

Organization
of hierarchy
kanuri in
Uganda

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Grant No. 2477 (1958), \$1,250. The early development of trade, money, and market institutions.

The field and scope of this project was to inquire into the origins of trade, money, and market institutions with a view to determine the shifting place of economies in societies. Studies on money continued during 1958-1960 with the support of a grant from the American Philosophical Society.

Research into the social frame of the economy, though not limited to the culture traits of trade, money, and markets was done by the generation of Max Weber. The hope of advancing inquiry beyond the landmarks then set, rested on increased knowledge about the economy, thanks to the evolving discipline of primitive economics, and on a growing awareness of the unique position occupied by the market system in Western economic thinking. From either point of view a search for concepts universally applicable to market and non-market economies was indicated. Hence the need for a clarification of the concept of the economy that would allow us to generalize trade, money, and market institutions in a manner suitable for a correlating of their variants with historical economies. Eventually, greater insight should be thus gained into the position of economic systems in societies as a whole.

Of the two meanings of economic, the formal and the substantive, the latter alone will serve the purpose. The formal meaning of "allocating insufficient means among alternative uses" ignores the organization of the economy and is unsuitable for distinguishing between economies according to their institutional structures. The substantive definition of the economy, on the other hand, designates an "instituted process" which results in a continuous supply of material means. The process itself consists of things moving either locationally or appropriationally, that is, changing place either in regard to other things or to persons, or both. The "institutedness" of this process is essential. Its unity and stability, that is, its integration comes from those movements being caused by persons in the

