

CUN

Hayler:

"Temple & Housewally first with
Hay in emaido gebant gadiiden
wosen."

clearing

It appears that ^{private} ~~private~~ (tenant) stored
his own share ($\frac{2}{3} - \frac{1}{2} - \frac{3}{5}$) of the ^{often}
in the temple store and disposed of it
from there (!!) Evidence?

Tory. Hay disposed of his stock: for seed,
for other purposes. Herchelheim's
his w^d = stuff again for Herchelheim's

p. 6

Hay of ~~clearing~~ clearing!

Doppelte Buchführung in die way: (a) localif
list (2) Invention of localif: (name und nee so.
mentioned).

Leitung

Other sequence of amount of payments food found
(part.: Vinlista, Decuria; ??)

Vieh und das die für die Verwaltung, scheint Eigentum
als T's für sein "der Anteil besteht"

! und aus männlichen Tieren. vgl Gen. 31, 38

Jakob: "die Widder ^{von} Laban's Schafen nicht
german zu haben ... (und die ~~der~~ beschrift)
dazu

Prognosis:

CUN

ways ~~of~~ comparison of wages in kind
for one different periods on account
of changing weights & measures

EPRU

(1) EPRU in barley ("sechentes Petaeide")

1 man monthly 60 kg barley.

Schwanz(?) Schw: bis 2 kg pair

1 ~~man~~ Arbeits unit { 30 kg Salt
60 kg Emmer
als 1:2

Hebrew: PERAS
Ration: ?

Sulaven = EPRU + NI.BA.

1 bar = 10 kg butter
young man = 5 kg " } wertwid barley.

(2) futha: Kurmatu } horse 1 1/2 = 7.5 kg
DAILY } cattle 2 1/2 kg
} doves 1/15 kg
} fowls 1/6 kg (1/15 kg)
human: 1 1/2 kg

(3) seed: ^u ZIRu

(4) Ku.KAR material: isharu

Thozymes

Fr. N. ~~XII~~ 12 B.E. XV, 196

CUN ⁴

p 25
p 26

Im Tore ?

Gates

"im Tor hat ~~wohl auch~~ ein Speicher
der Mann für den Solle nötig war."

kur FIR
p 28

p 28 Neueky zu No 12 (XV. 196) =

Z. 1. HAR.RA bedeutet in B.E.

Zinsen

XIV u. XV. an keinem Orte huballu
'Zinsen'; vgl. z. B. auch XV ^v 30 ab, wo
von 1 zur HAR.RA Getreide und
Zinsen (MAS) die Rede ist!.

In status society money has the singular quality of maintaining the high material standards of the elite and sometimes also to protect the poor from hardships and famine. The privilege of the powerful to own the precious metals, heirloom, treasure, horses, and skilled slaves is served by an elite circulation which combines the rules of conventional gift-giving with its extension into trade by excluding other than elite goods from the exchange of goods ^{of} ~~between~~ the privileged rank.

Special purpose moneys create multi-centric societies (Paul Bohannan).

The ranking of moneys creates status ~~through~~ through personal character, the reference to which posits a status which itself hinges on the ranking of money.

The money uses are irrelevant as such to ^{social} ~~social~~ stratification.

The economic patterns in status societies tend to be redistributive, reciprocative or householding. The market functions of money, price and trade are here out of place. - Yet, how do they come in?

- mo, pr + tr

Schild

Under the
primary and secondary archaic
cultures centralization institutions

~~no market system~~

- (1) no equilibrating ~~system~~ mechanism (rigid structure)
(2) no literacy (operational civilization)
(3) no ~~representative~~ ~~central~~ democracy (rule of law)

6(A) 2-6
Uganda
1902

COWRY
300,000,000 shells
(after destrud. of
got stores) still in
circulation

S. Hall of
Fr. Sudan.

300 million
shells

in North - only 1/2000th
R.P. Leo Africanus (1520) 400 = darate
is this credible? (from Persia)
Empire, Venice

19th C.
Lagos imports
1868-70 50-60000 cwt
year

cwt

1889 REC. Stearns
Enzig. P 146
(1830)

Bahdan
& Enzig p 147

Cowrie rate
above mkt
exd. rate

(Bengal)
Enzig p 202
16th C. cowrie

Baskets of
12000 "taken as
count"

"ordinary money"

Johnston on Lago
of 6(A) 6 bottom

Upper Kasai
+
Sankuini
Rivers

6(A)7
Imports: Lagos
LN3

(1840) Brit. from
Maldive's

Tissue

i.e. "By weight"
"Zentner ca."
45-78000
Covine

was \$ 8-9
Cypriote x
annuals:
1/5 th of C. in on.
i.e. 0.75 cats
x Zanzibar covry

Maldive covry
vs.
Zanzibar covry

Trade values
of Hamburg
firm sell
on Afr.
West coast

384 d = 1 oz gold w.
384:2 = 192 daube

English
trade

KP: 1/4 of ~~1/2~~ gold
= ~~1/2~~ 1/2 oz gold
= 4 cabers = 16000

Polay: gold
defts c³ by be re=
paid by covine
weight units.

1 French pound (Froy) = 4000 covry
(cabers) of "daube" used
a covry pound =
(French pound) was paid.
"i.e. for each unit"

Covine as "ballast" 6(A)8
Goa, Cochim, + parts of S. Ind
(Barba) 338

6(A) 9
imports from Liverpool

1848 60 tons

1849 300 tons = 258 million

China ~~silver~~ mitchal 480

6(A) 11

Indian anna lowrie

Niger (Africa) 1 mitchal 1150

1 saggio of silver = 1 saggio gold

Saggio = 1/6 of ounce

ballark: Yemenites use

cowry for ballark

1000 Batulab 926 : 243

6(A) 17 "these money is"

Bird + Newton

found 6m in
Bennu "pretty white" (shells)
1588

"gold + silver we saw one" (3) none

1857 Wauselles (A) 12
Hertz p 19
100,000 bags of codium
1 grant
" It took a year to sell a
Connie shipload for oil"

by 1859 = oil business is
off

India "Cume found in
the inland parts only"
(KD: poor man's
money) kr. Not on the
coast

Benn (A) 19
DUARDE Pacheco
PEREIRA . 1482-7
publ 1509

635 pm

66020

In Gujarat 6th C
[Schneider, O. ("Pantchatantra")
120 maybe 4k

KOR = duty, toll, tax 3

v Martens = Venice
In 15th city center of
convy trade

Speculative Gain, India
major Rennel' (1775)

Kori appears to be Indian
duty, toll, tax =
KT, state origin!

~~The~~ The primitive society
knows shells money only
as a product of manufacture;
the natural shell is not the
2 biological shell but the
product of skill and
the polished, cut, ^{preserved} ~~is~~ employed
(~~the~~ carved) shell, ^{money} that
is used for payment,
as a standard of exchange,
of exchange. Such shells are
too expensive to be
sufficiently abundant to
serve as a popular
means of payment. In
China the ~~the~~ Calabers
even ~~the~~ ^{is} a royal mono-
poly. Cowry in the
East Indies were found
^{more than ten}
on the ~~islands~~ ^{islands} and were
hence too cheap to serve
as money. It was
~~as~~ The Fenovite

extreme cheapness exploited by natural state of shell

Arabs used it for ballast,
~~the much less handy~~
~~annulus~~ C. annulus
was ~~abundant~~ present
on the Cangebar coast,
but was too heavy to
large & heavy to be for traders
to carry inland in ~~large~~
large numbers. ~~the~~
~~records~~ ~~the records~~
~~the~~ XIVth records
One from India
insert on carry to ~~be~~ serve
for man's money. ~~It~~ ~~is~~
~~was~~ ~~hardly~~ the lightest
parts it was too cheap
for money ^{farther inland} ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~used~~ ~~for~~
to drawback
diminished, and carry
held its own not only
in Bengal but also
in other parts of the continent.
Content. In ~~the~~ ~~middle~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~shell~~

$$42 = 16000$$

$$x = 1$$

$$16000 = x \text{ cuts } 112 \text{ lb}$$

$$x = 112 \text{ lb}$$

$$360 \times 20$$

$$720$$

$$\text{Tax} = 2240 \text{ (lb)}$$

In 1878/9 360 tons = 720 cuts

4000 Brumsted

Wapato 1868/70 65000 cuts

50000

50000

171000

1 Cwt of cowrie counts

1000 lbs cuts

42,500

cutters

counters

10000 cuts

42,000,000

420,000,000

When the inland states
of the former & slave
coast had ceased to
function, it was
imported to its quantities,
not for use on the coast,
but for inland ~~use~~ ^{off} ~~the~~ ^{it} ~~coast~~.
We happen to possess the
1874 and 1879 export ^{currency}
figures from Liverpool.
The 60 resp. 300 tons
amount to approximately
288,000 ~~and~~ 450
cows. A few years later
the annual revenue of the
Sultan of Bonin was still
close to a ton 100,000,000
cows, with the mitkhal
at about 3500-4000.
We ~~used~~ ^{afterwards} ~~to~~ the British
had to destroy cows ^{by} ~~us~~ ^{and}
at the rate of about 200,000
which left ~~still~~ ^{too} many
in current ~~for~~ ^{still} ~~to~~ ^{for} ~~farmers~~

Another 3 yrs imports
to Benin (from Lagos)

1868-1870 amounted to
172 000 cwt. i. e.

7,354,441,000 more than

7 1/4 billion by ~~the~~ export in
over 3 yrs.

a schall currency. The funds
in the Western Indian

Segon accordingly, the
The gold rate was far from
stable in the century under
successive "civilized" administra-
-tions. The U.S. Fr. A
of the 1770s ^{at} about 1770s
showed similar conditions of
Major Council.

(1890) Bailland on Segon
a real at 5 covey

but no gold coin
rate
The system has not yet exist
for the practical trades in
1722 (Atkins); ^{also gold} ~~weights exist~~
the many of the head
not ^{yet} consolidated; the
Wydah royal head (1600)
was against the Ochi (2000).
the 40 toqun as against the
50 toqun. At the royal
discount changes. sometimes

6(B) 3
the correct discount from
the Togui - periods -
[q.]

Bailland (Fr. Sudan) certain
stating absence of currency in
~~some~~ regions

maybe Tuareg presence
causes abs. of currency.

not used (a) Tuareg ^{gold} ~~use of gold~~
(awkward to carry)

cheap in raw material export
countries

When local raw material
serves as currency (salt)
(internal Niger Delta)

cheapest in wealthy regions
Niger plains
Bani

in Timbuktu: 5000 = 5 ^{pes}
but factored up to 3500
in the Bend

6(C)1. 6(D)1

Sepon (1890) meal for 5 cows

5 cents: 50 r

maldistribution

of corn (20,000,000)

meal for 1 cent
centimes

2 H of XIXth c

Rise in price from W. African ports moving Eastward.

rise

1880 is value of cult + prod
more than doubled since

1850 \$ (3-4000 per

with that)

1850/1

1880 chicken 30-40 cows

shows rise of "gallinies"

(price of)

Rolls 1880: 10 lbs of
curie

\$ 40-30/00

H. Berk

1850 \$

\$ = 3000 cows
(120-130 rolls (1960))

O. Kenz (maximum)
(1880) cost up to

\$ = 4500
40000-50000

6(B) 4

ill. savags "have to come
in by figures" the 100
millions...

6(C) 6

"Griffers' time" values
(1887) of cowry & silver
(traces)

taken = 1/2 prs = 1 damba
(gold weight) gold weight.

Atkins (D) 3) also 6(D) 4
preference for cowries

Why del: if price discharged
in cowry

Bosman
Sutton #116 "Royal toby"
33 shells

(Intro)
Sulzle: cowry circulate here
"but disbursements" (?)

from the Knips home are
made in bunches of string

curries

Palgrave 2000 c = 4.9 d
1926 (dime) 10ct silver

6(D) 6

cowry = gold

Atkins (D) 7 vs. (D) 9
Gold + Cowry ←

Bengal: no mithal in
Ashanti

^{the} Cowra poor man's money
Even where other money
exists is used alongside
of it - (India (Bengal))

6(D) 22

poor man's money (1678) Palermis
Tasermel

The Cowry Currencies

I. predecessors
Dahomey

(a) Waldsis Staccadives
Tom Natchah revolts

(b) Inland "poor money"

not coastal
not merchants' trade

(c) ballast (Yewes)

(d) Beber - navy: nothing
but gold

(e) brief reference to extreme
cheapness of food in
Waldsis

II. Spread of Cowry

Peculiarly spread that it
is desired for monetary purposes
(NOT for ornamental or magic)

NOT peculiar to the Guinea Trade

- (a) none on Upper Guinea coast
(b) none in Nr. East where metal
money objects much in demand.

The Batulak must be
coupled with the discovery
of the thin and thick
copper wire ~~being~~ ^{being} as
~~money~~ ~~destructive~~
~~disinfectant~~
States money in the
XIV of the Niger
Empire. Thin wires
bought up for wood
and milled, while
the thick ones were
not limited ⁱⁿ of scope.
in consumers?
the

As the sumptuary
regulations were thus
enforced and the
standards of ^{life of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~the~~
higher ^{classes} ~~classes~~ ^{classes}
automatically safe - ^{the} ~~the~~

III. Spread by Arab traders

— 8th century who brought it from India.

They used gold
Dyabulita a (Copper) center of
why? (a) gold trade

(b) purchase of gold in the Rambern

(c) convey by 80 ces gold withal

(d) methods of new counting XIth cty

(e) does NOT spread west or North C.2)

(f) "native broken" Portuguese ^{service}

in ("fairs" of Beja) meet with ^{northern} Islam traders.

(g) Portuguese in Adra meet "heathens"

(h) overseas convey much cheaper than northern land ~~for~~ route

~~of~~ Without unfairness
one can be speak of
poor man's money, as an
instrument ^{of} maintaining
class differences. It must
be ^{however} ~~structure that~~
noted that welfare intent
discussions ~~of the~~
are also on record.

In the XVIth of ^{the} year
had the a poor man's
all 'equal' in ^{the} ~~case~~
of cheap clothes. It was
longer than Somerset
the regular ^{with} ~~was~~ bought
all ^{the} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~was~~
already made of
millet ^{not} ~~not~~ ^{not}
anything to be bought
at a lower price in
the ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~the~~
markets. The opposite

In this final chapter I shall then endeavor to ~~analyze~~ analyze the ~~stable country~~ ^{stable country} system ~~of the~~ ^{obtaining on} the G. Guinea Coast with the intent of revealing the ~~truth~~ ^{rigid solid} ~~of the~~ ^{economy} Dahomean ~~system~~ that were responsible for that ~~amazing feat~~ ^{feat} that stability of the three regional currencies.

~~without interruption.~~
during the period of the slave trade.

The common sense justification of such an attempt ~~will~~ may be gathered from the ~~following~~ ^{underlies} an ~~analogy which underlies~~ ~~is~~ based on

ulent inspired the
widespread slave
circulation of ^{great} ~~great~~
gold which ~~still~~
was not exactly
integrated in world
open trade.

Slaves, ivory,
slave, precious metals
jewelry, treasure
were bought and
with items of this
~~its~~ list of
elite goods. Maybe
this is the key to
a number of
American riddles X

~~The Cowrie~~ ^{Currency} had ceased to be
an anachronistic economic
institution, ~~and increasingly~~
~~responded~~ to the laws
of the market without
however fitting as
a currency into a
market system. ^{What}
~~Does~~ the quality of
a shell money which
gave it produced those
social effects
that accounted for
the ~~state~~ response
Currency system of
the STM of Jamaica
Cost?

Recent anthropological
historical studies have
broadened ^{out} ~~the~~ horizons ~~of~~
~~outlook~~ ~~of~~ ~~money~~
increased to ~~include~~
primitive monies. ^{and}

Take over

new insights on the
 ranking of money objects
 presented by Paul

Bohman, bring its
 the status ^{by itself} functions of
 to the fore. ~~under~~ ^{under} the
 early state society

this status dependence
 of money appears to

develop further, along
 with ~~its~~ ^{state}

building, contributing to

of the international
 standard

CHAPTER 8

ACCOUNTANCY IN THE SLAVE TRADE

Boysen had already seen this

Trade

Our sources suffer from ¹⁸
the weakness of
reflecting ~~business~~ ~~business~~
business data ~~which~~
that were ~~not~~ ~~not~~
withheld from the
congress ~~and~~
general public ~~in~~
for understandable
reasons ~~is~~

Neither reliable slave
prices ~~have~~ ~~come~~ are
on record (Bosman
left a hiatus in the ^{figures}
text of his published
letter, suppressing the
figure of the actual
prices of slaves in
the text and leaving
a dash ~~between~~ ~~dash~~
instead. ~~For~~ ~~his~~
mixed motives
The source ~~was~~ ~~fell~~
victim to analog

19

. inquiring our sources
 to ~~elliptic~~ to make
~~to~~ elliptic ~~or~~
 statements for for
 reasons of fact
 preferring to disappoint
 related economic historians
 to causing however
 unjustified misunder-
 standings with their
 business partners.
 Nonetheless ample
 evidence of the existence
 and justification of
 the slave trade has
~~come down to us~~

① percolated.

- | | | | | |
|---|------------------------|------------|------|------------------|
| ① | N. 15/16 ²⁵ | Atkins | 1721 | Apollonia |
| ② | N 23 | Brief Lamb | 1724 | exhibits ex post |
| ③ | N 21 | Gold Coast | 1789 | Miles ex al |
| ④ | N 26 $\frac{1}{2}$ | Dalzel | 1789 | expt |

~~the~~ ~~subject~~ such
works as the Great
Transformation ^{at}
Trade Market ^{even}
in ^{the} East Empires. An
institutional analysis
was ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~on~~ there
undertaken which
made ~~make~~ the market
system - its establishment
~~the~~ ~~main~~ ~~of~~ ~~and~~
and events - its eventual
world encompassing
achievement ^{of} respon-
sible for the ~~main~~
crucial features
of the history of
the modern ^{economy} ~~world~~
~~the~~ ~~main~~ ~~and~~ ~~speed~~
source, its ~~not~~ and
not ultimate ~~matter~~

nation have to
alternative forms of
industrialization

~~The 21st century~~ ^{19th century} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~old~~ ^{old} ~~world~~ ^{world}
on the assumption
that ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~old~~ ^{old} ~~world~~ ^{world}
was a function of the
market system. ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~show~~ ^{show}
its fate was linked, ~~and~~
~~the~~ ^{the} ~~international~~ ^{international} ~~gold~~ ^{gold}
standard acting as
this being regarded as its
achievement.

In this chapter we
focus on the ~~the~~
~~the~~ ^{the} ~~exchange~~ ^{exchange} ~~rate~~ ^{rate} of
copy and gold
and ~~with~~ ^{with} ~~long~~ ^{long} ~~term~~ ^{term}
postulate this

economic low de force
as ~~representative~~
~~characteristic~~ of
the ~~aidan economy~~
at its ~~high~~ culmination
as the ~~culminating~~ low
de force of this aidan
economy. By tracing
the ~~currency~~ to
the ~~source~~ of the

48

a minute

First, the ~~value~~
physical qualities of
Copper (very different
but not less unique
than those of gold).

~~the will be explored~~

~~will be explored~~

~~The final duplex shall
then endeavor to analyze
the stock cowry system
in detail.~~

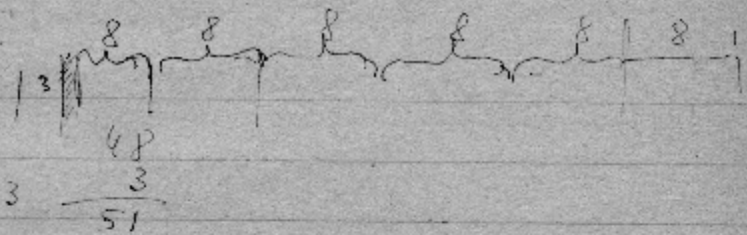
~~Detailed study~~

~~Historical study~~

~~reveals the poor man,
money that cowry's
inherent impulsively
unit value has the
small, ambiguous
effects. By value of
15, 15 the so almost
general poor man's
money ~~is~~ used
as in ~~only~~ ~~the~~
~~the~~ ~~man~~ of India
as well as of
West Africa,
while involving a
fluidity of substance
which makes
stability ~~not~~~~

~~24~~ with the
break they of the
hulkmanliest the
it collapsed
or we proceeded.

practically impossible, except
by administrative control
beyond the means of normal
government.



and ~~and~~ ~~psychotic~~
and ~~rolling~~ of this patchiness
& absence of money
was in evidence
in the realm of the
stringed currency of
Dakota. As late
as ~~the~~ ~~government~~ acted
as an archaic
economic mechanism its
the ^{natural} superfluity
was mastered. ~~by~~ ~~institutional~~ ~~means~~

Bairland 6 (D) 16

310 million

Sharus 1848 52 mill.
Liverpool 49 258 mill.

Cowrie price in OMSA

64 x 64

3846

4096 x 4000 = £ 400

16,384,000 : 400 =

40960 = £ 1 80s

ounce gold 16,384 x 32000

£ 1 = 10 ruf size x 5

Ounce (XVI g) = ca
£ 3.7.9

At Leo Africanus price

7 cowries = 1 shilling

Indonesian

2 - Einzig 134
(1902) Still 300,000,000 shells
in circulation (after
destruction of gov
stock) =>

q. Thomas, H.P. 2
Stock RT:

"Uganda" p 231
London 1935

quoted from Einzig p 134

Segue

Ft. Sudan (1890)
Ballard

6(c)1

from Kaldun +
Laccadives go as
ballast to Goa, Cochin
Et ports

the Yemenite Arabs
also as ballast. $\frac{1}{10}$ of cargo

III
147 $\frac{1}{2}$ Ratzel Haushyl I (691)

H. Barth 6 (D) 21

II
34 $\frac{1}{2}$ not quite $\frac{1}{4}$ of a century
30 mls NE of Katsana

Tavernier 50 conts to
be cash

3 cart to the son or cent

15000 to the Dollar

Silver loans repaid in
silver carried on
interest of 25% while loans
~~was~~ ^{on} repaid
in barley that rate was
33%. The ~~report~~ ^{fact} ~~is~~
seems that the mode of
as of repayment
an gift to the debtor
(which ~~seems~~ seems
unreasonable). If however
silver loans were accorded
up to ~~the~~ ^{the} upper law,
while the common man
could ~~not~~ ^{expect} for any form of
barley loans - such
of state privilege
in account for the
seeming contradiction.
It is reasonable to
conclude that
archaic money was in
various ways linked

to status, thus creating
a by multiplication, a
powerful link in
the social tissue.

A number of ancient
~~principles~~ of transactions
assume the existence
of equivalents
as a safeguard
against any (even if
involuntary) profane
~~intrusion~~ The
Fourth Manual to
show a sensible
oppression with the
possibility of having
converted money, i.e.
profits thru exchange,
Hence the provisions
of the commentary
that only ~~actual~~ for
actual consumption
may ^{even} a loan of bread
be asked. Otherwise

The intent might
be some kind of
profit speculation
or profit making.
This again leads
to a casuistry
of money vs funds
so as to avoid
i. a. the purchase
of money with money.
If broken money is
inherently subject to the
restriction of use it
~~has to use it as~~
only in the formal
market, but there
compulsively.

~~mountain~~ center and
 ① The Corrie was ~~state~~
 over time and space ~~has~~
~~in the realm of the~~
~~British currency.~~
~~Dahomey.~~ Careful
 examination The
 vast area of the
~~middle Niger & the~~
~~Hausa states and~~
~~the Sahel and the~~
~~Niger bend~~ was
 inhabited by total
 tribes local
 linked into ~~confederations~~
 a number of
 confederations. In
~~some~~ ~~where~~ was
 the cowry currency
 an institution of the
 early state, as it was
 in Dahomey.

Outside of the
 history of the
 Sahel

③ Outside of the historical
Empires of Mali +
Songhai the vast areas
of the ~~major valley~~
~~the~~ valley and
the Bend of the Niger,
~~was~~ ~~in~~ ~~not~~
~~organized~~ ~~as~~ ~~states~~
had ^{nowhere} ~~not~~ reached
the ~~level~~ of the
~~early~~ ~~states~~ ~~and~~
level of ~~Dahomey's~~
statehood.

NOTE!!

at page 23

The ~~inadequacy~~ ^{inadequacy} of

mapping the areas of
concrete ^{by a west-east} in W. Africa

line is this: it appears

was found rarely

extensively employed

in other than

politically organized

areas and along the

trade routes. While

this would strike

us as ^{fairly obvious} ~~conspicuous~~

the character

of caravan trade

which is extensive

complicates the

~~picture. The~~
~~trade in crossed~~
~~areas of~~

confuses the picture,
since the caravan
was itself a semi-
political body,
similar to
the early state.

ad Pt III, Ch. 8,
p. 1

Accountancy in the Slave Trade

(Inadequate accountancy)
Thorp + ~~Memphel~~
reports ^{late} on ~~end~~ of XVIIth c.
Accountancy ~~of~~ in the
English Chartered Companies
conveys a picture of a

- ① hopelessly vague attempt
at in regard to (records)
of profit and loss in the
African trade. Ventures ~~there~~
in when one civilization
trade with another ⁱⁿ the
Darius' government, their
values become highly
accumulated, but the
process takes time + it
cannot be said to have
been amplified in Africa
by the end of the XVIIIth c.

The evidence ~~relates~~ refers
to three different groups of
facts: (1) ~~the stable trade of~~
~~corn + gold.~~ (2) A marketing
of staple prices securing a
profit ~~as~~ ^{was} ~~not~~ ^{accepted} Daves; Phillips
(3) The gradual increase of
the profit margin.
(4) The beginnings of the
~~the~~ ^{rather} ~~once~~ ^{at} ~~the~~ ^{course} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~once~~ ^{trade} =
~~the~~ ^{rather} ~~once~~ ^{at} ~~the~~ ^{course} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~once~~ ^{trade} =
the ~~once~~ ^{rather} ~~trade~~ =

Dear David:

~~Thank you for your
prompt and frank
answer to my query~~

~~I am sorry to~~

~~your ~~frank~~ ~~and~~~~

~~clear and frank~~

Thank you very much
indeed for your ~~prompt~~^{prompt}
clear and frank ~~and~~
answer to concerning
~~the chances of any~~
~~interest in concerning~~

problems of coexistence

Meanwhile ~~explorations~~^{explorations}
in Scandinavia ~~have~~

continued and also

contacts regarding

~~in Scandinavia~~

in Europe have

continued and

personally I have ~~not~~

closed my most pressing

with commitment, and

made by me

feel quite up to some
a trip to the States.

~~which I intend to go
to New York for~~

~~On the matter of the
'Problems of Coexistence'
project I feel
in need of~~

~~the~~ The project
preparations for the
Project plan have reached
a point where some
decisions ^{either way} should not
be further delayed, ~~and~~
in regard to particular
also in regard even
if ~~only~~ they regard the
the more distant
future, and ~~possible~~
the requirement need
for continuity of
interest ~~in this~~ within
a narrower circle.

Before migrating to Montreal for the rest of the winter

I feel strongly that a good talk with you would help clear my mind, ~~and~~ to clear my mind, and steady the direction ^{that} ~~the~~ ~~about~~ my determination to serve this moral and intellectual ~~job~~ ^{task} I should take.

I am ~~to~~ bound to visit Columbia library soon for a week's ~~or~~ ~~work~~ ~~so~~, and intend to stay with Gloria ~~at my~~ in New York for a while. Also a ~~short~~ ~~stay~~ ~~to~~ at

McCrack with ~~at~~ friends from England visiting is on the map, the date of which is however not yet fixed.

4150 120th St. phone No. 6-1723
I have still a room at my apartment

I am eager to ^{the} meet
you, and ~~renew~~ ~~start~~
our contact at as ^{your}
time allows, ~~just~~.

If Eva was ~~so~~ ^{kindness} ^{help}
as kind ~~can~~ be on
visiting Kuma and
myself to your ^{your}
house for a stay,

should things
work out, that way.
As soon as I ^{hear} ^{from}

~~what~~ what the ^{you} ^{is} ^{your} ^{end}
of the land ^{is} ^{your} ^{end}

in regard to die's pass
to I'd call you so
to ^{we can} arrange details.

affectionately
Eve

Gen.

Toutant

Redistrib

9: Flots: le Canal etc

Egypt et Pergame

industrial monopolies

exploitation of mineral monopolies

Egypt + irrigation system } : liturgies
mines, quarries, nitrates (nitrières) } "farmed out"

salt mines

hope for labour

govt

!! { oil production
textile industry
mining: salt, quarries, metals,
paper (probably)

Selyucida : ~~natural~~ resources
royal mineral

Pergamos : brick burning [slave labour]
royal bricks
parchment
gold tissue textiles
(étoffes lamées d'or)

Dorian : mineral } [slave labour]
municipalities } municipal spinning
mills
clothing

Rhodes } state owned
Knidos } pottery, ceramic industry
Smyrna }

TRADE

notes

Re practical solutions was to think public authority with private enterprise (Roman ^{corrupt} equestrian practice!)

(a) merchants acting for the palace or temple (1) either for private or public business (2) or underpinning

(b) Roman equestrian corporations dealing in semi-public business in under control of Senate on such business as the census entrusted to them etc.

(Volgens for 1. of PL)

(c) This combines elasticity of private enterprise with guarantees supplied by public authority

(d) Egypt supplied other instances of such combination

(e) This presupposes the disinterested character of the public authority is not an exponent of organized business. etc

(f) Corruption was combated by private economy i.e. personal interest engaged on the side of honest

Reut. 25, 13f. of Schwegler's Public Complaints. M 4 11; 1403 R, 18; 11003 85 1-15 Prov. 11, 1; 20, 25. Ge. 19, 35, 36

Man

F. Frank

seal

p. 26

H. G. Güterbock: "Das Siegel bei den Hethitern." Siegel bei

"Im Tempelbau, daneben aber in fast
 alle, an sich nicht das es, weit trafen,
 auch das es nicht für seine Frau...
 seine Kinder zu einem Schmuck vor-
 arbeiten." Wenn fächer, ein Palast
 geistlich - so ist aber Bewunderer der
 Bronzezeit, - "dann ist das, wenn nicht
 aufgezählt sein (aus den Worten): "Sie,
 der König hat Ihnen gegeben." Und die
 und es aufgesetzt ist, auch das ist
 "fanant" (= aufgesetzt) sei.
 "In dem und dem ist hat man
 es ihm gegeben." Und die jungen
 ihm davor aufgezählt sein.
 (siehe fol. 29). "N, wenn es ihm gab,
 standen die und der (dabei)!"

f 29

29

Prüfung

weiter folgt: "die fächerlich Gegenstände in
 verkaufen und über den Verkauf mit einer
 Urkunde ausstellen."

Vet (a) Nicht in Haus (b) zum
 Verkauf anbieten (c) Skatül. (d) GIS-HUR
 GIS. HUR ausstellen, und den Verkauf
 fächer. Wenn der König kommt
 Palast vorwärts, königliches Siegel

30.

"Wenn man fächerlich verkaufen - Dod
bedeutendes Verbands -

p. 30.

Mesopot.: "eigentlich Kaufvertrag mit
 über den Kauf nicht verkäufliche
 Dichte aufgestellt!"

The polis economy and its institutions are of course, known to us all. A negative ^{and} positive fishing will ~~and~~ not only ~~show~~ bring out the contrast ~~between~~ it with the redistributive economy of the palace, but also bring out the finer consistency with which ^{the} patterns of integration, exchange and redistribution, stamped the ~~to~~ institutions that served it.

LABOUR

Thurs used: Native Labour in the
Paapi's Proclamation

Koloniale Rundschau. H. 10. Oct 1910.

p. 611. The native at home is in perpetually
continually active, only to interrupt his activity for relaxation,
~~amusement~~, when he ^{gets} ~~is~~ ^{fatigued}. There
is no compulsion and hardly even constraints
he works for the joy of it, his activity
his work for a ^{very} ~~clear~~ ^{own} expresses itself in
dances, in artistic excursions,
primitive though they be, in car songs
songs, ~~intertwined~~ ^{intertwined} with games and
other enjoyments, in brief: it is
~~is essentially~~ ~~enjoyed~~ ~~by~~
~~himself~~ ~~with~~ ~~delight~~.

exploits

The work 'activity' called ~~labor~~
work which the European compels
him to do is very different. The
white man has no use for that sort of the native
activity. He just calls the native
"lazy", from his ^{own} ~~point of view~~. But
the native regards that which the
white man decrees from him
as ^{unrelieved} ~~heavy~~ ^{heavy} ~~toil~~ ^{toil}, and
burdensome ~~toil~~ "drudgery".
(toil &)

heavy, unrelieved toils, burdensome
toil & drudgery.

"Koloniale Rundschau H. 10 ~~at~~ 1910

Survey ^{Two} Theme: Money and status
Introduction: Ranking of moneys
Preferential and interchangeable
and limited " " "

- (a) Elite circulation
- (b) Poor man's money
- (c) Conquest + coin reverse
- (d) Interchangeability

Status transition and money goods
(a) Xenia + elite circulation
(b) Exchange marriage (goods)
(c) Confarreatio (Roman law)
(d) Greek bride wealth

Survey ~~Theme~~ Theme: Treasure

Frugere Categories of wealth
Introduction: Heiktoou

(a) Acquisition	{ bribe fearful tribute booty ransom marriage allies + friends }	
(b) <u>Esus:</u> <u>But Honors</u>		
{ fortifications walls!! waterworks temples artists minting medals coins }	{ bribe ransom bride wealth gods dowry display prizes tribute mercenaries navies armaments festivals leiturgies }	

theatre
 corn
 ships
 other

v/r
Winick

Money uses and related institutions
in early societies

Introduction §1 - §10

Survey One: Money Objects

Introductory remarks:

(a) nahae + puahe

Native moneys: barley (Mesop), coco nuts, furs
Foreign moneys: clay tablets, silk, counter-goods.
TRADE, WAR, CONQUEST

manufactures
monopolies

How exactly do they become money?

Staples: Salt, metals, precious metals, feathers, shells: cowrie, Cocor.

non-money uses: mark, tally, check.

Survey Two: Ranking of moneys

Introductory remarks: Status, prestige + rank.

1. Elite circulation
2. Poor man's money
~~One-way + unidirectional~~
3. One way money
4. limited interconvertibility.

Survey Three: Accumulation + Uses ^{Treasure}

Introductory remarks:

NOTES

Monetary History:

History of trade: slaves, alcohol, piracy
gift + tribute gift,
to market:

money: { metal weight money }
{ foot measure money }
use for payment, gifts, treasure
Ara - previous metal weight
to Greece: foot-money (iron)
means of exchange in retail

with the development of markets
barter + money, become exchange in markets
{ retail markets develop with
use of coined money in small coins

Prostorf }
Hentze }

Two turning points:
The coming of coined money
610- debt slavery
abolishment
small coins

Capital ↓

to dent
rearm

barter phenomenon: scaples in the physical sense
(dangers of per-hat to goods value of
perishable goods that do not be effectively stored)

money as capital i.e. to conceptual as a
denotation of the barter leading of
fugible goods

~~Stoney~~
 1/55 ^{ships} to trade ~~260~~ 260!

Comise!

42-43 Romano-Campanian ~~260~~ (a) 335 BC
 denarial system (b) 260 }
 Romano-Campanian ^{modern view} ~~260~~ (a) 281 }

(A) copper pieces of 1/2 acent 330
 & fractions own mintage
 Silver didrachm } Campanian
 drachm } Copper: silver
 } 20:1 }

bronze aeses some 60 years went
 on divided in size

(B) Silver denarius 4.55 g = 10 ounce
 Copper

1 ounce
 $\frac{1}{2} \times 273 = 136.5$
 $4.55 \times 120 = 546$
 $9100 \div 20 = 455$
 $455 \times 20 = 9100$

(C) lighter denarius: 217

Woj. 269 ^{first silver!} unchanged for 4. 3 etc

Pliny: 27
 Mattingly, takes 269 as date of
 Romano-Camp. silver!

(4) p 45, denarial system: much later.

Origins:

- Course on some treatment demands that
- (a) we start from the developed specimen as we know it today, and then proceed to inquire into its history
 - (b) assuming as little as possible we should not assume
 - (1) that the inst. necessarily has a high reading back to prim. etc.
 - (2) that there is history is a separate & distinct history from that of other institutions
 - (3) nor even that the characteristics of its early beginnings can be inferred from the developed exemplar.

On the other hand we must decide on a minimum definition in order to identify our subject.

Several alternative minima. defs offer:

- (a) means of exchange
- (b) means of payment
- (c) means standard or measure of value
- (d) means of accumulating or storing wealth

We will test each of these separately, and ~~and~~ ~~but~~ speak of money wherever one of these uses is present.

Pramp: money as means of payment originate with **any** political organization (and with recurrence of money receives a community for all object) (a) Ready transportable money more expensive (Th. 180) 10% apio on small Cow Ry! Mossi caravans buy in OUAL-OUALE, cotton goods 100 Cowry 1.7m and sell 100 = 1.8 to DRAGONBA. These cheat the Mossi by paying Cowry which takes several days to count!

Ciapolliá'

~~Money in rural society Lopez~~

money uses **NO** Shakespeare
A means of communication
"Timor" Athay

Elite circulation

Poor man's money

Ranking of money

Food distribution

Market money in a

Jamie

Sociological effects of
money dual money

< Dual communication and
operational devices

Trade and money object

Coins

Money markets

Money x trade

essential analysis of money uses ^{reckoning payment standards of fully}

~~Development of non monetary~~
Payment methods

Standard

Barter (which is the goods)
Which is the money

In specific money objects
Aristotle on money stocks & periods

Medieval money

Old Babylonian money
uses

Mexican

China money uses
Ancient Israel The shekel

Tab, Auction + Payment devices

Real money + substance economy

Local + foreign money

Token money as a category

Accumulation in money
(cf. Steiner)

Herodotus & Aristotle on money

Finley: Plato's + other
ancient moneys

W.P. Bridgman I

The first decade of the Exh
of Disengagement from the
of orthodox means of
high school days, in
Part for (and against) the

the labor theory of value
evolutionary influences, Tolstoy,
George Henry, G.R. Chesterton,
Individualism and

orthodoxy under the
Influences of T. D. Cahill;
Hewell, G.B.S., and

1909 Documentaries
present of ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
and Dowdell's defense

of the property system
democracy as well as
the economic independence
of history.

2nd decade of work
of violent behavior.

Before World War I 2

W. I - W. II
1918 - 1940

post W. II

paroxysm

return to realism

reality of society

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

Religious infl.

Tillich +

J. MacIntyre

Oron

(2)

BIBS V.

a finite universe

(b) discontinuity

realistic

Levinas

institutionalised

(1) finite universe

(2) discontinuity

(3) maxxisis

(4) Robert Oron

(5)

Religious elements

Tillich
fellowship of
resurrection

Albinia Cott

Personalism: J. MacIntyre
J. H. O'Connell

NTL

Please advise ~~Hans~~ ~~the~~
Bureau Hayronis ~~to~~ I
consider dropping *Subroducta*
to *Plough* and *Pen* *albopetala*
if copyright cleared to
Lancea pulchra

l'influence de Marcel MAUSS

myth des gots (?) bords → G. B. r. l.

1940 → La nouvelle ethn.
Coles: français

- ① archéologie, philologie
- ② les monographies
.. "archives" .. etc...

Prof. MERCIER

- ③ ethnologie, régionalisme
(amateur)
- M. Delafosse:
(Senghar)
- religion:
es. thamanoste
- "exhaustive":
"conservateur" (Kavak
reprises" (identification)

(a) non-validated
1957+ les Dogon
Grande → 20000
Grande au Niger
Dakar / Koubi (?)
Dittadeni: oral (public)

le thème indigènes
.. Development of Dogon...

Grigault
Histoire de
Bambouk
une religion
quelle (?)

II. Claude Lévi-Strauss (2)
(A) ~~Le Discours~~ ~~de la~~ ~~Structure~~

Don'te Revolution: (Indien
"toutes les sociétés" Brésilien)
"humaines"

"certaines globales"
no "primitive" society

{ "l'analyse structurale"
- l'anthropologie " " "
cybernetics

- what are the { tensions?
? } dynamics
? } movements
? } hist. events
heterogeneity

(B) l'analyse totale:

Jaques Bertrande (Islam)
(Berbere)

Roger Bastide ^{synthesis} ^{religion}
psychologie etc etc

afro-american
(Brazil)

more elastic
tensions
dynamic
l'explication dialectic, e.g.
lets double causality!!

George Balandier
(Congo). abandonné les
fiches

social au "état de crises (!)
transition"

"la situation globale" est déjà:
épouses des soc. diff. à la
même influence
challenge of colonial situation

K6 comparative historians. views split!

Eng. Leach: conflict
coherence

Note: Territorial Size in ^{The} History of Civilization

①

~~Any attempt to say what part mere territorial extension plays in the growth of a society, state, culture or civilization is hedged in by the most mysterious and difficult details which no one would doubt that growth usually involves physical space. The actual connections between the affirmative aspects of ^{social} growth and ~~the~~ physical aspects of space are too manifold to be listed in any reasonable way. (and yet in order) to be set out in any reasonable order.~~

Instead we will select just one or two ^{typical cases} aspects of territorial size and that ~~is~~ are (an increase in) commonly regarded as indicating the growth of the society, state or culture of the persons connected with the territory.

Size may result from the linking up of many

(A) small units such as peasant households.

(a) hierarchical & tribute state

(b) (tyrannical) monarchs

Two very different links should be distinguished: (a) through a central body palace economy, ~~state~~ feudal monarch centralized state, ~~central~~ or place (b) through market-places (c) " " both

(a) military, foreign trade & tax (b) local markets

②

(B) through the exploitation of economic

(Distance)

space & its eff

Two very different aspects of space

- (a) nomadism qua pasturage
- (b) transit territory. Size given by
- endpoints: financial (distance of terminal)
- * exploitation of transits (caravan)

Mongol's 13th c. "Ma"
 Temudjin "Hesh"
 Peter 14th c.

Characteristics: { No population required: Asian salt
 of any kind Sahara
 { No urban settlements //! Red Indians
 required

(c) Diaspora:
 Postexilic Jews
 Amerindians
 W. Judans / Hausas
 'trading peoples' { Mandingo
 Fulbe
 (Duala)
 Greeks and Hellenism
 in the East

(C) The strategic aspect of space

- (a) thalassocracy: { Phoenicians
 Greek Empire
 Roman
- (b) desert rule (Sahara)

- ad. 2 (8) ~~No handing out of rations. The exception: famine rations during a siege or at in near-famine times; the paramour of the emancipated slave who is burden with the troops for his former master (paramour) ~~may be on~~ the soldiers' rations
 (over men's)~~
- (4) ~~No king's or chieftain's trade. Exceptions are the ~~typ~~ tyrants; some transactions of the poleis achieving democracy in foreign parts (Silyria or Epirus)~~
- (5) ~~no large scale ^{public} storage. Exceptions, I suppose, grain for emergencies; naval equipment~~
- (6) ~~No officialdom (public service of common people (in turn, eventually, with compensation; ~~letting~~ of the wealthy)~~
- (7) ~~No debt bondage: ^{no} dependent labor, no adjudicated slave~~
- (8) ~~No equivalencies:~~

Sale purchase Fransattais

NADEL (Bida) p. 324
Distinction between buyer + seller
not shown by start

Counter - only the exch. use
of money by

(a) rationalizing the exchange
use of standards (manipulation)

~~Origins~~ ^{some} ~~economic~~ ^{institutions.} ~~institutions.~~

by Karl Polanyi

~~Re-catalyzing trade & Trade.~~

money - markets, form ~~a~~ ~~tried~~
when it comes to explain what they
are and how they function,
seems to be ~~inadequate~~
as forming an ~~independent~~
as belonging closely together, ~~where~~
~~each~~ ~~of them~~ ~~cover~~ ~~the~~ ~~existing~~

forming part of a group of institutions ~~as it~~
~~were~~ that cannot ~~be~~, nor
should ~~they~~ ~~be~~ ~~separated~~ to be
neatly separated. ~~They~~ ~~are~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~category~~



~~central~~ Both trade and money
have their home in the market
place; and ~~it~~ ~~is~~ the mechanism
of the market ~~that~~ ~~explains~~
the movements of ~~both~~ trade and
money. Supply + demand ~~are~~
~~the~~ ~~factors~~ ~~that~~ ~~make~~ ~~trade~~
flow; ~~more~~ ~~and~~ ~~money~~ ~~is~~
the means ~~that~~ ~~govern~~ ~~that~~

the flow. Markets, facilitates exchange ~~and effect~~, ~~markets~~ ~~we~~ ~~would~~ ~~be~~ ~~had~~ ~~no~~ ~~meaning~~ ~~be~~ ~~without~~ ~~a~~ ~~purpose~~ ~~unless~~ ~~they~~ ~~stimulated~~ ~~and~~ ~~directed~~ ~~into~~ ~~disorganized~~ ~~trade~~; while money ^{is a means} ~~is~~ ~~used~~ ~~to~~ ~~bring~~ ~~about~~ ~~this~~ ~~effect~~, effect that result,

So far this popular view is in ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~popular~~ ~~view~~. ~~Yet~~ ~~it~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~on~~ ~~this~~ ~~case~~ that view ~~is~~ ~~also~~ ~~reflects~~ ~~with~~ ~~by~~ ~~remarkable~~ ~~fidelity~~ the doctrines of the theoreticians.

Economics whether it is formulated as a theory of exchange ~~or~~ ~~as~~ ~~an~~ ~~applied~~ ~~theory~~ ~~of~~ ~~choice~~ ~~or~~ ~~as~~ ~~a~~ ~~theory~~ ~~of~~ ~~prices~~ ~~of~~ ~~a~~ ~~market~~ ~~system~~ sets itself the purpose of explaining ~~is~~ ~~designed~~ ~~to~~ ~~explain~~ ~~the~~ ~~working~~ ~~of~~ ~~a~~ ~~market~~ ~~system~~, ~~It~~ ~~is~~ ~~on~~ ~~this~~ ~~assumption~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~science~~ ~~comprising~~ ~~the~~ ~~ost~~ ~~seemingly~~ ~~so~~ ~~different~~ ~~process~~ ~~of~~ ~~production~~, The supply - demand - price

Understanding of Course

Transubstantiation economy

The economy - an intricate process of interaction between man & nature and man & man ~~and man & nature~~ which secures his want satisfaction

I
19

The economic process consists of three kinds of movements of ~~man~~ of the elements: locational, combinational and appropriational

(a) locational movements comprise change of place the collecting, extracting, transporting and storing of goods & services, including the spatial aspect of production

(b) combinational movements comprise change of combinations production, in which labor is combined with goods ~~and other goods~~ ~~with facts~~

~~creates combinations~~
creates combinations of goods of higher order

(c) appropriational movements consist of a change ~~in the~~ relative to ~~of the persons~~ whose de facto disposal over goods & services

Transactions are appropriations involving one side or several hands

or Dispositions are approp. movts ~~of a one~~ ~~side~~ ~~character~~ to which law attaches definite effects appropriative

Money values

N
XII
XIIA
modern

ad Cowrie & currencies

Indian currencies

Rupree = 1/6

one shilling
+ 6d

Anna = d

one penny

pie = 1/2 d

halfpenny

Chinese XIII cty

Silver Saggio = 6-8 d
= 1/6 ounce of silver

1 gold saggio = 8 ⁹⁰⁰saggi (silver) ∴ 8 x 6-8 d =
48-64 d

48-64 d = £ 4-6

3840 Cowrie

③

$$1 \text{ oz gold} = 80/- = 384 \text{ danubas}$$

$$20/- = 4 \text{ Aug} = 16,000 \text{ courses} = 96 \text{ danubas}$$

$$5/- = 1 \text{ Aug} = 4000 \text{ course} = 24 \text{ danubas}$$

~~1000~~ -

$$11,250,000 \text{ (words displayed)}$$

$$= \text{£}1000 = \text{\$}4500 =$$

112 hophheads, i.e. 1 hophhead

contains approx 100,000 courses.

$$= 25 \text{ frank calls.}$$

III Deriv : (I) Reasoning with
damba weight of
gold

- (a) Evidence of trader's
admirer's perplexity over
abilities of nations in
business dealings
(A) cannot be defrauded
(B) Perplexity: Rosman
(C) Solution: Isent

(6) Weighing with damba
Short cuts to trade lots
May preclude
course = gold equiv.

~~Isent~~

Course system
Gold system
Course (minimum)

Cowrie

Dual numeration

Elite circulation

Equivalency

Food

Horse

Measures

Operational Series

II

Poor man's money

Ranting of money

Salé purchases

Transactions

Cowrie

How did it reach ~~the~~ Dahomey?

Bovill quote:

Food

Nadal (Bida) n. 324

"Cooked food always traded
separately"

Philips in De la Harpe III. p. 429.

(Whydah) "cooked food inn."

Horse

Eldred :

Jhu Batutah :

Measures

Bury, H. G. p 106 (10)
(Lydia)
Lydians - 2 scales (internal +
external). Domestic std.
from Babylonia; foreign from
Phoenicia thru Greeks.

(Polanyi: what source)

Seimel

(Sumeria) - tax on 1 unit of land

measured by volume of seed-grain

1 gur barley = 1 gin silver

(300 Ka)
10 ka oil =

wool (?) =

barley-oil-wool

vol vol - wt.

1 shekel = 1 gin

Dual numeration

Retail profit

Dual measures

D. N.

Eingig 142 Refers:
" M.E. Mage, Voyage dans le
Soudan Occidental,
(Paris, 1908) p 88, p 191
Bailloud, E. "Sur les Routes
Routes du Soudan (Toulon, 1903)
Nadel p 71 p 314/5

Mahieu A. Numismatique du
Congo (1924)
Herzkovits
Jeffie.
Lobbe.

(Nuzi) - number of kas went into
the sack was 8 or 10 according
to whether used by a small
(one for wholesale, other for retail)
- Pedrals gives same figure for
(Whyah) + (Duhone).

Summer + winter vol
Drought volumes

Elite circulation

Ankhor Greece

Gift & counter gift
" "

Prestige goods

Greece

Rome

W. Sudan

W. East

Howenikashā

at long intervals
clau he
alliance

good will, cater for
alliance,

bribe

tribute →

ransom

wool

bride price

dowry

fine

price of land

buying contract

horses

ivory

skilled slaves

silver

precious stones

rare feathers

Peru Tav. 230

" Seal skins " to

make boots for the party +

" Goat-skins for the poor

people
better sort of merchants

" an infinite number for who

live by dressing... "

Thamale M.G.I. p. 122.

(Pangwe) spear blades for
prestige goods, utilitarian as backed.

Equivalency + ~~measure~~
interdependence

(price points from foreign trade
of Nuzi case below....)

→ cf. Syria (?)
(?) Robinson (Africa) could
sell his horse (pawed with
prunus val. forest) for what
it carried.

- | | |
|--|----------------|
| 1 pot for maize | in it |
| 1 sheep " | man (Moabi) |
| 1 garment " | man |
| 1 gur. | 1 sh - |
| ? 1 lead of ^{cowrie} _(4000 cowrie) | 1 sh - |
| 1 mink of wood | 33 r daybe |
| | solid weight |
| | quin of silver |

Standard

Nuzi: (1) fine is silver
XIV ff. but paid "in kind"
(2) foreign traders buy
a flax pot for 5 ts,
but pay in rare wood,
dyes etc.

O.T. deut. 15: "I freely lend him
sufficient for the needs that he has -"

a) sufficient

b) needs

~~deut.~~ Arist. Pol. 1257a 28-32

"pleon de outhen"

Operational Devices:

Wts + Measures: (Hydab) Barbot, ^{praise of memory} ~~Prise of Memory~~

Weight of cowrie = no. of damba (wts. of gold)
(Polanyi: as many lbs. of cowrie as the gold dust weighs damba.)

Jacobson, p. 245, c. 3600 BC. — a device for (Sumeria) making + for remembering accounts

- take out 1, pellet for each animal as it goes thru gate to fold. + can see if all are in.

(Type), O.T. Ezekiel 27: "they reckon your goods with - no"

(Sumeria) Deimel, p. 82. — rent for 1 iku of land (area) was 1 silver shekel, equally for 1 gur of dates, 1 mina of spun wool = 1/2 silver shekel. "suspected that the units of measurement were based on equivalencies as between the most current produce + silver" (price = equiv.)
(Pd: he assumed unit of measurement to have been adjusted to the relation of the supply of the produce which

+ made subsequently into units

Equivalency (Moine)

Speck, F.G. — Devices all over the place which determine equivalencies as adequate under reciprocity relations, eg. "load for load", p. 208.
A hunting + collecting horde

Poor man's success

Dual currency

{ Thick wire
thin wire

Cowrie

~~Gold~~

millet (native money)
local cloth
thin wires

Poor man's measure for
cheaper ware

Poor man's food preferences

rich man's food:
wheat in "copper town"
for merchants + strangers
wheat 20 muids = 1 ducat of gold.
millet 90 " =

Poor man's famine protection

Ranking of Monies

Mahieu
Bailland
MAGE

nomisma

J.G. Milne: any form of currency
unit " Plat: Lys. 17
" unit ... is the Gold.

J.G. Milne: Amyrai lead
currency " moved to Egypt."

J.G. Stamped lump of
lead 2200 B.C. " Capp."

" as taken money
" counters"

Use on Gold (O.T.) p 131
Raddet: Money for export
p 108 as Lydian coins

" money for export"
tetradrachma for
(found only outside)

- Smyrna
- MYSINA(?)
- Cypris
- Lebedos
- Magubia
- Heraclea
- Toniae?

contin.

Ch 8 p 216/7

2

script and volume ~~to~~ ^{practical} ~~the~~ ~~equivalence~~
of 1 unit of silver weight ~~to~~ ~~1/10~~
to 1 unit of gran volume

In India and West Africa,
particularly in the region of
the Lower Guinea coast, the
damba bean is ~~extremely~~
popular as the unit of
weight to measure gold dust.
with which ~~is similar~~ ^{is similar} to its role
the ~~gran~~ ^{grains} of wheat that
~~even today~~ serve as ~~the~~ units of
~~the~~ medicinal weight in the
western ~~world~~ ^{world} and
~~the~~ ~~British~~ ^{British}
currency system
as units of weight in the
gold.

The European # formerly created
a new unit of
currency
specifically for the
purpose of the
Slave Trade.

Station
Cumberland, Ont.
- Gumblyov -

So much for ~~the~~ the
official his copy
of the slave trade
on the Guinea coast.

In effect, some time
in the XVIII century
the European traders #,
~~started~~ the picture
unit of the same trade.
The Professor ~~states~~
Gumblyov ~~states~~
Deborah' employed
no other standard,
calling it once (1772).
Johnstone's swallow (1794)

~~1791~~

Platts

Texas Station

Cumberland, Ont.

~~1791~~

~~Come Will come Wednesday~~

~~afternoon~~

presumably an English
 boat, ^{kept} carried it
 Diary in ounce trade
 (1791). But much
 before these formal
 documents, ~~that~~
 Cap. Phillips, of the X,
 marched up iron rods
 a little of 100²⁰ and
 small items of food
 such as ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~first~~ were
 finally purchased
 by baited ~~food~~

1000 manning. We cannot
set ~~an~~ a date for
the ~~ounce~~ trade
entering the slave trade.
Not before 1793 is
there official confirmation
of an ~~ounce~~ English
ounce of that ~~the~~ ~~the~~
denomination in
Dahlgren's 'History'. ~~The~~
~~chapter this~~
~~the~~

The sudden weakness of the
extreme changes which were
destroyed it as a currency,
we must remember a
similar yet essentially
quite different phenomenon ^{seem}

The poor man's money
which was not only distinct
from coin, but which
played an ambiguous
part in the condition of the
poor & the B's wives.

(278)

Grand customs

My Titles: ? - ?
at Perroux's: focussing
on what?

at Helli's: ~~0~~

a) P.M.; normative factors
in socialist planning

(b) K.P.; institutional

sources; } analysis anti
(a) catalytic

Let us as it is?
be as organizers
of support
for Prof. Perroux
Rutgers
How many
specimens?

(b) aristocratic
(c) analysis
(d) Perroux
3 dynamics

Contrainte
Exchange

Worries: read his
Tollson Colner
on Lange?

The above communication
makes ~~the matter of~~^{of}
finance a matter of
urgency. We suggest
that ~~Don and Frank~~
be ~~immediately~~ informed
of the ~~little~~ delay.
~~and~~ We propose that
only a part of the sum
(upto \$2000) should
be raised in Canada, the
rest in the other countries
represented on the board.
A public appeal may
be considered in
England.

①
"For such peoples are
expected to give in
exchange necessaries
of life for other necessaries
of life, as much as
required in the

②
Circumstances and
no more, for example
wine for corn, handing
over the one and
taking the other in
return, and so

③
with each of the
other staples of
the soil."

1257 a 10

Dent 15.6.11 Dent 28. 44

alencies

The main instance of the establishment of ~~equivalencies~~ by law is the Law of Eshnunna Art. 2. But similar ~~equivalencies~~ are known from the Nuzi, the Solomic census, the Lex Aternia-Tarpeia in Rome, in regard to fines, the Hittite code; references to ~~equivalencies~~, and changes in them are to be found in the Code of Hammurapi, and frequently in the 'kappi' tablets. Aristotle explained the institution as deriving ~~from~~ ntly, from the increase in size of the primitive family, the members of which are forced to settle separately. At this juncture their former self-sufficiency ceases when they were using things in common which they actually possessed in common. Now however, they would necessarily lack one thing or another, and would have to reciprocate in exchanging equivalents, according to the other's needs. This same is meant by him Deut. 23, 19 'To thy brother thou shalt lend that which he wanteth without usury', and in Deut. 15, 7-8: 'and freely lend him sufficient for the needs that he has'. Ar. Pol. puts it this way. ~~The barbarians even now have the practice of giving in kind for other things in kind of the necessities, but that only and no more, handing over and accepting right away, such as corn and wine, and of things of this sort, of every one of them, one of them. The barbarian peoples even now practice such exchange, kind for kind, of all the staples such as corn and wine, as much as is necessary, but only so much and no more, changing from hand to hand, and of this sort of things, of every one of them.~~ In the Nicomachean Ethics Aristotle deduces the ~~equivalencies~~ from the status of the various sections of the population, and says the ~~equivalency~~ must be such as to be proportionate to their status. In another passage, he emphasizes that ~~the exchange is not only reciprocity feature of the institution, for the one of the partners only is interested in any concrete case: the one who happens to lack something he is in need of and appeals to the other for supplying him with it. Reciprocity demands, therefore, that at another time, he offer his former exchange partner to supply him with what he might need. This is the graceful attitude to take, Aristotle comments Nothing could, I feel, better illustrate the meaning of reciprocity than this elaboration. It also makes abundantly clear, how exchange can be regarded as part of reciprocity behavior, while the marketing view has the exact opposite of the generosity and grace that goes with the notion of reciprocity.~~

I like the same text in somewhat different words.

At this point my views, as you will notice, sharply differ from the traditional interpretation not only of Aristotle but also of the world he mirrored. I submit that Aristotle never dealt with economics in the modern sense of the term. That he had no price theory in the sense of the determinants of market price. That he had no notion of a supply demand-price mechanism. That his price theory is nothing else but the sociology of the establishment of ~~equivalencies~~, an institution of antiquity that later times ~~ignored and overlooked~~. Actually, fluctuating prices in the modern sense of the term were unknown in his time; changes of ~~equivalencies~~ were the nearest to it. The phenomenon of fluctuating price was as yet limited to the very few organized markets such as the slave market at Delos, or the corn market at the same place. But already the latter instance needs qualification. For although ~~corn prices~~ did fluctuate according to supply and demand, the relative prices of wheat, barley and ~~olysra~~ did not for almost ~~two~~ two centuries, their relation as that of 5:3:2 - rigidly maintained. Even this greatest of all free markets of antiquity was controlled to such an extent as no world market since that time has known to be. The reason was of course, the absolute dominance of the Egyptian corn export monopoly/ over the market of Delos. authorities

The principle of no-gain was extended in ~~antiquity~~ antiquity so as to comprise wages, rent, interest and even profit as long as they were no more than the just compensation for a service etc. The retail span of the marketing woman was assured to her through an operational device (cf. above); the loan was usually secured by a pledge which the creditor could use as long as the loan was not repaid (this is the so-called anticretic pledge); if no such pledge was given then as a compensation for the use of interest could be stipulated. Rent, too, was such a compensation for non-use. The peculiarity of the conception lies in the idea that just price excludes gain. Equivalency exchange was thus made compatible with revenue from property.

The center
Otherwise
h.

Ad h. Food markets to supply the common people with foodstuffs. In tribal society the distribution of food, apart from some degree of subsistence farming, takes place largely through reciprocal and redistributive methods. Insofar as exchange appears to take place, it occurs mostly within a reciprocal framework, and quite often as part of redistributions from the centre of that which had been previously handed to ~~the~~, even though not by the recipient himself. Such frankly reciprocal exchange happens at rates that are determined by the character of the relationships of the partners; if the 'exchange' is redistributive, the same is roughly true. In neither case is the 'exchange' dominated by the notion of equivalence. ~~substantially~~ In archaic type societies, ~~in~~ where reciprocal and distributive forms of intergration are supplemented by exchange. The importance of removing the element of gain from the transaction is here paramount, since otherwise the most dangerous forms of dependence would naturally develop within the community, undermining the solidarity of the group, and thus leading to destruction. For in such a condition of society, kinship ties must be assumed to have ~~been~~ weakened, and the individualization of the community advanced. While the upper classes provide for themselves in various forms of householding (~~in~~ or otherwise), the common people, not detached from ~~the~~ kinship ~~manorial~~ bonds are greatly restricted in their movements and in danger of losing their freedom, unless they are enabled to subsist themselves. This is the origin ~~in many~~ parts of the world of town markets and bush markets. These are food markets, ~~many~~ ~~some~~ times even cooked food markets. The market is a device by which food is distributed to the population. (Warning: This refers to some cases of city markets and other essentially local markets of an internal character. There is no intention ~~of claiming~~ that this is the general origin of markets, ~~or anything of the sort.~~ ~~as we will see~~ there are also entirely different origins to which development ~~may~~ point. ~~Some~~ markets are primarily external organs that ~~are~~ often (inter-nalised ~~by~~ the unification of originally distinct areas). ~~Later on~~

Foodstuffs
cative
Some
There

The dominant fact is this: In widely different areas and types of societies food markets can be found, mainly catering for customers who are in quest of cooked or ~~often~~ otherwise prepared food. The main type is that of the Agora in Athens; an other is that of the cooked food markets of Damascus in the 11th century or of the bush markets of the Dahoman countryside of the 18th and 19th centuries. ~~numberless~~

W120

A main feature of such a system of food distribution is the governmental interest in the control, administration and nursing of the market.

A third group of typical problems connected with it is that of the personnel of the market, i.e., who are the salespeople in the market? ~~how~~ ~~are~~ ~~they~~ ~~recruited~~? and how ~~are~~ ~~their~~ ~~activities~~ ~~organised~~?

Falso

(1) The agora in Athens, for all we know, may have been the first market place (in the common sense of the term) in history. It was certainly a political assembly place before it became a market. ~~The~~ The two functions coincided precisely in the same manner in which the gates in the Oriental world were both the political centre where the king dispensed justice and corn was distributed to the ~~warriors~~ warriors and working people (and incidentally corn as tribute and tax was collected ~~at~~). It is interesting to note that whether redistribution or exchange - the site of the food distribution was identical with the site of the political and judicial functions in the community.

(2) The ~~was~~ control and administration of the market agora was undoubtedly under city authority from the first. Aristophanes (The Acharnians) gives convincing instances for the end of the 5th century. The earliest definite mention is in Plutarch's 'Pericles' describing the novelty of the agora as a place where a nobleman might buy his household supplies. The end of 1st century ps. - Arist. (Oeconomica I) explicitly mentions Attica as the home of the marketing system of householding. These two references ~~are~~ decisive.

later

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The dominant fact is this: In widely different areas and types of societies food markets can be found, mainly catering for customers who are in quest of cooked or ~~other~~ otherwise prepared food. The main type is that of the agora in Athens; an other that of the cooked food markets of Damascus in the 11th century or of the bush markets of the Dahoman countryside, of the 18th and 19th centuries. numberless

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The market was a service to ensure supply at cheap rates!

Factors responsible for the rise of the origins of food markets was the responsibility of the community for the provision of food to the people. In modern times, it is an act of philanthropy to keep the food market going. Rabbi Huna (Babylonian Talmud) bought up the vegetables on Fridays on the market & throw them in the river, so as not to disappoint the sellers & thus destroy the market on which the poor depend.

left over

MADELINURE COOKED FOOD

15th JANUARY 2h 17th of Athenian year: 9000 bread

Uisqual also explains that market should be 'made' for a poor scholar so he can sell his work & come alive and be enabled to study. This concern for the poor food-market is universal with the rulers of archaic societies: Western Jordan, China, ancient Greece etc, India, similarly Persia 17th cty.

Contractual obligations include public works 3, 4, Shabo VII, 3, 4,

- A number of ~~important~~ institutions were designed to protect the food-market from ~~being~~ ^{falling} ~~at~~ this purpose. (local)
- (a) enforcement of currency
 - (b) price laws when protected in local currency
 - (c) measures for popular poor quality goods more to flourish.

Fada, Surma Dandi
Bingis Kaw

Lathen nipa tend =
Bondoukou
(3) Salaga
Kang

metakal
shparallel

Coastal region
using native
Currency (beads)
beaus

Krijambo
(3) ASSINIE
Gravel -
RASSAM

E-dasi 12 of "Ndi' alis"
1000 ATUTAD of SALA;
"Dei of thing brought from Sept"

SALA
TEKRUR
GHANA

WANKARA

Bingis =
maps
Kola part: below Abouley
atou Koumassi

Dal
40

16 384 kamba = 1/16
16 angul =
~~12~~ 12 1/2
12 1/2 + 32
12 1/2 / 20

Chicago Zhou
1/2
450 375
375

Notes on Meeting of October 26, 1957

K. P. on Money and Comments

In thinking of the proposed symposium on money let us relate our work, definitions, method, etc., to recognized problems in the general field.

We might, for example, separate the economic interest and think of money's effect on the economic process. Here one would think of money and

- 1) efficiency, i.e., measure of input against output, *(as the costing)*
- 2) creation of surpluses, *(taxing via monetary standard), money on money totals or capital;*
- 3) flexibility in mobilization of elements of economic process, i.e., say, ability to substitute one for another, *and increased mobility of elements, factors combined complementaries;*
- 4) time mobility, i.e., credit, in manipulation of elements of economic process.

From this point of view we could examine the function of various money uses and near monies, such as treasure.

Other problems are such as ~~the~~ evidence of "dual economies," part monetarized, part not. How do they operate; how is separation maintained? Or we might consider the age-old problem of the shift from so-called "natural" to a money economy. By breaking such a "shift" down into its elements, and degrees of monetarization we might ~~take~~ advances.

In all of this the emphasis for us clearly shifts from money to monetarization, what is actually happening, i.e., the spread of money uses. Hear! Hear! (P.B., et al.)

How are we to work? Our method is to work through institutions with operational definitions and studies of interaction. The one sure characteristic of money, starting from here, is its introduction of quantification into the economy. Here, of course, we must be careful to point out that money is only one of the inventions introducing quantitativity; weights and measures, tallies and equivalencies being others. *(also the economy is only ONE of the*

fields into which quantification penetrates of. quant → punishment (facts, whipping))

(it recorded signs)

From our year's work, we define money as quantifiable objects so far as they are used as:

- (a) Payment
- (b) Standard
- (c) Means of Indirect Exchange 1
- (d) Standard of Deferred Payment

1. K. P.'s solution to C.M.A. point that money should be durable: i.e., same item used in similar circumstances over time.

is the effect desired effect of the

H Money use is manipulation of money object in definite situation and use depends on the situation. Situation can be sociologically described: e.g., liquidating a prior obligation by PAYMENT.

2. C.M.A. says situation depends on specific social relationships carried out.

Agreed - have sociologically determined e.g. the situation of a wooer a debtor, a blasphemer as against the situations of these figures at a later stage of their roles as a rule (e.g. bank deposits)

Problem of modern money is that it is not an object. Solutions

C.M.A. - ledgers are material

K. P. - money can be an ideal unit (object?)

i.e. recorded signs (not or signs)

Payment creates money when obligation is ended by handing over durable (?)

Quantifiable Object (d.q.o).³

sheep, even oxen are not a standard of deferred payment only metal money is (?)

3. H. P: Payment is money, if q. o. is used for payment in:

- (a) different situations
- (b) same situations over time.

W.C.N.: d. q. o. must fit matrix

	USE	
T	:	
I	:	a b
M	:	
E	:	b
	:	

P.B. to date our system has in fact been to factor out those uses we need, as in types of market in GT. Trans. They are empirical and we may in future wish to factor out other uses.

Standard Use Situation: To tag an item with a number. The d.q.o. to which tag refers is money. Tagging is for the purpose of SUBSTITUTION. ⁴

4. C.M.A.: ~~mech~~ Equivalences give the power to tag.

W.C.N. summarizes "money is that d.q.o. to which a tag expressing equivalencies refers" and C.M.A. adds "arising out of a situation requiring substitution probably, but not proved."

Point here is that we have got round the word "value," but W.C.N. says series A, B, C. can be complete in itself and might fit MECH.

Treasure of itself is not money, although it has many of the same effects, e.g.:

- (a) can organize labor
- (b) can move goods. ⁵

5. C.M.A. - Treasure must have an IDENTITY, e.g. Peacock Throne, an idol, etc.

C.M.A. and W.C.N. argue for FUNGIBLE, not quantifiable.

LIMITED EXCHANGEABILITIES OF MONIES

^{1/5} How do we explain fact that Hammurabi's Code provides for interest on Silver at $1/24$ ~~in~~ and on Barley at $1/3$ rd? Because both silver and barley were monies which could not be exchanged. Note barley was money for payment of

Labor
Taxes
Rent
Rations
Army

but reckoning of everything was in Silver. ⁶

¹⁰ P.B. can get examples of limited exchange in Africa but we must define degrees of limited exchange.

Typical examples of the Standard Use:

- (a) To total unlike items in BARTER
- (b) to check, baiance, control in STAPLE FINANCE

Means of Indirect Exchange:

from Schumpeter, anything so used is money. ⁷

7. W.C.N. - we should say any d.q.o. so used is money.

The situation here is using objects A to acquire objects B in order to acquire objects C with B. ⁸

8. W. C. N. No one really seemed to like this:

C.M.A. points out that in Payment and in Standard Situations the persons are bound prior to the situation, but not in indirect exchange.

P. B. points out that discussion fits into Durkheim's Mechanical and Organic where mechanical is one act complete in itself and organic is one of a series, e.g.

Use	Mech	Organic
Payment		Settling of Debt
Standard	Barter	Staple Finance
Exchange		Series of transactions

W. C. N. says substitution in near east may have been

- (a) to benefit taxpayer, not state, or
 - (b) to allow state to demand supplies, as for an army on move, and to pay in what state has when army of course needs specific things.
-

MONEY AS A MEASURE

Is it the same as weights and lengths? To say it measures VALUE is a tautology unless value is defined independently. To do so:

VALUE is the SIGNIFICANCE or IMPORTANCE attached to having something.

Money measures this importance, and is a unit of a kind used to compare masses of that kind (W.C.N. - kind must be importance = value).

This is of interest only as it affects INFORMATION:

Money measures the economic importance involved in a situation, but this may be of passing interest as the measured value may change in a minute.

MEASURE can change situation by relating it to other situations. To measure the interest in a situation may allow one to relate different situations (e.g. econ. importance in each is 7), and thus create new social relationships.

Therefore wholesale introduction of money can also destroy old social relationships by creating new RELATIONSHIPS between formerly non-comparable situations.

W.C.N.'S SUMMARY

a function of each aspect of it. A new term needed

Money is any DURABLE FUNGIBLE OBJECT used:

in payment when a prior obligation is ended by handing over d.f.o. and same d.f.o. is used in similar payment situations over time or in different payment situations. (1)

as a STANDARD d.f.o. to which a number tagging of other objects refers, for purpose of substitution (2)

as MEANS of indirect exchange, d.f.o. being "B" in an "A" to "B" to get "C" situation. (3).

the "situation" is an "imposed" one

as a standard of deferred payment, whose situation we have not defined. (4)

Treasure is NOT money, but can be turned into money by losing its identity and becoming fungible. (5)

- (1) O. K. by all
- (2) O.K. by all
- (3) Some doubt, C.M.A. P. B. W.C.N.
- (4) NOT O. K. Yet
- (5) O.K. by C.M.A., W.C.N. tentatively.

Further questions:

Can we define

Staple Finance

Ranking of money (by ranks of users of a money, the users ranks being independently determined)

Poor Man's Money

Other Phrases?

1 lb weight caori ~ 384 caori

1 oz food weighs 384 dambas.

80/- = 960d. 384 "

16. Accy 384 ..

5/- = 1 Accy $-\frac{384}{16} = 24$ dambas.

80s = 80 x 12d = 960d.

1 damba = $\frac{960}{384} = 2\frac{1}{2}$ d.

384 : 16 = 24 dambas.

$\frac{384}{16}$

384
384
192
960

4d.

1 damba = 2 1/2 d 384 = 16 x X

2 " 5 d = 16 x 24

4 " 10 d = 8 x 48

5 " 15 1/2 d.

IV RATION

1

BABYLON

Zum Altbabylonischen Wirtschaftsleben

(Babylonia) W. Schwengner. Z.A.W.

Nig. Ba = gift, present. (Ba - ration, portion).

Kw. Ba - meal ration

Se. Ba - corn

Ni. Ba - oil

Sig. Ba - wool

(Babylonia (Nippur?)) ^{TORCZNER} Torczyner: Altbabylonische Tempelrechnungen.

"Monthly pay" Ration:

Man - 60 ka. gerste

Young man - 15-30

Youth - 10-20

Infant - 5

Unmarried woman - 40

Married - 25

Maiden - 20-25

Infant, female - 5-10

Arist: Pol. 1257a 28-32

~~Sty~~ Ration

Greece

(Greece) Aristotle 1257a: 28-32.

"Some barbarians still practice such exchange, for they are expected to give in exchange necessities of life, as much as is actually needed, but no more, for example wine for corn, handing over the one & taking the other in return, & so with every one of the staples of the sort."

- pleon de ~~out~~ outhen

- a) Compulsory
- b) in rem
- c) the necessary goods
- d) in " " quantities

(Greece) L. Westermann

Quoted Bickerman re ration, food allowance of slave

Hebrew "peras" is equivalent of Greek "trophimos" i.e. food ration of agreement for slave sustenance (homologia trophimou doulikou) of record office of Tebtunis, c. A.D. 46.

ISRAEL

Israel

(Israel).

Lord's Prayer "our daily bread" (What is the Greek?) Is this a paraphrase of Proverbs 30:8 reference to a certain amount, no more no less. (What is the Hebrew?)

There is also a prayer in the Talmud which ~~uses~~ uses the double meaning of "necessary".

(Israel)

Deut. 15: 7-8. (King James).

7. If there be among you a poor man of one of thy brethren within any of thy gates in thy land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not harden thine heart, nor shut thy hand from thy poor brother:

8. But thou shalt open thy hand wide unto him, and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need in that which he wanteth.

- a) compulsory
- b) lend
- c) the necessary goods
- d) " " quantity

(Israel)

Proverbs 30: 8-9.

give me neither poverty nor riches; feed me with food convenient for me.

9. Lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord? or lest I be poor, and steal, and take the name of my God in vain.

(Babylonia)

Laws of Eshnunna, Article 2 (Retail)
 1 ga ~~of~~ "tree oil" sa¹ mish¹tim
 its (value) in grain is 3 seah
 1 ga lard 2 seah (?)
 1 ga river oil - 8 ga grain

(Babylonia)

LE

Laws of Eshnunna, Article 1.

1 kor of grain (grain)	} 1 sh of silver
3 ga of "best oil " (oil)	
1 sheah + 2 ga of tree oil	
4 sheah of "river oil"	
6 minas of wool	
2 kor of salt	
1 seah of lard	
3 minas of copper	

(Babylonia)

Deimal: St.W. p.82

"Der Wert der Gerste (Se) war in dieser Zeit 1 Silbershekel das g u r - s a g - g a l.
 Trotz aller Preisschwankungen muss dieser als der Grundpreis der Gerste waehrend
 des ganzen dritten Jahrtausends (und wohl auch in der ~~V~~ Vorgeschichte, als noch
~~n i n d a~~ n i n d a ein Haupthohlmass war) angesehen werden".

Ration

(Israel)

Leviticus 26:26.

Famine rations.

"26. And when I have broken the staff of your bread, ^{ten} ~~few~~ women shall bake your bread in one oven, and they shall deliver you your bread again by weight: and ye shall eat and not be satisfied."

N.

A remarkably similar perspective ^{ensuring} toward the subsistence needs of people shown in:

- ① Aristotle 1257a 28-32 - compulsory exchange
- ② ~~Old~~ Deuteronomy 15: 7-8 - compulsory lending
- ③ Lord's Prayer "daily bread"
- ④ Bickerman - "tophinos"

The ration idea -- the necessary amount of the necessary things

Copied
on file E.g.w.
6

means of payment: (a) Are there cases in which taxes or dues or customary gifts are made not "in kind", but in money? (e.g. not in grain or crops or fish, but in small money?)
 (b) Are there cases in which customary gifts in kind are being substituted for by shell or other "money" payments?
 (c) Is there any appreciable increase in the burden of obligations noticeable in case money is introduced and payment is made not in kind but in money?

~~ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS:~~

A. Means of payment

1. Where payment in money replaces payment in kind, to what new uses is the money put? Who wants it and for what? Where does the initiative for the change come from?
2. What kinds of obligations require means of payment? (i.e. are there other types of obligation which are discharged in other ways?)
3. Are objects used as means of payment specified according to the kind of obligation?
4. If so, how specified-- by the kind of object; quantity; quality? in relation to what obligations?
5. Are certain kinds of objects strictly limited to certain kinds of obligation--or can there be substitution of one kind of means of payment for another?
What substitutions are permissible, if any? Is the range wide or narrow? Can services be substituted for goods?
6. How are objects serving as means of payment acquired? Any limitations on who can acquire them?
7. Are objects serving as means of payment limited to their use as means of payment, or do they have other uses?
8. What kinds of goods serve as means of payment? Are there many such goods? Few? Only one?
9. What persons or groups are the recipients? Is there any noticeable bias in favor of certain individuals or groups? (i.e., do some have an opportunity to accumulate receipts?)
10. What is done with objects ^{received} ~~used~~ as means of payment? Are they stored? Passed on to others? Used in consumption, production or for display? Are there specific limitations on their use?

B. Means of storing value

1. What kinds of quantifiable objects are ^{stored?} ~~stroed~~? Perishables or durable goods? Food? Craft products, metals, etc.?
2. Do stored objects also serve as means of payment? As means of exchange?
3. How are such objects collected or acquired-- by whom? from whom?
4. Does storage center in any group, person, locality? Is it, rather, diffused more or less widely?
5. Do boards count as wealth? Is such wealth counted as belonging to an ^{individual or a group?} ~~an~~ individual or a group?

6. Is there any connection between the valuation placed upon hoarded goods and their scarcity? Their size? Their origin, use or other attributes?
7. Are hoarded objects transportable? If they are carried, how is this done and by whom?

- B. Standard of value
1. Is there one standard in use, or more than one?
 2. If more than one, are the standards related? (i.e., quantitatively, e.g. 1 pig - five dentalia strings?)
 3. What kinds of things serve as a standard--(food, cattle, metals, shells etc.)
What
Are these objects used in everyday life or not?
 4. Do these objects serve also as means of exchange, or means of payment?
 5. If more than one standard is in use, are the spheres to which they relate distinguished one from the other? (e.g., one standard referred to in affinal transactions, another in trade with "outsiders")?
 6. How is qualification of the standard of value arrived at? e.g. by counting of "natural" units (head of cattle); measurement (length of dentalia-string); size; weight; weighing (as of metal or grain); etc.?
 7. How are other goods related quantitatively to the standard-- by conventional ratios, or other means?
 8. Do these ratios appear to change, and if so, what accounts for the change? Under what conditions are they stable?

C. Money - as means of exchange.

1. What types of goods are used to effect indirect exchange? In what units? How quantified?
2. Do such goods serve only as means of exchange or in other uses as well? What other uses?
3. Are means of exchange limited to certain types or categories of transactions? To use on certain occasions? By certain people? For acquiring only certain kinds of goods?
4. If more than one medium of exchange is in use, are the several media quantitatively related to one another?
5. Are exchange ratios stable or variable? Fixed by convention or authority? Arrived at by bargaining?
6. Do media of exchange circulate widely or among restricted groups of people? Are they used primarily in "external" or in "internal" transactions? In subsistence transactions, or primarily in prestige transactions, or both?
7. Do media of exchange carry any distinguishing marks? Or other special attribute such as name, pedigree, etc.?
8. Are there cases in which one medium of exchange goes out of use, being replaced by another? Under what circumstances?

- 5 1. How are trade goods collected? By whom? Is there any exercise of privilege in the collection of trade goods? Any "middleman" element? (e.g., such as involved in passing on goods previously acquired through trade)
- 6 2. Is storage of trade goods practised-- if so, how does it operate? Before or after trading? By whom? Centralized, or not?
- 7 3. To what extent is carrying involved in different types of trade? How is it managed? Which types of goods are carried? Are there any traded goods which are not carried?
- 8 4. Are trading privileges restricted in any way? e.g., do certain groups or individuals exercise a monopoly of trade with other groups? Are such restrictions applicable to trade with "outsiders" only, or within the community as well?
- 9 5. Does trading take place only on special occasions, or regularly? How often? How many people involved and over what distance?
- 10 6. Are such occasions regulated in any way, and how, by whom? (e.g., guarantees of peace, safe-conduct, etc.)
- 11 7. Is trading conducted by individuals as well as by groups? Is individual trading, if present, distinguished in any way from group trading-- e.g., as regards the occasion, the place, the types of goods traded, regulations and procedures, etc.?
- 12 8. In group trading, is there any differentiation among the members of the group as regards, e.g., what kinds of goods the member carries or trades; with whom he trades; what share he gets of the trading proceeds, etc.?
- 13 9. What is the nature of the advantage or "gain" from trade? How are goods acquired by trade used? *what are?*
- 14 10. Is carrying "one-way" or "two-way"? e.g., are goods acquired from a distance (by plunder, raids, etc.) without carrying goods to the trade area? Are such means of acquisition casual, sporadic, accidental, or regularized? Is there any evidence of a tendency towards regularization, and if so, is this accompanied by any change in the forms of trade? (e.g. mutuality in exchanges--two-sidedness; or regularized tributes, levies, etc.?)
- 15 11. Is there peddling of any kind? Is this carried on by outsiders (stranger foreigners, itinerant craftsmen) or by members of the community?
- 16 12. How do "specialists" within the community dispose of their products-- (craftsmen, etc.)?
- 17 13. How are exchange ratios arrived at in trade? Bargaining? Convention?
- 18 14. Are certain categories of goods regularly used as means of exchange in trade?
- 19 15. Do persons or groups carrying on trade deal in their own products, or in others' products?

~~16. Is there any person or group of persons who depend upon trade for their subsistence--i.e. make their living by trade? Do such persons act for themselves or as agents of others?~~

Begin on

TRADE - 1

1. What groups are found to be trading with one another? Which is the largest of these, which is the smallest? (i.e. get range, and sphere): Are the intersecting groups similar, found to be trading (e.g., secret societies, age groups, etc)?
2. Are the forms of trading the same whether the goods are carried from a distance or whether they are not carried but are there anyway (local trade, in the distinctive sense)?
3. How are the results of group trading distributed among the members of the group? Is there any connection between what he gave and what he got, from the angle of the member?
4. Speaking of the "trade monopoly" of some chiefs, how far is there anything in the way of enforcement?

*Questions on forms of trade, Money use +
market elements 4
Rosemary Mould*

MS 1948

Annex: "Interest."

Money-uses in early ~~primitive~~ society

- An interdisciplinary survey -

In any somewhat advanced economy in kind i.e. where no objects have emerged that are employed as a "standard", we meet as ^{rule with} ~~one~~ the ~~most~~ vital instruments ~~of~~ ^{there are} equivalents. ~~the~~ figures which relate units of one kind to ~~units of an other~~ ~~kind~~ ~~either~~ ~~in~~ ~~one~~ ~~of~~ ~~two~~ ~~senses~~. Either unit of an other kind (like 1:1) or to several units of an other kind (like 1:10). The relationship happens fundamentally in one of two senses: either the two kinds ~~can~~ ~~not~~ have the faculty of substituting for one another, or they are exchangeable for one another, in both cases ^{at the rate indicated} by the equivalent ^{of} ~~the~~ ~~rate~~ indicated, by the equivalent ^{of} ~~the~~ ~~rate~~ indicated, e.g. in the payment of a tax in goods the equivalent tells ~~for~~ ^{one} how many goods of A are acceptable instead of a definite number of units of B, ~~the~~ ~~two~~ ~~are~~ ~~equivalent~~. A substitute for B, the one can be given ^{for} the other with the ^{same} effect as if the other had been given. To take the second: If under Oriental law in an emergency a man A was entitled to call upon his neighbor B to help him out with the ~~needed~~ ^{needed} amount of the necessities he was wanting in. In such a case, ~~if~~ A was bound to indemnify B by giving him the equivalent of ~~the~~ ~~exchange~~

6. Quantitativity: its physical and operational (5)
aspects

Money, functionally defined, takes its
start from the ~~quantification~~ physical things
commonly designated as money
plus the ~~the~~ operations performed below
performed with these objects.
we will give more or less
more precision to the situations in
which the operations are performed
and on the desired effects that
this has or has not on the situations.
Here we wish to draw attention to
what the objects look like and
what is done with them or in
more technical terms, the physical
aspects of our quantifiable objects
and the operational aspects of
the performance activities.

In either regard - things ~
activities - the origins of money uses
take us back to that pre-literate
condition of society where the ~~the~~ problems
set by the economy require for their
solution devices involving quantifiable
objects. This connection between the

The use of physical units such as pebbles picked up on the beach has ~~an~~ ^{an} ~~single~~ operational aspect capable of substituting for mathematical calculations that are otherwise practicable only by way of written signs. It is in the nature of operational devices - ~~repet.~~ that this way of handling objects - physical objects results in an easy & simple resolution of problems which

~~become~~ ^{intricate} ~~rather~~ ~~easy~~, ~~un~~ ~~simple~~, ~~indeed~~, ~~maybe~~ insoluble except for the fully equipped and lefty (brazed) mind. ~~And~~ ^{in any case, adding, subtraction} and ~~subtracting~~ ^{and multiplying} multiplication and division, far beyond the intellectual level of some primitive tribes became accessible by this means.
 (Even before)

(the art of counting was invented, an operation was possible which two things to be ~~performed~~ ^{used} ~~and~~ ^{in this case, adding} ~~get~~ ^{to} ~~down~~ ^{to} a unit of one sort (A) to each unit of an other sort (B). As a result this allows ^{us} ~~us~~ ^{of course} ~~to~~ ^{to} manipulate ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~units~~ ^{units} with the effect of ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~result~~ ^{result} of ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~units~~ ^{units} of ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~units~~ ^{units} of B, without actually doing so. As we will see later on, this simple fact is at the root of the ~~economic~~ ^{function of money} ~~importance~~ ^{importance} of ~~counting~~ ^{counting} ~~quantities~~ ^{quantities} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ the economy).

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VERA DAVON

Money uses: manipulations of g. objects
in definite situations

payment use of money: its
passing over from one hand
to another with the effect of
creating an obligation of the
one to the other.

standard use of money: ~~used~~ ^{used} as
a reference for prices attaching
to units of different kinds of goods
in regard to which disposal is
made. Typical occurring in barter
situations and in single price use.

exchange use of money: ~~used~~ ^{used} for
indirect exchange by being
exchanged by one, subsequently
exchanged for, i.e. use in the
for the acquiring of other objects
by ~~the~~ through exchange. The
frequency of such a use
establishes the money character
of the means of exchange. ~~The~~
Typically (If the same objects are
acquired through exchange but only
more of them, these are "money"
and the ~~intermediate~~ intermediate
goods do not function as money).

INSTITUTIONS & OBJECTS - I & II

I

ARMIES
AUCTION - SEE ALSO MARKET : BOOTY
BROKER
BUILDING
CITY
CLASS - SEE ALSO SLAVERY : FEUDALISM
DISCONTINUITY
FAMILY
FIELD THEORY
GATES
HOUSEHOLDING
IRON
LAND
MARRIAGE
METALS (BASE)
METHOD

II

OIKOS
PRESENTS
PERSPECTIVES
PLEDGE
POLITICS
PROPERTY
RULE OF LAW
SEMANTICS
SILVER
SLAVERY
SOCIOLOGY - HISTORICAL
SYNOECISM
TAX
TECHNOLOGY
TURNOVER
TYRANNIS

M A R K E T

AGORA

BAZAAR

BOOTY

EARLY TRANSACTIONS

KAPELIKE

MARKET (GENERAL)

MARKETS (SPECIFIC)

PRIMITIVE MARKETS

SETTLEMENT

M O N E Y - I & II

I

BANKING

CLOTH

COINS

CURRENCY

DEBT - DEBT BONDAGE (LIVY)
- ORIGINS
- PUBLIC DEBT

ELITE CIRCULATION - HORSES

EQUIVALENTS - COINS
- COWRIES
- SUBSTITUTIVE
- TRADE GOODS

EXCHANGE - CONTRACTS
- REGIONS

FAMINE - SEE ALSO RATIONS

FINE

FOOD

GIFT

GOLD

LEITURGY - GREECE (PROKISPHORA)
- REGIONS

MEASURES

MONEY (GENERAL)

OPERATIONAL DEVICES - CLEARING
- DAMBA
- IN TURN
- MEASURES
- RECORDS
- SETTING OF EQUIVALENTS
- SYMMETRY

II

ORIGINS

POOR - BREAD
- HUNGER
- POOR MAN'S MARKET
- POOR MAN'S MONEY

POSTAN

PRESTIGE - SEE ALSO TREASURE, GOLD

RANKING OF MONEY

RATIONS - SEE ALSO GIFT

REDISTRIBUTION - REGIONS

SPECIFIC EXCHANGES

STAPLE FINANCE

SUMPTUARY LAWS

TRADE GOODS

TREASURE - SOURCES
- BRIBES
- GODS
- LEITURGY
- ALLIES

TRADE - I & II

I

CARAVAN
CARRYING
COAST
COLONIES
EXPEDITIONARY
GREEK
HELLENISM
INTEREST (TRADE)
ISTHMUS
KAR
LONG DISTANCE
MARKET TRADE
PASSIVE TRADE
PEOPLES

II

POCHTECA
PORT OF TRADE
ROUTES
SILENT
TEMPLE
TRADERS
WIK

The existence of sub-
monetary practices
(accountancy) in the
Mycenaean palace
economy threw ~~to~~
new light on the change
in the fractional quantities in
system from linear
A to linear B
already noted and
resolved by Sumner
L. Bennett Jr.
(Fractional quantities
in Mycenaean book-
keeping. Am. J. of
Arch. LIV. 204-22)

Money

Payment: Recm
FME
obligation

~~adequate~~ adequate
Not equal } same
not equality

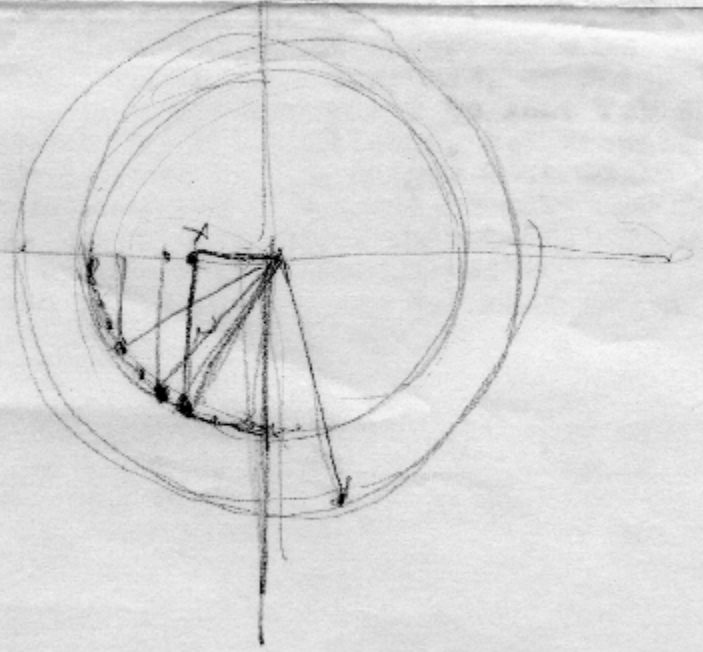
Standard +

adequate : Wm
adding : plan }

implies equal
(Not adequate)

exchange : elements

Price adequate
not equality



MONEY AND RELATED INSTITUTIONS IN EARLY SOCIETY

by

Karl Polanyi

- INTRODUCTION -

work copy - uses
2/5
158

①
2
3
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5
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7
8
9

1. Quantifiable objects vs. symbolic system
~~money: Physical units employed for payment, standard and exchange~~
2. ~~of the money uses:~~
3. Criteria situation, operation, ~~erect~~ purpose and efforts
4. Exceptions Ideal units and other ~~than~~ ^{than} money-uses
5. Money in economics and anthropology
6. Quantitativity: its physical and operational aspect
7. The non-economic background of ~~money uses~~ 'payment'
8. The ~~economic~~ origins of money uses in the economy
9. All purpose money and limited purpose moneys
10. Money uses and ^{the} social structure: patterns of integration, status and operational devices
11. ~~money uses~~ The spread of money uses and the ^{linking} ~~of~~ the various money situations (monetization).
12. Money, trade and market

1. Quantifiable objects vs. symbolic system.

To the philosopher of culture and civilization, money is a system of symbols similar to ^{gestures.} speech, writing, or weights and measures. The importance of these symbols lies primarily in the meanings conveyed, while the physical media - sound, sight, ^{movement} ~~gesture~~, units of weight and volume - that carry those meanings are secondary.

- Money: physical units employed*
2. ~~Quantifiable objects used~~ for payment, standard and exchange.

It behoves the student of early economic institutions to exercise a more pedestrian, if careful, approach to money. Unless he holds on to the physical media themselves, such as ~~the~~ shells, feathers or bits of metal, he is in danger of losing his way. For all that, he has to aim, as does the philosopher, at a functional definition, for no material object is money per se, and any object, in an appropriate situation, might function as money. To determine the uses to which the physical things are put, he will point to the situation in which the objects are operated and to what effect. Eventually, he will designate quantifiable objects as money, when used for any one of the following purposes: for payment, as a standard or for exchange.

- of money uses:*
3. Criteria: [^]situation, operation, effect.

Each of the three uses is dependent, then, upon definite criteria: the sociologically or culturally determined situation in which the need arises, the operationally defined handling of the objects and, finally, the effect thus exercised on the situation. These criteria, do not, of course imply the notion of money. The 'situation' is a fact of general sociology, the 'handling' is operationally prescribed and the 'effect' is such that the need is served.

Payment is the settling of an obligation through the handing over of quantifiable objects. 'Handing over' is the operation, 'settling of the obligation' is the desired effect. The situation of 'being under an obligation' has however, this peculiarity, that one does not meet the requirement.

unless
~~Unless~~ at least ~~tw~~ one other situation is given that differs

in regard to the nature of the obligation, ~~not~~ ^{and is yet} capable of being met by the same means, the 'settling' through the handing over of quantifiable objects does not constitute 'payment' (as when an obligation to be discharged 'in kind' is so discharged).

The standard use of money is the employment of a physical unit of a definite kind as a referent in situations where arithmetical operations in regard to objects of different kinds are called for, as "adding up apples and pears". The 'handling' of the unit consists in the operation of 'tagging on' a ~~hypothetical arithmetical~~ numeral to ~~at least one of~~ the units with the effect that "apples and pears" can now be summed up in a meaningful way. The effect is that barter is facilitated since items on either side can be added up; staple finance too, requires, as a rule, additions and subtractions of different staples, like apples and pears.

The exchange use of money is the employment of quantifiable objects in situations of indirect exchange. The operation involves two consecutive exchanges, with the money objects as the middle term. However, once indirect exchange has become ^{established,} ~~accepted,~~ the sequence may start with 'money' and end up with more of it.

4. Exceptions: ~~ideal units and other than money-uses.~~ ^{ideal units and other than money-uses.}

Exceptionally, the term money is also applied to other than physical units. Such 'ideal units' are ^{an} ~~the~~ written signs, spoken words, or recorded deeds employed in money-uses. The 'operation' then usually consists of a manipulation of debt accounts formed by such units, with ^{an} ~~the~~ effect similar to that of

use of physical units. In archaic society 'ideal units' sometimes occur in clearing accounts as in early Assyrian and late Egyptian staple finance.

where ~~An~~ exception of the opposite sort ^{might} ~~be~~ ^(in the case) seen ~~when~~ physical units that happen to be money, ~~do~~ function in non-monetary uses, as when coins are employed to teach children arithmetic. ~~The~~ units are money because they already function in some money-use, but they may also serve some other ~~money~~ operational purpose whether statistical or ~~simply~~ as weights, markers or tallies. *In brief, money can be used also ~~for~~ in non money uses.*

5. Money in economics and anthropology

So much has been made of the distinction between token money and commodity money that a special warning is in place. Even ethnographers like G. Thilenius (1920) and Mrs. A.H. Quiggin (1949) have declared only token money to be true money, with ~~the~~ commodities as mere substitutes. ^{is a} ~~the~~ student of early economy ^{should make no appeal.} such ~~perverse~~ use of terms ~~is~~. Whether shells, feathers, barley, bits of leather or paper serve as money is irrelevant as long as those objects are employed in any one of our money uses. *If so, they are money; if not, not.*

The impression that our ^{three} money uses are no more than economists' distinctions, and hardly relevant to ^{primitive society} ~~primitive societies~~, though understandable, is nevertheless quite erroneous. Actually, it is not in the modern exchange economy with its uniform market background and all-purpose money, but rather in primitive ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~primitive~~ and archaic societies that ^{between the} ~~the~~ distinctions ^{used} ~~come~~ ^{money} ~~are~~ ^{used} ~~alive~~ referring as they ^{widely different} ~~do~~ to ~~the~~ money objects in situations:

Silver coins,

~~_____~~
~~_____~~

They combine to form the device that is at the heart of the quantification of more than one area of human interest, including, at a later stage, the economy.

Not as if the substantive economy could not function in the absence of quantitative . But even ~~the~~/reciprocity and distribution involve the distinction between equals and unequals. In any case, payment is the first step towards the building up of money, yet the simplest act of payment involves operations performed with the sort of units. The study of money ^{for this reason} ~~is not~~ requires both an inquiry into the physical units that serve as ~~the~~ quantifiable objects, and an elaboration on ~~the~~ operational devices, ^{a practical gadget} ~~is~~ transcending by far the monetary sphere.

7. The non-economic background of some money uses.

The term 'money-uses' tends to obscure the fact that except for the part played by quantifiable objects, the three money-uses ~~spring from~~ different sources and have very little, if anything, in common.

Payment ^{essentially} ~~is an operational term and~~ ^{originally} does not stem from the economic sphere. Both the operation and its effect refer to ^{situations of wrongdoing.} ~~the~~ ^{here} ~~the~~ ^{one who is} guilty shall pay for his crime. Years in jail, ~~lashes~~ lashes of the whip, days of fasting, turns of the praying mill, can be counted - the operational feature - ~~and~~, punishment ~~is~~ reckoned by units constitutes 'payment'. Only as physical or moral punishment is replaced by fines, to be discharged through the handing over of serviceable objects, does atonement take on the economic connotation associated ^{today} with payment.

"Standard" also arises in the moral sphere. Unless there is a set rate between apples and pears, expressed either in apples or in pears or in some third medium, no justice is possible where apples and pears are involved.

Money again, used as a means of exchange assumes the existence either of markets or of organized trade economic institutions foreign to the primitive conditions in which the standard first arises.

8. The economic origins of money uses.

The independent meanings of payment, standard and exchange are also borne out by their institutionally separate origins at least insofar as the economic sphere is concerned. Of these we have now fairly solid knowledge.

Payment occurs in connection with some institutions of early societies, mainly bridewealth, wergeld and fines. A person may thus be under an obligation to hand over quantifiable objects mostly, though not always, of a utilitarian character (usually employed also in the settlement of some other obligation). In the archaic law books composition, damages and fines are regularly set out in one and the same physical terms, like oxen, sheep or silver. These three main sources of obligation survive in archaic society and are moreover ~~but~~ enormously expanded through the introduction of taxes, rent, and tribute which offer many more occasions for payments in the discharging of obligations.

The standard use of money is vital to staple finance which accompanies large scale storage economies. No assessment and collection of taxes, no budgeting and balancing of manorial households, no rational accountancy comprising a variety of goods is possible

without a standard. Since it is not the number of things but their prices or values that are here subjected to arithmetic, this operation requires the setting of rates relating the various staples to one another. Such figures representing rates are in effect available in most archaic societies. Whether by virtue of custom, statute or proclamation, fixed equivalents designate the rate at which the necessities of life can mutually be substituted for another. It is only when prices develop in markets (i.e., relatively late) that money as a standard can be taken for granted, as it is today.

Exchange develops as a rule within the framework of organized trade and markets, apart from which indirect exchange is only occasionally met. Hence the exchange use of money is but of little importance under fully primitive conditions. Even in highly stratified archaic societies such as Sumeria, Babylonia, Assyria, the Hittites or Egypt storage economies prevailed and in spite of a large scale use of money as a standard, its use for indirect exchange was but negligible. This may incidentally explain the complete absence of coins in the great civilizations of Babylonia or Egypt at a time when the poor and semi-barbarous Greek world indulged in a variety of artistic coins.

9. All purpose money and limited purpose moneys.

A comparative study of early money institutions must start from the fact that while modern money is all-purpose money, i.e., the medium of exchange is also employed for the other money-uses, primitive moneys tend to be limited purpose money, i.e., different objects are employed in the different money-uses. Hence the widely disparate role of money-institutions in western type societies,

on the one hand, early and non-western societies, on the other. All-purpose money makes for more ~~heterogeneous~~ homogeneous forms of social organization; in contrast, limited purpose moneys, in spite of a much lower degree of monetarization, tend to enrich the articulation of society, particularly the differentiation of its kin and class structure. Early money may show therefore more articulated institutional forms than does money in our own society. A developmental study bears out this fact.

10. Money uses and the social structure: patterns of integration, status and operational devices.

~~Among~~ ^{Among} ~~some~~ the structural features of archaic type societies ^{are} such as ~~reciprocative and redistributive patterns of~~ ^{reciprocative and redistributive patterns of} integration, ~~the~~ status systems and ~~the~~ operational devices. ^{Money uses} ~~Neither~~ ^{must adjust to their requirements.} reciprocity nor redistribution is workable without ~~some~~ kind of 'rates' that are valid as between different goods. ~~On~~ ^{here} ~~this level~~ 'rates' are an operational necessity. Not even the game yielded by a single hunt can be distributed without some kind of rates relating the different parts of the body of the animals to be cut up. This holds good irrespective of whether the distribution is intended to be strictly equalitarian (1 : 1) or not (e.g., 3 : 1). ~~At the same time~~ ^{also} rates between elite goods ~~automatically~~ maintain higher status, if circulation is limited to interchange between such goods (elite circulation); lower class status, too, is maintained by restricting living standards to the coarse food and bare necessities that native money is allowed to purchase (poor man's money). The same device may serve to distribute food rations to the poor at official prices during ^afamine. Equivalencies are an absolute necessity since the standard use of money is impossible without them. The variety and often minute articulation of money institutions

thus helps to achieve integration and stabilizes status privilege without the use of open force; makes provision against famine; extends the scope of operational devices that substitute for * writing etc. This again makes staple finance possible, together with large scale taxation etc. In a literate society most of those devices become obsolete, and lapse into oblivion together with the manifold moneys and monetary practices of primitive communities.

MONEY AND RELATED INSTITUTIONS IN EARLY SOCIETY

- INTRODUCTION -

What to call money - The money uses and their origins - All purpose money and limited purpose money

To the philosopher of culture and civilization, money is a system of symbols similar to speech, writing, or weights and measures. The importance of these symbols lies primarily in the meanings conveyed; the physical media - sound, sight, gesture - that carry those meanings are secondary.

units of weight or volume

To the student of early economic institutions a more pedestrian, if careful approach to money behoves. Unless he holds on to the physical media ~~commonly called money~~ *themselves such as the shells, feathers or bits of metal,* he is in danger of losing his way. For all that, he has to aim *as the philosopher* at a functional definition, for no object is money

per se, and any object, in an appropriate situation might function as money. ~~To~~ *To* determine the uses to which the physical units are put, he will aim at pointing to the situation in which ~~these objects~~ *these* ~~quantifiable objects~~ *these quantifiable objects* are handled, and to what effect.

Eventually, he will designate quantifiable objects as money when used for any one of the following purposes: for payment, as a standard or for exchange. Each of these three uses ~~is, originally, merely a money use~~ possesses then *definite* ~~or culturally~~ *or culturally* criteria: the sociologically determined situation in which the need for the use arises, the operationally described handling of the objects and, finally, the effect exercised *by that handling* on the situation. None of them *of course* implies the notion of money. The 'situation' is a fact of general sociology; the 'handling' is operationally prescribed; the 'effect' is by definition such that the need is met, the purpose served.

Typist: no italics!

Payment then, is the settling of an obligation through the handing over of quantifiable objects. The 'handing over' is the operation, the settling of the obligation' is the desired effect. As to the 'situation' of 'being under an obligation', ~~the situational settling of the~~ ~~situational requirement does not suffice.~~ *one such situation does not meet the requirement.* Unless at least one other situation is given that differs in regard to the quality of the obligation *and yet is settled by the same means,* the 'settling' does not constitute a 'payment' (as when an obligation to be discharged 'in kind' is so discharged).

The standard use of money is the employment of a physical unit as a referent in situations where arithmetical operations in regard to objects of different kinds are involved, like adding apples and pears. Under primitive conditions, the situation may be one of barter or of staple finance. ~~In either case the purpose of the operation is fairly obvious.~~ Barter is facilitated if different items on either side can be added up; staple finance requires as a rule, additions and subtractions ~~concerning~~ different staples like oil, wine, barley and wool. (In the modern world, we may add; deferred payment is often eased through the standard use of money).

Exchange use of money is the employment of quantifiable objects in situations of indirect exchange. ~~The 'handling' involves~~ *However, once* two subsequent exchanges, with the money object as the middle term. ~~Since~~ indirect exchange ~~though~~ has become customary, the sequence may start with 'money' and end up with more of it.

Exceptionally, the term money is also applied to other than physical units. Such 'ideal units' are written signs, spoken words, or recorded deeds employed in money-uses. The 'operation' may then consist of a manipulation of debt accounts, represented through non-physical units, with an

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effect similar to the use of physical units. In archaic society ideal units may occur in payment through clearing as in some instances of Babylonian and Egyptian staple finance.

An ^{apparent} exception ^{at end of the distinction} ~~and to ideal units~~ may be seen when physical units that ^{already} happen to be money ~~are~~ ^{also function in non-monetary} turned to a purely operational employ. ~~The latter would not, of course, make physical objects into money.~~ Those units are money because they function in one of our three money uses, ^{but they may} ~~also~~ at the same time ~~also~~ also serve some other, merely operational purpose ^{whether} whether statistical, or for control, or simply as units of weight, markers, or tallies. ~~Thus money objects may also function in non-monetary use,~~ as when coins are used to teach children arithmetics.

So much has been made of the distinction ^{between} ~~between~~ token money and commodity money - Zeichengeld vs. Nutzgeld - that a special warning is in place. Even ethnographers like ^{G.} Thilenius (1922) and Mrs. ^{A.H.} Quiggin (1949) have declared ^{only} token money to be ~~the~~ true money, ^{with} ~~for which~~ commodities employed as ~~money~~ mere ~~substitution~~ substitutes. For the student of early economy ^{such a} question hardly arises. Whether shells, feathers, barley or bits of leather ^{or paper} serve as money is irrelevant as long as ^{quantifiable} these objects, ~~which are not~~ are employed in any of our money uses.

^{however} Two remarks may be in order.

First, the impression that our three money uses are no more than economists' distinctions and hardly relevant to early economies, though understandable, is nevertheless erroneous. Traditional economics were formerly used to ^{stress} such distinctions, but these have now become obsolete, ~~with them~~. Actually, it is not in the modern exchange economy with its all-purpose money, but rather in primitive and archaic societies

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that these distinctions come alive referring as they do to situations of a widely different sociological background.

Secondly, the ~~former~~ term 'money-use' ^{may} tends to obscure the ~~social~~ fact that apart from the operational role played by quantifiable objects, the various money-uses have ~~hardly~~ ^{originally very little if} anything in common.

To start with 'payment', it stems from the moral and religious, not from the economic sphere. He who is guilty shall pay for his crime. ~~lashes~~ ^{lashes} of the whip, days of fasting, turns of the praying mill, ^{etc.} can be counted, ~~hence the general notion of~~ ^{such} punishment reckoned by units/constituting 'payment'. Only as physical punishment is replaced by fines, to be discharged in useful objects, does atonement take on the economic connotation which we associate with payment.

The rationale of ~~the~~ ^{the} standard ^{may be said to} ~~be based up apples and pears~~ ^{be} advanced ^{conditions (beyond)} on the elemental conception underlying payment. Standard requires a previous establishment ^{ment} of equivalents. ~~There~~ ^{For unless} there is a set rate between apples and pears, expressed either in apples or pears or in some third medium, ~~no accountancy can comprise them both.~~ ^{no} ~~justice is possible where apples and pears are involved.~~ ^{used} Money ^{either} as a means of ~~indirect~~ exchange assumes the existence of markets, ^{or of organized trade} institutions originally foreign both to the payment and the standard use of money.

The independent meanings of payment, standard and exchange ^{are it also} borne out by their ~~separate~~ ^{at least insofar as the economic sphere is concerned,} separate origins. Of these we have now fairly solid knowledge, ~~safe from the quicksands of speculation.~~

^{as a money use} Payment goes together with some institutions almost general in early societies, mainly bridewealth, wergeld and fines. A person may ~~find~~ ^{be} under an obligation to hand over quantifiable objects mostly,

though not always, of a utilitarian character, ~~usually~~ ^{and} employed also in the settlement of some other obligation). The customs of primitive tribes are reflected in the archaic law books, where composition, damages and fines are regularly set out in one and the same physical terms, like oxen, sheep or silver.

These ~~primitive~~ ^{three main} sources of obligation survive ~~in~~ ^{into} archaic society and ~~are preserved~~ ^{expand} enormously ~~through~~ ^{with} the introduction of taxes, rent, and tribute ~~with their fixed~~ ^{the} payments in discharge of obligations. ^{which offer many more occasions for}

The standard use of money is vital to ~~the~~ ^{the} staple finance ~~that~~ ^{which} accompanies large scale storage ~~economies~~ economies. No assessment and collection of taxes, no budgeting and balancing of manorial households, no rational accountance comprising a variety of goods is possible without a standard. Since it is not numbers but prices or values that are here subjected to arithmetic, this operation, as we said, requires definite rates connecting the various staples. Such figures representing ~~the~~ rates are in effect available in most archaic societies. Whether by virtue of custom, statute or proclamation, fixed equivalents designate the rate at which the necessaries of life can mutually be substituted for one another. It is only when prices develop in markets (i.e., relatively late) that money as a standard can be taken for granted, as it is today.

Exchange develops as a rule ~~only~~ within the framework of organized trade and markets, apart from which indirect exchange is only ~~exceptionally~~ ^{occasionally} met. Hence the exchange use of money is but of little importance under fully primitive conditions. Even in highly stratified archaic societies such as Babylonia, Assyria, Sumeria, the Hittites, Egypt or the Incas, storage economies prevail and in spite of a large scale use of money as a standard, its use for indirect exchange is negligible.

A comparative study of early money institutions must start from ~~the fact~~ ^{that} ~~the fact~~ while modern money is all-purpose money, i.e., the medium of exchange is also employed for the other money-uses, primitive ~~money~~ money tends to be limited purpose money, i.e., different objects are employed in the different money-uses. Hence

~~On the last resort it is this fact that governs~~ the widely disparate role of money-institutions in western type societies on the one hand, early and non-western societies, on the other. ~~This modern market economy is~~ ^{FN purpose money} ~~such greater extent monetarized than were pre-market economic, and~~ ~~money has~~ makes for more homogeneous forms of social organization; in contrast, limited purpose moneys, in spite of a much lower degree of monetarization, tend to mirror the articulation of society, particularly the variety and differentiation of its kin and class structure. Early money ~~shows therefore a comparatively more highly developed articulation~~ ^{shows some similarities} ~~in some of the societies to which it belongs,~~ ^{and} than does money in our own society.

forms

~~at the same time its social organization is homogeneous and society is far less monetarized, yet (shows) but nevertheless~~

A study of monetary institutions in early societies strikingly bears out this fact. It can be best presented by concentrating on those ^{features} characteristic of archaic society on which money institutions are found to impinge, such as patterns of integration, status, and operational devices.

basic

~~Equivalencies between the necessities of life are a requirement of~~

~~the reciprocal and redistributive patterns of integration, which~~

~~cannot work, short of a "rate" at which the redistribution or reciprocation is to take place. Equivalencies are here, indeed, a vital~~

pattern operates.

~~technical device, whether equality in sharing or equity in mutual aid is required, it appears, that to interpret 'equivalencies' as fixed prices (as usually happens) implies not only an unrealistic reversal of the~~

an unavoidable

the behavior

~~It appears that equivalencies are rooted in these earliest patterns of integration that precede exchange,~~

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true time-sequence - as if the equivalencies had been preceded by fluctuating prices - but also a misleading extension of the concept of 'price' to situations in which not exchange but other relations serve to integrate the economic process.

Status or rank is another feature of archaic societies, which ^{class} ~~ways~~ interacts with money institutions. The role played by status in the constituting of classes; the maintenance of upper-class prestige by virtue of the possession of treasure objects; the denial of luxury goods to the middle class by means of sumptuary laws; the restricting of the laboring classes to coarse food and bare necessities - all these various purposes of social stabilization ^{by} ~~are~~ served by differential exchanges ^{as shown in} ~~such as the~~ elite circulation of upper class goods or ^{that} of poor man's money circulating only among the classes engaged in menial occupations.

Operational devices are a third essential of archaic civilizations, before writing was introduced,