

# History of Chinese Land Tenure

Agriculture was to the Chinese even in prehistoric times a matter of such concern that it was an object of administration. It is not an overstatement to say that the entire history of China is a history of agrarian problems. The rise and fall of the emperors and dynasties, the economic disorder and political upheaval were more or less due to the results of heavy taxation on land and its production, the maladjustment of land tenure and the sufferings of the common people. All of these are, either directly or indirectly, caused by the uneven distribution of land and the large holdings of the landlords.

If we believe that China started out the Tsing Tien System ( or nine-squares system), we may say that she started out with equal land distribution among all her people. Ponderous tomes have been written upon the subject and various attributes have been given by various writers. But it is worth arguing whether the Tsing Tien System has ever existed in ancient China. Many recent writers, such as Dr. Hu Shih and some others, do not seem agreeable to the total recognition of the Tsing Tien System. However, to their opinions, there must be some kind of land distribution system which appeared simultaneously with the birth of the feudal system.

The Chou period (1122 -256 B.C.) is known to the historians of Chinese culture as the Classical Age and is compared with the Golden Age of Greece. The Chou period is known to social historians as the Age of Feudalism. <sup>Although</sup> the origin of feudal system was way back due to the war results between a number of "Tribal States", but the real beginning of feudalism was from the Chou Dynasty.

The land distribution system at Chou period, though different from the Tsing Tien System, can be clearly outlined from the studies and investigations of the Tsing Tien System. The very first record of Tsing Tien System

is what we find in The Works of Mencious. Report of investigation in the Chou Book has drawn a conclusion that "No Tsing Tien System has ever found in Chou Book."<sup>1</sup> Our study of this system is to start from The Works of Mencious.

"The sovereign of the Hsia dynasty enacted the fifty mow allotment, and the payment of a tax. The founder of the Yin enacted the seventy mow allotment, and the system of mutual aid. The founder of the Chou enacted the hundred mow allotment, and the share system. In reality, what was paid in all these was a tithe. The share system means mutual division. The aid system means mutual dependence.

"Lung said, 'For regulating the lands, there is no better than that of taxing. By the tax system, the regular amount was fixed by taking the average of several years. In good years, when the grain lies about in abundance, much might be taken without its being oppressive, and the actual exaction would be small. But in bad years, the produce being not sufficient to repay the manuring of the fields, this system still requires the taking of the full amount. When the parent of the people causes the people to wear books of distress, and, after the whole year's toil, yet not to be able to nourish their parents, so that they proceed to borrowing to increase their means, till the old people and children are found lying in the ditches and water channels:- where, in such a case is his parental relation to the people?'

"As to the system of hereditary salaries, that is already observed in Tang.

"It is said in the 'Book of Poetry',  
 'May the rain come down on our public field,  
 and then upon our private fields.'

"It is only in the system of mutual aid that there is a public field, and from this passage we perceive that even in the Chou dynasty this system has been recognized."



3

All of the other attributes whose appearance after the time of Mencious, are either directly or indirectly elaborated from The Works of Mencious. Dr. Hu Shih has prepared a list of such works in the order of its appearance, in his investigation of Tsing Tien System. He comments as follows:

- 1, The Tsing Tien System as such stated in The Works of Mencious is neither clear nor complete.
- 2, In the Kung Yang Chun of <sup>or</sup> early Han dynasty, only one sentence can be found: "The tax system was one-tenth (tithe)".
- 3, In the Kuo Liang Chun of <sup>or</sup> early Han dynasty, though it is comparatively in more detail but they can only be interpreted literally.
- 4, The written about "Benevolent Government" at Han Wen-ti time was based upon the Works of Mencious but there is no clear nor definite Tsing Tien System ever mentioned.
- 5, In the Han Poetry, written between the time of Wen-ti and Chin-ti, who quoted from Kuo Liang Chun, draws a clear picture of Tsing Tien System.
- 6, In Chou Li which was written at even later time, you can find a well designed giving every detail and full descriptions about Tsing Tien System.
- 7, Shih Ho Chi written by Pen Ku which use references from Chou Li and Han Poetry, makes out a more homogenous system.
- 8, Kung Yang Chun written by Ho Shu at more later time, which uses references from the Works of Mencious, Benevolent Government, Chou Li and Han Poetry, a Tsing Tien System is crystallized by the contributions and combinations of all concerned.

Mencious referred to three kinds of historical system which his suggestion to Tang state was based upon. Then he quoted from Lung, a comparison of the advantages and disadvantages of the "tax system" and the "mutual aid system". Among the three, the taxing was the worst. He thought it was too mechanical. Taking average among several years' harvest to get a standard rate and applying such rate is not justifiable to good years nor bad years. The mutual aid system was just the reverse. Mencious specially emphasized

4

the mutual aid system. But the question arises, whether the mutual aid system has been practiced or not in Chou period. Judging from the Book of Poetry, there is evidence to prove that the mutual aid system has been practiced in Chou period. Mencious said continuously:

"Now, the first thing towards a benevolent government must be to lay down the boundaries. If the boundaries be not defined correctly, the division of the land into squares will not be equal, and the produce available for salaries will not be evenly distributed. On this account, oppressive rulers and impure ministers are sure to neglect this defining of boundaries. When the boundaries have been defined correctly, the division of the fields and the regulation of allowances may be determined by you, sitting at your ease."

The above are the fundamentals reasons in his talking to Tang state. He pointed out that there may create two grave mistakes if the boundaries are not defined correctly. Firstly, the nobilities may get too much or an uneven division of land. Secondly, the nobilities may ask too much or not enough crop harvest from the husbandmen. "When boundaries have been defined correctly, the division of fields and the regulation of salary allowances may be determined by you, sitting at your ease." In his opinions, the division of land and the regulating salary allowances for the officials are the most prime importance. Therefore, he advanced one further step to suggest as follows:

"I would ask you, in the remoter districts, observing the nine-squares division (Tsing Tien system), to reserve one division to be cultivated on the system of mutual aid, and in the more central parts of the kingdom, to make the people pay for themselves of a tenth part of their produce.

From the highest offices down to the lowest, each one must have his holy field, consisting of fifty mows. Let the supernumerary males have their twenty-five mow.

On occasions of death, or removal from one dwelling to another



there will be no quitting the district. In the fields of a district, those who belong to the same nine squares render all friendly offices to one another in their going out and coming in, aid one another in keeping water and ward, and sustain one another in sickness. Thus the people are brought to live in affection and harmony.

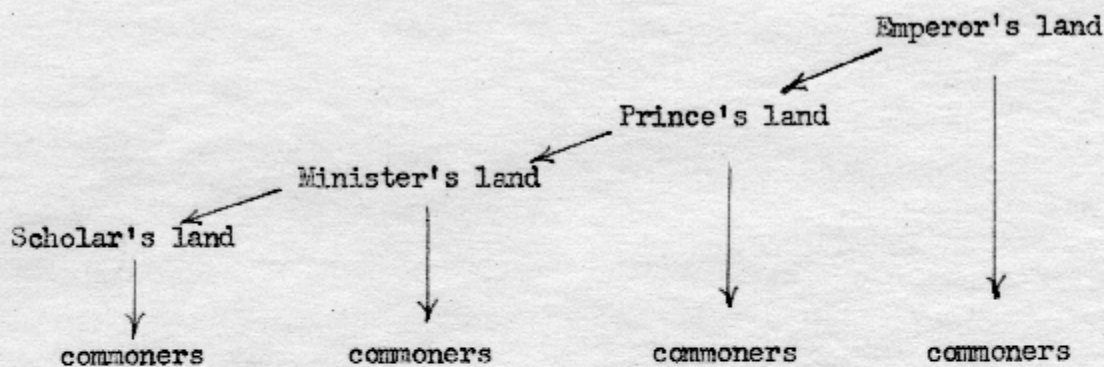
A square li covers nine squares of land, which nine squares contain nine hundred mow. The central square is the public field, and eight families, each having its private hundred mow, cultivate in common the public field. And not till public work is finished, may they presume to attend to their private affairs. This is the way by which the countrymen are distinguished from those of a superior grade."

Thus he gave the great outlines of the Tsing Tien System. To understand the Tsing Tien or "nine-squares division of the land", the form of the Chinese character needs only to be looked at. If we draw lines to inclose it - thus - we have a square portion of ground divided into nine square and smaller squares. But can we suppose it possible to divide a territory in this way? The natural irregularities of the surface would be one great obstacle. And we find the "holy field" and other assignments of land, which must continually have been requiring new arrangement of the boundaries.

Now, suppose we put aside the conception of Mencious and ask ourselves what was the land distribution system prevailed in Chou period? We can reasonably presume that the system was probably running as the following:-

(1) The ownership of all land belongs to the Emperor, that is so called "The land of the whole empire should be called imperial land". The emperor distributes his land to the princes and holds a part which he orders the husbandmen work on them. The princes distribute the land which he receives from the emperor, to his ministers and holds a part at his own management.

He orders peasants or husbandmen work on his land. The ministers distribute a part of land which he receives from the prince, to the scholars and holds a part for his own management. He orders the peasants or husbandmen work on his land. The scholars are the lowest in the hierarchy of the nobilities or upper class. He could not distribute any further. He orders the peasants work on his land and sometimes, he, himself would supervise the cultivation of land or farming. Such arrangement can be illustrated by a diagram as below:



Note: The vertical arrowhead means "land is ordered to".  
The inclined arrowhead means "land is distributed to".

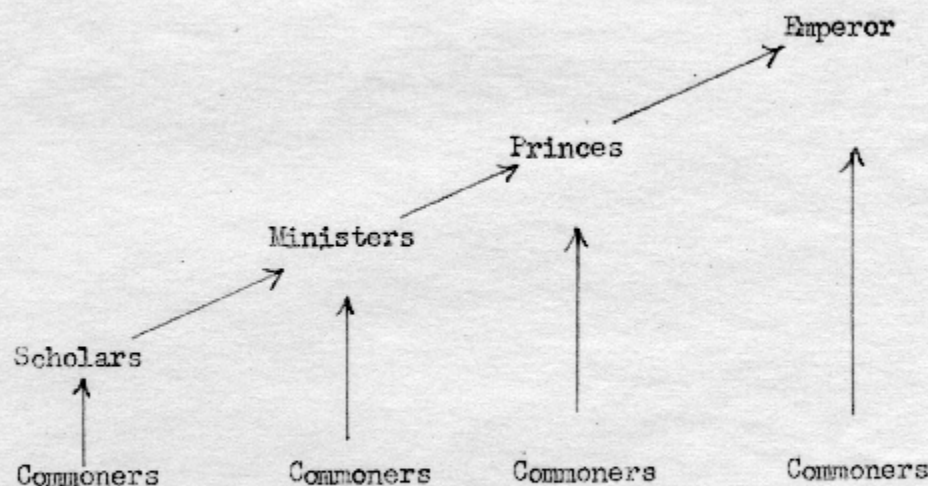
The emperor, princes, ministers and scholars are nobilities or upper class people and also owners of land who order the land to the commoners. The commoners are peasant, tenants (husbandmen), tenant-labours and slaves. Those people who are working on the land which they receive from upper class. Thus as above illustrated, is the distribution of land.

(2) The commoners who work on the land owned by upperclass must offer annually part of the crop harvest to upper class. Generally, there are two or more kinds of offering. For the benefit of those who choose to offer their labour on the public field besides his own work on self-cultivating field, he could cultivate an extra piece of public land of upper class. The crop offering can be exempted if he choose to do extra work on the public field plus what he has to work on the self-cultivating field. The size of the public field is approximately equal to one tenth of the his self-cultivating field. For example, if five peasants each cultivate 100



field. For example, if five peasants each cultivate 100 mow of their assigned land, they would also collectively a piece of public field of about 50 mow in size.

Another kind of offering is that every one offers 10 per cent of his collection to the one higher up. Thus is so called "Each offers one tenth in self-cultivating private field". The peasant offers 10 per cent of crop harvest to upper class. The lower one offers 10 per cent to the one higher than him. The arrangement can be illustrated by a diagram as below:



Note: The upward arrowhead means offering from peasants.  
The inclined arrowhead means lower upper class offering to higher up.

The first diagram shows the part of "land distribution". The second diagram shows the part of "regulating allowances". These are the most important things in the feudal system. Mencius's suggestions to Tang state, if interpreted correctly, were to adopt the Chou's systems, that is, either for the peasants to do ten per cent extra labour work on the public field or taxing on ten per cent harvest from top to bottom.

Nevertheless, Tsing Tien System is repeatedly reminded in Chinese history. Attempts were made in many dynasties to limit land holdings, to equalize the land distribution and to imitate the Tsing Tien system but there

P

are scores of failures due to the economic power and political influences of the landlords. Records made in almost every dynasty's history book, petitions from wise ministers, edicts by the intelligent rulers to limit the owning of land also the power of the rich. The resistance was so strong that even occasionally there was a temporarily submission to the limitation but the revival of landlordism was always a cycle in the history.



## II. PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF LAND (770 B.C. - 9 A.D.)

At the beginning of Chou dynasty there were some 1700 states, but at time when the capital was moved from Hao (Shansi) to Loyang (Honan), the number of vassal states had been reduced to less than 200, of which only a dozen were considered as important, the others being surrounded by the larger state. The vigilant and rigorous measures of the early Chou emperors made them possible to enjoy a prosperous time and rapid expanding economy. Because of the economic development, violent changes in political and social order gradually came into effect. Those most notable ones are as follows:

- 1, The decay of the nobility increases at the same speed as the rapid expanding economy. Intoxicating in the easy and extravagant life, the privileges of the nobility were entrenched without their knowing. Consequently, they were repeatedly cheated by their subordinates and at last, they lost the power of control.
- 2, The communications, bartering and other exchange relationships between the states became more frequent resulting of the economic development. Surplus in productions were available for exchange. Productions are different due to geographical difference. Following this trend, wars, looting of cities, fighting for land are naturally unavoidable.
- 3, Owing to the economic development, the arising of the influential people, landlords and merchants in their social positions jumped high above the upper class. A new social class is formed, the landlord.

Under the feudalism, the land was owned by the nobility and upper class. Land was allotted to the commoners to work on. People who work on land were peasants, tenants, labour-tenants and slaves. People who collected the surplus crop harvest were nobility and upper class without exception.

Owing to the growth of population land in society as a whole, was the main resource for livelihood. Owing to the apparent improvement in farming method and the increasing productivity of agriculture, land has become an attractive object to fight for. The luxury

and greedy life of the nobility expected more and more returns from the land in order to satisfy their desire in the want of precious, valuable and ornamental articles. These are all the reasons of rushing for land. Finally, there is a concentration of land by outright purchase or the booty of war.

Merchants were able to reinvest their money which profit they made in trade, to land. Land was either concentrated in the hands of rich merchants or a group of influential people who turned up from the scholars. Scholars, the lowest stratum of upper class, had direct contact with the peasants. Scholars are the medium between the upper and lower class people. Aware of the decay and greed of the upper class, scholars hanged tightly on the land. Scholars struggled very hard to save the situation and quite a few scholars became pure landlords when the nobility and upper class totally collapsed. The newly borne landlords were entirely different in nature from the original land owners.

We can hardly give a definition for scholar. But it is universally recognized that scholar is a well educated man and scholar is an able official or who is capable to take an office. Scholars, though at the lowest stratum of upper class, are most qualifiable to study knowledges and to preserve the culture. At the collapse of the upper class, the scholars had the chance to be a landlord. The habit of study in literary culture was also inherited traditional in the newly formed landlord class.

Since then, it is only possible for landlord to be a scholar. Unless one owns some land, unless one is a landlord who can exploit the surplus production in agriculture, one has no such leisure hours to study intelligently in literary culture. The examinations for civil service in Chinese history were purposely made it so difficult that sons from poor families had no chance at all.

Due to the birth of landlords plus the existing of merchants, all the surplus production of a society will be absorbed either directly or



11

indirectly by the ownership of landlord or the business capital of the merchant. Hence the stratification of society is clearly divided into rich and poor classes. The landlord and merchant being rich class who always has surplus. The peasants, tenants artisans belong to the poor class people who are living from hand to mouth and can hardly to make their ends meet. The lending and borrowing is naturally created in the society. The poor, at the will of the existence, finds himself to borrow from the rich when he has no other door to turn to. The rich lends to the poor in the form of money, or some times in kind, the seeds or crops. In such relationship, interest rate is charged. Hence the poor becomes poorer, the rich becomes richer.

In <sup>the year</sup> 250 B.C., Shang Yang, prime minister of Chin state ushered in the era of private ownership of land. In <sup>the year</sup> 221 B.C., ~~the last of independent feudal state fell~~ before the Chin emperor Shih Huiag-ti, the great conqueror, and China was united as a single empire. Within a period of ten years time, he built up an overwhelming military striking power. But the fate of the empire was doomed as soon as his empire was established. The military campaigns were expensive and funds had ultimately to come from the people. Heavy taxes and enforced services exhaust the people. Just how heavy the taxes were at this period is not known. It was recorded, however, that the average taxes on land, on mouths (poll tax) and on iron and salt amounted per person to 20 times as much as during the earlier part of Chou dynasty. According to the record, the emperor employed at one time 400,000 men in building the Great Wall, 500,000 in defending the frontiers and 700,000 in the construction of palaces.

That the sufferings of the peasants were directly responsible for the overthrow of the Chin is proved by the fact that Chen Shen, the leader of the revolt, was a peasant who dropped the plough and grasp the sword.

The landlord class people were also not too pleased in the Chin's dictatorship. The revolt was started by peasant upheaval who fought for their

12

very existence; continued by the suppressed or defeated nobility for revenge; and succeeded by the landlord to reap the fruit. A <sup>centralization</sup> ~~collective~~ empire is finally realized, the Han empire. The creation of Chin and Han empires are similar to the creation of the Roman empire same as a result of unification of feudal kingdoms.

The controlling power of nobility in the feudalism is now displaced by the landlord of the centralization. Administrative officers are selected among landlord class for the office of Chuan which is the term for administrative districts in the Han period. The main purpose during the control of landlords is to maintain the private ownership of land. At the extreme expansion of private ownership, the social prestige and influences of the landlord is more powerful than any other class in the social structure. Landlord and merchant dominate the political thoughts, social and economic institutions.

Peasants are forced to desert their land and to seek employment as a tenant or labour when they fail to resist the "eating up" by the landlords and merchants; or the exploitation by the government. The sharp contrasting difference of rich and poor is the sharp conflict between the landlord and peasants. This condition usually end in disaster. Suggestions are made on the limitation of landownership.

"Consequently the condition of 'eating up' arose, and greed appeared. Those who are strong are holding land to the extent of thousands of chuans of land (~~1000~~/chuan equal to ~~100~~, 900 mow); while those who are weak have not even a place to accommodate an awl. From now on, the land of the whole empire should be called imperial land, and the slaves should be called private dependants; they could be neither sold nor purchased. Those families which have fewer than eight male members, but have land amounting to more than one Tsing should distribute the surplus (one Tsing - 900 mow) of land to their relatives and neighbors. The offenders should be punished by death." <sup>6</sup>

The law proclaimed in the Han dynasty (202 B.C. - 220 A.D.) was



not justly arranged and the officials took advantage of that fact to make fraudulent gains.\*7

"Some influential people and merchants have become exceedingly powerful. They have houses in every part of the country, and their land property is connected from state to state. Having no official rank or titles they are wearing official gowns nevertheless. Though they are not the heads of any organizations, yet they have servants in huge numbers. The honor and happiness of these people exceeds that of any state princes, and their influence and power are equal in strength to that of any state officer. They have money sufficient to purchase anything desired and they are not subjected to punishment even if they have committed crimes. Many assassins and daring persons are at their service. Consequently the poor who are weak in strength and mean in wisdom, are suffered to be clothed in rags and to rest on poor beds; and dying, there is no one to give them burial. Neither do they dare complain, though suffering injustice and poverty.

"All such evil conditions, though partly due to laxity of the law, arise chiefly because of the fact that people are entitled to hold land property without any limitation.

"Therefore if today we wish to establish the justice of a universal peace, to equalize the wealth of the people in richness and poverty, and to correct the customs of extravagance prevailing side by side with parsimony, the best and the only way, is to go back to the Tsing Tien system. Of this we are assured, that although there are certain disadvantages in making a change, yet we ought nevertheless to restore the old system."\*8

Petitions for a limitation of land holdings reveal to us the conditions of the poor. They were so reduced that they lost all their holdings to the rich, so that it was a common saying of the day that whereas the land of the rich extended from field to fields, "the poor had not enough to accommodate the point of an owl." Landlords being given a free hand, rent were as high as 50 per cent of the produce. This, coupled with the taxation and services required, drove the poor peasants to desperation.

"The universe was exhausted and the people desperate". The cry for limitation of land holdings was heard on all sides and even a law was proclaimed to that effect, but was not enforced due to the influence of the court favorites.



### III PERIODS OF EQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF LAND

15

In the year of 443 A.D. - 499 A.D., China proper was pacified by the Wei dynasty. Seeing the luxury of the rich with their unlimited extension of land holdings as contrasted with the misery and suffering of the homeless poor, Northern Wei revived the system of land distribution. Such a drastic measure would be the best solution applied to the people of Han race. Such measures call special attention in Chinese history because Wei people who came from north, are supposed to be a different race. How could they solve the most disputable problem so easily. Therefore, people suspect that the land which is equalized and distributed by the Northern Wei was not taken from the hands of the rich people. Those land might be waste land, unclaimed or land without owners.

Such guessing is not entirely without reasons. The land is not taken directly from the hands of the rich but as a matter of fact, the land used to belong the rich is unquestionable. During the invasion from the north, the rich people following the government evacuated to the south. Almost all land becomes ownerless temporarily. Not until the political situation and social order return to normalcy, the land owners are refugees in some where else. When they return they find the land is worked on by local people. The claims in the court and disputes outside the court are numerous. The government seize this opportunity to adopt the land distribution.

"The reason why we were unable to restore the Tsing Tien system successfully before was all the property (land) had belonged to the people for generations, and it would have been very difficult for the government suddenly to take away the land from their hands. But now, after a great period of confusion, all the people are scattered, and the land is left without owners. Thus all of it belongs to the government as public fields. So we ought to take advantage of this opportunity to restore the Tsing Tien system."

The powerful and influential families should not monopolize all fertile and rich fields. The small man will be able to make his living, and the influential will not be able to accumulate too much surplus. In this year, an edict was issued by Hsian Wen-ti (471 - 499 A.D.) as follows:

" - - - Recently, the rich and strong are eating up even the mountains and marshes while the weak and poor have no hope of getting even a place to live. As a result, the benefit of the soil had not been fully utilized and the people are living in a hand to mouth condition. Some of the people have risked their lives, because they were quarrelling over some hedges of the fields; while others have given up their occupation (desertion of land) because they were suffering from hunger and cold (land return not sufficient for subsistence). Under such conditions, how can we expect the empire to be settled and peaceful, and the people to be plentifully provided for and contented? therefore, be it ordered that the land property of the people in the whole empire to be distributed on an equal basis."<sup>10</sup>

The system established was as follows:

(1) The Regular Land

From the age of 15 years up each man received 40 mow of regular land in which nothing had been planted and each woman received 20 mow; the slave was treated like free citizen. Those who had reached the taxable age (15 years) received land, and those who were old enough to be exempted from taxation, returned it; if they dies, it reverted to the state.

(2) The Flax Land

Land in which flax was planted. When a man reached the taxable age, he received 10 mow of flax land ( in addition to 40 mow of regular land) a woman received 5 mow; the slaves were treated like the free citizens. This land too was subject to the law of acceptance and return.

\* The slaves received land shares the same as free citizen; but their shares actually went to the slave owners. Hence the slave shares only benefited the owners.



### (3) The Mulberry Land

When a man first received it, he had a share of 20 mow. It was not subject to the law of acceptance and return, and it was classified as the double land (auxiliary land, i.e., auxiliary to the regular land). The recipient was required to plant 50 mulberry trees, 5 date trees and 3 elms. The slave was treated like the free citizen. All the mulberry land should be hereditary property; when the owner dies, his land needs not be returned.

But this equal distribution system was only adopted to the Northern Wei whilst in the southern state there was no attempt to limit the land holding because it was too weak to cope with the large land owners.

In the north, the equal distribution is succeeded by Tsi, Sui and Tang dynasties. In the year of 564 A.D., Wu Chen-ti, emperor of Sui dynasty made a law providing that every man receive land and pay taxes at 18 years of age; he enrolled as a soldier at 20; be freed from any forced labor at 60; and at 66 return the land to the government and be exempted from taxes. Each man to receive 80 mow of regular land; each woman, 40 mow, the slave treated as free citizen.

The limitation of slaves was 300 slaves for the princes of near relation; 200 for the successive princes; 150 for the princes of next rank down, and for the princes outside of the imperial family; 100 for official of third rank up, and the imperial clansman; 80 for officials from the seventh rank up, and 60 for officials from the eighth rank down, and the common people. No land was given to the slaves who stood beyond the limit. Besides, every man received 20 mow of mulberry land as perpetual property, which was not subject to the law of acceptance and return. \* //

The official approval of the owning of slaves and the land distributed to the slaves were actually went to the slave owners. Though the perpetual property <sup>as well as regular land</sup> ~~was prohibited~~ for sale but the landlords still be able to buy them. "Many people have sold or bought their perpetual property and mouth shares without regard for the regulations. Sometimes they changed the records illegally and at other times they declared that they were simply mortgaging their property.

18

The result is that the poor have no place to live, having to drift around at strange doors, and have been doing work on other people's fields. It means that some people have been robbed off their occupation and properties, and the defects and evils are plainly obvious. The government foresaw the danger and even willing to pay the cost to the present holders of such properties which transferred from the poor if original owners come to recover them. However, the government official, landlord and tax collector are oftentimes one person. Although the law forbade anybody to sell or buy the perpetual property and mouth shares but the regulations cannot be strictly enforced.

In the year of 780 A.D., Yang Yen of Tang dynasty established the bi-annual tax system, from this time on, the public land ownership never revived again. Nominally, the Tang dynasty had the system of public land distribution, but in reality it was a system of private ownership. In the later period of Tang, after the military expeditions, the taxation was very heavy and complex. The regulation was not uniform throughout the country; and the people were allowed to own their land privately and could sell it when they so wished. The government changed the system of equal distribution into Bi-Annual Tax system which continues to modern time with slight modifications.

Chinese History by Kue-Chun Chow

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Chinese Economic History by Hsueh Lee<sup>P.H.</sup>



## SYMMETRY

Malinowsky: A.W.P.

"...symmetry of structure will be <sup>found</sup> formed in every savage society as the indispensable basis of reciprocal obligations."

Mekeel: Economy of the Modern Teton Dakota Community

"Any social gathering taken as a pretext for giving away of property."

Mommsen: Bk. I, Ch. 4.

Romans described parts, e.g., tribute or contributing as thirds (tribus). Confer English "quarters" = 1/4. All ancient bodies divisible by three (like the Muses).

M. Mead: C.C. (p.32).

Arapesh: Dual Organization.

"Only about a tenth of an average man's time is taken up with initiating enterprises in which he invokes other's help - for the other nine tenths he is following leads which came from many different groups!"

Samoa:

"The Samoan life is based upon an economy of plenty."  
"There is more than enough land." "The emphasis was never upon what an individual did, neither upon the skill nor upon the size of his catch or harvest, but always upon its place in a larger social situation." (e.g., in the village fishing fleet organization).

Iroquois: male side; Mohawk, Onondaga, Seneca.  
Female; Oneida, Cayuga

Chairmanship  
of the Con-  
federation  
(votes last)

## RECIPROCITY

Tueting:

Melanesia: "...reciprocal exchange of gifts between groups"  
- general pattern of ceremonial exchange... ~~as~~ Rivalry in giving.

Malinowsky: Crime and Custom  
"Fish and Chips."

Samoa

Exchange of Toga (dowry property) against Oloa (bride price property). These are strict interchanges. Also between chief and talking chief. Equity: borrowing, begging, ~~lax~~ lending relationship.

## REDISTRIBUTION

Thurnwald: E.B.C. China, Incas, Indian, kingdoms, Egypt, Babylonia.

Principal headman or chief "disposes of the booty of hunters, trappers."

Same in case of collective trading parties (redistribution following upon it).

Gifts become taxes.

All archaic states made use of metal currency for taxes and salaries but relied mainly on payments in kind stored in granaries and warehouses for pottery, etc., to the non-producing part of the population. "In this case distribution fulfills an essentially economic function."

Andamans:

"The Andamans exchange all their objects continually through gifts and counter-gifts."

Feudalism:

The ethnic groups transformed into professional ones. "By the formation of an upper layer. There is thus created an organization based on the one hand on the contributions and services of the dependent class, and on the other, on the power of distribution possessed by the heads of families in the leading stratum." Naturally they always keep something back for themselves and the maintenance of their slaves. In this exchange of goods from various districts is effected. "In the absence of a genuine system of agriculture we find in America - in Mexico, and above all in Peru - a similar gigantic centralized political organization based on transactions in kind."

Combination of reciprocity with redistribution (via headman).

Micronesia and Polynesia:

M. and P. peoples have a stratified population with a ruling aristocracy and a sacred king. The kings as representatives of the first clan receive the revenue, redistributing it later in the form of largesse among the population.

Firth:

Trustfulness and power of resisting temptation much more developed than with us. They take the long-term view ...

Thurnwald:

"Diagrams show the functioning of the collective system of taxation and redistribution in kind." Diagram VII.

Malinowsky: "The whole tribal life is permeated by a constant give and take."



## NO GAIN

Malinowsky: A.W.P. (p. 175)

"...There is not even a trace of gain." (Nor primitive communism either).

"...giving for the sake of giving is one of the most important features of ~~Kuan~~ Trobriand sociology."

(p.153): "So we see that food contributed by all the villages before the sagali was simply redistributed among them, a considerable quantity having been added, first by the chief: and this is indeed the usual procedure at Sagali. In this case of course the lion's share was taken by the Kitawans who helped at the building." (At a ~~kassakertiax~~ ~~kassak~~ tasaria: ceremonial regatta held at the launching of a new Kula canoe called waga).

"...primitive wealth is not of an economic but of a social nature..." "...not possession but allowing others to share is the privilege of wealth..." But you might hide part of your store in order to keep it for yourself (actual motives).

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Indians in central and northern California; Bushmen of Kalahari Desert; Australian Aborigenes; Chipewayan and Caribou Eskimos.

Cora DuBois:

Tolowa: scheming, parsimony not extended to food: only to prestige goods.

"...certain physiologically determined tensions. One of the most obvious of these is hunger. But nowhere do human beings discharge this, or any other basic tension, directly."

Herskovits: (p.12)

Even strike and sabotage not quite unknown. "But the demands enforced are demands of prestige and not of livelihood. For among these workers there is no one to whom the return for his labor is essential to his existence." (Confer Thurnwald on Samoa).

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Natives never join labor teams for the sake of escaping from physical need.

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Terrific exertions make recuperation necessary.

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Long quotation. Native activity - white man's "work."

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"Work for its own sake." A salient feature of Maori industry.

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Pukapuka Atol, northeast of Samoa has artificial soil production: from cocoanut fronds, leaves, water seeping through the coral - to grow taro in thick mud (today enormous excavations feed entire villages ... confer Thurnwald on Incas.

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Lower region Milpa (fallow).

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"There is no correlation to be found by culture areas..."

Cultural definition over-riding natural environment.

*for land*  
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*Josamite*  
Thurnwald: Gosiute Indians (Great Salt Lakes)

"...are allowed to kill a rattle snake exclusively by ceremonially shooting it through the head with an arrow." Pol.: primum vivere deinde philosophari?

*primum vivere deinde*

## SYMMETRY

Malinowsky: A.W.P.

"...symmetry of structure will be <sup>found</sup> formed in every savage society as the indispensable basis of reciprocal obligations."

Mekeel: Economy of the Modern Teton Dakota Community

"Any social gathering taken as a pretext for giving away of property."

Mommsen: Bk. I, Ch. 4.

Romans described parts, e.g., tribute or contributing as thirds (tribus). Confer English "quarters" = 1/4. All ancient bodies divisible by three (like the Muses).

M. Mead: C.C. (p.32).

Arapesh: Dual Organization.

"Only about a tenth of an average man's time is taken up with initiating enterprises in which he invokes other's help - for the other nine tenths he is following leads which came from many different groups!" (

Samoa:

"The Samoan life is based upon an economy of plenty."  
"There is more than enough land." "The emphasis was never upon what an individual did, neither upon the skill nor upon the size of his catch or harvest, but always upon its place in a larger social situation." (e.g., in the village fishing fleet organization).

Iroquois: male side; Mohawk, Onondaga, Seneca.  
Female; Oneida, Cayuga

Chairmanship  
of the Con-  
federation  
(votes last)

## RECIPROCITY

Tueting:

Melanesia: "...reciprocal exchange of gifts between groups"  
- general pattern of ceremonial exchange... ~~xx~~ Rivalry in giving.

Malinowsky: Crime and Custom

"Fish and Chips."

Samoa

Exchange of Toga (dowry property) against Oloa (bride price property). These are strict interchanges. Also between chief and talking chief. Equity: borrowing, begging, ~~lending~~ lending relationship.



## REDISTRIBUTION

Thurnwald: E.B.C. China, Incas, Indian kingdoms, Egypt, Babylonia.

Principal headman or chief "disposes of the booty of hunters, trappers."

Same in case of collective trading parties (redistribution following upon it).

Gifts become taxes.

All archaic states made use of metal currency for taxes and salaries but relied mainly on payments in kind stored in granaries and warehouses for pottery, etc., to the non-producing part of the population. "In this case distribution fulfills an essentially economic function."

Andamans:

"The Andamans exchange all their objects continually through gifts and counter-gifts."

Feudalism:

The ethnic groups transformed into professional ones. "By the formation of an upper layer. There is thus created an organization based on the one hand on the contributions and services of the dependent class, and on the other, on the power of distribution possessed by the heads of families in the leading stratum." Naturally they always keep something back for themselves and the maintenance of their slaves. In this exchange of goods from various districts is effected. "In the absence of a genuine system of agriculture we find in America - in Mexico, and above all in Peru - a similar gigantic centralized political organization based on transactions in kind."

Combination of reciprocity with redistribution (via headman).

Micronesia and Polynesia:

M. and P. peoples have a stratified population with a ruling aristocracy and a sacred king. The kings as representatives of the first clan receive the revenue, redistributing it later in the form of largesse among the population.

Firth:

Trustfulness and power of resisting temptation much more developed than with us. They take the long-term view ...

Thurnwald:

"Diagrams show the functioning of the collective system of taxation and redistribution in kind." Diagram VII.

Malinowsky: "The whole tribal life is permeated by a constant give and take."

## NO GAIN

Malinowsky: A.W.P. (p. 175)

"...There is not even a trace of gain." (Nor primitive communism either).

"...giving for the sake of giving is one of the most important features of ~~Tro~~ Trobriand sociology."

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# Romans + Carthians

14. Cannaw: Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte

Odysse. Canto XIV. 96 ff. p. 36. vol II.

fruchtbarer Feste: fabulous wealth.

"Bewohnenden umgibt" 72 a 12 auf der  
Fest. In wackeren Schatz ebensoviel  
auf der Schwemme so viel, und die  
dazwischen liegen. Wohlthäter können sie  
teils, und Zeit-leibige Witten.

Canto II. 635 Noeman says: |

Odysse wealth!

FORMS OF

INTEGRATION:

EXCHANGE

REDISTRIBUTION

RECIPROCITY

MARKET TYPE

INSTITUTIONS

(SUPPLY OR DEMAND CROWD)

THE MARKET

(SUPPLY AND DEMAND)

3RD LEVEL EQUIVALENCY  
(BARGAINED)

AUCTION

BAZAAR

X

MODERN MARKET

3RD LEVEL EQUIVALENCY

"

"

AGORA

X

2ND LEVEL EQUIVALENCY (SET)

X

*See Bazaar  
X  
Port of Trade*

PORT OF  
TRADE

X

1ST LEVEL EQUIVALENCY  
(INDETERMINATE)

X

X

X

X

*Refer to System*

*assumes price making market  
rate of which X does differ*

*Price making  
area*



Eggs

3rd Level (Bayer) Market

Exchange - 1st Level

Redistribution - 1st Level

Market Supply & Demand

Market Supply & Demand

X	Bayer	Arche
Ayora	"	"

Market  
X

2nd Level (Set) Admin Share

Redistribution - 1st Level

Port of 1st Level

Port of 1st Level

X

X

X

X

X

1st Level - 1st Level

Redistribution

X

Exchange

3rd Level - 1st Level

Arche Bayer

Market

Redistribution

3rd Level

2nd Level - 1st Level

Arche	Bayer	Ayora
X	X	X

X

X

Redistribution

1st Level

X

X

X

X

ANALYTIC OUTLINE

FORMS OF TRADE, MONEY USES, AND MARKET ~~AND~~ INSTITUTIONS

SUMMARY

TRADE:

- A. GIFT - ~~INDETERMIN.~~ - RECIP.
- B. ADMINISTRATIVE - SET - REDIST.
- C. MARKET - ~~BARGAINED~~ - EXCHANGE

MONEY USES:

- A. PAYMENT
- B. STANDARD OF VALUE
- C. EXCHANGE

MARKET ~~AND~~ INSTITUTIONS:

- A. ~~FIRST LEVEL: INDETERMINATE RATES~~
- B. ~~SECOND LEVEL: SET RATES~~
- C. ~~THIRD LEVEL: BARGAINED RATES~~

MARKET TYPE - SUPPLY & DEMAND  
AUCTION, BAZAAR  
PORT & TRADE CROWD

MARKET - BOTH CROWDS  
MARKET

FORMS OF INTEGRATION:

- A. RECIPROCITY
- B. REDISTRIBUTION
- C. EXCHANGE

NON-MARKET TYPE - NO CROWD



## TYPES OF TRADE

1. GIFT
2. ADMINISTRATIVE
3. MARKET

### I. GIFT:

ORGANIZATION: CEREMONIAL

GOODS: USUALLY TREASURE - ~~ELITE~~ ELITE

INTEGRATION: RECIPROCITY- USUALLY AMONG EQUALS (IN STATUS IF NOT IN POWER,  
ALSO ~~NOT~~ USED OF REDISTRIBUTION? I.E. SUBJECT KINGS, ETC.)

### II. ADMINISTRATIVE:

ORGANIZATION: FORMAL. THROUGH GUILDS. LONG TERM. TREATIES. TAMKAR.

GOODS: COMMON. PROBLEM OF REGUALTING QUALITY, WEIGHING, STORAGE, PAYMENTS.

FUNCTION OF TREATY: TO OFFER MILITARY SECURITY AND CIVIL PROTECTION.

INTEGRATION: COLLECTION GENERALLY ASSUMES REDISTRIBUTIVE INTEGRATION.

### III. ~~MARK~~ MARKET:

ORGANIZATION: MODERN PRICE MAKING MARKET

GOODS: WIDEST POSSIBLE RANGE. TRANSPORTATION, ETC. INCLUDED

INTEGRATION: THIRD LEVEL OF EXCHANGE.

# MARKET ~~THE~~ INSTITUTIONS

*Market Elements*

## A. SPECIFICS, COMMON TO ALL:

- A. VICE - VERSA MOVEMENT OF GOODS.
- B. SUPPLY CROWD, DEMAND CROWD, OR BOTH.

*Exchange the Market - Supply & demand Crow.*  
*Market Supply - " 02 71*  
*Non-Market Supply Int - neither*

## B. FUNCTIONAL ELEMENTS: (DESCRIPTIVE BUT NOT ESSENTIAL)

- A. SITE:
  1. VISIBLE
  2. INVISIBLE
- B. GOODS:
  1. PRESENT (MEDIEVAL OPEN MARKET)
  2. ABSENT (MODERN)
- C. RATES OF EXCHANGE:
  1. ONE (MODERN)
  2. WIDE RANGE (BAZAAR)
- D. CUSTOM AND LAW

## C. LEVELS OF EXCHANGE

- A. ~~UNDETERMINED~~ FIRST LEVEL: INDETERMINATE RATES (e.g., RECIPROCITY) *fitting - auction -*
- B. SECOND LEVEL: SET RATES (REDISTRIBUTION) *2. j*
- C. THIRD LEVEL: BARGAINED RATES (IN EXCHANGE TYPE INTEGRATION ONLY)
  1. BOTH SUPPLY - DEMAND CROWDS NECESSARY
  2. EQUIVALENCY HERE CALLED PRICE.



## MONEY USES

1. PAYMENT
2. STANDARD OF VALUE
3. EXCHANGE
4. (HOARDING)

### I. PAYMENT:-

#### A. NON-ECONOMIC, SOCIAL ORIGIN

1. FINES, BRIDE PRICE, BLOOD MONEY
2. LATER: TAXES, DUES, RENT.

### II. STANDARD OF VALUE:

#### A. STAPLE FINANCE OR BARTER

1. PLANNING, BALANCING SUPPLIES
2. BARTERING, GIVING NECESSARY CHOICE.

### III. EXCHANGE:

- A. USE OF QUANTIFIABLE OBJECTS FOR INDIRECT EXCHANGE
- B. REQUIRES MARKETS
- C. (?) EQUIVALENCY HERE CALLED PRICE

Our Econ still depend on markets

## FORMS OF INTEGRATION

1. RECIPROCITY
2. REDISTRIBUTION
3. EXCHANGE

### I. RECIPROCITY

TRADE TYPE: MAINLY GIFT  
MONEY USE: KKKKKK, PAYMENT USE OF MONEY, BUT NOT LINKED WITH TRADE.  
NONE  
MARKET TYPE INSTITUTION: NONE (NOT EVEN FIRST LEVEL OF EXCHANGE???)

### II. REDISTRIBUTION

TRADE TYPE: GIFT OR ADMINISTRATIVE  
MONEY USE: MAINLY STANDARD OF VALUE  
MARKET TYPE INSTITUTION: SECOND LEVEL OF EXCHANGE MAINLY.

### III. EXCHANGE:

TRADE: MARKET TYPE  
MONEY USES: EXCHANGE USE DOMINANT  
TYPE OF INSTITUTION: THIRD LEVEL OF EXCHANGE: RX

NOTE: IN MY ATTEMPT AT SYNTHESIS I DO NOT WANT TO OBSCURE THESE VITAL DISTINCTIONS:  
1. INTEGRATION IS SEPARATE FROM TRADE. YOU MAY HAVE INTEGRATION WITHOUT TRADE.  
2. TRADE IS SEPARATE FROM MONEY. YOU MAY HAVE RXN TRADE WITHOUT ANY MONEY USES  
3. YOU MAY HAVE MONEY USES WITHOUT TRADE.



## FORMS OF INTEGRATION

1. RECIPROCITY
2. REDISTRIBUTION
3. EXCHANGE

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TRADE TYPE: MAINLY GIFT

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NONE

— MARKET TYPE INSTITUTION: NONE (NOT EVEN FIRST LEVEL OF EXCHANGE???)

### II. REDISTRIBUTION

TRADE TYPE: GIFT OR ADMINISTRATIVE

MONEY USE: MAINLY STANDARD OF VALUE *(if any)* *(if any)*

MARKET TYPE INSTITUTION: SECOND LEVEL OF EXCHANGE MAINLY.

### III. EXCHANGE:

TRADE: MARKET TYPE

MONEY USES: EXCHANGE USE DOMINANT

TYPE OF INSTITUTION: THIRD LEVEL OF EXCHANGE: ~~EX~~

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*al*  
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FORMS OF TRADE, MONEY USES, AND MARKET ~~TYPE INSTITUTIONS~~ *elements*

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*forms of* TRADE:

- A. GIFT
- B. ADMINISTRATIVE
- C. MARKET

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- A. PAYMENT *(u)*
- B. STANDARD ~~OF VALUE~~
- C. EXCHANGE

~~MARKET TYPE INSTITUTIONS~~

- Exchange Economies*
- A. FIRST LEVEL: ~~4~~ INDETERMINATE RATES
  - B. SECOND LEVEL: ~~4~~ SET RATES
  - C. THIRD LEVEL: ~~4~~ BARGAINED RATES

FORMS OF INTEGRATION:

- A. RECIPROCITY
- B. REDISTRIBUTION
- C. EXCHANGE



FORMS TYPES OF TRADE

1. GIFT
2. ADMINISTRATIVE
3. MARKET

I. GIFT:

ORGANIZATION: CEREMONIAL

GOODS: USUALLY TREASURE - ~~KING~~ ELITE ; ?

— INTEGRATION: RECIPROCITY- USUALLY AMONG EQUALS (IN STATUS IF NOT IN POWER,  
(?) NOT USED OF REDISTRIBUTION? I.E. SUBJECT KINGS, ETC.)

II. ADMINISTRATIVE:

ORGANIZATION: FORMAL. THROUGH GUILDS. LONG TERM. TREATIES. TAMKAR.

GOODS: COMMON. PROBLEM OF REGUALTING QUALITY, WEIGHING, STORAGE, PAYMENTS.

FUNCTION OF TREATY: TO OFFER MILITARY SECURITY AND CIVIL PROTECTION.

INTEGRATION: COLLECTION GENERALLY ASSUMES REDISTRIBUTIVE INTEGRATION.

III. MARK MARKET:

ORGANIZATION: MODERN PRICE MAKING MARKET

GOODS: WIDEST POSSIBLE RANGE. TRANSPORTATION, ETC. INCLUDED

INTEGRATION: THIRD LEVEL OF EXCHANGE.

## MONEY USES

1. PAYMENT
2. STANDARD ~~OF~~ VALUE
3. EXCHANGE
4. (HOARDING)

### I. PAYMENT:

- A. NON-ECONOMIC, SOCIAL ORIGIN
  1. FINES, BRIDE PRICE, BLOOD MONEY
  2. LATER: TAXES, DUES, RENT.

### II. STANDARD OF VALUE:

- A. STAPLE FINANCE OR BARTER
  1. PLANNING, BALANCING SUPPLIES
  2. BARTERING, GIVING NECESSARY CHOICE.

### III. EXCHANGE:

- A. USE OF QUANTIFIABLE OBJECTS FOR INDIRECT EXCHANGE
- B. REQUIRES MARKETS
- C. (?) EQUIVALENCY HERE CALLED PRICE



*elements*  
MARKET TYPE PROPOSITIONS

*market elements*  
A. SPECIFICS, COMMON TO ALL:

- Vice - versa*
- A. VICE - VERSA MOVEMENT OF GOODS.
  - B. SUPPLY CROWD, DEMAND CROWD, OR BOTH.

B. FUNCTIONAL ELEMENTS: (DESCRIPTIVE BUT NOT ESSENTIAL)

- A. SITE:
  - 1. VISIBLE
  - 2. INVISIBLE *v*
- B. GOODS:
  - 1. PRESENT (MEDIEVAL OPEN MARKET)
  - 2. ABSENT (MODERN)
- C. RATES OF EXCHANGE:
  - 1. ONE (MODERN)
  - 2. WIDE RANGE (BAZAAR)
- D. CUSTOM AND LAW:

C. LEVELS OF EXCHANGE

- A. ~~INDEXERMM~~ FIRST LEVEL: INDETERMINATE RATES (I.E. RECIPROCITY) *e.g.*
- B. SECOND LEVEL: SET RATES (REDISTRIBUTION) ~~XXX~~ *(e.g.)*
- C. THIRD LEVEL: BARGAINED RATES (IN EXCHANGE TYPE INTEGRATION ONLY)
  - 1. BOTH SUPPLY - DEMAND CROWDS NECESSARY
  - 2. EQUIVALENCY HERE CALLED PRICE.

PROFESSOR POLANYI'S CONCEPTS: 3/31/53

FACING THE POSSIBILITY OF A GREATER DEVELOPMENT IN PROFESSOR POLANYI'S SYSTEM, WHICH PERHAPS I COULD NOT KEEP UP WITH OR AGREE TO, I DECIDED THAT IT WOULD BE OF VALUE TO RECORD THE BASIC ONES THAT HAVE BEEN OF VALUE TO ME.

I. TRADE, MONEY, AND MARKETS VIEWED AS SEPARATE PHENOMENA.

1. MODERN MARKET VIEWS THEM AS THREE ASPECTS OF THE SAME THING (CATALACTIC TRIAD)
  - A. TRADE: MOVEMENT OF GOODS TO AND FROM MARKET.
  - B. MONEY: MEANS OF EXCHANGE
  - C. MARKET: LOCUS OF EXCHANGE.
2. THIS IS TRUE ONLY IN A MODERN, PRICEMAKING MARKET.
3. ELSEWHERE WE MAY HAVE ONE WITHOUT THE OTHER
  - A. DIFFERENT TYPES OF TRADE
  - B. SPECIAL PURPOSE MONEY MAY BE USED FOR FINES, BRIDE PRICE, ETC.
  - C. MARKET A SPECIFIC INSTITUTION IMPLYING CONSTANT SUPPLY, CUSTOMS, ETC.
4. NECESSITY TO SPECIFY ELEMENTS OF INTEGRATION OF THE EMPIRICAL ECO IN QUESTION.

II. 2. FORMS OF INTEGRATION: REFER TO THE GENERAL SYSTEM PARTICULARLY

1. MODERN ECONOMY EXCHANGE; SUPPLY - DEMAND PRICE MECHANISMS CONTROLS IT.
2. MOST ANCIENT ECONOMY REDISTRIBUTIVE
  - A. POLITICAL FRAMEWORK NECESSARY TO GUARANTEE SUPPLY.
  - B. " ELEMENT MAY DETERMINE HOW DEMAND IS SATISFIED.
  - C. " MAY FIX PRICES; PREVENT RESALE OR ENGROSSING ON MARKET.
  - D. " IDEA OF "JUST PRICE".
3. MOST PRIMITIVE ECONOMIES: RECIPROCITY
  - A. SOCIAL INTERACTION OFTEN AS MUCH A GOAL AS GETTING GOODS.
  - B. CUSTOM, ETC. NOT MATERIAL GAIN REGULATE EXCHANGE
  - C. WAY OF EMBEDDING SELF-INTEREST IN SOCIAL HABITS.

III. VALUE OF CONCEPTS TO EXAMINE AND DESCRIBE THE EMPIRICAL ECO TO BE STUDIED.

1. IS THERE A SUPPLY OR DEMAND CROWD, OR BOTH?
2. ARE THEY COMPETITIVELY ORGANIZED?
  - A. COMPETITIVE DEMAND CROWD ONLY - AUCTION
  - B. " SUPPLY CROWD AND DEMAND BAZAAR OR MODERN MARKET.
3. IS THERE ONE PRICE? BASIC TRAIT OF MARKET.
  - A. BAZAAR NOT ONE PRICE, DISTINGUISHING FEATURE.
4. IS IT IN RAW GOODS (NECESSITIES) OR MANUFACTURED ARTICLES.
  - A. BAZAAR MANUFACTURED GOODS.
  - B. AGORA USUALLY A FOOD MARKET.
5. IS IT A LOCALIZED MARKET? ARE GOODS PRESENT?

IV. EMPHASIS: FORMS OF INTEGRATION TO ME ARE MOST VALUABLE IN DESCRIPTION.

1. THUS AGORA, THOUGH A MARKET (I.E. HAS ONE PRICE) IS FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT FROM MODERN MARKET BECAUSE IT DEPENDS ON REDISTRIBUTIVE SYSTEM.
2. SAME FOR PORT OF TRADE. MAY BECOME MARKET IF CENTRAL SYSTEM BREAKS DOWN.

V. GENERAL WARNING: VALUE OF SYSTEM IN ITS EMPHASIS. MAY BE BROKEN DOWN IF MADE TOO GENERAL, TO COVER TOO MANY THINGS.



## II. POLITICAL BUSINESS

### B. GOLDEN AGE (CONTINUED)

#### II<sup>x2</sup>. INCREASE IN ~~XXXXX~~ SCOPE

6. ALL RESOURCES OF EMPIRE PUT AT THEIR DISPOSAL - ASSESSING AND COLLECTING WEALTH
  - A. ASSESSING AND COLLECTING WEALTH.
  - B. POWER OF PREFECTURA.
  - C/. DEVELOP POSTAL SERVICE
  - E. CONTROL OF LARGE SUPPLIES OF GRAIN, ETC. (IN KIND?)
    - I. POSSIBILITY THEY MIGHT HAVE CONTROLLED SUPPLY THAT WOULD HAVE DEVELOPED INTO A MARKET SYSTEM.
    - II. PROBLEM OF ADAERATION:
    - III. NO RECORD OF SOCIETAS BUYING OR SELLING.

#### 7. GREAT EXTENT OF USURY.

### III. GROWTH IN POLITICAL POWER: ORIGIN IN LEX ACILIA OF GRACCHUS - CONTROL JURIES. REMOVED BY SULLA - RETURN SOON AFTER -

- A. BREAK GOVERNORS..... *222 131 - Vellius Patruclus*

#### B. CICERO'S TROUBLE WITH THEM.

### C. ~~THEXXX~~ DECLINE OF THE SOCIETAS: POLITICAL IN ITS SOURCE

- A. SLAUGHTER OF MITHRADATES - ROMANS IN DELOS NEVER RECOVER.
- B. SLAUGHTER BY SULLA OF ~~6~~ <sup>4</sup> *quadrantes* EQUITES.
- C. RETURN: FAILURE OF EFFECTIVE CONTROL OF CICERO  
FAILURE TO SUPPORT POMPEY - *not by contract*  
NEED FOR REFORM AT HOME AS WELL AS ABROAD - CATILINE'S REVOLT -
- D. END: REFORMS OF CAESAR AND AUGUSTUS.

### D. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ SIGNIFICANCE OF FATE OF SOCIETAS:

- A. COMPOSED OF UPPER CLASS ROMANS, NOT ITALIANS OR FREEDMEN. POSSIBLE POLITICAL POWER.
- B. BY ITS ~~XX~~ UNIQUE RIGHT OF 1<sup>st</sup> CORPORATION AND SALE OF SHARES PROVIDED WIDE BASIS FOR INVESTMENT OF CAPITAL.
- C. HAS ACCESS TO ~~COMMUNICXXX~~ GREAT RESOURCES OF SUPPLIES AS WELL AS COMMUNICATION (AND TRANSPORTATION?????)

*D* YET NEVER GOES IN FOR BUYING AND SELLING. OR MANUFACTURING.  
THUS MONEY INVESTED HERE ~~XXXXXX~~ IS NOT RELATED TO ECONOMIC PRODUCTION.

*E* PROBLEM: WHY IT DID NOT DEVELOP INTO A MARKET SYSTEM:

1. LACK OF INTEREST OR KNOWLEDGE IN PRODUCTION
2. GOVERNMENTAL RESTRICTIONS. - FROM SENATORIAL OPPOSITION.
3. PILLAGE MORE PROFITABLE







## ROMAN REALISM (CONTINUED)

THE RESULT OF THIS ROMAN POLICY WAS THAT AFTER 100 YEARS OF THE EMPIRE, ITS EMPERORS COULD BE DRAWN FROM THE SAVAGE SPANIARDS, EMPERORS WHO WOULD BUILD BATHS, GARDENS, ~~XXXXXX~~ WHEREVER ROMAN CITIZENS WERE EXPECTED TO LIVE, AND WHO WOULD ALSO ENDOW SCHOOLS FOR ORPHANS.

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ IN THE TIME SPAN, ROMAN CIVILIZATION LAID DOWN THE LANGUAGE ON WHICH THE BEAUTIFUL FRENCH, ITALIAN AND SPANISH WERE TO BE BUILT. ITS LITERATURE WAS THE BASIS OF THEIRS. ITS ART (ONLY A VERY FEW MISERABLE GREEK REMAINS WERE KNOWN) WAS THE BASIS OF THEIRS. IT THEREFORE SEEMS LUDICROUS TO ME FOR A WRITER TO CLASSIFY THE RENAISSANCE ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ FRENCH ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ AND 18TH CENTURY FRANCE AS CIVILIZED AND THE ROMANS AS NOT SO.

GREEK CULTURE: THE ROMANS WERE BY NO MEANS PERFECT, AND AS A MODEL IN MANY WAYS THE GREEKS MAY BE MUCH MORE HELPFUL. IT IS THEY WHO SET THE CLASSIC MODELS IN THE FIELD OF CULTURE, WHICH IS USED BY US FOR ART, LITERATURE, ETC, IN GENERAL THE ELABORATION OF THE F OF THE ETHIC BY THE SPECIAL WORK OF E. (HERE PERHAPS THERE WAS LESS OF A SPECIALIZED E, ~~SM~~ AND WE SHOULD MORE ACCURATELY STATE THE WORK OF THE CITIZEN FUNCTIONING AS E.) GREEK DEMOCRACY, WHEREBY THE GREAT POWER OF THE STATE WOULD BE CONTROLLED AND GUIDED BY ALL THE CITIZENS IS PROBABLY THE CENTER OF GREEK SUPERIORITY OVER THE ROMANS. BUT THE GREEKS HAD A PROBLEM THEY COULDN'T SOLVE. THEIR CITIZENS, THEY BELIEVED, TO RULE, HAD TO BE INFORMED. ~~XXXX~~ THEREFORE PLATO SAYS A CITY CAN'T BE OVER 6,000 PEOPLE, THE NUMBER THAT HEAR A SPEAKER EASILY.

MODERN CIVILIZATION: IT IS HERE THAT THE MODERN CIVILIZATION OFFERS ITS GREATEST CONTRIBUTIONS. OUR RADIO MAY NOW BE BARBARIC, BUT IT CAN BE A GREAT CIVILIZING FORCE. COMBINED WITH TELEPHONES, I THINK IT MIGHT BE A POSSIBLE WAY OF TURNING A COUNTRY OF MANY MILLION PEOPLE INTO A GREEK POLIS. CERTAINLY ALL COULD HEAR THE SPEAKER, AS ALL HEARD FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. VOTES COULD BE QUICKLY TAKEN THRU SOME TYPE OF TELEPHONES. MOST ESSENTIAL THEN, WOULD BE A INTRAMURAL SYSTEM COULD BE DIVIDED WHERE THE RANKING PEOPLE WOULD BE PUT IN THE POSITION TO ADDRESS THE NATION.

CONCLUSION: IT THUS SEEMS TO ME, THAT CIVILIZATION, IS NOT A ~~XXX~~ VERBAL AFFAIR (PHILOSOPHY) NOR IS IT ONE OF THE INDIVIDUAL, NO MATTER HOW GIFTED HE MAY BE. RATHER IT IS THE WORK OF LARGE GROUPS OF MEN FIGHTING SIDE BY SIDE, WORKING DESPERATELY TO CLEAR THE WILDERNESS AND MAKE A CITY. TO CONTROL THE FORCES OF NATURE AND MAKE LIESURE POSSIBLE. THEN IT IS THE STRUGGLE TO PRESERVE THE CITY FROM OTHER GROUPS OF MEN, AND THEN TO INCORPORATE THEM WITHIN YOUR CITY. TO ME ~~THEXGREEKXXXXX~~ (XXXXTHEXROMANXTHEXSEKYESXADMIXTERXXX) THE GREEKS OFFERED THE IDEAL TYPE OF CITY LIFE, THE ROMANS THE BEST KNOWN WAY OF INCORPORATING OTHERS INTO IT, AND MODERN SCIENCE, THE BEST WAY OF COMBINING THE TWO, AND THEN PROGRESSING TO DEVELOPMENTS THAT WOULD MAKE OUR ANCIENT IDEALS AS OBSOLETE AS A ROMAN CHARIOT.



## AGRICULTURE

### SUPPLY: Wx2

1. EAREY ROMAN PEASANTS SELF-SUFFICING.
2. IN CRISES, EVEN IN EARLY TIMES GOVE. SUPPLIES GR IN
3. SALT SUPPLY TAKEN OVER.

### DISTRIBUTION:

1. ANNONA - FROM GRACCHI ON -
2. POSSIBLE ANNONA OF OIL, WINE.....
3. LOCAL VEGETABLE MARKET

### CAPITAL INVESTED:

1. CATO, (LATER VARRO AND COLUMELLA HANDBOOK) - SLAVES- TIME OF MOST.  
BASED ON SLAVES.  
RECESSION INDICATED WHEN GRAZING SPREADS?

PRESTIGE FACTORS

CAPITAL - BASED ON FIXED PRICES???

### CONCLUSIONS:

1. ANNONA PRINCIPLE BASIC - THE CITIZENS MUST BE FED - (IN THE EMPIRE)
2. GRAIN, AND LATER OIL, WINE BROUGHT IN FOR ANNONA.
3. NOT DEPENDENT ON MARKET FOR DISTRIBUTION: ADMINISTRATIVE MEANS USED - TRIBUT E-  
FROM THEN RATIONING, PEDDLARS, - THOUGH LOCAL MARKETS DID EXIST.
4. MARKETS NOT CONNECTED BY PRICE- ADMINISTRATIVE MEANS USED TO IMPORT FOODS
5. CAPITAL - NO CONTROL OVER SUPPLY- WORKS LAND NO BETTER THAN CAN SMALL  
FARMERS WHO LATER TAKE OVER (I.E. SERFS OF MIDDLE AGES).

## INDUSTRY

### PRODUCTION:

- A. LIMITED - HANDICRAFT - ROME NEVER IMPORTANT (ROSTOVITZ)
- B. PRACTICALLY NO FACTORIES (BRICKMAKING, VERY EXPENSIVE TO TRANSPORT)  
INDUSTRY OF POMPEII STARTS WITH AUGUSTUS.  
IRON INDUSTRY OF PUTEOLI
- C. MOST MANUFACTURES - LUXURIES FROM ASIA
- D. PROBABILITY OF MUCH INDUSTRY FOR GOV. ARMS.  
NOT IMPORTANT TO US - & NECESSARILY STRICTLY REGULATED. NOT LIKELY  
TO HAVE ELEMENTS OF MARKET FOR WHICH WE ARE LOOKING.

### II DISTRIBUTION:

- A. HANDICRAFT - STORE FRONT SHOPS OF POMPEII - BAZAAR TYPE TRADE
  - 1. LOCALIZED 2. PERSONALIZED 3. NO ONE PRICE.
- B. X LACK OF MARKET ELEMENTS:
  - 1. NO ONE PRICE 2. NO RESALE
- C. IMPORTANCE OF PEDDLARS IN DISTRIBUTION:
  - 1. INSTITORES 2. AUCTION

### III CAPITAL INVESTMENT:

- A. NOT IN RETAILING OR RESALE AS TODAY
- B. NO INSTITUTIONS FOR INVESTMENT:
  - 1. NO BANKING INVESTMENT IN INDUSTRY.
  - 2. NO STOCKMARKETS IN ~~ROMAN~~ ~~ROMAN~~ INDUSTRIAL FIRMS.
  - 3. NO LIMITED LIABILITY OF CORPORATION OR PARTNERSHIPS.
- C. POSSIBLY SOME INVESTMENT IN TRAINING SLAVES:
  - 1. ATTICUS AND CRASSUS TRAIN SCRIBES AND GLADIATORS.
  - 2. STORES IN LARGE HOUSES LET TO SLAVES? POSSIBLY. PROBABLY DONE MORE  
FOR CONVENIENCE THAN FOR PROFIT, EVEN IF SURPLUS WAS SOLD.
  - 3. IF SLAVE WAS SUCCESSFUL, PROBABILITY HE WOULD BE FREED BY HIS PECULUM.

XXXXXXXXXXXX

### IV. STATUS: POLITICAL AND SOCIAL INFLUENCE: VERY LITTLE - ALL AGREE, EVEN ROS.

- A. BRICKMAKING OF ANTONINES- ONLY WEALTH FROM INDUSTRY THAT CONTRIBUTE TO POL. POWER  
TO POLITICAL POWER
- B. NO PROTEST AGAINST VERY LOW TARIFF.
  - 1. IMPORT AND EXPORT TARIFF SAME. REALLY HARBOR DUES.
- C. NO PROTEST AGAINST CORN DOLE
  - 1. TAKES CITIZENS FROM WORK (IF THEY DID WORK)
  - 2. WORK BASED ON SLAVES (ROS.)
- D. LITTLE EVIDENCE OF COLONIES USED AS MARKETS IN THE REPUBLIC.
- E. MEASURES AGAINST CARTHAGE, CORINTH, RHODES EXPLAINED.



INDUSTRY (CONTINUED)

SUMMARY:

MARKETS: FEW AND LIMITED. NEEDS LESS. MUCH WORK DONE AT HOME.

" NOT LINKED BY PRICE.

1. & NO ONE PRICE. BAZAAR TYPE TRADE.
2. EXPENSE OF TRANSPORTATION.

CAPITAL INVESTMENT: DOUBTFUL.

1. NO EVIDENCE RULING CLASSES INTERESTED IN INDUSTRY.
2. NO INSTITUTIONS TO CARE FOR INVESTMENTS, PARTICULARLY OF THE  
"MIDDLE CLASS" OF ROSTOV.

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### PART I:

#### GENERAL:

T. FRANK "ECO. SURVEY OF ~~THE~~ ANCIENT ROME" VOL I-IV -  
"HISTORY OF ROME"  
"ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ROME"

ROSTOVITZEFF "HISTORY OF THE HELLENISTIC WORLD" VOL I-III  
"ROMAN EMPIRE"

TOUTAIN "~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD"

LOUIS "ANCIENT ROME AT WORK"

HEICHELHEIM (IF AVAILABLE).....

#### MORE SPECIFIC:

AGRICULTURE: LOAN "INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE OF THE CITY OF ROME 50 B.C. - 200 A.D."

INDUSTRY LOAN IBID.

BANKING: WESTERMANN "WAREHOUSING AND TRAPEZITE BANKING IN ANTIQUITY"  
VOIGT.....  
HERZOG.....

✗ TRANSPORTATION: WESTERMANN .....

### PART II POLITICAL BUSINESS:

HILL "THE ROMAN MIDDLE CLASS"

*Onief - "Societas Publicanorum"*



## ROSTOVTZEEF'S VIEWS:

### CAPITAL INVESTMENT:

#### I. IN AGRICULTURE:

- A. NOT ONLY RICHEST, BUT MIDDLE CLASSES (I.E. SULLA<sup>1</sup> VETERANS) INVEST IN LAND.
- B. THESE LIVE IN CITIES ON THEIR INCOME FROM LANDS.
- C. SLAVES EXTENSIVELY USED TO WORK FARMS.
- D. RATIONAL EXPLOITATION OF FARMS: HELLENISTIC SCIENCE: HANDBOOKS.

#### II. IN INDUSTRY

- A. LARGE SCALE PRODUCTION FOR MARKETS.
- B. RICH INVEST IN SLAVES AND PUT THEM IN BUSINESS.
- C. THESE DRIVE OUT SMALL INDEPENDENT BUSINESS
- D. RATIONAL EXPLOITATION OF SLAVES ("MUST HAVE BEEN HANDBOOKS")
- E. FAILURE OF PURCHASING POWER OF BOURGEOISIE IS CAUSE OF END OF INDUSTRIALISM.

### QUESTIONS:

#### II. ON AGRICULTURE

- A. DOMINANCE OF POLITICAL PRESTIGE IN ACQUIRING LANDS.
- B. ONLY IN GREEK WARS DO WE HEAR OF MASSES OF SLAVES.
- C. PEASANTS STILL PREDOMINATE (ROS.)
- D. EVEN CATO'S FARM PROBABLY MORE PEASANTS USED.
- E. CATO'S<sup>A</sup> SLAVES NOT LIKELY TO REPRODUCE CHILDREN.

#### III. ON INDUSTRY

- A. FACT: LITTLE PRODUCED IN REPUBLICAN ROME
- B. ALL (?) REMAINS OF SHOPS SMALL SHOPS OR BAZAARS.
- C. IF SLAVES USED, COULD SOON BUY FREEDOM IF SUCCESSFUL.
- D. FACT NO HANDBOOKS ON INDUSTRY HEARD OF. BETTER CLASSES NOT INTERESTED IN,  
NO TRADITION OF INTEREST IN, AS THERE WAS FOR AGRICULTURE.
- E. "PURCHASING POWER" MAINLY DEPENDS ON BOOTY FROM ASIA.
- D. KNOWN NO MEN RICH FROM INDUSTRY.
- \*\*\*\*\*E. HOW COULD "MIDDLE CLASS" INVESTMENT BE POSSIBLE WITHOUT BANK OR STOCK FIRMS?

INDUSTRY: NOTES:

GENERAL VIEWS:

ROSTOVITZ: ABOUT THE HELLENISTIC TIMES R. IS RATHER CONSERVATIVE:

"HOW CONSIDERABLE WAS THE ACTUAL AND IMPORT AND EXPORT OF MANUFACTURED GOODS IT IS DIFFICULT TO SAY. IT MAY BE REGARDED AS A CERTAINTY THAT SPECIAL PRODUCTS SUCH AS PAPYRUS AND PARCHMENT, PERFUMES, GLASS, BEADS, FINER ARTICLES OF ART AND ARTICLES OF INDUSTRY, WEAPONS WERE OBJECTS OF IMPORT AND EXPORT. THE SAME, HOWEVER, WAS HARDLY TRUE OF MOST OF THE EVERYDAY ARTICLES OF USE: DOMESTIC TOOLS, AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS, KITCHEN WARE, METALS, POTTERY, ORDINARY CLOTHES, SHOES, SLIPPERS AND THE LIKE. SOME OF THESE ARTICLES, ESPECIALLY CLOTHES WERE MADE AT HOME, BUT MOST OF THEM WERE, NO DOUBT, PRODUCED BY LOCAL ARTISANS OF THE GREEK CITIES, WHO WERE AT THE SAME TIME DEALERS IN THEIR OWN PRODUCTS." (CAH VIII 656)

BUT IN REGARD TO THE EMPIRE HE IS LESS CAREFUL:

"THE EXCHANGE OF MANUFACTURED GOODS, ARTICLES NOT OF LUXURY BUT OF EVERYDAY USE WAS EXCEEDINGLY ACTIVE. EGYPT REMAINED THE ONLY CENTRE OF PRODUCTION FOR LINEN GARMENTS AND PAPER. LARGE MASSES OF WOOLEN STUFFS WERE EXPORTED FROM ASIA MINOR, ITALY, AND GAUL. ITALIAN RED-GLAZED POTTERY DOMINATED ALL THE MARKETS. THE METAL PLATE OF CAPUA AND ALEXANDRIA HAD NO RIVALS. GLASS WAS PRODUCED IN SYRIA IN ALEXANDRIA, AND IN LARGE MASSES IN SOUTH ITALY. CLAY LAMPS WERE ONE OF THE MAIN SPECIALTIES OF ITALY. TOILET ARTICLES IN AMBER WERE MADE EXCLUSIVELY IN AQUILEIA, WHICH IMPORTED THE RAW MATERIAL FROM GERMANY AND MADE IT INTO FINE SMALL MIRRORS, BOXES, FLAGGONS, ETC., FOR EXPORT." (ROME 167)

"BUT IT IS EVIDENT THAT THESE FEATURES OF HOUSE ECONOMY WERE MERE SURVIVALS. HOME PRODUCTION ALIKE IN ITALY AND IN THE PROVINCES WAS LIMITED TO A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF SPINNING AND WEAVING. FOR EVERYTHING ELSE RECOURSE WAS HAD TO THE MARKET; AGRICULTURAL AND DOMESTIC IMPLEMENTS, POTTERY, LAMPS, TOILET ARTICLES, JEWELLERY, CLOTHES, AND THE LIKE WERE NOT PRODUCED AT HOME EVEN IN THE VILLAGES. THE EXCAVATIONS OF POOR RURAL CEMETERIES PROVE THIS UP TO THE HILT." (ROME 302)

GOMMERUS

THE AUTHOR OF PROBABLY THE MOST QUOTED ARTICLE ON "INDUSTRIE UND HANDEL" IS QUITE FORTHRIGHT IN HIS ASSERTION OF BIG BUSINESS, ALTHOUGH HE DOES NOT STRESS THE MARKET ~~AS~~ AS MUCH AS ROSTOVITZ;

"ES FRAGT SICH NUN, OB NEBEN DEM VORHERRSCHENDEN KLEINBETRIEB AUCH DER GROSSEBETRIEB ZUR ENTWICKLUNG GELANGT IST. DIE FRAGE MUSS ENTSCHEIDEN BEJAHT WERDEN: 1. SKLAVENWIRTSCHAFT: 2. ANHAUFUNG DES GELDKAPITALS. (P.W. 1483)

GERTEL

AN AUTHORITY WHO IN MANY WAYS FOLLOWS ROSTOVITZ, DOES NOT AGREE ON THIS POINT:

"HENCE LARGE SCALE INDUSTRY... DID NOT DEVELOP INTO A TRULY TYPICAL FORM OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, BUT IF WE DISREGARD THE ALEXANDRINE PAPER INDUSTRY, REMAINED LIMITED TO PARTICULAR BRANCHES (THE CERAMIC, METALLURGIC, GLASS AND PERHAPS THE GARUM.)" (CAH X 423)

LOAN

EVEN MORE FORCIBLY PUTS THE CASE AGAINST THE EXISTENCE OF LARGE INDUSTRY.



NOTES: I. OPINIONS

LOAN (CONTINUED) "THE EMERGENCE OF PRODUCTION ON A LARGE SCALE DEPENDS ON MANY ADDITIONAL FACTORS: LABOR-SAVING MACHINERY, CHEAP FUEL, THE NEARNESS OF ESSENTIAL RAW MATERIALS AND THE INTEREST OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS IN INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE. ROME HAD NONE OF THESE." (63)

T. FRANK IS ALSO OF THIS VIEW:

"WHEN, HOWEVER, WE LOOK ABOUT FOR THE PRODUCTS OF THIS PUTATIVE INDUSTRY, THEY ARE DIFFICULT TO FIND.....AFTER SO MEAGER A HARVEST OF EVIDENCE WE ARE FORCED TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE INDUSTRIAL CLASS, SUCH AS WAS, COULD HARDLY HAVE SUPPLIED A VAST MARKET. PROBABLY THERE WERE ONLY THE MEN NEEDED TO MAKE CLOTHES, SHOES, AND ARMOR FOR ROME'S EXPANDING ARMIES, WAGONS, PLOWS AND HOES FOR THE FARMERS' POTS AND PANS FOR THE KITCHEN." (ECO HIST. P. 103 APPLIES TO EARLIER REPUBLIC)

NOTES: II LITERARY:

ACCORDING TO CASSELL'S LATIN DICTIONARY THERE ARE FOUR POSSIBLE WORDS  
FOR FACTORY: 1. FABRICA; 2. OFFICINA; 3. ERGASTULUM; 4. TABERNAE

HARPER'S LATIN DICTIONARY GIVES THE FOLLOWING MEANING FOR THESE WORDS:

1. FABRICA: "THE WORKSHOP OF AN ARTISAN WHO WORKS IN HARD METALS"  
A. ARMORY: CAES. B.C. 1, 34 ARMORUM OFFICINAE  
CIC. N.D. 3, 22, 55 QUI LEMNI FABRICAE TRADITUR PRAEFUISS  
B. ART, TRADE, PROFESSION SUCH AS ARTISAN (VIT 1.1)  
ANY SKILLFUL PRODUCTION OR BUILDING (CIC. N.D. 2, 47 L2L)  
A CRAFTY DEVICE, TRICK, STRATAGEM.  
(C. JULIAN: "FABRICA: "CE MOT, QUI DESIGNE TOUTE ESPECE DE MANU-  
FACTURE, S'APPLIQUE SPECIALEMENT DANS LA LANGUE DU  
BAS EMPIRE AUX FABRIQUES D'ARMES DE L'ETAT." D.S. II 959)

2. OFFICINA: WORKSHOP, MANUFACTORY:

CICERO: DE OFF 1 151 "OPIFICESQUE OMNES IN SORDIDA ARTE VERSANTUR;  
NEC ENIM QUICQUAM INGENIUM HABERE POTEST OF."

1, 42, 150

VERR 2, 4, 24, 54

BRUT. 8, 32 "OFF. DICENDI" "STUDIO OF ELOQUENCE.

PLINY: N. H. 35: 143: OF. PICTORIS - STUDIO  
35: 155; OF. SCULPTORIS

16: 23 AERARIORUM; 34: 175 OFF. PLUMBARIAE - SMITHY

13: 75-6 FOR PAPER: MAY BE LARGE, OFTEN SITED AS  
SUCH, BUT NO SIZE MENTIONED.

35: 143 OF. FULLONIS "

35: 146 PURBURARIUS "

9: 133 TINGUENTUM.

INSCRIPTIONS: "EX OFFICINA FELICIS" AND Ex "EX OFFICINA KAPITONIS"  
ALSO FOUND ON MANY LAMPS: "

A. DE RIDDER: "LS OFFICINA ETAIT LA FABRIQUE D'OU SORTAIT  
LA MAMPE ET LE NOM PROPRE QUI SUIT AU GENITIF DESIGNE  
LE PROPRIETAIRE ACTUEL DE LA FABRIQUE, SOIT PEUT-ETRE  
CE QUE NOUS APPELONS AUJOURD'HI LA RAISON SOCIALE."

(D.S. VII 1330) THIS SEEMS TO ME TO BE THE BEST PROOF FOR  
OFFICINA SOMETIMES MEANING "FACTORY" BUT EVEN HERE WE DO  
NOT KNOW THE SIZE OF THE CONCERNS.

3. ERGASTULUM (FROM GREEK) A WORKHOUSE FOR OFFENDERS, A HOUSE OF CORRECTION

SUET: AUG 32 AND TIB 8 - EMPERORS WISH TO INSPECT

PLUT. TIB. GRACCH VIII 9

SPARTIAN: HADRIAN XVII: EMPEROR DISBANDS

PETRONIUS 81

APUL. MET IX XII

H. THEDNAT: "LES ERGASTULA ETAIENT DES BATIMENTS LE PLUS  
SOUVENT SOUTERRAINS, DESTINES DES A SERVIR D'HABITATION  
A DES ESCLAVES ET AUSSI A DES CONDAMNES QUE L'ON EMPLOYAIT  
ENCHAINES, A DIVERS TRAVAUX, ET PLUS SPECIALEMENT A LA  
CULTURE DU SOL." FROM THIS IT IS HARD TO TO ACCEPT HIS  
CONCLUSION: " IL Y EN AVAIT POUR LES CARRIERES, LES MOULINS



NOTES: 11 LITERARY~~XXX~~ (2) CONTINUED).

ET PROBABLEMENT POUR TOUS LES TRAVAUX OU INDUSTRIES QUI DEMANDAIENT UN NOMBRE DE BRAS ASSES CONSIDERABLE."

THE ONLY REFERENCE THEDNAT GIVES IS TO THE VTH CENTURY A.D. FOR INDUSTRIES. IT IS CLEAR THAT THEY WERE THOUGHT HARMFUL BY AUGUSTUS, TIBERIUS, AND HADRIAN. AND WITH THE TWO LEADING CHARACTERISTICS OF BEING UNDERGROUND AND HAVING THE MEN CHAINED, DOES NOT SUGGEST CONDITIONS WHERE SKILLED, OR EVEN SEMI-SKILLED MEN COULD WORK. AT LEAST I CAN FIND NO REFERENCE WHERE BERGASTULUM" REFERS TO ANYTHING LIKE A FACTORY. (THEDNAT D.S. 11 810)

HARPERS:

4. TABERNAE: "A HUT, SHED, BOOTH STALL, SHOP CONSTRUCTED OF BOARDS."

I. HENCE IN GENERAL ANY SLIGHT STRUCTURE USED FOR A DWELLING HUT OR COTTAGE (HOR. C. 1, 4, 13) (VERY RARE. OF STALLS IN THE CIRCUS (CIC. MUR. 35, 73).

II. A BOOTH SHOP, WORK SHOP, INN, TAVERN.  
HOR. S. 1, 3, 131 "TABERNA SUTOR ERAT"  
JUV. 13, 45 "TABERNA LIPAREA" - VULCAN'S SHOP.

THE EMPHASIS HERE SEEMS TO BE ON THE ELEMENT OF SMALLNESS, ~~WXXX~~ AND NOTHING TO SUGGEST A PLACE WITH "THOUSANDS OF WORKERS."

CONCLUSION: FROM THIS SURVEY I CANNOT FIND ONE LATIN WORD WHICH IMPLIES A FACTORY.

<sup>11</sup> OFFICINA, <sup>11</sup> IF ANY, ~~SEEMSTXX~~ MIGHT INDICATE SUCH FROM ITS USE ON LAMPS, BUT WHETHER THESE ARE JUST THE TRADEMARK OF AN INDIVIDUAL CRAFTSMAN, OR THE MAKER OF A MOULD FOR A SMALL WORKSHOP, WE CANNOT DETERMINE. INVESTIGATION  
THIS TYPE OF ~~XXSXX~~ I THINK IS ESPECIALLY VALUABLE TO SOBER OUR TENDENCY TO MODERNIZE THE ANCIENT WORLD. THUS, IF WE THOUGHT IN LATIN TERMS, WE WOULD NOT BE APT TO USE SUCH TERMS AS "INDUSTRIALIST" OR "BOURGEOISIE" FOR WHICH I CAN FIND NO EQUIVALENT IN LATIN.

### III. GOVERNMENT FACTORIES (2)

#### INDUSTRY: FACTORIES

§§ §§

#### A. GOVERNMENT INDUSTRY in General

TARN

"EVERY HELLENISTIC KING (UNLESS THE ANTIGONIDS) WAS A GREAT MERCHANT AND SOME GREEK CITIES FOLLOWED THEIR EXAMPLE AND INSTITUTED MUNICIPAL TRADING...

MINES, OF COURSE HAD NEVER BEEN PRIVATE PROPERTY BUT NOW RHODES, CNIDUS AND OTHERS MADE AND STAMPED THEIR OWN JARS FROM THEIR OWN CLAY PITS." PL 218  
PRIENE AND URUK OWNED SALT WORKS

MILETUS HAD MUNICIPAL SHEEP RUNS AND WOOL FACTORIES

"THE MOVEMENT WHICH ULTIMATELY LED TO EGYPT SHARING THE SOUTHERN ROUTE TO INDIA STARTED IN A SIDE ISSUE, THE DESIRE OF PTOLEMY II FOR ELEPHANTS" 284

DIOD

III 36:3

STRABO 769,789:

AUGUSTUS TO SOME EXTENT ALSO FOSTERED INDUSTRY AS A RULER:

ROSTOV:

"CAMPANIA AND ETRURIA WERE NOT ALONE IN DEVELOPING ITALIAN INDUSTRY IN THE AUGUSTAN AGE. AT THAT TIME A SECOND PUTEOLI AROSE IN AQUILEIA, WHICH BECAME A FLOURISHING CENTRE OF BOTH COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL LIFE IN THE NORTH.....

THUS AQUILEIA GRADUALLY BECAME NOT ONLY A CITY OF VINE-GROWERS AND MERCHANTS BUT ALSO ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT CENTRES OF INDUSTRY. IN VISITING THE MUSEUM OF THE TOWN, ONE IS STRUCK BY THE ABUNDANCE OF REFINED AND ORIGINAL GLASS PRODUCTS, ESPECIALLY OF IMITATED ENGRAVED STONES AND CAMEOS AND VASES OF DIFFERENT SHAPES, BY THE MASSES OF AMBER ARTICLES, BY THE QUANTITIES OF IRON IMPLEMENTS, BY SOME VALUABLE PRODUCTS OF BRONZE AND SILVER TOREUTIC ART, WHICH BELONG IN PART TO THE AUGUSTAN AGE. BEYOND DOUBT AQUILEIA BECAME THE PUTEOLI OF NORTH ITALY AS EARLY AS THE TIME OF AUGUSTUS, THANKS PROBABLY TO THE EFFORTS OF AUGUSTUS HIMSELF AND OF SOME MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY WHO OFTEN RESIDED IN THE CITY ... IT IS ENOUGH TO NOTE HERE THAT THE BEGINNING OF THE PROCESS DATES FROM THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS. TO THE SAME TIME PROBABLY BELONGS THE GROWTH OR THE REVIVAL OF ANOTHER SPECIALITY OF POMPEII--A FAMOUS FISH SAUCE, THE POMPEIAN GARUM." 71.

FRANK

"SINCE VESPASIAN SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR CONVERTING THE NERONIAN PORTICO INTO A SPICE MARKET AND SINCE HE ALSO MADE SOME EFFORT TO CONTROL THE OUTFLOWING OF MONEY FOR EASTERN LUXURIES, IT IS LIKELY THAT HE HAD OFFICIAL PRICES POSTED AND THAT THESE LISTS WERE PLINY'S SOURCE. PLINY WARNS US THAT HE GIVES AVERAGE PRICES SINCE PRICES WERE APT TO FLUCTUATE WITH QUALITY AND SEASON" (PLINY 33,166) (SURV. V p. 284

PLINY



# INDUSTRY: GOVERNMENT FACTORIES (2)

## A. ARMS INDUSTRY:

- WESTERMANN: "DER ALTESTE BERICHT UBER EINE UMFANREICHERE VERWENDUNG VON SKLAVEREI IN DER INDUSTRIE BEZIEHT SICH AB DAS J. 210 V. CHR. WO SCIPIO VON MANGEL AN KRIEGSMATERIAL GEZWUNGEN 2,000 GEFANGENE HANDWERKER ALS SERVI PUBLICI IN DIENST NAHM." ~~XX~~ 47, 2; ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ 971.
- LIVY "OPIFICES AD DUO MILIA HOMINUM ERANT; EOS PUBLICOS FORE POPULI ROMANI EDIXIT, CUM SPE PROPINQUA LIBERTATIS, SI AD MINISTERIA BELL ENIXE R OPERAM NAVASSENT." XXVI 47, 2. Cf. POLYB X 17 9f.
- TOUTAIN "ONE CENTRE OF THE ETRUSCAN METAL INDUSTRY SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN ARRETIIUM. IN 205 WHEN SCIPIO WAS STARTING FOR AFRICA, ARRETIIUM PROVIDED HIM WITH 3,000 SHIELDS, 3,000 HELMETS, 50,000 DARTS, JAVELINS, AND LONG PIKES, BESIDES AXES, PICKS, SCYTHES, ETC." (NOTE P. 212)
- LIVY XXVIII, 45:
- TOUTAIN "IN ADDITION TO THESE STATIONARY INDUSTRIES, EVERY ARMY HAD ATTACHED TO IT BODIES OF WORKMEN WHO REPAIRED SWORDS, SHIELDS, HELMETS, AND THE ENGINES WHICH WERE THE ARTILLERY OF THE DAY, AND SUPPLIED THE COMBATANTS WITH THE SPEAR HEADS, OF WHICH THERE WAS A GREAT EXPENDITURE IN EVERY CAMPAIGN. IN ROME ITSELF THERE WERE SMALLER WORKSHOPS, WHERE THE LEGIONARY OBTAINED HIS ARMS BEFORE PROCEEDING TO THE FIELD." (236)
- T. FRANK (ECO HIST. 180ff.)

## B. MINES: THESE WILL BE MAINLY TREATED IN PART II OF THIS PAPER.

A SUMMARY HERE MIGHT BE HELPFUL:

- TOUTAIN "IT WOULD BE EXCESSIVE AND THEREFORE UNTRUE TO SAY THAT MINES, QUARRIES, AND SALT WORKS WERE LEGALLY THE PROPERTY OF THE EMPEROR. IN THE SECOND CENTURY OF THE EMPIRE, UNDER THE ANTONINES, THE MARBLE-QUARRIES ON PENTELICON BELONGED TO THE CELEBRATED RHETORICIAN HERODES ATTICUS. THIS HOWEVER, SEEMS TO BE AN EXCEPTIONAL CASE. IF NOT LEGALLY, AT LEAST IN PRACTICE MINES, QUARRIES, AND SALT WORKS, OR AT LEAST THOSE OF ANY IMPORTANCE, WERE PART OF THE IMPERIAL DOMAINS." P. 289 ~~xx~~.
- ARDAILLON DS "METALLA" AND MARQUARDT AND MOM. MANUAL OF ANTIQ. VOL X 9 10

W. ARDAILLON 1901

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

INDUSTRIA : EVOLUTIONES:

III. GOVERNMENT INDUSTRIES

# INDUSTRY : (GOVERNMENT) FACTORIES(3)

## C. SHIPPING

OERTEL

"THE MORE SPECIALIZED DIFFERENTIATION THAT EXISTED BETWEEN TRADING AND SHIPPING OPERATIONS IS ILLUSTRATED WITH EXEMPLARY CLEARNESS IN THE NAVIGARI WHO SAW TO THE TRANSPORTATION OF THE ANNONA ON BEHALF OF THE STATE." CAH X 413

~~XXXXXXX~~

## D. CINNABAR AND PAPYRUS

T. FRANK

"THERE IS EVIDENCE IN THE EARLY EMPIRE FOR TWO AND ONLY TWO LARGE MANUFACTORIES AT ROME AND THIS VERY SCARCITY CONFIRMS THE CONCLUSION THAT ROMAN INDUSTRY WAS IN QUALITY AND SPIRIT MUCH THE SAME AS POMPEII. BOTH "FACTORIES" WERE DEFINITELY CONNECTED WITH THE PROCESSING OF STATE OWNED MATERIALS." V 228

2 X. CINNABAR (MINIUM) C.I.L VI 9634 NAMES PROCURATOR OF CONTRACTING FIRM.

VITRUV 7,9,4

PLINY 33,118

"CELEBERRIMO SISAPONENSI REGIONE IN BAETICA MINARIO METALLA VECTIGALIBUS POPULI ROMANI NULLIUS REI DILIGENTIORE CUSTODIA. NON LICET IBI PERFICERE ID, EXCOCTIQUE ROMAM ADVERTUR VENA SIGNATA AD BINA MILLIA TERRE PONDO ANNUA (2,000 LB A YR) ROMAE AUTEM LAVATUR IN VENDENDO PRETIO STATUTA LEGE NE MODUM EXCEDERET HS LXX IN LIBRAS, SED ADULTERATUR MULTIS MODIS, UNDE PRAEDA SOCIETATI.

## 2. 2. PAPYRUS

LOAN 100

"THE OTHER MANUFACTORY IS KNOWN TO US ONLY FROM A PASSAGE IN PLINY"

PLINY 13, 75-6

LOAN

"NO INDICATIONS OF THE SIZE OF THE SHOP ARE GIVEN, BUT PLINY'S INTEREST IN IT IMPLIES THAT FANNIUS FACTORY WAS BOTH IMPORTANT AND UNUSUAL." 100.

## 2.E. BRICKS:

GOMMERUS

"IN DER TONWASEN I HAT DAS GROSSKAPITAL SICH EINES GUTES TEILS DER ZIEGELFABRIKATION BEMACHTIGT. DIE BEDEUTENDSTEN ZIEGELIEN ITALIENS SIND IM LAUFE DES I JAHR HUNDERT N. CHR DURCH KAUF, ERBSCHAFT ODER KONFISKATION DER KAISERLICH FAMILIE UND EINIGER REICHE PRIVAT FAMILIEN GERATHEN. AUS DEN ZIEGELSTEMPELN DER GENS DOMITIA SIND IN GANZEN 53 SKLAVEN 22 ~~XXX~~ FREIGELASSENE MIT DEN GENTILNAME DOMITIUS VON DENEN EINIGE AUCH ALS SKLAVEN VORKOMMEN UND 22 ANDERE PERSONEN BEKANNT." 1485

BUT SMALL BRICK YARDS ALSO EXISTED:

GOMMERUS

"NEBEN DEN GROSSEN ZIEGELEIEN GAB ES EINE UNMASSE VON KLEINEREN UND GANZ KLEINEN DEREN PRODUCTION, WIE DIE STEMPSEL ZEIGEN, SEHR BESCHRANKT UND LOKAL ENG BEGRENZT WAR." X8 1486



INDUSTRY: (GOVERNMENT) FACTORIES (4)

E. BRICKS (CONTINUED)

~~XXXXXXXX~~

DRESSSEL 268 FF FACTS OF DEVELOPMENT OF ANTONINE BRICK FACTORY

59 A.D. 83 FREEDMEN AND 6 SLAVES - CN. DOMITIUS AFER ORATOR GIVEN IT.

94 A.D. 5 FREEDMEN AND 23 SLAVES - SON LUCANUS INHERITS

144 A.D. 27 FREEDMEN AND 19 SLAVES-EMPEROR MARCUS AURELIUS, 6 YEARS BEFORE  
HIS ACCESSION ~~OF~~ EMPEROR

LOAN

BRICKS ATYPICAL INDUSTRY:

- A. ORIGINALLY PART OF FARM WORK - FREE OF STIGMA OF TRADE.
- B. EXPENSIVE TO IMPORT - NEARBY ESTATES HAVE GREAT ADVANTAGE.

ESSENTIAL TO NOTE:

1. UNUSUAL MEANS USED TO EXPAND ANTONINUS FACTORY (IMPLIED BY GOMMERUS'S  
"CONFISCATION" ABOVE).
2. FACTORY NOT SO TERRIBLY LARGE - NEVER UP TO 100 ~~EMR~~ WORKERS.

F. BREAD

AN IMPOSING MONUMENT OF A BAKER IS CERTAINLY ~~IMPOSSIBLE~~ PROOF OF BIG  
BUSINESS, AS WE SEE INTERPRETED BELOW, ALTHOUGH WE SEE THAT IT ~~WAS~~  
FUNCTIONED AS AN AGENT OF THE GOVERNMENT (CF. "REDEMPTOR" BELOW).

ROSTOVITZEFF

PICTURE OF TOMB OF EURYSACES PL. IV. ROME

C.I.L.

INSCRIPTION READS: "EST HOC MONIMENTUM MARCEI VERGILEI EURYSACIS,  
PISTORIS, REDEMPTORIS; APPARET ." I. 1013-15

ROSTOVITZEFF

"THE INSCRIPTION MEANS: 'THIS IS THE MONUMENT OF MARCUS VERGILIUS EURYSACES,  
BAKER, AND CONTRACTOR'; HE WAS ALSO AN APPARITOR (ATTENDANT OF A  
MAGISTRATE.).'" I. ....

"IT IS A TYPICAL PICTURE OF A BIG BUSINESS CONCERN OF THE LATE REPUBLICAN  
OR EARLY IMPERIAL PERIOD, IN WHICH SCORES AND PERHAPS HUNDREDS OF WORKING  
MEN BOTH SLAVE AND FREE, WERE ENGAGED." P.32

PICTURES OF 41 MEN DOING DIFFERENT OPERATIONS IN BAKING. PROBABLY TWO OR  
~~THRX~~  
THREE TIMES THAT MANY ON ORIGINAL MONUMENT (PARTLY DESTROYED).

LOAN:

BAKING NOT TYPICAL INDUSTRY: "IN BAKING THERE WAS NEED FOR A MUCH LARGER  
TYPE OF WORK ROOM THAN THAT OFFERED BY THE NORMAL SHOP.." P. 65

LOAN

"~~THRX~~" "AS HIS TITLE OF PISTOR REDEMPTOR IMPLIES (C.I.L. 1958) HE WORKED  
UNDER CONTRACT EITHER TO SUPPLY BREAD FOR PUBLIC SLAVES AND THE SOLDIERS  
STATIONED NEAR THE CITY, OR TO MEET THE NEEDS OF MANY SMALL RETAILERS." P.66  
0

INDUSTRY: (GOVERNMENT) FACTORIES (5)

LOAN (P. 66) ALSO USES A REFERENCE (GAIUS I, 34) TO THE REWARDS OFFERED BY TRAJAN TO CONCLUDE THAT EURYSCESES HAD AN UNUSUALLY LARGE FACTORY:

LOAN

"THE QUESTION NATURALLY ARISES WHETHER BAKERS WITH SUCH WORKROOMS DOMINATED THE INDUSTRY AT ROME. FORTUNATELY INFORMATION ABOUT THE SIZE OF PRODUCTION IN THE EARLY SECOND CENTURY IS GIVEN BY THE EDICT OF TRAJAN OFFERING SPECIAL PRIVILEGES TO THOSE WHO MILLED 75 BUSHELS A DAY. ADDITIONAL EXEMPTIONS WERE EXTENDED TO THOSE WHO BAKED 25 BUSHELS A DAY. ... SINCE ABOUT 70 LOAVES OF BREAD COULD BE MADE FROM A BUSHEL OF THE FINEST FLOUR, A DAILY OUTPUT OF ABOUT 1,800 LOAVES MAY BE ASSUMED." (P. 66)

BUT THE IMPORTANT FACT IS THAT HE WAS A CONTRACTOR FOR THE GOVERNMENT.

ANOTHER INTERESTING FACT IN REGARD TO BAKING IS THAT ONLY THE POOR PEOPLE BOUGHT BREAD. CICERO DEFINES A MISER AS A MAN WHOSE HOUSEHOLD LACKS A BAKER.

CICERO

"PISTOR DOMI NULLUS, NULLA CELLA" (IN PISO 67)

C.I.L.

GUILD OF BAKERS IN HOUSE OF STATILIUS TAURUS VI 6219

PLINY 18, 107 POOR PEOPLE BUY BREAD SINCE 168 B.C.

SUMMARY

~~SEVERAL~~

THOSE INDUSTRIES WHICH HAVE MOSTLY NEARLY APPROACHED A LARGE SCALE PRODUCTION WERE AGENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT, EITHER USING RESOURCES OWNED BY THE ~~VIRRX~~ OR WERE GOVERNMENT (PAPYRUS, CINNABAR, MINES,) ~~BRICKS~~, OWNED BY THE EMPEROR PERSONALLY (BRICKS), OR WERE SUPPLYING THE GOVERNMENT (ARMS, BAKING, SHIPPING).

UNDER THESE CONDITIONS, IN THESE FIELDS THERE WAS LITTLE CHANCE FOR THE COMPETITION BETWEEN BUYER AND SELLER, WHICH WOULD GIVE RISE TO A MODERN PRICE MAKING MARKET.



## INDUSTRY: (PRIVATE) FACTORIES

ROSTOVYZEFF: ~~§~~ PUTEOLI WAS BETTER AND MORE PROSPEROUS THAN OSTIA BEFORE CLAUDIUS IMPROVED THE HARBOR OF THE LATTER: "IT WAS A BETTER PLACE BECAUSE THE CAMPANIAN MARKET WAS MORE VALUABLE FOR THE MERCHANTS THAN THE ROMAN AND BECAUSE A RETURN CARGO WAS EASILY FOUND THERE, WHEREAS NONE WAS AVAILABLE AT OSTIA, SINCE ROME ~~NEVER~~ NEVER WAS AN INDUSTRIAL CENTRE OF IMPORTANCE." ROME P. 151

### A. TANNING

LOAN: "BECAUSE OF THE NEED OF WORKROOMS OF CONSIDERABLE SIZE AND OF ELABORATE AND EXPENSIVE EQUIPMENT, TANNING WAS NATURALLY CONDUCTED ON A LARGE SCALE P. 77 (ALSO T. FRANK "Eco. Hist." 259).

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

BUT IS IT NOT POSSIBLE THAT THESE WORKROOMS WERE THE PROPERTY OF A GUILD?

C.I.L. VI 1117, 1118 "CORPUS CORIARIORUM MAGNARIORUM ET SOLATARIORUM."

LA FAYE "CORIARIUS" D.S. 1507

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

ONCE THE LEATHER WAS MADE, IT WAS SOLD TO THE SMALL ARTISAN:

LOAN "HAVING SECURED THEIR LEATHER FROM THE TANNER, THE COBBLER REPAIRED TO THE SMALL BOOTH WHICH SERVED THEM BOTH AS WORKSHOP AND SALESROOM." P. 78

### B. TEXTILES

GOMMERUS "DIE ZAHL DER ARBEITER\* MUSS IN DIESEN WEBEREIEN ZIEMLICH GROSS GEWESEN SEIN; DA MAN DIE MASSENPRODUKTION NUR DURCH ANHAUFUNG MENSCHLICHER ARBEITSKRAFT ERZIELEN KONNTE."

THEN GOMMERUS SUPPLIES THE PROOF:

"VGL. DAS POMPIANISCHE GRAFFITI C.I.L. 1507 MIT DEN NAMEN VON 13 SKLAVEN DIE IN WEBEREI GEARBEITET HABEN."

HE THEN RETURNS TO MENTION OF GOVERNMENT TRADE MENTIONED ABOVE:

"NAMENTLICH DIE WERKSTATTEN DIE FÜR DIE ARMEE LIEFERUNGEN ÜBERNAHMEN, DIE IN DER SPÄTER ZEIT DURCH DIE KAISERLICHE WEBEREIEN AUSGEFÜHRT WURDEN, KOMMEN NUR IM GROSSEN GEWIRTSCHAFTET HABEN."... 1491

EVEN THIS IS NOT ESSENTIALLY TRUE. LARGE AMOUNTS OF GOODS CAN BE PRODUCED BY SMALL SHOPS.

INDUSTRY: (PRIVATE) FACTORIES (2)

B. TEXTILES (CONT.)

ROSTOVITZ: "IN THE EARLIER PERIOD (DOWN TO THE END OF THE 1ST CENTURY B.C.) POMPEII WAS MAINLY A CITY OF LANDOWNERS AND OF RESIDENTIAL HOUSES. WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMPIRE INDUSTRIALIZATION SETS IN AND REACHES ITS CLIMAX IN THE PERIOD JUST BEFORE THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CITY. IN THE EARLY PART OF THE 1ST CENTURY, A.D. THE STRADA DELL'ABBONDANZA WAS STILL A STREET OF RESIDENTIAL HOUSES. AT THE TIME OF THE ERUPTION MOST OF THE RESIDENTIAL HOUSES WERE OWNED BY INDUSTRIALISTS AND SHOPKEEPERS, AND THE STREET BECAME ONE OF THE BUSIEST PARTS OF POMPEII. THE MOST IMPORTANT CONCERNS WERE THOSE CONNECTED WITH CLOTHING. IT IS NO ACCIDENT THAT THE ONLY LARGE EXCHANGE BUILDING WAS BUILT BY EUMACHIA FOR THE FULLONES AND THAT THIS BUILDING IS CONNECTED WITH THE STRADA DELL'ABBONDANZA. NEXT IN IMPORTANCE TO THE PRODUCTION OF WOOLLEN CLOTHES (FAVORED BY THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE LARGE GRAZING REGION OF SAMNIUM AND APULIA) WAS THE MAKING OF PERFUMES (CAMPANIA WAS RICH IN GLOWERS, ESP. ROSES) AND OF FISH SAUCE (GARUM) A NATURAL PRODUCT OF A CITY BY THE SEA." ROME P. 514

THE FACT THAT AN INDIVIDUAL HAD TO BUILD THE HALL WOULD SUGGEST THAT THE WORK WAS CARRIED ON BY INDEPENDENT WORKERS RATHER THAN LARGE INDUSTRIALISTS. IN FULLING, DYING, TEXTILE MANUFACTURING, ETC. WE HEAR OF IMPORTANT PARTS PLAYED BY GUILDS.

C.I.L. VI 10298 FULLERS GUILD

" 266 GUILD WINS LAWSUIT. FULLER HAS TO PAY FOR USE OF 2 PUBLIC LACUS. JUDGEMENT REVERSED. "EX EO TEMPORE EX QUO AUGUSTUS REM PUBLICAN OBTINERE COEPT USQUE IN HODIE NUMQUAM HAEC LOCA PENSIONES PENSITASSE." CF. MAU 412-416

" 7861-2 CENTONARII GUILD "

LOAN "WITH ONE EXCEPTION THE CHIEF GUILD OFFICERS WERE FREEDMEN OF A LUCIUS OCTAVIUS" "MATERIAL SUCCESS WOULD BE RARE 73-75"

C.I.L. VI 9254 L. SEXTILIUS SELEUCUS A DECURION MAKES THE GUILD A DONATION OF 10,000 DENARII. FROM THIS ~~LOAN~~ LOAN CONCLUDES HE "WAS IN ALL PROBABILITY THE OWNER OF A CHAIN OF SHOPS OR OF A WORK ROOM OF CONSIDERABLE SIZE." BUT MIGHT HE NOT HAVE GOTTEN THE MONEY SOME OTHER WAY, OTHER THAN BY TRADE? THERE IS THEREFORE LITTLE EVIDENCE FOR HER TO CONCLUDE "ALL THE INSCRIPTIONAL EVIDENCE RELATING TO THE ACTIVITY OF THESE MAKERS OF PATCH-WORK GARMENTS ARGUES AGAINST THE SMALL-SHOP SYSTEM."

TOUTAIN "THE DRESSMAKING INDUSTRY HAD BECOME INDISPENSABLE. SO, TOO, THE ~~22~~ PASSING IN 217 (B.C.?) LAW REGARDING FULLERS, WHICH LAID DOWN REGULATIONS FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF THAT TRADE, IS SUFFICIENT TO PROVE THAT THE MANUFACTURE AND TREATMENT OF CLOTH WERE SPECIALIZED BY THE SECOND HALF OF THE THIRD CENTURY." P. 238

⚡ MARTIAL THERE WAS ALSO MUCH PRODUCTION OF CLOTH IN GAUL AS MARTIAL MENTIONS "IT IS SHE THAT DRESSES US COMMON FOLK" \_\_\_\_\_. BUT HOW THIS PRODUCTION WAS CARRIED ON WE JUST DON'T KNOW:

GOMMERUS 1480 DAS HAUPT GEBIET DER PRODUKTION WAS DIE TERRACONENSIS, WO ALS MITTELPUNKTE DER FABRIKATION EMPORIAE UND BESONDERS SAETABIS ERWAHNT WERDEN. DAS EXPORT NACH ITALIEN BEGAN SCHON FRUH... VON DEN UMFANG DESSELBEN WISSEN WIR ALLERDINGS NICHTS.



INDUSTRY: (PRIVATE) Factories (3)

B. Textiles (concluded)

TOUTAIN

"OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRIES IN THE LAST CENTURIES BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ERA WE KNOW NEXT TO NOTHING SO FAR AS ROME AND ITALY ARE CONCERNED. ONE OR TWO DETAILS ONLY EMERGE FROM THE OBSCURITY. (CATO ON SPINNING AND THE METILLIAN LAW)." P. 238

CATO:

METILLIAN LAW:

DYING:

LOAN

"THE DOZEN OR SO OTHER INSCRIPTIONS PICTURE A MORE REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM OF WORK: THE SMALL ARTISAN SALES BOOTH RUN BY A PROPRIETOR WITH ONE OR TWO FREEMEN." P. 77 C.I.L. VI 9843-48; 33861.

SUMMARY ON TEXTILES: ALTHOUGH THE LARGE HALLS REQUIRED FOR MAKING AND FULLING TEXTILES MIGHT LEAD US TO ASSUME A LARGE INDUSTRIALIST MUST HAVE ADVANCED THE CAPITAL NECESSARY, IT IS EVEN MORE PROBABLE WHICH THE GUILDS WHICH WE KNOW TO HAVE EXISTED AND BEEN INFLUENTIAL, PROVIDED THE NECESSARY EQUIPMENT.

INDUSTRY: (PRIVATE) FACTORIES (4)

C. METAL INDUSTRY: GOLDSMITHS

CLEARLY INDIVIDUAL CRAFTSMEN:

LOAN "AT TIMES THE GOLDSMITHS OWNED THEIR OWN RAW MATERIALS (Dig 19,5,20,2)  
AT OTHERS, IT WAS FURNISHED BY THE PATRON FOR WHOM THE CRAFTSMAN WORKED AS  
INSTITORES; ON STILL OTHER OCCASIONS THE CUSTOM BROUGHT THEIR OWN  
MATERIALS. THIS LAST METHOD SEEMS MOREOVER TO HAVE BEEN THE MOST USUAL." 88

MARTIAL 12, 57, 9 : ITINERANT ARTISAN.

C.I.L. VI 9202 AND 95 - TWO GUILDS OF GOLDSMITHS.

BOOTHS SCATTERED THROUGHOUT CITY IN GROUPS  
DE. AURELISIUS (A.J. A. XII 1908); DE SACRA VIA C.I.L. VI 9207 ETC.

GOMMERUS "DAS GOLDSCHMIEDEGEWERBE WAR NATURGEMÄSS DEM KLEINBETRIEBE VORBEHALTEN" 1490  
IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT ROME WAS ONE OF THE CENTERS OF THE  
GOLDSMITHS' INDUSTRY.

C. METAL INDUSTRY: BRONZE (ITALY)

GOMMERUS 1490 "NAHERES WISSEN WIR DAVON NICHT, DA DIE STEMPSEL DER FABRIKANTEN KEINE  
SKLAVENNAMEN ENTHALTEN (EINE AUSNAHME). DA WIR ABER ACHT FREIGELASSENE  
DES P. CIPUS UND DREI DES L. ANSIUS KENNEN, DÜRFEN WIR OHNE WEITERES  
ANNEHMEN, DASS DIE WERKSTÄTTEN, IN DENEN DIESE VOR IHRER FREIGELASSUNG  
ARBEITETEN, VERHÄLTNISSMÄSSIG VIELE UNFREIE ARBEITER, (TAUSENDE VON  
SKLAVEN ' IN WILLEN ' BRONZEIMER VON HENMOER 213 P. MIT GROSSE  
ÜBERTREIBUNG > VGL. NEUE UNTERS. 73) BESCHAFTIGTEN. ~~VOLLKENDSXXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
VOLLKENDS NICHTS KENNEN WIR VON DEM UMFANGE DER GALLISCHEN BRONZEGEGIESSEREIEN  
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

IT IS ONLY FAIR TO MENTION THAT LOAN, FOLLOWING WILLER (IBID) CONCLUDES

"THE MANUFACTURE OF BRONZE AND COPPERWARE SEEMS TO HAVE DEVELOPED A  
A REAL FACTORY SYSTEM, AT LEAST AT CAPUA." P.

C. METAL INDUSTRY: IRON

LOAN "...THERE IS A RECORD OF ONE LARGE GROUP OF FERRARI DE FERRI  
C.I.L. 9398 CONSISTING OF 2 FREEDMEN PATRONS AND THEIR 2 FREEDMEN.  
THIS IS THE LARGEST GROUP OF SMITHS KNOWN FROM THE CITY. P. 95

GOMMERUS "IN DER EISEN INDUSTRIE ITALIENS HAT VERMUTLICH DER KLEINBETRIEB  
VORGEHERRSCHT." P. 1490

OERTEL "ABOUT THE IRON INDUSTRY...OPINIONS DIFFER." DIODORUS LOOKS MORE LIKE  
OCCASIONAL LABOR (V: 13) "...IT IS THEN, IN THE WRITERS' OPINION, MORE  
PRUDENT NOT TO DRAW TOO STRIKING A PICTURE OF HUGE IRON WORKS, WITH  
SPECIALIZED LABOUR ROARING WITH ACTIVITY." CAH X P. 395

DIODORUS V: 13



INDUSTRY: (PRIVATE) FACTORIES (5)

C. METAL INDUSTRY: LEAD PIPE (FOR AQUEDUCTS)

LOAN

.." THE ASSUMPTION OF LARGE-SCALE PRODUCTION IS UNWARRANTED. THERE ARE EVEN CASES IN WHICH A LARGE CONTRACT WAS DIVIDED AMONG SEVERAL SHOPS (C.I.L. XV 7369-73) "P. 111

"DURING 15 YEARS OF DOMITIAN'S RULE THERE WERE 10 SLAVES AND 6 FREEDMEN IN CHARGE OF SHOPS WHERE THE PIPES FOR IMPERIAL STRUCTURES WERE MADE. THE NUMBER OF SLAVES ASSISTING EACH OF THESE PLUMBIARII WOULD DEPEND TO A LARGE EXTENT ON THE NATURE OF THE MANUFACTURING PROCESS. IT WAS A SIMPLE ONE. ..FOUR OR FIVE SLAVES COULD EASILY PERFORM ALL OF THESE SIMPLE OPERATIONS." P. 110. (C.I.L. XV (2) pp. 907-8

116

FRONTINUS ~~1268~~ 2 GROUPS OF IMPERIAL SLAVES - OVER 700 AVAILABLE FOR WORK ON AQUEDUCTS

PLINY 34, 16 LEAD CAME TO CITY AS A FISCAL PRODUCT (34, 164)

GOMMERUS

AGREES WITH LOAN: "TROTZDEM SCHEINT ES, DASS DIE MEHRZAHL DER PRIVATEN WIRKSTATTEN ZIEMLICH KLEIN GEWESEN SIND. .... DIE MEISTEN SIGNATURER DER PLUMBIARII KOMMEN NUR AUF EINIGER ROHREN, VIELE UNR EINMAL VOR." 1489

D. GLASS INDUSTRY:

GOMMERUS

"UM DIE GROSSE DER GLASEREIEN ITALIENS GALLIENS UND DER RHEIN PROVINZEN ZU BEURTEILEN, FEHLT ES UNS AN SICHEREN ANHALTSPUNKTEN." 1490

"IN DEM FABRIKSTEMPELN DERSELBEN KOMMEN NEBEN DEM NAMEN DER WERKSTATT AUCH VERSCHIEDEN PERSONENNAMEN VOR, ENTWEDER GANZ ODER TEILWEISE AUSGESCHRIEBEN ODER NUR MIT DEN INITIALEN ANGEDEUTET, IM GANZEN 14 ODER 15. KISA BEZIEHT DIESE AUF, "WERKLEUTE, SKLAVEN, FREIE MITARBEITER UND GEHILFEN" DES FABRIKVORSTANDES UND SIEHT IN IHRER VERHALTNISMASSIG GROSSEN ZAHL EIN ZEICHNIS DER GROSSE DES BETRIEBES ABER EBENSOGUT KANN MAN DIESE PACTER DER WERKSTATT, DEREN WIRKSAMHEIT EIN JAHRHUNDERT UBERDAUERT HAT ANSEHEN." "1491

MENTIONS WORKSHOPS OF "BEIDEN FIRMII, HILARUS UND HYLAS:

C.I.L. XV 6976 ROME

XXXXXXXXXXXXX C.I.L. XI 6710, 7 P. MIDDLE ITALY

C.I. L. XIII 10 025, 18-20 IN GAUL AND ON THE RHEIN

C.I.L. 6014, 4 PANNONIA.

"IST SICHER KEIN KLEINBETRIEB GEWESEN."

LITTLE DEFINITE PROOF.

PROBABLE CONSIDERABLE WORK IN ROME BECAUSE OF DISCOVERY OF BLOWING GLASS

( STRABO ). STILL DONE ON SMALL SHOP SCALE AS FAR AS WE KNOW.

## INDUSTRY: (PRIVATE) FACTORIES (6)

### E. POTTERY

ROSTOVITZEFF "ANOTHER OF THE TYPICAL INSTANCES OF THE SMALL FACTORIES, OR RATHER LARGER WORKSHOPS ARE THE SHOPS WHICH PRODUCED THE LARGE JARS IN WHICH WINE, OLIVE OIL AND THE LAKE WERE EXPORTED FROM SUCH PLACES AS RHODES, THASOS. THE STAMPS OF THESE JARS SHOW HUNDREDS OF NAMES OF POTTERS (KERAMIEIS) AND SOMETIMES OF MASTERS (ERGASTERIARCHAI)... SLAVES AND ALIENS. A LARGE NUMBER OF NAMES AND THE CHARACTER OF THE FACTORY DEPOT FOUND AT VILLANOVA IN RHODES SHOW THAT WE HAVE TO DO WITH SMALL AND NOT VERY RICH CONCERNS." CAH VIII 650 GREEK POTTERY

LOAN "ANY ATTEMPT TO ESTIMATE THE SIZE OF THE PRODUCTION FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE LAMPS IS OF NECESSITY UNSATISFACTORY, BUT THE SIMPLICITY OF THE MANUFACTURING PROCESS, THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF PRESERVING TRADE SECRETS AND THE CHEAPNESS OF THE RAW MATERIALS MUST HAVE PREVENTED THE EMERGENCE OF A FEW VERY LARGE CONCERNS." P. 109

H. COMFORT "THE OWNER OF THE SHOP WAS USUALLY A ROMAN CITIZEN... SOMETIMES HE SIGNED WITH THE TRIA NOMINA, BUT OFTEN ONE OR TWO OF HIS NAMES WERE SUPPRESSED OF AN ADDED SERVILE NAME WHICH IS USUALLY EITHER GREEK OR LATIN, NOT GERMAN OR PARTHIAN. THE GREATEST NUMBER OF SLAVES ATTESTED FOR A SINGLE SHOP IS 58 BELONGING TO P. CORNELIUS WHO WAS AT THE VERY PEAK OF ARRETINE EXPANSION, AFTER THE MARKET HAD BEEN CREATED, BUT BEFORE IT HAD BEEN SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCED BY GAULISH COMPETITION." IN T. FRANK SURV. V P. 188

~~A. KROENKE~~ GAUL:

TOUTAIN "THE CHIEF POTTERIES OF ITALY AND GAUL, THOSE OF ARRETUM IN ETRURIA, OF LA GRAUFESENQUE AMONG THE RUCENI, OF LEZOUX AMONG THE AVERNI, OF RHEINZABERN AMONG THE NEMETES, AND YET OTHERS, HAVE THE APPEARANCE OF POWERFUL INDUSTRIES, EXPORTING THEIR OUTPUT TO DISTANT MARKETS AND HOLDING ALMOST A MONOPOLY OF SUCH TRADE." P. 302

A. GRENIER "A LA GRAUFESENQUE, A CES VESTIGES OCCUPENT UN TERRAIN D'ENVIRON 1 KM DE CHAQUE COTE. AUTOUR DE LEZOUX, CHEZ LES AVERNES, ON LES RENCONTRE DANS UN RAYON DE PLUS DE TROIS KILOMETRES. ILS SE TROUVENT REPARTIS PAR PETITS GROUPES DE QUELQUES FOIRS DANS LE VOISINAGE DE CHACUN DESQUELS GISENT DES AMAS DE TESSONS." T. FRANK SURV III P. 544.

BUT WE DO NOT KNOW WHETHER THESE WERE MERELY COLONIES OF INDIVIDUAL POTTERS WHO WORKED FOR THEMSELVES, OR WERE ORGANIZED AS A SINGLE FACTORY. IN LIEU OF DEFINITE EVIDENCE THE ~~SIMPLE~~ FORMER SUPPOSITION IS SIMPLER AND MORE PROBABLE.

### F. SLAVERY

THE ASSUMPTION IS OFTEN MADE THAT HUGE ROMAN FACTORIES WERE STAFFED WITH SLAVES. THE ABOVE REFERENCE TO GAUL EMPHASIZES THE FACT THAT IF THERE WERE FACTORIES, THEY WERE OFTEN IN AREAS WHERE THERE WERE FEW SLAVES.

WESTERMANN "DIE VON M. CRASSUS UNTERNOMMENE ABSTELLUNG UND VERWENDUNG EINER SCHAR VON 500 AUSGEBILDETEN SKLAVEN ZUM ABRECHEN UND ERBAUEN VON HAUSERN (PLUT CRAS. 2,4) BIETET FÜR DIE GESAMTE REPUBLIKANISCHE ZEIT DAS



INDUSTRY: (PRIVATE) FACTORIES (7)

WESTERMANN

F. SLAVERY (CONTINUED)

DAS HERVORRAGENDSTE BEISPIEL ORGANISierter SKLAVENARBEIT, DAS WIR AUS DEM WESTEN KENNEN. P.W. "SKLAVEREI" P. 972

OTHER EXAMPLES HE GIVES:

C.I.L. 1 (2) 672 - 8 SLAVES -  
" 68x 753 19 SLAVES  
2235 4 "

BUT CRASSUS GROUP WAS FAR MORE LIKE A CONTRACTING GANG THAN A FACTORY FORCE.

G. VILLAS

THESE ARE SOMETIMES USED AS EXAMPLES OF FACTORIES; ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~XXXX~~

TOUTAIN

"THERE WERE ALSO BIG WORKSHOPS, LARGE MANUFACTURES ~~SEX~~ ONE MIGHT ALMOST SAY FIRMS, CORRESPONDING TO THE BIG INDUSTRY OF OUR OWN TIMES. THIS, INDEED WAS THE ONLY FORM IN WHICH CERTAIN INDUSTRIES COULD BE CONDUCTED.

"MANY OF THESE BIG WORKSHOPS WE KNOW TO HAVE BEEN ORGANIZED ON HUGE LANDED ESTATES, IN WHICH INDUSTRY WAS COMBINED WITH AGRICULTURE AND STOCK BREEDING. IN THE VILLA AT MARTRES-TOLOSANES, SOUTH OF TOULOUSE, A WEAVING MILL ~~XX~~ HAS BEEN IDENTIFIED. SINCE THE STAFF EMPLOYED IN THE VILLA AMOUNTED TO 200 OR 300 PERSONS, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE MILL WAS SET UP SOLELY TO SUPPLY THEIR NEEDS. BUT THERE IS NO PROOF THAT THE CLOTH MADE HERE WAS NOT SOLD OUTSIDE, AT LEAST IN PART, THUS FIGURING AMONG THE REVENUES OF THE ESTATE." P. 301

SEVERAL EXAMPLES ARE GIVEN, ALL VILLAS, FAR FROM LARGE TOWNS.

SUMMARIZES "IT IS PROBABLE, HOWEVER, THAT THE WORKSHOPS THUS MAINTAINED SUPPLIED ONLY LOCAL NEEDS OR AT THE MOST THOSE OF THE SURROUNDING DISTRICT!" P. 302 THUS THERE WAS NO CONTRIBUTION TO A GENERAL MARKET.

INDUSTRY REVIEW

LOAN

Rome: FROM THE MATERIALS CONSIDERED IN THIS CHAPTER IT APPEARS THAT THE CLEAREST EXAMPLE OF AN INDUSTRY EMPLOYING HUNDREDS OF WORKMEN WAS THE MAKING OF BRICKS, THOUGH THERE IS ALSO SLIGHT EVIDENCE FOR THE LARGE SCALE PRODUCTION OF CLAY LAMPS. FOR THESE TWO INDUSTRIES ROME BORE SLIGHT RESEMBLANCE TO POMPEII. AGAIN, IN THE MAKING OF BREAD, IN TANNING AND IN FULLING, CONCENTRATION INTO LARGE SHOPS WAS DICTATED BY THE NEED OF MACHINERY AND CAPITAL... GROUPS SUCH AS THESE, HOWEVER, EXISTED AT POMPEII WHERE THE SMALL ARTISAN SALES SHOP REMAINED THE ESSENTIAL METHOD OF PRODUCTION.

FURTHERMORE, AT ROME, AS AT POMPEII, NO TRACES OF FACTORIES HAVE APPEARED FROM THE EXCAVATIONS, AND WE SEARCH THE SOURCES AND THE INSCRIPTIONS IN VAIN FOR REFERENCES TO METAL FOUNDRIES AND SHOE FACTORIES."

P. 112

TARN

THE EAST: "THE FEW INDUSTRIES OF HELLENISM WERE SMALL AND SCATTERED, AND THERE WAS NO CLASS CONSCIOUS PROLETARIAT OF PRODUCERS." P. 110.

E. ALBERTINI: GAUL: "INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY IS THE DISTINGUISHING MARK OF ROMAN GAUL AN ACTIVITY EMBRACING ITS INNUMERABLE WORKSHOPS ARTICLES OF EVERY KIND FOR CONSUMPTION AT HOME OR ABROAD, IT IS MOST OFTEN IN THE HANDS OF MEN WORKING AT HOME FOR THEIR OWN ACCOUNT. A WORKSHOP IS RUN BY THE MEMBERS OF ONE FAMILY WITH AT THE MOST, A FEW PAID WORKMEN IN ADDITION. ONLY A FEW CASES NOTABLY IN THE POTTERY AND GLASS INDUSTRIES DID THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM DEVELOP SO AS TO INCLUDE A NUMBER OF REAL FACTORIES EMPLOYING MANY WORKMEN, WHETHER FREE LABOURERS OR SLAVES. CAH XII 504-5  
EGYPT:

BELL

ALEXANDRIA: "IN THE COUNTRY DISTRICTS INDUSTRY WAS USUALLY ON A SMALL SCALE AND ~~SEVERAL INDUSTRIES~~ SERVED LOCAL NEEDS ONLY BUT AT ALEXANDRIA AND PERHAPS IN THE DELTA CAPITALISTIC ENTERPRISE WAS DOUBTLESS COMMON ENOUGH, THOUGH THE PAUCITY OF THE EVIDENCE FORBIDS ANY INSIGHT INTO ITS METHODS."

CAH X p. 306

DETEL

GENERAL SUMMARY: "BUT, IF WE DISREGARD THE ALEXANDRIAN PAPER, INDUSTRY, REMAINED LIMITED LIMITED TO PARTICULAR BRANCHES (THE CERAMIC, METALLURGIC, GLASS AND PERHAPS THE GARUM INDUSTRIES, BRANCHES WHICH WERE BASED ON THE POSSESSION OF A CERTAIN TECHNIQUE, ON THE EXERCISE OF A CERTAIN ARTISTIC SKILL, AND APART FROM THESE AT BEST ON THE SPECIAL ENTERPRISE OF INDIVIDUAL INDUSTRIALISTS, INSTEAD OF ON THE IMPULSE INHERENT IN A DEFINITE WORKING METHOD TOWARDS THE ATTAINMENT OF PROGRESSIVELY GREATER EFFICIENCY--A DEVELOPMENT WHICH IS FOUND ONLY WITH THE COMING OF FACTORIES."

CAH X 423



## INDUSTRY

UNLIKE AGRICULTURE, FOR INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS WE HAVE NO MENTION OF A RECOGNIZED MARKET. WE SHALL THEN HAVE TO SEARCH FOR SIGNS OF IT INDIRECTLY IN:

I. PRODUCTION: WERE THERE LARGE FACTORIES PRODUCING GOODS WHICH WOULD REQUIRE A LARGE MARKET TO DISPOSE OF THEM?

II. DISTRIBUTION: WHAT KNOWN WAYS WERE GOODS DISPOSED OF? DO THESE POINT TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MARKET, OR ARE THEY A SUBSTITUTE FOR IT?

III. THE INDUSTRIALISTS: DID PRODUCTION AND BUYING AND SELLING OF GOODS MAKE MEN VERY RICH AND POWERFUL AS TODAY?

IV. POLICY: WAS THE IMPORTANCE OF INDUSTRY SHOWN BY ITS INFLUENCE ON GOVERNMENT POLICY IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS OR TAXING POLICIES?

\* \* \*

\* \* \*

\* \* \*

I. PRODUCTION: GOMMERUS DECLARES THAT THERE WAS A DEVELOPMENT OF BIG BUSINESS BASED ON SLAVERY AND CAPITAL. HOWEVER WHEN WE LOOK FOR SPECIFIC LARGE INDUSTRIAL CONCERNS WE HAVE SOME TROUBLE.

A. VERBAL EVIDENCE: IT IS A STRIKING FACT THAT WE HAVE NO CLEAR PROOF OF A WORD WHICH MEANS "FACTORY." "FABRICA" SEEMS TO REFER MOSTLY TO A DIVISION OF THE MILITARY ORGANIZATION. "ERGASTULUM" TO A SLAVE'S WORKHOUSE. "TABERNAE" TO A SELLER'S STALL, SMALL IN SIZE. "OFFICINA", THE MOST LIKELY CANDIDATE BECAUSE IT IS FOUND ON SOME LAMPS, OFTEN MEANS "STUDIO" OR "WORKSHOP" OF AN INDIVIDUAL.

B. GOVERNMENT FACTORIES: IF OUR ULTIMATE GOAL IS TO FIND EVIDENCES OF A MARKET, WE MUST EXEMPT PRODUCTS WHICH WOULD NOT BE SOLD IN A MARKET. THESE GOODS COULD BE DISTRIBUTED BY ADMINISTRATIVE MEANS SUCH AS RATIONING (ARMY) OR SOLD AT SET PRICES. THIS INCLUDES MOST OF THOSE INDUSTRIES WHICH APPROACHED LARGE SCALE PRODUCTION. IN THESE THE GOVERNMENT WAS EITHER THE PURCHASER (ARMS, BAKING, SHIPPING) OR THE SELLER (PAPYRUS, CINNABAR, MINES, BRICKS). IN EITHER CASE NO PRICE WAS LIABLE TO FORM THROUGH COMPETITIVE BIDDING OF BUYING AND SELLING CROWDS WHICH IS THE CHARACTERISTIC OF THE MODERN MARKET.

C. GUILD INDUSTRIES: THERE WAS LARGE SCALE TEXTILE PRODUCTION. FROM THE

## INDUSTRY (2)

### PRODUCTION: GUILD INDUSTRIES:

NECESSITY OF A LARGE WORKROOM, MACHINERY, UTILITIES SUCH AS WATER, IT HAS BEEN SUPPOSED THAT IN WEAVING, TANNING, FULLING, AND DYEING, WE MUST HAVE HAD LARGE FACTORIES, WITH EQUIPMENT SUPPLIED BY CAPITALISTS. I HOWEVER WOULD LIKE TO PROPOSE THAT THESE WERE SUPPLIED BY THE RESPECTIVE GUILDS. WE DO KNOW THE GUILDS EXISTED AND WERE INFLUENTIAL. WE KNOW OF NOT MORE THAN ONE "CAPITALIST" WHO IS CALLED SUCH BECAUSE OF A LARGE DONATION OF MONEY HE MIGHT HAVE ACQUIRED IN SOME OTHER WAY. IN GENERAL, WE KNOW OF NO LARGE FORTUNES MADE IN THESE INDUSTRIES. IN POMPEII WE KNOW OF A GUILD HALL OF THE FULLERS, WHICH WAS GIVEN BY EUMACHIA ~~OWNED~~ TO THE FULLONES. THIS ~~IS~~ ALSO PROOF OF GUILD OWNED UTILITIES.

D. METALS INDUSTRY: HERE ALSO THE RAW GOODS WERE CONTROLLED BY THE GOVERNMENT, WHICH ALSO BOUGHT MUCH OF THE WARES FOR THE ARMY. BUT EVEN HERE THERE IS LITTLE EVIDENCE FOR LARGE SCALE FACTORIES. THE GOLDSMITHS WERE INDIVIDUAL CRAFTSMEN. IN BRONZE FROM THE FACT WE KNOW OF ONE FACTORY OF 8 FREEMEN AND 3 IN ANOTHER, PEOPLE HAVE CONJECTURED ~~WE~~ THE EXISTENCE OF AN INDUSTRY WITH THOUSANDS OF SLAVES. THIS IS CLEARLY WITHOUT FOUNDATION. LIKEWISE IN IRON, IN ROME, THE LARGEST GROUP WE KNOW OF IS 7 FREEMEN! THE LEAD PIPES FOR AQUEDUCTS WERE MADE BY SMALL GROUPS. WHILE THERE WAS DOUBTLESS A VERY HIGH VOLUME OF PRODUCTION IN THESE GOODS, IT ~~IS~~ IS FALSE TO ASSUME THIS NECESSITATED LARGE UNITS OF PRODUCTION. MANY SMALL, INDEPENDENT WORKERS, CAN ALSO TURN OUT GREAT AMOUNTS OF MATERIAL.

E. GLASS AND POTTERY WERE ALSO PRODUCED IN GREAT QUANTITY. BUT THE LARGEST UNITS OF PRODUCTION ARE VERY SMALL (14 OR 15 MEN). IN ONE CASE 58 MEN ARE MENTIONED IN A POTTERY FIRM, BUT THIS SEEMS TO BE THE ACME OF THE DEVELOPMENT. GAUL ALSO OFFERS THE POSSIBILITY OF LARGE FACTORIES IN THE RUINS OF GRAUFESBENQUE AND LEZOUX, WHICH COVER ONE AND NINE KILOMETERS RESPECTIVELY. THIS ALSO MAY, HOWEVER, HAVE BEEN A COLONY OF INDIVIDUAL WORKERS. AT ANY RATE IT DOES NOT SEEM LIKELY THAT THIS WAS LINKED WITH SLAVERY, WHICH WAS ALMOST NON-EXISTENT IN



INDUSTRY (3)

E. GLASS AND POTTERY (CONTINUED)

THAT PROVINCE. ALSO TO BE DISCOUNTED HERE ARE THE WORKSHOPS ON VILLAS, WHICH PRODUCED MAINLY FOR THEMSELVES, AS FORERUNNERS OF THE MEDIEVAL MANOR, OR AT THE MOST SUPPLIED THE NEIGHBORING TOWNS.

SUMMARY: WHILE A LARGE QUANTITY OF GOODS WERE PRODUCED, THERE IS LITTLE EVIDENCE THAT ~~THEY~~ <sup>IT IMPLIED</sup> NECESSITATED LARGE FACTORIES. WE KNOW OF NO UNIT OF PRODUCTION NUMBERING OVER A HUNDRED WORKERS. THE LARGEST ONES WERE BAKING AND BRICKS, THE ONE SUPPLYING THE EMPEROR, THE OTHER OWNED BY HIM. OTHER IMPORTANT PRODUCTS SUCH AS CINNABAR, PAPYRUS, METALS, AND ARMS WERE INTEGRATED BY THE GOVERNMENT WHO ACTED EITHER AS A BUYER OR SELLER. CERTAIN POTTERY FIRMS IN GAUL MAY HAVE BEEN LARGE IN SIZE, BUT LITTLE IS REALLY KNOWN ABOUT THEM. ~~THERE XXXX ARE NO DIRECT EVIDENCES OF LARGE INDUSTRIES~~

THERE IS THUS LITTLE EVIDENCE FOR LARGE AMOUNTS OF CAPITAL INVESTED IN FACTORIES FOR SLAVES AND MACHINERY, WHICH WOULD REQUIRE WIDESPREAD MARKETS FOR DISTRIBUTION. RATHER PRODUCTION SEEMS TO BE ALMOST ENTIRELY IN THE HANDS OF THE SMALL ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ARTISAN WHO EITHER SELLS TO OR FOR THE GOVERNMENT AT RATES FIXED BY IT, OR WHO DISPOSES OF HIS GOODS PERSONALLY BY THE WELL KNOWN METHOD OF THE BAZAAR WHICH IS ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ NOT A PREDECESSOR OR, BUT A SUBSTITUTE FOR A PRICE MAKING MARKET.

NOT NECESSARY TO TELL EXACTLY HOW IT FUNCTIONED,  
" " " WHOLE STORY.

## OUTLINE

WHERE SHOULD WE LOOK: FOLLOWING THE ANALOGY OF MODERN BUSINESS:

A. GRAIN SUPPLY - STATE CONTROLS SUPPLY, PRICES (EXAMPLES OF AUG, TID)  
B. LITTLE INFORMATION ON OTHER COMMODITIES:  
(WHATEVER EXISTS I WILL SUMMARIZE)

A. HANDICRAFT- NO FACTORIES - LIMITED PRODUCTION  
B. BAZAAR, STORE FRONT SHOPS- NO MIDDLEMAN OR RESALE  
C. EXPENSIVE TRANSPORTATION.  
D. INDUSTRY LITTLE POLITICAL OR SOCIAL INFLUENCE  
L. BRICKLAYING OF ANOTNINES - ONLY WEALTH FROM INDUSTRY IN 1,000 YEARS THAT CONTRIBUTES TO POLITICAL POWER.  
2. NO PROTEST AGAINST VERY LOW TARRIFF.  
3. " CORN DOLE: (CITIZENS NOT ESSENTIAL TO INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION)  
4. Little violence, colonies want an immediate

A. LEX CLAUDIA  
B. MOSTLY ALL SKIPPER MERCHANTS  
C. C. LAUDIUS' APPEAL TO FREEDMEN

A. ARGENTARIUS- PROFESSIONAL- SMALL SCALE - SHOP.  
 1. EXCHANGES COINS; WITNESSES PAYMENT, SAFEGUARDS WEALTH, PAWNBROKING  
 2. SELDOM LENDS OTHER PEOPLE'S MONEY.  
 BM MONEY LENDING OTHERWISE:  
 -B.L. USURY PROHIBITED SINCE L2 TABLES TO CAESAR'S LAWS  
 2. SOME RICH MEN DO IT (CATO)  
 A. NOT THROUGH INSTITUTION OF BANK  
 B. NO BANK CREDIT BASED ON ECONOMIC RESOURCES.

MOST PEOPLE ENGAGED IN WHAT WE CONSIDER FUNDAMENTAL BUSINESS ACTIVITIES  
FREEDMEN OR SLAVES OR FOREIGNERS. UNDERPRIVILEGED (ROMAN LAW) LITTLE TO SAY  
IN POLITICS OR CULTURE.

WHAT BUSINESS WAS THERE?

- A. PUBLICAN SHARES ON GOV TAX COLLECTION: ONLY INCORPORATED BODY. BASED ON BOOTY  
B. ~~AGRICULTURAL CAPITALISM~~: CATO: CREDIT PANIC. *of Agriculture*  
C. MONEY LENDING BASED ON POLITICAL ADVANTAGE: BRUTUS, VERRES  
D. SLAVE LABOR: ATTICUS GLADIATORS: CRASSUS. *of 1st 2nd*



ROMAN BUSINESS LIFE 200 B.C. - 50 A.D.

INTRODUCTION: WAS THEN BUSINESS LIFE OF ANCIENT ROME DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF TODAY?

*Francis*  
A. QUANTITATIVELY: ~~GENERALLY ADMITTED THAT IT WAS MUCH LESS.~~ THEREFORE THIS WILL BE BRIEFLY DISCUSSED WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO QUANTITATIVE DIFFERENCES WHICH MIGHT INDICATE: IT WAS: QUALITATIVELY DIFFERENT

B. QUALITATIVE: MORE DETAILED AS IT CONTAINS THE ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTION OF THIS THESIS. CRITERIA ~~TO BE DRAWN FROM THE MOST IMPORTANT INSTITUTION IN MODERN ECONOMIC LIFE: THE MARKET.~~ WE SHALL ASK:

1. WERE THERE MARKETS? THE MODERN MARKET SYSTEM HAS MARKETS FOR ALL TYPES OF THINGS, ALL FACTORS OF PRODUCTION, LAND, LABOR, AND CAPITAL.
2. WERE THESE INTERRELATED BY A PRICE? ~~AND~~ THE MODERN MARKET MAKES POSSIBLE THE TRANSLATION OF ONE PRODUCT FOR ANOTHER WITH A PROFIT ARISING FROM PRICE, THE TERMS OF EXCHANGE.
3. WAS CAPITAL INVESTED IN BUSINESS? THE MODERN MARKET SYSTEM BASED ON ECONOMIC FACTORS, MAKES POSSIBLE RATIONAL PREDICTION AND THE INVESTMENT OF CAPITAL.

UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS: ROSTOVTZEFF DEFINED PRODUCTION ~~AS~~ FOR UNKNOWN CONSUMER PRODUCTION FOR THE MARKET. MORE RECENT ~~ECONOMISTS HAVE RECENT~~ RESEARCH IN ECONOMICS HAS SHOWN THAT THERE MAY BE ~~DIFFERENT TYPES~~ PRODUCTION FOR DIFFERENT TYPES OF TRADE, ~~SUCH AS~~ SUCH AS ADMINISTERED TRADE (LEND LEASE) WHICH IS VASTLY DIFFERENT FROM ~~MARKET~~ TRADE ON THE MARKET. THE MARKET IS A SPECIFIC INSTITUTION THAT WE CANNOT INFER, ~~CONCLUSIONS~~ BUT MUST DISCOVER.

ORDER OF PRESENTATION: TO HIGHLIGHT THE ANTICIPATED DIFFERENCES SECTION I OF THIS PAPER WILL BE DEVOTED TO SPECIFICALLY ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES WHICH ARE MOST IMPORTANT IN MODERN BUSINESS LIFE.

SECTION II WILL BE DEVOTED TO PRIVATE, SEMI-PUBLIC AND PUBLIC ACTIVITIES WHICH HAVE A POLITICAL BASIS, ~~AND~~ SEEM TO HAVE BEEN ~~UNIQUELY~~ *especially* IMPORTANT IN THE ANCIENT WORLD. *There*

## 11. POLITICAL BUSINESS

INTRODUCTION: IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS WE HAVE EMPHASIZED THE LIMITATION OF ROMAN BUSINESS ACTIVITY IN ~~BANKX~~ INDUSTRY, TRANSPORTATION, AND BANKING. YET CLEARLY THERE WAS MUCH BUSINESS ACTIVITY AS WE ~~WERE~~ SEE FROM CICERO'S LETTERS, ETC. THE PURPOSE OF THIS WORK IS TO SHOW THAT THIS ACTIVITY WAS MAINLY IN THE SPHERE OF FINANCE CONNECTED WITH THE GOVERNMENT WORK OF CONTRACTING AND TAX COLLECTION WHICH INCREASED ENORMOUSLY WITH THE GROWTH OF THE EMPIRE.

with the accession of the province + reached its culmination in the collecting the duties of customs.

One of the strongest proofs in the lower level of banking & industry is that no institutions were established to embody them - This is confirmed by the fact that in the one area where business did develop, engineering & contracting - we find the only corporation recognized by law.

ROMANEM SEMI-PUBLIC: ROMAN IN PRECEDING CHAPTERS THE EMPHASIS WAS ON THE LACK OF IMPORTANCE OF INDUSTRY, AND BANKING BECAUSE NONE OF INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS CORPORATIONS DEVELOPED FROM THEM. HERE THIS IS CONFIRMED, BECAUSE IN THE SPHERE WHERE THERE WAS MUCH ACTIVITY THE ONLY ROMAN CORPORATION RECOGNIZED BY LAW DEVELOPED. THE SOCIETAS PUBLICANORUM.

\*\*\*\*\*PERIOD\*\*\*\*\*

A/EARLY STAGE:

1. PROVISION ARMIES: HANNIBALIC WARS - 215 B.C. FIRST FORMATION OF COMPANIES.

NEED FOR GOODS ON CREDIT 215 B.C. (HILL P. 88-9)

2. PORTORIA REXSYRKENSEX - SYRACUSE 227 B.C. (?).....  
AND SCRIPTURA

- ### 3. AGER PUBLICUS OF SARDINIA

4. MINES ~~EXPOSED~~ SPAIN 178 B.C.

- 5- Contracts - Public Works of Polynesia

6. SUMMARY:

1. UNTIL NOW ONLY MINOR TAXES COLLECTED.

2. INFLUENCE OF PUBLICANI SEEMS ON THE WANE - MACEDONINA MINES CLOSED....

HILLS STATEMENT - NO POLITICAL POWER.

Masson wrong - destructive of courts & country's strategies rather than political

B. GOLDEN AGE: TURNING POINT: POLITICAL STRUGGLE OF GRACCHI TO REFORM ROME

- A NEED FOR MEN FOR ARMY

USE THE TRIBUNATE ASSEMBLY FOR AGRARIAN REFORMS.....

NEED SUPPORT IN CENTURIES ASSEMBLY (

## BID FOR SUPPORT OF RICH EQUITES

FARM TATHES OF ASIA (JUST GIVEN TO PEOPLE BY WILL OF KING ATTALUS)  
(UNPRECEDENTED OPPORTUNITY)

1. ORIGINALLY ~~ROMANXXX~~ TAX ON ROMANS TRIBUTUM, REALLY A FORCED  
LOAN - COLLECTED BY GOV. OFFICIALS. TRIB. AERARII.

2. ALLIES CONTRIBUTE SOLDIERS - NO OTHER TAX.

- \*X2XX\*MXBXKXX\*ZTITBZBOZZEEZEEOZBOIZOXZEX48TJ06ZTXZCOKEEOTOBZ

3. STIPENDIUM - PAY FOR SERVICE - FIXED AMOUNT COLLECTED BY GOVERNOR AND MILITARY. - SARDINIA.

4. SICILY STIPENDIUM NOT FIXED AMOUNT.

- A TAXING SYSTEM OF HERO OF SYRACUSE AND GREEKS.

- B. CONTINUED. TITHES AUCTIONED IN SYRACUSE.

- C. ROMANS PRACTICALLY EXCLUDED.

- 5/ ASIA: PROBABLY ALSO LOCAL COLLECTORS COULD HAVE DONE IT.

PREFERRED TO BENEFIT EQUITES - AUCTIONED IN ROME.

OR GREATEST TAX IN RICHEST PART OF THE WORLD



## NOTES: (1)

TO PROFESSOR POLANYI: THESE NOTES ARE MUCH FULLER THAN NECESSARY, BUT I HOPE THAT THEY MAY SUPPLY YOU WITH MATERIAL THAT WILL BE USEFUL TO JUDGE MY TEST. I HAVE ALSO KEPT MOST OF MY PROBLEMS AND CONTROVERSIES OUT OF THE TEXT, BUT HAVE AIRED THEM QUITE FRANKLY IN THE NOTES.

REFERENCES ARE MADE BY CITING THE AUTHOR'S LAST NAME UNDER WHICH TITLE CAN BE FOUND IN BIBLIOGRAPHY AT END OF PAPER. IN CASE MORE THAN ONE WORK OF SAME AUTHOR IS USED, TITLE WILL BE ABBREVIATED.

## PREFACE

### ROSTOVITZ'S VIEW OF ANCIENT CAPITALISM:

"THEY (THE HELLENISTIC CITIES OF THE EAST) EMPLOYED BOTH IN AGRICULTURE (INCLUDING CATTLE-BREEDING) AND IN INDUSTRY THE METHODS OF PURE CAPITALISTIC ECONOMY BASED ON SLAVE-LABOUR. THEY INTRODUCED FOR THE FIRST TIME A MASS PRODUCTION OF GOODS FOR AN INDEFINITE MARKET." (ROME P.3. ITALICS AND FIRST PARENTHESIS MY OWN.)

BUT ROSTOVITZ SEEMS TO SEE THE NEED FOR ADMINISTRATIVE (I.E. GOVERNMENT) ACTION IN PROCURING FOOD, BUT INSISTS THIS MUST HAVE BEEN DONE THRU A MARKET:

"ONE OF THE MOST COMPLICATED TASKS OF THE CITIES AND THE CITY MAGISTRATES WAS TO SECURE 'ABUNDANCE' (ABUNDANTIA) OF FOODSTUFFS, ESPECIALLY OF CORN (ANNOA, EUTHENIA), FOR PUBLIC CONSUMPTION. IN ROME THE EMPEROR UNDERTOOK THIS TASK. IN OTHER CITIES IT WAS ONE OF THE MAIN DUTIES OF THE CITY COUNCIL AND THE CITY MAGISTRATES. THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH A PLENTIFUL SUPPLY OF FOOD HAD TO BE SECURED WERE NOT VERY FAVORABLE. IN MANY CASES THE CITY TERRITORIES WERE NOT LARGE ENOUGH TO PROVIDE A SUFFICIENT SUPPLY. MOREOVER, THE VARIABILITY OF CROPS WAS AN OUTSTANDING FEATURE OF ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE ANCIENT WORLD, EVEN IN SUCH LANDS AS EGYPT. THUS ALL THE CITIES DEPENDED MORE OR LESS ON A REGULAR OR EMERGENCY IMPORT OF FOODSTUFFS. NONE OF THEM WAS PERMANENTLY SELF-SUFFICIENT. THE ORGANIZATION OF A MARKET AND ESPECIALLY OF THE TRANSPORTATION OF LARGE MASSES OF FOODSTUFFS WAS, THEREFORE, A QUESTION OF PRIME IMPORTANCE FOR THE CITIES OF THE EMPIRE. THE PROBLEM OF REGULATING THE MARKET WAS NOT TACKLED BY THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. ON THE CONTRARY, MANY SERIOUS OBSTACLES WERE PLACED IN THE WAY OF THE FREE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE CONCERNED WITH THE NECESSITIES OF LIFE." (ROME P. 137).

A SOMEWHAT GREATER APPRECIATION AND MORE CONSISTENT VIEW OF THE ROLE OF ADMINISTRATIVE TRADE IS FOUND IN LOUIS

"THE THEORY OF FULL ECONOMIC FREEDOM WHICH FOUND SUCH FAVOUR IN FRANCE AT THE MIDDLE TIME OF THE REVOLUTION AND IN ENGLAND IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TOOK NO ROOT IN ROME. THE INTERVENTION OF THE MAGISTRATES CONTINUED UNDER A THOUSAND ASPECTS AND IN THE MOST VARIED SPHERES OF ACTIVITY

"THE UNDERTAKINGS ASSUMED BY THE PUBLIC POWER ARE INNUMERABLE AND ASTONISH US BY THE COMPLEXITY WHICH THEY SOMETIMES REVEAL. BY MEANS OF AGRARIAN LAWS THEY CHANGED THE DISTRIBUTION OF PROPERTY; BY THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ANNOA AND THE OFFICIAL IMPORT OF CORN THEY ASSURED A SUBSISTENCE FOR THE CITIZENS OF ROME AND PROCURED WHEAT FOR THEM AT A LOW PRICE OR EVEN FREE OF CHARGE, ABOLISHING THUS A WHOLE BRANCH OF TRADE--AND THAT ONE OF THE MOST

NOTES (2)

PREFACE (CONTINUED)

ESSENTIAL. WE FIND WHEAT DISTRIBUTED BY THE OFFICIALS OF THE REPUBLIC;  
THOSE OF THE EMPIRE DISTRIBUTED FLOUR, BREAD, WINE, OIL AND EVEN MEAT."

P.20



NOTES (3)

ORIGINS: MANY AUTHORITIES SEEM TO BELIEVE THE BUTCHERSHOPS WERE COMPLETELY REMOVED FROM THE FORUM BY THE END OF THE THIRD CENTURY:

460  
PLATNER P. 369 "THE ROMAN MARKETS WHICH HAD ORIGINALLY BEEN HELD IN THE FORUM ITSELF WERE GRADUALLY REMOVED TO MAKE ROOM FOR MORE IMPORTANT INTERESTS."

P. 169 "WE ARE TOLD THAT AT SOME TIME BEFORE 310 B.C. THE BUTCHERS WERE BANISHED FROM THESE SHOPS AND THAT THEY WERE OCCUPIED BY MONEY-CHANGERS AND BANKERS, BEING THENCEFORTH KNOWN AS TABERNAE ARGENTARIAE."

JONES P. 96 "AND MEAT WAS SOLD IN THE MACELLUM WHICH (TOGETHER WITH THE FORUM PISCARIUM WAS ESTABLISHED IN THE NORTH OF THE FORUM PROPER, PERHAPS TOWARDS THE CLOSE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C. AFTER THIS DATE THE ONLY TRADE CARRIED ON IN THE FORUM PROPER WAS THAT OF THE BANKERS AND MONEY-CHANGERS (ARGENTARIII), WHOSE OFFICES (TABERNAE) BORDERED ITS NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN SIDES; THE SAME PROCESS TOOK PLACE IN OTHER CITIES."

HUELSEN: P. 10 "AS CONSUL (C. MAENIUS) HE CONQUERED THE PEOPLE OF ANTUM IN 338 B.C. AND HE DECORATED THE SPEAKERS' PLATFORM WITH THE BEAKS OF THE WARSHIPS HE CAPTURED, WHEREUPON IT RECEIVED THE NAME OF ROSTRA; TWENTY YEARS LATER, AS CENSOR, HE REMOVED THE STALLS OF THE BUTCHERS AND THE GREEN GROCERS FROM THE FORUM--A FOOD MARKET, MACELLUM WAS BUILT ESPECIALLY FOR THEM NORTH OF THE FORUM--AND RESTORED THE BOOTHS IN WHICH THEREAFTER MONEY CHANGERS AND BANKERS WERE ACCOMMODATED (TABERNAE ARGENTARIAE). THE TWO ROWS OF SHOPS, CALLED VETERES ON THE NORTH SIDE AND NOVAE ON THE SOUT, WERE PROBABLY IDENTICAL IN APPEARANCE;..."

I AM, HOWEVER, MORE SYMPATHETIC WITH THE VIEW OF ~~THE~~ THAT THE BOOTHS REMAINED TILL 171 B.C. AS IS STATED BY THEODAT:

D.S. P. 1457 "C'EST AINSI QU'A ROME, LES BOUCHERS D'ABORD, DONT LA BASILIQUE SEMPRONIA FIT DISPARAITRE, EN L'AN ROME 583 (171 B.C.) LES DERNIERES BOUTIQUES..."

THIS I THINK, IS CONFIRMED BY LIVY:

LIVY XLIV 16:10, 11: "TI. SEMPRONIUS EX EA PECUNIA QUAE IPSI ATTRIBUTA ERAT, AEDES P. AFRICANI PONE VETERES AD VORTUMNI SIGNUM LANIENASQUE ET TABERNAS CONIUNCTAS IN PUBLICUM EMIT, BASILICAMQUE FACIENDAM CURAVIT, QUAE POSTEA SEMPRONIA APELLATA EST."

NOTES (4)

## II. SEPARATE MARKETS:

HARPER'S LATIN DICTIONARY UNDER "FORUM" GIVES REFERENCES TO THE VARIOUS  
EARLY MARKETS; THE MOST INTERESTING OF THESE IS: (ABOUT 250 B.C.)

TAC. ANNALS II 49 "...IANO TEMPLUM QUOD APUD FORUM HOLITORIUM C. DIVULIUS  
STRUXERAT QUI PRIMUS REM ROMANAM PROSPERE MARI GESSIT  
TRIUMPHUMQUE NAVALEM DE POENIS MERUIT."

SEE ALSO JONES P. 95 "IN ROME INDEED THE FORUM BOARIUM OR CATTLE MARKET PROBABLY OCCUPIED THE SITE BY THE RIVER FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES AND WAS IN FACT OUTSIDE THE GATES OF THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENT, JUST AS THE FORUM HOLITORUM (VEGETABLE MARKET) WAS OUTSIDE THE SERVIAN WALL. BESIDES THESE WE HEAR OF THE FORUM SUARIUM, F. PISCARIUM (OR PISCATORIUM) F. VINARIUM AND F. CUPPEDINIS, THE LAST NAMED THE PROVISION MARKET "

**大生大業×愛國魂×地大產物比價：**

### III. THE MACELLUM: A GENERAL MARKET

THEODAT: P. 1457 "LE FORUM PISCATORIUM FUT REMPLACÉ PAR UN GRAND MACELLUM, LE PREMIER MARCHÉ PROPREMENT DIT DE ROME, OU SE VENDAIENT TOUS LES PRODUITS JUSQUE LA REPARTIS ENTRE LES FORUMS SPECIAUX, OU AFFLUAIENT LES DENREES ALIMENTAIRES APPORTEES DES CAMPAGNES OU ENVOYEEES DES PROVINCES A ROME.".. "PAR SUITE, LES FORUMS SPECIAUX DISPARURENT PRESQUE TOUS SUCCESSIVEMENT."

VARRO L.L. V 445 "UBI QUID GENERATIM ADDITUM AB EO COGNOMEN, UT FORUM BOARIUM, FORUM HOLITORIUM; HOC ERAT ANTIQUM MACELLUM UBI HOLERUM COPIA; EA LOCA ETIAM NUNC LACEDEMONII XIB VOCANT MAKELLON SED IONES OSTIA (ENTRANCES) HORTORUM MAKELLWTAS HORTORUM ET CASTELLI MAKELLA (SMALL FORTIFIED VILLAGE). SECUNDUM TIBERIM AD (POR)TUNUM FORUM PISCARIUM VOCANT IDEM AIT PLAUTUS "APUD (FORUM) PISCARIUM"

VARRO IBID 146 FOR PRODUCTS SEE SECT IV BELOW.

DIO LV 8 FOR MACELLUM LIVIAE

Dio LXI 18 FOR NERO'S MAGNUM MACELLUM

ESSENTIALLY THE KIND WHEAT DISTRIBUTED BY THE OFFICIALS OF THE REPUBLIC!  
SUCH WAS THE MARKET AT ROME. FROM ITS SIZE AND BASIC PRODUCTS, MEAT AND  
THOSE OF THE EMPIRE DISTRIBUTED FLOUR, BREAD, WINE, OIL AND EVEN MEAT."

VEGETABLES, I GET THE IMPRESSION IT WAS MORE OR LESS OF A LUXURY MARKET WHERE

WELL TO DO MIGHT PICK UP FOOD, OR A POORER PERSON MIGHT PICK UP MEAT FOR SOME

SPECIAL OCCASION. ALTHOUGH MAU FOUND WHEAT IN THE MARKET AT POMPEII,



NOTES (5)

III. THE MACELLUM (CONTINUED)

I FIND IT DIFFICULT ~~XXX~~ TO BELIEVE THAT MOST OF THE GRAIN WAS SOLD THERE. IT SEEMS MORE LIKELY THAT ONLY SMALL QUANTITIES OF SURPLUS GRAIN WAS SOLD HERE, WHILE MOST OF IT WAS DISTRIBUTED FROM THE TEMPLE OF DEMETER, OR SOME OTHER PLACE. IN THE TIME OF CLAUDIUS IT WAS DISTRIBUTED FROM THE PORTICUS MINUCIUS. HOWEVER, IF THERE WAS A MARKET FOR GRAIN, THE MACELLUM WOULD HAVE TO BE IT.

IV. ARCHITECTURE:

FOR ~~XXXXXXXX~~ SIMILARITY TO OTHER MARKETS:

SCHNEIDER p. 30-1 "MAN DARF SICH NICHT WUNDERN <sup>2</sup> DASS DIE STADT ITALIENS UND ANDERER TEILE DES ROMEREICHES DAS BEISPIEL DER HAUPTSTADT NACHMACHTEN UND AUCH IHRERSEITS M. SCHUFEN, UND SO DAS FORUM VOM LEBENSMITTELMARKT BEFREITEN." 26 EXAMPLES OF OTHER MARKETS GIVEN.

FOR AN OVER ALL VIEW:

THEONAT P. 1460 "SI L'ON VEUT SE FAIRE D'UN MARCHÉ ROMAIN, UNE IDÉE BIEN EXACTE, IL SUFFIRA DE PRENDRE EN Y RETABLISSANT LES LOIS DE LA PERSPECTIVE QUI NE PEUVENT PAS ÊTRE OBSERVÉES DANS UN TYPE MONÉTAIRE, LE MARCHÉ QUI FIGURE SUR LA MONNAIE DE NERO. ON Y VERRA L'AREA ENTOURÉE DE PORTIQUES AVEC L'ÉTAGE SUPÉRIEUR; AU CENTRE LE THOLOS, ET AU FOND LE SANCtuaIRE DE LA DIVINITÉ." FOR COIN SEE FIG. 4740 IBID.

FOR DETAILS:

STONE TABLES:

SCHNEIDER P. 132 "STEINERNE TISCHE BEFANDEN SICH IN M. ZU VILLAJAYOSA (DESSAU 5586) DIE THEONAT BEI DAREMBERG-SAGLIO III 2, 1458 MIT RECHT MIT DEN LADENTISCHEN IN TIMGAD VERGlichen HAT

TANZER P. FOR PICTURE.

MAU P. 95 FOR FISH SCALES.

C.I.L. V 3288 "TABERNAE CUM PORTICIBUS UBI MERCATORES AGERETUR."

VIEW SOME OF SHOPS WERE SOLD:

SCHNEIDER P. 133: "DIE LADEN DES M. WURDEN WOHL IN DER REGEL AN DIE HANDLER VERMIETET ODER VERPACHTET, ODER DAN GAR VERKAUFT:

LIVY: XL 51,5: "FORUM PISCATORIUM CIRCUMDATIS TABERNIS QUAS VENDIDIT IN PRIVATUM."

## NOTES (6)

### V. PRODUCTS:

SEE ABOVE (III MACELLUM) FOR VIEW OF ITS GENERAL PURPOSE.

VARRON: LAT. LING V 147: "HAEC OMNIA POSTEAQUAM CONTRACTA IN UNUM LOCUM  
QUAE AD VICTUM PERTINEBANT ET AEDIFICATUS LOCUS  
APELLATUM MACELLUM..."

MARTIAL: X 59:3,4: "DIVES ET EX OMNI POSITA EST INSTRUCTA MACELLO  
GENA TIBI, SED TI MATTEA SOLA IUVAT."

### VI. AEDILE:

#### 1. THE NATURE OF THE OFFICE:

CIC. DE LEG. III 7: "SUNTOQUE AEDILES CURATORES URBIS, ANNONAE LUDORUMQUE  
SOLLENNIUM, OLLISQUE AD HONORIS AMPLIORIS GRADUM  
IS PRIMUS ASCENSUS ESTO."

DIONYSIUS OF HAL. VI 90 (IN THE ABSENCE OF GREEK LETTERS THE CARY TRANSLATION IS QUOTED)

"AND HAVING OBTAINED THIS ALSO, THEY (THE PLEBIANS)  
ASKED FURTHER THAT THE SENATE SHOULD ALLOW THEM TO  
APPOINT EVERY YEAR TWO PLEBEIANS TO ACT AS ASSISTANTS TO THE TRIBUNES  
IN EVERYTHING THE LATTER SHOULD REQUIRE, TO DECIDE SUCH CAUSES AS THE  
THE OTHERS SHOULD REFER TO THEM, TO HAVE THE OVERSIGHT OF PUBLIC PLACES,  
BOTH SACRED AND PROFANE, AND TO SEE THAT THE MARKET WAS SUPPLIED WITH  
PLENTY OF PROVISIONS. HAVING OBTAINED THIS CONCESSION ALSO FROM THE  
SENATE, THEY CHOSE MEN WHOM THEY CALLED ASSISTANTS AND COLLEAGUES OF  
THE TRIBUNES AND JUDGES. NOW, HOWEVER, THEY ARE CALLED IN THEIR OWN  
LANGUAGE, FROM ONE OF THEIR FUNCTIONS, OVERSEERS OF SACRED PLACES OF  
AEDILES (?) (CF. VARRO BELOW.) AND THEIR POWER IS NO LONGER SUBORDINATE  
TO THAT OF THE OTHER MAGISTRATES, AS FORMERLY; BUT MANY AFFAIRS OF GREAT  
IMPORTANCE ARE ENTRUSTED TO THEM, AND IN MOST RESPECTS THEY RESEMBLE  
MORE OR LESS THE AGORANOMOI OR "MARKET OVERSEERS" AMONG THE GREEKS."

VARRO L.L. V 81 "AEDILIS QUI AEDIS SACRAS ET PRIVATAS PROCURARET."

#### 2. THE OFFICE OF THE AEDILE AT POMPEII

HUMBERT 1459 "LES MARCHES ETAIENT POURVUS DE BALANCES ET DE POIDS CONFORMES  
AUX PRESCRIPTIONS LEGALES. LES POIDS ET LES MESURES OFFICIELS,  
A POMPEII ETAIENT DANS UN PETIT EDIFICE, SUR LE FORUM EN FACE  
DU MARCHE. ON VOIT DES CITOYENS D'OSTIE ET D'AUMALE FAIRE DON  
DE POIDS AU MARCHE DE LEUR VILLE. LES FEUILLES DU MARCHE DE  
L'ESQUILINE ONT MIS AU JOUR DES POIDS ET DES BALANCES."



# NOTES (7)

## VI. AEDILE (CONTINUED 2)

### 3. HIS DUTIES:

HUMBERT 99:

"LA POLICE DES MARCHES EST AUSSI UNE DES PLUS ANCIENNES ATTRIBUTIONS DES EDILES....."

POLICE

*Kubitschek* 455

"DIE A. HABEN DIE MARKPOLIZEI IN WEITESTEM UMFANGE. SIE SCHREITEN GEGEN ALLE RECHTSWIDRIGKEITEN, WUCHER UND BETRUG IM MARKTVERKEHR MEIN. SIE SORGEN FÜR DIE VERWENDUNG RICHTIGER GEWICHTSSTÜCKE UND MASSE IN DEN ÖFFENTLICHEN..... (MARKT 222) *beschaffen*"

" 462

"UNRICHTIGE GEWICHTE WERDEN ZERTRÜMMERT!"

WEIGHTS

JUVENAL X 100, 4

"AN FIDENARUM GABIORUMQUE ESSE POTESTAS ET DE MENSURA IUS DICERE, VASA MINORA FRANGERE PANNOSUS VAGUIS AEDILIS ULUBRIS."

PERSIUS I 129-30

"SESE ALIQUIM CREDENS, ITALO QUOD HONORE SUPINUS FRAGERIT HEMINAS ARRETI AEDILIS INIQUAS."

SUMPTUARY LAWS

SPECIAL GUARDS (CUSTODES) SEEM TO HAVE ENFORCED THE SUMPTUARY LAWS OF JULIUS CAESAR (SUET. CAES XLIII), BUT THE AEDILES ENFORCED THOSE OF TIBERIUS (SUET TIB. XXXIV) AND EVEN WHIPPED CLAUDIUS'S BAILIFF FOR SELLING COOKED VICTUALS (SUET. CLAUD XXXVIII). ALTHOUGH CLAUDIUS XXXX REMOVED THEM FROM THEIR JURISDICTION, THE AEDILES XXXX REGAINED THIS POWER IN THE TIME OF NERO (SUET. NERO XVI 2). BY THIS TIME, OF COURSE THEY WERE AGENTS OF THE EMPEROR, BUT PROBABLY HAD SOME DISCRETIONARY AUTHORITY.

CURA ANNONA

PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT DUTY OF THE AEDILE WAS THE CURA ANNONA

HUMBERT

P. 99 "DES UNE ÉPOQUE RÉGULÉE, LES AEDILES FURENT INVESTIS DE LA CURA ANNONAE ET EURENT À CE TITRE LA MISSION DE FAIRE AMENER DES BLÉS À ROME DANS LES TEMPS DE CHÈRE, DE LES EN RÉPARTIR, DE LES DISTRIBUER À BAS PRIX...."

*BLÉS*

LIVY X II

"CARITAS ETIAM ANNONAE SOLLICITAM CIVITATEM HABUIT VENTUMQUE AD INOPIAE ULTIMUM FORET, UT SCRIPSERE QUIBUS AEDILEM FUISSE, EO ANNO FABIUM MAXIMUM PLACET NI EIUS VIRI CURA, QUALIS IN BELLICIS REBUS MULTIS TEMPESTATIBUS FUERAT TALIS DOMI TUM IN ANNONAE DISPENSATIONE PRAEPARANDO AC CONVENENDO FRUMENTUM FUISSET."

FOSTER

NOTE: (Zach ed IV 1398) "THIS IS SAID TO BE THE FIRST RECORDED INSTANCE OF THE AEDILE BEING CHARGED WITH THE OVERSIGHT OF THE CITY'S FOOD SUPPLY."

PETRONIUS: SATYRICON 44:

"HAEC RHILEROS DIXIT, ILLA GANYMEDES; "NARRATIS  
 QUOD NEC AD CAELUM NEC AD TERRAM PERTINET, CUM INTERIM NEMO CURAT, QUID  
 ANNONA MORDET. NON MERCHULES HODIE BUCCAM PANIS INVENIRE POTUI. ET  
 QUOMODO SICCITAS PERSEVERAT. IAM ANNUM ESURITIO FUIT. AEDILES MALE EVENIAT,  
 QUI CUM PISTORIBUS COLLUDUNT 'SERVA ME, SERVABO TE'. ITAQUE POPULUS MINUTUS  
 LABORAT; NAM ISTI MAIORES MAXILLAE SEMPER SATURNALIA AGUNT.  
 O SI HABEREMUS ILLOS LEONES, QUOS EGO HIC EXENDIX INVENI, CUM PRIMUM EX ASIA  
 VENI ILLUD ERAT VIVERE. SIMILA SI SILIGINE INFERIOR ESSET, LARVAS SIC  
 ISTOS PERCOLOPABANT, UT ILLIS JUPITER IRATUS ESSET. (SED) MEMINI  
 SAFINIUM: TUNC HABITABAT AD ARQUM VETEREM, ET ME PUERO, PIPER, NON HOMO.  
 IS QUACUNQUE IBAT, TERRAM ADUREBAT. SED RECTUS, SED CERTUS, AMICUS.  
 AMICO, CUM QUO AUDACTER POSSES IN TENEBRIS MICARE. IN CURIA AUTEM QUOMODO  
 SINGULOS (VEL) FILABAT (TRACTABAT), NEC SCHEMAS LOQUEBATUR SED DERECTIONEM.  
 CUM AGERET FORO IN FORO, SIC ILLIUS VOX CRESCEBAT TANQUAM TUBA. NEC SUDAVIT  
 UNQUAM NEC EXPUIT, PUTO EUM NESQIO QUID ASIADIS HABUISSE. ET QUAM BENIGNUS  
 RESALUTARE, NOMINA OMNIUM REDDERE, TANQUAM UNUS DE NOBIS. ITAQUE ILLO TEMPORE  
ANNONA PRO LUTO ERAT. ASSE PANEM QUEM EMISSER, NON POUTISSES CUM ALTERA  
 DEVORARE. NUNC OCULUM BUBLUM VIDI MAIOREM. HEU, HEU QUOTIDIE PEIUS. HAEC  
 COLONIA RETROVERBUS CRESCIT TANQUAM CODA VIRTULI. SED QUARE NOS HABEMUS  
 AEDILEM TRIUM CAUNIARUM, QUI SIBI MANULY ASSEM QUAM VITAM NOSTRAM? ITAQUE  
 DOMI GAUDET, PLUS IN DIE NUMMORIUM ACCIPIT, QUAM ALTERUM PATRIMONIUM HABET.  
 I AM SCIO, UNDE ACCEPERIT DENARIOS MILLE AUREOS. SED SI NOS COLEOS  
 HABEREMUS, NON TANTUM SIBI PLACERET. NUNC POPULUS EST DOMI LEONES, FERAS  
 VULPES."



NOTES (9)

VII. PRICE:

FOR THE MARKET AS A SPECIFIC INSTITUTION AND ITS DEVELOPMENT SEE:

K. POLANYI "THE GREAT TRANSFORMATION"

FOR PRIMITIVE FOOD MARKETS SEE :

THE DUTY OF THE AEDILE TO KEEP THE PRICE OF THE MARKET LOW: (THIS POINT IS OF SUCH GREAT IMPORTANCE, I SHALL GIVE SEVERAL QUOTATIONS)

→ SCHNEIDER 133 "DER EICHTISCH IN POMPEII DAGEGEN STAND NICHT IM M. SONDERNDENKENDEN IHN GEGENUBER AN DER NORDWESTECHE DES FORUMS. AUSSERDEM SETZEN SIE DEN MARKTPREIS FUR DIE LEBENSMITTEL DIE ANNONA MACELLI FEST...UND HIELTEN VERBOTENE LUXUSWAREN VOM MARKEE FERN (SUET CAES 45). DIE AUFSICHT UBER DIE M. WIE UBERHAUPT DIE GANZE CURA ANNONAE LAG IN ROM UND IN DEN LANDSTAEDTEN IN DER HAND DER AEDILEN.

HUMBERT 275 "CES BLES AVANT LES LOIS FRUMENTAIRES ETAIENT VENDUS AU PRIX DE REVIENT PAR LES EDILES DE XXX FAXON A MAINTENIR UN TAUX MODERE SUR LE MARCHÉ."

Xubitschek 455 "WICHTIG WAR DIE IHNEN OBLIEGENDE PFLICHT FUR BILLIGE MARKTPREIS ZU SORGEN...DAS WIRKSAMSTE MITTEL, UM TEURUNG ZU VERHUTEN SCHIEN IN DER FURSORGE FUR STETIGE AUSREICHENDE GETREIDEZUFUHR UND IN DER HINTANHALTUNG DER SPECULATION ZU LIEGEN.

LOAN 123 "IT IS NOT UNLIKELY THAT THE STATE ALWAYS REGULATED PRICES. CONSEQUENTLY, WHETHER THE RETAILER BOUGHT FROM THE FISCAL GRANARY OR FROM A SHIP NEWLY ARRIVED FROM CAMPANIA, HE PAID THE SAME PRICE FOR A MODIUS OF WHEAT."

HUMBERT 275 "LES EDILES SURTOUT INTERVENAIENT POUR PROCURER DU BLE A PRIX REDUIT AU MOYEN D'IMPORTATIONS (CURA ANNONAE). LES FAUSSES IDEES ECONOMIQUES, SI LONGTEMPS ADMISES, SUR LA NECESSITE DE L'INTERVENTION DE L'ETAT DANS LA OPERATION DU PRIX DES DENREES DE PREMIERE NECESSITE, PERMITTAIENT MEME DE PESER SUR LES PARTICULIERS POUR LES FORCES A VENDRE OU D'ETABLIR UN MAXIMUM PAR VOIE D'EDIT LES EDILES PRONONCAIENT DES AMENDES CONTRE LES SPECULATEURS POUR ACCAPAREMENT ET CONTRE LES AUTEURS DE TOUT ESPECE DE MANOEUVRE OU COALITION TENDANT A SURELEVER LE PRIX DENREES, SANS TROP DISTINGUER ENTRE LA COALITION DES DETENTURES ET LES SPECULATIONS MOINS BLAMABLES. (ANNONA DARDANARIATUS)

THE ABOVE IS VERY IMPORTANT, BECAUSE IT MAY INDICATE ANY TENDENCY TOWARD THE MARKET PRICE MAKING MARKET WAS OPPOSED,

NOTES (10)

VII PRICE (CONTINUED)

THOSE WHO TRIED TO PROFIT BY A SHORTAGE OF WHEAT WERE CALLED "DARDANARI".

W THIS WORD SEEMS TO HAVE AN INTERESTING ETYMOLOGY:

HUMBERT 26: "TURNÈBE (ADV IC 17) CROIT QU'ON A TIRE CE NOM DE DARDANUS CELEBRE MAGICIEN, PARCE QUE LE PEUPLE CROYAIT A LA POSSIBILITE D'ANEANTIR LES RECOLTES DANS LES GRENIERS, AU MOYEN DE MANOEUVRES MAGIQUES OU DE SORTILEGES OU DE TROMPER L'ACHETEUR DANS LE MESURAGE."

IT IS MORE PRECISELY DEFINED:

IBID: "ON APPELAIT AINSI EN DROIT ROMAIN; TOUS CEUX QUI, PAR LEURS ACTES OPERAIENT UNE RARETE ARTIFICIELLE, ET, PAR CONSEQUENT, UNE HAUSSE FACTICE DANS LE PRIX DENREES." ... PUNIES D'UNE AMEND PAR LES EDILES OU PAR LE PEUPLE SANS DOUTE EN VERTU D'UN LOI SPECIALE E..."

THE AEDILE FUNCTIONED AS THE ARCH ENEMY OF THE DARDANARI

*Kubitschek* 462 "GEGEN PREISVERTEURER GENT DER A. STRAFEND VOR, INDEM ER IHRE WARE VERNICHTET ODER IHMEN KORPERLICHE ZUCHTIGUNG ZUERKENNT." (I CANNOT FIND THE REFERENCE GIVEN TO SUPPORT THIS: CALLISTR. DIG. L 2, 12)

*Oehler* 2317 "DIE ERHALTUNG INER EINES MASSIGEN MARKT PREISES WIRD AUCH BEZWECHT DURCH DAS VERBOT DES GETREIDEWUCHERS, GEGEN DEN DIE AEDILEN EINGUSCHREITEN HATTEN."

FOR THE OTHER SOURCES: I CANNOT ATTACH INE MUCH IMPORTANCE TO PLAUTUS

CAPT. III 1, 32 FOR REASONS GIVEN AGAINST USE OF THE ROMAN EARLY ROMAN

PLAYS GIVEN ELSEWHERE. THERE IS, HOWEVER, ANOTHER MORE IMPORTANT PASSAGE

ABOUT THE AEDILES ACTION IN PUNISHING PROFITEERS:

LIVY: XXXVIII 35:5 "ET DUODECIM CLYPEA AURATA AB AEDILIBUS EN CURULIBUS P. CLAUDIO PULCHRO ET SER. SULPICIO GALBA SUNT POSITA EX PECUNIA QUA FRUMENTARIOS DE ANNONAM COMPRESSAM DAMNARUNT."



# VIII. GRAIN SUPPLY:

## 1. THE GREEK WORLD:

EVERY GREEK CITY HAD A STRUGGLE TO MAINTAIN ITS GRAIN SUPPLY:

ROSTOVITZEFF "FRUM" 182-3 "UND WIR TREFFEN, HAUPTSACHLICH IN DEM BEREICH DER FRUH UND SPATHELLENISTISCH ZEIT, DER ZEIT DER HOCHSTEN WIRTSCHAFTLICHEN BEUTE DES HELLENENTUMS UND ZUGLEICH DER AUSSERSTEN STEIGERUNG DER POLITISCHEN UND WIRTSCHAFTLICHEN GEGENSATZE EINE GROSSE REIHE VON MASSREGELN, WELCHE DIE STETE GEFABR EINES HUNGERNOT ODER STEIGERUNG DER KORNPRESSE FERNHALTEN SOLLTEN. DIE GETROFFENEN MASSREGELN SIND AUCH FUR DIE ROMISCHE ZEIT CHARAKTERISTISCH." (CF. FRANCOIS <sup>MEL. NICOLE</sup> 135FF)

XXXXXXXXXX

EVERY POLITICAL OR ADMINISTRATIVE MEANS WAS USED:

IBID 140 "DIE GESCHILDERTE UNSICHERHEIT DES HANDELS ZWANG DIE STADTE IM MITTELMEERGEBIET, SO BALD DIE MITTEL DES STADTTERRITORIUMS MIT DEM WACHSTUM DER STADT NICHT MEHR AUSREICHTEN ZU ALLERLEI HILFSMITTELN ZU GREIFEN, UM IHRE BURGER NICHT VERHUNGERN ZU LASSEN." CF. PRIVILE DITT. SYLL 2 547, 8)

OF COURSE SUCH A COMPLICATED MEASURES WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN TAKEN IF ANY MORE CONVENIENT AND DEPENDABLE MEANS (I.E. A MARKET) WERE AVAILABLE;

IBID 140 "DIE EWIGE SORGE JEDER GRIECHISCHEN STADT WAR, GERADE IN DIESER ZEIT, EINE WOMOGLEICH FESTE SICHERUNG DER STADTISCHEN KORNERNUNG. DIE GROSSE SAMISCHE URKUND AUS DEM 1 JAHRH. V. CHR. IST FUR DIESE VERHALTNISSE GERADE CHARAKTERISTISCH (S. BER. AKAD. 1904 917FF) MAN HATTE AN DAS IN DER INSCRIFT SIXIERTE KEINER KOMPLIZIERTE SYSTEM DER KORNERNUNG GAR NICHT GEDACHT, WENN DER FREIE HANDEL EINE REGELMASSIGE ZUFUHR IRGENDWIE MIT SICHERHEIT EINZURICHTEN IMSTANDE GEWESEN WARE.....P. 141 ROM BILDETE IN DIESER HINSICHT KEINE AUSNAHME."

ROME TAKES OVER EGYPTIAN AND AFRICAN SUPPLY OF CORN:

JOSEPH. BELL. JUD 11 383, 6 AFRICA FEEDS PEOPLE OF ROME 8 MOS A YEAR

" 386 EGYPT FEEDS THEM 4 MOS.

2. ADMINISTRATION: A GOOD PICTURE OF HOW THE SUPPLY WAS ORGANIZED BY ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLITICAL MEANS, (NON-MARKET) IS SEEN BELOW:

ROSTOV: ROME 241- XXXXXXXX SPEAKING OF SOUTH RUSSIA

"THE CORN COLLECTED BY THE LANDOWNERS WAS SOLD TO MERCHANTS FROM GREECE AND FROM ASIA MINOR. A LARGE PROPORTION OF IT, PARTLY PAID AS A TAX BY THE LANDOWNERS AND PARTLY GARNERED FROM THE ROYAL DOMAINS, BELONGED TO THE KING WHO, INDEED WAS THE LARGEST LANDOWNER AND CORN-MERCHANT IN THE KINGDOM. SOME OF HIS CORN WAS SHIPPED TO THE ROMAN ARMIES, ESPECIALLY THOSE OF PONTUS, CAPPADOCIA, AND ARMENIA, AND IN PAYMENT HE RECEIVED AN ANNUAL SUBSIDY FROM THE GOVERNOR OF BITHYNIA.

"ON THE STEPPES OF THE CRIMEA THE SCYTHIAN KING WHO HAD HIS RESIDENCE IN THE HALF-GREEK TOWN OF NEAPOLIS, NEAR THE MODERN SIMFEROPOL

## ROSTOVTZEEF'S VIEWS:

### CAPITAL INVESTMENT:

#### I. IN AGRICULTURE:

- A. NOT ONLY RICHEST, BUT MIDDLE CLASSES (I.E. SULLA<sup>1</sup> VETERANS) INVEST IN LAND.
- B. THESE LIVE IN CITIES ON THEIR INCOME FROM LANDS.
- C. SLAVES EXTENSIVELY USED TO WORK FARMS.
- D. RATIONAL EXPLOITATION OF FARMS: HELLENISTIC SCIENCE: HANDBOOKS.

#### II. IN INDUSTRY

- A. LARGE SCALE PRODUCTION FOR MARKETS.
- B. RICH INVEST IN SLAVES AND PUT THEM IN BUSINESS.
- C. THESE DRIVE OUT SMALL INDEPENDENT BUSINESS.
- D. RATIONAL EXPLOITATION OF SLAVES ("MUST HAVE BEEN HANDBOOKS")
- E. FAILURE OF PURCHASING POWER OF BOURGEOISIE IS CAUSE OF END OF INDUSTRIALISM.

### QUESTIONS:

#### II. ON AGRICULTURE

- A. DOMINANCE OF POLITICAL PRESTIGE IN ACQUIRING LANDS.
- B. ONLY 2 IN GREEK WARS DO WE HEAR OF MASSES OF SLAVES.
- C. PEASANTS STILL PREDOMINATE (ROS.)
- D. EVEN C TO 16 FARM PROBABLY MORE PEASANTS USED.
- E. CATO'S<sup>A</sup> SLAVES NOT LIKELY TO REPRODUCE CHILDREN.

#### I&I ON INDUSTRY

- A. FACT: LITTLE PRODUCED IN REPUBLICAN ROME
- B. ALL (?) REMAINS OF SHOPS SMALL SHOPS OR BAZAARS.
- C. IF SLAVES USED, COULD SOON BUY FREEDOM IF SUCCESSFUL.
- D. FACT NO HANDBOOKS ON INDUSTRY HEARD OF. BETTER CLASSES NOT INTERESTED IN,  
NO TRADITION OF INTEREST IN, AS THERE WAS FOR AGRICULTURE.
- E. "PURCHASING POWER" MAINLY DEPENDS ON BOOTY FROM ASIA.
- D. KNOWN NO MEN RICH FROM INDUSTRY.
- \*\*\*\*\*E. HOW COULD "MIDDLE CLASS" INVESTMENT BE POSSIBLE WITHOUT BANK OR STOCK FIRMS?



VIII. GRAIN SUPPLY (CONTINUED 2)

2. ADMINISTRATIVE TRADE

SEMPEROPOL, LIVED MORE OR LESS THE SAME LIFE AS THE KING OF THE BOSPORUS. HERE THE LANDOWNERS WERE THE MEMBERS OF THE DOMINANT TRIBE. THE CORN WAS SHIPPED FROM THE HARBOUR OF EUPATORIA TO OLGIA AND THENCE TO GREECE AND TO THE ARMIES OF THE DANUBE; SOME OF IT WAS BOUGHT UP BY THE MERCHANTS OF CHERSONESUS. NOT VERY DIFFERENT, IN ALL PROBABILITY, WAS THE LIFE OF THE MAESTIAN AND SARMATIAN TRIBES IN THE PENINSULA OF TAMAN, ON THE RIVER KUBAN ON THE SHORES OF THE SEA OF AZOV, AND THE RIVER DON. THE SARMATIANS, FOR EXAMPLE CERTAINLY ENSLAVED THE POPULATION OF THE VALLEY OF THE KUBAN AND FORCED IT TO WORK FOR THEM. THE PRODUCE WAS SHIPPED DOWN THE KUBAN TO THE GREEK CITIES OF THE TAMAN PENINSULA AND DOWN THE DON TO TANAIIS AND RE FROM THERE TO PANTICAPAEUM. THE SAME ORGANIZATION PROBABLY APPLIED MUTATIS MUTANDIS TO THE FISHERIES AT THE MOUTHS OF THE GREAT RUSSIAN RIVERS, IN THE SEA OF AZOV, AND IN THE STRAITS OF KERCH. MERCHANTS FROM THE GREEK CITIES ULTIMATELY SECURED THE PRODUCE AND EXPORTED GREAT QUANTITIES OF SALTED AND DRIED FISH TO THE GREEK AND ROMAN MARKETS, INCLUDING THOSE OF THE WESTERN PROVINCES.<sup>2</sup>

OTHER EXAMPLES OF ADMINISTRATIVE TRADE:

3. EARLY ROME:

LIVY: HIS IMPORTANCE AS A SOURCE:

1. EITHER A FAID REFLECTION OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC
  2. OR A PROJECTION OF LATER REPUBLIC WHICH HE KNEW
- IN EITHER CASE IT PORTRAYS AN IMPORTANT CASE OF ADMINISTRATIVE TRADE.

WHAT DO PEOPLE DO WHEN THEY NEED GRAIN AND HAVE NO MARKET TO BUY IT ON?

LIVY II 9 "ANNONAE IN PRIMIS HABITA CURA ET AD FRUMENTUM COMPARANDUM MISSI  
XXII ALII IN VOLSCOS, ALII CUMAS"

### 3. EARLY ROME (CONTINUED)

A GOOD EXAMPLE OF THE EARLY STAGES OF ADMINISTRATIVE TRADE IS SEEN IN:

Livy II 34: "EO ANNO, CUM ET FORIS QUIETA OMNIA A BELLO ESSENT ET DOMI SANATA DISCORDIA, ALIUD MULTO GRAVIUS MALUM CIVITATEM INVASIT, CARITAS PRIMUM ANNONAE EX E INCULTIS PER SECESSIONEM PLEBIS AGRIS, FAMES DEINDE, QUALIS CLAUSIS SOLET. VENTUMQUE AD INTERITUM SERVITIORUM UTIQUE ET PLEBIS ESSET, NI CONSULES PROVIDISSENT DIMISSIS PASSIM AD FRUMENTUM COEMENDUM NON IN ETRURIAM MODO DEXTRIS ADOSTIA LITORIBUS LAEVOQUE PER VOLSCOS MARI USQUE AD CUMAS, SED QUAESITUM IN SICILIA QUOQUE; ADEO FINITIMORUM ODIA LONGINQUIS COEGERANT INDIGERE AUXILIIS. FRUMENTUM CUMIS CUM COEMPTUM ESSET, NAVES PRO BONIS TARQUINIORUM AB ARISTODEMO TYRANNO, QUI HERES ERAT RETENTAE SUNT; IN VOLSCIS POMPTINOQUE NE EMI QUIDEM POTUIT; PERICULUM QUOQUE AB IMPETU HOMINUM IPSIS FRUMENTATORIBUS FUIT; EX TUSCIS FRUMENTUM TIBERI VENIT; NEO SUSTENTATA EST PLEBS."

→ WE ALSO FIND EXPLICIT PROOF, OF WHAT WE WOULD NORMALLY EXPECT: I.E. THAT THESE EMBASIES SENT TO BUY GRAIN WERE LED BY SENATORS AND KNIGHTS:

Livy IV 52 "SOLITUDINEM IN CIVITATE AEGRA EXPERTI CONSULES SUNT, CUM IN LEGATIONES NON PLUS SINGULIS SENATORIBUS INVENIENTES COACTI SUNT, BINOS EQUITES ADICERE."

OFTEN THE JEALOUSY OF NEIGHBORS WOULD DENY THEM THE NEEDED CORN.

THUS ROME OFTEN FOUND IT NECESSARY TO GO EVEN AS FAR AS SICILY FOR CORN.

Livy II 34, IBID, IV 25 AND IV 52. (BUT NOT THE EARLIEST II 9)

A CASE WHERE A PRIVATE INDIVIDUAL BUYS GRAIN IS GIVEN IN

~~Livy 41 34~~ <sup>IV 13</sup> WHERE SP. MEELIUS BUYS CORN AND TRYS TO BECOME DICTATOR BY GIVING IT TO THE PEOPLE. BUT EVEN HERE IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOTE, THAT HE DOES NOT BUY IT ON A MARKET (THERE ~~WAS~~ <sup>IS</sup> NONE) BUT BUYS IT IN THE FOREIGN LAND "PER HOSPITIUM CLIENTUMQUE <sup>MINISTERIA</sup> ~~MINISTRATOS~~ <sup>co</sup> EMPTO".

THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE STATE HAD TO BUY GRAIN IS WELL STATED BY

*Oelke* 2317 "DAHER WIRD IN DER ZEIT EINES HUNGERSNOT IM AUFTRAGE DESS STAATES GETREIDE IN DER UMGEBUNG ROMS, DANN AUCH IN ENTFERNTEN LANDSCHAFTEN EINGEKauft UND AN DIE BÜRGER ZU MASSIGEN PREISEN VERKAUFT."

*umgebung*

THE PRICE WAS OF COURSE PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT.

WE HAVE A RECORD OF AN EARLY DEBATE OF IT GIVEN BY LIVY, WHO SEEMED TO REALIZE THAT HERE WAS AN IMPORTANT WEAPON OF THE RULING CLASS IF THEY HAD CARED TO USE IT:



# NOTES (14)

FOR NOW THE PRICE WAS SET IN ADMINISTRATIVE TRADE :

Livy 11 34 "M. MINUCIO DEINDE ET A. SEMPRONIO CONSULIBUS MAGNA  
 XI VIS FRUMENTI EX SICILIA ADVECTA, AGITATUMQUE IN SENATU QUANTI PLEBI  
 PLEBI DARETUR. MULTI VENISSE TEMPUS PREMENDAE PLEBIS PUTABANT RECUPER-  
 -ANDIQUE IURA QUAE EXTORTA SECESSIONE AC VI PATRIBUS ESSENT. IN PRIMIS  
 MARGIUS CORIOLANUS, HOSTIS TRIBUNICIAE POTESTATIS, "SI ANNONAM,"  
 INQUIT, "VETEREM VOLUNT, IUS PRISTINUM REDDANT PATRIBUS. CUR EGO  
 PLEBEM MAGISTRATUS, CUR SICINIUM POTENTEM VIDEO SUB IUGUM MISSUS, ET  
 TANQUAM AB LATRONIBUS REDEMPtus? EGONE HAS INDIGNITATES DIUTIUS PATIAR  
 QUAM NECESSE EST? TARQUINIUM REGEM QUI NON TULERIM SICINIUM FERAM?  
 SECEDAT NUNC, AVOCATE PLEBEM; PATEY VIA IN SACRUM MONTEN ALIOSQUE  
 COLLES. RAPIANT FRUMENTA EX AGRIS NOSTRIS, QUEM AD MODUM TERTION ANNO  
 RAPUERUNT; FRUANTUR ANNONA QUAM FURORE SUO PEGERE. AUDEO DICERE HOC  
 MALO DOMITOS IPSOS POTIUS CULTORES AGRORUM FORI QUAM UT ARMATI PER  
 SECESSIONEM COLI PROHIBEANT."

AFTER THIS, HOWEVER, IT SEEMS A SETTLED PRINCIPLE THAT THE GRAIN SHOULD  
 BE DISTRIBUTED AT A LOW PRICE. ALTHOUGH LIVY MENTIONS THAT THE SENATORS  
 MIGHT HAVE USED THIS TO GET BACK THEIR LOST PRIVILEGES, HE ALSO STATES  
 THAT THE PEOPLE THREATENED ARMED REBELLION IF THIS WAS TRIED. THE SENATORS  
 PROBABLY KNEW THAT TO MONOPOLIZE SO ESSENTIAL A PRODUCT AS FOOD WOULD  
 COMPLETELY DISRUPT THE STATE.

THERE ARE MANY LATER REFERENCES TO THE AEDILES SELLING GRAIN AT LOW PRICES;

LIV. XXX 26,6; XXXI 4,6; XXXI 38; XXXI 50:1

EVEN CICERO MENTIONS A DISTRIBUTION BY AN AEDILE:

CIC. DE OFF 11 58 "NE QUIDEM SEIO VITIO DATUM EST, QUOD IN CARITATE  
ASSE MODIUM POPULO DEDIT. MAGNA ENIM SE ET INVETERATA INVIDIA  
 NEC TURPI IACTURA, QUANDO ERAT AEDILIS NEC MAXIMA LIBERAVIT.

THE LAST THREE WORDS WOULD IMPLY HE CERTAINLY DID NOT BUY THE GRAIN ON AN  
 OPEN MARKET (WHICH WOULD INDEED HAVE BEEN VERY COSTLY) BUT USED ADMINISTRATIVE  
 RESOURCES. SEE ALSO:

CIC. AD FAM VIII 6 (CURIUS) TRANSFUGIT AD POPULUM ET PRO CAESARE LOQUI COEPIIT.  
 LEGEMQUE VIARIAM NON DISSIMILEM AGRARIAE RUTILI ET A  
 ALIMENTARIAM, QUAE IUBEY AEDILES METIRI IACTAVIT."

("AEDILES METIRI" MEANS DISTRIBUTE CORN. CF. CAES B.G. I 16

I 23  
 VII 71

NOTES (15)

EARLY ROME (CONCLUDED)

FOR THE INFLUENCE OF THE DESIRE FOR CAMPANIAN WHEAT WHICH LED TO THE  
BREAKING OF THEIR TREATY WITH THE SAMNITES SEE LIVY VII 31: 1 AND 8.

HOMO SUMMARIZES IT: "STRIPPED OF PIOUS WORDS AND PHRASES, INTERVENTION IN CAMPANIA  
MEANT TO ROME POLITICALLY THE ENCIRCLEMENT OF THE LATINS, MILITARILY CAVALRY,  
AND ECONOMICALLY WHEAT." P. 182



OUTLINE OF THE ROMAN CORN SUPPLY

1. THE SOURCES OF SUPPLY WERE CONTROLLED BY THE GOVERNMENT:

2317 "ES WURDEN DIE SICILISCHEN ZEHNTEN NACH ROM GEBRACHT UND ZU EINEM MASSIGEN PREISE FÜR RECHNUNG DES STAATES VERKAUFT, DEN SICULERN JEDE AUSFUHR VON GETREIDE NACH ANDERN LÄNDERN VERBOTEN (POLYB XXVIII 2) AUF DIESE WEISE DAS SICILISCHE GETREIDE FÜR ROM MONOPOLISIERT."

FRANK (SURVEY ) CHALLENGES THIS, AND CLAIMS THE PROHIBITIONS MENTIONED BY POLYBIOS ARE NECESSARY ONLY BECAUSE ROME WAS AT WAR. A GREAT, INDEED ALMOST ALL OF THIS PERIOD, HOWEVER, SHE WAS FIGHTING. IN ANY CASE WE HAVE NO RECORD OF OTHERS FREELY BUYING THE CORN OF SICILY, AND INDEED, AFTER THE SECOND TITHE WAS LEVIED THERE WAS PROBABLY LITTLE TO BE EXPORTED. CIO VERRIS II 3, 163:

ROSTOV. "FRUM" 130 "DA DER PREIS DES MODIUS DIESES KORNES AUF 3 SESTERGES VOM STAATE FIXIERT WAR."

2. THE BASIC SUPPLY CAME TO THE ROMAN GOVERNMENT AS THE TRADITIONAL TITHE. THIS MIGHT BE INCREASED BY THE FORCED PURCHASE OF A SECOND TITHE AT A PRICE FIXED BY THE ROMAN GOVERNMENT.

LIVY XXXVI 2 (BEGINNING OF WAR WITH ANTIOCHUS 191 B.C.)

"EIDEM PRAETORI MANDATUM UT DUAS DECUMAS FRUMENTI EXIGERET; ID AD MARE COMPORTANDUM DEVENIENDUMQUE IN GRAECIAM CURARET (FOR ARMY). IDEM L. OPIUS DE ALTERIS DECUMIS EXIGENDIS IN SARDINIA IMPERATUM; CETERUM NON IN GRAECIAM SED IN FRUMENTUM PORTARI PLACERET."  
(I.E. FOR ROMAN CITY CONSUMPTION).

LIVY XXXVII 2 "SIGILIAE SARDINIAEQUE BINAE AEQUE AC PROXIMO ANNO DECUMAE FRUMENTI IMPERATAE; SICULUM OMNE FRUMENTUM IN AETOLIAM AD EXERCITUM PORTARI IUSSUM, EX SARDINIA PARS ROMAM PARS IN AETOLIAM, EODEM QUO SICULUM."

LIVY XLII 31 "ALTERAS DECUMAS SICULIS SARDISQUE IMPERARET QUOD FRUMENTUM AD AD EXERCITUM IN MACEDONIAM PORTARETUR."

FOR THE IMPORTANCE OF SICILY AS THE SOURCE OF ROMAN GRAIN SEE:

LIVY XXVII (REPORTED VICTORY OF MARCUS VALERIUS IN SICILY 210 B.C.)

"DEERTIM REGOLI TERRAM, TANDEM FRUGIFERAM IPSIS CULTORIBUS, POPULOQUE ROMANO PACE AC BELLO FIDISSIMUM ANNONAE SUBSIDIUM."

ROSTOVITZ "FRUM" 128 BELIEVES THIS WAS SO EVEN UNTIL THE END OF THE REPUBLIC.

LUCAN III 52-5 "UTRAQUE FRUGIFERIS EST INSULA NOBILIS ARVIS;  
NEC PRIUS HESPERIAM LONGINQUIS MESSIBUS ULLAS  
NEC ROMANA MAGIS COMPLERUNT HORREA TERRAE."

THE GOVERNMENT WOULD ALSO OCCASIONALLY BUY CORN:

LIVY XXXVI 3 "LEGATI TERNI IN AFRICAM AD CARTHAGINIENSES ET IN NUMIDIAM AD FRUMENTUM ROGANDUM QUOD IN GRAECIAM PORTARETUR MISSI, PRO PRETIUM SOLVERET POPULUS ROMANUS"

MORE OFTEN ALLIES WOULD GIVE THE CORN (A GOOD ILLUSTRATIONS OF ADMINISTRATIVE TRADE)

OUTLINE OF THE ROMAN CORN SUPPLY: SOURCES (CONTINUED)

GIFTS OF ALLIES:

3.

DIONYSIUS VII 1 ROMANS SEND AMBASSADORS TO BUY CORN IN SICILY (5TH CENTURY).  
TYRANT THERE MAKES THEM A PRESENT OF IT.

LIVY XXII 37 (216 B.C.) GIFT OF HIERO OF SYRACUSE TO ROMANS: 300,000 MODII OF WHEAT  
200,000 BARLEY  
TURNED OVER TO CONSULS "FRUMENTUM TRADITUM CONSULIBUS"

LIVY XXVIII 45 (205 B.C.) ETRUSCANS PROMISE SCIPIO GRAIN AND MATERIAL FOR FLEET.

LIVY XXXVI 4 PTOLEMY, PHILIP, CARTHAGE, MASSISINISSA OFFER SEVERAL MILLION MODII OF  
WHEAT AND BARLEY, ALTHOUGH HERE ROME INSISTED ON PAYING (PRICE SET BY SELF)  
"DE FRUMENTO UTRIS RESPONSUM, ITA USURUM EO POPULUM ROMANUM, SI PRETIUM  
ACCIPERENT."

LIVY XLIII 6 EVEN THE ACHAEANS ATHENIANS CONTRIBUTE."

11. TRANSPORTATION OF CORN: THE CORN WAS TRANSPORTED SOMETIMES BY THE NATION GIVING IT  
(LIVY ) SOMETIMES SENT BY GENERAL WITH THE FLEET, PERHAPS SENT BY SHIPS  
CONTRACTED FOR THE PURPOSE:

HUMBERT: 99: "LES EDILE CURULES SURTOUT PARAISSENT S'ETRE OCCUPES DU TRANSPORT DES BLES  
DES PROVINCES A ROME." REFERENCES BELOW.

SENT BY GENERAL:

LIVY XXXI: 4 (204 B.C.) "AEDILIBUS CURULIBUS L. VALERIO FLACCO ET L. QUINCTIO FLAMINIO  
.....FRUMENTI VIM INGENTEM, QUOD EX AFRICA P. SCIPIO MISERAT,  
QUATERNIS AERIS POPULO CUM SUMMA FIDE GRATIA DIVISERUNT."

SOLDIERS TRANSPORT IT BY LAND:

LIVY XXVII 3 "M. OGULINUS ET P. AQUILIUS IN ETRURIAM LEGATI AD FRUMENTUM  
OCCEMENDUM QUOD TARENTUM PORTARETUR PROPECTI; ET MILLE MILITES  
DE EXERCITU URBANO, PAR NUMERUS ROMANORUM SOCIORUMQUE, EODEM  
IN PRAESIDIUM CUM FRUMENTO MISSI."

CONSULS SUPERVISE IT AT TIMES:

LIVY XXXVI 2 (191 B.C.) EIDEM PRAETORI MANDATUM UT DUAS DECUMAS FRUMENTI EXIGERET; ED  
AD MARE COMPORTANDUM DEVEHENDUMQUE IN GRAECIAM CURARET (I.E.  
FOR ARMY). IDEM L. OPIUS DE ALTERIS DECUMIS EXIGENDIS IN SARDINIA  
IMPERATUM; CETERUM NON IN GRAECIAM SED ROMAM IN FRUMENTUM  
PORTARI PLACERET (I.E. FOR CITY CONSUMPTION).

THE AEDILES SUPERVISE TRANSPORTATION:

LIVY XXVI 10: (211 B.C.) "FULVIUS FLACUS... INTER ESQUILINAM COLLINAMQUE PORTAM POSUIT  
CASTRA. AEDILES PLEBIS COMMEATUM EO COMPORTARUNT."

LIVY XXXIII 42 (196 B.C.) "EO ANNO AEDILES CURULES M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR ET C. FLAMINIUS  
TRITICI DECIENS CENTENA MILIA BINIS AERIS POPULO DISCRIPSERUNT. ..ID  
C. FLAMINI HONORIS CAUSA IPSIUS PATRISQUE ADVEXERANT SICULI ROMAM."



OUTLINE OF THE ROMAN CORN SUPPLY: ~~SENARKE~~ (CONTINUED)

II. TRANSPORTATION: (CONTINUED)

INDIVIDUAL MERCHANTS ALSO DELIVERED IT, BUT THEY RECEIVED LITTLE CONSIDERATION:

LIVY XXX 38 "PER EOS DIES COMMEATUS EX SICILLIA SARDINIAQUE TANTAM VILITATEM ANNONAE EFFECERUNT UT PRO VECTURA FRUMENTUM NAUTIS MERCATI RELINQUERET."

WHERE AEDILES

SEE ALSO BELOW: LIVY X 11, XXXI 50, FOR EXAMPLES/ARRANGED FOR TRANSPORT OF GRAIN.

III. STORAGE: VERY PROBABLY STATE CONTROLLED.

HUMBERT 275 "IL DUT AVOIR DE TRES BONNE HEURE DES GRENIERS PUBLICS (HORREA PUBLICA) ETABLIS A ROME ET A OSTIE POUR Y ENMAGASINER LES GRAINS ACHETES PAR LES EDILES OU PAR LES CURATORES ET ANNONAE PRAEFECTI, IN VUE D'UNE DISETTE OU DE L'EVENUALITE D'UN SIEGE. DES 487 DE ROME OU 276 AV. J.C. UN QUESTEUR ETABLI A OSTIE MEX XI VEILLANT AU TRANSPORT DES CEREALES A ROME."

HUMBERT'S CITATIONS WERE NOT VERY HELPFUL, HOWEVER: LIV IV L2, 13;  
CIC. PRO SEXTO 17 AND DE HARUSP. RESP. 2

IV. PRICE: SET BY AEDILES DRAWING MAINLY ON STATE SUPPLIES MENTIONED IN ABOVE.

OHMLER: 2318 "IN DER ZEIT DER REPUBLIK FIEL DIE SORGE FUR DIE ANNONA DEN AEDILEN ZU (CIC DE LEG ~~XXX~~ III 7 IRID) DIE DIE AUFSICHT UBER DEN GETREIDEMARKT HATTEN, DEN VERKAUFT LEITETEN UND DADURCH DEN MARKTPREIS REGELTEN."

HUMBERT 275 "SUR LA NECESSITE DE INTERVENTION DE L'ETAT DANS LA FIXATION DU PRIX DES DENREES DE PREMIERE NECESSITE PERMETTAIENT MENE DE PESER SUR LES PARTICULARS POUR LES FORGER A VENDRE OU SE D'ETABLIR UN MAXIMUM PAR VOIE D'EDILE."

LIVY X 11 298 B.C. "CARITAS ETIAM ANNONAE SOLLICITAM CIVITATEM HABUIT VENTUMQUE AD INOPIAE ULTIMUM FORET, UT SCRIPSERE QUIBUS AEDILEM FUISSE ...EO ANNO FABIVM MAXIMUM PLACET NI EIUS VIRI CURA, QUALIS IN BELLICIS REBUS MULTIS TEMPESTATIBUS FUERAT TALIS DOMI TUM IN ANNONAE DISPENSATORE PREEPARANDO AC CONVEHENDO FRUMENTO FUISSET."

LIVY XXXI 5011 200B.C. "ANNONA QUOQUE EO ANNO PERVILIS FUIT; FRUMENTI VIM MAGNAM EX AFRICA ADVECTAM AEDILES CURULES M. CLAUDIVS MARCELLVS ET SEX. AELIVS PAETVS BINIS AERIS IN MODIOS POPULO DIVISERUNT."

HUMBERT

LIVY XXX 26 (203 B.C.) "ANNUS INSIGNIS...SED ET ANNONAE VILITATE FUIT, PRAETERQUAM QUOD PACE OMNIS ITALIA ERAT APERTA ETIAM QUOD MAGNAM VIM FRUMENTI EX HISPANIA MISSAM M. VALERIVS FALTO ET M. FABIVS BUTEO AEDILES CURULES QUATERNIS AERIS VICAT M POPULO DISCRIPSERUNT."

OUTLINE OF THE ROMAN CORN SUPPLY

IV. P RICE (CONTINUED) SUMMARY SHOWING LOW PRICES OVER SEVERAL CONSECUTIVE YEARS:

203 B.C.	4 ASSES A MODIUS	Livy XXX 26
202 B.C.	VERY LOW LESS THAN TRANSPORTATION	Livy XXX 38
201 B.C.	4 ASSES A MODIUS	Livy XXXI 4
200 B.C.	2 " "	Livy XXXI 50
196 B.C.	2 " "	Livy XXXIII 42

IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT THESE YEARS COVERED TIMES WHEN IN ITALY WAS AT PEACE (Livy XXX 26 1810). THE GOVERNMENT SALE OF CHEAP CORN WAS NOT JUST THEN AN EMERGENCY MEASURE DURING A WAR OR FAMINE.

X MEASURES AGAINST SPECULATION:

HUMBERT 99 "ET DE PRENDRE DES MESURES PRETENDUES SALUTAIRES CONTRE LES SPECULATEURS QUILS FRAPPAIENT D'AMENDES POUR ACCAPAREMENT."

Livy XXXVIII 35 (189 B.C.) "ET DUODECIM CLYPEA AURATA AB AEDILIBUS CURULIBUS P. CLAUDIO PULCHRO ET SER. R SULPICIO GALBA SUNT POSITA EX PECUNIA QUA FRUMENTARIOS OB ANNONAM COMPRESSAM DAMNARUNT; ET AEDILIS PLEBI Q. FULVIUS, R. FLACCUS DUC SIGNA AUREATA UNO RES RES DAMNATO NAM SEPARATIM ACCUSAVERANT POSUIT."



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WYMER "PAULLY-WISSOWA"  
1876-80 "MARKTANLAGEN"

(1) Ed Meyer & Adolf Polak.

(2) Why did this development not continue? *larger mass class was speculating; exorbitant speculation*

### Capitalism in Antiquity

*Bill*

#### I. Three Areas We Know of it in Rome:

- a. Tax Farming (Domainal Farming and Contracting)
- b. Corn Trade
- c. Banking and Finance

#### II. Transitional : Culture Traits (To what extent are any of these as a rule called capitalistic? To the extent to which they show:

- a. Speculation *discounting future profits;*
- b. Lobby *"interests" political corruption connected with*
- c. Credit Structure *collapse of nominal values; business deals*
- d. Investment in business

#### III. Institutional Analysis: (The above factors must be accompanied by:

- 1 *a. Economic ~~transactions~~ means employed* rather than political
- 3 *b. The Market must set the price.*
- 2 *c. Profits must be made by fluctuating prices, on the market.*

Summary: The role of market elements in making the profit determines the extent of capitalism.

If production and distribution is controlled by and for the profit of the state, it is not capitalism.

### The Authorities

Rostovtzeff:

- a. Large scale production for the market: i.e. for unknown consumer. Therefore there was capitalism. Fall of capitalism in the fall of the empire.
- b. Admits there is no private trade to speak of.

Weber:

- a. Profits mostly of political origin.
- b. World peace and empire ends "capitalism" of equities. Fall of Empire a separate question. (Due to coastal theory.)

*Deliberately employing economic means to attain gain + profit made in relation to price differentials.*



Memorandum:

Information to be derived from Aristophanes concerning the Athenian city market.

Translation used:

The Eleven Comedies, Liveright Pub. Corp., N. Y. 1943.

We are here concerned with the play "The Acarnians" which was first presented in January 426 B.C. This was the sixth year of the Peloponnesian War.

Plot:

"The plot is of the simplest. Dicaeopolis, an Athenian citizen, but a native of Acharnae, one of the agricultural demes and one which had especially suffered in the Lacedaemonian invasions, sick and tired of the ill-successes and miseries of the War, makes up his mind, if he fails to induce the people to adopt his policy of 'peace at any price,' to conclude a private and particular peace of his own to cover himself, his family, and his estate."

The country people have been driven by the war to take refuge within the walls of Athens. The following passage reveals how much greater role the market normally played in the lives of the townspeople than in that of the peasants:

" . . I make sketches in the dust, pull out my loose hairs, muse, think of my fields, long for peace, curse town life and regret my dear country home, which never told me to 'buy fuel, vinegar or oil'; there the word 'buy,' which cuts me in two, was unknown; I harvested everything at will."

Dicaeopolis, having made peace for himself and his family and his estate, proceeds to open up a market. Whether one could actually open a market on ones own estate can not be determined from a play of this sort, but the market which Dicaeopolis sets up in the play throws light on the actual Athenian market.

"For my own part, I make proclamation to all Peloponnesians, Megarians and Boeotians, that to them my markets are open; but I debar Lamachus from entering them."

The above reflects sharply the way in which in ancient Greece admission to, or exclusion from, a market always was a matter of political decision.

*1) it would hardly be a play if we could actually do so...  
 2) ? Maybe it suggests (a) that this could be the case (b) that in the Athens of 431 BC it actually was the case...*



"These are the confines of my market-place. All Peloponnesians, Megarians, Boeotians, have the right to come and trade here, provided they sell their wares to me and not to Lamachus. As market-inspectors I appoint these three whips of Leprean leather, chosen by lot. Warned away are all informers and men of Phasis. They are bringing me the pillar on which the treaty is inscribed and I shall erect it in the center of the market, well in sight of all."

We see that a market-place has specific boundaries. Certain foreigners have the right to come and trade, provided they do not trade certain other places. There are market-inspectors, chosen by lot, and the statement that market spies will not be tolerated reveals that market spies were a definite feature of the Athenian market. The market is regulated by a treaty which is posted on a pillar.

Megara had, up to this time, suffered more terribly from the war than any other city in Greece. A Megarian disguises his two daughters as little pigs and brings them to sell in the market Dicaeopolis is conducting.

A question arises as to whether the activities of Dicaeopolis are to be regarded as those of a typical kapeles. This possibility should be kept in mind throughout.

conversation:

Dic.: "What is wheat selling at?"

Megarian: "With us it is valued as highly as the very gods in heaven!"

Dicaeopolis buys the "little pigs" from the Megarian:

"Ah! what funny creatures! For what sum will you sell them?"

"I will give you one for a bunch of garlic, and the other, if you like, for a quart measure of salt."

The above suggests that barter played a considerable role in such transactions.

Aristophanes describes the blessings which come to Dicaeopolis as a result of his peace which he has made.

"Here is a man truly happy. See how everything succeeds to his wish. Peacefully seated in his market, he will earn his living. . . ."

A Boeotian comes to the market of Dicaeopolis:

D.  
"Ah! good day, Boeotian, eater of good round loaves. What do you bring?"

B.  
"All that is good in Boeotia, marjoram, penny-royal, rush mats, lamp-wicks, ducks, jays, woodcocks, water-fowl, wrens, divers."

D.  
"Tis a very hail of birds that beats down on my market."

B.  
"I also bring geese, hares, foxes, moles, hedgehogs, cats, lyres, martins, otters and eels from the Copiac lake."



"Ah! my friend, you, who bring me the most delicious of fish, let me salute your eels."

"Come, thou, the eldest of my fifty Copic virgins, come and complete the joy of our host."

" . . . . . Slaves, hither with the stove and the bellows. Look at this charming eel, that returns to us after six long years of absence. Salute it, my children; as for myself, I will supply coal to do honor to the stranger. Take it into my house; death itself could not separate me from her, if cooked with beet leaves."

"And what will you give me in return?"

"It will pay for your market dues. As to the rest, what do you wish to sell me?"

"why, everything."

"On what terms? For ready-money or in wares from these parts?"

"I would take some Athenian produce, that we have not got in Boeotia."

If Dicaeopolis is a kapelos it is to be noted that (whether kapeloi had to be citizens or not) Dicaeopolis is an Athenian citizen. Foreigners come to do trading and sell their produce to him. He buys produce like eels fresh and cooks them. He collects market dues from the Boeotian. It is doubtful that a kapelos did this, but Dicaeopolis may have a combined character of independent administrator of a market and kapelos. Again we note that it is a barter transaction -- though money is offered to the Boeotian, which he refuses.

Aristophanes repeatedly mentions and attacks the market informers, who continuously try to interfere in everything that Dicaeopolis does.

The following passage is of some interest because of the way in which a would-be purchaser "bids" a certain amount for what he wishes to buy:

"Lamachus wants to keep the feast of cups, and I come by his order to bid one drachma for some thrushes and three more for a Copiac eel."

Assuming that Dicaeopolis is a kapelos we have the following picture of what the activities of such a person were:

"Women, children, have you not heard? Faith! do you not heed the herald? Quick! let the hares boil and roast merrily; keep them a-turning; withdraw them from the flame; prepair the chaplets; reach me the skewers that I may spit the thrushes."

. . . . .

"Slave! stir up the fire."

"See, how he knows his business, what a perfect cook! How well he understands the way to prepair a good dinner!"

. . . . .

" You are killing me with hunger; your smoke is choaking your neighbors, and you split our ears with your bawling."



# THE ROLE OF MARKET INSTITUTIONS IN TRADE AND BUSINESS IN THE LATE ROMAN REPUBLIC

*Introduction*  
WAS THE BUSINESS LIFE OF THE LATE ROMAN REPUBLIC ESSENTIALLY DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF TODAY? MICHAEL ROSTOVITZEFF INSISTED THAT THE ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION WAS IN THE NEGATIVE. ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE LATE ROMAN REPUBLIC AND THE EARLY EMPIRE, HE WROTE, DIFFERED ONLY QUANTITATIVELY BUT NOT QUALITATIVELY FROM THAT OF MODERN TIMES; THERE WAS, AS HE PUT IT, CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF TRADING CARRIED ON IN REGARD TO MANUFACTURED ARTICLES PRODUCED "FOR AN UNKNOWN CONSUMER." BY THE LATTER PHRASE ROSTOVITZEFF MEANT THAT TRADE AND BUSINESS WAS ORGANIZED, AS IT IS TODAY, THROUGH MARKETS, AND THAT HE REGARDED THIS FACT AS DECISIVE FOR THE QUESTION AT ISSUE.

*At least by implication*  
*the role played by*  
*theoretically, Rostovitzeff was right.*  
THE CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE OF MARKETS FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF TRADE AND BUSINESS MUST BE EMPHATICALLY ENDORSED. MODERN ECONOMIC LIFE IS CARRIED ON IN AND THROUGH MARKETS, AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH THIS WAS THE CASE IN ROME IS THE QUESTION AT ISSUE. *therefore* *more precisely, if* MARKET INSTITUTIONS ARE FOUND TO HAVE PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN TRADE AND BUSINESS IN THE PERIOD

IN QUESTION, ITS ECONOMIC LIFE COULD NOT HAVE BEEN QUALITATIVELY DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF MODERN *times* BUSINESS; IN THE OPPOSITE CASE, THE OBVERSE CONCLUSION

WOULD HAVE TO BE DRAWN. *So far the theoretical aspect of the matter.*  
*question. serious*

HOWEVER, *side* ~~SOME~~ DOUBTS MUST ARISE AS TO ROSTOVITZEFF'S METHOD OF DEALING WITH THE FACTUAL ~~ASPECT~~ OF THE PROBLEM. THE PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF MARKETS

SHOULD ~~NOT~~ BE ~~INFERRED~~ BUT RATHER APPROACHED AS A QUESTION REQUIRING EMPIRICAL RESEARCH. *Best evidence should not be inferred from the mere presence*

*of trade and business.*  
RECENT INQUIRY HAS SHOWN THAT IN ANTIQUITY, TRADE, EVEN SUCH TRADE AS ~~WAS~~ COULD BE JUSTLY DESCRIBED AS DESIGNED FOR THE UNKNOWN CONSUMER, WAS *and in so far as market institutions intervened they were of a type which* OFTEN CARRIED ON NOT THROUGH MARKETS BUT BY ADMINISTRATIVE METHODS, *to reduce their role to a minimum.* *Such* ~~SUCH~~ BUT

TRADE ~~OF COURSE~~ IS QUALITATIVELY DIFFERENT FROM TRADE CARRIED ON THROUGH MARKET INSTITUTIONS. *for instance* IN RECENT TIMES AN INCREASING AMOUNT OF GOVERNMENTAL

TRADING HAS BEEN ORGANIZED BY *other than* ~~MARKET~~ MARKET METHODS, SO THAT THE POINT SHOULD NOT REQUIRE FURTHER ELABORATION. *Also* ~~IT MAY SUFFICE TO SAY THAT NON-~~

MARKET METHODS WERE MUCH MORE GENERALLY EMPLOYED IN ANTIQUITY THAN THEY ARE

And even more it is true that the ~~kind of~~ market institutions of the time reduced the role of the market in trade and business almost to the vanishing point. In any case, it is crucial that <sup>2.</sup>  
AT PRESENT. ~~IN ANY CASE~~ MARKETS CANNOT BE ~~TAKEN~~ TAKEN FOR GRANTED MERELY

BY VIRTUE OF THE PRESENCE OF TRADE AND BUSINESS, BUT MUST BE SHOWN TO BE  
Empirical evidence must be adduced in regard to the  
PRESENT IN TERMS OF FACTS ~~THEY ARE MEASURED BY THE EXTENT TO WHICH MARKETS ACTUALLY~~

ORGANIZED THE PROCESS OF TRADING AND BUSINESS as against other  
~~forms of organization of economic life.~~  
forms of organization encountered in  
the economic life of antiquity.

Some of the distinctions made here may be unusual. A sharp contrast of trade and market implied in to speak of market trade as merely one of the forms of trade, implies a sharp distinction between trade which <sup>trade</sup> ~~as~~ <sup>administrated</sup> ~~as~~ trade or market trade ~~and~~ the market institutions which may or may not be the organizing vehicle of ~~the~~ the trade. ~~The~~ other term ~~clearly~~ Outside of <sup>this</sup> such a phrase as "the role played by markets in trade" would be a meaningless phrase. Even so it is incoherent on us to indicate we should indicate what features of market institutions make for a stronger ~~bigger~~ <sup>role</sup> ~~or~~ <sup>smaller</sup> ~~role~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~business life~~ <sup>business life</sup>. The one is the price making character of the market; to the extent ~~to~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~feature~~ <sup>feature</sup> is in evidence, the role of the market ~~is~~ <sup>increases</sup>. The other is the part played by private persons ~~persons~~ or firms as against the public hand ~~as~~ <sup>part</sup> in the market. As ~~buy~~ <sup>as</sup> one or the other side in the transaction (if not both sides) are represented by governments or other non-profit ~~factories~~ <sup>bodies</sup> the role of the market in organizing economic life is proportionately ~~smaller~~ <sup>less</sup>.

Get price markets - the ~~own~~ original and usual form of markets in antiquity; ~~hardly~~ affect the character of the trade. Not the market but those setting the prices ~~being direct trade~~



At two points the inquiry requires  
 AT THIS STAGE OF THE PRESENTATION OF OUR THESES A SOMEWHAT GREATER

First, CONCEPTUAL PRECISION MAY BE DESIRABLE. "WHAT EXACTLY DO WE MEAN BY THE ROLE

PLAYED BY MARKET INSTITUTIONS IN BUSINESS LIFE? AND WHAT IS MEANT HERE BY

should be comprised here under "BUSINESS LIFE" IN THE TERMS OF THE PERIOD

THE FUNCTION OF MARKETS IN ~~THE~~ TRADE HINGES MAINLY ON THREE FEATURES  
 OF MARKET INSTITUTIONS ~~AS WHEN WE NOW MUST ATTEND~~

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ROLE PLAYED BY MARKET INSTITUTIONS DEPENDS  
 (in the organization of trade

(APART FROM THE NUMBER AND EXTENT OF SUCH INSTITUTIONS) ON THIS: TO WHAT DEGREE ~~ARE~~

to which they are or not. ~~THE MARKET PRICE MAKING? CAN THEY BE SAID TO PRODUCE ONE PRICE? AND DO THEY~~

REPRESENT ~~THE~~ A MEETING OF PRIVATE PERSONS AND FIRMS AS AGAINST THAT  
 OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF PUBLIC AUTHORITIES?

AS TO THE MEANING OF THE TERM "BUSINESS LIFE," WE SHOULD ~~HATHER~~ <sup>as employed here</sup> THINK

OF THIS FIELD OF ACTIVITY IN ANCIENT ROME AS CONSISTING OF TWO ~~DIFFERENT~~ <sup>"other which we will briefly call 'business'"</sup> DISTINCT  
 SPHERES, NAMELY, "TRADE" AND "BUSINESS". THIS MAY SOUND UNUSUAL IN OUR EARS

SINCE IN MODERN TIMES SO LARGE A PART OF BUSINESS CONSISTS PRECISELY IN TRADING

ACTIVITIES. HOWEVER, THIS WAS NOT SO IN ANCIENT ROME. IT IS CHARACTERISTIC

OF THE PERIOD, THAT "TRADE" AND "BUSINESS" CAN BE OFTEN NEATLY SEPARATED. TRADE

WAS ON THE ~~WHOLE~~ A MENIAL OCCUPATION, CARRIED ON BY FOREIGNERS AND FREEDMEN,

IN WHICH, AS A RULE, NOT MUCH MONEY WAS MADE, WHILE ~~BUSINESS~~ <sup>(the rest of)</sup> --WE TODAY

WOULD CALL ~~IT~~ <sup>most of public contracting and</sup> FINANCE--WAS CONDUCTED BY THE UPPER CLASSES. <sup>(roughly the first of the</sup> IT WAS A FIELD

<sup>Republican knights, the second by the senatorial class.</sup> IN WHICH LARGE SUMS WERE INVESTED OR AT ANY RATE TURNED OVER WITH ONLY IN-

CIDENTAL TRADING ACTIVITIES. The inquiry into "trade"

and ~~large scale~~ "business" <sup>in these</sup> thus

defined narrow ~~scope~~ <sup>of these terms</sup> ~~can~~ <sup>be</sup> carried on separately.

outline

4

## PART I: TRADE

THE FIRST SECTION OF THIS PAPER WILL BE DEVOTED TO THE ROLE OF MARKET ELEMENTS IN TRADE. A GENERAL SURVEY WILL BE MADE OF THE DIFFERENT GOODS TRADED, BEGINNING WITH THEIR PRODUCTION INSOFAR AS THIS MAY BE NECESSARY TO SERVE AS A BACKGROUND FOR METHODS OF TRADING. THIS MATERIAL WILL, OF COURSE, BE LIMITED BUT TO THIS WE MUST CONFINE OURSELVES, FOR AS STATED ABOVE, THE DISTINCTIVE VIEWPOINT OF THIS PAPER IS THAT MARKETS CANNOT BE INFERRED FROM THE EXISTENCE OF TRADE AND MONEY ~~USE~~ USES, BUT MUST BE SHOWN TO HAVE BEEN ~~BEEN~~ ACTUALLY PRESENT. FINALLY, HAVING SURVEYED THE EVIDENCE OF THE PRESENCE OF MARKETS, WE WILL ESTIMATE THE EXTENT OF MARKET TRADE, AS WELL AS ITS SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE ON THE AFFAIRS OF THE COMMUNITY IN GENERAL.

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(NOTE: I THINK I WILL DROP THE SUB-INTRODUCTION "SECTION A: AGRICULTURE AND FOOD MARKETS," AS THIS SEEMS TO HAVE HAD MANY WEAKNESSES, AND, I THINK MAY NEEDLESSLY COMPLICATE THE PAPER. INSTEAD, WE SHALL IMMEDIATELY BEGIN WITH THE FACTUAL SURVEY. YOUR COMMENTS ON THIS OF COURSE ARE HIGHLY DESIRED), AND IF YOU THINK AN INTRODUCTION IS WORTHWHILE I SHALL TRY TO PROVIDE ONE.)



5

(A)

AGRICULTURE: THE FOOD MARKETS

OUTLINE: I. EARLY FORUM; II. THE SEPARATE MARKETS; III. THE MACELLUM: A GENERAL MARKET; IV. ARCHITECTURE; V. PRODUCTS; VI. THE AEDILE; VIII. SUPPLY

I. EARLY FORUM: THERE ARE SOME REFERENCES TO A MARKET BEING HELD PERIODICALLY IN THE EARLIEST TIMES IN THE ROMAN FORUM. THIS VERY LIKELY WAS A MARKET FOR PREPARED FOODS WHERE THERE WERE BUTCHERS STALLS, SCALED FISH, ETC., WHILE THE MARKETS FOR BASIC COMMODITIES LIKE CATTLE, VEGETABLES, ETC. WERE OUTSIDE THE WALLS OF THE CITY (SEE BELOW.). AS POLITICAL FUNCTIONS DEMANDED MORE AND MORE SPACE THERE, HOWEVER, THE MARKET WAS MOVED ELSEWHERE. ABOUT 310 B.C. WE HAVE A REFERENCE TO BUTCHERS BEING REMOVED FROM THEIR STALLS THERE TO MAKE ROOM FOR BANKERS, WHOSE SHOPS WERE CALLED THE "TABERNAE VETERES." ABOUT 171 B.C. THE LAST OF THE SHOPS WERE MOVED WHEN THE BASILICA SEMPRONIA WAS BUILT.

II. THE SEPARATE MARKETS: BY THE END OF THE THIRD CENTURY B.C. WE HEAR OF A NUMBER OF SEPARATE MARKETS: THE FORUM PISCARIUM (FISH MARKET) NORTH OF THE FORUM BETWEEN THE BASILICA PORCIA AND THE TEMPLE OF VESTA; THE FORUM BOARIUM, (MEAT MARKET) OUTSIDE THE "SERVIAN" WALL, BETWEEN THE CIRCUM MAXIMUS AND THE TIBER; THE FORUM OLITORUM (VEGETABLE MARKET), SOUTH OF THE THEATER OF MARCELLUS BETWEEN THE TIBER AND THE CAPITOLINE HILL; THE FORUM COQUINUM, IN THE SAME PLACE, WHERE PROFESSIONAL COOKS OFFERED THEIR SERVICES. FINALLY THERE WAS ALSO THE FORUM CUPPEDINIS, A MARKET FOR Dainties BETWEEN THE VIA SACRA AND THE MACELLUM. IT IS TO BE NOTED THAT THESE PROBABLY HAD THE PERIODIC CHARACTER OF THE EARLY MARKET (NUNDINAE), MEETING EVERY EIGHT DAYS, AND THAT THE COMMODITY MARKETS (FORA BOARIUM AND OLITORUM) WERE OUTSIDE THE EARLY CITY LIMITS, WHERE FOREIGNERS COULD ALSO TRADE, WHILE THE PREPARED FOOD MARKETS SUCH AS THE BUTCHERS STALLS WERE INSIDE WHERE THE CITIZEN WHO CAME FOR THE DAY TO DISCUSS POLITICAL MATTERS COULD GET A BITE TO EAT.

III. THE MACELLUM: A GENERAL MARKET: IN 179 B. C. THE CENSORS M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR AND Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS BUILT A CENTRAL MARKET ON THE SITE OF THE OLD FISH MARKET WHICH HAD BURNED DOWN TWENTY YEARS BEFORE. THE MARKET WAS CALLED

6

THE "MACELLUM", WHICH VARRO TAKES TO COME FROM GREEK USAGE. AS THEOPHASTUS WRITES: "THIS WAS THE FIRST REAL MARKET OF ROME, WHERE THEY SOLD ALL THE PRODUCTS UNTIL THEN SOLD IN THE SPECIAL MARKETS, WHICH ABOUNDED IN FOOD COMMODITIES TRANSPORTED FROM THE COUNTRY OR SENT FROM THE PROVINCES TO ROME." LATER THIS MARKET WAS SUPPLANTED, PROBABLY BY THE MACELLUM LIVIAE BUILT BY AUGUSTUS ABOUT 10 A.D., JUST OUTSIDE THE PORTA ESQUILINA. OTHER LATER IMPERIAL MARKETS GREW UP SUCH AS THE MAGNUM MACELLUM OF NERO ON THE CAELIAN HILL.

IV. ARCHITECTURE: IT IS PRACTICALLY CERTAIN THAT THE ROMAN MARKET WAS SIMILAR TO OTHERS THROUGHOUT THE EMPIRE. AT LEAST THREE OF THESE HAVE BEEN WELL EXCAVATED: AT POMPEII AND PUTEOLI IN ITALY, AND TIMGAD IN NORTH AFRICA. THEY CAN FURNISH US WITH A GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF WHAT THE ROMAN MACELLUM WAS LIKE.

THE FORM OF THE MACELLUM WAS A WALLED RECTANGLE ENCLOSING AN OPEN SPACE CALLED "AREA" ONTO WHICH MOST OF THE SHOPS FACED, AND IN THE CENTER OF WHICH WAS A ROUND BUILDING, THE "THOLUS". A GOOD PICTURE OF SUCH A BUILDING AT ROME IS GIVEN IN A COIN OF NERO. A LARGE NUMBER OF FISH SCALES AND BONES WERE FOUND IN THE THOLUS AT POMPEII, FROM WHICH MAU CONCLUDED THAT IT WAS USED FOR CLEANING FISH WHICH WERE SOLD AT THE MARKET.

THE "AREA" HAD COLONADES ON TWO OR MORE SIDES. BETWEEN THE COLUMNS WERE THE BOOTHS OF THE SALESMEN. FROM TIMGAD WE HAVE STONE TABLES ON WHICH THE WARES MUST HAVE BEEN DISPLAYED, AND FROM POMPEII WE HAVE A PICTURE OF THE FOOD BEING DISPLAYED ON TABLES. THE BOOTHS WERE MODEST IN SIZE AND FAIRLY UNIFORM. THEY WERE NOT, ERECTED BY INDIVIDUAL MERCHANTS FOR THEIR OWN USE, BUT BY THE COMMUNITY OR ONE OF ITS BENEFACTORS. THE STALLS WERE USUALLY RENTED OR LEASED AND AT ROME PERHAPS SOLD.

V. PRODUCTS: THE GOODS THAT WERE SOLD INCLUDED FISH, MEAT, VEGETABLES, FRUIT, BREAD, PREPARED MEATS, AND COOKED FOOD. WINE AND PERFUME JARS ALSO HAVE BEEN DISCOVERED, AND FROM A PICTURE AT POMPEII WE SEE THAT LIVE FISH AND



BIRDS WERE ALSO ON SALE. MAU ALSO STATES THAT GREIN WAS SOLD THERE, ALTHOUGH IT MAY ALSO HAVE BEEN DISTRIBUTED AT OTHER POINTS SUCH AS THE TEMPLE OF CERES, AS IT WAS FROM THE PORTICUS MINUCIUS IN ROME IN THE TIME OF CLAUDIUS.

VI. THE AEDILE: THE AEDILESHIP WAS ORIGINALLY A PEEBIAN OFFICE, FOUNDED SHORTLY AFTER THE TRIBUNESHIP. ITS OFFICE WAS IN THE TEMPLE OF CERES AT ROME, WHICH EMPHASIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF HIS DUTY "TO SEE THAT THE MARKET WAS SUPPLIED WITH PLenty OF PROVISIONS" (DION VI 90). ~~INEXBWERKXISXN~~

THE SUPERVISION OF THE MARKET WAS ALSO IN THE HANDS OF THE AEDILE. HE PERFORMED THE TASK OF MARKET POLICE SIMILAR TO THE AGORANOMOI OF THE GREEKS. HE KEPT THE OFFICIAL WEIGHTS AND MEASURES OF THE MARKET, SOME OF WHICH HAVE BEEN FOUND AT POMPEII, WHERE HIS OFFICE WAS FOUND NOT IN THE MARKET BUT ~~INXINEXME~~ AT THE OPPOSITE END OF THE FORUM BY ITS NORTHWEST SIDE. HE ALSO ENFORCED THE SUMPTUARY LAWS AND SET THE PRICE OF THE NECESSARY COMMODITIES, ESPECIALLY OF THE ANNONA. THE LAST POINT IS OF VITAL SIGNIFICANCE. LIVY GIVES SEVERAL EXAMPLES TO CONFIRM THIS CONCLUSION, BUT THE MOST VIVID PICTURE OF THE POWER OF THE AEDILE TO THE LIFE OF THE COMMON MAN IS GIVEN IN PETRONIUS 44:

"SO SAID PHILEROS, BUT GANYMEDE BROKE IN: 'YOU GO TALKING AB UT THINGS WHICH ARE NEITHER IN HEAVEN NOR IN EARTH AND NONE OF YOU CARE ALL THE TIME HOW THE PRICE OF FOOD ~~KNEXX~~ PINCHES. I SWEAR I CANNOT GET HOLD OF A MOUTHFUL OF BREAD TODAY. AND NOW THE DROUGHT GOES ON! THERE HAS BEEN A FAMINE FOR A WHOLE YEAR NOW (IAM EBURITO FUIT MEANS HIGH PRICES<sup>2</sup>). DAMN THE MAGISTRATES (AEDILES) WHO PLAY 'SCRATCH MY BACK AND I'LL SCRATCH YOURS' IN LEAGUE WITH THE BAKERS (PISTORIBUS). SO THE LITTLE PEOPLE COME OFF BADLY; FOR THE JAWS OF THE UPPER CLASSES ARE ALWAYS KEEPING CARNIVAL. I DO ~~WIXN~~ WISH WE HAD THE BUCKS (LEONES) I FOUND HERE WHEN I FIRST CAME OUT OF ASIA. THAT WAS LIFE. IF THE FLOUR WAS ANY BUT THE BEST THEY BEAT THOSE VAMPIRES INTO A JELLY, UNTIL THEY PUT THE FEAR OF GOD INTO THEM. I REMEMBER SAPINIUS. HE WAS MORE OF A MUSTARD POT THAN A MAN. USED TO SCORCH THE GROUND WHEREVER HE TROD. STILL HE WAS STRAIGHT; YOU COULD TRUST HIM, A TRUE FRIEND; YOU WOULD NOT BE AFRAID TO PLAY MORRA WITH HIM IN THE DARK. HOW HE USED TO DRESS THEM DOWN AT THE SENATE HOUSE (CURIA), EVERY ONE OF THEM, NEVER USING ROUNDABOUT PHRASES MAKING A STRAIGHTFORWARD ATTACK. AND WHEN HE WAS PLEADING IN THE COURTS HIS VOICE USED TO SWELL LIKE A TRUMPET. NEVER ANY SWEATYING OR SPITTING. I IMAGINE HE HAD A TOUCH OF THE ASIANIC STYLE, AND HOW KINDLY HE RETURNED ONE'S GREETING, CALLING EVERYONE BY NAME, QUITE LIKE ONE OF OURSELVES. SO AT THAT TIME FOOD WAS DIRT CHEAP (ILLO TEMPORE ANNONA PRO LUTO ERAT). YOU COULD BUY A LARGER LOAF FOR A TWOPENCE THAT YOU AND ~~XBORXEX~~ YOUR BETTER HALF TOGETHER COULD GET THROUGH. ONE EES A BIGGER BUN NOW. LORD THINGS ARE WORSE EVERY DAY. THIS TOWN GOES DOWNHILL LIKE A CALF'S TAIL. BUT WHY DO WE PUT UP WITH A MAGISTRATE (AEDILE) NOT WORTH THREE PEPPER CORNS, WHO CARES MORE ABOUT PUTTING TWOPENCE IN HIS PURSE

8

THAN KEEPING US ALIVE? HE SITS GRINNING AT HOME AND POCKETS MORE MONEY A DAY THAN OTHER PEOPLE HAVE FOR A FORTUNE. I HAPPEN TO KNOW WHERE HE CAME BY A THOUSAND IN GOLD. IF WE HAD ANY SPUNK IN US HE WOULD NOT BE SO PLEASED WITH HIMSELF. NOWADAYS PEOPLE ARE LIONS IN THEIR OWN HOMES AND FOXES OUT OF DOORS."

FROM THIS IT IS CLEAR THAT THE AEDILE WAS EXPECTED TO KEEP DOWN THE PRICE OF FOOD TO A REASONABLE LEVEL, WHICH MAY HAVE HAD AS MUCH TO DO WITH HIS POPULARITY AND FUTURE ELECTION TO HIGHER OFFICES, AS THE MAGNIFICENCE OF THE GAMES FOR WHICH HE WAS ALSO RESPONSIBLE.

VII. THE PRICE: THAT THE PRICE COULD BE SET BY THE AEDILE REMINDS US OF MANY PRIMITIVE FOOD MARKETS WHERE PRICES ARE SET BY OFFICIALS OR BY CUSTOM. THIS MUST SEEM ARTIFICIAL TO MANY WHO ARE ACCUSTOMED TO THINK IN TERMS OF A MODERN SUPPLY-DEMAND PRICE MECHANISM. THEY WOULD ASK IF THE PUBLIC OFFICIALS HELD DOWN THE PRICE OF GRAIN, WHETHER THE EFFECT WOULD NOT BE THAT LESS GRAIN WOULD APPEAR ON THE MARKET AND PRICES EVENTUALLY BE FORCED EVEN HIGHER. HERE LIES THE BASIC DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE ECONOMICS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD AND THOSE OF MODERN TIMES. THE SUPPLY OF COMMODITIES IN MODERN TIMES IS PROVIDED BY THE WORKING OF THE MARKET ON A WORLD SCALE WHEREBY SELLERS FROM THE WORLD OVER ARE ATTRACTED TO SELL THEIR GOODS WHEREVER THERE IS FAVORABLE PRICE. SUCH A SYSTEM IMPLIES A UNIVERSAL SYSTEM OF COMMUNICATIONS, TRANSPORTATION, AND A MEANS OF EXCHANGE SUCH AS WAS PROVIDED BY THE GOLD STANDARD IN THE 19TH CENTURY. IN THE ANCIENT WORLD, AS FAR AS WE CAN DETERMINE, NO SUCH SYSTEM EVER DEVELOPED. INSTEAD THE LOCAL MARKETS, TO SUPPLEMENT THE PRODUCTS OF THE SURROUNDING COUNTRYSIDE, HAD TO RELY UPON ADMINISTRATIVE MEANS FOR THEIR SUPPLIES.

VIII. GRAIN SUPPLY: A MORE SPECIFIC CASE OF HOW THE LOCAL MARKETS WERE SUPPLIED BY ADMINISTRATIVE MEANS CAN BE SEEN IN THE CASE OF GRAIN, THE BASIC FOOD OF ANTIQUITY.

IN THE GREEK WORLD, THERE WAS A CONTINUAL QUEST FOR GRAIN. FEW PLACES PRODUCED A REGULAR SURPLUS. AMONG THESE WAS THE CRIMEA WHERE SERFS PAID LARGE TAXES OF GRAIN TO THE KING. THERE WAS ALSO EGYPT AND SICILY. SINCE



ALEXANDER'S THE GREAT'S INVASION OF INDIA CUT OFF THE BOSPORUS' SUPPLY, EGYPT BECAME PREEMINENT AS A SOURCE OF GRAIN. THE PORT OF TRADE AT ALEXANDRIA ORGANIZED BY THE PTOLEMIES HAD A GREAT ADVANTAGE OVER ALL OTHER MARKETS AS IT HAD A MORE DEPENDABLE SUPPLY OF EXPORTABLE GRAIN AND SO CAME CLOSER THAN ANY OTHER PLACE IN ANTIQUITY TO DEVELOPING INTO AN INTERNATIONAL GRAIN MARKET. LATER IN THE LATER 2ND CENTURY B.C. WHEN UNDER ROMAN INFLUENCE, EGYPT SOLD HER GRAIN THROUGH DELOS WHICH BECAME THE GREAT GRAIN MARKET OF THAT TIME. FINALLY AUGUSTUS ENDED THE CHANCE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A FREE CORN MARKET IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN BY TAKING OVER THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE EGYPTIAN CORN SUPPLY AND USING IT TO SUPPLY THE CITY OF ROME.

IN THE EARLY ROMAN REPUBLIC, THE PEASANT PRODUCED A SURPLUS OF CORN WHICH HE MAY HAVE SOLD IN THE CITY. EVEN IN THIS PERIOD, HOWEVER, WE SEE THAT IN TIMES OF SCARCITY THE CITY WOULD ACT TO BRING IN A SUPPLY OF THE VITAL FOOD. WHILE THESE REFERENCES IN LIVY MAY BE AN ANACHRONISM, IT IS VERY PROBABLY THAT, LIKE THE GREEK CITIES, ROME HAD TO GUARANTEE A SUPPLY OF FOOD TO THOSE PEOPLE WHO HAD LEFT THEIR FARMS TO TAKE OVER GOVERNMENT SERVICE IN THE CITY.

LATER ROMAN HISTORY SEEMS TO BE MUCH INFLUENCED BY THE QUEST OF THE ROMANS FOR A SECURE AND AMPLE SUPPLY OF CORN. THUS WE HAVE ONE OF THE LEADING MOTIVES ASCRIBED BY LIVY TO THE ROMANS FOR THEIR ENTRANCE INTO CAMPANIA INSPITE OF A TREATY WITH THE SAMINITES TO THE CONTRARY. LATER THE REGIONS OF SICILY EGYPT, AND AFRICA WERE TAKEN OVER, AND THEIR GRAIN EXPORT WAS RIGOROUSLY CONTROLLED

AS THE SOURCES OF SUPPLY EXPANDED WE HEAR HOW THE CITIZENS AT ROME BENEFITTED BY THE FABULOUSLY LOW PRICES: IT MUST BE ESPECIALLY NOTED THAT THESE FIGURES COVER SEVERAL CONSECUTIVE YEARS AND ARE NOT LIMITED TO MERELY WARTIME:

203 B.C.	4 ASSES A MODIUS	LIVY XXX 26
202 B.C.	LESS THAN TRANSPORTATION COSTS	LIVY XXX 38
201 B.C.	4 ASSES A MODIUS	LIVY XXXI 4
200 B.C.	2 ASSES A MODIUS	LIVY XXXI 50
196 B.C.	2 ASSES A MODIUS	LIVY XXXIII 42

THIS OF COURSE WOULD BE RUINOUS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANY INDEPENDENT GRAIN MARKET SINCE PRIVATE TRADERS WHO ARRIVED THERE WOULD FIND THEY COULD NOT SELL THEIR GRAIN, OR ONLY AT A LOSS. BUT THE IMPORTANT POINT IS THAT THE AUTHORITIES DID NOT RELY ON PRIVATE MERCHANTS, GENERALLY FOREIGNERS, TO CARRY THE

FOOD TO THE CITY AT A PRICE MADE BY THE COMPETITIVE BIDDING OF THE CITIZENS AGAINST EACH OTHER. RATHER THE SUPPLY WAS GUARANTEED BY THE GOVERNMENT'S CONTROL OF THE SOURCES OF SUPPLY. THAT PRIVATE SKIPPERS WERE ALLOWED TO CARRY THE GRAIN AND ALSO TO SELL IT AT XI ROME DID NOT CREATE A PRICEMAKING MARKET, SINCE THE SUPPLY WAS CONTROLLED, THE DEMAND RATIONED, AND THE DESTINATION SET, AND THE PRICE FIXED BY ROMAN OFFICIALS. WHILE THE PRICE THUS SET MIGHT AND DID CHANGE TO SOME EXTENT WITH VARYING RESOURCES, IT WAS THE DUTY OF THE AEDILE TO SEE THAT CORN WAS PROCURED AND MADE AVAILABLE AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE PRICE, AND IN THIS HE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN VERY SUCCESSFUL.

FROM THIS WE SEE THAT THE LAWS OF THE GRACCHI CONCERNING THE DISTRIBUTION OF CORN WERE NOT AS REVOLUTIONARY A DEPARTURE AS HAS BEEN SOMETIMES ASSUMED, BUT RATHER LEGALIZED A PRACTICE WHICH HAD BEGUN LONG BEFORE AS AN EMERGENCY MEASURE. WITH THE DIMINISHING CORN PRODUCTION OF ITALY AND THE GROWTH OF THE CITY OF ROME, IT HAD BECOME CUSTOMARY TO SELL IMPORTED CORN CHEAP, BUT THERE WAS EVIDENTLY SOME DISCRETION LEFT TO THE AEDILE. IN REGARD TO GRAIN THIS WAS EXXII REMOVED BY THE GRACCHI WHO SET A DEFINITE PRICE OF  $6 \frac{2}{3}$  ASSES A MODIUS, A VERY LOW ONE.

THESE PUBLIC DISTRIBUTIONS NO DOUBT ALSO HAD THE EFFECT OF FORGING A LOW PRICE ON WHATEVER OTHER GRAIN WAS SOLD OF THE MACELLUM, IF, AS SEEMS LIKELY, IT WAS NOT ALREADY CONTROLLED BY THE AEDILE. ANY ATTEMPT OF THE GRAIN MERCHANTS TO RAISE THE PRICE WAS OF COURSE SEVERELY REPPRESSED BY THE AUTHORITIES.

THE EASE WITH WHICH AUGUSTUS WAS ABLE TO TAKE OVER AND CONTROL THE CORN SUPPLY AND SET THE PRICE WAS ONLY POSSIBLE BECAUSE HE HAD MERELY TO COMBINE THE DUTIES OF THE AEDILE WITH THE EMPEROR'S CONTROL OF THE SUPPLY OF EGYPTIAN GRAIN. HAD A TRUE CORN MARKET EVER EXISTED IN ROME AND SUCCEEDED IN FEEDING THE INHABITANTS, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN A MOST DIFFICULT PROPOSITION FOR THE EMPEROR TO HAVE ABOLISHED THE MARKET AND CREATED A SUBSTITUTE FOR IT. AS IT WAS, THE HABITS OF THE PEOPLE MADE THEM LOOK TO THE STATE TO PROVIDE THE SUPPLY AND TO MAKE IT ACCESSIBLE TO THEM AT A LOW PRICE. SO LONG AS THIS



11  
RESULT WAS ACHIEVED, ANY ADMINISTRATIVE MEANS WERE ADMISSIBLE.

IX. OTHER FOODS THE POWER OF THE AEDILE TO SUPERVISE PRICES DID NOT END WITH HIS CONTROL OF THE ANNONA, HOWEVER. WE CAN SEE FROM THE FOLLOWING QUOTATION, ALTHOUGH IT REFERS TO AN OBSCURE TOWN IN THESSALY, THAT THE AEDILE ALSO SUPERVISED THE FISHDEALERS, AND PROBABLY ALL OTHERS WHO SOLD THERE.

"WHEN THIS WAS DONE AND ALL MY THINGS BROUGHT INTO THE CHAMBER, I WALKED TOWARDS THE BATHS, BUT FIRST I WENT TO THE PROVISION MARKET (FORUM CUPIDINIS) TO BUY SOME VICTUALS FOR MY SUPPER, WHEREAS I SAW GREAT PLENTY OF FISH SET OUT TO BE SOLD, AND SO I CHEAPENED PART THEREOF, AND THAT WHICH THEY FIRST HELD AT AN HUNDRED PIECES, I BOUGHT AT LENGTH FOR TWENTY PENCE: WHICH WHEN I HAD DONE AND WAS DEPARTING AWAY, PYTHIAS, ONE OF MINE OLD ~~SENEX~~ COMPANIONS AND FELLOW AT ATHENS, FORTUNED TO PASS BY, AND VIEWING ME A GOOD SPACE, IN THE END BROUGHT ME KINDLY ~~INTO~~ TO HIS REMEMBRANCE, AND GENTLY CAME AND KISSED ME, SAYING: "O MY DEAR FRIEND LUCIUS, IT IS A GREAT WHILE PAST SINCE WE TWO SAW EACH OTHER, AND MOREOVER, FROM THE TIME THAT WE DEPARTED FROM OUR MASTER VESTIUS I NEVER HEARD ANY NEWS OF YOU; I PRAY YOU LUCIUS, TELL ME OF THE CAUSE OF YOUR PEREGRINATION HITHER." THEN I ANSWERED AND SAID: "I WILL MAKE RELATION THEREOF UNTO YOU TO-MORROW: ~~W~~ BUT WHAT IS THIS? VERILY I THINK ~~W~~ THAT YOU HAVE OBTAINED YOUR OWN DESIRE, WHEREOF I AM RIGHT GLAD. FOR I SEE THESE SERVITORS THAT FOLLOW YOU, AND THESE RODS OR VERGES WHICH THEY BEAR; AND THIS HABIT WHICH YOU WEAR, LIKE UNTO A MAGISTRATE." THEN ANSWERED PYTHIAS: "I BEAR THE OFFICE AND RULE OF THE CLERK (AEDILEM) OF THE MARKET, AND THEREFORE, IF YOU WILL AUGHT FOR YOUR SUPPER, SPEAK AND I WILL PURVEY IT FOR YOU." THEN I THANKED HIM HEARTILY AND SAID I HAD BOUGHT FISH SUFFICIENT ALREADY FOR MY DINNER, ~~W~~ BUT PYTHIAS, WHEN HE ESPIED MY BASKET, TOOK IT AND SHOOK IT, SO THAT THE FISH MIGHT COME TO VIEW, AND DEMANDED OF ME WHAT I PAID FOR ALL MY SPRATS. "IN FAITH," QUOTH I, "I COULD SCARCE ENFORCE THE FISHMONGER TO SELL THEM FOR TWENTY PENCE"; WHICH WHEN HE HEARD, HE SEIZED MY HAND AND BROUGHT ME BACK AGAIN INTO THE MARKET AND INQUIRED OF ME OF WHOM I HAD BOUGHT SUCH WRETCHED STUFF. I SHEWED HIM THE OLD MAN WHICH SAT IN THE CORNER, WHOM STRAIGHTWAY (BY REASON OF HIS OFFICE) (PRO AEDILITATIS IMPERIO) HE DID GREATLY BLAME, AND SAID: "IS IT THUS THAT YOU SERVE AND HANDLE STRANGERS? AND ESPECIALLY OUR FRIENDS? WHEREFORE SELL YOU THIS FISH SO DEAR WHICH IS NOT WORTH A HALFPENNY? NOW PERCEIVE I WELL ~~X~~ THAT YOU ARE AN OCCASION TO MAKE THIS PLACE, WHICH IS THE FLOWER OF ALL THESSALY, TO BE FORSAKEN OF ALL MEN AND REDUCE IT INTO AN UNINHABITABLE ROCK, BY REASON OF YOUR EXCESSIVE PRICES OF VICTUALS; BUT ASSURE YOURSELF THAT YOU SHALL NOT ESCAPE WITHOUT PUNISHMENT, AND YOU SHALL KNOW WHAT MINE OFFICE IS, AND HOW I OUGHT TO PUNISH SUCH AS DO OFFEND." THEN HE TOOK MY BASKET AND CAST THE FISH ON THE GROUND, AND COMMANDED ONE OF HIS SERVANTS TO ~~R~~ TREAD THEM ALL UNDER HIS FEET; SO DOING WAS ~~X~~ PYTHIAS WELL PLEASED WITH THE SEVERITY HE SHEWED IN HIS OFFICE, AND BADE ME FAREWELL, AND SAID THAT HE WAS CONTENT WITH THE SHAME AND REPROACH DONE ~~U~~ INTO THE OLD CAITIFF. SO I WENT AWAY, ALL AMAZED AND ASTONISHED, TOWARDS THE BATHS, CONSIDERING MYSELF, AND ~~DEVI~~ DEVISING OF THE STRONG HAND OF THAT SO PRUDENT COMPANION OF MINE, PYTHIAS, WHEREBY I HAD LOST BOTH MY MONEY AND MY MEAT: AND THERE, WHEN I HAD WASHED AND REFRESHED MY BODY, I RETURNED AGAIN TO MILO'S HOUSE, AND SO GOT INTO MY CHAMBER."

APULEIUS "THE GOLDEN ASS" 1: 24,25 (ADLINGTON TRANS.)



HIS ACTIS ET REBUS MEIS IN ILLO CUBICULO CONEDITIS PERGENS IPSE AD BALNEAS, UT PRIUS ALIQUID NOBIS CIBATUI PROSPICEREM, FORUM CUPIDINIS PETO INQUE EO PISCATUM NOPIPAREM EXPOSITUM VIDEO ET PERCONTATO PRETIO, QUOD CENTUM NUMMIS INDICARET, ASPERNATUS VIGINTI DENARIIS PRAESTINAVI. INDE ME COMMODOUM EGREDIENTEM CONTINUATUR PYTHIAS CONDISCIPULUS APUD ATHENAS ATTICAS MEUS, QUI ME POST ALIQUAM MULTUM TEMPORIS AMANTER AGNITUM INVADIT, AMPLEXUSQUE AC COMITER DEOCULATUS "MI LUCI" AIT "SAT POL DIU EST QUOD INTERVISIMUS TE, AT HERCULE EXINDE CUM A VESTIO MAGISTRO DIGRESSI SUMUS. QUAE AUTEM TIBI CAUSA PEREGRINATIONIS HUIUS?2 "CRASTINO DIE SCIENS" INQUAM "SED QUID ISTUD? VOTI GAUDEO: NAM ET LIXAS ET VIRGAS ET RHABITUM PRORSUS MAGISTRATUI CONGRUENTEM IN TE VIDEO." Q "ANNONAM CURAMUS," AIT "ET AEDILEM GERIMUS, ET SI QUID OBSONARE CUPIS, UTIQUE COMMODABIMUS." ABNUEBAM, QUIPPE QUI IAM CENAE AFFATIM PISCATUM PROSPEXERAMUS: SED ENIM PYTHIAS VISA SPORTULA, SUCCUSSISQUE IN ASPECTUM PLANIOREM PISCIBUS, "T HAS QUISQUILIAS QUANTI PARASTI?" "VIX" INQUAM "PISCATORI EXTORSIMUS ACCIPEREMUS VIGINTI DENARIOS." QUO AUDITO STATIM ARREPTA DEXTERA POSTLIMINIO ME IN FORUM CUPIDINIS REDUCENS "ET A QUO" INQUIT "ISTORUM NUGAMENTA HAEC COMPARASTI?" DEMONSTRO BENICULUM; IN ANGULO SEDEBAT. QUEM CONFESTIM PRO AEDILITATIS IMPERIO VOCE ASPERRIMA INCREPANS "IAM IAM" INQUIT "NEC AMICIS QUIDEM NOSTRIS VEL OMNINO ULLIS HOSPITIBUS PARGITIS, QUOD TAM MAGNIS PRETIIS PISCES FRIVOLOS INDICATIS ET FLOREM THESSALICAE REGIONIS AD INSTAR SOLITUDINIS ET SCOPULI EDULIUM CARITATE DEDUCITIS? SED NON IMPUNE: IAM ENIM FAXO SCIAS QUEMADMODUM SUB MEQ MAGISTERIO MALI DEBENT COERCERI," ET PROFUSA IN BMEDIUM SPORTULA IUBET OFFICIALEM SUUM INSUPER PISCES INSCENDERE AC PEDIBUS SUIB TOTOS ERE OBTERERE. QUA CONTENTUS MORUM SEVERITUDINE MEUS PYTHIAS, AC MINI X UT ABIREM SUADENS, "SUFFICIT MIHI, O LUCI," INQUIT "SENICULI TANTA HAEC CONTUMELIA." HIS ACTIS CONSTERNATUS AC PRORSUS E OBSTUBIDUS AD BALNEAS ME REFERO, PRUDENTIS CONDISCIPULI VALIDO CONSIDILIO ET NUMMIS SIMUL PRIVATUS ET CENA, LAUTUSQUE AD HOSPITIUM MILONIS AC DEHINC CUBICULUM ME REPORTO."

UNLIKE AGRICULTURE, FOR INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS WE HAVE NO MENTION OF A RECOGNIZED MARKET. WE SHALL THEN HAVE TO SEARCH FOR SIGNS OF IT INDIRECTLY IN:

I. PRODUCTION: WERE THERE LARGE FACTORIES PRODUCING GOODS WHICH WOULD REQUIRE A LARGE MARKET TO DISPOSE OF THEM?

II. DISTRIBUTION: WHAT KNOWN WAYS WERE GOODS DISPOSED OF? DO THESE POINT TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MARKET, OR ARE THEY A SUBSTITUTE FOR IT?

III. THE INDUSTRIALISTS: DID PRODUCTION AND BUYING AND SELLING OF GOODS MAKE MEN VERY RICH AND POWERFUL AS TODAY?

IV. POLICY: WAS THE IMPORTANCE OF INDUSTRY SHOWN BY ITS INFLUENCE ON GOVERNMENT POLICY IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS OR TAXING POLICIES?

\* \* \* \* \*

I. PRODUCTION: GOMMERUS DECLARES THAT THERE WAS A DEVELOPMENT OF BIG BUSINESS BASED ON SLAVERY AND CAPITAL. HOWEVER WHEN WE LOOK FOR SPECIFIC LARGE INDUSTRIAL CONCERNS WE HAVE SOME TROUBLE.

A. VERBAL EVIDENCE: IT IS A STRIKING FACT THAT WE HAVE NO CLEAR PROOF OF A WORD WHICH MEANS "FACTORY." "FABRICA" SEEMS TO REFER MOSTLY TO A DIVISION OF THE MILITARY ORGANIZATION. "ERGASTULUM" TO A SLAVE'S WORKHOUSE. "TABERNAE" TO A SELLER'S STALL, SMALL IN SIZE. "OFFICINA", THE MOST LIKELY CANDIDATE BECAUSE IT IS FOUND ON SOME LAMPS, OFTEN MEANS "STUDIO" OR "WORKSHOP" OF AN INDIVIDUAL.

B. GOVERNMENT FACTORIES: IF OUR ULTIMATE GOAL IS TO FIND EVIDENCES OF A MARKET, WE MUST EXEMPT PRODUCTS WHICH WOULD NOT BE SOLD IN A MARKET. THESE GOODS COULD BE DISTRIBUTED BY ADMINISTRATIVE MEANS SUCH AS RATIONING (ARMY) OR SOLD AT SET PRICES. THIS INCLUDES MOST OF THOSE INDUSTRIES WHICH APPROACHED LARGE SCALE PRODUCTION. IN THESE THE GOVERNMENT WAS EITHER THE PURCHASER (ARMS, BAKING, SHIPPING) OR THE SELLER (PAPYRUS, CINNABAR, MINES, BRICKS). IN EITHER CASE NO PRICE WAS LIABLE TO FORM THROUGH COMPETITIVE BIDDING OF BUYING AND SELLING CROWDS WHICH IS THE CHARACTERISTIC OF THE MODERN MARKET.

C. GUILD INDUSTRIES: THERE WAS LARGE SCALE TEXTILE PRODUCTION. FROM THE



15

INDUSTRY (2)

PRODUCTION: GUILD INDUSTRIES:

NECESSITY OF A LARGE WORKROOM, MACHINERY, UTILITIES SUCH AS WATER, IT HAS BEEN SUPPOSED THAT IN WEAVING, TANNING, FULLING, AND DYEING, WE MUST HAVE HAD LARGE FACTORIES, WITH EQUIPMENT SUPPLIED BY CAPITALISTS. I HOWEVER WOULD LIKE TO PROPOSE THAT THESE WERE SUPPLIED BY THE RESPECTIVE GUILDS. WE DO KNOW THE GUILDS EXISTED AND WERE INFLUENTIAL. WE KNOW OF NOT MORE THAN ONE "CAPITALIST" WHO IS CALLED SUCH BECAUSE OF A LARGE DONATION OF MONEY HE MIGHT HAVE ACQUIRED IN SOME OTHER WAY. IN GENERAL, WE KNOW OF NO LARGE FORTUNES MADE IN THESE INDUSTRIES. IN POMPEII WE KNOW OF A GUILD HALL OF THE FULLERS, WHICH WAS GIVEN BY EUMACHIA GIVEN TO THE FULLONES. THIS BEG ALSO PROOF OF GUILD OWNED UTILITIES.

D. METALS INDUSTRY: HERE ALSO THE RAW GOODS WERE CONTROLLED BY THE GOVERNMENT, WHICH ALSO BOUGHT MUCH OF THE WARES FOR THE ARMY. BUT EVEN HERE THERE IS LITTLE EVIDENCE FOR LARGE SCALE FACTORIES. THE GOLDSMITHS WERE INDIVIDUAL CRAFTSMEN. IN BRONZE FROM THE FACT WE KNOW OF ONE FACTORY OF 8 FREEMEN AND 3 IN ANOTHER, PEOPLE HAVE CONJECTURED THE EXISTENCE OF AN INDUSTRY WITH THOUSANDS OF SLAVES. THIS IS CLEARLY WITHOUT FOUNDATION. LIKEWISE IN IRON, IN ROME, THE LARGEST GROUP WE KNOW OF IS 7 FREEMEN. THE LEAD PIPES FOR AQUEDUCTS WERE MADE BY SMALL GROUPS. WHILE THERE WAS DOUBTLESS A VERY HIGH VOLUME OF PRODUCTION IN THESE GOODS, IT IS FALSE TO ASSUME THIS NECESSITATED LARGE UNITS OF PRODUCTION. MANY SMALL, INDEPENDENT WORKERS, CAN ALSO TURN OUT GREAT AMOUNTS OF MATERIAL.

E. GLASS AND POTTERY WERE ALSO PRODUCED IN GREAT QUANTITY. BUT THE LARGEST UNITS OF PRODUCTION ARE VERY SMALL (14 OR 15 MEN). IN ONE CASE 58 MEN ARE MENTIONED IN A POTTERY FIRM, BUT THIS SEEMS TO BE THE ACME OF THE DEVELOPMENT. GAUL ALSO OFFERS THE POSSIBILITY OF LARGE FACTORIES IN THE RUINS OF GRAUFEBENQUE AND LEZOUX, WHICH COVER ONE AND NINE KILOMETERS RESPECTIVELY. THIS ALSO MAY, HOWEVER, HAVE BEEN A COLONY OF INDIVIDUAL WORKERS. AT ANY RATE IT DOES NOT SEEM LIKELY THAT THIS WAS LINKED WITH SLAVERY, WHICH WAS ALMOST NON-EXISTENT IN

E. GLASS AND POTTERY (CONTINUED)

THAT PROVINCE/ ALSO TO BE DISCOUNTED HERE ARE THE WORKSHOPS ON VILLAS, WHICH PRODUCED MAINLY FOR THEMSELVES, AS FORERUNNERS OF THE MEDIEVAL MANOR, OR AT THE MOST SUPPLIED THE NEIGHBORING TOWNS.

SUMMARY: WHILE A LARGE QUANTITY OF GOODS WERE PRODUCED, THERE IS LITTLE EVIDENCE THAT THEY NECESSITATED LARGE FACTORIES. WE KNOW OF NO UNIT OF PRODUCTION NUMBERING OVER A HUNDRED WORKERS. THE LARGEST ONES WERE BAKING AND BRICKS, THE ONE SUPPLYING THE EMPEROR, THE OTHER OWNED BY HIM. OTHER IMPORTANT PRODUCTS SUCH AS CINNABAR, PAPYRUS, METALS, AND ARMS WERE INTEGRATED BY THE GOVERNMENT WHO ACTED EITHER AS A BUYER OR SELLER. CERTAIN POTTERY FIRMS IN GAUL MAY HAVE BEEN LARGE IN SIZE, BUT LITTLE IS REALLY KNOWN ABOUT THEM. ~~THERE IS NO DIRECT EVIDENCE OF LARGE INDUSTRIES~~

THERE IS THUS LITTLE EVIDENCE FOR LARGE AMOUNTS OF CAPITAL INVESTED IN FACTORIES FOR SLAVES AND MACHINERY, WHICH WOULD REQUIRE WIDESPREAD MARKETS FOR DISTRIBUTION. RATHER PRODUCTION SEEMS TO BE ALMOST ENTIRELY IN THE HANDS OF THE SMALL ~~INDIVIDUAL~~ ARTISAN WHO EITHER SELLS TO OR FOR THE GOVERNMENT AT RATES FIXED BY IT, OR WHO DISPOSES OF HIS GOODS PERSONALLY BY THE WELL KNOWN METHOD OF THE BAZAAR WHICH IS ~~NOT~~ NOT A PREDECESSOR OR, BUT A SUBSTITUTE FOR A PRICE MAKING MARKET.



*C*  
D. BANKING AND CREDIT *did*

PROBLEM: TO FIND OUT TO WHAT EXTENT BANKING DEVELOPED A CREDIT MARKET.

INTRODUCTION: ~~PROBLEM: TO FIND OUT TO WHAT EXTENT BANKING DEVELOPED A CREDIT MARKET.~~

MOST AVAILABLE INFORMATION BY TRACING THE "BANKER."

TWO WORDS TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, EVEN BY ROS., AS "BANKER!"

*Delete* (1) ARGENTARIUS (2) NEGOTIATOR

WILL ALSO BRIEFLY CONSIDER INFORMATION USED TO SHOW EXTENT OF PUBLIC CREDIT.

I. ARGENTARIUS: SILVERSMITH (ETYM), PICTURE OF HIM BEHIND TABLE. *from that appropos*

*A.* ORIGINATED BY GOVERNMENT: ~~ROMAN~~ PRACTICAL NECESSITY.

1. ~~WESTERN~~
1. FINE COINAGE OF GREEK CITIES IN ITALY, C. 600 B.C.
2. ROMAN CONQUEST OF CAMPANIA C. 330. B.C.
3. FIRST ROMAN COINS. 269 B.C.
4. ARGENTARIUS BROUGHT IN LONG BEFORE THIS TO CHANGE FOREIGN COINS AS A PRACTICAL NECESSITY (WESTERMANN).
5. ~~EX~~ ASSIGNED EARLY SHOPS IN FORUM BY GOVERNMENT.
6. UNDER PRAETOR (?) AND LATER URBAN PREFECT.
7. REFERENCE TO WHIPPING OF ARGENTARIUS ( )
8. REFERENCE TO AUGUSTUS'S FATHER - PURE SLANDER
9. GENERALLY FOREIGNERS - FEW RIGHTS - DEPRESSED STATUS.

*B.* FUNCTIONS HIGHLY RESTRICTED:

1. MONEY CHANGING - FOREIGN CURRENCIES -
2. TESTING FOREIGN COINS ESPECIALLY BY ASSISTANT NUMMULARIUS.
3. PAWNBROKING: CICERO PAWNS HIS SILVER PLATE.
4. MAKES PAYMENTS: FREQUENTLY ASSUMED FALSELY TO BE LOANS.  
PROBABLY CUSTOMARY METHOD OF PAYMENT  
EVEN AMONGST RELATIVES (T. FRANK) SCIPIO  
AND CAESARIA (SHE BUYS A FARM).
5. AUCTIONING: CAECILIUS JUCUNDUS OF POMPEII  
COMMISSIONS BUT DO NOT BUY US PROSCRIBED PROPERTY.
6. REGULAR DISCOUNTING DOUBTFUL
7. ~~Does~~ INTEREST ON DEPOSITS DOUBTFUL (?) MAY HAVE LOANED  
OTHERS MONEY BUT ONLY WITH THEIR PERMISSION. AGENT  
EVEN THIS DOUBTFUL. FREEDMEN MORE OFTEN USED (T.F.)

*C.* NO DEVELOPED ORGANIZATION:

1. NO LEADING BANKING FIRM.
2. KNIGHTS NEVER DEAL WITH BANKERS
3. SOCIETATES, NOT BANKERS ARE THE RESPECTABLE LOANERS OF MONEY.

*D.* ~~CONCLUSIONS: ON ARGENTARIUS:~~

1. CREDIT OPERATIONS VERY LIMITED IF ANY.  
NOT APT TO GIVE RISE TO CREDIT MARKET.
2. NOT RELATED TO COMMERCE OR PRODUCTION
3. DOUBTFUL IF ARGENTARIUS ~~even~~ SUPPLIED MUCH OF A FIELD FOR INVESTMENT EVEN IN PERSONAL LOANS.
3. MAIN FACT: NON-CITIZEN STATUS, STRICTLY REGULATED.  
NOT LIKELY TO DEVELOP CREDIT FUNCTIONS AS DID ENGLISH GOLDSMITH  
AS FAR AS WE KNOW IN LATE REPUBLIC ARGENTARIUS DID CONTINUE  
TO EXIST BUT NOT TO GROW WITH IT.

D. BANKING AND CREDIT

II. NEGOTIATORES: BASIC MEANING: BUSINESSMAN, TRADESMAN (NEGOTIUM)

A. Summary main features (FOR DETAILS SEE SECTION II FINANCE OF EMPIRE)

1. NOT SPECIFICALLY A MONEY LENDER. BUSINESSMAN, TRADESMAN, AGENT.
2. WORKS MOSTLY IN PROVINCES. (SECTION II)
3. PRICE OF ~~THE~~ CREDIT DEPEND GREATLY ON POLITICAL ADVANTAGE AND ~~NECESSITY~~
4. NOT RELATED TO ANY FORM OF ~~PRODUCTIVE~~ PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITY.
5. MIGHT HAVE INVESTED OTHERS MONEY AND TO THAT EXTENT HAVE OFFERED A LIMITED FIELD FOR CAPITAL INVESTMENT.
6. WHEN POLITICAL ADVANTAGE IS REMOVED AFTER DESTRUCTION OF DELOS, AND REGULARIZATION OF EMPIRE, NEGOTIATORES DO NOT PROSPER. (COMPETITION OF MORE SKILLED GREEKS, SYRIANS, ETC.)

III. OTHER POSSIBLE MONEY LENDERS:

A. SEA LOANS:

1. CATO
2. HIGHLY SPECULATIVE CHARACTER

B. USURY:

1. LAWS AGAINST.
2. REFERENCES TO.
3. IRREGULAR CHARACTER.

C. LOANS ON REAL ESTATE:

1. PANIC OF 33 A.D.
2. OTHER EVIDENCE

IV. GOVERNMENT SOURCES OF CREDIT:

1. AUGUSTUS HALVES RATE OF INTEREST BY RETURN OF EGYPTIAN TREASURE.
2. TIBERIUS ENDS PANIC OF 33 A.D. BY GOVERNMENT CREDIT.
3. ABOVE CITED AS VERY UNIQUE. NO REGULAR GOVERNMENT PLAN FOR CREDIT

V. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS:

A. NO STEADY SUPPLY OF CREDIT:

1. ARGENTARIUS EXTREMELY HIGHLY RESTRICTED.
2. NEGOTIATORES, PROBABLY MUCH BUT NOT IN INDUSTRY, COMMERCE OR EVEN AGRICULTURE, AS IN POLITICAL FINANCE IN PROV.
3. GOVERNMENT: ONLY IN GREAT CRISIS.

B. NOT RELATED TO ~~REBUSINESS~~ OTHER MARKETS:

1. NO ORGANIZATION FOR BANKING DEVELOPS

C. NO FIELD FOR CAPITAL INVESTMENT EXCEPT:

1. LAND LOANS
2. SEA LOANS - HIGHLY SPECULATIVE
3. PROVINCIAL LOANS BASED ON POLITICAL ADVANTAGE



## II. POLITICAL BUSINESS

INTRODUCTION: IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS WE HAVE EMPHASIZED THE LIMITATIONS OF ROMAN ~~BUSINESS~~ <sup>APPROACH</sup> ACTIVITY IN ~~INDUSTRY, TRANSPORTATION, AND BANKING.~~ <sup>AND TRADING</sup> YET CLEARLY THERE WAS MUCH BUSINESS AS WE SEE FROM CICERO'S LETTERS. THE PURPOSE OF THIS ~~THESE~~ <sup>SECTION</sup> IS TO SHOW THAT THIS ACTIVITY WAS MAINLY IN THE SPHERE OF ~~FINANCE~~ <sup>BUSINESS</sup> CONNECTED WITH THE GOVERNMENT WORK OF CONTRACTING AND TAX COLLECTION WHICH INCREASED ENORMOUSLY WITH THE TERRITORIAL EXPANSION OF ROME AND WHICH REACHED ITS ZENITH WITH THE COLLECTION OF THE TITHES OF ASIA.

I. SEMI-PUBLIC BUSINESS: ONE OF THE ~~STRONGEST~~ PROOFS OF THE LOW LEVEL OF BANKING AND INDUSTRY IN ROME IS THAT NO INSTITUTIONS WERE DEVELOPED TO ~~EM~~ EMBODY THEM. THIS PROOF IS CONFIRMED BY THE FACT THAT IN THE ONE AREA WHERE BUSINESS WAS HIGHLY DEVELOPED, TAX FARMING AND CONTRACTING, WE FIND THE ONLY CORPORATION RECOGNIZED BY LAW, THE SOCIETAS PUBLICANORUM.

### A. EARLY STAGE:

1. CONTRACTING FOR PUBLIC BUILDINGS; RUNNING SALT MONOPOLY.
2. PROVISION TROOPS 215 B.C.
3. PORTORIA OF SYRACUSE - ALSO SCRIPTURA; PORTORIA OF ROME c. 199 B.C.
4. AGER PUBLICUS - ITALY AND SARDINIA
5. MINES - SPAIN c. 178 B.C.
6. SUMMARY: ~~XXXX~~ ONLY MINOR TAXES COLLECTED. EVEN WEALTH FROM SPANISH MINES LIMITED (T.F.)  
INFLUENCE SEEMS ON THE WANE: MINES OF MACEDONIA CLOSED.  
DESTRUCTION OF CORINTH AND CARTHAGE ~~XXXXXX~~ STRATEGIC NOT ECONOMIC.

### B. THE GOLDEN AGE:

1. POLITICAL ORIGINS: TURNING POINT: POLITICAL STRUGGLE OF GRACCHI TO REFORM ROME.
  - A. NEED MEN FOR THE ARMY.
  - B. USE TRIBUNATE ASSEMBLY FOR AGRARIAN REFORMS.
  - C. NEED SUPPORT IN CENTURIATE ASSEMBLY.
  - D. BID FOR SUPPORT OF RICH EQUITES.

### 2. INCREASE IN RANGE: FARM TITHES OF ASIA (JUST GIVEN ROMAN PEOPLE BY WILL OF ATTALUS)

- A. ORIGINAL TAX ON ROMANS TRIBUTUM, A FORCED LOAN, COLLECTED BY GOV. OFFICIALS
- B. ALLIES OF ITALY CONTRIBUTE SOLDIERS, NO TAX. (TRIB. AERARIUM)
- C. SARDINIA: COLLECT STIPENDIUM - PAY FOR MILITARY SERVICE- BY GOV. AND ARMY. FIXED.
- D. SICILY: " TITHE - NOT FIXED -
  - I. TAXING SYSTEM OF HERO OF SYRACUSE AND GREEKS CONTINUED.
  - II. TITHES AUCTIONED TO LOCAL COLLECTORS IN SYRACUSE.
  - III. ROMANS PROHIBITED FROM BIDDING.
- E. ASIA: AUCTIONED AT ROME TO ROMANS SOCIETATES. GREATEST TAX IN RICHEST PART OF WORLD
  - I. POSSIBLY LOCAL COLLECTORS COULD HAVE DONE IT.
  - II. PREFERRED NO BENEFIT EQUITES
- F. ALL RESOURCES OF EMPIRE PUT AT EQUITES DISPOSAL: ASSESS AND COLLECT WEALTH.

II. POLITICAL BUSINESSB. THE GOLDEN AGE (CONTINUED)2. INCREASE IN ~~SENEX~~ RANGE:

F. ALL RESOURCES OF EMPIRE PUT AT EQUITES DISPOSAL.

- I. ASSESS AND COLLECT WEALTH
- II. POWER OF PREFECTURA
- III. DEVELOP POSTAL SERVICE AND BANK (?)
- IV. CONTROL LARGE SUPPLIES OF GRAIN

x.

G. GREAT OPPORTUNITY AND EXTENT OF USURY:

3. GROWTH IN POLITICAL POWER: POLITICAL ORIGIN IN LEX AGLIA OF GRACCHUS - CONTROL Juries

A. BREAK GREAT SENATORIAL GOVERNORS:

- |   |           |
|---|-----------|
| I. P. RUTILIUS RUFUS FOR DEFENDING ASIA | 107 B.C.  |
| II. LUCULLUS                            | " 70 B.C. |
| III. GABINIUS                           | " 55 B.C. |
| IV. MANY OTHERS (VET. PATR.)            |           |

B. TROUBLE EVEN CICERO HAS IN MINOR PROVINCE OF CILICIA

C. THE DECLINE OF THE SOCIETAS: POLITICAL IN SOURCE

- x 1. SLAUGHTER BY MITHRIDATES - ROMANS IN DELOS NEVER RECOVER.
2. SLAUGHTER BY SULLA
3. RETURN: FAILURE TO BACK CICERO OR POMPEY
4. NEED FOR REFORM AT HOME AS WELL AS ABROAD - CATILINE'S REVOLT
5. END: REFORMS OF CAESAR AND AUGUSTUS: TITHES OF ASIA TAKEN FROM PUBLICANI

D. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SOCIETAS:

1. COMPOSED OF UPPER CLASS ROMAN CITIZENS, NOT ITALIANS OR FREEDMEN: POSSIBILITY OF POL. POWER
2. BY ITS UNIQUE RIGHT OF INCORPORATION, LIMITED LIABILITY AND SALE OF SHARES PROVIDED WIDE BASIS FOR INVESTMENT OF CAPITAL.
3. HAS ACCESS TO GREAT RESOURCES, COMMODITIES, AS WELL AS COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION.
4. YET NEVER GOES IN FOR BUYING OR SELLING OR MANUFACTURING
  - A. MONEY INVESTED IN IT NOT RELATED TO ECONOMIC PRODUCTION
5. PROBLEM: WHY DID IT NOT DEVELOP INTO A MARKET SYSTEM:
  - A. ALL ELEMENTS OF SUPPLY, ETC. SEEM TO BE PRESENT
  - B. OPPORTUNITY TO BUY AND SELL TO AVOIDERATE TAXES.
  - C. PERHAPS DUE TO GOVERNMENTAL RESTRICTIONS FROM SENATORIAL OPPOSITION
  - D. LACK OF INTEREST OR KNOWLEDGE OF PRODUCTION IN ROMAN UPPER CLASS
  - E. PILLAGE SEEMS QUICKER AND MORE PROFITABLE.



Chapter VI  
LAUNCHING OF A CANOE AND CEREMONIAL VISITING --  
TRIBAL ECONOMICS IN THE TROBRIANDS

I

The canoe, painted and decorated, stands now ready to be launched, a source of pride to the owners and to the makers, and an object of admiration to the other beholders. A new sailing craft is not only another utility created; it is more; it is a new entity sprung into being, something with which the future destinies of the sailors will be bound up, and on which they will depend. There can be no doubt that this sentiment is also felt by the natives and expressed in their customs and behaviour. The canoe receives a personal name, it becomes an object of intense interest to the whole district. Its qualities, points of beauty, and of probable perfection or faultiness are canvassed round the fires at night. The owner and his kinsmen and fellow villagers will speak of it with the usual boasting and exaggerations, and the others will all be very keen to see it, and to watch its performances. Thus the institution of ceremonial launching is not a mere formality prescribed by custom; it corresponds to the psychological needs of the community, it rouses a great interest, and is very well attended even when the canoe belongs to a small community. When a big chief's canoe is launched, whether that of Kasana'i or Omarakana, Olivilevi or Sinaketa, up to a thousand natives will assemble on the beach.

This festive and public display of a finished canoe, with its full paint and ornament, is not only in harmony with the natives' sentiments towards a new sailing craft; it also agrees with the way they treat in general the results of their economic activities. Whether in gardening or in fishing, in the building of houses or in industrial achievements, there is a tendency to display the products, to arrange them, and even adorn at least certain classes of them, so as to produce a big, aesthetic effect. In fishing, there are only traces of this tendency, but in gardening, it assumes very great proportions, and the handling, arranging and display of garden produce is one of the most characteristic features of their tribal life, and it takes up much time and work.\*

Soon after the painting and adorning of the canoe, a date is fixed for the ceremonial launching and trial run, the tasasoria festivities, as they are called. Word is passed to the chiefs and headmen of the neighbouring villages. Those of them who own canoes and who belong to the same Kula community have always to come with their canoes and take part in a sort of regatta held on the occasion. As the new canoe is always constructed in connection with a Kula expedition, and as the other canoes of the same Kula community have to be either done up or replaced, it is the rule that on the tasasoria day a whole fleet of brand new or renovated canoes assemble on the beach, all resplendent in fresh colours and decoration of cowrie shells and bleached pandanus streamers.

The launching itself is inaugurated with a rite of the mwasila (Kula magic), called Kaytalula wadola waga ("staining red of the mouth of the canoe"). After the natives have taken off the plaited coco-nut leaves with which the canoe is protected against the sun, the toliwaga chants a spell over some red ochre, and stains both

\*Cf. Chapter II, Divisions III and IV, and some of the following Divisions of this Chapter.

bow and stern of the canoe. A special cowrie shell, attached to the prow-board (tabuyo) is stained at each end. After that the canoe is launched, the villagers pushing it into the water over pieces of wood transversely placed which act as slips (see Plate XXX). This is done amidst shouts and ululations, such as are made on all occasions when some piece of work has to be done in a festive and ceremonial manner, when, for instance, the harvest is brought in and given ceremonially by a man to his brother-in-law, or when a gift of yams or taro is laid down before a fisherman's house by an inland gardener, or the return gift of fish is made.

Thus the canoe is finally launched after the long series of mingled work and ceremony, technical effort and magical rite.

After the launching is done, there takes place a feast, or, more correctly, a distribution of food (sagali) under observation of all sorts of formalities and ritual. Such a distribution is always made when the toliwaga has not built the canoe himself, and when he therefore has to repay the cutter of the canoe and his helpers. It also takes place whenever the canoe of a big chief is launched, in order to celebrate the occasion, to show off his wealth and generosity, and to give food to the many people who have been summoned to assist in the construction.

After the sagali (ceremonial distribution of food) is over, as a rule, in the afternoon, the new canoe is rigged, the mast is put up, the sail attached, and this and all the other boats make a trial run. It is not a competitive race in the strict sense of the word. The chief's canoe, which indeed would as a rule be best and fastest, in any case always wins the race. If it did not sail fastest, the others would probably keep back. The trial run is rather a display of the new canoe, side by side with the others.

In order to give one concrete illustration of the ceremonial connected with canoe building and launching, it may be well to relate an actual event. I shall therefore describe the tasasoria, seen on the beach of Kaulukuba, in February, 1916, when the new canoe of Kasana'i was launched. Eight canoes took part in the trial run, that is, all the canoes of Kiriwina, which forms what I have called the "Kula community," the social group who make their Kula expeditions in a body, and who have the same limits within which they carry on their exchange of valuables.

The great event which was the cause of the building and renovating of the canoes, was a Kula expedition planned by To'ulawa and his Kula community. They were to go to the East, to Kitava, to Iwa or Gawa, perhaps even to Muruwa (Woodlark Island), though with this island the natives do not carry on the Kula directly. As is usual in such cases, months before the approximate date of sailing, plans and forecasts were made, stories of previous voyages were recounted, old men dwelt on their own reminiscences and reported what they have been told by their elders of the days when iron was unknown and everyone had to sail to the East in order to get the green stone quarried in Suloga on Woodlark Island. And so, as it always happens when future events are talked over round village fires, imagination outran all bounds of probability; and the hopes and anticipations grew bigger and bigger. In the end, everyone really believed his party would go at least to the Easternmost Marshall Bennetts (Gawa), whereas, as events turned out, they did not sail beyond Kitava.

For this occasion a new canoe had to be constructed in Kasana'i, and this was done by Ibena himself, the chief of that village, a man of rank equal to the highest chief (his kinsman, in fact) but of smaller power. Ibena is a skilled builder as well as a fair carver, and there is no class of magic in which he does not pro-



fees to be versed. The canoe was built, under his guidance; he carved the boards himself, he also performed the magic, and he was, of course, the toliwaga.

In Omarakana, the canoe had to be slightly altered in construction; it had to be re-lashed and re-painted. To do this To'uluwa, the chief, had summoned a master builder and carver from the island of Kitava, the same one who a couple of years before, has built this canoe. Also a new sail had to be made for the Omarakana boat, as the old one was too small. The ceremony of tasasoria (launching and regatta) ought by rights to have been held on the beach of Kasana'i, but as its sister village, Omarakana, is so much more important, it took place on Kaulukuba, the sea-shore of the latter.

As the date approached, the whole district was alive with preparations, since the coastal villages had to put their canoes in order, while in the inland communities, new festive dresses and food had to be made ready. The food was not to be eaten, but to be offered to the chief for his sagali (ceremonial distribution). Only in Omarakana, the women had to cook for a big festive repast to be eaten on return from the tasasoria. In the Trobriands it is always a sign that a festive event is pending when all the women go in the evening to the bush to collect plenty of firewood. Next morning, this will be used for the kumkumuli, the baking of food in the ground, which is one of the forms of cooking used on festive occasions. On the evening of the tasasoria ceremony, people in Omarakana and Kasana'i were also busy with the numerous other preparations, running to the shore and back, filling baskets with yams for the sagali, getting ready their festive dress and decorations for the morrow. Festive dress means, for a woman, a new grass skirt, resplendent in fresh red, white and purple, and for the man a newly bleached, snow-white pubic leaf, made of the stalk of areca palm leaf.

Early in the morning of the appointed day, the food was packed into baskets of plaited leaf, the personal apparel on top of it, all covered as usual with folded mats and conveyed to the beach. The women carried on their heads the large baskets, shaped like big inverted bells, the men shouldered a stick with two bag-shaped baskets at each end. Other men had to carry the oars, paddles, rigging and sail, as these paraphernalia are always kept in the village. From one of the villages, one of the large, prismatic receptacles for food made of sticks was carried by several men right over the raybwag (coral ridge) to be offered to the chief of Omarakana as a share in the sagali. The whole village was astir, and on its outskirts, through the surrounding groves, parties from inland could be seen making their way rapidly to the shore. I left the village with a party of notables at about eight o'clock in the morning. After leaving the grove of fruit and palm trees which grows especially densely around the village of Omarakana, we entered between the two walls of green, the usual monotonous Trobriand road, which passes through the low scrub. Soon, emerging on a garden space, we could see, beyond a gentle declivity, the rising slope of the raybwag, a mixture of rank vegetation with monumental boulders of grey coral standing out here and there. Through this, the path led on, following in an intricate course between small precipices and towering outcrops, passing huge, ancient ficus trees, spreading around them their many trunks and aerial roots. At the top of the ridge, all of a sudden the blue sea shore through the foliage, and the roar of waves breaking on the reef struck our ears. Soon we found ourselves among the crowd assembled on the beach, near to the big boat-shed of Omarakana.

By about nine o'clock, everybody was ready on the beach. It was fully exposed to the Eastern sun, but this was not yet sufficiently high to drop its light right from above, and thus to produce that deadly effect of tropical mid-day, where the shadows instead of modelling out the details, blur every vertical surface and make

everything dull and formless. The beach appeared bright and gaudy, and the lively brown bodies looked well against the background of green foliage and white sand. The natives were anointed with coco-nut oil, and decorated with flowers and facial paint. Large red hibiscus blossoms were stuck into their hair, and wreaths of the white, wonderfully scented butia flowers crowned the dense black mops. There was a good display of ebony carvings, sticks and lime spoons. There were decorated lime pots, and such objects of personal adornment as belts of red shell discs or of small cowrie shells, nose sticks (very rarely used nowadays), and other articles so well known to everybody from ethnological collections in museums, and usually called "ceremonial," though, as said above (Chapter III, Div. III) the description "objects of parade" would be much more in agreement with the correct meaning of the words.

Such popular festivities as the one just being described are the occasions on which these objects of parade, some of which astonish us by their artistic perfection, appear in native life. Before I had opportunities to see savage art in actual display, in its proper, "living" setting, there seemed to me always to exist some incongruity between the artistic finish of such objects and the general crudity of savage life, a crudity marked precisely on the aesthetic side. One imagines greasy, dirty, naked bodies, mopsy hair full of vermin, and other realistic features which make up one's idea of the "savage," and in some respects reality bears out imagination. As a matter of fact though, the incongruity does not exist when once one has seen native art actually displayed in its own setting. A festive mob of natives, with the wonderful golden-brown colour of their skins brought out by washing and anointing and set off by the gaudy white, red and black of facial paint, feathers and ornaments, with their exquisitely carved and polished ebony objects, with their finely worked lime pots, has a distinct elegance of its own, without striking one as grotesque or incongruous in any aesthetic detail. There is an evident harmony between their festive mood, the display of colours and forms, and the manner in which they put on and bear their ornaments.

Those who have come from a distance, and who would spoil their decorations by the long march, wash with water and anoint themselves with coco-nut grease immediately before arriving at the scene of festivities. As a rule the best paint is put on later on, when the climax of the proceedings approaches. On this occasion, after the preliminaries (distribution of food, arrival of other canoes) were over, and when the races were just going to be started, the aristocracy of Omerakana -- the wives and children of To'uluwa, his relatives and himself -- withdrew behind the shelters, near the boat shed, and proceeded to put on the red, white and black of full facial paint. They crushed young betel-nut, mixed it with lime, and put it on with the pestles of betel mortars; then some of the aromatic black resin (sayaku) and white lime were applied. As the habit of mirrors is not quite well established yet in the Trobriands, the painting was done by one person on the face of another, and great care and patience were displayed on both sides.

The numerous crowd spent the day without taking much refreshment -- a feature strongly differentiating Kiriwinian festivities from our ideal of an entertainment or picnic. No cooking was done, and only a few bananas were eaten here and there, and green coco-nuts were drunk and eaten. But even these refreshments were consumed with great frugality.

As always on such occasions, the people collected together in sets, the visitors from each village forming a group apart. The local natives kept to their own boat houses, those of Omerakana and Kurokaiwa having their natural centres on the



beach of Kaulukuba. The other visitors similarly kept together in their position on the beach, according to their local distribution; thus, men from the Northern villages would keep to the Northern section of the beach, those from the South would stick to that point of the compass, so that villages which were neighbours in reality would also be side by side on the shore. There was no mingling in the crowd, and individuals would not walk about from one group to another. The aristocrats, out of personal dignity, humble folk because of a modesty imposed by custom, would keep in their places. To'uluwa sat practically during the whole performance, on the platform erected for this purpose, except when he went over to his boat, to trim it for the race.

The boat shed of Omarakana, round which the chief, his family and the other villagers were grouped, was the centre of all the proceedings. Under one of the palms, a fairly high platform was put up to accommodate To'uluwa. In a row in front of the sheds and shelters, there stood the prismatic food receptacles (pwata'i). They had been erected by the inhabitants of Omarakana and Kasana'i, on the previous day, and partially filled with yams. The rest had to be supplied by people from the other villages, on the day of the boat races. As the natives came to the beach on that day, village after village, they brought their contribution, and before settling down on their particular spot on the shore, they paid a visit to the chief and offered him their tributes. These would be put into one of the pwata'i. All the villages did not contribute their share, but the majority did, though some of them brought only a few baskets. One of the villages brought one complete pwata'i, filled with yams, and offered the whole to the chief.

In the meantime, the eight canoes arrived, including that of Kasana'i, which had been ceremonially launched that morning with the accompanying magical rite, on its own beach about half a mile away. The canoe of Omarakana had also been launched on this morning (Plate XXX), and the same rite performed over it. It ought to have been done by To'uluwa, the chief. As he, however, is quite incapable of remembering magical spells -- in fact, he never does any of the magic which his rank and office impose on him -- the rite was performed on this occasion by one of his kinsmen. This is a typical case of a rule very stringently formulated by all informants when you ask about it, yet in reality often observed with laxity. If you inquire directly, everyone will tell you that this rite, as all others of the mwasila (Kula magic) has to be done by the toliwaga. But every time when he ought to perform it, To'uluwa will find some excuse, and delegate it to another.

When all the canoes were present, as well as all the important villages, at about eleven o'clock a.m., there took place the sagali (ceremonial distribution). The food was given to people from various villages, especially such as took part in the races, or had assisted in the building of the new canoe. So we see that food contributed by all the villages before the sagali was simply redistributed among them, a considerable quantity having been added first by the chief; and this indeed is the usual procedure at a sagali. In this case, of course, the lion's share was taken by the Kitavans who helped at the building.

After the sagali was over, the canoes were all brought up to one spot, and the natives began to prepare them for the race. The masts were stepped, the fastenings trimmed, the sails made ready (see Plate XXXI). After that the canoes all put off and gathered about half a mile off the shore, beyond the fringing reef; and at a sign given by some one on one of them, they all started. As said before, such a run is not a race properly speaking, in which the canoes would start scrupulously at the same minute, have the same distance to cover, and which would clearly show which

is the fastest. In this case, it was merely, as always, a review of the boats sailing along as well as they were able, a review in which they all began to move, more or less at the same time, went in the same direction, and covered practically the same distance.

As to the time table of the events, the sagali was over before mid-day. There was a pause; and then, at about one p.m., the natives began rigging the canoes. Then all hands had a spell, and not before three p.m. were the races started. The whole affair was over by about four o'clock, and half an hour later, the boats from the other villages started to sail home, the people on the shore dispersed, so that by sunset, that is, about six o'clock, the beach was almost deserted.

Such was the tasasoria ceremony which I saw in February, 1916. It was a fine sight from the spectacular point of view. A superficial onlooker could have hardly perceived any sign of white man's influence or interference. I was the only white man present, and besides myself only some two or three native missionary teachers were dressed in white cotton. Amongst the rest of us there could be seen sparsely a coloured rag, tied round as a neckerchief or head-dress. But otherwise there was only a swarm of naked brown bodies, shining with coco-nut oil, adorned in new festive dress, with here and there the three-coloured grass skirt of a woman (see Plates XXX and XXXI).

But alas, for one who could look below the surface and read the various symptoms of decay, deep changes would be discernible from what must have been the original conditions of such a native gathering. In fact, some three generations ago, even its appearances would have been different. The natives then would have been armed with shields and spears; some would have borne decorative weapons, such as the big sword-clubs of hard wood, or massive ebony cudgels, or small throwing-sticks. A closer inspection would have shown many more decorations and ornaments, such as nose-sticks, finely carved lime spatulae, gourds with burnt-in designs, some of which are now out of use, or those used of inferior workmanship or without decoration.

But other and much deeper changes have taken place in the social conditions. Three generations ago both the canoes in the water and the people on the shore would have been more numerous. As mentioned above, in the olden days there would have been some twenty canoes in Kiriwina, as against eight at the present time. Again, the far stronger influence of the chief, and the much greater relative importance of the event would have attracted a larger proportion out of the then more numerous population. Nowadays, other interests, such as diving for pearls, working on white man's plantations, divert the native attention, while many events connected with Missions, Government and trading, eclipse the importance of old customs.

Again, the people on the shore would have had to adhere in olden days even more closely to the local distribution, men of the same village community keeping together still more strictly, and looking with mistrust and perhaps even hostility, at other groups, especially those with whom they had hereditary feuds. The general tension would often be broken by squabbles or even miniature fights, especially at the moment of dispersing, and on the way home.

One of the important features of the performance, and the one of which the natives think perhaps most -- the display of food -- would also have been quite different. The chief whom I saw sitting on a platform surrounded by a few wives only, and with small attendance would, under the old conditions, have been the owner of thrice as many wives and consequently relatives-in-law, and as it is these from whom



he derives most of his income, he would have provided a much bigger sagali than he is able to do nowadays.

Three generations ago the whole event would have been much more solemn and dramatic to the natives. The very distance to the neighbouring island of Kitava is nowadays dwarfed. In the past, it would not, as now, be quickly obliterated by a white man's steam-launch. Then, the canoes on the beach were the only means of arriving there, and their value in the eyes of the natives must have, therefore, been even higher, although they think so much of them now. The outlines of the distant island and the small fleet of canoes on the beach formed for the natives the first act of a big over seas expedition, an event of far deeper significance to them then than now. A rich haul of arm-shells, the arrival of many much-coveted utilities, the bringing back of news from the far-off land, all this meant much more in older days than it can mean at present. War, dancing, and the Kula supplied tribal life with its romantic and heroic elements. Nowadays, with war prohibited by the Government, with dancing discredited by missionary influence, the Kula alone remains, and even that is stripped of some of its glamour.

## II

Before we proceed to the next stage, we must pause in following the events of a Kula expedition, and consider one or two points of more general importance. I have touched in the narrative, but not dwelt upon, certain problems of the sociology of work. At the outset of the preceding chapter it was mentioned that canoe-building requires a definite organisation of work, and in fact we saw that in the course of construction, various kinds of labour were employed, and more especially towards the end, much use was made of communal labour. Again, we saw that during the launching ceremony payment was given by the owner to the expert and his helpers. These two points therefore, the organisation of labour and communal labour in particular, and the system of payment for experts' work must be here developed.

Organisation of Labour -- First of all, it is important to realise that a Kiriwinian is capable of working well, efficiently and in a continuous manner. But he must work under an effective incentive: he must be prompted by some duty imposed by tribal standards, or he must be lured by ambitions and values also dictated by custom and tradition. Gain, such as is often the stimulus for work in more civilised communities, never acts as an impulse to work under the original native conditions. It succeeds very badly, therefore, when a white man tries to use this incentive to make a native work.

This is the reason why the traditional view of the lazy and indolent native is not only a constant refrain of the average white settler, but finds its way into good books of travel, and even serious ethnographic records. With us, labour is, or was till fairly recently, a commodity sold as any other, in the open market. A man accustomed to think in terms of current economic theory will naturally apply the conceptions of supply and demand to labour, and he applies them therefore to native labour. The untrained person does the same, though in less sophisticated terms, and as they see that the native will not work well for the white man, even if tempted by considerable payment and treated fairly well, they conclude that his capacity for labour is very small. This error is due to the same cause which lies at the bottom of all our misconceptions about people of different cultures. If you remove a man from his social milieu, you eo ipso deprive him of almost all his stimuli to moral steadfastness and economic efficiency and even of interest in life. If then you measure him by moral, legal or economic standards, also essentially foreign to him, you cannot but obtain a caricature in your estimate.

But the natives are not only capable of energetic, continuous and skilful work; their social conditions also make it possible for them to employ organised labour. At the beginning of Chapter IV, the sociology of canoe-building was given in outline, and now, after the details of its successive stages have been filled in, it is possible to confirm what has been said there, and draw some conclusions as to this organisation of labour. And first, as we are using this expression so often, I must insist again on the fact that the natives are capable of it, and that this contention is not a truism, as the following consideration should show. The just mentioned view of the lazy, individualistic and selfish savage, who lives on the bounties of nature as they fall ripe and ready for him, implicitly precludes the possibility of his doing effective work, integrated into an organised effort by social forces. Again, the view, almost universally accepted by specialists, is that the lowest savages are in the pre-economic stage of individualistic search for food, whereas the more developed ones, such as the Trobrianders, for instance, live at the stage of isolated household economy. This view also ignores, when it does not deny explicitly, the possibility of socially organised labour.

The view generally held is that, in native communities each individual works for himself, or members of a household work so as to provide each family with the necessities of life. Of course, a canoe, even a masawa, could obviously be made by the members of a household, though with less efficiency and in a longer time. So that there is a priori nothing to foretell whether organised labour, or the unaided efforts of an individual or a small group of people should be used in the work. As a matter of fact, we have seen in canoe-building a number of men engaged in performing each a definite and difficult task, though united to one purpose. The tasks were differentiated in their sociological setting; some of the workers were actually to own the canoe; others belonged to a different community, and did it only as an act of service to the chief. Some worked in order to derive direct benefit from the use of the canoe, others were to be paid. We saw also that the work of felling, of scooping, of decorating, would in some cases be performed by various men, or it might be performed by one only. Certainly the minute tasks of lashing, caulking and painting, as well as sail-making, were done by communal labour as opposed to individual. And all these different tasks were directed towards one aim: the providing the chief or headman with the title of ownership of a canoe, and his whole community with its use.

It is clear that this differentiation of tasks, co-ordinated to a general purpose, requires a well developed social apparatus to back it up, and that on the other hand, this social mechanism must be associated and permeated with economic elements. There must be a chief, regarded as representative of a group; he must have certain formal rights and privileges, and a certain amount of authority, and also he must dispose of part of the wealth of the community. There must also be a man or men with knowledge sufficient to direct and co-ordinate the technical operations. All this is obvious. But it must be clearly set forth that the real force which binds all the people and ties them down in their tasks is obedience to custom, to tradition.

Every man knows what is expected from him, in virtue of his position, and he does it, whether it means the obtaining of a privilege, the performance of a task, or the acquiescence in a status quo. He knows that it always has been thus, and thus it is all around him, and thus it always must remain. The chief's authority, his privileges, the customary give and take which exist between him and the community, all that is merely, so to speak, the mechanism through which the force of tradition acts. For there is no organised physical means by which those in authority



could enforce their will in a case like this. Order is kept by direct force of everybody's adhesion to custom, rules and laws, by the same psychological influences which in our society prevent a man of the world doing something which is not "the right thing." The expression "might is right" would certainly not apply to Trobriand society. "Tradition is right, and what is right has might" -- this rather is the rule governing the social forces in Boyowa, and I dare say in almost all native communities at this stage of culture.

All the details of custom, all the magical formulae, the whole fringe of ceremonial and rite which accompany canoe-building, all these things add weight to the social scheme of duties. The importance of magical ideas and rites as integrating forces has been indicated at the outset of this description. It is easy to see how all the appurtenances of ceremony, that is, magic, decoration, and public attendance welded together into one whole with labour, serve to put order and organisation into it.

Another point must be enlarged upon somewhat more. I have spoken of organised labour, and of communal labour. These two conceptions are not synonymous, and it is well to keep them apart. As already defined, organised labour implies the co-operation of several socially and economically different elements. It is quite another thing, however, when a number of people are engaged side by side, performing the same work, without any technical division of labour, or social differentiation of function. Thus, the whole enterprise of canoe-building is, in Kiriwina, the result of organised labour. But the work of some twenty to thirty men, who side by side do the lashing or caulking of the canoe, is communal labour. This latter form of work has a great psychological advantage. It is much more stimulating and more interesting, and it allows of emulation, and therefore of a better quality of work. For one or two men, it would require about a month to do the work which twenty to thirty men can do in a day. In certain cases, as in the pulling of the heavy log from the jungle to the village, the joining of forces is almost indispensable. True, the canoe could be scooped out in the raybwag, and then a few men might be able to pull it along, applying some skill. But it would entail great hardships. Thus, in some cases, communal labour is of extreme importance, and in all cases it furthers the course of work considerably. Sociologically, it is important, because it implies mutual help, exchange of services, and solidarity in work within a wide range.

Communal labour is an important factor in the tribal economy of the Trobriand natives. They resort to it in the building of living-huts and storehouses, in certain forms of industrial work, and in the transport of things, especially at harvest time, when great quantities of produce have to be shifted from one village to another, often over a great distance. In fishing, when several canoes go out together and fish each for itself, then we cannot speak of communal labour. When on the other hand, they fish in one band, each canoe having an appointed task, as is sometimes done, then we have to do with organised labour. Communal labour is also based upon the duties of urigubu, or relatives-in-law. That is, a man's relatives-in-law have to assist him, whenever he needs their co-operation. In the case of a chief, there is an assistance on a grand scale, and whole villages will turn out. In the case of a commoner, only a few people will help. There is always a distribution of food after the work has been done, but this can hardly be considered as payment, for it is not proportional to the work each individual does.

By far the most important part communal labour has to play, is in gardening. There are as many as five different forms of communal labour in the gardens, each

called by a different name, and each distinct in its sociological nature. When a chief or headman summons the members of a village community, and they agree to do their gardens communally, it is called tamogula. When this is decided upon, and the time grows near for cutting the scrub for new gardens, a festive eating is held on the central place, and there all men go, and takayva (cut down) the scrub on the chief's plot. After that, they cut in turn the garden plots of everyone, all men working on the one plot during a day, and getting on that day food from the owner. This procedure is reproduced at each successive stage of gardening; at the fencing, planting of yams, bringing in supports, and finally, at the weeding, which is done by women. At certain stages, the gardening is often done by each one working for himself, namely at the clearing of the gardens after they are burnt, at the cleaning of the roots of yams when they begin to produce tubers, and at harvesting.

There are, as a rule, several communal feasts during the progress, and one at the end of a tamogula period. Gardens are generally worked in this fashion, in years when big ceremonial dancing or some other tribal festivity is held. This usually makes the work very late, and it has then to be done quickly and energetically, and communal labour has evidently been found suitable for this purpose.

When several villages agree to work their gardens by communal labour, this is called lubalabisa. The two forms do not differ very much except by name, and also by the fact that, in the latter form, more than one chief or headman has to direct the process. The lubalabisa would only be held when there are several small villages, clustered together, as is the case in the village compounds of Sinaketa, Kavataria, Kabwaku or Yalaka.

When a chief or headman, or man of wealth and influence summons his dependents or his relatives-in-law to work for him, the name kabutu is given to the proceedings. The owner has to give food to all those co-operating. A kabutu may be instituted for one bit of gardening, for example, a headman may invite his villagers to do his cutting for him, or his planting or his fencing. It is clear that whenever communal labour is required by one man in the construction of his house or yam store, the labour is of the kabutu type, and it is thus called by the natives.

The fourth form of communal labour is called ta'ula, and takes place whenever a number of villagers agree to do one stage of gardening in common, on the basis of reciprocity. No great or special payments take place. The same sort of communal labour extending over all stages of gardening, is called kari'ula, and it may be counted as the fifth form of communal labour in the gardens. Finally, a special word, tavile'i, is used when they wish to say that the gardens are done by individual labour, and that everyone works on his own plot. It is a rule, however, that the chief's plots, especially those of an influential chief of high rank, are always gardened by communal labour, and this latter is also used with regard to certain privileged plots, on which, in a given year, the garden magic is performed first, and with the greatest display.

Thus there is a number of distinct forms of communal labour, and they show many more interesting features which cannot be mentioned in this short outline. The communal labour used in canoe-building is obviously of the kabutu type. In having a canoe made, the chief is able to summon big numbers of the inhabitants of a whole district, the headman of an important village receives the assistance of his whole community, whereas a man of small importance, such as one of the smaller headmen of Sinaketa or Vakuta, would have to rely on his fellow villagers and relations-in-law. In all these cases, it would be the call of duty, laid down by custom, which would



make them work. The payment would be of secondary importance, though in certain circumstances, it would be a considerable one. The distribution of food during launching forms such a payment, as we have seen in Division I of this chapter. In olden days, a meal of pigs, an abundance of betel-nut and coco-nut and sugar cane would have made a veritable feast for the natives.

Another point of importance from the economic aspect is the payment given by the chief to the builder of the canoe. The canoe of Omarakana was made, as we saw, for To'uluwa by a specialist from Kitava, who was well paid with a quantity of food, pigs and vaygua (native valuables). Nowadays, when the power of the chiefs is broken, when they have much less wealth than formerly to back up their position, and cannot use even the little force they ever did and when the general breaking up of custom has undermined the traditional deference and loyalty of their subjects, the production of canoes and other forms of wealth by the specialist for the chief is only a vestige of what it once was. In olden days it was, economically, one of the most important features of the Trobriand tribal life. In the construction of the canoe, which a chief in olden days would never build himself, we meet with an example of this.

Here it will be enough to say that whenever a canoe is built for a chief or headman by a builder, this has to be paid for by an initial gift of food. Then, as long as the man is at work, provisional gifts of food are given him. If he lives away from home, like the Kitavan builder on the beach of Omarakana, he is fed by the tolivaga and supplied with dainties such as coco-nut, betel-nuts, pigs' flesh, fish and fruits. When he works in his own home, the tolivaga will bring him choice food at frequent intervals, inspecting, as he does so, the progress of the work. This feeding of the worker or bringing him extra choice food is called vakapula. After the canoe is finished, a substantial gift is given to the master-builder during the ceremonial distribution of food. The proper amount would be a few hundred basketfuls of yams, a pig or two, bunches of betel-nut, and a great number of coco-nuts; also, a large stone blade or a pig, or a belt of red shell discs, and some smaller vaygua of the non-Kula type.

In Vakuta, where chieftainship is not very distinct, and the difference in wealth less great, a tolivaga also has to feed the workers during the time of hollowing out, preparing, and building a canoe. Then, after the caulking, some fifty basketfuls are given to the builder. After the launching and trial run, this builder gives a rope, symbol of the canoe, to his wife, who, blowing the conch shell, presents the rope to the tolivaga. He, on the spot, gives her a bunch of betel or bananas. Next day, a considerable present of food, known as yomelu, is given by the chief, and then at the next harvest, another fifty or sixty basketfuls of yams as karibudaboda or closing up gift.

I have chosen the data from two concrete cases, one noted in Kiriwina, the other in Vakuta -- that is, in the district where the chief's power is greatest, and in that where there never has been more than a rudimentary distance in rank and wealth between chief and commoner. In both cases there is a payment, but in Kiriwina the payment is greater. In Vakuta, it is obviously rather an exchange of services, whereas in Kiriwina the chief maintains, as well as rewards his builder. In both cases we have the exchange of skilled services against maintenance by supply of food.

## III

We shall pass now to the next ceremonial and customary performance in the succession of Kula events, to the display of a new canoe to the friends and relatives of the toliwaga. This custom is called kabigidoya. The tasasoria (launching and trial run) is obviously at the same time the last act of shipbuilding, and by its associated magical rite, by the foretaste of sailing, it is also one of the beginning stages of the Kula. The kabigidoya being a presentation of the new canoe, belongs to the series of building ceremonials; but in so far as it is a provisioning trip, it belongs to the Kula.

The canoe is manned with the usual crew, it is rigged and fitted out with all its paraphernalia, such as paddles, baler, and conch shell, and it sets out on a short trip to the beaches of the neighbouring villages. When the canoe belongs to a compound settlement like Sinaketa, then it will stop at every beach of the sister villages. The conch shell is blown, and people in the village will know "The kabigidoya men have arrived." The crew remains in the canoe, the toliwaga goes ashore, taking one paddle with him. He goes to the house of his fellow-headman and thrusts the paddle into the frame of the house, with the words: "I offer thee thy bisila (pandanus streamer); take a vaygua (valuable), catch a pig and break the head of my new canoe." To which the local headman will answer -- giving a present: "This is the katuvisala dabala (the breaking of the head) of thy new canoe!" This is an example of the quaint customary wording used in the exchange of gifts, and in other ceremonial transactions. The bisila (pandanus streamer) is often used as a symbol for the canoe, in magical spells, in customary expressions, and in idiomatic terms of speech. Bleached pandanus streamers are tied to the mast, rigging and sail; a specially medicated strip is often attached to the prow of the canoe to give it speed, and there is also other bisila magic to make a district partner inclined for Kula.

The gifts given are not always up to the standard of those mentioned in the above customary phrase. The kabigidoya, especially from the neighbouring villages, often brings only a few mats, a few dozen coco-nuts, some betel-nut, a couple of paddles, and such articles of minor value. And even in these trifles there is not much gain from the short kabigidoya. For as we know, at the beginning of the Kula all the canoes of, say, Sinaketa or Kiriwina are either rebuilt or renewed. What therefore one canoe receives on its kabigidoya round, from all the others, will have to be more or less returned to them, when they in their turn kabigidoya one after the other. Soon afterwards, however, on an appointed day, all the canoes sail together on a visit to the other districts, and on this kabigidoya, they receive as a rule much more substantial presents, and these they will only have to return much later, after a year or two, when the visited district will come back to them on their own kabigidoya. Thus, when the canoes of Kiriwina are built and renovated for a big Kula expedition, they will sail South along the coast, and stop first in Olivilevi, receiving presents from the chief there, and walking on a round of the inland villages of Luba. Then they will proceed to the next sea village, that of Wawela, leaving their canoes there, and going from there across to Sinaketa. Thence they proceed still further South, to Vakuta. The Villages on the Lagoon, such as Sinaketa and Vakuta, will return these visits, sailing North along the Western shore on the Lagoon side. Then they stop at Tukwaukwa or Kavataria, and from there walk inland to Kiriwina, where they receive presents (see Map IV, p. 50).

The kabigidoya trips of the Vakutans and Sinaketans are more important than those of the Northern or Eastern districts, because they are combined with a



preliminary trade, in which the visitors replenish their stock of goods, which they will need presently on their trip South to Dobu. The reader will remember that Kuboma is the industrial district of the Trobriands, where are manufactured most of the useful articles, for which these islands are renowned in the whole of Eastern New Guinea. It lies in the Northern half of the island, and from Kiriwina it is only a few miles walk, but to reach it from Sinaketa or Vakuta it is necessary to sail North. The Southern villages therefore go to Kavataria, and from there walk inland to Bwoytalu, Luya, Yalaka and Kadukwaykela, where they make their purchases. The inhabitants of these villages also when they hear that the Sinaketans are anchored in Kavataria, bring their wares to the canoes.

A brisk trade is carried on during the day or two that the Sinaketans remain in Kavataria. The natives of Kuboma are always eager to buy yams, as they live in an unfertile district, and devote themselves more to industrial productions than to gardening. And they are still more eager to acquire coco-nuts and betel-nut, of which they have a great scarcity. They desire besides to receive in exchange for their produce the red shell discs manufactured in Sinaketa and Vakuta, and the turtle-shell rings. For objects of great value, the Sinaketans would give the big clay pots which they receive directly from the Amphletts. For that they obtain different articles according to the villages with which they are exchanging. From Bwoytalu, they get the wonderfully fashioned and decorated wooden dishes of various sizes, depths and finish, made out of either hard or soft wood; from Bwaytelu, Wabutuma and Budiwaylaka, armlets of plaited fern fibre, and wooden combs; from Budiwaylaka, Yalaka, and Kadukwaykela, lime pots of different qualities and sizes. From the villages of Tilataula, the district North-east of Kuboma, the polished axe blades used to be acquired in olden days.

I shall not enter into the technicalities of this exchange, nor shall I give here the approximate list of prices which obtain. We shall have to follow the traded goods further on to Dobu, and there we shall see how they change hands again, and under what conditions. This will allow us to compare the prices and thus to gauge the nature of the transaction as a whole. It will be better therefore to defer all details till then.

#### IV

Here, however, it seems necessary to make another digression from the straight narrative of the Kula, and give an outline of the various forms of trade and exchange as we find them in the Trobriands. Indeed, the main theme of this volume is the Kula, form of exchange, and I would be untrue to my chief principle of method, were I to give the description of one form of exchange torn out of its most intimate context; that is, were I to give an account of the Kula without giving at least a general outline of the forms of Kiriwinian payments and gifts and barter.

In Chapter II, speaking of some features of Trobriand tribal life, I was led to criticise the current views of primitive economic man. They depict him as a being indolent, independent, happy-go-lucky, yet at the same time governed exclusively by strictly rational and utilitarian motives, and logical and consistent in his behaviour. In this chapter again, in Division II, I pointed out another fallacy implied in this conception, a fallacy which declares that a savage is capable only of very simple, unorganised and unsystematic forms of labour. Another error more or less explicitly expressed in all writings on primitive economics, is that the natives possess only rudimentary forms of trade and exchange; that these forms play no essential part in the tribal life, are carried on only spasmodically and at rare intervals, and as necessity dictates.

Whether we have to deal with the wide-spread fallacy of the primitive Golden Age, characterised mainly by the absence of any distinction between mine and thine; or whether we take the more sophisticated view, which postulates stages of individual search for food, and of isolated household catering; or if we consider for the moment the numerous theories which see nothing in primitive economics but simple pursuits for the maintenance of existence -- in none of these can we find reflected even a hint of the real state of affairs as found in the Trobriands; namely, that the whole tribal life is permeated by a constant give and take; that every ceremony, every legal and customary act is done to the accompaniment of material gift and counter gift; that wealth, given and taken, is one of the main instruments of social organisation, of the power of the chief, of the bonds of kinship, and of relationship in law.\*

These views on primitive trade, prevalent though erroneous, appear no doubt quite consistent, that is, if we grant certain premises. Now these premises seem plausible, and yet they are false, and it will be good to have a careful look at them so that we can discard them once and for all. They are based on some sort of reasoning, such as the following one: If, in tropical conditions, there is a plenty of all utilities, why trouble about exchanging them? Then, why attach any value to them? Is there any reason for striving after wealth, where everyone can have as much as he wants without much effort? Is there indeed any room for value, if this latter is the result of scarcity as well as utility, in a community, in which all the useful things are plentiful? On the other hand, in those savage communities where the necessities of life are scarce, there is obviously no possibility of accumulating them, and thus creating wealth.

Again, since, in savage communities, whether bountifully or badly provided for by nature, everyone has the same free access to all the necessities, is there any need to exchange them? Why give a basketful of fruit or vegetables, if everybody has practically the same quantity and the same means of procuring it? Why make a present of it, if it cannot be returned except in the same form?\*\*

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\* I am adducing these views not for any controversial purposes, but to justify and make clear why I stress certain general features of Trobriand Economic Sociology. My contentions might run the danger of appearing as gratuitous truisms if not thus justified. The opinion that primitive humanity and savages have no individual property is an old prejudice shared by many modern writers, especially in support of communistic theories, and the so-called materialistic view of history. The "communism of savages" is a phrase very often read, and needs no special quotation. The views of individual search for food and household economy are those of Karl Bucher, and they have directly influenced all the best modern writings on Primitive Economics. Finally, the view that we have done with Primitive Economics if we have described the way in which the natives procure their food, is obviously a fundamental premise of all the naive, evolutionary theories which construct the successive stages of economic development. This view is summarised in the following sentence: "... In many simple communities, the actual food quest, and operations immediately arising from it, occupy by far the greater part of the people's time and energy, leaving little opportunity for the satisfaction of any lesser needs." This sentence, quoted out of "Notes and Queries on Anthropology," p. 160, article on the "Economics of the Social Group," represents what may be called the official view of contemporary Ethnology on the subject, and in perusing the rest of the article, it can be easily seen that all the manifold economic problems, with which we are dealing in this book, have been so far more or less neglected.

\*\* These views had to be adduced at length, although touched upon already in Chapter II, Division IV, because they imply a serious error with regard to human