons/didacticism from the Greco-Roman Mediterranean: Two ‘reports’

Thales of Miletus, circa 600 B.C., a world famous Greek philosopher, a founder figure of philosophy, one of the Greek Sages, mathematician and scientist – an originator in pre-scientific or ancient (once contemporary) scientific thought – is a key evidentiary case-in-point.

Of course, truth is possibly stranger than reportage in this account in Aristotle's *Politics*, 1259a, written view two centuries later. However, what matters here are perceptions not only of what intellectuals do and are capable of but how material (quite literally) life in agrarian society can be turned to personal advantage (if a philosopher/citizen chooses) in terms of monetized exchange and utility/use-values in Greek 'city-state' (polis) societal existence.

Reading Aristotle's interest in Thales (Aristotle, *Politics*, 1258b39-1259a21): 'things' that might be gained – processes of knowledge being applied to material 'wealth-getting/formation' – as encapsulated in Aristotle's innovative expression, *khêmatistikê*:

*There are books [practical works with particular 'industries' (*ergasiai*) and work/crafts in mind] on these subjects by certain authors, for example Charetides of Paros and Apollodorus of Lemnos have written about both agriculture and fruit-farming, and similarly others also on other topics, so these subjects may be studied from these authors by anybody concerned to do so; but in addition a collection ought also to be made of the scattered accounts [*sporadên*: to make a collection of all the scattered materials] of methods that have brought success in business [processes of making or getting-wealth: ...*khêmatizomenoi*, that is, those practices which have succeeded in wealth-making] to certain [some] individuals. All these methods are serviceable for those who value wealth-getting [wealth-getting/formation: *khêmatistikê*], for example the plan of Thales of Miletus, which is a device for the business of getting wealth, but which, though it is attributed to him because of his wisdom [*sophia*: wisdom], is really of universal application [*katholou*: of general/universal applicability]. Thales, so the story goes, because of his poverty [*penia*] was taunted with the uselessness of philosophy [*philosophia*]; but from his knowledge of astronomy [*astrologia*]* he had observed while it was still winter that there was going to be a large crop of olives, so he raised a small sum of money and paid round deposits for the whole of the olive-presses in Miletus and Chios, which he hired at a low rent as nobody was running him up; and when the season arrived, there was a sudden demand for a number of presses at the same time, and by letting them out on what terms he liked he realized a large sum of money so proving that it*

*is easy for philosophers to be rich if they choose, but this is not what they care about. Thales then is reported to have thus displayed his wisdom, but as a matter of fact this device of taking an opportunity to secure a monopoly is a universal principle of 'business' ['wealth-getting' /formation of wealth-making: *khrêmatistikê*];...*

* What remains equally remarkable and, generally speaking, of utility here is, however 'philosophically reluctantly', Thales combination of 'business'/economic opportunity acumen, the usage of theoretical knowledge in forecasting or 'predicting' a possible future event, and generally the acknowledged interactions between 'man', human society, the environment and the cosmos. Yet, after Peter L Bernstein, we would be well advised, when dealing with the complexities and challenges of land and its usage, of environments large and small, of micro- and macro-interactions and dynamics to pay attention to Leibniz's sharp observation:

"Nature has established patterns originating in the return of events, but only for the most part."

(Peter L. Bernstein, *Against The Gods: The Remarkable Story of Risk*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1996, p.329).

Given the foregoing commentary, this venerable terrain remains significant terrain for historians of thought and well worth further comparative and interdisciplinary study. Traditions and origins of ideas, in particular, 'economic ideas' and related practices or behaviours, and their transmission or transmutation into later human societies remain pivotal to understanding the evolutionary social and human complex still known as *homo economicus*, the *economic human being*. Of course, the idea of *economics/economy and economic behaviour* under study here is not constituted by any pure or exclusive academic phenomena: economic behaviours are suffused in history, society, culture, and politics, and in turn, by psychological phenomena/states-of-mind/*mentalities*.^{xv}

Reading Aristotle's interest in Thales: Observations

- Intellectuals/philosophers are able and can do things in the real world. 'Making' and 'doing' things have real world implications whether or not philosophers with

their intellectual preoccupation with the nature of knowledge and wisdom (*sophia*) wish or intend to go down a material road...

- Significantly, Aristotle recognized the disparate and specialized practical field-guides which existed on agriculture and its diverse, specialized interests/productive activities.
- True to knowledge, generally speaking, and with particular reference to fields of practical knowledge and their wealth-making potential – theoretical and applied today – their extensive, ‘specialist’, and more particularly, ‘scattered or diverse spread and character’, then and now, called for a more systematic collection of these materials: ...*ta legomena sporadên* (Aristotle, *Politics*, 1259a3-4). Of course, Aristotle was referring to the formative centuries and state of applied pre-scientific/scientific enquiry.
- Aristotle recognized the saliency of apparently highly theoretical work in *philosophia*^{xvi} (philosophy/wisdom in its fullest sense and extent/knowledge) and *astrologia* (astronomy) but equally that philosophers cared seriously or earnestly (Aristotle’s term: *spoudazousin*, 1259a18) about matters other than the process of becoming rich. Indeed, Thales ‘proved’ that it is easy to become rich: ...*radion esti ploutein*, Arist. *Pol.* 1259a17, by taking out a ‘futures contract’, a controlling position (risk/insurance) in terms of access to all olive presses in Miletus and on the island of Chios, that is, in essence, a hedge taken in advance of a favourable seasonal event with the use and deployment of advanced, theoretical knowledge.

Intellectual and philosophical irony is manifest here. However, its practical results signalled another order of behaviours and applied applications in the world of doing business and forming wealth-getting processes and stratagems in the seasonal agrarian realm of olive-oil harvest predictive capacity and behaviours, and the subsequent production, processing and price-setting activities and behaviours which followed on from Thales’ (to take what was and remains a signal example of a general principle) scientific knowledge, his practical insight, and initiative in producing agricultural wealth.

Understanding that a general principle (*katholou*: something of general or universal applicability) was in operation here, whether Aristotle or Thales approved or not (note, Arist. *Pol.*, 1259a5-9 and 1259a18-20ff), when it came to the processes or formation of wealth-getting/making behaviours in society – was what mattered.^{xvii} This meant recognizing that what was occurring in this apparently but not really incidental context of Thales' demonstration of taking theoretical knowledge into the realm of practice was not only possible but also that its applicability or utility had extensive and general relevance rather than being of use in one particular set of circumstances, or indeed, field of production/economic activity.

Reading Pliny: Human relationships are business relationships and are often as variable as the seasons, weather and climate in which viticulture and winemaking is elementally situated...

This detailed and complex letter – presented in extract form below – written after Pliny had famously witnessed the eruption of Mt Vesuvius in 79AD, stands almost like a mirror, and certainly a longstanding reminder of how the 'pointy end' of the business of wine never loses contact with its agricultural space, seasonality/climate and the many-sided business relationships which swirl around, and constitute a 'world' of viticulture and winemaking.

Book VIII.2

Letter of Pliny To Calvisius Rufus

Other people visit their estates to come away richer than before, but I go only to return to the poorer. I had sold my grape harvest to the dealers, who were eager to buy (Vendideram vindemias certatim negotiatoribus ementibus), when the price quoted at the time was tempting and prospects seemed good. Their hopes were frustrated. (Spes fefellit.) It would have been simple to give them all the same rebate, but hardly fair, and I hold the view that one of the most important things in life is to practise justice in private as in public life, in small matters as in great, and apply it to one's own affairs no less than to other people's...Accordingly I returned to everyone an eighth of the sum he had spent so that "none should depart without a gift of mine." [Aeneid V.305]...Then I made a special provision for those who had invested very large sums in their purchase, since they had been of greater service to

me and theirs was the greater loss. I therefore allowed everyone whose purchases had cost him more than 10,000 sesterces a tenth of anything he had spent above the 10,000, in addition to the original eighth which was a sort of general grant...

Moreover, in view of the fact that some people had paid down large instalments of what they owed, while others had paid little or nothing. I thought it most unfair to treat them all with the same generosity in granting a rebate when they had not been equally conscientious in discharging their debts. Once more, then, I allowed another tenth of the sum received to those who had paid. This seemed a suitable way both of expressing my gratitude to each individual according to his past merits, and of encouraging them all not only to buy from me in the future but also to pay their debts.

My system—or my good nature—has cost me a lot, but it has been worth it. The whole district is praising the novelty of my rebate and the way in which it was carried out, and the people I classified and graded instead of measuring all with the same rod, so to speak, have departed feeling obliged to me in proportion to their honest worth and satisfied that I am not a person who “holds in equal honour the wicked and the good.” [Iliad IX.319]

From the grape harvest (*vendemia /vendage*) to the weather/climate,^{xviii} from prices gained and lost, to négociants/merchants (*negotiatores*) and the flight or success of selling the seasonal harvest, much of this ancient Mediterranean world (perhaps better characterized as empires of the mind, sea and land) still seems strikingly familiar in 2009.^{xix}

¹ The intricacy and complexity of winemaking in the contexts of people, place, geography and region with industry and survival well in view has been caught in its many-sided individuality in Max Lake, *Hunter Winemakers: Their Canvas and Art* (Sydney: Jacaranda Press, 1970). The lesson here, if you will allow, is no wine industry without people who are creatively committed to the land and viticulture, and to the vine in the region. Small scale winemaking is often a qualitatively different phenomenon to industries (production facilities) of considerably more scale and size. However, ideally quality itself should not be a prisoner of scale. See further, for perspectives, then and now, on the ever-changing wine industry scene, James Halliday, *A History of the Australian Wine Industry, 1949-1994* (Adelaide: Winetitles/Australian Wine and Brandy Corporation, 1994), and note current (2007/8) “overview” in *The Australian & New Zealand Wine Industry Directory* (South Australia/Adelaide: Winetitles, 2009), pp.1-16ff.

¹ See the still prescient work, A.C. Kelly, *The Vine in Australia*, in Dennis Hall & Valmai Hankel, eds. (Sydney/Hunters Hill: The David Ell Press, 1980), p.19. Kelly’s study of vines generally, and climate and soils, remain compelling and useful historical records. Viticulture is no exception: economic success is built upon informal understanding(s) of the past and the present.

¹ Consider a few remarkable, detailed and general as well as particular examples from Greco-Roman and Punic-Carthaginian Mediterranean antiquity: note, Pliny *Natural History*, Book 14.2ff (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard U.P., Loeb Classical Library, 1945, first reprinted, 1952); Columella, *On Agriculture [De Re Rustica]*, Book 1.1ff (and its preface). See further, the lifelong work and thoughtful exploration of H.P. Olmo, “The Origin & Domestication of

the Vinifera Grape”, in Patrick E. McGovern, Stuart J. Fleming & Solomon H. Katz (editors), *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Gordon & Breach Publishers, 1995), pp.31-43. Volume 11, in *Food and Nutrition in History and Anthropology*, University of Pennsylvania.

¹ For inspiration in the craft of history and its general utility or capacity for “perspectivism”, see Marcus Greil, *The Dustbin of History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard U.P., 1995).

¹ To take one broad example, namely, Australia’s speculative confusion in the drive to produce “commodity wine” and the long and short term potential for high quality fine wine rather than “premium” branded wines which merge into a morass of brands and bottles almost indistinguishable from beer markets and marketing. See Brian Croser, “The Australian fine wine industry, irrelevant or neglected?”, *The Australian and New Zealand Wine Industry Journal*, Vol.21.6 (November/December, 2006), pp.16-20. See further, Brian Croser, “Decanter wineman of the year” in *Decanter Magazine*.

¹ See generally the numerous articles in the *Australian Financial Review* re these companies and struggles corporate, familial...and always in this marketplace...of people and ideas, and values.

¹ Informative work is usefully summarized in the preface of Robert E. White, *Soils for Fine Wines* (New York: Oxford U.P., 2003), and see generally for thoroughness and detailed research re soil, *terroir* and much more.

¹ One way of presenting such arguments is contained in the fine work of Emile Peynaud, *The Taste of Wine [Le Goût du Vin]: The Art and Science of Wine Appreciation*, trans. by Michael Schuster (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1996; first published in French, 1983). Jacques Blouin worked closely with Peynaud in the making of this second edition. See further, a broader but complementary work, Harold McGee, *On Food and Cookery: The Science and Lore of the Kitchen* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1986; first pub., 1984).

¹ Again, see the exploratory work in Gloria Vivienza, *Adam Smith and the Classics: The Classical Heritage in Adam Smith’s Thought* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2001); see also, the equally challenging and exploratory, Scott Meikle, *Aristotle’s Economic Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995; 1997).

¹ For one view of the complexity of wine and its markets/‘marketability’, see Larry Lockshin, “The schizophrenic nature of wine”, Vol. 20.1 (Jan./February, 2005), pp.32-33. Far more than a “duality” of wine consumers/drinkers is at stake, and again terms such as ‘premium’ and ‘super premium’ can only confuse. Wine is a commodity but it is a commodity with ‘attitude’: history, philosophy, beverage/food, culture, indeed anthropology, and shelf spaces or cellar door/vineyard locations, and combinations thereof, are the stuff of the wine trade.

¹ See especially for a detailed study of traditions of vine and wine, of education and culture in social context and external/internal crises in the wine trade from vigneron to table and café and well beyond, Harry W. Paul, *Science of Vine and Wine in France, 1750-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2004); see also, the enduring thoughtfulness in Max Lake, *Classic Wines of Australia* (Brisbane: Jacaranda Press, 1966) and *Cabernet: notes of an Australian wineman* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1977).

¹ See the insightful essay by Peter L. Bernstein, “Facing The Consequences” [bernsteinsp.pdf](#) (Jan., 2000) or *National Association for Business Economics – Abramson Awards*, Washington D.C. It is no surprise that Bernstein’s close friend was Robert Heilbroner of *The Wordly Philosophers* fame.

¹ If there is a “political economy” of wine and the wine industry it should, indeed must, include questions of philosophy and science and, of course, these questions must necessarily include the productive worlds of viticulture and the land. Theory and practice, experiment and questioning are elemental: see for engaging examples, Matt Kramer, “The Notion of Terroir”, Harold Tarrant, “Wine in Ancient Greece: Some Platonist Ponderings” and “Warren Winiarski, “The Old World and the New: Worlds Apart?” in Fritz Allhoff (ed.), *Wine & Philosophy: A Symposium on Thinking and Drinking* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008).

¹ Besides the intense current interest, fashionable and useful interest in behavioural economics (Schiller, et al.), note also, the long rise of the French, and now world-wide, influence of the Annales school of social and economic history: Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution: The ‘Annales’ School 1929-89* (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1990). See also, the sage essay by Ralf Dahrendorf, *Homo Sociologicus* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968; 1973).

See further, two recent articles by Robert J. Schiller: “Challenging the Crowd in Whispers, Not Shouts”, *The New York Times, Economic View* – [nytimes.com](#) (November 2, 2008), and “Can talk of a Depression Lead to One?”, *Economic View* – [nytimes.com](#) (February 22, 2009).

¹ One very useful way to view Aristotle and matters Aristotelian: G.E.R. Lloyd, *Aristotelian Explorations* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1996).

¹ See, Peter L. Bernstein, *Against The Gods: The Remarkable Story of Risk*, p.307, and generally chapter 18. See further, G.E.R. Lloyd, *Aristotelian Explorations*, “The idea of nature in the Politics”, pp. 184-204.

¹ For enduring perspectives on adverse vintage conditions, climate and social history, note Pliny the Younger’s following letters, his wit and the descriptive power of his writing: Book VIII.15; VIII.17; Book X.8.

¹ Inspiration should be acknowledged: see the insightful, Nicholas Purcell & Peregrine Horden, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).