

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

INTERDISCIPLINARY PROJECT: ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF INSTITUTIONAL GROWTH

Directors: Professors K. Polanyi and C.M. Arensberg

Cora du Bois on prestige elements in the economy of  
the N.W. Indians

1. The wealth concept as an integrative factor in Tolowa-Tututni culture from "Essays in Anthropology" (1936) pp 49-65
2. Tolowa Notes - Am. Anth. (1932) N.S. Vol. 34 p. 248

A.I. Kroeber on the Tolowa

1. The Tolowa: "Handbook of the Indians of California" (1925) Chapter 7 - Athabascans pp 123-127

"The wealth concept as an integrative factor in Tolowa-Tututni culture."

Athabaskan speaking settlements.

50 "A rich subsistence provided by a bountiful environment and a relatively dense population." no scarcity?

50 ( ~~#~~subsistence economy } distinction  
~~#~~prestige economy }

"treasures" - no consumption value but medium of <sup>exchange</sup> each ~~each~~ ~~stage~~.

(A) Subsistence economy: exploitation of natural resources

"Individuals who had been lazy or inefficient in gathering food...were forced to buy it." If they were too poor to pay for it, they were given food by others but they were looked down upon. 'Anybody could do what he liked with them'. <sup>Pol:</sup> "Thetes" position similar.

(B) By prestige economy on the other hand is meant a series of social prerogatives and status values." from wives to formulae of supernatural <sup>ulsion</sup> compensation, mourner's privileges; *dignities*; compensation claims;....money ~~serve~~ as a med. of exchange in prestige economy rather than in subsistence economy Primary money: 'dentslia' ~~is~~. shells.

"In the realm of subsistence economy the T.-T. were on a barter basis without translation into an other medium - which is the essence of money economy. In their prestige economy however, they were definitely money-minded and wealth values were associated with social status. All individuals were brought up with the social ideal of driving

a hard bargain, of pushing every advantage by means of haggling, & thereby of establishing themselves socially. Since one of the means of acquiring money was the *dignity*-insult device, a "touchiness" developed which has been characterized as paranoic by Ruth Benedict for other regions of the northwest coast."

"---overlaps between subsistence activities and prestige values are referable to *sensitivity about* prestige values rather than to an actual struggle for livelihood in a subsistence sense."

51 "..on a barter basis in the realm of subsistence economy"

!!!

Furthermore, the favorable environment made even barter a minor activity. In addition, food was shared by the provident with the improvident within the village group... The individualism and scheming parsimony of prestige economy did not extend to subsistence."

51 "Subsistence economy is divorced from prestige economy and money operates in the latter realm."

Bur.-Am. -- (subsistence  $\rightleftarrows$  money)  $\rightarrow$  prestige

T.-T. -- subsistence  $\rightarrow$  (money  $\rightleftarrows$  prestige)

(1) *contrast to* gotlatch; Prestige wealth and subsistence economy were not linked directly thro' the medium of a money system but they were related thro' the feast tradition. Among *on the other hand,* the T.-T. feast tradition at a minimum - not a social duty related to status.

(2) *rec* ~~Destination~~ of property for prestige purposes unknown with the T.-T., indeed, seems utterly preposterous to them!!!!

(3) no interest on loans...<sup>Q</sup>A complete puzzle  
 ..utterly different from British Columbian...  
 All relationships individualized. No political  
 organization. No crime, in the "public offence" sense.  
 "All injuries whether insult, mayhem, or murder, were  
 torts for which compensating payments could buy  
 atonement." law and finance intricately linked;  
 .."wealth and social power become identified to a marked  
 degree in practice." : "Poor people have no say, they  
have no money to talk with." "The rich man functioned  
 as a state *surrogate*. "Referred *responsibility*" - the rich  
 may have to pay up for all torts. Were ~~gold~~ paid by the  
 rich for any poor. If a feud ensues, the life of the  
 rich man was endangered "rather than that of the  
 insignificant murderer". Aim of feud: kill the richest  
 The Rich: a successful businessman and skillful  
 diplomat.

*Pol: timocracy*

55 Slaves: debtors slavery (unpaid debt). Debts could be  
incurred only in the realm of prestige economy.

Possession of Slaves: prestige, ostentation.

Status of poor relative. Almost a form of adoption...

*(classes)*

Rich and poor (slaves <sup>form</sup> - part of the latter)

59

Marriage

"Some people go crazy, wishing so hard to be rich."

"A very poor man might be denied direct sex outlets."

DUBOIS: T-T (continued)

49 Identification, cultural:

Related to sub-area of NW coast culture (focus placed by Kroeber among Yurok of Klamath River in NW Calif).

T-T an internally marginal people - social, ritual, material existence less complex than their neighbors to north and south.

49 Identification

Pacific Coast (approximately from Crescent City in California to Point Orford, Oregon) - some eighteen Athabascan-speaking settlements, grouped into three tribes: Tolowa, Chetco, Tututni. Tribal divisions are arbitrary, based on slight dialectic differences.

Aboriginal population c.3000. Today only a small remnant of Tolowa in situ. A few Tututni on Siletz reservation - tribe taken there 1856.

49 Titles and

(Fines): Village, usually on river mouth, claimed well-defined territory along coast. Inland villages (only a few, less important than coastal) had less sharply defined territory.

Fishing sites generally used freely by any person in village group (tho there were privately owned fishing sites) - only restriction upon use of sites was temporary mourners' rights - breach of these fined.

50 Treasure:

Certain "treasures" existed - these had minimum consumption value, functioned as media of exchange (?) - primary among these were dentalia,<sup>the</sup> most standardized medium.

Other shells, woodpecker scalps, rare pelts, obsidian blades,

certain regalia, serve to a lesser extent in transacting negotiations.

Monies served as media of exchange primarily in prestige - not subsistence - economy. Subsistence economy on barter basis; not accustomed to translate values of subsistence goods into another medium.

RM: Doubtful if "medium of exchange" function found if money used only in prestige economy - more likely means of payment? Check further.

wcn: I am inclined to agree with RM.

50 ~~Definition of Prestige Economy~~

~~"...a series of social prerogatives and status values. They included a large range of phenomena from wives to formalise for for supernatural compulsion. They embraced mourners' privileges and innumerable personal dignities, the disregard of which was cause for compensation regardless of intent."  
finer payed to rich~~

50-1 Subsistence Attitudes:

Persons (Pol: Clientage?) lazy or inefficient in food getting were usually given food by others but were looked down upon. Poor man could usually depend on rich kinsman. Successful hunter expected to be liberal with his kinsmen. Sharing of food with the improvident operated within the village group.

51 A "device for dealing in a limited set of social recognitions."

52 Money did not determine whether person well or poorly fed or housed, Did not function in the subsistence economy.

52 Subsistence link

Feast motif (link between prestige and subsistence economy ~~as~~  
in potlatch of the N.W. Coast) lacking or minimal with T.T!  
Feast is not recognized as rich man's status obligation.

53 Feasts are only occasional and on a small scale  
(Pol: instead: <sup>obligation to pay others'</sup> blood money etc.)

52-3 Attitudes:

Pol: No interest, yet debt 'slavery'.

T-T disapproved, did not understand, property destruction - gift  
distribution à la NW coast regarded as strange, no ceremonial  
mechanisms for this. Stress on acquisition rather than <sup>or</sup> display  
or destruction of wealth.

No concept of interest on loans. (52)

53 Display:

Treasure-objects displayed at 10-night dance of winter  
season (this is the only regular ceremony of the Tututni) -  
but display less impressive in quality and quantity than Yurok  
(focus of cultural sub-area) and atmosphere far less dramatic.

‡Wealth display ceremonies characteristic of the sub-area,  
as vs. potlatch of NW coast‡.

~~Wealth display ceremonies.~~

53-4 Social Organization:

Social unit is the exogamous village consisting primarily of  
paternal kin. Patrilocal residence.

No gens concept

No political organization.

Pol: Secret society type? Gerontocracy?

54 Rich man as state surrogate, negotiator in disputes and settlement of injuries -

58 Sweat houses for men - boys admitted there after the age of six

*Pol:* Oligarchy and Leiturgy

54 Fines

All injuries, from insult to murder, were torts, atonement bought by payment.

Money transaction could settle any infringement (in theory at least). fines!

54 Concept of "referred responsibility" - rich man of the village ultimately responsible for payment for torts committed by any of of his village kinemen.

Rich man acted as intermediary in settling disputes, had "vested interest in social equilibrium".

If feud resulted after negotiations failed, object was to kill the richest man of the offending group, not the offender himself - life of rich man considered adequate compensation, rather than life of insignificant murderer.

54 Kinns

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

55 Fines - Clientage

Haggling over fines basic to any settlement. Success in haggling rested on show of force. Thus rich man ultimately dependent on good will and size of his kin group - rich and poor thus interdependent.

Power of rich men checked by his dependence on his followers.

*Pol:* cf. Manus, Boloki, Romans, Buin.

*Clientage*

55 Slavery - status:

Slaves never sold!

Status is that of poor relative, slavery almost a form of adoption (identified by Tututni informant only at mention of "adoption")

Not hereditary

No more onus attached than to poverty - slaves and poor identified as one social group, no separate category of slaves.

55 Slaves helped in subsistence-economy, but not a source of income, did not add to master's supply of money.

Lived in rich man's household, usually well treated. Slave's loyalty and support expected in return.

Pol: Is it a client or a slave?

55 Debtbondage?

Slaves taken for unpaid debt, not in war.

Person indebted to rich man might become slave himself, or more probably transfer a child in lieu of payment.

Slaves a source of prestige ostentation. Symbols of money loaned - since debts arose only in connection with prestige economy.

Pol: Debt slavery ~~is~~ a result of default on prestige debt?

56 Means of payment (bride price): Dentalia formed most valuable part of bride price, displayed on shallow basket, handled slowly and reverently.

Price paid for daughter represented social status of father, thus father drove sharp bargain, system of haggling prevailed over marriage payment.

Bride price approximately equalled blood money (from \$80 to \$150.)

56 Wealth: treasure!

Dentalia handled reverently - their history\* known to influential men of the community - compared by DuBois with rare editions prized by bibliophiles.

\*Pol. Kula 'vaygu'a

53 Dentalia tied on ankles of child almost immediately after birth.

56-7 Fiction existed that a man was enriched by marrying off his daughter - actually bride price almost matched by return gifts (dowry) (if translated into dollars) - marriage transactions therefore resulted in only slight advantage to woman's family.

Bride price in effect a deposit by groom's family with bride's - groom's family had liens on it - e.g.

a) divorce necessitated return of all property exchanged at marriages.

b) If wife dies her family offers substitute (ditto for husband - cf. p 57)

c) If child of the union dies, wife's family obligated to pay husband for value of child. Husband may make return gift slightly larger in value, but not obligated to do so.

d) If wife leaves husband, price of child is subtracted from returned bride price.

e) Birth of a certain number of children considered equivalent to the bride price - wife thereafter free of husband's lien.

~~56-7 Fiction existed that a man was enriched by marrying off his daughter - actually bride price almost matched by return gifts (dowry) (if translated into dollars) - marriage transactions therefore resulted in only slight advantage to woman's family.~~

57-8 Fines

Man caught in adultery had to pay bride price and insult fee to husband - if unable or unwilling to pay, he could be seized and mutilated until his kinsmen intervened by agreeing to pay.

59 For rape of virgin, girl's family tried to bully guilty man into paying as large a bride price as possible, since rape lowered girl's financial value to other suitors. For rape of widow, her affinal family demanded compensation.

58-9 Attitudes:

Education maximized wealth acquisition.

Boys taught by older men to think about getting rich; not to think about women; not to eat too much or they wont get rich (wen: why, if subsistence & prestige divorced?).

Rich men supposed to eat slowly and not appear hungry or greedy.

Girls' incentive to good behavior was prospect of fetching high bride price (wen: is good behavior chastity?)

50-1 Identification- ecology  
technology

Rich subsistence, environment beautiful, dense *population*  
Hunting, fishing, gathering

60 Heavy plank houses, representing much labor. Man had only one house.

63 Stone, wood, and horn work done - basketry. These are inferior to those of the Klamath area.

Women

61 Wives from distant villages had more prestige value than those from nearby.

59 Only rich men had more than one wife.

69-60 Only active outlet for wealth-seeking by women was shamanism.

Otherwise, status depended on high bride price.

61 Wealth  $\rightarrow$  sources of:

(a) Payments made to shamans for cures - payment returned if

cure unsuccessful.

(b) Singers at seances compensated.

(c) Formulae - these gotten by payment or revelation. Owner could repeat it for payment (on occasion of mourner needing purification, hunter needing luck, etc) or sell it to another.

(d) Bride price

(e) Blood money for relative killed.

(f) Payment for insults (finer)

64 (g) Mourners' compensation before 10-night dance.

64 Reverse of each of these items could be entered on debit side.

RM: Note significance of prestige in wealth accumulation (and its opposite: confiscation!)

Redistribution works both ways!

(right to collect objects!)

62 Debts

Warfare consisted of series of ambushes and murder resulting from blood feud - each death or injury involved required compensatory payment - settlement negotiated between the 2 sides, in which winning side paid heavier damages since they had inflicted more injuries.

62-3 Certain wealth institutions not exploited to maximum advantage: interest on loans, debt slavery, warfare.

Other institutions relatively untouched by wealth concept - e.g., girls' adolescence observances:

Tolowa: ceremonial dance held, some wealth display but not a primary function of the ceremony - girls of wealthy had more elaborate ceremonial than poor.

Tatutni: no adolescence dance - rites purely individual - no

wealth emphasis except dressing girl in her best finery on final day.

Childbirth observances singularly free from wealth interpretation. Dentalia tied on infant's ankles almost immediately after birth. Feast given around end of first year by father - persons helping at birth (midwives, formulators, etc.) recompensed for services.

64 Any man who accumulated a surplus was subject to tax by rich man of village for his proportionate share in settlement of blood feuds, mourners rights, bride price for rich man's son.

Rich man could force contribution since his good will essential in permitting any person to maintain a debit credit-balance.

Pol: Primitive Feudalism? Patron and client? 1. Contribution to bride-price (rather: dowry) is typical client's duty. 2. Blood feud composition - duty of lineage, not of individual.

3. Themistai (Odyssee, Iliad) - pr: <sup>primitive</sup> feudalism

64 Limits on acquisition. Emphasis on wealth as road to social approval was a social fiction, since ideal was not realizable for most persons: (1) social status relatively stable. (2) Any accumulated wealth was subject to tax imposed by rich man of village. (3) Escape from village possible but rare - poor man who managed to accumulate wealth and followers might <sup>accumulate</sup> set up a Schismatic village.

RM: Who are subject to tax (all residents in village? Kin? Wealthier persons, taxed proportionately?)

Of what does tax consist - kinds of goods, treasure, money?  
Prestige-redistribution link.

*Procrisphora*

Subsistence attitudes: Individualism and parsimony of prestige economy did not extend to subsistence.

Attitudes:

Very little property destruction at death-Dwellings left intact if relatives could use them. Canoes, regalia, and all paraphernalia of deceased used by heirs.

Heading: "Wealth and Property"

"The Social implications of wealth and its desirability were expressed by the informant in approximately the following words:

"If a poor man wanted to be rich he had to do a lot of sad things. He would go to a lucky mountain to cry and wish hard to be rich. He would think of his father and mother and how poor they were. He just sat and cried and thought hard about beads and rich things like that. For ten nights he would keep watch over a small fire of fir limbs. It is lucky to find a little basin of water on the mountain at this time.(?) At dawn he would come back to the village crying. It was awfully sad to hear him. Then he would go back to the sweat house where the men were still sleeping and build a fire from fir limbs which he had brought down in a bundle from the mountain. After he was through sweating he would go to the river to swim. Sometimes people go crazy wishing so hard to be rich."

Chapter 7 - Athabescans: the Tolowa

123 Identification

Speech is the first and most northerly Athabascan dialect group in California

124 Located in Del Norte County, NW corner of state. Territory coincides with Smith River drainage and adjacent ocean frontage.

125 Census 1910 gave Tolowa population at 120 (1/3 part white). Number at time of settlement guessed at well under 1000.

125 Villages are basis of native society (as throughout California) - these the 'ultimate and only political units in the Indians' consciousness.'

Error was made in imputing pot. gentile system to Tolowa.

Villages are not gentile subdivisions of a 'tribe'.

Term 'Tolowa' denotes speech and perhaps certain customs, but non-political - term is not used by the people themselves.

125 Subsistence (Titles to Property)

Inland territory claimed by Tolowa probably co-extensive with stream drainage, but interior little used except for hunting. Habits essentially those of a coastal people.

Tolowa claimed whales stranded on shore as far as three miles beyond their village settlements - outer limit marked junction of Tolowa and Yurok boundaries.

126 Wars

While Tolowa fought Yurok, they were interrelated by marriage, and Yurok got allies from Tolowa in great war (1830? 1840?) vs. Hupa and Chilula - conducted by Yurok. (~~contra~~)

126 Subsistence

Evidently salmon caught. Mention of Tolowa village of Hinei

going to war vs. Yurok village of Rekwoi over Tolowa charge that Rekwoi women used magic to keep salmon from going up Smith River.

126 Wars (feuds) between Tolowa villages likely to be limited to kinsmen. Expedition against Yurok or Karok settlement for revenge might unite inhabitants of several towns  
War between Yurok and Tolowa villages occurred over charge by Tolowa that Yurok women used magic to stop salmon flow.  
cf. Money, Feud

126 Feud:  
Case of Yurok woman who had lost relatives in former fighting against the Tolowa (of adjacent village of Hinei) - fighting had been formally ended by money settlements for everyone slain or injured - but woman was believed to cherish resentment, was later accused by Tolowa of stopping salmon from going up-river, by magic - this led to another war between Tolowa and Yurok villages.

126 Attitudes:  
Yurok regard Tolowas as rich, a distinction they accord to few other peoples.

(RM: Why? What is "rich"?)

Context mentions, in foregoing sentence Tolowas as purveyors of dentalium shells to Yurok.

cf. Money

126-7 Identification (cultural)

Customs, institutions, implements similar to Yurok and Hupa except in minor points - general basis of this civilization

similar with respect to houses, canoes, basketry, tools and social attitudes.

127 Subsistence

Tolowa redwood canoe, twice ordinary size, measuring 92' x 8 feet, described as made on Smith River and used for traffic on Humboldt Bay. But if report true, canoe must have been made for American freight by hired Indians - such a canoe impractical for native uses such as beaching, crossing bars, shooting rapids, dragging loads upstream.

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INTERDISCIPLINARY PROJECT: ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF INSTITUTIONAL GROWTH

Directors: Professors K. Polanyi and C.M. Arensberg

R.L. Olson: "Some Trading Customs of the Chilkat Tlingit"  
from "Essays in Anthropology" (1936) pp.211-214

Ronald L. Olson: "Some Trading Customs of the Chilkat Tlingit"

(Essays...presented to A.I. Kroeber.)

OLSON: TLINGIT

Trading rights  
E11

Rights to trade routes, also to privilege of trading with certain Athapascan bands, belonged to clan whose ancestors reputedly discovered Athapascan bend - these rights passed from uncle to nephews or other kin, became property of matrilineal clan. Members of other clans excluded from these rights in theory, not in practice - but leader of trading expedition invariably a chief of one of the "owning" clans, and most of participants in expedition were of these clans.

Items  
(Carrying trade)  
E11

About 3 out of 5 men in Tlingit trading party carried ordinary trading goods; 1 out of 5 detailed to carry food; house chiefs carried packs of special trading goods and luxuries. Party numbered 100 or more.

Bulk of freight was firearms, powder, shot, dress goods, blankets, iron tools.

Prior to white fur traders' influx, Tlingit traded mainly dried fish and eulachon oil for furs and dressed skins from Athapascans. Later, European goods displaced fish and oil.

(Mrs. Rosemary M. Arnold: Note association of person with type of goods carried.)

cf. also Traders

Duality  
Trade partners

Each leader or house chief in Tlingit party had

trading partner among Athapascans - partners always of same clan or moiety.

Athapascan clans (2) at Kusawa Lake had same names as Tlingit clans with which they traded - not known whether these the actual names or merely equivalents of the respective Tlingit groups.

Items  
E18-3

Special trade goods and luxuries carried in chief's pack included tobacco, vermilion, cloth shirts and dresses.

Food pack included rare items: rice, sugar, tea, coffee.

Attitudes  
E18-3

Host accepts gift packs from Tlingit party, puts them in storeroom without examining them. Later, before actual trading begins, host and wife secretly examine contents.

Host does not wish to appear stingy, guest does not wish to appear greedy. But Tlingit sharp traders - know that furs gotten from Athapascans worth much more than gifts given by Tlingit, and furs can be sold for much more to whites than Tlingit pay for them to Athapascans.

(Walter C. Heale: is this so significant when both parties know each will get all the other has by end of trading?)

214

Tlingit displayed sense of superiority in bargaining; Athapascans humble or docile and were poor bargainers. (cf Trade, prestige-economy)

Arrangements  
E12-3

No trading began for 2-3 days after Tlingit party arrived - time spent in games, contests, socializing.

Tlingit men paired off with Athapascan women - "took them into the woods."

After trading completed in each house (between host chief and guest chief and his party) - feast held in largest house in village, all attended.

1 or 2 trips per year made by coast Tlingit to Athapascans - approximate time arranged by both parties on previous year's visit. Athapascans concentrated at their permanent village for the occasion.

Trading visit the biggest event of the year to Athapascans. (cf. Trade partners)

Traders  
E13

Elite Circle - Partnership

Young men took no part in trading procedure between chiefs. Young men of Tlingit allowed to bring along only a few items of their own - these traded with young men of Athapascans, but semi-secretly out-of-doors. (Other, i.e. "official" trading done indoors). These transactions might lead to formation of trading partnerships in later life.

Pol: be'ulatus(?) junior partner's stock!

Gift Trade  
E18

Athapascan host send son or nephew to bring year's fur catch from hidden cache in elevated

storehouse some miles distant from house - this initiates the actual trading. - most of furs then piled in corner of house, but some of finer ones hidden in storeroom - these kept for later bargaining.

Trading started by host's son or nephew piling furs in front of guest chief.

Traders -  
collective  
character  
E13-4

Tlingit serve as middlemen between whites and Athapascans - Athapascans did not make trip to coast often, and then not to trade, thus did not know "re-sale value" of their furs, were poor bargainers.

Gift trade  
E13-4

Tlingit chief gives all packs carried by his party except (1) food pack and (2) his own pack to host on arrival.

Chief's pack held back for manipulation when actual trading begins - items from chief's pack distributed as gifts to members of host's household during the actual trading, but not all at once, in sections, so as to force host to put more furs on the pile.

Host's wife gives gifts to guest chief for himself and his wife (skin of fur boots, shirt, robe for wife) as part of gift-transactions during actual trading.

Host supplies guest with food for return trip upon their departure.

Items  
prestige  
E14

At <sup>the</sup> last climaxing trade visit, guests ask hosts to teach them new songs - several days spent learning these.

Tlingit thought it a great thing to sing or dance a new piece - songs gotten from Athapascans performed by Tlingit later at home village.

Prestige  
economy link  
214

Trade offered quick road to wealth.

Tlingit potlatch system made them greedy for wealth.

Tlingit men often married women of the interior tribes for sole purpose of getting trade advantage - such wives stayed in their home village, saw husbands only once or twice a year. If man had wife in Tlingit village, she would not object since her wife meant husband could bring home more furs.

Items

Athapascan host kept some of finer furs hidden in elevated storehouse some miles distant from his house - most of years catch kept in

(note incomplete)

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REPORT ON THE TAMKARUM

by Mrs. R. Harris

with K.P.'s Comments

## Report on the tamkaram.

Before presenting the results obtained from my study of the slightly more than two hundred occurrences of the word t. in Cappadocian texts, I should like to say a word about my approach to the problem. I made no attempt to penetrate the underlying economic and legal situation of the so-called Assyrian colonies in order to discover the role played by the t. At the present time such a task appears well nigh impossible in that the Cappadocian texts are in a large part philologically difficult to understand. Therefore, I had of necessity to choose another approach to the question as to what function the t. had. The occurrences of t. were divided into various groupings on the basis of the phraseology of these references. In other words, my approach was primarily a philological one.

### Was the tamkaram a public official?

The question of whether or not the t. was a public official can still not be answered with certainty. However, as I will try to show below, the data speak against his status as a public official.

Six letters only are extant which are addressed to the t.<sup>1)</sup> With the exception of two texts,<sup>2)</sup> he is always addressed along with other people. In two letters, the famous Pušukin is also an addressee. Thus, he was clearly not the t. Normally, one would expect that the writers of these letters would refer to the t. by name and not simply as t. However, the fact that the name of the t. is not mentioned, whereas the other addressees are referred to by name, can be interpreted in two different ways. Either one can conclude that there was only the one t. (or at any rate a chief of a group of t.) who was a public official and, accordingly, he did not have to be mentioned by name. Just as one writing to Mr. Eisenhower could confidently address his letter 'dear Mr. President' without fear of confusion ensuing. Or one might conclude that although there were many t. of equal importance, the person writing the letter in a specific context to people acquainted with a particular t. would not have to mention the name of the t.

There are a number of factors which speak in favour of the latter view as against the former. First is the striking fact that there is not a single extant letter written by the t. himself. If the t. were a public official one would expect to find copies of his letters to have been preserved. Against this one might argue that the t. was an official who lived in the court of the native ruler (rubāum) on the hill where excavations have just begun. But there is no evidence to warrant the assumption that the t. ever served with the local ruler.

Moreover, if the t. were a public official one would think that he would derive certain benefits and privileges from his position. However, there is no indication that he was in any way a privileged person.

Further evidence speaking against the position of the t. as a public official is discussed in the following section.

### The word tankārum in the meaning of 'creditor'

In about 30% of the occurrences of the word t., it seems clearly that t. means simply 'creditor.' Most of these texts record loans of refined silver (kaspum serrupum), occasionally of copper (RUBU), and rarely of tin (annukam) given by the t. to various people. Usually, the loan is formulated in the following way: so much refined silver (or whatever else is the object of the loan) ina sēr PN t. iṣū (literally, upon PN has the merchant) 'PN owes the t.'<sup>3</sup> Less frequently, the loan is formulated: so much refined silver ša PN ana t. habbalu' which PN owes the t.'<sup>4</sup> In none of these loans is the t. mentioned by name.

That t. means 'creditor' is clear from other occurrences where the word t. is followed by a personal suffix e.g. my t., your t., their t. etc.<sup>5</sup> In several of these cases, the name of the t., here creditor, is actually stated. Thus we find, x mana of silver belonging to Ašur-malik, the son of Ašur-muttabil, my t. (TC II 75:7-10); Anina, his t. and the t. of his father (Ališar 12:17-19); Ilu-ša-rabi, the son of Enum-Asur, your t. (Contenan 10:4-5); and Amur, the son of your t. (Ališar 2: 11).

The addition of personal suffixes to the word t., and more especially the mention of the name of the t., speaks strongly in favour of the view that there were many t. and that they were not public officials.

Just what relationship, if any, exists between t. 'creditor' and the t. who engages in business involving different kinds of merchandise is not clear.

There is evidence that the t. owned property for in CCT 46a: 5, a legal text, reference is made to the slave girl (amtum) of the t. The t. also possessed merchandise which whenever mentioned is said specifically to belong to him.<sup>6</sup> Although the t. gives loans he is never found receiving a loan.

### The bit tankārim

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It is noteworthy that the parallel phrase bit ummi'anum also exists. The meaning of the word u. and the function of this person will be studied in the near future, for the clarification of the role of the t. hinges on an understanding of the u.

The tamkārūm and the ammi'ānum

In several texts, we find the t. and the ammi. mentioned side by side. Just what the difference is between these two words remains to be studied.

Striking is the one example<sup>10)</sup> of the phrase mara' t. This too is paralleled by the far more frequently occurring phrase mara' ammi. The word mar'am (literally 'son') in such phrases usually denotes a person belonging to a special class.

Occasionally the t. is described by the adjective kēnum.<sup>11)</sup> Philologically speaking, the meaning of kēnum in this context is rather vague. Perhaps it means something like 'real,' or 'trustworthy,' a real t. in contrast to a person who is not really a t. Here too we find a parallel with ammi, who is also at times described as kēnum.

From the above mentioned parallels between t. and ammi, one may anticipate that the study of the occurrences of the latter may be of considerable help in shedding light on the t.

COMMENTS

Research Assistant Mrs. Harris, of the Oriental Institute, Chicago, had only a brief three months in which to acquaint herself with the problems of our Interdisciplinary Project when she was called upon to present a Report on the tamkarum as he appears in the 'Capp.' tablets.

Her Report as presented includes no list of identification of the approximately 200 tablets surveyed; nor has the classificatory grouping numerical precision; the footnotes marked in the text have still to be supplied. It is not possible therefore to check the proffered statements, especially to ascertain whether texts published in translation by Landsberger, J. Lewy, Gelb and others have been included. If only for this reason final comment must be withheld.

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It is difficult to appraise what a philological treatment might or might not in this case have revealed since the statements and arguments of the Report do not keep within the limits of such an approach. Nevertheless it remains unclear whether Mrs. H. really wishes us to understand that the word tamkarum means 'creditor.' If it actually meant that the texts conveying that EN owed goods or money to the t. would still fail to designate the person of the creditor...This is not the only case where the underlying assumptions are obscure, if not paradoxical. Policemen are public officials, yet there is more than one of them. Private persons do not only receive but also write letters, especially if they happen to be creditors, urging their claims on the debtor. The Report postulates the opposite. And why, it must be asked, should the figure to whom persons habitually present their claims for that reason not be a public official? And, to come back to where the Report started from, even assuming all this to be correct, how would it explain that the t. is very rarely if ever called by his name? Private persons mostly are.

K.P.

Notes No. 3 (November, 1954)  
Not for Publication

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

INTERDISCIPLINARY PROJECT: ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF INSTITUTIONAL GROWTH

Directors: Professors K. Polanyi and C.M. Arensberg

REPORT ON THE TAMKARUM

by Mrs. R. Harris

with K.P.'s Comments

## Report on the tamk̄arum.

Before presenting the results obtained from my study of the slightly more than two hundred occurrences of the word t. in Cappadocian texts, I should like to say a word about my approach to the problem. I made no attempt to penetrate the underlying economic and legal situation of the so-called Assyrian colonies in order to discover the role played by the t. At the present time such a task appears well nigh impossible in that the Cappadocian texts are in a large part philologically difficult to understand. Therefore, I had of necessity to choose another approach to the question as to what function the t. had. The occurrences of t. were divided into various groupings on the basis of the phraseology of these references. In other words, my approach was primarily a philological one.

### Was the tamk̄arum a public official?

The question of whether or not the t. was a public official can still not be answered with certainty. However, as I will try to show below, the data speak against his status as a public official.

Six letters only are extant which are addressed to the t.<sup>1)</sup> With the exception of two texts,<sup>2)</sup> he is always addressed along with other people. In two letters, the famous Pušukin is also an addressee. Thus, he was clearly not the t. Normally, one would expect that the writers of these letters would refer to the t. by name and not simply as t. However, the fact that the name of the t. is not mentioned, whereas the other addressees are referred to by name, can be interpreted in two different ways. Either one can conclude that there was only the one t. (or at any rate a chief of a group of t.) who was a public official and, accordingly, he did not have to be mentioned by name. Just as one writing to Mr. Eisenhower could confidently address his letter 'dear Mr. President' without fear of confusion ensuing. Or one might conclude that although there were many t. of equal importance, the person writing the letter in a specific context to people acquainted with a particular t. would not have to mention the name of the t.

There are a number of factors which speak in favour of the latter view as against the former. First is the striking fact that there is not a single extant letter written by the t. himself. If the t. were a public official one would expect to find copies of his letters to have been preserved. Against this one might argue that the t. was an official who lived in the court of the native ruler (rubāum) on the hill where excavations have just begun. But there is no evidence to warrant the assumption that the t. ever served with the local ruler.

Moreover, if the t. were a public official one would think that he would derive certain benefits and privileges from his position. However, there is no indication that he was in any way a privileged person.

Further evidence speaking against the position of the t. as a public official is discussed in the following section.

The word tamkārum in the meaning of 'creditor'

In about 30% of the occurrences of the word t., it seems clearly that t. means simply 'creditor.' Most of these texts record loans of refined silver (kaspum ar'rupum), occasionally of copper (RUDU), and rarely of tin (annukum) given by the t. to various people. Usually, the loan is formulated in the following way: so much refined silver (or whatever else is the object of the loan) ina sér PN t. isû (literally, upon PN has the merchant) 'PN owes the t.' 3) Less frequently, the loan is formulated: so much refined silver ša PN ana t. habbulu' which PN owes the t.' 4) In none of these loans is the t. mentioned by name.

That t. means 'creditor' is clear from other occurrences where the word t. is followed by a personal suffix e.g. my t., your t., their t. etc. 5) In several of these cases, the name of the t., here creditor, is actually stated. Thus we find, x mana of silver belonging to Asur-malik, the son of Asur-muttabil, my t. (TC II 75:7-10); Anina, his t. and the t. of his father (Alisar 12:17-19); Ilu-šu-rabi, the son of Enam-Asur, your t. (Contenu 10:4-5); and Amur, the son of your t. (Alisar 2:4 11).

The addition of personal suffixes to the word t., and more especially the mention of the name of the t., speaks strongly in favour of the view that there were many t. and that they were not public officials.

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Directors: Professors K. Polanyi and C.M. Arensberg

SOME CASES IN WHICH MARKET; MARKET PLACE MARKET PRICE AND SYNONYMS  
OCCUR IN ENGLISH; GERMAN AND FRENCH TRANSLATIONS OF CUNEIFORM TEXTS

from K.P.

2 /

Some cases in which market, market place, market price and synonyms occur in English, German and French translations of Cuneiform texts

|                                     |        |   |
|-------------------------------------|--------|---|
| 1. Markt                            |        | EL<br>mahirum, <del>S.E.</del> Vocabulary, MVAG, 1935, Bd.35, Heft 3, p. 200 ✓  |
| 2. market                           | markt? | mahirum (MIC 1842), H. Lewy, Studies pp.48, 52 and 106f.  |
| 3. chief of the market              |        | rabi ma-hi- <sup>-n-im</sup> <del>rim</del> , TC III 253 (J. Lewy in Archives d'Histoire du Droit Orientale I, 1937, pp. 102 ff.) ✓ |
| 4. market value<br>valor (Lat.)     |        | ana ma-hi-ra-ti-su-nu, Deimel, CE 51. (How-<br>ever, 108: KI-LAM, stone weight. ? bracket ✓   |
| 5. markt(gängiges) <sup>a</sup>     |        | sa ma-hi-ri-im, CCT 12 <sup>a</sup> , 3, EL 137. Foot-<br>note a: Wörtlich "des Marktes". ✓   |
| 6. (im) Kurs der Stadt <sup>b</sup> |        | ma-hi-ir, Giessen 4-11,8 EL 183. Footnote<br>b: Wörtlich: "Markt(gängiges) der Stadt, vgl. CCT 12 <sup>a</sup> . ✓                  |
| 7. marché                           |        | VS IX 83 = (VAR 719),<br>kar, E. Cuq, (1929), p.278, q. U. 919 ✓  |
| 8. d'après le cours<br>du jour      |        | kar, E. Cuq, (1929), p. 295, q. U. 84, "nach<br>dem derzeitigen Kurs". ✓  |
| 9. Hafen(Marktwert)                 | 10     | kar; karu, Landsb. a.1, Tf2 III. ✓  |
| 10. sein Marktwert                  | 11     | kar.bi " ✓  |
| 11. Grossmarkt(Wert)                | 12     | kar.gu.la; kar.gu.lu-ú " ✓  |
| 12. Grossmarkt(Wert)                | 13     | " ; kar-ru rabuú " ✓  |
| 13. valor (Lat.)                    |        | ma-hi-ru, Deimel, HC 51. Ideogram KI-Lam =<br>pondus; Vocabulary: price. ✓  |
| 14. Gegenwert(Kurs)                 | 17a    | KI.gán(!).ba.LAM; ma-hi-ru, Landsb.a.i. Tf2 III ✓   |
| 15. "                               | 17b    | KI.LAM " ✓  |
| 16. grosser Gegenwert(Kurs)         | 18     | KI.LAM.gu.la " ✓  |
| 17. kleiner "                       | 19     | KI.LAM.tur.ra " ✓   |
| 18. schwacher "                     | 20     | KI.LAM.lal.e; ma-en-su " ✓  |
| 19. zu kleiner "                    | 21     | " ; ma-ma-tu-ú " ✓  |
| 20. fester "                        | 22     | KI.LAM.kal(ag).ga ✓   |
| 21. normaler "                      | 23     | KI.LAM.gi.na ✓  |

|   |                               |                    |   |
|---|-------------------------------|--------------------|---|
| 22. guter (vorteilhafter), Gegenwert (Kurs)         | 24' KI.LAM.dug.ga             | Landsb.a.i.Tf2,III |   |
| 23. vorhandener Gegenwert (Kurs)                    | 25' KI.LAM.gar.ra; ma-ba-su-ú | "                  | ✓ |
| 24. vorhandener Gegenwert                           | 26' KI.LAM.gal.la; ma-ba      | "                  |   |
| 25. "   | 27' KI.LAM.al.gá.gá; "        | "                  | ✓ |
| 26. laufender Kurs                                  | 28' KI.LAM.al.gin.a           | "                  |   |
| 27. zum laufenden Kurs                              | 29' "                         | "                  |   |
| 28. zum bestehenden Kurs                            | 30' KI.LAM.al.gál.la.dím      | "                  | ✓ |
| 29. "   | 31' KI.LAM.al.gá.gá.dím       | "                  | ✓ |
| 30. Kurs der in der Stadt ist                       | 32' KI.LAM.ura.gál.la         | "                  | ✓ |
| 31. Kurs gemäss der Liste (?) (dem Tarif) der Stadt | 33' KI.LAM.su.uru.dím         | "                  | ✓ |

Cf. also Anhang, p.124-5: "Wie man sieht war hier für das Schwanken der Preise eine reiche Terminologie entwickelt, die an Nuancierung den Ausdrücken unseres Börsenjargons kaum nachsteht. Während aber an unseren Produktenbörsen stets der Wert einer Ware nach Geld bemessen wird, war in Babylonien der umgekehrte Usus, nämlich die Warenmenge pro Sekel anzugeben, üblich." - Almost identical stock exchange references with Koschaker and Lewy.

|                                 |   |  |
|---------------------------------|---|--|
| 32. in the sense of market-rate | mañru, Johns, p.24  |  |
| 33. au cours du change          | ana pûhi nañu, E. Cuq, 1929, Ch.III "Les Marchés", p. 169-70. q. Scheil, RA 24, p. 115, and 117. (1927) |  |
| 34. auf dem Markt gekauft       | pu-uš-ru, E. Unger, (1931) <sup>Topographical Vocabulary</sup> n. 304                                   |  |
| 35. Ersatz:Tausch               | puhum, J.Lewy:Vocabulary.   |  |

56. Handeleplatz und Börse  
 ad: bâbtum (feminine) (fem. Form von bâbu=Tor), Koschaker, Rechtsvergleichende Studien zur Gesetzgebung des H., p. 222.

The Interdisciplinary Project,  
Columbia University  
New York 27, N.Y., U.S.A.

During the past few weeks I have carefully examined the passages in the Code of Hammurabi dealing with the figure of the tankārum, keeping in mind Leemans' treatment of them in his monograph, The Old-Babylonian Merchant, as well as the criticism of his position offered by Professor Polanyi. As a result of this investigation, the following observations are offered:

(a) Feudal Fief (§§ 40, 32).

The listing in § 40 of the tankārum on equal terms with the nadītum, a female religious functionary, and the ilkum abūm, a feudatory extraordinary, is evidence for the fact that the term tankārum refers to a well-known figure with a special status in society, and is not merely a general designation of a tradesman. It may be remarked here that the use of the term tankārum as an epithet of certain deities (Leemans, op. cit., p.4, fn. 24) can hardly be explained on any other basis. Like the two other classes of persons listed in § 40, the tankārum holds an ilkum or fief, and because his duties probably require him to be absent for long periods of time, he is given the privilege of selling his fief if the purchaser will assume its obligations.

In § 32, because captured soldiers were sometimes sold as slaves, Leemans believes that the tankārum, whom he considers to be a "travelling merchant", would purchase them in the foreign slave-market. There is no evidence, however, that in this law we have to do with anything other than the ransom of captured military personnel who held a fief. It would be preferable to assume that the tankārum, by virtue of his status, carried out certain diplomatic activities abroad. Hence he would be the logical person to effect such a ransom between enemy countries. He would be the agent of his government to guarantee the ransom money, which would come from the officer's estate if possible, but not from his fief, "since his field, orchard and house may not be ceded for his ransom." Failing this, the money

is to be obtained from the temple-estate of the city-god or, as a last resort, from the state treasury.

(b) Status of the Repatriated Slave (§§ 280-281)

The first of these two laws is perfectly clear: any person buying a Babylonian slave in a foreign land must have been aware that he was a Babylonian; therefore the slave is to go free and the one who purchased him mala fide is to bear the loss. The tankārum appears in the following law, where Leemans makes the unwarranted assumption that he is the same person as the seignior (awflum) of § 280. Yet the subject of both the verbs išqulu, "he paid out," is the same, viz. the purchaser, and the tankārum must be a third party. The law should be rendered:

If they be natives of another land, the purchaser shall state in the presence of the god what silver he paid out and the owner of the male or female slave shall give to the tankārum the silver he (the purchaser) paid out (i.e. abroad) and thus redeem his male or female slave.

The tankārum is introduced here, first, because an arbitrator is necessary to determine the price to be paid, and secondly, because as one authorized to supervise slave transactions with foreign countries, he is the logical person to handle the matter. The purchaser, having acted in good faith, bears no loss. Had the purchaser in § 280 first consulted a tankārum, he would not have committed the offence.

(c) Liability of Spouses for Debt (§§ 151-152)

In § 151 a wife has made a contract with her husband and "has had (him) deliver a document" to that effect (pacè Leemans) that no creditor of her husband's may seize her for a bad debt incurred before marriage. The same protection is afforded the husband mutatis mutandis. But if such a debt is contracted after marriage, since both spouses are mutually liable, but

the creditor is entitled to only one payment, there is a likelihood of a suit between husband and wife, and consequently § 152 provides for the intervention of the tankārum in the case. There is no justification for assuming as Leemans does that the tankārum of § 152 is the creditor of § 151. The final clause may be translated, "They shall both be answerable to the tankārum."

(d) Death of Distraigned Persons (§§ 115-116)

The first law states that any creditor who has distrained someone (§ 116 indicates it to be a member of his family or a slave of his household) as security is not to be held responsible for the natural death of the distress. In § 116, however, the death of the distress is due to maltreatment on the part of the distrainer. The debtor in this case clearly has a legal claim, and thus the tankārum again intervenes. The possessive pronoun on "his tankārum" perhaps means the tankārum under whose jurisdiction he resides. Leemans (followed by Driver and Miles) identifies the tankārum with the creditor, since the pronouns in "his son" and "he shall pay", which obviously refer to the creditor, as the clause "that he lent" shows, quite ambiguously could refer grammatically also to "his tankārum". One fact which seems to point towards the latter interpretation is the expression "shall convict (or prove it against) his tankārum"; we might expect it to be proven against the distrainer in the presence of his tankārum. However, the procedure here is by no means clear. If the owner of the distress is not the debtor, as the unpublished text referred to by Polanyi may suggest, then the necessity for an arbitrator is even greater.

(e) Duration of Service of Bonded Persons (§§ 117-119)

The first part of § 117 should be rendered (cf. Journal of Near Eastern Studies, VII (1948), 180 ff.):

If an obligation came due against a seignior and he sold (the services of) his wife, his son or his daughter or has (himself) been bound over to service...

This deals with a debtor whose loan has fallen due and who, in order to discharge it, binds himself or a member of his family over to service in return for the amount of the obligation. The length of such service is fixed by law as three years. In § 118, however, the persons bound over to service are slaves. Since slave deals appear to fall within the purview of the tankārum, it is natural that he should be introduced at this point. The period of service of the slave must be determined (since he has no automatic release as does the freeman), and controls must be placed on the creditor in this regard, since the debtor must have the right to repay, just as the creditor has a right to his money. Such is the duty of the tankārum who has "caused (the time-limit) to elapse," i.e. perhaps issued a formal notice (or viso, as Landsberger suggests in ana ittišu) preparatory to foreclosing (cf. the term isir, rendered "foreclosed" in § 66). The ensuing disposal of the slave by public sale would be the duty of the tankārum.

Law § 119 deals with the special case where the slave-girl thus sold for service is a concubine of the debtor, who has borne him a child. In this case the debtor has the privilege of reclaiming her on payment of the original sum secured by the tankārum at the sale, and paid to the creditor. This reference to the moneys paid by the tankārum conclusively proves that Leemans is once more wrong in identifying the tankārum with the creditor, for the latter has paid no money out (the verb šaqaalum, "pay", cannot refer to the initial loan, for which the verb nadanum would have been used). Driver and Miles also recognize the tankārum as a third party. But they regard him as the "merchant" who purchased the slave, paying in return the money to

discharge the obligation. Normally, he would then have the right, at the expiration of the loan term, to dispose of the slave as he saw fit.

(f) Short-Term Mortgages on Awilum-Lands (§§ 49-51, 66)

The tankārum might advance silver to a seignior as a harvest-loan. In this case the tankārum or his tenant-cultivator was to grow the crop, sometimes, as in § 49, cultivating the land in preparation for the harvest. However, the tankārum was not entitled as heretofore to the whole crop, but merely sufficient to discharge the loan, plus interest and plus the expenses of cultivation where this was undertaken by the tankārum. The loan may be repaid either in silver or its fixed equivalent in grain or sesame. Law § 66 gives similar provisions in the case of a date-orchard.

(g) Loans and Interest (§§ 88-96)

Here again the tankārum appears in his capacity as one lending to a seignior silver or grain at interest. In § 88 the legal rate of interest is stated. Severe penalties are laid down for a tankārum who takes advantage of his position by exacting more than the legal rate of interest (§ 90) or uses fraudulent weights and measures (§ 94) etc. These regulations safeguarding the people from the abuse of power by the tankārum are quite in keeping with the reforms promulgated by Urukagina seven hundred years earlier, or the measures contained in Hammurabi's Edict in Egypt of the late fourteenth century B.C.

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Preliminary report to Professors Polanyi and Arensberg on research on Aztec economy.

There are four problems which from the point of view of the interests of the Interdisciplinary Project, may be fruitfully approached through a study of the Aztec economy. They are:

- I. the testing of the categories of forms of integration; reciprocity, redistribution and exchange, through an analysis of the mechanisms of distribution of goods.
- II. the category of exchange as a form of integration presents a problem of its own and requires a specific analysis of the interrelations among the different types of trade and markets. "The main interest of the economic historian lies in the elucidation of the process by which trade becomes linked with markets. At what times and place do we meet the general result, market-trade?" (Polanyi: Semantics of General Economic History (Revised), p.18)
- III. If several forms of integration are found, the next problem is to determine which one is dominant. "We shall regard that one as dominant which integrates the factors of production, land and labor with the rest of the economy. (id., p.8)
- IV. The research will then be pursued to determine if the structure patterns and social arrangements corroborate the findings on the other levels. Here it will be necessary to transcend the purely economic analysis by approaching the material from the broader vantage point of cultural anthropology. This inquiry should shed some light on function and dynamics.

#### Methodology

The research will be empirical. The focus of the analysis will be individual behavior, I will employ the operational technique and construct models of economic and social behavior in order to discover structure patterns and functional interrelations.

Fortunately there exists a very competent study of the Aztec economy by a former student of Professor Polanyi, R. Jackson Phillips. His essay raises many important questions and presents an illuminating analysis of the Aztec economy as a redistributive system based on a clan democracy which however was evolving certain feudal characteristics of a new redistributive type. The author found no evidence of reciprocity nor of a price-making market or exchange system. He skillfully elaborated the dynamic quality of the Aztec economy as one evolving from a democratic clan situation into a feudal-like situation. Although I will carry out the research empirically Dr. Phillips study will prove very useful. In the conclusions I will discuss and compare our analyses.

### Section I. Distribution (see I, p.1):

The forms of integration denote patterned movements of goods. "Reciprocity denotes movements between correlative points of symmetrical groupings in society; redistribution designates movements toward an allocative center and out of it again; exchange refers to vice-versa movements taking place as between 'hands' under a market system." (id., p.8) Therefore this section will comprise descriptions of how goods are distributed, allocated, appropriated or exchanged. Operationally this will require description of who received what from whom, under what circumstance and for what purpose. The following institutions will be treated:

1. tribute
2. tax
3. trade (gift, administered and market)
4. awards, offerings, feasts, alms, fines, etc.
5. storehouses

### Section II. Trade and Markets: (see §I, p.1)

There is no doubt as to the vital role played by trade and markets in the Aztec economy. The questions to be posed are; what types of trade existed (were they gift, administered or market) and what types of transactions occurred in the market place. Then some light might be

thrown on the central problem: was market-trade emerging as an institution in the Aztec society? This problem is important because of the independent origin of market-trade in the Ancient Mediterranean World and the subsequent development of price-making market or exchange system which finally led to the form of industrial capitalism in its most typical late 19th century form. Therefore it is of great interest to the economic historian and the cultural anthropologist alike to discover if that early institution, market-trade or the trading in the market through price-making mechanisms, did emerge independently in other parts of the world.

The research here will follow along the same lines as in Section I however special attention will be given to those occurrences which may indicate incipient forms of market-trade.

Section III. Production:(see III, p.1)

Having tested the forms of integration on the distribution level the inquiry will proceed to a description of production in order to determine which of the prevalent forms of integration act as the dominant integrating force in the society. Land and labor will be dealt with as inseparable aspects of production. In order to cope with the data it will be necessary to construct models of interactions, as for example models of kin associations, guilds, tenantry, rent-paying or wage laborers, etc. Furthermore it seems plausible to distinguish between goods and services and to deal with each in the following manner:

- A. What are the various associations (models) which organize labor for the production of the following types of goods:
  1. food
  2. clothing
  3. ornaments and ritual paraphanelia
  4. utensils, tools, weapons and equipment.
- B. What are the various associations (models) which organize labor for the following types of services:
  1. buildings (living quarters, temples, pyramids, etc.)
  2. agricultural upkeep (dykes, canals, fences, etc.)
  3. vias and means of communication(causeways, canals, roads, carriers, canoe-men, etc.)
  4. supply of drinking water

5. domestic needs (cooking of food, care of children, etc.)
6. ~~xxx~~ sanitation of public places.

Section IV. Social Arrangements: (see IV, p.1)

If one or several forms of integration are found operating and if the research reveals a dominant form then the analysis will focus on the social arrangements or structure patterns to find if they correlate with the economic analysis. Therefore this section will attempt to view the society as a functioning whole; to carry the analysis from the economic level through to behavior on other levels, as for example: the power structure - leadership and community or group participation in religion, war and government; age, sex and status differential participation in the ordinary affairs of the daily routine; types of kin and status relations which unite and distinguish the various sub-groups; settlement patterns, etc. Then the material will be reviewed to determine if the forms of integration correlated with the patterns of non-economic behavior.

The conclusions will discuss the social dynamics in terms of the above analysis with special emphasis on emergent institutions. In the latter context the problems which the Aztecs themselves articulated just prior to their conquest by the Spaniards will be discussed. Once the conclusions are drawn up in terms of function and dynamics they will be compared to those of Dr. Phillips.

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