

## DATA DOCUMENTATION APPENDIX

Ghana 8 A(5) B(3) B: 4 to 3

Ottoman slavery 10 A(4) B(4) C(4) D(2) A(4) 4 to 2

### VARIABLES

- 1) DESCRIPTIONS OF VARIABLES AND SCORING CRITERIA
- 2) SCORES FOR ALL COUNTRIES
- 3) EXPLANATION NOTES

1. Government centralization p2-p74
2. Importance of cities p75-p112
3. Importance of the clan p113-170
4. Land ownership p171-p218
5. Law p218-p274
6. Private slavery p275-346
7. Role of merchant p346-387
8. Social stratification p387-424
9. Trade across polities p424-p457
10. Trade within polity p457-p488
11. Heterogeneity of production p488-514
12. Transportation cost p514-540

## GOVERNMENT CENTRALIZATION

### Scoring criteria

- A. Concentration of power in executive in the central government 1-5  
5: The ruler has unlimited power in legislature, executive and judiciary realms. The ruler generally rules for life.  
4: The ruler has large power in legislature, executive and judiciary realms but his power is potentially constrained.  
3: The ruler has large power in legislature, executive and judiciary realms but his power constrained by other organizations or institutions (term limits, assembly consent, legal constraints etc.)  
2: the ruler has large power in the executive realm but is limited in others.  
1: The ruler's executive power is greatly limited by legislature and judiciary institutions. The ruler is subject to changes made by elections or assembly disapproval.
- B. Relationship between central and local government 1-5  
5: centralized bureaucracy. The local government is administered by separate officials who are directly appointed by and responsible to the central government. Local officials cannot appoint lower-level officials at will, and they are transferred at regular intervals  
4: centralized bureaucracy. The local government is directly appointed by and responsible to the central government. The separation of powers and regular transfer of local officials are not institutionalized or not executed  
3: centralized delegational system. The local government is administered by hereditary local rulers, and the central government cannot replace local officials at will. No separation of different aspects of local administration.  
2: decentralized. The local government is de facto autonomous from the center. The central government has limited power in appointing local officials or intervening local administration.  
1: decentralized. The local government is independent from the center. The central government has no power in appointing local officials or intervening local administration.

\*give a total score of 1 if no political authority beyond community (e.g., autonomous bands and villages)

\*C is a dummy variable indicating that the civilization is a city-state

### Government centralization scores

United Kingdom (Anglo-Saxon England) 5 A(3) B(2)

United States 5 A(3) B(2)

New Zealand 5 A(3) B(2)

Canada 5 A(3) B(2)

Australia 5 A(3) B(2)

Germanic tribes (Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Luxemburg) 4 A(2) B(2)

Franks 5 A(2) B(3)

Netherlands (independent cities) 2 A(1) B(1)  
Belgium (independent cities) 2 A(1) B(1)  
Denmark (Vikings) 3 A(1) B(2)  
Norway (Vikings) 3 A(1) B(2)  
Sweden (Vikings) 3 A(1) B(2)  
Iceland 3 A(1) B(2)  
Ireland 4 A(2) B(2)  
Estonia 2 A(1) B(1)  
Finland 2 A(1) B(1)  
Greece 2 A(1) B(1) C  
Rome 3 A(1) B(2) C

Castile 6.5 A(3) B(3.5)  
Aragon 5 A(2) B(3)  
Catalonia 5 A(2) B(3)

Portugal 6.5 A(3) B(3.5)  
Latvia 3 A(1) B(2)  
Lithuania 5 A(2) B(3)  
Slovakia (Hungary) 7 A(3) B(4)

### **Balkans**

Croatia 4.5 A(1.5) B(3)  
Serbia 7.5 A(4) B(3.5)  
Romania 7 A(3.5) B(3.5)  
Bulgaria 7 A(4) B(3)  
Albania 6 A(3) B(3)  
Slovenia 6 A(3) B(3)

### **Eastern and Central Europe**

Poland 5.5 A(2) B(3.5)  
Czech Republic 5 A(2) B(3)  
Hungary 7 A(3) B(4)  
Russia 9 A(4) B(5)

### **Latin America (colonial)**

Mexico 8 A(3) B(5)  
Guatemala 6.5 A(3) B(3.5)  
El Salvador 6.5 A(3) B(3.5)  
Honduras 6.5 A(3) B(3.5)

Costa Rica 6 A(3) B(3)  
Panama 7 A(3) B(4)  
Colombia 7 A(3) B(4)  
Ecuador 7 A(3) B(4)  
Peru 8 A(3) B(5)  
Venezuela 7 A(3) B(4)  
Chile 8 A(3) B(5)  
Brazil 7 A(3) B(4)  
Argentina 7 A(3) B(4)  
Uruguay 7.5 A(3) B(4.5)

### **Caribbean**

Trinidad and Tobago 10 A(5) B(5)  
Dominican Republic 7 A(3) B(4)  
Jamaica 7 A(3) B(4)

### **Pre-colonial**

Inca 10 A(5) B(5)  
Maya 5 A(3) B(2) C  
Aztec 5 A(3) B(2) C

### **South Asia**

Bhutan 6 A(2) B(4)  
Bengal 7 A(4) B(3)  
Maurya Empire 9 A(5) B(4)  
Tamil 6 A(4) B(2)  
Sri Lanka 5 A(3) B(2)  
Nepal 8 A(5) B(3)

### **East Asia**

Japan 6 A(4) B(2)  
Korea 7 A(3) B(4)  
China 8 A(4) B(4)

### **Middle East and Near East**

Egypt 9 A(5) B(4)  
Iran 8 A(4) B(4)  
Mesopotamia 5 A(4) B(1) C  
Assyria 8 A(4) B(4) C  
Israel 6 A(2) B(4)

Lebanon (Phoenicia) 2 A(1) B(1) C  
Arabia 8 A(5) B(3)  
Morocco 6 A(2) B(4)  
Pakistan (Ghaznavid) 10 A(5) B(5)  
Turkey (Seljuk/Ottoman) 9 A(5) B(4)

### **Southeast Asia**

Thailand 7 A(4) B(3)  
Champa 3 A(2) B(1) C  
North Vietnam (China) 8 A(4) B(4)  
Spanish Philippines 8 A(3) B(5)  
Pre-colonial Philippines 3 A(2) B(1)  
Malaysia 4 A(2) B(2) C  
Indonesia 4 A(2) B(2) C  
Fiji 3 A(1) B(2)

### **Africa**

Burkina Faso 6 A(4) B(2)  
Angola 3 A(1) B(2)  
Sierra Leone 4 A(2) B(2)  
Nigeria 4 A(2) B(2) C  
Senegal 4 A(2) B(2)  
Ghana 8 A(5) B(3)  
Zambia (total) 4 A(2) B(2)  
-Bemba 6 A(3) B(3)  
-Tonga 1 (pre-state tribes, absence of political authority beyond community)  
Mozambique 1 (pre-state tribes, absence of political authority beyond community)  
Namibia 5.5 A(2) B(3.5)  
South Africa 6 A(3) B(3)  
Kenya (Kikuyu tribes) 1 (pre-state tribes, absence of political authority beyond community)  
Kenya (Swahili cities) A(3) B(1) C  
Malawi 3 A(1) B(2)  
Tanzania (Sukuma tribes) 3 A(1) B(2)  
Tanzania (Swahili cities) 4 A(3) B(1) C  
Ethiopia 8 A(5) B(3)

### **Explanation**

Germanic tribes 4  
**Concentration of power in executive in the central government 2**

The supreme political unit of the tribe was the assembly of its free male warriors. This assembly, called the “Thing”, served as the court of highest instance for dealing with individuals who had broken fundamental elements of the tribal pact, an occasion to meet and to reinforce ties among members, and, often, an assembly which preceded a military campaign. Within some tribes, the free men from particular areas (gaus) were under the leadership of “princes”, who may have been selected by the warriors or who may have come from leading families, or both. P55 Geary  
Apparently Germanic peoples before the migration period had two sorts of kings, one essentially religious, the other military, although not all tribes possessed both. The first was what sources call the thiudans. P55 Geary

The role of this king varied among the Germanic peoples. With some, he served largely a religious role, with others he presided at assemblies; elsewhere he might also exercise military command. But some tribes did not have this position at all. In still others, military authority was entrusted to a nonroyal leader, called by Tacitus a general (dux). P55-56 Geary

The power of the supreme king(s) was hardly supreme. The Burgundians with whom the Alamanni often found themselves at odds deposed any of their kings who led them to defeat. P337 Burns

The archeology strongly suggests the emergence of an increasingly defined social elite, and local leaders must have had to maintain their position through winning the loyalty of this elite through gift giving and military success. P74 Innes

### **Relationship between central and local government 2**

The Aleman army whose defeat by Julian at Strasbourg in 357 is described...was led by a two supreme kings, and also included five lesser kings and ten princes. The miage of a series of local rulers with effectively independent status is supported by other written sources, and is thus probably an accurate picture of barbarian politics; presumably the units ruled over by these more local leaders sustained their own identities beneath the Aleman umbrella. It was only periodically and temporarily that a particular successful ruler might succeed in establishing some kind of personal overlordship over his neighbors. P73 Innes

Geary, Patrick. *Before France and Germany: the creation and transformation of the Merovingian world*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Burns, Thomas. *Rome and the Barbarians, 100 B.C.-A.D. 400*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Innes, Matthew. *An introduction to early medieval Western Europe, 300-900: the sword, the plough and the book*. London : Routledge, 2007.

## **United Kingdom (Anglo-Saxon England) 5**

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

The close concern of the king’s council with the promulgation of laws can be observed throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. P217 Hunter Blair

In practice it was concerned with the drawing up of laws, with the transfer of estates, with foreign affairs and the raising of taxes, and there were brief occasions when virtually the whole government of the country must have rested in its hands. It can hardly be doubted that a body of this kind played an important part in the work of government, particularly in the tenth and eleventh centuries. P221-222 Hunter Blair

### **Relationship between central and local government 2**

The relationship between different kings and kingdoms were hierarchal, with powerful kings acting as overlords, or establishing more or less formal rights over lesser rulers. In contrast to Ireland, there was no attempt to constitutionalize this political hierarchy in terms of different grades of kinship. P347 Innes

The claiming of tribute and overlordship by successful kings over their weaker neighbor was the basic process of early Anglo-Saxon politics. P349 Innes

Innes, Matthew. An introduction to early medieval Western Europe, 300-900: the sword, the plough and the book. London : Routledge, 2007.

Hunter Blair, Peter, An introduction to Anglo-Saxon England. Cambridge [England] ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1977.

## Franks 5

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 2**

The real power was in the hands of a coalition of magnates.<sup>141</sup> This became noticeable when King Guntram, by adoption of King Childebert II and becoming godparent for King Chlothar II, tried to rule their kingdoms when these kings were minors. In both kingdoms, a faction of magnates opposed King Guntram, and the magnates in both kingdoms were strong enough to rule in the name of these under aged kings.<sup>142</sup> Factions of magnates became decisive for the working of the government, rather than the king. P35 Koreman

The Merovingian kingdoms must be considered as ever-shifting coalitions of magnates, in which the king was a participant. P41 Koreman

Somewhere between the collective and the coalitions of magnates are the annual meetings in *Sspring* held by the king with the important men of the kingdom to discuss the policy for the coming year. The assemblies of magnates decided major policies. These meeting are mentioned in the capitularia, but not by Gregory... The king needed the support of these assemblies for major decisions. In the assemblies the capitularies were promulgated... The assembly was thus at once an army, a council, and in some cases also a legal tribunal. P53 Koreman

### **Relationship between central and local government 3**

The Frankish polity was polycentric, a series of interleaved and interacting segments bound together by the personal interests of local elites at its core. P157 Innes

In reality, of course, both the Romanized kingdoms of Gaul and western Germany and the “tribal” duchies east of the Rhine were the creations of the Merovingian world. In both areas, the intensely local interests at the end of the fifth century developed first into personal units around individual leaders or influential families, and then...these personal groupings, largely established for military purposes evolved into territorial units. P228 Geary

The pre-Merovingian governmental structures will have partially continued, resulting in differences between kingdoms and districts. For example, in Burgundy and Provence the titles of patrician, prefect, or rector were commonly employed instead of duke, but these titles were basically equivalent. We will focus on the superstructure that was applied to rule the kingdoms and that made it possible to overcome these differences. Most important is the

appointment of liaison officers that linked the regional structure to the structure of the kingdom. This was in the first place the count, called comes or grafio. From the Histories it is clear this was the lowest officer appointed by the king for a region. P30 Koreman  
 Because the Merovingian kings did not pay most of their officials, only large landowners could afford to be officials. Because they had their own means to organize, they got the assignment for public organization too. This system of government must have been decentralized to a large extent, with little rules. P31 Koreman  
 By wealth and manpower, these people already had a great influence in their region. 119 The Merovingian kings were not able to restrict the positions of these magnates, so they had to integrate them into the structure of government and cooperate with them. P31 Koreman  
 Officials were appointed only for a period of time, from a pool of potential candidates...

The growing importance of the dukes was probably a sign of a transition of the very fragmented local political structure in the beginning of the sixth century to a more autonomous regional power structure, in which the most important count of a region became duke, especially with responsibilities for military matters. The appointment of a duke was not a choice of the king, but rather the acceptance of a person that was the most powerful magnate of a region. P42 Koreman

The count was appointed by the king for a set period. They could be reappointed or they became again a member of the group of magnates. The count was at once public prosecutor, judge, and executioner of the sentences. P44 Koreman

Innes, Matthew. *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages : The Middle Rhine Valley, 400–1000*, Cambridge University Press, 2000. ProQuest Ebook Central, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/berkeley-ebooks/detail.action?docID=144739>.  
 Geary, Patrick. *Before France and Germany: the creation and transformation of the Merovingian world*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.  
 Koreman, F.A.A. *The public administration of the Merovingian kingdoms in the sixth century*. Master Thesis, 2014.

Netherlands (Independent cities) 2

Belgium (Independent cities) 2

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 1**

The strength of the Flemish counts was built in part on the early development of a robust administrative apparatus, in Europe equaled only by that of the Duke of Normandy and the later Anglo-Norman rulers. Since 1089 day-to-day control had been in the hands of a senior official, the chancellor of Flanders. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century further strides were made in central administration in Flanders, and the chancellor grew in authority to become a kind of prime minister as head of administration and finance for the country. The county was divided into castellannies, an organization first used in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century and further extended in the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries. The castellans exercised military and judicial power as representatives of the count and held their office as fiefs from him. P73 Bavel

### **Relationship between central and local government 1**



Despite its small area, the 14<sup>th</sup> century Low Countries had a large variety of political formations: independent, small lordships; federations of urban and rural communities; an autonomous city with its hinterland; ecclesiastical principalities; territorial principalities; and personal unions of principalities...no single overarching central power emerged. P74 Bavel

Bavel, B. J. P. van, *Manors and markets : economy and society in the low countries, 500-1600*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

## Vikings 3

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 1**

The free were the backbone of society. The free had the right to express their views at the Thing (the assembly) where public issues were discussed and decisions taken. Standing and wealth were naturally also important in influencing the public decisions of the Thing. P56 Roesdahl  
Sweden: There is no doubting the limitation of royal power by the suffrage of the supra-regional Things. The king of the Swedes must make a progress through his dominions and present himself for popular acclaim at all the Things. 'The Swedes', says the ancient West Gautish law, 'have the right to elect and likewise reject a king. The Thing of all the Gotar must receive him formally. When he comes to the Thing he must swear to be faithful to all the Gotar, and he shall not break the true laws of our land.' p151-152 Jones

Norway: When the Norwegian monarchy was formed (towards the close of the ninth century) there were about thirty shires along the North Way and in the highland valleys. Each one of these had come to look upon itself as a little state and insisted on a large measure of autonomy. In some of these the freemen recognized the authority of a chieftain who might be called a jarl, and sometimes even king. He was not, however, entrusted with sovereign power; sovereignty was held and exercised by the public assembly in which practically all the farmers held membership. P6 Larson

The power of a Norwegian king had always been circumscribed, and not only by the exertions of those of his fellow countrymen with a claim to the same title. He depended heavily on the loyalty of the leaders of provinces, the farmer republics, and the jarls. He depended too, on the approval of his free subjects. His very election depended upon their favorable voice at those public assemblies where he first presented himself to them. P151 Jones

### **Relationship between central and local government 2**

Denmark: in many regions the local magnates had still control over local affairs, and thus kings needed their support. p80 Hansen and Wickham

The bondi, ranging from smallholder to franklin, with a stake in the land and a voice in the law, the right of approval or dissent at a public assembly, was the key figure at all these levels, farm, parish, province, kingdom. P157 Jones

Larson, Laurence. *The earliest Norwegian laws, being the Gulathing law and the Frostathing law: translated from the Old Norwegian*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1935.

Jones, Gwyn. *A history of the Vikings*. Oxford; New York : Oxford University Press, 1984.

Roesdahl, Else. *The Vikings*. Allen Lane, 1991, C1987.

## Iceland 3

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 1**

The early settlement also faced potential crisis arising from its lack of social organization. The colonization had been a venture undertaken by private initiative and free from the interference of any higher authority who could impose unity and order. P315 Forte, Oram and Pedersen

From the ninth century to the twelfth the concerns of free farmers dominated the spectrum of government activity...the godar, in their capacity as advocates, enjoyed no legal authority to act in defense of their supporters; conversely, they were under no obligation to do so. This situation left a godi open to prosecution by other freemen. P112 Byock

### **Relationship between central and local government 2**

The status of farmers as free agents seems to have been reinforced by the presence of communal units called hreppar. These geographically defined associations of landowners were independent of the godar and later of parish arrangements. We do know that the hreppar were self-governing but precisely how they functioned is unclear. P121 Byock

Unlike petty kingdoms in Norway or Ireland, which often fought to defend or extend their borders, a godord had no defined boundaries. Icelandic chieftaincies were units of power not based on the resources of an exploitable realm. Differing from the Norwegian and Irish leaders, who lived surrounded by followers sharing a common loyalty, the chieftains lived interspersed among farmers who might be thingmen of other, sometimes rival godar. Thingmen of competing godar might also be advocacy clients of chieftains other than their own. P113 Byock

Byock, Jesse L. *Medieval Iceland: society, sagas, and power*. Berkeley: University of California Press, c1988.

## **Ireland 4**

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 2**

although kings were powerful, they were not absolute. Generally, they were not judges; nor could they enact laws. Instead, there was a complex legal system in existence, which was enforced by learned men and to a lesser extent, women, known as Brehons. P13 Kinealy  
Kingship of a tuath was both elective and hereditary, though it seems that in the earlier centuries it was elective only. P30 Fry

Assemblies were integral to the workings of early Irish kingdoms. According to the eighth century law text *Críth Gablach*, an assembly or óenach was where a king could form treaties, issue edicts and order military levies. P84 Downham

Assemblies were occasions where laws might be promulgated. P85 Downham

### **Relationship between central and local government 2**

Kingship in early medieval Ireland was a multilayered affair with petty kings being tied in relationships of dependence to greater kings. At the bottom of the scale were the kings of one túath. The legal definition of a túath was a small but distinct community with its own king, its own church, a poet and an ecclesiastical scholar.<sup>1</sup> There were more than 150 túatha operating in Ireland at any time between the fifth and twelfth centuries. Above the petty kings of the túath was an over-king of plural túatha who wielded power through his recognised position of lordship over lesser kings. At the top of the scale were provincial over-kings. P81-82 Downham

To help maintain their position, over-kings relied on client kings who might belong to subbranches of their own family or were rulers of unrelated peoples within their sphere of influence. P82-83 Downham

Downham, Clare. "Politics AD 500–1100." *Medieval Ireland*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2017, pp. 81–113. Cambridge Medieval Textbooks.  
Somerset Fry, Fiona. *A history of Ireland*. Routledge, London and New York, 1988.

## Estonia, Finland 2

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 1**

None of the Finnic peoples had reached the stage of state formation beyond loose alliances of local chieftains and thus they were no match for the Russian principalities with their ruthless organization. P49 Taagepera

### **Relationship between central and local government 1**

It was apparently in this period that demarcated territorial units-parishes (*kihelkonnad*) began to develop. This was a long slow process. Apparently, a large proportion of parishes developed on the basis of ancient tribal areas. The rise of a parish-based organization apparently lay in an agreement or *kihl* between members. Parishes were still presumably governed by clan-based mass meetings. P31-32 Subrenat

Old Estonia consisted of eight provinces joined in a loose confederation. As the area acquired a significant position along trade routes between Novgorod and Western Europe, the Estonians played their part in the dynamic trading activities of the 9th-12th centuries. An independent Estonian state administration however, was as yet unable to emerge because of the constant incursions of European Crusaders. P155 Andras Bereczki (*the Finno-Ugric World*)

Taagepera, Rein. *Estonia: return to independence*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1993.  
Subrenat, Jean-Jacques. *Estonia: Identity and Independence*. Rodopi, New York, 2004.

## Greece

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 1**

Every Greek polis had certain basic governmental institutions: a council, assembly, and court. It has been suggested that these institutions grew out of the army and its council of generals, but that might just reflect the ancient Greeks' warlike self-image. The assembly was large, and often consisted of several thousand participants. The council was smaller, with a membership ranging from dozens to several hundred. Courts could range in size from a few judges to several thousand jurors. The purpose of the courts was to administer justice. The purpose of the assembly was to legislate. In oligarchies, the assembly had only limited power. In a democratic polis, by contrast, the assembly was authoritative. P53 Beck

Greek government had little bureaucracy. Even in Athens, where there were hundreds of public officials, they played little part in the average citizen's life. P53 Beck

Like many other poleis, Athens had a relatively weak executive, and rarely was power concentrated in the hands of an individual. There was no chief executive such as a president or prime minister. Generals and orators led assembly debates, and sometimes exercised great

influence, but ordinary people set the agenda and made the decisions by taking votes at each assembly meeting. P66 Beck

### **Relationship between central and local government 1**

#### **City-states**

Beck, Hans. A companion to ancient Greek government. Chichester: Wiley, 2013.

#### **Roman Republic**

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 1**

The constitutional arrangements with which Rome emerged from the Second Punic War differed scarcely at all in form from those with which she had embarked upon that great struggle. Their essence remained the threefold structure of magistrates, Senate, and assemblies of the citizen body, the structure which the Greek observer Polybius was shortly to characterize as a 'mixed' constitution. P163 Astin

Of the magistrates the most senior and powerful were the two consuls. Invested with imperium, consuls could be placed in command of armies; they could exercise jurisdiction; they could issue instructions, particular or general, in the form of edicts, and could employ coercion and punishment to enforce their will. They could propose legislation to the assemblies; one of them conducted most of the meetings at which magistrates, including their own successors, were elected; and when one or both were in Rome it was normally a consul who presided over the deliberations of the Senate and gave effect to its most important decisions. On the other hand they were elected officials, the term of their office was limited to one year, early re-election was not permitted, and in various directions their freedom of action was restricted by the powers and authority of other bodies. P163 Astin

All magistrates were elected by the citizen body - consuls, praetors and censors in the comitia centuriata (the assembly organized into 193 voting-units known as centuries), the remainder in the comitia tributa or the almost identical concilium plebis (in which the voting units were the thirty-five tribes, in one of which every Roman citizen was registered). P164 Astin

The system is characterised by balance and interdependence. The magistrates, headed by the two consuls (the power of each balancing the other's), were the officials who conducted the military, political, judicial and administrative business of the state. The Senate, a council composed essentially of former magistrates, was strictly only an advisory body to current magistrates, but effectively controlled many aspects of domestic and foreign policy and finance. The People (adult male citizens), in assemblies varying in composition and structure passed legislation, decided on making war or peace, annually elected the magistrates, and sat in judgement in certain legal cases (see also chapter 60). P102 Bispham

### **Relationship between central and local government 2**

#### **City-state**

(Late Republic to Roman Empire) These provincial municipia were of two types: municipia civium Romanorum, or citizen communities, and municipia of the Latin right (ius Latii). These municipia were preexisting communities that adopted a Roman-style constitution and used Roman law. Their inhabitants were mostly peregrini (foreigners, or non-Romans), but those who had served as civic magistrates were awarded Roman citizenship. Eilers

The lowest grade of autonomous community was the *civitas*. Their inhabitants were normally *peregrini*, although occasionally the most prestigious and best connected of them might gain Roman citizenship in recognition both of their prominence in their own community and of their importance to Rome. Many such communities, especially in less urbanized provinces, were artificial creations by which local tribes were settled into new cities, with magistrates and senates being drawn from their leaders and their existing lands being circumscribed into a fixed *territorium*. Eilers

Most of these were *civitates stipendariae* (tributary cities), which as their name implies were required to pay tribute to Rome. Sometimes for specific historical reasons some of these cities were freed from such tribute, and these were called *civitates liberae et immunes* (free and immune cities). Cities whose freedom was recognized by a formal treaty were called *civitates foederatae* (cities with treaties). The tributary cities were by far the most common: in Sicily in 70 bce, for instance, there were sixty-five tributary cities, five free cities without treaty, and two cities with treaties. Eilers

The relationship of Rome and the allies constituted, in fact, a *symmarchy* not dissimilar from some Greek Leagues. P413 Finer

To this wide array of cities of varying status, size, and wealth, the Romans gave varying degrees of self-government. Local elites dominated civic life. They were lifelong members of the local *ordo decurionum* (order of decurions, the municipal or colonial council or senate). Eilers

Astin, A. E., et al., editors. *The Cambridge Ancient History*. 2nd ed., vol. 8, Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Bispham, Edward, Thomas Harrison and Brian A. Sparkes. *The Edinburgh companion to ancient Greece and Rome*. Edinburgh : Edinburgh University Press, c2006.

Eilers, Claude. "Local Government, Roman." *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*. : Oxford University Press, January 01, 2010. Oxford Reference. Date Accessed 8 Sep. 2018 <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195170726.001.0001/acref-9780195170726-e-723>>.

## **Spain**

Autonomous cities:

By the twelfth century many towns had obtained royal recognition as organs of territorial administration, embracing an urban nucleus and a dependent, but quite extensive, countryside (*terminus*, *alfoz*), including many villages. Directly dependent upon the king, these municipalities or *concejos*, as they were called, enjoyed administrative autonomy, with their own laws, institutions, and officials. The *concejo* possessed a juridical personality. P269 O'Callaghan  
The principal organ of municipal government was the *concejo* (*concilium*) or assembly of neighbors (*vicini*, *boni homines*, *cives*) , that is, the adult male property owners. P270 O'Callaghan

## **Castile 6.5**

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

In the early centuries of the reconquest the royal council treated both secular and ecclesiastical affairs. These dual concerns are revealed in the decrees promulgated by Alfonso V in the council of Le6on about 1017 and by Fernando I in the council of Coyanza around 1055. P1505  
O'Callaghan

nings of the Cortes. As the name implies, the Cortes was the king's court, though in greatly expanded form, and as such it could act as a consultative body or as a tribunal of justice. P1512  
O'Callaghan

Convocation to the Cortes gave the townsmen opportunities to present their grievances to the king, but it is difficult to ascertain the extent of their influence on royal policy and legislation. The king had traditionally taken counsel with the bishops and magnates before enacting laws; townsmen were now included because they constituted a major factor in the political life of the realm. In the assemblies of 1188 and 1208 the King promulgated decreta or constitutiones of general import, and he usually declared that he did so with the counsel of those present, or after deliberation, or with the consent of everyone. The decrees of 1188 obviously benefited the townsmen in so far as the King promised to abide by the law of the land and to repress disorders and abuses of power, but it is not known what role the townsmen had in drafting these laws. P1535 O'Callaghan

### **Relationship between central and local government 3.5**

A strong monarchy and a large class of freemen were the principal obstacles to the growth of feudalism. The continuing state of war with the Muslims bolstered the power of the king as the military leader primarily responsible for defense and for the preservation of Asturian-Leonese independence. Military success not only enhanced the king's prestige, but also added to his resources. Claiming ownership of all reconquered territory, the king was able to reserve large estates for himself and to reward his followers for their loyalty to him.

The nobility, on the other hand, lacking the military and financial power which only the possession of large estates could give, were unable to offer serious challenge to the king's authority. P167 O'Callaghan

In spite of obvious feudal influences the western kingdoms never experienced the development of a true feudalism. Vassalage and benefice were not indissolubly linked, as they were in Catalonia and northern Europe. Vassals did not always receive benefices, and benefices were not always given to vassals; nor did the benefice ever become an hereditary possession. Above all, feudalism failed to undermine the public structure of the state. The monarchy remained strong precisely because it continued to fulfill the fundamental role of leadership in the war against the Muslims. P263 O'Callaghan

O'Callaghan, Joseph F. "The Beginnings of the Cortes of Leon-Castile." *The American Historical Review*, vol. 74, no. 5, 1969, pp. 1503–1537. JSTOR, JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/1841323](http://www.jstor.org/stable/1841323).

## **Aragon 5**

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 2**

Representatives of the upper cases had been accustomed to meet in Aragon from the year 1071, and from these were developed the Cortes...the Aragonese Cortes were composed of four brazos or estates, the ricosombres, the caballeros, the clergy and the towns. P117 Chaytor  
The Crown was forced to recognize the general principle that what “touches all should be approved by all”, and the fact remains that popular representation was of more ancient institution in Aragon than in any other European monarchy. P118 Chaytor  
In Castile, the King was regarded as the vicegerent of God upon earth; in Aragon, he was primus inter pares...p119 Chaytor

### **Relationship between central and local government 3**

In Aragon, power lay in the hands of the nobility; in Catalunya, power came to rest in the hands of the merchant class. The Aragonese, preferring little or no central government, did everything possible to restrict the royal authority; the Catalans, realizing that a strong central authority was needed to break the commercial monopoly of the Italian cities, supported the sovereign's attempt to centralize government. P109 Shneidman

-While the constitutional structures of thirteenth century Aragon and Catalunya came to represent the views of the landed aristocracy and the merchant class. P110 Shneidman  
In the Crown of Aragon, and more especially formulated in Catalonia, it had been a principle of political law that any economic relationship between the sovereign and the people had to be based on a pact which closely linked the sovereign with the Cortes to impose taxes, and the Cortes with the sovereign to vote them. P287 Vives

The responsibility for the defense of a district, town, or fortress was usually given as a benefice (honor) or tenancy to a royal vassal (called tenens in Leon, Castile, and Portugal, senior in Aragon and Navarre, or alcaide, from al-cfaid, if he held a castle) ; in Aragon and Navarre, but not elsewhere, he held the benefice by hereditary right. In Old Castile many civil responsibilities, especially in the administration of justice, were assumed by maiorini {merinos) whose original duty was to collect royal revenues; a merino mayor, noted first in 1180, apparently appointed subordinate merinos for smaller Castilian districts. P268 O'Callaghan  
In Catalan counties, vicars (vicarii) had military and civil functions below the count, while in more limited areas bailiffs (bajuli) continued to serve as fiscal agents. P268 O'Callaghan

Chaytor, H. J. (Henry John), A history of Aragon and Catalonia. New York, AMS Press [1969]  
Shneidman, J. Lee. *The rise of the Aragonese-Catalan Empire, 1200-1350*, New York University Press in 1970.

Vicens Vives, Jaime. *An economic history of Spain*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1969.

O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *A history of medieval Spain*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, [1983]

### **Catalonia 5**

#### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 2**

The Catalan Cortes consisted of three estates only, clergy, nobles and townsmen...the Crown was forced to recognize the general principle that what “touches all should be approved by all”, and the fact remains that popular representation was of more ancient institution in Aragon than in any other European monarchy. P118 Chaytor

### **Relationship between central and local government 3**

Feudalism reached maturity in Catalonia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and exercised a stronger influence than ever before in the other Christian states. To some extent, the authority of the ruler was modified by feudal customs. In the feudal hierarchy of Catalonia, illustrated by the code of feudal laws promulgated by Ramon Berenguer I around 1058, the count of Barcelona, who also ruled the counties of Gerona and Ausona, ranked as princeps, the suzerain of the counts of Ampurias, Urgel, Besalu, Cerdagne, and Pallars; the king of France in theory was sovereign over all. Within each of the counties the viscounts or vicars held their offices as fiefs, transmissible by hereditary right; below them were comitores, who may have formed part of the count's retinue or may have assisted him in administration; the vassal-vassalors, or milites in the lowest rank, were vassals of the viscounts and comitores. Each baron or knight held his fief as a lordship in which he exercised public functions of jurisdiction in minor civil and criminal cases (low justice) and seigniorial rights over the peasants who cultivated his estates. P261 O'Callaghan

**Feudalism**-the characteristic customs and institutions of French feudalism were also found in Catalonia and reached their fullest development in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the other Christian states feudalism never reached maturity. P166 O'Callaghan

In exercising his functions as administrator, legislator, judge, and commander-in-chief, the sovereign relied upon the collaboration of his council. In Catalonia the council or curia was fundamentally a feudal assembly composed of the count's vassals fulfilling one of their principal obligations : suit to court. P264 O'Callaghan

O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *A history of medieval Spain*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, [1983]  
Chaytor, H. J. (Henry John), *A history of Aragon and Catalonia*. New York, AMS Press [1969]

### **Portugal 6.5**

#### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

For the most of the twelfth century the central institutions of the Portuguese monarchy remained somewhat rudimentary. The king was accompanied in his ceaseless travels by his royal curia or consultative council....the curia also acted as a central judicial tribunal. P90 Livermore

The principal officers of the court were four (head of the administration, military chief, master of the royal household, and the chancellor), these officers together with whatever barons, governors and prelates were present at court, formed the royal curia, the source of the royal council and of the cortes, and appeared as confirmatories on documents issued by the king. P91 Livermore

#### **Relationship between central and local government 3.5**

The social structure of Portugal was unlike any other in Europe not only because of the important part played by the king in the economy and the lack of a 'national bourgeoisie' in the accepted sense of the term but also because, as Albert Silbert has pointed out, Portugal had not experienced the feudal system. Apart from the fact that the 'property of the crown' was a much more important part of the economic power of the high and middle-ranking nobility than any patrimonial inheritance, the king had never surrendered his rights and powers (direitos reais) in the field of justice. Nor was the organization of military service founded on the feudal tie: it had always been both general and remunerated. The Portuguese crown also gained strength from its



religious and cultural role. The king, for example, enjoyed considerable powers of patronage. P442 Bethell

...foundation of a municipality or *concelho*, whose rights were guaranteed by the issue of a charter embodying the local privileges and obligations. P92 Livermore

Vassalage, as an institution, was well established in Portugal by the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries...the small size of the country and the fact that the monarch was one of the largest landowners explain the relatively large number of direct vassals, who accounted for the monarch's growing strength. P86 Marques

In all the seignories the king had the last word in the case of high justice. By the thirteenth century he launched a sort of program destined to curb the immunities and the full autonomy of the feudal lords...p87 Marques

(after 14<sup>th</sup> century) Local administration became more complex also. The number of local magistrates, elected by the council of notables in each municipality, was doubled or tripled and their functions were restricted and specialized...to achieve centralization was the supreme goal of each monarch; to defend the rights of self-rule the supreme goal of each municipality. The conflict, which was particularly fierce during medieval times, always ended with victory for the king. P98 Marques

Under Afonso IV even the local judges had to be confirmed by the king, and the administration of justice was firmly monopolized by the Crown. P99 Marques

Marques, António Henrique R. de Oliveira. *History of Portugal*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1972-76.

Bethell, Leslie. *The Cambridge History of Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Livermore, H. V. *A history of Portugal*. Cambridge [Eng.] University Press, 1947.

## Latvia 3

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 1**

The Livonian towns were organized in a corporate structure based on guilds of merchants and craftsmen developed during the fourteenth century. P36 Kasekamp

Essentially, Livonia had no central government. Ecclesiastical territories were interspersed with the possessions of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order, the largest landholder. Also, there were independent towns. p31 Kasekamp

### **Relationship between central and local government 2**

The Livonian Confederation, The history of Livonia is one of continuous and bitter rivalry between the church and the Livonian Order, between vassals and lords of these corporate entities and among the vassals themselves, and between the cities, especially Riga and all other claimants to power and influence. P18 Plakans

Feudal relations were established, with the new rulers granting land to foreign nobles who, in return, pledged to provide military service whenever required by the bishops and the order.

Initially, some native elders also coopted as vassals. P31 Kasekamp

Plakans, Andrejs. *A concise history of the Baltic States*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Kasekamp, Andres, A history of the Baltic states. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

## Lithuania 5

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 2**

The Privileges of Casimir in 1447 and Alexander in 1492 marked an important change in post-Vytautian state administration-the transference of the powers of the grand duke as the state sovereign to the Council of Lords. During the 15<sup>th</sup> century the monarch legally became a state official, heading the government and obliged to carry out its decisions. P165 Kiaupa

Representatives of this social class (magnates and clergymen), increasingly acquiring more influence in state administration, formed the Grand Duke's council which in the mid 15<sup>th</sup> century developed from a consultative body for the sovereign into the real government of GDL, the Council of Lords. P165 Kiaupa

### **Relationship between central and local government 3**

1.GDL in the narrow sense  
2.Zemaitija-a territory having some of the properties of autonomy in its internal order;  
3.GDL lands-preserved the status of separate territorial-administrative subunits within the state's structure...the previous reigning territorial dukes, chiefly descendants of the Gediminas dynasty, were replaced by the Lithuanian Grand Duke's viceroys from the user nobility. These GDL territorial privileges, guaranteeing their independence in matters of internal order, were confirmed, repeated and supplemented by the grand dukes throughout the post-Vytautian period. P164 Kiaupa

**Self-governing towns:** in GDL (Grand Duchy of Lithuania), a version of German city rights, the Magdeburg rights, were most widely used. The citizens of the town, called townspeople, burghers, constituted the community and had the right to be elected or co-opted into the city's municipal bodies. P179 Kiaupa

Princes, dukes and nobles often acted as grand-ducal namestniki in their own regions. They owed the ruler, the grand duke, loyalty which they swore at his installation ritual and military service in return for his recognition of their rights to their estates. P61 Rowell

Kiaupa, Zigmantas. *The history of Lithuania before 1795*. Vilnius: Lithuanian Institute of History, 2000.

Rowell, S. C. *Lithuania ascending: a pagan empire within east-central Europe, 1295-1345*. Cambridge [England]; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

## Slovakia (Hungary) 7

Use Hungary

## **Balkans**

Whatever their origin, medieval Bulgaria, Serbia, and Croatia at an early date were divided into small districts called zupas headed by chiefs known as zupans, who were often the hereditary heads of their clans. The territory of the zupa, which was basically an economic unit, coincided

at first with that of the village. P274 Sedlar In Serbia and Croatia the zupas at first seem to have been territorial units subject to local chiefs, but subsequently became administrative divisions. The office of zupan tended to become hereditary in the great families. The zupas exercised considerable autonomy in local affairs. When Croatia joined Hungary at the end of the 11th century the zupa system remained as the basis of local government... Eventually a dual power structure arose, whereby two zupans sometimes functioned concurrently in the same district-one as territorial chief and another as the monarch's appointee. Dualism of this type was likely to occur at a time when a central government was sufficiently powerful to begin imposing its own administrative structure, but had not yet succeeded in displacing the older, locally-based political units. A different sort of dualism developed in Serbia when King Stephen Dusan (r. 1331-55) overran the Byzantine-ruled territories in Macedonia. In these newly acquired lands Dusan retained most of the existing offices with their Greek titles, often without even replacing the officeholders P274 Sedlar

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

## Croatia 4.5

### Concentration of power in executive in the central government 1.5

#### 1) Croatian Principality 2

Early medieval Croatia provides one example of a country in which the rulers were unable to establish a strong territorial base. Even its most powerful monarch, Tomislav (r. 910-ca. 928), possessed only the ancestral estates of his house together with certain lands acquired through forfeiture. Not surprisingly, monarchy in Croatia never became a powerful institution. P260 Sedlar

The Croatian kings were not absolute or arbitrary rulers. They had to secure the consent of Sabor, the parliamentary assembly of high nobles and prelates, P101 Eterovich

#### 2) Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) 1

The power in Dubrovnik and in the Republic was entirely in the hands of the nobility. The main governing bodies were the Great Council, the Small Council, the Senate and the Rector. The Great Council was open to all noblemen after they had reached the age of maturity. In addition to its legislative duties, the Great Council chose the Rector, whose term in office was just one month and the Senate the mandate of which was one year, the Small Council and all other key state officials. The Senate was in charge of domestic and foreign policy, of judiciary affairs and of preparing the key laws and provisions for the consideration by the Great Council. The Small council and the Rector represented the executive branch of the government. The administration and judicial matters in the extramural areas were in the hands of local rectors. P62 Perić

The Dubrovnik Statute and its successor volumes describe a city-state governed through political institutions heavily modelled on those of Venice. p125 Harris

Assisted by a socius ("companion") from Venice, the count ruled through his Small Council, which was at once an advisory, executive and legislative body...in the early years, it was the

count himself who appointed the Small Council and then, jointly with that Council, appointed the other organs of government. The latter included the Great Council and the body called the Consilium Rogatorum, which would later, after its Venetian counterpart, be termed the Senate.  
P127 Harris

By contrast, the Sabor in independent Croatia (before 1100) seems to have met fairly regularly at various locations in Dalmatia. The most important nobles and clerics appeared there in person, while the lesser nobility and the monastic orders sent representatives. Despite its upper-class character, the Sabor claimed to represent the entire nation; and it gave its decisions in the name of the whole Croatian people. While the king set the agenda, the Sabor decided whether to approve or reject a royal request for extraordinary taxes or for the levy of troops to serve abroad.  
P284 Sedlar

It was only though with the ending of Venetian rule and the inauguration of de facto independence under the kings of Hungary-Croatia that the full expression of Dubrovnik's aristocratic republicanism was possible...at the end of 1358, the procedure was somewhat simplified, so that each Rectors now served for one month (to exercise the powers of the old Venetian count, ruling through the Small Council). A little later still, the system of regularly electing a different Rector to serve each month was preferred. All these arrangements had one overriding purpose the limitation and dispersal of executive power, so that real authority remained with the patriciate as a whole. P130 Harris

From 1293 it became accepted custom that the members of the Small Council would be appointed from the ranks of certain distinguished noble families, thus greatly limiting the count's freedom of manoeuvre and opportunities for patronage...contributing to the greater political importance of Dubrovnik's communal institutions and their assertiveness was the fact that the count and his Small Council so often had to rely upon Ragusan nobles to perform important tasks.  
P127 Harris

The oligarchical features of Ragusan government became over time, steadily more pronounced.  
P128 Harris

### **Relationship between central and local government 3**

- 1) **Croatian principality:** only the king could grant land in Hungary and Croatia. The nobles on whom he conferred land came under his immediate authority and were tied to him by the fief and the obligation of military service. A fief was a separate economic, administrative and judicial unit, exempt from the authority of the zupan-which conditions in general weakened, with the result that the king was forced to grant fiefs...In southern Croatia the great noble families grew so strong that they ruled almost independently of the Arpad kings, and began to seize land from others. P22 Goldstein
- 2) **Republic of Ragusa:** it's a city-state and should give a score of 1.

Eterovich, Francis H. *Croatia: land, people, culture*. [Toronto] Published for the Editorial Board by University of Toronto Press.

Perić, Ivan. *A history of the Croats*. Zagreb: Center of Technology Transfer, 1998.

Harris, Robin. *Dubrovnik: a history*. London: Saqi, 2003.

Goldstein, Ivo. *Croatia : a history*. [Montreal]: McGill-Queen's University Press, c1999.

## Serbia 7.5

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 4**

the Byzantine state structure began to influence Serbia more and more as the Serbs penetrated the Byzantine provinces, and as they gained familiarity with Byzantine civil administration and financial and legal systems. P60 Soulis

There were also assemblies, but they did not have the power to legislate or limit the powers of the monarch. The monarch decided whom to call and when, indicating that they were advisory bodies. P3 Dragnich

A royal Council or its equivalent—a body of semipermanent advisers to the monarch—was a typical feature of medieval courts. The rulers of Serbia, for example, maintained a permanent entourage composed of their chief officials, as many as twenty-four in the 14th century under Tsar Stephen Dusan. P270 Sedlar

Popular assemblies among the Serbs date back to a very early period, when all the freemen of a district met to discuss local affairs. The Sabor in Serbia included high and petty nobility as well as upper clergy; and the sovereign attended together with his high officials. This body convened at irregular intervals for certain fairly specific purposes. Some were purely ceremonial... Others were more substantive, like issuing laws or settling internal disturbances. In recording new laws, Serbian documents of the 14th century invariably mention that the nobles and clergy had given their consent. Following the expansion of the kingdom in Stephen Dusan's time, the Sabor added representatives from the new Greek-speaking territories in Macedonia. In Serbia, as in Bulgaria, Byzantine influences tended to favor the central power at the expense of the popular assemblies. However, Serbia was also exposed to Western practices through its contacts with the free towns of Dalmatia. P285 Sedlar

The ruling nobility possessed hereditary allodial estates... the monarch had wide autocratic powers, but was surrounded and advised by a permanent council of magnates and prelates. P290 Anderson

### **Relationship between central and local government 3.5**

Byzantine influences in organization of local government and justice. P63 Soules

(Byzantine administration) all these administrative officers were appointed directly by the emperor himself. P5 Soules

Dusan abolished the title zupan, with its clan overtones, and substituted it with that of the Greek kefalija, the Byzantine term for an imperial governor. The court, chancellery and administration were rough copies of those of Constantinople. Some of the Danubian coastal towns exercised municipal self-government by reason of their close links with the Italian cities... the Serbian Empire... Intermediate between an outright fief system and an autocratic bureaucracy. P290 Anderson

Dragnich, Alex N. *Serbia through the ages*. Boulder, CO: East European Monographs ; New York: Distributed by Columbia University Press, 2004.

Soules, Georgios Chr. *The Serbs and Byzantium during the reign of Tsar Stephen Dušan (1331-1355) and his successors*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Library and Collection, c1984.

Anderson, Perry. *Passages from antiquity to feudalism*. London : Verso, 1996, c1974.

## Romania 7

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3.5**

#### **Transylvania 3, Moldavia and Wallachia 4      average is 3.5**

On the upper rung of the hierarchical ladder was the ruling prince or Grand Voivode in Wallachia and Moldavia and the Voivode in Transylvania, followed by the great boyars or noblemen. Considered as the supreme master of the whole country, the prince possessed all public power: executive, judicial, legislative and military. P181 Otetea

The prince's power was supported and controlled by the Prince's council, made up of the great landowners. P181 Otetea

General assemblies were usually of a juridical nature in Transylvania...in Wallachia and Moldavia the supreme judge was the ruling prince. P183 Otetea

Frequent changes on the throne and the constant appearance of pretenders with foreign support weakened the principalities politically, while wars of succession crippled them militarily. To a considerable extent, medieval Walachia and Moldavia were pawns of their more powerful neighbors. P260 Sedlar

### **Relationship between central and local government 3.5**

#### **Transylvania**

In Transylvania cities were self-governing entities and enjoyed full rights to direct their own economic, social, and cultural development. This was especially true of the Saxon cities (towns settled by German immigrant settlers). P32 Georgescu

The voivode's authority extended only over the royal counties, while the Szekler, Saxon and Vlach lands were administered separately by their respective counts or knezi. The Transylvanian voivode controlled substantial private estates, but he could not grant lands, collect taxes and tolls, or coin money. These functions belonged to the king or the royal treasury. Nonetheless, in periods of weak central government he could often act quite independently, since he was generally a powerful lord in his own right and the monarch was far away. P275 Sedlar

From being administered by the king, the counties fell into the hands of the nobility who created its own institution there. The county assemblies were the most important ones. They consisted of local noblemen who met in order to settle the issues of the particular region. In Transylvania, where as seen above, the voivode convened assemblies common to all the seven counties. P54 Pop

#### **Moldavia and Wallachia**

In Moldavia and Wallachia, although the city councils chosen by the communes were supposed to have administrative judicial and fiscal powers, the prince maintained a parallel body of his own officials. P32 Georgescu

In all cities, new and old, belonged to the crown, and the inhabitants' obligations were directly to the prince. P32 Georgescu

In form of government, the two principalities were from the start absolute monarchies. P34 Georgescu

The prince possessed all public power: executive, judicial, legislative and military. The prince's power was supported and controlled by the Prince's Council, made up of the great landowners, whether they held any office in the state or not. Gradually, however, the Council came to be made up of state officials only. P181 Otetea

Even before the two principalities were founded, the boyars seem to have acted as a ruling class basing itself on land ownership and having a mainly military function.

The boyar owed the prince "service" in Wallachia and "loyalty and service" in Moldavia, a primarily military obligation of vassalage...(princes) they retained the right to confirm all succession, and estates reverted to the crown in the absence of male issue or in cases of treason. P28 Georgescu

Oțetea, Andrei. *A Concise history of Romania*. London: R. Hale; New York: Distributed by St. Martin's Press, 1985.

Georgescu, Vlad. *The Romanians, a history*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, c1990.

Sedlar, Jean W. *East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. Seattle : University of Washington Press, c1994.

Pop, Ioan Aurel. *Romanians and Romania : a brief history*. Boulder, [Colo.] : East European Monographs ; New York : Columbia University Press [distributor], 1999.

## Bulgaria 7

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 4**

Bulgarian documents mention a boyar assembly called the Sabor which gave advice to the monarch on questions of war and peace, proclaimed laws, or elected a new ruler if necessary...No popular assembly had ever limited the authority of the Byzantine emperor, who was an autocrat governing through a nonhereditary bureaucracy; and the Bulgar sovereigns tried to follow this example. P284 Sedlar

### **Relationship between central and local government 3**

For several generations afterward the Bulgar and Slavic clans lived essentially separate lives, each following its traditional customs. This autonomy of the parts was a pattern typical of the seminomadic confederations of the steppe. The Bulgar khan held supreme civil, military, and judicial power, but internally the various tribes managed their own affairs. The khan's autocracy was limited by ancestral custom and his need to conciliate the various clan chiefs. Then in about the middle of the 9th century the Bulgar leadership introduced a greater degree of centralization by organizing its territory into nine counties and three larger "lands." P259 Sedlar

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

## Albania

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government**

### **Relationship between central and local government 3**

The foreign domination imposed on Albania for long centuries, her political breakdown into small units for the profit of two or more powers and the repeated wars which took place on her soil between the Byzantines, Bulgarians, Serbs, Normans and Angevins, hindered the political

evolution of the country. Nevertheless, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century a remarkable economic and social progress was noted. The feudal system extended throughout the larger part of Albania. P46 Pollo

Pollo, Stefanaq. *The history of Albania: from its origins to the present day*. London; Boston : Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.

## Slovenia

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government**

#### **Relationship between central and local government 3**

The consequence was that the Frankish administrative structure along the border began to change in the 820s when administration by counts began to replace tribal rule. This entailed a Frankish count ( comes ) being given a mandate by the Frankish ruler and ruling in his name, and thus replacing the tribal prince ( dux ) and the related tribal constitution. P97 Luthar

At the beginning of the 12th century the Duchy of Carantania/Carinthia and its marches were fragmented into judicially and administratively independent individual feudal estates held by secular and ecclesiastical lords. P118 Luthar

When after several military expeditions the Franks crushed their revolt, they closely incorporated the Slav vassal principalities of Karantanija and Carniola into their own social and political system. The Frankish feudal system began to spread throughout the region, and the Frankish feudal aristocracy began arriving, granted lands by the Frankish ruler. P21 Stih

“too fragmented to be transformed into a province by anyone relying on the powers invested in margraves” p124 Luthar

Stih, Peter. *The Middle Ages between the Eastern Alps and the Northern Adriatic: Select Papers on Slovene Historiography and Medieval History*. Brill, 2010.

Luthar, Oto. *The land between: a history of Slovenia*. Frankfurt am Main, [Germany] : Peter Lang AG, 2013.

## **Eastern and Central Europe**

In sum, the authority of even the strongest governments of medieval East Central Europe was very far from being despotic. The monarch could, and often did, behave autocratically toward his own entourage, especially toward servants and others of inferior rank. But he could not expect to make his writ run throughout an entire territory without enlisting the cooperation of his leading men. At first this meant the tribal and clan leaders, and at a later period the landholding aristocracy. The growth of great landed estates and the increasing autonomy of the nobility as a social class in the 13th and 14th centuries led to a serious diminution in the power of central governments. P302 Sedlar

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

## Poland 5.5

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 2**



The rulers' authority was never absolute. The nobility fought against the ruler's centralizing policies. P18 Prazmowaska

Assemblies of the free population are known to have existed as early as the 10th to 12th centuries in Polish Silesia, where decrees proposed by the king and the magnates were "confirmed by the commoners." Assemblies of the nobility continued to function at the provincial and local level in all seven provinces of Poland in the 15th century. P293 Sedlar

Assemblies of the free population are known to have existed as early as the 10th to 12th centuries in Polish Silesia, where decrees proposed by the king and the magnates were "confirmed by the commoners." Such assemblies existed also in the larger towns of Pomerania, like Wolin and Szczecin (Stettin), which were governed as oligarchic urban republics. In the semi-independent appanages into which Poland was divided in the 12th and 13th centuries, magnates and prelates met together with some regularity. P290 Sedlar

### **Relationship between central and local government 3.5**

**Town council and autonomy:** The Polish rulers, wishing to take advantage of increasing economic activity and the development of trade relations with neighboring countries, encouraged the founding of towns, giving them a legal status based on western and central European examples. The most important...were the replacement of dues to the feudal lord in kind, by money and the granting of quite extensive judicial and administrative self-government to a city's inhabitants. P58 Carter

The town council consisted mainly of handicraftsmen and councilors, the latter were mainly merchants. P58 Carter

### **Local government**

In Poland the oldest administrative unit was the opole, a judicial as well as a taxpaying district which antedated the foundation of the Polish state. It could include several villages or as many as several dozen. In the 10th and 11th centuries some of these districts were governed directly by royal officials, others by the lords of the great landed estates. Another type of district was the castellany (i.e., the area around a "castle"), which at that period meant merely an earthen fortress. The commander of a Polish castellany, who at first was entitled "count" and from the 12th century "castellan," was in principle the monarch's agent... This position was monopolized by great landed magnates, who waxed indignant if a nonnoble received the office. Thus in practice the monarch's right of appointment was greatly restricted. The castellan collected taxes, dispensed justice, and commanded the armed forces of his district. In return he was entitled to retain a portion of the locally collected revenue, including judicial fines and market tolls. Both castellans and counts were appointed by the king, but by the 14th century most county land belonged to noble estates, leaving the count with a relatively small power base. P277 Sedlar Even after reunification was achieved under Vladislav IV Lokietek about 1310, officials of the appanages continued to exercise considerable authority in their native districts. The king could appoint his own men only by agreement with the local nobility. Since a sovereign obviously needed subordinates loyal to himself, Lokietek began to appoint officials called starostas ("elders") to serve as counterweights to the nobles. Starostas were responsible to the king alone. They could not be natives of the region to which they were appointed, which made them useful tools of the central government. A starosta in his district exercised all the prerogatives of the monarch except for the right to grant royal lands or tax exemptions to private individuals. He

prosecuted and judged criminal cases, collected taxes, summoned the nobles to war, watched that no one infringed upon royal property, and administered church lands during vacancies. Under Lokietek's son Casimir the Great (r. 1333-70), the starostas were powerful enough even to order great magnates beheaded without trial, probably most often for robbery. P278 Sedlar  
Assemblies of the nobility continued to function at the provincial and local level in all seven provinces of Poland in the 15th century. P291 Sedlar

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

Carter, Francis W. *Trade and urban development in Poland : an economic geography of Cracow, from its origins to 1795*. New York : Cambridge University Press, 1994.

## Bohemia (Czech) 5

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 2**

In Bohemia, for instance, the position of the ruling duke was legally unlimited prior to the 13th century. His right to demand military service from all the able-bodied men of the nation was unquestioned; and the country's most powerful men had not yet become semi-independent landed proprietors... This patriarchal absolutism was possible in the 11th and 12th centuries because as yet the Bohemian landed nobility was too weak to restrain the sovereign's power. Still in the future lay the formation of a national assembly or diet through which the noble class could set limits to monarchical authority. P262 Sedlar

For all the lands of the Bohemian crown jointly, as well as for the provinces of Bohemia and Moravia separately, an assembly of nobility and higher clergy functioned as early as the 11th and 12th centuries... However, in the second half of the 13th century these assemblies assumed the character of genuine lawgiving bodies, discussing current affairs and passing laws. P285 Sedlar  
The assembly of free men chose the duke or prince from among the prominent families emerging in Bohemia. P29 Mahoney

Assemblies of a duke and his subjects (colloquia) in Bohemia were more regularly summoned and perhaps from much earlier than in Piast lands. It was during these meetings not only that proclamations of new laws or validations of estate transactions took place but here also criminal cases were judged. P211 Berend

### **Relationship between central and local government 3**

According to critics of the traditional explanation, the ducal administration of the whole land was divided into two sections: the duke's private property on the one hand, and land under his power but not in his direct property on the other. The duke's own landed property was administered through a network of manors, sometimes but not necessarily connected to castellan strongholds. The villicus, an official at the head of a manor...his position and that of an official administering justice over ducal subjects was independent of the castellanus. The latter as ducal representative, was responsible only for maintaining good relations with local magnates or wider elites. P205 Berend

Berend, Nora. *Central Europe in the high Middle Ages : Bohemia, Hungary and Poland c.900--c.1300*. Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

## Hungary 7

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

The king of Hungary in the 11th and 12th centuries was perhaps the most autocratic sovereign in Europe. Although necessarily limited in power by the primitive technology and undeveloped organizational forms of the period, he stood far above his countrymen in the extent of his authority. He ruled through officials called "counts" whom he appointed to wield administrative and judicial authority in the counties. P262 Sedlar

In 1222 the disgruntled magnates seized power and forced the king to issue the so-called Golden Bull. Stamped by a golden seal, this ceremonious charter considerably reduced the rights of the king. These restrictions did not create a division of power between the estates but, by declaring certain rights, paved the way for future constitutionalism. P120 Gergely

An estates based parliamentarism developed, and groups outside the royal council had access to policy making. P77 Kontler

### **Relationship between central and local government 4**

The most significant feature of political organization in medieval (and indeed modern) Hungary was the 'county administration'. The Hungarian counties were bifurcate institutions. The several purposes which they discharged may reflect the separate influence at the time of their foundation of Slavonic and Frankish methods of organization. On the one hand, they were institutions of military retaining. Warriors were gathered around castra, and in exchange for parcels of land they were obliged to perform military service under the command of a royally-appointed count or ispan. On the other hand, all lands and peoples in the proximity of the castrum were placed under the overall jurisdiction of the ispan and were subject to his court. P19 Rady

It was only after 1200, in the same period as Byzantium fell into a profound decline and Russia was torn apart by the Mongol invasion, that western systemic features became really preponderant in Hungarian development through the rise of the nobility and the notion of the *communitas regni*, the emergence of the peasantry from the servile status and the growth of free cities. P68 Kontler

Stephen converted the tribal and clan lands into districts which later became the basic units of Hungarian administration--the counties--each headed by an official called an ispan (i.e., "count"). By the end of his reign he had brought two-thirds of Hungary's population under his direct authority. A comparatively high degree of centralization for so early a period prevailed in both Poland and Hungary during the first two centuries of their existence as states, despite the limitations of abysmally poor communications and the almost total lack of a state bureaucracy. P259 Sedlar

Hungary prior to the 13th century exhibited a type of administrative dualism derived from the circumstances of the "taking of the land" in 895-96. The descendants of the original invaders continued to hold the areas where their respective tribes had settled when they occupied the country, provided that they had never rebelled against royal authority; and the king did not rule them directly. However, all uninhabited areas (including forests and mountainous districts, as well as the confiscated land of tribes which had revolted against the king) were treated as royal property. During the reign of King Stephen I (r. 997-1038) this included perhaps two-thirds of all

the land in Hungary. Stephen divided it into counties (i.e., districts around the royal fortresses), each subject to an appointed official called a count. The count's functions included providing the king with military service, provisioning the royal estates, and administering justice to the people. However, within a short time this fairly straightforward arrangement had evolved into an irregular mosaic of intertwined authorities, since some counts ruled parcels of land outside their own districts, while others held enclaves within counties governed by someone else. Subsequent developments gradually reduced both the functions and the territory of the royal counts. In the late 11th century the king's chief official, the palatine, replaced the counts as judge of all persons attached to the royal court. More and more estates belonging to the Church or the nobility received immunity from the authority of any count, especially from the mid- 12th century onward. P275 Sedlar

Gergely, Andras. *The History of Hungary*. A companion to Hungarian studies / edited by László Kósa. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1999.

Kontler, László. *A history of Hungary: millennium in Central Europe*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Rady, Martyn C. *Nobility, land and service in medieval Hungary*. Houndmills, Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave, in association with School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College London, 2000.

## Russia 9

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 4**

The most striking feature of the Muscovite government in their time was the great power of the ruler...for no estates or corporate organizations limited the grand princes' freedom of action and no constitutional norms defined their authority. P101 Crummey

Boyar Council: not only could no laws or decrees be issued without the approval of the boyars but also no foreign affairs were to be conducted without their being present. P89 Crummey

Muscovy's internal governmental operation relied on reaching decisions through institutional consultation and consensus-building among the elite and, through that elite, with the ruling class. The Muscovite grand prince and the boyars made the most important laws of the realm in consultation with each other, and these laws were promulgated only with the consent of the boyars. The boyar дума was thus a political institution that had a prominent governmental role as a council of state. It had the same three functions as the divan of qarachi beys, the steppe khanate council of clan chieftains, and was most likely modelled on it. The approval of the boyars was required for all important governmental endeavours and the signatures of its members were mandatory on all matters of state-wide internal policy. P217 Ostrowski

During the first half of the fourteenth century, the Muscovite princes established a political administration based primarily on that of the Qipchaq Khanate (Golden Horde). P19 Ostrowski  
By the fourteenth century, the principle of all the land belonging to the ruler was adopted by the Muscovite grand princes. p47 Ostrowski

### **Relationship between central and local government 5**

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the ambitious but rudimentary royal administration in Moscow saw the commune as a useful instrument in governing the realm. For example, the

government made the commune's members collectively responsible for payment of taxes: if one household did not pay its share, the other villagers had to make up the arrears. P6 Crummey

the central government maintained its agents in the provinces at very little cost. While on assignment, the governors lived on kormlenie...the system had obvious advantages and dangers, it was simple and cheap, but it gave the governor extensive power over the people in his jurisdiction...the problem with the traditional system of provincial administration was not that it was a pit of corruption or a bastion of aristocratic privilege, but that it was too rudimentary to meet the increasingly complex needs of the state...one sign is the tendency of the grand princely administration to define the governors' rights and duties more and more precisely. P107 Crummey

### **Local dual administration: civil governor and military governor**

By the end of the fourteenth century, according to one estimate, Muscovy had fifteen namestniki ("lieutenant", local administrator in early and middle Muscovy of regions and towns), and around a hundred volosteli (chief administrator of a district). Both the namestniki and the volosteli maintained themselves through kormlenie, that is through a share of taxes and court fees collected in each district. Namestniki were replaced, in turn, during the course of the sixteenth century by the holders of pomestia, who were quasi-administrators and tax gatherers of the estates they held. Volosteli were replaced during the sixteenth century by voevody, military commanders who acted as military governors of their districts. P45 Ostrowski

Besides the concept of dual-circuit administration and the decentralized setup of the Mongol/Chinese administrative apparatus, the Muscovite princes borrowed the entire interlocking relationship of the Qipchaq Khante's higher administration, such that the tysiatskii (until 1374), and the bol'shoi namestnik (after 1374) were equivalent to the beylaribey. P46 Ostrowski

Ostrowski, Donald G. Muscovy and the Mongols: cross-cultural influences on the steppe frontier, 1304-1589. Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Ostrowski, Donald. "The Growth of Muscovy (1462-1533)." The Cambridge History of Russia, edited by Maureen Perrie, vol. 1, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 211-239. The Cambridge History of Russia.

Crummey, Robert O. The formation of Muscovy, 1304-1613. London; New York: Longman, 1987.

## **Latin America (colonial)**

### **Mexico 8**

#### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

As Spanish colonial dominions grew, Spain created the Council of the Indies in 1524. This body governed the growing colonial policies of settlement, governance, distribution of goods, types of products that could be manufactured or grown, and the shipping schedule to and from the colonies. Soon the Council assumed responsibility to advise the Crown and, when necessary, represent the monarch. P61 Kirkwood

Originally the audiencia was a court of judicial review. Soon, however, it acquired authority to govern the colonies.

In the colonies the viceroy wielded enormous power. As the Crown's official representative he presided over the audiencia, was the chief military officer, chose clerical officials and reprimanded them when necessary, and controlled the colonial treasury. Although he was president of the audiencia, this governing body investigated and reported on the viceroy's behavior. As a result, the Crown established a system of checks and balances ensuring Spain's dominance. p62 Kirkwood

The viceroy's authority was limited in other ways. One, he did not possess the power to establish new laws. Two, each viceroy's tenure was kept short so as not to allow the time to establish allies that might threaten Spanish authority. Three, the viceroy did not determine membership on the audiencia; the monarchy selected all the representatives. Four, the viceroy was held in check by the residencia and the visita. These offices were designed to ensure that the viceroy served the state in a capable manner and to remind him of his subservient position. p62 Kirkwood  
The visitador examined the behavior of the viceroy during his tenure in New Spain. p63 Kirkwood

### **Relationship between central and local government 5**

With the larger colonial bureaucracy established, it was not long before the Spanish created a bureaucratic system that governed on the local level. The Ayuntamiento or cabildo (town council) oversaw and directed the community. P63 Kirkwood

Kirkwood, Burton. *The history of Mexico*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: Greenwood Press/ABC-CLIO, c2010.

### **Central America**

In central America the prolonged presence of the most powerful conquistadores prevented the Crown from implementing a cohesive government. In 1530, all of Mexico was centrally administered, yet separate royal orders governed Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras and Panama in recognition of the various claims and disputes of the conquistadores...the crown finally exerted its control. P69 Foster

The kingdom (Kingdom of Guatemala) was administered by its own audiencia, or royal council, nominally under the viceroyalty of New Spain but in a typical Spanish effort to provide checks and balances, with the right to report directly to the Crown. P71 Foster

Foster, Lynn V. *A brief history of Central America*. New York: Facts on File, c2007.

Political jurisdiction over Central America evolved slowly. Conquistadores represented authorities in Mexico, Santo Domingo, and Panama, and it was several years before a unified administration ruled over a united colony. Rivalry among representatives of these seats of authority contributed heavily to the early disorder and turmoil in Central America, especially in Honduras and Nicaragua....Each new conquest justified a new government. This resulted in decentralization, despite royal efforts to maintain close control through its agents. P35 Woodward

The frontier nature of the region and the fragility of the empire militated against control. P19 Wortman

Woodward, Ralph Lee. *Central America: A Nation Divided*. 3d ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Wortman, Miles L. Government and society in Central America, 1680-1840. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.

## Guatemala 6.5

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

(1542-late 17<sup>th</sup> century) Habsburg bureaucracy

establishment of a royally appointed bureaucracy that extended from the top to the bottom of colonial government...using the regular Habsburg practice of “divide and rule”, the monarch created a system of checks and balances with purposely overlapping functions, proliferating the number of offices, raising revenue by heavy and sustained selling of offices, and preventing the exercise of absolute authority in any region or governmental office...the system was decentralized and inefficient; the only centralization was in the king himself and the Council of the Indies (established in 1524). P36 Jones

### **Relationship between central and local government 3.5**

(1524-1542) Central America, along with Peru, remained one of the most tumultuous of Spain's kingdoms in the Americas. Personal rivalries and the absence of royal institutions resulted in widespread violence among Spaniards...the first period of Spanish government was an era of personalist administration by Alvarado and his relatives, decentralized authority, and instability. p34-35 Jones

The Audiencia de Guatemala operated as a virtually autonomous Spanish dominion throughout the remainder of Spain's control over Central America. Also under its authority were the present-day nations of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala... P37 Jones

Jones, Oakah L. Guatemala in the Spanish colonial period. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, c1994.

## El Salvador

**Same as Guatemala**

## Honduras

**Same as Guatemala**

## Costa Rica 6

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

**Same as Guatemala**

### **Relationship between central and local government 3**

Except for the collection of taxes, however, government was lightly exercised there, and both colonists and their governor were left largely to their own devices, without either outside interference or assistance. P12 Nelson

Costa Rica, a country study. Nelson, Harold D. Washington, D.C. : American University, Foreign Area Studies, 1984.

## Panama 7

**Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

#### **Relationship between central and local government 4**

Administrative jurisdictions changed relatively little until the end of the eighteenth century and responded more to the pressure and vested interests exerted by local groups of colonizers than to any strategies for domination or control of the colonial bureaucracy itself. Local interests enjoyed solid representation in the Cabildo (town council). P38 Perez-Brignoli  
Pérez Brignoli, Héctor. A brief history of Central America. Berkeley: University of California Press, c1989.

#### **Colombia 7**

##### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

As in the Spanish empire as a whole, the structure, in principle was highly centralized. most of the colonial period, present-day Colombia formed part of the Viceroyalty of Peru, but the viceroy at Lima could never expect to wield much real authority over lands so far removed from the Peruvian capital. Hence, a captain-general of New Granada was appointed in 1564. P11 Bushnell

Below the level of viceroyalties, captaincies-general, and presidencies were smaller territorial divisions, each with its appointed governor. At the very bottom of the political system were the organs of local government, principally the cabildos, or town councils. P12 Bushnell  
Difficulty of travel and communications, however, hampered effective control over these areas. Provincial governors remained effectively independent of the authority. P55 Safford

##### **Relationship between central and local government 4**

Cabildo members were undemocratically chosen, most often by some form of co-optation; but at least they were local residents, whether European-born Spaniards or creoles (i.e., native-born whites). The cabildo was thus the one institution of colonial government that did have a certain representative character. P12 Bushnell

Bushnell, David, *The making of modern Colombia: a nation in spite of itself*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, c1993.

Safford, Frank, *Colombia: fragmented land, divided society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

#### **Ecuador 7**

##### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

Same as Peru

##### **Relationship between central and local government 4**

Extension of direct royal representatives into areas away from the capitals was a slow process, but it did begin then. From the first, governors and viceroys named short-term lieutenant governors, to represent them in all Spanish settlements. The governmental presence in Spanish cities reached maturity quickly and was hardly to change until the late eighteenth century. P106 Lockhart&Schwartz

#### **Peru 8**

##### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

The most powerful of the government institutions advising the crown on colonial finances was the Council of the Indies, created by Charles I in 1524. The authority of the council extended to



every sphere of the government-legislative, judicial, military, ecclesiastical, commercial and financial. P81 Andrien

As a check on the extensive powers of the Council of Indies, the crown gave two additional agencies certain specific administrative powers over the colonial treasures, the Council of Finance of Castile and the House of Trade. p81 Andrien

The Viceroy of Peru: he ensured that any appropriate fiscal policies...supervised the overall administration of the treasury. Specifically, the viceroy could issue laws by himself or in conjunction with the audiencia. He also possessed supreme executive powers over the enforcement of all legislation. He also had the power to make interim appointments to all treasury positions, subject to confirmation by the Council of the Indies. P83-84 Andrien

The Audiencia: possessed a mixture of legislative, executive and judicial powers over the administration of the royal revenues in the district. P84 Andrien

### **Relationship between central and local government 5**

The administrative hierarchy of the treasury in the Viceroyalty of Peru was even more ponderous and decentralized than it was in Spain. Political power was divided between major administrative bodies, such as viceroy, the audiencia, the tribunal of accounts, and the provincial governors, and minor administrative agencies. P83 Andrien

extension of direct royal representatives into areas away from the capitals was a slow process, but it did begin then. From the first, governors and viceroys named short-term lieutenant governors, to represent them in all Spanish settlements. The governmental presence in Spanish cities reached maturity quickly and was hardly to change until the late eighteenth century. P106 Lockhart&Schwartz

by appointing officials, Spain was able to maintain royal absolutism in Peru until the independence wars. P55 Masterson

Andrien, Kenneth J. *Crisis and decline: the Viceroyalty of Peru in the seventeenth century*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985.

Masterson, Daniel M. *The history of Peru*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2009.

## **Venezuela 7**

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

The governor's actions were ruled by the Laws of the Indies, and the Council of the Indies supervised his administration and even his private life. Judges were sent out to investigate the governor's conduct if necessary, and at the end of his term he and his staff underwent the *residencia* (public enquiry). P65 Morón

### **Relationship between central and local government 4**

Before 1777, what we today label Venezuela consisted of a varying number of provinces that were governed quite independently of one another. These provinces were administered from neighboring colonies that the Spanish considered more important. Haggerty

The early provinces were ruled by a governor who was both civil and military chief, and was usually given the title of *adelantado*...later the provinces were ruled by ordinary governors who were the highest officials until 1777. Each of the six provinces had its governor, recommended to the King by the Council of the Indies, but appointed by the King alone. There was no fixed term of office, but by the end of the colonial period it was usually not longer than four years. P65

The towns were governed by their councils, the cabildos, the first of which were appointed by the conquering founders from among their soldiers....the citizens elected new councilors, and the latter chose the mayors. P67 Morón

Richard A. Haggerty, ed. Venezuela: A Country Study. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1990.

Morón, Guillermo. A history of Venezuela. London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. [c1964]

## Chile 8

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

The highest colonial authority in Chile was the governor and captain general appointed, on the recommendation of the Council of the Indies, by the king as his representative in the colony...His duties were as follows: to command the army, to appoint and remove the other public functionaries except those who received appointment directly from the king; the administer civil and penal justice as a supreme judge...to direct the administration of cities...p62 Luis

But these powers had two important limitations: in the first place, whoever was injured by his administration could apply for justice to the viceroy of Peru or to the king himself; and in the second place, he was subjected to a public hearing before a lawyer when his office ended, to which all those came who had grievances against him. P63 Luis

Aside from the governor, political authority resided in his deputy, in the corregidores, or governors of cities and subdivisions called partidos (today provinces or departments); and in the high constables...there were royal officers...treasurer, accountant and the last, overseer. These men received appointment from the king.

The representatives of the royal authority-viceroys and captains general, were also isolated completely within their respective colonies...they were even more definitely prohibited from having any private business whatever. The ecclesiastical authorities, bishops and archbishops, and the judicial authorities, audiencias were to watch the governors, take care of each other and give account to the king of what they observed and considered worthy of his knowledge. P62 Luis

### **Relationship between central and local government 5**

Besides the corregidores, the local administration of the cities was in charge of the cabildos. At any rate, the cabildo enjoyed a certain autonomy, and as members were reeligible to these posts at the beginning and as the posts were afterward purchasable even for a lifetime, the result was that the same persons occupied them for many years. P63 Luis

On founding a city, the governor selected the members of the cabildo; these men afterwards named those who should replace them each year. P63 Luis

Luis, Galdames. A history of Chile. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1941

## Brazil 7

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

The authority of the governor-general gradually diminished as the Portuguese in the last decades of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries penetrated the interior of Brazil and

expanded on the northern and southern extremities of the colony far beyond the line of Tordesillas, and as successive changes in the administrative structure of the colony were imposed from Lisbon. P446 Bethell

#### **Relationship between central and local government 4**

There were at least three levels of government within the colony. Royally appointed officers — the viceroy, governors, desembargadores (high court judges), and other crown magistrates — were the direct representatives of Portuguese authority. They were, in theory at least, a bureaucracy of professionals. P497 Schwartz

Beneath them was the second level of government, a myriad of minor offices, treasury officials, customs collectors, market inspectors, probate judges, scribes, and watchmen. Originally, these positions had been filled by European-born Portuguese, but by the mid seventeenth century colonials held many of these offices, some of which were bought and others held by inheritance. Finally, there was, as we have seen, a third level, formed by the offices of municipal government, the elected judges and vereadores (councillors) of the camaras and the many lesser positions appointed by these local colonial bodies. In the countryside government was often in the hands of the senior militia officers, who served paramilitary functions as policemen, tax collectors, and, eventually, census-takers. P498 Schwartz

Schwartz, Stuart B. “Colonial Brazil, c. 1580–c. 1750: Plantations and Peripheries.” *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell, vol. 2, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984, pp. 421–500. *The Cambridge History of Latin America*.

#### **Argentina 7**

##### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

Creation of the Ordinance of Intendants after the Bourbon reform-define and delimit the powers of viceroy and intendant. In financial and economic affairs the superintendent-general of army and treasury was to act with absolute independence of the viceroy, while the latter was to continue to exercise all his other powers according to the law of the Indies. P90 Lynch

The intendant was not the first agent to relieve the viceroy of his original deposit of power. A viceroy was the direct representative of the crown for a given area, and as such he exercised supreme authority in civil and military matters in his province. He also had supervision over justice and the secular aspects of church government...to a considerable extent the audiencia shared with the viceroy the political functions of government, and as a court of law it maintained an unquestioned supremacy...for the power of the viceroy was already far from autocratic. P92 Lynch

##### **Relationship between central and local government 4**

But the crown was not so sensitive about local government in less important and less populated parts of the empire. In Buenos Aires, for example, regidores (in cabildo) could nominally be elected by the people, though it was taken for granted that elections were under the control of the governor. P205 Lynch

Any evidence of strength or independence on the part of cabildos was abnormal and ephemeral. P210 Lynch

It has been maintained that the cabildos lost part of their authority because the alcaldes and regidores appointed by them had to be confirmed in office by the intendant. By the Laws of the Indies the ultimate authority for confirmation of municipal elections was the viceroy. P212

Lynch

Lynch, John, Spanish colonial administration, 1782-1810; the intendant system in the viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata. [London] University of London, Athlone Press, 1958.

## Uruguay 7.5

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

#### **MISSING**

### **Relationship between central and local government 4.5**

The jurisdictional powers of the colonial cabildo offered Montevideo's elites the means to gain authority and influence in the region. P86 Prado

Historians tend to consider the cabildo the main institution controlling the jurisdiction of colonial cities and the principal source of local authority. During the seventeenth century and most of the eighteenth, the colonial cabildo was in charge of justice, public works, the distribution of urban land plots, the construction and maintenance of urban infrastructure, and the regulation of local commerce in the area of its jurisdiction. P87 Prado

Throughout the eighteenth century, however, cabildos were progressively disempowered by the fragmentation of their jurisdictions. The reforms of the late eighteenth century further diminished their authority. The emergence of new regional groups that claimed authority over local affairs as good subjects of the king fostered the creation of new cabildos. P88 Prado

The office of the provincial governor provided local elites in Montevideo with another kind of instrument to assert jurisdiction over local and regional affairs. Governors and viceroys held key authority over fiscal, military, and political matters that encompassed the area of multiple cabildos. The governors oversaw customs, military and frontier matters, and foreign trade. p87 Prado

The creation of the office of intendant and later that of superintendent also empowered some governors (gobernadores intendentes). Thus regional governors gained authority over fiscal and political matters that had previously been exclusively the viceroy's purview. Between 1782 and 1788 the Office of the Superintendent had jurisdiction over the Comandancia de Resguardos and Customs; in addition, it oversaw Real Hacienda matters. In Río de la Plata, Superintendent Sanz claimed jurisdiction over transimperial trade and, although located in Buenos Aires, supported Montevidean authorities and interests. P90 Prado

The oligarchic composition of the cabildos themselves was an even greater drag on municipal development. There were not infrequent complaints that the councilor class was itself "fixing" elections. P340 Lynch

Lynch, John. *Intendants and Cabildos in the Viceroyalty of La Plata, 1782-1810*. The Hispanic American Historical Review, 8/1/1955, Vol. 35, Issue 3, p. 337-362.

Prado, Fabricio. *Edge of Empire: Atlantic Networks and Revolution in Bourbon Rio de la Plata*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015. Project MUSE.

## **Caribbean:**

### **Trinidad and Tobago 10**

#### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 5**

Trinidad was an experimental colony, the first territory under English rule to have the Crown Colony form of government. P24 MacDonald

The council had no legislative functions. The members were appointed merely to advise the Governor. Unlike the older British possessions, Trinidad was administered by the Governor and the Governor alone. The administration of the colony was left almost entirely in his hands. P8 Ottley

Under the former system, Spanish government had been authoritative but not arbitrary; after the conquest, it was nothing if not arbitrary...the results of this administrative and judicial reorganization must now be noted...the life of the community was subject to the sole will of the Governor. His overall control was enhanced, not modified by the creation of new offices and the reorganization of old ones. P59 Millette

The Crown Colony was, in many aspects, an autocratic form of government headed by a governor who ruling in the monarch's name, had almost unlimited power. P26 MacDonald

#### **Relationship between central and local government 5**

Most of the new officials, particularly the commandants, owed their appointments solely to him, could be dismissed by him and were susceptible to the crudest pressures of coercion. P59 Millette

MacDonald, Scott B. *Trinidad and Tobago: democracy and development in the Caribbean*. New York: Praeger, 1986.

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### **Dominican Republic 7**

#### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

The powers of the governors who succeeded Diego Columbus were curtailed by the jurisdiction of a superior court, authorized to hear appeals even from the decisions of the governor himself. The powers of this council-over all matters political, civil, military and criminal were as absolute as those of any tribunal in the world. P20 Rodman

#### **Relationship between central and local government 4**

Local political control was somewhat diffused. In the Spanish colonies, it resided with the captains-general, the audiencias (the regional Supreme Court of Tribunal), and the Cabildos(or town councils). P58 Knight

The powers of this council-over all matters political, civil, military, and criminal, were as absolute as those of any tribunal in the world. P20 Rodman

As a court representing the crown, the *audiencia* was given expanded powers that encompassed administrative, legislative, and consultative functions. Haggerty

The self-sufficiency and relative isolation of the plantations brought about a noticeable decentralization of political power. The ingenios gradually became the centers of authority in their regions. P39 Moya Pons

Knight, Franklin W. *The Caribbean: the genesis of a fragmented nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

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## Jamaica 7

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

The governor's legislative power was inherent in his post since he could achieve nothing without the full authority to pass laws which affected his district. Generally, the governor was always invested with the power to remove from and to appoint to all offices within his governorship, and call for cooperation with him in the administration of his territory. Regular mayors, high ranking and low ranking constables, governors of prisons...all the authorities to be found in Jamaica could be appointed or dismissed by him in accordance with the powers conferred on him. His substantial powers were to lead on more than one occasion to nepotism and arbitrary appointments. P70-71 Morales Padrón

In judicial matters...sentences and the application of the penalties imposed came under the purview of the governor's judicial powers. This was because his office was responsible not only for administration but for justice as well. P71 Morales Padrón

There were to be no life or hereditary governorships. All governors were appointed for a defined period or "for the period of my pleasure". P69 Morales Padrón

### **Relationship between central and local government 4**

**Not available**

Morales Padrón, Francisco. *Spanish Jamaica*. Kingston; Miami: Ian Randle, c2003.

## **Pre-colonial**

### Inca 10

#### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 5**

During the period under consideration (1438–1532) the Inca state in Peru was politically a highly centralized empire with strong central government. Its social structure was that of an early class society with some communal traits; the government's intervention in social life was prevalent, village communities were put in the service of the government, horizontal mobility was regulated and vertical mobility was all but non-existent. P137 Kulmar

#### **Relationship between central and local government 5**

Ten administrative levels extended from the monarch down to and often into the ayllu. The top three levels were staffed exclusively by members of the Inka nobility...five middle levels were

governed by kurakas, or hereditary non-Inka officials who were members of various ethnic groups that had accepted Inka sovereignty...the Inka further divided groups of one hundred families into units of fifty and ten families each under the supervision of non-hereditary foremen who were commoners of local origin. P212 Trigger

While the leaders of these groups were hereditary, their succession to office had to be approved by the local Inka governor or the Inka monarch. P212 Trigger

Provincial governors and all higher officers were appointed by the king from the various levels of the Inka nobility...governors were periodically transferred from one province to another to prevent them from acquiring a local power base, and their principal residences remained in or near Cusco. Various itinerant inspectors and secret agents monitored their behavior and reported on their loyalty to the king. P213 Trigger

In general, military leadership was separate from the provincial administration. P213 Trigger

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Kumar, Manisha. "Difference Between Aztecs and Incas." *DifferenceBetween.net*. September 28, 2009 < <http://www.differencebetween.net/miscellaneous/difference-between-aztecs-and-incas/> >.

## Maya 5

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

(a well-defined hereditary) nobility combined with the dispersed nature of Maya settlement, may have encouraged administrative structures to be segmentary and under the control of high-status patrilineal kin groups. P207 Trigger

The typical center took on increasingly political functions as it became the headquarters for a centralized administrative organization, structured as a hierarchy of hereditary offices such as those held by lineage heads. Given the existence of governing councils composed of such officials in the Postclassic, it seems likely that this form of political authority was an ancient institution. P491 Sharer

And the emerging authority of the k'ul ahau (supreme or sacred ruler) probably entailed the persistence of some form of elite council that advised or assisted the ruler in his duties. P491 Sharer

### **Relationship between central and local government 2**

Within each Maya kingdom, some subordinate lords lived in the capital as part of the royal court, while others resided in outlying centers where they administered subdivisions of the realm in the name of the king. These subordinate lords in turn had the authority to install lower-ranking lords in office on behalf of the king. P713 Sharer

There is hieroglyphic evidence for the existence of local governors, called cahalob, in smaller communities within a polity. P181 McKillop

1. The dependence of rulers for power on personal performance in ritual and warfare;
2. The loose structure and unbounded nature of political territories which were "center-oriented" networks of personal, political and religious authority that radiated from the ruler himself
3. The generally weak direct control or involvement of the state in local subsistence or economic infrastructure.

4. The redundancy in structure and functions between the capital center and minor subordinate centers
5. The organization of hegemonies into capital centers loosely controlling a network of “galaxy” of subordinate sites p216 Demarest

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

McKillop, Heather Irene, *The ancient Maya : new perspectives*. Santa Barbara, Calif. : ABC-CLIO, c2004.

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## Aztec 5

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

At the top of the state administration were the king and the chief decision-makers who bore the title tecuhtli (lord). In Tenochtitlan next in rank after the king among this group were the cihuacoatl and the members of the Council of Four. . .none of these offices was hereditary; individuals were appointed to them by the king. P204 Trigger

In Tenochtitlan the power of the king and nobles was greatly strengthened by military success and royal control of the material resources received from the Aztec tributary network. In smaller and less powerful city-states the influence of calpolli and other community leaders remained stronger. P205 Trigger

While there was a vast amount of variation in the degree of internal centralization among the states in the Valley of Mexico, on the whole there appears to have been more centralization in this region than there was among the Yoruba or in southern Mesopotamia. P206 Trigger

### **Relationship between central and local government 2**

The Aztec state in Mexico, during the period under consideration (1427– 1519), was a confederation with weak central authority where the core of the confederation used conquered territories as a sort of economic backup. Their social organization represented an early class society with strong communal traits, little interference from the government in the daily life of the community, few opportunities for horizontal mobility, but vertical mobility was quite possible. P137 Kulmar

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Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

## **South Asia**

### **Bhutan 6**



### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 2**

The Drukpa theocracy with its dual authority was largely a church state run on the principles of 'oriental despotism' and occasional charisma. It fought sectarian and territorial wars with her northern and southern neighbors. P127 Sinha

Dual system: the spiritual ruler and the temporal ruler.

Administration comprised a state monastic body with an elected head, the lord abbot, and a theocratic civil government headed by regent of Bhutan. It was either a monk or a member of the laity, by the nineteenth century, usually the latter; he was elected for a three-year term, initially by a monastic council and later by the State council. The State Council was a central administrative organ that included regional rulers, chamberlains, and the regent. P303 Savada

Chief among the civil servants were nine state ministers (bKa'-blon), at the highest level, and high ranking officials of the two governing centers of Punakha and Tashichhodzong (Gzhung phantshun gyi nyis-skal). P41 Ardussi

### **Relationship between central and local government 4**

The kingdom was divided into three regions, each with an appointed governor. The major revenue came from the trade between Tibet and India and from land taxes. P303 Savada  
Ecclesiastical officials appointed by the high lama: offices to take care of the monks and religious heritage, official that responsible for the welfare of the high lama and the heirs, disciplinarians and preceptor.

Appointed by the high lama: Chief administrator for the civil administration. Cabinet of executive leaders, which ruled the country. Below them was a plethora of officials p258  
The hierarchy of civil administration decentralized down to the village level. P70 Gulati

Andrea Matles Savada. *Nepal and Bhutan: country studies*, Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. Govt. Print. Office, 1993.

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John Ardussi and Karma Ura, Population and Governance in mid-18th Century Bhutan, as Revealed in the Enthronement Record of Thugs-sprul 'Jigs med grags pa I (1725-1761)

## **Maurya 9**

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 5**

(King) complete control over all spheres of social and political life. The king's control over the council, the members of the council were personally selected by the king. P124 Thapar  
In order to control various spheres of life the state had to maintain a vast bureaucracy. In no other period of ancient history do we hear of as many officers as in Maurya times. P179 Sharma

### **Relationship between central and local government 4**

Provincial administration was under the immediate control of a prince or a member of the royal family. P127 Thapar

Governors administering smaller areas within the unit of the province were probably selected from among the local people. P128 Thapar

Spies are sent all over the country disguised as ordinary citizens in every walk of life. Even ministers are watched by spies. The frequency of inspections and the existence of spies must have carried with it the flavor of a totalitarian state. Since there was no elected representative body to assist the king in governing, he could have recourse only to such means of eliciting public opinion. P141 Thapar

Thapar, Romila. *Aśoka and the decline of the Mauryas*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012.

## Tamil 6

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 4**

The head of the society was a hereditary monarch. His power was restricted by “Five Great Assemblies” which consisted of (1) the representatives of the people (2) priests (3) physicians (4) astrologers and (5) ministers. Special officers were appointed to perform the duties of judges and magistrates. P30 Husaini

A peculiar feature of the ancient Tamil monarchy was that each of the three kingdoms was ruled by representatives of more than one branch of the royal family; hence there were at least two capitals for each kingdom and at least two main branches simultaneously exercising royal functions. P49 Chopra

The king was in all essential respects an autocrat. P131 Nilakanta Sastri

The king had absolute power in the government of his subjects...he had political, judicial, military and other duties... One of the essential functions of the king was judicial. P50 Chopra

### **Relationship between central and local government 2**

The king's government was centralized at the capital and decentralized in the villages which were fairly autonomous units of administration. This decentralization was necessitated mainly by the absence of a system of close-knit bureaucracy and secondarily due to lack of communication...(local villages) these elders were not elected, but age, nobility of lineage and status in society played a role in the selection of these persons. P52 Chopra

Chopra, Pran Nath. *History of South India*. New Delhi: S. Chand, 1979.

Husaini, Abdul Qadir, Saiyid. *The history of the Pāndya country*, Karaikudi, Selvi Pathippakam [1962].

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## Bengal 7

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 4**

### **Relationship between central and local government 3**

Use Maurya

## Sri Lanka 5

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

Due to the fact that the kingship and key administrative positions in most instances passed in hereditary succession among important lineages, power and authority were concentrated in the hands of a few families. P38 Siriweera

In theory, the king was the fountainhead of justice...a sabha, or council of ministers, advised the king in the early centuries of the Anuradhapura. P61 Yogasundram

### **Relationship between central and local government 2**

The links between the central administration in Anuradhapura and the outlying provinces were not governed by any formal administrative structure but by informal, more volatile and unpredictable personal ties. The Anuradhapura kingdom was never a centralized, autocratic structure. P61 Yogasundram

Villages were bequeathed to nobles who were relatives of the king or had performed some beneficial service. A feudal system, therefore, developed. P61 Yogasundram

Russell R. Ross and Andrea Matles Savada, editors. *Sri Lanka: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1988.

Siriweera, W. I. *History of Sri Lanka: from earliest times up to the sixteenth century*, Colombo; New Jersey: Dayawansa Jayakody & Co., 2002.

Yogasundram, Nath. A comprehensive history of Sri Lanka from prehistory to Tsunami. Colombo: Vijitha Yapa Publications, 2008.

## **Nepal 8**

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 5**

Hereditary ruler assisted by appointed minister, who combined in himself the function of the judicial head and Secretary General. All posts were filled by the king by virtue of his prerogatives and he also mainly appointed his officers from the rank of those who were loyal to him. P110 Regmi

The administration of the state was fairly organized...the king who was called the “revered king of kings” was the highest executive officer of the state. Monarchy was based on some kind of theory of divine right, as the monarch claimed to rule over his fellow beings as an incarnation of Narayana...Licchavi monarchy in Nepal was purely hereditary. P22 Shah

### **Relationship between central and local government 3**

In ancient records there are three expressions, similar in form, which have been interpreted as referring to the village council of ancient times. Of these, Pankali appears in the inscriptions of the Licchavi dynasty of Nepal. P13 Gopal

The panchalis had a privileged position not merely in the form of non-entry by the officers. They had also the freedom to regulate their affairs by themselves. It was only in special cases, when they were not able to perform their duties or could not resolve their affairs, that the administration could interfere. But even in such extreme cases it was the king and the officers immediately associated with him who could take action. P21 Gopal

Shah, Rishikesh. *Ancient and Medieval Nepal*. Kailash (Kathmandu) 15, nos.1-2 (1989) p.21-84

Regmi, D. R. *Ancient and medieval Nepal*, Kathmandu [n.p.] 1952.

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## **East Asia**

## Japan 6

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 4**

The Emperor, as the highest head of all families, had absolute power of regulating them. Thus, it often happened that the Emperor conferred upon a family a certain rank or promoted its status from a lower grade to a higher; or degraded an independent family into dependent class by forfeiting its hereditary social rank. P49 Shiozawa

### **Relationship between central and local government 2**

Under the leadership of Yamato, the country was divided into a number of local hereditary units called uji, sometimes translated as “clans”. These had their hereditary chiefs and their own uji deities. The uji were ranked in hierarchical order under the ruling Yamato group. (connection between the early Yamato kings and local deities; strong emphasis on hierarchy and hereditary authority) (P14 Reishauer)

(Yamato kingdom) What we see, far more clearly, is the rise of a network of local units and offices incorporated, centuries later and after considerable change, into a sinicized ritsuryo legal system. P133 Brown

The following conclusions - relevant to the nature and role of the clans that became the foundation of the Yamato control structure - can be drawn: (i) A small state was formed by one agricultural community that gained supremacy (probably by means of military force) over neighboring communities; (2) a small state was headed by a king or queen who stood above (but apparently did not replace) the heads of constituent communities; (3) a king or queen had a sacred relationship to, and was the chief priest or priestess in the worship of, his or her guardian kami, just as the head of each constituent community conducted the worship of its community kami; (4) a state kami stood above (but did not replace) the kami worshiped by the heads of petty states; (5) a king or queen was often succeeded by a son or daughter; and (6) the centralization process was associated with, if not accelerated by, an increasingly widespread use of iron tools and weapons. P134 Brown

The groups formed at this later stage - possibly called uji by a Yamato king - were probably located in and around the Nara plain. They are thought to have retained much of the social character of early Yayoi agricultural communities and of petty states or state-federations that had begun to emerge in Kyushu toward the middle of the Yayoi period, but they were transformed into uji-like lineal groups by familial, religious, economic, and military ties with the Yamato kings... uji had become basic units in the Yamato system. P135 Brown

Although large clans or lineage groups (uji) headed by hereditary chieftains who held the highest kabane titles awarded by a Yamato king were central to the expansion of Yamato authority, much of Yamato's military and economic power was generated by occupational groups (be) attached to the court or to its supporting clans... Both resided in clearly defined areas and were ruled by hereditary heads holding kabane that had been granted by a Yamato king. P138 Brown

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## Korea 7

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

In both these states (Puyo and Koguryo) it appears that at first kings were chosen by some sort of elective process. In Puyo the kings were held accountable for poor harvests...(later) yet these new institutional arrangements still contained features of the former federative patterns...it is not amiss to suggest that actual political authority lay less with the king than in the hands of the taiga, who are believed to have been senior members of the royal clan or of the various lienages from which the queens were drawn. P30 Lee

### **Relationship between central and local government 4**

Its early leaders seem to have born the title tan'gun wanggom, and it is thought likely that they combined political and religious functions in a single personage. P14 Lee

Ultimately, then, this transformation in the area's power structure led to the establishment of a new kingdom by Wiman, whose state of course bore the hallmark of the stronger Chinese civilization. P16 Lee

The "four outlying provinces" in Puyo that were administered by "governors" (ka) likely represent a development in the direction of a local government structure under centralized control, but this presumably was an outgrowth from an original walled-town state pattern. P28 Lee

In Puyo and Koguryo, the structure of the confederated kingdom was undergoing marked change, and in the process the kingly authority was being strengthened. P31 Lee

Lee, Ki-baek. *A new history of Korea*. Mass.: Published for the Harvard-Yenching Institute by Harvard University Press, 1984.

## China 8

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 4**

The Shang polity was a patrimonial theocracy ruled by a lineage head, the king, "I, the one man," whose authority derived from his unique relationship to the ancestors, and who relied on the socio-religious ties of patriarchal authority and filiality to bind his dependents to the dynastic enterprise. P289-290 Keightley

In theory the power of the king was absolute, but in practice it was constantly limited by the Council of the "Small and Great", hsia-shang. In case of dispute between the king and his councilors the advice of the ancestors was sought by divination. P27 Maspero

The head of the grand lineage was the wang, a theocratic and absolute monarch, whose authority derived from the exclusivity of his communion with his ancestors. P447 Finer

### **Relationship between central and local government 4**

"Incipient bureaucracy", the rudimentary beginnings of a more impersonal form of administrative organization p287 Keightley

The Shang state appears to have had at least a two-tiered system of regional government, with the units at both the provincial and local levels controlled by leaders of patrilineages linked in some fashion to the royal family. P207 Trigger

The patrimonial nature of the politico-religious state and administration in which political process and religious process frequently overlapped; the increasing role of bureaucracy; the large-scale mobilization of labor by a central elite... p290-291 Keightley

The Shang kingdom was divided into a series of provinces or districts ruled by hereditary officials who bore the title hou or bo. P214 Trigger

While the governors of provinces were granted hereditary control of them and peripheral provinces sometimes rebelled against Shang rule, Chao (1972: 115) maintains that the Shang kings were able to intervene actively in the management of these political divisions. P215 Trigger

The administration of the Shang state seems to have been organized on delegational principles to a far greater extent than was Old Kingdom Egypt or the Inka realm...the Shang kings and their Zhous successors tended to allow provincial and local control to become or remain hereditary, although they did occasionally move rulers and their lineages from one place to another. P216 Trigger

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## **Middle East and Near East**

### **Egypt 9**

#### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 5**

In theory, all power was derived from the king (who, in turn, derived his power from the supernatural sphere), and it was the king who exercised all authority—political, religious, and military. In practice, some delegation of authority was essential and, by the Old Kingdom at the latest, the Egyptian state had developed a sophisticated apparatus of government, with a hierarchical structure and several branches. Wilkinson

#### **Relationship between central and local government 4**

Although the government of Egypt was centralized at the royal residence in Memphis, and important decisions of state would have been made in the palace, the day-to-day running of affairs was delegated to the provincial administrations. From the late Old Kingdom until the end of the Middle Kingdom, and again in the Late period, each region (nome) was governed by a single individual (nomarch), often exercising considerable power with little reference back to the court—the theoretical fount of all authority. The structure of provincial government for the New Kingdom is poorly documented; town mayors perhaps had an enhanced role in implementing the

state's policies. Relations between the central government and the regions played a crucial role in determining the cohesion of the state; a breakdown in the equilibrium between the two invariably resulted in the dissolution of the unified state. Wilkinson

In most areas of government (except religious and military duties), the king's representative—and the effective head of the administrative and judicial systems—was the chief minister, the vizier. The vizierate is the most important constant feature of Egyptian internal government during the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms. Wilkinson

In principle, throughout the Bronze Age, Egyptian society was ruled by a hereditary aristocracy of officials. Warburton

The state administration represented by the viziers, archivists, judges, and treasury officials stood at the apex of a pyramid controlling the state. They were dependent upon the king at all times, and their powers evaporated during periods of weak kingship or internal division; at times of state weakness, the provincial authorities became prominent. Warburton

It appears that the kings repeatedly altered the way of doing things and the titles that accompanied government offices as one way of maintaining control over the bureaucracy. P211 Trigger

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## Iran 8

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 4**

The Achaemenid Empire was the first to introduce monolithic administration, theocratic absolutism, political hegemony, and a well-organized provincial administration. P83 Steinfeld  
For his authority was absolute...he was the unique source of the king's law...in principle he owned all property, his subjects were his douloi, which translates as his subjects, servants, or slaves. P295 Finer

In practice this absolute power was limited in three ways. The first was by natural limits. The second was by court intrigue...the third limitation was the effective one-the territorial nobility. P295 Finer

### **Relationship between central and local government 4**

The organizational structure was a combination of centralized administrative systems and decentralized governance systems and cultures. The satraps were in charge of their province and the underlying civil administrations of their locality. The satraps also acted as commanders-in-chief for their provinces. P83-84 Steinfeld

Darius limited the authority of the satrap, having established a clear-cut division of functions of satraps and military authorities. Now that the satraps were turned into mere civilian governors, they stood at the head of the administration of their own region; exercised judicial authority; kept track of the economic life of the country...as far as the army was concerned, it was under the authority of military leaders, who were independent of the satraps and subordinate directly to the king. P101 Dandamaev

The countries which enjoyed autonomy in internal affairs could also be included in the ranks of the more extensive satrapies. This particularly pertains to the remote provinces, in whose internal affairs the Persian administration seldom intervened...limiting themselves to receiving taxes.

The hereditary governors or rulers were usually under the control of the satrap, and in Asia minor both urban communities and local dynasties were so administered. P104-105 Dandamaev

The bureaucrats and court officials were organized to represent an intermediate level of government (Waterfield, 2006). A portion of the bureaucracy was even departmentalized into the king's secret service that was referred to as "the king's eyes" and "the king's ears." p87 Steinfeld

Persis apart, the empire was administered on the very simplest basis: by extreme decentralization to local governors. These were satraps. P306

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## Mesopotamia (Sumer city-states) 5

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 4**

The competition for power among kings, temple leaders, wealthy private landowners and the heads of patrilineal landowning groups created a fluid situation as power was negotiated at the ward and state levels. P203 Trigger

It is agreed that the ruler seems to exercise (under his god alone) absolute power in the early Sumerian cities, and that, according to Sumerian ideas, kingship was the primeval gift of civilization. But modern interest in problems of government and society has prompted diverse suggestions that the Sumerian kingship was not primitive but evolutionary, and that its action was, at least sometimes, controlled by an assembly of elders and community-heads, and even by the mass of free men. P105 Edwards

The king is more than a high priest, for in the same way he is the carnal representation of the god and his legitimacy springs from this charismatic quality...the absolutism of the king implies that there are no legal or constitutional or even conventional limits to his power unless it be the conventional duty of leading the cult and there are certainly no procedural checks to it. P126 Finer

### **Relationship between central and local government 1** **City-states (C)**



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## Israel 6

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 2**

we are told that the king has the 'right' to conscript the general population for military service, for fieldwork and for other functions...he could also confiscate 'fields, vineyards and olive orchards' and give them to his administrators in fief. P158 Lemche

The monarch is bound by an explicit and written law code imposed on him, coequally with his subjects, from the outside. The code does not consist simply of rituals he must perform: it is a set of explicit rules in criminal, civil, family, and property jurisdiction. Secondly, this code is the possession of the entire congregation. It is possible for any member to note that what the king does and what the code prescribes are not the same and, since it is his possession as much as the king's, to denounce the behaviour of the king. Hence the prophets. The king was not absolute. He was not a lawgiver. He was bound to administer a law which he had not created but which he had received, and must himself observe. He is history's first limited monarch. P239 Finner (Mosaic laws)

By comparison with everywhere else in the Middle East, Jewish kingship was a very diminished institution...the king was not a legislator. The king was not a priest, either. P257 Finner

### **Relationship between central and local government 4**

Solomon laid a heavy hand on his subjects in the form of taxation. To make this more efficient, he reorganized the land into twelve administrative districts, each with a governor responsible to the crown...more often tribal boundaries were disregarded. P200 Bright

Lemche, Niels Peter, *Ancient Israel: a new history of Israel*. London; New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2015.

Finer, S. E. (Samuel Edward), *The history of government from the earliest times*. Oxford; New York : Oxford University Press, 1997.

Bright, John, *A history of Israel*. Louisville, Ky : Westminster J. Knox Press, c2000.

## Lebanon (Phoenicia) 2

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 1**

It seems however, that in all Phoenician cities hereditary royalty ceased at some stage and an oligarchy took its place. Under Persian rule, and perhaps earlier, councils of elders formed of rich merchants, which had no doubt existed before as advisers of the monarchy, began to attain full power. At Tyre a dual magistracy arose to undertake executive functions. This happened at Carthage too, perhaps in the fifth century...the choice of magistrates and entry to the senate seems to have been largely based on wealth rather than on hereditary qualifications, at least after the sixth century. P79 Harden

The institution of monarchy was present in some form in all the Phoenician cities, and for most, monarchic rule was an early development...Although we know little about the powers of the kings, the surviving evidence does indicate that their rule was absolute. P53 Woolmer  
In political and commercial matters, the kings of Tyre and Byblos seem to have been advised by a council of elders or representatives from the most respected and powerful families in the city. In addition to the council of elders, a number of ancient texts also refer to a larger citizen group known as the 'Peoples' assembly'. This group's existence is documented in both Tyre and Sidon and seems to have been composed of all free adult male citizens. As with the Council of Elders little is known about the nature function and authority of this body, but scholarly opinion is that it simply affirmed decisions made by the king. P55 Woolmer

### **Relationship between central and local government 1**

#### City-states

Woolmer, Mark. *Ancient Phoenicia: an introduction*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011.  
Harden, Donald B. (Donald Benjamin) *The Phoenicians*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1962.

#### Arabia 8

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 5**

Tribal council (sayyid)-composed of the notables of the tribe, who conducted the discussions in it; no automatic coercive powers and could only win over his board through conviction and not coercion. P22 Rihan

In pre-Islamic Arabia there was no tradition of standing government, and in some ways Muhammad functioned as little more than the temporary leader of a grand confederation of Arab tribes. Nonetheless, from the moment of the hijra Islam expressed itself both as what we would call a 'religion' and as a political authority – that is, as a 'state'. P400 Landau-Tasseron  
There were no elaborate machinery of administration, no officials, no offices but there were ruler in each clan and tribe, "the Elder". Nobility of birth, seniority in age and personal distinctions determined his position in the political society of the tribe. He had to make his decision in al-Mala (a council of the Elders) which represented their clans and sub-clans. P228 Landau-Tasseron

The management of the administrative structure, different from Byzantium, was centralized, with the vizier in supreme charge. P706 Finer

Caliphs only rarely interfered with the qadi courts, and to this extent could fairly be described as *alligatus legibus*. That is emphatically not the case in respect of the caliph's ordinances and decrees. As regards these decrees and so on the caliph was not bound at all. Inside his jurisdiction this caliphal power was so absolute and the position of the subject so precarious that it amounts to despotism. P693 Finer

### **Relationship between central and local government 3**

#### Umayyad Government:

At first the Arab tribesman acted simply as an exploitative ruling caste, using the native administrators to extract resources for them. But once the Abbasids gave the swelling numbers of non-Arab Muslims parity with their Arab fellow-Muslims, the Iranian aristocrats and country-

squires and the almost hereditary civil-service families began to participate once again in the business of government. P672 Finer

The Caliphate was organized in Governorates whose governors exercised plenipotentiary powers, utilizing the former Byzantine and Sassanid administrations which were still in place. It is a primitive way of governing an empire. Of all the empires so far discussed, it resembles most Achaemenid Persia with its satrapies. The empire was really a sort of confederation of Governorates and subunits that nested inside them...the Caliphal Empire was considerably looser-knit than the late Roman, Byzantine, or the Chinese empires, especially the last. P680 Finer

Outside Syria, the caliph appointed the governor, who in turn appointed the sub-governors...expect for the centrally appointed amir, governors made all local appointments themselves. P680 Finer

A new ruling group was formed largely from army leaders or tribal chiefs; the leading families in Mecca and Madina ceased to be important because they were distant from the seat of power. P26 Ruthven

The lands conquered by the Arabs and now ruled by the Umayyads were divided into provinces, each under a governor (amir). P35 Hawting

Amir was then in turn responsible for appointing sub-governors to the towns and provinces which came under his authority. p36 Hawting

Amir was responsible for: the collection of taxes and their remission to Syria, the distribution of the soldiers' pay, the preservation of order, the defense of the borders and the furtherance of conquest, and the organization and leadership of the public prayer p35 Hawting

Below the governors, the key figures in each province were the tribal leaders, the ashraf, who provided the link between the governor and the tribesmen.

They owed their position among the tribesmen usually to their descent from a hereditary leading family, but as agents of the government they were appointed from above rather than below, The high degree of autonomy that commanders in the field possessed and the rather uneven spread of caliphal authority in lands that had been conquered. P232 Landau-Tasseron

Just as the Arabs were governed indirectly by means of their tribal notables, so the non-Arabs were generally administered through their own native authorities. P37 Hawting

Hawting, G. R. *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate AD 661-750* (2). London, US: Routledge, 2002.

Rihan, Mohammad. *The politics and culture of an Umayyad tribe: conflict and factionalism in the early Islamic period*. London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2014.

Bessard, Fanny *The urban economy in southern inland Greater Syria from the Seventh Century to the end of the Umayyads*

Finer, S. E. (Samuel Edward), *The history of government from the earliest times*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Morocco 6

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 2**

a political system built on the hegemony of one tribal group in a tribally divided society. The authority of the Almoravid state rested upon two foundations: the domination of the Almoravid Sanhaja (tribal confederation) and the influence of the fuqaha (Islam jurist). There is no distinction between the military and administrative functions. P84 Abun-Nasr  
Council of fifty in which the founding tribes were represented, and it remained a constant feature of Almohad government to the end. In this way the heads of the founding tribes continued to have a recognized position in the administration of the empire. The Almohad tribes were never merged into a single homogeneous and united group. P97 Abun-Nasr  
In the Umayyad state itself as well as in the Arab administration in the Maghrib the coexistence between the two conceptually incompatible forms of political organization-the tribe and the Islamic state-was institutionalized. Consequently the Islamization of the Berbers did not militate against their remaining attached to the tribal form of organization. P17 Abun-Nasr

### **Relationship between central and local government 4**

(Almoravid) these provincial governors had overarching responsibility for the collection of taxes, the mobilization of military contingents and the direction of campaigns, when commanded by the amir....the provincial military governorships rotated among a relatively small pool of men drawn from Yusuf b. Tashfin's clan, and clans related to them by marriage and kinship...these posts were not generally held for life, but were rotated fairly regularly at the command of the amir. P52 Bennison

Military governors were assisted in the religious, legal and civilian aspects of government by Maliki judges and officials drawn for the most part from Arabic-literate urban populations. Some were appointed to serve in their own communities, but high judicial personnel were often circulated and posted to other cities to avoid their loyalties being divided between their community and the Almoravids. P52 Bennison

The Almoravid resort to an established bureaucratic class fitted a common pattern of conquering warrior tribesmen utilizing the scribal and literary talents of their new subjects. P53 Bennison

Abun-Nasr, Jamil M. A history of the Maghrib in the Islamic period. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Bennison, Amira. The Almoravid and Almohad empires. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, [2016]

### **Pakistan (Ghaznavid) 10**

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 5**

Council of civil and military leaders which the Sultan convened for opinions and advice on important issues, but the Sultan was not bound either to ask or accept its advice.  
"The Ghaznavid Sultans were despots who held their empire together by force of arms and fear."  
P59 Bosworth

### **Relationship between central and local government 5**

The Samanids of Bukhara built up a centralized system of government (as opposed to the local autonomy of the older city states of Transoxiana), had an elaborate administrative structure

consisting of nine diwans (departments of government) reminiscent in their multiplicity and nomenclature of the system of government and following the example of Baghdad...Ghazni inherited these traditions and administrative structure, and in due course they were transplanted to Delhi. P69 Ikram

The political control of the Ghaznavids in India was more effective and organized than their Arab predecessors..the political behaviors of the rulers and the ruled and the patterns of governance under the Delhi Sultanate maintain a remarkable resemblance to the Ghaznavids. P31 Ahmed

Mahmud's government in the provinces was a military-cum-civil arrangement. The civil and military officers were consciously given distinct yet intersecting realms of responsibilities in order to invite friction. Due to frequent discords, provincial civil and military officers reported directly to the center and were unable to plot successful rebellions. P69 Ikram

Ikram, S. M. (Sheikh Mohamad), History of Muslim civilization in India and Pakistan: a political and cultural history. Lahore, Pakistan: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1989.

Ahmed, Fouzia Farooq. Muslim rule in medieval India: power and religion in the Delhi Sultanate. London: I.B. Tauris, 2016.

Bosworth, Clifford Edmund. *The medieval history of Iran, Afghanistan, and Central Asia*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1977.

Bosworth, Clifford Edmund. *The Ghaznavids; their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran, 994: 1040*. Edinburgh, University Press [1963].

## Assyria 8

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 4**

The kingship was the strength of the Assyrian state in that the total concentration of power in the monarch's hands facilitated instant and ruthless decision. P216 Finner

Assyrian kingship was stronger than that of Babylonia, and a comparison helps indicate its strengths. P219 Finer

The king was legally absolute. He was also...effectively the head of two of the central institutions in the state: the army and priesthood. P217 Finer

### **Relationship between central and local government 4**

**“Autonomy” of cities:** Ashur began its career as a city-state, and this form of government left its traces throughout the history of the imperial organization. It was then there developed that distinction between citizens of the state as a whole and the citizens of one particular municipality; for the first time the townsmen began to be granted charters with clearly defined special privileges. P525 Olmstead

It was divided into provinces, each ruled by an Assyrian governor, who in his turn controlled his own staff who governed and collected taxes in the towns and villages. P225 Finer

Its core area was surrounded by conquered kingdoms, which now were annexed and ruled by centrally appointed plenipotentiaries. This area was itself surrounded by tributary states still governed by their own kings, and outside this area lay still others, in treaty relationships. P215 Finer

Olmstead, A. T. *History of Assyria*. New York, London, C. Scribner's Sons, 1923.  
Finer, S. E. (Samuel Edward), *The history of government from the earliest times*. Oxford; New York : Oxford University Press, 1997.

## Seljuk/Ottoman 9

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 5**

Like its Byzantine predecessor, the Ottoman state was a bureaucratic theocracy. The sultan was the unquestioned source of all authority, leader of the Holy War against the unbelievers. Only he could grant any privilege or impose any tax. In each district of the empire he appointed two officials with independent spheres of authority-the bey as the local executive and the kadi (Muslim judge) for legal matters. Legally the bey could not inflict any punishment without first obtaining an order from the kadi, who in turn was not allowed to execute his own judicial sentences, although as government servants certainly neither one was entirely immune to official pressures. Soldiers subject directly to the sultan's orders were quartered in the principal cities of the empire, which prevented local officials from exercising power arbitrarily. The sultan also disposed of an extensive intelligence service, a fact well known to the population, which resulted in a widespread fear of spies. P268 Sedlar

### **Relationship between central and local government 4**

Early period: In the early fifteenth century, the significantly fragmented Ottoman state was composed of semi-independent or only partially linked regions. P31 Murphey

The mechanisms of control affecting various spheres of the economy-monetary policy, control of trade routes, centrally monitored investment strategies-had evolved only partially by 1450. P29-30 Faroqhi

What Machiavelli was describing in 1513 was a system of government where the sultan made all appointments to office from among men who had grown up in his household and were completely dependent upon him for patronage and promotion, with no hereditary office-holders to challenge his absolute rule. This was certainly the ideal model of Ottoman government. P207 Faroqhi  
Faroqhi, Suraiya N., and Kate Fleet, editors. *The Cambridge History of Turkey*. Vol. 2, Cambridge University Press, 2012.

### **Local government:**

In the Ottoman Empire the basic administrative unit was the sanjak, or district... A sipahi held authority only over his own timar, while an Ottoman official governed an entire district or region, not all of which constituted his fief. Despite a fairly tight centralized control, the Ottoman government in the provinces sought to adjust its style of rule to local conditions. The high level of administrative centralization found in the Ottoman Empire was an anomaly in East Central Europe as a whole. Elsewhere the landholders in their districts often enjoyed considerable independence of the central power. P278 Sedlar

## **Southeast Asia**

### Thailand 7

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 4**

Ramkamhaeng was an absolute monarch who organized the government of the realm along military lines. P23 Syamananda

### **Relationship between central and local government 3**

### **Paternal Government:**

Thus, under the application of the Indian notion of sole land ownership by the monarch and the institution of the sakdina, the traditional Siamese concept of rule by paternalism, far from being weakened, became more significant as it was given an added dimension, that of the expectation of specific obligations by subordinates to superiors based on the traditional concept of reverence to the father. P88 Syamananda

The near provincial towns were ruled directly by the King through officials sent from capital. The officials were the governors representing him on the spot and had a hierarchy of minor officials serving under them. The outlying cities and towns were ruled by governors who were Thai princes or great officers, but they held office at the King's pleasure. On the borders were the vassal states or cities which had their own princes or governors, usually not of Thai race... the princes or governors, as the case may be, wielded unlimited power within their territory and had certain obligations to fulfill towards the King of Sukhothai. P23 Syamananda

He did not centralize all power, whether political or economic or cultural, in a single capital, and the disparity in strength between Sukhothai and its major outlying vassals was not considerable. P59 Wyatt

**“Mandala” Government:** the overriding principle of these political alliances was that the subordinate ruler was not crushed out of existence, but strengthened so he could become a more stable and useful dependent. By this principal the village is contained within a mueang, and the mueang within the influence of a superior mueang, possibly up through several levels. P9 Baker Baker, Christopher John, *A history of Thailand*. Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Syamananda, Rong. *A history of Thailand*. Bangkok, Thailand: Chulalongkorn University: Thai Watana Panich, 1988.

Wyatt, David K. *Thailand: a short history*. New Haven [Conn.] : Yale University Press, c1984.

### **Champa 3**

#### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 2**

**Not available** (comments: it is unlikely that Champa kings have very centralized power)

#### **Relationship between central and local government 1**

Yet based on the surviving evidence, Champa state systems were weakly institutionalized and dependent on ritual and personal alliance networks to integrate their geographically fragmented populations. P84 Hall

Champa's multicentered civilization was distributed among several river valleys and their upstream highlands, each of which was separated from the others by rugged mountains. P79 Hall It is more likely that, exceptional periods of Cham leadership aside, such as the case of Che Bong Nga, regional leaders exercised a kind of autonomous authority appropriate to local circumstances. P156 Tarling

Tarling, Nicholas, editor. *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*. Vol. 1, Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Hall, Kenneth R. *A History of Early Southeast Asia : Maritime Trade and Societal Development, 100–1500*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011.

North Vietnam

Use China

**State organization:**

Au Lac period:-“developed increasingly centralized social structures which in purely subsistence terms, were raised on the production and deployment of agricultural surpluses”. P134 the Bronze Age of

Chinese domination: brought the leadership role of Lac lords under a full Chinese provincial administration. p282 Higham

Independent Viet states: centralized state which replicated key features of the Chinese order, establishing its own sub-vassals, bureaucratic network, and triennial Confucian examination system. P162 Holcombe

Higham, Charles, Early cultures of mainland Southeast Asia. Bangkok: River; [London : Thames & Hudson [distributor]] , 2002.

Spanish Philippines 8

**Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

The king appointed the governor-general and other colonial officials. He promulgated the laws in the form of royal decrees. At first, the king was assisted by the Council of the Indies in administering the Philippines. P45 Zaide

Checks upon the governor’s powers were (1) the Royal Audiencia, highest court in the colony. (2) the residencia, a court conducted by an incoming governor-general to examine the conduct of the outgoing governor-general (3) the direct reports to the king sent by friars and subordinate officials (4) the visitador, whom the king sometimes sent for the purpose of investigating the affairs of the colony. P46 Zaide

The Spaniards governed according to a policy of direct rule. Their highly centralized colonial administration functioned under a governor-general who was vested with comprehensive executive, military, judicial and religious powers. P8 Reed

**Relationship between central and local government 5**

For administrative purposes, the Philippines was divided into provinces and special districts. The alcalde mayor of the province exercised both executive and judicial functions. P48 Zaide

Reed, Robert Ronald, *Hispanic urbanism in the Philippines: a study of the impact of church and state*. Manila, University of Manila, 1967.

Zaide, Gregorio. F. History of the Filipino people. Manila, 1950.

Pre-colonial Philippines 3

**Concentration of power in executive in the central government 2**

A datu’s authority arose from his lineage, but his power depended upon his wealth, the number of his slaves and subjects, and his reputation for physical prowess. Some were therefore autocratic and oppressive...others were not, those whose subjects were followers rather than vassals- “very free and unrestricted”. P129 Scott

**Relationship between central and local government 1**



The early barangays were independent of each other like the city-states of ancient Greece. Each was ruled by a king called datu or raja. P116 Zaide

These datu were part of what social anthropologists call a chiefdom, a loose federation of chiefs bound by loose ties of personal allegiance to a senior among them. P129 Scott

The head of such a chiefdom exercised authority over his supporting chiefs, but not over their subjects or territory, and his primacy stemmed from his control of local or foreign trade, and the ability to redistribute luxury goods desired by the others. P129 Scott

Scott, William Henry. *Barangay: sixteenth-century Philippine culture and society*. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, c1994.

Zaide, Gregorio F. *The pageant of Philippine history : political, economic, and socio-cultural*, Manila, Philippines: Philippine Education Co., 1979

## Malaysia 4

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 2**

Within the court, other officials served the necessary functions of administration. Virtually every court had a chief priest, who often doubled as the primary adviser to the king...such advisers, who were usually very close to the king and who controlled the mystical rituals, exercised great power and influence in the kingdom. P80 McCloud

### **Relationship between central and local government 2**

The Mandala political model to describe the diffused political power in early Southeast Asian history. A concept fit into the Buddhism or Hinduism world view; federation of kingdoms under a center of domination; no direct control of peripheral areas; usually unstable.

The organized system of state control was usually based on patrimonial relationships between the king and his retainers. Territorial subdivisions were delegated to royal families in return for specific services, but loyalty was a continuing concern. P72 McCloud

The minister who was responsible for a geographic quadrant of the kingdom accepted responsibility for administrative, regulatory, judicial and governmental functions there. P79 McCloud

Srivijaya (was) conglomerates or confederations of previously independent entrepot centers scattered along the Strait of Malacca. P96 McCloud

McCloud, Donald G. *Southeast Asia: tradition and modernity in the contemporary world*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1995.

## Indonesia 4

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 2**

Within the court, other officials served the necessary functions of administration. Virtually every court had a chief priest, who often doubled as the primary adviser to the king...such advisers, who were usually very close to the king and who controlled the mystical rituals, exercised great power and influence in the kingdom. P80 McCloud

### **Relationship between central and local government 2**

The early kingdoms were characterized by a multitude of local or occasionally regional political centers with no fixed boundaries. No succession laws existed; no possibility of permanent vassal relations being established between local chieftains and an overlord. P87 Hall

No particular administration, authority would have been limited to ruling over his family and his clan like a patriarch.

In Indic terms, Palembang was the center of the Srivijaya mandala . It was the new locus of contact between the realm of the spirits and humankind, as well as the center of the economic and symbolic capital redistributions that reinforced royal authority. Below the Palembang-based king was a network of semiautonomous datu (“chiefs”). P113 Hall

The early Javanese polity consisted of economic or ecological regions ( watak /watek) that came to assume a subordinate role under the authority of a single leader ( rake / rakai /rakrayan) who had gained the most prestige among his equals and could thus claim the indigenous title of monarchical authority (ratu) and the accompanying prestigious Indic title of sovereign (maharaja). The eco-regions (watak) were natural units of water management, trade, and spheres of personal authority rather than self-contained territorial or administrative units (Barrett Jones: 1984, 59– 90; Naerssen and Iongh: 1977; Casparis: 1981; Wisseman Christie: 1991). They were comprised of village clusters (wanua) that were governed by councils of community elders headed by local individuals of distinction ( rama ) (Damais: 1970, 378– 80; Barrett Jones: 1984, 108– 9). P121 Hall

Nevertheless, the position of the monarch was still weak, or at least weaker than it would be in later times. P122 Hall

Hall, Kenneth R.. A History of Early Southeast Asia : Maritime Trade and Societal Development, 100–1500, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011. ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/berkeley-ebooks/detail.action?docID=781755>.

### Fiji 3

#### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 1**

The chiefdom was geographically stable, but it was apparently not a strong, centralized political system. P380 Sahlins

#### **Relationship between central and local government 2**

The most famous chiefdoms of old Moala were Moala Levu or “Great Moala”, and Moala Lailai or “little Moala”. P370 Sahlins

The social ties developed between neighboring villages were in the old days the foundations of regional chiefdoms. P380 Sahlins

The chiefdom was geographically stable, but it was apparently not a strong, centralized political system. It seems that the several villages of the chiefdom each maintained a great deal of autonomy. First fruits and labor services (lala) were given the the paramount of the region, but within each village the local chiefs ran things without much outside direction or interference.

P380 Sahlins

Sahlins, Marshall, Moala; culture and nature on a Fijian island. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press [1962].

### Africa

#### Burkina Faso 6

#### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 4**

The Mossi political system developed checks and balances to attenuate the powers of the nakombse. It is through one of these ingenious institutions that the Mossi evolved from what was essentially a lineage based system to one that had the bureaucratic attributes of statehood. In order to defuse the power of the talse, the nakombse who has lost the naam, the king entered an alliance with them by appointing some of them nesomba, members of his court, a function the French colonizers understood as that of minister. The nesomba were individually responsible for specific domains of power and for representing specific segments of society and collectively for the designation of the king's successor upon the latter's death. P13 Englebert

The nesomba can thus be perceived as the state structure and apparatus of the Mossi. They override the king-to-village relationship and introduce elements of unity and bureaucracy in an otherwise decentralized and family-based system. P14 Englebert

There was no separation between executive and judicial powers. P14 Englebert

#### **Relationship between central and local government 2**

The Mossi state was a decentralized one. The framework of the Mossi state system will be best understood if it is envisaged as a grouping together of five patrilineal groupings or categories (budu, translated as lineage or clan). P160 Zahan

It appears, then, that although the independent rulers and autonomous princes sometimes recongnized the supremacy (if not the seniority) of the Mogho Naba of Ouagadougou, they were relatively free to rule as they wished. As possessors of the nam, they claimed and exercised the right to administer the peoples of their realms. P61 Skinner

The provinces administered by the five ministers were made up of smaller entities or districts....the Mogho Naba held his five ministers responsible for the administration of the districts within their provinces....the district chiefs regarded the provincial ministers as representatives of the Mogho Naba. P70 Skinner

Many districts and villages in Ouagadougou were administered not by the provincial ministers but by officials directly responsible to the Mogho Naba. P71 Skinner

Skinner, Elliott P. (Elliott Percival), The Mossi of the Upper Volta; the political development of a Sudanese people. Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1964.

Englebert, Pierre. Burkina Faso: unsteady statehood in West Africa. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996.

#### **Angola (Ovimbundu) 3**

##### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 1**

Succession to chiefship is in the male line...the election is made by the councilors whose duty it is, ordinarily before the old chief's death is announced. These same councilors may depose an unpopular chief, and there have been many such depositions....there is a chiefdom council responsible for electing the chief or deposing him, and for sitting with him in law cases. P30-31 McCulloch

## **Relationship between central and local government 2**

The Ovimbundu are grouped in 22 chiefdoms. The chiefdom was made up of a number of sub-chiefdoms called atumbu. P29,31 Turner

About 20 atumbu were ruled by members of the chiefly family...others were ruled by court officials not of royal birth, who sometimes established dynasties, others again by dynasties native to the respective regions. P31 McCulloch

Each of the kings of the Ovimbundu was an overlord, for the tribe was made up of a number of subtribes called atumbu (plural). P23 Childs

The village headmen: The village headman is also the head of the oluse which forms the nucleus of the village group, and is related agnatically to most of the householders. Succession to headmanship is usually from father to son or from elder to younger brother. P29 McCulloch

### **Other kingdoms:**

#### **Matamba Kingdom 17th century**

In order to reconcile the reluctant lineages to their authority, they had built up a formal hierarchy of subordinate titles filled by members of the kin groups. Effective power depended on superior manpower aggregated through the forming of alliances of related matrilineages and through the acquisition of slaves. Politics in the Ngola kingdom thus depended ultimately on relationships among its constituent lineages. P204 Miller

#### **Kongo Kingdom 14th century**

By the early sixteenth century the kingdom had become sufficiently large to be divided into six provinces, each under a subchief or governor who like the king had both religious and political powers. Subordinate to each of these were district chiefs and subordinate to them, village headmen. P14 Kaplan

The basic unit of the state was the village, at the core of which were members of a matrilineal descent group. The position of village headmen was hereditary. P15 Kaplan

District officials were appointed either by the king or by a provincial governor, although the king had the power to remove any of them. P15 Kaplan

Childs, Gladwyn Murray, Umbundu kinship & character; being a description of social structure and individual development of the Ovimbundu of Angola, with observations concerning the bearing on the enterprise of Christian missions of certain phases of the life and culture described. London, New York, Published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1949.

Turner, Victor Witter. The Lozi peoples of north-western Rhodesia. London, International African Institute, 1952 [i.e.1953].

McCulloch, Merran. The Ovimbundu of Angola. London, International African Institute, 1952.

## **Sierra Leone (Temne) 4**

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 2**

The principal ruler of a Temne kingdom was the O'bai (king), who was usually selected from among ruling families. The king was a primus inter pares (first among equals) who enjoyed a great deal of influence among his sub-chiefs. P14 Alie

Top-level decisions were taken by a council comprising the king, his ministers and senior secret-society officials. P15 Alie

On the level of chiefdom organization the larger eponymous clans played a significant role among the Temne, not because of any collectively organized political functions, but because only certain clans could claim hereditary rights to chieftaincy. P21 Wylie

### **Relationship between central and local government 2**

By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Temne had a relatively stable, partly indigenous partly borrowed system of government. Even during the period of conquest, local government at the level of the village remained under the domination of the lineages, whose major political functions were to settle family or inter-village disputes and to act as liaison with higher authority. P16 Wylie

Perhaps it should be emphasized that Temne chiefs were largely dependent on the lesser chiefs and the headmen, as well as on the corporate activities of the various resident family groups and compounds. No bureaucratic structure had as yet developed to replace the local system of prohibitions, ritual sanctions and economic controls. P22 Wylie

### **Chieftaincy in Port Loko prior to Susu domination**

Since their titles were awarded for life each kapr (subchief) held tenure beyond the death of the chief who appointed them, and could only be replaced at death...in their own right they represented resident lineages, so they were not strictly bureaucratic officials but also shared a legislative function of sorts as participants in the chiefdom council. P35 Wylie

At the bottom were the ogbonli or headmen. They were not appointed by any outside authority but selected by the people of the villages. P35 Wylie

One of the most important offices in Port Loko was that of the kumrabai, the principal advisor to the chief, often appointed by the chief either from his own kin group or from one of other royal houses...he was not appointed for life, and the position was refilled by each new chief. P35 Wylie

Wylie, Kenneth C. The political kingdoms of the Temne : Temne government in Sierra Leone, 1825-1910. New York : Africana Pub. Co., 1977.

Alie, Joe A. D. A new history of Sierra Leone. London: Macmillan Overseas, 1990.

## **Nigeria (Yoruba) 4**

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 2**

The power of the oba was in fact limited not only by ceremonial and ritual restrictions but also by the existence of powerful groups or corporations. P29 Falola

A kingdom in which political power, especially decision making, rests with a council of chiefs, each selected by and among members of a lineage. P30 Falola

Rulers were responsible for executive, legislative and judicial functions. The oba was sacred and in theory exercised absolute power. Falola

Despite the king's supreme ritual importance, his required seclusion enabled the members of the state council to derive vast political influence from their greater freedom of movement. P199

Trigger

### **Relationship between central and local government 2**

Towns were 'independent and self-governing' with their administration in the hands of the senior age-sets.

The subordinate towns and seats of local governments were headed by the bale or oloja. They were autonomous to the extent that they had no power over external relations and only as long as they paid their tributes to the metropolises. P164 Falola

Importance of councils in Yoruba politics and even selection of the king. See p122-124 Akintoye

In reality, his (king's) control over both the urban center and the outlying communities was shared with quasi-hereditary leaders who belonged to non-royal lineages and with the office-holders of various voluntary, craft, and age-grade organizations. P199 Trigger

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Akintoye, S. A. *A history of the Yoruba people*. Dakar, Senegal: Amalion Publising, c2010.

Law, Robin. *The Oyo Empire, c.1600-c.1836: a West African imperialism in the era of the Atlantic slave trade*. Aldershot, England: Gregg Revivals ; Brookfield, Vt. : Distributed in the U.S. by Ashgate Pub. Co., 1991.

Toyin Falola and Ann Genova. *Powers, Status, and Influence of Yoruba Chiefs in Historical Perspective*, Toyin Falola. Yorubá identity and power politics Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2006.

## Senegal 4

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 2**

In most kingdoms, the monarchical system was oligarchical...power was vested in the royal aristocracy...selection (of kings) was by an electoral council appointed either from among former community chiefs or by a council of elders. P29 Barry

Electoral council choose a ruler from any eligible lineage. P41 Curtain

An important feature of Wolof government was the strong position of the nobility. Neither the Burba Jolof nor the rulers of the other wolof states held office by hereditary right alone...actual appointment was made by elections conducted by the great nobility. P16 Stride

### **Relationship between central and local government 2**

The monarchical system, in short, acknowledged the rights of former chiefs, while simply placing them under the authority of royal appointees. P28 Barry

Each of the Wolof states was governed by its own ruler appointed from the descendants of the founder of the state. Each state enjoyed practical autonomy in the administration of the affairs of his own kingdom but was expected to co-operate with the Burda Jolof in matters of common imperial interest such as defense, trade, and the provision of imperial revenue. P15 Stride

Lineage determined eligibility for office. Whether one dynasty or several, all Senegambian political constitutions were in the nature of a compromise between the most powerful lineages.

Below the level of the ruling lineages, still other lineages had an inherited right to provide candidates for lesser offices at the provincial level or in the central government. P38 Curtain

The Senegambian bureaucracies were too rudimentary to deal directly with individuals. They dealt instead with corporate groups, normally lineages. P45 Curtain

Each of the Wolof states was governed by its own ruler appointed from the descendants of the founder of the state. Each enjoyed practical autonomy in the administration of the affairs of his own kingdom. P25 Stride

Relations between Wolof sub-rulers and the Burba Jolof were based on voluntary co-operation, even the payment of tribute for the upkeep of the imperial dignity and power being voluntary. P25 Stride

(Some cases) Wolof rulers were able to flout constitutional advise and to appoint at will district heads over groups of villages. Often they appointed men of non-noble origin, loyal to themselves, to those posts which were concerned with preservation of law and order and the collection of royal revenue. P16 Stride

Stride, G. T. *Peoples and empires of West Africa: West Africa in history, 1000-1800*. London, Nelson, 1971.

Barry, Boubacar. *Senegambia and the Atlantic slave trade*. Cambridge [U.K.] ; New York : Cambridge University Press, c1998.

Curtin, Philip D. *Economic change in precolonial Africa*. Madison : University of Wisconsin Press, 1975.

## Ghana 8

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 5**

A tightly controlled, bureaucratic system of government evolved. Appointed officials took charge of state trade in kola and ivory and state-owned mining in the rich gold fields. Other groups conducted state trade in the northern and southern markets. All parts of Greater Asante were subject to an essentially uniform system of taxes and levies. P14 Lewin

The power of the king was greatly increased by the emergence of the new bureaucracy, for this marked a transition from a ruling to a controlled administration...the bureaucracy was totally subservient to the king. P225 Wilks

### **Relationship between central and local government 3**

The election to the post of headman required the approval of all the members of the Council of Elders. Thus he and his office were subject to several potent democratic controls. He was made eligible for office by his accidental but fortunate birth into the royal family, but his ultimate selection to community headship depended upon the clear recognition of his acquired abilities to lead by three powerful groups: first by the members of his own family, then by the council representatives of all the other families in the community, and finally and most democratically by the individual members of all the families, who registered approval or disapproval through their own representatives. His tenure, like that of any family head, depended upon his behavior. If he failed to please, to be replaced by another member of the royal family who could gain the necessary approval. P107 Lystad

The same pattern of organization existed in various territorial units larger than that of the community. The headmen of various communities comprising a subdistrict represented their communities on a Council of Elders under the leadership of a subchief who came from the royal lineage of the subdistrict. P107 Lystad

Lewin, Thomas J. *Asante before the British: the Prempean years, 1875-1900*. Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, c1978.

Wilks, Ivor, *The Mossi and Akan states to 1800*, History of West Africa, Ajayi, J. F. Ade. London: Longman, 1976.

Lystad, A. Robert. The Ashanti; a proud people. New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press [1958]

## **Zambia (Bemba) 6**

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

The Bemba can be reckoned as a more or less centralized state in that its major chiefdoms are controlled by members of one royal family. Its paramount chief had the command of the army and has the supreme control of supernatural power...he also provides the final judicial court of appeal. P27 Whiteley

The paramount chief and some of the biggest territorial chiefs have attached to them a group of hereditary officials who combine ritual with political and judicial functions. P27 Whiteley

### **Relationship between central and local government 3**

Some of the territorial chiefs have under them sub-chiefs whom they appoint themselves and who are either royal princes, or in some cases sons of chiefs. P26 Whiteley

The Bemba state was loosely structured, ritual and kinship were more important than secular authority and centralized institutions, and many subordinate chiefs split off to establish independent chiefdoms. The kingship itself circulated among the royal lineages. p16 Simson  
The centralizing function of the king had very clear practical consequences in such an environment. P97 Roberts

The main political authorities are the headmen, known as the "owner of villages" the district chiefs and the Paramount chiefs. The headman derives his authority from his position as head of a kin group which gives his authority over them and the right of access to the ancestral spirits. P24 Whiteley

Besides administering his own village the chief was responsible for making and confirming the appointment of headmen. The chief could in the old days punish by savage mutilations and by selling a man into slavery...the chief initiated military raids and other forms of warfare, and the great Bemba chiefs maintained their monopoly of Arab guns which they traded for slaves. Bemba country was in fact, an area of strong centralized government. P25 Whiteley

Little can be said about the procedure for appointing and installing these subordinate chiefs in the early days. The power of selection evidently rested within the various lineages...it appears that the various bena nandu chiefs were linked together in so far as they competed for succession to the Chitimukuluship. P88 Roberts

Roberts, Andrew, A history of the Bemba: political growth and change in north-eastern Zambia before 1900. [Harlow]: Longman, 1973.

Whiteley, Wilfred. Bemba and related peoples of Northern Rhodesia, by Wilfred Whiteley. With a contribution on the Ambo by B. Stefaniszyn. Peoples of the lower Luapula Valley, by J. Slaski. London, International African Institute, 1950.

## **Zambia (Tonga) 2**

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 1; Relationship between central and local government 1**

villages are known by the names of their headman. (no higher hierarchy existed). P50 Jaspán



Succession to the headmanship is by election by members of the former headman's matrilineal kin group. P51 Jaspán

Villages are not organized in any territorial or other system with a hierarchy of larger units intervening between them and the country as a whole. P51 Jaspán

no political authority beyond community (e.g., autonomous bands and villages) Kirby

Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016). D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.

Jaspán, M. A. The Ila-Tonga peoples of north-western Rhodesia. London, International African Institute, 1953.

### **Lozi kingdom**

In the early days of the Lozi dynasty, the flood plain was mostly governed by relatives of the king, but in the eighteenth century they were replaced by a kind of royal bureaucracy. This development, unusual anywhere in Africa, was made possible by the plain itself. P97 Roberts  
At the height of its operative powers, the Lozi bureaucracy at the capital, which comprised the most senior Indunas in the country, formed the principal consultative, administrative, legislative and judicial bodies of the nation. P38 Bull

Roberts, Andrew. History of the Bemba: political growth and change in north-eastern Zambia before 1900. [Harlow]: Longman, 1973.

Simson, Howard. Zambia, a country study. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1985.

Bull, Mutumba Mainga. Buluzi under the Luyana kings; political evolution and state formation in pre-colonial Zambia. London, Longmans [1973]

### **Mozambique 1**

Absence of significant class distinction, though not able to find political complexity data for this community.

Interior: chiefdoms and tribes of Tonga, Makua, Maravi and Karanga, see p31-53 Newitt

Newitt, M. D. D. *A history of Mozambique*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, c1995.

### **Namibia (Owambo) 5.5**

#### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 2**

By the nineteenth century, the majority of the people of these areas lived in centralized states, ruled by kings or queens. These polities were mainly matrilineal, and most were small. P80 Wallace

With the help of elders in the country the king appoints a council consisting of six or more senior counsellors...this is the highest body of the kingdom. The council serves as the judicial, advisory, and legislative body in the kingdom. P106 Williams

Owambo kingdoms have developed into centralized political institutions over which king presides. At the center of his kingdom, there is a council consisting of his chief counsellors, appointed according to merits of age, intelligence, and experience...the king appoints the clergy

at the head of religious affairs and the courtiers for the maintenance of the day to day household and other activities in the royal residence. P115 Williams

Kings and queens owned, or held rights to all the land in their polities and were thus able to control its distribution. They also reinforced their authority through the development and control of judicial systems, making or expressing laws and establishing wards administered by headmen. In Owambo, much of the work was done by a group of senior headmen and women called omalenga, who also formed the king's council. P81 Wallace

The king also appoints the clergy headed by the head-priest. 109 Williams

### **Relationship between central and local government 3.5**

The kingdom is divided into 57 wards-or more depending on its size-which are headed by under-counsellors, appointed by the king from among the courtiers, warriors, hunters and those who have the honor to be promoted. P106 Williams

These offices are not hereditary positions. In case of one's death, the successor is chosen according to merits pointed out earlier. Offices were equally distributed to all clans. P113 Williams

Williams, Frieda-Nela. *Precolonial communities of Southwestern Africa : a history of Owambo kingdoms, 1600-1920*. Windhoek: National Archives of Namibia, 1991.

## **South Africa 6**

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

The colony as a whole was ruled by a governor and council according to the laws promulgated in the company's headquarters in Batavia and further within the Netherlands. P184 Ross

Politically, too, the burghers were equally unfree, as all executive power lay in the hands of the Politieke Raad, which was made up almost entirely of Company officials. P78 Trapido

At the parochial level the richest settlers formed a rural elite in the districts, usually as nominated members of the Board of Heem- raaden. They monopolized positions of authority within the civil and indeed military and ecclesiastical administration. P78-79 Trapido

### **Relationship between central and local government 3**

Outside of Cape Town, magistracies were set up in Stellenbosch in 1682 and in Swellendam in 1743. Here the landdrost, as the magistrate was known, was assisted by leading figures among the locally resident farmers, who acted as the board of heemraden. These individuals had, in general, a much greater influence over the working of the district than the Burgher Council in Cape Town had over the administration of the town. Obviously the pressure they could bring to bear on the single figure of the local magistrate could be considerable, and they were involved in matters of law enforcement and land granting. The heemraden were thus the temporary representatives of a much wider class, namely, the Cape gentry. P193 Ross

Trapido, Stanley. "From Paternalism to Liberalism: The Cape Colony, 1800-1834." *The International History Review*, vol. 12, no. 1, 1990, pp. 76–104. JSTOR, JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/40106134](http://www.jstor.org/stable/40106134).

Ross, Robert. *Khoesan and Immigrants: the emergence of colonial society in the Cape, 1500-1800*. The Cambridge History of South Africa. Volume 1, From Early Times to 1885 / edited by

Carolyn Hamilton, Bernard K. Mbenga, Robert Ross. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

## Swahili 4

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 3**

Along the coastal corridor, the emergence of hierarchical political organizations took two general forms: patrician towns and towns with kings (Allen 1993; Horton and Middleton 2000). Patrician towns are often viewed as relatively benign oligarchies, where a series of powerful clans controlled access to, and relations within, the town limits to outsiders. P144 Fleisher

These towns did not have a hereditary leader (although heredity played an important role in the continuation of a house) but instead selected leaders from among the prominent clans and families, which served as a *primus inter pares*—first among equals. This political organization was fairly prominent in the northern towns along the Kenyan coast, best known from ethnographic accounts of towns in the Lamu archipelago (Horton and Middleton 2000; Middleton 1992; A. Prins 1971). p145 Fleisher

Towns with kings were much more autocratic; a hereditary king or sultan controlled the political realm. Although some contentious relationships existed between merchants and sultans in these towns (Fleisher 2004), the sultan was often an active participant in merchant activities. p145 Fleisher

‘Council of Elders’-this has most probably comprised the heads of the patrician lineage groups. The influence of the patrician lineage heads was such that kings were not deemed necessary. P159 Horton

### **Relationship between central and local government 1**

#### **City-states**

Garraty, P. & Stark, L.. Archaeological Approaches to Market Exchange in Ancient Societies. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010. Project MUSE, “Housing the Market: Swahili Merchants and Regional Marketing on the East African Coast, Seventh to Sixteenth Centuries AD” by Jeffrey B. Fleisher.

Horton, Mark. The Swahili: the social landscape of a mercantile society. Oxford, UK; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2000.

## Kenya (Kikuyu) 1

No political authority beyond community (e.g., autonomous bands and villages) Kirby  
Social and political relationships among the Kikuyu proper are organized into two main categories...the first group comprises the *muhiriga*, translated by “clans” in most of the literature and the *mbari*, “lineages”, the second the age or status grades, the age-sets and the generation set system. P23 Middleton

Organized as clans and age-sets p39 Middleton

By the end of the nineteenth century, Kikuyu society was patriarchal, uncentralized and highly egalitarian...consequently, there were no formalized administrative units until the beginning of this century, when these were carved out by the British administrators. P110 Muriuki

Middleton, John, The central tribes of the north-eastern Bantu; the Kikuyu, including Embu, Meru, Mbere, Chuka, Mwimbi, Tharaka, and the Kamba of Kenya. London: International African Institute, 1965.

Muriuki, Godfrey. A history of the Kikuyu, 1500-1900. Nairobi; New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016). D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.

## Tanzania (Sukuma)

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 1**

The majority of tribal officials were relatives of the chief...it is impossible to say that the chief had or had not legislative powers. No instance is related of a chief having changed an existing law any overt act in pre-European times. P29 Cory

Chiefdom elders: the chiefdom elders were the permanent councilors of the chief and completely controlled all matters concerning his public and private life. The chiefdom elders functioned as judges or assessors in the chief's court...the chiefdom elders together with the headmen were responsible for the election of a new chief and they sat in separate councils for this purpose. In many places the chiefdom elders also had the power to depose a chief and elect one of his near relatives in his place if he should commit unconstitutional acts of tyranny, or otherwise prove to be incapable of fulfilling his duties. P45-46 Cory

### **Relationship between central and local government 2**

#### **Chief headman and the sub-headman**

Most generally the position of headman was handed down from father to son in direct line. P52 Cory

In no area did the commoners choose a new headman by themselves, but on the other hand a new man was never appointed by the chief without consultation with a number of people traditionally concerned with such matters. P52 Cory

The chief had the right to depose him, but unless the deposition was for treason or witchcraft another member of the family succeeded him. P52 Cory

Each Nyamwezi chiefdom, butemi or ichalo, has a hierarchy of territorial offices culminating in the chief, mtemi, whose authority covers the whole chiefdom. In smaller chiefdoms there are usually one or more salaried headmen, who are immediately subordinate to the chief. P55 Abrahams

Abrahams, R. G. The peoples of Greater Unyamwezi, Tanzania (Nyamwezi, Sukuma, Sumbwa, Kimbu, Konongo). London, International African Institute, 1967.

Cory, Hans. The indigenous political system of the Sukuma and proposals for political reform. Nairobi, Published for the East African Institute of Social Research by the Eagle Press, 1954.

## Malawi 3

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 1**

In fact during much of the history of Chewa kingdoms it appears that a king's judicial authority can more accurately be considered as that of an arbitrator of disputes which were brought to him. His authority may have been what his subordinates would allow. P113 Pachai

Councilors....in a sense they provided a check on a king's powers and might be considered as an opposition. Ordinarily by representing their own interests they supported the institution (kingship) while checking the individual holding the position. P113 Pachai

### **Relationship between central and local government 2**

In the Chewa kingdoms there could be four, three or two main levels of the pyramidal hierarchy of rulers: a king, in some cases tributary kings, chiefs who were subordinate either to a king or a tributary king and finally headmen who were subordinate to a king, a tributary king or a chief. There were also councilor-officials at all levels. P106 Pachai

The method of selecting chiefs, tributary kings and kings for already established positions...the selection process was basically a local affair which concerned members of the matrilineage, councilors and subordinate headmen. A superior ruler had little say in the selection of a subordinate. P106 Pachai

The fact that a king did not appoint his subordinate rulers meant that it was more difficult to control them, to maintain their loyalty and to ensure the collection of tribute. P106

Because of a relative lack of a well-organized bureaucracy with officials having specialized functions...it seems that Chewa kingdoms were always relatively decentralized...when a subordinate ruler wanted to deny the king's authority, there was little which the king's officials could do to support the king. P115 Pachai

Each chief exacted tribute from a number of sub-chiefs or headmen, but even the most important chief had only a few headmen under him, and apart from the exaction of tribute, his authority was more nominal than real. P45 Tew

The matrilineages of the different chiefs within a kingdom area were independent from each other. The selection process was basically a local affair which concerned members of the matrilineage, councilors and subordinate headmen. A superior ruler had little say in the selection of a subordinate. p106 Pachai

The Maravi 'empire' was a hierarchical structure with subordinate chiefs linked to the senior or paramount chief by ties of kinship and the distribution of gifts. P74 Newitt

In the early 1830s, as the Portuguese explorer Antonio Gamitto recognized, apparently separate tribes in Central and Southern Malawi...were "totally independent of each other, and each is known by its own name." p19 McCracken

Pachai, Bridglal. The Early history of Malawi. [London] Longman [1972]

Tew, M. 1950. Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region. (Ethnographic survey of Africa, East Central Africa, 1.) London: London: Oxford Univ. Press; International African Inst. (IAI).

McCracken, John, A history of Malawi, 1855-1966. Woodbridge, Suffolk [England] ; Rochester, N.Y. : James Currey, 2012.

Ethiopia 8

### **Concentration of power in executive in the central government 5**

The ruler was, so far as we know, autocratic. There is no mention of any advisory or power-sharing body or individual, other than the hints at co-regality. P123 Phillipson

The structure of power appears to have been that of an absolute monarchy, with a form of kingship implying a semi-divine ruler, and with the king's immediate family retaining important supportive military and administrative posts. At the next level were provincial governors or chiefs and sub-kings. P144 Munro-Hay

As was noted above, the election of the Axumite king occurred in the presence of the council of elders, or council of nobles. P204 Kobishchanov

### **Relationship between central and local government 3**

In general, the Aksumites arranged for the administration of the lands under their hegemony by appointing or confirming local rulers, and exacting tribute as a sign of dependence. P146 Munro-Hay

The lands beyond the borders of the Axumite kingdom proper represent "external" vassal possessions of Axum. P220 Kobishchanov

Munro-Hay, S. C. Aksum: an African civilization of late antiquity. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, c1991.

Kobishchanov, Yuri M. Axum. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, c1979

### **Importance of Cities**

Estimated urbanization rate (U)

0: completely rural

1: the polity has only a few settlements/towns, cities in the real sense do not exist; very low urban population. ==0%

2: the polity has a few towns or large settlements; relatively low urban population. <5%

3: the polity has a number of towns or cities, medium level urban population. 5%-10%

4: the polity has a notable number of towns and cities; urban population is relatively high. 10%-15%

5: the polity is highly urbanized. Urban population is very high. >15%

Commercial Function of cities (C)

1: almost all cities are administrative/ceremonial/military centers; cities are not commercial centers

2: cities mostly are administrative/ceremonial/military centers; some commercial function

3: cities combined the function of administration and commerce

4: cities are primarily commercial and manufacturing centers

5: cities are commercial and manufacturing centers

Total score: Adding (U) and (C)

Austria (Germanic tribes) 1

Germany (Germanic tribes) 1

Switzerland (Germanic tribes) 1  
Franks (tribes) 1  
Rome 8 u(4) c(4)

United Kingdom (Anglo-Saxon England) 4 u(1) c(3)  
New Zealand (early British colony) 8 u(5) c (3)  
Canada (New France) 9 u(5) c(4)  
Australia 10 u(5) c(5)  
United States 6 u(1) c(5)  
Netherlands (independent cities) 10 u (5) c(5)  
Belgium (Independent cities) 10 u(5) c(5)  
Denmark (Vikings) 6 u(2) c(4)  
Norway (Vikings) 5 u(1) c(4)  
Sweden (Vikings) 6 u(2) c(4)  
Iceland 1 no cities(1)  
Ireland 2 u(1) c(1)  
Estonian tribes 5 u(1) c(4)  
Finn tribes 5 u(1) c(4)  
Greece 10 u(5) c(5)  
Rome 8 u(4) c(4)

Spain  
Castile 6 u(3) c(3)  
Aragon 8  
Catalonia 10 u(5) c(5)  
Portugal 7 u(4) c(3)  
Lithuania 8 u(4) c(4)  
Latvia 9 u(4) c(5)

### **Balkans**

Slovenia 7 u(4) c(3)  
Croatia 6 u(3) c(3)  
Serbia 4 u(2) c(2)  
Romania 6 u(3) c(3)  
Bulgaria 3 u(1) c(2)  
Albania 4 u(2) c(2)

### **Eastern and Central Europe**

Poland 6 u(3) c(3)  
Bohemia (Czech) 5 u(3) c(2)  
Hungary 3 u(2) c(1)  
Slovakia 3 u(2) c(1)

Russia 4 u(2) c(2)

**Latin America (colonial)**

Mexico 8 u(5) c(3)

Guatemala 6 u(4)c(2)

El Salvador 4 u(2) c(2)

Honduras 4 u(2) c(2)

Costa Rica 3 u(1) c(2)

Panama 7 u(3) c(4)

Colombia 5 u(2) c(3)

Ecuador 5 u(2)c(3)

Peru 7 u(4) c(3)

Venezuela 6 u(3) c(3)

Chile 3 u(1)c(2)

Brazil 6 u(2) c(4)

Argentina 9 u(5) c(4)

Uruguay 10 u(5) c(5)

**Caribbean**

Trinidad and Tobago 8 u(5) c(3)

Dominican Republic 6 u(3) c(3)

Jamaica 5 u(2) c(3)

**Pre-colonial**

Inca 2 u(1) c(1)

Maya 9 u(5) c(4)

Aztec 8 u(4) c(4)

**South Asia**

Bhutan 1

Maurya 5 u(2) c(3)

Tamil 8 u(4) c(4)

Bengal 7 u(3) c(4)

Sri Lanka 5 u(2) c(3)

Nepal 2 u(1) c(1)

**East Asia**

Japan 1

Korea 2 u(1) c(1)

China 2 2 u(1) c(1)

**Middle East and Near East**

Egypt 2 u(1) c(1)

Iran 5 4 u(2) c(2)

Mesopotamia 9 u(5) c(4)

Israel 3 u(2) c(1)



Lebanon (Phoenicia) 10 u(5) c(5)  
Arabia 9 8 u(4) c(4)  
Morocco 9 u(4) c(5)  
Pakistan (Ghaznavids) 6 u(3) c(3)  
Assyria 8 u(4) c(4)  
Seljuk/Ottoman 8 u(5) c(3)

### **Southeast Asia**

**Note:** estimation of urbanization rate is uncertain without convincing archeological evidence

Thailand 7 u(3) c(4)  
Champa 9 u(4) c(5)  
North Vietnam (China) 2 u(1) c(1)  
Spanish Philippines 7 u(3) c(4)  
Pre-colonial Philippines 1 no cities 1  
Malaysia 9 u(4) c(5)  
Indonesia 9 u(4) c(5)  
Fiji 1

### **Africa**

Burkina Faso 1  
Nigeria (Yoruba) 8 u(5) c(3)  
Ghana (Ashanti) 5 u(3) c(2)  
Sierra Leone 4 u(1) c(3)  
Senegal 5 u(2) c(3)  
Zambia 1  
Angola 3 u(2) c(1)  
Mozambique 4 u(1) c(3)  
Kenya 6  
Swahili city-states 10 u(5) c(5)  
Inner tribes 1  
Tanzania  
Swahili city-states 10 u(5) c(5)  
Inner tribes 1  
South Africa 3 u(1) c(2)  
Malawi no ranking 1  
Ethiopia 4 u(2) c(2)  
Namibia (pre-colonial) 1

## Explanation

### New Zealand (early British colony) 8 u(5) c (3)

Table 3: Distribution of non-Māori population, 1861–91 (percentages)

	1861	1871	1881	1891
Urban	33.8	37.4	42.0	45.5
Rural	66.2	62.6	58.0	54.5

Urban area = place over 1,000 population

Source: Adapted from Gibson, 'Demographic History', Table 22

Table 4: Urbanization by size of urban area, 1861–91 (percentages)

Size of urban area	Percentage of non-Māori population in urban areas			
	1861	1871	1881	1891
50,000+				8.2
25,000+			21.3	28.4
10,000+	10.6	19.9	25.5	28.4
5,000+	17.2	25.2	29.3	32.5
2,500+	28.4	28.9	35.5	39.0
1,000+	33.8	37.4	42.0	45.5

Source: Adapted from Gibson, 'Demographic History', Table 21

### Canada (New France) 9 u(5) c(4)

Although New France had an overwhelmingly agricultural orientation into the eighteenth century, between one-fifth and one-third of the the population lived in nonrural settings Montreal, despite its roots as a religious bastion, rapidly became a thriving trading location thanks largely to the fur trade. p46 See

More than three quarters of the Canadian population lived in compact village communities. By 1760 nearly one-quarter of the population lived in the three major centers of Quebec, Trois-Rivieres, and Montreal. Quubec, the capital of Canada and all of New France, was a political and cultural center with a population of about 8000. Montreal, with a population of about 4500, was supplanting Quebec as the commercial center of the colony.... while the commercial transactions were made in Montreal, Quebec had become a warehouse center for the fur trade. Trois-Rivieres, with a population fo about 800, had become a farm service center for the surrounding countryside. P60-61 Riendeau

Riendeau, Roger E. *A brief history of Canada*. New York: Facts on File, c2007.

See, Scott W. *The history of Canada*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2001.

### Australia 10 u(5) c(5)

By 1901 this settler colony had become one of the most urbanised societies in the world. P313

**Table 17** *Share of urban in total population, eastern Australia, 1841-1901*

	<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>
1841	30	1881	43
1851	34	1891	51
1861	38	1901	52
1871	41		

*Source:* Calculated from data in the censuses of New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia and Victoria, 1841-1901. The 1841 figure omits South Australia. Urban areas are defined to include all towns with a population of 2,500 or more.

The figures (using 2500 people as a threshold) in Table 17 suggest that by 1841 the degree of urban development in Australia was already relatively high. The experience of the United States helps to put the Australian urban share into perspective. Census data imply that in 1840 only 11 per cent of the American population lived in towns of 2,500 or more people, compared with 30 per cent in Australia in 1841.

In Australia, official practice in the nineteenth century was often to define as urban all settlements with 500 or more people, though a lower minimum population was sometimes used. This was significantly smaller than the population required for a settlement to be treated as urban in the official statistics of most other countries. Despite this, recent interpretations of Australian urbanisation have seen a benchmark of about 500 people as a useful basis for distinguishing towns in the conditions of the nineteenth century. P93 Jackson

During the convict period, Australia received little economic stimulus from international trade. Before 1820 most of the colonists' limited ability to earn foreign exchange derived from the penal function of the original settlements. P49 Jackson

there was a considerable amount of commercial, financial and transport activity, so much so that tertiary activities in general must have accounted for a large part of productive effort. P8 Jackson  
What were the characteristic features of the Australian capital cities? J. W. McCarty has argued that the Australian metropolitan areas can be fitted into a general world typology of cities in the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> They were, according to McCarty, examples of the commercial city which tended to be dominant in newly settled regions. P100-101 Jackson

Jackson, R.V. Australian economic development in the nineteenth century. Australian National University Press, 1977.

## United States 6 u(1) c(5)

Population as a Percentage of the Total Population by U.S. Region and State (1790-2010)

950	1940	1930	1920	1910	1900	1890	1880	1870	1860	1850	1840	1830	1820	1810	1800	1790
4.0%	56.5%	56.1%	51.2%	45.6%	39.6%	35.1%	28.2%	25.7%	19.8%	15.4%	10.8%	8.8%	7.2%	7.3%	6.1%	5.1%

## 2,500 people threshold

The South was overwhelmingly rural in 1775. If we use a modest threshold of 2,000, perhaps 4 percent of the "colonial" (persons of European and African descent) population lived in towns; a lower threshold of 1,000 increases the proportion only to about 5 percent. P252

Baltimore and Norfolk, each with about 6,000 inhabitants in 1775, were the two largest cities in the region by far. Each owed its success more to the relatively modest business of supplying grains and wood products to the Caribbean and southern Europe than to the much larger tobacco trade with Great Britain. P268 Menard

In the northern colonies, trans-Atlantic trade started with vessels from ports like Bristol, Plymouth, Le Havre, La Rochelle, and San Sebastian, which conducted the early migratory fishery and carried dried cod to Southern Europe. p229 Vickers

Vickers, Daniel. "The Northern Colonies: Economy and Society, 1600–1775." *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States*, edited by Stanley L. Engerman and Robert E. Gallman, vol. 1, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 209–248. *Cambridge Economic History of the United States*.

Menard, Russell. "Economic and Social Development of the South." *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States*, edited by Stanley L. Engerman and Robert E. Gallman, vol. 1, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 249–296. *Cambridge Economic History of the United States*.

Austria (Germanic tribes) 1

Germany (Germanic tribes) 1

Switzerland (Germanic tribes) 1

Netherlands (Germanic tribes) 1

(around 600 AD) These sources refer to the commercial rebirth of ancient maritime cities and of port activity unknown until that moment, but the existence and spread of which are often confirmed by archaeology. P645 Fouracre

Fouracre, Paul, editor. *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 1, Cambridge University Press, 2005.

This is why we use notions such as 'proto-town' (Vor- und Fruhformen), a term which is intended to emphasize the specific nature of an earlier phase of urban development. The differences between the high or late medieval town and the earlier settlements are not only of an archaeological kind, even if the early medieval 'proto-town' and more particularly the emporia do display a few traits in common with the later town. Among these characteristics are a higher density of buildings as compared to those of the countryside, a network of streets, waterfronts, and other public facilities. But it remains a matter of debate whether these differences between town and country amount to anything more than matters of degree or scale. Indeed, current work suggests that the distinctions between 'proto-towns' and early medieval villages are less important than was hitherto thought. P370 Verhulst

Verhulst, Adriaan. "The Origins and Early Development of Medieval Towns in Northern Europe." *The Economic History Review*, vol. 47, no. 2, 1994, pp. 362–373. JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/2598088](http://www.jstor.org/stable/2598088).

United Kingdom (Anglo-Saxons) 4 u(1) c(3)

This progression from trade to urbanism is seen in the development of emporia from their beginnings in the 5th century to their flourishing during the 7th and 8th. Just as many other settlements develop, emporia grew in stages from the simple type A emporia of the 5th century, which appear to be temporary trade centers, to the more complex type B emporia of the 7th

century. In contrast to the earlier prototype, these type B emporia were planned permanent establishments for trading purposes. Unlike rural settlements of their time, the population of emporia measured within the thousands rather than hundreds: scholars estimate the population of Anglo-Saxon Hamwic to be approximately two to three thousand. P2

The emporia's position on or near water deltas and safe harbors is indicative of their involvement in international trade. Both type A and type B emporia utilize locations convenient to international waterway trade: Sarre, in Kent, lies on the Isle of Thanet giving it access both to double tides and inland trade through the river Stow; Hamwic and Ipswich have similar locations. P3 Adams

Early Anglo-Saxon England was non-urban. P5 Crabtree

The archaeological data suggest that for most of the 5th and 6th centuries CE Britain was a rural society. The towns and cities of Roman Britain were depopulated, and Anglo-Saxon settlements that were established between 450 and 550 were strikingly non-urban in character. P71 Crabtree  
When combined with the evidence for productive sites, the data from Ipswich suggest that markets and fairs were increasingly common in the Middle Saxon period. As noted in the introductory chapter, markets are one of the important features of medieval urbanism. P105 Crabtree

Adams, Claire. *Economic Collapse? A Historical and Archaeological Perspective on the Anglo-Saxon Emporium*. Primary Source, vol. 2 (2012): 1-8.

Crabtree, Pam J. "Middle Saxon Settlement and the Rise of the Emporia: The Archaeology of the Wics and Contemporary Sites." *Early Medieval Britain: The Rebirth of Towns in the Post-Roman West*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2018, pp. 86–137. Case Studies in Early Societies.

Crabtree, Pam J. "Early Anglo-Saxon England: Settlement, Society, and Culture." *Early Medieval Britain: The Rebirth of Towns in the Post-Roman West*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2018, pp. 50–85. Case Studies in Early Societies.

## Franks 1

By the fourth century, although no northern barbarians lived in cities. P345 Burns

Town life, like the life of the villa, survived through the centuries which followed the fall of the Western Empire, but always in an attenuated form. P67 Pounds

The survival of towns in Gaul was highly selective...Lyons, Paris, Toulouse, Verdun and others appear to have remained populous through the Merovingian and Carolingian periods. P68 Pounds

Burns, Thomas. *Rome and the Barbarians, 100 B.C.-A.D. 400*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Pounds, Norman John Greville. *An economic history of medieval Europe*. London ; New York : Longman, 1974.

## Netherlands (independent cities) 10 u (5), c(5)

In the Netherlands, the urban population represented about 50% of the country's population. P77 Bairoch

The wealth of the merchants was greatly enhanced by local manufactures that could be exported...the emergence of an urban market economy. P58-60 Arblaster

Such markets were increasingly found within the growing cities. The growth of urbanization, starting in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, can also be seen as an important indicator of expanding trade since most of the urban population had to rely on markets for selling their products and obtaining food. P223 Bavel

In the late Middle Ages, cities grew further as the principal places of trade. p224 Bavel

Arblaster, Paul. A history of the Low Countries. Basingstoke [England]; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Bavel, B. J. P. van. Manors and markets: economy and society in the low countries, 500-1600. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

### Belgium (Independent cities) 10 u(5),c(5)

By the end of the fourteenth century the Flemish city of Bruges, however, outpaced Ghent as the most economically flourishing city and most important trading center. The great banking houses of Europe, then mostly Italian in origin, established permanent offices in Bruges. P77 Kennedy  
Kennedy, James C. A concise history of the Netherlands. York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2017

The wealth of the merchants was greatly enhanced by local manufactures that could be exported...the emergence of an urban market economy. P58-60 Arblaster

Arblaster, Paul. A history of the Low Countries. Basingstoke [England] ; New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

also see Houtte, J. A. van. An economic history of the Low Countries, 800-1800. New York : St. Martin's Press, 1977.

### Denmark (Vikings) 6 u(2) c(4)

### Norway (Vikings) 5 u(1) c(4)

### Sweden (Vikings) 6 u(2) c(4)

Towns were normally established in protected natural harbors on the coast or were connected with the sea by fjords; as trade expanded some inland towns developed at the end of the period. The most important towns were links in trading networks which connected local and non-local trade. P119 Roesdahl

Urban development was stronger in Denmark and Sweden and continued into the Middle Ages. p126 Roesdahl

Where their continental brethren struggled for and achieved urban independence, the Scandinavian towns did not develop a status of comparable freedom. However, the development of free cities and their involvement in high politics in Italy and in Germany would eventually affect Scandinavia. P177 Forte, Oram and Pedersen

The first site that may truly be called urban, Birka seems to date from 800 to 975 and to have a population of around 1000. Even as late as the beginning of the fourteenth century, Sweden had only four or five cities. P89 Bairoch

It is worth pointing out that the beginnings of urbanism in Scandinavia received a good deal of impetus from trade with the rest of Europe. Practically all of the cities emerging before the thirteenth century were located along the Scandinavian coastline. P89 Bairoch

Bairoch, Paul. Cities and economic development: from the dawn of history to the present. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c1988.  
Roesdahl, Else. The Vikings. Allen Lane, 1991, C1987.  
Angelo Forte, Richard Oram and Frederik Pederson. Viking empires. Cambridge, U.K; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2005.  
(Cities were commercial centers, but low population)

## Iceland 1

Redistributive, no market exchange in Iceland. Initially there were probably large household units, with its own internal redistributive system. P37 Durrenberger  
Early Iceland is occasionally described as primitive, and it did have some features in common with so-called primitive societies. Among these are the role of feud...and the absence of cities or concentrated communities. P5 Byock

Byock, Jesse L. Medieval Iceland: society, sagas, and power, Berkeley: University of California Press, c1988.  
Durrenberger, E. Paul. *The dynamics of medieval Iceland: political economy & literature*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, c1992.

## Ireland 2 u(1) c(1)

**Towns:** Ireland's profile of settlement and urban centers differs from much of Western Europe and parts of Britain, in so far as cities- in the classical Roman sense of the term- did not develop there. P26 Bhreathnach  
Concentrations of population were on a smaller scale, the economy and trading were not as intensive (compared to the Continent) p27 Bhreathnach

The paper concludes that the most probable explication is that only a most primitive, limited, urbanization developed in early medieval Ireland prior to the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in 1169. P3 Graham

Long-distance trade--for instance with Gaul, Aquitaine, even the Mediterranean--predated the postulated development of the monastic proto-towns and did not require urbanization. E4~  
Hodges points to the example of Dalkey Island in Dublin Bay which may have been a sixth- or seventh-century trading post--an embryonic emporium--and also argues that coastal monasteries, for example Nendrum in Co. Down and even promontory fortresses such as Knockdhu in Co. Antrim, performed similar functions. No suggestion of urbanization is involved. P8 Graham  
Urban centres, the homes of an elite, are few and dispersed in a rural landscape. Exchange operates through an administered market and the centres are principally bureaucratic nodes; competition between them is lacking. Hodges, who adopts Smith's arguments, consequently refers to "nascent urbanisation", presumably because solar central places represent a very immature form. Economically, there is thus a case for monastic towns but the critical point is that if they are considered to have been solar central places, they may have been very few in number and their function was to service the requirements of an elite. P9 Graham

Graham, B.J. Urban genesis in early medieval Ireland, *Journal of Historical Geography* 13(1):3-16, 1987.

Bhreathnach, Edel. *Ireland in the medieval world, AD 400-1000: landscape, kingship and religion*. Dublin, Ireland; Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 2014.

Estonian tribes 1

Finn tribes 1

**(After the crusade)**

The emerging cities were, in theory, subordinate to the sovereigns as well, but they soon developed into virtually autonomous seats of power. In each of the urban centers a city council emerged in which power was held exclusively by the richest German merchants. P18 Raun  
All the major urban centers were members of the Hanseatic League, and Estonia continued to play an important transit role in east-west trade even after the decline of the Hansa at the end of the fifteenth century. P23 Raun

*Estonia and the Estonians*. Raun, Toivo U. Stanford, Calif: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1991.

Greece 10 u(5),c(5)

The Greek cities did in fact remain limited in size. If at its height Athens may have reached or surpassed a population of 100000, the other cities rarely had as many people as 40000. P75 Baircoch

The level of urbanization in Greece was high...I find that urban population represented some 15%-25% of the total. If I reduce the threshold of urbanization it is possible to reach levels as high as 25%-30%. P75 Baircoch

The high level of urbanization in Greece may have accounted for in terms of the commercial functions of Greek cities. P76 Baircoch

Athens was never a typical Greek polis. It was both extremely large, in terms of the size of its territory (2,400 km<sup>2</sup>), and extremely populous (300–400,000 in the 5th century), with a remarkable population density not only in the town but over Attica as a whole. Osborne  
More economic and commercial functions see Baircoch p77-80

As recent investigations into the size and populations of the Greek cities of the 5th and 4th centuries have demonstrated, the size of the areas enclosed by the city walls of classical times implies the existence of a large urban population even if it is assumed that only between one-third and one-half of the walled area was used for habitation. Since assigning large populations to town and country would necessarily produce an absurdly large total population, the conclusion that at least 60 per cent of the population of the Greek world must have lived in cities cannot be avoided.<sup>7</sup> Needless to say, the implication is not that 60 per cent of the Greek population was primarily engaged in non-agricultural occupations. The correct conclusion is rather that a very large proportion of the farming population of Classical Greece preferred to live in cities. The resulting picture is intriguingly similar to that which emerges from the archaeological evidence from Early Dynastic Mesopotamia. Clark



The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History. Ed. Clark, Peter. : Oxford University Press, April 02, 2013. Oxford Handbooks Online. Date Accessed 26 Jul. 2018  
<<http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199589531.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199589531>>.

Bairoch, Paul. Cities and economic development: from the dawn of history to the present. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c1988.

### **Rome 8 u(4) c(4)**

It is estimated that the Roman Empire contained at least 400 and maybe 750 cities and towns with populations of more than five thousand.

500 BC 150000, 150 BC 300000, 1 AD 800000

the level of urbanization, then appears to have been fairly high: around 8%-15%. P92 Bairoch  
As in the case of Early Dynastic Mesopotamia and Classical Greece, various scholars have tried to estimate the proportion of the Italian population living in cities. Although no consensus has been reached, the majority view is that in early imperial times the Italian urbanization rate was about 32 per cent if Rome is included and c.20 per cent if it is excluded. An urbanization rate of this order falls dramatically short of the rate of at least 60 per cent which has been calculated for Classical Greece. The explanation must be that, unlike the urban populations of Classical Greece, those of early imperial Italy did not include a large proportion of the farming population. de Ligt

The Roman Empire was more urban than most agrarian societies. There were at least half a dozen cities with populations above 100,000 in the Principate, of which Rome was far and away the largest. Roman agriculture must have been quite efficient in order to feed all these urban residents. P101 Temin

Large cities have their own ecology with lots of urban activities, from crafts to finance. P3 Temin

For the market function of cities, see Temin, Peter. The Roman market economy. Princeton: Princeton University Press, c2013.

Bairoch, Paul. Cities and economic development: from the dawn of history to the present. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c1988.

de Ligt, Luuk. "Population and Migration." The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History. : Oxford University Press, April 02, 2013. Oxford Handbooks Online. Date Accessed 26 Jul. 2018  
<<http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199589531.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199589531-e-8>>.

## **Spain**

### **Castile 6 u(3) c(3)**

“In Castile as well as Leon, in Asturias as well as Galicia, the predominance of rural life and the difficulties of communication...” p124 Vicens Vives

In charters granted during the 11th and 12th centuries, there is virtually no mention of mercantile and industrial activities. P132 Vicens Vives

### **Aragon 8**

### **Catalonia 10 u(5) c(5)**

In the medieval world of Western Europe there were only nine or ten cities similar to Barcelona. P138 Vicens Vives

Barcelona maritime commercial cities – see p167 Bairoch  
(more like Italian cities)

Vicens Vives, Jaime. *An economic history of Spain*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1969.

Bairoch, Paul. *Cities and economic development: from the dawn of history to the present*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c1988.

## Portugal 7

The dense nuclei (but more dispersed) settlement pattern that is strongly rooted in the rural areas typical in the country's north and center stands opposed to what prevails in the south. Here the settlement is more concentrated and more urban. P18 Costa

A complete description of the distribution of jurisdictional rights underpinned by the Reconquista needs to recall that the king kept the jurisdiction over the major urban centers and the lordship of several tracts of newly conquered land which were administered directly as royal manors (reguengos). P21 Costa

Costa, Leonor Freire. *An economic history of Portugal, 1143-2010*. [S.l.]: Cambridge Univ Press, 2016.

## Lithuania 8 u(4) c(4)

Although the scale of urbanization in Lithuania was lower than in most West European countries, positive changes became noticeable here as well as in the 16<sup>th</sup> century... written sources of the late 15<sup>th</sup> century registered nearly eighty settlements of an urban type in GDL territory. At the end of the period under discussion, their number is considered to have been about 380. P175 Kiaupa

(statistics on city density and distribution, p176 Kiaupa)

14<sup>th</sup> century-16<sup>th</sup> century: Self-governing cities, the Magdeburg rights were most widely used. see p178-179 Kiaupa

they were mainly inhabited by merchants and artisans, personally free, who paid specific urban taxes to the ruler, paying market taxes trade duties and the like. P76 Kiaupa

Kiaupa, Zigmantas. *The history of Lithuania before 1795*. Vilnius: Lithuanian Institute of History, 2000.

## Latvia 9 u(4) c(5)

**Towns and trade:** By the end of the Middle Ages, there were 15 towns in Livonia. The Livonian towns were organized in a corporate structure based on guilds of merchants and craftsmen... towns and cities were ruled by an oligarchic town council, whose members were co-opted for lifetime tenure from an exclusive group of the city's wealthy, established merchant families. P36 Kasekamp

Riga: became a typical medieval city, reserving the right to choose its own patron... the city adopted its charter of rights and became a member of the Hanseatic League in 1282. All other cities in the Livonian territories copied their charters from Riga's. p22 Plakans

In Livonia, cities were first founded mainly on the initiative of German merchants from Visby (Gotland) until Lubeck began to exert its influence. P46 Kiaupa

Kiaupa, Zigmantas. *The history of Lithuania before 1795*. Vilnius: Lithuanian Institute of History, 2000.

Plakans, Andrejs. *A concise history of the Baltic States*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Kasekamp, Andres, *A history of the Baltic states*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

## **Balkans**

### **Slovenia 7 u(4) c(3)**

#### **Towns:**

From the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, towns and boroughs began to develop in the interior of Slovene territory... A predominantly free population lived in the towns and by their autonomy were separate from the agrarian feudal environment and subject only to their town lords, either the provincial prince himself, a major feudal lord, or a Church noble. The towns in the interior developed according to the model of southern German towns. P35 Prunk

Prunk, Janko. *A brief history of Slovenia*. Ljubljana: Založba Grad, 2000.

### **Croatia 6 u(3) c(3)**

**Towns:** in Croatia, during the Middle Ages, urban life and culture were relatively well-developed. P173 Eterovich

In the thirteenth century about fifteen Slavonian cities received royal charters granting municipal freedom. P23 Goldstein

**Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik, 13<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century):** Almost the entire trade on the Balkan Peninsula was for centuries in the hands of the merchants from Dubrovnik. P175 Eterovich (salt, textiles)

Although the city was never a Venetian colony, the government of Dubrovnik was modelled on the Venetian pattern. (city council) p25 Tanner

Goldstein, Ivo. *Croatia: a history*. McGill-Queen's University Press, c1999.

Eterovich, Francis H. *Croatia: land, people, culture*. [Toronto] Published for the Editorial Board by University of Toronto Press.

Tanner, Marcus. *Croatia: a nation forged in war*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.

### **Serbia 4 u(2) c(2)**

#### **Towns:**

No important urban life existed in the interior of Serbia and Croatia prior to the 12th century.

Towns in medieval Serbia generally consisted of only a market and a collection of wooden huts situated in the vicinity of a fortress. P113 Sedlar

In Bulgaria and Serbia-Byzantine successor-states in this respect, as in others-the monarch ruled the towns directly. The same was true of the Romanian principalities. No legal distinction existed

between the population of town and countryside. No trace existed of any local self-government. P136 Sedlar

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

## Romania 6 u(3) c(3)

### Cities:

**Transylvania:** In Transylvania cities were self-governing entities and enjoyed full rights to direct their own economic, social, and cultural development. This was especially true of the Saxon cities (towns settled by German immigrant settlers). In Moldavia and Wallachia, although the city councils chosen by the communes were supposed to have administrative judicial and fiscal powers, the prince maintained a parallel body of his own officials. P32 Georgescu

**Moldavia and Wallachia:** In all cities, new and old, belonged to the crown, and the inhabitants' obligations were directly to the prince. P32 Georgescu

In Transylvania, less exposed to devastating Turkish and Tartar inroads, the crafts and towns reached a higher level of development than in other parts. P175 Otetea

But the basis of the population of the Romanian countries was constituted by over 90% of the inhabitants occupied in agriculture and cattle breeding. P60 Pop

Georgescu, Vlad. *The Romanians, a history*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, c1990.

Otetea, Andrei. *A Concise history of Romania*. London: R. Hale; New York: Distributed by St. Martin's Press, 1985.

Pop, Ioan Aurel. *Romanians and Romania: a brief history*. Boulder, [Colo.]: East European Monographs; New York: Columbia University Press [distributor], 1999.

## Bulgaria 3 u(1) c(2)

**Towns:** it does not seem to have been a significant center of trade. The principal industries were those connected with the army and the court...many of its craftsmen were in some kind of dependence upon the king or boyars. P97 Browning

Bulgaria was a land from which most ancient cities had vanished, and where the largest and most flourishing urban communities were those gathered round a royal court-military-administrative cities. P100 Browning

Browning, Robert, *Byzantium and Bulgaria: a comparative study across the early medieval frontier*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

Note: We did not average with the Ottoman since Bulgaria always had little urbanization.

## Albania 4 u(2) c(2)

In Albania, where Byzantine authority remained fairly effective until interrupted by the establishment of the Latin Empire (1204-61) and then after 1285 was partially restored, urban autonomy was never allowed to develop. The prime strategic importance of Albania ensured that it would not experience the benign neglect which Venice or Hungary accorded to the towns of Dalmatia. The Albanians themselves were apparently content with this situation. The town

dwellers were chiefly Greek speakers, well aware that their commercial prosperity depended on links with the Byzantine lands. At no time did Albania ever attempt to detach itself from the empire; and no independent political units of any size ever took form there. The few elements of municipal self-government which arose in Byzantine Albania remained rudimentary. An assembly dominated by merchants existed in the south at Vlore (Valona) and clearly possessed some legal status. At Durres a popular assembly met occasionally, although apparently not at regular intervals. Its powers were poorly defined, and the Byzantine administration never recognized its legal validity. No elected officials functioned at Durres. The Dalmatian style of town government, characterized by genuine local control through a popular assembly and elected executive, appeared nowhere in Albania. P136 Sedlar

14<sup>th</sup> century: More and more the villages broke out of their insular, natural economy to adopt a regime of exchange relationships. The home market constantly strengthened its links with the Balkan and Adriatic countries. P46 Pollo

Pollo, Stefanaq. *The history of Albania: from its origins to the present day*. London; Boston : Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.

Sedlar, Jean W. *East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. Seattle : University of Washington Press, c1994.

## **Eastern and Central Europe**

In central and Eastern Europe, where despite the relative absence of very large cities the overall trend ran toward a rise in the general level of urbanization, mention should also be made of a number of cases in which large cities suffered decline in population. P182 Bairoch

The average, not counting Russia, was 6-7%. P182 Bairoch

Bairoch, Paul. *Cities and economic development: from the dawn of history to the present*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c1988.

## **Poland 8 u(3) c(3)**

**Town council and autonomy:** The Polish rulers, wishing to take advantage of increasing economic activity and the development of trade relations with neighboring countries, encouraged the founding of towns, giving them a legal status based on western and central European examples. The most important...were the replacement of dues to the feudal lord in kind, by money and the granting of quite extensive judicial and administrative self-government to a city's inhabitants. P58 Carter

(based on the German Magdeburg Law)

The town council consisted mainly of handicraftsmen and councilors, the latter were mainly merchants. P58 Carter

The governing classes in these (Polish) towns were increasingly German and German-speaking. At the close of the twelfth century, towns and markets were granted the *forum liberum*, or rights of a free market, in return for a specified rent. P83 Gieysztor

Already in an earlier period, there was considerable urbanisation and the process accelerated in the thirteenth century. Some scholars estimate the population of Silesian towns in the middle of the fourteenth century, on the basis of the payment of Peter's Pence, as about 23.1 per cent of total population. P546 Miller

Miller, Edward, et al., editors. *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire*. 2nd ed., vol. 2, Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Gieysztor, Aleksander. *History of Poland*. Warszawa: PWN, Polish Scientific Publishers, 1979.  
Carter, Francis W. *Trade and urban development in Poland: an economic geography of Cracow, from its origins to 1795*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

### Bohemia (Czech) 5 u(3) c(2)

**Towns:** chartered towns were also to be found in Bohemia, as in Poland and Hungary. P101 Panek

See p304-305 “proto or early towns” were strongholds

The more functions a stronghold had, political, administrative, military, religious and the higher its position was in the administrative structure, the greater the chance that it evolved from a simple power center to a so-called proto-town. P305 Berend

Pánek, Jaroslav. *A history of the Czech lands*. Prague: Charles University: Karolinum Press, 2009.

### Hungary 3 u(2) c(1)

Unlike Prague and Cracow, which were important trade centers, no such town appeared in Hungary in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. P313 Berend

The towns of this period were above all royal and ecclesiastical centers of power. P314 Berend (towns as centers of trade is a later development)

the connection between royal power and urban development is shown by the fact that the most important towns were under royal authority, that is, they had neither ecclesiastic nor noble landlords. These towns had, for the most part, been granted their privileges in the Arpad period, but several, received their civil rights from the Anjou kings...the real towns, which in the 15<sup>th</sup> century were to be called “free royal” towns, formed a small group...that does not, of course, mean that there were no other important settlements in the country, only that these did not enjoy self-determination to the degree that is an indispensable characteristic of medieval European towns. P102 Toth

*A concise history of Hungary: the history of Hungary from the Early Middle Ages to the present* / edited by István György Tóth. Budapest : Corvina, c2005.

Berend, Nora. *Central Europe in the high Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland c.900--c.1300*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

### Russia 4 u(2) c(2)

By comparison with Moscow, other Russian cities paled in size and importance, though the evidence on population sizes is extremely patchy. P302 Shaw

Russian towns (other than the most insignificant) were multifunctional nodes performing a series of vital tasks in the developing and expanding state. Thus they were administrative centres, points of control over the surrounding territory. They were military and defensive nodes, directed against both internal and external foes. They were commercial foci at various scales. P304 Shaw  
Both pre-1917 Russian and modern Western scholars have contrasted the commercial dynamism and political liberties enjoyed by European towns in the medieval and early modern periods with

the limited and restricted commercial development and politically repressed character of Russian towns at that time. Few if any Russian towns developed the 'urban community' described for the medieval European city by Max Weber. P298 Shaw

With the exception chiefly of Novgorod, Tver and Smolensk, the spheres of influence of the cities of Russia remained chiefly local, and very few cities participated in international trade. p171 Bairoch

To generalize about Russia's cities during the seventeenth century one must distinguish between three broad categories 1) fortress cities 2) agricultural-export cities 3) commercial cities. P35

The massive decline in the urban population from the mid-sixteenth century to the early years of the Romanov dynasty was an important reason for the cooperation between the state and the cities. From a national total of 36889 townsman households in the sixteenth century, the population fell to only 19992 townsman households reported in the early 1620s...the total number of townsman households reached 31337 by 1646. P36 Hamm

Hamm, Michael F. *The City in Russian history* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, c1976.

Bairoch, Paul. *Cities and economic development: from the dawn of history to the present.*

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c1988.

Shaw, Dennis. J.B. *Towns and Commerce*, The Cambridge history of Russia. Vol. 1, From early Rus' to 1689, edited by Maureen Perrie. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, c2008.

## **Colonial Latin America**

(the Spanish) they founded centers of their own to fulfil administrative or economic needs or to meet the requirements of the imperial system of communications. Zacatecas, Santiago de Chile, and Buenos Aires were all founded for such purposes. By contrast with other colonial systems, that of Spain was, above all, an urban one. P22 Bethell

Colonization, then, was largely a labour of 'urbanization', that is, a strategy of settlement nucleation for appropriating resources and implanting jurisdiction. P23 Bethell

The outward-looking character of the Latin American economy led to a relatively high level of urbanization. According to my estimates, in around 1800 the level of urbanization in this part of the world was on the order of 13-16%, that is, some 2-3 points higher than that of Europe during the same period, making a difference of 15%-25%. P388-389 Bairoch

### **Towns based on Mining and the Export of Tropical products**

The new cities founded and largely populated by Europeans responded to two fundamental stimuli: the mining of precious metals and the exportation of tropical products. Clearly this excludes neither the administrative component nor above all the military factor. Thus, in Chile, half of the 204 settlements established between the first years of the Conquest and independence were fortified. And many of the cities of this region began as military forts. But analysis of the dominant functions around 1750 of the twenty-two cities with populations of 20000 or more that can be identified with any certainty reveals nine mining towns and six ports. Moreover, a certain number of nonmining towns depended economically on the exploitation of minerals. This was equally true of some port towns. As a result, the mining sector may be considered the fundamental driving force behind the urbanization of Latin America until the second half of the eighteenth century. P386 Bairoch

Most Spanish cities of the New World were created for reasons of state and responded to the needs of defense and administration. Thus, rather than a development at the confluence of trade routes, the inland cities were somewhat artificial and subject to abandonment (like Buenos Aires) or transference (Portobelo). P619 Schwartz

TABLE 24.1 Regional Distribution of the Number of Latin American Cities with Populations of 20,000 or More (1500–1920)

	1500 <sup>a</sup>	1600	1700	1750	1800	1920
Northern Andes	20	7	11	13	10	33
Bolivia	—	3	3	3	2	6
Colombia	—	—	1	3	2	16
Ecuador	—	1	2	2	2	4
Peru	—	3	5	5	4	7
Mexico	10	3	4	6	8	27
Brazil	—	—	3	4	7	47
Temperate Regions	—	—	—	1	2	46
Argentina	—	—	—	—	1	30
Chile	—	—	—	1	1	13
Uruguay	—	—	—	—	—	3
Antilles	—	—	1	2	4	25
Latin America as a whole <sup>b</sup>	32	12	21	29	41	207
Urban population (in millions)	—	—	1.5	1.9	2.9	23.2
Total population (in millions)	—	10.0	12.0	15.0	20.0	91.0
Level of urbanization (%)	—	—	12.5	13.0	14.5	25.5

Source: Calculations and estimates by the author; see the methodological appendix.  
 Note: The fact that these figures have been only slightly rounded off does not imply a correspondingly small margin of error.  
<sup>a</sup>Very approximate figures.

**Table 2** *Populations of larger Spanish American cities as a percentage of respective 'national' populations in selected years*

4 largest cities of Argentina	24 (1778)	14 (1817)
4 largest cities of Venezuela	15 (1772)	10 (1810)
3 largest cities of Chile	16 (1758)	9 (1813)
3 largest cities of Cuba	35 (1774)	22 (1817)
2 largest cities of Peru	8 (c. 1760)	7 (1820)
largest city of Mexico	2.9 (1742)	2.2 (1793)
largest city of Uruguay	30 (1769)	18 (1829)



**TABLE 13.4 Levels of Urbanization in the Principal Developed Countries (1800–1980)**

	1800 <sup>a</sup>	1850	1910	1950	1970	1980
Belgium	20	34	57	64	71	70
England	23	45	75	83	81	79
France	12	19	38	48	68	69
Germany	9	15	49	53	68	75
Italy	18	(23)	(40)	(56)	65	65
Netherlands	37	39	53	75	83	82
Portugal	16	(16)	16	25	29	34
Rumania	7	(11)	16	28	47	56
Spain	18	(18)	(38)	(55)	70	73
Sweden	7	7	23	45	62	64
Switzerland	7	12	33	48	59	58
Yugoslavia	10	(10)	10	16	37	44
Europe	12	19	41	51	63	66
USSR	(6)	(7)	(14)	(34)	54	61
United States	5	14	42	57	66	65
Canada	6	8	32	46	56	58
Australia	—	(8)	(42)	59	79	80
Japan	(14)	(15)	18	38	72	78
Developed countries as a whole	11	16	32	46	62	65

*Sources:* Calculations and estimates by the author; see the methodological appendix.

*Note:* The fact that these figures have been only slightly rounded off does not imply a correspondingly small margin of error. The figures in parentheses have a much wider margin of error than the other data.

A criterion of 5,000 is used for urban population.

<sup>a</sup>Very approximate levels.



The cities of the viceroyalties of New Mexico and Peru are therefore among the classic examples of 'coercion-oriented' cities within a centralized system of control. Clark

One of the major explanations of the different long-run urban development patterns in Europe and the Middle East/North Africa is the representative institutions: local participative government and/or parliamentary representation. This does happen in Europe, but never takes hold in cities in the Islamic world that remain ruled by a strong central bureaucracy. The development of these participative institutions in Europe carries very significant direct positive benefits for city development there, for instance by allowing economic actors to develop favourable market institutions. Clark

Cabildos enjoyed considerable autonomy during the early years, and those in outlying areas continued to do so after the higher structures of royal government were imposed. P74 Morse

The contrast has more than once been made between the commercial impetus of the late medieval towns of north-west Europe and characteristic agro-administrative functions of colonial Spanish American towns. P90 Morse

The contrast becomes less stark when one recognizes that, in time, commercial development gathered momentum in the Indies as local markets grew, marketable commodities were identified, and opportunities for overseas trade expanded. Even so, these trends did not undermine the old order and bring into being a new 'bourgeoisie' with a distinctive ideology. P90 Morse

Viceroy, when they desired, exercised personal control over local business, commerce, and public works. Generally, they were also the authority to confer upon the cabildo, pending royal approbation, rights to various sources of income or propios. They could also investigate elections held in any city within the entire kingdom. Viceroy further interfered with the cabildo in the distribution of land, and in the enactment of legislation in the sphere of local government. P149 Pike

The determining role played by mining and the cultivation of crops for export was all the more decisive insofar as the colonizers attempted to impose limits on industrial development. In general that there were few jobs in manufacturing industries in the colonial cities of Latin America-though it ought to be remembered that, while such jobs were in short supply, they were by no means totally absent. P386 Bairoch

The Spanish founded 191 towns and cities before 1620 and 57 percent of these foundings occurred before 1550. Two decades, 1530-1540 and 1550-1560, were the peak of town foundings. P31 Socolow

Mining centers, although tied to these centralizing tendencies, represent a special urban type. The most successful examples of the mining center (Zacatecas, Guanajuato, Potosi) shared many characteristics with administrative centers. P40 Socolow

Socolow, Susan Migden, and Lyman L. Johnson. "Urbanization in Colonial Latin America." *Journal of Urban History* 8.1 (1981): 27-59.

Pike, Fredrick B. *The Municipality and the System of Checks and Balances in Spanish American Colonial Administration*. The Americas, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Oct., 1958), pp. 139-158

Morse, Richard M. *The urban development of colonial Spanish America*. Cambridge history of Latin America, edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge [England]; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Clark, Peter. *The Oxford handbook of cities in world history*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

The Cambridge History of Latin America. Volume 2, Colonial Latin America. edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Bairoch, Paul. *Cities and economic development: from the dawn of history to the present*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c1988.

Schwartz, Stuart B. *Cities of Empire: Mexico and Bahia in the Sixteenth Century*. Journal of Inter-American Studies. 11(4):616-637; University of Miami Press, 1969.

### Mexico 8 u(5) c(3)

In Mesoamerica Mexico City is the historic centre of bureaucratic, commercial, financial, and industrial dominance. P95 Bethell

Mercantile classes were a central element in the urban scene, from the great merchants who lived nobly among local elites to the scores of shopkeepers minding stores in the commercial quarters of the European centers that sprung up as colonial societies sank roots in American soil. P47 Hoberman

The major points of consumption and distribution in Spanish America were administrative capitals, particularly the viceregal cities of Mexico City and Lima, and regional centers for mines in New Galicia and Upper Peru. P48 Hoberman

The Cambridge History of Latin America. Volume 2, Colonial Latin America. edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Hoberman, Louisa Schell and Susan Migden Socolow. *Cities & society in colonial Latin America*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, c1986.

### Guatemala 6 u(4) c(2)

(the capital) Its merchants controlled most of the shipping from the colony to Spain. The important roads, whether to Mexican capital or the port of Veracruz, began in Santiago, and the goods from the Caribbean ports on the Gulf of Honduras were shipped into the capital as well, despite the difficult trip this required. P94 Foster

Foster, Lynn V. *A brief history of Central America*. New York: Facts on File, c2007.

### El Salvador 4 u(2) c(2)

El Salvador was mostly a series of small towns serving mostly as way stations and frontier zones with little opportunities for most with the exception of cacao, cotton and indigo, whose markets were often unreliable and the profits of which went to a concentrated minority. P38 White

White, Christopher M. *The history of El Salvador*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2009.

### Honduras 4 u(2) c(2)

Although mining provided much of the limited revenue Honduras generated for the Spanish crown, a majority of the inhabitants were engaged in agriculture. Attempts to promote agricultural exports had limited success, however, and most production remained on a subsistence level. If anything, the province became more rural during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As a result of economic declines or foreign attacks, several town governments simply ceased to function during this period. Merrill  
Tim Merrill, ed. Honduras: A Country Study. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1995.

### Costa Rica 3 u(1) c(2)

Costa Rica's modest agricultural economy was far less impressive, and the region attracted fewer Spanish settlers. P28 Rankin

Rankin, Monica A. The history of Costa Rica, Santa Barbara, California: Greenwood, 2012.

### Panama 7 u(3) c(4)

An official census of Panama City in 1610 listed 548 citizens, 303 women, 156 children, 146 mulattoes, 148 Antillean blacks, and 3,500 African slaves. Sandra  
Panama City also flourished on the profits of trade. Following reconstruction after a serious fire in 1644, contemporary accounts credit Panama City with 1,400 residences "of all types" (probably including slave huts); most business places, religious houses, and substantial residences were rebuilt of stone. Sandra

Sandra W. Meditz and Dennis M. Hanratty, editors. Panama: A Country Study. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987.

### Colombia 5 u(2) c(3)

Commerce took place on three levels. The fifteen leading merchants imported fine cloth and modest luxuries from Spain. Regionally, these and lesser merchants traded throughout New Granada, using the city's 30 horse and mule teams to export farm and ranch products, blankets, sandals, leather goods, and flour. P80 Bethell

The Cambridge History of Latin America. Volume 2, Colonial Latin America. edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

### Ecuador 5 u(2)c(3)

Guayaquil (a coastal port, largest city in Ecuador today) also developed as an important commercial center. As a port it served as the outlet for sierra textiles, hardwoods, and other products, as well as cacao from coastal plantations. P31 Lauderbaugh  
Merchants large and small and of European, indigenous, or mixed heritage had by this time transformed the city into a consumers' paradise. p157 Lane

Lauderbaugh, George. *The history of Ecuador*. Santa Barbara, Calif: Greenwood, 2012.  
Lane, Kris E. Quito 1599: city and colony in transition. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, c2002.

### Peru 7 u(4) c(3)

the tremendous volume' of its business and trade as ' the capital, emporium, and permanent fair and bazaar' of the viceroyalty and nearby regions. Most of the city's population made subsidiary incomes from commerce with Europe, China, and New Spain. P92 Morse

Morse, Richard. *The Urban development of colonial Spanish America*. The Cambridge history of Latin America, edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge [England] ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1984.

### Venezuela 4 u(4) c(2)

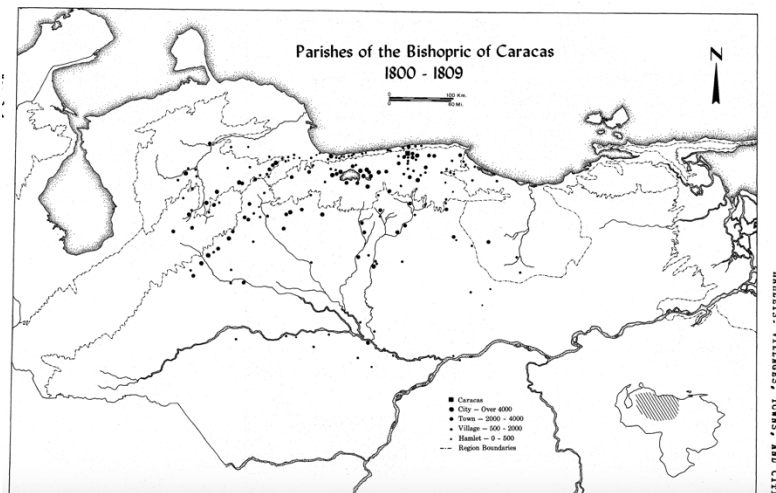
By 1595, there were 18 notable cities in the territories that comprise present-day Venezuela. P33 Tarver

In the seventeenth century, however, cabildos took on a more oligarchic nature, due to the common occurrence of selling government offices, which led the government to fall under the control of a select few landowning criollos. At the same time, the control exercised by the Spanish Crown over the cabildos became more strictly regimented. P35 Tarver

Late colonial Caracas, the traveller Depons found, was more a workshop than a trade centre; the function of an exchange, of paper money, of discounting were all unknown. P19 Bethell

The Cambridge History of Latin America. Volume 2, Colonial Latin America. edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Tarver Denova, Hollis Micheal. *The history of Venezuela*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2005.



Miguel Izard has brought together a collection of population figures extracted from a variety of official and semiofficial compilations for the 1772-1840 period. If we accept these figures, Venezuela's total population oscillated between 700000 and one million during the first decades of the 1800s. Such a total, which is in rough agreement with Humboldt, implies that the Bishopric of Caracas held about one-half of the country's population. P56 Lombardi  
Estimates of 24000 for Caracas in the period 1800-1809 p62 Lombardi

Lombardi, John V. People and places in Colonial Venezuela. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, c1976.

### Chile 3 u(1)c(2)

International trade was vital to Chile in spite of its inefficiency. The colony had small urban markets. Rector, John Lawrence, *The history of Chile*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2003. There were already twelve cities in Chile at the end of the sixteenth century..none had a numerous population. Santiago, the largest, did not yet shelter more than five hundred inhabitants of European origin; each of the rest, scarcely a hundred. P79 Galdames

Galdames, Luis, A history of Chile. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1941.

### Brazil 6 u(2) c(4)

The municipal organization of Salvador (Bahia) may be taken as typical of urban administration in Brazil. The first municipal council was created in 1549, at the time of the foundation of the city. The mesa de vereafao was composed of three vereadores (councillors), two juices ordinarios (elected magistrates) and a procurador da cidade, elected annually on a three-year basis, as in Portugal. After the Restoration (1640), at least in Bahia, the artisans of the city were represented by two procuradores dos mesteres and zjuiz do povo. In 1696 the elective system was suppressed and it was the judges of the Re/afao who were responsible for choosing the municipal officers on the triennial rolls. The presidency of the municipal council was no longer assumed by each of the vereadores in turn but by a professional crown magistrate, the Jui<sup>^</sup> de fora ('the judge from outside'). The appointment of ordinary judges was abolished and henceforward the senado da camara was composed of the jui de fora, three vereadores and the procurador. The secretary, or escrivao da camara, was, in practice, present and had a voice in the consultations. Although all these officers were paid by the crown, they preserved their freedom of speech in relation to the viceroy. The juiz do povo and the two procuradores dos mesteres, already objects of distrust, were finally suppressed by the king at the request of the vereadores in 1713. The vereadores appear to have been recruited almost invariably from among the senhores de engenho (sugar mill owners). However, the holders of office were often changed — an important difference from the regidores of Spanish America, whose responsibilities had come to be for life and were more or less hereditary. P448-449 Bethell

Urban places in Brazil also tended to be dominated politically by the planter class. Paradoxically, because of their coastal location, with its easier accessibility to British, French, and Dutch shipping, urban-based Portuguese merchants never enjoyed either the social ascendancy or commercial monopoly of their Spanish contemporaries. In Brazil, as in the United States, cities developed during the process of occupation by gradual settlement, rather than following a dramatic conquest. P43 Socolow

Unlike Mexico City the economic importance of Salvador rested on an agricultural base. Salvador was a distribution point for the colonial sugar industry, and its location, like most of the Brazilian settlements,, was partially determined by this fact. Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, Olinda were all urban ports located at some bay or harbor to facilitate the arrival of colonists, slaves, and commodities and the shipment of sugars to Europe, The growth of an export crop for foreign markets indicated a mercantilist or capitalist economic system. P632 Schwartz

Schwartz, Stuart B. Cities of Empire: Mexico and Bahia in the Sixteenth Century. *Journal of Inter-American Studies*. 11(4):616-637; University of Miami Press, 1969.  
Socolow, Susan Migden, and Lyman L. Johnson. "Urbanization in Colonial Latin America." *Journal of Urban History* 8.1 (1981): 27-59.  
The Cambridge History of Latin America. Volume 2, Colonial Latin America. edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

### Argentina 9 u(5) c(4)

see chart 4 largest city in Argentina has 24% of total population in 1700  
The significance of foreign trade and merchants in Buenos Aires grew in the eighteenth century. Slave ships brought increasing numbers of captured Africans to Buenos Aires. The slave trade soon grew into a major part of the region's mercantile economy. p28 Lewis  
the outstanding 'commercial' city of late colonial Buenos Aires. P91 Bethell  
the most dramatic episode was the rise to commercial hegemony of penurious Buenos Aires, favoured by strategic location but isolated by Spanish mercantilist policy, at the expense of Lima, the City of Kings and commercial capital of the southern viceroyalty. P92 Bethell  
The new Viceroyalty was to become, under Bourbon designs, a major center of mercantile expansion. The adoption in 1778 of the policy comercio libre (free trade) spurred this shift. P32 Lewis

The Cambridge History of Latin America. Volume 2, Colonial Latin America. edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.  
Lewis, Daniel. *The history of Argentina*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2001.

### Uruguay 10 u(5) c(5)

See Table 2 the largest city in Uruguay has 30% of total population in 1769.  
Montevideo's role as a commercial center was bolstered when salted beef began to be used to feed ship crews and later slaves in Cuba. The city's commercial activity was expanded by the introduction of the slave trade to the southern part of the continent because Montevideo was a major port of entry for slaves. Hudson

Hudson, Rex A. and Sandra W. Meditz, editors. *Uruguay: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1990.

## Caribbean

(urbanization rate see chart)

The early towns — including the ill-fated La Navidad of Columbus' first voyage, Isabela, founded on the second, and the subsequent mid-island chain of centres reaching the primitive southcoast city of Santo Domingo — had irregular plans and were akin to the fortified commercial 'factories' of the Italians in the Mediterranean and the Portuguese in Africa. P72 Bethell

The Caribbean phase of conquest saw the triumph of the municipal unit as an agro-urban instrument for colonization. P74 Bethell



The Cambridge History of Latin America. Volume 2, Colonial Latin America. edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

### Trinidad and Tobago 8 u(5) c(3)

Only two towns were established in Trinidad during three centuries of Spanish rule: St. Joseph and Port of Spain. St. Joseph continued to suffer languid development. Neither new immigrants in the colony nor settlers elsewhere on the island were drawn to the town, and even its earliest residents evinced little attachment to it. Twenty years before the end of Spanish rule in Trinidad, by which time Port-of-Spain had eclipsed St. Joseph, the two towns still resembled ramshackle villages. By 1777, Port-of-Spain the larger town contained only eighty private dwellings. P25 In 1778, the colony had only 3432 inhabitants...By 1777, the population of St. Joseph had risen to 1053, Port-of Spain to 632. P26 Magid

Port of Spain reaching 4525 in 1797 p30 Magid

Once languorous Port of Spain was transformed by 1788 into a robust center of administration and commerce, its business community...p29-30 Magid

Magid, Alvin, *Urban nationalism: a study of political development in Trinidad*. Gainesville : University Presses of Florida: University of Florida Press, c1988.

### Dominican Republic no ranking 6 u(3) c(3)

Santo Domingo the only port authorized by the Spanish Crown to trade with Seville. P43 Pons Santo Domingo which had been left aside of the main navigation routes, suffered further due to the threats posed by the Dutch privateers during the Thirty Years War. P50 Pons

Moya Pons, Frank, *The Dominican Republic: a national history*. Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2010.

### Jamaica no ranking 5 u(2) c(3)

Colonization of the interior proceeded slowly and was restricted to the areas marked by the semi-rural population centers established in the north. P58 Morales Padrón

Kingston became increasingly demographically important in Jamaica, experiencing rapid growth in the middle years of the eighteenth century. The number of households in the town increased by 30 percent between 1745 and 1770, increasing from 844 households in 1745 to 1,094 households in 1770. The population increased more rapidly than the number of households, more than tripling between 1730 and 1774 and nearly doubling again between 1774 and 1788. P219 Morales Padrón, Francisco. *Spanish Jamaica*. Kingston; Miami: Ian Randle, c2003.

## Pre-colonial

### Inca 2 u(1) c(1)

Throughout the Andes, most urban centers served as ceremonial centers and as residences for the ruling elites. Cities in the European sense as centers of trade and commerce did not exist. P108-109 McEwan

McEwan, Gordon Francis. *The Incas: new perspectives*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, c2006.

Inca imperial administrative centers were peculiar in that they were built to a master plan and serve the sole function of administration...even the royal capital of Cuzco was not a city in the European sense. P109 McEwan

In a seminal 1972 article, E. Craig Morris recognized that Inca cities were different from many others around the world. As he described it, in most cases cities from other areas had developed “gradually and spontaneously” over a long period of time. The existence of most cities in antiquity could be explained by the prevalence of favorable local factors such as availability of resources, geographical locations for trade, and so forth (E. C. Morris 1972:393). These examples represent an “organic” growth of cities—that is, cities integrated into a broad ecological, geographical, and historical context and that developed over many centuries. In contrast, Morris argued that many Inca sites were the products of “compulsory urbanism.” Cities such as Huánuco Pampa and Pumpu in the central highlands were the products of conscious state planning and were not directly related to ecological or geographical features. Morris refers to “directed population movements” or colonization by the Inca state as the source of this kind of urbanism. He suggests that this practice may antedate the Inca period by several centuries, implying that it was a pattern of urbanism typical of the Andes (E. C. Morris 1972:400–401). P200 Garraty

One of the most telling effects of state-imposed urbanism was little economic integration of the city with the sustaining area. P201 Garraty

In short, the empirical fact of relatively small urban settlements in the Andes is supported by comparative research. Andean cities were smaller than their Old World and Mesoamerican counterparts. P201 Garraty

Garraty, P. & Stark, L. *Archaeological Approaches to Market Exchange in Ancient Societies*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010. Project MUSE., <https://muse.jhu.edu/>.

## Maya 9 u(5) c(4)

City-state See Trigger “Urbanism” p120-141 it has been estimated that 15 to 35 percent of the population may have lived in urban centers in most Maya city states. P124 Trigger

At the time of the Spanish conquest, marketplaces were prominent features in most Mesoamerican cities, reflecting the importance of commerce. For earlier periods, archaeologists have not been able to identify marketplaces, and the importance of commerce and markets is the subject of debate. Cities were certainly the focal points of Mesoamerican long-distance exchange networks, whether the exchange was commercially oriented, state controlled, or organized in some other fashion. Smith

Smith, Michael E. "Urbanization." *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Mesoamerican Cultures*. : Oxford University Press, January 01, 2006. Oxford Reference. Date Accessed 27 Jul. 2018 <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195108156.001.0001/acref-9780195108156-e-690>>.

## Aztec 8 u(4) c(4)

City-states

See Trigger “Urbanism” p120-141 in most parts of the Valley of Mexico 30 percent of the population lived in urban centers. P124 Trigger

While the Aztec empire as a whole may perhaps have had a less highly urbanized character than sixteenth century Western Europe, the differences were not pronounced. P63 Bairoch

The market and ceremonial functions of the Aztec capital had spurred the growth of a sector of skilled artisans whose abilities were now put to use. P622 Schwartz  
Urbanization rate 7% and population of cities estimate see Bairoch p66

Regional markets: <http://www.historyonthenet.com/aztec-economy-regional-markets-and-long-distance-trade/>

Schwartz, Stuart B. Cities of Empire: Mexico and Bahia in the Sixteenth Century. *Journal of Inter-American Studies*. 11(4):616-637; University of Miami Press, 1969.

Bairoch, Paul. Cities and economic development: from the dawn of history to the present. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c1988.

## **South Asia**

### **Bhutan 1**

(The administrative center was at Punakha dzong before 1950s. It was fortified and based on “strategic location” and “traditional geometry” (p231 Phuntsho), seemed not like a city. )

Bhutanese villages can consist of as few as a handful of traditional two to three story cottages, sturdily built to withstand severe winter weather. Denser clusters of settlement occur around a dzong, an archetypically Bhutanese combination of fort and monastery. Bhutan’s founding unifier, Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal, established the first dzong in the early 1600s at Simtokha on the outskirts of what is now an incorporated periphery of Thimphu. Walcot

Walcot,, S. (2009) “City Profile: Thimphu”. *Cities* 26:158-17

### **Maurya 5 u(2) c(3)**

An important aspect of urbanism was the emergence of coinage...the beginning of money did not mean the end of barter, but it did mark a qualitative change in economic transactions, with long-term implication for trade. p288 Singh

Cities such as Taxila and Charsada were major commercial centers. P290 Singh

Since the written sources surviving from the period 600 bce–500 ce contain no reliable population figures, we can hardly go beyond the conclusion that the second half of (p. 159) the last millennium bce witnessed the emergence of large numbers of recognizably urban settlements across India (above, Ch. 5). It is also possible to detect a widely shared consensus that in the period of the Mauryan empire (342–187 bce) the capital city of Pataliputra was the largest urban agglomeration of the Indian subcontinent. de Ligt

Unfortunately, the patchy archaeological record offers no basis for even a very approximate estimate of the number of Indian cities in early historical times. What is also extremely worrying is that estimates of the size of the population of the Mauryan empire (which covered most of India) vary from 15.5 million to a staggering 181 million. For both these reasons any attempt to calculate or estimate local, regional, or empire-wide urbanization rates seems doomed to fail. de Ligt

de Ligt, Luuk. "Population and Migration." *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*. : Oxford University Press, April 02, 2013. Oxford Handbooks Online. Date Accessed 28 Jul. 2018 <<http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199589531.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199589531-e-8>>.

Singh, Upinder. *A history of ancient and early medieval India: from the Stone Age to the 12th century*. New Delhi; Upper Saddle River, NJ : Pearson Education, c2008.

### Tamil 8 u(4) c(4)

#### City:

All cities were divided into commercial and residential areas with tall buildings and narrow streets. Both within commercial and residential areas there were segregation with streets set aside for different social classes-merchants, Brahmans and others, and for specific trades and crafts.

P19 Mukund

Cities were polyglot and multi-religious cosmopolitan centers. P19 Mukund

The country was ruled by a large number of chieftains owing allegiance to one of the three Tamil kings. P29 Husaini

Husaini, Abdul Qadir, Saiyid. *The history of the Pāndya country*, Karaikudi, Selvi Pathippakam [1962].

Mukund, Kanakalatha. *The trading world of the Tamil merchant: evolution of merchant capitalism in the Coromandel*, Chennai: Orient Longman, c1999.

### Bengal 7 u(3) c(4)

Mauryan cities, urban settlements were situated on excellent river connections suitable for all-season navigation. P50 Haque

Any urban centers in Pundravardhana emerged around the metal-based crafts and the commerce associated with the products of those crafts. P182 Bhattacharjee

Markets: raw materials and finished products were bought and sold by the merchants and the local people. Items such as paddy and other agricultural products, sugarcane, coconut, varieties of textile products, ornaments of high denomination metals, precious stones were the articles of exchange. P180-181 Bhattacharjee

Markets were accessible through the river and were important for river-borne trade. P184 Bhattacharjee

### Sri Lanka 5 u(2) c(3)

The villages were largely agricultural, but along the coast there were many small settlements where the people were engaged in trade, fishing as well as agriculture. P29 Ismail

City (according to the author, the only city in early Ceylon is the capital Anuradhapura): fortified; sections of the city were allocated to the various caste groups, and there is a reference to the Yonas (foreign merchants) who occupied one such section; also the main center of trade: the shops and markets within the city possibly sold the imported luxury goods and catered to the wealthy classes who lived in the city p67-68 Ismail

Ismail, Marina, *Early settlements in northern Sri Lanka*, New Delhi: Navrang, 1995.

### Nepal 2 u(1) c(1)

most of Kathmandu valley was in the form of villages and forts. P73 Vaidya

Thus many of the areas were gradually developing with the growth and development of trade and commerce and population. But most of the areas were in the form of villages called grama. P74 Vaidya

Vaidya, Tulasī Rāma, *Social history of Nepal*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications, c1993.

## East Asia

### Japan 1

no cities in Yamato period 1

The first true cities did not appear in Japan until about A.D. 650-700. P46 Bairoch

Bairoch, Paul. Cities and economic development: from the dawn of history to the present. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c1988.

### Korea 2 u(1) c(1)

The emergence of cities in Korea also seems to have been linked to China, most directly during the four centuries of China's occupation of Korea (108 BC-313AD) The organized societies that had emerged in various parts of Korea before the occupation by China do not appear to have created true cities, but some of the command centers set up by the Chinese may be considered genuine cities. P47 Bairoch

Bairoch, Paul. Cities and economic development: from the dawn of history to the present. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c1988.

### China 2 u(1) c(1)

See P137-139 Trigger

Shang period: the problem remains of determining whether the principal cities of the Shang period (1766-1400 BC) were genuinely urban in character. While it is certainly true that these "ceremonial cities" as they are called, seem sometimes to have had fairly sizable populations...p43 Bairoch

After the collapse of Erlitou, in the time of the Shang dynasty (1600–1046 bce), Zhengzhou, the centre of the Erligang culture, grew into a fortified city of no fewer than 2,500 hectares with an inner enclosed core of 300 hectares. According to one estimate this city might have had as many as 100,000 inhabitants. If this figure is of the right order of magnitude, Zhengzhou would have been the largest city in the world at the time of its existence. It should, however, be noted that some other specialists have assigned Zhengzhou a population of less than 10,000. The discrepancy between these two estimates is enough to illustrate the enormous methodological difficulties which have to be overcome in deriving population estimates from archaeological data. de Ligt

Shang cities were huge by comparison with the past and some were certainly built by kings. K. C. Chang has argued that early Bronze Age Chinese cities were almost exclusively administrative centres constructed by and for the ruling elite. Archaeological evidence continues to support his ideas. Texts of China's 1st millennium bce, coinciding roughly with the Zhou dynasty (1046–221 bce), a bronze and iron age, inform us that the movement of the capital was a standard practice of Shang royalty. Steinhardt

These examples of Shang urbanism beyond the capital may have been military outposts of Shang capitals. Steinhardt

de Ligt, Luuk. "Population and Migration." The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History. : Oxford University Press, April 02, 2013. Oxford Handbooks Online. Date Accessed 26 Jul. 2018

<<http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199589531.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199589531-e-8>>.

Steinhardt, Nancy S. "China." *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*. : Oxford University Press, April 02, 2013. Oxford Handbooks Online. Date Accessed 26 Jul. 2018

<<http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199589531.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199589531-e-6>>

## **Middle East and Near East**

### **Egypt 2 u(1) c(1)**

P132 Trigger, administration centers

P28-29 Bairoch "Egypt: A Civilization that First Evolved without Cities?"

What was peculiar to Egyptian civilization, however, was more closely linked to the distinctive character of its urban system than to the degree of urbanization...Egyptian cities, in short, had religious and administrative functions rather than economic functions in the life of the society at large. P29 Bairoch

Egypt had some seventeen cities and twenty-four towns in an administrative network that linked them to the national capital. The urban population of Egypt may be estimated at 100,000 to 200,000 persons. The populations of provincial capitals and towns were fairly small, ranging from 1,400 to 3,000 persons. Kahun, Edfu, Hierakonpolis, and Abydos, would have been populated by 2,200, 1,800, 1,400, and 900 inhabitants, respectively. As the national capital during the New Kingdom, the population of Tell el-Amarna was about 20,000 to 30,000 persons. The populations of the older capitals, Memphis and Thebes, probably reached 30,000 to 40,000 at their peaks of occupation. (Population estimates for the cities of Mesopotamia include the following: 24,000 for Ur in the late fourth millennium; 34,000 in the third millennium.)

Regardless of their size, towns and cities were centers of power. In towns, the ruling elite (which included the priests, not just nobles) provided the fabric of the state ideology, as well the administration of major economic and legal affairs. Taxes were collected and transmitted to the royal house. Taxes were imposed on agricultural products, nonagricultural products, individuals, and officials. Hassan

Hassan, Fekri. "Cities." *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*. : Oxford University Press, January 01, 2005. Oxford Reference. Date Accessed 28 Jul. 2018

<<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195102345.001.0001/acref-9780195102345-e-0140>>.

Bairoch, Paul. *Cities and economic development: from the dawn of history to the present*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c1988.

### **Iran 4 u(2) c(2)**

Administrative cities: At Susa, a residential quarter containing the royal apartments has been found. Movement between rooms was accomplished with special corridors. But it is generally thought that royal Susa included only a very few permanent residences. The same thinking has been offered about Persepolis. It is sometimes inferred that, during the migrations of the court, the royal entourage stayed in tent cities set out on the plain below the terrace. P257 Briant  
Furthermore, there were certainly royal apartments, luxuriously furnished, in each of the major cities of the provinces in which the king could stay from time to time. P258 Briant

The choice of Persepolis is explained by prior developments, which had made the region a vital, populous palace and urban center in contact with the Babylonian centers. It was also a center capable of providing the basic resources (particularly food staples) needed for the enormous works the king and his counselors had planned for the terrace. P88 Briant

Briant, Pierre. *From Cyrus to Alexander: a history of the Persian Empire*. Winona Lake, Ind. : Eisenbrauns, 2002.

(Conquered many commercial cities in Babylonia and Ionia, but the major cities established by Persians themselves were primarily administrative and ceremonial centers.)

### Mesopotamia 9 u(5) c(4)

City states, the highest concentrations of population in urban centers were achieved in Early Dynastic southern Mesopotamia, where, depending on the region, 70 to 80 percent of the population lived in cities and towns. P124 Trigger

available data indicate that the proportion of the population living in relatively large town-sized (ca. 10 + ha) or urban-sized (ca. 40 + ha) agglomerations in the alluvium in the early Uruk period was just under 50 percent according to Adams's ( 1981 , 75 , table 4 ) original calculations. If Pollock's ( 2001 , 216 , table 6 . 7 ) recent reassessment of the same data, which tries to take into account the fact that not all sites assigned to a discrete period are likely to have been strictly contemporaneous, is preferred, that proportion rises to an astonishing 80 percent or so. P102-103 Algaze

The foregoing discussions follow the lead of economic geographers interested in the dynamics of urban growth and identify trade, both internal and external, as the engine of early Mesopotamian urban growth. There is, however, substantial disagreement about the importance of trade in general, and long-distance trade in particular, to the processes of urban and state formation in southern Mesopotamia. P93 Algaze

In fact, most scholars who have dealt with issues of trade portray the ancient Mesopotamian city pretty much like a medieval European one, and comparisons with places like Genoa have been made without hesitation...some cities like Assur, may have been established primarily for trading purposes, and Mesopotamia's location on the junction of numerous trade routes from Asia to the Mediterranean world strongly suggests long-distance trade flourished in the region. P192 Van de Mieroop

Algaze, Guillermo. *Ancient Mesopotamia at the Dawn of Civilization: The Evolution of an Urban Landscape*, University of Chicago Press, 2009. ProQuest Ebook Central, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/berkeley-ebooks/detail.action?docID=432189>.

Van de Mieroop, Marc. *The ancient Mesopotamian city*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

### Israel 3 u(2) c(1)

**Cities:** climate and topography combined to limit the development of urban centers...urbanization is usually accompanied by a high degree of specialization and full-time labor in a profession, with corresponding methods to distribute and acquire specialized products.

Specialized artisans and craftsmen, probably few in number, worked primarily in the temple precincts and in the palace bureaucracy. P12 Stevens

Archeological excavations have confirmed that the whole of the geographical territory inhabited by the Hebrews contained some four hundred cities-if in fact, we may probably call them cities...The fact of the matter is that most of the peasants inhabited cities or small towns surrounded by walls...p34 Bairoch

### Lebanon (Phoenicia) 10 u(5) c(5)

Highly urbanized.

These were cities whose economic substratum was not only the neighboring countryside, but also and above all their commercial ties with other more distant regions. P29 Bairoch

The Phoenician cities were indeed coastal towns that developed principally as a result of international trade. p29 Bairoch

Bairoch, Paul. Cities and economic development: from the dawn of history to the present. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c1988.

The primary focus was the city's emporium (large market place) which was situated in a location accessible...p60 Woolmer

Woolmer, Mark. *Ancient Phoenicia: an introduction*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011.

### Arabia 8 u(4) c(4)

That the level of urbanization in the Muslim world was something like 10-13% as opposed to only 8-9% in Europe (except Russia and Spain). P375 Bairoch

New trade networks and expanding commerce led to the rise of a new merchant class, which occupied a prominent place in urban society. The most important merchants, sometimes linked to the political regime, have to be distinguished from the smaller retail merchants of the *sûqs* (markets). The great merchants developed extensive networks and established in the main cities *funduqs* (closed buildings used at the same time as inns), as well as places of storage, exchange, and taxation... Local trade was concentrated in the marketplaces. These, which included sometimes artisanal activities, were situated in the busiest places of the city, in the centre (as in Damascus in the Straight Street), or close to the gates of the city. Valérian

Bairoch, Paul. Cities and economic development: from the dawn of history to the present. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c1988.

See Koehler, Benedikt, *Early Islam and the birth of capitalism*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, [2014]

Valérian, Dominique. "Middle East: 7th–15th Centuries." *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*. : Oxford University Press, April 02, 2013. Oxford Handbooks Online. Date Accessed 26 Jul. 2018

<<http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199589531.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199589531-e-14>>.

### Morocco 9 u(4) c(5)



### **Cities and towns:**

The essential characteristic of the ninth-century Maghrib was the dual-agriculture and commercial-character of the economy. The city-states of Fez, Tahart and Kairouan were characterized by systems of taxation based on both commerce and agriculture. P127 Laroui  
The North African state of the Middle Ages was not definable by its frontiers. It was essentially a political and commercial center of gravity which exercised around it more or less effective control over a more or less significant number of tribes, each of which remained, nevertheless, relatively autonomous. The “core” of each state was a great commercial city which was a terminus for the Saharan caravans and a place where Christian and Middle Eastern merchants congregated. P19 Abun-Nasr

Abdallah Laroui. *The history of the Maghrib: an interpretive essay*; translated from the French by Ralph Manheim. Princeton: Princeton University Press, c1977.

Abun-Nasr, Jamil M. *A history of the Maghrib in the Islamic period*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

### **Pakistan (Ghaznavids) 6 u (3) c(3)**

**Cities:** By the late tenth century, the eastern extremities of the Abbasid caliphate were roughly defined by a series of mercantile emporia along a line stretching from Balkh to Kabul, Ghazni through the Gomal Pass to the Indus Valley, where access could be had to the more direct sea routes. P17 Shehab

These frontier towns were polyglot emporia containing ethnically and religiously heterogeneous populations; tenth century Kabul, then the capital of the Hindu Shahi dynasty, was typical, populated as it was by Muslims, Jews, and Indians. P17 Shehab

Shehab, Rafi Ullah. *History of Pakistan*. Lahore, Pakistan: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1989.

### **Assyria 8 u(4) c(4)**

The business-like character of the trading community of Nineveh...p159 Sayce

Assyria, Its Princes, Priests and People By-Paths of Bible Knowledge VII

Sayce, A. H. Project Gutenberg, 2013

Beginning with the eighth century BCE, the Assyrians started to control the trading activities of the Levantine city-states by establishing trade centers. The trade center is qualified as a “royal storehouse” supplying the Assyrian state with the revenue from trade and taxation related to the goods imported by local sea-faring traders. Frahm

The biggest cities in Northern Mesopotamia...with a maximum population between 6000 and 25000 people. Frahm

Surrounded by rich, well-watered farm land, Nineveh is the site of the most popular ancient Tigris ford and consequently controlled major trade routes in all directions. P428 Frahm

Assyria had essentially two main centers – the traditional cult and administrative center of Ashur in the south and the newly-renovated, strategically-located commercial and military center of Nineveh in the north. P433 Frahm

In one text King Assurnasirpal II claims to have fed 69,574 people at Kalhu but if this figure is reliable (which is by no means certain) it may refer to the number of those participating in the inauguration ceremonies rather than to the number of urban inhabitants. The only certain conclusion that can be drawn is that some of the newly created cities of Middle- and Neo-

Assyrian times were very large and that involuntary migration played an important part in their creation. Clark

The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History. Ed. Clark, Peter. : Oxford University Press, April 02, 2013. Oxford Handbooks Online. Date Accessed 26 Jul. 2018  
<<http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199589531.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199589531>>.

A companion to Assyria / edited by Eckart Frahm, Yale University, New Haven, US. Hoboken, NJ : John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2017.

### Seljuk/Ottoman 8 u(5) c(3)

Small and medium sized cities were established on the trade routes and along the river valleys, and a network of cities developed. Parallel with the population increase, urban growth was mostly concentrated in the Western and central parts of Anatolia. P268 Acun, Fatma. Acun, Fatma. A Portrait of the Ottoman Cities. Hucettepe University.

At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Of the Ottoman population, about 85 percent lived in the countryside, while about 15 percent lived in towns of 10000 inhabitants or more. P9 Zurcher Turkey: A Modern History, Revised Edition. By Erik J. Zürcher  
Istanbul was the great transit center of the south-north trade artery between the Black Sea and Danubian ports, and the principal cities of eastern Mediterranean. P179 İnalcık

An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire / edited by Halil İnalcık with Donald Quataert. Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1997, c1994.

### **Southeast Asia**

#### Thailand 7 u(3)c(4)

Thailand too, certainly experienced a relatively early urbanization, though the sites there were apparently less numerous than in Indochina. P49 Bairoch

#### Champa 9 u(4) c(5)

Oc-eo...assuming the density of urban habitation to have been low, there could have been a population of 30,000, while if density was high it might have been as high as 120,000. P49 Bairoch

The Cham “state” was dispersed among several competing river valley courts centered in productive downstream river valley ricelands that not only provisioned international traders making stopovers on their Straits...but also linked their coastal ports of trade to productive upstream highland sources of commodities in high international demand. P67 Hall  
Hall, Kenneth R. A history of early Southeast Asia: maritime trade and societal development, 100-1500. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, c2011.

#### North Vietnam (China) 2 u(1) c(1)

Han-era outposts in Vietnam at the beginning of the first millennium were primarily commercial centers rather than fortified military or government capitals. P90 Hall  
As the Han dynasty fell in the third century, the Han-Viet elite took greater interest in seaborne trade as a secondary source of income. P94 Hall

Hall, Kenneth R. A history of early Southeast Asia: maritime trade and societal development, 100-1500. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, c2011.

### Spanish Philippines 7 u(3) c(4)

Manila: In addition to large permanent Spanish, Chinese and Filipino populations, the capital was frequented by merchants from all corners of Asia. P112; ethnic segregation.

The Manila galleon trade operated with reverse effect upon smaller cities in the archipelago. Prevented from participation in international exchange, the provincial settlements stagnated commercially; Spanish investment capital remained in Manila. P133

### Pre-colonial Philippines 1

Before the arrival of the Spanish colonizers at the beginning of the sixteenth century, there were no genuine cities, despite agriculture and commercial ties chiefly with China, but also with Brunei and Japan. These commercial relations had led to the creation of human settlements all long the coast and on the banks of the rivers situated near the coast. Pre-colonial Manila, which constituted the principal agglomeration in the region, contained only two thousand inhabitants and had no sizable artisanry. P48 Bairoch

Bairoch, Paul. Cities and economic development: from the dawn of history to the present. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c1988.

### Malaysia 9 u(4) c(5)

Srivijaya

When the international trade began to grow between the Mekong Delta region and India sometime around the first century CE, these Sumatran ports emerged as small political centers that concentrated the resources of their rivers' drainage basins near the coast in order to attract traders. P111 Hall

Hall, Kenneth R. A history of early Southeast Asia: maritime trade and societal development, 100-1500.

Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, c2011.

### Indonesia 9 u(4) c(5)

Palembang, generally believed to have been the first capital of the Srivijaya empire, is on the favored east coast of Sumatra. With the river Musi giving it access to the hinterland, it was well situated for trade. p42 Zainu'ddin

Although the coastal cities were an outlet for the rare products of the hinterland, their main importance was as market places exchange both for local products and for various goods brought from China or the Spice Islands. P43 Zainu'ddin

Zainu'ddin, Ailsa Gwennyth. A short history of Indonesia. North Melbourne: Cassell Australia, 1980.

### Singapore (Singapura kingdom)10 u(5) c(5)

Fourteenth century Singapore seems to fit at least in part the definition of a port of trade in which trade is less a function of the economy and more a function of government policy; thus trading

would have been highly structured and institutionalized, with government agents playing key roles in port activities. P20 Abshire

Abshire, Jean E. *The history of Singapore*. Santa Barbara, Calif: Greenwood, c2011.

Note: We did not average with China here.

## Fiji 1 1

It is very probable that precolonial Fiji did not have any urban centers based on colonial census data.

At the time of the 1921 census over 90 percent of Fijians were living in koro or nucleated villages and in eastern Fiji at least, were allocating their labor to a range of subsistence, cash-earning and ceremony-related tasks in much the same way as they had since the 1880s. p65

Bayliss-Smith

Bayliss-Smith, Tim. *Islands, islanders and the world: the colonial and post-colonial experience of Eastern Fiji*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

## Africa

### Burkina Faso 1

The precolonial Mossi economy was based for the most part on household subsistence farming.

P14 Englebert (no urban centers recorded)

Englebert, Pierre. *Burkina Faso: unsteady statehood in West Africa*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996.

### Nigeria (Yoruba) 8 u(5) c(3)

Fifty percent or more of Yoruba are reported to have lived in capitals. P124 Trigger

The (urban) culture was unique, and was no doubt reinforced by the merchant elite (immigrant or not) who deliberately tried to occupy, dominate and even exploit the local populations. P165

Coquery-Vidrovitch

The Benin culture...by which time it had evolved a culture with many large urban centers. P58 Bairoch

Bairoch, Paul. *Cities and economic development: from the dawn of history to the present*.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c1988.

Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine. *The history of African cities south of the Sahara: from the origins to colonization*. Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, c2005.

### Ghana (Ashanti) 5 u(3) c(2)

Through complex relations that evolved among indigenous and European powers in the Gold Coast, cities and towns such as Accra, Winneba, Cape Coast, Takoradi and Axim emerged along the coast. P104 Goodwin

Goodwin, Stefan. *Africa's Legacies Of Urbanization: Unfoldi: Unfolding Saga of a Continent*.

Great Komenda, Akessim and Great Accra each covered more than one square mile. Mankessim, Aguo and Great Accra probably had between ten and twenty thousand inhabitants each..the Fante city of Abora....seems to have had 10000 inhabitants at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Most of the other centers had three hundred to five thousand inhabitants. P153 Coquery-Vidrovitch

Unfortunately nothing is known about the surrounding rural population, which must have accounted for about 70 percent of the total. P153 Coquery-Vidrovitch  
In the seventeenth century and even at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the state of Akyem was highly urbanized, with a total population of around 120000 to 200000 before the series of demographic disasters that struck the region after 1740. P153 Coquery-Vidrovitch  
Kumasi's market was initially a compulsory terminus. Traders from the savanna could not go farther south, and the people from the forest were prohibited from going further north. In 1840, control became even stricter. Merchants could no longer enter the capital but were required to live in satellite towns. P192 Coquery-Vidrovitch  
Estimated to have 12000-15000 urban population in Kumasi p193 Coquery-Vidrovitch

Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine. The history of African cities south of the Sahara: from the origins to colonization. Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, c2005.

### Sierra Leone 4 u(1) c(3)

When the Solima state was created in the late eighteenth century, Falaba, its capital soon became the major center where most of these exchanges were effected. In the south, certain towns located at the heads of navigable rivers, became centers of regional trade. p87 Alie

Alie, Joe A. D. A new history of Sierra Leone. London: Macmillan Overseas, 1990.

### Senegal 5 u(2) c(3)

Merchants on the move tended to form little clusters of foreigners, travelers or Muslims...some of these clusters appeared in capital towns as well, with the result that Islam first appeared not as a moving frontier of mass conversion but as a series of urban enclaves at the centers of trade and political power, while the mass of the peasantry remained little affected for centuries. P48 Curtin  
Many Senegambian towns were far from self-sufficient. Hundreds of tons of foodstuffs were marketed each year to supply incipient urban centers. P197 Curtin

Curtin, Philip D. *Economic change in precolonial Africa; Senegambia in the era of the slave trade*. University of Wisconsin Press, 1975.

### Zambia 1

Bemba: informants assert that there were few villages apart from these capitals; certainly Livingstone and Giraud mention few villages between those of the Bemba chiefs they visited. A chief's capital was a large place...in 1883 Giraud found that Chitapankwa's residence was surrounded by four or five hundred huts...thus the total population of his capital may have been rather more than a thousand. P166 Roberts  
Roberts, Andrew, A history of the Bemba: political growth and change in north-eastern Zambia before 1900. [Harlow]: Longman, 1973.

### Angola 3 u(2) c(1)

In 1576, in effective control of the countryside and facing no organized Kongo opposition, the Portuguese founded the town of Luanda.

No mention of towns or cities among local peoples; seemed predominantly rural “subsistence economy”. P37-63 Henderson

At the time of the first contacts with the Portuguese in 1484, the capital city, Mbanza Congo, probably had a population of some 40000-60000. P58 Braider  
Henderson, Lawrence W. *Angola: five centuries of conflict*. Ithaca [N.Y.]: Cornell University Press, 1979.

## Mozambique 4 u(1) c(3)

Urban life was a major characteristic of Mozambican society for centuries before the coming of the Portuguese, and a number of these towns, notably Angoche...the Portuguese too were heirs of an urban culture. Two of the existing towns on the Mozambique coast, Sofala and Mozambique Island, were taken over within a few years of the Portuguese arrival and in the course of the next fifty years, three more Muslim urban settlements-Quelimane, Sena and Tete, also became Portuguese towns. These five towns provide the focus for much of the historical development of Mozambique before the twentieth century. P130 Newitt

In the sixteenth century there was a string of coastal towns stretching at least as far south as the Sabi River. All these towns may have participated to some extent in the gold trade of the interior, but Sofala was the gold trading port par excellence and it is likely that the smaller coastal towns either traded in other commodities valued in the international trade, or owed their existence, as Duarte Barbosa said, to trading in ‘rice, millet and meat which they convey to Sofala in little vessels’. P6 Newitt

Newitt, M. D. D. *A history of Mozambique*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, c1995.

## Kenya 6

### Swahili city-states 10 u(5) c(5)

Thus, on Pemba, towns were likely centers of market exchange in both external spheres (between local and overseas merchants) and internal spheres (between local merchants and rural and non-elite members of society). In this regard, these towns were like cities in other regions of the world that fostered balanced market transactions. P158 Garraty

Garraty, P. & Stark, L.. *Archaeological Approaches to Market Exchange in Ancient Societies*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010. Project MUSE, “Housing the Market: Swahili Merchants and Regional Marketing on the East African Coast, Seventh to Sixteenth Centuries AD” by Jeffrey B. Fleisher.

Most early settlements were on islands and creeks, and very few faced the sea. Allen has listed 20 towns (from all periods) with populations of over eight thousand people, 36 with populations of about thirty-five hundred, and 116 with populations of about fifteen hundred. P37 Middleton  
Middleton, John, *The world of the Swahili: an African mercantile civilization*. New Haven: Yale University Press, c1992.

The East African towns of the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries became cosmopolitan centers because they received trade diasporas from Persia and Arabia. P60-61 Curtin, Philip D.

*Economic change in precolonial Africa; Senegambia in the era of the slave trade.* University of Wisconsin Press, 1975.

**Merchant lineages:** lineages have acted as the actual business houses in the international trade, as the possessors of the stone houses that symbolize the success and creditworthiness of their owners. P143 Horton

The earliest Swahili towns emerged in the 8th century and, with increasing trade and wealth, developed into prosperous and complex city-states in the 15th century before they were displaced by the Portuguese in the 16th and 17th centuries.

### Kenya (Inland tribes) 1

No cities exist

Muriuki, Godfrey. *A history of the Kikuyu, 1500-1900.* Nairobi; New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.

### Tanzania (interior) 1

19<sup>th</sup> century: Small settlements in the interior also became major warehouses and caravan stops...p214 Coquery-Vidrovitch

Tabora, Ujiji (settlements)-way station for caravans p215 Coquery-Vidrovitch

Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine. *The history of African cities south of the Sahara: from the origins to colonization.* Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, c2005.

### Tanzania (Swahili cities)10 u(5) c(5)

a town in northeastern Pemba Island, Tanzania, called Chwaka and the villages that surrounded it during the early second millennium AD (Figure 7.2). Chwaka is a mid-sized Swahili town, generally representative of the great majority of the dozens of ancient coastal towns. At its height it covered approximately 12 hectares and contained three stone mosques surrounded by honorific pillar tombs, a handful of stone houses (the presumptive houses of elite merchants), and scores of earth-and-thatch houses; the population was likely between 3,000 and 5,000 people. P154 Garraty

Garraty, P. & Stark, L.. *Archaeological Approaches to Market Exchange in Ancient Societies.* Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010. Project MUSE, "Housing the Market: Swahili Merchants and Regional Marketing on the East African Coast, Seventh to Sixteenth Centuries AD" by Jeffrey B. Fleisher.

### South Africa 2 u(1) c(2)

Cape Town was the main, virtually the only, market in the colony. Farmers brought their agricultural produce there by ox-wagon. They could purchase cloth, agricultural implements, domestic utensils, coffee, tea, sugar and slaves from Cape Town's merchants. P25 Ross

Ross, Robert. *Khoesan and Immigrants: the Emergence of Colonial Society in the Cape, 1500-1800,* the Cambridge history of South Africa. New York; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

## Malawi no ranking 1 1

Villages and households continued as viable social units. No mention of towns or cities in the pre-colonial period see p7-38 McCracken

McCracken, John, *A history of Malawi, 1855-1966*. Woodbridge, Suffolk [England]; Rochester, N.Y.: James Currey, 2012.

## Ethiopia 4 u(2) c(2)

Traditionally, post-Aksumite northern Ethiopia and Eritrea have lacked major urban centers. The extent to which such centers existed in Aksumite times is discussed below. For centuries prior to the establishment of Gondar early in the seventeenth century, there were no permanent political or administrative centers. P17 Phillipson

Phillipson, D. W. *Ancient Ethiopia: Aksum, its antecedents and successors*. London: British Museum Press, 1998.

The development of some degree of urbanism in Aksumite Ethiopia is an interesting phenomenon, but one which is not yet even partially documented. All that survives of many of the “towns” are the traces of a few monumental structures such as temples, churches or elite residential/administrative buildings, and scatterings of pottery on the surface...but in general these towns may not have been very large, perhaps of little more than large village status...This at least partially urbanized Aksumite society was in sharp contrast to the situation in later Ethiopia, when travelers remarked that the country containing no cities or substantial towns. P45 Munro-Hay

Thus Axum was at the junction of a series of caravan routes. This determined its position as an important center of long-distance trade. p186 Kobishchanov

The significance of Ethiopian towns as centers of handicraft production is less clear...on the other hand, political factors had an undoubted significance: the role of urban centers as the administrative focus of the territory which surrounded them. P188 Kobishchanov

Munro-Hay, S. C. (Stuart C.), *Aksum: an African civilisation of late antiquity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, c1991.

Kobishchanov, Yuri M. Axum. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, c1979  
Towns: Adulis, Matara, Aksum

## Namibia (pre-colonial) 1

No “cities” existed before colonization. German colonizers founded cities and towns

See Wallace, Marion. *A history of Namibia: from the beginning to 1990*. New York: Columbia University Press, c2011.

Estimation of population density in Ondonga to be about 100 people per square mile (Andersson 1875, p219) (p47 Williams)

Williams, Frieda-Nela. *Precolonial communities of Southwestern Africa: a history of Owambo kingdoms, 1600-1920*. Windhoek: National Archives of Namibia, 1991.



## Important of the clan

Scores are based on sum of scores of following 5 variables.

### **A: family type (nuclear family vs extended family) (2)**

2: extended large family/compound is the most common family type

1: mixed (stem families or mixed nuclear and extended family)

0: nuclear family is the most common family type

### **B: importance of unilineal descent group in society (2)**

2: unilineal descent group is prevalent in all parts of social groups

1: unilineal descent group only exists in particular social groups (e.g. only important in nobility)

0: no unilineal descent group

### **C: localized vs. nonlocalized descent group (2)**

2: the descent group is localized. Unilineally related individuals live in proximity (within a village, settlement, community, etc.)

1: mixed

0: the descent group is dispersed. Unilineally or bilaterally related individuals are not localized in one particular area.

### **D: cooperation within descent group (2)**

2: the descent group, acting as an economic and political corporation, sustains cooperation within the group by providing members public goods and social safety nets, including education, defense and protection, rituals, common economic activities, regulation of marriage, or mutual assistance, etc.

1: the descent group is an economic or political corporation to some extent, but its role in sustaining cooperation is limited.

0: the descent group is noncorporate. Individual relies more on kindreds, networks of relatives and friends.

### **E: conflict resolution (2)**

2: authorities of the descent group have supreme power to resolve disputes between individuals within the group. The whole descent group has collective responsibility while in conflict with outsiders.

1: mixed

0: authorities of the descent group has no formal power to resolve dispute between individuals

United Kingdom **A(0) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 1**

United States **A(0) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 1**

Australia **A(0) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 1**

New Zealand **A(0) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 1**

Canada **A(0) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 1**

Austria (Germanic tribes) **A(0) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 1**

Germany (Germanic tribes) **A(0) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 1**

Switzerland (Germanic tribes) **A(0) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 1**

Luxembourg (Germanic tribes) **A(0) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 1**

France (Franks) **A(0) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 1**

Rome **A(1) B(2) C(1) D (1) E(0) 5**

Netherlands (Independent cities) A(0) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 1  
Belgium (Independent cities) A(0) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 1

Denmark(Viking) A(0) B(0) C(0) D (0) E(0) 0  
Norway(Viking) A(0) B(0) C(0) D (0) E(0) 0  
Sweden(Viking) A(0) B(0) C(0) D (0) E(0) 0  
Iceland A(0) B(0) C(0) D (0) E(0) 0  
Ireland A(2) B(2) C(1) D (2) E(1) 8  
Estonian tribes A(2) B(0) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2  
Finn tribes A(2) B(0) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2  
Greece A(1) B(2) C(1) D (1) E(0) 5  
Rome A(1) B(2) C(1) D (1) E(0) 5  
Slovenia A(1) B(1) C(1) D (1) E(1) 5

Castile A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2  
Catalonia A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2  
Aragon A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2  
Portugal A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2  
Lithuania A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2  
Latvia A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2

#### **Balkans**

Croatia A(1) B(1) C(1) D (1) E(1) 5  
Serbia A(1) B(1) C(1) D (2) E(1) 6  
Romania A(1) B(1) C(1) D (1) E(1) 5  
Bulgaria A(1) B(1) C(1) D (2) E(1) 6  
Albania A(2) B(2) C(2) D (2) E(1) 9  
Slovenia A(1) B(1) C(1) D (1) E(1) 5

#### **Eastern and Central Europe**

Poland A(1) B(1) C(0) D (1) E(0) 3  
Bohemia (Czech Republic) A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2  
Hungary A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2  
Russia A(1) B(1) C(1) D (0) E(0) 3  
Slovakia (Hungary) A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2

#### **Latin America (colonial)**

Mexico A(2) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 3  
Guatemala A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2  
El Salvador A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2  
Honduras A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2  
Costa Rica A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2  
Panama A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2  
Colombia A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2

Ecuador **A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2**  
Peru **A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2**  
Venezuela 1 **A(1) B(0) C(0) D (0) E(0) 1**  
Chile **A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2**  
Brazil 2 **A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2**  
Argentina **A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2**  
2  
Uruguay **A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2**

#### **Caribbean:**

Trinidad and Tobago **A(1) B(0) C(0) D (0) E(0) 1**  
Dominican Republic **A(1) B(0) C(0) D (0) E(0) 1**  
Jamaica **A(1) B(0) C(0) D (0) E(0) 1**

#### **Pre-colonial**

Inca **A(2) B(1) C(1) D (2) E(1) 7**  
Maya **A(2) B(1) C (1) D (2) E (1) 7**  
Aztec **A(2) B(1) C (1) D (1) E (1) 6**

#### **South Asia**

Bangladesh **A(2) B(2) C(2) D (2) E(1) 9**  
Bhutan **A(2) B(1) C (1) D (1) E (0) 5**  
India (Maurya) **A(2) B(2) C(2) D (2) E(1) 9**  
India (Tamil) **A(2) B(2) C(1) D (1) E(1) 7**  
India (Bengal) **A(2) B(2) C(2) D (2) E(1) 9**  
Sri Lanka **A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2**  
Nepal **A(2) B(2) C(2) D (2) E(1) 90**

#### **East Asia**

Japan **A(1) B(1) C (2) D (2) E (1) 7**  
Korea **A(2) B(2) C (2) D (2) E (1) 9**  
China **A(2) B(2) C (2) D (2) E (2) 10**

#### **Middle East and Near East**

Egypt **A(1) B(0) C(0) D (0) E(0) 1**  
Iran **A(2) B(2) C(1) D (1) E(1) 7**  
Mesopotamia **A(1) B(1) C(1) D (1) E(0) 4 (depends on what period, earlier period should be higher scores so we take the average)**  
Assyria **A(1) B(1) C (0) D (1) E (1) 4**  
Israel **A(2) B(2) C(0) D (1) E(1) 6**  
Lebanon (Phoenicia) **A(1) B(1) C(0) D (1) E(0) 3**  
Arabia **A(2) B(2) C (2) D (2) E (1) 9**  
Morocco **A(2) B(2) C (2) D (2) E (1) 9**  
Pakistan **A(2) B(2) C (2) D (2) E (1) 9**  
Turkey (Seljuk/Ottoman) **A(1) B(1) C (1) D (1) E (0) 4**  
Bulgaria **A(1) B(1) C(1) D (2) E(1) 6**

### **Southeast Asia**

Thailand **A(2) B(0) C (0) D (0) E (0) 2**  
Champa **A(1) B(2) C (0) D (1) E (1) 5**  
North Vietnam use China  
Spanish Philippines **A(1) B(0) C (0) D (0) E (0) 1**  
Pre-colonial Philippines **A(1) B(0) C (0) D (0) E (0) 1**  
Malaysia **A(0) B(0) C (0) D (0) E (0) 0**  
Indonesia **A(0) B(0) C (0) D (0) E (0) 0**  
Fiji **A(2) B(2) C(2) D (2) E (2) 10**

### **Africa**

Burkina Faso **A(2) B(2) C (2) D (2) E (2) 10**  
Nigeria (Yoruba) **A(2) B(2) C (2) D (2) E (2) 10**  
Sierra Leone **A(2) B(2) C (2) D (2) E (2) 10**  
Senegal **A(2) B(2) C (2) D (2) E (2) 10**  
Ghana **A(1) B(2) C(1) D (2) E(2) 8**  
Angola **A(2) B(2) C(2) D (1) E(2) 9**  
Mozambique **A(2) B(2) C (2) D (2) E (2) 10**  
Tanzania (Sukuma) **A(1) B(2) C (0) D (1) E (1) 5**  
Tanzania (Swahili) **A(1) B(1) C (1) D (1) E (1) 5**  
Malawi **A(2) B(2) C (2) D (2) E (2) 10**  
Kenya (kikuyu) **A(2) B(2) C (2) D (2) E (2) 10**  
Kenya (Swahili) **A(1) B(1) C (1) D (1) E (1) 5**  
Ethiopia **A(2) B(0) C (0) D (0) E (0) 2**  
**Namibia A(2) B(2) C (2) D (2) E (2) 10**  
South Africa **A(0) B(0) C(0) D (0) E(0) 0**  
**Zambia (Tonga) A(0) B(2) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2**  
**(Bemba) A(1) B(2) C(2) D (2) E(2) 9**  
**Zambia (Average) A(0.5) B(2) C(1) D(1) E(1) 5.5**

### **Unilineal descent groups**

Lineage, clan, phratry and moieties

**Lineage:** a unilineal descent group whose members trace their descent from a known ancestor and know the genealogical connections to that ancestor, is technically called a lineage. P31

Keesing

P224, coexistence of patrilineal, matrilineal and bilateral kindreds. P224 Goody

#### **Clan:**

Unilineal descent groupings whose members believe they are descended from a common ancestor, but do not know the genealogical connections. Such categories or groups are called clans.

### **Corporate unilineal descent groups**

Economic: its members' dependence for their daily subsistence on a property in which the corporation has certain rights on ownership, management, or use.

Political: Internally, an unequal distribution of command among its members, with authority usually vested in the adult male members, who act as the group's representatives in dealing with outsiders. All group members are liable for the compensation of an injury to an outsider by a member of the group.

In patrilineal societies, the minimal group tends to retain a fair degree of political corporateness. Most minimal groups in societies with matrilineal descent, on the other hand, tend to be politically weak. P321 Befe

### **Noncorporate unilineal descent groups**

Lack functions stated above.

### **Cognatic descent groups**

bilateral descent, ambilineal descent, and double descent

**Double descent (double unilineal descent):** kinship is traced both matrilineally and patrilineally. two or more descent principles are used in the same society, usually only one of them is used to form corporate groups: the other define the distribution of other rights. P73

You belong to your father's patrilineal group and your mother's matrilineal group. These are called double descent systems.

### **Ambilineal descent**

Greater flexibility of choice by parents to affiliating their children with either kinship group. Weaker loyalties, cohesiveness and impact on the lives of its members.

### **Bilateral descent**

A person is related equally to both the mother's and father's sides of the family. The kinship group recognized in a bilateral system is the kindred: a group of closely related relatives connected through both parents to one living relative or to the Ego. The kindred is not a group at all but rather a network of relatives. Because kindreds are not corporate groups, they cannot perform the same types of functions-such as joint ownership of property, common economic activities, regulation of marriage, or mutual assistance, as unilineal groups.

**Cognatic descent (bilateral):** All descendants of the founder of a group, through any combination of male and or female links "belonged" to it. P92

Bilateral or cognatic kinship systems may in simplest terms be described as those in which descent from ancestors and affiliation to a set of kinsmen may be traced through both females and males. All societies have some cognatic elements, but those which are thought of as having unilineal descent minimize, in some or all contexts, associations with kin linked to either parent. Consequently, such societies form demarcated kin groups, which persist from generation to generation. In societies that trace relationships bilaterally, on the other hand, each sibling group has affiliations with a different set of cognatic kin. P232 Lancaster

## **Family Type**

**Extended family:** a domestic group or composite of domestic groups consisting of two or more nuclear families linked together through parent and child (patrilineal extended family, matrilineal extended family) or through siblings (fraternal or sororal extended family)

**Nuclear family:** a family unit consisting of parents and their dependent children.

Keesing, Roger M. Kin groups and social structure. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston 1975.  
Lancaster, Lorraine. "Kinship in Anglo-Saxon Society--I." The British Journal of Sociology, vol. 9, no. 3, 1958, pp. 230–250. JSTOR, JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/587017](http://www.jstor.org/stable/587017).

Befu, Harumi and Leonard Plotnicov. Types of Corporate Unilineal Descent Groups.

Goody, Jack. The development of the family and marriage in Europe. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1983.

## Europe

### Germanic tribes 1

**Germany, Belgium, Netherland, Luxemburg, Switzerland, Britain, France**

(bilateral, no clan among commoners, nuclear family predominates, law dealt with individuals, individual ownership)

**A: 0 (nuclear)**

**B: 1 (among the nobility)**

**C: 0 (kin groups not clan)**

**D: 0**

**E: 0**

### **Bilateral:**

Traditional authors argued that the Germanic tribes originally had unilineal clan-based society, "The major supports for the unilineal clan-basis of society before extensive contact with Mediterranean civilization and the establishment of the successor kingdoms were thought to have brought about its disintegration are the accounts of Germanic society by Caesar and Tacitus." (P109 Murray) However, more recent scholarship generally "emphasized the significance of bilateral (cognatic) relationships among the Anglo-Saxons, not resulting from a purported breakdown of the unilineal system but as the earliest known form of social organization among these peoples. P46 Goody

Bilateral kinship systems were widespread in early Germanic Europe and constituted for example 'the very core of Merovingian power structure'. P47 Goody

In Anglo-Saxon society, there is no sign of what might be called patrilineal groups. More important, kin, named or not, were not organized into effective patrilineal descent groups, but, into Ego-centered bilateral kin groups. (Lancaster)

"It's usually believed that early medieval kinship structures were "cognatic kindreds" — i.e., an individual could claim rights and have obligations both through his/her mother's and father's families, either one or both. This meant that every "kindred" was formally/potentially different for every "ego" — two cousins would have potentially and formally entirely different "kindreds," insofar as they would have different mothers or fathers and therefore one would have access to patrilineal or matrilineal kin not shared by their cousin. It also meant that individuals could

choose to affiliate with one side or another depending on which suited their political/economic needs. Bilineal

There's long been a general belief that cognatic kindreds were replaced by patrilineages in the course of the 9th-12th cc. (going down the social hierarchy), though peasant families always remained somewhat cognatic.

There's also a belief that before our source-horizon free families were somewhat matrilineal, though that's all very hypothetical and is often criticized as a holdover from outmoded 19th c. theories of matriarchy — though there is some good evidence for it (not matriarchy but matrilineality).

Finally, almost all historians now recognize that the above schema is probably overstated and misleading. As far back as we can go, there was always a tendency for families to be strongly nuclear and cognatic but with an emphasis on patrilineage.” (Professor Geoffrey Koziol’s comment)

Looking at the wider context, there is little or no evidence for patrilineal descent groups (patrilineal UDGs) on the continent of Europe in the post-Roman period, with the exception of some peripheral mountain areas. P238 Goody

The sources tell us almost nothing about the internal organization of the Sippe. It seems however, incontrovertible that its basic structure was cognatic and not agnatic, that is, that membership was based on both matrilineal and patrilineal linkages. P47 Herlihy

If the Sippe was the foundation of the kinship system of the early Germans why does it appear so rarely in the sources? One reason might be that very early on the Continent (much later in Ireland), the Sippe was losing many of its functions to other social groups, based on territory rather than on blood: villages, manors, lordships, and the state itself. P48 Herlihy

### **Household size**

There seems little evidence of an ‘extended family’ in the sense of large households among the peoples that established themselves inside the former Roman Empire. P47 Goody

Murray, Alexander . *Germanic kinship structure: studies in law and society in antiquity and the early Middle Ages*. Toronto, Ont: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, c1983.

Goody, Jack. *The European family: an historical-anthropological essay*. Oxford, UK. Malden, Mass: Blackwell, 2000.

Herlihy, David. *Medieval households*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985.

Lancaster, Lorraine. “Kinship in Anglo-Saxon Society--I.” *The British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 9, no. 3, 1958, pp. 230–250. JSTOR, JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/587017](http://www.jstor.org/stable/587017).

### **United Kingdom (Anglo-Saxon England)**

Anglo-Saxon kinship systems, like those of modern England, belong to the class of non-unilineal kinship, in which every individual has, in general, the option of tracing affiliation to a set of persons through both his parents (and their descendants) and his parents' parents (and their descendants) and so on. P232 Lancaster

Lancaster, Lorraine. "Kinship in Anglo-Saxon Society--I." *The British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 9, no. 3, 1958, pp. 230–250. JSTOR, JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/587017](http://www.jstor.org/stable/587017).

### **Netherlands, Belgium (independent cities) 1**

**A: 0 (nuclear)**

**B: 1 (among the nobility)**

**C: 0 (kin groups not clan)**

**D: 0**

**E: 0**

According to David Nicholas, the patrician kindreds in Ghent in Flanders in the late Middle Ages remained primarily bilateral in their organization. P83 Herlihy

Herlihy, David. *Medieval households*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985.

### **Ancient Ireland 8**

**A: 2 (extended family)**

**B: 2 (patrilineal descent to the most extent)**

**C: 1**

**D: 2**

**E: 1**

(patrilineal, extended family, division of land within the clan, law dealt with individuals)

#### **Household size:**

The legal family was not the conjugal family but an extended family or kinship group called the *derbfhine*, 'certain family'. The *derbfhine* consisted of the descendants in the male line only of a common great-grandfather. P21 (patrilineal descent) Foster

*Derbfine*-was a family of four generations. P65 Croinin

Irish society was divided into tribes (tuath) and the tribes into kindreds called septs...the septs is exactly equivalent to the Germanic or Indo-European sib, Sippe or Geschlecht. The sept appears frequently in the lives as the gens, a kin group stemming from a named ancestor or founder. P32 Herlihy

The sources occasionally identify the founder of the sept and inform us how distant he was in generational count from the present. Thus, in the Old-Irish life of St. Abban, the head of the sept...seven generations back. P32 Herlihy

Although all the founders of the Irish septs were indeed men, nonetheless the kin association was emphatically not restricted to patrilineal relatives...among the works of the eighth century Irish monk, poet and hagiographer, Oengus, there are maternal genealogies of some 210 Irish saints. P33 Herlihy

The Irish septs practiced exogamy, but not exclusively of women. P33 Herlihy

The sept was comprised of individual households, which we have guessed might number between 120 and 256. P34 Herlihy



Members of the sept meet together to discuss common issues and make collective decisions...the sept defended its members against outsiders, kept the peace among them, and more than likely adjudicated disputes. P33 Herlihy

Although the sept's territory had fixed and recognized boundaries, the members did not own fields or flocks in common and did not participate in common economic enterprises...unmistakably, individual ownership of property and marked graduation of wealth were characteristic of early Irish society. P34 Herlihy

Somerset Fry, Fiona. *A history of Ireland*. Routledge, London and New York, 1988.  
Herlihy, David. *Medieval households*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985

### **Patrilineal (bilateral inheritance)**

The clan systems of the Ancient Mediterranean, the *genos* of Greece, the 'tribes' of Israel, the agnatic groups of x, which were characterized by these 'bilateral' features, gradually disappeared. But there were areas of Europe in which groups of this kind did continue to function. In the early medieval period, the system obtaining in Ireland...was clearly patrilineal in one sense. P233 Goody

Unlike the Celts, the Germanic tribes appear to have lacked such named groups, and the agnatic character of the kinship system has been denied by many writers. P233 Goody

Normally a clan would occupy and possess particular lands or territory, its occupation or ownership of the land being one of its most important corporate functions. P9 Nicholls

Nicholls, K.W. *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages*. Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2003.

## **Muscovy Russia 3**

**A: 1 (extended family)**

**B: 1**

**C: 1**

**D: 0**

**E: 0**

(bilateral, law dealt with individuals, nuclear family among peasants and clans among elites in Muscovy period)

### **Bilateral**

Most Russian prehistorians and historians seem to agree that the East Slavs had **patrilineal clans** and tribes and that they lost them between approximately A. D. 500-700. Onjuchevsky, 1937: I; Pares, 1946:13-14). P10 Friedrich

Following the decimation of the Kievan populations, many of the Russians in their northern refuge areas were probably influenced by the patrilineal and patriarchal patterns of the Mongols. p13 Friedrich

My conclusion is that the thoroughgoing bifurcation within both the consanguineal and the affinal sets may be taken to symbolize an unusual concern with inheritance and succession

through both men and women. Old Russian still showed traces of the patrilineal descent of Proto-Slavic, but it had lost unilineal descent groups. The Old Russians (11<sup>th</sup> century) probably had trilaterally slanted bilateral lineages and extended households or extended families in contiguous houses, patrilocal among the aristoi and patrilocal or bilocal among the masses of peasants, artisans, hunters, and fishermen. p13 Friedrich

#### **Household size:**

Families in Eastern Europe in later centuries have been observed to follow an “extended” family and marriage pattern...in contrast to the West European pattern observed from the sixteenth century (much earlier in some settings). Muscovy may resemble the West European pattern: Households appear to have been nuclear and small. P69 Kollmann

Russia has been found to have a much larger mean size of household, which was not only higher than the rest of Europe but of India and China too.” (19<sup>th</sup> century data) P111 Goody

In 1811 extended families that contained 20 or more people made up 68% of households in Mishino, while by 1814 the number of such families in the village decreased to 40%. However, throughout the whole nineteenth century simple nuclear families in Mishino did not make up a significant number. In 1858, simple households made up around 13% (Czap, Jr 1982, 11, 18, 20). Mitterauer and Kagan recorded similar household sizes in the rural areas of Yaroslavl province in 1762–1763. A household in eighteenth-century Yaroslavl province consisted of 5.1–5.3 people, not including the females. P66 Leinarte

Leinarte, Dalia. *The Lithuanian family in its European context, 1800-1914 : marriage, divorce and flexible communities*. Cham, Switzerland : Palgrave Macmillan, [2017]

(This should be a later development. The materials that I found arguing that Russia had “extended family” were mostly based on evidence from the 19<sup>th</sup> century (i.e. the *Economics of the Russian Village*, Hourwich), actually much later than the Muscovy period)

Kollmann, Nancy Shields, *By honor bound: state and society in early modern Russia*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999.

## **Vikings 0**

**A: 0**

**B: 0**

**C: 0**

**D: 0**

**E: 0**

## **Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Iceland**

(bilateral, nuclear family, law dealt with individuals, individual ownership of land, no clan)

### **Bilateral**

The rune stones in Viking-age Scandinavia show that the kinship system was a bilateral one... their rules of inheritance show that kinship was traced through both sexes and acknowledge that women have a right to inherit. P7 Wolf

### **Household size**

(Scandinavian) the terminology is based on the idea of the nuclear family as a distinct unit. There is virtually no terminological recognition of descent as a principle of social organization. P71-72  
Heady

the nuclear family was the predominant domestic group in Viking-age Scandinavia. P8 Wolf

Wolf, Kirsten, *Daily life of the Vikings*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Heady, Patrick. *Nuclear families and cognatic descent: reflections on two characteristics of European kinship*. Prague studies in sociocultural anthropology v. 3 (2005) p.67-76

## **Eastern Europe**

### **Household size:**

(Eastern Europe) Typically had a "larger households" p108 Goody

(Eastern and Central Europe: bilateral descent, extended family coexists with nuclear family, probably more extended family in eastern Europe, individual ownership of land)

### **Slovakia 2**

**A: 1 (joint family)**

**B: 1**

**C: 0**

**D: 0**

**E: 0**

The structural significance of feudalism for the European peasantry as a whole applied equally to the Slovaks. During the feudal period the lord regulated peasant marriages, inheritance, succession, and subsistence. Nucleated villages became closed demes isolated from kinsmen in villages belonging to other manors. Social differentiation or segmentation based on the dispersed patri-clan gradually atrophied. Anderson (197: 145.) states: "Each serf family was tied to its own tiny holdings and its own endless obligations. Marriage only transplanted a female from one such unit to another. It did not build meaningful or enduring ties between units." The zupa, originally a Slovak nobleman's administrative district, became politically a Magyar unit; the clan and other extra-village ties were attenuate. Within the village, the patriarchal/patrilineal joint family and the patri-deme became the functioning socio-economic units. P105-106 Stein

Claims that a system of ownership by clan or commune existed, similar to those prevalent among Eastern or Southern slavs, are totally unfounded. P35 Spiesz

Spiesz, Anton and Dusan Caplovic. *Illustrated Slovak history : a struggle for sovereignty in Central Europe*. Wauconda, Ill. : Bolchazy-Carducci, c2006.

Stein, Howard F. *Structural Change in Slovak Kinship: An Ethnohistoric Inquiry*. Vol. 14, No. 1 (Jan., 1975), pp. 99-108. University of Pittsburgh.

## **Czech Republic 2**

**A: 1**

**B: 1**

**C: 0**

**D: 0**

**E: 0**

### **bilateral**

The clan as the fundamental unit of social organization existed in both society (Poland and Czech) long before the tenth century. This gave way to units based on territorial bonds, such as village communes...the clan (except the royal clan) did not play much part in the creation of the state...gradually, but inevitably the tribes also lost their political preeminence in the creation of the new states. P530 McKitterick

The New Cambridge Medieval History: Volume 3, C.900-c.1024 edited by Rosamond McKitterick, Timothy Reuter

### **Lithuania 2**

**A: 1**

**B: 1**

**C: 0**

**D: 0**

**E: 0**

### **Bilateral**

The family in the 13th and 14th century Lithuania represented a unit in many senses, from economical and productive to social, organisational, and legal. The average family consisted of five or six people.

<https://en.delfi.lt/history/the-family-and-the-patriarchate-in-ancient-baltic-societies.d?id=76419187>

the mean size of a household in Lithuania in 1847 was smaller than in central Russia. Families of four to eight people made up 54.6% of all households in the Kaunas and Vilnius provinces.p4 Leinarte

Lithuanian historian Angelė Vyšniauskaitė provided data from the seventeenth-century inventories of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. She analysed eight estate inventories with a total of 493 households in rural areas. Vyšniauskaitė concluded that as many as 98.8% of households were simple, and families consisted of two or three children (Вишняускайте 1964, 4, 8).

Leinarte Mikołaj Szołtysek, who analysed Vyšniauskaitė's data from 15 estates with 791 households for 1594–1700 in accordance Laslett's typology, concluded that the share of simple households was around 81% (Szołtysek 2011, 19). Other data also confirms that simple households dominated in Lithuania. Of these 1,012 households, 3.2% were nuclear families with no additional relatives or servants; 27.2% were simple families consisting of parents and their children plus the never-married siblings of the parents or any other single relatives; while 69.6% were two-generational families that included a nuclear family and its single relatives, and grandparent/s (Sarcevičienė 2015, 59). P5 Leinarte

Leinarte, Dalia. The Lithuanian family in its European context, 1800-1914 : marriage, divorce and flexible communities. Cham, Switzerland : Palgrave Macmillan, [2017]

### **Latvia 2**

**A: 1**

**B: 1**

**C: 0**

**D: 0**

**E: 0**

Despite different land management, household sizes in Lithuania were smaller than in Latvia.

P67 Leinarte

In Plakans' view, in the late eighteenth century, a typical Latvian peasant household consisted of parents and three or four children, several single relatives and a married sibling. Nuclear families made up the smallest portion of the households, and could also contain non-blood relatives. In 1797 in the Daudzew parish, 43.4% of households were multi-generational and consisted of three generations while 54.7% were two-generation families (Plakans 1975b, 30). Meanwhile in 1858 in the same Courland province in the Linden manor, extended families made up a rather large number of households—47.8% (Plakans 1984, 264). P68 Leinarte

Leinarte, Dalia, *The Lithuanian family in its European context, 1800-1914: marriage, divorce and flexible communities*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, [2017]

## **Hungary 1**

**A: 1**

**B: 1**

**C: 0**

**D: 0**

**E: 0**

Depending upon socioeconomic circumstances, both the nuclear family and various forms of the joint or extended family organization were present even within the same rural settlement in traditional times.

<http://www.everyculture.com/Europe/Hungarians-Kinship-Marriage-and-Family.html>

In traditional Hungary, the family served as the basic social unit. It had multiple functions, providing security and identity to individuals and reinforcing social values. In rural areas, it was also the basic economic unit--all members worked together for the material well-being of the whole family. Burant

An equally important institution intersecting Hungarian society was the kindred: the genus, generatio or cluster of families which shared the same ancestor. As an economic institution, the kindred often worked its lands collectively, with its members sharing both agricultural tasks and profits and sometimes even the same accommodation. P23 Rady

Rady, Martyn C. *Nobility, land and service in medieval Hungary*. Houndmills, Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave, in association with School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College London, 2000.

Stephen R. Burant, ed. *Hungary: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1989.

## **Poland 3**

**A: 1**

**B: 1**

**C: 0**  
**D: 1**  
**E: 0**

## **Bilateral**

### **Household size:**

For the nobles:

Kinship between all the descendants of the same male ancestor was a primary bond which unite individual members into one family.... we can easily understand how in consequence of these two principles-the timeless and space-less unity of the agnatic family and the timeless and spaceless marriage connection between families, the whole nobility constituted intrinsically one unified society. P309 Thomas

For the peasants:

A common residential pattern in the villages of medieval East Central Europe was an extended family of some kind. Nuclear families were not unknown, but the larger kinship group offered greater economic security in an uncertain environment, since its members could help one another. In Poland the so-called large family typically included three generations of men with their wives and children. The entire family worked the land together under the direction of the father or grandfather, and constituted the basic unit of social life. P85 Sedlar

[W]e find Galeski referring to the 'strong ties of kinship among the families which make up the community.' This is reinforced by the frequent intra-village marriages and results in the fact that 'there are usually only a few family names in the village community. The village consists of several interrelated large families (or clans). For this reason, a village is sometimes defined as a family neighbour group....'

<https://hbdchick.wordpress.com/2012/04/17/traditional-family-systems-in-medieval-and-modern-poland/>

Thomas, William Isaac, *The Polish peasant in Europe and America*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, c1984.

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

## **Rome 5**

**A: 1**  
**B: 2**  
**C: 1**  
**D: 1**  
**E: 0**

The Roman clan, or *gens*, describes a close-knit familial group of aristocratic descent that wields considerable political, social, and economic power.

The Roman nuclear family was arguably less stable than in the modern era. Multigenerational families...were frequent in ancient Rome. P163 Dunstan

Although some scholars suggest only the elite enjoyed clan affiliation, the system probably included all free Romans from the regal period onward and played a significant role in familial identity. P27 Dunstan

The emergence of the *civitas* invoked the necessity for a system of law to govern the entire community. However, so long as the gentile organization remained more or less intact, this legal system would refrain from regulating relations between members of the same clan as this was the function of that clan's law. The legal system would confine itself to directing relations between members of different clans as well as the structure, functions and activities of the organs within the *civitas*. Moreover its rules governing inter-gentile relations were based essentially on the preexisting inter-gentile customary law that developed while the clans were still important...however, Rome evolved politically as a unitary state when the gentile organization declined and the sense of unity among the population intensified. P22 Mousourakis

In classical times, Greece and Rome both gave some emphasis to unilineal descent groups (patrilineal clans and lineages) but these largely disappeared in Europe under the impact of the German invaders with their bilateral kindreds and under pressure from the Christian church which weakened all wider kinship groups by effectively limiting their extent and initiating an alternative system of ritual relations, of godparenthood. P3 Goody

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Mousourakis, George. *A legal history of Rome*. London; New York: Routledge, 2007.

Dunstan, William E. *Ancient Rome*. Lanham : Rowman & Littlefield, c2011.

Goody, Jack. *The development of the family and marriage in Europe*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1983.

## Greece 5

A: 1

B: 2

C: 1

D: 1

E: 0

**Family:** although, from Homeric times onwards, the nuclear family appears to have been the most common residential and economic unit, stem and extended families continued to exist. P405 Wilson

*Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece*, Wilson, Nigel.

The Dorian communities of Crete maintained, as elsewhere, their familiar tribal organization which helped to reinforce those bonds of kinship which were of such importance generally in the social life of ancient Greece. P240 Willetts

The tribe (pyla) was still politically important at the time of publication of the Gortyn Code and women were enumerated within it; and it is mentioned in other cities. So is the clan (startos) and, as earlier mentioned, the kosmoi continued to be recruited from ruling clans.

. It may be inferred from the Code that hetaireiai also were politically important in the growth of an aristocratic system, as it developed from a tribal association based firmly on kinship to an equally close-knit but privileged grouping based on narrow rights of citizenship and land tenure.

P242 Willetts

There was a tendency for smaller units of relationship to be fostered within the wider clan system, particularly marked by the role of the 'household' (Greek oikos, cf. Roman familia), an institution closely involved with rights of tenure of the klaros (lot), the family estate. P244

Willetts

the genos does not appear in Homer and its presence even in Attica shrinks primarily to priestly families if the evidence is closely inspected. P436 Starr

aristocrats could identify themselves only on the basis of lineage; but landed wealth was also an important requirement. P438 Starr

it is necessary to assume that from the ninth century, at least, many oikoi were becoming economically and socially prominent. In order to increase their influence, numerous oikoi combined into larger groups which became the gene...the fiction of kinship was maintained, however, and the gennetai of each "clan" claimed to be descended from a common ancestor often a figure from the legendary past. P56 Fine

by the eighth century many such clans existed throughout the Greek world. p56 Fine

By the eighth century, the gene had become very cohesive groups...these clans controlled most of the arable land. P59 Fine

It was as a member of one of the ten tribes that an Athenian participated in the public life of the state...reforms of Cleisthenes...the change from a government based on four tribes and many phratries to one based on ten territorial tribes, thirty trittyes, and over a hundred demes was a revolutionary undertaking... p238 Fine

CRETAN LAWS AND SOCIETY R. F. Willetts; ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN THE GREEK WORLD C. G. STARR The Cambridge ancient history / edited by John Boardman ... [et al.] London ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1982-

Fine, John V. A. (John Van Antwerp), The ancient Greeks : a critical history. Cambridge, Mass. : Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1983.

## Spain and Portugal 2

A: 1

B: 1

C: 0

D: 0

E: 0

Castile A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2

Catalonia A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2

Aragon A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2

Portugal A(1) B(1) C(0) D (0) E(0) 2



(bilateral, nuclear family among peasants, individual ownership, maybe elite has clan?)

### **Bilateral**

Family relationship among the aristocracy of twelfth-century Leon and Castile may be said to have been conditioned by what anthropologists label cognatic or bilateral kinship. In other words, equal importance was attached to both the male and female lines of the kin group. (women could own and in theory entitle an equal share of inheritance) P39 Barton

In Christian Spain “the dissolution of the extended family” is seen as “a significant and central social process of the high middle ages” (Glick 1979: 137). P22 Goody

### **Household size:**

Goody, Jack. The development of the family and marriage in Europe. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Barton, Simon, *The aristocracy in twelfth-century León and Castile*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1997.

## **Croatia 5**

**A: 1**

**B: 1**

**C: 1**

**D: 1**

**E: 1**

In Croatia, where each extended family or clan usually had its own village, the heads of the clans represented their people in assemblies of the district. Generally the Croatian nobility did not interfere with the internal affairs of the clan, except occasionally to influence the choice of a new clan head. P94 Sedlar

In the fourteenth century, the zadruga, the typical Slavic clan organization, was almost in the process of dissolution, owing to Croatia long contact with Western Christian nations, where the zadruga did not exist. However, when the power of the state weakened during the Turkish wars, the zadruga blossomed to new life...community based upon blood relationship, and collective ownership of land, in which one family, or several families tilled the soil as a unit, and in which there was only a limited amount of division of labor. Eterovich

Croatia: Land, People, Culture, Volume 1

edited by Francis H. Eterovich, Christopher Spalatin

## **Bulgaria 6**

**A: 1**

**B: 1**

**C: 1**

**D: 2**

**E: 1**

(Bilateral, large extended family, communal ownership, clan is an important institution in society)  
Zadruga (Croatia, Albania, Bulgaria, Serbia): it can best be described as an extended family consisting of two or more small or biological families owning land, livestock and tools in common and sharing the same livelihood. P59 Byrnes

The Zadruga is constantly mentioned in the early Middle Ages, and later as well, in the regions under the Venetians, Austrians and Hungarians except Slovenia), and in the lands which fell to the Turks. P270 Filipovic  
To the northwest of the Balkan peninsula, Slovene society shows no trace of a zadruga system. P59 Byrnes

The Zadruga was a functional adaptation to certain material and political conditions. In Mosely's view, the most important factor was the need to mobilize labor to conquer the Balkan forests. A second reason for the existence of the zadruga was the "...persistence of insecurity of life and property". Until the nineteenth century, the Turks, the Tartars and before them other Asiatic people were a perpetual threat to the security of rural folk. A third reason given by Mosely was the existence of a heavily pastoral economy until quite recently in some of the zadrugal areas. The reliance on pastoral land rather than agricultural land was presumably a strong deterrent to the division of land into small private plots and a stimulus to holding communal land. P141 Chirot

Thus, until Communist law was enacted, inheritance was patrilineal. P176 Vucinich

But in Romania, the village as a whole was communal, not the extended family. Within the village, families were considerably smaller than in the zadruga areas. P141 Chirot

A substantial number of villages fell under lordly domination during the sixteenth century because of their inability to pay taxes. Such villages had no division of land...Communal villages were easier to administer because the whole village could be made collectively responsible for dues. This same process took place in Russia in the eighteenth century for very similar reasons, but there the mir was a new invention, or the recreation of a long dead form of organization. P150 Chirot

This explains why serf villages had the same land usage pattern as undivided communal villages...only free villages had the freedom to divide their lands. P150 Chirot

**Extended family:** Zadruga: it can best be described as an extended family consisting of two or more small or biological families owning land, livestock and tools in common and sharing the same livelihood. P59 Byrnes

The reliance on pastoral land rather than agricultural land was presumably a strong deterrent to the division of land into small private plots and a stimulus to holding communal land. P141 Chirot

For a long time it was considered a specific Proto-Slavic institution, but it was also present among older European (Celts, Germans, Slavs) and Asian peoples (India). It survived the longest

on the area of South Slavic settlement in Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro and Croatia (the area of the Military Border, where it had particular significance), which was researched by B. Bogišić. There exist various opinions on the legal nature of the communal household: was it a legal entity or a special property community, the *communio* (on the basis of Rom. law), was it a form of *Genossenschaft* (Gierke) or the fusion of a separate legal entity and a community.  
[https://www.pravo.unizg.hr/\\_download/repository/The\\_Little\\_Lexicon\\_of\\_Croatian\\_Legal\\_History.pdf](https://www.pravo.unizg.hr/_download/repository/The_Little_Lexicon_of_Croatian_Legal_History.pdf)

## **Serbia 6**

**A: 1**

**B: 1**

**C: 1**

**D: 2**

**E: 1**

The Serbian of the first decades of the nineteenth century was an illiterate peasant, living in a practically self-sufficient extended family or *zadruga*. P6 Meyer

The Serus lived in *zadrugas*, extended families consisting of up to between forty and sixty members. Each *zadruga* was part of a village, which was governed by a Council of Elders headed by a *knez* elected from among the elders. P9 Meyer

The peasant of Serbia still saw the nation as an extension of the patriarchal communal family, and as tradition and experience taught him to value and respect the authority of the head of the household...p33 Meyer

Meyer, Martha. The Early Development of the Serbian and Romanian National Movements, 1800-1866: a Comparison

About forty-one percent of the households in the Decani list of 1330 are “nuclear”, consisting of a man alone, or a man” with children”...by way of comparison, we may note that the census of Belgrade county in 1528 also yielded a nuclear proportion of forty-one percent, that of Sveti Stefan in 1313-1318 of about seventy-four percent, and that of Chilandar in 1327 of about eighty-two percent...less than one percent of the households were three generational.p111 Hammel

The Serbian *zadruga* was fundamentally a kinship based residential organization not altogether different from that of most peasant societies...although it had clear legal functions and was certainly recognized as a variety of household in customary law, it was not a corporation based primarily in the law but rather acknowledged by it. P114 Hammel

Hammel, Eugene.A. Some Medieval Evidence on the Serbian *zadruga*: a preliminary analysis of the Chrysobulls of Decani.

## **Slovenia 5**

**A: 1**

**B: 1**

**C: 1**

**D: 1**

**E: 1**

Kinship is bilateral with a patrilineal emphasis. The typical kin group was the stem family composed of the patriarch head (gospodar), his wife, their children, various unmarried collateral relatives of the gospodar, and the wife and offspring of the eldest son. The presence of common surnames, archival records, and legends suggest that lineage relations existed between dominant joint families.

the large stem family with many children has become smaller, increasingly being replaced by a small extended family or a nuclear family composed of parents

<http://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/ehrafe/browseCultures.do?owc=EF07#owc>

## **Romania 5**

**A: 1**

**B: 1**

**C: 1**

**D: 1**

**E: 1**

### **Household size:**

But in Romania, the village as a whole was communal, not the extended family. Within the village, families were considerably smaller than in the zadruga areas. P141 Chirot

In some Transylvanian Romanian villages, extended families occupied particular wards of village...these families...they had certain limited economic, political and social functions...they organized some types of work...members were supposed to meet at least once a year...p139 Chirot

Romanian communal villages were apparently territorially rather than family based units from a very early period. P144 Chirot

## **Albania 9**

**A: 2**

**B: 2**

**C: 2**

**D: 2**

**E: 1**

Albanians-Illyrians, not Slavs. zadruga

### **Patrilineal clan among the Ghegs:**

At the core of the fis, or clan system, was the shtepi, or household, which formed the basic residential and economic component of the entire system. An extended shtepi, which could comprise as many as seventy people, was led by the *zoti i shtepi*, which literally translates as 'god of the house'... the *shtepi i zoti* still held authority over other houses and this leader eventually became known as the chief elder, since this extended kinship model usually constituted a village. P151 Doll

In Albania proper, tribal organization is prevalent. P249 Erlich

"rigid sense of loyalty solely to the village" "in the pre-modern era, the fis provided the main source of identity for an individual. Without the fis, a person had little meaning..." p152 Doll

**The code of leke dukagjini (15<sup>th</sup> century Albanian codified customary law)**  
**communal ownership of land by the lineage group** (see Doll, Brandon. *The Relationship Between the Clan System and Other Institutions in Northern Albania*;  
<http://www.everyculture.com/Europe/Albanians-Marriage-and-Family.html>)

Doll, Brandon. *The Relationship Between the Clan System and Other Institutions in Northern Albania*. Journal of Southeast European & Black Sea Studies. May2003, Vol. 3 Issue 2, p147-162.

Chirot, Daniel. *The Romanian Communal Village: An Alternative to the Zadruga*

Mosely, Philip. E. *The Peasant Family*

Vucinich, Wayne. *A Zadruga in Bileca Rudine*

Filipovic, Milenko S. *Zadruga*

Erlich, Vera. *St. the Last big zadrugas: Albanian extended families in the Kosovo Region*

From: *Communal families in the Balkans: the zadruga*: essays by Philip E. Mosely and essays in his honor edited by Robert F. Byrnes. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, c1976.

Sedlar, Jean W. *East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. Seattle : University of Washington Press, c1994.

## **Finno-Ugric peoples**

### **Finland 2**

**A: 1**

**B: 1**

**C: 0**

**D: 0**

**E: 0**

(Bilateral, eastern parts have large extended family, western part has nuclear family and private ownership)

18<sup>th</sup> century evidence: Over the last three centuries, the family in eastern Finland has undergone a rapid and radical change: from the joint family system at the end of the eighteenth century to the present individualistic society at the turn of the millennium. P248 Macfarlane

The family in eastern Finland was a large kinship unit. Most of the households consisted of extended or joint families of over eight persons. P252 Macfarlane

In the west of Finland, private ownership was part of the nuclear and stem family system. P255 Macfarlane

<http://elektra.helsinki.fi/summary.pdf>

only in some districts of Finland...has the grand family been shown to have been common, and so constituting an alternative system of family structure and organization to the otherwise overwhelmingly dominant nuclear family type in the Nordic countries...p179

only in Karelia has this situation been shown to go back at least to 1500, the relative number of grand families and multiple families then being 23 percent. P179 Pulsiano

Medieval Scandinavia, an Encyclopedia, Phillip Pulsiano. 1993.

### **Estonia 2**

**A: 1**

**B: 1**  
**C: 0**  
**D: 0**  
**E: 0**

In late-eighteenth-century Estonia, an average household consisted of eight people, while in the economically less developed south of the province there were on average 12 people (Kahk et al. 1982, 78)

Leinarte, Dalia. The Lithuanian family in its European context, 1800-1914 : marriage, divorce and flexible communities. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, [2017]

## **Near East and Middle East**

### **Iran 7**

**A: 2**  
**B: 2**  
**C: 1**  
**D: 1**  
**E: 1**

(patrilineal descent, clan was important in tribal times but probably weakened during the imperial era)

Ghirshman was of the opinion that at the end of the eighth century B.C Persians were living in the Achaemenid Village in a clan organization, inhabiting large houses with a multitude of rooms. P3 Dandamaev

The basic unit of social life was the large, patriarchal family (mana). The head of the family (manapati) was the pater familias of his line with unlimited material and spiritual power over all the members of the family. A group of families constituted a clan, the vi and tauma. The clan, which later also became a land unit, was formed by a number of families and was led by its elder (vipati). Over a period of many centuries this unit remained a very significant factor. Clans were united into a tribe...several tribes could form a district or a country, headed by a king. P13 Dandamaev

"Family and clan relationships were of great significance." P111 Dandamaev

the family and clan or extended family were the basis of authority in ancient Iranian society with the pater familias under the vispaiti, the clan leader. P56 Frye

The salient feature of Zoroastrian social organization in the Sasanian period was the patriarchal agnatic family (dûdag, kadag), in which the master of the household (kadag-xwadây "paterfamilias," pid(ar) "father," šôy "husband") was seconded by his wife (kadag-bânûg "materfamilias," mād(ar) "mother," zan "wife"). Members of the family, usually an extended family, who were related either by kinship (nabânazdišt, hamnâf "kindred," xwêšâwand, paywand "kinsman, relative," kas, lit., "person," in certain contexts clearly also "relative") or by affinity... Shaki

Mansour Shaki. Family law in Ancient Iran,

[http://www.caissoas.com/CAIS/Law/family\\_law.htm](http://www.caissoas.com/CAIS/Law/family_law.htm)

Dandamaev, M. A. *A political history of the Achaemenid empire*. Leiden; New York : E.J. Brill, 1989.

## **Turkey 4**

**A: 1**

**B: 1**

**C: 1**

**D: 1**

**E: 0**

### **Patrilineal**

Each village is composed of distinct patrilineal, patrilocal households. P26 Stirling

Lineages: the rights and duties of membership are not precisely defined, and the degree to which members are committed varies greatly between individuals. P27 Stirling

The land owned by members of a household is worked communally by them under the direction of the household head. Most land belongs to household heads, but women may own in their own right... p51 Stirling (not communal ownership of land)

“shallow patrilineal groups” reckoning common agnatic descent from the grandfather or great-grandfather of the senior living generation. They can hardly be called corporate...they are not legal or jural persons in custom or in law. They own nothing in common, they have no common ritual symbols... P158 Stirling

Stirling, Arthur Paul. *Turkish village*. London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965.

(From Stirling's study, small lineage, individual ownership of land, shallow patrilineal groups, clan strength seems weaker)

## **Morocco 9**

**A: 2**

**B: 2**

**C: 2**

**D: 2**

**E: 1**

### **patrilineal**

All Moroccan Berber groups have adopted the Arab system of kinship based principally on agnation in which kinship rests exclusively on patrilineage. P565 Gélard

The agnatic lineage or patrilineage (Rifian: dharfiqth; Imazighen: ighs; Ishilhayan: afus) was, until after Moroccan independence from France and Spain in 1956, the basic social unit, with a depth of four to six generations in the Rif and of only four among the Imazighen (see "Kin Groups and Descent"). Among the latter, however, it was corporate in character, which was not, or not always, the case in the Rif. In the precolonial Rif, the highest unit of political integration was the tribe (dhaqbitsh, which like "taqbilt" is derived from Arabic qabila)

<http://www.everyculture.com/Africa-Middle-East/Berbers-of-Morocco-Sociopolitical-Organization.html>

Gélard, Marie-Luce. *Representations of Kinship. Agnatic Ideology and Uterine Values in a Berber-Speaking Tribe (Southeast Morocco)*. Anthropos, Bd. 99, H. 2. (2004), pp. 565-572, Anthropos Institute.

Ethnographic and anthropological studies of the Berbers are almost unanimous in their insistence on one overwhelming characteristic of Berber society: its segmentary organization...all that effectively defines any such tribe as an actual social unit is the belief in a common ancestor, whatever the actual genetic reality might be. Indeed, many segmentary tribes derive from more heterogeneous groups or clans, whose union is based on the fact that they simply occupy the same piece of territory. Thus the idea of a tribe is a very fluid one, and a tribal name may in fact apply to anything from a group of two or three clans to a huge group occupying a vast territory.p231 Brett

The ten clans may be considered corporate to the extent that they were permanently constituted land-owning units...the land was considered the collective property of all male members of the ighs, who had only usufruct rights to it. P73 Vinogradov

Brett, Michael. *The Berbers*. Oxford, UK; Cambridge, USA : Blackwell, 1996.

Vinogradov, Amal. R. *The social political organization of a berber 'Taraf' tribe: pre-protectorate Morocco*. Arabs and Berbers: from tribe to nation in North Africa; edited by Ernest Gellner and Charles Micaud. London, Duckworth, 1973.

## **Arabia 9**

**A: 2**

**B: 2**

**C: 2**

**D: 2**

**E: 1**

## **Patrilineal**

The segmentary model was first conceived in the 1940s for the Nuer of Sudan (Evans-Pritchard 1940) and later adapted to Arab social organization. It builds on a generally uncontested representation of the social order in terms of genealogical relations among groups bound by the principle of common patrilineal descent. P31 Parolin

In pre-Islamic Arabia the individual was considered a member of a group by means of kinship, clientage or slavery. P33 Parolin

The establishment of artificial descent – adoption (tabanni) – also determines membership in a kin group. P34 Parolin

In the society of the Arabian Peninsula, characterised by such diffuse power, the individual was not entitled rights; only his membership in a group ensured him a certain protection. Outside the group, the individual became a mere outcast who, without anybody to protect him, was at the mercy of any aggressor. Membership in a group was thus a necessary condition (Tyan 1954: 23) p35 Parolin

There were no elaborate machinery of administration, no officials, no offices but there were ruler in each clan and tribe, “the Elder”. Nobility of birth, seniority in age and personal distinctions determined his position in the political society of the tribe. He had to make his decision in al-



Mala (a council of the Elders) which represented their clans and sub-clans. P228 Landau-Tasseron

“The three-generation extended family is the ideal domestic unit. “

“Property is divided in accordance to Quranic precepts”

In jahili and early Islamic poetry we find men, women and children who defined themselves not as individuals, but as kin...it was kinship, one's family, one's clan, one's tribe that defined who one was. The issue of kinship remained important even in the cosmopolitan urban worlds of medieval Damascus, Baghdad, Cairo, and elsewhere. In seventh century Arabia, this concern with kinship ...the bonds of kinship provided the means by which a family's position in relation to its clan, a clan's position in relation to its tribe, and a tribe's position in relation to other tribes were made clear. P47 Lindsay

Lindsay, James E. Daily life in the medieval Islamic world. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2005.

(<http://www.everyculture.com/Africa-Middle-East/Bedouin-Marriage-and-Family.html>)

Parolin, Gianluca Paolo. *Citizenship in the Arab world: kin, religion and nation-state*. [Amsterdam]: Amsterdam University Press, c2009.

Landau-Tasseron, Ella. “*Arabia*”, the New Cambridge History of Islam. The Formation of the Islamic World, Sixth to Eleventh Centuries. edited by Chase F. Robinson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

## **Israel 6**

**A: 2**

**B: 2**

**C: 0**

**D: 1**

**E: 1**

### **Patrilineal (bilateral inheritance)**

Based upon biblical texts, the Israelites were for the most part a patrilineal group. P381 Niditch

#### **Household size:**

The major feature of the Israelite family was the form of the household, which operated within the larger social structures of the clan and the tribe. Households in ancient Israel were multigenerational and consisted of two or three families... families were patrilineal. P166 Perdue

Early Israel evolved from the type of lineage organization that characterizes segmentary societies to broader alliances in the form of nonlocalized clan units that facilitated multicommunity organization for cooperative competition, particularly in the form of war. P123 McNutt

McNutt, Paula M. Reconstructing the society of ancient Israel. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1999.

## **Mesopotamia 4**

**A: 1**

**B: 1**

**C: 1**

**D: 1**

**E: 0**

Commonly recurring factoids for fourth millennium Mesopotamia include an unproblematic radical social change from predominant kinship organization to a class-based structure. P2 If bureaucracy was an unknown concept, what then was the structural basis for urban solidarity? The significance of kinship in Uruk and later Mesopotamian society is debated, but even those who recognize its continued importance into the third and second millennia BC agree that it was a hindrance to social complexity (e.g., Yoffee 2005). Often it is suggested that kinship remained important mostly in rural areas (Adams 1981:250; Van de Mieroop 1997:102-106). P7 Ur

territorial social groups of the ancient Near East are conventionally classified as extended patriarchal households, clans (or communes or villages), and tribes. P354 Ellickson and Thorland theory suggests that the ratio of extended-family households to nuclear households would be higher in earlier historical periods than later ones, and in rural areas than in cities. P355 Ellickson and Thorland

The nuclear family was the prevailing kinship unit, residing separately and acting as a basic economic unit (in cities). Most evidence for the extended family as an economic unit comes from a rural environment. P109 Mieroop

A father's estate was usually divided among his sons, either in equal shares or with an extra share for the eldest, depending upon the region. P366 (Usually private ownership not communal ownership.)

The advance of civilization gave rise to new hierarchical institutions whose activities came to partially eclipse the extended household, clan, and tribe. P359 Ellickson and Thorland

A smaller entity, the extended family household, was the basic social unit in the ancient Near East. P389 Ellickson and Thorland

Van de Mieroop, Marc. The ancient Mesopotamian city. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Robert C. Ellickson & Charles D. Thorland, *Ancient Land Law: Mesopotamia, Egypt, Israel*, 71 Chi.-Kent. L. Rev. 321 (1995).

Ur, Jason. 2014. "Households and the Emergence of Cities in Ancient Mesopotamia."

Cambridge Archaeological Journal 24 (02) (June): 249–268. doi:10.1017/s095977431400047x. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S095977431400047X>.

## **Assyria 4**

**A: 1**

**B: 1**

**C: 0**

**D: 1**

**E: 1**

The extended family served as a network of professional relationships in which property and responsibility were strictly individualized; there was no common fund. P92 Frahm

A small-sized family was the norm (Freydank 1980: 101; Jakob 2009: 97–105). P157 Frahm

## **Ancient Egypt 1**

**A: 1**

**B: 0**

**C: 0**

**D: 0**

**E: 0**

Egyptian kinship terminology expressed a symmetrical system (the same terms are used for paternal and maternal kin) as well as a bilateral one (the descent of ego was traced through both father's and mother's kin). P2 Campagno

Inheritance seems to have followed the principle of bilateral descent, wherein men and women were allowed to inherit from both parents. P4 Campagno

In any case, perceptions of the nuclear family probably predominantly reflected the ideals of the elite, who lived in urban settings, rather than those of the rural population, among which various forms of extended families likely prevailed (Moreno García 2006a). p4 Campagno

The existence of terms like these that refer to larger kin groups is significant because it points toward the prominence of kinship in ancient Egyptian social organization (Campagno 2006).

Kinship links were likely of great importance in the articulation of social ties both before and after the emergence of the state in the Nile Valley. P5 Campagno

In Dynastic times, the state introduced a new mode of social organization based on the monopoly of coercion, but kinship continued to be a decisive factor in many social realms. Some pointers hint at its importance among the peasantry: the organization of agricultural tasks in family units (Eyre 1999: 52), practices involving cooperation (that is reciprocity) in the field labor, such as we see in tomb representations (discussed, for example, by Caminos 1990) or in the management of irrigation (Butzer 1976: 109 - 110), the (likely) prominent role of village elders in local decision-making (Moreno García 2001). P5 Campagno

The kinship term in old Egyptian themselves show the basic unit of society was the nuclear family. P143 Allen

The size of houses indicate that the nuclear family was the usual situation. Feucht

From the Old Kingdom there were extended family households with the family of the master of the house as the core, and including such relatives as aunts or children's families, as well as servants. But there were many more social groups recognized beyond the core and extended family. The individual was part of manifold interwoven hierarchical networks consisting of relatives, friends, superiors, and—at least for some—inferiors. Franke

Ancient Egyptian society was not preferentially stratified by kinship from the Old Kingdom onward. Social hierarchy and order were determined by rank and status, not by kinship. Kinship played its role underneath a visible overlay of court etiquette and ideology, governmental acts, and administration. Only when royalty and the court center were in trouble, and in times of conflict such as the First and Second Intermediate and the Late period, did kinship and kin-groups move into the realm of such written records as autobiographies. The core family of a couple and their (unmarried) children seems to have played a main and independent role, thrusting kin-groups and relatives more and more into the background. Franke

Allen, Troy D. *Problems in Egyptology: Ancient Egyptian Kinship*. Journal of Black Studies Vol. 31, No. 2 (Nov., 2000), pp. 139-148.

Allen, Troy D. *The ancient Egyptian family: kinship and social structure*. New York: Routledge, 2009.

Franke, Detlef. "Kinship." The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. : Oxford University Press, January 01, 2005. Oxford Reference. Date Accessed 11 Aug. 2018

<<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195102345.001.0001/acref-9780195102345-e-0391>>.

Feucht, Erika. "Family." The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. : Oxford University Press, January 01, 2005. Oxford Reference. Date Accessed 11 Aug. 2018

<<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195102345.001.0001/acref-9780195102345-e-0233>>.

Campagno, Marcelo, 2009, Kinship and Family Relations. In Elizabeth Frood, Willeke Wendrich (eds.), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, Los Angeles.

<http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz001nf68f>

## **Phoenicia**

Not available

## **Africa**

(unilineal, communal ownership, large household and extended family, communal law, clan is the fundamental political unit. )

The African notion of "family," by contrast, typically refers to the extended family system.

Not only do members of an African extended family often live together, but they find it relatively easy to keep track of their kin. This is because the vast majority of African peoples have unilineal ("one line") descent systems that trace kinship through just one sex—either patrilineally, through a line of fathers, or matrilineally, through a line of mothers. With unilineal descent, Africans create still larger familistic groups, the unilineal descent groups called the lineage and clan. P5 Schwab

## **South Africa 1**

Explanation: Boers are descendants of Dutch speaking settlers. They follow bilateral descent.

Nuclear family same as Netherlands

## **Sierra Leone 10 (Temne)**

**A: 2**

**B: 2**

**C: 2**

**D: 2**

**E: 2**

Temne sociopolitical organization were patrilineal, and the people were divided into approximately 25 ebona (clan). Each clan identified with a warrior or a royal ancestor... Temne political organizations were similar to those of the Mende, with the obai as chief. P15 Kaifala

Clan-communities, each consisting essentially of a single localized exogamous kin group or clan (see "Organization of clan communities" for more detail) Thomas (1916) ; McCulloch (1950) ; Langley (1939).

Lineages of modest size, i.e., patrilineal kin groups whose core membership is normally confined to a single community or a part thereof; extended families. Kirby

The Temne are divided into about 25 patrilineal “clans”, each claiming descent from an eponymous ancestor. The social significance of the clan name rests on the bond it creates between all men possessing it. P54 McCulloch

In the past the abuna (Temne clan) appears to have been exogamous. P55 McCulloch

Little information is available concerning the relationship, biological or other, of the occupants of Temne towns and villages. Norcote Thomas lists the occupants of a “typical village” of Sanda Temne country; of the thirteen huts, twelve were occupied by male relatives, in the patrilineal line, of the headman with their wives and children. P57 McCulloch

Even during the period of conquest, local government at the level of the village remained under the domination of the lineages, whose major political functions were to settle family or inter-village disputes and to act as liaison with higher authority. P16 Wylie

Since most Temne villages consisted of one large patrilineage with its affiliates and a few “outsiders” from other patrilineages...P36 Wylie

Wylie, Kenneth C. The political kingdoms of the Temne: Temne government in Sierra Leone, 1825-1910. New York : Africana Pub. Co., 1977.

McCulloch, Merran. Peoples of Sierra Leone, London, International African Institute [1964]

Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016).

D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.

## **Ethiopia 2**

**A: 2**

**B: 0**

**C: 0**

**D: 0**

**E: 0**

## **Amhara**

Amhara kinship nomenclature stresses bilateral filiation, consanguineal terms beyond the nuclear family being neither numerous nor precise. The Amhara descent group is a nonlocalized unit, the living members of which do not inhabit a common territory nor exploit in common the cultivatable land and other properties. P29 Shack

Large extended families, i.e., corporate aggregations of smaller family units occupying a single dwelling or a number of adjacent dwellings and normally embracing the families of procreation of at least two siblings or cousins in each of at least two adjacent generations.

Bilateral descent as inferred from the absence of reported ambilineal, matrilineal, or patrilineal kin groups, kindreds being absent or unreported. Messing (1957); Lipsky (1962) Kirby

Shack, William A. The central Ethiopians Amhara, Tigrina and related peoples. London: International African Institute, 1974.

Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016). D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.

### **Nigeria 10-patrilineal (Yoruba)**

**A: 2**

**B: 2**

**C: 2**

**D: 2**

**E: 2**

Ile (house)-ile te mi (patrilineal extended family)-agbole (compound) p10 Forde  
The idile or major patrilineage remains an important unit among the Yoruba. P12 Forde

A Yoruba lineage is defined by reference to its remotest acknowledged male ancestor and embraces all the agnatic descendant. P354 Schwab

The unit of residential affiliation is the compound. While the lineage is the basis of the residential group, two or more lineages can be co-resident in a single compound or a single lineage can reside in more than one compound. P354 Schwab

Land, the principal economic resource, is held corporately by the lineage which exercises control over its inheritance by the members. P357 Schwab

The compound's land remains corporate lineage property. P23 Siegel

Among the Yoruba, residence, titles, and political organization were all regulated by the principles of patrilineal descent. P24 Siegel

Forde, Cyril Daryll, The Yoruba-speaking peoples of south-western Nigeria, by Daryll Forde. London, International African Institute [1969]

### **Namibia-matrilineal (Ovambo) 10**

**A: 2**

**B: 2**

**C: 2**

**D: 2**

**E: 2**

Ovambo clans were matrilineal in terms of inheritance...spatially dispersed clans go together with a notion of mutual assistance and access to resources, above all cattle. P372 Schweitzer

The Ovambo homestead is different from a village...the homestead occupants are blood-related kin. P49 Williams

Sibs ("clans" in British usage), i.e., lineages whose core membership normally comprises residents of more than one community. Kirby

Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016). D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.

Williams, Frieda-Nela. Precolonial communities of Southwestern Africa: a history of Owambo kingdoms, 1600-1920. Windhoek: National Archives of Namibia, 1991.

## **Angola 9**

double descent (Ovimbundu), matrilineal (Ambundu, Kongo)

**A: 2**

**B: 2**

**C: 2**

**D: 1**

**E: 2**

Each man has individual rights to cultivate land allocated to him by the head of the minor matrilineage, but the property of this group of brothers and sisters is held jointly and administered by the senior brother. P215 Richards . people “own land in common”p219 Richards **Clan head** “khazi” has “supreme authority over the members of the matrilineage.”, allocates land, acts as judges in clan disputes, prevent quarrels and act as arbitrator in marriage negotiations and discussions. (see p219-220 Richards)

## **Ovimbundu**

Clan-communities, each consisting essentially of a single localized exogamous kin group or clan  
Clan communities segmented into clan barrios, Lineages of modest size, i.e., patrilineal kin groups whose core membership is normally confined to a single community or a part thereof, Extended families Kirby

in the wider kinship groupings the Ovimbundu recognize both the maternal (oluina) and the paternal (oluse) lines of descent. The functions of the latter have been largely local, residential, social and religious, with succession of status in the male line. The function of the former has been cohesive over a larger territory.p60 Childs

The hierarchy of age is a very real factor in the Umbundu social structure. P60 Childs

Childs, Gladwyn Murray, Umbundu kinship & character; being a description of social structure and individual development of the Ovimbundu of Angola, with observations concerning the bearing on the enterprise of Christian missions of certain phases of the life and culture described. London, New York, Published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1949.

Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016). D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.

## **Mozambique (Makua) 10**

**A: 2**

**B: 2**

**C: 2**  
**D: 2**  
**E: 2**

**Makua:**

...the matrilineal descent system and the strong matriarchal tradition whereby not only was the control over agriculture and its produce vested in the senior women of the village but inheritance of land and property rights stayed within the mother's clan, passing to children of the mother's brother. P64 Newitt

Small extended families, i.e., those normally embracing the families of procreation of only one individual in the senior generation but of at least two in the next generation. Such families usually dissolve on the death of the head. Weule (1908); Tew (1950).

Segmented communities, i.e., those divided into barrios, wards, or hamlets, each of which is essentially a localized kin group, a clan or ramage, in the absence of any indication of local exogamy. Large extended families (see "Domestic organization"), are treated as clan-barrios if they are integrated by a rule of ambilineal, matrilineal, or patrilineal descent. Weule (1908) ; Tew (1950).

The Makua-Lomwe peoples have matrilineal descent and matrilineal marriage. Nihimi is their word for the exogamous matrilineal clan. P25 Tew

Newitt, M. D. D. A history of Mozambique. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, c1995.

Tew, M. 1950. Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region. (Ethnographic survey of Africa, East Central Africa, 1.) London: London: Oxford Univ. Press; International African Inst. (IAI).

**Zambia**-matrilineal (Bemba, Tonga), bilateral (Lozi)

**Tonga 2**

**A: 0**  
**B: 2**  
**C: 0**  
**D: 0**  
**E: 0**

The villagers do not comprise a collection of unilineally related people, nor do the clusters of huts within a village necessarily reflect divisions along the lines of kinship structure. P50 Jaspan

The clan is based upon matrilineal descent, but it is differentiated from the matrilineal group.

The clans have for long been of small importance in daily life; they have no internal structure of the lineage type, nor are they structurally opposed to one another in such a way as to form a basis for political organization. P52 Jaspan

About half a dozen clans have a membership of between 4000 and 8000. P52 Jaspan

Independent nuclear families with occasional or limited polygyny. Kirby

Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016). D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.



Jaspan, M. A. The Ila-Tonga peoples of north-western Rhodesia. London, International African Institute, 1953.

Turner, Victor Witter. The Lozi peoples of north-western Rhodesia. London, International African Institute, 1952 [i.e.1953]

## **Bemba 9**

**A: 1**

**B: 2**

**C: 2**

**D: 2**

**E: 2**

All the peoples described appear to be organized into matrilineal clans with totemic names. Among the Bemba for instance, there are 40 or more such dispersed exogamous matrilineal clans. P15 Whiteley

Lineages may function as corporate groups overseeing inheritance, settling disputes among their members, and acting as political entities in competition with other such units. P75 Simson  
Providence : Berghahn Books, 1995. (Bemba) the basic domestic unit of the Bemba is a matrilineal extended family...the basic political unit of the Bemba is a village (Umushi) with a nuclear father-daughter grand-family and its numerous accretions. P227-229 Richards

Among the Bemba the basic domestic unit is not usually the individual household composed of a man, his wife and young children, but a group of related households. P18 Whiteley  
The village normally develops as a kinship unit. P23 Whiteley

Bemba and related peoples of Northern Rhodesia, by Wilfred Whiteley. With a contribution on the Ambo by B. Stefaniszyn. Peoples of the lower Luapula Valley, by J. Slaski.  
Whiteley, Wilfred. London, International African Institute, 1950.

## **Lozi**

They have no clans...there are no broadly based unilineal groups associating in common rights of residence, ownership, inheritance, production, etc. P41 Jaspan

Jaspan, M. A. The Ila-Tonga peoples of north-western Rhodesia. London, International African Institute, 1953.

Turner, Victor Witter. The Lozi peoples of north-western Rhodesia. London, International African Institute, 1952 [i.e.1953]

## **Swahili 5**

**A: 1**

**B: 1**

**C: 1**

**D: 1**

**E: 1**

There is aulad (sometimes referred to as uladi), a very precise term for a patrilineage of varying depth (approximately seven generations) as found among the Arab upper class. Those who belong to it can trace the exact interconnections in the pedigree (nisba, nasaba). P81

In Zanzibar, ukoo is the main kinship grouping, but not north of Lamu (p81 Prins). It consists of all the descendants, including men and women, and through men and women of a common great-great-grandfather. A man is thus a member of more than one ukoo. The ukoo itself is not a residential unit, but most members of a settlement are usually of the same ukoo. Members of an ukoo recognize certain reciprocal rights and obligations. The ukoo is of much less importance in Pemba. P81 Prins

Also Swahili merchants were organized as lineage groups. (See P143 Horton, "lineages have acted as the actual business houses in the international trade")

Prins, A. H. J. The Swahili-speaking peoples of Zanzibar and the East African Coast: Arabs, Shirazi and Swahili, by A. H. J. Prins. London, International African Institute, 1967

### **Kenya (Kikuyu) 10**

**A: 2**

**B: 2**

**C: 2**

**D: 2**

**E: 2**

Elementary families are grouped into a joint or extended family, the most important social unit. The unity of this group appears in its submission to the authority of a common head, in common sacrifices and in its joint interest in common patrimonial land. P27 Middleton.

There are nine Kikuyu clans, traditionally the descendants of the nine daughters of Gikuyu, the tribal founding ancestor..p31 Middleton

The central tribes of the north-eastern Bantu; the Kikuyu, including Embu, Meru, Mbere, Chuka, Mwimbi, Tharaka, and the Kamba of Kenya / by John Middleton and Greet Kershaw. Middleton, John, 1921-2009. London: International African Institute, 1965.

### **Tanzania (Sukuma) 5**

**A: 1**

**B: 2**

**C: 0**

**D: 1**

**E: 1**

There is considerable local and inter-tribal variation in the kinship organization. P43 Abrahams  
**Prevalence of clan:** the only politically important kinship groups in the region are those vested with specialized political office...the structure of these groups in which unilineal descent plays an important part of unilineal descent groups, in the form of clans or lineages, are not a general feature of the kinship organization of commoners. For the commoners of a chiefdom, kinship and

affinity are important mainly on the level of inter-personal relationships, and each person is the center of an ego-centered group of cognates. P43 Abrahams  
It may be assumed that the basic social units were clans and lineages. P40 Middleton  
Land was often held by corporate matri-lineages of a mother and her daughters while political power, wealth and status passed from father to sons. Villahe plots were frequently owned outright by waungwana families...land outside the village was controlled by matrilineal groups. P23-24 Nurse

### **Sukuma people:**

Communities not organized as exogamous clan communities  
Organization of clan communities: Communities not organized as exogamous clan communities.  
Agamous communities without localized clans or any marked tendency toward either local exogamy or local endogamy Malcolm (1953); Cory (1953); Abrahams (1967); Largest patrilineal kin group or Largest matrilineal kin group-None Kirby

Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016). D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.

### **Malawi-matrilineal**

**A: 2**  
**B: 2**  
**C: 2**  
**D: 2**  
**E: 2**

**Chewa people:** it is probable that the ties uniting members of the matrilineage are strengthened in these areas by the greater shortage of land, the greater permanence of villages, which are usually based on matrilineal ties, and the presence of inheritable wealth in the form of money, houses and cattle. But full studies of land tenure and property inheritance have not yet appeared. P236 Richards

The head of the mbumba settles disputes between members of the group... p234 Richards  
From the description given by Richards in p233-236 about the Yao and the Chewa people, similar to other matrilineal ethnic groups found in the "Matrilineal belt".

They usually live in compact villages. The village hierarchy is lead by a hereditary headman and supplemented with an advisory council of elders.

<https://www.africaguide.com/culture/tribes/chewa.html>

Largest matrilineal kin group: Sibs ("clans" in British usage), i.e., lineages whose core membership normally comprises residents of more than one community Kirby  
Segmented communities, i.e., those divided into barrios, wards, or hamlets, each of which is essentially a localized kin group, a clan or ramage, in the absence of any indication of local exogamy. Large extended families (see "Domestic organization"), are treated as clan-barrios if they are integrated by a rule of ambilineal, matrilineal, or patrilineal descent. Kirby

Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016). D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.

## **Ghana 8**

matrilineal (Akans), patrilineal (other ethnic groups)

**A: 1**

**B: 2**

**C: 1**

**D: 2**

**E: 2**

(in village) Matrilineages, headed by the ofiepanin, or lineage elder, had rights to that portion of the village land which belonged to the matrilineage. P26 Lewin  
land, was held in common by the people. P197 Danquah

In the later part of the seventeenth century, the Asante state structure consisted of a loosely knit federation of small chiefdoms located in the central part of the modern Republic of Ghana. The Kumase oman, or territorial division...these polities shared the common language of Twi(or Akan) and a social system based on scattered mmusua kese, or matri-clans. P9 Lewin  
Agamous communities without localized clans or any marked tendency toward either local exogamy or local endogamy. Wilks (1975) ; Wilks (1967) ; Service (1963) ; Rattray (1929) ; Rattray (1927) ; Rattray (1923) ; Rattray (1916) ; Manoukian (1950) ; Lystad (1958) ; Fortes et al. (1947) ; Fortes (1969) 138-216; Fortes (1950) ; Fortes (1949b) ; Busia (1954) ; Busia (1951) ; lineages whose core membership normally comprises residents of more than one community. Absence of cognatic kin groups as inferred from the presence of unilineal descent  
Jurisdictional hierarchy of local community Clan-barrios Kirby  
Small extended families, i.e., those normally embracing the families of procreation of only one individual in the senior generation but of at least two in the next generation. Such families usually dissolve on the death of the head. Kirby  
Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016). D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.

## **Burkina Faso (Mossi) 10**

**A: 2**

**B: 2**

**C: 2**

**D: 2**

**E: 2**

The framework of the Mossi state system will be best understood if it is envisaged as a grouping together of five patrilineal groupings or categories (budu, translated as lineage or clan). P160 Zahan

The land always remained the property of the tengbiise (lineage). P14 Englebert

Kin Groups and Descent: The formal organization of Mossi society is by patrilineal descent groups. Lineages are grouped into larger clans, which share a presumed common ancestor and a totemic animal whose avoidance as food is explained by the clan origin myth. A consequence of the relative weakness (or, in positive terms, the adaptive flexibility) of the patrilineages is that there is only one word— buudu —for "clan" and "lineage"; it spans all descent-based groups above the immediate household compound.

<http://www.everyculture.com/Africa-Middle-East/Mossi-Kinship.html#ixzz57Qv8b12m>

Mossi is classified as “Segmented communities, localized kin group” in Tauxier (1912) ; Skinner (1964) ; Skinner (1958) ; Marc (1909) ; Mangin (1921) ; Dim Delobosom (1933)

Every Mossi ruler, whether he held the nam of a kingdom, principality, district, or village, was ipso facto also Boodkasma (literally, “family head”) of the local segment of his boodoo. The word boodoo refers to patrilineal groups that anthropologists would normally call clans, maximal lineages, major lineages or minor lineages. P18 Skinner

Because Mossi society was basically patrilineal, a man shared in the status and the corporate assets of his patrilineage. P21 Skinner

Skinner, Elliott P. (Elliott Percival), The Mossi of the Upper Volta; the political development of a Sudanese people. Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1964.

## **Senegal 10**

**A: 2**

**B: 2**

**C: 2**

**D: 2**

**E: 2**

The village head is known as the borom deka...normally the borom deka is also the administrative head, responsible for tax collection, and the general maintenance of law and order. If he is very old or blind, another member of his lineage acts for him. P52 Gamble  
Gamble, David P. The Wolof of Senegambia, together with notes on the Lebu and the Serer. London, International African Institute, 1957.

Most peoples (the Wolof, Serer, and the Bundu and Gajaaga, according to Curtin, generally the lineage held the land. Yet among the Fulani people, “The basic right over land belonged to the man who first cleared it (and his descendants), or in the jeeri to the one who dug the first well. The holder of this kind of claim was called jom jengol (master by right of fire) or jom levre (master by right of the ax).” P22-23 Curtin

## **Wolof:**

Communities, each consisting essentially of a single localized exogamous kin group or clan (see "Organization of clan communities" for more detail)

Lineages of modest size, i.e., patrilineal kin groups whose core membership is normally confined to a single community or a part thereof, extended families

<https://d-place.org/society/SCCS21>

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Kaifala, Joseph. *Free Slaves, Freetown, and the Sierra Leonean Civil War, African Histories and Modernities*. Palgrave Macmillan US, 2016.

## **Fiji 10**

**A: 2**

**B: 2**

**C: 2**

**D: 2**

**E: 2**

(Clan-based society, communal ownership of land, large households, collective farming)

The smallest local kin group, here somewhat arbitrarily designated the tokatoka, has a nuclear line of people of common paternal descent. This core line is a branch of a larger stock, a great body of people patrilineally descended from a heroic ancestral spirit. There are four major stocks in Moala; each has a given relative rank, and local branches of each are dispersed through the several villages as nuclei of local kin groups...the tokatoka is a residential group, it is those who “stay together” and affines and cognate lines are integrated into the group on this basis, albeit of outside stock...it has customarily been localized within the village. P223 Sahlins

Mataqali-All mataqali are composed of tokatoka subdivisions. The local yavusa is a fusion of lines (and their respective groups) around a pivotal chiefly group. P246 Sahlins

Fijian society is largely patrilineal. The essential social strata to which every Fijian belongs are the extended family, family group, and the clan. P95 Lawson

Traditionally, land in Fiji was held by communities, by groups of families or clans. P110 Brereton

These kin groups-yavusa and mataqali can be identified and observed in every village in Fiji. Each one is named and normally occupies a definite section of the village. Through the operation of the classificatory principle, its kinship basis is an extension of the vertical and lateral ties found in the elementary family. With patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence and common ownership of land in the patrilineal line, each patrilineage is a persistent and well-defined group. The kinship ties...are expressed not only in attitudes and behavior described earlier, but also in economic cooperation in matters...and more generally in the operation of reciprocal obligations. P51 Nayacakalou

Viewed from outside, the well-defined patrilineal kin groups, together with their peripheral matrilineal extensions, form the basis for organizing from relationships with other groups . p55 Nayacakalou

R. R. Nayacakalou. The Fijian system of kinship and marriage: part II. The Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 66, No. 1 (March 1957), pp. 44-59.

Sahlins, Marshall, Moala; culture and nature on a Fijian island. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press [1962]

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## **Inca Empire 7**

**A: 2**

**B: 1**

**C: 1**

**D: 2**

**E: 1**

### **Ayllu Clan:**

Salomon (1991:22) describes an ayllu more succinctly: "An ayllu can be readily understood as consisting of multiple patrilineages (or, in principle, matrilineages) insofar as any given member can trace descent from the 'founder' or apex via a given child of the 'founder'. P171

In sum, the available data suggest that the household is, and has been, the primary economic unit of central Andean society. The *ayllu*, in contrast, was the dominant social and political institution at the village level. P27 Stanish

Modern anthropologists have often assumed that ayllus were clan groups, but there is no unequivocal evidence to prove this assertion...under Inca rule, the ayllu is defined by Rowe as a kin group with theoretical endogamy, with descent in the male line, and lacking totemism. The ayllu owned a specific territory, and each member couple cultivated what they needed for their

support. Each year the family plots or fields were redistributed to ensure the proper rotation of crops and that the needs of each family were met. P248-249 Tenenbaum

Some equated it to the classic clan with unilineal descent, exogamy, and totemism (Rowe 1946: 253; Bandelier 1910: 84, 106; Saavedra 1903: 107; Means 1925; Baudin 1928; Olson 1933; Murdock 1934; 1949). As community studies gained acceptance, ayllus became synonymous with communities (Mishkin 1946: 44; Castro Pozo 1946) or with loosely organised villages (Bennett 1946: 33; Montgomery 1971: 7, 141-2; Preston 1974: 32-33; Cunow 1891). Awed by its multiple meanings Collier called the ayllu 'mystical' (quoted in Montgomery 1971: 142); Mishkin (1946: 441), 'mysterious, almost unidentifiable'; Salomon (1982: 802), 'puzzling'; Pease (1981: 19), useless. P724 Godoy

Over the past fifteen years ethnological studies in Peru and Bolivia have begun to unravel the character of the ayllu. Two tentative conclusions are now beginning to emerge. First, in the central and southern Peruvian highlands, especially in the Department of Ayacucho, the ayllu refers to a bilaterally organised, non-localised, shallow kindred (Isbell 1978: 13, 105; Earls 1971: 69, 73; Zuidema & Quispe 1973: 360). Second, in Bolivia the ayllu refers to a hierarchical or segmentary organisation' (Platt 1976; Rasnake 1982; Albo 1977). Recent research suggests ayllus function to regulate marriage by defining exogamic groups (Isbell 1978: 105; Earls 1971: 73) and also serve to integrate society ritually (Montgomery 1971; Rasnake 1982). Since the ayllu existed over a broad area and since it has lived on in one place or another in the Andes from pre-Inca times (Valcarcel 1943; 1956; Bennett 1946: 33) to the present, it is well-nigh impossible to define it with a pan-Andean application. P725 Godoy

Godoy, Ricardo A. The Fiscal Role of the Andean Ayllu. *Man, New Series*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (Dec., 1986), pp. 723-741.

Encyclopedia of Latin American history and culture / Barbara A. Tenenbaum, editor in chief ; associate editors, Georgette Magassy Dorn ... [et al.].

New York : Scribner's : Macmillan Library Reference USA, c1996.

Jenkins, David. *The Inka Conical Clan*. *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 7/1/2001, Vol. 57, Issue 2, p. 167-195; University of New Mexico.

Stanish, Charles. *Ancient Andean political economy*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992.

## **Aztec Empire 6**

**A: 2**

**B: 1**

**C: 1**

**D: 1**

**E: 1**

The governing bodies of highland Mexican calpollis and Peruvian ayllus were likewise responsible for resolving internal quarrels and punishing crimes. P225 Trigger

Calpulli-Land was owned by the clan, a unit of organization called upon to provide men for communal work. P125 Van Tuerenhout

The calpolli was no longer a clan, if it had ever been one. Nor was it a community based on any other form of kinship, as many anthropologists and historians have thought. The calpollis were communities of people who were connected in various ways with one or two specific noble



families or with one or more individual chiefs from such families; furthermore, they belonged to a local ceremonial center at which a particular god or goddess was worshiped. It had a stratified structure comparable to that of the larger community of twenty calpollis. Members of some single calpollis may have been of different ethnic origins. P82 Zantwijk

These corporate groups were usually labeled calpulli in Mexico and ayllu in the Andes. Much has been speculated about the meaning of these terms from the point of view of kinship. I would emphasize, that descent simply regulated the composition and the recruitment process of the corporate groups... They were corporate segments within a given political unit that functioned collectively as holders of a corporate title to land, in the setting up of cooperative work teams, in their collective responsibility for the prestation of labor service or tribute, and in the division of labor in productive, administrative or ceremonial activities. P29 Collier

The term ayllu is clearly applied in old sources to a kin group, calpulli is used primarily for a social subdivision, although the idea of common origin of its members may also be present. The main point, however, is that these terms were applied to social subdivisions of various kinds, such as small rural communities or the wards into which cities were divided. P30 Collier

The royal lineages of the Inca and the palaces or chiefly houses of Mexico are comparable corporate lineages that make up the composition of the upper levels of society. P31 Collier

Calpolli was a group of families who lived near one another, were subject to a single lord, controlled a block of land, and often shared a common occupation. In urban settings calpolli comprised neighborhoods, and many economic specialists such as merchants and artisans lived together in their own calpolli. In rural areas,... a small calpolli or ward comprised a cluster of 10 to 20 houses... Average household size was five to six members. P135-136 Smith

Indeed, central Mexican (Aztec) society was similarly organized: the nobility as members of a teccalli (lord-house), which exercised control over commoner labor (Chance 1996, 2000 [this issue]), and commoners as members of a calpulli (big house), a corporate group with territorial implications. P478 Gillespie

Smith, Michael E. *Peoples of America Ser.: The Aztecs (3)* Wiley-Blackwell, 2013.

Van Tuerenhout, Dirk R. *The Aztecs: new perspectives*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, c2005.

Zantwijk, Rudolf van. *The Aztec arrangement : the social history of pre-Spanish Mexico*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, c1985.

*The Inca and Aztec states, 1400-1800 : anthropology and history* / edited by George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo, John D. Wirth. New York : Academic Press, 1982.

Gillespie, Susan D. *Rethinking Ancient Maya Social Organization: Replacing 'Lineage' with 'House'* *American Anthropologist*, 9/1/2000, Vol. 102, Issue 3, p. 467-484.

## **Maya 6.5**

**A: 2**

**B: 1**

**C: 1**

**D: 1.5**

## E: 1

### **Patrilineal or double descent or bilateral**

No consensus so far

See Hage, Per. The Ancient Maya Kinship System, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 4/1/2003, Vol. 59, Issue 1, p. 5-21; University of New Mexico; Ensor, Bradley E. Crafting Prehispanic Maya Kinship.

This article suggests that the Maya kinship system was originally Kariera in type, based on bilateral cross-cousin marriage with cross-cutting patrilineal descent and alternate generation moieties... By the Classic period, however, beginning around A.D. 250, there apparently were two different marriage systems in Maya society: a bilateral cross-cousin marriage system for commoners and a matrilineal cross-cousin marriage system for royalty and nobility. P5 Hage  
By the Classic period, bilateral cross-cousin marriage would have taken the form of a Dravidian system. P15 Hage

### **“Lineages” or “Houses”**

For the pre-Hispanic Maya there is also archaeological evidence for larger or more permanent groupings than the extended family, especially within the upper stratum of society. Because the extended family cannot persist over such a long period, many scholars have interpreted these prehispanic data to indicate the existence of lineages, sometimes specified as localized lineages (e.g., Haviland 1968:100, 109, 1971:102; Hendon 1991:912). However, some archaeologists are less willing to apply a descent group type in the absence of further evidence and conservatively refer to "generationally extended family residential groups" (Sharer 1993:97).

It is argued here that Maya social organization is better approached within the contemporary critique of kinship, replacing "lineage" with Levi-Strauss's model of the "house"-a corporate group maintaining an estate perpetuated by the recruitment of members whose relationships are expressed "in the language" of kinship and affinity and affirmed by purposeful actions. P467 Gillespie

In sum, for the lowland and highland Maya there is evidence for corporate residential groups of various sizes, some of whose members were related by descent and possibly affinal ties, but others were not related. Nevertheless, descent is generally considered the primary criterion in group affiliation. Nonrelated residents may have been referred to by kin terms or may have assumed the common name of the group as if they were related. However, they, like in-marrying wives, could not have been members of the lineage per se (Carmack 198). P470 Gillespie  
s. Finally, the organization of society in terms of lineages-that is, in terms of kinship--has been considered inappropriate for the Maya given the evidence for large hierarchical polities and does not match the expectations of some proposed models of political organization (Chase and Chase 1996; Marcus 1993). Houses, as Levi-Strauss (1982:186-187) noted, are most visible in societies that seem to be transitional between kin-based and contractual-based organization, those in which differential access to wealth, rank, and power are salient features (McKinnon 1991:31. P476 Gillespie

Gillespie, Susan D. *Rethinking Ancient Maya Social Organization: Replacing 'Lineage' with 'House'* *American Anthropologist*, 9/1/2000, Vol. 102, Issue 3, p. 467-484.

## China 10

A: 2

B: 2

C: 2

D: 2

E: 2

(patrilineal, hereditary occupational groups are clans, communal ownership, collective agricultural community, large household and extended family, loyalty to clan)

Lu Liancheng and Yan Wenming, *"Society during the Three Dynasties"*

Each clan had its own settlement, ancestral temple, farmland, officials, workshops, slave tribes, and even their own armies, which were composed mainly of members of the clan. The head was the patriarch of the clan who had charge of clan affairs, as well as taking an active part in the political affairs of the Western Zhou court.

During the Three Dynasties period, a state ruled by one clan formally came into being but such structure did not dismantle the existing clan system; rather a stricter hierarchical lineage system evolved from it. A ruling network made up of the king, the king's lineage, and aristocrats of various ranks emerged, founded upon kinship relations, thus enabling political power, clan authority, and religious leadership to be closely combined.

The Shang society was ruled by a hereditary ruling class, of a single consanguineal origin (the Tzu clan). Members of the clan that were actively involved with the kingship (wang tsu) were classed into ten segments for ritual purposes. P180 Chang

Members of the ruling class other than the royal lineage and its kings are the fus (royal consorts), the tzus (the princes) and the officials. P189 Chang

Chang, Kwang-chih. Shang civilization. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980.

## Korea 8

A: 2

B: 2

C: 2

D: 2

E: 1

(Similar to China)

### **Patrilineal and patriarchal**

Anthropologists generally view it (the traditional Korean kinship system) in terms of four separate levels, beginning with the household on the lowest level and reaching to the clan, which included a large number of persons often spread over an extensive geographical area. The household, *chip* or *jip* in Korean, consisted of husband and wife, their children, and if the husband were the eldest son, his parents as well. The eldest son's household, the stem family, was known as the "big house" (*k'unjip*), while that of each of the younger sons, a branch family containing husband, wife and children only, was known as the "little house" (*chagunjip*). The second level of kinship was the "mourning group" (*tangnae*), which consisted of all those descendants of a common patrilineal forbearer up to four generations back.

The lineage (p'a) Because most villagers were members of a common lineage during the Choson Dynasty, the p'a performed many of the social services on the local level that are now provided by public schools, police, and social welfare agencies.

The fourth and most inclusive kinship organization was the clan, or, more accurately, the *tongjok* (surname origin group).

The Judicial functions of the three kingdoms were in the hands of tribal councils or the chief of a clan, respectively. The Kingdom of Goguryeo had a conference of tribal leaders serving as the top judicial organization. In the Kingdom of Backje, it is known that one of the royal ministers assumed the judicial authority. The kingdom of Silla assigned the judicial authority to local heads of administration. P3 Introduction to Korean law

Introduction to Korean law. Korea Legislation Research Institute, editor. Berlin; New York: Springer, c2013.

Andrea Matles Savada and William Shaw, editors. *South Korea: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1990.

## Japan 7

A: 1

B: 1

C: 2

D: 2

E: 1

### **Patrilineal clan:**

The Japanese state that emerged into history in the fifth and sixth centuries was clearly a further development of the tribally divided country described in the early Chinese records. Under the leadership of Yamato, the country was divided into a number of local hereditary units called uji, sometimes translated as "clans". These had their hereditary chiefs and their own uji deities. The uji were ranked in hierarchical order under the ruling Yamato group. P14 Reishauer

**Occupational groups (clan "be")** much of Yamato's military and economic power was generated by occupational groups (be) attached to the court or to its supporting clans. These groups were similar in some respects to clans. Both resided in clearly defined areas and were ruled by hereditary heads holding kabane that had been granted by a Yamato king. But unlike a clan - which was higher up in the control structure and whose hereditary leader had long ruled (and served as chief priest for) the residents of that particular area - a be's head controlled the activities of a group engaged in performing a crucial service or in making a needed product for the court or one of its clans. P138 Brown

Yamato kings are priest-kings with both sacral and secular functions. Powerful clans are connected with kings and some kings are from powerful clans. Shamanism and divination by oracles formed a part of later Shinto, and rites to ensure agricultural prosperity continued as one of Shinto's most basic elements. All these were Yayoi period contributions to the development of Shinto. P334 Toshiya

In Kofun Period, Shinto began to develop into a political system. Later on in the period, certain kami took on political functions as the tutelary kami of powerful clans.

Certain powerful clans began to assume control over specific territories, and it seems that they found it necessary to claim the religious authority attached to the worship of their regions'

important kami (provincial soul). Clan members claim common ancestry (deification of ancestors). (From primitive Shinto to clan Shinto, from clan Shinto to state Shinto)

### **Household:**

The basic commoner group, a household or ko, was not precisely a family. Household heads (koshu) were held responsible for making households function as units through which the state could control commoners. Extant household registers of the Nara period indicate, however, that most households were made up of blood relatives. Modern scholars are inclined to think that during the sixth and seventh centuries, cooperative communities (kyodo-tai) included several families but were dominated by one and that the government made these communities into households for the purpose of facilitating its control. By Nara times, households stood at the base of the state's control system. P428 Toshiya

(Nara and Heian household) was composed of eight to ten persons, primarily because of the prevalence of duolocal marriage patterns. P9 Farris

As a member of the ruling elite each uji controlled its own land and also had under its authority workers organized into associations or corporations. P16 Hane

### **Bilateral kindreds**

In addition to the patrilineal descent discussed above, the Japanese also utilize bilateral extension of kinship. Bilateral kindred, called, in standard Japanese shinrui, shinzoku, shinseki, etc., is a well-recognized category of kinship and is traced through blood, marriage, or adoption in Japan, thus differing from Freeman's definition of kindred (1961:201), which makes no mention of adopted persons and explicitly excludes affinals. The kindred constitutes an ego-centered collection of kinsmen without corporate unity. P1331 Befu

Toshiya, Torao. *Nara economic and social institutions*. National Museum of History and Ethnology. The Cambridge history of Japan. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Brown, Delmer M. *The Yamato kingdom*. The Cambridge history of Japan. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Befu, Harumi. *Patrilineal Descent and Personal Kindred in Japan*. American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. 65, No. 6 (Dec., 1963), pp. 1328-1341. Wiley on behalf of the American Anthropological Association

Reishauer O.Edwin: *Japan: the Story of a Nation* Japan, New York, Knopf, 1974.

Farris, William Wayne. Daily life and demographics in ancient Japan. Ann Arbor, MI : Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, c2009.

Hane, Mikiso, Premodern Japan : a historical survey. Boulder, CO : Westview Press, [2015]

## **Southeast Asia**

In the traditional 'Indianized' states of South-East Asia there generally occurs a system of cognatic descent which nonetheless is closely associated with a hierarchical social system. P67 Kemp

### **Vietnam**

**North Vietnam under Chinese rule, same as China**

After the Trung sisters' rebellion was suppressed in 43 AD, the system of the Lac lord was revoked, and direct Han rule imposed. Consequently, key remnants of the Lac society (e.g., greater role of women in social fields, individualistic tendencies, and bilateral family system) were displaced, at least among the elite. Holcombe  
Considerable influx of Han settlers coming into the Red River valley region. p147 Holcombe  
The Chinese empire gradually squeezed the remaining defiantly independent native tribes up into inaccessible mountain areas p153 Holcombe

In the traditional kinship system, the paternal line of descent was emphasized. Individuals were identified primarily by their connections through the father's male bloodline, and kin groups larger than the family--clans and lineages--were formed by kinspeople who traced their relationship to each other in this manner. The patrilineal group maintained an extremely strong kin relationship. The extended family rather than the nuclear one was the dominant family structure, often including three or even four generations.

Holcombe, Charles, *The Genesis of East Asia, 221 B.C.-A.D. 907*. Honolulu : Association for Asian Studies and University of Hawai'i Press, c2001. (Baltimore, Md. : Project MUSE, 2015)

## **Champa**

**Not available**

**A: 1**

**B: 2**

**C: ?**

**D: ?**

**E: ?**

Traditionally, the Cham live in extended family units...until today, vestiges of the matrilineal system mark Cham society, following the line of descent through the women's clan. P140 Schliesinger

Minimal extended or "stem" families, i.e., those consisting of only two related families of procreation (disregarding polygamous unions), particularly of adjacent generations. Lafont (1964)

An ancient subdivision in clans of (Ksatriyo-Brahmanic origins) it seems family names constituted the distinctive indication...p6 (clan existed among the nobility) Maspero

Mention of "The coconut clan and the nut tree clan" p21 Maspero

Maspero, Georges, *The Kingdom of Champa*; a translation of chapter I of *Le royaume du Champa*. [New Haven] Yale University, Southeast Asia Studies, 1949.

Schliesinger, Joachim. *Ethnic groups of Thailand: non-Tai-speaking peoples*. Bangkok: White Lotus Press, c2000.

Maspero, Georges, *The Champa Kingdom : the history of an extinct Vietnamese culture*. Bangkok, Thailand: White Lotus Press, 2002.

Holcombe, Charles, *The Genesis of East Asia, 221 B.C.-A.D. 907*, University of Hawaii Press, 2001.

## **Thailand 2**

**A: 2**

**B: 0**

**C: 0**

**D: 0**

**E: 0**

(did not find any clan in Thailand, Philippines, Indonesia and Malaysia since they all have bilateral descent)

### **Bilateral**

Thai kinship system is bilateral, i.e. we trace our relatives from both father and mother lines.

Patrilineal descent, such as that of Chinese and Japanese where relatives from only the male line is included, does not exist in Thai kinship system. P5 Kuwinpant

“The ethnic Thai majority traditionally favors bilateral descent and inheritance...” p34

Devasahayam

Devasahayam, Theresa W. *Gender and ageing: Southeast Asian perspectives*.

Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014.

Kuwinpant, Preecha. *Thai Society and Culture*. Nagoya University. June 2002.

## **Pre-colonial Philippines 1**

**A: 1**

**B: 0**

**C: 0**

**D: 0**

**E: 0**

### **bilateral**

A common feature of the Austronesian societies, especially prevalent in the Philippines, is bilateral descent, in which kinship is traced through both father and mother. P454 Smith

Pre-colonial Barangays were not clans see Scott p127, 217

Children of both sexes inherited equally unless their parents specified some preference in a will.

P143 Scott

A datu (not clan elder) acted as judge in both civil claims and criminal cases. P139 Scott

Members of a haop were usually related, a parentela, or kindred. P136 Scott

Scott, William Henry, *Barangay: sixteenth-century Philippine culture and society*. Manila:

Ateneo de Manila University Press, c1994.

Smith, Bonnie G. *The Oxford encyclopedia of women in world history*. Oxford; New York:

Oxford University Press, 2008.

## **Indonesia 0**

**A: 0**

**B: 0**

**C: 0**

**D: 0**

**E: 0**

### **Javanese**

Descent is bilateral and the basic kin group is the nuclear family (kulawarga).

(Southeast Asia in the 9th to 14th Centuries p321)

Among tribal agriculturalists, mainly in Southeast Asia, forms of social organization building on nuclear families and personal kindreds have developed that are fully workable and adaptive. Such systems are common in the Philippines, in parts of Borneo, and the Southeast Asian mainland. P96 Keesing

A common feature of the early Southeast Asian socio-economy was the practice of bilateral kinship. In determining inheritance, for instance, equal value was accorded the maternal and paternal lines, and sons and daughters usually received equal rights to their parents' estates (including land). The value of daughters was never questioned in early Southeast Asia. P191 Tarling

Tarling, Nicholas. *The Cambridge history of Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, c1999.

Keesing, Roger M. *Kin groups and social structure*. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston 1975.

## **Malaysia 0**

**A: 0**

**B: 0**

**C: 0**

**D: 0**

**E: 0**

### **bilateral**

The Malay social system lacked clans and lineages of the African type. Instead, the Malay system accentuated individual ties to patrons and sultans as opposed to community-based groupings. P3 Banks

Banks, David J. *Malay kinship*. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1983.

## **South Asia**

### **Nepal 9**

**A: 2**

**B: 2**

**C: 2**

**D: 2**

**E: 1**

(patrilineal, basic social unit was the lineage or clan; large extended family)

### **patrilineal**

The system of counting family as a unit: an individual was not counted, he was counted just as a member of the family. P51 Vaidya

Many generations lived together where the system of collectivism worked very smoothly.

Whatever earned was shared among the members of the family system. The head of the family was all powerful. P50 Vaidya

Beyond the immediate family, there existed a larger kinship network that occasionally involved sharing food. P81 Savada



Vaidya, Tulasī Rāma. *Social history of Nepal*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications, c1993.  
 Savada, Andrea Matles. *Nepal and Bhutan: country studies*. Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress:1993.  
 Ronald J. Cima, ed. *Vietnam: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987.  
 Kemp, Jeremy H. *Cognatic descent and the generation of social stratification in South-East Asia*. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde* 134: 63–83. 1978.

## **Bhutan**

**A: 2**  
**B: 1?**  
**C: 1?**  
**D: 1?**  
**E: 0**

Most Bhutanese still live in villages in an extended family system or maintain strong links with their rural families. P11 Rizal

Some scholars argue that the main difference in the gender systems of Tibetan and Bhutanese communities since the seventeenth century is that Bhutanese developed and valorized matrilineal systems of land inheritance and matrilineal postmarital residence... p233 (seems a recent development since the 1950s, not clear)

### **Patrilineal descent among the elites**

The Bhutanese monarchy derives its lineage from one of the Choje (literally, ‘lords of religion’) lines. The Choje are essentially a male religious lineage that often married (particularly if they come from the Nyingmapa Buddhist sect, but note that religious lineages can also be maintained through reincarnation), and were characterized by substantial houses and estates. In these circumstances—and this is replicated in the Dung households (aristocratic households of central and western Bhutan)—inheritance is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. P434 Pain

The term dung refers to an important group of secular family lines. A great number of ruling elites in traditional Bhutan, particularly in the central region, belonged to the dung families, who ruled their local fiefdoms from their castles or large manor houses. P120 Phuntsho

Many Tibetan monastic establishments were associated with leading families and clans. P209 Phuntsho

Not clear for commoners

Rizal, Dhurba. *The Royal Semi-Authoritarian Democracy of Bhutan*, Lexington Books. 2015.

Pain, Adam; Pema, Deki. *The matrilineal inheritance of land in Bhutan*. *Contemporary South Asia* (Abingdon, Oxfordshire) 13, no.4 (Dec 2004) p.421-435, Database: Bibliography of Asian Studies

Phuntsho, Karma, *The history of Bhutan*, London: Haus, 2013.

## **India, Bangladesh**

### **North India (Maurya) 9**

**A: 2**  
**B: 2**  
**C: 2**

**D: 2**

**E: 1**

The principle elements of the country-wide networks of India consist of familial and caste associations that persist through generations. P14 Fox

The family was the basic unit of social organization in ancient India. The family at that time was usually a joint family in which brothers, uncles, cousins, nephews, etc lived under one roof as one group and were closely linked with each other. They even owned immovable property in common...usually the eldest male member was the head of the house...the head of the family usually enjoyed very extensive powers. He could behave in most arbitrary manner except in so far his authority was restricted by the sacred law and custom. P164 Raychoudhry

According to some scholars, kula and gotra were but the synonyms of clan, the basic unit of the ancient Indian tribal society. The orthodox argument that gotra was an exclusively Brahminical institution, and only later adopted by the KSatriyas, has up to this time been countered by the contention that it smacked of Brahminical communism. P42 Patil

Patil, Sharad. Some Aspects of Matriarchy in Ancient India: Clan Mother to Tribal Mother.

Social Scientist, Vol. 2, No. 4 (Nov., 1973), pp. 42-58.

Raychoudhry, S. C. Social, cultural, and economic history of India: ancient times. Delhi: Surjeet Publications, 1978.

### **South India**

**A: 2**

**B: 2**

**C: 1**

**D: 1**

**E: 1**

In this system the main kinship groups were not households or lineages but the largely inmarrying micro-castes within each village. Each micro-caste was composed of some six to thirty households...in the managerial caste, whether Brahman or high non-Brahman, the elders usually redistributed the land to the lineages of the micro-caste, whose heads further distributed it to the households of each lineage. Within the lineage, the joint family household of the managerial caste was usually a patriarchal linear or stem family. P6-7 Gough

As to Dravidian terminology, a theory that it was functionally related to double unilineal exogamy, of which cross cousin marriage was the effect, was widely held in the early decades of the century. P76...the more recent tendency, following Dumont and Yalman, has been to regard unilineal descent constructs as secondary features of particular Dravidian kinship systems, and by no means basic to the Dravidian kinship system in general...The heterogeneity of descent group definitions from one Dravidian kinship community to another (very broadly: matrilineal in Kerala, cognatic in much of Sri Lanka, and patrilineal elsewhere).p82 Trautmann

The southern zone presents a very complicated pattern of kinship systems and family organization. Though the patrilineal and patrilocal family is the dominant family type for the greater number of castes and communities, there are important sections of the population which

are matrilineal and matrilineal and quite a number whose systems possess features of both types of organizations.

Exogamous clans: a caste in the south is generally divided into a number of exogamous clans with names of animals, plants or objects. p214 Karve

Table 9 North and South trends in India “more bilateral” in south, “more patrilineal” in north; “more inheritance to women” in south. P311 Goody

Trautmann, Thomas R. Dravidian kinship. Cambridge [Eng.]; New York: Cambridge University Press, c1981.

Karve, Irawati Karmarkar, Kinship organization in India, Bombay, New York, Asia Pub. House [1965]

## **Bengal 10**

**A: 2**

**B: 2**

**C: 2**

**D: 2**

**E: 2**

The commonest kin group in rural Bengal is the homestead-based patrilineal extended family, whose members jointly own homestead land and may—but usually do not—also own agricultural land in common. (<http://www.everyculture.com/South-Asia/Bengali-Kinship.html>)

Male clansman (not necessarily the most senior) was often recognized as the ad hoc leader of the localized clan. The genus conceived of as a fully corporate economic and political unit among the Brahmans and Kayasthas of Bengal, as in the all India paradigm, was the smallest segment of a clan, the family, often referred to in legal and sociological literature as the “joint” or “extended” family. P43 Inden

Inden, Ronald B. Marriage and rank in Bengali culture : a history of caste and clan in middle period Bengal. Berkeley: University of California Press, c1976.

Gough, Kathleen, *Dravidian kinship and modes of production*. [New Delhi]: Indian Council of Social Science Research, 1978.

Goody, Jack. *The oriental, the ancient and the primitive: systems of marriage and the family in the pre-industrial societies of Eurasia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, c1990.

Fox, Richard G. *Kin, clan, raja, and rule; state hinterland relations in preindustrial India*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1971.

## **Pakistan 10**

**A: 2**

**B: 2**

**C: 2**

**D: 2**

**E: 2**

## **Patrilineal**

The household is the primary kinship unit. In its ideal, or extended, form, it includes a married couple, their sons, their sons' wives and children, and unmarried offspring. Blood

*Biradari*:

Descent is reckoned patrilineally, so only those related through male ancestors are considered relatives. The *biradari* ("brotherhood"), or group of male kin (the patrilineage), plays a significant role in social relations. Blood

Descent in Punjabi Muslim society is patrilineal. Both membership of the kin group (namely biraderi or patti) as well as inheritance of property are transmitted along the male line. P4 Alavi

Alavi, Hamza A. *Kinship in West Punjab Villages*. Contributions to Indian Sociology, Dec72, Vol. 6, p1-27, 27p. Sage Publications Inc., Database: Complementary Index

Blood, Peter, ed. *Pakistan: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1994.

## **Sri Lanka 2**

**A: 1**

**B: 1**

**C: 0**

**D: 0**

**E: 0**

Kula

It is by no means clear whether kula in some passages denotes the nuclear family or the joint family. P19 Hettiaratchi

In the family organization the structure and function of the joint family, the unit of a certain number of nuclear families the members of which lived together or worked together or otherwise who were recognize as belonging to a particular kin group, was the most characteristic feature.

P44 Hettiaratchi

Although we may regard the nuclear family as the basis of kinship structure, the joint family system was in existence as social unit during the period under review. P25 Hettiaratchi

Hettiaratchi, S. B. Social and cultural history of ancient Sri Lanka. Delhi, India : Sri Satguru Publications, 1988.

In the Kandyan region, descent and inheritance are traced through both spouses: both husband and wife possess their own property and may bequeath at in equal shares to their descendants. In the low country, where Dutch Roman Law is in effect, marriages create joint property between husband and wife, which on their death is divided among their heirs. On the east coast, Tamil Muslim families trace descent and inheritance through the mother, and men will typically reside with their inlaws. Ross

<http://www.everyculture.com/South-Asia/Sinhalese-Marriage-and-Family.html>

The smallest kin group is the commensal unit or nuclear family; property divided among all children

“Communities not organized as exogamous clan communities” Kirby

“Bilateral descent with reported or probable quasi-lineages, i.e., cognatic groups approximating the structure of lineages but based on filiation rather than on unilineal or ambilineal descent”  
Kirby

Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016). D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.

Russell R. Ross and Andrea Matles Savada, editors. *Sri Lanka: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1988.

## **Latin America**

In religious and legal terms the Latin American family system was primarily based on European categories. Kinship was bilateral, with kin counted from both the maternal and paternal sides. It was also widely extended, with kinship recognized to the seventh or tenth degree. Ritual kinship (compadrio) has substantial importance both for recognition of reciprocal obligations and as a category that required church dispensation for marriage to take place. P217

The church was committed to eradicating anything viewed as pagan and therefore kept a close eye on the sex lives of the Indians who were strongly encouraged, or in some cases even forced, to marry according to Christian rites. This was done in part because the Indian nuclear family was responsible for paying tribute, so the religious arm of the government took on the responsibility of getting these familial units organized. Beyond this purely practical reason, however, the fact remains that the church taught indigenous populations the notion of Christian sin, including sex outside marriage or any form of nonprocreative sex within marriage, as a way of bringing these peoples to European systems of belief. P16 Jefferson

On one 18th-century Brazilian estate of 110 enslaved workers, nearly all of them were living in families, with just over 50 percent living in nuclear families of a couple with their children. P19 Jefferson

Colonial society was based on the patriarchal extended family. Not necessarily in the sense that couples and their children all lived together in the house of the patriarch, but in the sense that families tended to be made up of several generations of couples with their children/grandchildren, frequently living on the same or adjoining lands, sharing domestic tasks, and supporting each other in various ways. This family structure emerged in the colonial period and, somewhat modified, remains important in Latin America today, generally more important in less modernized areas. P1 Jefferson

Kuznesof, Elizabeth and Robert Oppenheimer. The Family and Society in Nineteenth-Century Latin America: an Historiographical Introduction. *Journal of Family History*. Vol 10, Issue 3, pp. 215 – 234, 1985.

Jefferson, Ann, *Daily life in colonial Latin America*. Santa Barbara, Calif. : Greenwood, c2011.

## **Mexico 3**

**A: 2**

**B: 1**

C: 0  
D: 0  
E: 0

In the seventeenth century, the true owners of haciendas were families and lineages, rather than individuals. Some estates were owned jointly by a number of relatives and therefore, could not be divided; many others were entailed, so that individual owners could not dispose of their property. P299 Chevalier

In this essay we argue that the basic unit of family solidarity in Mexico is a three-generation descent group we shall call the grand family. P183 Smith

For the Amacueca peasant, production, consumption and social reproduction were based in the extended patrilocal family, with the household as pivot. P214 Smith

## Brazil 2

A: 1  
B: 1  
C: 0  
D: 0  
E: 0

The kinship system is clearly bilateral with consanguinity on the father's side being as important as that on the mother's. p200 Smith

The census of 1775 provides a snapshot of this cycle for the whole population, and as figure 3 illustrates, the majority of the heads of households in their twenties, thirties, and forties presided over nuclear families. P133 Metcalf

From Metcalf (1992) No evidence that any social group (planters, peasants, or slaves) are organized as lineages or clans.

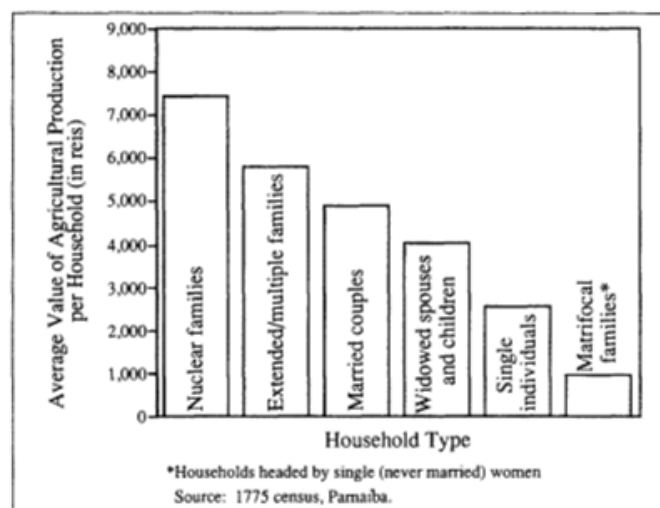


Table 2 shows that at least 60 percent of all adult slaves had been or were married, most living in nuclear family unit... Higman placed 70 percent of English Jamaican slaves in single family households, most of them nuclear units. P112-113 Chandler

Chandler, David L. "Family Bonds and the Bondsman: The Slave Family in Colonial Colombia." Latin American Research Review, vol. 16, no. 2, 1981, pp. 107–131. JSTOR, JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/2503127](http://www.jstor.org/stable/2503127).

Metcalf, Alida C. Family and frontier in colonial Brazil : Santana de Parnaíba, 1580-1822. Berkeley: University of California Press, c1992.

## **Caribbean countries**

Such cognatic descent systems are widespread throughout the Caribbean region, especially in association with customary landholding... (Raymond Smith) his data also points to the importance of cognatic descent lines, grounded in family land, for his Afro-Caribbean informants, despite methodology biased toward ego-focused kinship and the exclusion of the poorest of West Indians from his study. P19 Besson

### **Trinidad and Tobago 1**

**A: 1**

**B: 0**

**C: 0**

**D: 0**

**E: 0**

Of the 50 percent of slaves living in families in Trinidad in 1813, 44.2 percent were in mother-children units (Table 2).<sup>5</sup> Almost half of the family units were of this type, most women having fewer than two children. But a similar proportion of the slaves lived in nuclear or truncated nuclear units. P170 Higman

### **Jamaica 1**

**A: 1**

**B: 0**

**C: 0**

**D: 0**

**E: 0**

The Jamaican kinship system is based on what may be called kindred organization. That is, every individual is surrounded by a set of consanguines who have some mutual rights, obligations, and responsibilities toward him. Unlike the lineage, this set of kin is reckoned bilaterally, and its relationship to this common relative (and his siblings) is the only thing all members have in common with each other. Thus, the kindred is not a corporate kin group of any kind, and there are as many kindred groups in a society as there are sets of siblings. P422 Davenport

To recapitulate, in what is, perhaps, an over-simplified manner, the lower class Jamaican household is a kin grouping without precise organizational shape... These three shapes, which might be termed single male, matricentric, and nuclear family, are complementary to each other, since adults may move in and out of each kind until both economic and marital stability are found. P452 Davenport

Insofar as we understand them, middle and upper-class household groups rarely expand beyond the nuclear family shape, and they replace each other in an unending sequence of the same kind. P453 Davenport

The compositional picture of the lower-class household drawn thus far has overstressed, perhaps, the extended, three-generation (and sometimes, four generation) group, when in fact, the simple, two-generation, non-extended form is more frequent, and in some communities at least, single-person households even predominate. P444 Davenport

Higman, B.W. African and Creole Slave Family Patterns in Trinidad. *Journal of Family History* Vol 3, Issue 2, pp. 163 – 178, 1978.

Besson, Jean. Martha Brae's two histories: European expansion and Caribbean culture-building in Jamaica. Chapel Hill : University of North Carolina Press, c2002.

Davenport, William. "The Family System of Jamaica." *Social and Economic Studies*, vol. 10, no. 4, 1961, pp. 420–454. JSTOR, JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/27853648](http://www.jstor.org/stable/27853648).

### **Dominican Republic**

Same as Jamaica

### **Peru 2**

**A: 1**

**B: 1**

**C: 0**

**D: 0**

**E: 0**

Spanish colonialism also shaped family life through the introduction of a bilateral kinship system, meaning that children belonged to both the mother and the father. This system differed from the patrilineal kinship system practiced by Quechuan and other native Indian communities. P969

Emery

Castas:

According to Rosenblat (1954: 134)? the term *casta* was used to designate the "results of race mixture" during the Spanish colonial regime. It appears that it was also used to refer to racial distinction, since, according to Rosenblat (1954: 145) the Indians constituted a *casta* that was juridically and socially distinguished from the other ethnic groups. In Vicos the word *casta* is equivalent to agnatic or "blood" kin. The term is not limited to the nuclear family unit but includes all persons who have a common paternal ancestor, a patrimony of common origin, and a common surname. P284 Vázquez

The great majority of the members of these *castas* are dispersed in various types of extended and nuclear families, including 41 extended patrilocal families, 158 nuclear patrilocal families, and 20 nuclear matrilocal families. P286 Vázquez

Vázquez, Mario C., and Allan R. Holmberg. "The Castas: Unilineal Kin Groups in Vicos, Peru." *Ethnology*, vol. 5, no. 3, 1966, pp. 284–303. JSTOR, JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/3772773](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3772773).

Emery, Robert. E. *Cultural Sociology of Divorce: An Encyclopedia*. SAGE.

Smith, Raymond T. *Kinship ideology and practice in Latin America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, c1984.



## **Argentina 2**

**A: 1**

**B: 1**

**C: 0**

**D: 0**

**E: 0**

Because of the central role of the woman in the establishment of the mercantile clans of the city, the extended family had essentially matricentric characteristics. P52 Socolow

The merchants of Buenos Aires, especially those who were married and well established in commerce, were heads of large households. In the 132 merchant households contained in the 1778 census, the average number of occupants was 13 persons; 67 percent of the merchant households contained 10-19 people. P74 Socolow

Socolow, Susan Migden. *The Merchants of Buenos Aires, 1778-1810: Family and Commerce*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

## **Central America**

### **Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, El Salvador 2**

**A: 1**

**B: 1**

**C: 0**

**D: 0**

**E: 0**

Since the Spanish kinship system was (and still is) patrilineal with respect of the family name, but ambilineal and bilateral for matters of descent and inheritance, all men and women are, simultaneously, members of their father and mother's descent groups. In colonial Guatemala, men and women customarily inherited alike, in equal shares, from both side. P5 Valverde

The case of the elite of colonial Guatemala exemplifies that by use of various strategies for relinking wealth and rights through successive consanguineous and affinal marriages, an extended kinship group can constitute an elite with well-defined but flexible borders and structure. P24 Valverde

Given that bounded kinship groups such as named lineages or clans are absent in this network, the meaningful family subgroups are not unilineal descent groups but sets of cognates that are more densely intermarried. Houseman and White's methods identify the cohesive subcores of the network as a bounded group defined by structural endogamy, within which there are both (a) vertical and (b) horizontal relinking marriages. P18 Valverde

Narda Alcantara Valverde, Silvia Casasola Vargas, and Douglas R. White. *The Marriage Core of the Elite Network of Colonial Guatemala*. 2002. Unpublished Manuscript.

## **Venezuela 1**

**A: 1**  
**B: 0**  
**C: 0**  
**D: 0**  
**E: 0**

More than half, forty-seven of the eighty-five, were headed by married couples, and of the forty-seven, all but two were single-family households, comprised of 2 parents, 3.7 children on the average, and an occasional cousin, uncle, or niece. This high proportion of nuclear-family mantuano households (plus slaves and servants) may seem surprising, given the traditional assumptions about extended families in colonial Latin America. However, recent research has begun to show that elite households were not always complex, multifamily and multigenerational in composition.[3] That many elites lived in simple, single-family households at midcentury is not without significance, yet it would be erroneous to suppose that these households functioned essentially as independent units. P218 Ferry

Although in colonial Caracas matrilineal cross-cousin marriage was merely preferred by the elite, and was not prescriptive, it did serve to connect patrilineages to one another, defusing the intergenerational authority of patriarchs. Footnotes Ferry

Ferry, Robert J. *The Colonial Elite of Early Caracas: Formation and Crisis, 1567-1767*. Berkeley: University of California Press, c1989 1989. <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft5r29n9wb/>

## **Chile 2**

**A: 1**  
**B: 1**  
**C: 0**  
**D: 0**  
**E: 0**

When Chilean patricians referred to family, they usually highlighted blood relations or in-laws and emphasized their distinguished lineage, but the term was flexible enough to encompass other members of households as well as godparents and courtesy kin. P14 Chambers

Chambers, Sarah C. *Families in war and peace: Chile from colony to nation*. Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2015.

## **Explanation-Land Ownership**

- 1: No evidence of private ownership, all land property belongs to the state or the ruler.
- 2: No evidence of private ownership in society, state ownership and institutional ownership.
- 3: No evidence of private ownership, communal ownership dominates. Land exchange is very limited (may only exist between tribes, villages or communities under very specific conditions)
- 4: Private ownership is limited, and coexists with communal or institutional ownership. Land is inheritable within the family. Land transaction is rare.
- 5: Private ownership coexists with communal or institutional ownership. Land is conditionally inheritable. Land transaction (leasing, purchase and sale) is present but conditional, limited or restricted.
- 6: Private land ownership dominates. Land is conditionally inheritable. Land transaction is very rare.
- 7: Private land ownership dominates. Land is inheritable. Land transaction is rare.
- 8: Mostly private land ownership by individual. Land is inheritable. Some evidence of land transaction (leasing, purchase and sale)
- 9: Mostly private land ownership by individual. Land can be inherited, rent, or sold and disposed at the owner's own will. Land transaction is common.
- 10: Mostly private land ownership by individual. Land can be inherited, rent, or sold and disposed at the owner's own will. Land transaction is very common and land market exists.

United Kingdom 9

United States 9

Australia 9

New Zealand 9

Canada 9

Austria (Germanic tribes) 8

Germany (Germanic tribes) 8

Switzerland (Germanic tribes) 8

Luxembourg (Germanic tribes) 8

France (Franks) 8

Netherlands (Independent cities) 9

Belgium (Independent cities) 9

Denmark(Viking) 8 (seem not much land transaction)

Norway(Viking) 8

Sweden(Viking) 8

Iceland 10

Ireland 7

Estonian tribes 8

Finn tribes 9

Greece 10

Rome 10  
Castile 7  
Catalonia 8 (fiefs in general could not be sold or purchased, so I change it to 8)  
Aragon 8 (same as Catalonia)  
Portugal 7 (less state-owned land, more inheritability and transaction than Hungary which is 6)  
Lithuania 8  
Latvia 8  
Slovakia (Hungary) 6

### **Balkans**

Croatia 7  
Serbia 6  
Romania 6  
Bulgaria (Bulgarian Empire) 6  
Albania 4  
Slovenia 7

### **Eastern and Central Europe**

Poland 8  
Bohemia (Czech) 8  
Hungary 6  
Russia 5

### **Latin America (colonial)**

Guatemala 2  
El Salvador 5  
Honduras 5  
Costa Rica 8  
Panama 5  
Colombia 5  
Ecuador 2  
Peru 4  
Venezuela 5  
Chile 5  
Brazil 6  
Argentina 6  
Uruguay 8

### **Caribbean:**

Trinidad and Tobago 8  
Dominican Republic 8  
Jamaica 8

### **Pre-colonial**

Inca 2 (state+communal+institution ownership)

Maya 3  
Aztec 3

### **South Asia**

Bangladesh 3  
Bhutan 4  
India (Maurya) 2  
India (Tamil) 7  
India (Bengal) 3  
Sri Lanka 5 (new evidence of land transaction and private ownership)  
Nepal 2 (state+institution ownership)

### **East Asia**

Japan 4  
Korea 2  
China 2

### **Middle East and Near East**

Egypt 2  
Iran 5  
Mesopotamia 7  
Israel 4  
Lebanon (Phoenicia) 7 ? (no data found for Phoenicia)  
Arabia 9  
Morocco 9  
Pakistan (Ghaznavid) 4  
Assyria 7  
Turkey (Seljuk/Ottoman) 5

### **Southeast Asia**

Thailand 2  
Champa 4 (Evidence of state ownership, institution ownership, communal ownership, hereditary elite ownership, very likely private ownership is not the major form of ownership)  
North Vietnam (China) 2  
Spanish Philippines 6 (many private ownership, transaction, problem is native land is appropriated)  
Pre-colonial Philippines 3  
Malaysia 5 (assume to be the same as Indonesia, no data found on Srivijaya and Malayu kingdoms)  
Indonesia 5 (communal ownership + land grants to individuals and monasteries, “landed gentry”)  
  
Fiji 3 (clan ownership not state ownership)

### **Africa**

Burkina Faso (Mossi) 3  
Nigeria (Yoruba) 3

Sierra Leone (Temne) 2  
Senegal (Wolof) 4  
Ghana (Ashanti) 3  
Angola (Ovimbundu) 2  
Mozambique 3  
Tanzania 3 (Sukuma 2 + Swahili 4)  
Malawi (Chewa) 2  
Kenya 3.5 (Swahili 3 + Kikuyu 4)  
Ethiopia 4  
Namibia (Owambo) 2  
South Africa 9  
Zambia (Bemba, Lozi) 2

## **Africa**

### **Burkina Faso (Mossi States) 3**

The land always remained the property of the tengbiise (lineage). P14 Englebert  
Land is held by virtue of membership in one's patrilineage, although, in cases where sufficient land is available, it may also be let by the lineage to affinal kin or outright strangers. Finnegan  
The Mossi chiefs did not own the land, but they controlled it and assigned land rights to their subjects. P107 Skinner

The inhabitants of a Mossi village built their houses and cultivated their crops on land the village chief had granted to their respective lineages. The land appears to have been a public good, the utilization of which was in the rulers' interests. P29-30 Skinner

Skinner, Elliott P. (Elliott Percival), *The Mossi of the Upper Volta; the political development of a Sudanese people*. Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1964.

Englebert, Pierre. Boulder. *Burkina Faso: unsteady statehood in West Africa*, Colo. Westview Press, 1996.

Finnegan, Gregory A. *Culture summary: Mossi*. New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files, 2009.

### **Ghana (Ashanti Confederacy) 3**

(in village) Matrilineages, headed by the ofiepanin, or lineage elder, had rights to that portion of the village land which belonged to the matrilineage. P26 Lewin

land, was held in common by the people. P197 Danquah

Alienation or transfer of land as between family and family, tribe and tribe, or even between State and State was certainly common, but sale of land for private or non-communal purposes was foreign to the people. P212 Danquah

"Family land" is land vested in a matrilineage...no members can establish exclusive ownership of any portion of lineage land. Portions of lineage land may be transferred to other lineages though never by alienation...sale or mortgage is very rare, even nowadays. P49  
Until the establishment of the cocoa industry at the beginning of this century (20<sup>th</sup>) individual ownership of land was rare. P50 Manoukian

Danquah, J. B. (Joseph Boakye), *Gold Coast: Akan laws and customs*. London, G. Routledge & sons, ltd., 1928.

Manoukian, Madeline. *Akan and Ga-Adangme peoples of the Gold Coast*. London, New York, Published for the International African Institute by Oxford University Press, 1950.

### **Yoruba 3**

Among the Yourba, land could not be sold, given or bequeathed to foreigners without the king's permission. P316 Trigger

Among the Yoruba, the only institutional land was the title farms belonging to the king. P321 Trigger

Yoruba farm land belonged collectively to extended families. However, the ownership of any land unclaimed by extended families or abandoned if an extended family died out or moved away reverted to the community. Land could not be sold or alienated in any other fashion at either the individual or the family level. Royal lineages held their land on the same terms as others. P317 Trigger

Land was formerly held by patrilineages and control was exercised by their heads who apportioned plots according to need...occupiers could not alienate any of their portion without the consent of the whole group. According to Fadipe, however, the holder had exclusive rights of use, could pawn crops and transfer, temporarily or indefinitely, a portion of his land to non-members of the lineage. Land could neither be sold nor taken away for debt, though a man could pawn or pledge the use of his land. P25 Forde

Forde, Cyril Daryll, *The Yoruba-speaking peoples of south-western Nigeria*, by Daryll Forde. London, International African Institute [1969]

### **Senegal 4**

#### **In Futa Toro, Fulani people:**

Control over the use and produce of these plots were set in a complex and historically determined system of land tenure. The basic right over land belonged to the man who first cleared it (and his descendants), or in the jeeri to the one who dug the first well. The holder of this kind of claim was called jom jengol (master by right of fire) or jom levre (master by right of the ax). He could farm the land himself or rent it out on a variety of tenures. A second kind of claim was created by the state, superimposed on that of the jom jengol. This second title was jom leeidi (master of the land), and it was usually held by court favorites, important officials, or others who had earned the gratitude of the ruler. Their estates were often substantial, usually managed by a slave official. The jom leeidi simply collected annual dues and special inheritance payments from the peasant who worked them in the status of jom jengol, or from the jom jengol's tenants.

As of the late 1950's, about a fifth of the cultivated land in Fuuta was under a jom leeidi. Another 37 per cent was worked by tenants who paid the jom jengol for the right to cultivate, usually a substantial payment of 10 to 50 per cent of the harvest. Another third of the land was worked by the jom jengol, without a separate jom leeidi over him. The remainder, about a tenth of the whole, was joint-family property whose co-proprietors formed a segment of a lineage. Nearly 60 per cent of the land, in short, was worked by men who owed part of the income to other private

claimants. When the rights of the jom leedi are traced back in time, however, many of them are found to have originated in the period of religious warfare at the end of the eighteenth century. In the seventeenth or early eighteenth century, a far higher proportion of the land was owned by the peasants who worked it. P22-23 Curtin

### **Bundu and Gajaaga states:**

Bundu and Gajaaga kept the general principles of Senegambian land tenure-that ownership belonged to the lineage that first cleared and made the land productive, though the state reserved some rights to itself (like that held by a jom leedi in Fuuta). Most land, however, was distributed at the village level, where it was owned and worked by an extended family. Some fields were assigned to the family as a whole, and the produce of those fields was redistributed by the lineage head. Other fields were assigned to the nuclear family, and the produce of those fields was redistributed to the smaller group. Even slave families were assigned a small parcel of land. The state-held land in Gajaaga was mainly rented to those who worked it. The Tunka or ruler appointed a slave official called the jagarafu to manage these lands, in much the way the jagraf did in Fuuta, but no land-holding nobility stood between the Tunka and the peasant." Bundu was again different. The usual work unit was the small or nuclear family, as in Fuuta; but virtually all land was held by the village. P25 Curtin

### **Wolof, Wolof people:**

Wolof land tenures bore a family resemblance to others in Senegambia, but with their individual peculiarities. The primary claim came through descent from the man who had first settled and cleared it. This claim, however, was held by the lineage, not the individual, and it usually included much more land than a single family could work. P26 Curtin

A village head and his elders usually settle any minor disputes within traditional village lands; disputes involving two villages would normally go to the chief for settlement. P35 Gamble

**Serer people:** the lineage held the land by right of the ax. P27 Curtin

Gamble, David P. *The Wolof of Senegambia, together with notes on the Lebu and the Serer*. London, International African Institute, 1957.

Curtin, Philip D. *Economic change in precolonial Africa; Senegambia in the era of the slave trade*. University of Wisconsin Press, 1975.

### **Kenya (Swahili city-states) 3**

**Land ownership:** land was often held by corporate matri-lineages of a mother and her daughters while political power, wealth and status passed from father to sons. Village plots were frequently owned outright by waungwana families...land outside the village was controlled by matrilineal groups. P23-24 Nurse

Nurse, Derek. *The Swahili: reconstructing the history and language of an African society, 800-1500*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, c1985.

### **Kenya (Kikuyu tribes) 4**

"The githaka system"

the muramati (head of each mbari on its githaka) allocates land to the mbari segments; the



principle on which the allotment is made are those of need and of matri-segmentation. As in other matters the district elders have powers in land matters. They arbitrate in inter-mbari land disputes. P52 Middleton  
(Land sale) the essence of sale in this sense is that ownership of the land is transferred, and not merely limited rights over it there is no condition of redemption and the land may be disposed of by the purchaser on his own authority and inherited by his own heirs alone. P49 Middleton  
Muguri: a muguri is a person who receives the use of land against a loan of livestock. p50 Middleton

Middleton, John. London, International African Institute, 1965. The central tribes of the north-eastern Bantu; the Kikuyu, including Emlu, Meru, Mbere, Chuka, Mwimbi, Thanaka, and the Kamba of Kenya, by John Middleton and Greet Kershaw.

#### **Tanzania (Swahili) 4**

**Most land were held by lineages, some land has individual ownership, some evidence of land transaction under specific conditions.**

Land was often held by corporate matrilineages of a mother and her daughters while political power, wealth and status passed from father to sons. Villahie plots were frequently owned outright by waungwana families...land outside the village was controlled by matrilineal groups. P23-24 Nurse

The Arabs, as slave owners, especially since 1800 or so, cultivated cloves and coconuts, long-term crops without returns in the first few years, though capital had to be invested. This may explain why most land in the so-called "developed" area of (western) Zanzibar and Pemba is individually owned. The other lands in the island are claimed to be largely communally owned, either by a kin group, a village or so it is said, a whole "tribe". P61-62 Prins

Kiambo land: shared by all who are patrilineally descended from the man with the first right of occupancy...plots in kiambo land have been known to have been bought and sold, but it is supposed to be not the proper thing to do. P62 Prins

There is also a system of land rent in force in certain areas of the zone where squatting is freely allowed, but where the growth of remunerative crops such as tobacco induces the landowner to charge rent for the squatter to pay on shambas with the richest soil. P63 Prins

Prins, A. H. J. (Adriaan Hendrik Johan). The Swahili-speaking peoples of Zanzibar and the East African Coast: Arabs, Shirazi and Swahili. London, International African Institute, 1967.

Nurse, Derek. *The Swahili: reconstructing the history and language of an African society, 800-1500*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, c1985.

#### **Tanzania (Sukuma and other tribes in Unyamwezi region) 2**

In Unyamwezi proper and elsewhere, all land is said to belong to the chief. Subjects, nevertheless, possess rights in land and enjoy considerable security of tenure. p62 Abrahams  
Neither chiefs nor subjects have the right to sell land in a chiefdom, though some sale of land occurred in the past in Usukuma. Fields may, however, be borrowed, normally without a fee. Chiefs and headmen have their own fields, many of which are attached to their offices. P62 Abrahams

Abrahams, R. G. The peoples of Greater Unyamwezi, Tanzania (Nyamwezi, Sukuma, Sumbwa, Kimbu, Konongo). London, International African Institute, 1967.

## Namibia 2

“kings and queens owned, or held rights to, all the land in their polities and were thus able to control its distribution.” P80 Wallace

Wallace, Marion. *A history of Namibia: from the beginning to 1990*. New York: Columbia University Press, c2011.

Land is communal property over which a king or headman presides and regulates its usufruct directly or indirectly through the Ward headman. According to one of Liljeblad's informants, land was owned by the clan at the time of the early settlements in the region...but the right over land began to change gradually with the increased control by the royal clan. Hence the foundation of kingdoms changed the property right over land by establishing a system of land usufruct, which was acquired by the payment in cattle, grain and hoes to the king. P43 Williams

Succession to the position of homestead head does not automatically include the ownership or usufruct of land: except in Uukwanyama, land usufruct was renegotiated and new payments had to be made; thus land was not inheritable in some parts of Owamboland. The right over it ended with one's death. P44 Williams

Williams, Frieda-Nela. *Precolonial communities of Southwestern Africa: a history of Owambo kingdoms, 1600-1920*. Windhoek: National Archives of Namibia, 1991.

## Zambia 2

Bemba:

Bemba chiefs, though they claim just as complete an overlordship over their land, do not actually allot ground for cultivation...these royal headmen have no more power to determine the use of land than has a commoner, and probably they they do not cultivate much more. To a commoner the chief merely grants permission to settle in his icalo as a member of a village community under the rule of a particular headman, and here he may choose what land he pleases. The chief looks upon a man as a subject and not as a tenant, although the status of subject does actually confer the right to use the land. P245-246

Richards, Audrey I. (Audrey Isabel), *Land, labour and diet in Northern Rhodesia; an economic study of the Bemba tribe*. London, New York, Published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press [1951].

Tonga: traditionally the Tonga were cattle-keepers who combined this occupation with a form of shifting cultivation...the ownership of cattle is vested in individuals rather than in groups. P45-46 Turner

Lozi:

State land: All Loziland and its products belong to the nation through the king. The king's holdings of land as part of the kingship are considerable. Many villages, gardens, fishing-sites, pans, reed beds are specifically his. P43 Turner

Village land: land is held by villages in the names of their village headmen. Village land is allocated by a headman among his villagers, or has been so allocated, for every heir to a headmanship inherits his predecessor's obligations. Once a member of a family homestead by

right of blood or adoption has been granted land, he retains the right to use it and transmit it to his own heirs, and the courts will protect his rights against the headman. The holder cannot give the land to anyone without the headman's permission and if he leaves the homestead the land reverts to the headman. P43 Turner

Turner, Victor Witter. *The Lozi peoples of north-western Rhodesia*. London, International African Institute, 1952 [i.e.1953]

## **Malawi (Chewa) 2**

All land belongs to the community and portions may be allocated by the chief or the land allocator to an individual for his personal use. P125 Pike

The chief was nominally owner of the land, which he allotted to his headmen, who in turn parceled it out to villagers. A man...might sell the produce thereof, but he could not sell or lease the land. The chief alone had the power of alienation and he could not use it except with the common consent of his followers. P44 Tew

Tew, M. 1950. *Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region*. (Ethnographic survey of Africa, East Central Africa, 1.) London: London: Oxford Univ. Press; International African Inst. (IAI).

Pike, John G. *Malawi; a political and economic history*. New York, F. A. Praeger [1968]

## **Sierra Leone 2**

All land belonged to the chief. P138 Alie

In traditional society, strangers would approach a local ruler with presents to be given land for settlement and farming. Rights of usufruct were thus established which normally lent themselves to a sense of ownership over a long period of usage. P93 Fyle

## **Temne**

"Family" property-the most important items of which are land, trees, and houses.

All lands in the chiefdom are under the trusteeship of the Chief, or today the Chief and the "Tribal Authority"...land may be loaned at a fixed yearly rent payable in money or goods. P67 McCulloch

## **Mende**

Mende society may be divided into two classes in relation to land, "land owners" and "land holders". The main legal distinction is that in the first case ultimate rights to the land are held and passed on as property, while in the second case only certain rights to occupation and usufruct are held. P26 McCulloch

Rights to use the family land may be temporarily delegated to an outsider but religious sanctions prohibit its permanent alienation. P26 McCulloch

Land may be "begged" or leased if more is required than is available on the estate, and this limited right of use would seldom be refused to a fellow villager or townsman. P27 McCulloch

Fyle, C. Magbaily, *The history of Sierra Leone: a concise introduction*. London: Evans, 1981.

Sesay, Habib Mohamed. *Political economy of colonial and postcolonial states in Sierra Leone : Underdevelopment, constituency politics and social services provision*. Freetown, Republic of Sierra Leone: Dept. of Political Science, Fourah Bay College-USL, [1990?]

Alie, Joe A. D. *A new history of Sierra Leone*. London: Macmillan Overseas, 1990.

McCulloch, Merran. *Peoples of Sierra Leone*, London, International African Institute [1964]

### **Mozambique 3**

#### **Pre-colonial**

There is no tradition of private land ownership. Land belongs to the community rather than to any individual.

<http://www.everyculture.com/Ma-Ni/Mozambique.html#ixzz5J6ZSR1D9>

#### **Prazos 17<sup>th</sup> century -1930**

Increasingly these private armies were used to obtain land concessions from chiefs. P219 Newitt  
The prazos were land holdings or estates granted to private individuals by the Portuguese government. The whole landholding to last three generations or three consecutive female lives. (passed on female line) Thereafter, the estate would revert to the state, with the possibility of renewing the contract. P99 Azevedo

The prazo holder was allowed to employ Africans; raise a private army, often made up of slaves commonly, trade in all commodities, and maintain law and order in the prazo, always pledging allegiance to the Portuguese government which, in principle, ultimately owned the land. The prazero was also required to live on the prazo and not sell or quit-rent it to anyone else. P99 Azevedo

Azevedo, Mario Joaquim. *Historical dictionary of Mozambique*. Lanham, Md: Scarecrow Press, 2003.

Newitt, M. D. D. *A history of Mozambique*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, c1995.

### **Ethiopia 4**

**Land ownership:** Familial (lineage?) land possession? P144 Michels

Evidently the Axumite king was considered the supreme owner of all lands but it is not known to what extent he exercised this right. In my opinion it is highly probable that there were allotments of “royal land”, which the Axumite peasants tilled and whose harvest went into the royal granaries. P161 Michels

Individuals might have been similarly rewarded by the kings with estates and villages to support their rank, and that land-registers of some sort were maintained. P252 Munro-Hay

The king possessed land to bestow, as we might expect from Monumentum Adulitanum’s statement about conquered peoples: “I reserved for myself half of their lands and their peoples”. p253 Munro-Hay

Munro-Hay, S. C. *Aksum: an African civilization of late antiquity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, c1991.

Michels, Joseph. *Axum*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, c1979.

Amhara: (The land-tenure system of the Amhara of Gojjam) individual rights to heritable land are defined in terms of the two concepts: rest and gult. P23 Shack

Rest: Gojjam Amhara are said to claim that the land of a parent is divided equally among all recognized children without regard to sex or seniority. P23 Shack

Gult: Gult rights are a type of tenure that exists independently of rest rights over the same land. Gojjam Amhara are said to conceive of gult as a hereditary fief-like grant to the chief father of a parish as a reward for faithful service to the provincial lord or king. The holder of gult, the lord of each parish, is responsible to the provincial ruler for maintaining the peace and for the

administration of those living on his gult. P24 Shack

Shack, William A. The central Ethiopians Amhara, Tigrina and related peoples. London: International African Institute, 1974.

## **Angola 2**

Ovimbundu:

There is virtually no information on Umbundu land usage. Hambly suggests that “the right to land depends on its use and allotment by a chief at the time of founding a village.” And that “rights seem to have been well defined and there was always enough room for a stranger”. P34 McCulloch

McCulloch, Merran. The Ovimbundu of Angola. London, International African Institute, 1952. The Mbundu lineage-villages each had their own lands (ishi) in which the members of the ngundu collectively controlled access to the soil for farming...As crops exhausted the fertility of the soil and it became necessary to open new fields elsewhere, individual farmers moved their plots every few years from one part of the lineage lands to another in a system of shifting cultivation. P44 Miller

Miller, Joseph Calder. Kings and kinsmen: early Mbundu states in Angola. Oxford [Eng.] : Clarendon Press, 1976.

**Pre-colonial kingdoms:** owned by the matrilineage “kanda” (Kongo kingdom, Ambundu Ndongo kingdom); See p282 Ogot, B.A. *Africa from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century*. Oxford: Heinemann; Berkeley, Calif. : University of California Press, 1992.

**Colonial period:** The donataria system-had its model the medieval feudal organization of Portugal. The (land) grant did not, after one or several generations, or some other designated period of time, remain in the family; instead it would revert to crown control. P21 Kaplan Kaplan, Irving. *Angola, a country study*. Washington; Foreign Area Studies, American University: for sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. Govt. Print. Off., c1979.

## **South Africa 9**

**Landownership:** the Dutch settlers regarded land as a commodity, which had monetary value and could be privately owned, exchanged or sold. P51 Mountain

Mountain, Alan. *The first people of the Cape: a look at their history and the impact of colonialism on the Cape's indigenous people*. Claremont, South Africa: David Philip, 2003.

## **United Kingdom (Anglo-Saxon Britain) 9**

Land, for example, fell into one of four categories: folkland, bookland, loanland, and sokeland. Folkland appears to be land whose inheritance was defined by custom. Bookland means literally land described in a landboc (charter), whose terms described the holder's rights. Loanland (lænland) is land held for a number of life terms from a lord in return for service. “Thegnland” is sometime synonymous with loanland, though it appears to be more narrowly focused on royal agents (thegns, or thanes). Last is sokeland, which was a kind of land bound to a manor and is found in areas settled by Scandinavians, though its origin is uncertain(Oxford Reference)

Some types of land, like bookland, were heritable; some, like loanland, were not intended to be. Some moved only within a kin group; others were easily alienable. Although types of land can be identified, tracing developments in land law during the period—other than the introduction and use of bookland—is near to impossible. (Oxford Reference)

Several types of royal agent helped administer justice in the realm. (Oxford Reference)

Bookland:

Our Anglo-Saxon charters or books are mostly grants of considerable portions of land made by kings to bishops and religious houses, or to lay nobles. Land so granted was called book-land, and the grant conferred a larger dominion than was known to the popular customary law. The right of alienating book-land depended on the terms of the original grant. P66 Pollock

Land sale: One writer has described a typical Saxon sale. 74 The parties and the witnesses assembled in the market place or public square. The goods, generally horses or cattle, were inspected by the witnesses for brands or earmarks 5 establishing the seller's ownership...Such witnessed sales were obviously imperative for prudent, law-abiding Saxons. P280-281 Brody

Sir Frederick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland. The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, [2009] (Baltimore, Md. : Project MUSE, 2012) (Baltimore, Md. : Project MUSE, 2015)

Burton F. Brody, Anglo-Saxon Contract Law: A Social Analysis, 19 DePaul L. Rev. 270 (1969) Available at: <http://via.library.depaul.edu/law-review/vol19/iss2/3>.

(United States, New Zealand, Canada, Australia all use the scores for United Kingdom)

### **Germanic tribes (Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Netherlands) 8**

The main notion in the law of property was *gewere*, or the power exercised by the owner, which did not clearly distinguish between legal title and physical control. Various forms of limited ownership were recognized. Land was treated differently from movables; originally it had belonged to each family collectively. Family ownership gradually developed into the private ownership of the family head, but for a long time he could alienate land only with the consent of the nearest heirs. Land transfer required much formality, and among the west Germanic peoples a glove or spear was handed over as a symbol of the transfer of *gewere*.

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Germanic-law>

Prior to 700, then, the middle Rhenish peasantry enjoyed de facto control of the land they worked, but their substantial property rights did not quite add up to full ownership. They owed relatively light dues, presumably mainly renders in kind, which were collected on a community level from the villa as a whole, or even from a group of connected villae ; this kind of structure, based on personal rather than proprietary right, was widespread in Roman and pre-Roman northern Gaul. p75 Innes

By the Carolingian period, across most of the area, and above all in the Rhine valley itself, full ownership of land by the possessors of land was the rule. P76 Innes

Innes, Matthew. State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley, 400–1000, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Lex Alamannorum c.730

Lex Frisionum 9th century

More in one category (private) than in another (public and ecclesiastical). P24 Rivers

Injury to anothers' property as well as injury to his person constituted monetary indebtedness.  
P25 Rivers

Laws of the Alamans and Bavarians / translated, with an introd., by Theodore John Rivers.

[Philadelphia]: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977.

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Germanic-law>

private ownership, then, constituted the basis of the law of property in the early kingdoms on Roman soil, for the Germanic population as well as the Roman. p87 Levy

In both the Visigothic Antiqua and the Lex Gundobada pssidere and its derivatives retained their dual character. They could connote factual control as in connection with long possession or with actions for recovery.p89 Levy

Levy, Ernst, West Roman vulgar law: the law of property. Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1951.

### **France (Franks) 8**

In the distinction between allodial land (de alode) which was inherited by heirs of both sexes, and term Salica which could be inherited only by males, we encounter an interesting indication that not all land was held as a result of a partition among family groups at the time of the original Frankish occupation. Sufficient land was held by grant or beneficial tenure (from king or other lord) that terra Salica is recognized in the law. Since these lands were granted normally in return for past or future services, it would be expected that this land could only be inherited by someone who could render similar sendees. In essence, this is the way the inheritance of the Merovingian kingdom was handled— as a benefice divisible among male. P44 Drew

The laws of the Salian Franks / translated and with an introduction by Katherine Fischer Drew. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, c1991

### **Netherlands/Belgium (Independent cities) 9**

There were no modern land markets in the Low Countries in the early and high Middle Ages. Much, perhaps even most, of the exchange of land took place within the family shaped by informal or formal arrangements among family members, and hereditary practice. As in the other parts of Europe, exchanges outside the family were generally regulated by the multitude of social organizations...exchange of land among the elite was also largely dominated by non-economic motives, as with gift exchange...in the 11<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries (earlier than in most areas of Europe), this practice started to change in some parts of the Low Countries, with the emergence of a land market. P162 Bavel

First, with respect to the sale of the land, the family had great influence among the overlapping claims and rights to land, and the prevailing belief was that land belonged to the family as a whole and should be kept within it. Restrictive inheritance customs and family claims clearly limited the possibilities to sell land. Relatives...could resist or annul the sale of land to anyone who was not a family member, and the family had to agree to the sale. P163 Bavel

With respect to feudal land...until the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, it was, in theory, forbidden to sell a fief, and until late in that century, at least the permission of the feudal lord was

required...but most important of all the restrictions on the sale of land were those imposed by manorial lords, at least where manorial organization was strong. P164 Bavel

Particularly after the dissolution of the manorial system, as the common lands lost their indirect value to the former manorial lords, these lords often opted for privatization of the commons. Another element was the disappearance of kin control over land in most parts of the Low Countries, particularly in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, as the influence of relatives over marriage choices inheritance and property was reduced in favor of the nuclear family and the individual. P165 Bavel

Because rights to land became clearer and more exclusive and absolute in this period, it became easier to delineate and record them. From the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards, more and more institutions proceeded to develop a full inventory of their land ownership and the revenues from it. They also tried to solidify their property rights by having written legal contracts of their acquisitions and donations, or by having their land ownership regularly confirmed in charters issued by the pope, bishop or king. This provided the landowners with strong legal weapons to defend their property if necessary against rival claims. P166-167 Bavel

Only from about 1200 onwards were these semi-permanent, personal, customary and often unequal elements reduced, as the modern short-term lease of land started to emerge in some regions. Earlier, leases of complete manors had existed, as well as of mills and tolls, but now separate farms and more importantly, parcels of land were leased out for short terms, creating much more mobility, flexibility and competition in the lease market. P171 Bavel

In some regions no less than 80-90 per cent of all cultivated land was owned by peasants, as in Drenthe, where the social structure was dominated by peasant land owners...in late medieval Holland and inland Flanders too probably two-thirds or more of the land was in the hands of peasants, and was fairly evenly distributed over a large number of holders of small and medium-sized plots. P242 Bavel

Manors and markets: economy and society in the low countries, 500-1600 / Bas van Bavel. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

## **Vikings (Denmark, Norway, Sweden) 8**

**Land sale:** *Otal* was land vested in families which could not be divided or sold to outsiders without the consent of the whole male kin-group. P48 Christiansen

Where there was danger to freeholders, their property could be protected by vesting it in a whole group of relations. P49 Christiansen

Some system of renting land must have been in existence at the outset of the Viking Age. A tenant normally paid an annual rent in kind or in cash. In some parts of Norway, where the area of cultivable land was severely limited, the system of inheritance brought about a constant diminution in the size of the share of land that fell to the lot of an individual heir. Widespread mortgaging of land resulted and it passed to the wealthy when debts could not be met. P89 Foote



Many people owned and worked their own farms, but some owned immense tracts of land that were probably divided into average-sized farms and leased out. P58 Roesdahl

Christiansen, Eric. *The Norsemen in the Viking Age*. Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 2001.

Foot, Peter Godfrey. *The Viking achievement: the society and culture of early medieval Scandinavia*, London, Sidgwick & Jackson, 1970.

Roesdahl, Else. *The Vikings*. London: Allen Lane, 1991, c1987.

## **Iceland 10**

### **Land ownership:**

Those who controlled more land than their households could work could rent some of it to others under a variety of arrangements under which the landowner appropriated some of the renter's production in return. P33 Durrenberger

While the law specified more or less tidy rules for inheritance, sale and other transfers of property, there were no state institutions to give it practical meaning. P59 Durrenberger

To assert any claim to ownership, whether by inheritance or any other means, one had to back the claim with armed force. P62 Durrenberger

In the succeeding generations (After settlement), as the original land claims throughout the island were divided up into many farms, there became little to distinguish landholders from one another...After this leveling, land became, through a patrimonial type of ownership, the sole possession of the family that held it. P56 Byock

But even in a stable and stationary population, where a pool of farms might well be available to newly married couples, the realisation of neolocality would still depend on the existence of an active land, market, and although there is plenty of evidence that farms were bought and sold during this period, the evidence also suggests that these transfers provoked disputes. P334 Miller  
Miller, William I. "Some Aspects of Householding in the Medieval Icelandic Commonwealth." *Continuity & Change* 3 (1988):321-55.

Durrenberger, E. Paul. *The dynamics of medieval Iceland: political economy & literature*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, c1992.

## **Ireland 7**

**Land ownership:** he did not as a rule own land exclusively, only jointly with other members (in a *fine*). P31 Fry

It is not the case, however, that individuals held no private property in land, and that all farmland belonged communally to the kindred. On the contrary, every individual with his own household held land in his own right, and the word used, *orba* (inheritance), shows that he could pass on that land to his sons. The law in fact requires that a man possess some land if he is to have full legal status. The *fintiu* (kin-land) is so called because it could not be alienated (i.e. sold out of the kin-group) without the permission of the rest of the kin. The Irish adopted several means of ensuring that inheritance of land remained within the close kin-group. P144 Croinin

The procedures for dividing up land between members of the same *derbfine* on the death of the father and the sharing out of the land of an extinct *derbfine* among members of the wider kin-group, a much longer and more complicated procedure-are also given in considerable detail (in law). P90 Croinin

Although the sept's territory had fixed and recognized boundaries, the members did not own fields or flocks in common and did not participate in common economic enterprises...unmistakably, individual ownership of property and marked graduation of wealth were characteristic of early Irish society. P34 Herlihy

Somerset Fry, Fiona. *A history of Ireland*. Routledge, London and New York, 1988.  
Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí. *Early medieval Ireland, 400-1200*. London; New York: Longman, 1995.  
Herlihy, David. *Medieval households*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985

### **Estonia (Estonian tribes) 8**

The economic foundation of the wealth of the nascent nobility (parish and village elders) is land ownership. P33 Subrenat

The great majority of the Estonian population probably lived as small landed farmers who were not legally or socially dependent on the will of the elite. These free individuals were men who could own land, bear weapons and play some role in the societal decision-making processes. P11 Raun

*Estonia: Identity and Independence*. edited by Jean-Jacques Subrenat  
*Estonia and the Estonians*. Raun, Toivo U. Stanford, Calif: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1991.

### **Finland (Finn tribes) 9**

In Finland, the peasants owned more than 90 percent of the land, probably the highest ownership rate in Europe. P37 Lavery (after Swedish conquest)  
(15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries)

The peasant owned the land so long as he had it in use, and the right to burn-beating could be inherited or sold; but if sowing and reaping proved to be no longer worth while the land was allowed to lie fallow until the forest grew again. Twenty to thirty years later the trees were large enough for sowing to be carried out in their ashes and burn-beating cultivation began afresh. As early as the sixteenth century the land in the period between successive burn-beatings usually remained in the same man's possession or in that of his descendants. P167 Skrubbeltrang

As permanent settlement became increasingly common in the area of east Finland where burn-beating was practised, individual farms retained the right of ownership to burn-beating areas.

P168 Skrubbeltrang

In the sixteenth century it was common practice in Savolax for burn-beating land to be leased; itinerant axemen, deprived perhaps of their land through tax arrears, had to part with one-third of their crop in payment of rent. Joint ownership of land suitable for burn-beating occurred in east Finland, but gradually private ownership developed as well. P169 Skrubbeltrang

Lavery, Jason Edward. *The history of Finland*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2006.  
F. Skrubbeltrang (1964) *The history of the Finnish peasant*, *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 12:2, 165-180, DOI: 10.1080/03585522.1964.10407642

### **Greece 10**

See Economou, Emmanouli M.L, and Nicholas C. Kyriazis. “The Emergence and the Evolution of Property Rights in Ancient Greece.” *Journal of Institutional Economics*, vol. 13, no. 1, 2017, pp. 53–77., doi:10.1017/S1744137416000205. For summary.

### **Rome 10**

In broader terms, at the heart of the Roman system was private property in land, which could (with some restrictions) be freely exchanged, through sale, pledging as security for loans, or bequest. Throughout the provinces, the imperial government developed authoritative courts and other legal institutions that permitted property owners to defend their rights and to enforce contracts. P91 Kehoe

Kehoe, Dennis. P. “Property rights over land and economic growth in the Roman Empire”, Paul Erdkamp, Koenraad Verboven, and Arjan Zuiderhoek. *Ownership and exploitation of land and natural resources in the Roman world*. Oxford, United Kingdom; New York, NY, United States of America: Oxford University Press, 2015.

### **Castile 7**

For land sale and land transfer, see Collins p72-77

The estates of the crown (realengo) were frequently expanded by reconquest. Enunciating the principle that all conquered and deserted lands pertained to the crown, the king exploited these himself or allowed others to do so. Tenants on royal estates paid in kind a tribute, varying in quantity from place to place. The king was also entitled to the rents and labor services due to other landlords. P174-175 O'Callaghan

Most land was held in a kind of condominium, part of the usufruct going to the overlord, and part to those who worked on it or otherwise “owned” it. This was the more common because part of the northern section of the peninsula had never been fully incorporated into the Roman property system and pre-Roman forms of communalism had not died out by the time of the Muslim conquest. P45 Payne

-The process of repopulation enabled many simple freemen (ingenui) to acquire property in full ownership, especially in Castile and in the lands of the Duero valley. P178 O'Callaghan

In addition to free proprietors there were many freemen who were tenants cultivating the lands of others. Freemen without lands of their own, or the means of subsistence, commended themselves to a lord who provided them with food, clothing, shelter, and work in his household. They could not leave without his consent and, if they did, could be reduced to slavery. Peasants bound to the soil enjoyed the juridical condition of freemen, though in fact they were deprived of freedom of movement. This condition was heritable. P179-180 O'Callaghan

LAW I. What Ownership Is, and How Many Kinds There Are. Ownership is the power which a man has over his own property to do with it, and in it whatever he desires to do, without violation of the law of God or those of the country. There are three kinds of ownership. One is the supreme authority which emperors and kings possess to punish malefactors, and to accord his rights to everyone in their dominions, and of this we treat with sufficient explicitness in the Second Partida, and in many laws of the Fourth Partida of this book. The second kind of ownership is the power which a man has over his movable or immovable property in this world, during his lifetime, and which after his death passes to his heirs, or to whomsoever he may

transfer it while he lives. The third kind of ownership is the control of which a man has over the rents and profits of certain property during his lifetime, or at a stated period, or over a castle or lands which he holds as a fief; as stated in the laws of this our book which treat of this subject.

Las siete partidas / translated by Samuel Parsons Scott ; edited by Robert I. Burns. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, c2001.

Through the Siete Partidas, elements of the Roman law of the acquisition of private property moved directly into the land law of the empire.

Native Claims: Indigenous Law Against Empire, 1500-1920. edited by Saliha Belmessous

## **Aragon and Catalonia 8**

### **Land ownership:**

The heart of the Aragonese state was formed in a remote and wild section of the mountains without any coordinating supervision. The various lords, considered both their original redoubts and the lands seized from Islam as their personal property. Gradually, the tradition developed that the land controlled by the noble was alodial, that is, free of all obligations to the sovereign.

P112 Shneidman

Distribution of land continued as in early times, on the basis of private property. P142 Vives

Fiefs (feva) are mentioned in enormous numbers in records from almost every part of Catalonia, often as a form of tenure distinct from allodial, sometimes as dependencies of castles held by castlans or knights. P177 Bisson

Sales of land, although relatively reduced in number, persisted in the dioceses of Barcelona, Girona and Vic to the end of the twelfth century...The distinction between allod and fief persisted strongly, as we have seen, and fiefs could not, as a rule, be sold or alienated. p179 Bisson  
Bisson, Thomas. N. Feudalism in Twelfth-Century Catalonia. de l'École Française de Rome  
Année 1980 44 pp. 173-192 Fait partie d'un numéro thématique : Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'Occident méditerranéen (Xe-XIIIe siècles). Bilan et perspectives de recherches. Actes du Colloque de Rome (10-13 octobre 1978).

*Medieval Spain: culture, conflict, and coexistence: studies in honour of Angus MacKay.* edited by Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York : Palgrave/Macmillan, 2002.

Vicens Vives, Jaime. *An economic history of Spain.* Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1969.

O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *A history of medieval Spain.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, [1983]

## **Portugal 7**

### **The manorial system and land:**

the Crown and royal family controlled a third of the kingdom's total area. In so doing, the king was the direct seigniorial lord of 38 percent of the Portuguese population. Laymen lords were responsible for the largest portion of the population – 46 percent – while Church institutions had the lordship over 16 percent. These numbers conceal the existence of a concentrated structure.

P22 Costa

-By the end of the fifteenth century, land ownership was firmly concentrated in the hands of the Crown and royal family, religious institutions, and the nobility, a legacy dating back to the Reconquista.

Among the landowners were also a fair number of commoners, albeit the relative share of the land they controlled was certainly low. Owning small-scale properties, these landowners included urban elites (tradesmen, artisans, and professionals), as well as wealthy rural residents who could afford implements and cattle. Given that they were held in full ownership, these lands could be sold, transferred, or divided among heirs, and often changed hands. p26 Costa

Costa, Leonor Freire. *An economic history of Portugal, 1143-2010*. Cambridge Univ Press, 2016.

## **Lithuania 8**

**Land ownership:** the catholic nobles and who were performing military services got property rights to all patrimonial lands. P131 Kiaupa

On the other hand, the setting of the obligations and rights for different classes, their transmission from one generation to another, and the fixing of the tradition foreshadowed a forthcoming legal separation of these classes. P74 Kiaupa

Kiaupa, Zigmantas. *The history of Lithuania*. Vilnius: Baltos Lankos, c2005.

Kiaupa, Zigmantas. *The history of Lithuania before 1795*. Vilnius: Lithuanian Institute of History, 2000.

## **Latvia 8**

**Land ownership (feudal):** many landholding families not only acquired their lands in perpetuity but held portions of them from various overlords. The rights of landholders over peasants contained all the elements of a system of serfdom. P57 Plakans

Plakans, Andrejs. *A concise history of the Baltic States*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

## **Slovakia 6**

Use score for Hungary

## **Balkans**

### **Croatia 7**

Feudalization and land ownership:

Even after the distribution of arable land and the creation of individual peasant economies, woodland and pasturelands remained undivided as common property. From the eleventh century on, individual property ownership became more common. In the process of feudalization the majority of the farmers became serfs. Until the fifteenth century there were even some genuine slaves on the Croatian lands....thus the agricultural system of Croatia became similar to that of Western European feudalism. P168 Eterovich  
Zadruga communal ownership P169 Eterovich

Eterovich, Francis H. *Croatia: land, people, culture*. [Toronto] Published for the Editorial Board by University of Toronto Press.

## **Serbia 6**

### **Dusan's code (1349)**

#### **Land Ownership:**

Novakovid suggests that there were two kinds of *bastine* or hereditary estate, one entirely free of any burden, the other carrying certain feudal duties. The former could be inherited in the female line, but the latter passed in the male line only as females could not exercise military duty.

No man is free to sell or buy a fief, who has not a hereditary estate. Article 59 Burr

Neither the Lord Tsar, nor the King, nor the Lady Tsaritsa is free to take estates by force, nor to buy nor exchange, unless the owner freely consent. Dusan's Code, Article 43. Burr

Burr, Malcolm. *The Code of Stephan Dušan: Tsar and Autocrat of the Serbs and Greeks*. The Slavonic and East European Review, 11/1/1949.

## **Slovenia 7**

During the pre-feudal period peasants were freemen, but under the feudal system most of them lost both their land and freedom. By the 13th century various types of colonization had produced a whole series of (un)free peasant statuses graded according to various degrees of their hereditary properties. The lowest was the status of unfree workers on estates held in demesne. Semi-free statuses varied greatly among themselves, because they were based on the types of dues and obligations of the holder and the right to buy land or move from the farm rather than on inheritability. Towards the end of this period the open-field system transformed personal dependence into land dependence: the legal status of a peasant was dependent exclusively on the legal status of a farm. Accordingly, only those kosezi who lived on "kosez farms" (so-called koseščina) retained their free status throughout the Middle Ages, while those who lived on ordinary farms were, in the 11th and 12th century, transformed into serfs. P116-117 Luthar

Therefore, by the end of the 11th century the basic structure of landed property had been established throughout the Slovenian regions, while crown lands almost disappeared. The feudal lords constituted an efficient lower ruling structure that provided an economic framework. The network of estates, and thus province borders, continually changed according to new endowments by the king. The pre-feudal Slovenian noblemen had exerted control over their properties from (wooden) fortified manors called "dvori" (curtis). Once landed property developed in the 10th century, these manors became part of feudal lords' estates. P114-115 Luthar

Luthar, Oto, *The Land Between: A history of Slovenia*. (Frankfurt am Main etc., Peter Lang, 2008).

## **Romania 6**

Even before the two principalities were founded, the boyars seem to have acted as a ruling class basing itself on land ownership and having a mainly military function.

The boyar owed the prince "service" in Wallachia and "loyalty and service" in Moldavia, a primarily military obligation of vassalage...(princes) they retained the right to confirm all

succession, and estates reverted to the crown in the absence of male issue or in cases of treason. P28 Georgescu

It could only be confiscated by the ruling prince in the event of betrayal or disinheritance. P177 Otetea

From the lord the serfs received hereditary tenure of a plot of land, from which they could not be alienated but from which-initially-they could move at will. P30 Georgescu

The peasant communes...were the main framework of peasant life in the early Middle Ages. The communes were self-governing economic units that held land in common. They had the right to hold trials and accepted collective penal and fiscal responsibility. They disappeared gradually as their members came to own land privately. P29 Georgescu

Peasants: peasants formed the vast majority of the population during the Middle Ages. Free peasants also made up a significant portion of the rural population, especially in Moldavia and Wallachia. They were owners of landed estates, called mosie, inherited from a real or imaginary ancestor. These mosneni also called mosteni and razesi in Moldavia, had individual property rights although pastures were held in common by the village community. P77-78 Treptow

A history of Romania / edited by Kurt W. Treptow ; [authors, Ioan Bolovan ... etc.]. Iași : East European Monographs in collaboration with the Center for Romanian Studies ; New York : distributed by Columbia University Press, 1996.

Oțetea, Andrei. *A Concise history of Romania*. London: R. Hale; New York: Distributed by St. Martin's Press, 1985.

Georgescu, Vlad. *The Romanians, a history*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, c1990.

## **Bulgaria 6**

**Landownership:** “relative inalienability of land” (which means not saleable) p197 Browning  
In Bohemia, Poland, or Hungary, land was ordinarily held in full ownership; and the same was generally true in Bulgaria, Serbia, Bosnia, and the Romanian principalities, despite some examples of pronioia (conditioned ownership) tenure. P76 Sedlar

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

Browning, Robert, *Byzantium and Bulgaria: a comparative study across the early medieval frontier*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

## **Albania 4**

**Medieval principalities:** feudalism see p46-51 Pollo

**Ottoman period:** the arable and fallow lands that had belonged to the nobles and the free peasants were declared the property of the Ottoman state. From 1419 to 1421 officials specially designated to this task drew up a census of peasant-owned land and their revenues, and fixed a feudal rent for each of these as well as for every village. Then these registered lands were redivided into military fiefs. In the rest of the country, the local princes retained their vassal status. P64 Pollo

Pollo, Stefanaq. *The history of Albania: from its origins to the present day*. London; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.

## Eastern and Central Europe

### Hungary 6

**Property rights:** by our royal authority have decreed that anyone shall be free to divide his property, to assign it to his wife, his sons and daughters, his relatives, or to the church, and no one should dare to change this after death. P3 Bak

As for Stephen's laws... the laws protected property and provided a degree of security. Social organization was no longer based upon the blood ties of the tribal system. The king set about creating about forty counties attached to forts belonging to him. At the head of each of these, he placed a governor, a trusted figure given charge of both the territory and its warriors. P23-24 Molnar

**Land ownership (royal):** during the eleventh and much of the twelfth centuries, the ruling house held probably in excess of two-thirds of the land of the kingdom, for all the territory which constituted neither grazing-land nor cultivated property was considered to belong to the monarch. P16 Rady

The laborers on these estates (royal land) constituted a servile class, which was divided between providers and gatherers. Each of these groups had its own separate and discrete jurisdictional and economic organizations. P18 Rady

Land was, however not all of the same legal status. At least from the beginning of the twelfth century, a distinction was made between the ancestral lands of the kindred and those which it had subsequently acquired by royal donation. The former, devolved to 'successors or heirs', in other words, to collateral relatives. The second category of land, royal donation, was usually made in recognition of an individual's services. These lands had circumscribed rights of inheritability. In the event of the dead man having no immediate family, the donated property reverted to the king. P26 Rady

Rady, Martyn C. *Nobility, land and service in medieval Hungary*. Houndmills, Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave, in association with School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College London, 2000.

Miklós Molnár; *A concise history of Hungary* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

*The Laws of the medieval kingdom of Hungary*, translated and edited by János M. Bak ... [et al.] ; with a critical essay on previous editions by Andor Csizmadia. Bakersfield, Calif. : C. Schlacks, c1989.

### Russia 5

Before the sixteenth century the usual form of landholding in Russia was hereditary and patrimonial, designated by the word *votchina*. Beginning in the fifteenth century and with increasing frequency thereafter, however, the Muscovite government also awarded service land grants (*pomest'ia*), the tenure of which depended upon a man's military service. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the sovereign decreed that all land, whatever its character, obliged the holder to serve, but the distinction between patrimonial and service land remained: the first was



the property of a man and his kin, whereas the second might revert to the government in the absence of service. P316 Kaiser

Of course, purchased land also played an important part in the land economy of early modern Russia. In the eyes of the law, however, this property was separable from the purchaser's patrimony, since the law extended to kinsmen the right to repurchase patrimonial estates sold without their knowledge or consent. P317 Kaiser

Muscovite inheritance law seemed to try to reconcile individual ownership rights with those of the holders' kin, usually described by the word translated here as "clan" {rod}. The right of clan repurchase of patrimonial property sold or otherwise alienated to someone else first appeared in the 1550 Sudebnik. P317 Kaiser

Kaiser, Daniel. H. *Law, Gender and Kin in seventeenth-century Muscovy*  
Russian History, Vol. 34, No. 1/4, "FESTSCHRIFT" FOR RICHARD HELLIE: Part 1, pp. 315-330.

## **Poland 8**

**Land ownership:** Family solidarity was cemented by the fact that the estates were hereditary and henceforth Polish law acknowledged the custom of *retrait lignager* i.e. the right of all kin to the estate of a deceased without issue. P71 Gieysztor

At first, inheritance applied only to movables, since the land belonged to the clan in common. ...the situation was different when the property was not under clan ownership, but consisted of land given by the king or prince as to a knight, for then only the sons of the owner could succeed to the land; otherwise it returned to the king. P53 Wagner  
(rights of proximity)

As a landed nobility began to emerge in 12th-century Poland, it continued to maintain its clan ties and exhibit the clan coat of arms. Often the clan managed its property in common. Land belonging to any member could not be sold, exchanged, or given away without the clan's approval. P59 Sedlar

After 1400s: Individual ownership prevailed under Polish law. Traces of collective ownership or of tenancy in common (*coniuncta manu*) disappeared under the pressure of laws which protected individual ownership...the typical ownership under Polish law of the period was the land ownership of the gentry, allodial and undivided. P85 Wagner

Gieysztor, Aleksander. *History of Poland*. Warszawa: PWN, Polish Scientific Publishers, 1979.

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

Wagner, Wencelas J. *Polish law throughout the ages*. Stanford, Calif., Hoover Institution Press [1970]

## **Bohemia (Czech) 8**

**Land ownership:** property transfers of free farmsteads and the criminal matters of the aristocracy were recorded in the Land Rolls. P105 Pánek

It is generally accepted that there existed a variety of legal relations between the freemen and the overlord, as well as different forms of landholding rights. P265 Berend

At least from the beginning of the twelfth century private estates were common in Bohemia (held by powerful families and warriors). P279 Berend

Pánek, Jaroslav. *A history of the Czech lands*. Prague: Charles University: Karolinum Press, 2009.

Berend, Nora. *Central Europe in the high Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland c.900--c.1300*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2013.

## **South Asia**

### **Bhutan 4**

Land grants by monasteries:

Land recordation in Bhutan dates at least to the Shabdrung Ngawang era, and relates closely to the granting of land rights for fiscal purposes by the state to ‘patrons’ of the monastic establishment. This does not preclude earlier land grants being given by other religious groups or lineages, but there is no documentary evidence to support this. The use of the term patron clearly implies a significant relationship between the monastic establishment and the holder of the land title. Some of the taxes were called ‘initiation fees’, implying that these were for the support of the monk communities who reciprocated with spiritual blessings. P423 Pain

the requirement for the household to keep land in cultivation meant that rural tax-paying households property rights, while inherited, were more usufructury than outright. It is probable that the underlying rights with respect to land were not dissimilar (at least until the 1950s) from those in Tibet; namely, that the rights of the ownership of all land in Bhutan lay with the theocratic state, which was the source of not only all land grants but of the land documents demonstrating ownership or rights to use. P423 Pain

The monastic establishment and religious lineages also directly acquired land, often through bequest by patrons or through seeking protection, and on which tenants were later established (although the details of this are not well understood). P423 Pain

Pain, Adam; Pema, Deki. *The matrilineal inheritance of land in Bhutan*. Contemporary South Asia (Abingdon, Oxfordshire) 13, no.4 (Dec 2004) p.421-435, Database: Bibliography of Asian Studies

### **Bangladesh (Bengal) 3**

In ancient period, land was the common property of the community and belonged to settlers of the villages who cultivated it. P1 Alam

The theory of peasant ownership may be partially accepted on the ground that Peasants tilled the lands hereditarily and cultivate without any interference on payment of dues fixed by custom or by the king’s law. That is, the peasants enjoyed proprietary rights on land as an actual tiller and the king enjoyed it as a sovereign authority. The king had the right to impose tax and to expel a peasant from his holding. P2 Alam

Indologists differ as to the loci of ownership. According to some authorities, land was owned by the king, while according to some others, it was owned by the peasants. A third view has it that the land was neither owned by the king nor by the peasants but by the village community. The village community theory may safely be set aside because the village community did not develop in Bengal in the way it did so in Northern and Western India. Bengal village settlements developed in a highly scattered manner. Due to their dispersed nature, a well-knit social

organisation could scarcely develop in Bengal. The peasant ownership theory may be partially accepted on the ground that peasants tilled lands hereditarily and cultivated them without interference on payment of some dues fixed by custom or by the king's laws. The entitlements were thus a combination of those of both the king and the peasants. The landlordism of the king has been blended with peasant proprietorship, signifying that both had rights on the land, one as the sovereign, and the other as the actual tiller. Banglapedia, "Land Tenure".

(copper-plate inscriptions in 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> century) are religious sale deeds recording the transaction between the government and the purchasers. The latter were granted land at reduced price calculated in gold coins of the Gupta rulers. The land could be enjoyed rent-free but could not be sold or transferred to anybody. P66 Bhattacharjee

The land in the village was collectively or communally owned or held by the village authority, or perhaps by somebody on behalf of the village community, and could be purchased by an individual for donating it to the Brahmanas or for similar or other purposes. P152 Bhattacharjee  
During the pre-Maurya and especially Maurya times. There had been large scale reclamation of virgin land partly through land grants. By the Gupta period the ruling groups made deliberate attempts to extend the area of arable land by making grants to priests, monks and religious establishments. P103 Bhattacharjee

Asiatic Society of Bangladesh., and Sirajul Islam. Banglapedia: National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh. 1st ed., English version. Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 2003.

Md. Nur Alam. *Agrarian Relations in Bengal: Ancient to British Period*.

Bhattacharjee, Jayati, *An early history of northern Bengal: historical geography and social formations in Pundravardhana*, Delhi: Akansha Pub. House, 2013.

## **India (Maurya Empire) 2**

-With regard to the sale and mortgage of immovable property, it has been laid down that it should go to kinsmen, neighbors and creditors in the order of preference. P291 Singh

Law books refer distinctly to the ownership of the land by the king. The owner of landed property was also obliged to make proper use, otherwise it might be taken by any other person who showed his willingness to make proper use of it, or it could also be confiscated by the state. P292 Singh

Originally the king was not the owner of the land, but gradually the position changed, Later law books refer distinctly to the ownership of the land by the king. The crown lands are the lands owned personally by the king. The rest of the land theoretically would belong to the state. Since the king is in fact by this time regarded as the state, it is extremely difficult to distinguish between the king in his personal capacity and the king as the head of the state. P82 Thapar  
-the Indian idea of property being based on the just and fair use of a thing, as opposed to the Western idea which implies more absolute ownership. State ownership of land did not exclude individuals from owning small areas of cultivable land, which they could cultivate themselves with a little assistance. It merely means that small-scale ownership of land was not the dominant picture. P83 Thapar

Land revenue given to religious sects did not imply a transfer of ownership but literally only the gift of the revenue. P86 Thapar

Thapar, Romila. *Aśoka and the decline of the Mauryas*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012..

Singh, Mahesh Vikram. *Society under the Mauryas*, Delhi: Indological Book House, 1988 [i.e. 1989]

### **India (Tamil) 7**

(in theory state ownership; in practice some evidence of private transactions)

Ownership was absolute subject to the general theory that the king owned all the land. He could gift to anyone he liked as much land as he wished. Treasure-troves and mines also belonged to the king. But for all practical purposes the individual owner of property had absolute rights in it. He could sell, mortgage, or lease out that property and it was inherited by the sons of the owner and they shared it equally. P389 Subrahmanian

The Dalavaypuram plates of Parantaka Viranarayana also refers to a dispute. In this case the gifted land was misappropriated and an appeal was made to the king. The king restored the right which is the purport of the grant. P5 Nākakāmi (Appellant was an esteemed scholar and an officer)

The bulk of the land was owned by vellalar, the agriculturists par excellence, who commanded a high social rank. The richer among them did not plough the land themselves, but employed laborers to do it. The poorer vellalar did not shun manual labor, but worked on their own farms, as do the peasantry everywhere. P56 Sastri

### **South India land ownership and Law:**

Each village was a community of land-holders. Lands were usually held under three distinct types of tenure; (1) directly from the State (2) under service tenure by the servants of the government or persons charged with the specific duties (3) under eleemosynary tenure by groups of people or an institution like the temple. P96 Nākakāmi

Joint ownership of land by the community

Self-governing institution (village assemblies)...under its officers like the tax collector and the Judge. Co-operated with the government in the punishment of criminals as for instance by confiscating and selling in public lands that belonged to traitors. P102 Nākakāmi

(Early Medieval Cholas) Inscriptions register sale of private and public lands. P166 Swaminathan

Nilakanta Sastri, K. A. *A history of South India from prehistoric times to the fall of Vijayanagar*. [Madras] Indian Branch, Oxford University Press, 1966.

Nilakanta Sastri, K. A. *The illustrated history of South India from prehistoric times to the fall of* New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Nākakāmi, Irā. *Studies in ancient Tamil law and society*. Institute of Epigraphy, State Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu, 1978.

Swaminathan, S. *The early Chōlas history, art, and culture*. Delhi: Sharada Pub. House, 1998.

Subrahmanian, N. *Tamil social history*, Chennai: Institute of Asian Studies, 1997-2001..

### **India (Bengal) 3**

In ancient period, land was the common property of the community and belonged to settlers of the villages who cultivated it. P1 Alam

The theory of peasant ownership may be partially accepted on the ground that Peasants tilled the lands hereditarily and cultivate without any interference on payment of dues fixed by custom or by the king's law. That is, the peasants enjoyed proprietary rights on land as an actual tiller and the king enjoyed it as a sovereign authority. The king had the right to impose tax and to expel a peasant from his holding. P2 Alam

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Banglapedia, Land Tenure.

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-the land in the village was collectively or communally owned or held by the village authority, or perhaps by somebody on behalf of the village community, and could be purchased by an individual for donating it to the Brahmanas or for similar or other purposes. P152 Bhattacharjee

-During the pre-Maurya and especially Maurya times. There had been large scale reclamation of virgin land partly through land grants. By the Gupta period the ruling groups made deliberate attempts to extend the area of arable land by making grants to priests, monks and religious establishments. P103 Bhattacharjee

Bhattacharjee, Jayati, *An early history of northern Bengal: historical geography and social formations in Pundravardhana*, Delhi: Akansha Pub. House, 2013.

## **Sri Lanka 5**

(monastery ownership + state ownership)

the king was not the sole owner of land. Also "hazardous to assume the existence of individual ownership of land." (Siriweera, Land ownership in Ancient Sri Lanka)

As recipients of villages, fields, irrigation reservoirs and other sources of wealth, monasteries became property-owning institutions. P222 Liyanagamage

It is, however, stipulated in a number of inscriptions that land and immunities were granted by kings were to be enjoyed not only by the donee but also by his children, grandchildren, and their descendants. ...had hereditary succession to this property. These documents contain nothing to

decide that the properties concerned were enjoyed in common by members of the family of the done. P25 Hettiaratchi

Hettiaratchi, S. B. Social and cultural history of ancient Sri Lanka. Delhi, India: Sri Satguru Publications, 1988.

Liyanagamagē, Amaradāsa. *Society, state and religion in premodern Sri Lanka*. Kelaniya: University of Kelaniya, c2001.

Land grants:

Royal grants of land fall into at least three categories. First, the king could grant land to institutions as well as to individuals with the fullest proprietary rights which the tenure system allowed. P92

Proprietary rights of tanks that passed in hereditary succession are referred to in the Perimiyankulam inscription of Vasabha (67-111 A.D.) and in the Timbirivava inscription of Gothabhaya (249-262 A.D.). Although these edicts refer to the rights in tanks, it is possible that the principle of hereditary succession was applied to land as well, from at least the early centuries of the Christian Era. P94 Siriweera

There was private ownership of land. Women also enjoyed this right. The public had the right to buy, sell, or gift the lands they owned. The king had no rights over these lands except to review certain taxes periodically. Eppawela inscription (10th century) refers to a sale of one paya of paddy land for eight kalanda by Velatme Mihindu to Ukunuhasa Kotta. Galapatavihara rock inscription (13 century) states that Demela Adhikari Mahinda and his family bought some plots of land from some persons. Piligama inscription says that the commander and soldiers in an army camp bought a piece of paddy land and donated it to the Pahanabena temple. Land could also be mortgaged. Medieval literature refers to the mortgage (ukas) of immovable property.

The king respected private ownership. He was a land owner himself. Mahavamsa refers to a plot of land which belonged to the family of king Kutakanna Tissa. Gajabahu funded a nunnery on a plot of land belonging to his family. The king bought land from the public. Gajabahu I, Kumara Dhatusena and Nissankamalla bought lands from various individuals and donated them to the sangha. This shows that owners could not be dispossessed even by the king. Owners did not need the king's permission to dispose of property either. Inscriptions recording donations do not say anything about permission from the king. (Kamalika Pieris, Sri Lanka Guardian, <https://www.slguardian.org/lands-in-ancient-and-medieval-sri-lanka/>)

Joint tenure:

The evidence for joint family tenure is very meager. (only in inscriptions in the 13<sup>th</sup> century or later) p97 Siriweera

Institution ownership by temples:

Land was held by religious institutions under various forms of tenure. Over certain plots of lands, they had the fullest rights possible within the tenurial system. Grants of the king, made out of his private land and donations of plots held by individuals on pamunu tenure fall into this category.... Property held by religious establishments was not permitted to be alienated by sale. Although alienation was prohibited, monasteries could purchase property. P100 Siriweera

Office land:

Almost all writers on land tenure in ancient Sri Lanka are agreed that land held by various officials of the kind was to be retained only for the period of service...at least in certain instances, rights in land held temporarily for the periods of service were also alienable. P85 Siriweera

## **Nepal 2**

Ownership of land, its control and access emerged from the orders declared over land by the crown or rulers. The traditional form of land tenure in Nepal was state ownership. *Land Tenure and Land Registration in Nepal*, Babu Ram Acharya

Classification of land (Lichavvi)

Land at that time could be divided into three or four categories. One type of land was directly under the possession of royal family. Another type of land was under the control of religious Guthee, temple, etc. Other two types were under “Birta” and public possession respectively. P50 Nepal

As in contemporary India of the Gupta dynasty, so in the Nepal of the Lichhavis, the king was the biggest feudalist. He was so because he owned the largest area of land, in brief he was the biggest: landlord. P265 Regmi

Regmi, D. R. Ancient Nepal [electronic resource] Calcutta, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1969. Socio-economic history of ancient and medieval Nepal. Nepal, Mediniprasad, Biratnagar: Dharanidhar Multipurpose Co-operative Ltd., 1997.

## **East Asia**

### **Japan 4**

**Japan:** Laws of the period refer to three types of land: (1) arable land administered directly by the state; (2) garden and residential land held privately but with differences of tenure; and (3) the surrounding mountains, groves, rivers, and swamps that were used by all members of the community for wood gathering, hunting, and slash-and-burn agriculture. But the subject of most of these provisions was the land used for growing rice, or the surrounding communal land considered suitable for rice cultivation. Only gardens and residential plots were truly private. P415-416 Toshiya

Although these laws regulated the distribution and use of arable land, they were never, as far as we know, extended to the distribution and use of land that might be brought under cultivation, a subject of primary importance to any agricultural society. The absence of such regulations, which was a divergence from the T'ang model, was conducive to the later spread of private ownership. P416 Toshiya

Two sources provide information on the life of Nara period households and villages. First, the household registers (koseki) prepared for each household every six years showed whether persons of a household were commoners or slaves, and they supplied the information needed for making reallocations of land every six years. The second source is the yearly tax registers (keicho) that recorded payments of produce taxes and labor levies (choyo). The tax registers were, of course, linked with the household registers. Both were prepared by provincial officials and sent to the capital. P429 Toshiya

By studying what remains of the household and tax registers, we can deduce that families of eighth-century Japan had a strong patrilineal character. P429 Toshiya

With respect to the inheritance of a rank holder's property, the Taiho statutes of 701 stipulated that the eldest son would inherit his father's property, as in Chinese law. But he was not to receive everything. He got the house, the chattel slaves (except those brought into the household by the deceased's wife), and one-half of all other property, with the remainder being divided equally among his brothers. The later Yoro code reduced the eldest son's proportion of the inheritance to twice that of any brother and also recognized inheritance by daughters (half that received by brothers). Nothing, however, is said about inheritance in commoner families that had no court rank, but each member seems to have inherited an equal portion. P429-430 Toshiya

Toshiya, Torao. *Nara economic and social institutions*. National Museum of History and Ethnology. The Cambridge history of Japan. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

## **Korea 2**

(ancient Korea)

Private ownership of land by the individual peasant likely already had developed, but it is believed that the free peasants, the primary work force in the village community, also tilled communal fields. P27 Lee

(three-kingdom period)

With the emergence of centralized aristocratic states centered on monarchical power, the concepts evolved that all of the nation's land belonged to the king and that all of the people were his subjects...to commanders for their victories in battle, or to the aristocratic holders of government office, large grants of land and numerous prisoners of war were given as befitting their distinguished service and exalted station. P55-56 Lee

Newly acquired lands were designated as lands owned by the royal family or the government, and some of them were allocated to some of the royal family members, high-ranking officials and other meritorious vassals in the name of sigeup. P45 Chang-seok

Kim Chang-seok. *Goguryeo Society and Its Economy*

Lee, Ki-Baik. *A new history of Korea*. Cambridge, Mass.: Published for the Harvard-Yenching Institute by Harvard University Press, 1984.

## **China 2**

See p332 Trigger: no evidence of private ownership; either institutional ownership or clan ownership

It is agreed that in China land was not bought and sold before the Spring and Autumn Period (722-481 BC). In Shang and Western Zhou times blocks of land were occupied and worked by extended families, but it is unclear whether these families collectively owned the land they cultivated or whether it belonged to the king or some regional or local official. Government decrees which moved extended families from one part of the kingdom to another and assigned them to serve new lords suggest that at least some extended families may have had hereditary access to land but did not own it. P319 Trigger



In China, rights to the produce of fields that were collectively worked were assigned to various officials and their retainers, but these fields were owned either collectively by extended families or institutionally by the government. P332 Trigger

The Shang kings are recorded as owning large plots of agricultural land near Anyang. P325 Trigger

There is no evidence that land was privately owned during any of the Shang period. On the contrary, in Shang divinations farming fields on the northwestern border that were reportedly being attacked by an alien state were referred to as "wotian"...the character wo in oracle inscriptions was unquestionably a reference of self-address on the part of the state or of the king. P223 Chang

Chang, Kwang-chih. *Shang civilization*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980.

## **Middle East and Near East**

### **Egypt 2**

Royal land p330 Trigger

It is less certain that private land existed in Old Kingdom Egypt...at least some of this land could be alienated from its possessors' heirs in a variety of ways, including using it to endow personal funerary cults. Much of this land, appears, however, to have been bestowed on individuals by the king, and it is frequently difficult or impossible to distinguish between an outright gift and a bestowal that would eventually have reverted to the king. It is especially difficult to distinguish privately owned land from office land that was held by successive generations of a family that performed the same or equivalent services for temples or the state. P334 Trigger

Nevertheless, it does seem as if something closely resembling private land was already being transferred by sale in the Old Kingdom (Malek and Forman 1986:82). P334 Trigger

Egyptian kings had begun to establish royal estates (hwt) long before the Old kingdom, and throughout the period they continued to create large numbers of these institutions. p330 Trigger

Living persons of the Old Kingdom might have had at their disposal lands and gardens of remarkable size; they even were able to buy and inherit them, as Meten did. But they held these lands in their capacity as officials of the king, and even buying land is no proof of the existence of private property in a society where it was possible to buy high governmental offices together with their income. So, too, great officials in the New Kingdom held large domains only in trust for a land-owning institution like a temple. Therefore, since no living person could be a private owner of land—the king being an owner only in the capacity of godlike person—one could say that the soil of Egypt was the property of the community, as manifested in the form of divine beings. With the end of the New Kingdom, sales of such smallholdings, called *ḫwt nmḫww* ("fields of the commons"), became frequent.

The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. Edited by Donald B. Redford. "Landholding", <http://www.oxfordreference.com/abstract/10.1093/acref/9780195102345.001.0001/acref-9780195102345-e-0398?rskey=HpHoXG&result=399>

### **Iran 5**

### **Land ownership:**

- the elementary unit of the system was the fief, called “bow land”. The feudatories, often groups of agnatic relatives, held such properties on condition of at least nominal military service and payment of an annual tax. Fiefs and feudatories were grouped in organizations called hatrus. Each hatru was under the control of a superintendent who was responsible for allocation of the constituent fiefs and for collection of taxes. P25 Stolper
- Private ownership may have formed a significant part of the local pattern of tenure. P26 Stolper
- Alongside these small properties existed larger landed estates, held by members of the royal family, courtiers and officials of the Persian crown. P26 Stolper

The rights of rural communities do not derive from the category of “property” but only from concessions granted by the king **for the use of the produce for a long but limited time.** P417 Briant

(an interesting instance is: a Mnesimachus had borrowed a large sum from the sanctuary. In writing up the guarantee for the debt secured by the harvests of the land, the temple administrators took into account the possibility that the king would repossess the land. P417 Briant)

“holding” the land, but not private property in the full sense. P462 Briant

“In most cases, the king had no intention of confiscating the lands”, usually revocability of land “remained theoretical”. P419 Briant

Concessionary plots were given as benefits to favorites or relatives of the king or to colonists. Princesses were allowed to own lands and villages in the Empire. The revenues from these lands made it possible for them to maintain a household. P420

-In principle, royal concessions were revocable.

The conquest did not result in a sudden, general confiscation of land. People continued to possess (according to their local standards) their traditional lands. P421 Briant

Land ownership seemed very complicated and there were a lot of variations. It seems that, though, companies like the Murasu firm that I mentioned below, “leased” the land from the land “holders” for agricultural management; also there were contracts signed by the holder of a field and peasant, the former “provided the land”, the latter “the seed, tools and labor”. (DAE 1 {Bauer-Meissner papyrus, 515BC})

### **Mesopotamia 7**

During the late fourth and early third millennia, patrilineal extended families appear to have collectively owned extensive tracts of farm land. By the time the oldest readable texts provide detailed information about economic transactions, all or part of such holdings could be sold to non-kin, subject to the agreement of all the male members of an extended family. P318 Trigger

Evidence of increasing sales of collective land in Mesopotamia during the Early Dynastic period suggests that in this early civilization collective ownership was in sharp decline. P320 Trigger

Institutional land played an important role in the economy of southern Mesopotamia during the third millennium BC. Most temples, as distinguished from small shrines, were endowed with land that was regarded as constituting the estate of the presiding deity...the temples of Lagash are estimated to have owned...about one-tenth of the arable land belonging to the city-state

(Diakonoff 1969b:174). Royal estates were divided into the personal land of the king and land belonging to the palace. P327 Trigger

### **Latin America (colonial)**

Encomienda and Repartimiento (crown's land; not inheritable, not transferrable)

The encomienda remained a grant of Indians, not of land. When land was abandoned by the Indians, it reverted to the crown, and not to the encomendero to whom the Indians had been assigned... There remained strict limitations on land-ownership in Spain's American possessions. The possession of land was conditioned on its occupation or use, although, in accordance with Castilian law, the subsoil remained the inalienable possession of the crown. P40 Elliot  
The transmission of the encomienda from one generation to another was never to become automatic. The crown remained the master. P41 Elliot

Elliott, J. H. (John Huxtable). *Empires of the Atlantic world: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830*. New Haven, Conn; London : Yale University Press, 2007.

**Estancia and Hacienda: (private land property, later)** In most regions there came to be considerably more haciendas than there had been encomiendas. As the Spanish sector expanded and more families grew rich and powerful, non-encomenderos managed to acquire large tracts of land in areas originally dominated by encomenderos. P418 Lockhart

Lockhart, James. *Encomienda and Hacienda: The Evolution of the Great Estate in the Spanish Indies*. The Hispanic American Historical Review. 1969.

**Caribbean countries:** What the encomendero had was an inalienable grant, held at the pleasure of the governor, of the labor of the subjects of a cacique or caciques. Such rights came through separate grants, often from the local municipal council, and on a very different basis. Land received in this way could be kept, sold, or passed on to heirs and thus in effect was private property despite certain restrictions on it. P69 Lockhart&Schwartz

Also see Lockhart, James. *Encomienda and Hacienda: The Evolution of the Great Estate in the Spanish Indies*. The Hispanic American Historical Review. 1969.

**Jamaica-8** encomienda existed before 17<sup>th</sup> century; privately owned plantation afterwards  
**British Colony since 1655:**

During Modyford's term, the consolidation of private property in the form of land and people began to take place...a small class of large planters, holding thousands of acres of the best agricultural land and importing hundreds of slaves, began to form. P38 Delle

Delle, James A. *The colonial Caribbean: landscapes of power in plantation system*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014

**Dominican Republic 8-**encomienda, repartimiento, but inheritance of land (primogeniture) was established as early as in the 1530s

Columbus devised the *repartimiento* system of land settlement and native labor under which a settler, without assuming any obligation to the authorities, could be granted in perpetuity a large tract of land together with the services of the Indians living on it. The Spanish crown changed it by instituting the system of *encomienda* in 1503. Under the *encomienda* system, all land became in theory the property of the crown. An *encomienda* theoretically did not involve ownership of land; in practice, however, possession was gained through other means. Haggerty  
Richard A. Haggerty, ed. *Dominican Republic: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1989.

**Trinidad and Tobago 8-**encomienda existed but small, private plantation

**Costa Rica-8.** Encomienda and repartimiento (not private land actually), existed relatively short  
Large hacienda coexisted with small farmers (private land)

**Encomienda:** the application of encomienda grants in Costa Rica evolved quite differently compared to other colonies. In particular, Spanish settlers in Costa Rica demanded that natives within the encomienda system fall directly under their authority. P22 Rankin

Eventually a diverse land tenure system emerged out of the original encomienda grants, particularly after the passage of the New Laws in 1542. P24 Rankin

**Repartimiento:** the system, common throughout the Spanish colonies, failed in Costa Rica because estates were not large enough to make them profitable and because Indian manpower was scarce. As a result, the practice of forced labor was curtailed in Costa Rica long before the system was finally outlawed. P13 Nelson

Haciendas-similar to elsewhere, the landed elite existed side-by-side with small farmers. P32 Rankin

*Costa Rica, a country study* / Foreign Area Studies, the American University; edited by Harold D. Nelson. Washington, D.C.: American University, Foreign Area Studies, 1984.

Rankin, Monica A. *The history of Costa Rica*, Santa Barbara, California: Greenwood,2012.

Note: For these countries, the privately owned and (hacienda or plantation) emerged early and encomienda and repartimiento were less influential

**Brazil-6** Sesmarias land grants by the crown, “the land that was not occupied was considered regal”, until the eighteenth century no limits on landholding by individuals, officially prohibited but an active black market for land sale (*An Archaeology of Land Ownership*, edited by Maria Relaki, Despina Catapoti)

Sesmarias are another example of transplanting home institutions...the holder of a sesmaria had complete property rights over land with the exception of holding the land idle. P277 Mokyr

The Oxford encyclopedia of economic history. Joel Mokyr, editor in chief. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

**Argentina 6-**encomienda, repartimiento existed, but private large estancia became very important

**Honduras- 5** encomienda

**El Salvador 5-**encomienda, repartimiento, large hacienda

Large tracts of land were granted by the crown, initially under the terms of the encomienda system...in the mid-sixteenth century by the repartimiento system. (encomienda and repartimiento here seem similar to other places) P6 Haggerty

A fundamental aspect of the monoculture economy developing in El Salvador was the hacienda or great estate. (with debt peonage labor) p44 White

White, Christopher M. *The history of El Salvador*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2009.  
*El Salvador, a country study*, edited by Richard A. Haggerty. Washington, D.C.

#### **Mexico 4**

encomienda, repartimiento, estancia, hacienda, conditioned land grants; collective ownership by Indians

Estancia grants in 1560-1580s had restrictions “By fixing limits and indicating the recipients’ rights and duties, the new estancia deeds tended to clarify and circumscribe the raisers’ gradual taking over of the land.” P102 Chevalier

Not until the seventeenth century did a more compact kind of estate appeared and property rights become better defined. P264 Chevalier

In the seventeenth century, the true owners of haciendas were families and lineages, rather than individuals. Some estates were owned jointly by a number of relatives and therefore, could not be divided; many others were entailed, so that individual owners could not dispose of their property. P299 Chevalier

Chevalier, François. *Land and society in colonial Mexico; the great hacienda*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1970 [c1963].

#### **Haciendas:**

Originally, they (Estancia and Caballeria) had not only designated surface areas, but also implied varying degrees of property rights: the caballeria, actual ownership of the soil (with reservation of commonage, which was fairly well-observed), and the two kinds of estancias, with no more than preferential, or usufruct, rights for the grazing of one’s own sheep and cattle. As a matter of fact, Spaniards often ignored the distinctions as early as the sixteenth century, exploiting their grants as they saw fit. The crux is the date at which the law sanctioned this trend toward indiscriminate use of land; for then, plain grazing rights were turned into vested property rights and stockmen passed from *de facto* to *de jure* possession of the soil. P265 Chevalier

The classical hacienda, with its theoretically free workers, appeared there much earlier than in the south. P278 Chevalier

The seventeenth century witnessed not only the haciendas’ acquisition of their definitive land rights and their adoption of the system of serfdom through debts, which settled the fate of peons and sharecroppers (wherever workers were not Negro slaves), but also their growing into semi-independent economic units. P288 Chevalier

In the northern provinces, the isolated haciendas dotting the enormous landscape were from their inception microcosms striving for as great a degree of self-sufficiency as possible. P289 Chevalier

In the seventeenth century, the true owners of haciendas were families and lineages, rather than individuals. Some estates were owned jointly by a number of relatives and therefore, could not be divided; many others were entailed, so that individual owners could not dispose of their property. P299 Chevalier

Chevalier, François. *Land and society in colonial Mexico; the great hacienda*. Translated by Alvin Eustis. Edited, with a foreword, by Lesley Byrd Simpson. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1970 [c1963].

**Venezuela-5** encomienda persisted into the 18<sup>th</sup> century

**Encomienda:** it proved profitable to form encomiendas, but only on the basis of personal service, or rather the obligation to give a specified amount of labor to the encomendero. In Venezuela personal-service encomiendas were not converted to the tribute-collecting type common in New Spain and Peru until 1687. The encomienda of Venezuela persisted into the eighteenth century. P285 Lockhart

Schwartz. Stuart B. Lockhart, James. *Early Latin America: a history of colonial Spanish America and Brazil*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1983.

**Chile-5** encomienda persisted into 18<sup>th</sup> century

Schwartz. Stuart B. Lockhart, James. *Early Latin America: a history of colonial Spanish America and Brazil*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1983.

**Colombia-5** encomienda, hacienda

**Guatemala-** 2 encomienda, repartimiento, collective land ownership of Indians, haciendas and estancias

Spaniards after about 1550 showed increasing desire to possess it (land), largely for economic reasons but also for prestige, respect and advancement in society. Corporations and private individuals occupied and purchased land increasingly in the late sixteenth century...haciendas were large, privately owned estates; while ranchos, were small privately owned plots for subsistence. P119-120 Jones

Conditions for land grants: make improvements to their properties, put rural lands to use, and live on their properties for a period of four to five years, during which the Crown retained title to the lands. Having met the conditions of the grant, recipients were then granted title to the land as their personal property, although ownership of the subsoil always remained in the hands of the monarch. P120-121 Jones

Landholding was not simple but complex in colonial Guatemala, involving private and corporate ownership, common lands, and Crown holdings. P122 Jones

All land originally was owned by the king as his royal domain, but to encourage its settlement the monarch authorized royal officials to grant land in towns and the rural countryside to individuals and corporate bodies such as the church. This was done through the *Mercedes de tierra*, beginning after the arrival of the conquistadores and the first colonizers. P120 Jones

Jones, Oakah L. Guatemala in the Spanish colonial period. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, c1994.

**Peru-4** encomienda system persisted until the 18th century, not really private land ownership; but Spanish took Indian land as private property; collective land ownership of Indians

Indian land: the king had never granted them dominion or absolute ownership of the land; Indians had purely usufructuary rights. P105 Ramírez

Vista de la tierra (review of land titles, 1589)-for the Spanish the visita merely legalized a de facto situation and did not change the pattern of landholding significantly. It made landowners of landholders. The visita, by providing the landowners with security in tenure, encouraged them to invest. P107 Ramírez

An encomienda is generally described as a royal grant...not a grant of land...and the encomenderos, leaping over technicalities, made their encomiendas the basis of large estates, even if they did not legally own the land. P11 Lockhart

Even though all knew that the encomendero did not own the land. his monopoly on labor rights made the land of little use to anyone else. P13 Lockhart

In Peru the ultimate scandal was the sale of encomiendas. The practice was so contrary to the ethos of making the grants for meritorious service and so hideous in the eyes of those who failed to become encomenderos that sellers, buyers, and the governors who permitted the sale did the utmost to hide what they were doing, but there is no doubt that on certain occasions encomiendas were sold. P21 Lockhart

Ramírez, Susan E. Provincial patriarchs: land tenure and the economics of power in colonial Peru. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, c1986.

Lockhart, James. Spanish Peru, 1532–1560 [electronic resource]: A Social History. Madison, Wis. : University of Wisconsin Press, c1994.

Landowners in colonial Peru. Davies, Keith A.. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984.

Ramirez, Susan E. (2016) "Land and Tenure in Early Colonial Peru: Individualizing the Sapci, "That Which is Common to All", " The Medieval Globe: Vol. 2 : No. 2 , Article 4.

See Schwartz. Stuart B. Lockhart, James. *Early Latin America: a history of colonial Spanish America and Brazil*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1983.

**Ecuador- 2** similar to Peru

**Panama-5** encomienda disappeared quickly, did not develop large private landholdings like hacienda or estancia, the economy “was nearly exclusively tied into the trajin or trajin support industries” (p190, Imperial Panama, Ward)

Brazil

Sesmaria's land grants by the crown, “the land that was not occupied was considered regal”, until the eighteenth century no limits on landholding by individuals, officially prohibited but an active black market for land sale (*An Archaeology of Land Ownership*, edited by Maria Relaki, Despina Catapoti)

In essence it was the hereditary grant of a large portion of royal jurisdiction over a specified territory and its inhabitants to a lord who thereafter acted as the king's locum tenens to the extent

spelled out in the gift. In a constitutional sense, land under the direct control of the crown was converted into a lordship in which royal rights were now restricted to certain attributes of 'greater lordship'. P262 Mörner

Mörner, Magnus. *The rural economy and society of colonial Spanish South America*. University of Gothenburg, Sweden

## **Uruguay**

The country was settled late, privately owned large haciendas, landowners guild.

## **Pre-colonial**

### **Inca Empire 2**

The highland Peruvian ayllu was also an endogamous landowning group. Each nuclear family received a share of the various kinds of ayllu land that were required to produce all the basic foodstuffs it required...a local ayllu leader oversaw the annual reallocation of land as part of the process of crop rotation and fallowing. P317 Trigger

In Peru hereditary estates and those who worked them could not be sold or exchanged. P332 Trigger  
p335 Trigger

- 1) State land. Various documents record the last Incas (meaning the royalty) as having owned vast private estates that took up entire valleys near the capital.
- 2) The land of ethnic group leaders. The more prominent curaca chiefs of the macro-ethnic groups owned states, linked to their title and cultivated by the inhabitants.
- 3) The land of the "huaca". A very early and widespread tradition throughout pre-Colombian Peru was that each huaca or temple had the right to a parcel of land for ritual gatherings.
- 4) The land of the "Ayllu". Each ayllu or group of descendants from the same forefather, had their own land, pastures and water supply. P182 Minelli

Minelli, Laura Laurencich. *The Inca World: The Development of Pre-Columbian Peru, A.D. 1000-1534*, Parts 1000-1534. University of Oklahoma Press, 2000.

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

## **Maya 3**

Land tenure among the maya of Yucatan; land-holding categories include: state lands, pueblo lands, calpulli lands, lineage lands, noble lands and private lands. P50 Weeks

Simply put, the contact-era Maya lacked a concept of private land-ownership...(land) was not a resource over which one could exercise direct dominion for either sale or purchase; it was inalienable. P21 Quezada

Communal lands were owned by the nobles and ruling class, and were worked by commoners. Commoner families were also permitted to own small parcels of land that they used for subsistence agriculture. This land could be passed down to the owner's sons. Quezada



Weeks, John M. *Maya civilization at the millennium : a research guide*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011.

<http://tarlton.law.utexas.edu/c.php?g=424847&p=3593024>

Quezada, Sergio. *Maya lords and lordship: the formation of colonial society in Yucatán, 1350-1600*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, [2014]

### **Aztec 3**

(no evidence of private ownership, p332,335 Trigger)

Communal: In the valley of Mexico, the most extensive category of land was calpollalli, which belonged jointly to members of calpollis. Calpollis were, first and foremost, landholding groups.

P316 Trigger

Calpolli land could not, however, be rented to members of the same or another calpolli, since such an arrangement would have contravened the legal equality and exclusivity of rights to land that defined calpolli membership (Berdan 1982:89). P316 Trigger

In the valley of Mexico, kings held tlatocatlalli, fields and estates that could be inherited by their children. Such land was exchanged among rulers of different city-states when their children married...Because there is no evidence that patrilonial land could actually be sold, it seems likely to have been institutional rather than private. P322 Trigger

There was, in addition to calpolli, nobles', and royal land, land that was owned and operated by the state. Palace land (tecpanlalli) and Office land (tlatocamalli). p322 Trigger

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

### **Israel 4**

(communal ownership by the lineage, at least familial ownership but not individual ownership)

**Land ownership:** there are few references to royal property in the biblical texts. Only the description of David's decisions about property formerly belonging to Saul (cf. 2 Samuel 9;16:1-14; 19:30). P161 McNutt

Yet the specific identification of each family household with its inherited domain was exceptionally strong; family land was to be held in perpetuity. P19 Meyers

Land was held in patrimonial units, not to pass out of the control of the family group. P20 Meyers

Inalienability of family property is a recurring concept in biblical law and lore. P21 Meyers

Familial land ownership resided at the economic base of Israelite and early Jewish households. Tradition of land distribution (Joshua 13-22) and laws protecting land ownership point to the inherent economic value of this commodity necessary to sustain households. Land was to be transferred from generation to generation within the family household, normally through inheritance of the patrimony. The household's land was not a commodity to be bought and sold. P169 Perdue

Land was not privately owned by the individual but rather was possessed by the household. P234 Perdue

With some exceptions (for example, land held by royalty and other elites), the primary production unit in settled agricultural communities in Iron Age II Israel and Judah was probably the individual (or possibly extended) family, who either worked an allotted share of land belonging to the extended family or land rented from a wealthy neighbor or absentee landlord.

P155 McNutt

(most scholars supposed that land “ancestral land” was held by the extended family (consisted of several nuclear families). So I assume this is the norm)

Individual households did not have exclusive ownership of property, which was owned collectively by the clan (Hebrew *mispaha*)...the clan was the primary legal and juridical unit in ancient Israel. p448 Schloen

the archaeological record (clusters of two to three houses sharing the same courtyard) indicates the probability that extended families continued at least to reside together. And the consensus seems to be that the extended family continued to be the primary socioeconomic unit as well.

P166 McNutt

Scholars disagree over whether the nuclear or extended family was the most basic unit of Israelite society. Stager has used both archaeological evidence and biblical texts, as well as comparative evidence, to argue that the clusters of dwellings found in Iron Age I villages represent extended families that lived together with their livestock, with a nuclear family occupying each unit of the cluster. Israelite land was held jointly by the extended family or lineage, with livestock possibly held by nuclear families. P382 Lemos

McNutt, Paula M. *Reconstructing the society of ancient Israel*. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1999.

Schloen, David, J. *Economy and society in Iron Age Israel and Judah*, Levinson, Bernard.M and Sherman, Tina. M. *Law and Legal Literature*, Lemos, T.M. *Kinship, Community and Society*, The Wiley Blackwell companion to ancient Israel / edited by Susan Niditch. Chichester, West Sussex, UK ; Malden, MA : John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2016

Perdue, Leo. G. *the Israelite and Early Jewish Family*. Meyers, Carol. *The Family in Early Israel*, Families in ancient Israel / Leo G. Perdue. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, c1997.

### **Lebanon (Phoenicia)**

Besides, the king had in his possession some lands, whose produce he could sell. In Palestine there have been found several Phoenician jugs with a name (obviously, a placename) and the designation “l-mlk”, i.e. “of the king”. P39 Tsirkin

Tsirkin, Yu, B. Socio-political structure of Phoenicia.

### **Arabia 9**

See Shatzmiller p172, 177, 179 for land ownership and property rights in early caliphates

Although Islam stresses that God is the ultimate owner of all property (S. III.189), it recognizes the right of human "trustees" to dispose of it as if it were privately owned. As detailed in the Sunna, private ownership was certainly the norm among the Prophet's followers. The right to

private ownership is not disputed among legal schools. (<http://www.hetwebsite.net/het/schools/islamic.htm>)

Shatzmiller, Maya. *Labour in the medieval Islamic world*. Leiden [The Netherlands] ; New York : E.J. Brill, 1994.

### **Morocco 9**

Property: The legality of the partitioning ( qisma ) of property is accepted and common practice in the Sunnī legal schools. Land may be partitioned between a group of people by drawing lots or by consent, p105 Gómez-Rivas

Gómez-Rivas, Camilo. *Studies in the History and Society of the Maghrib: Law and the Islamization of Morocco under the Almoravids: The Fatwās of Ibn Rushd al-Jadd to the Far Maghrib* (1). Leiden, NL: Brill, 2014. ProQuest ebrary. Web. 9 September 2016.

### **Pakistan (Ghaznavids, Ghurids) 4**

Iqta system dominates

The Ghaznavid Sultans used to disburse bistagani or /yr/, 16 i.e payment in cash, to the officials and troops for their maintenance. Apart from this the payment in form of milk, inam, and iqta was also prevalent. P234 Raza

The terms milk and inam denote the assignment of land by the Sultan to the scholars, poets and nobles. P234 Raza

The Ghaznavids assigned iqta' at to their governors and soldiers. Renewal of old iqta' was also prevalent, as under Amir Sabuktigin. P709 Raza

Raza, Syed Jabir. Ghaznavid origins of the administrative institutions of the Delhi Sultanate, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol. 52 (1991), pp. 232-241. Indian History Congress.

Raza, Syed Jabir. Iqta system in the pre-Ghurid Kingdoms and its antecedents. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*. Vol. 54 (1993), pp. 707-713

For detailed discussion of iqta, see Moreland (1968).

Moreland, W. H. (William Harrison), *The agrarian system of Moslem India; a historical essay with appendices by W. H. Moreland*. Delhi, Oriental Books Reprint Corp; exclusively distributed by Munshiram Manoharlal [1968]

### **Assyria 7**

Property is considered to belong primarily to the family, the eldest son has a double portion, the younger sons work for him on an undivided estate. Crimes against property were severely treated. Utilization of a field against the wishes of the owner was not condoned, the cultivator lost his produce and was punished. P554 Olmstead

Olmstead, A. T. *History of Assyria*. New York, London, C. Scribner's Sons, 1923.

(Middle Assyrian period) The legal-ideological ownership of most, if not all, land by the Crown appears related to a system of tenantship in exchange for feudal service (ilku), whereby each granted estate was expected to supply the Crown with a contingent of troops, or with corresponding civilian service (Postgate 1982). A feudal tenant could alienate the land or pass it

on to his heirs; while failure to provide the ilku could entail its re-assignment to another tenant. A class of persons called “villagers” (ālaiū) could have represented small landowners owing ilku-service to the Crown, or former landowners dispossessed by the newer form of landownership, and thus forced to work on the estates of the elite, with binding obligations which passed on to their heirs, unless redeeming procedures were carried out (Lafont 2003: 532–3). P403 Frahm

Frahm, Eckart. *A companion to Assyria*. Hoboken, NJ : John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2017.

Recently Garelli has dealt with the question of feudal 'land tenure at this period, and with the problems of private and public ownership. He distinguishes three main categories of land : that owned by the (local or central) palace (i.e. the king, the state), private property, and land leased (or otherwise made over) by the palace to private persons.

I would maintain that all privately 'owned' land was originally conceded by the crown to its 'owners', and that it therefore naturally reverts to the crown for concession when the direct line of succession fails. P512 Postgate

Drawing together the results so far obtained, I think we may treat the following facts as sufficiently established:

- (1) ilku could consist of military service;
- (2) if a man who owned property vanished for good, his property went to the crown, even when it had been sold to a third party;
- (3) other private lands might fall to the crown, and there is no evidence that these were not in other ways entirely 'normal' private lands;
- (4) there was a distinction between hereditary and purchased lands which remained effective over at least two generations.

If we look for a pattern into which all these facts can be fitted, I would propose the following reconstruction, which must be treated as a theoretical and ideal solution, and, even if correct in theory, was not necessarily adhered to strictly in practice: all 'normal' private land was granted to free men by the crown, to be held in direct line from father to son only, in return for the performance of ilku services. The following conditions of tenure must be posited:

- (a) if the direct line died out, the land reverted to the crown;
- (b) the land could be sold, apparently without the intervention or permission of the crown; for the problem of the regulation of ilku in the case of land sales, see below;
- (c) if the line of the original owner of land which has been sold dies out (or the last representative is lost), the land still reverts to the crown, even though it is actually in the possession of another;
- (d) the owners of the land could have their illku performed for them by their semi-free 'dependent villager. P517 Postgate

Postgate, J. N. *Land Tenure in the Middle Assyrian Period: A Reconstruction*. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol.34, No. 3 (1971), pp. 496-520. Cambridge University Press on behalf of School of Oriental and African Studies.

## **Turkey (Seljuk/Ottoman) 5**

**Land ownership:**

(state owned 90% of the land; state land was distributed to warriors “iqta”, not inheritable, but also some lands were leased to peasants for very long period and is inheritable.

**See p139-141 Inalcik**

Emergence of the iqta in the 10<sup>th</sup> century-from that moment on, most of the land which was state owned. P52 Shatzmiller

Islamic feudalism was radically different. Land ownership held by the State was placed under the control of caliphs, monarchs, and sheiks, while village retained a great deal of autonomy. Land may have been provided as a fiscal benefit, an iqta where military service could be rewarded by rights of tax farming designated properties, but without political/judicial power over subjects or hereditary transmission of ownership. The iqta’ was not a feudal fiefdom leading to a seigneurial system. Peasants retained the rights of usufruct and could sell land. P53 Thompson

**State land:**

Conquered lands the common property of the Islamic community or the state. P104 Inalcik

The state (miri) lands, about 90 percent of all the arable lands, were placed under the responsibility of the nisanici, a civil bureaucrat. P105 Inalcik

Under the Ottomans, abandoned land was handed for cultivation to Dervishes, or to state slaves and serfs. p239 Fleet

(a tapu contract is a kind of perpetual lease made directly with the peasant, who acquires the possession and usufruct of the land and automatically leaves these rights to his male descendants upon his death. Tapu also makes the peasant subject to certain obligations to fulfill specific services to the state or sipahi. P139 Inalcik )

**Land grants:**

The grantee’s freehold ownership was established on everything within these boundaries...the state relinquished in favor of the grantee all its rights.

Land could be granted as freehold (mülk), assigned as a land grant (ikta under the Seljuks and timar under the Ottomans who assigned such lands to maintain troops).

The Ottoman landholding system owed much to that of the Seljuks p237 Fleet

(timars) were apparently hereditary, as were the appanages and estates assigned to family members, allies and military commanders. P196 Fodor

Fief-holders owned the taxes from the fief for the period of their tenure. P43 Imber

Thompson, Michael J. *Islam and the West : critical perspectives on modernity*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, c2003.

*An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914* / edited by Halil İnalcık with Donald Quataert. Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1994.

**Southeast Asia****Thailand 2**

With the proclamation that all land was in actual fact the king's, the very basis of feudalism was removed, and thus all former territorial lords assumed a new relationship vis-a-vis the monarch.

Thus, under the application of the Indian notion of sole land ownership by the monarch and the institution of the sakdina, the traditional Siamese concept of rule by paternalism, far from being weakened, became more significant as it was given an added dimension, that of the expectation of specific obligations by subordinates to superiors based on the traditional concept of reverence to the father. P88 Viraphol

Sarasin Viraphol (1977). "*Law in traditional Siam and China: A comparative study*". Journal of the Siam Society. Siam Heritage Trust. JSS Vol. 65.1c (digital). Retrieved 17 March 2013.

Land donation to temples. See p117 Kasetsiri

Kasetsiri, Charnvit. *The rise of Ayudhya: a history of Siam in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*. Kuala Lumpur ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.

#### **Champa 4**

**Temple ownership:** in addition to the sanctuary itself, each temple comprised a vast domain whose revenues were used to maintain it. These were perpetual donations (by the kings), the land of which, together with its inhabitants, granaries and villages, was given to the god. P6 Maspero

“But Rajadvarah obtained something more substantial for his services, viz. a grant of lands. It appears that such grants almost always accompanied the other distinctions in order to enable the recipients to maintain their dignity, and this laid the foundation of a hereditary landed aristocracy. P219 Majumdar

Lowland landholding rights were often shared by several villages, whose leaders co-operated in the control over activities therein. P253 Hall

Hall, Kenneth. *Economic History of Early Southeast Asia*. The Cambridge history of Southeast Asia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, c1999.

Maspero, Georges. *The Champa Kingdom: the history of an extinct Vietnamese culture*.

Bangkok, Thailand : White Lotus Press, ©2002.

Majumdar, R. C. *Champā: history & culture of an Indian colonial kingdom in the Far East, 2nd-16th century A.D.* Delhi : Gian Pub. House, 1985.

#### **North Vietnam**

Chinese conquest and rule

Indigenous landholding patterns, which were initially based on communal usage rather than ownership, were directly assaulted by Chinese bureaucrats. New state-wide revenue systems based on private ownership began to emerge. P262 Hall

Kenneth Hall. *Economic History of Early Southeast Asia*. The Cambridge history of Southeast Asia / edited by Nicholas Tarling. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, c1999.

#### **Spanish Philippines 6**

There were three types of real property that developed during the early colonial period. These were crown land, land of private citizen acquired through royal grants or purchases and

ecclesiastical land acquired not only through royal grants and sales but also through donations from Spanish laymen and “pious” principales. Spanish laws recognized communal holdings and declared the cultivated fields originally held in usufruct by the Filipinos as their private or alienable property. Those not declared as such or were unoccupied, became royal or crown property. However, it is clear that “when lands from settled areas around Manila were given out, much of it had to be taken from the Filipinos already occupying it”. This was the first instance of land usurpation and the practice became so widespread (expropriation risk is high for natives). P19 Sobritchea

Sobritchea, Carolyn I. 1. The Philippine peasantry of the early colonial period. Philippine Sociological Review, Jan-Dec81, Vol. 29 Issue 1-4, p17, 7p. Publisher: PSS.

### **Pre-colonial Philippines 3**

Arable land, woodlands and water sources occupied by a bayan were considered to be communal resources. Scott

Householders had the right of usufruct to the land on which their houses and fruits trees stood, but it was not property held in fee simple (to use but not to own or alienate). P145 Scott

Since a community’s land was perceived as unlimited, there was little incentive for alienation; rather, it was labor which was bought and sold or mortgaged, that is, through debt slavery. P229-230 Scott

Children of both sexes inherited equally unless their parents specified some preference in a will. P143 Scott

Ownership of land means the right to use the land. Among the indigenes, ownership was tantamount to work; if a person ceased to work, he or she would lose claim to ownership. P171 Palmer

*Mixed legal systems, east and west*, Vernon Valentine Palmer and Mohamed Y. Mattar and Anna Koppel. Farnham, Surrey, United Kingdom England ; Burlington, Vermont : Ashgate, [2015]  
Scott, William Henry, *Barangay: sixteenth-century Philippine culture and society*. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, c1994.

(Southeast Asia) Instead of private ownership, land was owned either by families or, more commonly, by the ruler, who allowed successive generations of peasants to use the land as long as taxes were paid. P31 Lockard

Lockard, Craig A. *Southeast Asia in world history*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

### **Malaysia (Malayu and Srivijaya) 5**

Instead of private land ownership, land was owned either by families or, more commonly, by the ruler, who allowed successive generations of peasants to use the land as long as taxes were paid. P31 Lockard

(In Majapahit) the decline of Majapahit’s economy had its roots in the crisis of its agricultural society, caused by the indebtedness of the court and the leading aristocratic families due to

mortgaging and renting out the crown lands and lands of large private estates of aristocratic families as the land could not be sold. P 102 Fic

Lockard, Craig A. Southeast Asia in world history. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Fic, Victor M. From Majapahit and Sukuh to Megawati Sukarnoputri: Continuity and Change in Pluralism of Religion, Culture and Politics of Indonesia from the XV to the XXI Century. Abhinav Publications, 2003.

## **Indonesia (Java kingdoms) 5**

**Land ownership:** monarchs did not normally possess local land rights, and even their tax rights were subject to negotiation with village elders and regional authorities. When a court transferred entitlements to land, it had to first purchase the land from the village affected. P144 Hall

Communal ownership by the village prevails, “A very important rule in the adat, or customary law, not only of ancient Java, but of almost the whole of Indonesia, is that originally land could be possessed only, with a few exceptions, by a community and not by individuals.” p40 Lough  
yet land grants by the king to individuals and monasteries See p40-46 Lough

“In the early Hindu-Javanese period, several deeds were issued by persons who did not bear the stately title of maharaja, although they were in a position to bestow land grants. We may assume that these persons belonged to the ancient landed gentry. P40 Lough

prior to the establishment of the Majapahit state, royal grants known as *slma* ('tax transfers') were the centrepiece of the royal offensive. These were not gifts of land: Javanese monarchs did not normally have local land rights, and even their tax rights were subject to social restraint. When title to land was to be transferred, that land was purchased first from those villages affected. *Slma* were thus transfers of all or a denoted portion of the income rights (there was frequently a ceiling placed on the amount of tax the state was willing to forgo) due to a superior political authority from designated land. Hall

Although such land was considered to be outside the administrative authority of the king-freeing it from royal demands for taxes and service—a ceremony dedicating the *sima* tax deferment emphasized that the grantee was expected to remain loyal to the Javanese state. P18 Hall, a History of early Southeast Asia: Maritime trade and Societal development.  
Also temple ownership. See p116-117 Kasetsiri

## **Land property rights:**

In the period from the ninth to the thirteenth century, prior to the establishment of the Majapahit state, royal grants known as *slma* ('tax transfers') were the centrepiece of the royal offensive. These were not gifts of land: Javanese monarchs did not normally have local land rights, and even their tax rights were subject to social restraint. When title to land was to be transferred, that land was purchased first from those villages affected. *Slma* were thus transfers of all or a denoted portion of the income rights (there was frequently a ceiling placed on the amount of tax the state was willing to forgo) due to a superior political authority from designated land. *Slma* grants were a means of encouraging territorial expansion and the pioneering of previously uncultivated peripheral areas, but they were also a means by which farmers and non-farmers were incorporated and subordinated to the prevailing agrarian order. *Slma* land, which was designated to provide prescribed income to a religious institution—especially ancestor temples that



honoured past monarchs, members of local elites or village ancestors—as well as a favoured individual or group, was considered to be outside the administrative authority of the king. In addition to sima tax, transfers made by those claiming monarch status, regional authorities (rakai) also issued sima charters that ceded their rights to tax (usually with the approval of an 'overlord' king), and normally relinquished their local administrative rights over sima land coincident with a monarch's tax transfers. Yet a ceremony that dedicated the sima tax transfer, whether that of a king or a regional authority, emphasized that the grantee was expected to remain loyal to the Javanese state. This ritual involved an oath in which the recipient pledged fidelity, and it culminated with the pronouncement of a curse by a religious official threatening those present who were not faithful to the monarch. Usually a great public festival was held in honour of a new sima foundation. These ceremonies and festivals must have served as a means of redistributing wealth that might otherwise have been used in ways disruptive to society—and to the king's sovereignty. Sima were held in perpetuity, as evinced by inscriptional records of court cases in which sima rights granted by defunct ruling families were upheld. P213

Sima grants were thereby used to free designated lands from numerous demands for taxes and services. In an age in which tax-farming was the norm, sima grants also prohibited various tax collectors and officials, who were often also working for local magnates and village authorities, from entering sima domains to extract payments on their own or others' behalf. P214 Hall

As was the case of Java, early Southeast Asian state systems that depended upon income from their agrarian sector alone were limited in their development potential. In a river plain state it was only when those claiming sovereignty became actively involved in external economic affairs that the supreme powers of the state vis-a-vis competing elites and institutions became secure. P252 Hall

Sima charters from the late eighth century are the last to invoke future kings “by these words on the stone that will last forever, to protect the domains and the institutions [established herein] for posterity”. Typically in these post-eighth-century inscriptions there was a curse uttered by a villager or by a religious official that threatened those present who would transgress against the freehold and thus demonstrate disloyalty to the monarch. P147 Hall (A history of early Southeast Asia)

Individual ownership rights applied to a single pioneer farmer; when he had cleared new ground he was given three years in which to develop and establish sawah fields before he became liable to tax payments. The clearing of land and the establishing of sawah fields by several farmers together led to joint ownership. If the entire population of a village worked together to establish fields for the mutual benefit of every member of the community the land was held in collective ownership as village sawah. P59 Meer

In Bali a ruling was enforced on the maximum number of sawah fields any one farmer may own, in order to ensure that the possession of agricultural land did not fall into the hands of a minority. A farmer could not exceed the maximum “acreage”, if he did so the amount of land in excess of his permitted holding had to be given to a farmer who had less than the allowed amount and the exchange was executed by a correct legal transaction. P60-61 Meer

### **Inheritability:**

ownership was considered permanent, to be passed on to the next generation and the next, to be valued and tilled with care, as the soil inherited from one's own ancestors. Meer

### **Land as Collateral:**

An example of the importance placed on the right to land ownership, and the close attachment existing between the family and the land they owned, is seen in the Jaya Song jayapattra of about 1350 A.D., concerning a dispute between two families over ownership of an estate. The claimant in the case maintained that the estate rightfully belonged to his family, although he admitted that the land had been in the defendant's family's possession for a hundred years or more, due to the fact that his great-great-grandfather had borrowed a sum of silver from an ancestor of the defendant, giving the estate as security... The defendant's claim also hinged on the antiquity of ownership, reaching back over 360 years to the tenth century. The fact that the plaintiff could bring forward a claim to land which he said his great-great-grandfather had in some way mortgaged or pawned a hundred years ago, suggests that the consideration of original ownership would weigh heavily with the court. P61 Meer

An inscription issued in 966 A.D. concerns the mortgaging of certain sawah land which was subsequently redeemed by the owner for one and a half times the mortgage price. P64 Meer

Land was rarely sold; Pigeaud writes that 'according to Javanese (and generally Indonesian) customary law (adat) selling of land was almost inconceivable: the owner and his land were so closely bound up one with another that they could not be severed for ever and ever. P63 Meer

Meer, Nancy Claire Gillam van Setten van der. The development of Sawah cultivation in ancient Java, Australian National University Press, 1979.

*Handbook of Oriental Studies*, Part 3, edited by R. C. de Jongh

Kasetsiri, Charnvit. *The rise of Ayudhya: a history of Siam in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*. Kuala Lumpur ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Hall, Kenneth R. *A history of early Southeast Asia : maritime trade and societal development, 100-1500*. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, c2011.

Hall, Kenneth. *Economic History of Early Southeast Asia*. The Cambridge history of Southeast Asia / edited by Nicholas Tarling. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, c1999.

### **Fiji 3**

#### **Land ownership:**

Traditionally, land in Fiji was held by communities, by groups of families or clans, and it was unthinkable to sell land to anyone; alienation of land, or individual ownership, were concepts unknown to Fijian society. P110 Brereton

There is evidence also that in some areas land was actually held on an individual basis. P74 Scarr  
Lawson

Brereton, Bridget. *Law, justice, and empire: the colonial career of John Gorrie, 1829-1892*.

Lawson, Stephanie. *The failure of democratic politics in Fiji*. Oxford [England]: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

## **Explanation-Law**

### **A. Property law**

**3:** written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property and the law also explicitly mentions protection of private property against potential expropriation.

**2:** No explicit mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property.

**1:** No mention of private property nor its protection, or no concept of private property

**0:** No mention of private property nor its protection or no concept of private property.

Strong emphasis against transgression against state property. 0

### **B. Contract law**

**3:** written contract law that has detailed conditions on regulation and enforcement of contract

**2:** written contract law mentioning cases of contract and enforcement

**1:** unwritten or customary law that has cases related to contract

**0:** no mention of contract in laws

(the existence of Commercial Law usually suggests contract law)

### **C. Comparison on Public law**

**4:** Written procedural law

**2:** Some formalized way of procedure

**1:** Procedure but little protection

**0:** No procedural law, usually no specific procedure is followed

\*Customary law=0 or 1

## **Scores-Law**

United Kingdom A(2) B(2) C(2) 6

United States A(2) B(2) C(2) 6

New Zealand A(2) B(2) C(2) 6

Canada A(2) B(2) C(2) 6

Australia A(2) B(2) C(2) 6

Germanic tribes (Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Luxemburg) A(2) B(2) C(3) 7

Netherlands (independent cities) A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
Belgium (Ancient Rome, Independent cities) A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
Viking (Denmark, Norway, Sweden) A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
Franks A(2) B(2) C(3) 7  
Iceland A(2) B(2) C(3) 7  
Ireland A(2) B(2) C(3) 7  
Estonia A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
Finland A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
Rome A(3) B(3) C(3) 9  
Slovenia (use Franks) A(2) B(2) C(3) 7

Greece A(3) B(3) C(3) 9  
Castile A(3) B(3) C(3) 9  
Catalonia A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
Aragon A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
Portugal A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
Latvia A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
Lithuania A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
Croatia A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
Serbia A (3) B(3) C(3) 9  
Romania A (2) B(2) C(3) 7  
Bulgaria A (2) B(1) C(3) 6  
Albania A (2) B(1) C(1) 4  
Poland A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
Czech(Bohemia) A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
Hungary A(3) B(3) C(0) 6  
Russia A(2) B(3) C(3) 8

### **Spanish Latin America 8**

Mexico A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
Guatemala A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
El Salvador A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
Honduras A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
Costa Rica A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
Panama A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
Colombia A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
Ecuador A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
Peru A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
Dominican Republic A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
Jamaica A(2) B(3) C(3) 8

Venezuela A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
 Chile A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
 Brazil 8 A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
 Argentina A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
 Uruguay A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
 Trinidad and Tobago A(2) B(3) C(2) 7  
 Inca A(0) B(0) C(0) 0  
 Mexico A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
 Maya A(1) B(1) C(1) 3  
 Aztec A(1) B(1) C(1) 3  
 Bangladesh (same as Bengal)  
 Bhutan A(1) B(0) C(0) 1  
 Maurya A(1) B(1) C(2) 4  
 Tamil A(2) B(?) C(?)  
 Bengal A(1) B(1) C(2) 4  
 Sri Lanka A(1) B(0) C(0) 1  
 Nepal A(1) B(0) C(0) 1  
 Japan A(1) B(1) C(0) 2  
 Korea A(1) B(0) C(0) 1  
 China A(0) B(0) C(0) 0  
 Egypt A(1) B(0) C(0) 1  
 Iran A(2) B(2) C(2) 6  
 Mesopotamia A(2) B(3) C(2) 7  
 Assyria A(2) B(3) C(2) 7  
 Seljuk/Ottoman A(1) B(3) C(2) 6  
 Israel A(1) B(1) C(1) 3  
 Lebanon MISSING, NO DATA  
 Arabia A(2) B(3) C(2) 7  
 Morocco A(2) B(3) C(2) 7  
 Pakistan (Ghaznavid) A(2) B(3) C(2) 7  
 Thailand A(0) B(0) C(0) 0  
 Spanish Philippines A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
 Pre-colonial Philippines A(1) B(0) C(1) 2  
 Malaysia A(2) B(2) C(2) 6  
 Champa MISSING found Champa customary law in non-English books  
 North Vietnam (use China)  
 Indonesia A(2) B(2) C(2) 6  
 Fiji A(1) B(0) C(1) 2  
 Burkina Faso A(1) B(0) C(1) 2  
 Sierra Leone A(1) B(0) C(1) 2

Angola A(1) B(0) C(1) 2  
 Nigeria A(1) B(0) C(1) 2  
 Senegal A(1) B(0) C(1) 2  
 Zambia A(1) B(0) C(1) 2  
 Malawi A(1) B(0) C(1) 2  
 Ghana A(0) B(0) C(0) 0  
 Kenya (Kikuyu) A(1) B(0) C(1) 2  
 Kenya (Swahili) A(2) B(2) C(1) 5  
 Tanzania (Swahili) A(2) B(2) C(1) 5  
 Tanzania (Sukuma) A(1) B(0) C(0) 1  
 South Africa (use Netherlands) A(2) B(3) C(3) 8  
 Namibia A(1) B(0) C(1) 2  
 Ethiopia 3? MISSING  
 Mozambique A(1) B(0) C(1) 2

## **United Kingdom 6**

**No explicit mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2**

**Debated, some form of contract law 2**

**Some formalized way of procedure: 2**

The Anglo-Saxons considered betrothal a real contract of sale. As a contract of sale, it was concluded before witnesses. P283 Brody

Professor Holdsworth is equally certain there was no Anglo-Saxon contract law because of the unavailability of enforcement.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, Professor Harold Hazeltine is quite certain that the pre-Norman English made great use of the contract.p279 Brody

Within fairly short order the written transfer of land became a ceremony having equal legal stature with the wed ceremony. P289 Brody

Burton F. Brody, Anglo-Saxon Contract Law: A Social Analysis, 19 DePaul L. Rev. 270 (1969)

Available at: <http://via.library.depaul.edu/law-review/vol19/iss2/3>

**Law of Æthelberht 7<sup>th</sup> century**

The notion of serious offences being against the king, state, or community and the general practice of punishing them by death, had emerged in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Practices were fairly uniform throughout the realm, and were determined and modified by royal law-making. P20 Hudson

The frequency and size of royal edicts increases after Alfred (r. 871–899), whose own code was explicitly derived from earlier codes of Æthelberht, of Ine of the West Saxons (r. 688–726), and of Offa of the Mercians (r. 757–796). Particularly important tenth-century legislation came from Æthelstan (r. 924–939), repressing theft; Edmund (r. 939–946), regulating feud; and Edgar (r. 959–975), establishing the legal relationship between the English and the Danes settled in northern and eastern England and newly subject to him. (Oxford Reference)

### **Land Ownership:**

Land, for example, fell into one of four categories: folkland, bookland, loanland, and sokeland. Folkland appears to be land whose inheritance was defined by custom. Bookland means literally land described in a landboc (charter), whose terms described the holder's rights. Loanland (lænland) is land held for a number of life terms from a lord in return for service. “Thegnland” is sometime synonymous with loanland, though it appears to be more narrowly focused on royal agents (thegns, or thanes). Last is sokeland, which was a kind of land bound to a manor and is found in areas settled by Scandinavians, though its origin is uncertain(Oxford Reference)

Some types of land, like bookland, were heritable; some, like loanland, were not intended to be. Some moved only within a kin group; others were easily alienable. Although types of land can be identified, tracing developments in land law during the period—other than the introduction and use of bookland—is near to impossible. (Oxford Reference)

Several types of royal agent helped administer justice in the realm. (Oxford Reference)

The period's major contribution to the later development of the common law was the degree of power exercised by the late Anglo-Saxon kings.

### **Effect of Norman Conquest on law:**

The third of the changes was that the law regarding land seems to have developed very quickly after the Conquest. One must, of course, speak with caution here because there is so much less evidence from before the Conquest with which to compare post-Conquest land law. The Anglo-Saxons, as described above, had customs regarding land and thought of land as an asset or property in various ways, but they did not set down in their records a systematic or comprehensive account of this. All derives from inference. Nevertheless, after 1066, and in particular during the reign of Henry I, the security of tenure, the descent of land, and its alienability all became subjects of critical importance to Norman kings and their barons and knights. One Norman import was the fee or fief (feudum), a type of tenure in land that was heritable and held in return for service. In the seventy years after the Conquest, land described as a fief became ever more secure for holders and was heritable, but it could also be freely alienated with less need than in France for the approval of relatives.

**Procedure:** There was no real presiding officer, except that they were held under the general supervision of the bailiff or sheriff who was present in order to protect the king's interest in the proceedings. Nor were there any judges, in our sense of the word, as men who presided over the court, decided questions of law, and gave out the judgment. On the contrary, the whole body of suitors and all of the freemen, who were required to be present, were the judges and the decision

or judgment of the court was the opinion held by the whole assembly as to the justice of the plaintiff's case or the guilt or innocence of the accused. P93

it was governed by traditional rules of the most formal and unbending kind. P96

Anglo-Saxon Trials, 3 St. Louis L. Rev. 093 (1918). Available at:

[http://openscholarship.wustl.edu/law\\_lawreview/vol3/iss2/3](http://openscholarship.wustl.edu/law_lawreview/vol3/iss2/3)

The laws are strongly individualistic. The most obvious manifestation of this is in verbs of compensation and payment, which invariably appear in the singular (gebete, forgelde): it is always 'let him pay', never 'let them pay'. Indeed, at one point it is explicitly stated that killers should pay compensation with their own money or unblemished property.<sup>73</sup> Kinship only comes up in the laws when it is absolutely necessary for it to do so.

The point here is not that kinship ties were unimportant in sixth-century Kentish society, but that the laws are emphasizing individual responsibility and seemingly playing down the duties of kinship. Lambert

Lambert, Tom. Law and order in Anglo-Saxon England. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

#### **Monetary Compensation for offence:**

many royal rights are scaled-up versions of those of lesser men, and this needs to be emphasized. Stealing from the king requires ninefold compensation; for freemen it is threefold. The king's mundbyrd (protection-value) is 50 shillings, which is the same sum payable for killing in his house or for lying with a top-ranking female dependant. As has already been noted, the laws envisage noblemen and freemen being affronted in exactly the same ways but place less value on their protection: 12 and 6 shillings respectively. (Oxford Reference)

Hudson, John. *The formation of the English common law: law and society in England from the Norman Conquest to Magna Carta*. London; New York : Longman, 1996.

#### **United States (same as United Kingdom)**

Massachusetts land law was based upon the common-law system, with important modifications.

Feudal tenures or incidents never were recognized, but the method of land division bore a striking resemblance to that of English villages. P400

each colony developed its own legal system. The assumption that colonial law was essentially the same in all colonies is wholly without foundation

The situation in early Rhode Island, Connecticut, and, perhaps to a lesser extent in New Hampshire, seems to have been roughly comparable to that in Massachusetts. Rhode Island adopted a rudimentary civil and criminal code in 1647, most of whose provisions were lifted verbatim from Dalton's Country Justice, a handbook for English justices of the peace.<sup>5</sup>

William B. Stoebuck, Reception of English Common Law in the American Colonies, 10 Wm. & Mary L. Rev. 393 (1968), <http://scholarship.law.wm.edu/wmlr/vol10/iss2/7>

#### **New Zealand(same as United Kingdom)**

#### **Canada(same as United Kingdom)**

#### **Australia (same as United Kingdom)**

### **Europe**

Germanic tribes (Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Netherlands, Luxemburg) 7



**No explicit mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2**  
**Contract law 2**

**Written procedural law: 3**

**Procedure:**

The tribal assembly at least, and probably the assembly of the hundred also, is in the earliest period a sacral as well as a political judicial gathering. P34 Smith

In the earliest written tribal laws we find that the judgement is really found, or at least proposed by one or more persons designated as “wise men” or “law speakers”, and their proposal is regularly ratified by the assembled freemen. P36 Smith

Procedure: tort cases were usually brought before the hundred court; criminal cases were usually brought before the tribal court...in either case the defendant or accused is personally summoned by the complainant, accompanied probably by some of his kinsmen, and like all early proceedings, summons is made in traditional and fixed words. P38 Smith

**Property transaction and dispute:**

Succession to rights in land is very limited in the earliest written German laws. In the earliest texts of Salic law, land goes to the sons, but in default of sons it reverts to the community. P60 Smith

More in one category (private) than in another (public and ecclesiastical). P24 Rivers  
Injury to another's property as well as injury to his person constituted monetary indebtedness. P25 Rivers

In transfer or conveyance of land, we find in early German law an interesting use of symbolic forms...We find also that the parties and their friends or witnesses walked about the boundaries of the property transferred and that the ceremony terminates with a symbolic self-ejection of the conveyor by leaping over the fence or hedge about the land. P60 Smith

**Contract:**

In early German law the promisor or debtor mortgages himself by handing over his spear to the creditor...this is the origin of the chief formal contract of early German law, the so-called wed contract. P62 Smith

Very ancient, apparently, among the Germanic peoples is the notion that a promisor may be effectively bound by pledging not his body but his honor. P62 Smith

The sort of contract with which we are today most familiar, the contract in which the promisor is bound by consideration is everywhere of late development. P63 Smith

Smith, Munroe, The development of European law. New York, Columbia University Press, 1928.  
Rivers, Theodore John. Laws of the Alamans and Bavarians. [Philadelphia]: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977.

Franks 7

**No explicit mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2 written contract law 2**

**Written procedural law: 3**

**Salic Law (Pactus Legis Salicae, c.507-511)**

Before the Germanic barbarians entered the Roman Empire they had no written codes of law. As was true in the case of the early Romans, their law was essentially customary law—the traditions or customs of the people handed down by word of mouth from untold generations in the past. P20 Drew

the law was almost certainly not royal law. P21 Drew

Before the evolution of royal power, obtaining justice resided largely in the hands of the families or kin groups. and there may have been more or less popular courts attended by the more important members of the community if not by all freemen. Since enforcement of law resided in the family and kin rather than in the state, there could hardly be such a thing as territorial law.

Much of its content is devoted to establishing monetary or other penalties for various damaging acts or to setting up rules of legal procedure. Such private-law concerns as marriage and the family, inheritance, gifts, and contracts—which play such a large role in the Visigothic, Burgundian, and Lombard codes—are treated very briefly if at all. P30 Drew

Judiciary: unlike late Roman judges, the Frankish judges had little to do with determining what the law was or in interpreting the law. The Frankish judges presided over and administered the courts; matters of law were determined by men from the community specifically designated to speak the law—the *rachimburgi* (usually seven to a court). So the Frankish courts retained a strong popular representation in the *rachimburgi*, although we do not know how the *rachimburgi* were chosen. We assume they came from the more suitable families of the area where the court was held and that they continued to serve for some time, thus gaining considerable experience in the law. P33 Drew

criminal cases were handled as civil suits for damages.

Inheritable land

allodial land (*de alode*) which was inherited by heirs of both sexes, and term *Salica* which could be inherited only by males.

Title LVI. Concerning him who shall have scorned to come to Court.

1. If any man shall have scorned to come to court, and shall have put off fulfilling the injunction of the bailiffs, and shall not have been willing to consent to undergo the fine, or the kettle ordeal, or anything prescribed by law: then he (the plaintiff) shall summon him to the presence of the king. And there shall be 12 witnesses who-3 at a time being sworn-shall testify that they were present when the bailiff enjoined him (the accused) either to go to the kettle ordeal, or to agree concerning the fine; and that he had scorned the injunction. Then 3 others shall swear that they were there on the day when the bailiffs enjoined that he should free himself by the kettle ordeal or by composition; and that 40 days after that, in the "mallberg," he (the accuser) had again waited until after sunset, and that he (the accused) would not obey the law.

"The Salic Law", the Avalon Project, Yale Law School, Lilian Goldman Law Library,

<http://avalon.law.yale.edu/medieval/salic.asp>.

Contracts could not be secret or implicit... p9 Amalric

Amalric, Giraud. Business Contracts of Medieval Provence.

Netherlands, Belgium (independent cities) 8

**No explicit mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2**

**Written contract law 3**

**written procedural law: 3**

The strong protection of property rights to land provided by the authorities, at least from the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards, is clear from the opinions issued by courts of justice, the security against risk of confiscation by lords or other powerful authorities, and the protection enjoyed by tenants and landlords....because the authorities had increasing fiscal interests in land ownership, they were very keen to secure, to clarify and register property rights. P167 Bavel

While in the Southern Netherlands, as in so many other countries, customary law was developing organically, another body of legal rules, a totally different system, was being elaborated based on books from Antiquity and on bookish commentaries by scholars and clerks. P126 Caenegem

Bavel, Bas van. Manors and markets: economy and society in the low countries, 500-1600. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Caenegem, R.C. van. Law, history, the low countries and Europe. The Hambledon Press, London and Rio Grande, 1994.

Viking (Denmark, Norway, Sweden) 8

**No explicit mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2**

**contract law 3**

**Some procedural law: 3**

Contract law: see “The Earliest Norwegian Laws: Being the Gulathing Law and the Frostathing Law”, “the Danish Medieval Laws-Contract p32”.

Procedural law: every lawsuit shall be decided by the testimony of witnesses and the gains..p80; oath taking p121 “The Earliest Norwegian Laws: Being the Gulathing Law and the Frostathing Law”

Vikings and Iceland: dealing with land ownership and inheritance between individuals; independent legal authority (law-speaker)

**Denmark Written Law (13th century)** (not clear the law is the continuation of Viking tradition or was introduced from the continent after the Vikings)

Law in the Middle Ages was not necessarily based on the authority of a king or other ruler. Legitimacy of the law was not conferred by its origin stemming from a particular authority: the law had its own life. P11 Vogt and Tamm

Regulations relating to slaves take up a surprisingly large parts of the laws, especially when one takes into consideration that the institution was winding down when the laws were written.

According to the laws, a landlord and tenant-farmer entered into a contractual relationship between two equal partners. P24 Vogt and Tamm

The laws refer to a person who owned property as its *egher* (owner). Within the framework of the laws the owner clearly had the unlimited right to control and dispose over his property; “a concept of property right closer to the Roman law concept of absolute ownership of land” p26 Vogt and Tamm

### **Uppland Law (Sweden) written in late 13th century**

-valid for the heartland of early medieval Sweden.

The provincial laws were created for the landowners and they are stamped with the self-centred view of the property-owning class. The landowning class was the free farmers. P6 Brink

### **Gulathing Law of Norway**

**Inheritance rule:** the first inheritance is that which a son takes from his father or a father from a son, if death removes the one or the other. The second is that which is taken by a daughter and a son's son, each taking one-half. p108 Larson

If the men belonging to any inheritance group are wanting and there are kinsmen on the masculine and the feminine sides who are equally near, those on the masculine side shall have the inheritance; but if the others are nearer, they shall have it. P109 Larson

The Viking Age rule for claiming land (and titles) by enumerating five paternal ancestors is also found in the ancient Law of Gulathing in western Norway, in the regulation of possession of land and property and especially the extremely important right to *ohal* (ancestral landed property). P107 Brink

### **Monetary compensation for injury and murder, personal right:**

A curious though a thoroughly characteristic Germanic conception was the theory of personal right. In general the term was taken to mean what it means today; but it was also used in the sense of rank, and it was further used to indicate the material compensation for injuries to which a citizen of some particular rank was entitled.

The medieval Norseman held firmly to the ancient principle that the life and the honor of a freeman were sacred and must be regarded as inviolable by his fellowmen. Every injury, therefore, demanded satisfaction either in blood or in a monetary payment. Usually the injured man would be satisfied with a certain sum of money (or the equivalent) which in the earlier days would amount to the right due to a man of his rank. P14 Larson

The same principle governed in cases of manslaughter: to take revenge was not only a right but a sacred duty. P14 Larson

(paying “fine, *wergeld*, or man money” is an alternative way, “which the sayer and his kinsmen paid to the family of the slain man) the amount levied always had some relation to the rights of the parties involved and was in every case a considerable sum”) p15 Larson

-There appears to have been a gradual transition from a Germanic tribal community to a system of ownership based on the family such as that one encountered in Swedish medieval laws.

In the Viking Age, the Scandinavians probably had no comprehensive laws like the later provincial laws. Instead, legal customs and traditions probably differed between provinces. For the province of Halsingland comes the evidence of the *liuprettr* ‘the law of the people(the land)’. This not only implies that, in the ninth century, the people of Halsingland thought they had a corpus of legal rules and customs, but also suggests that the laws were *liuprettr* ‘the law of the people’, and therefore not king's law: this is important when comparing Scandinavian law with the early continental laws. One of the rules, relating to the maintenance of the *vi*, is mentioned on the Forsa Ring. In a society which in practice hardly distinguished between legal and cultic

matters, the *vi* had both legal and cultic functions, and it is practically impossible to separate 'religion' from law in pre-Christian and pre-Roman Law Scandinavia. P70 Brink

A vital part of the legal procedure in early Scandinavia must have been oath-taking. Not only the accused, but also other individuals in his social proximity could be used as oath-takers. The evocation of pagan gods when taking an oath also seems likely. P109 Brink

Brink, Stefan. Legal Assemblies and Judicial Structure in Early Scandinavia, Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages.

Norwegian Law-Gulathing law (can be dated back to the 10th century, written in the 13th century)

Some content:

- Everyone is entitled to legal judgement in (what concerns) his possessions.

- If a man owes money to another and the debt is known to witnesses, he (the creditor) shall summon him to be at his home at highseat, if a householder, to hear the demand for payment and the statement of witnesses.

(The law has very specific and detailed laws regarding debt, inheritance, property and slavery. Clearly in between)

Municipal Law:

In the earlier centuries of Norwegian the population was almost exclusively rural. This does not mean that the urban elements were wholly unimportant, for traders and trading centers are mentioned and the profession of the merchant was regarded as highly honorable. In these trading centers, at least in those that had received royal recognition, the life and the activities of the citizens were regulated by a special code of laws, the so-called "Birch-Isle Code", which has survived only in a fragmentary form. p12 Larson

Thing meetings were typically led by the local chief and a law-speaker (*lovsigemand*), i.e., a judge who recited laws from memory, as they were not codified. P8 Larson

Tamm, Ditlev and Vogt, Helle. The Danish medieval laws: the laws of Scania, Zealand and Jutland. London; New York : Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016.

Larson, Laurence. The earliest Norwegian laws, being the Gulathing law and the Frostathing law: translated from the Old Norwegian. New York, Columbia University Press, 1935.

## Iceland 7

**No explicit mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2 contract law 2**

**procedural law: 3**

Althing-function as the venue for the settlement of major legal disputes and for the promulgation of common laws for the whole colony. P316 Forte, Oram and Pedersen

- the only significant national official was the law-speaker, who was elected chairman of the *logretta* (law council) for a three-year term. Although the position of law-speaker was prestigious, it brought little or no official power to its holder, who was allowed to take sides and to participate in litigation and in feuds as a private citizen. P65 Byock

**Law:** Gragas Law (written, 11th century). Its resolutions and rulings illustrate the limits and precedents of a legal system that operated without an executive authority. Gragas was the law of a society in which order was maintained principally through negotiation and compromise and in

which the upholding of an individual's rights through legal proceedings, such as prosecution and the exaction of penalties, was a private responsibility. P20 Byock

Punishment: outlawry (exile abroad) and fine

While the law specified more or less tidy rules for inheritance, sale and other transfers of property, there were no state institutions to give it practical meaning. P59 Durrenberger

To assert any claim to ownership, whether by inheritance or any other means, one had to back the claim with armed force. P62 Durrenberger

Legal and administrative decisions were fashioned within the context of a widespread belief in the inviolability of the rights of freemen. These rights were contained in a system of law which served less to protect privileges than to allow the individual to exercise specific rights. P111 Byock

Byock, Jesse L. *Medieval Iceland: society, sagas, and power*, Berkeley : University of California Press, c1988.

Durrenberger, E. Paul. *The dynamics of medieval Iceland: political economy & literature*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, c1992.

## Ireland 8

**No explicit mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2 contract law 2**

**procedural law: 4**

Public law: contract-like relationship between lords and clients

At any time, a lord and his client may terminate their contract by mutual agreement.p31 Kelly

Very developed Procedure law see p190-211 Kelly

The law texts, wisdom texts and sagas constantly stress the importance of the king's justice...in general the formulation of the law seems to have been in the hands of a legal class (with strong clerical links)...low involvement by kings in law-making...king could disuse an ordinance in times of emergency. p21 Kelly

Law enforcement: it is clear that the law was to a large extent enforced through elaborate systems of suretyship, pledging and distraint rather than by a king or his officials. P22 Kelly

Property law: the main items of property mentioned in the laws are land, buildings, livestock, domestic and farm utensils, weapons clothes and ornaments. P99 Kelly

Contract: see p158 Kelly

Charles-Edwards, T. M. "Early Irish Law." In *A New History of Ireland*. Vol. 1, Prehistoric and Early Ireland. Edited by Dáibhí Ó. Cróinín, 331–370. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Kelly, Fergus. *A Guide to Early Irish Law*. Early Irish Law. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2005.

Grossi, Paolo. *Il dominio e le cose: Percezioni medievali e moderne dei diritti reali*. Milan: Giuffrè, 1992.

Kelly, Fergus (1988). *A Guide to Early Irish Law*. Early Irish Law Series 3. Dublin.

The law in fact requires that a man possess some land if he is to have full legal status. The *fintiu* (kin-land) is so called because it could not be alienated (i.e. sold out of the kin-group) without the permission of the rest of the kin. The Irish adopted several means of ensuring that inheritance of land remained within the close kin-group. P144 Croinin

Unity of ownership in the clan, so long as it existed and so far as it extended, prevented the devolution of property to individuals in the same sense as in English law. Even to a late period a considerable portion of land was not inheritable by individuals but remained unchangeably the property of the clan as an immortal corporation.

<http://www.libraryireland.com/Brehon-Laws/Contents.php>

### **Brehon law: Senchus Mar (written in the 7<sup>th</sup> century)**

Under the Brehon system legal responsibility largely lay with the individual to pursue a claim against the accused. He or she would hire a legal advocate, or Brehon, and both sides had to agree in advance that they would abide by the decision of the legal advocate. P17 Kinealy

Early Irish law is what scholars call ‘territorial law’: it applies equally to all citizens in every part of the country. p112 Croinin

Jurists...often they seem to be functioning outside the presence of the king. P69 Bhreathnach  
Bhreathnach, Edel. *Ireland in the medieval world, AD 400-1000: landscape, kingship and religion*. Dublin, Ireland; Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 2014.

Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí, *Early medieval Ireland, 400-1200*. Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY : Routledge, an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, 2017.

## **Estonia 8**

**No explicit mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2**  
**contract law 3**  
**procedural law: 3**

In Livonia, governed 1237-1561 by the Livonian Order (part of the Teutonic Order) and the Livonian Confederacy, and Estonia, bought from Denmark in 1346, the new towns came to adopt and follow German town law. P412 Pihlajamäki

There was little written law in medieval Livonia and Estonia apart from the decisions and legislation issued by the Master of the Livonian Order or the convened local Diet. Generally, local customary law remained uncoded until the nineteenth century. P424 Pihlajamäki

The so-called “Valdemar’s and Erik’s Feudal Law” from 1315 came to be the first feudal land law of Estonia, which was under Danish rule in 1219-1346. P397 Pihlajamäki

### **Erik’s Law of Zealand (13<sup>th</sup> century)**

See 15-17, 30 p159, p162 (Tamm and Vogt) for inheritance of property

See Book II 51. On provincial assemblies and summoning (p183-188 Tamm and Vogt) for legal procedures

See Book III 1. If a man exchanges land with another 2.If a man wants to sell his land 3. If a man offers another land for sale 4. On the exchange of land etc. for laws on contract. (p201 Tamm and Vogt)

Tamm, Ditlev and Helle Vogt. The Danish medieval laws : the laws of Scania, Zealand and Jutland. London ; New York : Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016.

## Finland 8

**No explicit mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2**  
**contract law 3**  
**procedural law: 3**

Whereas Iceland and Norway had their own laws since the Middle Ages, Finland always shared Swedish laws. P807 Pihlajamäki

As for Finland, no known provincial law exists from the Middle Ages or later periods, and it is unclear which provincial law was followed there. P384 Pihlajamäki

Heikki Pihlajamäki; Markus Dirk Dubber; Mark Godfrey, the Oxford handbook of European legal history. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2018.

## Greece 9

**mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 3**  
**contract law 3**  
**procedural law: 3**

Procedural laws were guidelines that told judges how to use other laws. These laws told in step-by-step detail how law should be enforced. Procedural laws even included such minute details as how many witnesses must be called forward for someone to be found guilty of homicide.  
<http://www.crystalinks.com/greeklaw.html>

Land transaction: in Athens there are no records of measures restricting the right to sell land.  
P256 Gagarin

Legal protection of the right to ownership: p262-266 Gagarin

Law of contract:

The Athenian law of contracts in general (§10.1: 304–308) was enshrined in a statute, probably of Archaic date and quite possibly the work of Solon (304), that recognized as binding “whatever one person agrees with another.” P372 Phillips

The few attested Athenian laws on sale (§10.2: 309–312) were directed primarily at the protection of the retail consumer. P372 Phillips

Phillips, David D. The law of ancient Athens. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, [2013]

Gagarin, Michael. David Cohen. The Cambridge companion to ancient Greek law. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2005.

## Rome 9



**mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 3**

**contract law 3**

**procedural law: 3**

Roman law

Private law

the Roman jurists recognized a distinction between public law (*ius publicum*) and private law (*ius privatum*)... Private law is classified by the compilers of Justinian's Institutes into three branches: the law of persons (freemen vs. slaves, citizenship, family), the law of things and the law of actions P97 Mousourakis

The great Roman legal contribution was made in the field of private law. This was the law in which the well-known Roman jurists were interested; criminal law was rather neglected and treated only as an aspect of public law. P12 Drew

In its origin, Roman law was customary law, the unwritten traditions of the people going back to an immemorial past. This unwritten law was in the keeping of a priestly class (the pontifices) who came from the upper stratum of society (the patricians). Opposition from the lower class (the plebeians) led in the mid-fifth century B.C. to a first written codification known as the Law of the Twelve Tables. P12 Drew

The laws of the Salian Franks / translated and with an introduction by Katherine Fischer Drew. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, c1991.

For procedure law, see p245 Plessis

Paul J. du Plessis, Clifford Ando, and Kaius Tuori. The Oxford handbook of Roman law and society. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, [2016]

## **Ownership**

Important forms of original acquisition of ownership were *occupatio* and *accessio*. According to a legislative enactment of Emperor Hadrian, a person who found a treasure on his own property became the owner of it whilst the ownership of a treasure discovered on another person's property was equally shared between the landowner and the finder as long as the discovery occurred by chance. P135-136 Mousourakis

**Protection of ownership:** The most important legal remedies an owner could employ to protect their rights were the *rei vindicatio* and the *actio ad exhibendum*, an action usually employed before an owner initiated the *rei vindicatio*. P120 Mousourakis

Possessions and Protection of possessions

**Contract law:** in Roman law contract (*contractus*) denoted a legal act based on an agreement by the parties to create a binding obligation. P128 Mousourakis

See Mousourakis, George, Roman law and the origins of the civil law tradition. Cham: Springer, 2015

Spain

Castile 9

**mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 3**

### **contract law 3**

### **procedural law: 3**

#### **Siete Partidas (c.1265)**

There is a regular method of procedure for taking down all statements offered by witnesses. With regard to the procedure, the Seventh Part of the Siete Partidas provided for an accusatory system, where the offended could appear before the judge with a request for “revenge”. In general, if the accusing party could not prove the offence, he himself was to suffer the punishment established for the offence described in his accusation. P35 Criminal law in Spain, by Lorena Bachmaier

#### **protection of property + detailed commercial law**

FIFTH PARTIDA: OBLIGATIONS AND MARITIME LAW-dealing with loans, obligations, sale of property, form of contract, partnership, suretyship, verbal contracts, a special title on merchants

Law IV. “How merchants and their property should be protected”:... Wherefore, we decree that all persons who resort to the fairs in our kingdoms, not only Christians but also Jews and Moors, and also those who at any other time visit our dominions, although they may not come to the fairs, shall be safe and secure in body, property, merchandise, and all their effects both on sea and land.

#### **Title XXVITI: Ownership**

LAW I. What Ownership Is, and How Many Kinds There Are. Ownership is the power which a man has over his own property to do with it, and in it whatever he desires to do, without violation of the law of God or those of the country. There are three kinds of ownership. One is the supreme authority which emperors and kings possess to punish malefactors, and to accord his rights to everyone in their dominions, and of this we treat with sufficient explicitness in the Second Partida, and in many laws of the Fourth Partida of this book. The second kind of ownership is the power which a man has over his movable or immovable property in this world, during his lifetime, and which after his death passes to his heirs, or to whomsoever he may transfer it while he lives. The third kind of ownership is the control of which a man has over the rents and profits of certain property during his lifetime, or at a stated period, or over a castle or lands which he holds as a fief; as stated in the laws of this our book which treat of this subject.

Las siete partidas / translated by Samuel Parsons Scott ; edited by Robert I. Burns. Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, c2001.

#### **Aragon**

Traditional legal and institutional structures persisted intact into the eleventh century. P24 Bisson  
Bisson, Thomas N. The Medieval crown of Aragon: a short history. Oxford: Clarendon Press ; New York : Oxford University Press, 1986.

#### **Catalonia 8**

**no mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2**

### **contract law 3**

### **procedural law: 3**

The public law in force in the Catalan counties of the Spanish March generally consisted of Carolingian capitularies. Private law in this period was characterised by the survival of the legal regime established by the Visigoths through their book compiling the royal Visigothic laws,

known as the Liber Iudiciorum or Liber Iudicum, which was originally written in the mid-7th century. P23-24 Mikes and Montagut

(11<sup>th</sup> century) A case involving a dispute over land during this period is no novelty, especially in Catalonia. Kelleher

Kelleher, Marie A. Boundaries of Law: code and custom in the legal practice of early medieval Catalonia.

Tünde Mikes and Tomàs de Montagut. The Catalan Sagrada Família: Law and Family in Medieval and Modern Catalonia

### **Visigothic Code (7<sup>th</sup> century)**

<http://libro.uca.edu/vcode/visigoths.htm>

Title II: Concerning the laws of inheritance

Title V: Concerning Property Committed to the Charge of or Loaned to Another

book X: concerning Partition, Limitation and Boundaries

Law VIII: No One shall be Liable in Person or Property, under the Terms of any Contract, where Deception has been Practiced; nor shall He be Liable to any Penalty provided by the same.

Book II: Concerning the Conduct of Causes

Title I: Concerning Judges, and Matters to be Decided in Court

### **Portugal 8**

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**contract law 3**

**procedural law: 3**

### **Ordenações Afonsinas (1446)**

#### **Contract rules + land ownership**

Both the Siete Partidas and the Ordenacoes Alfonsinas established Roman law as a secondary source of law to be consulted ...through the Siete Partidas, elements of the Roman law of the acquisition of private property moved directly into the land law of the empire.

Native Claims: Indigenous Law Against Empire, 1500-1920. edited by Saliha Belmessous

### **Latvia 8**

**no mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2**

**contract law 3**

**procedural law: 3**

German medieval laws as feudal law (Ritterrecht/Lehnrecht) and the Charters of Hanseatic towns modelled upon the cities of Lubeck and Hamburg, entered the lands inhabited by Latvians. P152 Kerikmäe

the Livonian Order operated by a set of statutes (based on the monastic rules of St. Benedict).

P60 Plakans

Together with the conquerors arrived their Low German–influenced law. Tallinn (Ger. Reval) received Lübeck law in 1248, while Riga received Hamburg law in the late thirteenth century. Beginning in the fourteenth century several law books were compiled and put into use alongside each other, or even simultaneously. These laws were concerned with feudal rights, tenants' estate rights, and their legal relations to each other. At the same time, the so-called peasant laws—basically catalogs of penances—were being written down. Even the use of canon law spread extensively. Katz

In Livonia, governed 1237-1561 by the Livonian Order (part of the Teutonic Order) and the Livonian Confederacy, and Estonia, bought from Denmark in 1346, the new towns came to adopt and follow German town law. P412 Pihlajamäki

There was little written law in medieval Livonia and Estonia apart from the decisions and legislation issued by the Master of the Livonian Order or the convened local Diet. Generally, local customary law remained uncodified until the nineteenth century. P424 Pihlajamäki

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Tamm, Ditlev and Helle Vogt. The Danish medieval laws : the laws of Scania, Zealand and Jutland. London ; New York : Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016.

The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Legal History. Edited by Stanley N. Katz, Oxford University Press, 2009.

The Law of the Baltic States. edited by Tanel Kerikmäe, Kristi Joamets, Jānis Pleps, Anita Rodiņa, Tomas Berkmanas, Edita Gruodytė

Plakans, Andrejs. A concise history of the Baltic States. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Lithuania 8

**no mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2**

**contract law 3**

**procedural law: 3**

**Statutes of Lithuania (1529)**

**<http://www.belarusguide.com/culture1/texts/Statut.html>**

**Detailed codes on protection of nobility’s property, no code on commercial contract, peasants’ rights are not well protected.**

**Law:** written law was still unknown in Lithuania; law was based on tradition, while an important source of law was the Grand Duke himself, for he was the supreme judge. P86 Kiaupa  
Borrowing from the Polish system determined the entire process for legalizing the status of the class of nobles. They accompanied the growth of land ownership by incorporating the peasants' farms into the estates of the nobles. All this was imposed on the private (odal) land ownership. P52 Statute

It was influenced by the concept of this law (Roman law) chiefly through Polish terminology, and it was affected by the tradition of Latin Roman law rather than the Roman Byzantine one. P22 Statute

9. Everyone in the Grand Principality of Lithuania Must be Tried by One Law.

Protection of private land (section eight)

Having restricted the peasants' right to land ownership to the maximum... The entire civil and family law was based on these guarantees and rules of management of the nobles' property... p31-32 Statute

Lithuania was the youngest country in the younger Europe, and the contrast between the privileged nobility and the remaining population of the country that was deprived of all rights was the most pronounced. P51 Statute

Kiaupa, Zigmantas. *The history of Lithuania before 1795*. Vilnius: Lithuanian Institute of History, 2000.

The Statute of Lithuania = Lietuvos Statutas = Statuta Lithuaniae: 1529. Lithuania.. Vilnius : Artlora, 2002. 261, [1] p. : col. ill., facsim., map

## **Balkans**

Slovenia

(same as the Franks)

Croatia 8

**no mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2**

**contract law 3**

**procedural law: 3**

Inheritance and protection of property, one code on trade transaction.

The coastal cities of Dalmatia shared similar legal arrangements, characterized by statutes enacted by the individual communes, although their relative sophistication differed from place to place. The statutes of the more developed communes (such as Zadar, Dubrovnik and Split) were compiled earlier, were fuller and more systematically arranged, and were less shaped by external influences. By contrast, the less developed communes, such as Brač and Hvar, often received their statutes as part of the process whereby Venice sought to reorganize legal institutions in the area that came under its rule. Semi-autonomous rural communes dependent on the neighbouring urban communes also drew up their own statutes, as for instance at Mljet and Lastovo. The second distinctive group is that of Istria. The Istrian communities also had their own statutes, which are similar in many respects to those of Dalmatia. The third category comprises the statutes and law codes of the mostly rural areas of the medieval Croatian kingdom (although we include Senj here). This legislation was less uniform than those of Dalmatian and Istrian cities,

being primarily collections of local customs. These customs were variously influenced by the legal regime prevailing throughout the medieval Croatian kingdom as a whole (as for instance in respect of Novigrad and Poljica) and by local circumstances (as in respect of Vinodol or Vrana). This legislation was less developed than elsewhere. The laws and statutes of the Kvarner region demonstrate characteristics of all three groups.

Medieval Slavonia is a separate case. There was no regular legislative activity in Slavonia during the Middle Ages, as a result of its predominantly oral legal culture. In its legal arrangements, it was closely connected to Hungary and its legal regime did not differ much from the one prevailing there.

<http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1469335/1/The%20Laws%20of%20Croatia.pdf>

#### **Law:**

From the 13th century, Dalmatian communes could independently make statutes, which were the collections of rules “passed by a body of autonomous government within its jurisdiction – for its members.” Thus, they had the right to make rules for their own territory and their communities.

P27 Latin and Vardic

written procedures see <http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1469335/1/The%20Laws%20of%20Croatia.pdf>

**Law codex of Vinodol** (1288 AD, earliest): It is based on existing custom as presented by the representatives of nine free communes of the region and promulgated by their count (knez). It aimed mainly at harmonizing the traditional rights (\*jus commune) of commoners (originally, warrior freemen) with their new obligations as hereditary tenants on their lord’s land. (Oxford Reference)

In many cases these Dalmatian codes, which were in Latin, were drawn up to protect the local laws and customs of these urban communities against possible violations or alterations by their princes who were often foreigners. P207 Fine

Fine, John V. A. *The late medieval Balkans: a critical survey from the late twelfth century to the Ottoman conquest*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994.

The Dubrovnik Statute and its successor volumes describe a city-state governed through political institutions heavily modelled on those of Venice. P125 Harris

Harris, Robin, *Dubrovnik: a history*. London: Saqi, 2003.

#### **Serbia 9**

**mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 3**

**contract law 3**

**procedural law: 3**

**Popular Assembly** (functions: elect new ruler, war and peace, issuing law etc): Popular assemblies among the Serbs date back to a very early period, when all the free men of a district met to discuss local affairs. In Serbia, as in Bulgaria, Byzantine influences tended to favor the central power at the expense of the popular assemblies. However, Serbia was also exposed to Western practices through its contacts with the free towns of Dalmatia. P285 Sedlar

**Law:** the influence of Byzantine law increased considerably not only in canon law and the civil law in general but also in the public law. P69 Soulis

## **Dusan's code (1349)**

### **Protection of private property**

#### **Land Ownership:**

Novakovid suggests that there were two kinds of *bastine* or hereditary estate, one entirely free of any burden, the other carrying certain feudal duties. The former could be inherited in the female line, but the latter passed in the male line only as females could not exercise military duty.

No man is free to sell or buy a fief, who has not a hereditary estate. Article 59 Burr

Neither the Lord Tsar, nor the King, nor the Lady Tsaritsa is free to take estates by force, nor to buy nor exchange, unless the owner freely consent. Dusan's Code, Article 43. Burr

Coastal cities: use their own laws

Soulès, Geōrgios Chr. (Geōrgios Christou). *The Serbs and Byzantium during the reign of Tsar Stephen Dušan (1331-1355) and his successors*. Washington, D.C. : Dumbarton Oaks Library and Collection, c1984.

Burr, Malcolm. *The Code of Stephan Dušan: Tsar and Autocrat of the Serbs and Greeks*. The Slavonic and East European Review, 11/1/1949.

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

## **Romania 7**

**no mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2**

**contract law 2**

**procedural law: 3**

Customary law is stronger than written law, protect private property

**Law:** common law had set standards since before the two principalities were founded and it formed the body of jurisprudence throughout the feudal period. Roman-Byzantine law and canon law appeared in the fifteenth century, when Wallachia copied the Slavic *Zakonik* (1451) and Moldavia adopted Matei Vlastares' *Syntagma*, a collection of civil and penal Byzantine laws.

P39 Georgescu

Civil cases: Examples of this type survive only from the end of the fifteenth century. One of the most common issues encountered in cases judged by Romanian law related to inheritance or the sale of properties, and mostly concerned the right of inheritance in the female line. In Romanian law, however, the percentage taken by the daughters was often greater, and it could reach a third or even a half of the father's estate—but only given in cash and mobilia, since land went exclusively through the male line. Marin

Pledging and selling: In terms of the pledging and sale of land, Romanian law did not differ much from the legal traditions of the Hungarian kingdom. Under the influence of the larger ius commune, whether in its Romano-canonical or vulgar Byzantine forms, the ius valachicum adopted the protimissis system of pre-emption. Sellers had first to ask their relatives and neighbours; if they refused to buy, the estate could be sold to others. In this way, estates remained in the family or in the community. Marin

**Procedural law:**

In investigating this phenomenon, Ioan-Aurel Pop has counted about thirty such assemblies meeting during the fifteenth century, although not all of them judged according to Romanian law. Their membership was usually reserved for the noble elite, but there were many cases when other people of various conditions attended (*alterius status homines*). The members of the

assembly elected some of their number (usually six to twelve) as assessors (*probi homines*), who collectively judged the case and passed sentence, with the approval of the assembly. The decision so obtained had complete judicial validity. The system of assessors was not unique to Romanian adjudication, as it is also found in Hungarian judicial practice, from which it may have passed into Romanian use. The oath was decisory in Romanian procedural law, being probative and also employed as a means of reaching a decision. P74 Marin

Marin, Irina. Government and Law in Medieval Moldavia, Transylvania and Wallachia. Slavonic & East European Review, Oct2015, Vol. 93 Issue 4, preceding p754.

## Bulgaria 6

**no mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2**

**contract law 1**

**procedural law: 3**

**Law: Krum's law (9<sup>th</sup> century):** it lays great emphasis on offences against property. P124 Browning;

It was aimed at consolidating the position of the land-owning aristocracy and introduced severe measures in defense of private property. P29 Kossev

The reason behind their creation was to establish common legislation for all of Khan Krum's subjects. They were mainly aimed at promoting high standards in the Bulgarian society for the protection of private property (its regulation and protection), achieving equality of rights as enjoyed by the Proto-Bulgarians and the other nationalities in the common state.

<http://www.bulgaria-law.eu/start.html>

**Zakon Sudnyi Liudem (9<sup>th</sup> century)** based on Byzantine Law

In any dispute, the claim and the statement must be kept to the prince and the judge they did not accept statements without many witnesses. Maybe to say the parties, the plaintiffs and the worshipers: If you can not do it with witnesses, as the law does God, expect to receive the same punishment that you have opposed the other. Witnesses. Over all these (offenders) has a prince and a judge at any dispute with all the care and patience to conduct an investigation and do not condemn them without witnesses.

The written law did not have universal application - initially it was only administered in major administrative centers in state and church courts. Unification of the written law was also lacking, so that various legislative acts were governed differently by the same legal institutes.

<http://www.bulgaria-law.eu/start.html>

Browning, Robert, *Byzantium and Bulgaria: a comparative study across the early medieval frontier*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

Khrstov, Khrsto Angelov. A short history of Bulgaria [by] D. Kossev, H. Hristov [and] D. Angelov. Sofia, Foreign Languages Press, 1963.

## Albania 4



## **Common property coexisted with private property 1**

### **Contract law: 1 unwritten + limited use**

Procedural Law: unwritten 2

### **The Kanun of Lekë Dukagjini (c. 15<sup>th</sup> century) customary law**

#### **Law recognized common property, limit sales and transactions within the clan and village**

The Canon of Lekë Dukagjini has had a particularly strong influence in Kosova and in the more secluded regions of Northern Albania.

The Roman influence on Albanian customary law can be easily observed through the similarity of the role of the pater familias in early Roman law and in the Kanun. In the absence of any organized state structure, the pater familias takes on a state-like authority, empowered to punish, adopt, and banish members of his family. P213 Trnavci

#### **Land property:**

In the KLD the individual private property rights do not exist within the family. P2 Dragovaja

In the KLD property is to be sold to extended family members (brotherhood) at a low price, in order to keep it in the family. P3 Dragovaja

Land is first offered for sale to brothers, relatives, and clan, the neighboring owner, and last to others in the village. P8 Dragovaja

See LIV “the definition of Landed property” p70 : no mention of private property within a family, clearly the law regulates family property

Contract law: “the Kanun of the mountains is not familiar with loans at interest.”

In order to stabilize the transaction and eliminate any doubt regarding any untrustworthiness as to the loan, a pledge may be taken. P112 (loan and pledge) Fox

Procedural law: “a trial and judgment conducted without pledge has no legal value” p190

Before the trial begins, the pledges must be in the hands of the Elders, and not only may the litigants no longer withdraw them, but they are also obliged to pay the costs specified by the Kanun. Fox

“the Kanun does not permit trial after trial and judgement after judgment”

see p188-218 Fox

the Code of Leke Dujagjini, Shtjefen Gjecov, Leonard Fox, Gjonlekaj Punishing company, New York, 1989.

Dragovaja, Muharem. The Customary laws of mountain communities in Albanian and Dagestan. file:///Users/liushaoyu/Downloads/Kanuni\_e%20Final.pdf

“the interaction of customary law with the modern rule of law in Albania and Kosova”, Trnavci, Genc. The rule of law in comparative perspective / edited by Mortimer Sellers, Tadeusz Tomaszewski. Dordrecht : Springer, 2010.

## **Eastern and Central Europe**

(Byzantine Law had a strong influence on the medieval laws in Serbia and Bulgaria, while in Poland, Hungary and Bohemia, Roman law had a stronger influence)

## Poland 8

**No explicit mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2**

**Contract law 3**

**Procedure law 3**

### **Law:**

First period: the ruler (king or duke) was the main source of law, and his power was almost unlimited by public institutions.

Second period: several estates were formed, each with autonomous laws which greatly limited the ruler's powers. The transition from the first to the second period occurred during the thirteenth century. P42 Wagner

Two processes mark the close of the middle Ages in Polish law and the beginning of a new period. One of these is the establishment of a political monopoly of the nobles, and the other is the gradual reception of the Roman civil law. The ideas of Roman law substituted for the medieval concept of divided property in land (useful and direct) the Roman notion of indivisible and absolute property vested in the landlord. P62 Wagner

Wagner, Wenceslas J. *Polish law throughout the ages*. Stanford, Calif., Hoover Institution Press [1970]

## Bohemia (Czech) 8

**No explicit mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2**

**Contract law 3**

**Procedure law 3**

### **Protect private property**

**Law: Duke Konra' d Ota II issued a statute in 1189**, the first written legal code for the Czechs, which recognized these social and economic changes, including private ownership of land. The political system began to resemble more closely the feudal system common in the west. By the time of Vladislav II, the great noble families had stabilized, and the king was now the feudal liege lord of a nobility that itself represented the land. P18 Agnew

**Judicial Conventions:** assemblies of a duke and his subjects (colloquia) in Bohemia were more regularly summoned and perhaps from much earlier than in Piast lands. It was during these meetings not only that proclamations of new laws or validations of estate transactions took place but here also criminal cases were judged. P211 Berend

Codrat's laws contain the legal customs operating in the law-courts, namely, the organization of justice and the law proceedings, criminal and private law. P71 Zigel  
property transfers of free farmsteads and the criminal matters of the aristocracy were recorded in the Land Rolls. P105 Panek

It is generally accepted that there existed a variety of legal relations between the freemen and the overlord, as well as different forms of landholding rights. P265 Berend

At least from the beginning of the twelfth century private estates were common in Bohemia (held by powerful families and warriors). P279 Berend

Municipal law became a vehicle for Roman law institutions to be introduced into the Czech legal system, particularly in the law of persons, the law of property and the law of obligations.

Business or market negotiations, often concluded in town centers of trade (sometimes becoming even international), were an excellent environment for using traditional forms of contract developed by Roman law. Roman law was applied in developing the concepts of ownership, easements, the law of persons (including legal capacity) the law of succession, and the property aspects of family law. P18 Kuklík

The Law Book (14<sup>th</sup> century) is a collection of customs from all branches of the law of province, including property law, criminal law and court procedure. Customs are followed by instructions to a judge on how to use and interpret them in a court and what kind of ordeal to apply. P24 Kuklík

Berend, Nora. *Central Europe in the high Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland c.900--c.1300*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Agnew, Hugh LeCaine. *The Czechs and the lands of the Bohemian crown*. Stanford, Calif: Hoover Institution Press, 2004.

Zigel, Fedor Fedorovich. *Lectures on Slavonic Law: Being the Ilchester Lectures for the Year 1900*.

Kuklík, Jan. *Czech law in historical contexts*, Charles University in Prague, Karolinum Press, 2015. ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.libproxy.berkeley.edu/lib/berkeley-ebooks/detail.action?docID=2044640>.

## Hungary 6

### Property law 3

### Procedure law 3

### Contract law 0

The Laws of King Stephen I (1000-1038)

We know very little about the administration of the law in the period from Stephen to Coloman, although the decretal contain many references to procedure. Pxlvii Bak

Successors to royal grants: we have agreed to the petition of the whole council that everyone during his lifetime shall have mastery over his own property and over grants of the king, except for that which belongs to a bishopric or a county, and upon his death his sons shall succeed to a similar mastery. P9 Bak

The Law of King Coloman (1095-1116)

Inheritance of purchased property shall not be taken away from any kind of heir, but shall be confined by the same testimony. P27 Bak

1267:

further, we ordered that no noble on account of evil counsel should be arrested, imprisoned, or harmed in his person or goods without a judicial hearing, but having been brought into court he should be judged in the presence of barons without wrath, hatred, or favor according to the rule of law. P41 Bak

(seem to have no contract law)

Bak, János M. The Laws of the medieval kingdom of Hungary. with a critical essay on previous editions by Andor Csizmadia. Bakersfield, Calif.: C. Schlacks, c1989.

## Russia 8

**No explicit mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2**

### **Contract law 3**

### **Procedure law 3**

**Law(Kievan Rus):** the *Russkaia pravda*, which was initiated in 1016 and was completed in the 1170s, remained the 'fundamental law' of Russia through to 1549. P16 Hellie

### **Sudebnik (Muscovy Law) (A.D. 1497)**

Boyars and major-domos are to administer justice. Secretaries (djaki) also shall be present at the court of boyars and major-domos. Neither the boyars, the major-domos nor the secretaries are to receive bribes for a judgement or participating in the judging of a case. Likewise no judge is to receive a bribe for a judgement. And no one is to use the court for purposes of [personal] revenge or favor.

Article 2. And if a plaintiff shall come to a boyar, he is not to dismiss the plaintiffs [sic], but shall give a hearing in all matters to all plaintiffs for whom it is proper. But whenever there is a plaintiff whom it is not proper for him to hear, he shall inform the Grand Prince or send him (the plaintiff) to whomever has been ordered to administer such people.

Article 19. And whomever a boyar without [proper] trial declares in the wrong, and, with the secretary, issues a written court decision against him, then that decision shall be invalid, and that which was taken [shall be] returned. But the boyar and secretary shall pay no fine, and the parties shall commence proceedings anew.

**<https://www.departments.bucknell.edu/russian/const/sudebnik.html>**

### **Sudebnik of 1497**

Land ownership:

Hereditary estates (*votchiny*) were of various kinds: princely, boyaral, monastery, clan, granted and purchased. Each had its own rules for sale and the possibility of redemption. Monastery estates in practice were inalienable, but most *votchiny* could be given away, willed by testament, sold, exchanged and mortgaged. In reality, landed property was rarely mobilised in the economy because service landholdings were state property reserved for military service and private hereditary estates could be redeemed for up to forty years after sale at the price the seller had received for it.

Land, was rarely a commodity in late medieval and early modern Russia because members of the seller's clan had the right to inherit the estate and could buy it back almost without any restrictions. The clan also could sue for the return of land willed to outsiders without its consent. Individualism was almost unheard of anywhere in Russia until after the mid-seventeenth century, but property law was just another factor hindering the development of individualism, in this case in the interest of the clan as a collective. P365 Hellie

Prior to 1450 East Slavic princes regarded all land in their domains as their personal patrimonial property which they were free to dispose of as they pleased. After 1556, most usable land de facto was land which could be mobilised by the state for military purposes.

1592-all peasants were forbidden to move at all. P383 Hellie

1590s the government decided that it had the right to control the mobility of townsmen (paralleling the control over peasant mobility). P384 Hellie

-Law still had the function of determining inheritance and preserving male superiority and regime dominance, but almost to an astonishing extent it became the government's mouthpiece for directing social change towards a rigidly stratified, almost-caste society. P386 Hellie TOP DOWN

Hellie, Richard *The law, the peasantry*; Cambridge History of Russia, Cambridge University Press, c2008.

## **Latin America (colonial)**

### **Laws of the Indies**

#### **Compilation of the Laws of the Kingdoms of the Indies (1680)**

First, law was an essential tool of royal economic and social control over distant possessions.

Second, law facilitated the extraction of wealth from the colonies by Spain.

Third, law, legal institutions, and litigation were common elements in a shared Castilian mindset and were deeply embedded in daily affairs and activities. P12 Mirow

The very nature of exploration and conquest were defined in terms of private law rather than public rights and responsibilities. Explorers wishing to undertake conquest had to enter into a private contract with the crown. P14

Thus the laws concerning family, successions, property, and contract, indeed all private law without supplemental legislation in colonial Latin America, were the laws of Castile.p15

Commercial law: The main institution for keeping track of this commerce and settling related disputes was the Board of Trade. p71 Mirow

More recent works indicate that little is still known about the law of obligations or contracts in colonial Latin America. P73 Mirow

Several compilations of laws were constructed in Spain during the colonial period and these often served as sources for private law in Latin America. Most important is the Nueva Recopilación de Castilla of 1567, containing more than four thousand laws in twelve volumes. 18 Mirow

Mirow, M.C. *Latin American law: a history of private law and institutions in Spanish America*. Austin [Tex.]: University of Texas Press, 2004.

## **Spanish Latin America 8**

**mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property; expropriation of Indian property by Spanish 2**

**Contract law 3**

**Procedure law 3**

Mexico

Guatemala

El Salvador

Honduras

Costa Rica

Panama  
Colombia  
Ecuador  
Dominican Republic  
Jamaica  
Venezuela  
Chile  
Uruguay  
Peru

Since Andean agricultural technology depended on a rotation system that let many lands lie fallow, the composiciones of the 1590s, 1620s and 1630s offered land-grabbers an opportunity to claim essential community lands that lay unworked in any given year. The judges shared social affinities and sympathies with Hispanic claimants. P294 Collier

By law Spaniards could not simply usurp Indian land. In practice, the absence of systematic record keeping and uncertainty regarding the legitimate bases of possession enabled many Spaniards to gain control of great swaths of realty during the first half century after conquest. P93 Owensby

Collier, George A. Renato I. Rosaldo, John D. Wirth. The Inca and Aztec states, 1400-1800: anthropology and history New York: Academic Press, 1982.

Owensby, Brian P. Empire of law and Indian justice in colonial Mexico. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2008.

## Argentina

The colonial legal system was Castilian law, based on Roman, Visigothic, and Canonical law and formalized in the thirteenth century by Alfonso the Wise in the Setenario, the Fuero Real, the Espéculo and the important Siete Partidas (c.1265). Later Castilian legal foundations were the Ordenamiento de Alcalá de Henares (1348), Ordenanzas Reales de Castilla, also known as Ordenamiento de Montalvo (1484), the Laws of Toro (1505), the New Compilation of 1567.

Whereas private-law aspects were governed by Castilian law, new problems (such as the legal condition of the indigenous people, the legal rights of the Crown of Castille to the lands and the family consequences of the departure of husbands to the New World) arose, giving birth to a rich and peculiar juridical system, commonly referred to as derecho indiano.

Juridical problems were handled by audiencias, municipal governments (cabildos), royal revenue officials (oficiales reales), and numerous separate tribunals for ecclesiastical, commercial, mining, and military disputes.

## Brazil 8

**No mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property; expropriation of Indian property by Spanish 2**

**Contract law 3**

**Procedure law 3**

Portuguese law was applied narrowly to Europeans. Indians were either condemned as living outside the law or treated to virtually unregulated disciplinary excesses if they lived within

Portuguese-controlled territory. Private justice, and severe ad hoc punishments were administered to Indians suspected of crimes against Portuguese. P47 Benton

## Trinidad and Tobago 7

**Same as other Spanish colonies in Latin America. Mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property; expropriation of Indian property by Spanish 2**

### **Contract law 3**

**Procedure law 2 Frequent arbitrary rule by governors.**

In Trinidad, the Articles of Capitulation were silent on the retention of Spanish law, but the British military commander issued a proclamation several days after capitulation guaranteeing the continuation of Spanish civil and criminal law and the maintenance in office of all judicial and administrative officers until the permanent nature of the island's government could be decided. P5 Glenn

The law applicable in Trinidad, as elsewhere in Spanish America, was found in a variety of specific and general sources, including instructions to governors, royal orders (Ordenamientos) adopted from time to time for the colonies, and statutes (Fueros) setting out the ancient customs of the realm. The Ordenamientos and Fueros included:30 the Fuero Real de España (1255) governing such matters as public officials (including judges, lawyers and notaries), procedure, and matrimonial and inheritance rules; the fundamental Siete Partidas [Seven Parts, or Books] (1260) setting out canon law, the decrees of the great councils of Spain, the rules concerning judgments, contracts and testaments, and criminal law provisions; the Leyes de Estilo (1525) dealing with the functions of notary publics; the important Recopilación de las Leyes de las Indias (1681) compiling all laws, cédulas and orders enacted for the colonies; and finally the Leyes de Bilbao (1732) governing commercial relations. The applicability of these laws in Trinidad was confirmed in an 1807 trial by a number of expert witnesses. P7 Glenn

The council had no legislative functions. The members were appointed merely to advise the Governor. Unlike the older British possessions, Trinidad was administered by the Governor and the Governor alone. The administration of the colony was left almost entirely in his hands. P8 Ottley

The Crown Colony was, in many aspects, an autocratic form of government headed by a governor who ruling in the monarch's name, had almost unlimited power. P26 MacDonald

Glenn, Jane Matthews. Mixed Jurisdictions in the Commonwealth Caribbean: Mixing, Unmixing, Remixing. *Journal of Comparative Law*, Vol. 3, Issue 1 (2008), pp. 53-76.

Ottley, Carlton Robert, *Slavery days in Trinidad: a social history of the island from 1797-1838*, 1974.

MacDonald, Scott B. *Trinidad and Tobago: democracy and development in the Caribbean*. New York: Praeger, 1986.

## **Pre-colonial**

### **Inca 0**

**No mention of private property nor its protection or no concept of private property. Strong emphasis against transgression against state property. 0**

**no mention of contract laws lower score 0**

**No procedural law, usually no specific procedure is followed 0**

**Punishment against offence of the state, clan resolved disputes between individuals, similar to China**

Inca law was based on custom and tradition as well as the wishes of the emperor...in this system nobles were distinguished from commoners. Nobles received lesser punishments, since it was believed that they suffered greatly from the public humiliation of being even lightly punished. The emperor served as the supreme judge of the system...punishments were severe...the death penalty was prescribed for numerous offenses, especially killing, murder, and disobedience to the Inca. It was also used for traitors...and those who destroyed state property. P108 McEwan McEwan, Gordon Francis. The Incas: new perspectives. Santa Barbara, Calif. : ABC-CLIO, c2006.

Inka law stressed the sacred status of the Inka royal family and permitted the king to execute subjects and confiscate their property more or less as he wished. P234 Trigger

Landholding and inheritance were important aspects of the Inca legal system. Land was held for the Inca (government), the Sun (religion), and the people to be worked by collective units, called ayllus. P6 Mirow

Mirow, M. C.. Latin American Law : A History of Private Law and Institutions in Spanish America, University of Texas Press, 2004.

Trigger, Bruce G. Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Maya 3

**No mention of private property nor its protection, or no concept of private property 1**

**Unwritten contract law 1**

**Procedure is followed, but seem less protection 1**

The laws governing the various Maya states were issued by the halach uinic and his council, or in the absence of a halach uinic, by the council alone. The batabob were responsible for carrying out the laws and serving as judges and administrators to their smaller towns.

**Contract:** The Maya used contracts, which were formalized when the parties drank balché (a mild alcoholic drink) in front of witnesses. Interest was not charged on loans and there were no criminal penalties for going into debt. Individuals who could not pay their debts would become slaves of the people who they owed money to. If a debtor passed away, his family would assume responsibility for paying his debts.

Limited information is available on the Maya property system. Communal lands were owned by the nobles and ruling class, and were worked by commoners. Commoner families were also permitted to own small parcels of land that they used for subsistence agriculture.

Aztec and Maya Law

<http://tarlton.law.utexas.edu/aztec-and-maya-law/intro>

Batabs also served as judges for their towns and adjudicated civil and criminal cases. Court cases were generally handled swiftly in public meeting houses known as popilna. Judicial proceedings were conducted orally and written records were not maintained. Witnesses were required to testify under oath and there is evidence to suggest that the parties were represented by individuals who functioned as attorneys. Batabs would review the evidence, evaluate the circumstances of the case, consider whether the criminal act in question was deliberate or



accidental, and would order an appropriate punishment. Decisions made by the batabs were final and could not be appealed, though the victims could pardon the accused, thus reducing their punishment.

The batab generally acted independently, but would consult with the halach uinic on serious cases before passing judgement.

### **Aztec 3**

**No mention of private property nor its protection, or no concept of private property 1  
contract law exists but only within the merchants 1**

**Procedure is followed, but seem less protection 1**

**Some protection of property rights and contract, clan has a role in solving disputes,**

The centralization of power in Tetzcoco and Tenochtitlan was further consolidated by the promulgation of a “legalist” system, designed to ensure government by severe but standardized laws that favored the rule of the state.

Although there were 80 laws in the Tetzcoacan legal code, not everything could actually be judged in a strictly legalist manner. Indeed, there was an entirely different aspect of law which stemmed from tribal traditions established long before the Aztec state was formed. This aspect of justice centered on the concept of “the reasonable man” under which there were no rigid prescriptions for crime and punishment but judgements were instead made according to general culturally accepted notions of reasonable behavior. P84-85 Townsend

Townsend, Richard F. The Aztecs. London; New York : Thames & Hudson, 2009.

The governing bodies of highland Mexican calpollis and Peruvian ayllus were likewise responsible for resolving internal quarrels and punishing crimes. P225 Trigger

The formulation of the first systematic legal code in Tenochtitlan was later described as part of king Moctezuma I's far reaching reformulation of his state's legal system. This code probably incorporated customary laws but was mainly concerned with elaborating sumptuary regulations, distinguishing the rights of nobles from those of commoners and compelling commoners to display more respect for the king and the nobility. P232 Trigger

The Aztec legal system was largely based on a form of highly structured customary law that was enforced in the style of legalism with the overall view being that if a crime was committed, it must be punished whether or not the action had previously been defined as a crime.[84] There was no legislative body to pass laws, but the emperor had full authority to make decrees with the force of law. This is similar to the imperial Chinese penalty of “defying the will of the emperor” or “doing what ought not to be done.” “Only major civil and criminal laws were written down and there were only available to judges.

### **Law of contracts:**

The commercial court had three levels and was referred to as the Pochteca Tlahtocan. This court was run by the Pochteca guilds and each level was staffed with 12 judges. These courts could be found in the marketplace, had jurisdiction over all commercial disputes and had enforcement powers up to and including summary capital punishment.

All contracts were created orally and became binding when witnessed by four people. Loan contracts required collateral that could be in the form of goods, property, or a promise to become a slave upon default.

### **Law of property:**

The emperor alone had the legal power to regulate real property, and all land in the Aztec domain was owned in his name. The emperor immediately acquired title to all new lands acquired through conquest and had the power to divide them as he saw fit between the nobility, warriors, institutions and Calpulli. Most of the land given away by the emperor was parceled out from recently conquered territories. An interesting feature of this system was that the original owners from the conquered lands still own, live on and pass their title to future generations, but simply share the profits with their new “lords”.

Below the emperor, nobles were allowed to purchase property from other nobles or have it granted to them by the emperor himself. Land purchased from other nobles was free of any obstruction and could be resold at will, but land acquired from the emperor may come with conditions attached. These conditions include restrictions on resale, or a requirement that it forfeit back to the state after the nobles death or the death of a certain family member X number of generations in the future. The same rules applied to Aztec warriors with the proviso that they couldn't purchase land, and could only acquire it from the emperor for valorous service in battle.

The Aztec Legal System.

[http://www.daviddfriedman.com/Academic/Course\\_Pages/legal\\_systems\\_very\\_different\\_08/final\\_papers\\_04/andrade\\_aztec\\_04.html](http://www.daviddfriedman.com/Academic/Course_Pages/legal_systems_very_different_08/final_papers_04/andrade_aztec_04.html)

### **Land ownership:**

The law regarding land tenure was complex and included elements of both communal and private ownership. The type of holding available to an individual depended on the status of the owner. For commoners, “on the lower legal levels of the empire, land might have been bought, sold, rented, and passed on to heirs within and between wards with little more than perfunctory review— or with no review at all— by political officials.”<sup>31</sup> Even though these lands were treated as private property, the ward theoretically also owned them communally. Lands held by nobles could be either held individually and freely alienable or only for their benefit and inalienable. Certain lands were attached to particular political offices, such as lands used to support a lesser ruler, or institution, such as palace lands, or held for a particular purpose, such as war lands. A system of allocating both tribute and serf or commoner labor on lands made some property more<sup>32</sup> profitable than other. P5 Mirow  
commercial disputes were sometimes subject to specialized tribunals. P6 Mirow  
In addition to land, houses and personalty were recognized as property. P5 Mirow

Mirow, M.C. Latin American law: a history of private law and institutions in Spanish America. Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 2004.

Trigger, Bruce G. Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Trigger, Bruce G. Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

## **South Asia**

**Bhutan 1**

**No mention of private property nor its protection, or no concept of private property 1**

**No contract law 0**

**No written procedure 0**

**Tsa Yig (17<sup>th</sup> century)**

The code of Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal issued in 1650 AD laid down laws for all classes of people in the country...it also regulated the laws governing inheritance, monastic properties and trade and commerce p162 Hasrat

Hasrat, Bikrama Jit, History of Bhutan: land of the peaceful dragon. Thimphu, Bhutan : Education Department, 1980.

**Zhabdrung's Law (17th century)**

Zhabdrung's religious law: in-house rules for clerics, based on the Buddhist monastic discipline found in the Buddhist scriptures.

Zhabdrung's secular law: based on Tibetan legal codes in 7th century (seemingly it was based on Buddhist morals and customs) Family problems usually were resolved through recourse to Buddhist or Hindu religious law. P343 Savada

The spiritual laws are said to resemble a silken knot, easy and light at first, but gradually becoming tighter and tighter. The temporal or monarchical laws resemble a golden yoke, growing heavier and heavier by degrees. P301 White

(The author talked about the rules and regulations of the Dharma Raja in late 19<sup>th</sup> century, but I didn't find any mention of regulations or laws dealing affairs between individuals. Most the rules are about religious affairs, tax collection, morality and crimes)

White, John Claude. *Sikhim & Bhutan: Twenty-one Years on the North-east Frontier, 1887-1908*  
Andrea Matles Savada. *Nepal and Bhutan: country studies*, Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. Govt. Print. Office, 1993.

**Bhutan Legal Code 1729**

part I— "Introduction to the principles of theocratic rule", part II—"The duties of rulers and ministers", part III—"The duties of government officials". P47 Cuppers

No mention of private property, commercial exchange and legal procedures. See Aris  
"translation of Bhutan Legal Code of 1729"

Aris, Michael. Sources for the history of Bhutan. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 1986.

**Maurya 4**

**mention of private property but seems weak protection. 1**

**some enforcement of contract 1**

## Civil procedure 2

Arthashastra and Manusmriti

Manusmriti: Madu's Code of Law

### 1. Non-payment of debts

When a creditor petitions for the recovery of his money from a debtor and the facts are established,\* the king should compel the debtor to return the money to the creditor. P170

**Lost and Stolen Property:** Any property that is lost and without an owner\* should be kept in deposit by the king for three years. Before the lapse of three years, the owner can claim it; after that the king may take it. P169

When a debtor reports a creditor seeking to recover a debt on his own initiative, the king should compel him to pay the money to the creditor and in addition a fine equal to a quarter of the debt. p176

Grounds for Litigation: VI **Non-payment of Wages**

Grounds for Litigation: VII **Breach of Contract** When a man belonging to a village, region, or corporate entity enters into a contract truthfully and then breaks it out of greed, the king should banish that man from his realm. p179

### **Inheritance of land:**

Grounds for Litigation: XVII Partition of Inheritance: After the father and mother have passed on,\* the brothers should gather together and partition the paternal inheritance evenly; for they are incompetent while those two are alive.

The state not only kept watch over the property of the people but also framed laws for the protection and proper distribution of property among lawful heirs. P290 Singh

Law books refer distinctly to the ownership of the land by the king. The owner of landed property was also obliged to make proper use, otherwise it might be taken by any other person who showed his willingness to make proper use of it, or it could also be confiscated by the state. P292 Singh

Singh, Mahesh Vikram. *Society under the Mauryas*, Delhi: Indological Book House, 1988 [i.e. 1989]

Patrick, Olivelle. *Manu's code of law: a critical edition and translation of the Manava-Dharmasastra*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

As early as Manu the oft-repeated eighteen titles of Hindu law were listed: recovery of debt, deposit, sale without ownership, partnership, resumption of gift, non-payment of wages, non-performance of agreements, rescission of sale and purchase, disputes between master and servant, boundary disputes, assault, defamation, theft, robbery and violence, adultery, mutual duties of husband and wife, partition and inheritance, and gambling and betting. P258 Glenn  
Glenn, H. Patrick. *Legal traditions of the world : sustainable diversity in law*. New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Dhamma

The principle is that the king's dharma is to enforce the dharma of others. Put traditionally, the law is king, or even king of kings, and the sastras make it clear that in the king's court it is the sastric law which the king is to apply. The king's position as enforcer is thereby strengthened,

since the king has the power of danda, the secular instrument of enforcement. Yet is weakened at the same time since the king is necessarily, and forever, subordinate to the law. P263 Glenn

Civil procedure: See Books 3 and 4 elaborate on the sources of the law, the duties of judges, magistrates, and clerks, civil procedure, and the law of evidence.

Glenn, H. Patrick. Legal traditions of the world: sustainable diversity in law. New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2010

<https://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/article/other/57jmf2.htm>

Moral law and “Law of Piety”

## Tamil

(No evidence from early period, most inscriptions from after 1000 AD)

### **Legal system:**

the royal court itself was a judicial institution p358 Samuel

the actual judicial process in Ancient and medieval India has remained something of a mystery, mainly due to the lack of reported cases or to the paucity of records. P1 Nagaswamy

the ancient Hindus recognized the authority of the professional guilds to settle matters of dispute p77 Nagaswamy

the gifted land was misappropriated and an appeal was made to the king

ownership was absolute subject to the general theory that the king owned all the land. He could gift to anyone he liked as much land as he wished. Treasure-troves and mines also belonged to the king. But for all practical purposes the individual owner of property had absolute rights in it. He could sell, mortgage, or lease out that property and it was inherited by the sons of the owner and they shared it equally. P389 Samuel

(the king) enjoyed enormous powers and was the supreme administrator of law.p49 Balambal

The wordings of the Manur epigraph is indicative of two categories of judges viz. the Manraduvars and the sravanai puhuvar (hearers) Nākacāmi

There was litigation of both kinds, civil and criminal, but we hear more of crimes and punishments therefor than civil suits arising from disputes relating to property etc. Through there must have been disputes arising from ownership of property details about such cases are lacking. P185 Subrahmanian

Nākacāmi, Irā. Studies in ancient Tamil law and society. [Madras]: Institute of Epigraphy, State Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu, 1978.

Balambal, V. Studies in the History of the Sangam Age. Kalinga Publications, Delhi, 1998.

Subrahmanian, N. Śaṅgam polity: the administration and social life of the Śaṅgam Tamils. Madurai: Ennes Publications, 1980.

## Bengal 4

**mention of private property but seems weak protection. 1**

**some enforcement of contract 1**

**civil procedure 2**

**Legal system:** there were five major types of court system in ancient Bengal---the King Court, the Chief Justice Court, special tribunals, town or district courts and village courts. P3 Panday and Mollah

Caste consideration was a great factor in determining punishment. The judicial system was not based on rule of law rather on caprice and caste consideration. P4 Panday and Mollah Panday, Pranab Kumar and Mollah, Awal Hossain, *the judicial system of Bangladesh: an Overview from Historical Viewpoint*, University of Rajshahi, Bangladesh

Law: Bengal Dāyabhāga Law and the Mitākṣarā Law

(the Dayabhaga Law was written in the 11th century in Bengal mainly about property inheritance. This law was basically “rooted in local customs” (Setlur) and I think it could reflect the situation in earlier periods. It has a contrast to the orthodox Mitaksara Hindu Law about property ownership)

The law of inheritance in Bengal was “different” from that of other parts of India. (Rocher)

The author of the Mitākṣarā holds that any member, at least any male member, of a joint family becomes an undivided co-owner of the joint family estate by the mere fact of being born into the family. Jīmūtavāhana (author of Dayabhaga law) on the other hand, starts from the premise that no member of the joint family has any proprietary right whatever unless and until the prior owner of the estate dies or becomes incapacitated. (Rocher)

There have also been attempts to use Bengali history and customs to account for the absence of ownership by birth and the absolute power of alienation by the head of the family. According to S. C. Mitra, the Aryans came only late to Bengal, and those who came were very enterprising and fully integrated with a population that was actively engaged in navigation by river and by sea. “In fact, in the earlier centuries of the Christian era, Bengal was one of the great centers of the old world” (1905: 385). Setlur considers that his “explanation of the individual ownership prevalent in Bengal is perfectly justified” (1907: 219).<sup>15</sup> It is, he says, a striking illustration of the fact that the legal theories of the commentators are rooted in local customs. “The peculiar geographical character of the province made it, from time immemorial, a leading center of trade. To a trading community any clog on the free transfer of property is very inconvenient. Therefore, even in a joint family, its members always had the power of alienation. (Rocher)

Jīmūtavāhana's Dayabhaga [electronic resource] : the Hindu law of inheritance in Bengal / edited and translated with an introduction by Ludo Rocher, Jīmūtavāhana, active 12th century. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Sri Lanka 1

**No mention of private property. 1**

**No contract law 0**

**No written procedure 0**

<https://sirimunasiha.wordpress.com/administration-of-justice-in-ancient-sri-lanka/>

Seems top-down, need more

The king was regarded as the “fountainhead of Justice” p87 Ismail

Treason was considered one of the worst crimes. Severe social degradation was imposed on the members of the traitor’s family. The properties belonging to the offender as well as those belonging to members of his family were liable to confiscation. Dhatusena (a king) confiscated the property of those who had supported the Tamils against him.

Ismail, Marina, *Early settlements in northern Sri Lanka*, New Delhi: Navrang, 1995.

The king was the fountain of law but was bound by custom and tradition to uphold justice...he was also the final arbiter and adjudicator in legal disputes and sat in judgement in deciding important cases. The king was also regarded as the highest court of appeal. P92 Siriweera

At least by twelfth century laws had been codified and written down. P92 Siriweera  
(written law seems quite late, and did not get preserved)

At the village level, the administration of justice devolved on the village assemblies and toward the end of the Anuradhapura period, a group of ten villages was considered a unit for discharging collective legal responsibilities. If such village administrative units failed to take effective measures in combating crime, they were to be fined jointly and severally. P93 Siriweera

Siriweera, W. I. History of Sri Lanka: from earliest times up to the sixteenth century. Colombo; New Jersey : Dayawansa Jayakody & Co., 2002.

## Nepal 1

**No mention of private property. 1**

**No contract law 0**

**No written procedure 0**

### **Law:**

Nepalese laws were based on religion, local customs and usages, and royal edicts. In fact, law was considered a branch of religion. In ancient times, there was no differentiation between law, religion, and custom. Traditional concepts of fairness and impartiality under the laws of religion were the basic rules of justice. P922 Thapa

The king was the foundation of law and justice. P923 Thapa

the justice system simply ignored the principle of equality. The caste system prevailed and criminals continued to be treated in accordance with their caste status. P923 Thapa

Thapa, Kanak Bikram, *Religion and Law in Nepal*. Brigham Young University Law Review. 2010, Vol. 2010 Issue 3, p921-930. 10p.

### **Bisthi System**

At that time citizens were forced to participate in public work and in government work. This system is called Bisti system. This system in the form of taxation was in existence for a long time. P31 Nepal

Nepal, Mediniprasad. Socio-economic history of ancient and medieval Nepal. Biratnagar : Dharanidhar Multipurpose Co-operative Ltd., 1997.

## **East Asia**

### Japan 2

**mention of private property, but unclear. 1**

**marriage contract law 1**

**No written procedure 0**

Before Taika reform:

Private ownership to movable goods as well as to real property is attested, and both could be traded. The formalities of real property transaction in normal cases are not known. P50

Heavily influenced by Chinese law after 7<sup>th</sup> century, mostly administrative and penal code, population registration.

Omi Code (668AD) and Taiho Code (703AD)

Laws of the period refer to three types of land: (1) administered directly by the state; (2) garden and residential land held privately but with differences of tenure; and (3) the surrounding mountains, groves, rivers, and swamps that were used by all members of the community for wood gathering, hunting, and slash-and-burn agriculture. But the subject of most of these provisions was the land used for growing rice, or the surrounding communal land considered suitable for rice cultivation. Only gardens and residential plots were truly private. P416

Similar to China

Other objects could be validly sold by formless contract. The land registers were for fiscal use only...it became customary for a purchaser to require, as adjuncts to a sale-of-land deed, all the deeds back to the original developers' permit. P58 Steenstrup

The law did not quite clearly distinguish criminal from civil procedure. In the absence of tort law, it often only dawned in the course of the hearings, whether the defendant had done something wrong which concerned the authorities or not. P63 Steenstrup,  
Steenstrup, Carl A history of law in Japan until 1868. Leiden; New York : E.J. Brill, 1991.

Korea 1

**No mention of private property 1**

**Unlikely to have contract law 0**

**No written procedure 0**

### **Korean Law:**

The legal tradition of Korea is as old as this, for Kojoseon had its own statutory law. This law consisted of eight articles, of which only three remain today. These articles stipulated capital punishment for murder, compensation with grains for personal injury, and the enslavement of thieves. P152 Black and Bell

Law and Legal Institutions of Asia: Traditions, Adaptations and Innovations. edited by E. Ann Black, Gary F. Bell

(very difficult to determine the condition before the influence of China)

The development of Korean traditional law was greatly influenced by the introduction of the Confucianism and China's legal culture. But the traditional and unique legal system and customary laws have existed throughout the long Korean history even though its legal system had been influenced from China. p2

The Judicial functions of the three kingdoms were in the hands of tribal councils or the chief of a clan, respectively. The Kingdom of Goguryeo had a conference of tribal leaders serving as the top judicial organization. In the Kingdom of Baekje, it is known that one of the royal ministers assumed the judicial authority. The kingdom of Silla assigned the judicial authority to local heads of administration. P3

Introduction to Korean law. Korea Legislation Research Institute, editor. Berlin; New York: Springer, c2013

In the period of the rule of the Chinese dynasty Han, in the year 108 BC, the Korean Gojoseon state fell under Chinese influence in its north region, and Korea thus for the first time came under the influence of Chinese law. The Chinese brought to the Korean land not only its own political administration and ideology but, of course, also its advanced legal system.



In conquered lands, including the Korean land, they especially sought to enforce public law.  
P103 Tomášek

Tomášek, Michal. Notes on the Development of Korean Law.

The judicial functions of the three kingdoms were in the hands of tribal councils or the chief of a clan, respectively. The Kingdom of Goguryeo, the biggest and the strongest among the three kingdoms, had a conference of tribal leaders serving as the top judicial organization.

[www.springer.com/cda/content/document/cda.../9783642316883-c1.pdf?SGWID...](http://www.springer.com/cda/content/document/cda.../9783642316883-c1.pdf?SGWID...)

## China 0

**No mention of private property. Strong punishment against transgression of state property**  
**0**

**No contract law 0**

**No written procedure 0**

Where no legal concept of individual rights existed, it is more useful to characterize Shang society in terms of degrees of dependency and privilege, rather than slavery and freedom. P286 Keightley

In China lineage heads appear to have played an important role in settling disputes among family members. P225 Trigger

There is no evidence of special legal tribunals in Shang or Early Zhou China. In the Western Zhou period local and regional officials appear to have performed legal functions as one of their regular duties, usually on their own but sometimes in conjunction with royal representatives.

P227 Trigger

The Shang: China's First Historical Dynasty. David N. Keightley. Loewe, Michael, The Cambridge History of Ancient China : From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Trigger, Bruce G. Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

## Middle East and Near East

### Egypt 1

**No mention of private property in written law. 1**

**No contract law 0**

**No written procedure 0**

“hp” rules

(seems that Egypt does not have formalized laws distinguished from king's orders and edicts, but evidence of disputes on private property)

To sum up concerning the composition of powers and functioning of the Egyptian courts until the end of the New Kingdom, it can be said that *knbt* had not yet grown into independent organs specialized in the dispensation of justice. Probably as a result of their main duties concerning land tenure (a sensitive matter in Egypt), the courts were still an ordinary part of government.

<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195102345.001.0001/acref-9780195102345-e-0402?rskey=wPaXae&result=1>

Though “broadcast” to many officers, from the vizier to the relevant local authorities, the only aim of many of them (decrees, king’s order) was to protect some divine or funerary estate, together with its belongings and staff, against theft or requisitioning by other authorities or institutions (Coptite decrees of Neferirkare, Pepy I and II, Horus Demedjibtauy or Nebkheperre Antef; for the New Kingdom, decrees of Nauri, Kanais, Hermopolis, Armant, and Elephantine).

In Egyptian local courts, disputes about property sometimes continued for decades and even generations. P225 Trigger

During the Old Kingdom the Six Great Mansions appear to have been an entirely judiciary institution of the central government. It was concerned mainly with regulating the ownership and transfer of property. P228 Trigger

The extent of local jurisdiction may be gauged from the types of conflicts adjudicated by the council of Deir el-Medina. In civil matters, the majority of cases dealt with related to the fulfilment of obligations (payment, sale and loan of objects, rent and sale of beasts, mostly donkeys, etc.). Some litigation concerned landed property, some family law and inheritance. In penal matters, the theft of objects was treated in some cases. It would seem that violations of sexual mores (adultery in particular) were not rare. Moreover, numerous texts acquaint us with acts of violence and bodily injuries (sometimes directed against women). At times, slander was examined by the local judiciary. P111 Allam

Allam, Shafik. Egyptian Law Courts in Pharaonic and Hellenistic Times. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 77 (1991), 109–127.

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

## Iran 6

**No explicit mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2 written contract law exists 2**

**likely to have written procedure as Mesopotamian legal tradition 2**

Encyclopædia Iranica, online edition, New York, 1996-.

<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/judicial-and-legal-systems-i-achaemenid-judicial-and-legal-systems>

no royal archives have yet been discovered

1) the lack of Aramaic legal materials from the center of the Empire; (2) the Persian administration’s policy to continue, in the periphery, the legal and administrative structures in place, adding only a layer of Persian administration; (3) the possible codification and unification of law by Darius I; (4) the vagaries of archeology; and (5) the fact that large amounts of this legal corpus remains unpublished

Judicial administration was ultimately under the authority of the king, and texts document his supervisory role (see, e.g., CT 22, p. 231), although the Achaemenid kings rarely adjudicated individual cases. The courts were sometimes headed by officials, entitled *sartennuor sukkallu*.

The Persians had their own primitive law based on customs. The decisions of the king were the court of last resort and were not subject to change, but the king had to rule in accordance with the traditional practices of the Persians and had to seek the counsel of the representatives of the seven leading noble clans who played a major role in the legal life of the country. P117

Dandamaev

In the early period a popular assembly of the Persian tribes settled the most important cases.

P117 Dandamaev

Ordinary crimes were considered by royal judges (hereditary)...p118 Dandamaev

Under the Achaemenids, Babylonian law reached its pinnacle. It was the model for the legal norms of the countries of the Near East and began to spread to the West. Babylonian private law, as well as the formulae of documents, was not substantially changed under the Persians...the Persians, who had begun to take an active part in the business life of the country, were guided by Babylonian laws. P121 Dandamaev

Private legal documents concerning the sale of slaves, land, divorce, promissory notes, manumissions, etc, were compiled between the years 375 and 335 BC.

(the study by Dandamaev suggests that Babylonian law was very important in Persian laws at least in the western part of the empire but lack of evidence in eastern parts. Laws dealt with contract, land transactions, sales, etc)

Dandamaev, Muhammad. The culture and social institutions of ancient Iran. A. New York : Cambridge University Press, c1988.

## Mesopotamia 7

**No explicit mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2 written contract law 3**

**have written procedure but weaker than Greece and Rome 2**

We know little of how trials were conducted, and it may well be that there was no formal procedure.

(Oxford reference)

**The Law Collection of Ur-Namma (Sumer, 2100 BC-2050BC)**

30-if a man violates the rights of another and cultivates the field of another man, and he sues(to secure the right to harvest the crop, claiming that) he neglected (the field)m that man shall forfeit his expenses.

31-If a man floods another man's field, he shall measure and deliver 900 silas of grain per 100sars of field

32 If a man gives a field to another man to cultivate but he does not cultivate it and allows it to become wasteland, he shall measure out 900 silas of grain per 100 sars. P20-21 Roth

**Laws of Lipit-Ishtar (c.1930 BC)**

If [a man dies] and his daughter...the property of the paternal estate...a younger sister...p26 Roth

**Laws about Rented Oxen(c. 1800 BC, Nippur)** see Roth p40-41

(Many codes on loans, debts, contracts, property inheritance between individuals, "commercial law", and "inheritance" parts in the Babylonian Laws)

Law collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor / by Martha T. Roth; with a contribution by Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. ; volume editor, Piotr Michalowski. Roth, Martha Tobi. Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, c1997.

Hammurabi, King of Babylonia. The Babylonian laws / Hammurabi, King of Babylonia; Edited with translation and commentary by G. R. Driver and John C. Miles. Oxford [Eng] : Clarendon Press, [1956-60]

### **Code of Hammurabi (1754BC)**

The cases dealt with in the Laws of Hammurabi include judicial procedure, theft and robbery, slave sales and matters affecting slaves; agricultural and irrigation work and offenses, pledges, debts, deposits and loans, real estate sales and rentals...failure to complete contracted tasks; renters; and shepherds' liabilities and goring oxen. P72 Roth

Law collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor / by Martha T. Roth; with a contribution by Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. ; volume editor, Piotr Michalowski. Roth, Martha Tobi. Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, c1997.

The Mesopotamians developed especially elaborate rules relating to questions of property ownership, business transactions, and the conduct of business. P231 Trigger

Trigger, Bruce G. Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

## **Israel 3**

### **No mention of private property nor its protection, or no concept of private property 1**

#### **Informal ways to decide justice by clan elders 1**

#### **unwritten contract law 1**

#### **Covenant Code, Deuteronomic Code, Decalogue**

The jurisdiction of the lawmakers and enforcers in these local contexts in ancient Israel, In all likelihood, their range of authority was coterminous with their village or with several villages connected largely by kinship ties. A single body of "legislators" to set the laws for all village life throughout the whole land did not exist...legal conflicts were resolved as locally as possible...if, for example, damage to property or livestock occurred within a village, the elders or household heads of that village gathered to hear both sides of the conflict and to adjudicate it according to their legal precedents. If the two parties in the conflict were from neighboring villages, the elders from both villages would presumably meet to find the remedy...the state and the central cult intervened only if their own interests were at stake. P73 Knight

Land: legal issues and conflicts that arose regarding categories 3-5 (above)-(land accumulated by large landowners, crown land and temple land) were resolved not by villagers but were handled in the jurisdiction of the elites, the royal administration, and the cultic officials. Among the villagers themselves, one of the most basic issues, though perhaps rarely contested, was the delineation of the boundaries of each family's or person's property, especially the arable land.

P146 Knight

The story of Ahab's expropriation of Naboth's land makes the point effectively that private land is not safe from state interests. P145 Knight

Liabilities for movable property held for another person (e.g. Exod 22:7-8,10-15) applies in both rural and urban contexts. P150 Knight

We read often of sales, loans, hirings, pledges, and inheritances...leasing of land

Knight, Douglas A. *Law, power, and justice in ancient Israel*. Louisville, Ky. : Westminster John Knox, c2011.

Living individuals, the lineage heads, have the power to enforce decisions that are in accord with the society's customary law. P94 Halpern

**Property and inheritance law:** in most cases, the property was divided equally among the heirs, by casting lots upon the death of the head of the household. P402 Levinson and Sherman

Local justice was deeply rooted in the clan network of the Judean countryside and thus operated independently of any centralized state authority. P403 Levinson and Sherman

The political structure that Deuteronomy envisioned was without precedent. Deuteronomy's subordination of the monarch to a sovereign legal text that regulates his powers and to which he is accountable has no known counterpart in the ancient Near East. P412 Levinson and Sherman  
Inalienability of family property is a recurring concept in biblical law and lore. P21 Meyers

Familial land ownership resided at the economic base of Israelite and early Jewish households. Tradition of land distribution (Joshua 13-22) and laws protecting land ownership point to the inherent economic value of this commodity necessary to sustain households. Land was to be transferred from generation to generation within the family household, normally through inheritance of the patrimony. The household's land was not a commodity to be bought and sold. P169 Perdue

Sherman, Tina. M. *Law and Legal Literature*, Lemos, T.M. *Kinship, Community and Society*, The Wiley Blackwell companion to ancient Israel / edited by Susan Niditch. Chichester, West Sussex, UK ; Malden, MA : John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2016

Perdue, Leo. G. *the Israelite and Early Jewish Family*. Meyers, Carol. *The Family in Early Israel*, Families in ancient Israel / Leo G. Perdue. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, c1997.

Lebanon (Phoenicia)

Not available

Arabia 7

**No explicit mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2 written contract law 3**

**Some formalized way of procedure: 2**

**Islamic law**

**Protection of private property ownership**

In the life of Islamic law, however, there is a remarkable lack of institutional support. It is true that the qadi occupies a formal, institutional position, but beyond this Islamic law is simply sustained by the Islamic community. There is no Islamic legislator, no appeal or supreme courts, nothing equivalent to a Grand Sanhedrin, and no institutionalized hierarchical church. So legal

authority is in a very real sense vested in the private, or religious community and not in any political ruler. P167 Glenn

The qadi's decisions were based on "sound opinion" (ray) as derived from local customs and laws, administrative regulations, the Koran, and Islamic norms. Each case was considered on its own merits, and there was no attempt to develop a consistent methodology or to adhere to precedent. As a result, the law developed differently in different parts of the Islamic empire. P31

Property: in recognizing both private property and state or communally-owned property, Islamic property law broadly parallels that of the west...there are parallels with earlier western law, in that absolute ownership of property is seen as vested ultimately in God, such that individual ownership while respected... p168 Glenn

The diversity in Umayyad legal practice was the simple fact that the power of the individual judge to decide according to his own personal opinion was to all intents and purposes unrestricted. No real unifying influence was exerted by the central government and there was no hierarchy of superior courts whose binding precedents might have established the uniformity of a case law system.p30 Coulson

Glenn, H. Patrick. Legal traditions of the world : sustainable diversity in law. New York, N.Y. : Oxford University Press, 2010.

Matthew Lippman, Islamic Criminal Law and Procedure: Religious Fundamentalism v. Modern Law, 12 B.C. Int'l & Comp. L. Rev. 29 (1989), <http://lawdigitalcommons.bc.edu/iclr/vol12/iss1/3>

## Morocco 7

**No explicit mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2**  
**written contract law higher score 3**

**Some formalized way of procedure: 2**

Property: The legality of the partitioning ( qisma ) of property is accepted and common practice in the Sunnī legal schools. Land may be partitioned between a group of people by drawing lots or by consent, p105 Gómez-Rivas

Legal system:

Especially in places with little central government representation, in which figures other than qāḍīs (a Islamic judge) were elected by the community to act as arbitrators and mediators. P36 Gómez-Rivas

Jurists explicitly cite local custom as the guiding parameter to follow on issues about which the sharī'a is silent. p37 Gómez-Rivas

The developing institution of Mālikism in Marrakesh was especially useful or applicable in mediating commercial disputes. P67 Gómez-Rivas

Gómez-Rivas, Camilo. Studies in the History and Society of the Maghrib: Law and the Islamization of Morocco under the Almoravids : The Fatwās of Ibn Rushd al-Jadd to the Far Maghrib (1). Leiden, NL: Brill, 2014. ProQuest ebrary. Web. 9 September 2016.

## Pakistan (Ghaznavid) 7

**No explicit mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2**  
**written contract law higher score 3**  
**Some formalized way of procedure: 2**

The Ghaznavid sultans and their officials tended to favor the Hanafites (First school to formulate contract rules for business transactions involving resale for profit and payment for goods for future delivery). P135 Bosworth  
History of Civilizations of Central Asia. edited by Clifford Edmund Bosworth, Unesco

Assyria 7

**Middle Assyrian Laws (c.1076 BC, Assur)**

**No explicit mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2**  
**written contract law 3**  
**have written procedure but weaker than Greece and Rome 2**

**Similar to Mesopotamia**

The twenty provisions in MAL B include situations dealing with inheritance, and with agriculture and irrigation. MAL C+G has eleven provisions, generally dealing with pledges and deposits. P153 Roth

Inheritance: MAL B 1: [If brothers divide the estate of their father...the oldest son shall select and take a double share...] 6:purchase of land and proclamation p154 Roth

Law collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor / by Martha T. Roth; with a contribution by Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.; volume editor, Piotr Michalowski. Roth, Martha Tobi. Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, c1997.

Seljuk/Ottoman 6

**No explicit mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. Few private property rights in the empire 1**  
**written contract law higher score 3**  
**Some formalized way of procedure: 2**

Hanafi legal doctrine recognized custom as a limited source of right but downplayed it, lest large-scale recognition of custom open the door to irreconcilable particularistic interests or undermine Islamic legal principles that were held to be universally valid. Nevertheless, custom played an explicit and important role in Ottoman legal practice. The system allowed a significant degree of autonomy to various social collectivities in handling their internal affairs and differences according to their custom. Katz, Stanley N.

The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Legal History. Edited by, Oxford University Press, 2009.

The kadi 's role was not simply to adjudicate in contested cases but also to serve as a notary, recording, for example, sales of property, marriages and other contracts, or dividing inheritances among heirs. P232 Imber

They also acted as a check on local powers of the beylerbeyi s, sancak beyi s and subaşı s. p232  
The Hanai jurists treat land as private property. In the first place, very little land was held as private property. Since this would entail division among the heirs on the death of the owner, it was more advantageous for a landowner to convert his property to vakıf, nominating himself and his heirs as beneficiaries in perpetuity. P236 Imber

Imber, Colin. Government, administration and law pp 205-240. The Cambridge History of Turkey. Volume 2, The Ottoman Empire as a World Power, 1453–1603 / edited by Suraiya N. Faruqi, Kate Fleet. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2012.

## **Southeast Asia**

### **Thailand 0**

**No mention of private property nor its protection or no concept of private property. Strong emphasis against transgression against state property. 0**

**no mention of contract laws lower score 0**

**No procedural law, usually no specific procedure is followed 0**

Siamese and Chinese laws were comparable in their pronounced moral and ethical overtones, as they were primarily deemed pedagogic, aimed rather to uphold the model of government, than to protect rights of individuals in the state. P82 Viraphol

In the stone inscriptions of the edicts of King Ramakamhaeng (r. 1278-1317), the third monarch of the Sukothai state (A.D. 1278-1318), the current concepts of government, law and the administration of justice show a definite father-son arrangement. The monarch was directly in charge of the administration of justice. P84 Viraphol

Thus, under the application of the Indian notion of sole land ownership by the monarch and the institution of the *sakdina*, the traditional Siamese concept of rule by paternalism, far from being weakened, became more significant as it was given an added dimension, that of the expectation of specific obligations by subordinates to superiors based on the traditional concept of reverence to the father. P86 Viraphol

Sarasin Viraphol (1977). "Law in traditional Siam and China: A comparative study". Journal of the Siam Society. Siam Heritage Trust. JSS Vol. 65.1c (digital)

### **Champa**

**Not available in English**

Books on customary laws of the ethnic groups who had played a role in ancient Champa were also published. Nri with his *Recueil de coutumes Sre du Haut Donnai* by J. Dournes in 1951, *Coutumier Stieng* by T. Geber (1951), *le Coutumier des Bahnars du Kontum* by P. Guilleminet in 1952, *Recueil de Coutumes Rhades du Darlac* by D. Antomarchi in 1940 and *Toloi Djuat: Coutumier de la tribu Jarai* by ourselves in 1963.

### **North Vietnam (use China)**

### **Spanish Philippines 8**



**mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property; Spanish property law. Same as Latin America 2**

**Contract law 2**

**Procedure law 4**

**Legal system:**

The natives merited some effective guarantees of their property rights and of the liberty of their persons. Filipinos who accepted Spanish authority were effectively protected against enslavement. Those infidels who were actively hostile to the Spaniards were subject to enslavement, but they were too few in number to provide any source of cheap labor. P94 Scott, William Henry, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines*, Manila, Philippines: De la Salle University Press, c1991.

The Council of the Indies that made the laws for the Spanish colonies provided a comprehensive code which was applied to every part of Spain's vast possessions beyond the sea. The Supreme Court that was established in the Philippine Islands, had the same form of organization as that established in Buenos Aires or Guatemala. P90-91 Moses

Moses, Bernard. Colonial Policy with Reference to the Philippines. Proceedings of the American Political Science Association, Vol. 1, First Annual Meeting (1904), pp. 88-116.

**Pre-colonial Philippines (customary laws) 2**

**No mention of private property nor its protection, or no concept of private property 1**

**no mention of contract laws lower score 0**

**No written procedural law 1**

**Laws:** both oral and written laws in ancient Philippines. The oral law were the customs and traditions called *ugali*. The written laws were promulgated by the *datus*.

Before the Spanish conquest of their islands in 1521, Filipinos lived in local communities of largely independent households (*barangays*) under the leadership of a *datu*. Depending on the consolidation of his power, the *datu* was also an arbitrator and judge, and occasionally a legislator and a leader during wars and other emergencies.

of the traditional branches of law, the law of property and its offspring, the law of contracts, were the least developed in pre-conquest custom law. P99 Fernandez

the principal features of pre-conquest criminal law: a. the principal prohibitions were concerned with the values of personal security and property. B. wide distinctions were observed in the imposition of penalty, based on the rank of the wrong-doer and the rank of the victim. C. the sanctions were preponderantly in the form of pecuniary fines. D. self-help which generally prevailed in the execution of vengeance. P111 Fernandez

The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Legal History. Edited by Stanley N. Katz, Oxford University Press, 2009.

Fernandez, Perfecto V. Custom law in pre-conquest Philippines. [Quezon City, Philippines]: U.P. Law Center, c1976.

**Malaysia 6**

**No explicit mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2  
no mention of contract laws, but instances of disputes related to contract lower score 2  
No written procedural law 2**

The local councils of the villages (“vannua”) were constituted by the family elders “ramas” and usually followed the old Austronesian custom laws named “Adat”. They were charged with solving any relationship problems amongst the families of the village and their advice was followed by the nobles on questions concerning the community. P110 Munoz

Munoz, Paul Michel. Early kingdoms of the Indonesian archipelago and the Malay Peninsula. Singapore : Editions Didier Millet, 2006.

## Indonesia 6

**No explicit mention of protection of private property, but written codes on transfer of property, inheritance of property of individuals and how to solve disputes on property. 2  
no mention of contract laws lower score but instances of disputes related to contract 2  
No written procedural law 2**

Law texts based on Indian models remained confined to the elite and courts of local rulers. At the grassroots level, Indian legal concepts merged with pre-Hindu customs. Antons

**Some of the most interesting passages from the *Kuṭāramānawa* have to do with money lending. Interest on a loan could approach 50 percent per annum and be collected “for generations”:**

**Before going to a money-lender, and signing an agreement one is advised to take a bath first, to have a clear and fresh sight. The loan days are fixed on Monday and Thursday only. The agreement to be signed must state: the name and address of the borrower; the date of the loan; its sum, its monthly interest and the name of the witness. This loan agreement called a *pawitan* will be kept by the money lender.**

**(A term related to *pawitan* is mentioned in the epigraphic record. The AD 944 Muñ-cang copper-plate from east Java, uses *wuitan* [both are derived from *wuit/wwit*, “origin,” “beginning”] to set limits on the amount of investment allowed for a business venture. *Pawitan* would subsequently become the modern Javanese term for “investment capital.”)<sup>194</sup>**

**If a money lender has no longer such a loan document, nor a witness, nor a duplicate of a receipt of interest, he will have lost his money. A money lender must keep in mind that first a witness, second a written agreement and third a duplicate of a receipt of interest are real loan proofs. Among them a witness is the**

The *Kuṭāramānawa*, a Majapahit law text mentioned in the Trawulan inscription of 1358, specified that "the amount of fine should not exceed 160,000 copper (cash). . . ."191 The *Kuṭāramānawa* makes a clear distinction between a fine, paid for having committed a wrong-doing, and compensation. If a thief appealed to the king, he had to "pay eight thousand (cash) for his life, twenty thousand (cash) for fine, and to return the stolen goods twice its value."192 Similarly, if a villager was caught hunting in a forbidden forest, the fine was four thousand copper cash if he had not yet killed any animals, yet the fine was doubled, to eight thousand cash, if he had been successful, in addition to his having to pay twice the value of the dead animal.193

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## Money, Markets, and Trade in Early Southeast Asia

We know of at least two cases of legal assistance for an individual in ancient Java.

1. the case of the debt of a woman who passed away. The creditor wanted to recover the debt from her husband but the latter did not know about his wife's debt and, according to Old Javanese law, he should not have been a defendant in this case because the debt concerned his wife's property. Wicks

2. a case of defamation. A certain Sang Dhanadī was called a wka kilalān, i.e., a son / daughter of a "collector of royal dues". In the case of Ancient Java, it means that she / he was considered as a person not belonging to any community. Only a member of the community enjoyed full rights in the kēraton society. Sang Dhanadī was vindicated completely as all her / his ancestors were worthy people. Both these cases demonstrate that the legal system of ancient Javanese states was well-developed. p85 Wicks

Ancient Javanese state provided some forms of legal assistance for individuals. p87 Wicks  
From the point of view of local law, Java differs from India in that, besides legal inscriptions, local-language legal codes emerged, codifying Javanese customary norms within a conceptual framework and textual format adapted from India's Sanskrit Dharmasastra (Indian law). p74 Wicks

The inscriptions include many transactional records, but also (from the early tenth century) a smaller number of records of successful suits (jayapattra or jayasoh), which are extremely rare (and late) in India. P251 Wicks

long-term possession presented as evidence of land rights

An example of the importance placed on the right to land ownership, and the close attachment existing between the family and the land they owned, is seen in the Jaya Song jayapattra of about 1350 A.D., concerning a dispute between two families over ownership of an estate. The claimant in the case maintained that the estate rightfully belonged to his family, although he admitted that the land had been in the defendant's family's possession for a hundred years or more, due to the fact that his great-great-grandfather had borrowed a sum of silver from an ancestor of the defendant, giving the estate as security... The defendant's claim also hinged on the antiquity of ownership, reaching back over 360 years to the tenth century. The fact that the plaintiff could bring forward a claim to land which he said his great-great-grandfather had in some way mortgaged or pawned a hundred years ago, suggests that the consideration of original ownership would weigh heavily with the court. P61 Meer

An inscription issued in 966 A.D. concerns the mortgaging of certain sawah land which was subsequently redeemed by the owner for one and a half times the mortgage price. P64 Meer

Wicks, Robert S. Money, markets, and trade in early Southeast Asia : the development of indigenous monetary systems to AD 1400. Ithaca, N.Y. : Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1992.

Lubin, Timothy. *Writing and the Recognition of Customary Law in Premodem India and Java*, The Journal of the American Oriental Society. April-June, 2015, Vol. 135 Issue 2, p225, 35 p  
Antons, Christoph. "Indonesia." The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Legal History. : Oxford University Press, January 01, 2009. Oxford Reference. Date Accessed 22 Sep. 2018  
<<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195134056.001.0001/acref-9780195134056-e-404>>

Meer, Nancy Claire Gillam van Setten van der. The development of Sawah cultivation in ancient Java, Australian National University Press, 1979.

## Fiji 2

**No mention of private property nor its protection, or no concept of private property 1  
no mention of contract laws lower score 0**

**No procedural law, customary law 1**

Customary law and clan

In traditional days there was heavy reliance upon the backing of one's family and kindred in punishing offences. One might say that each man (with his kin) was to a great extent his own executioner; each had a private right to dispense justice. P326 Sahlins

Traditional modes of settlements of wrongs and disputes differed from law-among other ways-in that a given injury engendered no specific degree or kind of punishment. P328 Sahlins

Sahlins, Marshall, Moala; culture and nature on a Fijian island. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press [1962]

## Africa

Many patterns of land settlement reflected sociopolitical relationships rather than property rights. Communities that migrated reproduced their social maps in new areas. Individual rights in land were typically allocated by chiefs or family heads to household heads, in principle for life, but subject to repossession and reallocation for misuse, neglect, or abandonment. The notion of absolute and alienable individual title to land was rare until the commercial marketing of cash crops developed.

Limited, standard forms of land transactions included short leases, the grant of rights to harvest crops or fruit or to graze cattle. Land was pledged as security for credit and occupied by the creditor, the produce providing interest due until repayment.

Read, James S., James S. Read, and James S. Read. "African Law, Sub-Saharan." The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Legal History. : Oxford University Press, January 01, 2009. Oxford Reference. Date Accessed 22 Sep. 2018

<<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195134056.001.0001/acref-9780195134056-e-24>>.

Gluckman, Max, African traditional law in historical perspective. London: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1974

## Burkina Faso (Mossi kingdoms) 2

**No mention of private property nor its protection, or no concept of private property 1**

**no mention of contract laws lower score 0**

**No procedural law, no specific procedure is followed 1**

Lineages, and village elders generally, exerted a good deal of influence upon people and their behavior. Finnegan

The village that made up of Mossi district were usually ruled by chiefs who belonged to sub-lineages of the local ruling lineage. P16 Skinner

Law: the head of the Mossi extended family, the Yirisoba, was responsible for the everyday conduct of his charges. The elders often imposed punishments such as reprimands, floggings and even banishment. P79 Skinner

The Mossi have always been great creditors and debtors, and cases concerning indebtedness seem to have been next in frequency at the district court...cases dealing with violations of civil contracts were somewhat similar. p85 Skinner

Skinner, Elliott. P. Trade and Markets Among the Mossi People. Bohannan, Paul. Markets in Africa. Edited by Paul Bohannan and George Dalton. [Evanston, Ill.] Northwestern University Press [1962]

Skinner, Elliott P. (Elliott Percival). The Mossi of the Upper Volta; the political development of a Sudanese people. Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1964.

## Angola (Ovimbundu) 2

**No mention of private property nor its protection, or no concept of private property 1**

**no mention of contract laws lower score 0**

**no written procedural law. Some customary procedure but few protection of complainants 1**

### Ovimbundu

It has been noted above that moveable property is inherited in the maternal line, land in the paternal line. P33 McCulloch

There is virtually no information on Umbundu land usage. P34 McCulloch  
we are told that certain disputes, e.g. concerning inheritance, are settled within the oluina. McCulloch

Procedure: the complainant in a suit is called mobile, the defendant ovilue, and the witness uvangi. Cushman states that no evidence is ever rule out of court, and that each witness is required to give a complete account of all his dealings with the persons concerned in the case, so that the court may know on which side he is likely to be prejudiced. P32 McCulloch

McCulloch, Merran. The Ovimbundu of Angola. London, International African Institute, 1952.

## **Kongo Kingdom**

Alvaro II was able to appoint judges to each province to conduct trials and pronounce judgements according to the custom of each region, a system which continued into the mid-seventeenth century...the establishment of this centralized system of justice both reflected and furthered the increased power of the king vis-à-vis the governors. P85 Hilton  
Hilton, Anne. The kingdom of Kongo. Oxford: Clarendon Press ; Oxford ; New York : Oxford University Press, 1985.

## **Sierra Leone 2**

**No mention of private property nor its protection, or no concept of private property 1  
no mention of contract laws lower score 0**

**Customary law, no specific procedure is followed 1**

## **Mende**

Legal procedure: minor cases between members of a household are usually discussed and decided by the mawei-mui and other members. A “big man” from outside the group may be called in as arbitrator. Disputes between households are also settled by their elders without reference to higher authority. P24 McCulloch

Procedures of civil disputes: each party defines the points on which he takes his stand...deposits of equal value, formerly slaves or cloth are made by the two parties, and at the end of the case, the successful litigant receives both deposits. P24 McCulloch

Oaths are commonly required of both plaintiff and defendant in court cases. P25 McCulloch  
No clear distinction is made between civil and criminal cases. P24 McCulloch

## **Temne**

Disputes between persons appear to have been arbitrated within the kin groups concerned. P65 McCulloch (not much information)

McCulloch, Merran. Peoples of Sierra Leone, London, International African Institute [1964]

## **Nigeria 2**

**No mention of private property nor its protection, or no concept of private property 1  
no mention of contract laws lower score 0**

**No procedural law, no specific procedure is followed 1**

Customary laws within the clan

The administration of justice begins in the compound (agbole) where the head or Bale is responsible for settling civil disputes between members. No fees were or are chargeable. P24 Forde

Among the Yoruba, the sword of state symbolized the exclusive and godlike prerogative of the monarch to execute criminals. P221 Trigger

Yoruba extended households were self-governing in legal as well as in political matters, especially in the north, where single households often had several hundreds members. The bale and other elders and titled male members judged cases that involved only members of the extended family. Cases were referred to ward and town leaders only if they could not be dealt with satisfactorily by the extended family. P224 Trigger

Forde, Cyril Daryll, *The Yoruba-speaking peoples of south-western Nigeria*, by Daryll Forde. London, International African Institute [1969]

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

## Senegal (Wolof) 2

**No mention of private property nor its protection, or no concept of private property 1**

**no mention of contract laws lower score 0**

**customary law, no specific procedure is followed 1**

In civil disputes, most of which are matrimonial cases...efforts are first made to settle the case without recourse to formal courts....an elder will state what customary procedure demands, propose a commonsense solution and may bring about a reconciliation, if not immediately, at least after some further talk to conciliate both parties. If no solution is likely to be reached, a more formal meeting of elders may be called, or the matter may be taken to court. P59 Gamble

The Wolof of Senegambia, together with notes on the Lebu and the Serer.  
Gamble, David P. London, International African Institute, 1957.

## Ghana 0

**No protection of private property and strong emphasis against transgression of state property 0**

**No contract law 0**

**No procedure 0**

**No real private property by the law, no mention of commercial contracts; evidence of expropriation of merchants and individuals by government.**

**Asante Law:** (crimes against chiefs and the state were punished harshly. Seems that disputes between individuals were resolved in the extended family) "A head of family could sell a member of his family, was bound to deliver him for any capital punishment..." p92-93 Danquah  
Danquah, J. B. (Joseph Boakye), *Gold Coast: Akan laws and customs*. London, G. Routledge & sons, ltd., 1928.

the exclusive possession of the 'right to use' the soil so cleared for ever, provided they or he did in fact so continue to use it, but always subject to the rendering all the customary services to the Stool which owned the land. Here we have reached the last ditch that can be crossed-the gap that divides exclusive from purely personal possession. This the African has himself learned in part how to bridge. There is another unexplored field that lies ahead, the realm of individual personal ownership-not of a usufruct, however perpetual, however unfettered, but the personal ownership, in 'its strict sense', of the actual soil. This conception is so entirely foreign to all the tenets of the West African law of real property.

All land whatsoever belongs to the Head Stool, but the "use of it" may have all been given away to sub-Stools, who have again redistributed it (the usufruct) to families, who in turn have given it out to individuals;

Q. Ifas it possible for a Chief to own land in a private capacity, that is, apart from the Stool land of which he was trustee for the Tribe, or ezen land which he had controlled or owned before he

became Chief? .ins. ' When a man succeeded to a Stool, everything which he had possessed privately-gold-dust, slaves, wives-fell into the Stool and became Stool property. If the Chief had a plot of land which he had cleared before he became Chief, and the right to use which was his personally, then, unless he had handed this possession over to a brother or other relative with the words fa no na wadidi so (take it and eat upon it), the crops on that farm will become the property of the Stool

Rattray, R. S. (Robert Sutherland), Ashanti law and constitution. Oxford: The Clarendon press, 1929.

## Zambia 2

**No mention of private property nor its protection, or no concept of private property 1**

**no mention of contract laws lower score 0**

**No procedural law, no specific procedure is followed 1**

Customary laws

Lozi Kingdom: lineages may function as corporate groups overseeing inheritance, settling disputes among their members, and acting as political entities in competition with other such units. P75 Simson

**Bemba Kingdom:** the chiefdom (calo) was the basic unit of administration, within which a chief dispensed justice and levied tribute and military services. P165 Roberts

Simson, Howard. Zambia, a country study. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1985.

**Tonga people:** the protection of persons and property was the responsibility of the kin group, which exacted compensation for offences against its members and enforced its rights by retaliation if compensation was not paid. P54 Jaspan

Jaspan, M. A. The Ila-Tonga peoples of north-western Rhodesia. London, International African Institute, 1953.

Roberts, Andrew. History of the Bemba: political growth and change in north-eastern Zambia before 1900. [Harlow]: Longman, 1973.

## Mozambique 2

**No mention of private property nor its protection, or no concept of private property 1**

**no mention of contract laws lower score 0**

**No procedural law, no specific procedure is followed 1**

Customary laws

“traditional law”, governed the lives of most Africans. All shared two common characteristics: customary law defined normative behavior and legitimated and ensured the privileges of the ruling strata or class-elders and males.... Most disputes were effectively decided by chiefs. P289 Abel

Abel, Richard. The Politics of informal justice. New York: Academic Press, c1982

## Namibia (Owambo) 3

**no concept of private property in traditional law 1**

**mention of contract laws lower score 1**

**Customary procedural law, no specific procedure is followed 1**



Traditional Laws: All contracted debts must be paid; in case of death, then the clan will be responsible for paying or claiming the deceased's debts or credit respectively. P187 Williams

If a wealthy person dies, part of his property goes to the ruling king. P125 Tönjes

Tönjes, Hermann, Ovamboland: country, people, mission, with particular reference to the largest tribe, the Kwanyama.

Williams, Frieda-Nela. Precolonial communities of Southwestern Africa: a history of Owambo kingdoms, 1600-1920. Windhoek: National Archives of Namibia, 1991.

Malawi (Chewa) 2

**no concept of private property in traditional law 1**

**no mention of contract laws lower score 0**

**no specific procedure is followed 1**

It is not clear how important were the judicial services which a king gave. P112 Pachai

Pachai, Bridglal. The Early history of Malawi. [London] Longman [1972]

South Africa (same as Netherlands)

The law that prevailed at the Cape derived from the Roman-Dutch law of the Netherlands and the statutes of Batavia. "(slaves) were unable to make legal contracts, acquire property or leave wills. As the exclusive property of his master, a slave was obliged to obey any order that did not involve a criminal offense, and could be sold or bequeathed at will." P42 Thompson

Thompson, Leonard Montearth. A history of South Africa. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014.

Tanzania (Swahili city-states) 5

Kenya (Swahili city-states) 5

**transaction of private property in Islamic law 2**

**mention of contract laws 2**

**No procedural law, no specific procedure is followed 1**

Mixture of Islamic law and native customary law

Communal law: there have been many important differences between 'Swahili' or 'Arab' law.

The main difference is respectively that between forms of communal law and private or personal law, the former allocating rights to kin groups and the latter doing so to individuals, and the former prohibiting sale of rights in property and the latter permitting it. P132 Horton

By the 1500s, the coastal city of Mombasa was an important center of trade, and it is likely that inhabitants utilized Islamic law and courts. For example, in the sixteenth century, it appears that the Portuguese, who briefly controlled the East African coast, required the Sultan of Malindi to report cases involving Muslims to Portuguese authorities. During the Omani period, coastal kadhis (Swahili for qāḍī) were primarily Ibāḍīs appointed from Arab families. In the nineteenth century, however, the Sultanate eventually appointed Shāhi kadhis for the Swahili and Ibāḍī kadhis for the Omanis. Stiles

Coastal Kilwa was a very prominent center of trade and Islamic learning for several centuries during the medieval period, and, as in coastal Kenya, it is likely that Islamic law was both studied and utilized. Stiles

Stiles, Erin E. . "East Africa." In The [Oxford] Encyclopedia of Islam and Law. Oxford, Islamic Studies Online.

. Feb 9, 2016. < <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com.unr.idm.oclc.org/article/opr/t349/e0041>>

Horton, Mark. The Swahili: the social landscape of a mercantile society. Oxford, UK; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2000.

## Kenya (Kikuyu) 2

**no concept of private property in traditional law 1**

**no mention of contract laws lower score 0**

**No procedural law, no specific procedure is followed 1**

Procedure for private delicts: if a matter cannot be settled by the parties concerned, they agree to submit the case to arbitration by the elders of the units concerned. The elders hear the evidence, which is given by the principals; in Tharaka the principals speak only through proxies. The case is then discussed by all the elders present, and witnesses are questioned. P47 Middleton

Middleton, John, The central tribes of the north-eastern Bantu; the Kikuyu, including Embu, Meru, Mbere, Chuka, Mwimbi, Tharaka, and the Kamba of Kenya. London: International African Institute, 1965.

## Tanzania (Sukuma) 1

**no concept of private property in traditional law 1**

**no mention of contract laws lower score 0**

**No procedural law, no specific procedure is followed 0**

The chief's court was de facto a criminal court; civil cases were heard by the chief if one or both parties belonged to families close to the chief, not because of any particular importance attaching to a case. P8 Cory

Very little formality was observed in court. P9 Cory

Cory, Hans. The indigenous political system of the Sukuma and proposals for political reform. Nairobi, Published for the East African Institute of Social Research by the Eagle Press, 1954.

## Ethiopia

Not available

Law: The closest relatives of a criminal bore the responsibility for his crime. P144 Michels  
The judicial authority and legal norms of Axum display a complex combination of the traits of incipient stratification with traits of an egalitarian social structure. Even extremely archaic elements, for example, the principles of customary law, come to serve the early feudal state. P219 Michels

Therefore the influence of Christianity on Ethiopian law was never especially strong even after the appearance of the Fehta Nagast. In the Axumite Kingdom, standards of customary law prevailed which were reflected in the prohibitory formulae of inscriptions (check this). P242 Michels

No code of written laws remains from the Axumite period. P241 Kobishchanov

Comment: The first written law in Ethiopia is Fäwse Mänfäsawi in 1434, almost a thousand years after Axum. Early laws are unavailable for analysis

Michels, Joseph. Axum. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, c1979  
Kobishchanov, IUrii Mikhaïlovich. Axum. University Park : Pennsylvania State University Press, c1979

## **Explanation-Private slavery**

### **Scoring criteria**

**Four subvariables A) prevalence of private slavery B) legal or social norm of slavery C) Presence of Slave trade and slave market D) (private) slave population**

**A: Prevalence of private slavery from scale 5 to 1:**

**5: Predominant most unfree labors are owned as private slaves**

**4: Most unfree labor are private slaves**

**3: Private slaves and other types of unfree dependent labor such as serfs coexist**

**2: Most unfree labors are public slaves**

**1: Almost all unfree labors are owned as public slaves working for the ruler, the state or public institutions (temples, armies, etc.); no private slavery**

**B: Legal or social norm of slavery:**

**5: Slaves are defined in law or custom as full private property, and they can be mortgaged, bought or sold at the owner's will**

**4: Slaves are not defined as full private property but only partially or conditionally or they retain certain rights as person. Slaves can be mortgaged, bought or sold conditionally (debt bondage, limited service slavery, etc.)**

**3: Slaves are not defined as property but retain certain rights as person. Slaves are bounded to land or clans and generally cannot be bought, mortgaged or sold**

**2: Slaves are not defined as property but usually being regarded as servants or dependents of the ruler or master. Slaves can rarely be transferred or mortgaged under special conditions**

**1: Slaves are not recognized as property but usually being regarded as servants or dependents of the ruler. Slaves cannot be mortgaged, bought or sold; or no slaves**

**C: Presence of Slave trade and slave market from scale 5 to 1:**

**5: very active private slave trade and private slave market; very large number of slaves are traded in markets**

**4: active slave trade and slave market; large number of slaves are traded.**

**3: slave market and slave trade exist**

**2: slave markets and slave trade exists but limited in scale**

**1: absence or near absence of slave market or slave trade**

**D: Private slave population**

**5: Private slaves constitute a very large portion of total population**

**4: Private slaves constitute a large portion of total population**

**3: Private slaves constitute a portion of total population**

**2: Private slaves constitute a very small portion of total population**

**1: No (private) slave population**

United Kingdom 10 A(5) B(5) C(3) D(4)

United States 10 A(5) B(5) C(3) D(4)

New Zealand 10 A(5) B(5) C(3) D(4)

Canada 10 A(5) B(5) C(3) D(4)

Australia 10 A(5) B(5) C(3) D(4)

Austria (Germanic tribes) 5 A(4) B(5) C(2) D(3)

Germany (Germanic tribes) 5 A(4) B(5) C(2) D(3)

Switzerland (Germanic tribes) 5 A(4) B(5) C(2) D(3)

Luxemburg (Germanic tribes) 5 A(4) B(5) C(2) D(3)

Netherlands (independent cities) 5 A(3) B(5) C(3) D(2)

Belgium (Independent cities) 10 A(3) B(5) C(3) D(2)

Vikings (Denmark, Norway, Sweden) 10 A(5) B(5) C(4) D(3)

Iceland 10 A(5) B(5) C(2) D(1)

Ireland 9 A(3) B(5) C(4) D(3)

Estonian tribes 8 A(4) B(5) C(4) D(2)

Finn tribes 8 A(4) B(5) C(4) D(2)

Ancient Greece 10 A(5) B(5) C(5) D(5)

Slovenia A(3) B(5) C(2) D(2)

Ancient Rome 10 A(5) B(5) C(5) D(5)

Franks 5 A(4) B(5) C(2) D(4)

Spain 9

Castile A(3) B(5) C(2) D(2) A is 3 because most labors are semi-free serfs, some number of slaves

Aragon A(4) B(5) C(4) D(3)

Catalonia A(4) B(5) C(5) D(3)

Portugal 9 A(4) B(5) C(4) D(2)

Latvia 5 A(3) B(5) C(3) D(2)

Lithuania 5 A(3) B(5) C(3) D(2)

Croatia 8 A(3) B(5) C(3) D(2)

Serbia 5 A(3) B(5) C(2) D(2)

Romania 6 A(3) B(5) C(2) D(2)  
 Bulgaria 6 A(3) B(4) C(3) D(2)  
 Albania 3 A(3) B(4) C(3) D(2)  
 Poland 5 A(3) B(5) C(3) D(2)  
 Bohemia (Czech Republic) 9 A(3) B(4) C(4) D(2)  
 Hungary 8 A(4) B(5) C(3) D(4)  
 Slovakia A(4) B(5) C(3) D(4)  
 Russia 6 A(3) B(5) C(4) D(4)  
 Guatemala 3 A(2) B(5) C(3) D(3)  
 El Salvador 4 A(2) B(5) C(2) D(2)  
 Honduras 5 A(2) B(5) C(2) D(2)  
 Costa Rica 3 A(2) B(5) C(2) D(2)  
 Panama 7 A(4) B(5) C(5) D(5)  
 Colombia 5 A(3) B(5) C(4) D(3)  
 Ecuador 1 A(2) B(5) C(2) D(2)  
 Venezuela 7 A(3) B(5) C(3) D(5)  
 Chile 3 A(2) B(5) C(3) D(2)  
 Inca 1 A(1) B(1) C(1) D(1)  
 Peru 1 A(2) B(5) C(3) D(4)

Brazil 10 A(5) B(5) C(5) D(5)  
 Argentina 6 A(2.5) B(5) C(4) D(2)  
 Uruguay 8 A(5) B(5) C(4) D(5)  
 Trinidad and Tobago 3 A(5) B(5) C(3) D(5)  
 Dominican Republic 9 A(5) B(5) C(5) D(5)  
 Jamaica 9 A(5) B(5) C(5) D(5)  
 Mexico 3 A(2) B(5) C(3) D(2)  
 Aztec 3 A(3) B(3) C(2) D(2)  
 Maya 2 A(3) B(4) C(2) D(2)

Bhutan 1 A(1) B(1) C(2) D(1)  
 Bangladesh (Bengal) 2 A(2) B(3) C(2) D(2)  
 Maurya 2 A(2) B(3) C(2) D(2)  
 Tamil 1 A(2) B(2) C(1) D(1)  
 Sri Lanka 3 A(2) B(3) C(1) D(1)  
 Nepal 2 A(1) B(1) C(1) D(1)  
 Japan 2 A(3) B(4) C(1) D(2)  
 Korea 1 A(3) B(4) C(1) D(2)  
 China 1 A(1) B(1) C(1) D(1)  
 Egypt 2 A(1) B(2) C(1) D(1)  
 Iran 3 A(3) B(3) C(3) D(2)  
 Mesopotamia 10 A(3) B(5) C(3) D(3)  
 Israel 8 A(3) B(4) C(3) D(2)  
 Lebanon (Phoenicia) 10 A(?) B(?) C(5) D(4)  
 Arabia 10 A(5) B(4) C(5) D(3)  
 Morocco 10 A(4) B(4) C(5) D(3)

Pakistan (Ghaznavid) 7 A(2) B(4) C(4) D(2)  
 Assyria 8 A(3) B(5) C(3) D(2)  
 Turkey (Seljuk/Ottoman) 10 A(4) B(4) C(4) D(2)  
 Thailand 4 A(2) B(4) C(1) D(1)\* high population of public slaves  
 Champa 6 A(3) B(?) C(5) D(2)  
 North Vietnam (China) 1 A(1) B(1) C(1) D(1)  
 Spanish Philippines 7 A(3) B(5) C(3) D(3)  
 Pre-colonial Philippines 6 A(4) B(3.5) C(2) D(2)  
 Malaysia 6 A(4) B(4) C(4) D(4)  
 Indonesia 6 A(4) B(4) C(4) D(4)  
 Fiji 1 A(1) B(1) C(1) D(1)  
 Tanzania (Swahili) A(?) B(4) C(5) D(5)  
 Tanzania (Sukuma) A(2) B(4) C(3) D(3)  
 Kenya (Swahili) A(?) B(4) C(5) D(5)  
 Kenya (Kikuyu) A(1) B(1) C(1) D(1)  
 Mozambique 2 ??  
 Burkina Faso 1 A(2) B(4) C(3) D(2)  
 Senegal A(2) B(3) C(3) D(4)  
 Sierra Leone 1 A(3) B(3) C(3) D(2)  
 Ashanti (Ghana) A(2.5) B(3) C(3) D(4)  
 Yoruba (Nigeria) A(2) B(3) C(3) D(2)  
 Angola A(2) B(3) C(3) D(2)  
 Zambia A(3) B(?) C(2) D(?)  
 Ethiopia A(3) B(2) C(2) D(1)  
 Malawi A(3) B(2) C(3) D(2)  
 Namibia A(3) B(3) C(2) D(3)  
 South Africa A(4) B(5) C(4) D(5)

## Europe

### Iceland

#### A: Prevalence of private slavery

Historically, slavery tends to be an efficient institution chiefly in countries where field agriculture allows for economies of scale and where work can easily be supervised. In Iceland, where farmers engaged predominantly in cattle and sheep raising, efficient use of slave labor was not possible. Pasturage and other chores connected with animal husbandry called for a wide dispersal of the work force and required a high degree of personal initiative. In the eleventh century slavery all but ceased. P99 Byock

The Icelandic family sagas depict the typical Icelandic householder as having several slaves...slavery in Iceland, to the extent it lasted after the Viking Age, remained basically a household phenomenon. P82-83 Karras

#### B: Legal or social norm of slavery:

Slave: a slave was his master's property...the slave's legal responsibility was consequently diminished. P258 Dennis

Also see p172-175 killing of slaves, etc. in Gragas law

However, children of mixed unions, are not entitled to inherit from their free parent at all. In that context it seems that it is the mother's social background that determined a child's social status. Hence the child of a freeman and a slave woman is considered as a slave...p13 Neib

While all free men merit the same wergild, slaves and freedmen are treated differently in K. The primary payment for a freedman is half that for a man who is born free. The slave's wergild is expressed in a different unit of measurement, one whose value is unknown, than the free man's or the freedman's, but is presumably a smaller amount than either of them. McSweeney

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market**

The Icelandic sagas do contain some references to slave prices in the market. They do not depict merchants engaged solely in the slave trade; rather, merchants might sell a few slaves along with their other wares. P98 Karras

Neib, Michael. Sagas and Society I: about slavery on Iceland. Viking Heritage Magazine, 3/2000. P12-14.

Byock, Jesse L. *Medieval Iceland: society, sagas, and power*, Berkeley: University of California Press, c1988.

Karras, Ruth Mazo, *Slavery and society in medieval Scandinavia*. New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press, c1988.

Laws of early Iceland: Grágás, the Codex Regius of Grágás, with material from other manuscripts / translated by Andrew Dennis, Peter Foote, Richard Perkins. Winnipeg, Canada: University of Manitoba Press, 1980.

McSweeney, Thomas J. Writing Fiction as Law: The Story in Grágás. Paper presented at the 2014 Law and Humanities Junior scholar Workshop, Colombia Law School, the Center for the study of Law and Culture.

### **United Kingdom (Anglo-Saxon England)**

#### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 4**

Slaves were an integral and numerically important part of English society in the Anglo-Saxon period. They appear in the earliest English law code promulgated between 597 and 616 by iEthelberht of Kent; nearly half a millennium later at the beginning of the Norman age their continued widespread presence in English society. P99 Pelteret

The institution of slavery was part of the earliest English law, and in view of later evidence there can be no doubt that the primitive English ceorl was usually a slave-owner. Stenton

#### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

Laws proclaimed by kings and their advisors also took account of the slaves within society and, moreover, recognised slave's dual character as property and as a responsible person. In the Ethelberht's code, written in 602 or 603, slaves were among the social ranks taken into account in the laws that regulated compensation for injury. P32 Dutchak

Early Anglo-Saxon legal codes treated slaves chiefly as chattels: legal regulations dealt with the compensation to lords for wrongs done to their slaves and assigned responsibility for wrongs done by them. P81 Pelteret

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

As in the case of fifth- and sixth-century Francia, however, there is no evidence that this translated into a particularly developed or quantitatively significant slave-trading network—until, that is, Vikings came onto the scene. Rio

Just as the continental Germans had exported their slaves to the Roman Empire, so the Anglo-Saxons exported their slaves across the seas. Perhaps the best-known evidence of this trade lies in Bede's account of the meeting Gregory the Great had with some Anglian slave boys in a market in Rom p104 Pelteret

Though captor may often have turned trader, the sources hint that at this early period there were two groups of people who primarily filled this latter rôle. First, there were the Frisians. The Frisian trader who bought Imma is unlikely to have been exceptional. The Frisians are known to have been middle-men in trade and there is no reason to believe that they would have avoided trafficking in men.<sup>53</sup> There was a Frisian colony in York in the middle of the eighth century<sup>54</sup> and other trading links existed between England and Frisia.<sup>55</sup> Another group of traders were the Jews. P105 Pelteret

Evidence from an unexpected source suggests that by the reign of Alfred we should regard the Anglo Saxons as major participants in the slave trade. p74 Pelteret

#### **D: slave population 4**

Slaves were an integral and numerically important part of English society in the Anglo-Saxon period. P99 Pelteret

Pelteret, David. "Slave Raiding and Slave Trading in Early England." *Anglo-Saxon England*, vol. 9, 1980, pp. 99–114., doi:10.1017/S0263675100001125.

Dutchak, Patricia M. *The Church and Slavery in Anglo-Saxon England. Past Imperfect*, Vol.9 (2001-3).

Pelteret, David A.E. *Slavery in early Mediaeval England : from the reign of Alfred until the twelfth century*. Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1995.

Rio, Alice. *Slavery after Rome, 500-1100*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Stenton, Frank M. *Anglo-Saxon England*. OUP Oxford, 1970.

#### **Hungary (Arpad Dynasty), Slovakia**

##### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 4**

The praedium, Szabo wrote, was a form of settlement much like the Carolingian villa—a self-sufficient property in which the labor was focused upon providing the needs of its lord directly...Szabo researched the composition of those people. Searching through the documents from the period 1067-1250...if Szabo is correct, the praedia in Arpad-era Hungary could have consisted of an astounding 91 percent slaves. P12-13 Sutt

“the prolonged use of slavery for production by private landlords” p11 Sutt

##### **B: Legal or social norm of slavery 5**

The servus in Hungary under the Arpads was essentially a slave. The servus and his female counterpart, the ancilla, were items of property just like the plough or the ox. Lords bought them, sold them, inherited them and freed them. P9 Sutt

slaves could have noninheritable personal property “peculium” p26 Sutt



A man or woman bought or sold by his or her proprietor (master), who had no property and was obligated to perform any work or service, such chattel slaves were part of the conquering Hungarian population (probably captives). P150 Sutt

Maria Gaspar...emphasized the complete legal alienation that slaves in Hungary experienced- they were property to be bought and sold, and the lord had complete control over the productive force of the slave. P9 Sutt

Medieval laws fully recognized the legality of slavery. For example, the laws of King Stephen I of Hungary in the early 11th century treated slaves as persons totally without rights. P96 Sedlar

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

Slaves were traded both by Hungarians and others in Hungary at least until the late twelfth century. P150 Sutt

### **D: slave population 4**

Searching through the documents from the period 1067-1250...if Szabo is correct, the praedia in Arpad-era Hungary could have consisted of an astounding 91 percent slaves. P12-13 Sutt

Sutt, Cameron. *Slavery in Árpád-era Hungary in a comparative context*. Leiden: Brill, [2015]  
The Laws of the medieval kingdom of Hungary / translated and edited by János M. Bak ... [et al.]; with a critical essay on previous editions by Andor Csizmadia. Bakersfield, Calif. : C. Schlacks, c1989-

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

## **Netherlands and Belgium**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 3**

After the 7<sup>th</sup> century, the slaves in the Low Countries were replaced by tenants and serfs providing labor services, except perhaps for Frisia, where they remained until the early 9<sup>th</sup> century. But the slave trade did remain, particularly in the southern Low Countries, as in Arras and in Cambrai. Bavel

In the possible causes for the relatively rapid decline of slavery in the Low Countries, Christianization probably played a role...other factors must also have played a role. One main element was probably the success of the manorial system, which formed an alternative to slavery and was better attuned to the weakness of trade and markets, making large-scale slavery on large estates less profitable. Bavel

Slavery, the main source of labor from Roman times into the early Carolingian era had all but disappeared and agricultural laborers were now either free peasants or serfs tied to a particular estate. P42-43 Arblaster

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

(Under Frankish rule) The owner of a slave had almost absolute power over him...the law, however, gave to the slave no persona in judicio. In the eyes of the law he was regarded as a mere chattel. If a slave injured a freeborn citizen his master was responsible in the same way as he was liable for the acts of his animal. P409 Wessels

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

Again, the Frisians played a particular role in this (slave trade), importing slaves from Scandinavia and the Slavic countries and shipping them on to southern Europe, specializing in this trade at least up to the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Bavel

## **D: slave population 2**

Slavery, the main source of labor from Roman times into the early Carolingian era had all but disappeared and agricultural laborers were now either free peasants or serfs tied to a particular estate. P42-43 Arblaster

Arblaster, Paul, author. A history of the Low Countries. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Bavel, B. J. P. van, Manors and markets: economy and society in the low countries, 500-1600. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Wessels, J. W. (Johannes Wilhelmus), Sir, History of the Roman-Dutch law [electronic resource]. Grahamstown, Cape Colony: African Book Co., 1908.

## **Finland**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery**

**Not available**

### **B: Legal norm of slavery**

**Not available**

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 4**

Based on Jensen, Kurt Villads, Prisoners of war in the Baltic in the XII-XIII centuries, e-Stratégica, 1, 2017, p285-295. Prisoners of war from Finland and Estonia were captured and sold in markets

Scandinavians, and in particular the Swedes, were the slavers of tenth-century Europe... f staple of trade" was slaves. This "trade" consisted of seizing Finns and Slavs at the headwaters and selling them at the river.P58 Lind

## **D: slave population**

**Not available**

Slave raid in Estonia and Finland, see p184-186 Witzenrath, Christoph. *Eurasian Slavery, Ransom and Abolition in World History, 1200-1860*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2015.

Joan Dyste Lind, "The Ending of Slavery in Sweden: Social Structure and Decision Making," Scandinavian Studies 50 (1978): 66—69.

## **Estonia**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 4**

Today the standard scholarly consensus is that slavery indeed existed in pre-Crusades Estonia and Latvia, but its extent was limited. As the indigenous Baltic societies did not, however, produce written sources, "outside" records remain quite ambiguous in this regard. P352 Selart (Cited article: E. TARVEL, Gesellschaftsstruktur in Estland zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts, in The Feudal Peasant in the Eastern and Northern Europe, J. KAHK, E. TARVEL eds., Tallinn 1983, pp. 149-159, 157.)

At the bottom of the social ladder came a fairly large group of slaves. The Estonians made slaves out of prisoners of war. P11 Raun

## **B: Legal norm of slavery**

### **Not available**

From an archaeological point of view there is no information about the number, origin or legal status of slaves in the Viking Age and in post-Viking Age Estonia. P352 Selart

## **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 4**

However, as the price of slaves could not have been very different from that in neighbouring areas such as Scandinavia and Russia, the relatively high prices of slaves and the leading role of the nobility in organizing forays most likely limited the possession of slaves to the social elite. P352 Selart

## **D: slave population 2**

Today the standard scholarly consensus is that slavery indeed existed in pre-Crusades Estonia and Latvia, but its extent was limited. As the indigenous Baltic societies did not, however, produce written sources, “outside” records remain quite ambiguous in this regard. P352 Selart (Cited article: E. TARVEL, Gesellschaftsstruktur in Estland zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts, in *The Feudal Peasant in the Eastern and Northern Europe*, J. KAHK, E. TARVEL eds., Tallinn 1983, pp. 149-159, 157.)

Selart, Anti. “Slavery in the Eastern Baltic in the 12<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> centuries”, in *SERFDOM AND SLAVERY IN THE EUROPEAN ECONOMY 11TH - 18 TH CENTURIES* --Atti della “Quarantacinquesima Settimana di Studi” 14-18 aprile 2013, a cura di Simonetta Cavaciocchi Firenze University Press, 2014.

Raun, Toivo *Estonia and the Estonians*. U. Stanford, Calif: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1991.

## **Germanic tribes**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 4**

Mention of slaves bring us to consideration of their role in Alamannic society. While Alamanni occupied and worked provincial land in Gaul, Roman prisoners were sent as slaves to farm theirs. These had not been dispersed into Alamannia or beyond, they had not become part of the slave trade. At this point one begins to suspect that the people involved were hostages, acquired for ransom or for bargaining in future negotiations. P138 Drinkwater

## **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

The condition of the slave under Germanic law may be condensed into sentences such as these:

- i. The slave is an article of property.
2. The slave has no personal rights.
3. His existence is vested in that of his master.
4. Aside from his relation to his master, the slave has no place in society. P111 Wergeland

For slavery as a legal and social institution, the creation of the Germanic kingdoms meant little change. In one degree or another, the tribes before the invasion had known slavery and permitted slave trading. P45 Phillips

Drawing harsh distinctions between slave and free, the legal codes of the Germanic kingdoms were quite explicit in their pronouncements concerning slaves. A slave was deprived of most legal rights. Each free person had a price, a wergeld... a slave had a smaller price, and his master collected it. P47 Phillips

With wide powers over his chattel a German master could sell, trade or dispose of his slaves with little limitation. While a slave of the Germans often possessed a peculium, the master retained legal ownership of it. P48 Phillips

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 2**

Although slavery was not highly developed among the Germanic peoples, prisoners taken in inter-tribal warfare could be easily and profitably disposed of in the Roman frontier provinces. The traffic was organized, however, not by the barbarians themselves, but by slave-traders and Roman officers commanding the garrisons on the Danube. P41 Todd

### **D: slave population 3**

P138 Drinkwater, J. F. *The Alamanni and Rome 213-496 (Caracalla to Clovis)*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

P41 Todd, Malcolm. *The northern barbarians, 100 BC-AD 300*. New York: Blackwell, 1987.

Wergeland, Agnes M. *Slavery in Germanic Society During the Middle Ages*

*Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Dec., 1900), pp. 98-120.

Phillips, William D. *Slavery from Roman times to the early transatlantic trade*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985.

## **Franks**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 4**

In the Merovingian or Carolingian villa we find, to begin with, a relatively large group of slaves... Even if their relative importance probably cannot be compared with the importance of slavery in the second-century villae, the number of prebendal slaves seems nevertheless to have been noticeably greater than during the period of social and ethnic unrest during the late third, second half of the fourth and fifth centuries. P92 Dockès

In addition to slaves, the Merovingian and Carolingian villa also harbored coloni. P93 Dockès  
Our evidence from the private estates in the Carolingian period most clearly shows the evolution away from the use of slave gangs and toward dividing the estates into manses... no longer was he likely to be sold to a different master and forced to move. P93 Dockès

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

Traditionally, slaves in Germanic societies were prisoners of war and individuals who lost their freedom as a result of crimes. However, as Germanic tribes moved into the Empire and established themselves alongside and in place of Gallo-Roman landlords, they absorbed the tradition of Roman slavery. Both groups (coloni, and slave tenant farmers) were considered part of the land, and juridically belonged to the family of the landlord, be he simple ingenuus or aristocrat. P113 Geary

Drawing harsh distinctions between slave and free, the legal codes of the Germanic kingdoms were quite explicit in their pronouncements concerning slaves. A slave was deprived of most

legal rights. Each free person had a price, a wergeld... a slave had a smaller price, and his master collected it. P47 Phillips

With wide powers over his chattel a German master could sell, trade or dispose of his slaves with little limitation. While a slave of the Germans often possessed a peculium, the master retained legal ownership of it. P48 Phillips

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

Marseilles was the best known nexus of the European slave trade in the early middle ages. One group of slaves on sale in Marseilles were Moors, the pagan inhabitants of North Africa, probably imported by sea from Spain...the Frankish merchants, according to the sources, began their activities by opening the land routes into Eastern Europe sometime early in the seventh century, and sending Slavic captives back to the Frankish kingdom. The Slavic trade continued until the tenth century. P61 Phillips

Geary, Patrick J. Before France and Germany: the creation and transformation of the Merovingian world. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Dockès, Pierre. Medieval slavery and liberation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

Phillips, William D. Slavery from Roman times to the early transatlantic trade. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985.

### **D: slave population 4**

As a working hypothesis, Bonnassie suggests that the total number of slaves amounted to somewhere between 10 and 15% of the number of free men. P93 Dockès

## **Slovenia**

use Balkans

### **A: Prevalence of slavery**

Not available

### **B: Legal norm of slavery**

Not available

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market**

The term krš(č)enica ("christened") for a maid, to which Anton Tomaž Linhart in the late 18th century already drew attention, is often taken as evidence of slaves. The Slavic ancestors of the Slovenes are thought to have used it in reference to Christianised native women, which they enslaved in the course of their settlement in the Eastern Alps, but the term can be explained in a different way. Similarly, the opinion that the slaves of Old Slavic society were prisoners of war is based solely on analogies with other peoples and environments. Where these slaves worked, whether they were part of kosez (noble) manors or perhaps the structure of a župa, are issues we can only conjecture about. P165 Stih

### **D: slave population**

Not available

Stih, Peter. The Middle Ages between the Eastern Alps and the Northern Adriatic: Select Papers on Slovene Historiography and Medieval History. Brill, 2010.

## **Vikings (Denmark, Sweden, Norway)**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 5**

The medieval Scandinavian countries cannot be called slave economies, since slavery seems to have operated largely on a household level. P70 Karras

It has been estimated that the proportion of slaves in Viking Age Norwegian society may even have reached 25% of the total population. The majority of those slaves were born in slavery, especially after the Viking raids ended. In the 12th and 13th centuries Scandinavian slavery gradually declined. P353 Selart

Slaves were reasonably common in farm households (in Norway), certainly the laws imply that they were not unusual. There were probably not three slaves per average household as has been suggested, but if slaveholding was not the rule neither was it the exception. P80 Karras

Ruth Mazo Karras, *Slavery and Society in Medieval Scandinavia*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1988, argues convincingly that slavery was common in Scandinavia until the mid-fourteenth century.

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

And just as the slave-trade was essential to Viking commerce, the slave himself was the foundation stone of Viking life at home. The Frostathing law (Norway) thought three thralls the proper complement for a Norwegian farm of twelve cows and two horses. The thrall could be put down like a horse or a dog once his usefulness was past. Thrall is the most common term for “slave” in the law codes and in the sagas. The thrall is the one bought, sold, manumitted and compensated for with payment to the master instead of the kin. P145-150 Karras

While in practice slaves had some money of their own, they had no legal means of protecting their property. P112 Karras

The law codes make the slave a commodity not only through symbolic consumption of the type described in Chapter 3 but also through their provisions on buying and selling slaves and by the procedure in case of injury to a slave. P98 Karras

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 4**

Several law codes provide strict regulations for the sale and purchase of slaves, which implies that such transactions were common enough to need regulation, whether or not the regulations were ever enforced. P100 Karras

The purpose of many Viking expeditions was no doubt to capture slaves. It seems highly likely that people were one of the Vikings’ most important trading commodities. P53 Roesdahl

### **D: slave population 3**

The medieval Scandinavian countries cannot be called slave economies, since slavery seems to have operated largely on a household level. P70 Karras

Slaves were reasonably common in farm households (in Norway), certainly the laws imply that they were not unusual. There were probably not three slaves per average household as has been suggested, but if slaveholding was not the rule neither was it the exception. P80 Karras

P53 Roesdahl, Else. *The Vikings*. Allen Lane, 1991, C1987.

P145-150 Karras, Ruth Mazo. *Slavery and society in medieval Scandinavia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, c1988.

Selart, Anti. "Slavery in the Eastern Baltic in the 12<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> centuries", in SERFDOM AND SLAVERY IN THE EUROPEAN ECONOMY 11TH - 18 TH CENTURIES --Atti della "Quarantacinquesima Settimana di Studi" 14-18 aprile 2013, a cura di Simonetta Cavaciocchi Firenze University Press, 2014.

## **Russia**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 3; B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

One major form throughout the period was hereditary or inherited slavery. The major evolution was from full slavery through the third quarter of the sixteenth century to limited service slavery (notes: gradually converted to serfs) from that time until 1723. P38 Kotilaine

In the sixteenth century, full slavery came to be replaced by what is best translated as limited service contract slavery (*kabalnoye kholopstvo*), known elsewhere as *antichresis*. It worked as follows: a person in need or who did not desire to control his own life found a person who would buy him. They agreed on a price; the slave took the money from his buyer and agreed to work for him for a year in lieu of paying the interest on the money...serfdom was in full development and the slave had the advantage that he had to pay no taxes whereas the serf did. P1403 Millar  
Millar, James R. *Encyclopedia of Russian history*. New York: Macmillan Reference USA, c2004.

- (1) Hereditary, second generation (2) full slavery which was hereditary for offspring until very late in Muscovy (3) registered, for elite slaves, particularly estate managers (4) debt, worked off by defaulters and criminals unable to pay fines (5) indentured, into which a person sold himself for a term of years...(6) voluntary, into which an individual who had worked for someone for three to six months could be converted at the employer's request. (7) limited service contract slavery. (8) military captivity. P33 Hellie

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 4**

According to Novosel'skii, between 1,000 and 10,000 Muscovite slaves were sold in the Crimean markets each year during the first half of the 17th century. This number was probably reached in the 16th century, too, and more slaves came onto the market from the Ukraine, Moldova and Transylvania. P87 Korpela

### **D: slave population 4**

10%-15% of total population in late 16<sup>th</sup> century and early 17<sup>th</sup> century Russia "was subject to the laws of slavery". P688 Hellie

Jarmo Kotilaine and Marshall Poe. *Modernizing Muscovy: reform and social change in seventeenth-century Russia*. London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004.

Korpela, Jukka. The Baltic Finnic People in the Medieval and Pre-Modern Eastern European Slave Trade. *Russian history* 41 (2014) 85-117.

Hellie, Richard. *Slavery in Russia, 1450-1725*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

## **Spain**

### **Castile**

#### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 3**

The numbers of slaves and the percentage of slaves in the population during those centuries remained relatively small. At no time was a slave society present. p19 Phillips

**B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

Slavery of various forms also persisted in the Christian areas. In the period of the early reconquest, from the eighth through the eleventh centuries, Christian slave owners gradually ceased to hold Christian slaves, and the descendants of those slaves tended to become hereditary tenants on assigned plots. The bulk of the rural workers in all areas of the Christian states tended to be free or semi-free, though they were tied in varying degrees of dependence to lay lords or ecclesiastical establishments. p19 Phillips

The Siete Partidas, the Castilian law code of the thirteenth century, was explicit about what punitive measures were appropriate and which ones were not. A master has complete authority over this slave to dispose of him as he pleases. Nevertheless, he should not kill him or wound him, although he may give him cause for it, except by order of the judge of the district; nor should he strike him in a way contrary to natural reason, or put him to death by starvation; except where he finds him with his wife or daughter, or where he commits some other offence of this sort, for then he certainly has a right to kill him. We also decree that, where a man is so cruel to his slaves as to kill them by starvation, or to wound or injure them so seriously that they cannot endure it, in cases of this kind said slaves can complain to the judge; and the latter in discharge of his official duty should investigate and ascertain whether the charge is true, and if he finds that it is, he should sell the slaves, and give the price of them to their master; and he should do this in such a way that they never can be again placed in the power, or under the authority of the party through whose fault they were sold. P98-99 Phillips

**C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 2**

Late medieval Castile was not greatly involved in Mediterranean activity and purchased few slaves from Mediterranean merchants. Slaves in Castile up to the late fourteenth century were almost exclusively Muslim in origin, and Castilian slavery was fed by the reconquest and by raids into Muslim controlled territory. P21 Phillips

**D: slave population 2**

**Aragon**

**A: Prevalence of private slavery 4**

Barcelona and other cities in the Crown of Aragon had a range of slave owners from elite and non-elite classes. Most slaves in late medieval Seville were domestic workers. P106 Phillips

**B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

In the Christian kingdoms of Iberia, laws followed Roman precedents, though with local variations. The legal status of the slaves in the thirteenth century Crown of Aragon was very limited, but they could appear in court as plaintiffs and defendants in special circumstances. Those who were not ransomed and those who were unable to purchase their freedom remained as slaves. They were subject to the domestic jurisdiction of their owners. Slaves were considered to be totally dependent on their masters, who exercised all the traditional rights over them. P84 Phillips

**C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 4**



By the late Middle Ages, the maritime regions of the Crown of Aragon shared in the system of slavery that was characteristic of the Christian countries of the western Mediterranean. P20 Phillips

Within Christian Iberia in the later Middle Ages, the lands of the Crown of Aragon were closely tied with the currents of Mediterranean trade and the slave trade, whereas the Castilian kingdom tended to supply its demand for slaves through war and conquest. P59 Phillips

**D: slave population 3**

**Catalonia**

**A: Prevalence of private slavery 4**

Barcelona and other cities in the Crown of Aragon had a range of slave owners from elite and non-elite classes. Most slaves in late medieval Seville were domestic workers. P106 Phillips

**B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

Largely inherited codes on slavery from Roman law and Visigothic law, see The Usatges of Barcelona

**C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 5**

Slavery in the Christian areas of eastern Iberia evolved considerably over the period from the eleventh to the end of thirteenth century. The means of acquisition changed, and the slaves on the market were less frequently war captives and more frequently the property of slave dealers. P19 Phillips

**D: slave population 3**

Phillips, William D., Jr. Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.

**Portugal**

**A: Prevalence of private slavery 4**

Slavery never disappeared completely during the Middle Ages, and the number of Moslem captives depended on the intensity and violence of the military campaigns. A growth in their numbers seems well documented for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. P55 Marques  
Numerous slaves served rich households, both noble and bourgeois. P738 Finkelman

**B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

Captured Muslims and persons convicted of crime or incapable of paying their debts could be enslaved. Slaves (servi, mancipii, pueri), in a juridical sense, were considered as objects rather than persons; they could be bought or sold. The condition of these rural slaves differed little from that of free peasants who were bound to the soil. P180 O'Callaghan

**C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 4**

Slaves were the object of a good deal of trade. P142 Vicens Vives

For Portugal, the presence of Muslim slaves is documented from the eleventh century, but a lack of both original sources and modern studies limits what is known about them. More numerous studies of slavery in Portugal focus on the period from the 1440s onward, when the direct trade in sub-Saharan slaves began. P20 Phillips

**D: Slave population 2**

Slavery played a limited role in metropolitan Portugal...assuming that they constituted about 2.5% of the overall population. P737 Finkelman

O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *A history of medieval Spain*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, [1983]  
Phillips, William D. *A concise history of Spain*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

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Finkelman, Paul and Joseph C. Miller. *Macmillan encyclopedia of world slavery*. New York: Macmillan Reference USA, Simon & Schuster Macmillan; London: Simon & Schuster and Prentice Hall International, c1998.

## **Romania**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 3**

Gypsy slaves can be divided into three categories: princely slaves, slaves belonging to a monastery and slaves belonging to a boyar. Achim

Slaves belonging to monasteries mostly originated from gifts made by the princes and the boyars. Achim

Private slaves were in principle exempt from any obligations to the State. We find that in the fifteenth century, both in Moldavia and Wallachia, it was forbidden for princely officials to impose royal service on private slaves. Achim

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

Down the social ladder were the slaves-*robi*, supplied from prisoners of war against the Tartars, gypsies-tigani-who originally came from India. The latter were craftsmen, especially blacksmiths working for princely courts or large monasteries, while the Tartars worked as agricultural laborers. The latter had no individual rights and could be sold or exchanged together with real estate. P32 Castellan

Slaves formed a separate category within the social organisation of the Romanian principalities. They made up the lowest rung of the subjugated classes. What defines their social condition is not the absence of personal freedom, since in feudal society the serfs (known as rumâni in Wallachia, vecini in Moldavia and iobagi in Transylvania) were also subjugated, but the fact that they had no status as legal persons. The slave was wholly the property of his master, figuring among his personal property. The master could do as he pleased with the slave: he could put him to work, he could sell him or exchange him for some other good, he could use him as payment for a debt or he could mortgage or bequeath him. The possessions of the slave (consisting mainly of cattle) were also at the discretion of the master. Achim

(Slave artisans) Here is one instance (and it is not clear whether this Sava caldararul was "free" or not) in which a Gypsy owned property. He was not the only case. Often artisans purchased houses and workshops which they could and did sell.

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 2**

Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the boyar class was engaged in a veritable race to obtain slaves. Boyars would buy slaves whenever the opportunity presented itself. The importance of their economic function also resulted from the high prices for which they were traded. Achim

(evidence of private trade of slaves, but most slaves seemed to come from war captives and worked for the prince or monasteries as artisans)

#### **D: slave population 2**

Achim, Viorel, *the Roma in Romanian history*. Budapest; New York : Central European University Press, 2004.

Castellan, Georges. *A history of the Romanians*. Boulder: East European Monographs; New York: Distributed by Columbia University Press, 1989.

Beck, Sam. *The Origins of Gypsy Slavery in Romania*. In: *Dialectical Anthropology*, 1/1/1989, Vol. 14, Issue 1, p. 53-61; Kluwer Academic Publishers

#### **Slavery in Eastern Central Europe:**

Slaves were property pure and simple, lacking even the security of land tenure normally vouchsafed to serfs. Having no guaranteed rights, they could be bought, sold, exchanged, or even killed by their owners without compunction. No doubt in practice the distinction between serfs and slaves was often scarcely noticeable, although serfs theoretically enjoyed a higher status in law. P95 Sedlar

Slaves certainly were present in every state of medieval East Central Europe, although their proportion in the total population is unknown. Polish rulers in the 11th century established entire villages of slaves to perform artisan work or other services. Similarly in Bohemia, entire villages consisted of slaves or near slaves with specialized abilities, for example vine tenders, blacksmiths, and beekeepers. The same was true of Hungary, where slaves with professional capabilities were often employed by the monarch and the military chiefs. Others worked as domestic servants. P96 Sedlar

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

#### **Serbia**

##### **A: Prevalence of slavery 3**

The majority of the population consisted of serfs, who had the right to use certain tracts of land but were also bound to that land and had to give their lords, the nobles but taxes and labor dues...below the serfs were the slaves...Often it was prisoners of war who became slaves; at any rate, Serbian slaves often functioned much like serfs. P24 Cox

For Serbia, our earliest solid information about peasant conditions dates from the 13th-14th centuries, at which time most peasants apparently were tied to the soil. Large landed estates certainly existed in Serbia; and the lords evidently worried about serf discontent, since the 14th-century law code of Tsar Stephen Dusan prohibited serfs from holding meetings. However, Serbian peasants had few alternatives to serfdom except along the Adriatic coast. There a flourishing urban life existed; and peasants were both personally free and owned hereditary property. P105 Sedlar

##### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

A Serbian law of the early 13th century permitted a man to sell his faithless wife into slavery if she had no property; obviously, the wife herself was considered property. In the 14th century the Serbian law code of Tsar Stephen Dusan as well as the laws of the Dalmatian towns simply assumed the existence of slavery. P95 Sedlar

And such slaves as a lord has, they shall be part of his estate and to his heirs forever. Article 44 Burr

The majority of the population consisted of serfs. Below the serfs were the slaves. Often it was prisoners of war who became slaves; at any rate, Serbian slaves often functioned much like serfs. P24 Cox

## **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 2**

### **D: slave population 2**

The majority of the population consisted of serfs, who had the right to use certain tracts of land but were also bound to that land and had to give their lords, the nobles but taxes and labor dues...below the serfs were the slaves. P24 Cox

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

Cox, John K. *The history of Serbia*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

## **Bulgaria**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 3**

The Gypsies were in effect slaves of the state...it is certain that the same situation existed in the medieval states of Bulgaria and Serbia. P29 Achim

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 4**

In general scholars believe that in the course of the ninth and tenth centuries more peasants were becoming bound to estates, landlords were increasing their holdings, and the number of free villages was declining. P169 Fine

## **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

During 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> century Bulgaria is pointed out as a key participant determining the intensity and size of the slave stream in Eastern Europe and the region of the Straits. P96 (Bulgarian rulers sold war captives as slaves to other countries, see p95-97 Hristov)

Early Medieval Bulgaria was also a slave-owning society, it should be acknowledged that the stored information is an evidence for two essential features. The first one is that a part of the slavery is export-oriented, i.e. the enslaved by Bulgarians are directed outside the First Bulgarian state. The second point is the very slavery situation. Chrestomatically famous is the statement of Strategikon related to the personality of Emperor Maurice (582–602) that the captives among Slavic groups north of the Danube River in the 6th century are only temporarily kept in slavery and have the opportunity to be redeemed and return to their homes or remain wholly free in their new abodes. To what extent this practice, known from the time of the barbarian invasions on the Balkans is also used in the First Bulgarian state in 8th and first half of 9th century is difficult to answer. The time after 865 looks more different, when part of the Byzantine legal experience becomes available to the converted Bulgarian society. Among the texts, regardless of the

discussions, the Законъ соуднии людьмъ naturally stands out. In Chapter 19 there it is particularly noted that enemy captives were enslaved and sold. P98 Hristov

## **D: slave population 2**

There was also a certain number of slaves in early Bulgaria, but they played only a minor part in the economic life. P27 Kossov

Achim, Viorel, *The Roma in Romanian History* Viorel Achim. Budapest Central European University Press 2013

Fine, Jr, John V.A.. *The early medieval Balkans [electronic resource] : a critical survey from the sixth to the late twelfth century*. Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991, c1983.

Hristov, Yanko. *Prisoners of War in Early Medieval Bulgaria (Preliminary Remarks)* Studia Ceranea [2084-140X] yr:2015 vol:5 pg:73 -105.

## **Croatia**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 3**

It remains unclear what happened with this early medieval slavery. Twelfth and thirteenth century documents reveal slaves only exceptionally. Large royal estates gradually disappeared after the extinguishing of the dynasty and the creation of a Hungarian-Croatian union. Even on monastic lands we find almost no slaves. The majority of peasants in the hinterland remained free. We must bear in mind, however, that the quantity of sources for this period is very limited, and that in the past few decades there has been little research into the position of peasants and the development of agriculture in Croatia. In spite of this, it is clear that the character of slavery changed significantly in this period, and that the growth of cities in Dalmatia created the need for slaves in households, crafts and shipping. P750 Budak

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

Let us take a brief look at the position of slaves in the 14th century, according to Dalmatian city statutes and notarial documents<sup>36</sup>. Their status is best defined by the formula contained in many of the cartae servitutis : «Et volo quod possit facere de me omne velle suum tamquam de sua re propria. In the Ragusan statute it is said that the master can vendere, donare et transferre his slave to another person. P757 Budak

Slaves had the right to possess property, but this right was limited in that they could not sell it or dispose of in any way without the consent of the master, who was de jure its owner. P758 Budak

The slavery in Dalmatia changed its character during the twelfth century, ceasing to be agricultural, and becoming domestic. In the course of the fourteenth century slaves were gradually replaced with servants working on the basis of a contract, and the slave trade existed mostly because of the demand of the Italian and Catalan markets. p760 Budak

Firstly, slaves existed both in Croatia and in Dalmatia. Secondly, they were owned by the ruler and by the church. P745 Budak

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

We can recognize three different periods of late medieval slavery in Dalmatia and Croatia. The first, with unclear beginnings due to lack of documentation, ends with the turn of the 13th century. That was a period of most intensive (slave) trade. p750 Budak

Important centers of slave trading functioned at Dubrovnik and Kotor, and later at the mouth of the Neretva River in Dalmatia. (Croatia) P352 Sedlar

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It remains unclear what happened with this early medieval slavery. Twelfth and thirteenth century documents reveal slaves only exceptionally. Large royal estates gradually disappeared after the extinguishing of the dynasty and the creation of a Hungarian-Croatian union. Even on monastic lands we find almost no slaves.

Budak, Neven. Slavery in late medieval Dalmatia/Croatia: labour, legal status, integration. In: *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen-Age*, tome 112, n2. 2000. pp. 745-760.

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

### **Albania 3**

Not available

### **Czech Republic**

#### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 3**

Similarly in Bohemia, entire villages consisted of slaves or near slaves with specialized abilities, for example vinetenders, blacksmiths and beekeepers. P96 Sedlar

By the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, outright slavery had largely disappeared in Bohemia, Poland and Hungary. Most slaves had merged into the class of serfs. P96 Sedlar

#### **B: Legal norm of slavery 4**

At the bottom of the social hierarchy were the slaves serving directly at the ducal court. P266 Berend

For the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, I regard “serf”, i.e. a person who is in permanent personal dependence on another person or institution, as the most adequate translation of *sevus/ancilla* in most instances. A serf could also be sold or donated, or disposed of as another person’s property, but only to a certain extent, since they retained some limited legal recourse. P105 Petráček  
The relationship was not based on the serf’s forced binding to the land, but on a hereditary, personal bond between the lord and the serf. P106 Petráček

#### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 4**

Prague at that time was the largest marketplace in all the Slavic lands, visited not only by Slavic merchants but also by Muslims, Jews, and Turks. In Bohemia these traders sought slaves, tin, and various animal skins which they purchased with gold and silver bars, coins, or jewelry. By the 11th century Bohemia could boast a growing number of markets and roads. P337 Sedlar

It was an important center of the slave trade. P304 Berend

(Prague) was an important center of the slave trade. In addition, part of the tribute paid to dukes was exchanged by ducal officers for luxury goods during monthly markets. The latter were visited by merchants from Rus’, Hungary and western Europe to buy slaves...etc. p304 Berend  
(Poland) substantial ‘export’ of slaves whom Scandinavian merchants shipped to Muslim markets in eastern Europe. P307 Berend

#### **D: slave population 2**

By the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, outright slavery had largely disappeared in Bohemia, Poland and Hungary. Most slaves had merged into the class of serfs. P96 Sedlar

Berend, Nora. *Central Europe in the high Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland c.900--c.1300*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

Petráček, Tomáš. Power and exploitation in the Czech lands in the 10th-12th centuries: a Central European perspective. Leiden; Boston: Brill, [2017]

## **Poland**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 3**

Although slavery was never predominant in Poland, in the tenth and eleventh centuries it was fairly widespread. In subsequent centuries its importance diminished. P48 Wagner

Polish rulers in the 11<sup>th</sup> century established entire villages of slaves to perform artisan work or other services. P96 Sedlar

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

The populace was divided into the free and the slaves. The free belonged to clans in which there were further social (but not legal) distinctions. The others were slaves of the clan or the prince. Slaves of the prince usually lived in slave villages and served the court or the neighboring borough or church. P44 Wagner

In Poland the offspring of slaves automatically became slaves as well. P96 Sedlar

At the bottom of the social scale were the slaves, organized in decades and legions. Originating as prisoners of war, they were settled on plots of their own and worked the larger estates. They resembled the servi casati of the Frankish kingdoms of a century or two earlier, and as such could be bought and sold. P76 Davies

After wars of conquest slaves were settled in villages, creating communities whose members had no personal rights. This formed the basis of serfdom. P18 Prazmowska

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

For Slave trade see p59, 61 Górecki

### **D: slave population 2**

By the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, outright slavery had largely disappeared in Bohemia, Poland and Hungary. Most slaves had merged into the class of serfs. P96 Sedlar

Górecki, Piotr, *Economy, society, and lordship in medieval Poland, 1100-1250*. New York : Holmes & Meier, 1992.

Wagner, Wenceslas J. *Polish law throughout the ages*. Stanford, Calif., Hoover Institution Press [1970]

Davies, Norman, *God's playground, a history of Poland*. New York: Columbia University Press, c1982.

Prazmowska, Anita. *A history of Poland*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

## **Latvia**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 3**

...Baltic serfdom was not a medieval institution at all and did not play a formal role in transforming Balts into peasants in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Those centuries involved various relationships of dependency and obligation between landholders and peasants but not, evidently, hereditary servility and the corvée labor associated with developed serfdom. P25 Plakans

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

At the bottom of the scale were the people perpetually bound to the Order, the serfs and the slaves. The Rule (para. 2) allowed the Order to “possess in perpetual right people, men and women, serfs, male and female” ...in Prussia and Livonia slaves were the heathen prisoners of war or persons who had committed crimes and unable to pay heavy compensation, had to pawn their own bodies to save their lives. P194 Sterns

The few relevant sources that have survived do not actually discuss the legal status of Livonian thralls, and deal instead with the rights of their masters. We possess no information about their legal competency, the status of their children or their right to possess movables. Only 13th-century Riga town law mentions that a child of a free man and a slave is free, but the mother remains in slavery.<sup>137</sup> Livonian legal texts do not specify special penalty rates for slaves. P362 Selart

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

A laborer or slave might have been captured or bought at a slave market. But such involuntary labor may also have been the result of debt or punishment. P23 North

### **D: slave population 2**

North, Michael, *The Baltic: a history*. Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: Harvard University Press, 2015.

Plakans, Andrejs. *The Latvians: a short history*. Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1995.

Sterns, Indrikis, "The Statutes of the Teutonic Knights: A Study of Religious Chivalry" (1969). Publicly Accessible Penn Dissertations. 1181.

Selart, Anti. “Slavery in the Eastern Baltic in the 12<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> centuries”, in SERFDOM AND SLAVERY IN THE EUROPEAN ECONOMY 11TH - 18 TH CENTURIES --Atti della “Quarantacinquesima Settimana di Studi” 14-18 aprile 2013, a cura di Simonetta Cavaciocchi Firenze University Press, 2014.

## **Lithuania**

### **A: Prevalence of slavery 3**

The GDL peasantry had finally developed into a class after the agrarian reform of 1557....the peasants themselves became personally unfree serfs. P170 Kiaupa



## **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

Slavery: 1 people who were born of unfree; 2. Prisoners from an enemy country 3. Someone who was sentenced to death 4. Someone who gives himself into slavery. P129 Statute [8] 6. A free person may not be taken into slavery for any Crime p128 Statute

## **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

Often attacked by Vikings who were capturing slaves there, Lithuanians eventually started enslaving other nations themselves, by the end of 12th century, Lithuanians began slave hunting raids in foreign lands. Baltic tribes started attacking each other and taking women and children. Often Lithuanian nobility families had young girl slaves that would work around the houses, usually girls were taken from Rus lands and sometimes from Poland. Between 1277 and 1376, there were recorded 24 big raids by Lithuanians in Prussia and Polish lands, some records show that Grand Dukes of Lithuania would sell slaves to foreign countries for the income. In 1383 Jogaila was accused of selling German slaves to Russian lands

[https://wikivisually.com/wiki/Category:History\\_of\\_Lithuania\\_\(1219%E2%80%931569\)](https://wikivisually.com/wiki/Category:History_of_Lithuania_(1219%E2%80%931569))

*The Statute of Lithuania: 1529*. Lithuania. Vilnius: Artlora, 2002.

Kiaupa, Zigmantas. *The history of Lithuania before 1795*. Vilnius: Lithuanian Institute of History, 2000.

## **D: slave population 2**

### **Fiji**

#### **A: Prevalence of slavery 1**

No slavery

#### **B: Legal norm of slavery 1**

No slavery

#### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 1**

No slave trade or slave market

#### **D: slave population 1**

No actual private slaves

Productive relations were characterized by labor processes organized on a basis of cooperation under the coordination of a hierarchical system of chiefly leadership and mutual obligations. P47 Bayliss-Smith

Within the social framework there were six grades of men, from serfs and commoners to high chiefs. P8 Derrick

Bayliss-Smith, Tim. *Islands, islanders and the world: the colonial and post-colonial experience of Eastern Fiji*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Derrick, R. A. (Ronald Albert), *A history of Fiji*. Suva: Print. and Stationery Dept., 1946.

### **Ireland**

#### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 3**

For scholars of medieval Ireland, it is common knowledge that slaves formed an important part of the economy and the labor force in any wealthy household. Fergus Kelly has remarked that the numerous 'references to slavery in law- tracts, wisdom-texts, saints' Lives, annals, and sagas' attest to the 'considerable importance [of slavery] in early Irish society' (1998, 438). P29 Eska

Slavery was fairly extensive in early Ireland and it became common again when Viking traders of the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries provided a new supply of slaves. Some were prisoners of war, others were the children of the poor sold into slavery in times of famine, while yet others were brought in from abroad. P20 Foster

Slavery was strongly associated with royalty in early Ireland. In elite households slaves would have enhanced the food-producing capacity of each farming unit held by an aristocrat. P433 Finkelman

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

According to the Fuidir-tract, a slave had no honor-price (except the male slave in respect to sexual crimes committed against his wife) (CIH 248.5–7; and AL vol. 5, 513), was not allowed to make contracts without his master's permission, and could not act as a witness. His master was entitled to compensation should any crime be committed against him, and the master was allowed to do whatever he liked with his slaves; killing your slave was not a crime in medieval Ireland (Kelly 1988, 95 and references therein). p32 Eska

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 4**

Slave women even supplied a standard unit of value, the cumal, partly, no doubt, because there was a slave-market, but also perhaps because the slave woman was ubiquitous, a regular and commonplace consequence of violence. P89 Charles-Edwards

There were three sources of recruitment for slaves (1) prisoners of war (2) debt slaves and (3) children born of slaves...in the eleventh century, Dublin was probably the prime slave market of western Europe. P430-431 Duffy

### **D: slave population 3**

Eska, Charlene M. Women and Slavery in the early Irish laws. Paper presented at Southeastern Medieval Association Meeting, Roanoke, VA, 20 November 2010.

Duffy, Sean. Medieval Ireland: an encyclopedia. New York: Routledge, 2005.

Charles-Edwards, T. M. *Early Christian Ireland*. Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Kerr, Thomas; McCormick, Finbar and O'Sullivan, Aidan. *The Economy of early medieval Ireland*. Irish National Strategic Archaeological Research Programme, 2013.

Foster, R. F. *The Oxford history of Ireland*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. (female slave is a unit of value)

Paul Finkelman, Joseph C. Miller. Macmillan encyclopedia of world slavery. New York: Macmillan Reference USA, Simon & Schuster Macmillan; London: Simon & Schuster and Prentice Hall International, c1998.

## **Africa**

### **Burkina Faso (Mossi states)**

#### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 2 D: slave population 2**

In addition to slaves and eunuchs, the Mogho Naba kept a large number of bondsmen to provide services for him. The origin of these people is obscure, but they seem to have been the children

of foreign captives who were brought to Ouagadougou and placed in the ruler's service. P114 Skinner

#### **B: Legal norm of slavery 4**

Every Mossi, could own slaves, but none could dispose of the life of a slave. Some people were slaves because they had been captured or bought. Others were descendants of slaves and thus slaves themselves or former slaves of the Peuls who had left their masters to pledge allegiance to the Mossi. P15 Englebert

In early times the Mossi chiefs utilized these slaves as agricultural workers, until Mogho Naba Baongo (ca. 1800-30) decided that it was more profitable to sell them. Subsequent rulers especially two Mogho Nanamse who ruled just prior to the French conquest, sold most of their captives to passing caravans or in special sections of the larger markets. P114 Skinner

#### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

The inhabitants of Mossi districts did band together eagerly under their chiefs to participate in slave-raiding expeditions into non-Mossi territories.

They (captured people) were classified into three categories:

The men formed a lot destined for immediate sale for fear that they should run away. They were led forthwith to Sakhaboutenga, to be exchanged against sorghum for the horses, millet for the personnel and gunpowder. A second lot, composed of women, was kept as a reserve to trade for horses. Finally, a third lot, composed of young girls and young boys, was distributed among the warriors and put into their charge. P101-102 Skinner

Skinner, Elliott P. (Elliott Percival), *The Mossi of the Upper Volta; the political development of a Sudanese people*. Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1964.

Englebert, Pierre. Boulder. *Burkina Faso: unsteady statehood in West Africa*, Colo. Westview Press, 1996.

#### **Ghana: Ashanti Confederacy**

##### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 2.5 D: slave population 4**

In the middle of the nineteenth century, slaves amounted to half of the population in many towns. Akan: New Haven.

The accounts of Dupuis and Bowdich indicate that the slave population of Ashanti must have been considerable. P358 Goody

Goody, Jack. "Anomie in Ashanti?" *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, vol. 27, no. 4, 1957, pp. 356–363. JSTOR, JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/1156217](http://www.jstor.org/stable/1156217).

#### **B: Legal norm of slavery 3**

The slave was by all intents and purposes part of his master's family and...instances of domestic slaves inheriting the property of their masters. People became slaves as a result of indebtedness, conviction for serious crimes, capture in war or by being bought. P29 Okyere

Slaves had rights stemming from their status as property, but they were not nkoa, and so such rights were not rooted in any status of being sui iuris; properly, a master (wura) oversaw and exercised such rights on behalf of his property-the odonko; disputes between masters and slaves might be resolved by legal action that translated rights in the odonko to another owner, but such measures were adjustments in the ownership of a (productive) goods, and not status shifts of suppositious personhood in relation to any membership in jural corporateness. P97 McCaskie

In Ghana all the ethnic groups integrated slaves into the family, lineage and clan. The lineages were either patrilineal or matrilineal, depending on the group. Many ethnic groups in Nigeria also integrated slaves into the kin. For example the Igbo, Ibibio, Ijo, Aboh and Yoruba ( Miers & Kopytoff, *Slavery*, p. 123-129; Lovejoy, *Ideology*, p. 41-42, 73-75). Perbi, Akosua. *Slavery and the Slave Trade in pre-colonial Africa*.

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

Slave trading for sometime was the main export trade of Gold Coast. There existed a vast organization of wholesale dealers, brokers and depots for the collection of slaves. P28 Okyere The Akan practiced slavery, obtaining slaves from northern slave dealers, usually Muslims. War captives, criminals, persons who opposed local chiefs, and many local ritual leaders were also enslaved. Slaves were used for domestic and field labor, for sale to traders across the Sahara and Atlantic, and as sacrifices to royal and other ancestors. Akan: New Haven. "the small tribes in the interior", said the Asantehene kwaku Dua Panin in 1841, "fight with each other, take prisoners and sell them for slaves; and as I know nothing about them, I allow my people to buy and sell them as they please." P96 McCaskie

Okyere, Vincent N. *Ghana: a historical survey*. Accra: Vinojab Publications, c2000.  
McCaskie, T.C. *State and society in pre-colonial Asante*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.  
Akan: New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files, 2002.

## **Senegal**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 2 D: slave population 4**

About a quarter of the population in the Wolof and Serer states of Senegambia was made up of slave warriors. P680 Hellie

An early (1892) census from the cercle of Sine-Saloum put the tyeddo (slave warriors) at about 30 percent...a 1904 estimate put slaves at one third of the population of Sine-Saloum, with the percentage somewhat higher in Muslim areas. P338 Miers

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 3**

The Wolof and the Serer of Senegambia integrated slaves into the family but they did this slowly and gradually. This was also the case among the Vai of Liberia and Sierra Leone (The Wolof and Serer of Senegambia, Klein, in Miers & Kopytoff, *Slavery*, p. 290).

**Domestic slaves:** generally, could not be sold. Unlike chattel slaves in the New World, domestic slaves in Senegal, although obliged to work for their masters, were usually given some land of their own to farm and were permitted to marry and raise families. P5 Gellar

**Trade slaves:** captured in war and sold before they could form any permanent ties with the local community. (no legal rights, traded as property) P5 Gellar

**Crown slaves:** warrior crown slaves, could become a general, lead the ruler's armies, acquire great wealth P5 Gellar

Senegambian slaves were not property in the Western sense, and most of them could not be sold at all without judicial condemnation. The distinguishing mark of slaves as a social group was the

fact that they were foreigners or descendants of foreigners who had entered the society in which they found themselves by capture in war or by purchase. P35 Curtin

The slaves or Jam in Wolof society were divided into two categories: first those captured in war or bought and who could be sold again, and those born in the household who were treated as junior members of the family. Household or domestic slaves could not be sold except for serious crimes like murder, treason or witchcraft. P15 Faal

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

Senegambia remained an important source of slaves, exporting an average of 2000 to 3500 slaves a year until the end of the eighteenth century. P5 Gellar

Faal, Dawda. Peoples and empires of Senegambia : Senegambia in history, AD 1000-1900. Latri-Kunda : Saul's Modern Printshop, 1991.

Curtin, Philip D. *Economic change in precolonial Africa; Senegambia in the era of the slave trade*. University of Wisconsin Press, 1975.

Gellar, Sheldon. *Senegal--an African nation between Islam and the West*. Boulder, Colo. : Westview Press, 1982

Hellie, Richard. *Slavery in Russia, 1450-1725*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

Perbi, Akosua. *Slavery and the Slave Trade in pre-colonial Africa*. Paper delivered on 5th April 2001 at the Univ. of Illinois, U.S.A.

Miers, Suzanne and Igor Kopytoff. *Slavery in Africa: historical and anthropological perspectives*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977.

## **Zambia**

### **A: Prevalence of slavery 3 D: slave population 2**

Bemba:

Incipient or nonhereditary slavery, i.e., where slave status is temporary and not transmitted to the children of slaves Kirby

Tonga:

Hereditary slavery present and of at least modest social significance Kirby

### **B: Legal norm of slavery**

No legal definition of slavery

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 2**

**Bemba:** the Bemba sold slaves as well as ivory. People might become slaves in Bemba households as a legal punishment, as compensation for irreparable damage or injury, or after being captured in battle. P198 Roberts

**Tonga:** domestic slavery was fairly extensively practiced by the Tonga in the past, but little is known about it. Under the old system, slaves were adopted into the matrilineal group and clan of their owner. P55 Jспан

**Lozi:** slaves were not traded in markets but could be bought in any village. Another category was batanga (serfs), with whom so the Lozi intermarried. They were bound to a master and could not be sold to another as "slaves". P33 Turner

Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016). D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.

Jaspan, M. A. The Ila-Tonga peoples of north-western Rhodesia. London, International African Institute, 1953.

Roberts, Andrew. History of the Bemba: political growth and change in north-eastern Zambia before 1900. [Harlow]: Longman, 1973.

Turner, Victor Witter. The Lozi peoples of north-western Rhodesia. London, International African Institute, 1952 [i.e.1953].

## **Malawi**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 3**

There can be no doubt that the proportion of Malawians who were domestic slaves increased substantially with the expansion of the slave trade but, even earlier domestic slavery existed. P24 McCracken

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 2**

Unfree labor came in three main categories: children offered as pawns...women...and war captives of either sex, obtained through kidnapping or military raids. P24 McCracken

Because slave women and children born into free families were normally assimilated into lineages over time it is frequently suggested that their lot was of a different order to that of plantation or chattel slaves. p25 McCracken

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

The southern region of Malawi, more than any other part of the country, was completely devastated by the slave trade. P61 Pike

Malawi witnessed the coming of the slave trade on a scale unrivalled elsewhere in East and Central Africa. P297 Pachai

Tribal organization among certain tribes had almost broken down under the weight of the slave trade and the prestige of the chiefs had suffered as a result of their perversion of their role as the protector of their people. P122 Pike

### **D: slave population 2**

McCracken, John, A history of Malawi, 1855-1966. Woodbridge, Suffolk [England] ; Rochester, N.Y. : James Currey, 2012.

Pachai, Bridglal. *Malawi; the history of the nation*. [London] Longman [1973]

Pike, John G. *Malawi; a political and economic history*. New York, F. A. Praeger [1968]

## **Sierra Leone**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 3**

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 3**

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

#### **Temne:**

The West African domestic slave was a chattel without the right to appeal to the law on his own behalf. P3 Abdullah

Slavery reported but not identified as hereditary or nonhereditary. Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016). D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.

**Mende:**

One category of persons whose status in society was regulated by law were slaves. Slaves were obtained in many ways. One way was through warfare. Some were sold or gave themselves up as slaves to pay off some debt. While slaves were regarded as belonging to their masters, they were treated most times as part of the compound. Most people did not sell slaves belonging to their village, except those captured in war. P64 Fyle

Slaves generally became part of their master's household and it was not always easy to distinguish between a slave and a freeman. P24 Alie

The Mende of Sierra Leone however made slaves part of the kin. By the second and third generation they were related to free born members of the family- they shared the same father or grandfather (The Mende of Sierra Leone, Grace, in Miers & Kopytoff, Slavery, p. 417-419).

**D: slave population 2**

Kings and other rich people kept slaves. But these slaves, who might be called subjects, serfs or dependants, were not harshly treated. P23 Alie

*Alie, Joe A. D. A new history of Sierra Leone. London: Macmillan Overseas, 1990.*

Fyle, C. Magbaily. *History and socio-economic development in Sierra Leone: a reader.* Freetown: SLADEA, 1988.

Abdullah, Omanii. Domestic slavery in West Africa with particular reference to the Sierra Leone protectorate, 1896-1927, London: Muller, 1975.

Fyle, C. Magbaily, *The history of Sierra Leone: a concise introduction.* London: Evans, 1981.  
Sesay, Habib Mohamed. *Political economy of colonial and postcolonial states in Sierra Leone : Underdevelopment, constituency politics and social services provision. Freetown, Republic of Sierra Leone: Dept. of Political Science, Fourah Bay College-USL, [1990?]*

Perbi, Akosua. *Slavery and the Slave Trade in pre-colonial Africa.*

**Mozambique (Makua)**

**A: Prevalence of slavery**

Not available as indicated in coding by D-place based on Murdock's Ethnographic Atlas

**B: Legal norm of slavery**

Slavery reported but not identified as hereditary or nonhereditary. Kirby

**C: Presence of slave trade and slave market**

Considering all the activity, the frequently expressed estimate that at least 15,000 slaves were exported each year from Mozambique Island during the 1820s and 1830s seems quite reasonable. (By their proximity to the coast, the Makua continued to suffer most from the slave trade to the Mozambique coast). P215, p219 Alpers

The main slave traders who emerge from these accounts are the Yao, Makua and Arabs. P241 Alpers

**D: slave population**

**Not available as indicated in coding by D-place based on Murdock's Ethnographic Atlas**

**Slavery in colonial Mozambique:**

Slaves, in the sense of unfree chattels, had been acquired by the Portuguese to serve in the fortresses and fleets almost as soon as they had arrived in the East. However, the institution of "slavery" that grew up in the Afro-Portuguese community of Zambesia was of a quite different character. P234 Newitt

"slaves" in prazos-the great prazo senhores acquired their households of retainers and clients in a way that involved reciprocal contracts of service and protection formalized by well-established rituals. P235 Newitt

The prazo holder was allowed to employ Africans; raise a private army, often made up of slaves commonly. P99 Azevedo

Alpers, Edward A. Ivory and slaves: changing pattern of international trade in East Central Africa to the later nineteenth century. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1975.

<http://hdl.handle.net.libproxy.berkeley.edu/2027/heh.02550.0001.001>.

Azevedo, Mario Joaquim. Historical dictionary of Mozambique. Lanham, Md: Scarecrow Press, 2003.

Newitt, M. D. D. A history of Mozambique. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, c1995.

Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016). D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.

**Namibia**

**A: Prevalence of slavery 3; D: slave population 3**

Hereditary slavery present and of at least modest social significance. Kirby

**B: Legal norm of slavery 3**

Such a captured person is in the power of his master, who is permitted to deal with him as he deems fit. In many cases, the relatives of such prisoners of war buy their freedom, that is, if they are in a position to do so. The ransom for a young slave able to work for his master ranges from six to ten head of large stock. P119 Tönjes

**C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 2**

(Ovambo kings raided slaves from other tribes and sold to Portuguese, see Ghstafsson *The Trade in Slaves in Ovamboland*; Colonial authority used forced labor in concentration camps)

Gustafsson, Kalle. *The Trade in Slaves in Ovamboland, ca.1850-1910*. African Economic History, No. 33 (2005), pp. 31-68. African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin-Madison  
Tönjes, Hermann, *Ovamboland: country, people, mission, with particular reference to the largest tribe, the Kwanyama*. Windhoek, Namibia: Namibia Scientific Society, 1996.

Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016). D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.

**Nigeria (Yoruba)**

**A: Prevalence of private slavery 2 D: slave population 2**

Slaves were used in the domestic economy to a much greater extent in the nineteenth century than ever before, as far as can be discerned from the available documentation. There is ample



evidence to conclude that the economies of the big towns, the commercial centres and the military city-states relied on the large-scale use of slaves. P225 Falola  
 Imperial Oyo had relied on slavery in the eighteenth century and continued to rely on slave labour in the early nineteenth, as Clapperton and the Lander brothers observed in the late 1820s. The successor states of imperial Oyo, notably new Oyo, Abeokuta, Ibadan and Ijaye, subsequently made use of slaves in the thousands. P225 Falola  
 Holdings of ten to twenty slaves were insignificant compared to what the influential warriors had, however. At Epe in the 1850s, Kosoko, the exiled king of Lagos, and his lieutenant, Tapa Osodi, each had over five thousand slaves working on their various plantations. According to Samuel Johnson, writing at the end of the century, 'The chiefs have large farms and farm houses containing a hundred to over a thousand souls. P227 Falola

(Large number of slaves were held by the “large households of war chiefs” and worked on chief’s farm see p162) Oroge

Evidence of slaves held by individual common persons see p180 Oroge  
 “The chiefs have large farms and farm houses containing a hundred to over a thousand souls. These extensive plantations not only support their huge establishments but also supply the markets” p228 Oroge

In a country where the principal slave holders, the Ologun (warrior chiefs) and the Oba in that order. P138 Oroge

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 3**

Public work...was generally executed by communal labor. P157 Oroge  
 Fadipe denies Talbot’s assertion that they were allowed to acquire property, yet states that they could inherit from their masters. They could be sold or pawned and used by their masters as sacrifices and scapegoats...the children of slave parents were slaves. P26 Forde

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

Forde, Cyril Daryll, *The Yoruba-speaking peoples of south-western Nigeria*. London, International African Institute, 1951.

Oroge, E. Adeniyi. *The institution of slavery in Yorubaland with particular reference to the Nineteenth Century*. 01/01/1971. Database: Center for Research Libraries

Toyin Falola (1994) *Slavery and pawnship in the Yoruba economy of the nineteenth century*, *Slavery & Abolition*, 15:2, 221-245

### **Ethiopia (Axum)**

#### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 3 D: slave population 1**

Slave holding, exploitation of slave labor, and slave trading must necessarily have played an important role in the stratification of Ethiopian society and in the emergence of the first political states on the Ethiopian plateau. P150 Kobishchanov

All that is known to us about slavery in ancient Axum does not support the contention that the Axumite kingdom was a slave-holding one. Slavery existed but did not create a predominant

means of production. Slave trading, as part of Axum's foreign trade, had greater significance. P158 Kobishchanov

The king and noble Axumites used slaves as domestic servants and palace retinue. P154 Kobishchanov

Plantation slavery could not have been known to the Axumites; social and especially market relationships were not sufficiently developed in Axum. Also nothing is known about the use of slave labor in construction operations, which were carried out by whole communities. One can only assume that domestic slavery was the form of slavery known in ancient Axum. P155 Kobishchanov

The main form of labor, however, was not slavery but 'free' communal labor. Jaffe

## **B: Legal norm of slavery 2**

We can only guess at the legal position of slaves...the example of Abreha shows that the Aksumites did not consider slavery an indelible stigma which forever kept a person devoid of full civil rights. (slaves became ruler or bishop as examples) p156 Kobishchanov

Examples indicate that no distinction is made between blood sons, young boys, male youths, household servants, and slaves...with a comparative undeveloped slave-holding life style, the Axumites did not need a large number of slaves for satisfying their personal needs. Capture of slaves for sale probably had greater value since Axum carried on a significant foreign trade via Adulis...Even the Axumite kings themselves could have engaged in slave trade. p157 Kobishchanov

## **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 2**

Wars were the main source of slavery in Axum. P155 Michels

One cannot doubt that wars were the main source of slavery in Axum. Nothing is known to use about other sources of slavery. Very little is known about the export of slaves. We know that slaves were sold for export from the Axumite kingdom (strictly, from Adulis). One can only surmise about the possibility that they were sold in Aksum itself. P155 Michels

Jaffe, Hosea. *A history of Africa*. London: Zed, c1985.

Kobishchanov, Yuri M. *Axum*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, c1979

## **Angola**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 2**

#### **Most slaves are held by the king**

Slaves made up another distinct social group in Kongo. Afonso's 1514 letter referred to this group of individuals as *espruios/espravos* (slaves) who had been brought back to his capital, Mbanza Kongo, from wars that he fought. To stress that these people could be sold outside the country, he frequently used the term *pefa* (piece), a Portuguese financial term referring to export. P4-p5 Heywood

The institution of slavery equally represented a means of divorcing people from their old (in this case, lineage) ties and attaching them to new structures (usually the king, in the instance of Mbundu kingdoms). Slaves were therefore closely associated with kings throughout Mbundu history. P273 Miller

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 3**

Basically the idea of slave rights did not exist in Kongo. P185 Beswick  
Conventional exchange values were reckoned in domestic livestock. p183 Beswick  
Undoubtedly, at the time, domestic slaves in elite households were considered part of the extended family. P13 Heywood

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

Slaves were often bought by men in partnership, either to augment their households or to sell for a profit down the river. P182 Beswick

#### **Pre-colonial Kongo Kingdom:**

(letter in 1514) The letter revealed a society consisting of a ruling group and people who were under the king's protection, as well as slaves and a slave market. P4 Heywood

The foundation of the whole Angolan system was the slave trade. Angola became the largest area of slave supply in Africa, and Luanda became the greatest slave port. P28 Kaplan

Trade: slaves were Angola's chief article of commerce. P29 Kaplan

Apart from the foreign captives that kings retained from the foreign wars, members of Kongo's political elite acquired slaves by purchasing them at slave markets. P13 Heywood

### **D: slave population 2**

Although during most of the sixteenth century foreign slaves comprised a significant section of the slaves exported from Kongo, and the kingdom also retained a slave population, early descriptions did not mention large slave settlements. P13 Heywood

Indeed the few mid sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century sources that refer to domestic slaves give no indication that slaves comprised a significant and separate part of the population. P13 Heywood

#### **In the colony:**

After the nominal abolishment of slavery in 1875: The fact that the *servitaes* had rights, and more particularly the fundamental rights to life and property, makes the usual social definitions of slavery in- applicable. The servital was certainly unfree, in that he could not apportion his labour as he pleased, but he was not rightless. P222 Clarence-Smith

Although slavery was the predominant form of labor relations in the coastal areas, it co-existed with two subordinate forms, which can be roughly classified as wage and serf labour. P220

Clarence-Smith

In effect...the free buying and selling of slaves to continue. P217 Clarence-Smith

Clarence-Smith, W. G. *Slavery in Coastal Southern Angola, 1875-1913*. Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Apr., 1976), pp. 214-223.

Heywood, Linda.M. *Slavery and Its Transformation in the Kingdom of Kongo: 1491-1800*. The Journal of African History, Vol. 50, No. 1 (2009), pp. 1-22

Miller, Joseph C. *Kings and kinsmen: early Mbundu states in Angola*. Oxford [Eng.]: Clarendon Press, 1976.

Beswick, Stephanie and Jay Spaulding. *African systems of slavery*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2010.

## **South Africa**

### **A: Prevalence of slavery 4**

From 1711 onwards there were rather more slaves than free burghers in the colony. There was nothing like the plantation system that prevailed in parts of North America, the Caribbean, and Brazil. At the Cape, privately owned slaves were distributed among numerous owners in small groups. P36 Thompson

Between 1750 and 1834 roughly half of all adult male settlers owned slaves. Private slaveholdings varied considerably in size but were generally small compared with other European slave societies of the Atlantic world. P868 Rodriguez

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

By the 1790s they (free blacks) were obliged to carry passes if they wished to leave town. P37 Thompson

The law that prevailed at the Cape derived from the Roman-Dutch law of the Netherlands and the statutes of Batavia. “(slaves) were unable to make legal contracts, acquire property or leave wills. As the exclusive property of his master, a slave was obliged to obey any order that did not involve a criminal offense, and could be sold or bequeathed at will.” P42 Thompson

Private slave ownership started to become general only during the 1670s, but by 1692 the total slave holdings of the freeburghers already surpassed those of the Company; while from about 1710 the slaves outnumbered the freeburgher population. P195 Schoeman

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 4**

The Dutch East Indian company traded slaves in South Asia and the East Indies and extended its use of slave labor to the colony. (After 1658) subsequently, slaving expeditions went from Cape Town to Mozambique and Madagascar, but most slaves came from South and Southeast Asia aboard vessels carrying other trading goods between Batavia and Europe. P123 Rodriguez

### **D: slave population 5**

From 1711 onwards there were rather more slaves than free burghers in the colony. P36 Thompson

Rodriguez. Junius P. The Historical encyclopedia of world slavery. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 1997.

Thompson, Leonard Monteath. A history of South Africa. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014.

Schoeman, Karel. Early slavery at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1717. Pretoria: Protea Boekhuis, 2007.

## **Swahili**

### **A: Prevalence of slavery ? D: slave population 5**

It has been estimated that two-thirds of the total population on the north bank of the Gambia and on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba were slaves. P680 Hellie

While the rise and fall of plantation slavery in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the ensuing struggles over new forms of labor have been extensively covered by Frederick Cooper and others,<sup>7</sup> we have very little idea of the roles slaves played within Swahili societies themselves. P278-279

**B: Legal norm of slavery 4**

Legal definition of slaves in Swahili states are similar to those in Islamic law

**C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 5**

Between the early sixteenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century the Swahili were widely involved in slave trading networks. P39 Vernet

Thomas Vernet. Slave trade and slavery on the Swahili coast (1500-1750). B.A. Mirzai, I.M. Montanaet P. Lovejoy. Slavery, Islam and Diaspora, Africa World Press, pp.37-76, 2009.  
Hellie, Richard. Slavery in Russia, 1450-1725. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.  
Early Swahili History Reconsidered

Thomas Spear

Source: The International Journal of African Historical Studies, Vol. 33, No. 2 (2000), pp. 257-290.

**Kenya (Kikuyu)**

**A: Prevalence of slavery 1**

**B: Legal norm of slavery 1**

**C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 1**

According to the Routledge, the Kikuyu had no slavery in any form, and did not make raids to capture slaves. P53 Middleton

Middleton, John, The central tribes of the north-eastern Bantu; the Kikuyu, including Embu, Meru, Mbere, Chuka, Mwimbi, Tharaka, and the Kamba of Kenya. London: International African Institute, 1965.

**Tanzania (Sukuma)**

According to an estimate by Reichard, slaves constituted between 70 to 75 percent of the total population in Unyamwezi proper in the 1880s. P68 Abrahams

**A: Prevalence of private slavery 2**

Domestic slaves: the largest numbers of slaves were owned by chiefs and their subordinate authorities. P68 Abrahams

**B: Legal norm of slavery 4**

A number of writers distinguish between the position of domestic slaves and that of those who were sold in the coastal slave trade. Domestic slaves: the largest numbers of slaves were owned by chiefs and their subordinate authorities...slaves were acquired as a result of trading and raiding expeditions outside greater Unyamwezi and as a result of warfare between chiefdoms. Internal trading in slaves also took place. Legally a slave could make no claims against his or her owner. Owners had the right to sell slaves, but they do not appear to have had the right to kill them, at least without the permission of the chief. The status of the children of slaves is not completely clear. P68 Abrahams

**C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

A number of writers distinguish between the position of domestic slaves and that of those who were sold in the coastal slave trade. P68 Abrahams

**D: slave population 3**

According to an estimate by Reichard, slaves constituted between 70 to 75 percent of the total population in Unyamwezi proper in the 1880s. P68 Abrahams

Domestic slaves: the largest numbers of slaves were owned by chiefs and their subordinate authorities. P68 Abrahams

Abrahams, R. G. The peoples of Greater Unyamwezi, Tanzania (Nyamwezi, Sukuma, Sumbwa, Kimbu, Konongo). London, International African Institute, 1967.

**Inca Empire**

**A: Prevalence of private slavery 1**

No private slavery

**B: Legal norm of slavery 1**

Yanacona-‘tied’ semi-servile labor. Yanaconas were not slaves in that legally they could not be sold individually. They and their families could be sold with the land to which they belonged, however, and in many ways those who worked in agriculture closely resembled serfs adscript/ adg/ebam. As in Roman times the landowners paid the head tax assigned to each yanacona head of family. The number of yanaconas grew throughout the Peruvian colonial period as debt peons and other kinds of tied or coerced workers were added to their numbers. P229 Macleod

The boys taken from their families became yanakuna (male servants), who worked for the king or were permanently assigned by him to particular nobles as household servants, craftsmen, or farmers. They could not be bought, sold or given away by those for whom they worked. P159 Trigger

**C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 1**

No evidence of slave trade or slave market

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

**Aztec**

**A: Prevalence of private slavery 3**

Slaves were generally used for household labor, and their overall contribution to the economy was minimal (Shadow and Rodríguez V. 1995). Smith

**B: Legal norm of slavery 3**

Among the Nahuatl of the Valley of Mexico it might seem that there was no chattel slavery at all; this, however, is merely due to the fact that virtually all captives were sacrificed. P636 Macleod

Some slaves were former enemies who had been captured during a war...some people became slaves through debt.... slaves were allowed to own property, buy and sell goods, and save money. Children born of slaves were not slaves. P80 Somervill

The legal statuses of various categories of slaves differed, but these differences were never specified as much detail as they were in ancient Athens (Westermann 1955). Temporary debt slaves enjoyed the most rights. P157-158 Trigger

Among the Aztec, debt slaves could accumulate earnings, own property, purchase their freedom, and marry, and their children were born free. The descendants of prisoners of war remained slaves for three generations and those of people enslaved as punishment for treason for four. P159 Trigger

The category of tlacotli (“slave”) occupied the lowest position in the Aztec social hierarchy. Slavery was not a hereditary category; people became slaves through debt (often from gambling) or punishment for theft. In times of famine or crisis, people sometimes sold themselves into slavery so that their owner would be responsible for their care and feeding. Smith

For Moreno and the rest, Aztec slavery emerges as a social relationship based upon bonds of reciprocity between individuals with differing yet complementary needs. P307 Shadow

Empirically Moreno supported his argument by pointing out that slaves in central Mexico retained a whole series of rights to family, to property and freedom for arbitrary punishment which ameliorated their condition and protected them from excessive abuses by their masters...in fact, in many cases the slave condition originated not through coercion but as the result of a “voluntary” contractual decision between “citizens”. P302 Shadow

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 2**

Generally, new slaves were traded in a slave market. While it was easy to buy new slaves, slave owners could not easily sell any of their current slaves. P82 Somervill

Somervill, Barbara A. *Empire of the Aztecs* (Great Empires of the Past).

### **D: slave population 2**

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Smith, Michael E., and Frederic Hicks. "Inequality and Social Class in Aztec Society." *The Oxford Handbook of the Aztecs*. : Oxford University Press, 2017-01-26. Oxford Handbooks Online. 2016-12-05. Date Accessed 14 Jul. 2018

<<http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199341962.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199341962-e-16>>.

Shadow, Robert D., and María J. Rodríguez V. 1995 Historical Panorama of Anthropological Perspectives on Aztec Slavery. In *Arqueología del norte y del occidente de México: Homenaje al Doctor J. Charles Kelley*, edited by Barbro Dahlgren de Jordán and María de los Dolores Soto de Arechavaleta, pp. 299–323. Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico City.

Macleod, William. *Economic Aspects of Indigeneous American Slavery*. Date Accessed 14 Jul. 2018 <<https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1525/aa.1928.30.4.02a00070>>

## **Maya**

### **A: Prevalence of slavery**

**Not available**

### **B: Legal norm of slavery**

Unlike the Aztec, the Maya did not have a “serf” position, but they did have slaves, the p’entacob. Slavery could be hereditary, but Mayan law allowed for the redemption of children born into slavery, though orphans were often made slaves in return for their upkeep...the most common way to be enslaved was through warfare, since constant internecine regional strife meant large numbers of captives. High-status captives were usually sacrificed, but lower-ranked captives became the property of the soldier who captured them. P35 Rodriguez

Among the Maya of Yucatan, in contrast to the Nahuatl, only socially eminent captives were sacrificed; commoners were enslaved. Moreover, it has been recorded that "The children of slaves were slaves until they redeemed themselves, or were made serfs." This means that hereditary slavery obtained. Cogolludo, a secondary source so far as really pre-European days in Yucatan go, whose original sources have been lost, is our only warrant for concluding that Mayan slavery was hereditary. He does not state specifically, however, whether he means to refer to captives (chattel slaves) as well as to the various types of debtor slaves. P638 Macleod

The lowest status was that of slaves or captives owned by the elite. They included commoners captured in war, sentenced criminals, and impoverished individuals sold into slavery by their families. Elite captives were usually ritually sacrificed. Nonelite captives were either enslaved for labor or adopted by families to replace members lost to war or disease. Children of slaves were not considered slaves but were free. P131 Sharer

Slaves were usually sacrificed when their masters died, so that they could continue in their service. P717 Sharer and Traxler

Slaves maintained rights like family, citizenship, property and the possibility to buy slaves and get married during slavery just as if they were free...Among the Maya, someone marrying a slave also become a slave, and the same was true for the offspring. P432 Rodriguez

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 2**

The Maya usually sold male captives and retained women and children. These individuals remained slaves for life and their status was hereditary. Early Spanish chroniclers noted a very widespread and prolific regional slave trade at the time of contact. P35 Rodriguez

### **D: slave population 2**

#### **Not available**

Sharer, Robert J. *Daily life in Maya civilization*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2009.

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Rodriguez, Junius P. *The Historical encyclopedia of world slavery*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 1997.

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## **Latin America**

In Latin America, all Spanish colonies had the same legal definition of slavery under Spanish law.

### **Panama**

#### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 4**



Mainly used black slaves because native forced labor died out quickly, 1607 70% blacks, only 5.8% mixed race (see Ward, Christopher. Imperial Panama: commerce and conflict in isthmian America, 1550-1800)

**B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

**C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 5**

Directly to the south of Costa Rica, the Isthmus of Panama was a center of the Spanish American slave trade (first in indigenous, then in African captives) almost from the beginning of the conquest. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, both Portobello, on Panama's Caribbean coast, and Panama City, on the Pacific, became authorized ports of the Asiento. Under the terms of several seventeenth-century Asiento contracts, Portobello was one of just three authorized ports in Spanish America, and because of higher prices, slave traders consistently preferred to sell their captives in Portobello rather than in Cartagena or Veracruz. In addition to the legal slave trade, Portobello became a favorite market for contraband slaves. P75 Lohse

The early demise of the Indian population deprived Panama of its source of labor, a problem that was addressed by the importation of large numbers of African slaves. P34 Ward  
Lohse, Russell, Africans into Creoles: slavery, ethnicity, and identity in colonial Costa Rica. Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2014.

**D: slave population 5**

Mainly used black slaves because native forced labor died out quickly, 1607 70% blacks, only 5.8% mixed race (see Ward, Christopher. Imperial Panama: commerce and conflict in isthmian America, 1550-1800)

**Brazil**

**A: Prevalence of slavery**

Only five places and times figured in Finley's scheme as slave societies: classical Greece and Rome, colonial Brazil, colonial Caribbean, and antebellum United States. p13 Phillips  
Small family farms of four to seven acres existed alongside much larger slave-based units. P456 Schwartz

The Portuguese settlers in Brazil, from the earliest years, relied heavily on the African slave trade. P117 Burkholder and Johnson

**B: Legal norm of slavery**

Juridically, Brazilian society was divided between slave and free status. Because of the large numbers of unfree laborers, Indian and African, the distinction between slave and free was crucial. P491 Schwartz

**C: Presence of slave trade and slave market**

Throughout the four centuries of the transatlantic slave trade, the Portuguese colonies of the Americas were the largest buyers of Africans in the Western Hemisphere. More than 45 percent of all slaves transported to the Western Hemisphere wound up in Brazil. P350 Fragoso

**D: slave population ~over 30% 5**

Only five places and times figured in Finley's scheme as slave societies: classical Greece and Rome, colonial Brazil, colonial Caribbean, and antebellum United States. p13 Phillips

Fragoso, João. Slavery and Politics in Colonial Portuguese America: The Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries pp 350-377. Eltis, David, and Stanley L. Engerman, editors. The Cambridge World History of Slavery. Vol. 3, Cambridge University Press, 2011.

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Schwartz. Stuart B. Lockhart, James. *Early Latin America: a history of colonial Spanish America and Brazil*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Phillips, William D. Slavery from Roman times to the early transatlantic trade. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985.

## **Argentina**

### **A: Prevalence of slavery**

1 for interior, 4 for Buenos Aires---average 2.5

(In the interior, Indian Forced labor) questionable contemporary estimates for 1582 show that 12000 Indians were held in encomienda in Santiago del Estero and 6000 in Cordoba. Estimates in 1586 counted 18000 in Santiago Del Estero and 5000 in Salta...in the early seventeenth century, however, encomienda declined rapidly with the fall of population. P19 Rock

(Buenos Aires) ...into the seventeenth century yanaconas were drafted from Tucuman and Paraguay to help with the construction of fortifications and develop local farming. The absence of a large local pool of Indians inhibited widespread use of encomienda or mita, p24 Rock

Between 1606 and 1625 4693 slaves were imported, an average of 234 a year. P31 Rock

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

Encomienda: The encomendero was charged with converting the Indians under his charge to Christianity; in return he had the right to labor services in the form of forced labor or tribute payments, levied upon individuals or upon communities. P18 Rock

Mita: corvee labor, consisted of rotationary labor services by Indian communities.

Yanaconas: were those Indians uprooted from their original tribal ties, usually as a consequence of warfare, placed in new communities as the chattels of Spanish settlers. (usually lived in family units and performed rotationary services from within their own communities) P18 Rock

After 1600: the remaining Indians were “rationed” through wider use of the *repartimiento*, a labor draft organized by the governor, which normally avoided any direct or permanent entrustment of Indians to individuals. p20 Rock

Whereas slavery (black slaves imported from Africa and Brazil) appeared, it did so invariably as an adjunct to the other labor systems without ever superseding them. P23 Rock

Indians were seen as both as a source of labor and a tradable commodity to be exchanged and hired out among the white settlers. P18 Rock

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

For Buenos Aires, the occupational distribution of the Luso-Brazilians in commerce was as follows: ten merchants, two “comerciante en negros” (slave traders). P52 Prado

In sixty one voyages between 1714 and 1739 the South Sea Company brought some 18000 slaves to Spanish America, about 8600 of whom passed through Buenos Aires, which now became the largest slave port in Spanish America. P43 Rock

#### **D: slave population 2**

Rock, David. *Argentina, 1516-1987: from Spanish colonization to the Falklands war*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

Prado, Fabrício Pereira, *Edge of empire: Atlantic networks and revolution in Bourbon Río de la Plata*. Oakland, California: University of California Press, [2015]

#### **Central America**

Slavery, for these and further reasons, never became the dominant source of agricultural labor in the isthmus. Blacks held as chattel amounted in fact to but a small part of the African population of the late colonial period. The ranks of the slaves were continuously reduced by flight, as bondsmen were drawn to the towns, where they posed as free men, or were lured to the isolated conclaves of cimarrones (runaways), which in many cases proved to be enduring and stable settlement. P45 Fiehrer

The large part of this forced labor was supplied by Indians. Though the government officially protected the indigenous peoples of the colonies and their communal lands, creole and immigrant planters illegally sought Indian service and, with the approval of royal officials in the isthmus, conscripted castas for involuntary labor. P46 Fiehrer

Fiehrer, Thomas. Slaves and Freedmen in Colonial Central America: Rediscovering a Forgotten Black Past. *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 64, No. 1 (Winter, 1979), pp. 39-57.

#### **Guatemala**

(early slave raiding and trade of Indian slaves, but disappeared soon; absence of black slaves. Indian laborers were attached to their land through debt-bondage or share-cropping arrangements in encomienda, repartimiento and hacienda.)

#### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 2**

Despite these formal regulations, the enslavement of Indians in Central America that followed the conquest occurred almost without constraint. P14 Bolland

#### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

In the early years of the conquest the two labor systems existed side by side: Encomenderos and slave owners. P5 Wortman

Whether the encomenderos retired to a large or small hacienda, the generally depressed economy and the lack of available labor prompted a slow collapse into self-sufficiency, with owners attempting to tie Indian laborers to their land through debt-bondage or share-cropping arrangements. P27 Handy

#### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

Raiding for slaves on the coasts of Yucatan, among the Bay Islands, and on the northern coast of Honduras itself had begun some time before the area was conquered, perhaps as early as 1515. Indian captives were taken to Velazquez's Cuba and enslaved there. P50 MacLeod

By 1550 the export of Indian slaves had fallen to a trickle in all the areas of Central America which had participated in this trade. The reasons are not hard to find. In Nicaragua and Honduras there were simply no Indians left to send. P55 MacLeod

As Burkholder and Johnson have noted, 'African slavery prospered only where a diminished Indian population could no longer sustain alternative forms of labor, but in Central America, despite the demographic catastrophe, Indian labour was still cheaper than enslaved Africans. P18 Bolland

**D: slave population 3**

**Not available**

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Handy, Jim. *Gift of the devil: a history of Guatemala*. Boston, MA: South End Press, c1984. *Subsistence Economy and Chieftdom Emergence in the Muisca Area, a Study of the Valle de Tena*, Pedro María Argüello García

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**Honduras**

**A: Prevalence of slavery 2**

**As Central America**

**B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

**C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 2**

**D: slave population 2**

(small but persistent encomienda forced labor coexisted with black slavery which were used in mines)

Most of these were divided into encomiendas, a system that left the native people in their villages but placed them under the control of individual Spanish settlers. Merrill

Tim Merrill, ed. *Honduras: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1995.

**El Salvador:**

**A: Prevalence of slavery 2**

By 1550 a sizable black population had developed in San Salvador province, and a noteworthy settlement of Negroes had sprung up by the 1620s on the coast at Sonsonate. Salvadorean planters requested slaves for numerous types of labor, ranging from domestic service to work in the cultivation of indigo and sugar, silver mining, road and ship-building, and dock work. P40 Fiehrer

**B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

**C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 2**

**D: slave population 2**

African slaves made up a very small proportion of the forced labor in El Salvador. P37 White

White, Christopher M. *The history of El Salvador*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2009.

*El Salvador, a country study*, edited by Richard A. Haggerty. Washington, D.C.

## **Costa Rica**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 2**

Their ambitions always constrained by their relative poverty, Costa Rican colonists could not acquire Africans in large numbers despite their proximity to major centers of the slave trade directly to the south in Portobello and Panama City. With a few exceptions, legally imported slaves continued to arrive in the province intermittently and in very small numbers. P74 Lohse

Enslaved Africans in Costa Rica came from hundreds of diverse African societies and arrived in small numbers, forming a small minority in the colony's population. Pviii Lohse  
Lohse, Kent Russell. Africans and their descendants in colonial Costa Rica, 1600-1750. Ph.D dissertation, 2005.

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 2**

The cacao trade, supported by a small but prominent slave labor force, sustained the Costa Rican economy through the end of the seventeenth century. P29 Rankin

Rankin, Monica A. *The history of Costa Rica*, Santa Barbara, California: Greenwood, 2012.

Lohse, Russell, Africans into Creoles: slavery, ethnicity, and identity in colonial Costa Rica. Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2014.

### **D: slave population 2**

With a few exceptions, legally imported slaves continued to arrive in the province intermittently and in very small numbers. P74 Lohse

## **Uruguay**

### **A: Prevalence of slavery 5 D slave population ~50% 5**

The use of domestic slaves was also important, especially considering that slave ownership accorded status. Skilled wage-earning slaves were also a source of income for families or widows in the town. Finally, slaves performed the heavy work of unloading and loading cargo at the port's docks. Nevertheless, domestic slavery, foodstuff production for the local market, and urban or port labor do not seem to explain why almost half of Colônia's inhabitants were enslaved in 1760. P21 Prado

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

### **Referring to the Laws of the Indies**

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 4**

The commercially oriented community's strong connection with Rio de Janeiro—the largest slave port of South America—and the prevalence of slaves from Angola, Congo, and Benguela in the city suggest that it was a center of active slave trading networks. I suggest that the bulk of the slave population in Colônia was eventually sold to the Spanish American colonies. P21 Prado

The high proportion of slaves suggests that Colonia's residents acquired slaves and re-exported them to Spanish territories. It was a center of active slave trading networks. P20 Prado

Prado, Fabrício Pereira, *Edge of empire: Atlantic networks and revolution in Bourbon Río de la Plata*. Oakland, California: University of California Press, [2015]

## **Chile**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 2**

Up to the year 1558, the number of blacks, mulattos and zambos in Chile was of about 5,000; compared to 34,000 Spaniards, 92,000 white, 27,000 mestizos and 18,000 Indians.

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

Various forms of labor were used... paid Indian workers {mitajos}... also a free, mainly Indian labour pool of day-workers (Jornaleros). Another source of labor were Indian serfs {yanacunas} of a type existing under the Incas. African slaves, otherwise imported to be used as servants and urban artisans, also provided a growing share of rural labor in the neighborhood of Spanish towns; but their high prices limited their use to clearly profitable agricultural enterprises. P190 Mörner

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

On reaching Lima the slaves were then sold throughout the viceroyalty, from Upper Peru (Bolivia) and Chile in the south to Quito in the north. P29 Klein

### **D: slave poplation**

Up to the year 1558, the number of blacks, mulattos and zambos in Chile was of about 5,000; compared to 34,000 Spaniards, 92,000 white, 27,000 mestizos and 18,000 Indians.

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Mörner, Magnus. *The rural economy and society of colonial Spanish South America*. University of Gothenburg, Sweden

## **Colonial Peru**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 2**

The major wineand sugar-producing zones of the 17th century, such as Pisco, the Condor and lea valleys, had together some 20,000 slaves. P30 Klein

In contrast, the number of slaves in this later period within the Peruvian region had reached close to 100,000, where they represented between 10 and 15 percent of the population. P36 Klein

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

**Mita:** The mita, originally proposed as an alternative to the encomienda, differed from the earlier institution in several important respects: (1) it was essentially a levy of workers for specific public or private projects (2)the mita workers were to receive wages for their services (3) the period of work was limited by law to a designated number of days per year (4) the labor contract did not establish a permanent relationship between employer and employee. P5 Korth

The standard labor systems of colonial times supplied mining with its Indian workers: in general chronological order of appearance, these were encomienda, slavery, draft and hire for wages.

Gradually, over the mid sixteenth century, draft labor superseded encomienda and Indian slavery in mining. P222 Bethell

Formal repartimiento/mita drafts were established in New Spain in the 1550s, the central Andes in the 1570s and the eastern highlands of Colombia in the 1590s. In New Spain the repartimiento supplied labor mainly for agriculture. The mita was the labor base for the early Peruvian mining industry, on coastal plantations, and for road repair and maintenance projects. P139

Burkholder&Johnson

The reportedly high mortality and low productivity of blacks in highland silver mining worked against the crown's frequent schemes to replace draft Indian labor with African slaves. P227

Bethell

**Yanacona:** most yanaconas were tied to Spanish agricultural estates where they received some land for their own use in return for labor. Over time these yanaconas became rooted on a particular Spanish estate, a type of bound labor. (cannot be bought and sold) this relative lack of mobility distinguished yanaconaje from other "free" labor systems. p143 Burkholder&Johnson

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

The need for slaves within Peru increased dramatically in the second half of the 16th century as Potosi silver production came into full development, making Peru and its premier city of Lima the wealthiest zone of the New World. On reaching Lima the slaves were then sold throughout the viceroyalty, from Upper Peru (Bolivia) and Chile in the south to Quito in the north. P28-29 Klein

### **D: slave population 4**

The major wineand sugar-producing zones of the 17th century, such as Pisco, the Condor and lea valleys, had together some 20,000 slaves. P30 Klein

In contrast, the number of slaves in this later period within the Peruvian region had reached close to 100,000, where they represented between 10 and 15 percent of the population. P36 Klein

Bethell, Leslie. *Colonial Spanish America*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Burkholder, Mark A., Johnson, Lyman. *Colonial Latin America*. New York : Oxford University Press, 2004.

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## **Ecuador**

### **A: Prevalence of slavery 2**

By the end of the colonial period about half of the demographically stable Indian population of the highlands of Quito had become serfs of the haciendas. P199 Mörner

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

The social structure of colonial Ecuador mirrored Spain's other New World possessions. Because Ecuador did not have the mineral wealth that Peru yielded, the emphasis was on increasing the agricultural output of the indigenous-populated rural areas. Encomienda and mita were the systems adopted to meet that end. By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the hacienda system replaced most of the encomiendas. P30 Lauderbaugh

In Quito the yanaconas practically disappeared in the course of the seventeenth century. Instead, mitayos (mita) came to form the bulk of the rural labor force. There was no competition in this case with the labor needs of mines. By making the mitayos incur debts, hacendados often succeeded in tying these temporary workers from the villages to their estates. Thus, their status became similar to that of the earlier yanaconas.

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 2**

A close reading of Quito's earliest surviving notary records (for the years 1580-1600), among other documents, yields some patterns regarding the slave trade and slavery more generally. P227-228 Lane

### **D: slave population 2**

Lane, Kris. "Captivity and Redemption: Aspects of Slave Life in Early Colonial Quito and Popayán." *The Americas*, vol. 57, no. 2, 2000, pp. 225–246. JSTOR, JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/1008204](http://www.jstor.org/stable/1008204).

Lauderbaugh, George. *The history of Ecuador*. Santa Barbara, Calif: Greenwood, 2012.

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## **Colombia**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 3**

During the eighteenth century, the Spanish colony of New Granada, a territory roughly coterminous with that of modern Colombia, held one of the largest population of slaves in mainland Spanish America. Its major port, that of Cartagena de Indias, on the Caribbean coast ad long been a leading center for the slave trade. Late colonial Colombia was not, of course, a slave society comparable to that of the Brazilian coastal regions, the American South, or the Caribbean islands...slaves constituted only about 7.6% of a population in New Granada. P131 McFarlane

The Caribbean coast and parts of the West were marked by the cultural imprint of African slaves and their descendants. In the eastern highlands, by contrast, the indigenes survived in great numbers and few African slaves were introduced. P7 Safford

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

#### **Referring to the Laws of the Indies**

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 4**

Its major port, that of Cartagena de Indias, on the Caribbean coast ad long been a leading center for the slave trade. P131 McFarlane

### **D: slave population 3**

slaves constituted only about 7.6% of a population in New Granada. P131 McFarlane

Safford, Frank, *Colombia: fragmented land, divided society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Anthony McFarlane (1985) Cimarrones and palenques: Runaways and resistance in Colonial Colombia, *Slavery & Abolition*, 6:3, 131-151, DOI: 10.1080/01440398508574897



## **Venezuela**

### **A: Prevalence of slavery 3**

African slaves, who constituted about 20 percent of the population. Haggerty

Its plantation culture created a great demand for African slaves during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Haggerty

The slave labor force increased yields of cacao, which fueled the productivity of the colonial haciendas. P40 Tarver and Frederick

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

#### **Laws of the Indies**

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

The local population was thus early replaced by Negro slaves, imports of which began in the 16<sup>th</sup> century while the trade reached its apogee in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. P23 Denova

### **D: slave population 5**

African slaves, who constituted about 20 percent of the population. Haggerty

Haggerty, Richard A. *Venezuela, a country study*. Washington, D.C.U.S. G.P.O., 1993.

Tarver Denova, Hollis Micheal. *The history of Venezuela*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2005.

Herrero, Rafael. The colonial slave plantation as a form of hacienda : a preliminary outline of the case of Venezuela. Glasgow: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Glasgow, 1978.

## **Colonial Mexico**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 2**

**(Most “slaves” or dependent labors are Indian forced labors in encomienda and repartimiento)**

Nevertheless, the Afro-Mexican population never constituted more than two percent of the total, and, after 1650, recuperation of the Indian population and the addition to the work force of the rapidly growing mestizo class worked for a "steady decline" in the slave trade and population. In the long run the Mexican slave population, even at its height, was relatively "quite small" - only 20,000-45,000. P60 Palmer

The relative importance of Mexican slavery was well reflected in the growth of its slave population. In 1570 there were an estimated 20,000 slaves in all of Mexico; at their peak in 1646 the total slave labor force reached some 35,000. These slaves represented less than 2 percent of the viceregal population in both periods. P36 Klein

Palmer, Colin A. *Slaves of the White God: Blacks in Mexico, 1570-1650*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976.

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

The encomiendas and repartimiento were similar to labor systems utilized among Indians to work for a specific time on public works projects. Exploitation of the Indians destroyed the repartimiento and the ability of local Indian villages to provide labor. Responding to these changes, the owners of haciendas or mines began paying wages for labor. Wage labor developed

an institutionalized form of control through the debt peonage system. They manipulated wages to keep workers in debt and limit their ability to freely leave. P57 Kirkwood (consistent to previous notes and other readings)

### **Debt peonage and hacienda**

Now they attracted other natives to settle on their estates by diverse means, most often by advancing sums that the Indians could never pay back...Such serfdom (debt bondage) through debt became a full-fledged institution in the seventeenth century under the hacienda economy. During the sixteenth century and part of the seventeenth century, the farming estancia was thus marked by the presence of Indian crews who, would come from neighboring villages under the surveillance of the allocating judge. P69 Chevalier

Some cacao plantations were operated under the repartimiento system, while others used Negro and Indian slaves. P72 Chevalier

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

During these initial, chaotic years, too, thousands of Indians (200,000 according to Motolinia's estimate, which was not the highest) were reduced to outright slavery; many were shipped great distances, even to the Antilles, where they were traded for the cattle and horses which New Spain needed...this resort to de facto, but illicit, Indian enslavement was further encouraged by the growth of legal de jure black slave imports...between 1521 and 1594 some 36,500 black slaves were shipped to Mexico. P17 Knight

### **D: slave population 2**

In the long run the Mexican slave population, even at its height, was relatively "quite small" - only 20,000-45,000. P60 Palmer

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Chevalier, François. *Land and society in colonial Mexico; the great hacienda*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1970 [c1963].

Kight, Alan. *Mexico: the colonial era*. Cambridge University Press, 2002.

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### **Caribbean Islands**

(16<sup>th</sup> century) Most slaves were brought on credit from Portuguese, German, or Genoese merchants based in Seville. The custom of importing more blacks than the royal license allowed took root quickly. This practice resulted in a surplus in the slave population and allowed the plantation owners of Espanola to continue the slave trade by reexporting Africans to Honduras, Peru and other parts of Spanish America. P18 Pons

Moya Pons, Frank, *The Dominican Republic: a national history*. Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2010.

The scholarly standard is Moses I. Finley's division between slave societies, on the one hand, and societies with slaves, on the other. In Finley's definition, a slave society had to have something on the order of 30 percent of the population as slaves, and slave labor had to account for a major proportion of that society's production. Only five places and times figured in Finley's scheme as slave societies: classical Greece and Rome, colonial Brazil, colonial Caribbean, and antebellum United States. p13 Phillips

### **Trinidad and Tobago**

#### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 5 D: slave population 5**

In 1782, 2813 of whom...310 were slaves p7 Millette

In 1789, six years after the promulgation of the cedula it had leapt to 18918 (population). Of these, 2151 were whites...10100 were slaves. P15 Millette

#### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

See Spanish law and Picton's slave code of 1800. P63-65 Millette

#### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

Since the family unit is in its accepted sense relatively small, the ownership of land came to be directly related to the ownership of slaves. In 1783, Trinidad was a land almost completely untouched by human enterprise. To develop and cultivate its thousands of slaves were needed. P17 Millette

The emancipation of the slaves in 1834 and the consequent shortage of labor for the plantations led to the introduction of the islands' third major ethnic group-indentured labor imported from India. P1 Black

Millette, James, *Society and politics in colonial Trinidad*. Trinidad: Omega ; London : Zed ; Totowa, N.J. : US distributor, Biblio Distribution Center, c1985.

Black, Clinton Vane de Brosse. *The history of Jamaica*. London: Collins Educational, 1983.

Alleyne, Warren, *Caribbean pirates*. London: Macmillan, 1986.

### **Dominican Republic**

#### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 5 D: slave population 5**

Sustained growth began only after 1680. At that time its total population of 8,000 was exactly half of Martinique's, and only 2,000 of that number were slaves. P56 Klein

By 1740 the size of its slave labor force had passed that of Martinique by a considerable margin, and Saint Domingue's 117,000 slaves represented close to half of the 250,000 French slaves now found in the French West Indies. P56 Klein

Klein, Herbert S.. *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean*, Oxford University Press, 1989. ProQuest Ebook Central, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/berkeley-ebooks/detail.action?docID=270931>.

#### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

**Referring to the Laws of the Indies**

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 5**

By 1520, black African labor was used almost exclusively. Haggerty

In 1546, there were already some 12000 slaves compared to the white population of less than 5000; by 1568, the number of slaves had increased to around 20000. P40 Moya Pons

Moya Pons, Frank, *The Dominican Republic: a national history*. Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2010.

Richard A. Haggerty, ed. *Dominican Republic: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1989.

### **Jamaica**

#### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 5 D: slave population 5**

In the case of Jamaica, the first twenty years had seen the very slow growth of both the white and black populations which were about equal among the 17,000 inhabitants by the late 1670s. But in the decade of the 1680s the island's sugar industry took off. Slaves began arriving at the rate of over 3,600 per annum in the 1680s, and although natural disasters, pirate raids, and involvement in international warfare affected the island, much like the equally exposed Saint Domingue in this respect, the economy continued its steady growth. By 1703, while the white population had stabilized at some 8,000 persons, the number of slaves had climbed to 45,000. The pace continued into the 18th century. By 1720, when the slave population of Jamaica had climbed to 74,000 persons, the island had become the most populous slave colony in the British West Indies. P54 Klein

Blacks dominated the population by a ratio of ten to one. P55 Klein

#### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

##### **Referring to the Laws of the Indies**

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 5**

**Slavery:** it can be argued that the labor system was based on human capitalization, as people were defined as the private property of colonial Jamaicans, acquired, used, and valued as saleable commodities exchanged on global markets. P25 Delle

Although the greatest wealth was controlled by the proprietors and attorneys of Jamaica's many vast sugar estates, there were also a significant number of small plantation owners. P72 Delle  
the social structure of Jamaica, at least until slavery was abolished in 1834, was dependent on enslaved labor. P66 Delle

Klein, Herbert S.. *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean*, Oxford University Press, 1989. ProQuest Ebook Central, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/berkeley-ebooks/detail.action?docID=270931>.

### **Ancient Near East**

#### **Assyria**

##### **A: Prevalence of slavery 3**

With the exception of the state and the temple slaves, the proportion of the unfree population in every country and at almost any time was insignificant in relation to the free population. The

number of slaves owned by private persons averaged from one to four. And it was for this reason that we often hear of individual escapes but never of organized slave revolts. The factors making for slave revolts—latifundia and mining industries where masses of slaves are employed—were nonexistent in the Near East... The basis of Near Eastern society was the free tenant-farmer and share cropper in agriculture and the free artisan and day laborer in industry. P121 Mendelsohn

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

(Defeated populations) not free to leave, they were treated almost as chattel slaves, but they may have retained some rights. They were sold with the land they farmed. P63 Finkelman  
Slaves were allowed to marry and have families, and some had property, which they could buy and sell as if they were free persons. They had to pay their owners a yearly fee for the privilege of economic independence. P63 Finkelman

Domestic slaves were comparatively few in numbers. In great part, the slaves were married, lived in their own houses, carried on their own business, and only paid their yearly “tribute” to their master according to the fixed custom. Nearly all the industry and a considerable art of the business carried on in the empire was in their hands. They regularly bought and sold property and it is not unusual to find one slave owning another. P539 Olmstead  
The existence of household slaves is demonstrated by legal sale documents in which ownership of a male or female slave is transferred from seller to purchaser. P14 Postgate

Temple slaves: The fate of the defaulting debtor was slavery. The creditor had the right to seize him or his pledge and force him to perform compulsory service. This right of the creditor was recognized by the Sumerian law, by the Hammurabi Code, and by the Assyrian law. P26 Mendelsohn

Private slaves: The Assyrian temples profited prodigiously from the many successful wars conducted by the Late Assyrian kings. Large numbers of captives were usually donated by them after each victorious war. Kings, high officials of state, and private individuals often dedicated slaves to the temple in the hope of securing thereby favors from the gods P101,102 Mendelsohn

The situation was somewhat different in Late Assyria. Here we have a large class of agricultural slaves who were attached to the land owned by private landlords. Their number, in relation to that in Ancient and Neo-Babylonia, was considerable, averaging from five to ten and even more on individual farms.<sup>125</sup> These agricultural slaves, some of whom even possessed small parcels of land and cattle of their own, have been compared to the *glebae adscripti* ('bound to the soil') of Ancient Rome. These slaves were usually sold with the land on which they were settled. P110 Mendelsohn

We have many cases of sales of large families by individual owners. P111 Mendelsohn

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

Several major cities held slave markets and engaged in long distance slave trade with the markets and port towns of the eastern Mediterranean, northern Anatolia and the Caucasus. P66 Finkelman

## **D: slave population 2**

With the exception of the state and the temple slaves, the proportion of the unfree population in every country and at almost any time was insignificant in relation to the free population. The number of slaves owned by private persons averaged from one to four. P121 Mendelsohn

Paul Finkelman, Joseph C. Miller. *Macmillan encyclopedia of world slavery*. New York: Macmillan Reference USA, Simon & Schuster Macmillan; London : Simon & Schuster and Prentice Hall International, c1998.

Postgate, J. N. *Bronze Age bureaucracy: writing and the practice of government in Assyria*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Olmstead, A. T. *History of Assyria*. New York, London, C. Scribner's Sons, 1923.

Mendelsohn, Isaac, *Slavery in the ancient Near East; a comparative study of slavery in Babylonia, Assyria, Syria, and Palestine, from the middle of the third millennium to the end of the first millennium*. New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1949.

## **Phoenicia (Lebanon)**

### **A: Prevalence of slavery ? D: slave population 4**

As the ancient sources reveal, the latter (slaves) formed a significant component of the work force. P91 Markoe

Under the Carthaginians, slaves (especially prisoners-of-war) were enrolled in state industrial facilities, such as mines and naval shipyards. They were also enlisted in times of war, in defense of the city...in an agricultural context, slaves were heavily employed as field hands...in the urban sector they served in a variety of professional capacities. P91 Markoe

### **B: Legal norm of slavery ?**

Doubtless, social distinctions existed within this heterogeneous population unit, whose ranks included not only captives, prisoners of war and convicts but also chattel slaves acquired on the open market. P92 Markoe

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 5**

Phoenicia had from a remote period been one of the most active agents in the extension of slavery and the slave trade by her practice of systematic kidnapping on a large scale. P162 Rawlinson

Rawlinson, George, *Phoenicia: history of a civilization*. London; New York : I.B. Tauris, 2005.  
Markoe, Glenn, *Phoenicians*. Berkeley: University of California Press, c2000.

Unclear whether private or public slaves

## **Mesopotamia**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 3 D: slave population 3**

Wealthy families owned a comparatively greater number of slaves (some as many as 100) than in previous periods, and it was not unusual for a middle-class person to own as many as 5 slaves. P430 Rodriguez

In Neo-Babylonia the references to privately-owned skilled slaves are more numerous than in early Babylonia, which means that there must have been more skilled slaves in the later than in the earlier period. P111 Mendelsohn

With the exception of the state and the temple slaves, the proportion of the unfree population in every country and at almost any time was insignificant in relation to the free population. The number of slaves owned by private persons averaged from one to four. And it was for this reason that we often hear of individual escapes but never of organized slave revolts. The factors making for slave revolts—latifundia and mining industries where masses of slaves are employed—were nonexistent in the Near East... The basis of Near Eastern society was the free tenant-farmer and share cropper in agriculture and the free artisan and day laborer in industry. P121 Mendelsohn

Slaves were primarily an urban force, while free tenant farmers worked the agricultural lands both for themselves and for the nobility...at best, Babylonian “slave labor was only one of several types of forced labor and not always the most significant.” To the Babylonian economy of Ancient Mesopotamia. P67 Finkelman

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

Temple slavery was a thriving institution throughout Mesopotamian history...domestic slave labor reached a higher level of complexity in southern Mesopotamia during the first millennium B.C. P430 Rodriguez

The Hammurabi Code recognized as legally binding a marriage contracted between a slave and a freeborn woman, and although legally the slave with all his possessions was the property of his master, the children born of such a marriage were free (paragraph 175), and the children born of a union between a master and his female slave were freed after the father's death (paragraph 171). The conception that the slave was a person half free and half slave is reflected in the fact that a master could not kill his slave with impunity. P122 Mendelsohn

Throughout Mesopotamian history, slaves were considered immovable property. They were thus transferred by inheritance, deposited as security, and included in dowries. P430 Rodriguez  
Also see “Laws Concerning Social Structures, Laws Concerning Economic Structures” in Hammurabi, King of Babylonia. The Babylonian laws / Hammurabi, King of Babylonia; Edited with translation and commentary by G. R. Driver and John C. Miles. Oxford [Eng] : Clarendon Press, [1956-60]

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

The occupations of the buyers mentioned in the Ur III slave sale contracts show that merchants acted as purchasers of slaves on several occasions.... the purchase of slaves was a merchant's investment in living capital that could be resold or be employed. p25 Neumann

Hans Neumann, “Slavery in Private Households toward the End of the Third Millennium B.C.”, papers from the Oriental Institute Seminar, The University of Chicago, 2011.  
“very active slave markets and a well-developed long-distance merchant slave trade” p66 Finkelman

Paul Finkelman, Joseph C. Miller. Macmillan encyclopedia of world slavery. New York: Macmillan Reference USA, Simon & Schuster Macmillan; London: Simon & Schuster and Prentice Hall International, c1998.

Rodriguez, Junius P. The Historical encyclopedia of world slavery. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 1997.

Mendelsohn, Isaac, Slavery in the ancient Near East; a comparative study of slavery in Babylonia, Assyria, Syria, and Palestine, from the middle of the third millennium to the end of the first millennium. New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1949.

## **Ancient Egypt**

### **A: Prevalence of slavery 1 D: slave population 1**

In Old and Middle Kingdom Egypt, foreign prisoners of war and tax defaulters became government slaves (hmnw nswt)..yet in Egypt slaves were not numerous. There appear to have been relatively little private buying or selling of slaves or enslavement of individuals for debt...government slaves and their children seem to have been absorbed over a few generations into the commoners class. At the same time, many commoners were bound as agricultural and non-agricultural workers to the service of nobles and officials. P160 Trigger

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 2**

New Kingdom: In ancient Egypt, the general rule was that all captives—not only those from fighting forces—become a royal resource. The king could then resettle them in colonies for labor; he had equally the right to grant some of them to temples and to meritorious individuals; also they might be booty for his soldiers who had showed bravery in the field. The captives thus assigned to an individual could be as many as nineteen slaves, both male and female. Temples might receive unlimited numbers—inscriptions abound in references to many thousands. Oxford Reference

Captive slaves, however, were mostly assigned to the king and the temples, and their status entailed manual labor. Oxford reference

The legal status of the slaves in this period was no different than that of freemen...they could own property. P281 Finkelman

In Old and Middle Kingdom, “institution of the corvee was the major source of manpower.” P281 Finkelman

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 1**

Information about slave-dealing in ancient Egypt is scanty...There was no public market but instead dealers appear to be itinerant, approaching their customers personally. The transaction itself, with a document containing clauses usually used in sales of valuable commodities, had to be performed before officials or a local council (qnbt). From an inscription narrating the acquisition of some fields with thirty-five slaves (men and women), the inference is that the administration held special registers for slaves. Oxford reference

The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. Ed. Redford, Donald B.: Oxford University Press, 2001. Oxford Reference. 2005. Date Accessed 13 Jul. 2018

<<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195102345.001.0001/acref-9780195102345>>.



Paul Finkelman, Joseph C. Miller. *Macmillan encyclopedia of world slavery*. New York: Macmillan Reference USA, Simon & Schuster Macmillan; London : Simon & Schuster and Prentice Hall International, c1998.

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

## **Israel**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 3**

“slaves served in small numbers in great households”. p64 Finkelman

There are not sufficient data at hand to estimate the average number of slaves in Israelite Palestine. The wealthy class in the big cities must have possessed relatively large numbers of household slaves, but along the countryside there were probably very few of them. P120 Mendelsohn

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 4**

Elites, with land and political and military status, required slaves and/ or serfs to work the land in order to attain and maintain status. P156 McNutt

Slaves are distinguished from other types of dependent laborers on the basis of their “outsider” status; that is, ideally, slaves were aliens...the biblical construct also suggests that slaves were allowed to accumulate property, with which it was possible for them to purchase their freedom. (2 Sam. 9:10;16:4;19:18,30; Lev. 25:29) p170 McNutt

There is also some ambiguity associated with the roles of slaves. In theory, slaves were perceived as property and as “tools” to be used for carrying out the most lowly types of work. But in spite of this, the legal traditions indicate that they were also perceived as fully human. In some cases they occupied positions of trust and had to potential of social mobility. P170 McNutt One of the most prominent distinctions was between slave and free person. P399 Levinson and Sherman

With the emergence, however, of a new centralized power under David and Solomon, the *corvée* and state slavery were re-established. The main source whence the state slaves were recruited was again, as it had been before, captives of war. P96 Mendelsohn

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

The documents from this town record quotidian commercial activities, including loans, lease agreements, and receipts of transactions involving agricultural products, slave sales and marriage contracts. P389 Niditch

### **D: slave population 2**

“slaves served in small numbers in great households”. p64 Finkelman

McNutt, Paula M. *Reconstructing the society of ancient Israel*. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1999.

Mendelsohn, Isaac, *Slavery in the ancient Near East; a comparative study of slavery in Babylonia, Assyria, Syria, and Palestine, from the middle of the third millennium to the end of the first millennium*. New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1949.

Niditch, Susan. *The Wiley Blackwell companion to ancient Israel*, Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons Inc, 2016.

## **Iran**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 3**

The Achaemenian was not heavily dependent upon slave labor in the marketplace, in workshops or in agricultural production. p68-P69 Finkelman

The Achaemenid *susanu* (laborer) was protected in legal practice against reduction to chattel slavery. P81 Stolper

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 3**

“*garda*” worked for Persian nobles

They were not free men but dependents and/or slaves who worked the lands and the estate for rations provided by the stewards. They can be considered slaves as much as servants. P457-458 Briant

The Achaemenian slave was considered a person, not a thing, and...allowed inheritance and manumission. p68-P69 Finkelman

War prisoners were mostly taken to temple estates, aristocratic households to work in the fields; kidnapped free men were employed in the households and temples as domestic servants, or to public projects. See p68-P69 Finkelman

In the Iranian social structure we have no evidence of a legal concept of slavery other than that by which, to commence at the highest level, all men were slaves of the King; but there seem to have been imported workers, at Persepolis and elsewhere, whose condition (whether permanently or not) was effectively that of slaves. p281 Oppenheim

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**

In a number of contracts dating to the Achaemenian and the subsequent Seleucid periods, which record the sale of slaves and slave girls. In these the seller assumes guarantee that the individual sold does not belong to the several categories of persons who legally cannot be the object of such a transaction. P572 Oppenheim

As early as Cambyses reign, there is evidence of businessmen coming to trade in slaves. P458 Briant

At least in Babylon, several texts dated to the reign of an Artaxerxes imply that sales of slaves were registered with an office concerned with royal taxes. P400 Briant

Each such person is marked with a divine symbol branded on the back of his hand. Persons who belong to the class called *arad-farrutu* and *amat-farrutu* i.e., respectively, slaves or slave girls of the king, are palace property. Oppenheim

Paul Finkelman, Joseph C. Miller. *Macmillan encyclopedia of world slavery*. New York: Macmillan Reference USA, Simon & Schuster Macmillan; London : Simon & Schuster and Prentice Hall International, c1998.

Evidence of slavery in Achaemenid Babylonia and Egypt:

-the Babylonian bill of sale, dating from 525 B.C., of a female Egyptian slave. (B. Meissner, *ZAS* xxix (1891), pp. 123—4.)

Stolper, Matthew W. *Entrepreneurs and empire: the Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian rule in Babylonia*. Leiden, [Netherlands]; Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, c1985.

A. L. Oppenheim, *The Babylonian Evidence of Achaemenian Rule in Mesopotamia*

Briant, Pierre. *From Cyrus to Alexander: a history of the Persian Empire*; translated by Peter T. Daniels. Winona Lake, Ind : Eisenbrauns, 2002.

## **Italy (Roman Republic)**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 5**

At that time, the early Augustan age, as for much of the recent past, slaves made up a substantial proportion of the population of Rome and Italy, though their precise numbers are unknown and unknowable... Slaves were the lowest grade in what had become a steeply hierarchical and deeply patriarchal society, lacking all rights and personhood, items of property over which their owners had complete powers of disposal. P242 Bradley

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

The earliest firm evidence of the social and structural centrality of slavery as an institution at Rome comes from Rome's first codified body of law, the Twelve Tables. P243 Bradley  
Roman law was conventionally divided into the law of persons, of things (res) and of 'actions' (legal procedures for litigation). Slaves were not 'persons' in the eyes of the law and appear in the law of persons mainly in relation to matters of status, either in the power (potestas) of an owner, or upon release from it (manumission). Slaves were 'things' (res), i.e., property. As for procedure, they could carry out legally binding transactions, on behalf of their owners, although since they were not 'persons' in the legal sense they could not represent their owners in any consequent litigation. P415 Gardner

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 5**

In theory, it (slave trade) could have been as low as 100,000 (if 80 per cent of 250,000 slaves were slave-born and one-quarter of them were sold once in their lifetime, and each new slave was sold only once), or as high as close to a million (if each of 400,000 slaves was sold twice). P293 Scheidel

The relative prevalence of private sales versus transactions arranged by professional dealers is unknown. In slave markets, slaves were displayed on platforms and could be undressed for closer inspection; new arrivals were marked with chalked feet. P302 Scheidel

### **D: slave population estimated to be ~30% 5**

The scholarly standard is Moses I. Finley's division between slave societies, on the one hand, and societies with slaves, on the other. In Finley's definition, a slave society had to have something on the order of 30 percent of the population as slaves, and slave labor had to account for a major proportion of that society's production. Only five places and times figured in Finley's scheme as slave societies: classical Greece and Rome, colonial Brazil, colonial Caribbean, and antebellum United States. p13 Phillips

See *Macmillan encyclopedia of world slavery*, Ancient Rome

Bradley, Keith. Slavery in the Roman Republic pp 241-264. Bradley, Keith, and Paul Cartledge, editors. *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*. Vol. 1, Cambridge University Press, 2011.  
Gardner, Jane F. Slavery and Roman law pp 414-437. Bradley, Keith, and Paul Cartledge, editors. *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*. Vol. 1, Cambridge University Press, 2011.  
Scheidel, Walter. The Roman slave supply pp 287-310. Bradley, Keith, and Paul Cartledge, editors. *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*. Vol. 1, Cambridge University Press, 2011.

## **Greece (Ancient Greece)**

### **A: Prevalence of slavery 5**

The society that formed in the autonomous Greek city-states was heavily dependent upon slave laborers...So pervasive was this social practice that by the sixth century B.C, it had produced a political crisis in Athenian life. Pxv Rodriguez

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

Juridically, a slave was a non-person, a mere commodity, whose total lack of all rights was in absolute contrast to the freedom, which characterized a citizen. P323 Finkelman

A slave was legally a piece of property, just like a house, a farm animal or a wife. P86 Frost

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 5**

In the sixth century, the people of Chios started to acquire barbarian slaves paid for by purchase. Chattle slaves spread quickly and widely from the sixth century and onward. P323 Finkelman  
Greek and Phoenician traders carried all varieties and nationalities of slaves from one end of the Mediterranean to the other, and every large city had a slave market. P86 Frost

### **D: slave population estimated to be ~30% 5**

The scholarly standard is Moses I. Finley's division between slave societies, on the one hand, and societies with slaves, on the other. In Finley's definition, a slave society had to have something on the order of 30 percent of the population as slaves, and slave labor had to account for a major proportion of that society's production. Only five places and times figured in Finley's scheme as slave societies: classical Greece and Rome, colonial Brazil, colonial Caribbean, and antebellum United States. p13 Phillips

Frost, Frank J. Greek society. Lexington, Mass. : D.C. Heath, c1987.

Paul Finkelman, Joseph C. Miller. Macmillan encyclopedia of world slavery. New York: Macmillan Reference USA, Simon & Schuster Macmillan; London : Simon & Schuster and Prentice Hall International, c1998.

The Historical encyclopedia of world slavery / Junius P. Rodriguez, general editor. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 1997.

## **China**

### **A: Prevalence of slavery 1**

The argument that the large numbers of human victims associated with some of the larger tombs were slaves, as opposed to ritual victims, is also hard to accept. There is little evidence that these victims were routinely employed in productive labor prior to their execution and considerable support for the argument that late Shang society was not yet able to absorb a large number of slave laborers. P285-286 Keightley

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 1**

Shang records identify, in addition to tax-paying farmers, usually called ren, an inferior group of zhong who did not own land of their own. Their duties included agricultural labor, tending animals, military service, and constructing buildings-the same work that other commoners performed through the corvee, but they appear to have worked full-time for the king. P160 Trigger

Terms like "slave" or "freeman" do not appear in the Shang (or Zhou) records; nor are there records, or even traditions, of any person being bought or sold. P285 Keightley  
Where no legal concept of individual rights existed, it is more useful to characterize Shang society in terms of degrees of dependency and privilege, rather than slavery and freedom. Attempts to assign slave status to particular groups recorded in the inscriptions, or to read a particular oracle-bone graph as nu. (slave), have generally involved more theoretical assertion than paleographic demonstration. P285-286 Keightley

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 1**

In early China, by contrast, forced labor (often by convicts) appears to have been concentrated in the public sector. P1 Scheidel

The Chinese system was therefore weighted towards state control (either directly through the use of state-owned slaves or indirectly via the allocation of state-owned slaves to the power elite) whereas the Roman system primarily relied on market transactions to make slave labor available to private owners. P4 Scheidel

Scheidel, Walter. Slavery and forced labor in early China and the Roman world, 2013, Stanford Working Paper in Classics.

### **D: slave population 1**

There have been estimates stating that 5% of the population during the Shang Dynasty was enslaved. But very likely these are not private slaves and are not traded in slave markets

Also see Lu Liancheng and Yan Wenming, "Society during the Three Dynasties"

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Keightley, David. The Shang: China's First Historical Dynasty pp 232-291. Loewe, Michael, and Edward L. Shaughnessy. The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC. Cambridge University Press, 1999.

## **Ancient Japan**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 3 D: slave population 2**

But slaves made up less than 10 percent of the population and were not the country's main producers. P425 Toshiya

The clans that ruled Yamato were ranked vertically...below them were serfs and artisans, on the bottom were slaves. P445 Finkelman

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 4**

The people of Nara Japan were classified by law as commoners (ryomin) or slaves (semmin).

Laws prohibited a person from marrying outside his or her class and prescribed much more severe punishments for crimes committed by slaves. P425 Toshiya

The first subgroup was state slaves (kanko) owned by the central government. They could have families and could use a portion of their labor for themselves. The second subgroup was private slaves (ke'niti) owned by commoners. They had as much freedom as did state slaves. The third was, state chattel slaves (kunuhi) owned by the central government. They were treated as property that could be bought and sold. The fourth subgroup was private chattel slaves (shinuht) owned by commoners. They were otherwise treated like state chattel slaves. And the fifth was

the imperial-mausolea slaves {ryoko) owned by officials. They were used to protect and maintain the tombs of deceased emperors and empresses.

The largest slave subgroup was private chattel slaves, who were owned mainly by temples, shrines, public officials, and wealthy farmers. One private chattel slave, according to contemporary sources, had roughly the value of a strong horse or cow. P426 Toshiya

**Corvee labor:** adult male farmers had to supply labor of various types. First, the provincial office had the right to conscript adult males as a miscellaneous labor levy (zoyo). Restricted to no more than sixty days per year, these levies were normally used for local construction projects. But Nara records indicate that by the middle of the eighth century, many provincial officials openly abused farmers by forcing them to work on private projects.

The second type of service was military conscription.

The third kind of labor service was a member of the palace guards (eji), who were assembled for duty at the court. P432-434 Toshiya

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 1**

Few evidence of slave trade and slave market

Toshiya, Torao. *Nara economic and social institutions*. National Museum of History and Ethnology. The Cambridge history of Japan. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

## **Ancient Korea**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 3 D: slave population 2**

However, ancient Korean society had a small slave population. In 660, slave population were only limited to 4% of the total population living in the ancient Korea. P158 Kim

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 4**

Male slave was called 'no, and female slave 'bi' in Korean history. Therefore, Nobi meant male and female slaves. The historical evidence on nobi can be found as early as in the fourth century B.C. In Old Choson, man who stole other's possessions was made the slave of his victim. In Puyo, man who murdered other people is put to death and the remaining members of his family were enslaved. Sacrificial burial was also practiced with as many as one hundred attendants being buried with their master. Most of farming population in village communities was composed of peasants, Prisoners of war or criminals were also made nobi in the three kingdom period. The poor people sold their sons and daughters, who were eventually enslaved. To military leaders for their victories in battle, or to the aristocrats who held the positions in government office, a large grant of lands and a number of prisoners taken during war were given as befitting their distinguished service and exalted station. In consequence, the private land and slave holdings of the aristocratic class increased continuously. P158 Kim

Legally, slaves were property. They could be bought, sold, inherited and given as gifts or bribes. No law, however, prevented slaves from possessing their own property...rarely, a slave might own land or even other slaves. P245-246 Finkelman

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 1**

“Unlike Greek, Roman or New World slave societies, where slaves were commercialized, and their value measured in money terms, in Choson society, trade in servile humans was too small to encourage the emergence of a large-scale nobi market. P158 Kim

Paul Finkelman, Joseph C. Miller. Macmillan encyclopedia of world slavery. New York: Macmillan Reference USA, Simon & Schuster Macmillan; London: Simon & Schuster and Prentice Hall International, c1998.

Bok Rae Kim (2003) Nobi: A Korean System of Slavery, *Slavery & Abolition*, 24:2, 155-168, DOI: 10.1080/01440390308559162

## **Precolonial Philippines**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 4 D: slave population 3**

“These slaves constitute the main capital and wealth of the natives of these islands, since they are both very useful and necessary for the working of their farms. Thus, they are sold, exchanged, and traded, just like any other articles of merchandise, from village to village, from province to province, and indeed from island to island. (Morga 1609, p274). P1 Reid

Oripun were the basic producers in society. P152 Reid

Friar jursts for a while considered “Oripun” the category of “unnatural slavery”...yet the fact that the oripun only served his master part time mitigated against any European concept of slavery at all. Neither were they serfs bound to the soil since they were clearly bound to other men...the oripun or alipin thus had no class equivalent in any sixteenth century European society. P153 Reid

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 3.5**

#### **Visayan tribes:**

Oripun: the word oripun appears to be a transitive form of an archaic root udip (to live) meaning “to let live”-for example, to spare life on the field of battle, to ransom a captive, or to redeem a debt equivalent to a man’s price...the oripun produced by these conditions were legally slaves: they could be bought and sold. But that was all they had in common. Some were foreign captives or purchases who served as victims for human sacrifice, some were members of their master’s household...some were householders who gave their masters or creditors a portion of their crops or labor; and some were hardly distinguishable from freemen. Individual status within the oripun class depended on birthright, inherited or acquired debt, commuted penal sentence, or victimization by the more powerful. Outright captives were bihag, and they were marketed by the dealers in along or botong as expensive merchandise like bahandi porcelain and gongs, or ships and houses. P133 Scott

Hayohay were at the bottom of the oripun social scale-those “most enslaved”, as Loarca (1582, 142) put it, “the ones they mostly sell to the Spaniards”. P133 Scott

The cause of slavery in early Philippines were as follows:

- (1) Birth (2) purchase (3) captivity in wars, (4) failure to pay debts (the most common), and (5) punishment for crimes committed

The various ways of breaking the shackles of slavery were: (1) by purchase (2) by marriage (3) by voluntary action of the master to liberate his slave p111 Zaide

Thus there was no given word for “slave” in sixteenth century Visayan society, but only a graduated series of terms running from the totally chattel bihag, to the horo-han commoner “at the head” in the upper level of the oripun order. P145 Reid

### **Taglog tribes:**

An alipin was a man in debt to another man. His subordination was therefore obligatory, not contractual...the alipin had birthright claim to work a piece of community land which could not be taken away from him or he from it, except in the case of a commuted death sentence by which he became a chattel slave. Although he could not be legally seized or sold, his debt could be transferred from one creditor to another for profit and to his detriment. P146

Alipin namamahay-inheritance from namamahay parents, dropping down from the second class, or rising up from giglid status. (comparable to serf). P148

Alipin sa giglid-slaves purchased from outside the community, and captives taken in war or raids, were also counted among the giglid and might be real chattel without even the security of the parental affection of some master...if they were destined for resale or sacrifice...would literally be non-persons in society. P151

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 2**

Slaves in the Philippines often shared the same ethnicity, language, and descent as their masters. Men often sold themselves into slavery to their fathers-in-law as a form of bride-price, much in the same way as Jacob did for the hand of Rachel and Leah, as told in the Christian Bible. P12 Nadeau

Slaves ranged from those captured for ransom in raids at one extreme to those who sold themselves into slavery to someone for whom they felt a debt of gratitude from the heart at the other extreme. P12 Nadeau

Scott, William Henry. *Barangay: sixteenth-century Philippine culture and society* Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, c1994.

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Zaide, Gregorio F. *The pageant of Philippine history: political, economic, and socio-cultural*, Manila, Philippines: Philippine Education Co., 1979

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### **Colonial Philippines**

#### **A: Prevalence of slavery 3 D: slave population 2**

Morga said that the Portuguese were filling the country with blacks and cafres at the turn of the century, and by 1621 slaves constituted one third of an Intramuros (Manila) population of 6000...imported slaves were mainly employed in Manila and its environs. P29 Scott

#### **B: Legal norm of slavery 5**

Encomienda produced an irresistible supply of slave labor as Filipinos went into debt bondage to meet their assessments. The main Spanish employment of Filipino slaves was in housework or unskilled labor connected with Manila's galleon trade. P22 Scott

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 3**



Non-Filipino slaves originated in Portuguese markets in Africa, India and Malacca, also kidnapped from Canton and Japan; upper class Filipinos and Spanish owned slaves. Imported slaves were mainly employed in Manila and its environs: few ever appeared in provinces. P34 Scott

Scott, William Henry, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines*, Manila, Philippines: De la Salle University Press, c1991.

## **South Asia**

### **Pakistan (Ghaznavid and Ghurid)**

#### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 2**

The number of slaves in private possession must, therefore, also have been very large. P106 Habib

The state was the major owner of slaves. State interests shaped the character of slavery. P173 Finkelman

#### **B: Legal norm of slavery 4**

From these documents it transpires that female slaves could be acquired by capture, purchase, gift, or mortgage...by inheritance as well. P24 Habib

By the eleventh century, then, Turkish slave-regiments formed the nucleus of most armies in the eastern Islamic world. P64 Chatterjee

Reliable numbers are elusive. Juzjani— a late source in this respect— tells us that Mahmud of Ghazni's court was guarded by four thousand Turkish slave-youths, armed with maces. P65 Chatterjee

Slave status, then, for Turks, was no barrier to favor, promotion, or eventual rulership; it was, rather, a major pathway to advancement.

Turkish military slavery differed markedly from other kinds of slavery. It did not, properly speaking, hinge on a particular social status but on a relationship to a ruler (or to a series of rulers) and on a career of a particular type. P74-75 Chatterjee

Chatterjee, Indrani. Richard M. Eaton. *Slavery & South Asian history*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, c2006.

Finkelman, Paul and Joseph C. Miller. *Macmillan encyclopedia of world slavery*. New York: Macmillan Reference USA, Simon & Schuster Macmillan; London: Simon & Schuster and Prentice Hall International, c1998.

#### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 4**

The Indian campaigns yielded large numbers of slaves and the influx of cheap slave labor into Ghazna and its economic hinterland attracted slave traders and further stimulated trade. P79 Bosworth

As well as purchase, slaves also came as gifts and as war captives.

Among the military machine the nucleus of slave soldiers, Ghulam, who gave personal loyalty to the Sultans and who came from several nationalities. P90 Bosworth

Mention of "Khurasan slave markets" p5 Habib

Habib, Irfan. *Economic history of medieval India, 1200-1500*. Delhi: Longman; New Delhi: Project of History of Indian Science, Philosophy and Culture, Centre for Studies in Civilizations, c2011.

Bosworth, Clifford Edmund. *The medieval history of Iran, Afghanistan, and Central Asia*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1977.

Bosworth, Clifford Edmund. *The Ghaznavids; their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran, 994-1040*. Edinburgh, University Press [1963].

## **Sri Lanka**

### **A: Prevalence of slavery 2**

Yet, the evidence for personal 'slaves' of monks is rare. P36

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 3**

The institution of slavery took its place in the monastic setup. P196 Liyanagamage

#### **Temple “slaves”-*dasa***

Two groups of servitors could be identified under the term *dasa*. Of these, one group displays features of salability and transferability between owners, while such transactions accompanied land in almost all cases, whereas the condition of the other group seems temporary and presumably non-transferable. As to the first group, epigraphic evidence shows that they were disposed of as gifts to monks and temples just as any material property.

The term *dasa* also seems to accommodate debt-bondage for a fixed period. P30-32

Wickramasinghe

(From the author's description, it seems that the “*dasa*” is very complicated, including slaves, serfs and debt bondage)

“Heritable lands”- The land referred to here could be perpetually reserved to lodge and sustain self-perpetuating 'slave' families who remained in servitude of the temple for generations. p46

Source of temple “slaves”:

Once the 'slave' groups in temples were established, often through donations and rarely by purchase, such groups may have continued through self-procreation, i.e inheritance of status; also service must be confined to the temple.

Another interesting source of 'slavery' in Buddhist temples in historic Sri Lanka was donating oneself voluntarily as a slave to gain merit (mainly done by the elites). P38-39 Wickramasinghe

The lack of commercial transactions in 'slaves' could be partly due to the fact that there was little commercial exchange and the money economy in the Sri Lankan society of the time. Focus may, therefore, have been on inheritance as the prime source for the continuation of the servile groups that were initially established with prisoners of war. P50 Wickramasinghe

As with *dasa*, so with *vahal*. Both slave and serf features are observable among *vahal*. The features that seem to distinguish the *vahal* include their saleability and their place among property. Many *vahal* are recorded as purchased and inherited property"; they were also listed among material goods like land and draft animals. Furthermore, as in the case of *dasa*, donations of *vahal* too accompany land, suggesting that they were bound to the land they worked for the particular owner (temple). There is additional evidence that the status may have been heritable, since *vahal* families are represented among the purchased and inherited groups in the Galapata vihara record." Such features support the suggestion that the status of *dasa* and *vahal* was a mixture of both slave, serf and servant status. P32 Wickramasinghe

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 1**

Once the 'slave' groups in temples were established, often through donations and rarely by purchase. such groups may have continued through self-procreation (inheritance of status);" as suggested by the Galap.iiha record7 p39 Wickramasinghe

### **D: slave population 1**

#### **No actual private slaves**

Wickramasinghe, Chandima S. M. *Temple Slavery in Ancient Sri Lanka*, Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities. 2007, Vol. 33 Issue 1/2, p29-48. 20p.

Liyanagamagē, Amaradāsa. *Society, state and religion in premodern Sri Lanka / Amaradasa Liyanagamage*. Kelaniya: University of Kelaniya, c2001.

### **Bhutan**

#### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 1**

The pure slaves constituted 10 percent of total population in the medieval Bhutan. P36 Shodhganga

#### **B: Legal norm of slavery 1**

(aboriginal or indigenous tribal peoples) were brought to Bhutan from similar tribal areas in India. The ex-slave communities tended to be near traditional population centers because it was there that they had been pressed into service to the state. P256 Savada

Apart from the maintenance of the monk bodies at the cost of the state exchequer, ubiquitous wars and feuds demanded the involvement of productive forces. A relatively isolated and near-nomadic community such as the Drukpa had a limited appreciation of the settled plains people. This explains the continuous excursions of the Drukpas (Buddhist sect) to the southern foothills to catch slaves and livestock. P215 Sinha

The slaves were basically captives from Assam and Bengal duars brought into by the invaders and the wealthier peasants. Under three types of existing land tenure system in Bhutan, drap worked freely in their master's land in lieu of a small plot of land for their own subsistence. The minap had their own land or cultivated land of wealthier peasants, monasteries or other elites. They were indigenous. The Zasen were pure slaves worked only for food and cloth. The pure slaves constituted 10 percent of total population in the medieval Bhutan. P36 Shodhganga

The aboriginal indigenous inhabitants of the country, to which can be added the families of ex-slaves, often from similar tribal communities in the areas of India adjacent to Bhutan. This later group tends to be concentrated around the Dzongs where they once constituted the labor force for the government offices. P25 Sinha

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 2**

Criminals, subject to capital punishment were sometimes spared and made slaves for life. In other circumstances, they were bartered as slaves for horses of Bhutan in the foothill markets in the north. P129 Gogoi

### **D: slave population 1**

## **No actual private slaves**

Biswas, Anil Kumar. Economic diversification and sustainable development in Bhutan the role of foreign aid and international trade. Chapter 8 "Economic history of Bhutan". University of North Bengal. 2009. Shodhganga. Web. 24 Apr. 2012.

<[http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/149655/8/08\\_chapter\\_02.pdf](http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/149655/8/08_chapter_02.pdf)>

Sinha, Awadhesh Coomar. Himalayan kingdom Bhutan: tradition, transition, and transformation, New Delhi: Indus Pub. Co., 2001.

Savada, Andrea Matles. *Nepal and Bhutan: country studies*. Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1993.

Gogoi (Nath), Jahnabi. Agrarian system of medieval Assam. New Delhi: Concept Pub. Co., 2002.

## **Nepal**

### **A: Prevalence of slavery 1**

No private slavery

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 1**

(The ruler) conscripted their subjects for particular projects, irrigation works, portage or the construction of a palace for the ruler. This burden fell particularly upon Tamangs (indigenous people) and slaves captured from hills. P28 Vaidya

Slavery was unknown in ancient Nepal, but a system of forced labour employed in state undertakings obtained in our period." This was called visit, the same as both current for forced labour at the present time. It seems that forced labour was treated as a form of taxation and a burden on the people. It must have been compulsory. P270 Regmi

The expression Sarvvasirakaraniya pratimuktam™ indicates that besides carrying load, there were other obligations a citizen had to meet on demand of the state, which he rendered by his body. P271 Regmi

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 1**

A slave's time was wholly his or her master's and the latter had the 'same claim over (them) as over animals...' There was, until the beginning of the nineteenth century, a flourishing trade in the export of slaves to both India and Tibet. P171-172 Vaidya (probably not in ancient period) The Nepalese state also played an important role in the enslavement of its citizens, although it is not clear if it acted as slave owner as well. P172 Vaidya

(public projects used the jhara forced labor by adult population, only domestic slaves existed) Vaidya, Tulasī Rāma, *Social history of Nepal*, New Delhi: Anmol Publications, c1993.

Regmi, D. R. Ancient Nepal [electronic resource]. Calcutta, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1969.

## **India (Mauryan Empire)**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 2**

In the domain of their employment one does not come across slaves who are doctors, teachers, etc. slave are also not found among the artisans except those who work in the king's workshops mentioned in Kautalya. Slaves are mostly employed in domestic service and in agriculture. They are also recruited into the army. However, nowhere are they to be found alone...from this point of view, slavery in India does not resemble slavery in Greece or Rome of the classical period,

where slaves furnished the predominant part of labor in certain branches of production. P110 Chanana

A striking social development of the Maurya period was the employment of slaves in agricultural operations. The state maintained farms on which numerous slaves and hired laborers were employed. About 150,000 war-captives brought by Ashoka may have been engaged in agriculture. P180 Sharma

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 3**

A slave had no freedom, nevertheless he had a social position and was regarded as another category of labor force. The lowest order in the social scale of Mauryan society was not the slave but the outcaste. P116 Thapar

A slave is permitted to own what he has earned and to inherit from his father and bequeath to his kinsmen. p192 Sharma

As in kautalya the distinction between slavery for life and slavery for a fixed period is recognized. According to Manu a creditor can get work out of his debtor if the latter is unable to pay his debt. P115 Chanana

According to the Digha Nikaya, a dasa “is not master of himself, depends on another and cannot go where he likes”...In another context we are told that the master has full powers over his slave, can beat him and even kill him, if he so choses. P64 Chanana

The existence of state-farms is not disputed and the clear statement of Kautalya establishes beyond any shadow of doubt the presence of slaves, besides free-laborers on these farms. The employment of slaves, men and women in the state-workshops is also attested in this text. P101 Chanana

This is how the distinction between slavery for life and slavery for a fixed period, which we observe in the Pali literature, is now legally recognized and is used to give increased protection to persons reduced to slavery for a fixed term. These rules concern not only mortgaged persons who are thus slaves for a limited period, but also dasas and dasis hired out for a limited period by their masters. As regards to the dasis, Kautalya provides for thre manumission of the one who gives birth to a son of her master...thus in the Arthashastra the power of the master over his dasa is not in all cases absolute, because certain categories of the dasas are afforded a very well-defined protection. P109 Chanana

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 2**

The period between C. 4th century B.C. and C. 2nd century A.D. is known for its brisk trade from a number of sources both, indigenous and foreign. Strabo<sup>3</sup> (2nd c. B.C.) says that the king was waited upon by women purchased from their parents. He also says that by 150 B.C., slave trading became a profitable vocation in the East. That an active sea-borne trade was established with India by Egyptian and Greek merchants testified by the accounts of Eudoxos<sup>4</sup> (the end of C. 2nd B.C.), Periplus<sup>5</sup> (C Ist A.D.) and Athenaus<sup>0</sup> (C. Ist A.D.). Yet a direct reference to slave-trade made by the author (C. Ist A.D.) of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea. He mentions that beautiful girls for royal harems, as also slaves, were imported to Barygaza. P124 Srivastava

## **D: slave population 2**

In the domain of their employment one does not come across slaves who are doctors, teachers, etc. slave are also not found among the artisans except those who work in the king's workshops mentioned in Kautalya. Slaves are mostly employed in domestic service and in agriculture. They are also recruited into the army. However, nowhere are they to be found alone...from this point of view, slavery in India does not resemble slavery in Greece or Rome of the classical period, where slaves furnished the predominant part of labor in certain branches of production. P110 Chanana

Sharma, Rekha Rani. *Slavery in the Mauryan Period (C. 300 B.C. - C. 200 B.C.)*. Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, Vol. 21, No. 2 (May, 1978), pp. 185-194.

Thapar, Romila. *Asoka and the decline of the Mauryas*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Chanana, Dev Raj. *Slavery in ancient India, as depicted in Pali and Sanskrit texts*. With a foreword by J. Filliozat. [New Delhi] People's Pub. House [1960]

Srivastava, O. P. "SLAVE-TRADE IN ANCIENT AND EARLY MEDIEVAL INDIA." Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, vol. 39, 1978, pp. 124-136. JSTOR, JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/44139343](http://www.jstor.org/stable/44139343).

## **India (Tamil States)**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 2**

unknown among the Tamils, because cheap and devoted labor was available in plenty. p31 Husaini

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 2**

Parimelazhagar, the most authoritative commentator on Tirukkural, (13 or 14th century) is of the opinion that the term "adimai" simply means a servant of a humble or low status executing the orders of his master. P24 Manickam

It is learnt that King Karikala the famous Chola monarch of the first century AD brought back after a victorious campaign in Ceylon, a number of prisoners of war whom he compelled to perform forced labor on the construction of embankments of the river Kaveri. P24 Manickam

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 1**

"While V. Kanakasabha asserts that 'slavery was ever unknown amongst the Tamils... (The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago, p114), N. Subramonian affirms that slavery was known and practiced by the ancient Tamils... though 'we have no positive evidence to prove that slavery existed in the Tamilakam of the Sangam age and we have no reference to entitle us to conclude that human beings sold and purchased in any market.' (Sangam Polity, p284)

see p9-10 Ramachandran Nair

### **D: slave population 1**

#### **No actual private slaves**

Manickam. S. *Slavery in the Tamil country: a historical overview*: Christian Literature Society, 1982.

Ramachandran Nair, Adoor K. K. *Slavery in Kerala*. Delhi: Mittal Publications: Distributed by Mittal Publishers' Distributors, 1986.

Husaini, Abdul Qadir, Saiyid. *The history of the Pāndya country*, Karaikudi, Selvi Pathippakam [1962].

## **Bengal**

Same as Maurya

## **Southeast Asia**

Slavery was widespread in Southeast Asian societies, but until the incorporation of Europeans into the region, slavery was not what is commonly defined as “chattel slavery,” that is, slaves as disposable property with severely compromised legal status as persons in relationships of violent domination. Scholars analyzing indigenous forms of Southeast Asian slavery have generally recognized that Western models of slavery are not relevant to these societies. Ward  
Ward, Kerry. Slavery in Southeast Asia, 1420–1804 pp 163-185. Eltis, David, and Stanley L. Engerman, editors. *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*. Vol. 3, Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Methods of obtaining slaves included capture in war or raids on neighboring peoples and judicial punishment for crimes or inability to pay fines. The commonest form of slavery, however, derived from debt bondage, which individuals or clans negotiated with creditors...the basic principles governing relationships of rank and precedence were therefore debt and obligation. Sometimes debt slavery to a powerful owner...many such bondspeople were allowed to earn their own livings as cultivators, fisherpeople, artisans and laborers while repaying their debt to their master from a percentage of their income. These bonds were fixed in monetary terms and were transferable, both characteristics of European ideas of chattel slavery. Although Southeast Asian slavery involved a commercial relationship of social claims and obligations, slaves retained legal rights as members of society. This differed from European and New World slavery, where masters owned slaves as disposable property without social or legal recognition of slaves’ rights as people. P865 Finkelman

Paul Finkelman, Joseph C. Miller. *Macmillan encyclopedia of world slavery*. New York: Macmillan Reference USA, Simon & Schuster Macmillan; London: Simon & Schuster and Prentice Hall International, c1998.

Even in the case of a manifestly permanent slave, his bondage could be redeemed if the price was right. In fact the debt-bondsman better fits the key element in our definition of the slave, his character as saleable property, than does the inherited domestic slave who is so intimately part of the family that he is highly unlikely in practice to be sold. The obligations of a newly-acquired debt-bondsman were seen as having a very explicit cash value, so that this was probably the category of bondsmen most frequently traded and exchanged, as Sutherland shows for South Sulawesi. P11-12 Reid

In normal times debt was certainly the most important source of bondage in Southeast Asia, and bondsmen with such origins made up a very large section of society. Pigeaud has suggested that they were the dominant social group in the Java of Majapahit (1960, IV, pp173-174). P12 Reid

Since the legal categories of slave and free were not well defined, obligation and fealty were more central to the Southeast Asian system than status-as-property, while in certain cases serf seems a more appropriate English word than slave. P12 Reid

In Southeast Asia, too, a phenomenon which we are obliged to call slavery reached its peak during the high points of commercially oriented urban development (Reid 1980). Yet even in this urban situation, the Southeast Asian character of slavery always asserted itself: in the familial model for master-slave relations, in the freedom of many slaves to make extra income for themselves on the side, and in the tendency to free or assimilate the second generation of slaves into a more ambivalent form of bondage. P14 Reid

Reid, Anthony. Slavery, bondage, and dependency in Southeast Asia. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983.

## **Thailand**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 2 D: slave population 1**

Of the Thai conquerors it is said that they developed the practice (slavery) much to their economic benefit. This full development of slavery and serfdom in various forms has been attributed to the long-continued wars of the Thai...slave hunts chiefly among the Khas, were undertaken to make up this deficiency (of under-population). At one time, slaves made up one-fourth or even one-third of the total population. P58 Lasker

In the first Thai Kingdom, the Sukhothai (1240-1438), slaves were part of the inherited property of the ruling family and the bondage labor of the Buddhist monastery was usually made up of free subjects who had been donated by the king, wealthy government officials or other people to gain merit for themselves...the basic form of servitude among Thai people after the Sukhothai kingdom was servant (kha) in nature, and it emphasized more of the paternal relations than labor exploitation. P630 Rodriguez

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 4**

Thai slavery shared many of the general characteristics or theoretical ideas of slavery: slaves were a form of property and could be bought and sold according to the master's wishes. P631 Rodriguez

The king offered male and female slaves, animals and other objects to monks. P155 Saraya

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 1**

Mainly war prisoners p892 Finkelman

Finkelman, Paul and Joseph C. Miller. Macmillan encyclopedia of world slavery. New York: Macmillan Reference USA, Simon & Schuster Macmillan; London: Simon & Schuster and Prentice Hall International, c1998.

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Lasker, Bruno, Human bondage in Southeast Asia. Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press [1972, c1950]

## **Malaysia and Indonesia**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 4**

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 4**



The old Javanese code, Kutaramanawa (in Majapahit) declares that a debt-bondsman becomes a permanent slave after two years if the debt is in buffaloes or copperwork, or after five years if it is in slaves or cloth (Wilken 1888, pp571-572). P160 Reid

#### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 4**

(From Schafer's *the golden peaches of Samarkand: a study of T'ang exotics*, the Kunlun slaves seemed to be "non-Hinduized aborigines of the Isles" p45 in Southeast Asia, probably indigenous Negritos who were captured by slave-raiders and traded to China)

From the Eastern Jin period (4th century) onward, China imported Kunlun slaves from the Southeast Asian region. Kunlun ships transported the Kunlun slaves. p33 Kang

Kunlun slaves were often captured as slaves in Southeast Asia even before they were sold to China, and this is connected to the fact that they were used by Kunlun merchants as man power to row the ships on long-distance journeys. P40 Kang

Slaves were carried from Africa to Malaysia and to the Indonesian Islands, arriving as far away as the Polynesian Islands in the Pacific Ocean. The slave trade between Africa, China and the Middle East was the largest of its kind until the coming of the transatlantic slave trade. *Slavery as an Ancient World Institution*, Joseph E. Holloway

*Kunlun and Kunlun Slaves as Buddhists in the Eyes of the Tang Chinese* KANG HEEJUNG, The Asian Journal of Humanities, 2015, Vol. 22 Issue 1, p27-52, 26p. Publisher: Universiti Sains Malaysia

Reid, Anthony. *Slavery, bondage, and dependency in Southeast Asia*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983.

#### **Champa**

##### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 3**

Incidence of "slave" dedicated to temples see p170 Whitmore

##### **B: Legal norm of slavery**

**Not available**

##### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 5**

Slave trade: may too have been fed from the highlands, whose inhabitants ("wild tribes") sold people seized in raids, prisoners captured in wars and criminals and debtors sentenced according to customary law. P114 Hall

Cham military expeditions acquired plunder and labor—Cham ports were widely known as a major source of slaves, i.e. war captives, who were traded there to various international buyers. P259

The latter inscription noted that the king celebrated the restoration of his authority over Panduranga by rebuilding the sacred Po Nagar temple complex and assigning "slaves", Khmers, Chinese, men of Pukam (Pagan) and Thais (Syam) to the temple (Aymonier: 1891b,29). These slaves were most probably war captives who had formerly been residents of Panuraga; in the case of the Thai and Burmese, having come to be in this Cham marketplace via trade from someplace else. Since Champa's ports were widely recognized internationally for their slave

markets, it is likely that such war captives from a variety of sources would normally have been marketed in Cham coast ports and that some of these slaves were present among Panduranga's maritime community at the time of its subjugation to Kauthara. Equally likely the Kauthara monarch's victory over Panduranga allowed him to enslave the conquered population. P81-82 Hall

Thus local development was itself rooted in the political economy of plunder, as the warrior elite donated or redistributed a portion of the objects, money and "slave" labor won in successful royal expeditions. P88 Hall

#### **D: slave population 2**

Whitmore, John.K. *The Last Great King of Classical Southeast Asia: "Chế Bồng Nga" and Fourteenth-century Champa*. The Cham of Vietnam: history, society, and art / edited by Trần Kỳ Phương & Bruce M. Lockhart. Singapore: NUS Press, c2011. (Baltimore, Md. : Project MUSE, 2014)

Hall, Kenneth R. *A history of early Southeast Asia: maritime trade and societal development, 100-1500*. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, c2011.

Hall, Kenneth. *Economic History of Early Southeast Asia*. The Cambridge history of Southeast Asia / edited by Nicholas Tarling. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, c1999.

#### **Turkey (Ottoman Empire/Seljuk)**

##### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 4**

The vast majority of Ottoman slaves, male and female, were employed in domestic service. Outside of the government, few individuals were sufficiently wealthy to own a large retinue of such slaves, and most households with any slaves had no more than two or three...the Ottoman government frequently used slave labor in large state-managed construction projects. P661,662 Finkelman

##### **B: Legal norm of slavery 4**

Ottoman slavery took several forms, in all but one, it was a temporary judicial status which could and most often did change to freedom within a set period of time. P660 Finkelman

The one exception to temporary slavery were the kuls, who were taken by the government most often within the empire and included all slaves used in government service, both civil and military (state slaves). P660 Finkelman

Many members of the Ottoman government, including the highest administrators and sometimes even the grand vizier, might legally be slaves. The employment of slaves as high officials gave the sultan absolute power over these subordinates and served to guarantee their loyalty. The sultans themselves took slaves as wives or concubines; thus from the mid-15th century onward, many of the reigning sultans had been born to slave mothers. On the whole, however, slaves or freed slaves occupied the lowest rank in Ottoman society. Slave labor predominated on the estates owned by the sultan or high-ranking officials, rich private individuals, or religious foundations. P96 Sedlar

The main divide within the enslaved population in the Ottoman Empire was between elite and non-elite slaves, or rather between military-administrative slaves and their female consorts or

wives (hereafter kul/harem slaves) on one hand, and the rest of the unfree laborers, that is, domestic, agricultural, and menial bondsmen and bondswomen, on the other. P28 Toledano

#### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 4**

The Ottomans inherited a vigorous slave trade in almost all the lands they conquered. P660 Finkelman

Estimates of numbers passing through the Kaffa market (largest slave market) range from 1 million to 2.5 million during the period from 1500 to 1700. P661 Finkelman

#### **D: Slave population <5% 2**

Yet, census figures show that at no time did slaves exceed five percent of the total population. P661 Finkelman

Ehud R. Toledano, "Enslavement in the Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern Period" pp 25-46. David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman. The Cambridge world history of slavery. Volume 3, AD 1420-AD 1804. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, c2011.

Finkelman, Paul and Joseph C. Miller. Macmillan encyclopedia of world slavery. New York: Macmillan Reference USA, Simon & Schuster Macmillan; London: Simon & Schuster and Prentice Hall International, c1998.

#### **Arabia**

##### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 5 D: slave population 3**

Throughout the Islamic conquests during the Umayyad and the Abbasid dynasties, slaves arrived in great numbers at the slave markets in the growing cities of the Middle East...these societies relied a great deal on slave labor from the field to the house. In Islamic societies, many families had slaves. P117 El Hamel

##### **B: Legal norm of slavery 4**

"that their/your right hand(s) possess" is the most frequent Quranic expression for slaves...these terms and expressions all equate well with the modern internationally acknowledged definition of slavery, "the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised." P60 Amitai

"God has struck a similitude: a servant possessed by his master, having no power over anything, and one whom We have provided of Ourselves with a provision fair, and he expends of it secretly and openly. Are they equal?" (16:75[77]). So one way in which slaves differ from freemen is in that their belongings also form part of their masters' property...later scholars of Islamic law considered slaves not only as weakened and deficient, but at times as legally dead. p60-61 Amitai

But slaves who were established in a domestic setting were generally treated as members of the household. Slaves, male and female, were considered both persons and property, to be bought and sold at the master's will. P439 Finkelman

##### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 5**

Slave market was a feature of medieval Middle Eastern cities. P439 Finkelman

El Hamel, Chouki. Black Morocco: a history of slavery, race, and Islam. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Reuven Amitai and Christoph Cluse. Slavery and the slave trade in the eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000-1500 CE). Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, [2017].

## **Morocco**

### **A: Prevalence of private slavery 4 D: slave population 3**

The Almoravids were the first ruling dynasty in Morocco to use a large number of black slave in the army during the Islamic era, in the eleventh century. P121 El Hamel

### **B: Legal norm of slavery 4**

Islamic legal discourses defines the condition of slavery to denote a double nature: a slave is treated as an object and as a human at the same time. As an object a slave is subject to business regulations prescribed by the Islamic law that he or she can be bought, sold, traded, donated, bequeathed or inherited, thus treated as a commodity such as beasts of burden...slavery is almost a social death where most civil rights of the enslaved people are extinguished, giving their owners total control over their lives. P54 El Hamel

In legal discourse, the institution of slavery in Morocco seems to be not all that different from premodern and early modern notions of slavery held in the Mediterranean basin in general....the slave codes in the Siete Partidas, like the Islamic slave law, were the product of a society where slavery was mainly domestic in nature. P57 El Hamel

### **C: Presence of slave trade and slave market 5**

The hostilities on the frontiers of the Islamic lands produced captives who ended up in slavery. P118 El Hamel

Ibn Battuta returned to Morocco from Takadda in the company of a big caravan on September 11, 1353. He reported that there were 600 slave girls in the caravan of some rich Maghrebian merchants. P131 El Hamel

The main commodities that marked the Saharan trade were salt, horses, textiles gold and slaves. P118 El Hamel

Paul Finkelman, Joseph C. Miller. Macmillan encyclopedia of world slavery. New York: Macmillan Reference USA, Simon & Schuster Macmillan; London : Simon & Schuster and Prentice Hall International, c1998.

El Hamel, Chouki. Black Morocco: a history of slavery, race, and Islam. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

## **Explanation-Role of Merchants**

### *Scoring criteria.*

1: Almost all exchange is based on reciprocity or redistribution. No markets and merchants in real sense exist in the economy.

2: Most exchange is mainly based on reciprocity or redistribution. Merchants are few in number and are generally rulers' agents. Markets barely exist.

3: Most merchants are rulers' agents and work for the ruler, or rulers themselves are merchants. Markets are limited.

- 4: Merchants are generally rulers' agents but also participate in private trade. The state has strong monopoly and regulation in the economy. Markets are limited.
- 5: Private merchants participate in a strictly regulated market subject to state interference. Some merchants may be state agents. Merchants are subject to close supervision, regulation and predation from the state. The state may have monopolies in many industries. Markets exist.
- 6: Private merchants participate in a strictly regulated market subject to state interference. Merchants are subject to supervision, regulation or predation from the state. The state monopolizes certain industries. Markets exist.
- 7: Private merchants participate in a regulated market. Merchants are subject to certain regulation, monopoly or predation from the state. Markets exist.
- 8: Private merchants participate in a partly free market. Merchants are subject to certain regulation, monopoly or predation from the state. Large markets exist.
- 9: Private merchants participate in a mostly free market. Large and numerous markets exist.
- 10: Private merchants participate in a free, developed market; large and numerous markets exist.

United Kingdom 6

New Zealand 6

United States 6

Canada 6

Australia 6

Austria (Germanic tribes) 7

Germany (Germanic tribes) 7

Switzerland (Germanic tribes) 7

Netherlands (Independent cities) 10

Franks 7

Belgium (Independent cities) 10

Vikings (Denmark, Norway, Sweden) 8

Iceland (Vikings) 8

Ireland 3

Estonian tribes 10

Finn tribes 10

Greece 8

Rome 9

Spain:

Castile 7

Aragon 10

Catalonia 10

Portugal 8

Latvia 9

Lithuania 9

Croatia 9

Serbia 5  
Romania 5  
Bulgaria 6  
Albania 6  
Poland 9  
Bohemia (Czech) 8  
Hungary 6  
Russia 4

**Latin America (colonial)**

Mexico 6  
Guatemala 5  
El Salvador 6  
Honduras 6  
Costa Rica 7  
Panama 7  
Colombia 6  
Ecuador 5  
Peru 5  
Venezuela 7  
Chile 7  
Brazil 8  
Argentina 8  
Uruguay 8

**Caribbean:**

Trinidad and Tobago 8  
Dominican Republic 7  
Jamaica 8

Inca 2  
Maya 7  
Aztec 6

(Note: Aztec traders seem more like state agents compared to the Mayans)

**South Asia**

Bhutan 2  
Maurya 4 (Note: state agents + a market under strong restriction and supervision + monopoly)  
Tamil 8

Bengal 6  
Sri Lanka 3  
Nepal 5

### **East Asia**

Japan 3  
Korea 2  
China 1

### **Middle East and Near East**

Egypt 2 (Note: private trade could be conducted in external trade missions)  
Iran 4  
Mesopotamia 7  
Israel 2

Lebanon (Phoenicia) 6  
Arabia 9  
Morocco 9  
Pakistan (Ghaznavid) 8  
Assyria 6  
Seljuk/Ottoman 5

### **Southeast Asia**

Thailand 7 (Note: government tribute + private trade)  
Champa 8  
North Vietnam (China) 1  
Spanish Philippines 5  
Pre-colonial Philippines 6 (prestige goods redistribution + private trade)  
Malaysia 10 9  
Indonesia 10 9

Fiji 1

### **Africa**

Angola 5  
Burkina Faso 4  
Ethiopia 5  
Malawi 1  
Yoruba 5  
Ghana (Ashanti) 4

Senegal 8  
Sierra Leone 3  
Zambia 2  
Kenya (Kikuyu) MISSING  
Kenya (Swahili) 9  
Tanzania (Sukuma) 3  
Tanzania (Swahili) 9  
Namibia 3  
Nigeria 5  
Mozambique 3  
South Africa 8

## EXPLANATION

### Africa

#### Angola

**Kongo kingdom:** government imposed monopoly on ivory, “many taxes” on the river crossings and land routes p117 Hilton

Foreign contraband continued largely unchallenged and became the major preoccupation of the Portuguese administration for over a century. P46 Wheeler

#### **Ovimbundu:**

Each caravan had its professional leader, and was accompanied by a diviner or medicine-man. P16 McCulloch

The “trade-agreements” between the Ovimbundu kingdoms p16 McCulloch

McCulloch, Merran. *The Ovimbundu of Angola*. London, International African Institute, 1952.

Wheeler, Douglas L. *Angola*. New York, Praeger Publishers [1971]

#### Burkina Faso

Markets were under the aegis of both political and priest chiefs. It was the naba (chief) who authorized the establishment of a new market...A market chief policed the market and collected dues on the naba’s behalf. P158 Zahan

Traders, must also be included among the king’s ‘clients’. Their security along the trading routes depended on protection, and the king accordingly levied a toll on all goods in transit through his country. P159 Zahan

The Mogho Naba and his ministers collected a considerable amount of revenue from the traders who visited Ouagadougou and the larger market towns and village markets throughout the kingdom. P112 Skinner

There is some evidence (mainly from European travelers) that the traders occasionally found the caravan and market taxes prohibitive. P113 Skinner

Skinner, Elliott P. (Elliott Percival), *The Mossi of the Upper Volta; the political development of a Sudanese people*. Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1964.



Zahan, Dominique, *The Mossi Kingdoms*; Wilks, Ivor. Asante Government. West African kingdoms in the nineteenth century.

## Ethiopia

Rulers controlled trading routes and levied tolls in markets

Almost all Aksumite long-distance trade seems to have passed through the Red Sea port of Adulis, which would have rendered it susceptible to centralized control. P58 Phillipson

Internal transport must have depended on some sort of state maintenance of at least the main roads in reasonable condition for porters or pack-animals. P172 Munro-Hay

Foreign trade passed through a customs-post and probably on certain routes, or in the markets themselves, tolls were levied on the movement of trade or manufactured goods. P176 Munro-Hay

The main bulk of Ethiopian goods was exchanged on the seacoast in the markets of Adulis and Avalit. However, foreign merchants traveled into the interior of the country into the trading towns of the northern plateau. P177 Kobishchanov

It is reasonable to conjecture that Axumite kings directly participated in trade as this is reported for the Middle Ages. P178 Kobishchanov

Market centers served for the exchange and redistribution of locally-produced commodities.

Items traded over long distances in post-Aksumite times were largely restricted to metals and a few high-value commodities and artefacts. P18 Phillipson

Munro-Hay, S. C. *Aksum: an African civilization of late antiquity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, c1991.

Phillipson, D. W. *Ancient Ethiopia: Aksum, its antecedents and successors*. London: British Museum Press, 1998.

Kobishchanov, Yuri M. *Axum*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, c1979

## Malawi

The export of ivory and other tribute goods by the kings was important items of the maintenance of their central authority as the imported goods were redistributed to the king's subordinates.

Redistribution encouraged the loyalty and obedience of subordinate rulers. P117 Pachai

Pachai, Bridglal. *The Early history of Malawi*. [London] Longman [1972]

## Nigeria (Yoruba)

emperor and chiefs' agents participated in trade, taxes were collected at custom posts

The power of chiefs extended to economic activities; they made laws on prices of goods, saw the maintenance of trade routes, constitution of markets and so on. For them to be able to monitor market activities effectively, most markets were located close to the residences of the chiefs.

P164 Falola and Genova

To reinforce political and spiritual powers, the chiefs controlled economic resources. P164 Falola and Genova

Yoruba itinerant or long-distance traders (alajapa) were less formally constituted than were the pochteca. Long-distance traders came from many different classes. They included the wives and sons of kings who were seeking to acquire wealth from trade...royal traders' goods were free

from transport and sales taxes. Yet anyone was free to become a long-distance trader... P347 Trigger

Long distance traders bought and sold goods not at urban markets but through local brokers... Yoruba cities normally had several markets (oja). P348 Trigger

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Toyin Falola and Ann Genova. *Powers, Status, and Influence of Yoruba Chiefs in Historical Perspective*, Toyin Falola. Yorubá identity and power politics Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2006.

## Ghana (Ashanti)

the Ashanti government prohibited merchants to accumulate wealth by arbitrary fine and taxation (strong evidence)

Private entrepreneurs accumulated their wealth through trade. Several types of commoner abatafo, or traders, operated in nineteenth century Asante. Their abusua, or matrilineage, provided the requisite capital for their marketing sojourns. P22 Lewin

Appointed officials took charge of state trade in kola and ivory and state-owned mining in the rich gold fields at Sankore, Manso, Nkawie and Osino. Other groups conducted state trade in the northern and southern markets. P14 Lewin

In considering the operating procedures within the distributive network in Asante, a sharp distinction has to be made between the retail and wholesale trades. The retail agents were the adwadifo... worked privately, on their own accounts... wholesale operations, by contrast, were in the hands of those known as the akwantufo, that is, "those moving along the roads". The akwantufo included both private and public traders. P156 Wilks

In Ashanti, trade played an important part in maintaining the King's power; he had a monopoly of certain trades, e.g. kola, for a certain period every year. P18 Manoukian

Wilks, Ivor. *Forests of gold: essays on the Akan and the Kingdom of Asante*. Athens: Ohio University Press, c1993.

Manoukian, Madeline. *Akan and Ga-Adangme peoples of the Gold Coast*. London, New York, Published for the International African Institute by Oxford University Press, 1950.

Lewin, Thomas J. *Asante before the British: the Prempean years, 1875-1900*. Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, c1978.

## Senegal

trade was mostly done by Muslim clergies and even formed trade towns

**Trade:** the vast majority of merchants in long-distance trade were Muslim, often clerics. P65 Curtain

Juula (a Muslim Mande ethnic group) traders: (Commercial enclaves) One aspect of dichotomy was the belief that the political-military group had a right to rule, but the clerical-mercantile group had a right to autonomous jurisdiction over their own affairs. The practice of segregation and autonomy for Muslims continued, and certain clerical towns had the right to autonomous government and to give sanctuary to fugitives. P68 Curtain

Individual traders travelled the local markets buying hides, beeswax, millet and other export products, which were bulked at the seaports for sale to European ships. P98 Curtin  
Curtin, Philip D. *Economic change in precolonial Africa; Senegambia in the era of the slave trade*. University of Wisconsin Press, 1975.

## Sierra Leone

(pre-colonial) much of trade took place in Falaba and was personally controlled by the manga (king) When traders arrived in any part of the Solima state to do business, all the goods brought by them were taken to the manga's trading house which served as the market. P6 Fyle (Pre-colonial Commerce in Northeastern Sierra Leone)

Fyle, C. Magbaily. *History and socio-economic development in Sierra Leone: a reader*. Freetown: SLADEA, 1988.

Fyle, C. Magbaily, *The history of Sierra Leone: a concise introduction*. London: Evans, 1981.  
Sesay, Habib Mohamed. Political economy of colonial and postcolonial states in Sierra Leone : Underdevelopment, constituency politics and social services provision. Freetown, Republic of Sierra Leone: Dept. of Political Science, Fourah Bay College-USL, [1990?]

## Zambia

Bemba: the power of Bemba chiefs, as of other leaders, derived to a large extent from their command of material wealth and their ability to circulate it among their subjects. P182 Roberts  
It must be remembered that "tribute" was not always a one way process; in the Bemba context, the payment of mutolo commonly involved an exchange of goods and / or services between a political superior and inferior, the type and quantity of goods depending on their respective needs and resources, and their relative status and power. P182 Roberts

For the Bemba especially, all economic transactions, including those with professional traders from the east coast, tended to be subordinated to political considerations, and Bemba chiefs sought to monopolize dealings with long-distance traders. In this sense, to be sure, the Bemba were never "traders" in the sense in which the Bisa or the Byamwezi were. P183 Roberts  
Among the Bemba, iron and salt were circulated partly in the form of tribute payments and the gifts which might be made in return. P187 Roberts

kings and chiefs had some control of trade, some chiefs monopolized ivory trade

Lozi kingdom:

- (a) Between kinsmen and friends (b) by barter with strangers (c) by tribute paid to the king and other political authorities p20 Turner

Turner, Victor Witter. *The Lozi peoples of north-western Rhodesia*. London, International African Institute, 1952 [i.e.1953]

Roberts, Andrew, *A history of the Bemba: political growth and change in north-eastern Zambia before 1900*. [Harlow]: Longman, 1973.

## Kenya (Swahili)

Some markets are held daily or depend on seasons, others on certain days in the week...Organizations of trade range from the household as a consumer unit and the single man

selling produce and the sailor or small-time duka owner, engaged in petty trade, to the merchant houses with agents (wakili) in various places and owned by merchants or even merchant princes of whom Tippu Tib is the historic example. P66 Prins

As trade expanded, an increasingly wealthy class of merchants grew up who, by restricting access to wealth, were able to monopolize political power. Though we lack the detailed evidence to know precisely how individual traders gained wealth and power or how specific towns were able to develop, expanding trade at different times and in various towns along the coast was generally followed by the development of more stratified societies and more hierarchical political structures. In some cases the ruling class took the form of oligarchies of wealthy waungwana, in others of small aristocracies of royalty. P85 Nurse

Nurse, Derek. *The Swahili: reconstructing the history and language of an African society, 800-1500*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, c1985.

Prins, A. H. J. (Adriaan Hendrik Johan). *The Swahili-speaking peoples of Zanzibar and the East African Coast: Arabs, Shirazi and Swahili*, London, International African Institute, 1967.

The simplest forms occur in the markets and shops, the most complex in wholesale business, involving channels of redistribution, imports and export. P64 Prins

Organizations of trade range from the household as a consumer unit and the single man selling produce and the sailor or small-time duka owner, engaged in petty trade, to the merchant houses with agents in various places and owned by merchants or even merchant princes of whom Tippu Tib is the historical example. P66 Prins

The process of privatization of external commercialization—in which market exchanges move into the private homes of town merchants—coupled with evidence of market exchanges in the local region provides a unique example of how a market system can thrive through highly “embedded transactions” (Granovetter 1985; Garraty, Chapter 1). P141 Fleisher

Towns with kings were much more autocratic; a hereditary king or sultan controlled the political realm. Although some contentious relationships existed between merchants and sultans in these towns (Fleisher 2004), the sultan was often an active participant in merchant activities. We know from local chronicles that the sultan was not the sole merchant, however, and others in the town were active in long-distance exchanges... Gold and other products not housed and traded at Kilwa were taxed (or, at the least, taxation was attempted by the sultan of Kilwa). In the dozens of other small towns, however, there was probably little distinction between town leaders—the “kings”—and merchants. In these more modest “towns with kings,” leading families likely controlled both politics and long-distance exchanges. P145 Fleisher

In both of these political organizations there appear to have been few divisions between merchants and political leaders; in most towns they were one and the same. Emerging political leaders were most likely those who achieved success in long-distance exchanges. P145 Fleisher After the eleventh or twelfth century, market exchanges appear to have become increasingly private, moving into the restricted central parts of towns and to the houses of local merchants and elites. P151 Fleisher

Prins, A. H. J. (Adriaan Hendrik Johan). *The Swahili-speaking peoples of Zanzibar and the East African Coast: Arabs, Shirazi and Swahili*, London, International African Institute, 1967.

Garraty, P. & Stark, L.. Archaeological Approaches to Market Exchange in Ancient Societies. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010. Project MUSE, "Housing the Market: Swahili Merchants and Regional Marketing on the East African Coast, Seventh to Sixteenth Centuries AD" by Jeffrey B. Fleisher.

### Kenya(Kikuyu)

Markets are held in any one space chosen in accordance with the convenience of a scattered population, and in more populous districts are frequently not more than seven miles apart. P19 Middleton

John Middleton and Greet Kershaw. The central tribes of the north-eastern Bantu; the Kikuyu, including Emlu, Meru, Mbere, Chuka, Mwimbi, Thanaka, and the Kamba of Kenya,. London, International African Institute, 1965.

### Tanzania (Swahili)

Same as Kenya (Swahili)

### Tanzania (Sukuma)

Chiefs and other political authorities were sometimes involved in the organization of trading expeditions. P38 Abrahams

Abrahams, R. G. The peoples of Greater Unyamwezi, Tanzania (Nyamwezi, Sukuma, Sumbwa, Kimbu, Konongo). London, International African Institute, 1967.

### Mozambique

Trade: in the old dyas the Makua were keen traders, and many did long journeys to the coast, armed with guns and spears, carrying loads of ground nuts, sesamum seeds, castor-oil seeds, and maize to trade with the coast Indians who had not at that time penetrated into the interior. In exchange they took salt, copper wire, gunpowder, and cheap cotton goods. P25 Tew

Tew, M. 1950. Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region. (Ethnographic survey of Africa, East Central Africa, 1.) London: London: Oxford Univ. Press; International African Inst. (IAI).

External trade was monopolized by Portuguese captains and royal factors (use the Portuguese since no important state existed before colonization); local traders were usually chiefs, or their relatives' retinue

"The captaincy of Sofala had been created in 1505 to administer a royal monopoly in gold. Later ivory trading also became a royal monopoly." P110 Newitt

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the external trade of eastern Africa was largely controlled by three individuals (monopolized by captains, royal factors). The ivory trade was to lead to an unprecedented growth of commercial activity along the coast. p177 Newitt

Newitt, M. D. D. *A history of Mozambique*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, c1995.

### Namibia

(pre-colonial) the monarchs retained a tight hold over long-distance trade, mostly of slaves; the European settlers and missionaries were private traders

See: Gustafsson, Kalle. *The Trade in Slaves in Ovamboland, ca.1850-1910*. African Economic History, No. 33 (2005), pp. 31-68. African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin-Madison  
Wallace, Marion. *A history of Namibia: from the beginning to 1990*. New York: Columbia University Press, c2011.

## South Africa

The VOC had an ineffective control on external trade; internal trade was mostly done by independent tradesmen.

Cape Town was the main, virtually the only, market in the colony. Farmers brought their agricultural produce there by ox-wagon. They could purchase cloth, agricultural implements, domestic utensils, coffee, tea, sugar and slaves from Cape Town's merchants. P25 Ross  
Ross, Robert. *A Concise History of South Africa*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

## Europe

### United Kingdom

We are not well informed about the nature of the trade carried on at these centers. The merchants at the wics were almost certainly involved in importing the rich and exotic luxury objects upon the possession and distribution of which royal and elite status depended. There is ample archaeological evidence that such objects were brought into England in the seventh century. In return, they seem to have exported animals, or animal products such as hides: the large quantity of animal bones found at Hamwih suggest the slaughter of herds acquired through the collection of tribute or as booty.<sup>169</sup> Despite the prohibition (in Wessex at least) of the sale of a member of one's people overseas, slaves, acquired as war captives or through voluntary or penal action, were almost certainly another valuable export. The story of Imma shows that London was the basis of an international trade in such captives. P493 Fouracre

All this suggests that the motive force of trade in seventh-century England lay in the exaction of tribute and the exercise of power rather than the operation of a free market. P493 Fouracre  
Fouracre, Paul, editor. *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 1, Cambridge University Press, 2005.

These ports, now commonly called wics (or emporia), were markets and centres for international exchange on the frontiers of kingdoms (Fig. 1). Written sources, some later, indicate that wics were located at places under the influence or control of kings and other rulers. P313 Middleton  
Middleton, Neil. "Early Medieval Port Customs, Tolls, and Controls on Foreign Trade." *Early Medieval Europe* 13.4 (2005): 313–358.

Though these excavations have clearly established the existence of long-distance trade in Anglo-Saxon England, it is still unclear who controlled this trade. Several excavations around Anglo-Saxon emporia have revealed interesting data. The cemeteries near these centers have shown male dominated burials, with many rich foreign goods. The excavation at the cemetery near Sarre is a prime example; upon excavation, archaeologists found many rich burials comprising

predominately males accompanied with fine jewelry, imported pottery as well as Byzantine and Merovingian tremisses. Though not conclusive evidence of foreign merchant controlled trade, the high prevalence of rich male burials with coins and other foreign trade goods does suggest a foreign occupation consistent with a merchant hypothesis. This type of burial ground is not limited to Sarre; those at the cemetery near Hamwic revealed many male burials with rich Merovingian grave goods. Furthermore, analysis of the skeletons at Buttermarket in Ipswich even showed signs that some of those buried were foreign residents.<sup>22</sup> This information gives increasing support to Hodges' economic model which argues that emporia acted as "gateway communities" where traders from the Carolingian world who wanted to trade manufactured goods for raw materials or commodities from the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian world could do so. P3 Adams

Again using London as a basis for other emporia, here the text references an administrative official called the reeve. From this text, certain characteristics of the reeve are important. First, he is in charge of the king's estate in London suggesting that rulers had an active place in emporia even though these settlements did not contain palaces, courthouses or other hierarchical buildings. Second, the king and his representative are responsible for the purchase and sale of land items even within emporia. As an early text in the development of emporia, this document shows that the king had a remarkable amount of involvement in Londonwic's affairs. Other scholars have used this same passage to indicate a strong involvement of the kingship across Anglo-Saxon England in the affairs of emporia. This view is perhaps too strong; while such documents undoubtedly speak for a strong involvement of the king in Kentish emporia, other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms may have had different institutions for dealing with emporia. Instead, it is far more likely that such administrative officials would have exercised varying degrees of power as correspondents between emporia and the local leaders. P3 Adams

Adams, Claire. *Economic Collapse? A Historical and Archaeological Perspective on the Anglo-Saxon Emporium*. Primary Source, vol. 2 (2012): 1-8.

### Germanic tribes (Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Netherlands) 6

The produce of rural districts was not all consumed on the spot in self-sufficing households. In part at least it was brought to market and carried into the towns, to be sold there. P192 Postan  
There is, then, by 650 some indications that the trading systems stemming from the Rhineland and the Paris basin had begun to regularize exchange which, intermittently, had been in existence since about c. 500, during the reign of Theodoric. To what extent the trade was dependent on trade partners between the Neustrian kings and Kentish king is not clear, but the founding of trading stations, at which traders might pause seasonally, indicates the gradual growth and emerging complexity of the networks. P37 Hodges

(Wics existed in Francia, low countries and Austrasia) Written sources, some later, indicate that wics were located at places under the influence or control of kings and other rulers. Wics were actively involved in international trade and clearly on a scale implying much more than the provision of small luxuries for elites. P213 Middleton

the emporium mushroomed out of the marshy countryside along one of the arms into which the Rhine divides as it approaches the sea. Growth began in the seventh century. P653 McCormick

Towards the year 600, in fact, trading in the Northern Seas began to take on a better-defined structure. Written sources, which had been almost silent on the subject since the migratory period, started to make mention again of independent, professional merchants. P645 Fouracre

Fouracre, Paul, editor. *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 1, Cambridge University Press, 2005.

McCormick, Michael. *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce A.D. 300–900*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Middleton, Neil. Early medieval port customs, tolls and controls on foreign trade. *Early Medieval Europe* 2005 13 (4), p313–358.

Postan, M. M. *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire*. Volume 1, *Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966.

Hodges, Richard. *Dark age economics: the origins of towns and trade A.D. 600-1000*. New York: St. Martin's Press, c1982

## Franks

We are told of the Syrian and Jewish merchants visiting Gaul at the dawn of the Merovingian age. P168 Miller

But from the seventh century onwards evidence of merchants wholly indigenous becomes more frequent and more certain. In the seventh century King Dagobert founded the fair of St Denis which Franks, Frisians and Saxons frequented. In the same century we hear of Frankish merchants travelling into the lands of the Slavs and Avars. P168 Miller

There was thus a great deal of non-professionalized commerce: rather more in the early Middle Ages than later. P170 Miller

In medieval France, after the Frankish conquest, the few references to merchants cite primarily foreigners...there are few details regarding an indigenous merchant community. P1156 Kilber  
Miller, Edward, Cynthia Postan, M. M. Postan. *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire*. Volume 2, *Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Kibler, William W. *Medieval France: an encyclopedia*. New York: Garland Pub., 1995.

The first clue comes from the telonea (“toll”) the taxes the Frankish king collected wherever trade was conducted or goods transported for commercial purposes. P640 McCormick

Near Rouen, Willibald had visited a market early in the eighth century. P647 McCormick

Just outside Paris, the annual fair went back at least as far as the seventh century; the tolls collected from this fair flowed into the coffers of the monastery of St. Denis on whose feast the gathering occurred. P648 McCormick

McCormick, Michael. *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce A.D. 300–900*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Netherlands (independent cities) 9 Belgium (Independent cities) 10



14<sup>th</sup> century: Many cities were dominated by high-volume foreign traders. These traders were vulnerable to feudal rivalries, economic politics and the particular vicissitudes of their own business. Many of them, therefore, formed trade associations, and their cities also formed hanses. Originally private associations, they eventually came under the guardianship of the city councils. P40 Blom

Market exchange of goods and products started increasing in the Low Countries in the 7<sup>th</sup> century and particularly in the 8<sup>th</sup>. P218 Bavel

(In the High and Late Middle Ages) the emerging urban settlements, which sometimes grew up near monasteries but more often near castles, became the main centers of trade, and traders increasingly organized themselves through guilds, voluntary associations of merchants of a particular town. P218 Bavel

Bavel, B. J. P. van. *Manors and markets: economy and society in the low countries, 500-1600* / Bas van Bavel.

Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

J.C.H. Blom, E. Lamberts. *History of the Low Countries*. New York : Berghahn Books, c1999

### Viking (Denmark, Norway, Sweden)

The early Scandinavian kingdoms found their focal points around the protection of trade and traders. P48 Forte, Oram and Pedersen

The goods obtained from outside Scandinavia were mostly luxury items. All metals apart from iron were probably imported. P115 Roesdahl

Trade flourished and the market grew with the Vikings' expansion in the North Atlantic, Western Europe, the British Isles and the Baltic-Russian areas, and with the establishment of colonies and trading stations there. P117 Roesdahl

There must have been merchants in large trading centers for whom trade was their sole occupation, but many Scandinavian traders had agriculture, hunting or fishing as their main occupation. Others were chieftains or large landowners who came by so many valuable goods that they could venture out in their own ship with their own cargo. P119 Roesdahl

Towns were normally established in protected natural harbors on the coast or were connected with the sea by fjords; as trade expanded some inland towns developed at the end of the period. The most important towns were links in trading networks which connected local and non-local trade. P119 Roesdahl

Chieftains got involved in trade in several ways, by engaging in trade themselves, by having their agents engage in trade, or by establishing and controlling trade towns, creating networks of trade in the north. P86 Winroth

In Scandinavia 8th and 9th century, Trade towns were governed by chieftains or representatives of a king p100 Svendsen

**Merchant:** We also know that at least some of these merchants undertook their business as the representatives of the great and powerful. We know that at least some merchants made their way to court on a regular basis, as well as to the great assemblies.

Svendsen, Gunnar Lind Haase. *How did trade norms evolve in Scandinavia? Long-distance trade and social trust in the Viking age*, Openness, institutions, and long-run socio-economic development, *Economic Systems* June 2016 40(2):198-205.

Winroth, Anders. *The conversion of Scandinavia: Vikings, merchants, and missionaries in the remaking of Northern Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press, c2012.

Roesdahl, Else. *The Vikings*. Allen Lane, 1991, C1987.

Angelo Forte, Richard Oram and Frederik Pederson. *Viking empires*. Cambridge, U.K; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2005.

## Iceland

rest on a concept of reciprocity

No group of professional merchants developed in Iceland because those who had the wherewithal to exchange for foreign goods, wealthy landowners and chieftains, could not abandon the management of their estates, lest they lose their tenuous claim to their land. P39 Durrenberger

Internal trade: redistributive, no market exchange in Iceland. Initially there were probably large household units, with its own internal redistributive system. P37 Durrenberger

Large landowners with plentiful labor could amass stores of woolens, take them abroad, and bring back imported goods, but the only use for such goods was in social-political maneuvering, not as capital. P39 Durrenberger

External trade: the acquisition of foreign goods may be urgent, but with no sovereign power there must be some way to secure peace by extending sociable relations to foreigners. Thus, trading partners usually establish friendship or quasi-kinship relationships. P70 Durrenberger  
If dissatisfied with a chieftain in a particular region, the (foreign) merchant could try to find a more compliant chieftain in that area or he could sail to another place on the coast. p88 Byock  
Since the government of Iceland lacked a central executive power, the trade of the country was subject to only limited and intermittent administrative control. P317 Jóhannesson

Jón Jóhannesson. *A history of the old Icelandic commonwealth - Islendinga saga*. [Winnipeg?] : University of Manitoba Press, c1974.

Byock, Jesse L. *Medieval Iceland: society, sagas, and power*, Berkeley: University of California Press, c1988.

Durrenberger, E. Paul. *The dynamics of medieval Iceland: political economy & literature*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, c1992.

## Estonian tribes

In the thirteenth century, the Baltic became a well-worn pathway for pilgrims and merchants. p3 Raun

The emerging cities were, in theory, subordinate to the sovereigns as well, but they soon developed into virtually autonomous seats of power. In each of the urban centers a city council emerged in which power was held exclusively by the richest German merchants. P18 Raun

All the major urban centers were members of the Hanseatic League, and Estonia continued to play an important transit role in east-west trade even after the decline of the Hansa at the end of the fifteenth century. P23 Raun

Raun, Toivo. *Estonia and the Estonians*. U. Stanford, Calif: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1991.

### Finn tribes

Armed trading associations were formed in Finland, too, to procure furs and collect tribute from the Lapps. They could, in a way, be compared to the Varangian traders. P20 Jutikkala

Jutikkala, Eino, *A history of Finland*, Espoo, Finland : Weilin + Göös, 1984.

### Ireland

(merchants could play a role in external trade, but internal trade is mostly based on reciprocity and redistribution)

The Lebor na Cert (Dillon 1962) gives examples of goods being moved around Ireland, but this is in the context of reciprocal tribute exchange. These lists are dominated by livestock, but they also include drinking horns, hounds, clothing, weapons, jewellery, slaves and ‘fithchell’ (lit. ‘wood-intelligence’ – a gaming board, usually translated as ‘chess’). These items tend to be high-status, and presumably of limited availability. P59 Kerr

It is possible that the Irish emporia were established and maintained by merchant-venturers, perhaps acting in co-operation with local elites or the church (O’Sullivan & Breen 2007, 119). In this interpretation, the local magnates would have profited from trade tariffs and gifts/bribes of exotic imports, but would not have dictated the nature of trade, and could not have enforced its continuation. P48 Kerr

Kerr, Thomas; McCormick, Finbar and O’Sullivan, Aidan. *The Economy of early medieval Ireland*. Irish National Strategic Archaeological Research Programme, 2013.

### Latvia

By the end of the Middle Ages, there were 15 towns in Livonia. The Livonian towns were organized in a corporate structure based on guilds of merchants and craftsmen... towns and cities were ruled by an oligarchic town council, whose members were co-opted for lifetime tenure from an exclusive group of the city’s wealthy, established merchant families. P36 Kasekamp

Kasekamp, Andres, *A history of the Baltic states*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

### Lithuania

Trade constituted the basis of the existence of the wealthier and more active townsmen. P180 Kiaupa

(Small towns) differed from villages in that they had a market (it usually functioned on a certain weekday), a cluster of inns, a relative abundance of traders and merchants within the population. P178 Kiaupa

city merchants would not only be intermediaries between a village and the nearest city, but also joined in distant trade. p178 Kiaupa

in this period, the foundations for trade activity formed: the foundation of individualism (private ownership, personal initiative and action with its accompanying risk) as well as the foundations for collective and corporate action (the common privileges and allowances given to a concrete city, collective appeals to the sovereign, the rights of guests, which regulated trade by foreign merchants in the city and the like). P180 Kiaupa

Kiaupa, Zigmantas. *The history of Lithuania before 1795*. Vilnius: Lithuanian Institute of History, 2000.

## Rome

The Romans, like the Greeks, had partnership, *societas*, the grouping of persons for a gainful purpose. First, partnerships for maritime commerce. Some were involved in the ownership or renting and the exploitation of ships. P635 Nicolet

Economy and society, 133–43 b.c. pp 599-643. By C. Nicolet, Sorbonne (Paris I) *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Volume 9, *The Last Age of the Roman Republic, 146–43 BC* / edited by J. A. Crook, Andrew Lintott, Elizabeth Rawson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Merchants and traders were generally men of modest substance compared to the landed aristocracy. There were few large firms; business was organized on the basis of the household. Because markets were difficult to predict and often fragmented, the commercial environment favored the division of capital in relatively small lots. Even when wealthy aristocrats chose to invest part of their fortune in trade, they normally did this mostly by setting up individual freedmen or slaves in business. The latter operated on the basis of a separate fund, the *peculium*. This gave the manager a personal share in the outcome and thus provided a solution to the problem of agency in a field in which close surveillance was often difficult to achieve.

Diversification of activity to spread risk was a ubiquitous feature of Roman trade. Cargoes were normally mixed, and most ships carried the goods of several merchants, following the principle of not putting all your eggs in one basket. Diversification of risk, decentralized organization, and fragmentation of markets: these are the features of the Roman trading world. The system can appropriately be described, using a terminology favored by economists and anthropologists, as a bazaar economy.

“Trade and Commerce, Roman”, *The Oxford encyclopedia of ancient Greece and Rome* / Michael Gagarin, editor in chief; Elaine Fantham, associate editor in chief. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Also see Temin’s argument that Rome’s economy is primarily a market economy.

Temin, Peter. *The Roman market economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, c2013.

## Greece

Colaeus and Sostratus are representative of the type of trader who established long-range trading by sea throughout the Mediterranean. They were men of sufficient wealth to have their own ships, venturesome and skillful enough to sail over the long routes and knowledgeable about their markets and sources of commodities; in short, professionals, who apparently were owner, captain and trader combined. By Sostratus' time, however, Greek trade seems to have been entering a more sophisticated stage, in which investors financed such voyages by loans. P457 Roebuck

In classical Greece, many goods circulated through reciprocity, the mutual exchange between social equals. Friendship reduced transaction costs: the dangers of deceit, excessive pricing, or violence were minimized. Athens, as head of an empire, fostered redistribution, or rather “mobilization,” as Neil Smelser called it, subdividing Karl Polanyi’s redistribution into mobilization and redistribution proper... At the same time, Athens also stimulated market exchange by developing monetary institutions. This market, however, does not so much correspond to the notional construct of economists who use it to mark out the domain within which a theoretically balanced price is established. Business in the marketplace of ancient poleis did not stop to be guided by values and norms which could result in rather unequal pricing according to social proximity or distance. Market exchange remained one “pattern of integration” or “mode of transaction” among several employed by Greeks to distribute goods. P370 Scheidel Although all poleis had marketplaces in their midst, their workings in the classical period are best known from the Athenian agora... State pay presupposed and encouraged a cash-based market... Commodity prices fluctuated. Variations in grain price were, not surprisingly, a topic of discussion in the agora. P372 Scheidel

Trade pp 446-460. By C. Roebuck, *The Cambridge Ancient History. Volume 4, Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean, c.525 to 479 BC* / edited by John Boardman, N. G. L. Hammond, D. M. Lewis, M. Ostwald. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.  
Scheidel, Walter, et al., editors. *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*. Cambridge University Press, 2007.

## Portugal

Among the institutions that promoted a higher level of monetized economy was the fair, which differed from the small, local markets. The latter were usually held on a daily or weekly basis to cater the needs for food and perishable goods of a given community, while the fairs regarded transactions of durable goods, such as textiles or agricultural implements. P34 Freire Costa

The decisive step in the history of internal traffic was the introduction of the market principle during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For the ideal of self sufficiency, expressed by a systematic storage of most of the production and by the nonexistence of a regular buy and sell system, the new market principle was gradually substituted. After the twelfth century the market gradually became the usual form of dominial organization and that one of the features of this activity consisted now in producing for a local market. P94 Marques

Freire Costa, Leonor, et al. “The Medieval Economy, 1143–1500.” *An Economic History of Portugal, 1143–2010*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2016, pp. 14–51  
Marques, António Henrique R. de Oliveira. *History of Portugal*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1972-76.

## Spain

### Castile

In both Muslim and Christian Spain town markets were carefully regulated and supervised by the *dl-muhtasib* or *dlmotacén* appointed by the government. P298 O'Callaghan

The carrying trade was largely in the hands of the Muslims, the Genoese, and Pisans, and to a lesser extent, the Hispanic Christians. P297 O'Callaghan

In most cities, economic activity was centered in one or more public markets. P298 O'Callaghan  
Besides the villagers from nearby places, these markets attracted itinerant vendors, mostly Jews and Moslems. P134 Vives

Vives, Vicens. *Economic History of Spain*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015. Project MUSE,

## Catalonia

in Catalunya, power came to rest in the hands of the merchant class. P109 Shneidman

Also see “Catalan trade” in Vives, Vicens. *Economic History of Spain*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015. Project MUSE.

## Aragon

The clergy were permitted to engage in trade; merchants were granted immunity from local taxes; traders from one part of the empire were permitted to travel freely to other parts; new markets and warehouses were built at royal expense. The monarch's power to protect and foster commerce also meant, unfortunately, that he could control it whenever he thought necessary. P379 Shneidman

Shneidman, J. Lee. *The rise of the Aragonese-Catalan Empire, 1200-1350*, New York University Press in 1970.

O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *A history of medieval Spain*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, [1983]

Phillips, William D. *A concise history of Spain*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

## East and Central Europe:

### Czech (Bohemia)

Market trade and chartered autonomous towns

That Prague was one of the biggest marketplaces of eastern and central Europe during the period of the tenth and eleventh centuries is well known. It was an important center of the slave trade.

P304 Berend

Berend, Nora. *Central Europe in the high Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland c.900--c.1300*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

See p91-101 Pánek, Jaroslav. *A history of the Czech lands*. Prague: Charles University: Karolinum Press, 2009.

### Hungary

Horse and ox are not allowed to sell. Trade in salt and livestock remained under strict royal or ecclesiastic control and thus did not directly stimulate urban development. P124 Kontler

Merchants entirely devoted to business for the purpose of growing rich shall pay double the old customs levy. P28 Bak

If someone sells something in the market from his own domestic goods, he shall pay the customs levy. P28 Bak

Kontler, László. *A history of Hungary: millennium in Central Europe*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

*The Laws of the medieval kingdom of Hungary*, translated and edited by János M. Bak ... [et al.] ; with a critical essay on previous editions by Andor Csizmadia. Bakersfield, Calif. : C. Schlacks, c1989.

## Slovakia

Use Hungary

## Poland

Traders in Piast Poland were mostly commercial companies and merchant union/association  
There were the local markets in most towns where the products of the immediate region were bought and sold. Secondly, there were the larger urban centers which also dealt in commodities which had emanated from the more distant parts of Europe. P88 Carter

Trade exchange was mainly centered on stalls put up in the market place, and held on weekly or bi-weekly basis. P88 Carter

The organization of trade had two separate forms, namely the merchant companies (either single or in groups), and the merchant unions or associations. More common in the city was the specialist merchant who only traded in one commodity, and had connections in one area. P89 Carter

(See Carter, Francis W. *Trade and urban development in Poland: an economic geography of Cracow, from its origins to 1795*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.)

## Muscovy Russia

Governmental policy undoubtedly interfered with the free play of the market and placed greater burdens on Russian merchants than their Western European rivals had to bear. At the same time, the merchants tenaciously defended their own interests and when seriously threatened by unfair foreign competition, convinced the tsar to adjust his policies in their favor. In short, the government had great influence on the economy, but it was not all-powerful, nor were Russian merchants as supine as has sometimes been supposed. P21 Crummey

Moreover, particularly from the time of Ivan III (1462–1505) the tsars pursued a regular policy of relocating wealthy merchants and craftspeople from peripheral towns to Moscow and other places. Such crude actions seem to have been motivated more by political than by economic considerations and they may well have been to the detriment of commerce. P309 Shaw

The financial significance of the towns to the state was, of course, one of the reasons why the latter attempted to eradicate the privately-owned suburbs and towns from the fifteenth century onwards. P309 Shaw

Provincial officials who often preyed rapaciously upon Russian merchants. p136 Crummey

The tsar's role as the greatest merchant in Muscovy was also a cause of concern for the townsmen, for state monopolies on profitable trade items sharply reduced the opportunities for Russia's townsmen and merchants. P38 Hamm

Hamm, Michael F. *The City in Russian history* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, c1976.  
Baron, Samuel H. *Muscovite Russia: collected essays*: Shaw, Denis, *Towns and commerce*

Crummey, Robert O. *The formation of Muscovy, 1304-1613*. London; New York : Longman, 1987.

## **Balkans**

### **Albania**

A local merchant class developed, dominated by Slavs. P790 Ducellier  
Venetian and Dalmatian merchants conducted a very large part of the long distance trade in medieval East Central Europe. Especially active in Bosnia and Serbia, they extended their activities also into Hungary, Bulgaria, and Albania. By paying tribute to local rulers, Dubrovnik was able to establish colonies with extraterritorial privileges in the interior of the Balkan Peninsula, where its citizens were entitled freely to reside and trade. p349 Sedlar

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

### **Slovenia**

During most of the Middle Ages, Slovenia was part of the Austrian Empire and like other towns in the Austrian Empire, Slovenian towns and marketplaces were granted rights by the rulers to hold annual fairs. P163 Reuvid  
Reuvid, Jonathan. *Doing Business with Slovenia*. GMB Publishing Ltd. London, 2004.

### **Bulgaria**

(Internal) Trade was seriously hampered by the feudal divisions of the country and the existence of large autonomous estates belonging to boyars and monasteries. To take their goods to market and sell them there, the producers or merchants had to pay a great variety of taxes and tolls at bridges, crossroads, and mountain passes, etc. p78 Kossov

The feudal lords were able to acquire considerable surpluses of foods and raw materials, which they exported through merchants. P78 Kossov  
...the cities for a limited urban market, the economic life of the countryside went on with scarcely any change-autarkic, without money, and largely without a market. It is this relative absence of internal trade which explains the dependent situation in which many of the craftsmen found themselves. P112 Browning

Browning, Robert, *Byzantium and Bulgaria: a comparative study across the early medieval frontier*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

### **Croatia**

Almost the entire trade on the Balkan Peninsula was for centuries in the hands of the merchants from Dubrovnik. P175 Eterovich

The activities of the Ragusan merchant fleet was supported by a well-developed financial system and promoted by a range of public institutions and interventions. Although some ships were owned by a single man, it was more usual for ownership, profit and risk to be spread. P165 Harris

Barter remained widespread as late as the 14th century, even in an active trading port like Dubrovnik. Within the town itself, horses, mules, and slaves were exchanged for cloth, while



merchants from Dubrovnik traveled into the hinterland to buy small animals or cheese from the mountain herdsmen in exchange for salt. P343 Sedlar

Eterovich, Francis H. *Croatia: land, people, culture*. [Toronto] Published for the Editorial Board by University of Toronto Press.

Harris, Robin, Dubrovnik: a history. London: Saqi, 2003.

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

## Romania

In the Balkan towns, which were generally of the Byzantine type except on the Adriatic coast, merchants and artisans were significantly less independent than in the West. The monarch supervised and regulated all commercial activity, while large artisan shops were state property. P125 Sedlar

In Moldavia (just as in Muscovy) the sovereign himself was the richest merchant in the country, monopolizing the trade in wax, honey, expensive furs, gold, silver, and thoroughbred horses. P125 Sedlar

From the 13th century onward, the larger towns of Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland on the whole followed the Western model, receiving royal charters that spelled out their rights. On the other hand, the Eastern, or Byzantine type of town never acquired a similarly privileged status. It was subject to direct control by officials of a central government, who intervened on a regular basis in commercial and artisan life. P109 Sedlar

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

## Serbia

In Bulgaria and Serbia-Byzantine successor-states in this respect, as in others-the monarch ruled the towns directly. The same was true of the Romanian principalities. P136 Sedlar

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

## Latin America

### Aztec

#### Pochteca

An isolated caste was formed by merchants (pochteca). They lived in a separate part of the town, married only among themselves and only their children could become pochteca. Merchants had the right to free movement, and therefore governments used them as spies and messengers.

Highly qualified craftsmen and transport workers (tlamama – ‘men of burden’) also formed their specific professional corporations or castes. P144 Kulmar

Pochteca did business abroad for kings and nobles on a commission basis but also exchanged wares with local market traders over a large area. P345 Trigger

Cities in the Valley of Mexico had large central markets (tianquitzli). Those in the main urban centers met daily, with a larger assembly occurring every five days. P346 Trigger

Almost every Aztec settlement, from the imperial capital to the smallest villages, had a marketplace that came alive weekly on market day. P109 Smith  
Unlike the Inca Empire and in some other early civilizations, where the central government maintained heavy control over the economy in general, Aztec markets and trade were largely independent of the state. P109 Smith

Far less information exists about the regional merchants, called *tlanecuilo*, who were not part of *pochteca* guilds. We do know that these middlemen were common participants in Aztec markets. P116 Smith

In short, the earliest historical documents from Central Mexico describe a macro-regional exchange system almost immediately recognizable to the Europeans. Central to this political economy was the institution of the market in which people produced, bought, and sold products. In this system, prices were created by supply and demand. Even labor was sold for convertible commodities. P188 Garraty

Garraty, Christopher P. and Barbara L. Stark. *Archaeological Approaches to Market Exchange in Ancient Societies*. Boulder, Colo.: University Press of Colorado, c2010. (Baltimore, Md.: Project MUSE, 2015)

Smith, Michael Ernest, *The Aztecs*. Chichester, West Sussex; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Kulmar, Tarmo. *About the Comparison of the State Authority and Social Organization by Incas and Aztecs*. *Folklore* (14060957). Jun2010, Vol. 45, p137-150.

## Maya

Ancient Maya trade was in the hands of a variety of individuals: part-time peddlers and full-time merchants. By the Spanish conquest the majority of the merchants were members of a nonelite “middle class” and these individuals seem to have handled the bulk of trade within the Maya area. It included professional peddlers and itinerant traders who bought and sold a variety of goods in markets or in interactions with individual producers and consumers. P662 Sharer and Traxler  
It is likely that ancient Maya families obtained at least some of their food and a variety of products from markets like those described by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century. P106 Sharer

It is very likely that Maya rulers sponsored regional markets held in polity capitals. P634 Sharer  
The Maya rulers and nobles of historical times controlled interstate trade (Coe 1993:170)...Archaeologists have failed to identify market-places in Classic Maya urban centers. P349 Trigger

For those who view Maya social structure as somewhat similar to “big man” societies in the South Pacific (see, for example, Clark and Blake 1994 [for the Preclassic period]; Rathje 2002; Webster 1998 [for the Classic period]), the economy was not very sophisticated, being largely driven by feasting and by the gifting of prestige items. But, for those who argue that the Maya had urban settlements with large population numbers integrated into single societies, a more

complex system with multiple forms of economic exchange (McAnany 2010; Scarborough and Valdez 2009) and a market-based economic system is posited (A. Chase 1998; A. Chase and D. Chase 2004; Dahlin et al. 2007; Masson and Freidel 2002). P239 Chase

. The archaeological data suggest that, although the term has fallen from favor, the “penny capitalism” described by Sol Tax (1953) for the Guatemalan highlands, in which various households produced an array of small products for sale or barter within a market system, appears to have firm roots within the Classic period cities of the southern Maya lowlands. As Feinman and Nicholas (2010) have pointed out for Oaxaca, such commercial household-based activities serviced significant regional market economies—like the one found at Caracol. P247 Chase

Second, the economic (type) and political (size) cycles do not closely correspond. This is what Christopher Garraty (Chapter 1) means in stating that political and market systems are at best “co-evolutionary.” The lack of close correspondence between these two cycles implies that in the Maya region dramatic political change was not always causally linked with significant change in the nature of exchange. This distinction appears to be true even during periods when polyadic or administered market exchange was the norm, that is, when political concerns determined the value of obsidian. Even the Classic “collapse” did not cause Maya economies to revert to simpler forms than the administered market. P137

Sharer, Robert J. *Daily life in Maya civilization*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2009.

Sharer, Robert J and Traxler, Loa P. *The ancient Maya*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2006.

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Chase, Diane Z., and Arlen F. Chase. “ANCIENT MAYA MARKETS AND THE ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF CARACOL, BELIZE.” *Ancient Mesoamerica*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2014, pp. 239–250., doi:10.1017/S0956536114000145.

Garraty, P. & Stark, L.. *Archaeological Approaches to Market Exchange in Ancient Societies*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010. Project MUSE, “The Rise and Fall of Market Exchange: A Dynamic Approach to Ancient Maya Economy” by Geoffrey E. Braswell

## Inca

Certain merchants existed at specific places, mostly around the border of Inca Empire. Inside the empire, tribute and redistribution replaced the role played by private merchants. P352 Trigger  
The Inca rulers reluctantly allowed entrepreneurs to continue trading beyond the borders of their kingdom, especially to the north (Salomon 1986, 1987). These traders obtained goods that were not available within the Inka kingdom...and they provided the Inka rulers with intelligence that helped them to expand the kingdom...in general the government appears to have discouraged interregional trade within the Inka kingdom. P352 Trigger

A market was held every five days in Cusipata, one of the two main squares in central Cusco, while another market five leagues from the city center occurred every nine days...presumably these markets, like Egyptian ones, were places where ordinary people exchanged food and local handicrafts and hence were a vital aspect of village life. P353 Trigger

Marketplaces and fairs existed in the central Andes, but there is a noticeable lack of price-fixing markets in the Inca state. Instead, Andean political economies were generally based on elaborate

redistributive, tribute, reciprocal, and administered trade systems understood within the broad theoretical traditions of economic anthropology and economic history. Local fairs flourished, and there was a brisk trade in many goods. Long-distance interregional exchange of many kinds of items was also robust and historically deep. María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco (1970, 1975) has demonstrated that substantial quantities of goods traveled up and down the Pacific Coast, produced by full- and part-time craft specialists. There is some evidence for price-fixing market exchange on the periphery of the empire, but the bulk of production and exchange in the state and imperial economies of the Andes did not rely on such exchange. P187 Garraty

There is some evidence of pre-European marketplace exchange in the northern boundaries of the Inca empire. John Murra (1995:62) has noted that some Colonial chroniclers describe a marketplace in Quito with the Nahuatl term *tiangués*, a case in which the exception perhaps proves the rule. An institution like the *pochteca* also existed in the north, known there as *mindala*, but it was not widespread in the rest of the Andes. The historian Rostworowski de Diez Canseco (1970, 1975) has argued for *mercaderes* on the south coast who traded up and down the Pacific Ocean from Quito into the Collao, the southern quarter of Collasuyu and home of the Aymara and other non-Quechua-speaking peoples. P189 Garraty

In the New World, only the Inca maintained a centralized command economy (Stark and Garraty 2010:46–47; Stanish 2010). P239 Chase

Chase, Diane Z., and Arlen F. Chase. “ANCIENT MAYA MARKETS AND THE ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF CARACOL, BELIZE.” *Ancient Mesoamerica*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2014, pp. 239–250., doi:10.1017/S0956536114000145.

See p217-224 Patterson, Thomas C. *Merchant Capital and the Formation of the Inca State*.

*Dialectical Anthropology*. Vol. 12, No. 2 (1987), pp. 217-227;

About “Vertical Archipelago”, Murra, *the Limits and Limitations of the “Vertical Archipelago” in the Andes*

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Garraty, P. & Stark, L. *Archaeological Approaches to Market Exchange in Ancient Societies*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010. Project MUSE., <https://muse.jhu.edu/>.

## Colonial Latin America

The *registros*, or official registers of all goods and precious metals carried by the fleets, served the dual purpose of uncovering illegal shipments and of providing bases for customs duties. The penalties of confiscation of property and exile for the importation of unregistered treasure were applicable to the prior and consuls, if convicted of abetting the evasion of registration. P100 Smith

The Spanish guild merchant: a history of the *Consulado*, 1250-1700, Smith, Robert S. (Robert Sidney), 1904-1969. Durham, N.C. Duke University Press, 1940.

**Colonial Peru** seems stronger than in Mexico, *consulado* wholesale merchant dominated the market; crown monopoly was effective especially in mining industry

The monopoly trade system created by the Spanish government in the early sixteenth century was the basis for their position. Wholesale merchants also controlled the retail sale of imported goods. P202 Burkholder&Johnson

The crown's possession of three statutory powers over mining, control of royalty, control of mercury distribution and price, and power to assign or remove draft labor, does lend the industry something of the air of state enterprise. P233 Bethell

Bethell, Leslie. *Colonial Spanish America*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Burkholder, Mark A., Johnson, Lyman. *Colonial Latin America*. New York : Oxford University Press, 2004.

## **Central America**

17th century Cacao trade: This illegal trade is difficult to measure. It was persistent, profitable, and probably very large. In 1626, for example, just before severe prohibitions started, one individual asked for a monopoly of the importation of Guayaquil cacao. (The Audiencia rejected his petition in the name of free trade!) Individuals at all levels participated in the new trade. Indian, mestizo, and negro muleteers carried the contraband cacao from the ports, and royal port officials surreptitiously or openly allowed its entry. P245 MacLeod

The commerce was active, vital, mostly illegal, and supplied and supported a developing insular economy in the Caribbean region. P87 Wortman

The trade between Central America and other Caribbean settlements was both considerable and irregular.p87 Wortman

Wortman, Miles L. *Government and society in Central America, 1680-1840*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.

MacLeod, J.. *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History, 1520–1720*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007. Project MUSE.

## **Guatemala**

Operating within the existing framework of government and law, a privileged guild and a special court promised the commercial community a certain independence of action which in the end should have enhanced its profits. P157-158 Smith

Until the latter half of the eighteenth century inter-colonial trade was generally handicapped by severe restrictions and often outright prohibitions. Guatemala felt aggrieved by the laws against trade with New Spain. P158 Smith

...the governor began to fix prices on his own initiative. P202 Smith

...far from making the indigo fair a satisfactory market place, set the stage for government intervention and the "administering" of prices. P202 Smith

According to the Spanish Crown's mercantilistic and monopolistic practices, trade with the mother country was closely regulated. P150 Jones

Jones, Oakah L. *Guatemala in the Spanish Colonial Period*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.

Robert Sidney Smith, Origins of the Consulado of Guatemala. *The Hispanic American Historical Review*

Vol. 26, No. 2 (May, 1946), pp. 150-160.

Robert Sidney Smith. Indigo Production and Trade in Colonial Guatemala. *The Hispanic American Historical Review*. Vol. 39, No. 2 (May, 1959), pp. 181-211.

**Honduras** similar to Guatemala; contraband trade along the Caribbean coast

**El Salvador** private merchants smuggled indigos

**Panama** Peruvian and Spanish merchant guilds met annually at the isthmus fair (p67 Ward), and the commander of the fleet and the president of Panama played the role of fixing prices (p69 Ward)

Whereas the wealthiest Panamanians were part of the merchant class, most trading at the Portobelo fairs was undertaken by merchants of Sevilla and Lima or their agents. P77 Ward  
The major Panamanian merchant companies were able to muster considerable capital to do business. P80 Ward

The study of smuggling within the Carrera is important...not the least of which is that it as much as if not more than legal commerce, was the usual means of exchange of Panama. P80 Ward

Ward, Christopher. Imperial Panama: commerce and conflict in isthmian America, 1550-1800. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, c1993.

**Costa Rica** low trade volume but some contraband trade existed with European countries

A significant part of external trade consisted of illicit traffic in tobacco and provisions exchanged with English, French, and Dutch ships for merchandise that was much cheaper than that available in legitimate shipments from Spain. Even direct trade with other Spanish colonies was restricted under the mercantilist system, but from the outset, efforts were made to establish overland trade routes to neighboring settlements. P14 Nelson

*Costa Rica, a country study*. Foreign Area Studies, the American University; edited by Harold D. Nelson. Washington, D.C.: American University, Foreign Area Studies, 1984.

**Colonial Mexico** consulado (wholesale merchant guilds), benefited by the colonial monopoly system. But some contraband trade took place

Through their control of credit and tax collection, Mexico City merchants clearly exercised political power, since they could informally influence the enforcement of legislation in areas where they had debtors. P485 Hoberman

The two goals of the seventeenth-century Mexican merchants, the reopening of the Peru trade (technically closed after 1631) and the increasing of the authorized value of Manila goods shipped on the galleon were not realized until 1774 and 1706 respectively.<sup>29</sup> Throughout the seventeenth century, the merchants complained about these restrictions without result. Similarly, the devaluation of coinage, the forced loans, the raising of the alcabala and the almojarifazgo, were all decisions detrimental to commerce, especially when the proceeds were not used to protect merchant shipping on the American seas. Only in the Crown's maintenance of the monopoly system and in the continued hegemony of the Mexico City consulado within New Spain did it accede to the principal requirements of the community. P489 Hoberman  
The merchants of seventeenth-century Boston wielded greater influence vis-a-vis the landowning elite than did their Mexican counterparts. P490 Hoberman

But there was no constructive way in which merchants could change imperial priorities by loosening restrictions on commerce, blocking new taxes for wars in Europe, or shifting the chain of command in the bureaucracy which gave power to the viceroy and corregidores who represented Spanish rather than American interests. Not only did the merchant elite lack such power at the highest levels of government, but since it benefitted from many policies, such as the flota system which offered a monopoly to the consulado and the protection, albeit erratic, of the convoys, it was not in its best interests to threaten that system. P502 Hoberman

Hoberman, Louisa Schell. "Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Mexico City: A Preliminary Portrait." *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 57, no. 3, 1977, pp. 479–503. JSTOR, JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/2514026](http://www.jstor.org/stable/2514026).

**Ecuador** the governor...establishing a virtual monopoly on the sale of wood, tobacco, and cacao; government granting license to trade; established monopolies (J. Andrien. *Corruption, Self-Interest, and the Political Culture of Eighteenth-Century Quito*)

**Colombia** primarily dominated by Spanish merchants, but in the 17<sup>th</sup> century more contraband trade developed along the Caribbean coast

See Safford, Frank, *Colombia: fragmented land, divided society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002; Pearce, Jenny. *Colombia: inside the labyrinth*. London: Latin American Bureau, 1990.

**Chile** the state supervised, regulated the market and kept monopoly, but failed to prohibit smuggling and contraband trade by independent merchants

Although the crown required that most Chilean commerce be with Peru, smugglers managed to sustain some illegal trade with other American colonies and with Spain itself. P8 Hudson

Hudson, Rex.A. *Chile: A Country Study*. Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress.

**Brazil** the authority interfered trade through customs and license but foreign traders and smugglers were more influential

Portugal's restriction of its colonial trade to its own nationals did not preclude the licensing and use of foreign ships nor the investment by foreigners in Portuguese colonial enterprises. Portugal never possessed a merchant fleet large enough to handle, in particular, the bulky Brazilian sugar trade. It was not possible to maintain a strict monopoly of colonial trade. P452 Mauro

The Portuguese bureaucracy was not so highly organized as the Spanish and the slave trade was subject to very little control. P456 Mauro

Mauro, Frederick, *Portugal and Brazil: Political and Economic Structures of Empire, 1580-1750*. The Cambridge history of Latin America. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, c1984.

**Venezuela** before 1700s, contraband trade was very important and monopoly system was generally absent because the Spanish government lacked interest before the cacao boom in Venezuela.

“Paradoxically, Spanish officials allowed the province to grow up outside of Spanish trade circuits in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but then imposed rigid commercial control in the second quarter of the eighteenth century by making it essentially a company colony”

“As much as half of the province’s trade came illegally from sources outside of the Spanish Empire” Cromwell

Cromwell, Jesse Levis. *Covert Commerce: A Social History of Contraband Trade in Venezuela, 1701-1789*

**Dominican Republic** Santo Domingo was an important port for Spanish monopoly trade, but contraband trade was still practiced in a large scale and hard to exclude

“Contraband on the Caribbean Sea, perhaps the most important in terms of volume and economic impact on the colonies”.

This monopoly was established in 1503, and made Santo Domingo the only port authorized by the Spanish Crown to trade with Seville....as the 16<sup>th</sup> century progressed, contraband trade was welcomed by the residents and cattle owners of the interior who were doubly harmed by the royal monopoly...Contraband was practiced on a wide scale according to well defined rules. P43 Moya Pons

Moya Pons, Frank, *The Dominican Republic: a national history*. Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2010.

**Jamaica** contraband trade existed since an early time; independent merchants and privateers (see p32-38 Delle, James A. *The colonial Caribbean: landscapes of power in plantation system*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014; p49 Shepherd, Verene. *Livestock, sugar and slavery: contested terrain in colonial Jamaica*. Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2009.

**Argentina** state monopoly was hard to maintain; smugglers and foreign merchants flourished

**Contraband trade:**

From an early date contraband trading weakened the economic ties between the Plate territories and Peru, and strengthened the territories’ link with the Atlantic economy. The shift gave Buenos Aires, the point of access for foreign traders, a crucial role in the emergent economy. P6 Rock  
Through Portuguese merchants in Buenos Aires commerce developed with Brazil. The main imports were Brazilian sugar, European manufactures, and slaves. P23 Lewis  
Portuguese interest in the products that merchants offered in Buenos Aires encouraged trade. P27 Lewis

The Spain rulers generally “were unable to effectively enforce any of the limitations that affected either Spanish merchants or foreign traders.” P30 Lewis

Lewis, Daniel. *The history of Argentina*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2001.

Rock, David. *Argentina, 1516-1987: from Spanish colonization to the Falklands war*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.



### **Trinidad and Tobago** Caribbean contraband trade

Trade: contraband trade was an economic reality in Trinidad during the entire colonial period. There was no other way to subsist except for trading with foreign ships. P172 Padron

From the middle of the sixteenth century... When the smugglers turned out to be French and English this produced a different order of indignation from the authorities, especially as these interlopers were just as likely to plunder as to trade. Smugglers brought slaves and all sorts of manufactured goods. P36 Latimer

In the days when national navies were small, privately-owned merchant ships were pressed into service in time of war... the innovation in the 16th century was the authorization of merchant ships to operate independently or in small groups against one country, Spain. P3 Alleyne

The breakdown of the Spanish trade routes in the Antilles was an open secret widely known by French privateers and Portuguese smugglers, who were then the main suppliers of slaves to the Caribbean. The English also tried to do business with the Spanish Antilles. P35 Pons

The merchants of the Spanish Antilles constantly traded among themselves and with those of the continental ports. The shipments were generally small, but the contents varied. Goods were sent from one area to another to satisfy temporary deficiencies in local production. Despite the variety of products traded, the volume of this trade was very small in comparison with the large volume of contraband trade occurring on the non-Spanish Antilles. P120 Pons

Moya Pons, Frank. *History of the Caribbean: plantations, trade, and war in the Atlantic world*. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, c2007.

Latimer, Jon. *Buccaneers of the Caribbean: how piracy forged an empire*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009.

Alleyne, Warren, *Caribbean pirates*. London: Macmillan, 1986.

Padrón, Morales. *Spanish Trinidad*. Francisco. Kingston; Miami: Ian Randle Publishers; 2012.

### **Uruguay** Portuguese independent merchants and smugglers

Although trade with foreigners was specifically regulated, the authorities and merchants of Rio de Janeiro and their partners in Rio de la Plata did enjoy a relative level of autonomy in their transactions. P72 Prado

Prado, Fabrício Pereira, *Edge of empire: Atlantic networks and revolution in Bourbon Río de la Plata*. Oakland, California: University of California Press, [2015]

### **South Asia**

Bangladesh (Bengal)

Same as Bengal

Bhutan

Krishnakanta observed that besides the “officers of government and their servants no person can trade with a foreign country” and trade in horses and blankets was monopolized “at a low price” by the officers. P86 Deb

Deb, A. *Cooch Behar and Bhutan in the context of the Tibetan trade*. Kailash [0377-7499] yr:1973 vol:1 iss:1 pg:80-88

## Maurya

1. State competed with private merchants see State is “a major trading competitor with private traders” Singh p269
2. Regulations on private trade and guild registration: trade regulations are carefully planned and suited to a well-organized system. The sale of merchandise is strictly supervised by the state. The superintendent of commerce: taxation, control on prices and merchants’ profit, regulate supply and demand p99 Thapar
3. It would seem that they were registered by local official and had a recognized status. A guild could not move from one area to another without official permission. P93 Thapar
4. Attitude to merchants: -Kautilya (royal advisor of Mauryan emperor): dreads the possibility of accumulation of wealth in private hands and lays down elaborate and ingenious rules and regulations for squeezing numerous taxes from the merchant class and ordains that many commodities, in their production and exchange, be reserved for the state. P125 Gokhale

Trade was active, various and minutely regulated...the merchant was mulcted in dues at the frontier, by road-taxes and tolls, and by octroy at the gates of the cities...he was required to be armed with a passport, and severe penalties were attached to malpractices in connexion therewith. P431 Dodwell

The king himself was a great trader, disposing of the output of his factories, workshops, and prisons, and the produce of his lands, forests, and mines. P431 Dodwell

Gokhale, Balkrishna Govind. *The Merchant in Ancient India*. Journal of the American Oriental Society, 4/1/1977, Vol. 97, p. 125-130. American Oriental Society. 1977.

Singh, Mahesh Vikram. *Society under the Mauryas*, Delhi: Indological Book House, 1988 [i.e. 1989]

Thapar, Romila. *Asoka and the decline of the Mauryas*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Dodwell, Henry, 1879-1946, Richard Burn, Wolseley Haig, and E. J. (Edward James) Rapson. *The Cambridge History of India*. London: The University Press, 1962.

## Tamil

merchants, by and large, specialized in trading in single commodities. P16 Mukund

Corporate organization of merchants into guilds was important in the early period.p18 Mukund

Production and retailing were not distinct occupations especially for those dealing in food products. P18 Mukund

The rich merchants involved in long-distance trade. The distinction was supposedly based on the extent of their wealth, which would indicate a possibility of social mobility from one class to another. P18 Mukund

Also foreign merchants and foreign settlements along the coast, brokers and intermediaries offering services to foreign merchants. P18 Mukund

Unlike in ancient Greece, merchants were an esteemed class in society, and commerce a respected occupation, which may partly explain the glorified portrayal of merchants in the literature. P18 Mukund

The market place was called Avanam and so all instruments evidencing transfers of property also came to be called Avanam. P379 Subrahmanian

Trade was the occupation of the merchant community the Vaisyas...there were two kinds of traders those who manufactured and sold at the place of manufacture, and those who merely sold the goods as retailers in the market or as hawkers. P384 Subrahmanian

Subrahmanian, N. Tamil social history. Chennai: Institute of Asian Studies, 1997-2001.

Mukund, Kanakalatha. *The trading world of the Tamil merchant: evolution of merchant capitalism in the Coromandel*, Chennai: Orient Longman, c1999.

## Bengal

the author mentioned that Bengal area was “peripheral territories in the Mauryan Empire.”, and it was possibly a “halfway” between complete state control and private control. P79 Shahna

(after the Mauryan control) predominantly under the private control of merchants. P81 Shahna

Shahna\_Mlusne Jahan, *The Role of the State in the Maritime Trade of Early Historic Bengal*, Volume XXX, No. 2 (July-December 2005, Ahmedabad [India] Indian Society for Pages: trade of early historic Bengal Prehistoric and Quaternary Studies.

## Sri Lanka

“Well-organized foreign trade activity” p103 Ismail

Port trade was in the hands of the Arabs and Indian traders and trading communities of Arab and Indian origin were established at the ports.

Customs officials and officers stationed in ports to oversee trade p87 Ismail

There appears to have been various rules and regulations with regard to trade p105 Ismail

The various items of this export trade were confined to specific areas from which they were obtained. P106 Ismail

Exported gems, pearls, spices, muslins, and tortoise-shell in exchange for luxury goods perfume, sandalwood, wines, silks, copper and gold articles. P103 Ismail

The elite society in the capital looked for foreign luxury goods such as fine cloth, perfumes and wines, which are the commodities of the foreign trade at the ports. A class of rich merchants, perhaps the agents of those trading at the ports, also settled here, supplying foreign goods and collecting in turn local products like gems and spices for export. P38 Ismail

The mining, sale and export of precious stones was a monopoly of the king. P38 Ismail

Most of the exports of the island were under a royal monopoly at least in the medieval period.

Abu Zaid, writing in the tenth century stated that there were men appointed by the king to watch

the gem mines...the king had the right of ownership over all gems exceeding a certain value and weight...the sale of elephants was a royal monopoly. The king had a large stake in pearl fishery too. P138 Siriweera

Siriweera, W. I. A study of the economic history of pre-modern Sri Lanka.

New Delhi: Vikas Pub. House, 1994.

Ismail, Marina, *Early settlements in northern Sri Lanka*, New Delhi: Navrang, 1995.

## Nepal

The Government was alive to the need for maintaining this entrepot trade, and ensured supply of transit labor to all concerned. P100 Regmi

Regmi, D. R. *Ancient and medieval Nepal*, Kathmandu [n.p.] 1952.

The trade as appears from Hiuen Tsang's disclosure mainly consisted of dealing in corns, fruits, copper and yak, aU excepting the last produced by itself and which this country sent to Tibet and India in sufficient quantities). The yalc Nepal got from the areas bordering on Tibet formed an important article of commerce and its role in this respect was to take out chamars (fly whisk) and export to India as may be inferred from the same. The merchandise was carried by itinerary merchants and handed over to marketing organisations stationed in Tibet and India, who did the disposal business amongst the consumers. P260 Regmi

The T'ang annal says that the merchants were numerous and cultivators rare. Nepal's industry and trade must have highly advanced to earn this kind of reference. P262 Regmi

What had most impressed the Chinese travellers was the very unique commercial position of the country between 646-57 A .D . The development of commerce is a testimony to the lively interest taken by rulers in such matters. P260 Regmi

Regmi, D. R. *Ancient Nepal*. Calcutta, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1969.

## East Asia

### Japan

(traded goods were primarily weapons, prestige goods and typically discovered in rulers' tombs) From these references, it becomes clear that goods were being transported by water and that such trade must have become more active as the finances of the central government became more dependent on exchange. And yet the commercial class was still in its infancy, for we know that bureaucrats also acted as merchants. P436 Toshiya

Private trade could be accomplished on a diplomatic mission, the commandery region may still have been an important source area. Such trade directly with either producers or merchants, represents one possible version of relations among individuals in the mid- and lower levels of the political hierarchies. The procurement of bloomer iron from the southern peninsula, however, may have been obtained through a top-level route between peer polities, or among lower members of the political hierarchies. P67 Barnes

The Yamato leaders jealously guarded the right and responsibility for organizing the trade of goods, for the Yamato court especially during the late Kofun period. Struggles and conflicts often took place over those rights between the clan groups. P15 Reishauer

Barnes, Gina Lee. *State formation in Japan : emergence of a 4th-century ruling elite*. London; New York: Routledge, 2007.

Toshiya, Torao. Nara Economic and Social Institutions, general editors, John W. Hall ... et al.], the Cambridge History of Japan. Cambridge, UK ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1989-1999, 1996-1997 printing.

Reishauer O.Edwin: Japan: the Story of a Nation Japan, New York, Knopf, 1974.

Gina L. Barnes, State Formation in Japan: Emergence of a 4th-century ruling elite, Routledge, 2007.

## Korea

Trading goods were mostly prestige goods and weapons, central authority exacted tribute from controlled areas. P17 Tennant

Tennant, Charles Roger, *A History of Korea*, Columbia University Press, 1996.

## China

Men who belonged to certain lineages seem to have worked as commercial agents, although it is not clear whether they were independent traders or government officials. P353 Trigger

Compared with some of the other ancient civilizations (such as Sumerian) the Shang is singularly lacking in records of economic transaction. P235 Keightley

Tribute paying and gift giving relationship between Shang capital and peripheral areas-see p550-551 Keightley

Keightley, David N. The Origins of Chinese civilization. Berkeley: University of California Press, c1983

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2003.

## Middle East and Near East

### Egypt

Redistribution was the most significant aspect of the economy, embedded in its social structure, with more individual reciprocity on a small scale. The driving forces, therefore, are not trade for profit but for parity. p331 Roy

In Old and Middle Kingdom Egypt, foreign trade was carried on by the government. P351

Trigger

Internal trade was limited to everyday objects that part-time craft workers made from local materials. Such trade occurred in villages, small towns, and provincial capitals. Markets (mryt) appear to have been small, informal assemblies at quayside that were of little concern to the government except perhaps as a minor source of tax revenue. P351 Trigger

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Roy, Jane. *The politics of trade: Egypt and lower Nubia in the 4th millennium BC*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011.

## Iran

Local markets and independent firm: There must have been local markets, where part of the rations could be exchanged and where things could be purchased that people could not manufacture themselves or buy in their own village. P75 Wiesehöfer

The Murasu firm

The primary enterprise of the firm was agricultural management. The firm leased land and water from their owners, paying out rents and taxes to the owners. The greater part of these properties was sublet in turn to tenants of the firm. It also made loans to landholders against pledges of real property. Other services are: work-contracts, redemption of distrained debtors, litigations, and so on. P27 Stolper

Government control:

Trade in international land routes in Persia was part of the jurisdiction of kings or their governors. Monarchs closely controlled and protected the ancient trade routes. They were able, therefore, to tax or expropriate the gains from trade, disallowing a class of merchants with independent means of wealth to emerge. P640 Salehi-Esfahani

In Persia itself commodity-money relations were very poorly developed. According to Herodotus and Strabo, the Persians did not have markets, since they neither sold nor bought. P212

Dandamaev

International maritime trade in the Achaemenid empire was chiefly in the hands of merchants from the Phoenician cities of Sidon, Tyre, Arados and Byblos. P213 Dandamaev

Characteristically, powerful private business houses dominated the economy in Achaemenid Babylonia. P215 Dandamaev

Iranian merchants were also engaged in trade. p219 Dandamaev

Salehi-Esfahani, Haideh, *Rule of Law: A Comparison between Ancient Persia and Ancient Greece*.

Iranian Studies. Dec2008, Vol. 41 Issue 5, p629-644. 16p.

Stolper, Matthew W. *Entrepreneurs and empire: the Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian rule in Babylonia*. Leiden, [Netherlands]; Istanbul : Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Institute te Istanbul, c1985.

Wiesehöfer, Josef. *Ancient Persia: from 550 BC to 650 AD*. London; New York : I.B. Tauris, 1996.

Dandamaev, M. A. *The culture and social institutions of ancient Iran*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, c1988.

## Mesopotamia

The trader..has long been regarded as a commercial agent in the service of a palace or temple, both institutions supposedly possessing a commercial monopoly. "Market Gate" located in the eastern part of the city p9

It is now on record that in Mesopotamia market and price fluctuations coexisted with systems of redistribution and reciprocity. P104 Aubet

In Mesopotamia intercity trade and trade with more remote regions were conducted by professional merchants...it used to be believed that long-distance traders were originally employed full-time by palaces or temples, which provided them with a fixed income in the form

of an allotment of land...the earliest available evidence indicates that, already by the Early Dynastic period, intercity and interregional trade was being carried on for profit and that merchants acted as independent agents. By the Old Babylonian period merchants were establishing joint-stock companies. P343 Trigger

*Trade and finance in ancient Mesopotamia: proceedings of the First MOS Symposium (Leiden 1997)* / edited by J.G. Dercksen. [Istanbul] : Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul ; Leiden, Nederland : Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten,, 1999.

Aubet, Maria Eugenia. *The Phoenicians and the West: politics, colonies and trade*. Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

## Israel

### Trade:

**Morris Silver-support “market economy”** 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century BC Israel had “a living economy whose entrepreneurs...responded positively and rationally to market economies.” P24 *Prophets and Markets: The Political Economy of Ancient Israel*

**Patron-Client Model:** the primary mode by which surplus was drawn off, allocated and utilized was a generalized exchange between patrons and clients. the dominant mode of production in monarchic Israel can be characterized as a clientelistic mode of production. P133 Simkins

Patron-client relationship

Kinship relations served as the social relations of production and distribution, regulating access to the means of production and determining the distribution of the products of labor. Simkins,

The information that we do possess indicates that as long as the Hebrew kingdoms maintained their independence, foreign trade was in fact initiated by the Crown and conducted on its behalf. P545 Elat

It certainly appears that trade in Israelite society was the occupation followed by those of Cananite or foreign origin. P530 Elat

Although commerce and trade were certainly a part of the economy during this period, they probably remained agriculturally based and, at least in rural areas, continued to be based primarily on family and village self-sufficiency, and thus on a system of reciprocity. P157 McNutt

In Palestine the possibilities for obtaining goods which would serve the purpose of international trade were few and limited. P30 Lemche

The late-eighth-century royal stamped jar handles, inscribed with lmlk (“belonging to the king”), suggest that a redistributive system was operating in Judah during the eighth century, and that the king was associated in some way with the production and distribution of goods, which would have been supervised by government officials. p158 McNutt

The Samaria ostraca are also suggestive of a redistributive system in Israel.p158 McNutt

In my view, the most plausible model would give considerable weight to self-sufficient agrarian house-holding, local kin-based reciprocity, and governmental redistribution, for which we have many archaeological and textual indications, while making room for market exchange of some goods in some social contexts. P443 Schloen

There is clear evidence for royal storage and redistribution, on the one hand and for local kin-based reciprocity on the other. P444 Schloen

There is some evidence for local markets in craft products and foodstuffs, as well as evidence for foreign trade, although we must be cautious in how we interpret this evidence because of the difficulty of distinguishing market trade from administered trade in the absence of detailed information about prices. P444 Schloen

Textual clues have led many scholars over the years to regard Iron Age Israel and Judah as economically quite simple societies in which foreign trade-which was the only large scale trade-was a royal monopoly. P444 Schloen

In materials, both the United Monarchy and the Northern Kingdom under the Omrides relied upon resources only obtainable through Tyrian long-distance trade. As far as we know, Israel had no native access to copper, tin for bronze production iron, silver, gold, ivory or cedar. P387 Holladay

(Most authors believed that trade was not based on market in ancient Israel and stronger evidence supported that. Most goods were exchanged by principles of redistribution and reciprocity.)

Holladay, John. S. *The kingdoms of Israel and Judah: political and economic centralization in the Iron IIA-B (ca. 1000 – 750 BCE)*, Leicester University Press, London, 1995.

Elat, M. *The Monarchy and the Development of Trade in Ancient Israel*. State and temple economy in the ancient Near East: proceedings of the international conference / organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 10th to the 14th of April, 1978 ; edited by Edward Lipinski. Leuven: Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1979.

Simkins, Ronald A. *Patronage and the political economy of monarchic Israel*. Semeia. 87 (1999) 123-144.

McNutt, Paula M. *Reconstructing the society of ancient Israel*. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1999.

Schloen, David, J. *Economy and society in Iron Age Israel and Judah*, Levinson, Bernard.M and Sherman, Tina. M. *Law and Legal Literature*, Lemos, T.M. *Kinship, Community and Society*, The Wiley Blackwell companion to ancient Israel / edited by Susan Niditch. Chichester, West Sussex, UK ; Malden, MA : John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2016

## Lebanon (Phoenicia)

In short, at the beginning of the Iron Age the palace seemed to constitute an institution capable of managing commercial activity, the supply of raw materials and the trade routes by means of legal and fiscal prerogatives over the coastal ports. P114 Aubet

Stemming from the Assyrian expansion, we witness the massive arrival in western Asia of the private element in the sphere of commerce, coinciding, in the opinion of some authors, with a



considerable decline in the part played by the Phoenician palace and monarchy in economic activity. P118 Aubet

Scholarly opinions are divided on the role that the private sector may have played in the early Phoenician economy. The historical record, however, strongly suggests that the primary economic initiative resided with the king and palace, which retained the exclusive right to trade directly with foreign powers. It was only later, beginning in the eighth century BC that a strong mercantile aristocracy developed as a result of trade opportunities afforded by Phoenician overseas commercial expansion. At that time a diversified market, spurred on by Assyrian demand and by expanded colonial activity, encouraged private entrepreneurship on a significant scale. p96 Markoe

In the late Bronze age and early Iron Age, Phoenician trade thus appears to have been controlled largely by the state. Phoenician merchants, serving in foreign ports like Ugarit, effectively functioned as agents or representatives of the palace. P96 Markoe

Aubet, Maria Eugenia. *The Phoenicians and the West: politics, colonies and trade*. Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Markoe, Glenn, *Phoenicians*. Berkeley: University of California Press, c2000.

## Arabia

With the advent of Islam, Arabs, whose business culture was shaped by trade, risk, and bargaining, took price setting out of the hand of government and placed it in the hand of the market. P148 Koehler

Private money-changers and bankers worked on a capitalistic basis and played a major role in borrowing-lending business. p392 Bessard

Bessard, Fanny. The urban economy in southern inland Greater Syria from the Seventh Century to the end of the Umayyads.

Koehler, Benedikt. *Early Islam and the birth of capitalism*, Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2014.

## Morocco

Within this framework of multiple movements of people and goods, the wealthy merchants was also on occasion an ambassador or an influential political figure. P266 Talbi

A constant internal trade among farmers, fruit growers and cattle raisers in active centers, and of foreign trade with Spain and the Muslim orient. The most profitable, if not quantitatively the most important, trade was that of the Sahara. P125 Laroui

Abdallah Laroui. The history of the Maghrib: an interpretive essay; translated from the French by Ralph Manheim. Princeton: Princeton University Press, c1977.

J. Currey. Africa from the seventh to the eleventh century. "the conquest of North Africa and Berber resistance" by H.Mones and "the Independence of the Maghrib" by M. Talbi, London: Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

## Pakistan (Ghaznavid)

The twelfth century sees the rise of an urban “bourgeoisie” in the eastern Islamic world, with a palpable impact on the production and consumption of ceramics, metalwork and manuscript painting. P93 Flood

Flood, Finbarr Barry. *Objects of translation: material culture and medieval "Hindu-Muslim" encounter*; Princeton: Princeton University Press, c2009.

## Assyria

### **Private or public transactions**

The family would have used the same skills and resources to carry out both sets of activities, and it does not of course imply that they could not tell the difference. P259 Postgate

The great majority of Ashur’s inhabitants mentioned in the Old Assyrian archives from Kaniš participated in the long distance trade: the king and his family, the high dignitaries, the eponyms and other officials, priests and temples, etc. (Michel 2015b). p83 Frahm

The long-distance trade was to a large extent a family affair. Each family member had specific tasks to perform within the trade system. P91 Frahm

In Kaniš, the “market” (maḥīr um), presumably located on the citadel, was partly covered and controlled by the “chief of the market” (rabi maḥīr im). It included shops or stalls where people could buy slaves, agricultural products, and animals from the surrounding villages, as well as different varieties of wheat and barley, wood, reeds, and cattle (Dercksen 2008a; Hecker 1997; Michel 2011a; Veenhof 2003c). The Assyrians who worked full time trading metals and textiles were totally dependent on these markets for products for their daily lives. P95 Frahm

Eckart Frahm. *A companion to Assyria*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2017.

Postgate, J. N. *Bronze Age bureaucracy: writing and the practice of government in Assyria*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

## Seljuk/Ottoman

-Well-organized markets were another of the amenities which the Seljuks provided with a view to encouraging trade. They were to be found in all the major cities, and in each the specific trades were grouped together in separate parts of the bazaar. P108 Rice

The State’s role:

The official in charge of the market was responsible for law and order, for controlling trade, and for checking prices and the quality of goods on the market p245 Fleet

All these markets were an important source of revenue for the Turkish rulers in the form of market taxes and import and export dues. Turkish rulers were interested in taking control of economic assets such as mines, port cities, major markets and trade routes. p252 Fleet

Rice, Tamara Talbot. *The Seljuks in Asia Minor*. New York, Praeger [1961]

Ahmet Yasar Ocak *Social, cultural and intellectual life, 1071–1453*; Pal Fodor *Ottoman warfare, 1300–1453. The Cambridge History of Turkey. Volume 1, Byzantium to Turkey 1071–1453* / edited by Kate Fleet. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

## Southeast Asia

### Thailand

The most important trade was with China. This trade was carried out in the form of tributary missions in accordance with long established practice between various states of Southeast Asia and China. P79 Kasetsiri

More significant perhaps than the official trade was a rapid growth during this period of overseas trade carried on by private Chinese traders. They were already trading in ports and market towns in this area by the time the Thai began to have political influence in the central Menam Basin...in Siam, overseas trade was not monopolized by the Thai court until much later. P80-81 Kasetsiri

Kasetsiri, Charnvit. *The rise of Ayudhya: a history of Siam in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*. Kuala Lumpur ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.

## Champa

*The Cham of Vietnam: history, society and art* / edited by Bruce M. Lockhart & Tran Ky Phuong. Symposium on New Scholarship on Champa (2004: Singapore)  
Singapore: NUS Press, c2011.

Legends told among highlanders near Cheo Reo in the Dar Lak (Darlac) Plateau region substantiate that the highlands were the source of the trade items enumerated in external sources. They also report that the Chams attempted to integrate highlanders into their political economy by negotiation rather than by force, offering the protection of the Cham armies and the privilege of becoming the Chams' trade partners (Hickey: 1982, 116). In turn, the Cham monarchs were entitled to receive locally woven cloth as tribute (Hickey: 1982, 446). Apparently, the most valuable of the trade commodities offered by the downstream-based Chams was salt, which was critical to the highland diet and in local animal husbandry (Hardy: 2009, 115). Among the highland populations in the Panduranga region north of the Mekong Delta the local headmen were said to have organized a band of men to assist the Chams in the search for eaglewood, valued for its fragrance when burned in Cham, Vietnamese, and Chinese rituals. P88 Hall  
Hall, Kenneth R. *A history of early Southeast Asia: maritime trade and societal development, 100-1500*. MD: Rowman & Littlefield, c2011.

## North Vietnam

### Use China

### Spanish Philippines

Monopoly: p111, p16, p133 on the Galleon trade. Government had strict restrictions on trade.  
Reed, Robert Ronald, *Hispanic urbanism in the Philippines: a study of the impact of church and state*. Manila, University of Manila, 1967.

## Pre-colonial Philippines

Prestige goods- The expansion of trading networks to encompass extra-archipelagic trade for Chinese porcelains and other status goods may be a reflection of this intensifying desire for sumptuary goods to validate positions of status and authority. The desire of foreign traders for interior forest products and other local exports would have enhanced the need for extensive internal alliance and exchange systems cemented by prestige goods redistribution." Junker 311–312

between coastal settlement and upriver groups and between a coastal trading station and nearby islands. Coastal settlements produced jewelry, cloth and pottery and change for rice with interisland communities. P59, 136 Pantanne

Junker, Laura Lee, *Raiding, Trading, and Feasting: The Political Economy of Philippine Chiefdom*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999.

Patanñe, E. P. *The Philippines in the 6th to 16th centuries*. San Juan, Metro Manila: LSA Press, c1996.

## Malaysia, Indonesia

Mention of Active trade markets and a market system; peddlers, large-scale merchants; market-based middlemen; seafaring traders see p33-35 Hall for details; also see p109 Munoz

Hall, Kenneth R. *Maritime trade and state development in early Southeast Asia*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, c1985.

Munoz, Paul Michel. *Early kingdoms of the Indonesian archipelago and the Malay Peninsula*, Singapore: Editions Didier Millet, 2006.

Early Southeast Asian trade involved highland hunters and gatherers who exchanged their forest products (woods, bamboo, lacquer) and services with lowland rice cultivators. Salt from the coast was a key commodity in this upland-lowland exchange. Another type of exchange network encompassed hinterland populations and coastal peoples; the hinterland supplied local agricultural or forest products that were in turn dispensed externally to international traders. P190 Tarling

The Kedu Plain was created by repeated volcanic eruptions; its rich soil and its size, combined with the region's year-round growing season, created an interior rice bowl unrivalled in the maritime realm of Southeast Asia. The prosperity of the rice plain, especially during its heyday in the eighth and ninth centuries, was related to the market for rice created by those Southeast Asian ports that serviced the international traders, and yet the rulers of this plain remained remarkably aloof from that trade. The Merapi-Perahu Mountains isolate the area from the ports on Java's north and east coasts, and its rivers flow south, away from the routes of international trade. Local produce reached the international ports only through an intricate, multi-layered system of markets. The farmers and artisans of the villages took their produce, principally rice, salt, beans, and dyestuffs, to a periodic farmers' market that came to them every so many days, according to a fixed schedule. There they could find merchants who travelled with this market from place to place. The travelling merchants bought the local produce and passed it along in exchanges with intermediary wholesalers. Then merchants from the ports of Java's north coast purchased the produce from the wholesalers and sold it to merchants who travelled the seas, who delivered it to the ports where international merchants congregated. There were thus at least four layers of merchants and of markets between central Java's rice producers and the international traders.

P203 Tarling

Central Java:

The temple complexes and royal centres grew to be the centres of a political-religious redistribution system that operated apart from the ordinary market. Temples usually had rights to a share of local production and local labour, and thus became collectors and marketers of agricultural produce, and could use the labour to construct not only religious edifices, but bridges, dams, or roads that contributed to the well-being of the temple, as well as the community. Like the temples, the kings, too, were the recipients of tribute (often rice) from their allies, tribute that they could exchange for imported goods that came from the north coast ports. P206 Tarling  
Tarling, Nicholas. *The Cambridge history of Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, c1999.

## Fiji 1

Monopoly did rule Fiji's main export earner, the sugar industry. P119 Scarr

The penetration of capitalist relations of production into Fijian community life was carefully regulated by the chiefs through their control over labor... chiefs used their traditional authority, now given additional legitimacy by the colonial government's Native Regulations to collect tribute in the form of commodities which could be sold to traders. P57 Bayliss-Smith

While the domestic economy revolved around production of foods and material items to ensure reproduction of an essentially self-sufficient agrarian society, there was generation of surplus product for ceremonial prestations and trade. p47 Bayliss-Smith

As noted, when a village or an island paramount chief receives a solicitation for goods from another island, the scope of the transaction is enormously extended. The chiefs of the respective places act as focal points for group trade: the goods are collected on each side by the chiefs, formally exchanged between them and then divided by each leader among his party. Another mode of interisland trade is the exchange which occurs in the course of kindred rites involving "sides" from different islands. P426 Sahlins

For other "trade" based on reciprocity, see p429-433 Sahlins

Bayliss-Smith, Tim. *Islands, islanders and the world: the colonial and post-colonial experience of Eastern Fiji*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988

Scarr, Deryck. *Fiji: a short history*. Sydney: G. Allen & Unwin, 1984.

Sahlins, Marshall, Moala; culture and nature on a Fijian island. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press [1962]

## SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

### *Scoring criteria*

1: society is not stratified. Status is not hereditary. Typically seen in pre-states or in tribes, clans based on kinship

2: Few distinguishable social strata existed in society. Status is not hereditary for the most cases and widespread mobility between different social strata

3: Society has a few social strata. Status is not strictly hereditary and vertical mobility is possible through meritocracy, individual skill, valor, piety or wisdom

4: Society has a few social strata. Some strata are hereditary while there is mobility in the others. (Example: Hereditary freemen and slaves. Lacked hereditary aristocracy within freemen. the vertical mobility within the group of freemen is possible and prevalent)

5, 6: Society has many social strata. Some strata are hereditary while there is mobility in the others. (Example: Hereditary freemen and slaves. Weak hereditary aristocracy within freemen. the vertical mobility within the group of freemen is possible)

7: Society has many social strata. Most strata are hereditary; limited vertical mobility between strata. Example: hereditary freemen and slaves. Within the freemen group, there were the distinctions between hereditary aristocratic groups and commoners/peasants/serfs

8: Society is highly stratified. Caste exists in most social classes/groups. An individual's status is almost hereditary. Limited vertical mobility among different strata in the hierarchy

9: Society is highly stratified. Caste exists in most social classes/groups. An individual's status is almost strictly hereditary. Limited vertical mobility among different strata in the hierarchy

10: Society is highly stratified. Strong caste distinction in almost all classes/groups. An individual's status is strictly hereditary. Very limited vertical mobility among different strata in the hierarchy

### **Britain and its colony**

United Kingdom 6

United States 5

New Zealand 5

Australia 5

Canada 5

### **Europe**

Austria (Germanic tribes) 5

Germany (Germanic tribes) 5

Switzerland (Germanic tribes) 5

Luxemburg (Germanic tribes) 5

Franks 6

Netherlands (independent cities) 5

Belgium (Ancient Rome, Independent cities) 6

Denmark (Viking) 5

Norway (Viking) 5

Sweden (Viking) 5

Iceland (Viking) 2

Ireland 6

Estonian tribes 4

Finn tribes 4

Greece 6

Rome 7

Spain

Castile 6  
Catalonia 6  
Aragon 6  
Portugal 6  
Latvia 5  
Lithuania 5  
Slovenia 6

**Balkans**

Croatia 6  
Serbia 6  
Romania 6  
Bulgaria 4  
Albania 5

**Eastern and Central Europe**

Poland 6  
Bohemia (Czech) 5  
Hungary 5  
Slovakia 5  
Russia 7

**Latin America (colonial)**

Mexico 7  
Guatemala 7  
El Salvador 7  
Honduras 6 7  
Costa Rica 4  
Panama 7  
Colombia 7  
Ecuador 7  
Peru 7  
Venezuela 7  
Chile 7  
Brazil 6  
Argentina 6  
Uruguay 5

**Caribbean:**

Trinidad and Tobago 6

Dominican Republic 6  
Jamaica 6

**Pre-colonial**

Inca 8  
Maya 5  
Aztec 5

**South Asia**

Bangladesh (Bengal) 9  
Bhutan 8  
India (Maurya) 10  
India (Tamil) 8  
India (Bengal) 9  
Sri Lanka 7  
Nepal 10

**East Asia**

Japan 2  
Korea 4  
China 3

**Middle East and Near East**

Egypt 3  
Iran 5  
Mesopotamia 4  
Israel 5  
Lebanon (Phoenicia) 6  
Arabia 5  
Morocco 6  
Pakistan (Ghaznavid) 5  
Assyria 5  
Seljuk/Ottoman 3

**Southeast Asia**

Thailand 4  
Champa 6  
North Vietnam 2  
Spanish Philippines 6  
Pre-colonial Philippines 2



Malaysia 6  
Indonesia 6  
Fiji 3

## **Africa**

Burkina Faso 2  
Angola 4  
Sierra Leone 2  
Nigeria 3  
Senegal 6  
Ghana 4  
Zambia 2  
Mozambique 2  
Namibia 2  
South Africa 8  
Kenya (Kikuyu) 2  
Kenya (Swahili) 4  
Malawi 1  
Tanzania (Swahili) 4  
Tanzania (Sukuma) 2  
Ethiopia 5

## **United Kingdom (Anglo-Saxon England)**

The laws are our best source for the social structure of the early English kingdoms. The classic view of early English society, drawn from a reading of those laws, has been that its bedrock was the thriving free peasant, the ceorl, who worked land sufficient to support his household and some dependants and owed only modest services to his lord, if he had one... But, although they take the freeborn man as the basic element within society, the laws also assume a high degree of social differentiation and allude to complex hierarchies of rank. The great variation in wergilds, the compensation due to a family for the killing of one of its members, suggests that there were very considerable inequalities in early English society.

That the nobles formed a class is evident from references in the early laws to the eorlcund or gesithcund – those born into the noble rank of eorl or royal companion... This noble class clearly owned and could grant land.

Below the noble in rank lay the thriving free ceorl, traditionally regarded as the mainstay of early English society. His status is quite difficult to define. 'Peasant' carries the wrong connotations; in many ways his property and his privileges before the law placed him closer to the noble than the poor and economically dependent tenants and labourers.

Below the ceorl lay a variety of smallholders, living on the margin with insufficient land to support themselves and usually owing heavy dues to their lord.

At the very bottom of the social order lay the slave. Ine's laws also include a further category absent from the other early codes: the Welsh (Wealas). They suffered legal discrimination: the penalties for offending against them were generally half those for their English counterparts. P487-492 Thacker

Alan Thacker, *England in the seventh century* pp 462-495. *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Volume 1, c.500–c.700.* edited by Paul Fouracre. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

There is an equally strong impression of fluidity at the upper end of the scale, among the "lower middle classes" of sochemanni and Hberi homines and south Lancashire drengs, geneats or radcnihts performing non-servile duties for their manorial lords, thriving ceorls on the way to "the top of the agricultural ladder", the petty thegn with his single hide, or the holder of a petty manor like the deacon with a mere 12 acres pro manerio in Tudenham. By the end of the period, fluidity of landholding had been promoted not merely by purchase or bequest (or violence) but by the increasing amount of bookland which passed into the hands of leaseholders. P22

Runciman

Status by birth was always operative throughout the society: a king was normally the son of a king, a gesithatnd man the son of a man of thegnly rank, a ceorlisc man the son of a ceorl, and a slave's son was born a slave. The difference which took place was that while the importance of the kin-group and the wergild diminished, greater importance came to be attached to the nature of the functions which a man performed and the reputation and life-style which went with them. As differentiation increased, a ceorl by birth might equally well end his career as a geneat whose duties to his lord were almost thegnly or as a gebur whose duties were barely distinguishable from those of a freedman. P23 Runciman

W. G. Runciman. *Accelerating Social Mobility: The Case of Anglo-Saxon England.* Past & Present, No. 104 (Aug., 1984), pp. 3-30.

## **United States, New Zealand, Canada, Australia use score for United Kingdom**

### **Europe**

Germanic tribes (Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Netherlands, Luxembourg)

The legal status systems of the Early Medieval gentes must be considered to have existed before the writing-down of the law...the *Leges barbarorum* fall into two main groups: they either list freemen (*ingenui*, *liberi*), semi-freemen or *lites(liti)* and serfs (*servi*), but not any other status established by birth and marked by a specified wergeld, as, for instance, the Franks and the Visigoths; or they do mention such extra legal status. This latter group includes the Thuringians, the Saxons, the Alamanni, the Bavarians, the Frisians and the Lombards. It is the earlier *leges* of the Germanic peoples occupying the territory of the former Roman empire to the west of the Rhine that make no mention of any higher innate wergeld than that of a freeman. Where there is an augmentation of the basic wergeld of the freeman, it is due to personal merit in the service of the public (Visigoths) or to the service of the king (Franks)...Surprisingly, the later *Leges* of the peoples to the east of the Rhine, who at the time these *Leges* were written down, were exposed to Franksih rule and influence, do know classes of people established by birth above the level of freemen and provided with a special wergeld. P295-296 Fries-Knoblach

The Baiuvarii and Thuringi: an ethnographic perspective, edited by Janine Fries-Knoblach and Heiko Steuer with John Hines. Woodbridge : Boydell Press ; San Marino : Center for Interdisciplinary Research on Social Stress, 2014.

### France (Franks)

During the periods of relative peace the leaders of the war bands seem to have gained in stature, thanks to their military successes and the accumulation of personal material wealth. It will be recalled how important the possession of a treasure was a qualification for leadership. P264 Schutz

“Kings” were leaders of war-bands

Schutz, Herbert, *The Germanic realms in pre-Carolingian Central Europe, 400-750*. New York: P. Lang, c2000.

In contrast to other barbarian peoples, such as the Alemanni and Bavarians, one finds no mention of nobles in the Pactus Legis Salicae. Instead one finds the major distinction to be between ingenui, free men, also called simply Franci, and various types of nonfree. A special group of ingenui were the domini, lords, who controlled various groups of nonfree and thus probably possessed important amount of land. However, these domini, while part of an “upper stratum” of Frankish society, do not have a special legal position, as would have been recognized by a higher wergeld. A higher wergeld for men came only with proximity to the king. P110 Geary  
If, instead of looking for a legally defined stratum one looks for an aristocracy characterized by inherited status, wealth and political power, then a Frankish aristocracy is clearly in evidence from the fifth and sixth centuries. P111 Geary

The free Franks at Lavoye and elsewhere in Francia were free in that they were obligated to military service under the king and as warriors had the right to participate in public justice. P113 Geary

Frankish society had various kinds of more deeply and personally dependent persons, the servi casati or slave tenant farmers, and coloni of the late Empire, as well as household slaves and rarely, field slaves on large estates. P113 Geary

Geary, Patrick J. *Before France and Germany: the creation and transformation of the Merovingian world*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

### Netherlands (Independent cities) Belgium (Independent cities)

The wealth distribution in the towns which can be reconstructed from fiscal registers...the poor who probably comprised a quarter of the total population, and sometimes also the nobility and clergy were exempt from taxation, and thus largely omitted from registration. Wealth was spread fairly evenly among the rest of population. Only in the 16<sup>th</sup> century did further marked changes in industrial organization in the towns occur (become more unequal). P256 Bavel

Bavel, B. J. P. van, *Manors and markets: economy and society in the low countries, 500-1600*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

### Viking (Denmark, Norway, Sweden)

The free were the backbone of society. The free had the right to express their views at the Thing (the assembly) where public issues were discussed and decisions taken. Standing and wealth were naturally also important in influencing the public decisions of the Thing. P56 Roesdahl

Roesdahl, Else. *The Vikings*. Allen Lane, 1991, C1987.

**Aristocracy:** Slavery and freedom, certainly, but whether nobility as well is disputed. P61  
Christiansen (According to the author, not enough evidence from archaeology to suggest nobility.  
“the tendency noted to take non-heritable surnames commemorating a father or mother, rather  
than an ancestry, suggests the former (not hereditary status); the archaeology is ambiguous)  
(the author also listed many ways of social promotion: colonization, conversion, service, reward  
from local rulers, loot from overseas, profits of trade. In general, there seemed too many ways to  
acquire status, not just hereditary)  
Christiansen, Eric. *The Norsemen in the Viking Age*. Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 2001.

## Iceland

The absence of rigid class distinctions between chieftains and farmers in early Iceland. P119, ---  
Once a farmer had chosen a gothi (chieftain) he was not bound to him but had the right to change.  
P120 Byock

The absence of aristocratic social structures in Iceland is surprising because these social  
structures had become established in the other Norse island communities. There was also no  
executive or collective exercise of power in Iceland, but instead an innovative system of self-  
governing farmers or householders that lasted for nearly four hundred years. P148 Leonard

Leonard, Stephen Pax. *Language, Society and Identity in Early Iceland*. [Publications of the  
Philological Society, 45] London: Wiley-Blackwell. 2012.

Byock, Jesse L. *Medieval Iceland: society, sagas, and power*, Berkeley: University of California  
Press, c1988.

## Ireland

**Social structure:** Kings were at the top and slaves at the bottom of the social structure. The  
highest levels comprised nobles and freemen, which include both landowners and craftsmen. P11  
Kinealy

The distinction between lords and commons, at least at the borderline between the two classes,  
was not watertight: it was possible for a family to become noble over three generations by  
amassing wealth and dependents. P18 Foster

The commoners were freemen, usually owners of their own land and having full rights at law.  
Lower down there were others, still freemen but with lesser assets. And beneath them again were  
the cottiers and landless men, and lastly the hereditary serfs, bound to the soil, part of their lord's  
estate. P19 Foster

Foster, R. F. *The Oxford history of Ireland*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

## Estonia

The structure of Estonian society in the last centuries before the German conquest was relatively  
simple. Leaving out the class of slaves, the Estonian population did not show great differences in

wealth or social power. There was no concept of a nobility nor of princes or kings in the usual sense of these terms. P11 Raun

Raun, Toivo U. Estonia and the Estonians. Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1991.

## Finland

Similar to Estonian tribes

## Greece

The backbone of Greek society was the yeoman class: the small free farmers. P101 Frost  
The rule of the Greek nobility, resting on the superior economic and social position of the aristocracy, was a distinctly caste rule. First and foremost the noble families united in their control the greatest amount of land...p60 Bengtson

towards the end of the seventh century the greatest amount of cultivable land is found in the hands of the great noble families...the broad mass of population, the free wage earners and a considerable number of the former small farmers found themselves in strict dependence on the great noble landowners. P69 Bengtson

Solon reform: the class division carried out by Solon on the basis of the existing military constitution...by making agricultural production the basis of the class division Solon sharply demarcated the individual classes from one another. The hippeis had to produce at least three hundred bushels, while the zeugitai, to wit the masses of the hoptile corps, two hundred annually. Those who fell below this figure belonged to the thetes. The transfer of the military constitution to the political sphere was only a consequence of the general development at the end of the seventh century, but it meant a radical departure from the principles of the old aristocratic state. No longer birth but property and property in the form of land was the deciding factor in the graduation of the political rights of the individual citizen. P72-73 Bengtson

Bengtson, Hermann, History of Greece: from the beginnings to the Byzantine era.

Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, c1988.

Frost, Frank J. Greek society. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, c1987.

## Rome

The plebeians were a disfranchised underclass who had no political or legal rights; either they were clients, attached to the patrician clans (this was Mommsen's opinion), or they were outside the original community altogether, as Niebuhr believed. P242 Cornell

During the relatively well-documented period of the middle Republic, the patricians formed a clearly identified group within the Roman nobility. Patrician status was hereditary. P245 Cornell  
Cornell, Tim. The beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars, c.1000-263 BC. London: Routledge, 1995.

The official social hierarchy was defined by legal statuses and founded in principle on the individual's capacity for public roles: it was, therefore, by definition a 'society of orders', and the aristocracy was a functional aristocracy (patriciate, nobilitas, Senate, equites). But simultaneously it was a property hierarchy, because the 'orders' were also based on a scale of

required wealth. There were, of old and down at least to 218 B.C., certain incompatibilities, which banned the functional aristocracy from 'chrematistic' activities - except agriculture

Plebeian: Like the patricians, plebeians constituted a hereditary order in Rome. Nearly all Romans were plebeian, increasingly so during the Republic and early Empire

Patrician: a member of a noble family or class in ancient Rome. The rank was originally hereditary, but in Imperial Rome patricians could be appointed by the emperor.

(Oxford Reference-The Oxford Dictionary of Phrase and Fable)

## Castile

A strong monarchy and a large class of freemen were the principal obstacles to the growth of feudalism. The continuing state of war with the Muslims bolstered the power of the king as the military leader primarily responsible for defense and for the preservation of Asturian-Leonese independence. Military success not only enhanced the king's prestige, but also added to his resources. Claiming ownership of all reconquered territory, the king was able to reserve large estates for himself and to reward his followers for their loyalty to him.

The nobility, on the other hand, lacking the military and financial power which only the possession of large estates could give, were unable to offer serious challenge to the king's authority. P167 O'Callaghan

But taking the situation as a whole, the social classes were distributed in the following manner: at the peak of the social hierarchy were the magnates, descendants of the old Visigothic seniores. However, among these magnates we do not find the great lord, owner of vast estates, such as was to develop in the Meseta after the 12th century; land was still scarce, and in spite of the fact that large proprietors did exist, there was no possible comparison with the later medieval estate owners. Lower than the magnates were the knights (equites, in the documents), those who fought from horseback and who consequently had special predominance at the time of the struggle against the Moslems. Beneath the knightly class were the ingenuili—that is, people considered to be free. These were persons who had absolutely no tie of dependency to any lord.

And finally, as the lowest social layer still free, were the so-called patrocinati, really "the people" in the strict sense; they were those who had a dependent relationship to a lord, either because they worked on his land or simply because of military occupation. The lowest class of society was made up of serfs; these were divided into two groups, those who tilled the fields and those who gave personal service. On the fringe of these social classes were the Mozarabes. P125-126 Vives

Vives, Vicens. Economic History of Spain. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015. Project MUSE,

## Catalonia

The characteristic customs and institutions of French feudalism were also found in Catalonia and reached their fullest development in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the other Christian states feudalism never reached maturity. P166 O'Callaghan

There were two elements of the Catalan upper class: the feudal military aristocracy, established on the land, and the moneyed bourgeois oligarchies. P104 Payne

Below them were the active middle classes, composed of several strata of merchants and financiers, ranging from enfranchised merchants down to the ordinary peddlers. P104 Payne

Despite strong status differences, this was a fairly open society with great mobility and considerable opportunity. P104 Payne

A clear feudal hierarchy existed in Catalonia, with a structure similar to that found in the rest of Europe. At the top was the count, then came the viscounts, comitores, and valvasores, and, finally, the knights (milites). The upper group received the title of barons and were the ones who really dominated the social structure of the country. Underneath this feudal hierarchy of a warrior type were the payeses, or peasants, those who lived on the pagus, or land. P140-141 Vives

Vicens Vives, Jaime. *An economic history of Spain*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1969.

O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *A history of medieval Spain*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, [1983]

Payne, Stanley G. *A history of Spain and Portugal*. [Madison] University of Wisconsin Press [1973]

## Aragon

In Aragon, power lay in the hands of the nobility; in Catalunya, power came to rest in the hands of the merchant class. -The constitutional structure of the small landlocked kingdom of Aragon resembled that of an aristocratic republic, rather than a monarchy. P109-110 Shneidman

Shneidman, J. Lee. *The rise of the Aragonese-Catalan Empire, 1200-1350*, New York University Press in 1970.

## Portugal

While trade gave rise to a small, urban middle class, only three divisions were recognized in society: clergy, nobility and the rest of the population, which consisted of peasants, serfs and slaves. The nobility consisted of the wealthy, estate-owning ricos homens, who were of the highest rank; the infanc , oes, or lesser nobles, whose only influence came from their birthright, and the fidalgos, who had a warrior status and were part of the king's or other nobles' households. All castles belonged to the king, and no one else was permitted to own or construct them, and when armies were raised, again only the king had the legal power to do so. As time progressed, the land north of the Tejo became the domain of the king, church and nobility, while south of the river it belonged to the military orders and municipalities that had been granted to the early settlers after the Reconquest and retained feudal privileges. Peasants formed by far the largest part of the population. In the rural areas of the south, many owned nothing and were forced into conditions approaching slave labor. Although technically free, they had to support the clergy by paying tithes and were subject to the arbitrary decisions of their noble or clerical lords, to whom they had to pay rent. They, like the serfs bound to the land, had no voice in affairs of state. At the bottom of the heap were the slaves, who were mostly captured Moors, often kept chained to prevent them from escaping. P31 Anderson

Anderson, James Maxwell. *History of Portugal*. Westport, US: Greenwood Press, 2000.

## Latvia

Pre-conquest: Compared to Central Europe, Baltic society was noticeably less stratified and egalitarian. Apart from slaves, mostly women and children, the majority of people were free peasants. P8 Kasekemp

Feudal Livonia: feudali relations were established, with the new rulers granting land to foreign nobles who, in return, pledged to provide military service whenever required by the bishops and the order. P31 Kasekamp

Archaeological findings indicate a more socially egalitarian federation of tribes in which individual leaders emerged as a result of their charisma but not necessarily because of their wealth. P49 Kiaupa

Kasekamp, Andres, *A history of the Baltic states*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Kiaupa, Zigmantas. *The history of Lithuania before 1795*. Vilnius: Lithuanian Institute of History, 2000.

## Lithuania

**Social structure:** the majority of farmers retained their status as freemen; there was no wall between them and the emerging noble class, and farmers could still become noblemen-whose prime duty was to go to war, and whose ranks constantly needed to be filled. P40 Kiaupa

14<sup>th</sup> century: a wall between them (nobles) and freemen did not yet exist-the movement of freemen into the ranks of noblemen was still taking place...the setting of the obligations and rights for different classes, their transmission from one generation to another and the fixing of the tradition of belonging to peasants or the noblemen foreshadowed a forthcoming legal separation of these classes. P74 Kiaupa

Kiaupa, Zigmantas. *The history of Lithuania before 1795*. Vilnius: Lithuanian Institute of History, 2000.

Kiaupa, Zigmantas. *The history of Lithuania*. Vilnius: Baltos Lankos, c2005.

## Slovenia

### **Social structure:**

In addition to the prince and his family, there was another high-ranking social class, the nobility...These sources indicate the existence of Slavic nobility before the end of the 8th century, and provide significant evidence of its survival into the Frankish period. P90 Luthar

Some peasants were free men who lived on the countryside manors, and others were the population of interrelated villages (župa) who sustained themselves by working land which had already been individually assigned. Under the feudal system, common land—the most widespread form until the 9th century—was considered land without a known owner, so it became part of the crown lands. P115 Luthar

In addition to possessing individual property (mostly farms, orchards, and meadows), the peasants also used common parish land (waters, pastures). P116 Luthar

During the pre-feudal period peasants were freemen, but under the feudal system most of them lost both their land and freedom. By the 13th century various types of colonization had produced a whole series of (un)free peasant statuses graded according to various degrees of their hereditary properties. The lowest was the status of unfree workers on estates held in demesne. Semifree statuses varied greatly among themselves, because they were based on the types of dues and obligations of the holder and the right to buy land or move from the farm rather than on inheritability. P116 Luthar



Luthar, Oto. *The land between: a history of Slovenia*. Frankfurt am Main, [Germany] : Peter Lang AG, 2013.

## **Balkans**

### **Croatia**

“the agricultural system of Croatia became similar to that of Western European feudalism.” P168 Eterovich

Dubrovnik was not, of course, alone in being ruled by a patriciate. The other large Dalmatian towns also generated their own principally mercantile nobilities, with which the Ragusan patricians evinced a strong social and occasionally political solidarity. P187 Harris

The social organization was that of free and attached persons, or serfs. Attached persons (servi, ancillae) were living not only in the maritime cities but also on the large estates....the social position of the attached persons was hereditary. The free men were divided into three classes: peasants, citizens and noblemen. In the old Croatian State the peasant enjoyed full ownership rights of his land was on equal footing with the resident of the city. The citizenship was divided into two classes: that of the noblemen...and that of the ordinary citizenry. P88 Preveden

Eterovich, Francis H. *Croatia: land, people, culture*. [Toronto] Published for the Editorial Board by University of Toronto Press.

Harris, Robin, *Dubrovnik: a history*. London: Saqi, 2003.

Preveden, Francis Ralph, *A history of the Croatian people from their arrival on the shores of the Adriatic to the present day : with some account of the Gothic, Roman, Greek, Illyrian, and prehistoric periods of the ancient Illyricum and Pannonia*. New York : Philosophical Library, c1955-

### **Serbia**

At the top of the pyramid was, the king (and later emperor) and his family. Below them were the nobles; as was the case in other parts of Europe during the feudal era, the nobles held and used large amounts of the king's land in return for giving him military service. The majority of the population consisted of serfs... below the serfs were the slaves. P24 Cox

Cox, John K. *The history of Serbia*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

### **Romania**

The emergence of feudal states against the background of the territorial communities that spread over the Carpatho-Danubian area was the result of a lengthy process of development of local economic forces, which made it possible for an aristocracy to be fashioned. P157 Otetea  
Feudalism (king-landowning aristocracy-dependent peasant) see p177-179 Otetea  
(seems not very different from the feudalism in Europe elsewhere)

In Transylvania, as already noted, the development of the noble counties followed the overall Hungarian trend, but the changeover had a slower pace. P206 Barta

Boyars: members of landed aristocracy, the most important social group in the Romanian lands during the Middle Ages...this was a hereditary class, although the prince could create new boyars by bestowing this title upon them and granting them lands and privileges.

Peasants: peasants formed the vast majority of the population during the Middle Ages. Free peasants also made up a significant portion of the rural population, especially in Moldavia and Wallachia. They were owners of landed estates, called *mosie*, inherited from a real or imaginary ancestor. These *mosneni* also called *mosteni* and *razeși* in Moldavia, had individual property rights although pastures were held in common by the village community. P77-78 Treptow

Barta, Gábor. *History of Transylvania*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, c1994.

Oțetea, Andrei. *A Concise history of Romania*. London: R. Hale; New York: Distributed by St. Martin's Press, 1985.

A history of Romania / edited by Kurt W. Treptow ; [authors, Ioan Bolovan ... etc.]. Iași : East European Monographs in collaboration with the Center for Romanian Studies ; New York : distributed by Columbia University Press, 1996.

## Bulgaria

### First and Second Bulgarian Empire

#### Khan

**Nobility (Boyars):** The boyars were originally just military men, but as society became more settled they gradually became landholders. P60 Sedlar

The Bulgar Khan also had an entourage of fighting men whom he maintained and whose loyalty to him was a personal one. P125 Browning

**Peasants:** free peasants, owing dues to the state; peasants dependent on a lord; a third class, in some way less free...whose status resembled that of a slave. P86 Browning

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

Browning, Robert, *Byzantium and Bulgaria: a comparative study across the early medieval frontier*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

## Albania

The feudal system extended throughout the larger part of Albania, as much in the coastal plains as in the interior agricultural regions. P46 Pollo

There was a clear dichotomy between landowners and serfs, also a hierarchy or gradation of landowners which position would pass down to their heirs along with the land. P163 Jacques Pollo, Stefanaq. *The history of Albania: from its origins to the present day*. London; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.

Jacques, Edwin. *The Albanians: an ethnic history from prehistoric times to the present*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., c1995.

## Eastern and Central Europe

### Poland

At the top of the social scale, stood the Durzyna or 'Team' of prince's bodyguards. These were drawn from a broad class of heredes (dziedzic) holding land from the prince in return for military service.

At the bottom of the social scale were the slaves, organized in decades and legions. Originating as prisoners of war, they were settled on plots of their own and worked the larger estates. They resembled the servi casati of the Frankish kingdoms of a century or two earlier, and as such could be bought and sold. P76 Davies

Davies, Norman, *God's playground, a history of Poland*. New York: Columbia University Press, c1982.

## Czech Republic (Bohemia)

All of these states (Bohemian Premyslids, Polish Piasts, and the Hungarian Arpads) were established in a similar fashion: the ruler removed the old tribal institutions, levying taxes, contributions and duties on freemen. Their personal freedom and proprietorial rights remained safe and furthermore they were all equal, if only in theory. P85 Pánek

As in tribal times, society was divided principally in two groups: freemen and slaves. A brisk trade was done in the latter, and they served as domestic menials in the courts of rich magnates; some of them received land from their masters so that they could support themselves. They had no rights and they were subject exclusively to their masters. The class of high-born magnates was not restricted in any way: it had no hereditary privileges and was not thus an aristocracy, even though in terms of wealth and prestige the difference between magnate and farmer was great. P86 Pánek

Pánek, Jaroslav. *A history of the Czech lands*. Prague: Charles University: Karolinum Press, 2009.

## Hungary

Beneath the ruling class, a mixture of established lords, traditional chieftains and the recently promoted, stood the free warriors, and on the lowest rung, the common people. P25 Molnar

In the Hungarian society of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the fundamental distinction was still not between titled nobleman and peasant serf, but between freeman (liber) and servant (servus), neither these nor the amorphous group of the 'semi-free' between them having a clearly defined, hereditary legal status. (the "aristocracy" of very heterogenous origin) p69 Kontler

Molnár, Miklós, *A concise history of Hungary*. Cambridge: New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Kontler, László. *A history of Hungary : millennium in Central Europe*. New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

## Russia

### **Duchy-hereditary aristocracy-Peasant**

**Aristocracy (boyar):** the world 'aristocracy' seems appropriate to describe the group, for a remarkable number of clans held their places of power beside the throne for generations. By the

end of the fourteenth century, several of the great non-titled clans of later periods had already established themselves as the grand princes' leading advisers. P12 Crummey  
Their entire lives increasingly centered on service to the ruler and the rewards and honors that it would bring. P14 Crummey

## **Latin America (colonial)**

Colonial elites were heterogeneous and often interlocking mixes of ranchers, planters, miners, merchants, high-ranking churchmen and bureaucrats, constantly renewed through intermarriage and the incorporation of successive generations of newly successful entrepreneurs and royal appointees sent from the Old World...for all members of the elites, wealth was the power. Military victory over indigenous peoples placed European-born Spaniards and Portuguese at the top of the colonial social hierarchy. P184 Burkholder

The social classes remained essentially the same throughout the whole colonial period. The Peninsulars, continued to represent the elite and to have a monopoly of the most important and lucrative political offices. Below this group were the native-born Spaniards or Creoles, who occupied the lesser offices which brought little honor and small salary. The same century was marked by a rapid advancement in the influence of the mestizo class...Beneath this group were the free Indians and Negroes, while at the bottom of the social scale were the Negro and Indian slaves. P199 Wilgus

Wilgus, A. Curtis (Alva Curtis). *Latin America, 1492-1942; a guide to historical and cultural development before World War II*. Metuchen, N.J., Scarecrow Reprint Corp., 1973 [c1941]  
Burkholder, Mark A. *Colonial Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

## **Mexico**

In Spain's American colonies, elite notions of race served as an instrument for perpetuating Spanish rule along practical administrative lines and reinforcing European notions of cultural superiority in the evolving American consciousness. Throughout the New World, the Spanish employed the concept of race to distinguish themselves from those over whom they claimed dominion. Specifically, the Spanish elaborated social identities that placed individuals into an elite-designed racial hierarchy, the caste system. Jackson

Jackson, Robert H. *Race, caste, and status: Indians in colonial Spanish America*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999.

To preserve their wealth, power and privileges, the Spanish created a caste-like system, the "Sistema de Castas", with Spaniards in the top group. Others were ranked below based on their percentage of Spanish blood...this system of classification which sought to determine access to certain rights, professions and institutions on the basis of ancestry, also accounted for Africans. Martinez

Martinez, Maria Elena. "Social Order in the Spanish New World." *When Worlds Collide*, 2010, [inside.sfuhs.org/dept/history/Mexicoreader/Chapter3/Social%20Order%20in%20the%20Spanish%20New%20World.pdf](http://inside.sfuhs.org/dept/history/Mexicoreader/Chapter3/Social%20Order%20in%20the%20Spanish%20New%20World.pdf).

The elite of the society in the post-Conquest colony was made up of the more than two thousand Spaniards in Mexico in 1521. The second level of colonial society was formed by those of Spanish blood born in Mexico. Mestizos formed a large, discrete group in society...a distinctly inferior socioeconomic class. p202-214 Deeds

Deeds, Susan. The course of Mexican history. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, [2018]

Colonial society was stratified by race and wealth although these were not hard and fast distinctions. The three main groups were whites (European- and American-born), castas(mestizos), and native peoples; each had specific rights or privileges (fueros ) and obligations in colonial society. The major fuero was the right of an individual to be tried by his or her peers. The church, the military, the bureaucracy, and the merchants enjoyed their set of fueros. Membership in the upper classes was open to whites only, particularly peninsulares, whites who were born in Spain and moved to the colonies. Criollos (American-born whites, also known as creoles) tended to marry peninsulares for reasons of upward social mobility.

Nevertheless, many examples exist of race changes after birth.

The lower classes were a mixture of poor whites, castas, and native peoples who worked in the same occupations as whites or castas but who had different rights and obligations. Indigenous groups were protected from the Inquisition (the Roman Catholic court designed to combat heresy), paid head taxes, and could not own property as individuals but were the primary beneficiaries of social services in health and education. Mestizos were under the same obligations as whites but were not considered for most of the jobs in the Spanish administration. These jobs were held only by peninsulares. Merrill

Tim L. Merrill and Ramón Miró, editors. Mexico: A Country Study. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1996.

## Guatemala

(In the 18<sup>th</sup> century), The social classes continued to be those established in the earlier colonial period. At the top of the scale there were still the peninsular Spaniards and those with pretensions to nobility. Next in rank came the creoles, colonial born Spaniards, less privileged. Then came the mestizos, mulattoes and the zambos, of mixed Indian and negro blood. Of the latter there were few...at the foot of the social scale were the negro slaves, also few in number and the Indians. P283-284 Jones

Ranks and classes of people depending on race, color and class were pronounced during the era of the first settlers in the sixteenth century, and still were present in the last century of Spanish control.p174 Jones, Jr.

Jones, Chester Lloyd, Guatemala, past and present. New York, Russell & Russell, 1966 [c1940]

Jones, Oakah L. Guatemala in the Spanish colonial period. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, c1994.

## El Salvador

Belonged to the Captaincy General of Guatemala; same as Guatemala

## Honduras

Belonged to the Captaincy General of Guatemala; same as Guatemala

## Costa Rica

An elite class emerged, originating with the earliest conquistadores, whose descendants maintained close family linkages and passed down power and wealth from one generation to the next. These families tended to hail from the original encomendero class, and they controlled the largest landed estates in the Central Valley.p30 Rankin

As in other regions of the Spanish colonies, the Costa Rican population generally broke down into a social stratification based on race and ethnicity. P31 Rankin

(but still “more egalitarian” p31 Rankin than other Spanish colonies)

Rankin, Monica A. *The history of Costa Rica*. Santa Barbara, California: Greenwood, an imprint of ABC-CLIO, LLC, [2012].

## Panama

*Politics, economy, and society in Bourbon Central America, 1759-1821 / edited by Jordana Dym & Christophe Belaubre. Boulder, Col. : University Press of Colorado, c2007.*

## Colombia

Colonial society relied on "purity of blood" as a basis for stratification. The elites at the top of the social pyramid were peninsulares, persons of Spanish descent born in Spain. Peninsulares held political power and social prestige in the society. Below them were the criollos, those of Spanish descent born in the colonies. This group had limited access to the higher circles of power and status. Next in importance and the most numerous were the mestizos, persons of mixed Spanish and Indian descent who were free but relegated to positions of low prestige. Most Indians gradually became absorbed linguistically or lost their identity through mixture with other peoples; by the late 1980s, Indians constituted only 1 percent of the Colombian population. Black African slaves and *zambos*, persons of mixed African and Indian descent, were at the bottom of the social scale and were important only as a source of labor. Hudson

Hudson, Rex A. *Colombia: a country study*, Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O., 2010.

## Ecuador

Peninsulares, Spaniards born in Spain, held the most important government and ecclesiastical positions and were considered the societal elite...Criollos, the progeny of Spanish parents, but born in Ecuador, were next in the social pecking order. Mestizos, the offspring of a Spaniard and an indigenous person, comprised the largest Hispanized group in colonial times. This diverse group held a wide range of occupation and their social and economic status varied greatly. Indigenous people were supposedly the next rung on the social ladder, but in reality were the most marginalized group. While Africans officially had the lowest societal status, they often fared better than the indigenous. P30 Lauderbaugh

Lauderbaugh, George. *The history of Ecuador*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: Greenwood, 2012.

## Peru

The social and racial configuration of this society was both complex and ambiguous. Blacks stood at the bottom of the Spanish world...and an entirely new ethnic category-the mestizo, or casta of mixed blood, was rapidly emerging...the colonial administration tried in vain to classify this diverse multitude for the purposes of collecting taxes and establishing social categories of stratification. P53 Klarén

Klarén, Peter F. *Peru: society and nationhood in the Andes*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

## Venezuela

On top was a small elite of white peninsulares (those born in Spain) and criollos (those born in America of Spanish parentage); they were followed by the white Canary Islanders, who typically worked as wage laborers; then came a large group of racially mixed pardos, who by the late eighteenth century made up more than half the total; they were followed by African slaves, who constituted about 20 percent of the population; and, lastly, by the Indians. The native population, decimated by slavery and disease throughout the colonial period, constituted less than 10 percent of the total at independence. Haggerty

## Chile

In colonial society, during the eighteenth century, three social classes came to be defined, each with well-marked characteristics.

1. The Spaniards. They constituted the privileged, dominating element of the colony.
2. The Creoles.
3. The Mestizos
4. The Negroes p133-135 Luis

Galdames, Luis. *A history of Chile*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1941.

## Brazil

Captaincies, hereditary settlers, slaves...The social structure was dominated by white males of Portuguese descent, who were typically large landholders. Below the large landholders in the social hierarchy were lesser landholders, and below these were a small group of landless individuals who were occupied as tradesmen, artisans, soldiers and so forth. Below this category was a group of white free men, typically banished by the Crown from Portugal for a variety of crimes. At the very bottom of the ladder were slaves. P22 Edwards

The planter class failed to evolve into a hereditary nobility and all whites tended to aspire to high rank...in reality, in addition to the agrarian occupational hierarchy, Brazilian society was ordered by two other principles: a judicial division based primarily on distinctions between slave and free, and a racial graduation from white to black. P136 Bethell

The social structure of Brazil was essentially similar to that in Spanish America. In the mature colony, the distribution of wealth and power correlated closely with the racial status system. Brazil did not have a hereditary Indian leadership class that survived the conquest and evolved to assume an intermediary role in the colonial order. Nor did a semifudal class of encomenderos

develop in Brazil. Instead, the social order rooted itself in the materialism and fluid social relations associated with the Atlantic commercial system. P197 Burkholder and Johnson

Edwards, Todd L. *Brazil: a global studies handbook*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, c2008.  
Colonial Brazil. edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Burkholder, Mark A. *Colonial Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

## Argentina

The estanciero class was certainly in a dominant position but there were other social sectors such as peones, gauchos and small and medium farmers. With respect to property rights, the latter's institutional status was weak, as most of them tilled their soil as tenants (arrendatarios), sharecroppers (aparceros, medieros) or squatters (ocupantes). But the war of independence broke up the colonial social structure and destabilized the existing power relations (Salvatore 1994: 74-102; Halperin Donghi 1975).

"Access to Land": The State and the evolution of landholding patterns in the U.S. and Argentina in the 19th century, Peter Fleer and Hans Werner Tobler.

## Uruguay

**Not available. Many potential relevant work in Spanish, see Oxford Bibliography**

**"Uruguay"**

## Caribbean:

### Trinidad and Tobago

Just as whiteness tended to put the individual automatically at the top of the social class scale, so blackness of skin colour automatically put the individual at the bottom end of the social scale. At the same time there was a limited mobility from the lowest end of the scale from among the blacks and the browns into the middle class. Unlike the barriers between the whites and non-whites the "caste" barrier could be circumvented by marriage. P46 Braithwaite

Braithwaite, Lloyd. Social stratification in Trinidad: a preliminary analysis. Social and Economic Studies. 2(2/3):5-175; Institute of Social and Economic Research, University College of the West Indies, Jamaica, 1953.

During the slavery period, Caribbean social structure was basically a hierarchical one in which Amerindians, blacks, and browns were subordinated to white control.

<http://encyclopedia.jrank.org/articles/pages/6040/Caribbean-Racial-Formations.html>

Braithwaite, Lloyd. Social stratification in Trinidad: a preliminary analysis. Mona, Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, c1975

## Dominican Republic

During the colonial period, hateros (ranchers), closely tied to the colonial bureaucracy, had developed into caudillos who constituted an economic and social elite.

Dominican society has been characterized by a light-skinned elite and mulatto majority since the seventeenth century. The lack of directed economic growth under the Spanish colonial



system, an extensive cattle rearing economy which limited slave labor, and the late expansion of the sugar plantation economy provided the basis for the country's racial demography. P58 Howard

Howard, David John. *Coloring the nation: race and ethnicity in the Dominican Republic*. Oxford: Signal Books ; Boulder, Colo. : L. Rienner Publishers, 2001.

## **Jamaica**

Civil and political rights were granted in colonial Jamaica based on a racial hierarchy created and imposed by the planter class. P73 Delle

Social mobility was possible in large measure because the white population of Jamaica was surprisingly transient. P71 Delle

Delle, James A. *The colonial Caribbean: landscapes of power in plantation system*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

## **Pre-colonial**

### **Inca**

At the head of the state stood the sovereign or Sapa Inca ('emperor') who was worshipped as the son of the sun god. P138 Kulmar

Aristocracy consisted of three ranks. Ranking the highest were the Incas or Quechuan hereditary aristocracy who were sufficiently numerous to keep the state under their control. The next class were half-blood Incas or panaca, as well as the elite of ethnic groups in the region surrounding Cuzco or the so-called 'Incas by privilege'. Namely, the original concept of a village community had undergone significant changes in the core of the empire. In Cuzco and its environs, the traditional village community or ayllu had been transformed into panaca. Panaca, as a privileged ayllu, included thousands of descendants of emperors, people who in principle were counted among nobility and from whose ranks public officials were recruited. The third group consisted of the upper classes of the conquered tribes who were loyal to the Incas and who had been granted privileges and given certain influence in local affairs.

The majority of the population who worked in the fields, bred cattle or worked as craftsmen in villages, were the working class – hatunruna. Ayllu, or the village community, was the foundation of the social organization of the Inca state. Ayllus were the building blocks of regions and provinces. The separation between aristocracy and commoners was strict and the vertical mobility, from lower to upper ranks, within communities was normally not possible. Even the horizontal mobility, i.e. choosing a career within the society, was strictly regulated and controlled by the authorities. P139 Kulmar

The Inka recognized an upper class that was entirely hereditary and divided into three main ranks on the basis of members' origins. P145 Trigger

All the members of this (Panaqas) highest level of the Inka upper class claimed descent from the principal Inka deity, the sun god, Inti. Men drawn from this level occupied the highest offices in the Inka state.

The second rank of Inka nobility consisted of Inka-by-privilege (ayllucusco), who were organized into ten descent groups (ayllus). According to Inka traditions, they had originally lived in the Cusco region, and their ancestors had supported the early Inka kings. Finally, conquered hereditary rulers and their descendants, down to the level of rulers of one hundred families, were often allowed to retain their land and privileges as members of the provincial nobility. P148-149 Trigger

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Kulmar, Tarmo. *About the Comparison of the State Authority and Social Organization by Incas and Aztecs*. Folklore (14060957). Jun2010, Vol. 45, p137-150.

## Maya

Elite and non-elite (p180 Sharer), the lowest status was that of slaves or captives owned by the elite. P181 Sharer

Based on the archaeological distribution of both architectural groups and tombs at Caracol, we infer that the archaeology dictates the existence of a sizeable group of people in between the hereditary elite and the true commoners or peasants. These individuals may be similar to the *ahmen uinic* or “middle men” described for the historic Maya. P42 Chase

Among the Classic Maya hereditary *ahaw* (nobles) may have been differentiated from commoners. P145 Trigger

Among the Maya, rulers and their families also appear to have belonged to a hereditary lordly class. P151 Trigger

In highland Mesoamerica and probably among the Maya, class differences were hereditary. P165 Trigger

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Chase, Diane Z. and Arlen F. Chase. *Mesoamerican elites: an archaeological assessment*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, c1992.

## Aztec

The population was divided into two principal social classes. The upper class was for the most part formed by hereditary aristocracy (*pilli*) and accounted for approx. 10 % of the population. Some vertical mobility between aristocracy and commoners was possible, on the basis of military prowess, which could result in commoners being given titles, nominations to public offices, tax exemptions or land grants. Thus, there developed a numerous class of non-hereditary aristocracy and lower ranks of priesthood. P143 Kulmar

The hereditary nobles of the Valley of Mexico were divided into two groups: the *tetecuh*tin (lords), who were the king's main advisers and military officers, and the *pilli*, descendants of *tetecuh*tin who had not inherited their fathers' positions but served as government officials of lesser rank...because *calpolli* leaders were encouraged to marry the daughters of kings, powerful commoner families were drawn into the nobility and their primary loyalties transferred from their kinship and residence groups to the emerging upper class...a noble's rank was further defined by the state offices to which he was appointed and by the finely graduated military honors that he won in recognition of his performance in battle. P151 Trigger

Kulmar, Tarmo. *About the Comparison of the State Authority and Social Organization by Incas and Aztecs*. Folklore (14060957). Jun2010, Vol. 45, p137-150.

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

## South Asia

## Bhutan

Three broad classes: the monastic community, lay civil servants who ran the government apparatus; farmers living in self-sufficient villages. Also had an underclass of prisoners of war and their descendants, who were generally treated as serfs or even as slaves. P325 Savada

Many Tibetan monastic establishments were associated with leading families and clans; many hierarchs believed in the virtue of preserving the family line (hereditary transmission of position and power) rather than following the Buddha's example as a celibate monk. P209 Phuntsho

Andrea Matles Savada. *Nepal and Bhutan: country studies*, Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. Govt. Print. Office, 1993. Phuntsho, Karma, *The history of Bhutan*, London: Haus, 2013.

## Mauryan Empire

Caste: Under the Mauryan period the caste system tended to be fairly fluid and examples can be quoted of considerable social mobility. The position of the first two castes for instance was interchangeable. By the Mauryan period, it would appear that the brahmins had gained the upper hand. Although the later rigidity of the caste system was not prevalent in all its forms in Mauryan times, the process of crystallization had begun. Certain priorities and privileges for the brahmins were accepted as a matter of course.

For example, a brahman living on the edge of a forest might take to carpentry if there was a surplus of priests in the area. Some degree of mobility within the caste was allowed provided it was the direct result of economic pressure. P74 Thapar

On the whole the laws of endogamy were strictly observed, which prevented the brahmins from merging with the rest of the population. P74 Thapar

Brahmins: state sacrifice, perform ceremonies, and foretell the future. They were not expected to contribute their share in forced labor, and it would seem, were on the whole exempted from taxation. P78 Thapar

It has been suggested that the cultivators were the sudras, and that new villages were built in the waste land by deported sudras from over-populated cities and from conquered areas. They were kept unarmed and under state control and the state took their surplus wealth. The sudra helot had come into his own under state control to make large-scale slavery unnecessary for food production. P79 Thapar

Thapar, Romila. *Aśoka and the decline of the Mauryas*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012.

## Tamil

### Caste System:

A rigid four-folded castes comparable to that of north India certainly did not exist in the ancient Tamil society. However, certain divisions based on region and occupation seemed to exist, and "the hereditary basis of occupational division increased with the lapse of time" p235 Pillay

It is notable that even as early as the Sangam age the idea that people of certain groups were of low birth had taken shape. P213 Pillay

Although there was a large measure of flexibility in the social structure of the Sangam age, the basic beginnings of the caste system are noticeable. P232 Pillay

The Brahmins were there, though all the Brahmins were not Aryans...but neither the Kshatriyas nor the Vaisyas were organized on a clear-cut basis. All the rest who constituted the majority were erroneously described by Tolkappiyar as Vellalar, equating them with the Sudras of the Aryan classification. But numberless sub-castes had emerged even before the advent of the Aryans and that process has continued through the ages. P234 Pillay

**Slavery:** unknown among the Tamils, because cheap and devoted labor was available in plenty. p31 Husaini

Pillay, Kolappa Pillay Kanakasabhapathi, *A social history of the Tamils*, by K. K. Pillay. [Madras] University of Madras.

Husaini, Abdul Qadir, Saiyid. The history of the Pāndya country, Karaikudi, Selvi Pathippakam [1962].

## Bengal

**Caste system:** Ksatriyas and Vaisyas were almost unknown in early Bengal, but the Brahmins played a dominant part in its history. Their number constantly increased by fresh immigrations from northern India. P259 Bhattacharjee

Although arts, crafts, and professions were generally hereditary, and the different castes normally followed the vocations assigned to them, it is now generally recognized that there was never any absolute rigidity or exclusiveness in actual practice. Even the Brahmins, became soldiers, rulers, administrators and counsellors and followed other vocations. P574 Majumdar

Bhattacharjee, Jayati, *An early history of northern Bengal: historical geography and social formations in Pundravardhana*, Delhi: Akansha Pub. House, 2013.

## Sri Lanka

### **Caste system:**

The institution of caste formed the basis of social stratification in ancient Sinhalese society and determined a person's obligation and position within the hierarchy. However, the influence of Buddhism lessened the severity of the institution. P10 Russell

People of different castes occupied separate streets or sectors of the settlements, and were also special caste-villages occupied by those people belonging to one particular caste (e.p. village of weavers, artisan villages around the capital). P80 Ismail

Caste distinctions existed and were based on occupation. Social divisions arose between those engaged in agriculture and those engaged in nonagricultural occupations. The Govi (cultivators) belonged to the highest Sinhalese caste (Goyigama). P11 Russell

Russell R. Ross and Andrea Matles Savada, editors. *Sri Lanka: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1988.

## Nepal

The Lichhavis were staunch supporters of the Hinduism and the *varna vyavastha* (caste system) p23 Savada

In the system, each caste is ideally an endogamous group in which membership is both hereditary and permanent. Within such a constrictive system, wealth, political power, high rank, and privilege converge; hereditary occupational specialization is a common feature. P80 Savada Savada, Andrea Matles. *Nepal and Bhutan: country studies*. Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. Govt. Print. Office, 1993.

The Varnashram system at that time was based on the occupations of people. (Brahman, Chettri, Vaishya, Shudra, Eighteen races) p17 Nepal

Nepal, Mediniprasad. *Socio-economic history of ancient and medieval Nepal*. Biratnagar: Dharanidhar Multipurpose Co-operative Ltd., 1997.

## **East Asia**

### **Japan**

Under the leadership of Yamato, the country was divided into a number of local hereditary units called uji, sometimes translated as “clans”. These had their hereditary chiefs and their own uji deities. The uji were ranked in hierarchical order under the ruling Yamato group. (P14 Reishauer) Reishauer O.Edwin: *Japan: the Story of a Nation* Japan, New York, Knopf, 1974.

### **Korea**

At the least it can be supposed that the polity was ruled by a hereditary elite whose members were differentiated to some degree by both rank and function. P14 Barnes

In Puyo and Koguryo, class distinctions were more noticeable than in other regions. The majority of the population seems to have been called haho, or lower family, just above slaves. The haho classes, who seem to have been originally the conquered people, were engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry. P40 Joe

“centralized aristocratic states” p31 Lee

Joe, Wanne J. *A history of Korean civilization*. Seoul, Chung‘wang University Press, 1972.

Lee, Ki-baek. *A new history of Korea*. Mass.: Published for the Harvard-Yenching Institute by Harvard University Press, 1984.

Gina Lee Barnes. *State Formation in Korea: Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*.

### **China**

In China a hereditary nobility was distinguished from ordinary men (ren) and dependent workers (zhong). P145 Trigger

The Shang upper class thus became a network of officials related directly or indirectly to the king...while these positions normally were hereditary, successors, at least at the higher levels, had to be confirmed by the king, who could also promote or remove individuals from their offices. P150 Trigger

The Shang society was ruled by a hereditary ruling class, of a single consanguineal origin (the Tzu clan). Members of the clan that were actively involved with the kingship (wang tsu) were classed into ten segments for ritual purposes. P180 Chang

Members of the ruling class other than the royal lineage and its kings are the fus (royal consorts), the tzus (the princes) and the officials. P189 Chang

Birth, the fact of being descended from persons of consequence, is always a factor in fixing social position. This was especially true in the case of members of the ruling Chou family and of the few other families which emerged as very powerful after the conquest. There was a hereditary aristocratic class. The Shih were a group who might be compared very roughly with the knights of medieval Europe...some have supposed that the shih were not merely an aristocratic class, but rather a caste, of different racial origin from the common people. Individuals were raised to the aristocratic class from the plebeian, and sank to plebeian status although they had been aristocrats...wholesale reduction of families to the enslaved class because of a crime of one of their members, was a penalty which always hung over the heads of the aristocrats...At the bottom of the scale we have slaves. Prisoners of war were enslaved as a matter of course...persons who had offended their superiors, which in those days was equivalent to having committed crimes, were often condemned to slavery.

In all our material there is only one mention of the sale of men by one owner to another. An inscription on a bronze ting, said to date from of 900 BC, seems to record the exchange of five men for one horse and a roll of silk; however, it is difficult to be completely sure of its meaning. Gifts of slaves, by the king and others, are very frequent indeed. P282 Creel

But if we turn from those who are called slaves and bondsmen to the people at large, can we say that they were free? Only in a very limited sense. The work that they must do was assigned by their superiors or their officials and if they did not do it they were punished. It might be said, then that virtually the whole non-aristocratic population was in the status of slaves or serfs. P283 Creel

Creel, Herrlee Glessner, *The birth of China; a study of the formative period of Chinese civilization*. New York, F. Ungar Pub. Co. [1954, c1937]

Chang, Kwang-chih. *Shang civilization*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980.

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

## **Middle East and Near East**

### **Egypt**

The ancient Egyptians distinguished the p't (hereditary nobility) from the rhyt (defeated/subjected ones) or nds (small people). The hereditary nobles were, however, supplemented and increasingly eclipsed by a non-hereditary upper class composed of officials who held positions in the higher echelons of the civil service hierarchy. P145 Trigger

The most important and finely graduated Egyptian male status hierarchy consisted of the ranked positions that individuals might occupy in the state administrative system. P149 Trigger

Only in the fourth dynasty is there evidence that the highest offices of state were opened up to persons of nonroyal birth, giving individuals from humbler backgrounds the chance to better their social status. Wilkinson

The reestablishment of centralized government at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom was accompanied outwardly by a return to Old Kingdom social structures, but in practice society was somewhat more fluid, with limited opportunities for advancement, irrespective of birth (see below). This trend became more pronounced in the New Kingdom, which is distinguished from

preceding periods by the appearance of a significant “middle class,” comprising craftsmen, traders, and minor officials. These people provided a link between the traditional, polarized classes of ruling and ruled, as did the various occupational categories which began to emerge as social groupings in their own right. Wilkinson

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Wilkinson, Toby A. H. "Social Stratification." *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*. : Oxford University Press, January 01, 2005. Oxford Reference. Date Accessed 6 Oct. 2018 <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195102345.001.0001/acref-9780195102345-e-0683>>.

## Iran

There are strong grounds for supposing that, for some purposes at least, they still defined it in terms of the ancient Iranian social divisions outlined in parts of the Avesta, where individuals are classified by basic function as priests, warriors, and farmers (see i, above). Social stratification is known to have existed within the Persian nation (ethnos) and to have become more marked as a result of the imperial conquests. The texts show that the empire was administered by members of great families, comparable to European nobles, whom the Greek authors described as “well-born” or, more comprehensively, as “esteemed,” “respected,” “honored,” and sometimes also as “princes” (prôtoi; Briant, 1988). The corresponding term in Old Persian, and in the Iranian languages generally, is \*āzāta, which means basically those born into a clan (de Blois, 1986; see also ĀZĀD). It is only natural that the word azētai should have been interpreted, for instance, in a gloss by the commentator Hesychius (Alexandri Lexicon 1442, s.v. azatē), as “those nearest to the king.” During the Achaemenid period nobility and authority were in fact conferred not solely by birth but also by royal favor. It was from the king that members of the great families received appointments as governors or commanders, and it was owing to the conquests and royal favor that they enjoyed manifold economic advantages, particularly land grants in conquered territories... All the nobles were “devoted servants” (see BANDA i. THE TERM) of the great king, bound to him by ties of personal loyalty that had to take precedence over family or clan solidarity. Briant

Briant, Pierre. “Class SySTEM II. In the Median and Achaemenid Periods”, *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, New York, 1996-

Forty top-ranking officers all seem to have been Persians. Approximately half of this body of commanders in 480 B.C. came from the immediate kin, by blood or by marriage, of the King himself. P280 Oppenheim

And it was not only at the King's court that this narrowing of the circle of the elite took place. As we descend beyond the reign of Xerxes we find the satraps also tending to use their own relatives for important commissions. P280 Oppenheim

Nobles were defined by birth and wealth. An aristocrat's status was thus defined by his ethnicity, his father's name, or his tribe and/or clan's name. p332 Briant

It was theoretically possible for a particularly deserving, poor Persian to become integrated into the royal hierarchy. P332 Briant

...a social differentiation between the old aristocratic families that were attached to their tribes and Persians of lower birth called into service by the king. The “new social class” represented by the latter would consist of men who rejected the confines of the tribe; the old-stock aristocrats, however, continued to value belonging to a famous tribe until the end of the Achaemenid era.

P333 Briant

There is no doubt that the greater part of the king’s men came from the great aristocratic families.

P334 Family legacy is also known as the basis for other positions. P339 Briant

Briant, Pierre. *From Cyrus to Alexander: a history of the Persian Empire*; translated by Peter T. Daniels. Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 2002..

## Mesopotamia

Mesopotamia’s social structure was based on economics; that is, Mesopotamian society was divided into two groups, those who owned property, especially land and those who were dependent on the wealthy-the “haves” and “have-nots”. Hammurabi’s law code named three basic social strata, the awilum, the muskenum and the wardum; the latter means “slave”, the only term which can easily be translated. P117 Nemet-Nejat

Social distinctions were not fixed. A man without land could become a landowner... There was social mobility at the very top. P118 Nemet-Nejat

The early Mesopotamians do not appear to have had a hereditary nobility, but their free population was divided into two groups with unequal political power and unequal rights before the law. P145 Trigger

In two early civilizations, however, Mesopotamia and that of the Yoruba, there was an upper class but no hereditary nobility. P152 Trigger

Significantly, Babylonian law tended to foster upward social mobility. P62 Bertman

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Nemet-Nejat, Karen Rhea. *Daily life in ancient Mesopotamia*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1998.

Bertman, Stephen. *Handbook to life in ancient Mesopotamia*. New York: Facts on File, c2003.

## Israel

there was probably also a class consisting of noble families associated in some way with the royal court, and a class of wealthy landowners. There may also have been a class of merchants who attained wealth and achieved elite status through contributing goods or services to the king. Whether or not there were professional lenders or other similar professionals and entrepreneurs, which are typical of market economies, is open to question. Such roles are thought to have been discouraged in redistributive economic systems. P168 McNutt

The majority of the population probably consisted of an agricultural class, including not only the owners of large estates, but also small freeholders, family farmers, agricultural workers and peasant farmers. P168 McNutt

McNutt, Paula M. *Reconstructing the society of ancient Israel*. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1999.



## Lebanon (Phoenicia)

King-priests-wealthy merchants and aristocrats-citizen laborers and artisans-freedmen-slaves  
P57 Woolmer

It encouraged social interaction between different socio-ethnic groups resulting in intermarriage between citizens and foreigners; secondly, it meant that most Phoenician city-states were home to a sizeable immigrant community. P57 Woolmer

Despite a scarcity of evidence, it is still possible to reconstruct a schematic overview of Phoenicia's social hierarchy. In general, each of the city-states appears to have informally divided its populations into five main socio-economic classes, namely: Royalty, nobility, middle class, working class and servant class...Aside from royalty, the uppermost class within Phoenicia's social hierarchy was the Noble class, which comprised government officials, generals, wealthy merchants and land owners and priests...though it is possible to create a schematic overview of Phoenicia's social hierarchy, the lack of contemporary source material prevents more detailed analysis. P64-65 Woolmer

Woolmer, Mark, *A short history of the Phoenicians*. London; New York, NY: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2017.

Woolmer, Mark. *Ancient Phoenicia: an introduction*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011.

## Arabia

Pre-Islamic era: Tribal council (*sayyid*)-composed of the notables of the tribe, who conducted the discussions in it; no automatic coercive powers and could only win over his board through conviction and not coercion. P22 Rihan

In pre-Islamic Arabia there was no tradition of standing government, and in some ways Muhammad functioned as little more than the temporary leader of a grand confederation of Arab tribes. Nonetheless, from the moment of the *hijra* Islam expressed itself both as what we would call a 'religion' and as a political authority – that is, as a 'state'. P400 Landau-Tasseron

Rihan, Mohammad. *The politics and culture of an Umayyad tribe: conflict and factionalism in the early Islamic period*. London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2014.

"Arabia", Ella Landau-Tasseron, *The New Cambridge History of Islam*. Volume 1, *The Formation of the Islamic World, Sixth to Eleventh Centuries* / edited by Chase F. Robinson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

## Morocco

Three categories of men: slaves, former slaves (*mawali*), and freemen by birth. P267 Talbi  
Slaves:

Slaves were very numerous in major urban areas, but virtually unknown in areas with a predominantly nomadic population and strong 'tribal' structures.

The Koran lays considerable emphasis on the merits of enfranchisement. The ranks of slaves, through the combined effect of enfranchisement and the purchase of liberty, were constantly thinned out as slaves aspired to move up to another social category, *mawali*. P267 Talbi,

The freemen in general were divided into two classes: the aristocratic minority, influential and usually wealthy, the *khassa*; and the majority of plebeians, the *amma*.

The khassa was the ruling class, with somewhat ill-defined boundaries. It consisted of the elite by birth or by military tradition, the intellectual elite, and all persons of any wealth. Hope of gaining admittance to the khassa was not denied to the members of the amma. No rigid legal structure acted as an obstacle to this p268 Talbi

J. Currey. Africa from the seventh to the eleventh century. "the conquest of North Africa and Berber resistance" by H.Mones and "the Independence of the Maghrib" by M. Talbi, London: Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

### Pakistan (Ghaznavid)

All these elements came together within what might be called the Ghaznavid 'power state', in which the sultan and his servants, both military and civilian, stood over and against the mass of subjects. P117 Bosworth

Bosworth, Clifford Edmund. The Ghaznavids; their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran, 994-1040. Edinburgh, University Press [1963]

### Assyria

Old Assyria: Old Assyrian society was divided into two main groups: the free citizens, who were called "men" or "sons of Ashur", and "slaves"/ There was no specific distinction between the Assyrian citizens, but according to their rank, age, and wealth, they were considered either as "big", or "small", members of the assemblies of Ashur and Kanis. P81 Frahm

Middle Assyria: the highest segment of the society was constituted by a small upper class. Its members were mainly recruited from long-established large families, the so-called "houses" and occupied all of the important offices within the administration. P155 Frahm

The group closest to the upper class consisted of free men who likewise received allotments of land for performing official duties. The siluhlu did not have access to land ownership and were dependent on what they received from the state administration...it seems probable that the siluhlu were recruited at least partially from prisoners of war and deportees. P156 Frahm

Eckart Frahm. A companion to Assyria., Yale University, New Haven, US. Hoboken, NJ : John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2017.

### Seljuk/Ottoman

Mostly based on merit. This empire mainly consisted of 4 major social classes which were the men of the pen, men of the sword, men of the negotiation and the men of the husbandry. There was a division in power among these Ottoman Empire social classes. In the Ottoman Empire, one's place in the social hierarchy was determined on the basis of his/her skills. Which means that those with maximum merit were placed over others with less skills or merit.

<http://www.hierarchystructure.com/ottoman-empire-social-hierarchy/>

In the Ottoman social structure, stratification appeared differently from the feudality seen in the west and some other eastern societies (China, Egypt, and Japan). Ottoman's unique social structure was shaped by the tax system and administrative/military organization especially by the property regime. Accordingly, it is possible to divide society into two main layers: rulers (military class) and those governed (rayah). Military class consisted of people from palace, ilmiye (ruling class), seyfiye (military), and kalemiye (administrative). There is also transitivity

between these three classes (Tabakoğlu, 1999). P120 Orhan  
Orhan, Sadettin. Social Stratification - Social Security Relationship: Example of Turkey. Journal of Education & Social Policy Vol. 3, No. 4; October 2016.

## **Southeast Asia**

### **Thailand**

The Thai society that evolved in the Sukhothai period was elitist in nature with the presence of a non-Thai slave population. The Thai aristocracy resembled that of the Mongols. p37 Mishra

Ayuthaya period:

Royal families (Chao)

Nobles and high officials (Khunnang)

In-between the king and the mass of people were the nobles and high ranked officials who administered the country. Their titles were neither permanent nor transferable to their descendants. Frequently, the nobles made relationship with the king by sending their daughters to be wives of the king. These wives became both agents of their families and hostages ensuring their loyalty and obedience. (Rabibhadana 1969:20)

Commoners (Phrai)

The phrai, or the so-called “free-man” were major workforce who were under obligation to do corvee labor for the king. Doing the king’s affair was called “tam ratchakarn” in Thai. This class of people will be clearly explained later in the manpower controlling system.

Slaves (Thaat)

Thaat or the Thai slave is a different concept from that of European and the English word “slave” or “serf” on which I will later elaborate.

<http://www.tsukuba-g.ac.jp/library/kiyou/2002/3.ONOZAWA.pdf>

Mishra, Patit Paban. *The history of Thailand*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: Greenwood, c2010.

### **Champa**

The people were theoretically divided into four castes...but this division hardly existed in practical life except with regard to Brahmins and Kshatriyas. P214 Majumdar

But there was another important distinction in society viz that between the aristocracy and commonalty. These two divisions were certainly overlapping to a great extent. In other words, the members of the aristocracy most often belonged to the Brahmana and Kshatriya classes but it almost certainly comprised other people, who gained this high rank by virtue of wealth or services rendered to the state. P217 Majumdar

Majumdar, R. C. *Champā: history & culture of an Indian colonial kingdom in the Far East, 2nd-16th century A.D.* Delhi : Gian Pub. House, 1985.

### **North Vietnam (China)**

### **Spanish Philippines**

A European racial origin was the essential criterion for upper-class social ranking. P151-152 Reed

By favoring a distinct segment of native society the metropolitan power secured a dependable reservoir of minor civil servants; created a reliable Filipino aristocracy which functioned as intermediaries. P88 Reed

Reed, Robert Ronald, *Hispanic urbanism in the Philippines: a study of the impact of church and state*. Manila, University of Manila, 1967.

## Pre-colonial Philippines

The early barangays were independent of each other like the city-states of ancient Greece. Each was ruled by a king called datu or raha, who obtained his position by (1) inheritance, being the son of a datu (2) wisdom (3) physical prowess, or (4) wealth. The datu was the chief executive, legislator, judge and military commander in the barangay. He was assisted by the elders.

The head of a Visayan community was a datu. P128...Spanish dictionaries always define timawa as freemen (libres) or freedmen (libertos). They were originally the offspring or descendants of a datu's commoner wives or slave concubines, and they were technically free because their progenitor had granted it. P132

Oripun: the word oripun appears to be a transitive form of an archaic root udip (to live) meaning "to let live"-for example, to spare life on the field of battle, to ransom a captive, or to redeem a debt equivalent to a man's price...the oripun produced by these conditions were legally slaves: they could be bought and sold. But that was all they had in common. Some were foreign captives or purchases who served as victims for human sacrifice, some were members of their master's household...some were householders who gave their masters or creditors a portion of their crops or labor; and some were hardly distinguishable from freemen.

Individual status within the oripun class depended on birthright, inherited or acquired debt, commuted penal sentence, or victimization by the more powerful. Outright captives were bihag, and they were marketed by the dealers in along or botong as expensive merchandise like bahandi porcelain and gongs, or ships and houses. P133 Scott

Hayohay were at the bottom of the oripun social scale-those "most enslaved", as Loarca (1582, 142) put it, "the ones they mostly sell to the Spaniards". P133 Scott

Scott, William Henry. *Barangay: sixteenth-century Philippine culture and society* Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, c1994.

## Malaysia

The Telaga Batu inscription divided the king's subjects into two categories: nonelite were "slaves" (hulun) and the elite were "lords" (tuhan)...Reference to the core of the Srivijaya monarch's nonelite supporters as hulun, slaves, implies that there was a greater than normal expectation of commitment than would have been the case in a more typical chief-subject relationship. P92 Hall

Hall, Kenneth R. *Maritime trade and state development in early Southeast Asia*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, c1985.

## Indonesia

A complex and stratified society of ancient Javanese people and their social order can be seen through studies on the rich portrayal in bas-reliefs from this period, as well as inscription studies. The kingdom had developed a complex society; which characterized by heterogeneity of their society, inequality of social stratification, and the formation of national administrative institution in their kingdom. The ancient Javanese did recognise the Hindu catur varna or caste social

classes; Brahmana (priests), Kshatriya (kings, warlords and nobles), Vaishya (traders and artisans), and Shudra (servants and slaves). Nevertheless, the social stratification system in ancient Java slightly differ from those of India, as it less rigid.

Pigeaud divides ancient Javanese society into four classes: the ruling class, religious authority, commoners, and slaves. While de Casparis suggest; although the ancient Javanese society recognise caste differences, their rules and implementations was less rigid compared to those caste system in India. De Casparis divides them into three groups:

The commoners that formed the majority of kingdom's population. The king with his royal family, including those nobles, landlords and the member of elite ruling class that depends on the king's court and his dynasty. Can be commonly called "the palace/court people". The religious figures and religious authorities. The priests class; brahmins and monks, includes the lower rank servants employed in temples compound and monasteries.

Wikipedia, citing Casparis, J. G. de. Airlangga. Surabaya: Universitas Airlangga, [1958]

### Fiji 3

**Social structure:** there were at least six categories of social status ranging from slaves and commoners to paramount chiefs, where status was defined primarily by birth and sex. P48 Bayliss-Smith

The Fijian style favored definition of status and authority by descent. P3 Scarr

Local kin groups are ranked groups. They are ranked internally and are also ranked relative to each other. Internally, the prevailing principle of rank is seniority of descent. Generally speaking, every natal member of a tokatoka has a different standing, one precisely proportionate to his genealogical distance from the local tokatoka ancestor. Ranking within the group is seen by Moalans as an organic growth of family ranking. P260 Sahlins

In agnatic mataqali the ranking principle built into the family and the tokatoka seniority of descent is extended through the mataqali as a whole. P261 Sahlins

The stocks of Moala are ranked relative to each other, a Moalan individual or an immigrant party incorporated into a local kin group will have high status if of higher stock than the founding line of the incorporating group, or lower status if of lower stock than that line. P262 Sahlins

Bayliss-Smith, Tim. *Islands, islanders and the world: the colonial and post-colonial experience of Eastern Fiji*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988

Scarr, Deryck. *Fiji: a short history*. Sydney: G. Allen & Unwin, 1984.

Sahlins, Marshall, Moala; culture and nature on a Fijian island. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press [1962]

### Africa

#### Burkina Faso (Mossi)

In the uppermost section are contained the lineages of the descendants of former rulers; in a second, larger section are the descendants of state officials. Nearer the base of the pyramid are those Mossi commoners and state officials but whose lineages in fact include very heterogeneous elements. P156 Zahan

Dual stratification into a hereditary aristocracy and a lower class of ordinary commoners or freemen, where traditionally ascribed noble status is at least as decisive as control over scarce resources. Kirby

Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016). D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.

Zahan, Dominique, *The Mossi Kingdoms*; Wilks, Ivor. *Asante Government*. West African kingdoms in the nineteenth century.

## Angola

All the noble kin groups tended to form a great pyramid whose apex was occupied by the king's household. Other kin groups were united with it through a series of marriages with relatives of varying closeness to the king, or to clients of his. Powerful lineages might operate in a similar way with regards to lesser ones, so that the great pyramid capped by the king's household was composed of lesser pyramids of patron and client groups. P329 Thornton

In precolonial times, Ovimbundu society was comprised of a ruling elite (olosomas), freeborn (mukwendye), clients (hafuka), and slaves (pika). The olosomos were the descendents of the original conquerors, or those who rose up and disposed of them establishing their own ruling lineages, as was the case for some kingdoms. The olosomos controlled the surrounding countryside from fortified villages, living with their retainers, titled officials, and dependents on whom they drew personnel to man caravans. They also "owned" slave villages. Slaves were usually non-Ovimbundu purchased or obtained through raids. Income came from litigation (mucano), war booty, reciprocal exchange system (ocibanda), corvée labor, and trade. The freeborn lived in villages on the plains. In the past most villagers were agnates and the headman (sekula, or "grandfather") was the leader of the largest patrilineal group. Villages were also divided into wards, each with their own headmen usually the head of the largest family. The sekula shared authority with a religious personage, the ocimbundu. "Ovimbundu"

Ovimbundu [electronic resource]: FP13. New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files, 2002. Thornton, John K. *The Kingdom of Kongo, ca. 1390-1678. The Development of an African Social Formation*. Cahiers d'Études Africaines, Vol. 22, Cahier 87/88, Systèmes étatiques africains. (1982), pp. 325-342

Miller, Joseph Calder. *Kings and kinsmen: early Mbundu states in Angola*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.

## Sierra Leone

Apart from the king and a few elders (age was also a very significant factor in determining selection to high political office) who sometimes amassed a lot of wealth and lived in comfort, there was hardly any social difference in people's status within any society. P23 Alie

Alie, Joe A. D. *A new history of Sierra Leone*. London: Macmillan Overseas, 1990.

The Temne are divided into about twenty-five patrilineal "clans".p54 McCulloch

McCulloch, Merran. *Peoples of Sierra Leone*, London, International African Institute [1964].

## Nigeria (Yoruba)

J.D.Y Peel has proposed that the closest thing to a dominant class in Yoruba society was the entire body of male household heads...while these men and their families may not have constituted a formally recognized upper class, they formed a de facto one. P146 Trigger  
Among the Yoruba, the upper class was defined by royally conferred titles and offices that certain kin groups sought to retain. P165 Trigger

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

## Senegal

Most of Senegal's peoples lived in highly stratified societies based primarily on blood relationships. Precolonial Senegalese society was divided into three main social categories: freemen, servile artisan castes, and slaves. P2 Gellar

The main characteristic shared by freemen, including royalty and the poorest commoner, was their agricultural vocation and strong attachment to the land. Bloodlines tended to be traced from the mother's side. The commoners were freemen who had no royal or noble blood, and most were peasants. P3 Gellar

The root of the free man's self-identity and the framework for his day-to-day relations with others was kinship. (matrilineal or patrilineal, depends on ethnic groups). P30 Curtin

The Wolof people were divided into a rigid caste system of royalty, nobility, freemen and slaves, and there were hierarchical subdivisions within each caste. People rarely married outside their caste...p25 Stride

Stride, G. T. *Peoples and empires of West Africa: West Africa in history, 1000-1800*. London, Nelson, 1971.

Curtin, Philip D. *Economic change in precolonial Africa; Senegambia in the era of the slave trade*. University of Wisconsin Press, 1975.

Gellar, Sheldon. *Senegal: an African nation between Islam and the West*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1995.

A hierarchical system of social classes, the major social strata being, with minor exceptions, endogamous...(1) freeborn (royal lineages, nobles, peasants), (2) low-caste groups (smith, leatherworkers, praisers, musicians...even if a man did not practice the traditional craft of his father he did not lose his low status). (3) slaves p44 Gamble

Gamble, David P. *The Wolof of Senegambia, together with notes on the Lebu and the Serer*. London, International African Institute, 1957.

## Ghana (Ashanti)

The existence of aristocratic organizations and the council of elders is evidence of an oligarchic tendency in Ashanti political life.

Below the Asantahene, local power was invested in the obirempon of each locale. The obirempon (literally "big man") was personally selected by the Asantahene and was generally of loyal, noble lineage, frequently related to the Asantahene.

<https://www.saylor.org/site/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/Ashanti-Empire.pdf>

That is, full citizenship rights in Asante society were exclusively vested in and defined by membership of an abusua (matrilineage) and, more broadly, an abusua kesee (matriclan). This was the foundational premiss of social and cultural order. P88 McCaskie  
McCaskie, T.C. State and society in pre-colonial Asante. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

On the basis of his observations of Kumase society in 1817, Bowdich became strongly aware of the degree of social stratification present...if Bowdich may be understood to be suggesting that the commanding morality of metropolitan society was one of upward mobility based on wealth, then he was absolutely correct...Those who attained wealth in Asante were known as the sikafo, “the monied people”. This category subsumed the smaller group of those who acquired fortunes sufficiently substantial for them to seek formal recognition of their achievement. P140 Wilks  
Wilks, Ivor. Forests of gold: essays on the Akan and the Kingdom of Asante. Athens: Ohio University Press, c1993.

## Zambia

Chiefs and commoners, Zambian chiefs varied a great deal in the nature and extent of their authority. Some chiefs owed their position to the prevailing rules of succession and inheritance; others might be chosen according to other rules, or simply on the basis of personal merit. P80 Roberts  
Roberts, Andrew, A history of Zambia. New York: Africana Pub. Co., c1976.

### **Bemba:**

“Dual stratification into a hereditary aristocracy and a lower class of ordinary commoners or freemen, where traditionally ascribed noble status is at least as decisive as control over scarce resources” (4)

Incipient or nonhereditary slavery, i.e., where slave status is temporary and not transmitted to the children of slaves Kirby

Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016). D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.

### **Tonga:**

Absence of significant class distinctions among freemen (slavery is treated in EA070), ignoring variations in individual reputes achieved through skill, valor, piety, or wisdom  
Hereditary slavery present and of at least modest social significance Kirby

Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016). D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.



### **Lozi:**

Linabi “royals” or bana bamulena (“children of the king”)...boishee (husbands of princesses), and likwanabi (relatives of linabi of their commoner side) were accorded reflected respect. Lozi freemen formed the next class. P32 Turner

Turner, Victor Witter. *The Lozi peoples of north-western Rhodesia*. London, International African Institute, 1952 [i.e.1953].

### **Mozambique (Makua)**

Muzungo society was essentially fragmented, factional and disintegrated. It encouraged the upstart and the entrepreneur. P129 Newitt

Absence of significant class distinctions among freemen (slavery is treated in EA070), ignoring variations in individual reputes achieved through skill, valor, piety, or wisdom. Kirby

Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016). D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.

Newitt, M. D. D. *A history of Mozambique*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, c1995.

### **Namibia (Ovambo)**

Wealth distinctions, based on the possession or distribution of property, present and socially important but not crystallized into distinct and hereditary social classes

Caste distinctions absent or insignificant

Hereditary slavery present and of at least modest social significance

Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016). D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.

### **South Africa**

In the Boer society of the frontier and the republics, there were until the end of the nineteenth century no inherited social distinctions. Prestige within the community depended upon the individual's worth, but even the most outstanding remained accessible and easily informal in their relation with fellow Boers...a homogeneous egalitarian society was typical of the Boer as such. P250 Patterson

The social hierarchy of the town was composed of a white upper class of Company officials and wealthy colonists, an intermediate group of freemen, mostly white but including some people of color, and a servile class. However, the interpretation of the Cape as a fluid class society is quite invalid when applied to the agrarian rural districts of the South Western Cape. If ever there was a rigid racial caste society, it was the rural Western Cape. P22 Giliomee

Hermann Giliomee (1983) *Eighteenth century cape society and its historiography: Culture, race, and class*, Social Dynamics, 9:1, 18-29, DOI:10.1080/02533958308458331

Patterson, Sheila, *The last trek; a study of the Boer people and the Afrikaner nation*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul [1957].

## Kenya (Swahili)

(the Hadimu country-towns) These include virtually only Hadimu, with a handful people of other ethnic ancestries who live as individual families on the social margin of the communities and are not accepted as full citizens. The citizens of the towns are the “proprietors” (wananchi, or wenyeji, literally, owner of the land and owner of the town, respectively). Others are kwnon as wageni, strangers or tenants, who are “proprietors” in other Hadimu towns but have come to live in their present place of occupation as wageni. Only the proprietors of a town, who are all kin to each other, have full and inalienable rights (haki) of settlement and landholding. But all are of the same rank, there is no hierarchical difference, except that very wealthy or pious men may be given great prestige as individuals. P83-84 Middleton

As trade expanded, an increasingly wealthy class of merchants grew up who, by restricting access to wealth, were able to monopolize political power. Though we lack the detailed evidence to know precisely how individual traders gained wealth and power or how specific towns were able to develop, expanding trade at different times and in various towns along the coast was generally followed by the development of more stratified societies and more hierarchical political structures. In some cases the ruling class took the form of oligarchies of wealthy waungwana, in others of small aristocracies of royalty. P85 Nurse

Nurse, Derek. *The Swahili: reconstructing the history and language of an African society, 800-1500*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, c1985.

The patricians of the stone-towns are divided into various kinds and levels of descent groups, which have different but complementary functions...I refer to the as “subclans” generally claimed to be segments of clans whose members are found elsewhere in both Arabia and East Africa. The subclans comprise a basic and relatively unchanging structure of a stone town such as Lamu, Pate or Siyu. P92 Middleton

Middleton, John, *The world of the Swahili : an African mercantile civilization*. New Haven: Yale University Press, c1992.

## Kenya (Kikuyu)

By the end of the nineteenth century, Kikuyu society was patriarchal, uncentralized and highly egalitarian. P110 Muriuki

Wealth distinctions, based on the possession or distribution of property, present and socially important but not crystallized into distinct and hereditary social classes. Kirby

Muriuki, Godfrey. *A history of the Kikuyu, 1500-1900*. Nairobi; New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.

## Tanzania (Swahili)

Swahili: immigrant ruling aristocracy see Harries, Lyndon. *The Arabs and Swahili Culture*. Africa: Journal of the International African Institute, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Jul., 1964) pp. 224-229

## Tanzania (Sukuma)

Nobles, i.e. members of the ruling family of a chiefdom, are called bisalibe, and commoners are called bazengi. The ruling family of a Nyamwezi chiefdom is basically a segmented kinship group, each segment being vested with one or more territorial offices. P58 Abrahams

Dual stratification into a hereditary aristocracy and a lower class of ordinary commoners or freemen, where traditionally ascribed noble status is at least as decisive as control over scarce resources. Kirby

Abrahams, R. G. The peoples of Greater Unyamwezi, Tanzania (Nyamwezi, Sukuma, Sumbwa, Kimbu, Konongo). London, International African Institute, 1967.

Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016). D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.

## Malawi (Chewa)

For many people, clan rather than tribe was the most important unit of group identity. p19 McCracken

Less ambiguous forms of inequality involved the dominance exercised by elders over youths and of free men over slaves...generational tension has been described as probably the most important form of social conflict in pre-colonial East Africa. P24 McCracken

Tribes see p19-25, McCracken, John, A history of Malawi, 1855-1966. Woodbridge, Suffolk [England]; Rochester, N.Y.: James Currey, 2012.

Absence of significant class distinctions among freemen (slavery is treated in EA070), ignoring variations in individual reputations achieved through skill, valor, piety, or wisdom. Kirby

Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016). D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.

## Ethiopia

Slaves, perhaps largely prisoners of war or criminals, are alluded to occasionally.

Social class may well have been based on the ownership of land, perhaps entraining more or less feudal commitments down the scale, but there is little reliable evidence to affirm this from the Aksumite period. Slave holding, exploitation of slave labor, and slave trading must necessarily have played an important role in the stratification of Ethiopian society and in the emergence of the first political states on the Ethiopian plateau. P150 Michels

Michels, Joseph. Axum. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, c1979.

## Explanation-Trade across Polities

Scoring Criteria:

1-2: Mostly autarky or foreign trade conducted only by government emissaries.

3-4: Foreign trade controlled by the government, using some private merchants.

5-6: Substantial private foreign trade but overall limited relative to the size of the economy.

Significant trade barriers and contraband

7-8: Large foreign trade with trade barriers but quite widespread smuggling  
9-10: Intensive international trade conducted by private merchants playing a key role for the economy.

### **Britain and its colonies**

United Kingdom 7

United States 7

New Zealand 7

Canada 7

Australia 7

### **Europe**

Austria (Germanic tribes) 6

Germany (Germanic tribes) 6

Switzerland (Germanic tribes) 6

Luxemburg (Germanic tribes) 6

Franks 6

Netherlands (independent cities) 10

Belgium (Ancient Rome, Independent cities) 10

Denmark (Viking) 10

Norway (Viking) 10

Sweden (Viking) 10

Iceland (Viking) 5

Ireland 5

Estonian tribes 8

Finn tribes 8

Greece 10

Rome 10

### **Spain**

Castile 6

Aragon 8

Catalonia 10

Portugal 7

Latvia 9

Lithuania 8

Slovakia (Hungary) 4

### **Balkans**

Croatia 9

Serbia 4  
Romania 4  
Bulgaria 4  
Albania 4  
Slovenia 7

**Eastern and Central Europe**

Poland 8  
Bohemia (Czech) 8  
Hungary 4  
Russia 5

**Latin America (colonial)**

Mexico 9  
Guatemala 4  
El Salvador 3  
Honduras 3  
Costa Rica 2  
Panama 2  
Colombia 3  
Ecuador 2  
Peru 8  
Venezuela 6  
Chile 6  
Brazil 8  
Argentina 8  
Uruguay 8

**Caribbean:**

Trinidad and Tobago 6  
Dominican Republic 8  
Jamaica 8

**Pre-colonial**

Inca 2  
Maya 4  
Aztec 4

**South Asia**

Bhutan 4

Maurya 6  
Tamil 9  
Bengal 8  
Sri Lanka 7  
Nepal 3

### **East Asia**

Japan 4  
Korea 4  
China 2

### **Middle East and Near East**

Egypt 3  
Iran 7  
Mesopotamia 9  
Israel 4  
Assyria 9  
Lebanon (Phoenicia) 9  
Arabia 10  
Morocco 8  
Pakistan (Ghaznavid) 8  
Seljuk/Ottoman 8

### **Southeast Asia**

Thailand 5  
Champa 8  
North Vietnam (China) 2  
Spanish Philippines 2  
Pre-colonial Philippines 7  
Malaysia 9  
Indonesia 9

Fiji 1

### **Africa**

Burkina Faso 2  
Angola 4  
Malawi 4  
Zambia 4  
Sierra Leone 3

Nigeria 6  
Senegal 6  
Ghana 6  
Mozambique 6  
Namibia 2  
South Africa 5  
Kenya (Swahili city-states) 10  
Kenya (Kikuyu tribes) 2  
Tanzania (Swahili city-states) 10  
Tanzania (Sukuma tribes) 2  
Ethiopia 6

### United Kingdom (Anglo-Saxon England)

A key factor in the outburst of piracy was, in fact, the commercial expansion in north-west Europe that began towards the end of the seventh century when there was a significant increase in trade between the Continent and England. This led to the development of several relatively large trading places: Dorestad on the Rhine, Quentovic, near Boulogne, and in England, Hamwic (the precursor of Southampton), Fordwich (the port of Canterbury), London, Ipswich and York. This trade grew even faster after about 700 when the Frisians obtained a very large supply of silver from an unidentified source, possibly in the Harz mountains. P107 Helle  
there is however every probability that Anglo Saxon England continued to export abroad the same commodities which we have seen Romans take out of this country, mostly minerals such as tin, and lead and perhaps silver. There is also little doubt that from the late seventh century onwards and perhaps earlier, England exported a certain amount of cloth. P186 Postan  
We find the Frisians trading in such English towns as London or York. P187 Postan

Helle, Knut, editor. *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia*. Vol. 1, Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Postan, M. M. (Michael Moïsse), *The medieval economy and society: an economic history of Britain in the Middle Ages*. London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972.

### Germanic tribes

The Roman army was a constant source of economic demand for any neighboring Germani. The frontier zone of the Empire had a huge requirement for primary agricultural products of all kinds and there is every reason to suppose that non-Roman suppliers played a major role in meeting it. P73 Heather

Other goods produced in Germania were also in demand in the Roman world. Amber and manpower (recruitment in army and slaves)

Manpower from Germania also entered the Empire in another form: slaves. (no direct evidence, the author suggests that merchant in Germanic languages derived from the Latin *mango*—"slave trader") p75 Heather

Heather, P. J. *Empires and barbarians: the fall of Rome and the birth of Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

## Netherlands (independent cities)

### Belgium (Ancient Rome, Independent cities)

Grain was a vital component of this urban trade, but wine, fish, and salt were equally important...foodstuffs were not the only units of transaction in these cities. Increasing demand for iron, as from farmers, required that it be imported from Germany. The lumber trade was also substantial, and by the early twelfth century it was conducted on such a large scale...textile, however, were the most important sector for trading and commerce. P37 Blom

Blom, J.C.H. and E. Lamberts. History of the Low Countries. New York: Berghahn Books, c1999

## Vikings (Denmark, Norway, Sweden)

Trade flourished and the market grew with the Vikings' expansion in the North Atlantic, Western Europe, the British Isles and the Baltic-Russian areas, and with the establishment of colonies and trading stations there. P117 Roesdahl

The goods obtained from outside Scandinavia were mostly luxury items. All metals apart from iron were probably imported. P115 Roesdahl

Trade flourished and the market grew with the Vikings' expansion in the North Atlantic, Western Europe, the British Isles and the Baltic-Russian areas, and with the establishment of colonies and trading stations there. P117 Roesdahl

Roesdahl, Else. The Vikings. Allen Lane, 1991, C1987.

## Iceland

The dearth of natural resources, coupled with the absence of even vital necessities, has left the Icelanders with no alternative but to import various kinds of merchandise if they wish no alternative but to import various kinds of merchandise. P305 Jóhannesson

Duringt he Commonwealth period the main exports of the Icelanders were farm products, falcons, and Sulphur. P310 Jóhannesson

Jóhannesson, Jón. A history of the old Icelandic commonwealth - Islendinga saga. [Winnipeg?]: University of Manitoba Press, c1974.

## Ireland

the existence along the Irish coast of trading hubs that were part of a wider economic network is comparable to similar posts in Britain and elsewhere...they were the starting points for a regional distribution system controlled by local and regional elites and they provided inland noble communities with goods including wine, olive oil, imported pottery and glass. P30 Bhreathnach

Coastal emporia are known from the sixth/seventh centuries, and trading ports were well-established during the Viking era. The Dublin Bay islands of Lambay and Dalkey (Liversage 1968; Doyle 1998), and Dunnyneill Island in Strangford Lough (McCormick & Macdonald 2004), played a substantial role in the import trade in the pre-Viking period.



It is possible that the Irish emporia were established and maintained by merchant-venturers, perhaps acting in co-operation with local elites or the church (O'Sullivan & Breen 2007, 119). In this interpretation, the local magnates would have profited from trade tariffs and gifts/bribes of exotic imports, but would not have dictated the nature of trade, and could not have enforced its continuation. P48 Kerr

Kerr, Thomas; McCormick, Finbar and O'Sullivan, Aidan. *The Economy of early medieval Ireland*. Irish National Strategic Archaeological Research Programme, 2013.  
Bhreathnach, Edel. *Ireland in the medieval world, AD 400-1000: landscape, kingship and religion*. Dublin, Ireland; Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 2014.

### Estonian tribes

A trade route passes from Scandinavia to Byzantium through Estonia. Trade is carried out by those people who have excess goods and the opportunity to sell them. P32-33 Subrenat  
The most important imports were iron, copper, bronze, precious metals, and finished products; the major exported items were bearskins, wax, grain and cattle. In the twelfth century (and perhaps already in the eleventh), when the Varangian route to the east fell into disuse, the Estonians pursued an active trading and plundering policy to the west on the Baltic Sea. At the same time Estonians retained its importance in the transit trade between Novgorod and the West. p9 Raun

Raun, Toivo U. *Estonia and the Estonians*. Stanford, Calif: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1991.

### Franks

(External trade) The traffic was organized, however, not by the barbarians themselves, but by slave-traders and Roman officers commanding the garrisons on the Danube. P41 Todd

The evidence, entirely qualitative though it is, suggests that the volume of trade declined in most of the west during the Merovingian period, though there was probably an intensification of commerce in the area of the Low Countries, the Australian homeland of the Carolingians. P75 Pounds

Todd, Malcolm. *The northern barbarians, 100 BC-AD 300*. New York,: Blackwell, 1987.  
Pounds, Norman John Greville. *An economic history of medieval Europe*. London; New York: Longman, 1974.

### Finn tribes

The importance of furs for the economy in all of Northern Fennoscandia, Karelia and Northern Russia (esp. Novgorod) is constantly stressed and based on this it can be suggested that trade with furs was a key element in Bjarmian economy. P50 Koskela Vasaru  
Neighbouring areas including Novgorod, Norway and also Finland (people from southern Finland and/or the Kvens) would have been the most likely market for furs from Bjarmaland. P51 Koskela Vasaru

Koskela Vasaru, Mervi. *Bjarmaland and Interaction in the North of Europe from the Viking Age until the Early Middle Ages*. Journal of Northern Studies. 2012, Vol. 6 Issue 2, p37-58.  
Nanovfszky, György. *The Finno-Ugric world*. Budapest: Teleki László Foundation, 2004.

## Greece

Some of the Greek states became prosperous not through any products of their own, but by carrying the goods of other states. P79 Frost

During the archaic period, the first great trading fortunes were made as merchants sought out markets and established trade routes all over the Mediterranean. P74 Frost

By the time of the Persian Wars Greek trade had grown from a trickle of luxury goods and scarce metals to become a factor necessary to the well-being of the city states. P459 Roebuck

Most poleis buffered the risk of famine by increased import of staples. The volume of transport grew. There were no major technological developments during the classical period, but communication improved, and effective desire for finer foods and cultivated living expanded. Athens in particular benefited from her power to mobilize resources. Some were invested in unproductive splendor, but others were redistributed for the citizens' general benefit. Local, interregional, and long-distance trade increased: urban demand fostered local and interregional trade of products which had to be consumed quickly. Staples, timber, minerals, and fine wines were transported all around the Mediterranean. P383 Scheidel

Scheidel, Walter, et al., editors. *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*. Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Trade pp 446-460. By C. Roebuck, *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Volume 4, Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean, c.525 to 479 BC. edited by John Boardman, N. G. L. Hammond, D. M. Lewis, M. Ostwald. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Frost, Frank J. *Greek society*. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, c1987.

## Roman Republic

We have described the principal objects of commerce: Italy the conqueror imported from everywhere, especially luxury goods, more and more costly, from further and further away: Greek wines, spices, Alexandrian glassware, eastern fabrics, works of art (this latter a big item in money terms). But in the second and first centuries B.C. Italy imported above all two specific products. The first was slaves, captured in war or bought from venaliciarii, from all over the place, Asia Minor, Bithynia, Cappadocia, Syria, the Balkans, and finally Gaul. And the second, especially from 123 B.C., was grain - the tax grain, i.e. not paid for, but also free market grain, to meet a demand that it was one of government's most important tasks to keep regularly supplied. P638 Nicolet

*Economy and society, 133–43 b.c.* pp 599-643. By C. Nicolet, Sorbonne (Paris I) *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Volume 9, *The Last Age of the Roman Republic, 146–43 BC* / edited by J. A. Crook, Andrew Lintott, Elizabeth Rawson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

## Spain

### Castile

For more see P130-133, p258-277 Vicens Vives

The development of international trade came somewhat later in Castile than in the Crown of Aragon. Catalonia, Valencia, and Majorca participated very early in the revival of Mediterranean traffic. P263 Vicens Vives

Vicens Vives, Jaime. *An economic history of Spain*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1969.

## Aragon

According to Hamilton, the exclusive cause of this rise was an increase in the stock of gold, as a consequence of exploitation of the goldfields of Silesia and Hungary, development of trade with northwest Africa, and even the return to a favorable balance of trade in commerce with the Levant (though this last hypothesis is difficult to prove). P223 Vicens Vives

Vicens Vives, Jaime. *An economic history of Spain*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1969.

## Catalonia

By the early fourteenth century, Catalan merchants had established themselves in all the major emporia of the Mediterranean. They were the principal European middlemen in the ports of northwest Africa. The Catalan towns became important manufacturing centers and were practically the only exporters of finished goods in any volume in the Hispanic peninsula. At the heart was the domestic textile industry, relying on woolens in Catalonia and silks in Valencia.

P102-103 Payne

See P190-211, "Catalonian trade", Vicens Vives, Jaime. *An economic history of Spain*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1969. (Baltimore, Md. : Project MUSE, 2015)

Payne, Stanley G. *A history of Spain and Portugal*. [Madison] University of Wisconsin Press [1973]

## Portugal

Urban handicraft never passed very modest proportions, and aside from some linens in the fourteenth century, Portuguese exports consisted of foodstuffs and raw materials: wine, oil, dried fish, hides, salt, cork, and figs, raisins and almonds from the south. P125 Payne

The structure of the foreign trade that developed in the 1200s and became consolidated in the 1300s followed up in the next centuries, despite the fact that the empire soon provided new luxuries to the wealthy European customers. But since medieval times, a number of Portugal's ports became regular shippers of wine and olive oil, raw materials of a forestry nature, and products derived from its maritime activities and fishing. The references to imports of textiles coupled with scarce information on exports of such kind of commodities suggest the superiority the European producers had already achieved and Portugal's inability to compete in the markets for textiles. P38 Costa

Costa, Leonor Freire. *An economic history of Portugal, 1143-2010*. Cambridge Univ Press, 2016.  
Payne, Stanley G. *A history of Spain and Portugal*. [Madison] University of Wisconsin Press [1973]

## Latvia

The eastern Baltic was rich in natural resources which were eagerly sought by the north German merchants: amber, oak and pine; rye, linseed, flax. P35 Kalnins

Merchants from the German territories of the Holy Roman Empire had been making regular stops in the territory of the Livs. P16 Plakans

(many cities were parts of Hanseatic League)

During the period from the thirteenth to the end of the fifteenth centuries, the long-distance trade of Livonia was largely based on brokerage between Russia and the countries of central and north-west Europe. The Livonian towns of Reval and Dorpat were mainly partnered by Novgorod and Pskov, while the external trade of the towns in the Dvina basin — Polotsk, Vitebsk and Smolensk — came in the course of time to be linked with the merchants of Riga. P593 Miller

Miller, Edward, et al., editors. *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire*. 2nd ed., vol. 2, Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Kalnins, Mara, *Latvia: a short history*. London: Hurst & Company, 2015.

Plakans, Andrejs. *A concise history of the Baltic States*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

## Lithuania

Trade constituted the basis of the existence of the wealthier and more active townsmen. P180 Kiaupa

Evidence of luxury goods imported by sea from western Europe (necklaces, buckles, stirrups) and overland from Rus (glass beads, ceramics, metal locks) is available from the tenth century onwards.

Lithuania became an indispensable trade mediator between Western and Eastern Europe and between the Black and Baltic sea coasts. P40 Kiaupa

During the 16<sup>th</sup> century, important trade roads were already laid from the capital, Vilnius, to Riga; they went via Kaunas and Jurbarkas to Karaliaucius and Danzig...p176 Kiaupa

Kiaupa, Zigmantas. *The history of Lithuania before 1795*. Vilnius: Lithuanian Institute of History, 2000.

## Slovakia (Hungary)

Use scores for Hungary

## Balkans

### Croatia

The Adriatic Sea provided a basis for a free and intensive development of interregional trade.

Strong commercial intercourse insured a market for home products. P167 Eterovich  
the coastal regions, especially the cities, profited greatly from their excellent position on sea and land routes leading from Western Europe to Constantinople, and further on to Jerusalem. P19 Goldstein

In the days of independent Croatia (9th-11th centuries), a wide-ranging commerce flourished on the Adriatic. Venice paid the rulers of Croatia a yearly tribute to ensure her ships free passage through the sea-lanes. P336 Sedlar

East Central Europe was a major source of captives for the great slave markets of Venice. Important centers of slave trading functioned at Dubrovnik and Kotor, and later at the mouth of the Neretva River in Dalmatia. P352 Sedlar

Sedlar, Jean W. *East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, c1994.

Goldstein, Ivo. *Croatia: a history*. [Montreal]: McGill-Queen's University Press, c1999.

## Serbia

Due to the interest in the products of the Serbian mines, especially in silver, Serbia took part in the economic development of the Mediterranean through the mediation of merchants on the coast. From the mines opened up till this time, urban centers for trade and business, were developed. This was especially the case with the opening of a large number of mines at the end of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth centuries. Cirkovic

Cirkovic, Sima. <http://www.srpskoblog.org/serbian-history/rises-and-falls-in-serbian-statehood-in-the-middle-ages.html>

Serbia too exported horses and livestock together with all the products of stock raising, such as skins, wool, and cheese. P351 Sedlar

Sedlar, Jean W. *East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, c1994.

## Romania

prolonged external domination of the economy, unsafe roads, internal tariffs, and poor lines of communication worked against both domestic and international commerce, although in the Middle Ages the great trade routes that linked the Baltic with the Black Sea and central Europe with the Balkans crossed Moldavia and Wallachia even before they existed as principalities. P25 Georgescu

The sale of cattle, hides, grain, honey and wax to Austria, Germany, Venice and Poland were the most profitable. In exchange the principalities bought silk and other fabrics, tools, weapons and manufactured goods, boyar luxuries. P25 Georgescu

Georgescu, Vlad. *The Romanians, a history*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, c1990.

## Bulgaria

Bulgaria of course lay on important international trade routes. The Byzantines succeeded in profiting by this long-distance trade but the Bulgarians seem not to have done so. P114 Browning

Browning, Robert, *Byzantium and Bulgaria: a comparative study across the early medieval frontier*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

## Albania

14<sup>th</sup> century: More and more the villages broke out of their insular, natural economy to adopt a regime of exchange relationships. The home market constantly strengthened its links with the Balkan and Adriatic countries. The centers of these exchanges had for a long while now been important economic centers, towns inhabited by craftsmen, merchants and workers. So Durres, the principal city of Albania in the fourteenth century, had about 25000 inhabitants. P46 Pollo

Smaller settlements developed along the Albanian coast in the 15th century to handle the traffic in local products--particularly grain, wood, and salt-while Durres forfeited most of its former importance and the Balkan transit trade ceased altogether... Much of this was transit trade between Italy and the Balkan interior, since Albania itself was too poor to purchase expensive foreign products.P342 Sedlar

Pollo, Stefanaq. *The history of Albania: from its origins to the present day*. London; Boston : Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.

Sedlar, Jean W. *East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, c1994.

## Slovenia

from the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, towns and boroughs began to develop in the interior of Slovene territory. In Slovene Primorska, coastal towns such as Trieste, Koper, Izola and Piran had existed continually from antiquity. These new towns in particular were the harbingers and bearers of a new economy (more highly developed crafts and trade) P35-36 Prunk

Prunk, Janko. *A brief history of Slovenia*. Ljubljana: Založba Grad, 2000.

## Eastern and Central Europe

### Poland

As mentioned earlier, from the point of view of trade, Great Poland and the adjacent territories of Brandenburg were, in the thirteenth century, worse off than the lands situated near the Sudeten Highlands and Carpathian Mountains. The lack of natural resources and important trade routes resulted during this period in a slower rate of growth in these countries than in Bohemia, Silesia and Little Poland. P565 Miller

We know very little about the long-distance trade of Great Poland in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Its princely charters from 1238 anticipated that what were described as *panni nobiles et non nobiles* would pass along the route leading from the West to Wloclawek and Pomerania.<sup>36</sup> This may mean Flemish cloth and the inferior German material. In this document there is also mention of the possible sale of wine by foreign merchants in Poznari and Gniezno. It is doubtful, however, whether Great Poland was in a position in this period to import any very great quantities of expensive foreign goods, since it probably lacked the means to pay for them. P567 Miller

Important commercial routes which linked German and Prussian lands with the Black Sea ran through Poland in the early 13th century. P340 Sedlar

The network of trade routes already described was immensely favourable to Silesia since it gave access to the great lines of communication running from Germany via Poland and Russia to the

Black Sea, and from Bohemia and south-west Europe to the east and to the Baltic. The long-distance trade of Wrocław and other large Silesian towns can be summarised as consisting of industrial goods from Flanders, England and Germany and of articles of Levantine trade purchased in Bruges or Venice, the latter also reaching Silesia from the Black Sea. A part only of imports from the West were consumed in Silesia. The rest, together with numerous Silesian products, was re-exported to Poland, south-west Russia or Hungary. This, in return, made possible the import of salt, agricultural products, livestock, forestry products and some articles from the Levant, and consequently Silesia's foodstuffs and raw material supplies were considerably augmented in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. p547 Postan

The long-distance trade of Wrocław and other large Silesian towns can be summarised as consisting of industrial goods from Flanders, England and Germany and of articles of Levantine trade purchased in Bruges or Venice, the latter also reaching Silesia from the Black Sea. A part only of imports from the West were consumed in Silesia. The rest, together with numerous Silesian products, was re-exported to Poland, south-west Russia or Hungary. P536 Miller

P307-310 "Poland" Crafts, trade and urbanization, Berend.

Berend, Nora. *Central Europe in the high Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland c.900--c.1300*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

Miller, Edward, et al., editors. *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire*. 2nd ed., vol. 2, Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Postan, M. M., editor. *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire*. Vol. 1, Cambridge University Press, 1966.

## Bohemia (Czech)

on an important trade route (the Amber road which joined the Mediterranean region with the Baltic coast). P25 Panek

That Prague was one of the biggest marketplaces of eastern and central Europe during the period of the tenth and eleventh centuries is well known. It was an important center of the slave trade. But in what traditionally has been seen as the autarchic economy of the Premyslid realm, trade was of mediocre importance for most of the population. P304 Berend

Czech historians believe strongly that there was much more foreign trade between Bohemia and the Netherlands, the Germanic countries (including Austria) and Italy, than with north-eastern and southern Europe, especially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Their thesis seems to be fully justified. P534 Miller

Miller, Edward, et al., editors. *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire*. 2nd ed., vol. 2, Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Berend, Nora. *Central Europe in the high Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland c.900--c.1300*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Pánek, Jaroslav. *A history of the Czech lands*. Prague: Charles University: Karolinum Press, 2009.

## Hungary

No organization existed in Hungary analogous to the Hanseatic League which flourished in Germany and along the Baltic coast, offering mutual aid and protection to its members abroad. Thus the merchants of Buda, Bratislava, or Sopron rarely ventured farther from home than Vienna or Brno in Moravia. P339 Sedlar

On the whole, East Central Europe supplied the international market with products of agriculture and mining rather than manufactured goods. Chief among Hungary's exports were cattle, horses, sheep, and pigs, which could be driven on the hoof rather than transported. P350 Sedlar

The relative backwardness of commercial life in East Central Europe vis-a-vis Western Europe in the Middle Ages invites a variety of explanations. Among the relevant factors were undoubtedly the sparse population of the region, the devastation caused by the Mongol attack, the relatively unfavorable climatic conditions in the northern sector, and the long-standing conflict with the Turks in the south. P361 Sedlar

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

## Russia

Foreign trade played a pivotal part in Russia's general economic development...the Muscovite state grew steadily more dependent on trade-related revenues-whether customs duties, state-controlled exports, or monopolies farmed out to foreign traders, for its fiscal health. Similarly, foreign trade served as a means of ensuring the very survival of the state. Large-scale weapons and munitions imports preceded each major military campaign. P3 Kotilaine

Kotilaine, Jarmo. *Russia's foreign trade and economic expansion in the seventeenth century: windows on the world*. Leiden, the Netherlands; Boston : Brill, 2005.

## Latin America (colonial)

### Mexico

#### International trade:

1. the illegal intra-Caribbean trade was more substantial (compared to legal intra-Caribbean trade). Soanish merchants and local rescatadores (creole middlemen) bought contraband slaves, cloth, and other European goods from foreigners and mingled the cheaper smuggled goods with the fleet goods or sent them to the mainland. P27 Hoberman

2. The second major route converging on New Spain was the galleon trade across the Pacific from the Philippines to the west coast of New Spain.

China: cloths, silks, linens; Japan, silks, India: cotton, spices

3. the American trade: trade with regions south and southeast of New Spain in goods that were produced there.

Given the limitation of legal trade to three designated ports, the fixed fleets, and the concentration of wealth in general, the view that the Indies trade was monopolistic is plausible. P34 Hoberman

In the Pacific the concentration was more pronounced. Considerably fewer people were involved in the trade, and they were more likely to be professional merchants. P39 Hoberman



The fundamental feature of commercial success was, as with so much of enterprise, the family. Each member promoted the welfare of the family unit, a situation which maximized opportunities for the group but also restricted the freedom of individuals. P44 Hoberman

Hoberman, Louisa Schell, *Mexico's merchant elite, 1590-1660 : silver, state, and society*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1991.

## Central America

Merchants in the capital gathered goods, travelled to and made commercial transactions in Salvador for indigo, and sent commodities via mule train over tenuous roads to the sea. In rainy season the pack had to wait until the road became passable. P86 Wortman

Wortman, Miles L. *Government and society in Central America, 1680-1840*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.

## Guatemala

The small amount of commerce limited the importance of the export-import merchants. P49 Woodward

Finally there was foreign trade. Little was left to export. P48 Perez-Brignoli

An international and intercolonial commerce did exist but it scarcely affected the semi-sufficient economies of Central America. Pxx MacLeod

(the capital) Its merchants controlled most of the shipping from the colony to Spain. The important roads, whether to Mexican capital or the port of Veracruz, began in Santiago, and the goods from the Caribbean ports on the Gulf of Honduras were shipped into the capital as well, despite the difficult trip this required. P94 Foster

the commerce was active, vital, mostly illegal and supplied and supported a developing, insular economy in the Caribbean region...the trade between Central America and other Caribbean settlements was both considerable and irregular. P87 Wortman

Murdo J. MacLeod classifies Central American economic life during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in two systems. The first he calls a "cattle and cereal" system of Indians and Spanish staples raised for local consumption or for trade through urban markets. The second system consisted of cash crops raised largely for an export-oriented economy...cacao became Guatemala's first important cash crop exported to New Spain, South America and Spain by the middle of the sixteenth century. P145 Jones

Jones, Oakah L. *Guatemala in the Spanish Colonial Period*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.

Wortman, Miles L. *Government and society in Central America, 1680-1840*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.

Foster, Lynn V. *A brief history of Central America*. New York: Facts on File, c2007.

MacLeod, Murdo J. *Spanish Central America: a socioeconomic history, 1520-1720*. Austin: University of Texas Press: Teresa Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies, 2008.

Pérez Brignoli, Héctor. *A brief history of Central America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, c1989.

Woodward, Ralph Lee, Jr. *Central America, a nation divided*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

## El Salvador

El Salvador was mostly a series of small towns serving mostly as way stations and frontier zones with little opportunities for most with the exception of cacao, cotton and indigo, whose markets were often unreliable and the profits of which went to a concentrated minority. P38 White

The major center for the cacao trade, Sonsonate, in southwestern El Salvador, in the late sixteenth century grew to become second in size only to Santiago de Guatemala...indigo, grown principally in El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua, then replaced cacao as the leading export and source of hard currency for the isthmus. By 1635, San Vicente, El Salvador, was the major center for the indigo trade, although there were other important centers in Guatemala and Nicaragua.p46 Woodward

Woodward, Ralph Lee, Jr. *Central America, a nation divided*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

White, Christopher M. *The history of El Salvador*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2009.

## Honduras

Honduran colonists tried them all (balsam, sarasaparilla, indigo, cochineal for export), but neighboring nations were in competition and the market in Europe was limited. Cacao was a much more popular export...but cacao grew best on the slopes of the Pacific coast and needed expert labor and easy access to ports, none of which Honduras could provide. P33 Acker  
Piracy on the Caribbean coast discouraged trade and made mining even more difficult. P33 Acker

Leapfrogging up and down the coast, the itinerant Jamaican traders continued their commerce with the Mosquito villages, exchanging their coveted wares mainly for the meat and tortoiseshell of the marine turtles hunted by the natives of the Shore from March through October. P43 Naylor  
Encouraged by the more unscrupulous traders from Jamaica, the Mosquito hunters began seizing Costa Rican Indians for sale in Jamaica as slaves. P43 Naylor

Naylor, Robert. *Penny Ante Imperialism: The Mosquito Shore and the Bay of Honduras, 1600–1914: A Case Study in British Informal Empire*. Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1989.

Acker, Alison, *Honduras: the making of a banana republic*. Boston, MA: South End Press, c1988.

## Costa Rica

A significant part of external trade consisted of illicit traffic in tobacco and provisions exchanged with English, French, and Dutch ships for merchandise that was much cheaper than that available in legitimate shipments from Spain. Even direct trade with other Spanish colonies was restricted under the mercantilist system, but from the outset, efforts were made to establish overland trade routes to neighboring settlements. P14 Nelson

Nelson, Harold D. *Costa Rica, a country study*. Foreign Area Studies, the American University; edited by Washington, D.C.: American University, Foreign Area Studies, 1984.

## Panama

The economic importance of Panama, after all, was based on the legal requirement, during most of the colonial period, that all goods to western South America be sent by way of the isthmus, whose people in large part lived from the transit trade. This was however, only transit trade. P18 Bushnell

Panama became of ever-increasing importance after the discovery of the rich empire of the Incas. Most persons and goods to and from the new discovery passed across its isthmus. P51 MacLeod  
This system required a significant defensive network of forts and a continual supply of mules, slaves, and food all brought in from neighboring regions. P23 Perez-Brignoli

Bushnell, David, *The making of modern Colombia: a nation in spite of itself*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, c1993.

Pérez Brignoli, Héctor. *A brief history of Central America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, c1989.

## Colombia

Until the emergence of tobacco after 1845, gold remained the country's only substantial and reliable export. The Spanish found gold in Colombia, but nothing like the fabulous silver riches of Potosi in present-day Bolivia. Gold became the main export. P14 Pearce

Pearce, Jenny. *Colombia: inside the labyrinth*. London: Latin American Bureau, 1990.

## Ecuador

Intercolonial trade was limited, and commerce with other nations prohibited. P27 Lauderbaugh  
Guayaquil (a coastal port, largest city in Ecuador today) also developed as an important commercial center. As a port it served as the outlet for sierra textiles, hardwoods, and other products, as well as cacao from coastal plantations. P31 Lauderbaugh

Lauderbaugh, George. *The history of Ecuador*. Santa Barbara, Calif: Greenwood, 2012.

## Peru

The merchants' principal business, to which all else was secondary, was the importing and selling of shipments of general Spanish merchandise in return for the silver and gold of Peru. Other major items of commerce, not a direct part of the shipments were livestock (particularly horses) and slaves. P90 Schwartz  
the tremendous volume' of its business and trade as ' the capital, emporium, and permanent fair and bazaar' of the viceroyalty and nearby regions. Most of the city's population made subsidiary incomes from commerce with Europe, China, and New Spain. P92 Morse

Morse, Richard. *The Urban development of colonial Spanish America*. The Cambridge history of Latin America. edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge [England] ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Schwartz. Stuart B. Lockhart, James. *Early Latin America: a history of colonial Spanish America and Brazil*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1983.

## Venezuela

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, wheat flour constituted the primary export product in the Venezuelan colonies. Later in the seventeenth and well into the eighteenth centuries, **cowhides, cacao (most important two)**, and tobacco dominated export trade, along with indigo dye and sugarcane. P39 Tarver and Frederick

Many Venezuelan merchants maintained correspondence with foreign firms, placing orders which could only be delivered illegally. P67 Marsland

Marsland, William David. *Venezuela through its history*. New York, Crowell [1954]  
Tarver Denova, Hollis Micheal. *The history of Venezuela*. Westport, Conn. : Greenwood Press, 2005.

## Chile

Inter-regional trade comprised a wide range of agricultural products as well as textiles. the existence of a great many excises and internal customs duties always hampered long-distance trade in comparison with the production costs of more local producers. P211 Mörner

International trade was vital to Chile in spite of its inefficiency. The colony had small urban markets, so hacienda owners needed external markets for their tallow, hides, grain and wine. Only in the late eighteenth century did the expansion of internal markets rival the importance of external markets. P45 Rector

Rector, John Lawrence, *The history of Chile*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2003.  
Mörner, Magnus. *The rural economy and society of colonial Spanish South America*. University of Gothenburg, Sweden.

## Brazil

Trade in brazilwood, tobacco, sugar and slaves

Portugal restricted trade to its own nationals, although unlike Spain it permitted Portuguese merchants to grant licenses to ships of other nations, and to a certain extent it allowed foreign investment in commercial ventures. P51 Levine

The best estimates at present are that about 4,000 slaves a year were imported between 1570 and 1630 and that there was a total African slave population of 13,000-15,000 in the colony by 1600. The level of imports rose to 7,000-8,000 a year until 1680, when the total slave population was about 150,000. P437 Bethell

Bethell, Leslie, editor. *The Cambridge History of Latin America*. Vol. 2, Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Levine, Robert. M. *The history of Brazil*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999.

## Argentina

The settlements between Buenos Aires and Jujuy stood along a trade route linking the silver mines of Potosi (in Bolivia) with the River Plate, from which ships sailed across the Atlantic to Europe.

Potosi's market stimulus provided the commercial basis for the initial formation of trade routes extending thousands of kilometers across mountains and plains. Tucuman and Santiago del Estero, both midway between the Cordoba producing area and the Salta fairs, were important trading intermediaries in the colonial epoch. P16 Brown

From an early date contraband trading weakened the economic ties between the Plate territories and Peru, and strengthened the territories' link with the Atlantic economy. The shift gave Buenos Aires, the point of access for foreign traders, a crucial role in the emergent economy. P6 Rock  
Through Portuguese merchants in Buenos Aires commerce developed with Brazil. The main imports were Brazilian sugar, European manufactures, and slaves. P23 Lewis

Portuguese interest in the products that merchants offered in Buenos Aires encouraged trade. P27 Lewis

Rock, David. *Argentina, 1516-1987: from Spanish colonization to the Falklands war*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

Lewis, Daniel. *The history of Argentina*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2001.

Brown, Jonathan C. (Jonathan Charles), *A socioeconomic history of Argentina, 1776-1860*. Cambridge [Eng.]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

## Uruguay

Montevideo's role as a commercial center was bolstered when salted beef began to be used to feed ship crews and later slaves in Cuba. The city's commercial activity was expanded by the introduction of the slave trade to the southern part of the continent because Montevideo was a major port of entry for slaves. Hudson

Rex A. Hudson and Sandra W. Meditz, editors. *Uruguay: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1990.

## Caribbean:

### Trinidad and Tobago

With local production of foodstuffs small and inadequate, Trinidad was and for a long time remained, dependent on the mainland for provisions. P20 Millette

Spanish Trinidad: Trinidad's low population and its quasi-non-existent trade with the larger world made it impossible to significantly expand agricultural exports. The possibilities of Trinidadians making large purchases of products were minimal. Also, Trinidad's location at the fringe of commercial trade routes was another unfavorable factor. P172 Morales Padrón

Millette, James. *Society and politics in colonial Trinidad*. Trinidad: Omega; London : Zed ; Totowa, N.J. : US distributor, Biblio Distribution Center, c1985. Morales Padrón  
Morales Padrón, Francisco. *Spanish Trinidad*. Kingston; Miami: Ian Randle Publishers ; 2012.

## Dominican Republic

This monopoly was established in 1503, and made Santo Domingo the only port authorized by the Spanish Crown to trade with Seville. P43 Moya Pons

Contraband offered all the inhabitants of the island distinct advantages over the official Spanish trade. Contraband was practiced on a wide scale according to well-defined rules. P44 Moya Pons  
Moya Pons, Frank, *The Dominican Republic: a national history*. Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2010.

## Jamaica

As the Spanish crown prohibited trade with any but Spanish vessels, much of the economy of sixteenth-century Jamaica was based on illicit dealings...the smuggling and contraband trade with French, English, and Dutch corsairs and privateers was an important source of manufactured and other European goods for the colonists. P32 Delle

Delle, James A. *The colonial Caribbean: landscapes of power in plantation system*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

## Pre-colonial

### Inca

Along the northern frontier, long-distance traders engaged in commercial transactions with a socially differentiated group of "merchant Indians" from the frontier societies during the early phases of their encapsulation by the imperial state and incorporation into it. P217 Patterson  
Certain merchants existed at specific places, mostly around the border of Inca Empire. Inside the empire, tribute and redistribution replaced the role played by private merchants. P352 Trigger  
The Inca rulers reluctantly allowed entrepreneurs to confine trading beyond the borders of their kingdom, especially to the north (Salomon 1986, 1987). These traders obtained goods that were not available within the Inka kingdom...and they provided the Inka rulers with intelligence that helped them to expand the kingdom...in general the government appears to have discouraged interregional trade within the Inka kingdom. P352 Trigger

There is some evidence of pre-European marketplace exchange in the northern boundaries of the Inca empire. John Murra (1995:62) has noted that some Colonial chroniclers describe a marketplace in Quito with the Nahuatl term *tianguis*, a case in which the exception perhaps proves the rule. An institution like the *pochteca* also existed in the north, known there as *mindala*, but it was not widespread in the rest of the Andes. The historian Rostworowski de Diez Canseco (1970, 1975) has argued for *mercaderes* on the south coast who traded up and down the Pacific Ocean from Quito into the Collao, the southern quarter of Collasuyu and home of the Aymara and other non-Quechua-speaking peoples. P189 Garraty

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Garraty, P. & Stark, L. *Archaeological Approaches to Market Exchange in Ancient Societies*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010. Project MUSE., <https://muse.jhu.edu/>.

Patterson, Thomas C. *Merchant Capital and the Formation of the Inca State*. *Dialectical Anthropology*. Vol. 12, No. 2 (1987), pp. 217-227

## Maya

See Sharer, Robert J. *The ancient Maya*. Stanford, Calif. : Stanford University Press, 2006.

The model of a two-tiered economy-local and regional markets and barter in subsistence goods and commodities, and long-distance elite-controlled exchange in exotic goods and symbols of power and wealth...p162 Demarest

Demarest, Arthur Andrew. *Ancient Maya: the rise and fall of a rainforest civilization*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2004.

## Aztec

Pochteca did business abroad for kings and nobles on a commission basis but also exchanged wares with local market traders over a large area. P345 Trigger  
Aztec obsidian and ceramic exports; In sum, importation of archaeologically visible goods from outside of the Basin of Mexico was apparently carried out at a very limited scale in the Late Aztec phase. Residential contexts have few or no imported artifacts, and most of the documented imports are from ceremonial deposits at Tenochtitlan. P159 Smith

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Smith, Michael. E. Long-distance trade under the Aztec Empire: the archaeological evidence. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 1(1990), 153-169.

## South Asia

### Bhutan

the mark of a nomad society engaged in petty trade with its sedentary agricultural neighbors". P106 Spengen

The products that Bhutan imported or exported transited mostly through Cooch Bihar (West Bengal), and through the town of Rangpur, which is in present day Bangladesh. Cloth formed a large part of the imports (Benaras silk, cotton, English flannel) and exports (Tibetan wool, Chinese silk, Bhutanese cloth)

Also almost totally depended on salt outside. In exchange for the salt, several grains found their way into Tibet. P104 Spengen

Spengen, Wim van, *Tibetan border worlds : a geo-historical analysis of trade and traders*, London; New York : Kegan Paul International ; New York : Distributed [in the U.S.] by Columbia University Press, 2000..

From the early modern era, Bhutan was carrying out regular caravan trade over the rugged Himalayan terrain, particularly with Bengal to the south and Tibet and China to the north and north-east (Sarkar and Ray 2006). Williams

[http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1540006/1/williams\\_Bhutan\\_reviewed.pdf](http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1540006/1/williams_Bhutan_reviewed.pdf)

## Maurya

The northern areas exported blankets, skins, and horses, while from the south came conch shells, diamonds, and precious stones, pearls and gold... This trade developed enormously in the next two centuries, when we do have information of the commodities that were traded. P109 Thapar

Thapar, Romila. *Aśoka and the decline of the Mauryas*. New Delhi : Oxford University Press, 2012.

## Tamil

South India acted as an intermediary for a very long time between the West and Far East. A direct sea route between Egypt and the Malabar Coast was established in the late Ptolemaic or early Roman periods. The trade between the Malabar Coast and the Malay Peninsula was largely in the hands of the Tamils. P87 Bhaskar

Trade patterns: 1. Overland movement of agricultural and non-agricultural products (textiles, beryl and gems from hills, salt, pearls, dried fish and conchs from the coast), transported by pack oxen and donkeys 2. Coastal trade, for which the ports of southern Coromandel acted as entrepôts; 3. Overseas trade both from the East and the West. P15 Mukund

One of the most important articles exported from India was ivory. P199 Srinivās'-aiyaṅgār

Srinivās'-aiyaṅgār, Piḷḷaipūṇḍagūḍi Tiruvēṅgaḍatt'aiyaṅgār, History of the Tamils from the earliest times to 600 A. D. Madras, C. Coomarasawmy Naidu & sons, 1929.

Mukund, Kanakalatha. *The trading world of the Tamil merchant: evolution of merchant capitalism in the Coromandel*, Chennai: Orient Longman, c1999.

## Bengal

Bengal maintained an active overseas trade with south India and Sri Lanka. The exports from the Ganges country consisted of malabathrum, Gangetic spikenard (obtained from the Himalayan region), pearls and very fine quality muslins (local natural products and raw materials). These commodities were shipped from the royal market town. P50 Haque

*Excavation at Wari-Bateshwar: a preliminary study* / edited by Enamul Haque. Dhaka: The International Center for Study of Bengal Art : Distribution, University Press, c2001.

## Sri Lanka

The elite society in the capital looked for foreign luxury goods such as fine cloth, perfumes and wines, which are the commodities of the foreign trade at the ports. A class of rich merchants, perhaps the agents of those trading at the ports, also settled here, supplying foreign goods and collecting in turn local products like gems and spices for export. P38 Ismail

The mining, sale and export of precious stones was a monopoly of the king. P38 Ismail  
Sri Lanka's central position in the Indian Ocean along the maritime trade routes and its numerous bays and anchorages providing adequate facilities for ships, made it a center of transit trade from very early days. Its natural products such as gems, pearls, ivory and spices made the island an important center for exports. P129 Siriweera



Sri Lanka exported ivory, turtle shells and other wares in considerable quantities to Indian marts.

P131 Siriweera

Most of the exports of the island were under a royal monopoly at least in the medieval period.

P138 Siriweera

Siriweera, W. I. A study of the economic history of pre-modern Sri Lanka. New Delhi: Vikas Pub. House, 1994.

Ismail, Marina, *Early settlements in northern Sri Lanka*, New Delhi: Navrang, 1995.

## Nepal

Export to India: woolen blanket, yak, horses and utensils export to India

Import: medicinal plants, luxury goods

The trade as appears from Hiuen Tsang's disclosure mainly consisted of dealing in corns, fruits, copper and yak, aU excepting the last produced by itself and which this country sent to Tibet and India in sufficient quantities). The yalc Nepal got from the areas bordering on Tibet formed an important article of commerce and its role in this respect was to take out chamars (fly whisk) and export to India as may be inferred from the same. The merchandise was carried by itinerant merchants and handed over to marketing organisations stationed in Tibet and India, who did the disposal business amongst the consumers. P260 Regmi

The T'ang annal says that the merchants were numerous and cultivators rare. Nepal's industry and trade must have highly advanced to earn this kind of reference. P262 Regmi

What had most impressed the Chinese travellers was the very unique commercial position of the country between 646-57 A .D . The development of commerce is a testimony to the lively interest taken by rulers in such matters. P260 Regmi

Regmi, D. R. Ancient Nepal. Calcutta, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1969.

## East Asia

### Japan

Excavation suggested that ancient Japan imported iron, bronze weapon and mirrors from Korea and China

Private trade could be accomplished on a diplomatic mission, the commandery region may still have been an important source area. Such trade directly with either producers or merchants, represents one possible version of relations among individuals in the mid- and lower levels of the political hierarchies. The procurement of bloomer iron from the southern peninsula, however, may have been obtained through a top-level route between peer polities, or among lower members of the political hierarchies. P67 Barnes

Barnes, Gina Lee. State formation in Japan : emergence of a 4th-century ruling elite. London; New York: Routledge, 2007.

See James Huffman, *Japan in World History*, Oxford University Press, 2010.

Gina L. Barnes, *State Formation in Japan: Emergence of a 4<sup>th</sup>-century ruling elite*, Routledge, 2007.

### Korea

Choson by the end of the third century BC seems to have had a rudimentary bureaucracy controlling or at least exacting tribute from most of the area from the mouth of the Yalu across to the east coast. P17 Tennant

Control the peninsula's trade with the adjacent Chinese state of Yan. P18 Tennant

Establish a monopoly over trade with Han on the Korean Peninsula, thereby controlling the politics in the periphery. Role as a trade intermediary between Han and other emerging complex societies on the peninsula facilitated its political and economic expansion in the region. P241

Sun-mi Park

Park, Sun-mi, *Buffer Zone Trade in Northeast Asia in the Second Century B.C.*, Asian Perspectives. Vol. 51 Issue 2. 2014, p221-250. 30p.2014.

Tennant, Charles Roger, *A History of Korea*, Columbia University Press, 1996.

## China

The unilateral flow of grains and human energy maintained by coercion certainly is not trade. but the state sometimes traded grains for precious and prestige goods from outside the state, presumably through the efforts of professional traders. All balanced flows qualified to be called trade had mainly to do with prestige and precious objects. P222 Chang

K. C. Chang, "Ancient Trade as Economics or as Ecology," in *Ancient Civilization and Trade* edited by Jeremy Sabloff and C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, University of New Mexico Press, 1975.

## Middle East and Near East

### Ancient Egypt

The main countries from which goods were imported were Syria-Palestine, Nubia, Cyprus, and Punt. The imported products were mostly raw materials and products of which the Egyptians themselves had very little or none, as well as luxury goods, which were especially sought in the Egyptian society of the New Kingdom.

Little is known about foreign trade in ancient Egypt and about the export of Egyptian goods to neighboring states. Although the many Middle Kingdom statues found in Syria and Palestine are conclusive proof that there was indeed trade in Egyptian cultural objects during the Middle Kingdom, there are very few written records to support the idea. In general, the sources provide no information about the manner and practices of foreign trade even in the New Kingdom.

We have much more information about imported goods. The main countries from which goods were imported were Syria-Palestine, Nubia, Cyprus, and Punt. The imported products were mostly raw materials and products of which the Egyptians themselves had very little or none, as well as luxury goods, which were especially sought in the Egyptian society of the New Kingdom. From Syria and Palestine slaves, horses, cattle, small live-stock, wood, silver, copper, and valuable minerals were imported. Cyprus delivered copper and elephant tusks; from the Aegean came luxury articles such as Minoan and Mycenaean oil containers. The south, especially Nubia, was rich in gold and mineral deposits, stone for statues and temple buildings, and valuable woods—among them ebony—as well as small livestock and cattle, which were imported to Egypt together with other goods from the South. From the land of Punt came myrrh and incense. Altenmüller

Foreign trade with the north was usually handled through Syrian merchants, who controlled most of the foreign trade in Egypt during the New Kingdom. Altenmüller

Altenmüller, Hartwig, and Elizabeth Schwaiger. "Trade and Markets." *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*.: Oxford University Press, January 01, 2005. Oxford Reference. Date Accessed 27 Jul. 2018

<<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195102345.001.0001/acref-9780195102345-e-0734>>.

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

## Iran

In the Achaemenid period trade, both within the empire and outside it, developed on a scale previously unknown. The longest of many caravan routes was the Royal Road, which stretched for nearly 2,400 km from Sardis in Asia Minor through Mesopotamia and down the Tigris to Susa; stations with service facilities were located every 25-30 km along its length (Herodotus, 5.52-54; cf. Hallock, p. 6). Other roads connected Babylon with Ecbatana, Bactria, and the borders of India (Cook, p. 107), and Persia was also linked with the Indus valley by a road through Makrān (Khan, p. 121 ).... The Persian Gulf ports were major centers of Achaemenid maritime trade with the west (Schiwek). At first the maritime trade between the Achaemenid empire and the west was chiefly in the hands of merchants from Phoenicia (Elayi, pp. 15-16, 27). Gradually, however, Greek merchants supplanted them in the Aegean and also began to compete with them successfully in other regions as well (Olmstead, p. 13).

Encyclopædia Iranica, online edition, New York, 1996-.

In Persia itself commodity-money relations were very poorly developed. According to Herodotus and Strabo, the Persians did not have markets, since they neither sold nor bought. P212

Dandamaev

International maritime trade in the Achaemenid empire was chiefly in the hands of merchants from the Phoenician cities of Sidon, Tyre, Arados and Byblos. P213 Dandamaev

Dandamaev, M. A. *The culture and social institutions of ancient Iran*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, c1988.

## Israel

In Palestine the possibilities for obtaining goods which would serve the purpose of international trade were few and limited. P30 Lemche

Textual clues have led many scholars over the years to regard Iron Age Israel and Judah as economically quite simple societies in which foreign trade-which was the only large scale trade-was a royal monopoly. P444 Schloen

Schloen, David, J. *Economy and society in Iron Age Israel and Judah*, Levinson, Bernard.M and Sherman, Tina. M. *Law and Legal Literature*, Lemos, T.M. *Kinship, Community and Society*, The Wiley Blackwell companion to ancient Israel / edited by Susan Niditch. Chichester, West Sussex, UK ; Malden, MA : John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2016

Lemche, Niels Peter, *Ancient Israel: a new history of Israel*. London; New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2015.

## Mesopotamia

Mesopotamia and Assyria trade, see p269-282 Nemet-Nejat, Karen Rhea. *Daily life in ancient Mesopotamia*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1998.

P206-223 Postgate, J. N. *Early Mesopotamia: society and economy at the dawn of history*. London; New York: Routledge, 1994.

## Lebanon (Phoenicia)

The ongoing pursuit of international trade led ultimately to the establishment of Phoenician commercial bases, or enclaves on foreign soil...As for the size of the merchant fleets at the disposal of the Phoenician cities, we have little direct data. In the Report of Wenamun, the king of Byblos makes reference to seventy vessels under his authority: twenty cargo ships situated in his own harbor, and fifty coastal vessels anchored in the port of Sidon. p86-96 Markoe

See Einzig, Paul, *Primitive money in its ethnological, historical, and economic aspects*. Oxford, New York, Pergamon Press [1966]

Markoe, Glenn, *Phoenicians*. Berkeley: University of California Press, c2000.

## Arabia

Pepper and other spices, precious stones, fine cloth and porcelain came from India and China, furs from the northern countries; coral, ivory and textiles were sent in return. P44 Ruthven

Trade between Greater Syria and Arabia along the pilgrim routes saw considerable development in the beginning of the Islamic period. P392 Bessard

Under the Marwānids (Umayyad), this improvement of the antique caravan trails towards the Arabian Peninsula and Africa appears to have reinforced the traditional long-distance exchanges p392 Bessard

Bessard, Fanny *The urban economy in southern inland Greater Syria from the Seventh Century to the end of the Umayyads*. Late Antique Archaeology. 1/1/2013, Vol. 8, p377-421.

## Morocco

A constant internal trade among farmers, fruit growers and cattle raisers in active centers, and of foreign trade with Spain and the Muslim orient. The most profitable, if not quantitatively the most important, trade was that of the Sahara. P125 Laroui

As the Maghrib entered the Arab Muslim world, trade, from the eighth century onwards, developed on an unprecedented scale. The main trade route at that time linked Awdaghust (in Mauritania) to Sidjilmasa (in Morocco) which was a veritable fountainhead for the distribution of gold. P266 Talbi

Laroui, Abdallah. *The history of the Maghrib: an interpretive essay*; translated from the French by Ralph Manheim. Princeton: Princeton University Press, c1977.

J. Currey. *Africa from the seventh to the eleventh century*. "the conquest of North Africa and Berber resistance" by H.Mones and "the Independence of the Maghrib" by M. Talbi, London: Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

## Pakistan (Ghaznavid)

Ghurid expansion in the late twelfth century may even have fostered mercantile contacts along the terrestrial trade routes. P107 Flood

Jewish advisers and merchants are a common trope in accounts of medieval court life from the eastern Islamic world.

Some among the Jewish community of Ghur were intermediaries transporting to Ghur the luxury products of the wider Islamic world, the rare foreign textiles or imported precious wares, or the luxury enameled and glazed ceramics and tiles from central Iran. P93 Flood

The twelfth century sees the rise of an urban “bourgeoisie” in the eastern Islamic world, with a palpable impact on the production and consumption of ceramics, metalwork and manuscript painting. P93 Flood

Caravanserais were set up along the roads, with storerooms and accommodation quarters, wells and other facilities. Caravans were both small and large; the largest caravan of the caliph al-Muqtadir (908–32) comprised 3,000 pack animals and 5,000 men. Caravans had personnel to service them (drivers and armed guards). Artisans, scholars and diplomatic envoys often travelled with them. P91 Dani

History of civilizations of Central Asia V. IV / editors, A.H. Dani, V.M. Masson. Paris: Unesco, 1992-2005.

Flood, Finbarr Barry. *Objects of translation: material culture and medieval "Hindu-Muslim" encounter*; Princeton: Princeton University Press, c2009.

## Assyria

The numbers and the density of the trading centers can be recovered, more or less, from the documents...The most important karum was the one at Kanesh, which formed the hub of the network of trading settlements, with routes radiating northwards as far as the halys mouth of the Black Sea...the most striking feature of the Assyrian trade in Anatolia is the fact of permanence: merchant families in Ashur sent some of their male relatives to settle in one of the Anatolian colonies. P94 Kuhrt

A major part of Ashur's population seems to have been involved in the international trade in tin and textiles or in the local Anatolian copper and wool trade. p80 Postgate

P206-223 Postgate, J. N. Early Mesopotamia: society and economy at the dawn of history. London; New York: Routledge, 1994.

Also see “Trade, merchants and lost cities of the Bronze Age” by Gojko Barjamovic, Thomas Chaney, Kerem A. Coşar, Ali Hortaçsu.

Kuhrt, Amelie. The Ancient Near East: c. 3000-330 BC. Routledge, London and New York, 1995.

## Seljuk/Ottoman

International trade was of great importance from the very beginnings of the Ottoman empire, and the desire of Ottoman rulers to control international trade routes to a degree influenced their territorial expansion. P3 Fleet

A developed transit trade in luxury goods, from both Egypt and Iran, was a legacy inherited by the Ottomans from their Muslim predecessors in Anatolia. P32 Murphey

Murphey, Rhoads. *The Ottoman Economy in the Early Imperial Age*, Fleet, Kate. *European and Islamic trade in the early Ottoman state: the merchants of Genoa and Turkey* Published Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

## Southeast Asia

### Thailand

Wealth generated by trade had a more lasting impact on the geopolitics. From the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Ayutthaya raided down the peninsula and northwards into the interior to command supplies of the exotic produce of tropical forests in great demand in China-aromatic woods, ivory, rhino horn, and brilliant bird feathers...Ayutthaya prospered as an entrepot where goods were exchanged between the east (China), west (India and Arabia) and south (Malay archipelago). P10 Baker

Baker, Christopher John, *A history of Thailand*. Cambridge; Port Melbourne, Vic. : Cambridge University Press, 2014.

### Champa

The economy of the Champa states, beyond an agricultural and fishing base, was largely centered on the coastal trade with China and northern Vietnam; closest source for many of the luxury goods imported by China, such as ivory, rhinoceros horn and aromatic woods. P220 Hall

Hall, Kenneth R. *A history of early Southeast Asia: maritime trade and societal development, 100-1500*. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, c2011.

### North Vietnam

Use China

### Spanish Philippines

Products from the Philippines remained insignificant throughout the period of Manila-Acapulco exchange. The primary economic function of the Philippines was that of an intermediary, with Manila existing as a warehouse on the trade route between Mexico and China. P16 Reed

Reed, Robert Ronald, *Hispanic urbanism in the Philippines: a study of the impact of church and state*. Manila, University of Manila, 1967.

### Pre-colonial Philippines

**Foreign trade:** 13<sup>th</sup> century Filipinos: export yellow wax, gold, hemp, cotton, tortoise shells, pearls, slaves, barter for Chinese: silk, porcelain wares, iron, tin and lead sinkers p89 Zaide the Chinese (and to lesser extent some of the other foreign merchants) farmed out their goods to native traders on credit---and remained in port until these native traders disposed of their products and brought in the desired barter goods in exchange. P119 Zaide

Prestige goods- The expansion of trading networks to encompass extra-archipelagic trade for Chinese porcelains and other status goods may be a reflection of this intensifying desire for sumptuary goods to validate positions of status and authority. The desire of foreign traders for interior forest products and other local exports would have enhanced the need for extensive

internal alliance and exchange systems cemented by prestige goods redistribution.” p311–312  
Junker

Zaide, Gregorio F. *History of the Filipino people*. Manila : Modern Book Co., 1969.  
Junker, Laura Lee, *Raiding, trading, and feasting : the political economy of Philippine chiefdoms*  
Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, c2000.

## Malaysia

The economy was driven by international trade...p109 Michel Munoz  
Munoz, Paul Michel. *Early kingdoms of the Indonesian archipelago and the Malay Peninsula*,  
Singapore: Editions Didier Millet, 2006.

## Indonesia

at the crossroads of the large-scale seaborne trade between China and India. Indonesian traders became prominent participants in the regional trading networks; their sailors and boats (junk) became dominant on the region's seas until the arrival of the Europeans. P11 Drakeley  
Drakeley, Steven. *The History of Indonesia*, Greenwood Press, 2005.

## Fiji

the terms of international trade did not and could not favor an isolated archipelago with a relatively limited internal market and only sugar, copra and fruit to export. P119 Scarr  
Monopoly did rule Fiji's main export earner, the sugar industry. P119 Scarr  
Starting in precolonial times, Tongans and Fijians were involved in extensive trade networks that spanned the island groups of Fiji, Tonga and Samoa. Tongans introduced Samoan adzes, which were brought to Fiji as exchange valuables and traded for Lauan hardwoods. P25 Jones

Jones, Sharyn, *Food and gender in Fiji: ethnoarchaeological explorations*. Lanham: Lexington Books, c2009.

Scarr, Deryck. *Fiji: a short history*. Sydney: G. Allen & Unwin, 1984.

## Africa

### Burkina Faso

before the French conquest there were few large markets...village markets, occurring every three days, assured the circulation of goods outside the domestic economy. P158 Zahan

Nevertheless, none of the northerly Mossi kingdoms ever attained commercial importance of the first rank in West Africa. The great gold and kola producing countries lay farther south, and the major trade routes from them to the Middle Niger and to Hausaland bypassed the Mossi states to west and east respectively. P423 Wilks

There is little doubt that the Mossi traded with the caravans that passed through their country.

P244 Skinner

P246 Skinner trade volume

1905 the official figures were.

TABLE 28A  
*Mossi Trade (1901-3)*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Horses</i>	<i>Cattle</i>	<i>Sheep and Goats</i>	<i>Loaded Donkeys</i>	<i>Bale Cotton</i>
1901	126	3,111	18,181	2,095	23
1903	196	6,624	30,892	4,294	36

Lucien Marc, who had the opportunity to check the volume of trade for 1904 and 1905, guessed that about 16,000 cattle and 7 sheep and goats passed through the customs post in Mossi country. Furthermore, he believed that since

Skinner, Elliott. P. *Trade and Markets among the Mossi people*. Bohannon, Paul. Markets in Africa. Northwestern University Press [1962]

Wilks, Ivor, *The Mossi and Akan states to 1800*, History of West Africa, Ajayi, J. F. Ade. London: Longman, 1976.

Zahan, Dominique, *The Mossi Kingdoms*; Wilks, Ivor. *Asante Government*. West African kingdoms in the nineteenth century.

## Angola

**Trade:** slaves were Angola's chief article of commerce. The only other product of some importance before about 1830 was wax. P29 Kaplan

Foreign contraband continued largely unchallenged and became the major preoccupation of the Portuguese administration for over a century. P46 Wheeler

The principal commodities being ivory, beeswax, and in the third quarter of the century (19<sup>th</sup>) rubber. Trading caravans of the Ovimbundu became known throughout the territory bounded by the Congo River, the Great Lakes and the Kalahari desert. P8-9 Turner

Turner, Victor Witter. The Lozi peoples of north-western Rhodesia. London, International African Institute, 1952 [i.e.1953].

Wheeler, Douglas L. *Angola*. New York, Praeger Publishers [1971]

Kaplan, Irving, *Angola, a country study*. Washington; Foreign Area Studies, American University: for sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. Govt. Print. Off., c1979.

## Sierra Leone

the factor which most influenced the relationship between the Colony and the interior was trade



in goods other than slaves. P41 Fyle

Long distance trade went across several regions. And it was carried along well-established routes...certain interior traders moved to Freetown with such products as ried pepper, guinea corn, cassava, egusi and other things for urban consumption. P87 Alie

Timber was the single most valuable export officially recorded during most years from the 1820s to the 1840s, and shipments continued until the 1860s...the major export crops during the nineteenth century included groundnuts, bennissed, kola nuts, palm oil and kernels. P88-89 Alie

Alie, Joe A. D. A new history of Sierra Leone. London: Macmillan Overseas, 1990.

Fyle, C. Magbaily. History and socio-economic development in Sierra Leone: a reader. Freetown: SLADEA, 1988.

## Nigeria (Yoruba)

Oyo's northern trade was almost certainly of greater antiquity than its connection with the coast. The most important items sent northwards seem to have been kola nuts from the forests to the south-west, peppers grown near to coast, cloth, and marine or European salt. In return, many different items were imported, deriving either from the West Sudan itself or from the trans-Saharan trade, in particular, horses, natron, swords, and knives, leather, beads, silk and Saharan salt. P38 Falola

In these conditions the cost of transport was high, and precluded the possibility of substantial trade over long distances in basic foodstuffs and other commodities of great bulk and low value. Luxury goodstuffs and manufactured good of high quality could however, be profitably traded over considerable distances. P208 Law (salt, kola nuts, cloth

Law, Robin. *The Oyo Empire, c.1600-c.1836: a West African imperialism in the era of the Atlantic slave trade*. Aldershot, England: Gregg Revivals ; Brookfield, Vt. : Distributed in the U.S. by Ashgate Pub. Co., 1991.

Toyin Falola and Ann Genova. *Powers, Status, and Influence of Yoruba Chiefs in Historical Perspective, Toyin Falola*. Yorubá identity and power politics Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2006.

## Senegal

Individual traders travelled the local markets buying hides, beeswax, millet and other export products, which were bulked at the seaports for sale to European ships. P98 Curtin

Curtin, Philip D. *Economic change in precolonial Africa; Senegambia in the era of the slave trade*. University of Wisconsin Press, 1975.

## Ghana

Forest products and gold and kola nuts flowed through the ancient distributive network of Western Sudanic trade routes...and ultimately over the Sahara to the immense markets of North Africa. From the north, slaves, leather goods, sheep, silks, blankets and manufactured goods crossed into the towns of the metropolitan region. Southwards Asante traded palm-oil, ivory and gold dust with European representatives and brought back iron implements, salt, rum, guns and gunpowder. P12 Wilks

Kola went north to be exchanged for slaves and cloth woven by the Mossi. Gold and slaves were sent to the coast in exchange for European trade goods. P18 Manoukian

Manoukian, Madeline. Akan and Ga-Adangme peoples of the Gold Coast. London, New York, Published for the International African Institute by Oxford University Press, 1950.

Wilks, Ivor, *The Mossi and Akan states to 1800*, History of West Africa, Ajayi, J. F. Ade. London: Longman, 1976.

## Zambia

Local and regional trade flourished for centuries in many areas since the first millennium. Early in the second millennium external commercial contacts between the interior and the Indian Ocean were expanded and intensified, as reflected in the rise of the trading sites...The expansion of long-distance trade in northeastern Zambia in the eighteenth century was also a response to overseas demand for ivory and copper. P18 Simson

Bemba: the trade to be had in Bemba country was clearly very profitable. The demand for ivory on the coast rose sharply in the later years of the nineteenth century...the Bemba sold slaves as well as ivory. P197 Roberts

Roberts, Andrew, A history of the Bemba: political growth and change in north-eastern Zambia before 1900. [Harlow]: Longman, 1973.

Simson, Howard. *Zambia, a country study*. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1985.

## Mozambique

Pre-Portuguese: in the sixteenth century there was a string of coastal towns stretching at least as far south as the Sabi River. All these towns may have participated to some extent in the gold trade of the interior, but Sofala was the gold trading port par excellence and it is likely that the smaller coastal towns either traded in other commodities valued in the international trade, or owed their existence, as Duarte Barbosa said, to trading in 'rice, millet and meat which they convey to Sofala in little vessels'. P6 Newitt

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the external trade of eastern Africa was largely controlled by three individuals (monopolized by captains, royal factors). The ivory trade was to lead to an unprecedented growth of commercial activity along the coast. p177 Newitt

Newitt, M. D. D. *A history of Mozambique*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, c1995.

## Namibia

Herero-doubtless the most extensive trade for commodities was carried on with outsiders who could provide metals in exchange for domestic animals. P620 Gibson

Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016). D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.

Gibson, Gordon. D. *Bridewealth and other forms of exchange among the Herero*. Bohannan, Paul. Markets in Africa. Northwestern University Press [1962].

## South Africa

Cape Town was the main, virtually the only, market in the colony. Farmers brought their agricultural produce there by ox-wagon. They could purchase cloth, agricultural implements, domestic utensils, coffee, tea, sugar and slaves from Cape Town's merchants. P25 Ross

Different to other territories, the Cape of Good Hope was not considered an important trade destination in itself; the settlement was founded in 1652 by the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, or VOC) with the sole purpose of providing passing Dutch ships with fresh water, food and fuel (Ward 2007). P469-470 Boshoff

While wine exports were relatively small and of poor quality, grain exports grew significantly during the eighteenth century, notably wheat exported to the Dutch settlements in the East. P472 Boshoff

Export of goods to outsiders by private individuals was forbidden by the company, though in practice a number of officials and colonists did undertake small-scale exchanges with foreign ships, and they also obtained imported goods for sale.

<http://www.worldhistory.biz/sundries/49576-cape-colony-origins-settlement-trade.html>

Boshoff, Willem. *The significance of the Cape trade route to economic activity in the Cape Colony: a medium-term business cycle analysis*. European Review of Economic History. 14(3):469-503; Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Ross, Robert. *A Concise History of South Africa*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

## Kenya (Kikuyu)

Exchange between the Kikuyu and Kamba depended on seasonal harvests...there was some trade between the Tharaka and Kamba...the southern Kikuyu had contact with the Arab and European ivory traders who flourished during the last century...the Kikuyu sold great quantities of vegetable produce and livestock to the caravans. P20 Middleton

Middleton, John, 1921-2009. The central tribes of the north-eastern Bantu; the Kikuyu, including Embu, Meru, Mbere, Chuka, Mwimbi, Tharaka, and the Kamba of Kenya. London: International African Institute, 1965.

Kirby, K.R., Gray, R. D., Greenhill, S. J., Jordan, F. M., Gomes-Ng, S., Bibiko, H-J, et al. (2016). D-PLACE: A Global Database of Cultural, Linguistic and Environmental Diversity. PLoS ONE, 11(7): e0158391. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158391.

## Tanzania

It has generally been held that the Swahili and Zanzibari merchants sent caravans into the interior, hitherto untouched by trade, during the nineteenth century and so 'opened up' that interior to the outside world, there having been until this time very little connection between the coast and the interior. P99 Horton

During the nineteenth century and perhaps even earlier, the Nyamwezi and other peoples in the

region engaged in trading with the coastal areas of East Africa. Chiefs and other political authorities were sometimes involved in the organization of trading expeditions. As an example of the amount of goods conveyed to the coast in a single journey, Herrmann describes a large caravan which set out in 1891 from Usukuma with 600 elephant tusks, 2000 head of cattle and 2000 small stock. P38 Abrahams

Abrahams, R. G. The peoples of Greater Unyamwezi, Tanzania (Nyamwezi, Sukuma, Sumbwa, Kimbu, Konongo). London, International African Institute, 1967.

Horton, Mark. *The Swahili: the social landscape of a mercantile society*. Oxford, UK; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2000.

(northern Tanzania) Given the great environmental differences which were to be found within a relatively small region, a region unlike many parts of Africa...and given the circumstance that the various groups inhabiting the region did in fact have markedly different economies, it would seem that basic factors were present which would have led to the development of a large volume of trade and to the establishment of markets. Although a certain amount of external trade did take place, a large-scale system of inter-tribal exchange did not develop, and markets did not appear. Most of the trade which did take place in the past occurred not because people were attempting to take advantage of their particular positions in relation to the factors of production as in a market-oriented economy, but because people were short of food as the result of crop failure.

P460 Winter

(Export: slaves and ivory)

Winter, E.H. Livestock markets among the Iraqw of Northern Tanganyika. Bohannan, Paul. Markets in Africa. Northwestern University Press [1962]

## Malawi

the most important export during most periods was ivory. P117 Pachai

The southern region of Malawi, more than any other part of the country, was completely devastated by the slave trade. P61 Pike

Long distance commerce between the Lake Malawi area and the east African coast was already well underway by the late eighteenth century. From the early decades of the nineteenth century, a number of developments took place contributing to a dramatic expansion in the scale of trade from the 1840s onwards. P25 McCracken

McCracken, John, A history of Malawi, 1855-1966. Woodbridge, Suffolk [England]; Rochester, N.Y. : James Currey, 2012.

Pike, John G. Malawi; a political and economic history. New York, F. A. Praeger [1968]

Pachai, Bridglal. Malawi: the history of the nation. [London] Longman [1973]

## Ethiopia

The first point to emphasize is that almost all Aksumite long-distance trade seems to have passed through the Red Sea port of Adulis, which would have rendered it susceptible to centralized control. P58 Phillipson

Axumite society lived primarily within a provincial economy. But to a certain extent trade relations were developed. P172 Kobishchanov

In the V-VI centuries AD the Axumite Kingdom (via Adulis) carried on an extensive intermediary trade with Somali, Indian, East African and South Arabian goods. P172 Kobishchanov

It is possible to judge the geographical limits of Axum's trade links by the goods which came into Ethiopia via Adulis...Adulis was thus connected with Italy, Asia Minor, Central India and nearer countries. The export connections of Adulis stretched still further. P177 Kobishchanov  
Kobishchanov, Yuri M. Axum. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, c1979.  
Phillipson, D. W. Ancient Ethiopia: Aksum, its antecedents and successors. London: British Museum Press, 1998.

## **Explanation-Trade within Polity**

### **Scoring rules.**

1-2: No private trade. Mainly distribution via the state apparatus. Some barter.

3-4: Very limited private trade. Distribution and subsistence production.

5-6: Trade limited in scope (goods traded), location and time.

7-8: Active trade with some limits and significant non-market activity.

9-10: Intensive internal trade an important engine of the economy, possibly in conjunction with intensive international trade.

### **Britain and its colonies**

United Kingdom 6

United States 6

New Zealand 6

Canada 6

Australia 6

### **Europe**

Austria (Germanic tribes) 7

Germany (Germanic tribes) 7

Switzerland (Germanic tribes) 7

Luxemburg (Germanic tribes) 7

Franks 7

Netherlands (independent cities) 10

Belgium (Ancient Rome, Independent cities) 10

Denmark (Viking) 8

Norway (Viking) 8  
Sweden (Viking) 8  
Iceland 2  
Ireland 2  
Estonian Tribes 8  
Finn tribes 8  
Greece 10  
Rome 10  
Spain:  
Castile 5  
Aragon 8  
Catalonia 8  
Portugal 6  
Latvia 7  
Lithuania 7  
Slovakia (Hungary) 4

**Balkans**

Croatia 8  
Serbia 4  
Romania 4  
Bulgaria 4  
Albania 5  
Slovenia 10

**Eastern and Central Europe**

Poland 7  
Bohemia (Czech) 8  
Hungary 4  
Russia 4

**Latin America (colonial)**

Mexico 6  
Guatemala 3  
El Salvador 2  
Honduras 2  
Costa Rica 2  
Panama 2  
Colombia 3  
Ecuador 2

Peru 5  
Venezuela 4  
Chile 4  
Brazil 4  
Argentina 3  
Uruguay 6

**Caribbean:**

Trinidad and Tobago 2  
Dominican Republic 3  
Jamaica 3

**Pre-colonial**

Inca 1  
Maya 5  
Aztec 6

**South Asia**

Bangladesh 7  
Bhutan 2  
Maurya 4  
Tamil 8  
Bengal 7  
Sri Lanka 3  
Nepal 2

**East Asia**

Japan 3  
Korea 3  
China 2

**Middle East and Near East**

Egypt 2  
Iran 4  
Mesopotamia 5  
Israel 3  
Syria (Assyria) 7  
Lebanon (Phoenicia) 5  
Arabia 8  
Morocco 8

Pakistan (Ghaznavids) 7  
Seljuk/Ottoman 8

### **Southeast Asia**

Thailand 7  
Champa 5  
North Vietnam (China) 2  
Spanish Philippines 3  
Pre-colonial Philippines 7  
Malaysia 9  
Indonesia 9  
Fiji 1

### **Africa**

Burkina Faso 2  
Angola 2  
Sierra Leone 2  
Nigeria (Yoruba) 4  
Senegal 4  
Ghana 2  
Zambia 3  
Mozambique 3  
Namibia 2  
South Africa 6  
Kenya 2  
Malawi 2  
Tanzania 2  
Ethiopia 3

### **United Kingdom**

The number occupied in trade and industry formed a relatively small proportion of the total; and even those so occupied often combined their industrial and commercial occupations with some agricultural pursuits...throughout the middle ages medieval England required and obtained commodities which few or no regions of England produced, such as salt or spices. Moreover, some of England's villages and entire regions were so specialized that life within them would have been difficult or even impossible without some interregional exchanges. P183 Postan  
Postan, M. M. (Michael Moïsey), The medieval economy and society: an economic history of Britain in the Middle Ages. London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972.

Netherlands, Belgium



The emergence of an urban market economy had profound repercussions on the countryside, stimulating more intensive and specialized forms of agriculture and transforming feudal relations. P59 Arblaster

The precocious growth of the Brabant fairs changed Bruges's commercial outlook. Its resident foreign merchants were attracted by the growing variety of manufactures available in Bergen-op-Zoom and Antwerp.p48 Gelderblom

In the mid-fifteenth century Italian merchants wrote home that trade in the Flemish port stalled during the fairs. In 1430 Bruges's magistrate explicitly forbade merchants to visit Brabant's fairs, but to no avail. Hundreds of artisans and merchants, local and foreign, regularly traveled to Brabant and even bought houses there. P27 Gelderblom

The three ports (Bruges, Antwerp, Amsterdam) may have had considerable autonomy when it came to the organization of local exchange...p41 Gelderblom

Arblaster, Paul, A history of the Low Countries. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Gelderblom, Oscar. Cities of Commerce: The Institutional Foundations of International Trade in the Low Countries, 1250-1650. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013. Project MUSE.

## Denmark (Vikings)

## Norway (Vikings)

## Sweden (Vikings)

(Note: Trade flourished and the market grew with the Vikings' expansion in the North Atlantic, Western Europe, the British Isles and the Baltic-Russian areas, and with the establishment of colonies and trading stations there. P117 Roesdahl

There must have been merchants in large trading centers for whom trade was their sole occupation, but many Scandinavian traders had agriculture, hunting or fishing as their main occupation. Others were chieftains or large landowners who came by so many valuable goods that they could venture out in their own ship with their own cargo. P119 Roesdahl

Roesdahl, Else. The Vikings. Allen Lane, 1991, C1987.

## Iceland

Internal trade: redistributive, no market exchange in Iceland. Initially there were probably large household units, with its own internal redistributive system. P37 Durrenberger

Durrenberger, E. Paul. The dynamics of medieval Iceland: political economy & literature. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, c1992.

## Ireland

In contrast there is almost no evidence for trade between the various polities of Ireland, for example there is an early ninth century reference to a 'merchant' who traded between Munster and northern Leinster (Ó Corráin 1972, 40). The Lebor na Cert (Dillon 1962) gives examples of goods being moved around Ireland, but this is in the context of reciprocal tribute exchange.

These lists are dominated by livestock, but they also include drinking horns, hounds, clothing, weapons, jewellery, slaves and 'fithchell' (lit. 'wood-intelligence' – a gaming board, usually

translated as ‘chess’). These items tend to be high-status, and presumably of limited availability. P59 Kerr

Kerr, Thomas; McCormick, Finbar and O’Sullivan, Aidan. *The Economy of early medieval Ireland*. Irish National Strategic Archaeological Research Programme, 2013.

## Franks

The exchange of goods between settlements, though it existed, was small and over short distances: a maximum of 30km has been proposed. P92 Drinkwater

Daily commercial intercourse between Romans and barbarians increased in importance throughout the fourth century. P326 Burns

Burns, Thomas. *Rome and the Barbarians, 100 B.C.-A.D. 400*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

P138 Drinkwater, J. F. *The Alamanni and Rome 213-496 (Caracalla to Clovis)*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

## Estonian tribes

A trade route passes from Scandinavia to Byzantium through Estonia. Trade is carried out by those people who have excess goods and the opportunity to sell them. P32-33 Subrenat

The most important imports were iron, copper, bronze, precious metals, and finished products; the major exported items were bearskins, wax, grain and cattle. In the twelfth century (and perhaps already in the eleventh), when the Varangian route to the east fell into disuse, the Estonians pursued an active trading and plundering policy to the west on the Baltic Sea. At the same time Estonians retained its importance in the transit trade between Novgorod and the West. p9 Raun

In the thirteenth century, the Baltic became a well-worn pathway for pilgrims and merchants. p3 Raun

Raun, Toivo U. *Estonia and the Estonians*. Stanford, Calif: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1991.

## Finn tribes

Not available

## Greece 10

Public wages and monetary liturgies stimulated monetization, which in turn stimulated exchange rather than consumption of home-produced goods. P388 Scheidel

To judge from the numbers of drinking cups and transport amphoras found in excavations, the consumption and trade of wine reached an unprecedented scale in the late archaic and early classical period.<sup>39</sup> Most wine was marketed and consumed locally, but for connoisseurs it was shipped over long distances (see above, Chapter 13). P393 Scheidel

Scheidel, Walter, et al., editors. *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*. Cambridge University Press, 2007.

## Rome 10

Large-scale trade was coupled with commercial agriculture and craft production: none was conceivable without the others. Italian wines and Campanian A were not sold because they had been produced; they were produced to be sold. It is with good reason that for this period, we speak of “a trade system based on slavery.”<sup>89</sup> It is likely that the (freedmen?) supervisors of production were also behind the commercial enterprises. P508 Scheidel

It should also be considered significant that Roman trade included inexpensive goods that could easily have been substituted for locally in most places, such as commonplace black-glaze pottery (see Table 19.1 again), wax, and honey.<sup>138</sup> The implication is that transport was efficient, that part of the economy at least was organized on the basis of trade, and that an entrepreneurial spirit was widespread. P534-535 Scheidel

Scheidel, Walter, et al., editors. *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*. Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Also see “market trade” in Temin, Peter. *The Roman Market Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.

## Spain

### Castile 5

As industrial production served local needs, so too trade was limited to local markets usually held weekly. There, agricultural products as well as craft goods and some exotic merchandise were exchanged. P184 O'Callaghan

The word “market” begins to be heard in the Cantabrian mountains about the 10th century, when security appears to have been regained, at least in the North. The market is a very important element which goes far to explain the economic life of a district, especially in medieval times when it was the center of the commercial activity of a region. P133 Vicens Vives

Situated in certain places at junctions of the old Roman highways {viae antiquae}, which continued to be the basis of the road network, or at the junctions of other, secondary roads, the market acquired a wider economic importance. Besides the villagers from nearby places, these markets attracted itinerant vendors, mostly Jews and Moslems, who brought with them tiraz from Cordova, Byzantine brocades (pannos greciscos), Persian woven goods, and French cloth (saïas franciscas), in addition to perfumes, jewels, and trinkets of all kinds. Gradually, a few shops and workshops became established in the vicinity of the market, the operatoria. P133-134 Vicens Vives

Vicens Vives, Jaime. *An economic history of Spain*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1969.

O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *A history of medieval Spain*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, [1983]

### Aragon 10

It is possible that this is a description of what took place in the Crown of Aragon. Since the time of its foundation the kingdom had been tied to silver coinage: the sueldo of Jaca and the sueldo of Barcelona. But about the middle of the 14th century, when the island of Majorca was definitely incorporated into the Crown of Aragon, Peter the Ceremonious and the bourgeoisie of Barcelona introduced the gold florin. P226 Vicens Vives

Currency was used in Aragon at least in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Vicens Vives, Economic History of Spain. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015. Project MUSE.

## Catalonia 10

The small scope of the fairs is due to the fact that exchange of goods went on daily, and there was no need to convoke large annual fairs. On the other hand, the lonja, or commercial exchange of an Italian type, is characteristic of Catalonia, Valencia, and Majorca. P218 Vicens Vives  
Vicens Vives, Jaime. An economic history of Spain. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1969.

## Portugal 6

Among the institutions that promoted a higher level of monetized economy was the fair, which differed from the small, local markets. The latter were usually held on a daily or weekly basis to cater the needs for food and perishable goods of a given community, while the fairs regarded transactions of durable goods, such as textiles or agricultural implements. P34 Costa

Innumerable ports dotted the coastline, providing regular connections between Lisbon, Valença, Viana do Castelo, Vila do Conde, Aveiro, Salir, Cascais, Setúbal, and many sites in the Algarve (Marques 1987: 130). This intense coastal trade is recorded in royal documents, namely the Inquirições (royal inquiries) that defined the seigniorial rights to collect levies on domestic trade. p35 Costa

In fifteenth-century Portugal, coastal trade was intense, joining the littoral into a near single unit. Innumerable ports dotted the coastline, providing regular connections between Lisbon, Valença, Viana do Castelo, Vila do Conde, Aveiro, Salir, Cascais, Setúbal, and many sites in the Algarve (Marques 1987: 130). This intense coastal trade is recorded in royal documents. P35 Costa

Vicens Vives, Jaime. *An economic history of Spain*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1969. (Baltimore, Md.: Project MUSE, 2015)

Costa, Leonor Freire. *An economic history of Portugal, 1143-2010*. Cambridge Univ Press, 2016.

## Latvia 7

At the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries Riga, Reval and Dorpat were already large local centres of internal trade for the whole of Livonia. The peasants either supplied their products direct to the markets of the bigger towns, or else they had them conveyed there by the inhabitants of the smaller towns and numerous market settlements (Flecken). An important element in internal trade was the advances against future supplies of rural products made by the merchants of Riga and Reval to their lesser contractors living in town and country. P591-592 Miller

Miller, Edward, et al., editors. *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire*. 2nd ed., vol. 2, Cambridge University Press, 1987.

## Lithuania

Trade constituted the basis of the existence of the wealthier and more active townsmen. P180  
Kiaupa (towns were centers of trade)

Kiaupa, Zigmantas. *The history of Lithuania before 1795*. Vilnius: Lithuanian Institute of History, 2000.

## Slovakia (Hungary)

Use score for Hungary

## Balkans

### Croatia 10

Merchants from the coastal towns of Dalmatia-chieftly Dubrovnik, but to a lesser extent Kotor and Bar-dominated the trade between the Adriatic and its Balkan hinterland. P349 Sedlar  
Dubrovnik was able to establish colonies with extraterritorial privileges in the interior of the Balkan Peninsula, where its citizens were entitled freely to reside and trade. There the merchants of Dubrovnik maintained warehouses, while their fellow townsmen worked as tailors, clothiers, goldsmiths, or stonemasons. P349 Sedlar

The economic life of Dubrovnik centered on trade-with its own hinterland and overseas, with the lands along the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. P62 Perić

Sedlar, Jean W. *East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, c1994.

Perić, Ivan. *A history of the Croats*. Zagreb: Center of Technology Transfer, 1998.

### Serbia

In Serbian Despotate the payments in internal trade were made in various types of silver dinars whereas perpera and litra were used as accounting monetary units. P136-137

There were “Important mining or trade centres” when the Ottmans attempted to conquer Serbia. P137

Growing demand for monetary metal made Serbian mining and trade flourish. P135

Gnjatovic, Dragana. Disintegration of monetary system of medieval Serbia. *Megatrend Review*, Vol.11, No 4, 2014: 129-144.

### Romania

prolonged external domination of the economy, unsafe roads, internal tariffs, and poor lines of communication worked against both domestic and international commerce, although in the Middle Ages the great trade routes that linked the Baltic with the Black Sea and central Europe with the Balkans crossed Moldavia and Wallachia even before they existed as principalities. P25 Georgescu

The sale of cattle, hides, grain, honey and wax to Austria, Germany, Venice and Poland were the most profitable. In exchange the principalities bought silk and other fabrics, tools, weapons and manufactured goods, boyar luxuries. P25 Georgescu

Georgescu, Vlad. *The Romanians, a history*. Columbus: Ohio Stae University Press, c1990.

### Bulgaria 4

**Trade:** the absence of coined money restricted internal trade between city and countryside. P98 Browning

...the cities for a limited urban market, the economic life of the countryside went on with scarcely any change-autarkic, without money, and largely without a market. It is this relative absence of internal trade which explains the dependent situation in which many of the craftsmen found themselves. P112 Browning

(Internal) Trade was seriously hampered by the feudal divisions of the country and the existence of large autonomous estates belonging to boyars and monasteries. To take their goods to market and sell them there, the producers or merchants had to pay a great variety of taxes and tolls at bridges, crossroads, and mountain passes, etc. p78 Kossov

The feudal lords were able to acquire considerable surpluses of foods and raw materials, which they exported through merchants. P78 Kossov

Browning, Robert, *Byzantium and Bulgaria: a comparative study across the early medieval frontier*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

## Albania

14<sup>th</sup> century: More and more the villages broke out of their insular, natural economy to adopt a regime of exchange relationships. The home market constantly strengthened its links with the Balkan and Adriatic countries. The centers of these exchanges had for a long while now been important economic centers, towns inhabited by craftsmen, merchants and workers. So Durres, the principal city of Albania in the fourteenth century, had about 25000 inhabitants. P46 Pollo

Pollo, Stefanaq. *The history of Albania: from its origins to the present day*. London; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.

## Slovenia

Like other towns in the Austrian Empire, Slovenian towns and marketplaces were granted rights by the rulers to hold annual fairs. P163 Reuvid

Reuvid, Jonathan. *Doing Business with Slovenia*. GMB Publishing Ltd. London, 2004.

## Eastern and Central Europe

### Poland

There were the local markets in most towns where the products of the immediate region were bought and sold. P88 Carter

The Polish state and south-western Russia supplied Silesia with salt, lead, Hungarian copper, wool, wax, hops for brewing beer, leather and furs. Probably some of these goods were carried further west and south-west. P549 Miller

By way of introduction it should be emphasised that Little Poland's economic contacts with the other territories of the Polish state were very weak, particularly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. P552 Miller

Carter, F.W. *Trade and urban development in Poland: an economic geography of Cracow, from its origins to New York*: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Miller, Edward, et al., editors. *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire*. 2nd ed., vol. 2, Cambridge University Press, 1987.

## Czech Republic

the main goods at market were not luxury items such as slaves, expensive textiles and hides, but everyday craft goods, which were purchased for the most part by normal farmers. P91 Panek (Prague) its marketplace became local, or at the most significant within the realm. In the whole realm, local exchange took place at special market settlements, called *loca forensia* or *fora*. Their inhabitants, however, worked as ordinary peasants. They participated in seasonal market exchange only from time to time. These *loca* were not in any way centers of craft production, but only of exchange between inhabitants of widely dispersed, locally situated villages. As in Poland, in the twelfth century, when monetary circulation started to be more lively, *fora* played an important role for peasants selling the necessary quantity of goods at the local market to be able to gather coins for paying dues in standard silver coins. P304 Berend

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, crafts in the Bohemian towns were almost exclusively geared to the needs of the local and regional markets; foreign trade offered no incentive. P533 Miller

Sources from Bohemia, the Netherlands and Germany provide evidence of the active participation of merchants from Bohemian towns, particularly Prague, in long-distance trade. p536 Miller

Miller, Edward, et al., editors. *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire*. 2nd ed., vol. 2, Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Berend, Nora. *Central Europe in the high Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland c.900--c.1300*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2013.

## Hungary

Trade was not significant in the early period of Hungary's economy. P312 Berend

Berend, Nora. *Central Europe in the high Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland c.900--c.1300*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

## Russia

The great majority of Russians during this period were peasants, involved in a largely subsistence economy and resorting to the market only where it became necessary to earn money to pay taxes and duties or to purchase essential goods. Many town dwellers also supported themselves to greater or lesser degree by engaging in agriculture and various kinds of primary production. P309 Shaw

Towns often acted as commercial foci for their surrounding regions and many manufactures were oriented to the meeting of local and everyday needs. These included the provision of food, clothing, footwear, fuel, building materials, horses and so on to urban and rural inhabitants. P312 Shaw

Shaw, Dennis. J.B. *Towns and Commerce*, The Cambridge history of Russia. Vol. 1, From early Rus' to 1689, edited by Maureen Perrie. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, c2008.

## Latin America (colonial)

### Mexico

Diverse geographical condition, but internal trade was hindered by taxation and self-sufficiency of haciendas. Mexico's diversified domestic economy was sustained by a network of roads which reached throughout the viceroyalty. But in all cases the existence of better-regulated long-distance routes tended to limit the proliferation of regional routes. P25 Hoberman  
Hoberman, Louisa Schell, Mexico's merchant elite, 1590-1660: silver, state, and society. Durham: Duke University Press, 1991.

### Central America

The economy of Central America did not stand out in comparison to the rest of Latin America. By and large Central Americans dedicated themselves to subsistence agriculture in addition to the production of some market commodities for export and internal trade such as indigo, cacao, cotton and cochineal all of which had eager consumers but nothing on a par with the demand for products coming from Peru and Mexico. P41 White

Murdo J. MacLeod classifies Central American economic life during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in two systems. The first he calls a "cattle and cereal" system of Indians and Spanish staples raised for local consumption or for trade through urban markets. The second system consisted of cash crops raised largely for an export-oriented economy...cacao became Guatemala's first important cash crop exported to New Spain, South America and Spain by the middle of the sixteenth century. P145 Jones

The subsistence economy dominated the early years of the Spanish presence in Guatemala. P145 Jones

White, Christopher M. *The history of El Salvador*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2009.  
Jones, Oakah L. Guatemala in the Spanish Colonial Period. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.

### Guatemala

The trade of the (Indian) pueblo and of poor Spaniards and castes was local, scarcely affected by the outside world. Government had to force production through taxation and most trade through tributary articles. Pxx MacLeod

Its base centered on subsistence production. Next were the regional markets: cattle, hides and tallow; cotton from the coast for the highlands; supplies for mining in those inhospitable desolate areas and so forth. P48 Perez-Brignoli

These settlements supplied the Santiago market with foodstuffs, spun wool and textiles, pottery and other items for both local consumption and trade within the kingdom. P94 Foster

Large market places in every village and town developed brisk internal trade in provisions. Indian traders brought their goods into the urban markets. Such markets are still an integral aspect of Central American life. P47 Woodward



Woodward, Ralph Lee, Jr. *Central America, a nation divided*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Foster, Lynn V. *A brief history of Central America*. New York: Facts on File, c2007.

Pérez Brignoli, Héctor. *A brief history of Central America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, c1989.

MacLeod, Murdo J. *Spanish Central America: a socioeconomic history, 1520-1720*. Austin: University of Texas Press: Teresa Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies, 2008.

## El Salvador

The region that is El Salvador today was part of Guatemala Kingdom. Should not be higher than Guatemala

## Honduras

The tributary Indians would also serve as intermediaries for a growing contraband trade with the inland Spaniards who were settled along the Indian frontier. P44 Naylor

Naylor, Robert. *Penny Ante Imperialism: The Mosquito Shore and the Bay of Honduras, 1600–1914: A Case Study in British Informal Empire*. Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1989.

## Costa Rica 2

Internal trade was usually conducted by barter. P14 Nelson

Most of the inhabitants from Chiapas to Costa Rica were engaged in simple subsistence agriculture or in producing foodstuffs for local markets. P45 Woodward

Nelson, Harold D. *Costa Rica, a country study*. Foreign Area Studies, the American University; edited by Washington, D.C.: American University, Foreign Area Studies, 1984.

Woodward, Ralph Lee, Jr. *Central America, a nation divided*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

## Panama 3

This system required a significant defensive network of forts and a continual supply of mules, slaves, and food all brought in from neighboring regions. P23 Perez-Brignoli

Pérez Brignoli, Héctor. *A brief history of Central America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, c1989.

## Colombia 3

Historically, there has been relatively little trade among the three major zones. This paucity of interregional trade may be attributed in part to the high cost of overland transportation. Another factor discouraging long-distance trade was the sparseness of the population and its dispersion into small pockets. P10 Safford

While the tropics and the mountains together made interregional trade difficult, at the same time they made it less necessary. P10 Safford

Trade tended to be limited to a few items that were particularly scarce in certain regions and had a sufficiently high value to overcome the burden of high costs of haulage. P11 Safford

Safford, Frank, *Colombia: fragmented land, divided society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

## Ecuador 2

Sales to local landed elites could be substantial, and they reveal in part how Quito's early credit market functioned. P159 Lane

Lane (2002, p157-163) Depicts vibrant local trade between customers and shopkeepers and peddlers in Quito.

Lane, Kris E. Quito 1599: city and colony in transition. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, c2002.

## Peru 4

Most Spanish regional capitals of any size dominated interior highland valleys and created agricultural belts around them. The merchants who brought these staples to these cities were Spaniards or castas working for their own benefit, or as agents of Spanish farmers or larger city merchants. P252 Morse

Morse, Richard. *The Urban development of colonial Spanish America*. The Cambridge history of Latin America / edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge [England] ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1984.

## Venezuela 4

Denova (2005, p40) did not mention regional trade but noticed that colonial commerce was based on barter.

Tarver Denova, Hollis Micheal. The history of Venezuela. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2005.

## Chile 4

Inter-regional trade comprised a wide range of agricultural products as well as textiles. the existence of a great many excises and internal customs duties always hampered long-distance trade in comparison with the production costs of more local producers. P211 Mörner  
Mörner, Magnus. *The rural economy and society of colonial Spanish South America*. University of Gothenburg, Sweden.

## Brazil 4

As the Portuguese penetrated the region of the Negro, Japura, and Solimoes rivers, they found it increasingly difficult to trade for captives with the river tribes who already had access to steel tools and weapons acquired by trade with peoples in contact with the Dutch on the lower Essequibo. P481 Schwartz

The small-scale ambulating retail trade in the colonial cities was almost exclusively in the hands of women of color, both slave and free. P497 Schwartz

Schwartz, Stuart. B. *Colonial Brazil, c. 1580-c.1750: plantations and peripheries*. The Cambridge History of Latin America. Volume 2, Colonial Latin America / edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

### Argentina 3

“long distance commerce seems significantly greater than local”, internal trade was hindered by poor communication and shortage of money.

Despite the intent of *comercio libre* to encourage direct trade with Spain and discourage trade with foreigners, throughout the period after 1776 most goods imported by Buenos Aires were foreign. P66 Rock

Rock, David. *Argentina, 1516-1987: from Spanish colonization to the Falklands war*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

### Uruguay 6

The region's wheat and hides were not only sold locally but also transported for sale in Rio de Janeiro and occasionally in Buenos Aires. P18 Prado

Prado, Fabrício Pereira, *Edge of empire: Atlantic networks and revolution in Bourbon Río de la Plata*. Oakland, California: University of California Press, [2015]

## Caribbean:

### Trinidad and Tobago 2

Spanish Trinidad: during the mid to late eighteenth century, agricultural products that provided subsistence to the island's population...formed the basis of the island's economy. P172 Morales Padrón

Morales Padrón, Francisco. *Spanish Trinidad*. Kingston; Miami: Ian Randle Publishers ; 2012.

### Dominican Republic 3

### Jamaica 3

(these countries are more related to international trade.)

## Pre-colonial

### Inca 1

“vertical archipelago”, tribute replaced trade within the empire

Certain merchants existed at specific places, mostly around the border of Inca Empire. Inside the empire, tribute and redistribution replaced the role played by private merchants. P352 Trigger

There is some evidence of pre-European marketplace exchange in the northern boundaries of the Inca empire. John Murra (1995:62) has noted that some Colonial chroniclers describe a marketplace in Quito with the Nahuatl term *tiangués*, a case in which the exception perhaps proves the rule. An institution like the *pochteca* also existed in the north, known there as *mindala*, but it was not widespread in the rest of the Andes. The historian Rostworowski de Diez Canseco (1970, 1975) has argued for *mercaderes* on the south coast who traded up and down the Pacific

Ocean from Quito into the Collao, the southern quarter of Collasuyu and home of the Aymara and other non-Quechua-speaking peoples. P189 Garraty

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Garraty, P. & Stark, L. *Archaeological Approaches to Market Exchange in Ancient Societies*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010. Project MUSE., <https://muse.jhu.edu/>.

## Maya 6

Despite the natural bounty and diversity of the rain forest and the Maya subsistence systems, some basic products had to be obtained by families at local or regional markets. Even full-time farming families, the vast majority of the population, relied upon exchange to provide some pottery, salt, chocolate beans, stone tools and variety in their diet. P150 Demarest

Thus, distribution patterns suggest the breakdown of partially commercialized, regional, and bounded distribution systems and the emergence of a fully commercialized, interregional, and open market economy by about AD 900 (Braswell and Glascock 2002).

Braswell, Geoffrey E. *The Rise and Fall of Market Exchange: A Dynamic Approach to Ancient Maya Economy*. Garraty, Christopher P., Stark, Barbara L. *Archaeological Approaches to Market Exchange in Ancient Societies*. University Press of Colorado.

Demarest, Arthur Andrew. *Ancient Maya: the rise and fall of a rainforest civilization*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Also see Sharer, Robert J. *The ancient Maya*. Stanford, Calif. : Stanford University Press, 2006.

## Aztec 6

Regional markets: <http://www.historyonthenet.com/aztec-economy-regional-markets-and-long-distance-trade/>

First, local administrative documents mention marketplaces in at least twelve communities, including major capitals such as Cuauhnahuac and Yauhtepic, city-state capitals such as Tlayacapan and Xantetelco, and smaller subject towns like Ocotepec and Tianguistenco (M. E. Smith 1994:table 12.5). Second, the documents mention that merchants engaged in long-distance trade and operated in a number of Morelos marketplaces, including both the regional merchants discussed by Frances Berdan (1988) and the better-known pochteca (high-status, long-distance merchants). P164 Garraty

Most of the goods and services used by peasants are obtained at the local marketplace or market town. The central church or temple serves the population of the local system, which in many cases tends to be endogamous. P170 Garraty

Garraty, P. & Stark, L.. *Archaeological Approaches to Market Exchange in Ancient Societies*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010. Project MUSE.

## South Asia

### Bangladesh 8

The chief routes of internal trade were probably the waterways of the province, in proximity to which stood the principal towns. Besides the towns, a certain amount of business was probably done in the villages also. P660 Majumdar

Majumdar, R. C. (Ramesh Chandra), The early history of Bengal. London, [etc.], for the University of Dacca, Oxford University Press, 1925.

### Bhutan

Crops were bartered between the households at the village level. A few weekly markets or annual fairs were the only organized markets for surplus agricultural products. Since it was subsistence agriculture, marketable surplus was very small, where the petty surplus was bartered for other commodities which were not produced domestically. P34 Biswas

Biswas, Anil Kumar. Economic diversification and sustainable development in bhutan the role of foreign aid and international trade. Chapter 8 “Economic history of Bhutan”. University of North Bengal. 2009. Shodhganga. Web. 24 Apr. 2012.

<[http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/149655/8/08\\_chapter\\_02.pdf](http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/149655/8/08_chapter_02.pdf)>

### Maurya

Much of the small-scale trade must have consisted of the exchange of local products between neighboring areas. P108 Thapar

The prices of ordinary goods were fixed and proclaimed daily by the officials. P431 Dodwell

Thapar, Romila. *Asoka and the decline of the Mauryas*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Dodwell, Henry, 1879-1946, Richard Burn, Wolseley Haig, and E. J. (Edward James) Rapson. The Cambridge History of India. London: The University Press, 1962.

### Tamil

South India acted as an intermediary for a very long time between the West and Far East. A direct sea route between Egypt and the Malabar Coast was established in the late Ptolemaic or early Roman periods. The trade between the Malabar Coast and the Malay Peninsula was largely in the hands of the Tamils. P87 Bhaskar

Trade patterns: 1. Overland movement of agricultural and non-agricultural products (textiles, beryl and gems from hills, salt, pearls, dried fish and conchs from the coast), transported by pack oxen and donkeys 2. Coastal trade, for which the ports of southern Coromandel acted as entrepots; 3. Overseas trade both from the East and the West. P15 Mukund

Mukund, Kanakalatha. *The trading world of the Tamil merchant: evolution of merchant capitalism in the Coromandel*, Chennai: Orient Longman, c1999.

### Bengal

Internal trade: the chief routes of internal trade were probably the waterways of the province, in proximity to which stood the principal towns. Besides the towns, a certain amount of business was probably done in the villages also. P660 Majumdar

Majumdar, R. C. (Ramesh Chandra), The early history of Bengal. London, [etc.], for the University of Dacca, Oxford University Press, 1925.

### Sri Lanka

Internal trade: “the internal mercantile traffic in Ceylon was insignificant” p104 Ismail.  
(Readings suggest that the internal trade was limited to every-day items like salt, rice and agricultural implements, and were carried by peddlers)

The wide dispersal of these inscriptions indicates that even in the pre-Christian era, trade was not limited to centers of political authority which were the prime urban settlements. A later Brahmi inscription from Sigiriya refers to a dealer in tamarind which indicates that some traders specialized in certain commodities from the earlier centuries of the Christian era. P112-113  
Siriweera

The dipavamsa refers to an inner market place at Upatissagama, one of the earliest capitals of the island. P114 Siriweera

As far as villages are concerned, trade was limited but it was certainly not negligible. In Sri Lanka, frequently metals and metal products had to be brought into many of the villages from the far producing and manufacturing areas and salt had to be transported to the interior from the coastal centers. P119 Siriweera

Monetized exchange played only a small role in the ancient Sri Lankan economy. P120  
Siriweera

Siriweera, W. I. A study of the economic history of pre-modern Sri Lanka. New Delhi : Vikas Pub. House, 1994.

Ismail, Marina, *Early settlements in northern Sri Lanka*, New Delhi: Navrang, 1995.

## Nepal

The trade as appears from Hiuen Tsang's disclosure mainly consisted of dealing in corns, fruits, copper and yak, (excepting the last produced by itself and which this country sent to Tibet and India in sufficient quantities). The yalc Nepal got from the areas bordering on Tibet formed an important article of commerce and its role in this respect was to take out chamars (fly whisk) and export to India as may be inferred from the same. P260 Regmi

Quite possibly there were big and small traders. One inscription records the erection of an image of Sun God by a Sarthavaha of merchants whose name was Guhya-mitra. ^ Probably he was a leader of a band of traders who sent their caravan to distant spots within Nepal and to neighbouring countries. Thus the existence of caravans negotiating the Indo-Nepalese and Tibeto-Nepalese highways are inferred. P262 Regmi

Regmi, D. R. Ancient Nepal. Calcutta, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1969.

## East Asia

### Japan

Relatively late discovery of iron sands; copper mines not found near core land (examination of bronze ingredients) until 8<sup>th</sup> century and has logistics problems; internal trade for bronze tools, second-hand procurement of bronze objects in farther regions (Barnes p62)

Considerable archaeological evidence points to trade all over the country. Some of the evidence is indirect but suggest trade in rice, cloth, iron, stone tools, wooden objects, salt, and other commodities and raw materials. Shell bracelets from the Ryukyu Islands P100 Richardson  
Kingdoms fought among themselves over land and access to water and metallic ore. P106 Richardson

Richardson, Hazel. *Life in Ancient Japan*. Crabtree Publishing Company, 2005.  
Gina L. Barnes, *State Formation in Japan: Emergence of a 4<sup>th</sup>-century ruling elite*, Routledge, 2007.

## Korea

The circulation of goods through commercial activities in Koguryo was evidenced by the existence of a certain medium of exchange, which is more or less true of all other early states.  
P41 Joe

Joe, Wanne J. *A history of Korean civilization*. Seoul, Chung'wang University Press, 1972.

## China

The flow of life's essentials (grains and labor) was mainly internal, vastly unbalanced, and coerced. P222 Chang

K. C. Chang, "Ancient Trade as Economics or as Ecology," in *Ancient Civilization and Trade* edited by Jeremy Sabloff and C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, University of New Mexico Press, 1975.

## Middle East and Near East

### Egypt

Domestic trade in Egypt was carried out almost exclusively on the Nile and depended on ships that navigated this natural traffic route. The ownership of ships was largely a privilege of civil administration and of the temples. Altenmüller

The mechanisms of barter trade portrayed in Old Kingdom market scenes also apply to trade between regions, but the latter was rarely effected on a person-to-person level. It was nearly always carried out between institutions. Private merchants, working on their own, are the exception. Altenmüller

Altenmüller, Hartwig, and Elizabeth Schwaiger. "Trade and Markets." *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*.: Oxford University Press, January 01, 2005. Oxford Reference. Date Accessed 27 Jul. 2018

<<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195102345.001.0001/acref-9780195102345-e-0734>>.

### Iran

In Persia itself the exchange of commodities and money was poorly developed. According to Herodotus (1.153) and Strabo (15.3.19), the Persians had no marketplaces, for they did not buy and sell in open markets. It is also noteworthy that in the abundant documentary evidence provided by the Elamite texts from Persepolis there is no direct information on trade. Mirrors, vases, and other objects produced by Persian craftsmen have been discovered in Egypt, however (Bresciani, p. 324). The names of some Persian merchants are also known. For example, according to a Babylonian document drafted in the town of Humadeshu in western Persia during the reign of Cambyses, two Persians sold female slaves to a Babylonian; the same text refers to the Persian Artarushu, who bore the title "chief of the merchants" (Zadok, p. 76). Yarshater Yarshater, Ehsan. *Encyclopaedia Iranica* [electronic resource] New York: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, [1996].

## Mesopotamia

see p269-282 Nemet-Nejat, Karen Rhea. *Daily life in ancient Mesopotamia*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1998.

## Israel

Although commerce and trade were certainly a part of the economy during this period, they probably remained agriculturally based and, at least in rural areas, continued to be based primarily on family and village self-sufficiency, and thus on a system of reciprocity. P157 McNutt

Textual clues have led many scholars over the years to regard Iron Age Israel and Judah as economically quite simple societies in which foreign trade – which was the only large-scale trade– was a royal monopoly and local markets consisted of producers (farmers and craftsmen) selling directly to consumers, so there was no mercantile bourgeoisie (see, e.g., de Vaux 78). P444 Niditch

McNutt, Paula M. *Reconstructing the society of ancient Israel*. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1999.

Niditch, Susan. *The Wiley Blackwell companion to ancient Israel*. Chichester, West Sussex, UK ; Malden, MA : John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2016.

## Assyria

The Assyrian traders of the MBA had a large number of trade routes with many smaller trading places “en route”. We know that some twenty Assyrian trade colonies were established in Anatolia in the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC to boost trade, all - according to Veenhof (1972, 456) - under the administrative and governmental control of Karum Kanesh. Kool

A major part of Ashur’s population seems to have been involved in the international trade in tin and textiles or in the local Anatolian copper and wool trade. p80 Postgate

Kool, J. *The Old Assyrian Trade Network from an Archaeological Perspective*. Thesis. Universiteit Leiden, Faculteit der Archeologie, Wassenaar, mei 2012.

<https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/handle/1887/19255/The%20Old%20Assyrian%20Trade%20%284%29.pdf?sequence=1>

P206-223 Postgate, J. N. *Early Mesopotamia: society and economy at the dawn of history*. London; New York: Routledge, 1994.

## Lebanon (Phoenicia)

Her internal trade was a bare fraction of her foreign trade. p216 Einzig

Einzig, Paul, *Primitive money in its ethnological, historical, and economic aspects*. Oxford, New York, Pergamon Press [1966]

## Arabia



Close relations between the settled nomads and those still roaming in the desert facilitated trade. Only nomads could conduct caravans of merchandise across deserts and only nomads could guarantee the safe transit of such caravans. P19 Rihan

Nomadic and semi-nomadic pastoralists depend on village communities for the agricultural staples as well as for numerous manufactured weapons, clothing, tent material and so forth. In turn the nomads provide the villagers with livestock and products of animal origin. P19 Rihan

Trade between Greater Syria and Arabia along the pilgrim routes saw considerable development in the beginning of the Islamic period. P392 Bessard

Bessard, Fanny *The urban economy in southern inland Greater Syria from the Seventh Century to the end of the Umayyads*

Rihan, Mohammad. *The politics and culture of an Umayyad tribe: conflict and factionalism in the early Islamic period*. London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2014.

## Morocco

A constant internal trade among farmers, fruit growers and cattle raisers in active centers, and of foreign trade with Spain and the Muslim orient. The most profitable, if not quantitatively the most important, trade was that of the Sahara. P125 Laroui

Laroui, Abdallah. *The history of the Maghrib: an interpretive essay*; translated from the French by Ralph Manheim. Princeton: Princeton University Press, c1977.

## Pakistan (Ghaznavid)

All this time the slave trade in the Samanid domains was an important source of revenue for both merchants and the government, which taxed even the transit slave trade to Baghdad and elsewhere. P150 Frye

Frye, R. N., editor. *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Vol. 4, Cambridge University Press, 1975.

## Seljuk/Ottoman

But much more important than the international commerce was the regional trade between the northern and southern Black Sea areas. A major concern of the imperial government was to ensure an uninterrupted flow of the principal foodstuffs for the huge population of Istanbul. P179 İnalcık

İnalcık, Halil. *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997, c1994.

## Southeast Asia

### Thailand

The settlements that appeared along the rivers in the lowlands...compared with the hill mueang, more of the population depended on trade rather than agriculture. Rulers might be selected for their wealth and trading skill more than for their lineage or martial quality. P6 Baker

Baker, Christopher John, *A history of Thailand*. Cambridge; Port Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

## Champa

Legends told among highlanders near Cheo Reo in the Dar Lak (Darlac) Plateau region substantiate that the highlands were the source of the trade items enumerated in external sources. They also report that the Chams attempted to integrate highlanders into their political economy by negotiation rather than by force, offering the protection of the Cham armies and the privilege of becoming the Chams' trade partners (Hickey: 1982, 116). In turn, the Cham monarchs were entitled to receive locally woven cloth as tribute (Hickey: 1982, 446). Apparently, the most valuable of the trade commodities offered by the downstream-based Chams was salt, which was critical to the highland diet and in local animal husbandry (Hardy: 2009, 115). Among the highland populations in the Panduranga region north of the Mekong Delta the local headmen were said to have organized a band of men to assist the Chams in the search for eaglewood, valued for its fragrance when burned in Cham, Vietnamese, and Chinese rituals. P88 Hall

Hall, Kenneth R. *A history of early Southeast Asia: maritime trade and societal development, 100-1500*. MD: Rowman & Littlefield, c2011.

## North Vietnam

Use scores for China

## Spanish Philippines

(Chinese) monopolized the retail trade, the internal credit facilities and the community services; the Chinese managed to gain control of the internal Philippine economy. P136 Reed  
Reed, Robert Ronald, *Hispanic urbanism in the Philippines: a study of the impact of church and state*. Manila, University of Manila, 1967.

## Pre-colonial Philippines

**Domestic Trade:** between coastal settlement and upriver groups and between a coastal trading station and nearby islands. Coastal settlements produced jewelry, cloth and pottery and change for rice with interisland communities. P59, 136 Pantanne  
Staple food crops were items of daily trade. Next to foodstuffs, the most common domestic trade goods were thread, cloth, and clothing. P72 Scott  
Patan e, E. P. *The Philippines in the 6th to 16th centuries*. San Juan, Metro Manila : LSA Press, c1996.  
Scott, William Henry. *Barangay: sixteenth-century Philippine culture and society*. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, c1994.

## Malaysia and Indonesia

People in coastal settlements had sporadic contact with semi-nomad farmers of the rain forest and with people of upland valleys. p9 Drakeley  
In settlements far distant from communities which manufactured and used metal goods, the possession of an object made from metal might be a sign of elevated status, and the object used to display the wealth and self-importance of a ruler. p11 Drakeley  
Early Southeast Asian trade involved highland hunters and gatherers who exchanged their forest products (woods, bamboo, lacquer) and services with lowland rice cultivators. Salt from the

coast was a key commodity in this upland-lowland exchange. Another type of exchange network encompassed hinterland populations and coastal peoples; the hinterland supplied local agricultural or forest products that were in turn dispensed externally to international traders. Coastal-based traders returned goods of foreign origin or specialized services (for example, transport) to the hinterland producers. In exceptional cases merchants worked from a coastal base to organize the necessary trade mechanisms that allowed them to extract local products from their hinterlands. In normal trade, agricultural and imported commodities entered the markets and trading system either laterally, through direct barter between producers and consumers, or vertically, through political or religious institutions or developing hierarchical commercial networks, and only rarely through monetized commercial transaction. P190 Hall

Foreign sources are generally ambiguous when describing the Sumatra interior, suggesting that visiting merchants did not make direct contact with this area. Thus it may be assumed that goods flowed into Srivijaya's ports either as part of a tribute system in which subordinate chiefs were required to supply the Srivijaya ports with marketable commodities or that Srivijaya came to control an indigenous trade network in which people of the interior exchanged forest products they had collected for the imported goods that were available in coastal ports. P80 Hall

Hall, Kenneth R. Maritime trade and state development in early Southeast Asia. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, c1985.

## **Fiji**

As noted, when a village or an island paramount chief receives a solicitation for goods from another island, the scope of the transaction is enormously extended. The chiefs of the respective places act as focal points for group trade: the goods are collected on each side by the chiefs, formally exchanged between them and then divided by each leader among his party. Another mode of interisland trade is the exchange which occurs in the course of kindred rites involving "sides" from different islands. P426 Sahlins

For other "trade" based on reciprocity, see p429-433 Sahlins

Sahlins, Marshall, Moala; culture and nature on a Fijian island. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press [1962]

## **Africa**

### **Burkina Faso**

Village markets, occurring every three days, assured the circulation of goods outside the domestic economy. P158 Zahan

The Mogho Naba and his ministers collected a considerable amount of revenue from the traders who visited Ouagadougou and the larger market towns and village markets throughout the kingdom... "the people of Mossi supply this market with gabaga, or "tari" [cotton bands]... besides salt, cotton strips, dyed cloth, kola nuts, corn and asses, some copper manufactured..." p111 Skinner

Skinner, Elliott P. *The Mossi of the Upper Volta; the political development of a Sudanese people*. Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1964.

## Angola

Kongo Kingdom: Although villages were largely self-sufficient, there was a substantial market system and trade conducted locally, suggesting some specialization of labor and commodity production. P327 Thornton

The economy of the towns, like that of the villages, was largely self-sufficient in many goods. Sao Salvador was surrounded by plantations worked by slaves, and these took care of the city's need for food, as long-distance transport of bulk goods was difficult. P328 Thornton

Thornton, John K. *The Kingdom of Kongo, ca. 1390-1678. The Development of an African Social Formation*. Cahiers d'Études Africaines, Vol. 22, Cahier 87/88, Systèmes étatiques africains. (1982), pp. 325-342

## Sierra Leone

Local trade: trade was carried out between towns and villages. P61 Fyle

The village trader with his stall or small shop is the most important commercial feature in rural areas, for markets are limited to the towns and are probably not indigenous. P63 Dorjahn

We can be sure that barter continued because an elaborate set of equivalences is remembered and in most areas was used extensively as late as 1930. P84 Dorjahn

Palm-oil is imported into Yalunka and Susu countries from Limba, Loko and Mende areas.

Cattle, sheep and goats are exported to all parts of the Protectorate. These, however, are mostly bred beyond the confines of Yalunka country, by the Fula of Futa Jallon. P54 McCulloch

McCulloch, Merran. *Peoples of Sierra Leone*, London, International African Institute [1964]

Regional trade involved commercial transactions among groups of people or various political organizations within a particular region. For example, in the Solima Yalunka state there was some form of regional trade in which all the countries bordering the state participated. Salt was exchanged for gold and country cloths from sankara...locally grown agricultural products were exchanged for country cloths, soap, iron goods and gold. P86-87 Fyle

Long distance trade went across several regions. And it was carried along well-established routes...trade items along these routes included gold, cattle, ivory, hides, some rubber, shea butter, beeswax, calabashes, kenda, kola nuts, ground nuts and cotton. P87 Fyle

Fyle, C. Magbaily. *History and socio-economic development in Sierra Leone: a reader*. Freetown: SLADEA, 1988.

Dorjahn, Vernon. R. *African Traders in Central Sierra Leone*

## Nigeria (Yoruba)

Trade was certainly an important aspect of the domestic economy of Oyo. Craft production was normally carried on a specialized basis by a few households in each community, so that the majority of households had to obtain their manufactured goods by purchase. Many of the inhabitants of the urban centers also obtained their food by purchase. Households engaged in craft production seem to have purchased not only their food but also their raw materials. P207 Law

(people used cowry shells as currency in local exchange, see p209 Law)  
there is considerable commerce between different areas. Yams, maize, beans, cassava, dried meat, cotton cloth, calabashes and some iron work are traded south from Oyo Division. P8 Manoukian

Manoukian, Madeline. *Akan and Ga-Adangme peoples of the Gold Coast*. London, New York, Published for the International African Institute by Oxford University Press, 1950.

Law, Robin. *The Oyo Empire, c.1600-c.1836: a West African imperialism in the era of the Atlantic slave trade*. Aldershot, England: Gregg Revivals ; Brookfield, Vt. : Distributed in the U.S. by Ashgate Pub. Co., 1991.

## Senegal

Senegambian villages were not isolated from the larger world. They were rarely self-sufficient, producing all they consumed; hence they were connected to markets and trade. P15 Curtin  
Local exchange developed between the coastal region which provided dried fish and oysters and the interior where millet was grown. Markets have developed in some of the larger wharf towns and trade centers. A high proportion of the shopkeepers and traders in Senegambia are Wolof. P36 Gamble

Individual traders travelled the local markets buying hides, beeswax, millet and other export products, which were bulked at the seaports for sale to European ships. P98 Curtin

Curtin, Philip D. *Economic change in precolonial Africa; Senegambia in the era of the slave trade*. University of Wisconsin Press, 1975.

The Wolof of Senegambia, together with notes on the Lebu and the Serer. Gamble, David P. London, International African Institute, 1957.

## Ghana

Agricultural, fishing and hunting products, salt, gold and products of craft industries featured prominently in inter-state trade. P23 Okyere

The retail agents were the adwadifo. They purchased commodities in bulk, broke bulk and with the assistance of hawkers known as mpaafo sold their goods from ward to ward in the towns and from village to village in the rural areas. As far as is known, the adwadifo worked privately, on their own accounts. P155 Wilks

Okyere, Vincent N. *Ghana: a historical survey*. Accra: Vinojab Publications, c2000.

Wilks, Ivor. *Forests of gold: essays on the Akan and the Kingdom of Asante*. Athens: Ohio University Press, c1993.

## Zambia

Local and regional trade flourished for centuries in many areas since the first millennium. Early in the second millennium external commercial contacts between the interior and the Indian Ocean were expanded and intensified, as reflected in the rise of the trading sites... The expansion of long-distance trade in northeastern Zambia in the eighteenth century was also a response to overseas demand for ivory and copper. P18 Simson

Bemba: one of the most important items in the pre-colonial trade of northeastern Zambia, as indeed of all Africa, was iron. P183 Roberts

Salt was also an item of considerable importance in the trade of the plateau. P186 Roberts

There was thus in Loziland sufficient differential production and specialization to provide a wide system of barter and of kinship and ruler-subject relationships with reciprocal economic rights.  
P21 Turner

Turner, Victor Witter. The Lozi peoples of north-western Rhodesia. London, International African Institute, 1952 [i.e.1953]

Roberts, Andrew, A history of the Bemba: political growth and change in north-eastern Zambia before 1900. [Harlow]: Longman, 1973.

## Mozambique

In the towns south of Sofala...local trade was conducted in foodstuffs, salt, cotton cloth, woven mats and baskets. Although fine cotton textiles were imported from India, there was a thriving local cloth manufacturing along the coast. P6 Newitt

Newitt, M. D. D. *A history of Mozambique*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, c1995.

## Namibia

The Herero in South West Africa, like many other pastoral peoples of sub-Sahara Africa, must have been nearly self-sufficient in pre-European times...each Herero extended family itself produced nearly all of its material cultural inventory. P617 Gibson

Markets, therefore were entirely lacking among the Herero in pre-European times. P618 Gibson

Slave trade in Owamboland-see Gustafsson, Kalle. the trade in slaves in Ovamboland, c. 1850-1910. Institute for Asian and African Studies, University of Helsinki.

Gibson, Gordon. D. Bridewealth and other forms of exchange among the Herero. Bohannan, Paul. Markets in Africa. Northwestern University Press [1962].

## South Africa

Cape Town was the main, virtually the only, market in the colony. Farmers brought their agricultural produce there by ox-wagon. They could purchase cloth, agricultural implements, domestic utensils, coffee, tea, sugar and slaves from Cape Town's merchants. P25 Ross

The internal market was more active. Exchange of produce among grain, wine, and stock farmers was constant, and Cape Town provided a ready market for rural produce.

<http://www.worldhistory.biz/sundries/49576-cape-colony-origins-settlement-trade.html>

Ross, Robert. A Concise History of South Africa. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

## Swahili city-states

It has generally been held that the Swahili and Zanzibari merchants sent caravans into the interior, hitherto untouched by trade, during the nineteenth century and so 'opened up' that interior to the outside world, there having been until this time very little connection between the coast and the interior. P99 Horton

The archaeological evidence from Pemba suggests that imported pottery and other goods were moving freely within the towns and beyond. P156 Fleisher

Thus, on Pemba, towns were likely centers of market exchange in both external spheres (between local and overseas merchants) and internal spheres (between local merchants and rural and non-elite members of society). In this regard, these towns were like cities in other regions of the world that fostered balanced market transactions. P158 Fleisher

Horton, Mark and John Middleton. *The Swahili: the social landscape of a mercantile society*, Oxford, UK; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2000.

Garraty, P. & Stark, L.. *Archaeological Approaches to Market Exchange in Ancient Societies*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010. Project MUSE, "Housing the Market: Swahili Merchants and Regional Marketing on the East African Coast, Seventh to Sixteenth Centuries AD" by Jeffrey B. Fleisher.

### Kenya (Kikuyu)

There has always been considerable internal trade among the Kikuyu; large markets have been and are an important feature of Kikuyu life, except among the Northern tribes. The commodities traded in markets included iron and iron objects, salt and salt-earths, ochre, pottery and other goods whose production was in the hands of specialists. P19 Middleton

Middleton, John, *The central tribes of the north-eastern Bantu; the Kikuyu, including Embu, Meru, Mbere, Chuka, Mwimbi, Tharaka, and the Kamba of Kenya*. London: International African Institute, 1965.

### Malawi (Chewa)

...they also participated in a vigorous trade in regional commodities as the missionary Rowley explained "the people in the highlands were rich in iron, those in the valley were poor; so when a highland man wanted cotton to make himself a cloth, he sent down hoes, and such like things to the valley and obtained cotton in exchange." P16 McCracken

(regional trade was limited to food and daily goods, barter)

McCracken, John, *A history of Malawi, 1855-1966*. Woodbridge, Suffolk [England] ; Rochester, N.Y. : James Currey, 2012.

### Tanzania (inland tribes)

(northern Tanzania) Given the great environmental differences which were to be found within a relatively small region, a region unlike many parts of Africa...and given the circumstance that the various groups inhabiting the region did in fact have markedly different economies, it would seem that basic factors were present which would have led to the development of a large volume of trade and to the establishment of markets. Although a certain amount of external trade did take place, a large-scale system of inter-tribal exchange did not develop, and markets did not appear. Most of the trade which did take place in the past occurred not because people were attempting to take advantage of their particular positions in relation to the factors of production as in a market-oriented economy, but because people were short of food as the result of crop failure.

P460 Winter

(Export: slaves and ivory)

Some mention of internal trade at this time has already been made in passing in the section on crafts. Cloth, salt, honey, livestock and slaves were also traded internally. There were however, no formally organized indigenous markets in the region. P38 Abrahams

Abrahams, R. G. The peoples of Greater Unyamwezi, Tanzania (Nyamwezi, Sukuma, Sumbwa, Kimbu, Konongo). London, International African Institute, 1967.

Winter. E.H. *Livestock markets among the Iraqw of Northern Tanganyika*. Bohannan, Paul. Markets in Africa. Northwestern University Press [1962]

## Ethiopia

Salt, which was of sufficient importance to figure in sixth-century internal trade (Kosmas, ed. Wolska-Conus 1968), later became one of Ethiopia's currency goods. Munro-Hay

The local manufactured goods would most likely have been solely for the internal markets. Most towns were probably rather regional markets than trade centres, importing local agricultural produce for their maintenance and distributing some craft products, and acting as local administrative or religious centres. Munro-Hay

internal trade between settlements and districts has been based on a local market system. A regular exchange of locally produced goods takes place with surplus products from within and outside Amhara-Tigrina country. P26 Shack

The comparatively high level of craft activity in Axum presupposes a significant division of labor. Part of the handicraft articles could be converted into goods and sold in the local markets. P171 Kobishchanov

Kobishchanov, Yuri M. Axum. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, c1979.

Shack, William A. The central Ethiopians Amhara, Tigrina and related peoples. London: International African Institute, 1974.

Munro-Hay, S. C. (Stuart C.), Aksum: an African civilisation of late antiquity. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, c1991.

## Heterogeneity of production.

### *Scoring criteria.*

1-2: Very homogeneous geographical environment, one or only a few kinds of resources.

Typically, barren land due to climate or other geographical constraints; alluvial plain only for grain production; plantation economy

3-4: A few kinds of resources/products, some differences of environment across the geographical surroundings.

5-7: Some diversity of notable resources, a differentiated environment across the geographical surroundings and closeness to places with different resources.

8-10: Very diverse geographical environment, many kinds of resources. Typically, vibrant interregional trade of natural resources

## Britain and its colonies



UK 6

US 6

New Zealand 6

Canada 6

Australia 6

## **Europe**

(Germanic tribes) Austria 6

(Germanic tribes) Germany 6

(Germanic tribes) Switzerland 6

(Germanic tribes) Luxemburg 6

Franks 9

Netherlands (independent cities) 9

Belgium (Ancient Rome, Independent cities) 9

(Viking) Denmark 8

(Viking) Norway 7

(Viking) Sweden 7

Iceland 2

Ireland 6

Estonian tribes 5

Finn tribes 4

Greece 9

Rome 9

Spain

Castile 5

Catalonia 5

Aragon 6

Portugal 6

Latvia 5

Lithuania 5

## **Balkans**

Croatia 4

Serbia 4

Romania 4 7

Bulgaria 4

Albania 4

Slovenia 4

## **Eastern and Central Europe**

Slovakia 5

Poland 6 7

Bohemia (Czech) 4 8  
Hungary 5  
Russia 8

### **Latin America (colonial)**

Mexico 9  
Guatemala 6  
El Salvador 5  
Honduras 5  
Costa Rica 5  
Panama 6  
Colombia 7  
Ecuador 8  
Peru 10  
Venezuela 6  
Chile 7  
Brazil 4 8  
Argentina 4  
Uruguay 4 2

### **Caribbean:**

Trinidad and Tobago 3 5  
Dominican Republic 2 (Not available)

Jamaica 3

### **Pre-colonial**

Aztec 6  
Maya 6  
Inca 9

### **South Asia**

Bangladesh 5  
Bhutan 4 3  
Mauryan Empire 6  
Tamil 9  
Bengal 5  
Sri Lanka 5  
Nepal 6

### **East Asia**

Japan 4  
Korea 3  
China 1 3

### **Middle East and Near East**

Egypt 3 5  
Iran 7  
Mesopotamia 9  
Israel 8

Lebanon (Phoenicia) 8  
Arabia 6  
Morocco 8  
Pakistan (Ghaznavid) 8  
Assyria 7  
Seljuk/Ottoman 8

### **Southeast Asia**

Thailand 5  
Champa 10 8  
North Vietnam 3  
Spanish Philippines 7  
Pre-colonial Philippines 7  
Malaysia 10  
Indonesia 10

Fiji 2

### **Africa**

Burkina Faso 2  
Angola 7  
Sierra Leone 6  
Nigeria 8  
Senegal 8  
Ghana 6  
Zambia 5  
Mozambique 3  
Namibia 2  
South Africa 3

Kenya 8  
Malawi 8  
Tanzania 8  
Ethiopia 7

## **Britain and its colony**

UK

With natural resources the British Isles are well supplied. The soil and the climate are favorable for the production of “victuals and drink”...of the common cereals and grasses which constitute the basis of human sustenance corn (i.e. maize) is the only one of importance which will not mature in England. Pasture-grass is the most common crop of Great Britain...the east and the southeast of England, where the soil as well as the climate is not fit, are the agricultural sections of chief importance. In the Middle Ages sheep-growing also became a leading industry. Fishing has been pursued from the earliest times, and the rich supply of fish located in the shoals of the North Sea has made it a staple industry...the mineral wealth of the island was utilized only in small part before 1800..copper, lead and iron have been mined since before the Roman times. P8 Lunt

In natural resources the different parts of the islands do not share equally. England has the largest amount of good agricultural land and the richest supplies of iron and coal. The highlands of Scotland are in large part too barren even for pasture, and they are exceptionally poor in mineral deposits.p8 Lunt

Lunt, W.E. History of England, Harper & Row, New York, Evanston and London, 1956.

US  
New Zealand  
Canada  
Australia

## **Europe**

Germanic tribes (Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Netherlands, Luxemburg)

The main resources of the land in general were its crops and its animals. There were no large deposits of the precious metals and only limited supplies of the others, with the exception of iron, which was abundant in many areas. Of other desirable commodities, only amber from the Baltic coasts and perhaps furs from the same region seem to have had appeal for the outside world. P19 Todd

Todd, Malcolm, The early Germans. Oxford, UK; Cambridge, Mass., USA : Blackwell Publishers, c1992.

## Franks

France: it possessed ample natural resources and its most famous export was wine. P157 Roberts  
Peter Roberts. HSC Ancient History

Stone quarries, mines, clay. P117-127

King, Anthony, *Roman Gaul and Germany*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990.

## Netherlands (independent cities)

### Belgium (Ancient Rome, Independent cities)

Geographically most of the region is an extension of the plain of the Lower Rhine, itself part of the Northern European Plain. Only the south and southeast consist of hills and low mountains.

P2 Blom

Geologists can delineate a series of zones, starting in the southeast and moving northwest. The fertile marl area of southeastern Belgium, bordering on France and Luxembourg, comes first...adjacent to it lie the heavily forested Ardennes, which in contrast barely tolerated human settlement during the colder climactic spells. Then come the limestone formations along the Maas (Meuse) as it flows toward Limburg, whose caves and grottos have offered evidence of continuous settlement since the Stone Age. To the north lies the Leem district...which attracted early settlement through its fertility and the abundance of flint for making of artifacts. From there a broad belt of sandloam and sand follows, from coastal Flanders through the Campine north to the Netherlands' river region and up to the Drenthe plateau in the northeastern Netherlands. This type of land promises easy cultivation, but is, in the long run infertile and barren and subject to sand-drift. P3 Blom

J.C.H. Blom, E. Lamberts. *History of the Low Countries*. New York : Berghahn Books, c1999.

## Viking (Denmark, Norway, Sweden)

Norway is an extremely mountainous land. The country has a very long coastline intersected by fjords. A maritime climate prevails over most of the coastal islands and lowlands. The country rises into mountains almost at once and, though well suited for pasture, the inner highland is not suited for cereal-based agriculture. However, the country is rich in fish, fur-bearing animals and minerals. P11 Forte, Oram and Pedersen

Sweden:

Sweden and Norway were covered mostly with pine forests. Within the mountains of northern Sweden lie the sources of many rivers that flow south-east to the Gulf of Bothnia. These rivers often have elongated lakes and a number of falls and rapids, which may explain why Swedish Vikings mainly sought their fortune taking the overland route to Russia and Byzantium in the east, while the Norwegians and the Danes turned towards the British Isles, Ireland and the Atlantic archipelago to the west. South-central Sweden is made up of low-lying land with many lakes. The plains occupy the southeast tip traditionally provided the population with much high-quality agricultural land.

Denmark:

Extensive forests, hundreds of islands within easy reach of each other; contained large surface deposits of iron ore. P14-15 Forte, Oram and Pedersen

Angelo Forte, Richard Oram and Frederik Pederson. Viking empires. Cambridge, U.K; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

## Iceland

The mountains and highlands, volcanoes and glaciers were very much the same, but a much greater part of the country was covered with some vegetation. P18 Hjalmarsson  
Jón R. Hjalmarsson. *History of Iceland: from the settlement to the present day*. Reykjavík: Iceland Review, 1993.

## Ireland

despite the relative small size of the land, had deeply contrasting environments, between mountainous regions and flatlands, rugged coastal regions and fertile river flood plains. P17 Bhreathnach  
Bhreathnach, Edel. *Ireland in the medieval world, AD 400-1000: landscape, kingship and religion*. Dublin, Ireland; Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 2014.

## Estonian tribes, Finn tribes

The northern setting limits the opportunities of using a land, the resource base of which is modest and lacking in diversity. P15 Mead  
Mead, W. R. (William Richard) *Finland*, London, Benn, 1968.

## Greece

There is little evidence that copper, the principal metal in bronze, was ever mined in abundance on mainland Greece. Tin, the other metal in bronze, was also rare in Greece. Iron is relatively plentiful throughout Greece and there is archaeological evidence of iron mining; Precious metals were used in jewelry, art, and coinage.

Stone for building and sculpture was another valuable natural resource of Greece.

<https://web.archive.org/web/20060502201333/http://eh.net/encyclopedia/article/engen.greece>

Apart from arable land and maritime resources, the region's complex geographical history generated scattered deposits of valuable natural resources, notably gold, silver, iron, lead and marble. P26 Cartledge

The Cambridge illustrated history of ancient Greece / edited by Paul Cartledge. Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1998.

## Rome

The rugged and mountainous region of Liguria in northwest Italy occupied lands adjacent to Cisalpine Gaul and possessed almost impenetrable forests.

Although the eastern face of the Apennines tends to be steep and broken, much of the western approach supports fertile and gentle slopes suitable for growing grapes and olives. Even the steeper western slopes provided excellent summer pasturage for sheep after they had wintered in warmer lowland meadows.

Roman agriculture, though of marked regional variations, depended largely on the cultivation of the famous Mediterranean triad of olive, grape, and grain. Pxxv

Coastal lowlands provided excellent pasturage for sheep, goats, cattle, and horses during the rainy season, and mountain slopes and upland meadows afforded the same in the summer. pxxv

Dunstan, William E. *Ancient Rome*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010. ProQuest Ebook Central,

## Spain

Despite its unique location, the peninsula does not form a fully unified geographic entity, for it is divided by steep internal mountain ranges and in some regions by virtual deserts. Though the peninsula contains mineral deposits of value, its soil has always been poor compared with that of most of western Europe. P1 Payne

Castile: wool, wax, hides, grain, fig, food, spice

Aragon: agricultural products, olive, wool, wheat and wines

Payne, Stanley G. *A history of Spain and Portugal*. [Madison] University of Wisconsin Press [1973]

## Portugal

Northern Portugal is a mountainous, rainy region, characterized by many small farms and vineyards.

The central coastal region consists of dunes and pine forests, and many residents of the area earn their livelihood from fishing.

Southern Portugal, known as the Alentejo (literally, "beyond the Tejo") is an area of gently rolling hills and plains dominated by extensive estates with large-scale agriculture and grazing.

<http://countrystudies.us/portugal/46.htm>

## Latvia

Lacking any copper, tin or gold deposits in their lands, the proto-Balts were dependent on other cultures for these metals. P6 Kalnins

The Baltic Sea made possible a varied agriculture in the Baltic lands, it offered further wealth in its heavy runs of fish and along its swampy shores especially in earlier times, in its deposits of amber, long known as the "northern gold". p5 Bilmanis

Peat and bog iron-ore were among the earliest natural resources to be exploited by the Latvian tribes. P8 Bilmanis

Bilmanis, Alfreds, *A history of Latvia*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951.

Kalnins, Mara, *Latvia: a short history*. London: Hurst & Company, 2015.

## Lithuania

Lithuania's natural resources and geographical position near a crossroads of the Baltic-Black Sea and west European-Russian-central Asian trade routes encouraged the growth of commerce. P74 Rowell

Lithuania's agricultural land for the most part is very fertile and is suited for diverse crops as well as various forms of farming, such as dairy, cattle, or animal husbandry. Lithuania's natural

resources, however, are rather modest...in the past, Lithuania was covered by thick and vast forests. P5 Vardys

Baltic Europe, Rowell, S.C. *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Volume 5, c.1198–c.1300. Abulafia, David. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Vardys, Vytas Stanley, Lithuania : the rebel nation / V. Stanley Vardys and Judith B. Sedaitis. Boulder, Colo. : Westview Press, 1997.

## **Balkans**

The Balkans were an underdeveloped area compared to Byzantium. They exported raw materials and imported manufactured goods. In the medieval period they chiefly exported pastoral products, such as cheese, and forest products, such as wood, wax and honey. In the late Roman period, and again in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries...products of the rich Balkan mines (silver, iron, lead) were exported. P4 Fine

Fine, John V. A. *The early medieval Balkans: a critical survey from the sixth to the late twelfth century*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991.

## **Croatia**

The Mediterranean area is the narrow coastal belt which extends along the shores of the Adriatic Sea and which includes a multitude of islands. This section is separated from the northern plains by mountain chains which cover a major part of the land. These mountains constitute a formidable communication barrier between the south and the north. The northern area is a rich plain interrupted by moderately low mountains and hills. It lies between the rivers Drava and Danube to the north and the northern slopes of the Croatian and Bosnian mountains to the south. These three distinct geographic areas are correspondingly different in their climates and economics. Communication between northern Croatia and the Adriatic shores has always posed a serious problem. P3 Gaži  
(Dalmatia) It has always had a close and easy connection with Italy. P4 Temperley

Gaži, Stephen. A history of Croatia. New York, Philosophical Library [1973]  
History of Serbia [electronic resource], by Harold W.V. Temperley. London, G. Bell and Sons, 1919.

## **Serbia**

Serbia too exported horses and livestock together with all the products of stock raising, such as skins, wool, and cheese. Moldavia and Walachia supplied large herds... p351 Sedlar

Sedlar, Jean W. *East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, c1994.

## **Romania**

Moldavia and Walachia supplied large herds... p351 Sedlar



The Transylvanian Basin itself is a high plateau of some 2000 feet, which is...remarkably uniform in character, with a considerable economic wealth, with its salt mines, gold mines, a well developed agriculture, fisheries, a good stock of animals. P6 Haraszti

The wealth of the Transylvanian soil is remarkable; it is rare to find in one and the same region such a variety of vegetable, animal and mineral products. Arable and tilled land not only stretches over hills and plains but as we have seen, climbs up the mountain slopes. P13 Bodea  
In the earth there are not only vast quantities of salt, but gold, also found in the sand of certain rivers, silver, iron-ore, methane gas and oil, coal, marble and a wealth of mineral...p14 Bodea

Sedlar, Jean W. *East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, c1994.

Bodea, Cornelia, Transylvania in the history of the Romanians. Boulder : East European Monographs ; New York : Distributed by Columbia University Press, 1982

Haraszti, Endre. The ethnic history of Transylvania. Astor Park, Fla., Danubian Press [c1971]

## Bulgaria

The many different types of soil can be divided into three main areas. In the northern Danubian plain one finds rich black earth and gray forest soil. The mountains have both characteristic forest and meadow soil. The Thracian plain, the most extensive region, also has fertile forest soils. Because of Bulgaria's location at the juncture of several regions of the Eurasian land mass, its native flora and fauna includes arctic, alpine and steppe species...in general, Bulgaria's geography and climate make it ideal for an agricultural and forest economy. Pxx Chary

Chary, Frederick B. The history of Bulgaria. Santa Barbara, Calif. : Greenwood, c2011.

## Albania

Smaller settlements developed along the Albanian coast in the 15th century to handle the traffic in local products--particularly grain, wood, and salt. P342 Sedlar

Sedlar, Jean W. *East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, c1994.

## Eastern and Central Europe

### Poland

The hills are rich in minerals, including iron, salt, oil...the lowlands are eminently suitable for cultivation. The southern valleys produce fruit and wine. P27-28 Davies

Wool, leather, hemp, lumber, wax, honey

Davies, Norman, *God's playground, a history of Poland*. New York: Columbia University Press, c1982.

### Bohemia (Czech)

Tin, animal skins, silver p320 Sedlar

Most of the country is highly productive... Fruits are abundant in Bohemia, chiefly apples, pears, plums and other stone fruits. In the region of Litoměřice there is an area of more than two thousand acres devoted to the cultivation of the vine. Half the area of the kingdom is devoted to agriculture, the chief products being wheat, rye, barley, oats, potatoes, flax, and hops. The kingdom is rich in minerals such as iron, silver, tin, lead, copper, antimony, sulphur, alum, coal, porcelain earths, and precious and ornamental stones. In fact salt is about the only important mineral commodity that is not found in the country. Small quantities of gold are taken from the sands of some of the river beds, but the yield is not large. Cattle rearing is a leading industry, including milk-cows, oxen, cattle for slaughter, swine, and sheep for wool. Poultry also has a large place for the flesh, the eggs, and the feathers. P10-12 Monroe

Bohemia and the Čechs [electronic resource]; the history, people, institutions, and the geography of the kingdom, together with accounts of Moravia and Silesia, by Will S. Monroe. Boston, L.C. Page Co., 1910.

## Hungary

Hungarian horses, fishing, hunting, wine, salt-mines, silver, gold p99 Toth

Hungary was an important copper exporter. P349 Sedlar

*A concise history of Hungary: the history of Hungary from the Early Middle Ages to the present* / edited by István György Tóth. Budapest : Corvina, c2005.

## Russia

Agricultural products, like flax and hemp and their derivatives, leather, tallow, hides and even some grain entered into trade, including the export trade. Such products seem to have been predominant in Russian exports around 1600. Also important, however, were the products of what Jones called 'the boreal woods'.<sup>39</sup> Firstly, there were the furs for which Muscovy became particularly famous in the sixteenth century, even though the fur trade had been going on for many centuries. Sable, ermine, marten, fox and squirrel from the Russian forests were delivered to 'all ends of the earth'. Forest products like furs, wax and honey seem to have predominated in the Russian export trade around 1500. P40 Shaw

Shaw, Denis. *Russia's geographical environment*. The Cambridge History of Russia. Volume 1, From Early Rus' to 1689 / edited by Maureen Perrie. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

## Inca

Many mines occurred in the southern, sparsely settled part of the Inca kingdom, in modern Bolivia and Chile. P339 Trigger

The Andes abound with mineral deposits, including the volcanic glass called obsidian that was widely used to make cutting tools. Copper bearing deposits are found along the entire mountain chain, while tin is concentrated in Bolivia and northern Chile. P27 D'Altroy

The coastal waters are especially rich in anchovies and sardines, and in larger fish...even with traditional techniques like the simple nets and reed boats called caballitos the inshore waters have been a bounteous source of food for the last five thousand years. P27 D'Altroy

Coast: maize, cucurbits (e.g. squash, cucumber), gourd, cotton, algarrobo, fruits such as chirimoya and lucuma.

Yungas: coca and aji (pepper), chirimoya, guayabo, avocado, lucuma, maize

Quechua: dry-farming maize, beans, quinoa, canihua, potato, ulluco, oca, mashwatalwi.

Puna: camelids, llamas, alpacas, hunting deer.

Amazona jungles: maize, coca, pepper, warm-weather crops. P30-31 D'Altroy

D'Altroy, Terence N. *The Incas*. Chichester, West Sussex : Wiley-Blackwell, 201

## Maya

The climate of the Maya area is as varied as its landscape, with startling changes of temperature and rainfall within fairly short distances.

Geologically...its is internally diverse, with four major geological zones of contrasting age and history. P69 Hammond

There can be few parts of the globe as geographically diverse as Mesoamerica. P13 Coe

No gold and silver in the Maya lowlands;...construction materials in the form of easily quarried limestone occurred almost everywhere...the Maya found deposits of flint and chert...rock harder than limestone was necessary for the production of the manos and metates used in grinding maize dough; trading networks brought vast quantities of these objects down from the volcanic regions of Guatemala, and from the granitic outcrops of the Maya Mountains in Belize. P20 Coe

For the Maya, the sources (of obsidians) necessarily lay in the volcanic highlands, above all the great pumice and obsidian exposure at El Chayal, northeast of Guatemala city. P20 Coe  
Happily, the greatest salt sources in all Mesoamerica lie within the Maya area. The major one consisted of the salt beds along the lagoons of Yucatan's north coast...On the eve of the Conquest, these beds were controlled by Yucatan's most powerful kingdoms, and their product was traded to places as distant as the Rio Panuco in northern Veracruz. Similar conditions existed along the Pacific Coast, but there and at important inland mineral-spring sources such as Bolontehuitz on the Rio Chixoy. P21 Coe

Apple-green jade was obtained along the middle reaches of the Rio Motagua...p21 Coe

Coe, Michael D. *The Maya*. New York, New York : Thames & Hudson, 2015.

Hammond, Norman. *Ancient Maya civilization*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, c1982

## Aztec

This area, where the high cultures developed, probably exhibits greater geographical and ecological diversity than any other region of similar size in the world. The region has a complex geological history. This diversity is very marked in the river basins, such as the Panuco, Coatzacoalcos, Grijalva, Usumacinta, Hondo, Motagua, Lerma-Santiago and Balsas, and in the lake areas of the Valley of Mexico or Patzcuaro in Michoacan, and it is not without significance that the most important cultural changes in Mesoamerica occurred in these regions. The truly tropical sub-regions of Mesoamerica comprise the well-watered lowlands of Veracruz and Tabasco; the scrub-covered Yucatan peninsula; the Caribbean rain forest area of Central America; the Pacific coastal plains of southern and central Mexico (Chiapas, Oaxaca, Guerrero, Michoacan, Colima) and of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, together with the Nicoya peninsula and the Huanacazte province in Costa Rica. The principal highland sub-regions

- the Sierras (the Central American highlands, the southern Sierra Madre, as well as portions of the western and eastern Sierra Madre, and the transverse volcanic axis) and the two large southern and central mesas or plateaux - although falling within the tropics, are temperate in terms of the climate and vegetation. The vast region to the north of Mesoamerica, between the central plateau and the present Mexican-U.S. border, is ecologically very different and in many respects similar to the great North American deserts. P4 León-Portilla

The closely juxtaposition of many diverse environmental zones encouraged communication and exchange among groups. P12 Smith

León-Portilla, Miguel. Mesoamerica before 1519. The Cambridge History of Latin America.

Colonial Latin America / edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Smith, Michael Ernest, The Aztecs. Chichester, West Sussex ; Malden, MA : Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.

## **Latin America (colonial)**

### **Mexico**

This area, where the high cultures developed, probably exhibits greater geographical and ecological diversity than any other region of similar size in the world. The region has a complex geological history. This diversity is very marked in the river basins, such as the Panuco, Coatzacoalcos, Grijalva, Usumacinta, Hondo, Motagua, Lerma-Santiago and Balsas, and in the lake areas of the Valley of Mexico or Patzcuaro in Michoacan, and it is not without significance that the most important cultural changes in Mesoamerica occurred in these regions. The truly tropical sub-regions of Mesoamerica comprise the well-watered lowlands of Veracruz and Tabasco; the scrub-covered Yucatan peninsula; the Caribbean rain forest area of Central America; the Pacific coastal plains of southern and central Mexico (Chiapas, Oaxaca, Guerrero, Michoacan, Colima) and of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, together with the Nicoya peninsula and the Huanacazte province in Costa Rica. The principal highland sub-regions - the Sierras (the Central American highlands, the southern Sierra Madre, as well as portions of the western and eastern Sierra Madre, and the transverse volcanic axis) and the two large southern and central mesas or plateaux - although falling within the tropics, are temperate in terms of the climate and vegetation. The vast region to the north of Mesoamerica, between the central plateau and the present Mexican-U.S. border, is ecologically very different and in many respects similar to the great North American deserts. P4 León-Portilla

In addition to the diversity of its land and the nature of its climate, Mexico has much to offer in natural resources. Lush forests occupy vast regions of the country...minerals are yet another extremely important Mexican resource. P11 Suchlicki

León-Portilla, Miguel. Mesoamerica before 1519. The Cambridge History of Latin America.

Colonial Latin America / edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Suchlicki, Jaime. Mexico : from Montezuma to NAFTA, Chiapas, and beyond. Washington : Brassey's, c1996.

### **Central America**

Central America encompasses an array of landscapes worthy of a continent. A wedge between two oceans, Central America has more coastline than land mass, yet it boasts everything from savannas and rain forests to highland pine and moss-laden cloud forests, from semi-arid, cactus-dominated plateaus and dry deciduous forests on the Pacific coast to Amazonian lushness and verdure along the Caribbean. P3 Foster

Foster, Lynn V. *A brief history of Central America*. New York: Facts on File, c2007.

## Guatemala

Although the country lies entirely within the tropics, its varied terrain provides great contrasts in climate. the climate and associated vegetation depend largely on altitude. P43 Nyrop

Because of the diversity of the topography, climate, soils, vegetation and animal life, human habitation is conditioned by altitude in addition to latitude and surface-environment conditions.

P9 Jones

The agricultural products of Guatemala are also many and diverse. Bananas, tropical fruits, maize, beans rice and yuca are all grown in the Caribbean region. P12 Jones

Nyrop, Richard F. *Guatemala, a country study*. Washington, D.C.: Headquarters, Dept. of the Army: 1983

Jones, Oakah L. *Guatemala in the Spanish colonial period*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, c1994.

## El Salvador

Not available

## Honduras

Spanish penetration of the Caribbean lowlands had been discouraged by limited resources, an awesome terrain...p19 Naylor

Behind the coastal barrier the land began to rise slightly and opened up into a series of broad savannahs that broke out of the heavily wooded pine barrens that stretched across the hump of Central America. These savannahs appeared from thirty to sixty miles inland and were eventually swallowed up by the encroaching jungle, where the land climbed higher into the mountains of the interior. (Savannahs) They were usually wet and often boggy, suitable for pasturage but not for cultivation, those nearest the coast were even more barren. P21 Naylor

Thick vegetation blanketed much of the Mosquito Shore. P21 Naylor

Naylor, Robert. *Penny Ante Imperialism: The Mosquito Shore and the Bay of Honduras, 1600–1914: A Case Study in British Informal Empire*. Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1989.

## Costa Rica

Costa Rica enjoys a varied topography, with a combination of coastal plains and mountainous zones, that is ideal for certain types of agriculture. P3 Rankin

Rankin, Monica A. *The history of Costa Rica*, Santa Barbara, California: Greenwood, 2012.

## Panama

Panama's tropical environment supports an abundance of plants. Forests dominate, interrupted in places by grasslands, scrub, and crops.

Sandra W. Meditz and Dennis M. Hanratty, editors. *Panama: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987.

## Colombia

In the colonial period the three major regions (the East, the West, and the Caribbean coast) developed different economic features. Gold mining was the motor of the economy of the West, and agriculture, along with attending to local markets, in a number of regions also supplied the miners. The foci of the eastern economy came to be agriculture and artisanal manufacturing, a part of whose product was supplied to the West. Cartagena on the Caribbean coast focused upon the importation of slaves and consumer goods, the export of gold and the supply of food and other goods to ships. P7 Safford

Safford, Frank, *Colombia: fragmented land, divided society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

## Ecuador

Roughly the size of the state of Colorado, Ecuador encompasses a wide range of natural formations and climates, from the desertlike southern coast to the snowcapped peaks of the Andes Mountains to the plains of the Amazon River Basin.

<http://countrystudies.us/ecuador/17.htm>

## Peru

“Vertical archipelago”

One major consequence of this long period of formation of the Andes is its extraordinary climatic and ecological variety. In this respect, Peru is truly a land of contrasts. Its diverse terrain includes lifeless deserts, teeming rain forests; precipitous intermontane valleys, and high, windswept plains. P1 Klaren

Klarén, Peter F. *Peru: society and nationhood in the Andes*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

## Venezuela

Internally, Venezuela could be divided into four general regions, each with its distinct climate, physiography, culture, populations and economy: the coastal zone, the Andean west, the inland llanos and the Guayana highlands. P14 Ewell

Ewell, Judith, *Venezuela: a century of change*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1984.

## Chile

The various vertical niches thus provide a surprisingly varied alimentary basis for human civilization, not only on a regional but often on a local level as well.

South of the central Andes, Chile is a narrow strip along the ocean which stretches through three contrasting zones: desert in the north, a central 'Mediterranean' area with optimum conditions for agriculture and a forested, wet zone in the south. P189 Mörner

Mörner, Magnus. *The rural economy and society of colonial Spanish South America*. University of Gothenburg, Sweden

## Brazil

Geography contributes generously to the kaleidoscopic variety of Brazil. Burns

Geographically the eastern region is dominated by the mineral-rich Brazilian Highlands.

Although mining, agriculture, and livestock raising have been important activities in Minas Gerais and the Bahian sertao for 250 years, Rio de Janeiro, Vitoria and Salvadr are the only significant eastern ports through which these products can reach world markets...the east has one of the richest mining areas of the world. Its reputation dates from the discovery of gold at the end of the seventeenth century, when the names Minas Gerais (General Mines) was given to the largest state in the region. P29 Poppino

South: the south has a greater variety of topography, climate and vegetation than any other Brazilian region, although it lacks the extreme contrast between tropical swampland and semi-desert found in the East. P34 Poppino

Geographically the Center-West is more nearly uniform than the other regions of Brazil. The principal geographic feature is the plateau which occupies most of the region...it is covered by mixed tropical forest, marshes and swamp grasses suitable as pasture. P37 Poppino

Burns, E. Bradford. *A history of Brazil*. New York: Columbia University Press, c1993.

Poppino, Rollie E. *Brazil: the land and people* [by] Rollie E. Poppino. New York, Oxford University Press, 1973.

## Argentina

Chaco-bordered Bolivia...Argentina's heart is the Pampa, the rolling territory located in the center of the country. The region is a massive alluvial plain...during the colonial period, it was a vast grassland that supported rapidly expanding herds of wild horses and cattle. P3 Lewis

Lewis, Daniel K. *The history of Argentina*. Santa Barbara, California: Greenwood, an imprint of ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2015.

## Uruguay

Firewood, hide.

Most of Uruguay is a gently rolling plain that represents a transition from the almost featureless Argentine pampas to the hilly uplands of southern Brazil. The country itself has flat plains on its eastern, southern, and western edges. The narrow Atlantic coastal plain is sandy and marshy, occasionally broken by shallow lagoons. The remaining three-quarters of the country is a rolling plateau marked by ranges of low hills that become more prominent in the north as they merge

into the highlands of southern Brazil. Even these hilly areas are remarkably featureless, however, and elevations seldom exceed 200 meters. Hudson

Rex A. Hudson and Sandra W. Meditz, editors. Uruguay: A Country Study. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1990.

## **Caribbean:**

### **Trinidad and Tobago**

Trinidad is justly famed for its fertility. Its natural products are so various and plentiful...the available space which is at least 900,000 acres makes cultivation on a large scale possible. The little that is cultivated as yet, yields in great quantities, sugar, cocoa, coffee, and edible provisions such as banana, Indian corn, rice, cassavas, yams, banana-figs, carib-cabbages, etc. Before the introduction of sugar cane, as well as cocoa and coffee, there were cultivated for purposes of exportation cotton and indigo. P14-15 Borde

The three mountain ranges and the two extensive valleys of which we have just spoken are still, even in the nineteenth century, uncultivated and covered with virgin forests, rich in resistant woods, such as acoma, pouis, balata, yoke, locusts, roble, guatercare, sapatero, etc, among the hard ones, are mahogany, cedar, crapaud, mataca, cypress, bay of several varieties etc. among the soft woods. On the mountain slopes and in the valleys are natural savannahs or prairies which can be used to advantage in the raising of cattle. Besides these valuable woods and savannahs, Trinidad reckons among its natural resources, many navigable rivers...it is also the home of a great profusion of game...as far as mineral wealth goes, the most striking feature is its lake of asphalt or pitch, the only one of its kind in the world. P16 Borde

Borde, Pierre-Gustave-Louis, The history of Trinidad under the Spanish government / by Pierre-Gustave-Louis Borde. Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, W.I. : Paria Pub. Co., 1982.

### **Dominican Republic**

Not available

### **Jamaica no ranking**

hides, lard and dried, cured meat, sugar

The soil of the island is various. P349 Long

Long, Edward, The history of Jamaica: reflections on its situation, settlements, inhabitants, climate, products, commerce, laws and government. Volume 1. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002.

## **South Asia**

### **Bhutan**

Agriculture soil is extremely limited. Frequent landslides and avalanches further accentuate the situation. It is therefore a predominantly pastoral-nomadic community, who practice transhumance. Central Bhutan lies in the Inner Himalayas and is comprised of several fertile valleys located at elevations varying from 5000-9000 feet. These valleys are relatively broad, flat with moderate rainfall and are fairly well populated and cultivated. P32 Gulati



## Mauryan Empire

Homogeneous in the Ganges plain, but heterogeneous if we consider other places (Deccan, coast etc)

The northern areas exported blankets, skins, and horses, while from the south came conch shells, diamonds, and precious stones, pearls and gold... This trade developed enormously in the next two centuries, when we do have information of the commodities that were traded. P109 Thapar

## Tamil

Export: Fine muslins, jewels, beryls, pearls, drugs, spices, condiments, pepper, ivory, spikenard, betel, diamonds, amethysts, tortoise shell, cotton, silk, wool p19 Husaini

Husaini, Abdul Qadir, Saiyid. *The history of the Pāndya country*. Karaikudi, Selvi Pathippakam [1962]

## Bengal

Except the highland margins in the north and along the eastern and western borders, it is almost entirely flat-surfaced and alluvial, containing perhaps the largest delta in the world intersected by a tangled net-work of rivers and channels that drain the whole of North India. P1 Rashid

## Sri Lanka

Its mineral resources are limited primarily to graphite and gemstones, including sapphires and rubies. The soils of the island are diverse and relatively fertile, particularly the alluvial soils of the river basins. P2 Peebles

Peebles, Patrick. *The history of Sri Lanka*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

## Nepal

The valleys made by the rivers are quite fertile for the production of food crops. The forest of the sub-tropical and tropical areas provided the wood to be used for the construction material and fuel. P22 Vaidya

For the whole of the Himalayas the Valley of Nepal is most favorably placed on account of its climate and soil. It is suited for an all year vegetation and crops. P3 Regmi

Regmi, D. R. *Ancient Nepal*. Calcutta, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1969.

Vaidya, Tulasī Rāma, *Social history of Nepal*, New Delhi : Anmol Publications, c1993.

## East Asia

### Japan

Unquestionably that biological diversity has been critical to the archipelago's capacity to support a remarkably dense population for centuries on end. P19 Totman

In mineral resources Japan is comparatively poor. It has very little iron or oil...only copper is fairly abundant. Premodern Japan was however, amply supplied from the forest slopes with the woods of various kinds. P7 Morton

Morton, W. Scott (William Scott). *Japan, its history and culture*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1984.

Totman, Conrad D. *A history of Japan*. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2013.

## Korea

Fur, bronze, salt, fiber

Korea is fortunate in that the ocean currents that wash the peninsula provide good breeding ground for fish. P8 Hoare

The Korean peninsula is not well-endowed with mineral deposits. Gold, silver, iron ore, tungsten, graphite and coal are found but none in great abundance. P10 Hoare

Hoare, James. *Korea : an introduction*. London ; New York : Kegan Paul International ; New York, NY, USA : Distributed by Routledge, Chapman & Hall, 1988.

## China

Had easy access to copper and tin. They cast ritual vessels by pouring bronze into multi sectional moulds, which allowed them to produce extremely complex shapes. p340 Trigger

Trigger, Bruce G. *Understanding early civilizations : a comparative study*. Cambridge, UK ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2003.

## Middle East and Near East

### Egypt

Egypt provided its inhabitants with fine quality stone for building monuments and carving statues and with supplies of gold from Nubia and the Eastern Desert. Stone came from a variety of sources...

Some (turquoise, malachite, and emerald) came from the eastern mines, while carnelian, amethyst, and jasper came from Nubia or the Eastern Desert. Other natural stones included garnets, green feldspar and obsidian. In addition to a scarcity of metal ores, Egypt also lacked wood. P70-71 David

David, A. Rosalie. *Handbook to life in ancient Egypt*. Oxford; New York : Oxford University Press, c1999.



## Iran

Archeological surveys indicate that Iran was among the leading nations in mining activity in ancient times (‘Alipur, 1993-94). Its ancient civilizations, richness of natural resources, and records of ancient mining and metalworking are testimonies to such a claim (Zāvoš, 1976-77). Such mines can be grouped into three categories based on the materials extracted: (1) mines of metallic ores: iron, copper, gold, lead, zinc, and silver; (2) non-metallic mines and quarries of china clay (used in ceramic and tile making), gel-e saršuy (a variety of bentonite used as soap in ancient Iran), and bentonite and serpentine (used in clayware); (3) mines of precious and semi-precious stones, such as firuza (turquoise), zabarjad (emerald), dorr-e kuhi (quartz), kamast (amethyst), la’l (spinel ruby), yašm (jadeite), yāqut (ruby), and safir (corundum). Encyclopædia Iranica, online edition, New York, 1996-.

## Mesopotamia

There is great variety in the landscape, which includes desert, foothills, steppes, and marshes. P12 Nemet-Nejat

Despite the fact that Mesopotamia was agriculturally rich, it was poor in key natural resources that early civilizations thrived on. Chief among these were copper and tin, the two metals that were compounded to produce bronze. Missing also, especially in the south, were two other resources: stone that could be quarried and cut into building blocks, and trees that could yield sufficient timber for large-scale construction. P255 Bertman

Mesopotamia’s major resources were its water and fertile soil. A unique resource of the land was bitumen, a natural asphalt...the critical resources that Mesopotamia largely lacked were building stone (except in Assyria where gypsum was available), construction grade timber, and minerals, including copper and tin, iron, silver and gold. P4 Bertman

Nemet-Nejat, Karen Rhea. Daily life in ancient Mesopotamia. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1998.

Bertman, Stephen. Handbook to life in ancient Mesopotamia. New York : Facts on File, c2003.

## Assyria

Considerable regional variations in the types of fruits and vegetables and the different emphasis on oleoculture and viticulture reflected long-term cultural and economic tradition as well, with the Mediterranean lands concentrating on olives and vines in contrast to the production of nuts and a wide range of other fruits in Iraq and Iran. P28 Haldon

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Haldon, John. "The Resources of Late Antiquity." *The New Cambridge History of Islam*. Ed. Chase F. Robinson. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010. 17-71. Print. *The New Cambridge History of Islam*.

Bertman, Stephen. *Handbook to life in ancient Mesopotamia*. New York : Facts on File, c2003.

## Israel

The geography of Palestine is strikingly varied given its relatively small size, with a number of very different ecological niches. These variations would have affected the nature of local settlement and production patterns and supported a broad range of different economies. P37

McNutt

McNutt, Paula M. *Reconstructing the society of ancient Israel*. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1999.

## Lebanon (Phoenicia)

### Arabia

The Hijaz, which lies between the plateau of Najd and the Red Sea coast, is the heart of Arabia. The Hijaz is varied in landscape, containing desert as well as oases of various sizes. Accordingly, its population on the eve of Islam was made up of sedentary, nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes. p398 Landau-Tasseron

Considerable regional variations in the types of fruits and vegetables and the different emphasis on oleoculture and viticulture reflected long-term cultural and economic tradition as well, with the Mediterranean lands concentrating on olives and vines in contrast to the production of nuts and a wide range of other fruits in Iraq and Iran. Apart from wheat, barley and rice, for example, al-T. abar<sup>1</sup> lists vines, dates, alfalfa<sup>1</sup> and olives as products which the Sasanian kings taxed; other sources suggest that vegetables, cotton, sesame and cucumbers were untaxed.<sup>17</sup> Between the zones of agricultural production were substantial districts in which a pastoral economy dominated. The marginal regions between the two were the site of mixed economic activity with accordingly differently articulated social relations from those typical of the arable heartlands or the nomadic or transhumant societies of the mountains and plateaux, as in the foothills of the

Zagros, for example, where sheep raising was a major aspect of the local economy but where there were small gardens and where limited cereal production was also carried on, or in the H. ija<sup>z</sup> and in southern Arabia. P30 Robinson

Land was exploited not just by agriculture and animal husbandry, but also for timber and its derivatives – oils, bark, resins and so forth – and for minerals... The Arabian Peninsula appears to have been far more important as a source of precious metals than has generally been recognised, and this may provide additional reasons for the urgency of Byzantine and Sasanian interest in the area. P35-36 Robinson

“Arabia”, Ella Landau-Tasseron, the New Cambridge History of Islam. Volume 1, The Formation of the Islamic World, Sixth to Eleventh Centuries / edited by Chase F. Robinson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.  
"THE LATE ANTIQUE CONTEXT." The New Cambridge History of Islam. Ed. Chase F. Robinson. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010. Print. The New Cambridge History of Islam.

## Morocco

The coastal belt possesses ample resources of water and vegetation. The northern slopes of the Atlas Mountains afford excellent wooded pastureland and produce fine olive trees. Along the Atlantic coast lies a wide band of fertile soil.

The different geographical conditions which prevailed in the Maghrib gave rise to different patterns of economic activities which made the different communities dependent upon each other in the supply of goods and services. In the rural markets village communities and pastoralists exchanged the goods which they produced. The towns derived agricultural produce and raw materials from countryside and sold to the rural communities the goods produced by their artisans. P11 Abun-Nasr

Abun-Nasr, Jamil M. A history of the Maghrib in the Islamic period. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

## Pakistan (Ghaznavid)

The drainage area of the Indus River with its tributaries covers much of the area of present day Pakistan. To the east and west, desert areas separate it from India and Iran, while in the north, mountains form the barriers. P6 Shehab

Mountains enclose several vales, each distinct from the other, isolated and removed physically and culturally. P2 Dani

In the Indus Valley as a whole, starting with an upper tracts of hills, then followed by an alluvial plain and a lower tract of sand desert, soil conditions varied from extreme fertility to complete desolation. Both banks of the Indus and its offshoots were covered with dense jungles of mostly wild trees. P170 Flood

Punjab: “the Land of the Five rivers”, is the fertile plain bounded on the west by the Indus River. Bounded by the ranges of the Himalaya on the north, and on the south east, by the desert area of Cholistan, further to the south the Sulaiman mountains. P16 Shehab

Shehab, Rafi Ullah. *History of Pakistan*. Lahore, Pakistan: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1989.

Dani, Ahmad Hasan. History of Pakistan: Pakistan through ages. Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 2007.

Flood, Finbarr Barry. *Objects of translation: material culture and medieval "Hindu-Muslim" encounter*; Princeton: Princeton University Press, c2009.

### Seljuk/Ottoman

Anatolia was an agriculturally rich region. While the central plateau provided abundant pasture lands, the west, south and east produced grain, cotton, pulses and vegetables, fruit, rice, honey. Anatolia was also a region of mineral resources. There were silver mines, iron mines, salt mines and quarries.

The main crop grown on the plateau is wheat...much land on the plateau is also devoted to the grazing of cattle and sheep and goats. Copper has been mined in Anatolia since antiquity. p7 Howard

Howard, Douglas A.. History of Turkey, Greenwood Publishing Group, Incorporated, 2001. ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/berkeley-ebooks/detail.action?docID=3000487>.

### Southeast Asia

Mainland Southeast Asia is one of the most fertile and biodiverse areas of the planet. High temperatures and plentiful moisture create a spectacularly abundant environment. P1 Baker Baker, Christopher John, *A history of Thailand*. Cambridge; Port Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

### Thailand

Chao Phraya River plain has homogeneous condition for agriculture

Thailand is famous for its gemstones...mined resources include tin, lead, gypsum, tungsten and zinc. P6 Mishra

Mishra, Patit Paban. The history of Thailand. Santa Barbara, Calif.: Greenwood, c2010.

### Champa

Natural resources: many garden crops, little rice, mulberry, cotton; forest in the highlands have ebony, scented wood, gold, silver, copper, iron, tin; pearl and fish. P16-18 the Kingdom of Champa, Maspero

Maspero, Georges. The Champa Kingdom : the history of an extinct Vietnamese culture. Bangkok, Thailand : White Lotus Press, ©2002.

### North Vietnam

Red River Plain, primarily rice agriculture

The Red River plain before the arrival of Chinese administration included paddy fields that were irrigated by taking advantage of the change in the level of the rivers in accordance with the tides. "Lac fields", Lac could mean "ditch, canal, waterway". P10 Chapuis

## Spanish Philippines, Pre-colonial Philippines

characterized by irregular shorelines, alluvial plains, narrow valleys, mountains, and rolling hills.  
P10 Abinales and Amoroso

“one of the world’s richest fishing grounds” p16 Patanne

Patanne, E. P. *The Philippines in the 6th to 16th centuries*. San Juan, Metro Manila : LSA Press, c1996.

Abinales Patricio and Amoroso, Donna. *State and society in the Philippines*, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, c2005.

## Malaysia, Indonesia

-The area is extensive and there are regional differences. The environment, for example, is greatly, influenced by the monsoon. Coastal settlement is less prone to the impact of monsoon, because most marine resources are unaffected by it. P 322-323 the Bronze Age of Southeast Asia  
Ample rainfall, vegetation was abundant, providing edible plants and fruit and sustaining wild game; fish and sea products are rich. p7 Drakeley

## Fiji

Homogeneous, only sugar, copra and fruit to export. P119 Scarr  
Scarr, Deryck. *Fiji: a short history*. Sydney: G. Allen & Unwin, 1984.

## Africa

Whole West Africa-absence of copper

## Burkina Faso

Nineteenth century references to the import trade in salt, and the export trade in cotton cloth and livestock, cattle, horses, donkeys and sheep, are probably equally applicable to an earlier period.  
P422 Wilks

## Angola

Heterogeneous land, but not much trade, subsistence farming

The region north of Zaire...belongs to the equatorial forest zone and became attached to Angola...the coastal region is very dry throughout its length and becomes desert in the south.

Behind the coast lies a highland plateau from which descend a number of rivers. P20 Chabal  
The main items of trade were salt, especially from pans near the coast; iron tools and weapons, copper from mines near Kisama...nzimbu currency shells obtained from Luanda island, bark colth, cori beads and slaves. P22 Chabal

Angola: the weight of history / Patrick Chabal & Nuno Vidal, editors. New York: Columbia University Press, c2008.

## Sierra Leone

the country has three main relief regions-the Freetown Peninsula mountains, the lowlands, and the highlands of the east and north-east. There are seven main river systems which are evenly distributed over the country. P1 Alie

Alie, Joe A. D. *A new history of Sierra Leone*. London: Macmillan Overseas, 1990.

## Nigeria

Its ten northern states consist almost entirely of open countryside, of the type known as savannah (either grassland or woodland), whereas the states to the south are much more thickly wooded.

P3 Smith

The kola nut, indigenous to the Guinea forest, was in great demand in the Sudan...the forest products travelled across the lagoons, up the river highways and along intricate tracks through the bush until they reached the Sudan. P5 Smith

Smith, Robert Sydney. *Kingdoms of the Yoruba*. London: Currey, 1988.

## Senegal

Senegambia was never quite so dependent as other regions on the slave trade alone-gum, gold, hides, ivory and beeswax were also important. P4 Curtin

Curtin, Philip D. *Economic change in precolonial Africa; Senegambia in the era of the slave trade*. University of Wisconsin Press, 1975.

## Ghana

Forest products, gold and kola nuts, ivory, salt

See Wilks, Ivor. *Forests of gold : essays on the Akan and the Kingdom of Asante*. Athens : Ohio University Press, c1993.

## Zambia

Ivory

The hundreds of miles of woodlands vary greatly according to the altitude and rainfall, which is much heavier in the north than in the south...until recent times, Zambia was rich in game of nearly all species found in tropical Africa. P3 Hall

Hall, Richard. *Zambia*. London, Pall Mall Press, 1965.

## Mozambique

Gold and ivory were the main trading goods

Land along these rivers can be very fertile, but, especially where regular flooding occurs, the country is infested with mosquitoes which carry malaria and other tropical diseases. p31 Newitt  
Southern Mozambique: the area is dry and the soil generally sandy and poor. Although the Limpopo valley has much rich alluvial soil and parts of it forms a flood plain uniquely favorable for agricultural settlement, the forest along the river is deeply infested with tsetse fly which has discouraged the movement and settlement of cattle-owning people. P148 Newitt

Newitt, M. D. D. *A history of Mozambique*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, c1995.

## Namibia

Not available



## South Africa

Settler farming and herding, wine. P10 Worden seems not quite diverse

Worden, Nigel. *The making of modern South Africa: conquest, apartheid, democracy*. Chichester, West Sussex ; Malden, MA : Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.

## Kenya

the most striking physiographic distinction in Kenya is between the area of higher land, encompassing roughly the southwestern one-third of the country, and the remaining two-thirds, consisting of low plateaus and plains. The highlands include the only large area other than the coastal belt that can count on generally reliable rainfall, they also contain most of the good soils and the great majority of the settled population lives there. In contrast, the outer arc of lower land is peopled almost entirely by nomadic pastoralists. P69 Nelson

Nelson, Harold, *Kenya, a country study*. Washington, D.C.: Foreign Area Studies, American University: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O., 1983 [i.e. 1984]

## Malawi

that so many and diverse crops were able to thrive in so small an area as that of Malawi is illustrative of the advantages offered by the great variety of environments which are encountered in Malawi. P46 Pachai

the variety of terrain enclosed in Malawi's modern borders has influenced... p8 McCracken  
McCracken, John, *A history of Malawi, 1855-1966*. Woodbridge, Suffolk [England] ; Rochester, N.Y. : James Currey, 2012.

## Tanzania

the environment limits not only the number of people that the grassland can support but also the amount of surplus that they can produce and store. Rainfall is concentrated in a single short rainy season and is not very reliable...By restricting the amount of surplus that could be produced, it tended to hinder the division of labor, the development of non-agricultural specializations and the evolution of highly stratified societies and centralized political organizations. P18 Kaniki

(northern Tanzania) Given the great environmental differences which were to be found within a relatively small region, a region unlike many parts of Africa...and given the circumstance that the various groups inhabiting the region did in fact have markedly different economies, it would seem that basic factors were present which would have led to the development of a large volume of trade and to the establishment of markets. Although a certain amount of external trade did take place, a large-scale system of inter-tribal exchange did not develop, and markets did not appear. Most of the trade which did take place in the past occurred not because people were attempting to take advantage of their particular positions in relation to the factors of production as in a market-oriented economy, but because people were short of food as the result of crop failure.

P460 Winter

(Export: slaves and ivory)

Winter. E.H. Livestock markets among the Iraqw of Northern Tanganyika. Bohannon, Paul. *Markets in Africa*. Northwestern University Press [1962]

## Ethiopia

In most highland areas subsistence has for long been based on agriculture. In the more arid lowlands, nomadic pastoralism is the mainstay of the economy. These divisions are fluid and major differences may occur within comparatively short distances. P18 Phillipson

Phillipson, D. W. *Ancient Ethiopia: Aksum, its antecedents and successors*. London: British Museum Press, 1998.

## Explanation-Transportation

### Rankings

A: Land transportation (Terrain features: ruggedness, presence of natural barriers such as forestry, jungles, bogs, and deserts; terrain improvement including roads and bridges, and land transportation technology such as pack animals and wheels) 1,2,3,4,5

B: Water transportation (presence of navigable rivers and closeness to sea) 1,2,3,4,5

### Britain and its colonies

United Kingdom 6 9 A(4), B(5)

United States 6 9 A(4), B(5)

New Zealand 6 9 A(4), B(5)

Canada 6 9 A(4), B(5)

Australia 6 9 A(4), B(5)

### Europe

Austria (Germanic tribes) 7 6 A(3), B(3)

Germany (Germanic tribes) 7 9 A(4), B(5)

Switzerland (Germanic tribes) 7 4 A(2), B(2)

Luxemburg (Germanic tribes) 7 7 A(4), B(3)

Franks 7 10 A(5), B(5)

Netherlands (independent cities) 10 10 A(5), B(5)

Belgium (Ancient Rome, Independent cities) 10 10 A(5), B(5)

Denmark (Viking) 8 9 A(4), B(5)

Norway (Viking) 8 8 A(3), B(5)

Sweden (Viking) 8 8 A(3), B(5)

Iceland 2 5 A(1), B(4)

Ireland 2 8 A(4), B(4)

Estonian Tribes 8 8 A(4), B(4)

Finn tribes 8 8 A(4), B(4)

Greece 10 8 A(4), B(4)

Rome 10 10 A(5), B(5)

Spain:

Castile 5 7 A(3), B(4)

Aragon 8 8 A(4), B(4)

Catalonia 8 9 A(4), B(5)  
Portugal 6 9 A(4), B(5)  
Latvia 7 8 A(4), B(4)  
Lithuania 7 9 A(4), B(5)  
Slovakia 4 A(5), B(2)

### **Balkans**

Croatia 8 8 A(3), B(5)  
Serbia 4 4 A(2), B(2)  
Romania 4 6 A(2), B(4)  
Bulgaria 4 6 A(2), B(4)  
Albania 5 6 A(2), B(4)  
Slovenia 10 8 A(3), B(5)

### **Eastern and Central Europe**

Poland 7 8 A(4), B(4)  
Bohemia (Czech) 8 5 A(3), B(2))  
Hungary 4 7 A(5), B(2)  
Russia 4 8 (A(5), B(3))

### **Latin America (colonial)**

Mexico 6 6 A(3), B(3)  
Guatemala 3 5 A(2), B(3)  
El Salvador 2 6 A(2), B(4)  
Honduras 2 5 A(2), B(3)  
Costa Rica 2 5 A(2), B(3)  
Panama 2 6 A(2) B(4)  
Colombia 3 5 A(2) B(3)  
Ecuador 2 5 A(2), B(3)  
Peru 5 5 A(2) B(3)  
Venezuela 4 6 A(2), B(4)  
Chile 4 6 A(3), B(3)  
Brazil 4 8 A(3), B(5)  
Argentina 3 9 A(4), B(5)  
Uruguay 6 10 A(5), B(5)

### **Caribbean:**

Trinidad and Tobago 2 10 A(5), B(5)  
Dominican Republic 3 8 A(3) B(5)  
Jamaica 3 7 A(3) B(4)

### **Pre-colonial**

Inca 1 3 A(1), B(2)

Maya 5 4 (A(1), B(3)

Aztec 6 3 (A(1), B(2)

### **South Asia**

Bangladesh 7 9 (A(4) B(5)

Bhutan 2 3 A(2), B(1)

Maurya 4 8 A(4), B(4)

Tamil 8 8 A(4) B(4)

Bengal 7 9 (A(4) B(5)

Sri Lanka 3 10 A(5) B(5)

Nepal 2 3 A(2), B(1)

### **East Asia**

Japan 3 8 A(4), B(4)

Korea 3 7 (A(4), B(3)

China 2 6 A(4), B(2)

### **Middle East and Near East**

Egypt 2 9 A(4) B(5)

Iran 4 6 A(4), B(2)

Mesopotamia 5 10 A(5) B(5)

Israel 3 9 A(5) B(4)

Assyria 7 10 A(5) B(5)

Lebanon (Phoenicia) 5 10 A(5) B(5)

Arabia 8 8 A(5) B(3)

Morocco 8 7 A(4) B(3)

Pakistan (Ghaznavids) 7 7 A(3) B(4)

Seljuk/Ottoman 8 8 A(4) B(4)

### **Southeast Asia**

Thailand 7 8 A(3), B(5)

Champa 5 8 A(3), B(5)

North Vietnam 2 8 A(3), B(5)

Singapore 9 A(4) B(5)

Spanish Philippines 3 7 A(3), B(4)

Pre-colonial Philippines 7 7 A(3), B(4)

Malaysia 9 6 A(2), B(4)  
Indonesia 9 6 A(2), B(4)  
Fiji 1 6 A(2), B(4)

## **Africa**

Burkina Faso 2 4 A(2) B(2)  
Angola 2 5 A(2) B(3)  
Sierra Leone 2 5 A(1) B(4)  
Nigeria (Yoruba) 4 5 A(2) B(3)  
Senegal 4 7 A(3) B(4)  
Ghana 2 6 A(2) B(4)  
Zambia 3 3 A(1) B(2)  
Mozambique 3 3 A(1) B(2)  
Namibia 2 4 A(2) B(2)  
South Africa 6 6 A(3) B(3)  
Kenya 2 4 A(1) B(3)  
Malawi 2 2 A(1) B(1)  
Tanzania 2 4 A(1) B(3)  
Ethiopia 3 3 A(2) B(1)

## **Britain**

Even in the time of Celt and Saxon, Dane and Norman parts of the land were so heavily wooded as to impede communication, break up portions of the plain into isolated sections, and hinder the progress of national unity. Marsh and fen, which have now disappeared before the hand of man, also helped to divided the country into separate units and to retard the progress of civilization. In the south, for example, the dense forest of the Weald obstructed communication between the coast and the interior. P5 Lunt

The many indentations in the coast provide harbors which facilitate communication with the outside world. The harbors, moreover, are readily accessible to the people of the interior, for numerous rivers flow down to the sea, and no place in Great Britain is more than seventy miles from the coast. In the era of small boats, almost any depression in the coast was a possible landing place, although the mouths of streams were generally favored. P6 Lunt

The gradients are easy, the waters flow gently and hence they are navigable for small boats for long distances...during the many centuries of poor roads, when goods had to be carried overland mainly on pack animals, the existence of these numerous waterways was of the highest importance for the facilitation of transportation. P6 Lunt

The Thames, the Ouse and the Trent gave easy access to the interior. P2 Willson

Willson, David Harris, A history of England. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston [1967]  
Lunt, W.E. History of England, Harper & Row, New York, Evanston and London, 1956.

## **Europe**

### **Germanic tribes (Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Luxemburg)**

Used animals for transportation in late antiquity and early middle ages (see Leighton, Albert C. Transport and communication in early medieval Europe, A.D. 500-1100. David & Charles Newton Abbot 1972, conditions are similar to Merovingian France).

### **Franks**

Compared with its Roman predecessor, the medieval road was very simply made...the medieval road was more suitable for vehicles and horses with shod hooves than the Roman roads which were built primarily for marching. P58-59 Leighton

An outstanding characteristic of medieval water transport was the use of extremely small, even intermittent streams for the carriage of goods. P125 Leighton

Passengers as well as goods were carried on the rivers of Merovingian Gaul. P128 Leighton

Leighton, Albert C. Transport and communication in early medieval Europe, A.D. 500-1100. David & Charles Newton Abbot 1972.

### **Netherlands, Belgium (independent cities)**

A large part of these imports came by sea and river in ships and boats from Holland, Zeeland and the Northern Provinces.

The seven Northern Provinces which united to create the Dutch Republic (Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overijssel, Friesland and Groningen successively in 1579–80) were very different from Flanders and Brabant. They occupied a flat amphibious terrain where the relationship between land and water was very close. There were major natural waterways. The Rhine provided transport deep into Germany.

Transport of peat, hay, wheat, cattle, timber, building materials and other heavy freight became a good deal cheaper in the middle of the seventeenth century, because of the creation of a network of canals equipped with tow-paths. Drawn by horses, canal barges carried freight, mail and passengers on regular schedules, at seven kilometres an hour, day and night, at frequent intervals between virtually all areas of the country. "In the 1660s, nearly 300 000 passengers travelled annually on the Amsterdam– Haarlem route, 140 000 glided between Haarlem and Leiden, and some 200 000 between Leiden and the joint destinations of the Hague and Delft" (de Vries and van der Woude, 1997, p. 187). No other country had such a cheap and dense transport network. Road freight carried by carts was slower and much more expensive.

"The Netherlands from 1600 to the 1820s",

[http://www.theworldeconomy.org/impact/The\\_Netherlands\\_from\\_1600\\_to\\_the\\_1820s.html](http://www.theworldeconomy.org/impact/The_Netherlands_from_1600_to_the_1820s.html)

## **Viking**

### **Denmark**

Extensive forests, hundreds of islands within easy reach of each other; contained large surface deposits of iron ore. P14-15 Forte, Oram and Pedersen  
(islands, mountains, forests)

Denmark could either be seen as a gateway or a barrier between Western Europe and the Baltic Sea; provided connections between Britain and the coastal regions of the European continent. P44 Forte, Oram and Pedersen

## Norway

Norway is an extremely mountainous land. The country has a very long coastline intersected by fjords. A maritime climate prevails over most of the coastal islands and lowlands. The country rises into mountains almost at once and, though well suited for pasture, the inner highland is not suited for cereal-based agriculture. However, the country is rich in fish, fur-bearing animals and minerals. P11 Forte, Oram and Pedersen

## Sweden

Sweden and Norway were covered mostly with pine forests. Within the mountains of northern Sweden lie the sources of many rivers that flow south-east to the Gulf of Bothnia. These rivers often have elongated lakes and a number of falls and rapids, which may explain why Swedish Vikings mainly sought their fortune taking the overland route to Russia and Byzantium in the east, while the Norwegians and the Danes turned towards the British Isles, Ireland and the Atlantic archipelago to the west. South-central Sweden is made up of low-lying land with many lakes. The plains occupy the southeast tip traditionally provided the population with much high-quality agricultural land.

Angelo Forte, Richard Oram and Frederik Pederson. *Viking empires*. Cambridge, U.K.; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2005.

## Iceland

Most settlement was restricted to the coastal districts, the southern plains and the more sheltered valleys, for the center of the island was barren and ice-bound or scarred by lava flows. P312 Forte, Oram and Pedersen

Angelo Forte, Richard Oram and Frederik Pederson. *Viking empires*. Cambridge, U.K.; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2005.

## Ireland

In many parts of Ireland, nature has remained inhospitable for long periods, in some cases down to the present day. P15 Moody

Ireland has multiple navigable rivers such as river Shannon

## Estonian tribes

Should be similar to the Vikings

## Finn tribes

Should be similar to the Vikings

## Greece

The sea itself provided relatively easy lanes of transport and communications; the numerous islands and rough coastline encouraged the movement of people and goods, throughout the centuries.

<https://greekarchaeology.osu.edu/arch-edu/archaeology>

see connectivity in Jan David Bakker, Stephan Maurer, Jörn-Steffen Pischke and Ferdinand Rauch (2018)

Of Mice and Merchants - Trade and Growth in the Iron Age, with Jan Bakker, Stephan Maurer and Jörn-Steffen Pischke, Working Paper, 2018.

## Rome

Roman transportation includes sea and river transportation, and Roman roads. Quantitative measurements of transportation costs see Cèsar Carreras & Pau De Soto (2013) and ORBIS the Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World.

Cèsar Carreras & Pau De Soto (2013) The Roman Transport Network: A Precedent for the Integration of the European Mobility, *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History*, 46:3, 117-133, DOI: 10.1080/01615440.2013.803403

## Spain

### Castile

The rivers of the peninsula provide little opportunity for transport by boat or barge. Many Spanish rivers, even those with considerable volume, flow through steep banks that make them very difficult to use as sources for irrigation. P9 Phillips

The fact was that the country was traversed by mere footpaths, which occasionally made use of Roman roads and bridges. P262 Vives

### Aragon , Catalonia

close to the Mediterranean, in whose waters the remnant of the sea traffic of antiquity still survived; the corridor was the umbilical cord which connected the economy of Al-Andalus to that of the rest of Europe. (especially Barcelona) P139 Vives

Vicens Vives, Jaime. *An economic history of Spain*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1969.

Phillips, William D. *A concise history of Spain*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

## Portugal

The infrastructure of communications was based on a road network that dated back in its design and layout to Roman times, which broke down the economic space of Portugal into multiple local markets. P35 Costa

Costa, Leonor Freire. *An economic history of Portugal, 1143-2010*. Cambridge Univ Press, 2016.

## Latvia

Navigable rivers: Daugava, Gauja (partly navigable) p6-p7 Bilmanis

Bilmanis, Alfreds, *A history of Latvia*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951.



## Lithuania

The harsh terrain of forest, marsh and lake provided a fertile haven for the Lithuanians which their Teutonic, Tartar and Russian enemies found difficult to penetrate and impossible to master.

P289 Rowell

The port of Klaipeda on the southeastern coast of the Baltic sea, is open to navigation all year long. P10 Žukas

The land which covers an area roughly two-thirds the size of England was heavily afforested and remains richly endowed with rivers and lakes. P703 Rowell

The mostly flat republic is dotted by some 2900 lakes and traversed by about a thousand rivers and streams. Of these, however, only 628km are navigable but even less can be used for commercial transportation. P4 Vardys

Vardys, Vytas Stanley, *Lithuania : the rebel nation*. Boulder, Colo. : Westview Press, 1997.

*Lithuania: past, culture, present* / [editor, Saulius Žukas ; authors, E. Aleksandravičius ... et al. ; translators, Vida Urbonavičius, Jonathan Smith]. Vilnius : Baltos lankos, c1999.

Rowell, S. C. *Lithuania ascending: a pagan empire within east-central Europe, 1295-1345*.

Cambridge [England]; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

## Balkans

### Croatia

Until quite recent times most routes from the Adriatic Sea inland were little more than mountain trails, better suited to beasts of burden than to wheeled vehicles. P335 Sedlar

The configuration of the eastern Adriatic coastline, which is rich in bays, gulfs, and ports, was highly favorable to navigation. P335 Sedlar

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

### Serbia

The Vardar-Morava route permitted fairly easy access from the Mediterranean into the heart of the Balkans. The Vardar-Morava valley is broader, and its mountain passes lower and shorter, than any other routes leading inland from the Aegean. P334 Sedlar

The greater part of the country forms a high plateau in which intermingle the four mountain systems of the Balkan Peninsula...the rivers, which all partake of the nature of mountain torrents, and none of which are navigable, for the most part flow to the north. P17 Petrovitch

Serbia has 959km of navigable rivers. The main navigable river is the Danube (588km). p86

Environmental Performance Reviews: Republic of Serbia: Second review.

Petrovitch, Woislav M. *Serbia: her people, history and aspirations*. London: George G. Harrap & Company, 1915.

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

### Romania

The Carpathians and the Lower Danube were an obstacle to the nomads pushing westwards from Central Asia....next to the mountains forests played an important role. In the Carpathians and in

the hills, the forests, together with the rugged configuration of the territory, made it difficult for outsiders to penetrate. P12 Oțetea

Oțetea, Andrei. *A Concise history of Romania*. London: R. Hale ; New York: Distributed by St. Martin's Press, 1985.

## Bulgaria

The Balkan Mountain Range, which crosses Bulgaria from east to west, divides the peninsula into a wider northern region and smaller southern half. P6 Anastasoff

Anastasoff, Christ, *The Bulgarians: from their arrival in the Balkans to modern times, thirteen centuries of history*. Hicksville, N.Y. : Exposition Press, c1977.

## Albania

The rivers of Albania flow from east to west, making that country a natural point of departure for overland communication across the southern Balkans. P335 Sedlar

Sedlar, Jean W. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500*. University of Washington Press, 2011.

## Eastern and Central Europe

### Poland

in the north the Baltic Sea encouraged coastal trade, which in turn facilitated coastal settlement, but also enabled invasions. South of the coast, the terrain is flat, but the predominance of great primeval forests and marshes in the east was always a constraint on movement. P2 Prazmowska

Prazmowska, Anita. *A history of Poland*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

### Bohemia (Czech)

It is surrounded on almost all sides by belts of mountains. P516 Berend

on an important trade route (the Amber road which joined the Mediterranean region with the Baltic coast). Protected by mountains at its border, in the notional center of the continent, with no marine harbors and without access to the large waterways, without extensive fertile lowlands, the Czech Lands remained for centuries rather at the margins of the great political, economic and social processes of Europe. P25 Panek

The four sides of the quad- rangle are surrounded by mountains and the interior of the country is a bowl-like basin... The Bohemian Forest is in the southwest. Here we find a cluster of piled-up mountains of gneiss and schist. These mountains form an excellent strategical frontier for the country, the interior slopes being gentle and the outer slopes abrupt and difficult of access. P1, p4 Monroe

Three of the great rivers of Germany the Elbe, the Vistula, and the Oder — take their rise within the limits of the kingdom of Bohemia. There are many rapid rivers of commercial consequence that flow from the Sudetic mountains in the north and furnish the water-power for the numerous textile factories in the neighbourhood of Keichen-berg (LibSrec). P5, p7 Monroe

Berend, Nora. *Central Europe in the high Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland c.900--c.1300*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Bohemia and the Čechs [electronic resource]; the history, people, institutions, and the geography of the kingdom, together with accounts of Moravia and Silesia, by Will S. Monroe. Boston, L.C. Page Co., 1910.

## Hungary

The medieval kingdom of Hungary came into being in the geographically well defined area known as the Carpathian Basin. The Basin is fringed by ranges of medium sized hills and is divided by the Danube into two unequal parts. P23 Toth

Military roads formed the basis of trade and communication overland. P313 Berend

Berend, Nora. *Central Europe in the high Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland c.900--c.1300*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Tóth, István György. *A concise history of Hungary: the history of Hungary from the Early Middle Ages to the present*. Budapest: Corvina, c2005.

## Russia

Attempts were made to improve the upkeep of major highways, to regularise their construction and maintenance and to build and maintain bridges. From the sixteenth century a government postal service (iamskaia gon'ba) began to be organised along major routes connecting the capital with provincial centres and strategic points like Archangel. P35 (but roads were not well maintained)

Geography also hindered commercial development in Russia itself. The difficulties of road and river communications which have been commented on above, the huge distances involved, low population densities, and the generally small size and widely spaced character of the towns, all hindered commercial relations. P37 Shaw

Shaw, Denis. *Russia's geographical environment*. The Cambridge History of Russia. Volume 1, From Early Rus' to 1689 / edited by Maureen Perrie. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

## Slovenia 5

Over 40% of Slovenia is mountains, as the Alps extend across the northern part of the country... Moving towards the central and south, the balance of land is a mixture of high hills and valleys, covered by green forests.

<https://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/europe/slovenia/siland.htm>

## Latin America (colonial)

### Mexico

With the exception of the northern mesa and the Yucatan Peninsula, much of Mexico is divided by mountain ranges. The eastern Sierra Madre and the western Sierra Madre run north to south across the country, forming numerous valleys and plateaus...these mountain chains...determine Mexico's geographical fractionalism. They highlight the difficulty that has existed in communication and transportation. P10 Suchlicki

Although many rivers run through Mexico, very few can be used for navigation, and most flow through the least populated areas. P10 Suchlicki

Suchlicki, Jaime. Mexico : from Montezuma to NAFTA, Chiapas, and beyond. Washington: Brassey's, c1996.

### **Central America:**

There are no navigable rivers, save one...travel by land has always been extremely difficult. The central highlands and the Pacific slopes make up the best natural environment for farming and can sustain human habitations of some density. P1 Perez-Brignoli

The costs of production and transportation of many goods compared in the long run unfavorably with similar exports by bigger producing countries. With its weak or limited integration into colonial trade, the region very early on acquired the character of a marginal province. Difficult travel intensified this hazardous life and buried these people for a long period in isolation and obscurity. P8 Perez-Brignoli

Vulcanism has deposited thick layers of fertile volcanic ash in the mountain valleys and plateaus, and on the slopes going towards the Pacific and the Caribbean, but much of the broad Caribbean coastal plain has been too distant from the volcanic disturbances, and the deposits of ash there are sporadic or non-existent. P24 MacLeod

The Pacific coast and the backbone highlands and valleys also enjoy an advantage over the broad Caribbean coastal plain when climate is considered. P24 MacLeod

The Caribbean trades blow off the sea toward the land all the year round and deposit heavy rains on the poor, easily leached, clay soils (latosols) which cover great areas of the coastal plain. Much of it is swampy and covered with tropical rain forests, especially the stretch of coast which runs from Cape Gracias a Dios to Panama. Only one section of this coast is relatively favored. The Peten and a projection of it which runs along the coast from Lake Izabal to the town of Trujillo cannot compete environmentally with the Highlands or the Pacific coast, but in parts its mean annual rainfall is less, there are some local deposits of volcanic ash, a better drainage system near the Gulf of Honduras, and a large area in the Peten composed of less easily leached soils on top of limestone. P24 MacLeod

The Pacific coast tierra caliente, with its fertile volcanic slopes, receives far less rain than the Caribbean. P24 MacLeod

Part of this relatively favored part of the environmentally poor Caribbean coastal plain is the section between Lake Izabal and Trujillo, a window to the sea and to commerce with other areas which was vital to the interior both before and after the conquest. P25 MacLeod

Before the conquest, Hernan Cortes, Cristobal de Olid, and other early settlers found dense Indian populations around Naco and Nito on the shores of the Gulf of Honduras, living in what has been described as a port-of-trade enclave similar to Soconusco and the Tabasco lowlands around Isla de Terminos. The enclave on the Gulf traded with the interior of Guatemala and Honduras, and with Yucatan, Tabasco, and areas beyond. P25 MacLeod

MacLeod, Murdo. *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History, 1520–1720*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008.

## Guatemala

Rugged mountains are the dominant feature of the Guatemalan landscape. P9 Jones (The Pacific coastal plain)...the plain is covered with grass and forests, with scattered lagoons and short rivers coursing downward from the highlands to sea. One of the principal drawbacks of this region is the absence of any deep water harbors, inhibiting the growth of maritime commerce. Another limiting factor is the presence nearby of the earthquake producing fault line just off the coast. P10 Jones

Jones, Oakah L. *Guatemala in the Spanish colonial period*. Norman : University of Oklahoma Press, c1994.

## El Salvador

El Salvador has over 300 rivers, the most important of which is the Rio Lempa. Originating in Guatemala, the Rio Lempa cuts across the northern range of mountains, flows along much of the central plateau, and finally cuts through the southern volcanic range to empty into the Pacific. It is El Salvador's only navigable river, and it and its tributaries drain about half the country.

Richard

Richard A. Haggarty, ed. *El Salvador: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1988.

## Honduras

The emerging kingdom of Guatemala continued to be shut off from the distant Caribbean coast by a vast expanse of rugged mountains, untamed wilderness and tropical jungle. Overland transportation links remained primitive or nonexistent. Possible outlets on the Caribbean coast were accesibl only with great difficulty and were vulnerable to foreign attack, so trade was forced out through indirect and awkward channels. Consequently the long shoreline from eastern Yucatan to Panama was a no man's land. P19 Naylor

Partly alluvial and partly coralline, the low-lying shoreline was dotted with many small islands and reefs, plagued by shifting currents and treacherous shoals. P19 Naylor

Hot and humid, infested with black sandflies, mosquitos and countless other insects...the low-lying parts of the Mosquito Shore were rife with yellow fever and malaria. P21 Naylor

Navigating these coasts was a challenge. P22 Naylor

Naylor, Robert. *Penny Ante Imperialism: The Mosquito Shore and the Bay of Honduras, 1600–1914: A Case Study in British Informal Empire*. Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1989.

Better than neighboring countries because it has a long Caribbean coast to conduct trade three distinct topographical features characterize the Honduran terrain, an extensive interior highland that comprises approximately 80 percent of the country and two coastal lowlands, one on the Pacific and the other on the Caribbean. The rugged mountain ranges of the interior highlands are difficult to traverse and to cultivate. P2 Leonard

Leonard, Thomas M. *The history of Honduras*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: Greenwood, c2011.

## Costa Rica

jungles, rugged mountains, heavy rain

During the rainy season, some mountain passageways were impassable even under ideal conditions and travel by land from Costa Rica to the seat of the audiencia government in neighboring Guatemala took several months. P30 Rankin

Four mountain ranges running northwest to southwest cover substantial portion of country and include a number of volcanoes...most cities and roughly half of population located in temperate highland valley called Meseta Central, which constitutes about 6 percent of total land area. Pxiv Nelson

Nelson, Harold D. Costa Rica, a country study, Foreign Area Studies, the American University. Washington, D.C. : Headquarters, Dept. of the Army : 1983.

Rankin, Monica A. *The history of Costa Rica*, Santa Barbara, California: Greenwood, 2012.

## Panama

extremely hard to access through land route, but the isthmus an important pass of ships isolated from modern Colombia by the impenetrable Darien jungle. P4 Perez-Brignoli

Overland transport required an enormous assemblage of mules and a vast network of forts that culminated in Portobelo on the Caribbean. P4 Perez-Brignoli

## Colombia

Rain forests + Andes mountain

two facts about Colombian geography are fundamental: Its more populated regions are both tropical and mountainous. P2 Safford

The mule path from Honda to Santa Fe de Bogota was the obligatory route to the capital for all travelers and commerce from the Caribbean coast or from much of the western part of the country, it remained hazardous for more than three hundred years. P4 Safford

The Magdalena River provided relatively rapid, easy transportation downstream. But, as a route into the interior, it presented obstacles. Entry into the river's mouth from the Caribbean was difficult and hazardous. P6 Safford

While the tropics and the mountains together made interregional trade difficult, at the same time they made it less necessary. P10 Safford

Safford, Frank, *Colombia: fragmented land, divided society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

## Ecuador

Rain forests + Andes mountain

Seldom does one find such varied geographical features in so compact an area as in Ecuador.

The highlands are divided into a multitude of different environments and climate by two great chains of the Andes. Ecuador's varied, exotic, and rugged geographical features have contributed to the separation of its peoples. Until recently land transportation has been difficult. P1-2

Lauderbaugh

Much of the coast and lowland areas remained unconquered. While the sierra was the most populated area of colonial Ecuador (Quito was in sierra, used to be the secondary capital of the Incas), it was also isolated from the rest of the world by its geography and the failure of the Spanish to fully integrate the coast and lowlands. P27 Lauderbaugh

## Peru

accessible by sea, but the Andes made land transportation difficult

Because few navigable rivers linked the major population centers, mules, humans, and in flat terrain, ox carts moved the colonial produce. The resulting high transportation costs limited the profitability of both domestic and export production. P191 Burkholder&Johnson

It is estimated that there are from 3000 to 4000 miles of rivers in Peru navigable for vessels of from 8 to 20 feet draft...The majority of Peru's navigable rivers are on the east side of the Andes, the rivers flowing into the Pacific Ocean being of but little use as fluvial arteries. The Tumbes and the Chira are the only two that are navigable even for short distances. P28 Peru

Peru: general descriptive data prepared in June 1909. International Bureau of the American Republics. Washington, DC : United States Government Printing Office, 1909.

Lauderbaugh, George. *The history of Ecuador*. Santa Barbara, Calif: Greenwood, 2012.

Burkholder, Mark A., Johnson, Lyman. *Colonial Latin America*. New York : Oxford University Press, 2004.

## Venezuela

long Caribbean coastline provided good ports

its long Caribbean coastline provided security from foreign enemies and pirates for the Spanish bullion fleet during its annual journey between Portobelo, in present-day Panama, and Cuba. Haggerty

Haggerty, Richard A. *Venezuela, a country study*. Washington, D.C.U.S. G.P.O., 1993.

## Chile

accessible by sea, but the Andes made land transportation difficult

Cut off to the north by desert, to the south by the Araucanians, to the east by the Andes Mountains, and to the west by the ocean, Chile became one of the most centralized, homogeneous colonies in Spanish America. P7 Hudson

Rex A. Hudson, ed. *Peru: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1992.

## Brazil

Land transport depended on large ox-carts and their use was hindered by the lack of roads and bridges. Water transport was therefore crucial. Mills (often driven by water power) on the beira mar (sea coast) or on rivers were always more valuable because of their location. P425 Schwartz  
The major river system in the Northeast is the São Francisco, which flows 1,609 kilometers northeast from the south-central region. Its basin covers 7.6 percent of the national territory. Only 277 kilometers of the lower river are navigable for oceangoing ships. Below their descent from the highlands, many of the tributaries of the Amazon are navigable. Upstream, they

generally have rapids or waterfalls, and boats and barges also must face sandbars, trees, and other obstacles. Nevertheless, the Amazon is navigable by oceangoing vessels as far as 3,885 kilometers upstream, reaching Iquitos in Peru. The Amazon river system was the principal means of access until new roads became more important in the 1970s Hudson  
The Atlantic, bathing 4,600 miles of coastline, serves as the highway to the world carrying immigrants and merchants. P1 Burns

Rex A. Hudson, ed. *Brazil: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1997.

Burns, E. Bradford. *A history of Brazil*. New York : Columbia University Press, c1993  
Schwartz, Stuart. *Colonial Brazil, c.1580-c.1750:plantations and peripheries*.

## Argentina

Wood were carried by arroyos off the Uruguay River and the Parana River; oxcarts were used for salt trade. p33-34 Brown

Brown, Jonathan C. (Jonathan Charles), *A socioeconomic history of Argentina, 1776-1860*. Cambridge [Eng.] ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1979.

## Uruguay

Montevideo was on a bay with a natural harbor suitable for large oceangoing vessels, and this geographic advantage over Buenos Aires was at the base of the future rivalry between the two cities.

Montevideo's anchorage was rather shallow, and its bottom of soft mud occasionally grounded ships larger than 300-tons burden. Circumstances and location confined trade on this side of the estuary primarily to the export of pastoral goods from the estancias of the Banda Oriental. Montivideo had no direct access to the Interior's cart trade and therefore transshipped foreign goods to Buenos Aires for further distribution. P35 Brown

Brown, Jonathan C. (Jonathan Charles), *A socioeconomic history of Argentina, 1776-1860*. Cambridge [Eng.] ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1979.

## Caribbean:

Heterogeneous insular ecosystems were thus transformed into monocrop economies. Local environmental corrective actions were negligible because the decisions affecting the Caribbean environment were made by external market forces and implemented by transient European planters. P14 Richardson

Even the much-publicized image of the Caribbean region as a homogeneous paradise of tropical warmth must give way to differentiation produced by local topography. P19 Richardson  
The ecological impact of the colonial Caribbean sugar plantation era has received less academic attention than has its commercial, social, and demographic dimensions. As sugar cane cultivation on the small islands outcompeted all other crops and demanded more and more acreage, forest clearance coincided with the massive introduction of West African slaves who then accomplished the large-scale clearing. P29 Richardson



Richardson, Bonham C. *The Caribbean in the Wider World, 1492–1992: A Regional Geography*. Cambridge University Press, 1992.

## Trinidad and Tobago

Trinidad is peculiarly well situated for this commerce, it being only separated from the Coast of Cumana by the Gulph of Paria, whose water are so gentle that they are often traversed by a single man in a light canoe. Trinidad completely commands the mouth of the noble yet scarcely known river Guaripiche and several of the canos or canals of the mighty Oronoque. P2 Joseph Joseph, E. L. (Edward Lanzer) *History of Trinidad*, by E. L. Joseph. [London] F. Cass, 1970.

However great may be the advantages to the Island of its agricultural and mineral products, these are far surpassed by its importance from a commercial point of view. Provided with the best harbor in the world, and situated at the gateway to an immense network of a natural, inland system of canals, Trinidad seems destined to be the seat of a great commerce with the vast and rich regions of central South America. P17 Borde

Borde, Pierre-Gustave-Louis, *The history of Trinidad under the Spanish government*. Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, W.I. : Paria Pub. Co., 1982.

## Dominican Republic

### Jamaica

The passage into the mountainous region is not by an easy slope: these huge masses meet the lowlands by an almost perpendicular fall in many places; this...produces much inconvenience to travelers, and to the inland carriage of goods. It is owing to this acchvity, that the rivers here for the most part, are hurried in their descent with so rapid a current as to be unnavigable to any very descent from their mouths. P351 Long

Several are navigable by small craft to a considerable distance from their mouths. P357 Long  
Of harbors fifteen principal, besides thirty bays roads or shipping places, which have good anchorage. P357 Long

Long, Edward, *The history of Jamaica: reflections on its situation, settlements, inhabitants, climate, products, commerce, laws and government*. Volume 1. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002.

## Pre-colonial

### Inca

Bennett has indicated that in pre-Columbian days when foot travel was the accepted means of communication, the distances and differences between these three climatic zones may have loomed as less of an obstacle for contact and trade. p139

The transportation network consisted of two main roads linking the north and the south, and a complex web of crossroads that reached nearly every village in the empire. This system of roads was essential for maintaining communication among the geographically widespread empire. Runners were needed because many of the roads were too steep for carts. The deep river valleys, called gorges, in the Andes provided another unique challenge for the Inca. Roads were often interrupted by these gorges, which meant that some Incan cities were separated from each other.

The Incas used ropes made from twined plant fibers to create suspension bridges that could reach across these gorges. Inca Techbook Reading

The only beasts of burden were llama, which can carry only about 25 kg each, and people, who need to transport their own food. Hassig  
Hassig, R, War and Society in Ancient Mesoamerica. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1992.

## Maya

Studies of kingdoms of the conquest period...have demonstrated the difficulties of moving foods and other basic subsistence goods over long distances by foot transport and without the benefits of beasts of burden, vehicles, or modern preservation techniques...transport of corn or other staples from only twenty-five kilometers away would require consumption of 16 percent of the caloric value of the load for its bearer and transportation from a hundred kilometers would have cost a third of the load in expended caloric energy. P151-152 Demarest

Rivers certainly provided important avenues of trade and transportation, both between the southern Maya highlands and lowlands, and within the lowlands. The Motagua River was a major transportation route between the Maya highlands and the Caribbean coast of Guatemala...the Pasion and Chixoy Rivers provided an alternate inland route between the southern Maya highlands and the lowlands. The southern and northern Maya lowlands stand in sharp contrast in terms of river transportation. There are no rivers for waterborne transportation in the northern Maya lowlands. By way of contrast, Belize has many navigable rivers that provided significant avenues of communication and trade in antiquity. P33 McKillop

McKillop, Heather Irene, The ancient Maya : new perspectives. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, c2004.

Demarest, Arthur Andrew. *Ancient Maya: the rise and fall of a rainforest civilization*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2004.

## Aztec

Even the complex, carefully administered full market economy of the sixteenth-century Aztec empire relied for its basic food supplies on the area of central Mexico near its capital cities. P152 Demarest

(similar to the Mayas, the Aztecs had no beasts of burden or vehicles. Transportation solely relies on foot)

Demarest, Arthur Andrew. *Ancient Maya: the rise and fall of a rainforest civilization*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2004.

## South Asia

### Bangladesh

Together these many rivers have deposited very thick layers of fertile silt that now form one of the largest river deltas on earth. P4 Schendel

Floodplains dominate life in Bangladesh-they cover about 80 percent of the country. P9 Schendel

Schendel, Willem van. A history of Bangladesh. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2009.

## Bhutan

Bhutan's rugged terrain is a severe constraint and a powerful barrier to development of communications, travel, economic development and agriculture. P32 Gulati

Pack animals were the only means of transport in this mountainous route. Ponies and mules were employed more frequently for the purpose. Traders preferred this animal as they could easily negotiate the rugged terrain of the route, seeking assistance only in steep ascents and descents. P10 Ray

Indrajit Ray and Ratna Sarkar. Reconstructing Nineteenth Century Trade Route between Bhutan and Assam: Evidences from British Political Missions.

<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.553.2796&rep=rep1&type=pdf>  
Gulati, M. N. *Rediscovering Bhutan* New Delhi: Manas Publications, 2003.

## Maurya

To facilitate merchants and the movement of merchandise across the northern section of the country, the Mauryans constructed the Grand Trunk Road from Patna in Bihar (eastern India) to Taxila near Islamabad (now in Pakistan). For many centuries, the Grand Trunk Road served as the primary route across northern India...connecting many cities along the way. P28 Anderson  
Anderson, James. *Daily Life Through Trade: Buying and Selling in World History*

## Tamil

Situated almost midway on the maritime routes between China and the Mediterranean sea, Tamilaham was admirably located for the purpose of embarking on an active seaborne commerce with lands on the west and east. P16 Pillay

Pillay, Kolappa Pillay Kanakasabhapathi, *A social history of the Tamils*, by K. K. Pillay. [Madras] University of Madras.

## Bengal

The numerous river systems seasonally washed the land to reinforce its fertility and augment its productivity. Such conditions seem to have attracted streams of immigrants from all directions, particularly from the Indo-Gangetic plains for permanent settlement in the region. P49  
Bhattacharjee

-The delta with innumerable channels of the Ganga-Brahmaputra-Meghna descending into the Bay of Bengal offered a unique but natural arterial ways to upland habitations. The easy navigability of the rivers for long distance traffic helped develop the internal trade. P47  
Bhattacharjee

Bhattacharjee, Jayati, *An early history of northern Bengal: historical geography and social formations in Pundravardhana*, Delhi: Akansha Pub. House, 2013.

## Sri Lanka

With the discovery of the use of monsoons in navigation, in the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C, Ceylon was found to lie directly on the east-west trade route. P103 Ismail

Altogether, there are more than a hundred rivers in Sri Lanka, many of them small...Aruvi Aru, which links the first capital of Sri Lanka, Anuradhapura, with the ancient trade emporium of Mantai. P3 Peebles

Peebles, Patrick. *The history of Sri Lanka*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Ismail, Marina, *Early settlements in northern Sri Lanka*, New Delhi: Navrang, 1995.

## Nepal

Nepal is an elongated rugged mountainous country. The transport and communication from one part to another of the country are still very difficult. P22 Vaidya

Bullock carts were not in use, nor any other conveyance driven by beasts of burden is traced out. For transport the inhabitants had made a peculiar artifact called Khamu still in use by the peasants consisting of two baskets tied in the shoulders of the man carrying the same... Probably because the Lichhavis in the plains used these animals for transport services, they carried their use to Nepal. But this did not seem to be operative till early first century A.D. p38 Regmi

As we have also a reference to carriages drawn by horses, bullocks, oxen rather probably was the highway through which chariots frequently passed. Besides, these animals might have been used not only draught purposes but also to carry loads on their back. Human labour (bhrikajana) was employed to carry loads in the mountainous tracts. Mahapatha also might have conveyed an idea of the main road but not necessarily passable by vehicles. P263 Regmi

Regmi, D. R. *Ancient Nepal*. Calcutta, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1969.

Vaidya, Tulasī Rāma, *Social history of Nepal*, New Delhi : Anmol Publications, c1993.

## East Asia

### Japan

Three-quarters of the land is too steep to farm; most of its short, often violent rivers are too shallow and too swift to navigate; much of its jagged coastline is too dangerous to fish except in deep-water ships; its ribbon of flat coastal land lies unprotected from typhoons and tsunamis; its deep valleys are isolated from each other by steep jagged mountains and unfordable rapid rivers.

Perez, Louis G. *The history of Japan*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1998.

### Korea

Approximately 70 percent of the Korean peninsula is mountainous. (Rivers) have functioned as arteries of commerce. Pxvii Kim

Large rivers are few and both their swiftness and shallowness render them unsuitable for purposes of transport. The Yalu and Tumen in the north...others...all these rivers receive many tributaries, and all are navigable for small craft for some distance from their mouths. P14

Longford

Kim, Jinwung. *A history of Korea: from "Land of the Morning Calm" to states in conflict*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, [2012]

Longford, Joseph H. The story of Korea, by Joseph H. Longford. With 33 illustrations and three maps. New York, C. Scribner's sons; [etc., etc.] 1911.

## China

The major rivers in China flowed from west to east. They did not encourage interregional trade since they flowed through latitudes where the environments were similar. Keightley

Keightley, David. "What Did Make the Chinese "Chinese"? Some Geographical Perspectives"

## Middle East and Near East

### Egypt

[http://www.reshafim.org.il/ad/egypt/timelines/topics/means\\_of\\_transportation.htm](http://www.reshafim.org.il/ad/egypt/timelines/topics/means_of_transportation.htm)  
ships, donkey, carts

### Iran

Satrapes were not only responsible for the security of their provinces but also for the collection and delivery of taxes and tribute as well as for the maintenance of roads and other networks of communication.

The Karun is Iran's only navigable river. (Wikipedia)

### Assyria

Unlike reliable rivers, paved roads were a rarity in ancient Mesopotamia...the Sumerians became the first people in history to invent the wheel and dedicate it to the cause of transportation. By the third millennium BCE they were constructing small two- to four- wheeled carts as well as covered wagons. Donkey or mule caravans plied the trails of Mesopotamia for millennia. P254 Bertman

Bertman, Stephen. Handbook to life in ancient Mesopotamia. New York: Facts on File, c2003.

### Mesopotamia

Mesopotamia was fortunate in its access to riverine transport, and thence to the sea in the south and to a growing network of canals from the fourth millennium BC. P10 Moorey

From the later fourth millennium BC simple country carts (or land sledges) of conservative design served local purposes in quite obscurity. P12 Moorey  
(Animals, boats, carts)

Unlike reliable rivers, paved roads were a rarity in ancient Mesopotamia...the Sumerians became the first people in history to invent the wheel and dedicate it to the cause of transportation. By the third millennium BCE they were constructing small two- to four- wheeled carts as well as covered wagons. Donkey or mule caravans plied the trails of Mesopotamia for millennia. P254 Bertman

Bertman, Stephen. Handbook to life in ancient Mesopotamia. New York: Facts on File, c2003.

Moorey, P. R. S. *Ancient Mesopotamian materials and industries : the archaeological evidence*. Oxford: Clarendon Press ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

## Israel

The geography of Palestine is strikingly varied given its relatively small size, with a number of very different ecological niches. These variations would have affected the nature of local settlement and production patterns and supported a broad range of different economies. P37

McNutt

McNutt, Paula M. *Reconstructing the society of ancient Israel*. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1999.

## Lebanon (Phoenicia)

Traded almost entirely by sea. P216 Einzig

Einzig, Paul, *Primitive money in its ethnological, historical, and economic aspects*. Oxford, New York, Pergamon Press [1966].

## Arabia

The Arabian Peninsula was and is marked out by the contrast between the relatively fertile and more densely settled coastal regions of the south (Yemen) and east (Bah.rayn), on the one hand, and the vast empty centre and north, traversed by the nomadic Bedouin and with no major urban centres and, with the exception of a relatively dense group of oases in the central region (north and south of modern Riyadh), relatively few oasis or valley settlements, on the other. P20

Robinson

To the south from the Roman provinces of Palestine III or Arabia a number of well-established caravan routes passed along the wadis into the H. ija<sup>-</sup>z and on to the coast or inland; and on the opposite side of the Arabian Peninsula a similar network of routes led up parallel to or along the coast into southern Iraq. P28 Robinson

Caravan routes crisscrossed much of the Islamic world. Regular tracks were followed, but few roads that could have supported wheeled vehicles were built between cities. Caravan traffic was almost exclusively packed on the backs of camels. Individual caravans could be made up of as many as 5,000 camels. Skeen

Skeen, Bradley A. "trade and exchange in the medieval Islamic World." In Crabtree, Pam J. *Encyclopedia of Society and Culture in the Medieval World*. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2008. Ancient and Medieval History Online, Facts On File, Inc.

<http://www.fofweb.com/activelink2.asp?>

ItemID=WE49&iPin=ESCMW577&SingleRecord=True

"THE LATE ANTIQUE CONTEXT." *The New Cambridge History of Islam*. Ed. Chase F. Robinson. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010. Print. *The New Cambridge History of Islam*.

## Morocco

The introduction of camels to the Sahara in the second to fifth centuries A.D. marked the real beginning of trans-Saharan trade. Camels are among the most efficient of all pack animals, more efficient in most circumstances than carts pulled along roads. P21 Curtin

The oases had a geographical environment especially well suited to the rise of the long distance trade based on camel caravans. P23 Curtin

Curtin, Philip D. Cross-cultural trade in world history. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1984.

## **Pakistan (Ghaznavid)**

Caravans/mountain passes

Al-Idrisi, writing his great geographical work in A.D. 1154 in distant Sicily, conveys to use a report that the main means of carriage of persons and goods in the area around Nahrwara and on the route from it to Baruj (Broach) was provided by ox-carts...trade by sea brought Persian and Arab merchants to Gujarat. P19 Habib

Habib, Irfan. Economic history of medieval India, 1200-1500. Delhi: Longman ; New Delhi: Project of History of Indian Science, Philosophy and Culture, Centre for Studies in Civilizations, c2011.

## **Seljuk/Ottoman**

Caravan trade routes

Camel caravans were not limited to the Middle East and Anatolia, and were widely used even in places where camels are not naturally present, such as the Balkans (Braudel, 1982; p.476)  
seaborne trade occupies a very significant place in Ottoman transportation

Anatolian Peninsula possesses rivers that are not navigable, with the exception of the Euphrates and the Tigris both of which pose dangers when navigated north of Baghdad due to their rough waters. Ottomans often showed an interest in building canals to connect different bodies of water, as manifested in their attempt to connect the Red Sea with the Nile.

<http://www.turkishnews.com/itumuk/info/petek/frame/subject6/article5.html>

## **Southeast Asia**

Thailand

The plains between these ranges are heated to tropical and subtropical temperatures, while five great rivers carry snowmelt from the high mountains of inner Asia...the natural vegetation is thick forest-deciduous in the north, merging into tropical rainforest further south, and dense mangrove along the coast. P1 Baker

The southern or peninsular Thailand extending through the Kra Isthmus to the Thai-Malaysian border is dominated by rain forests and long coastlines. It is the home of the commercial seaports of Thailand. P8 Mishra

Mishra, Patit Paban. The history of Thailand. Santa Barbara, Calif.: Greenwood, c2010.

Baker, Christopher John, *A history of Thailand*. Cambridge; Port Melbourne, Vic. : Cambridge University Press, 2014.

## **Champa**

the inhabitants of Champa were highly mobile. Expert at navigation over water, they also developed a land-transport system using carts drawn by ox and buffalo. Multiple forms of mobility allowed them to build a network of trade, both overseas and into the mountainous hinterland. (P110 Hall)

Hall, Kenneth R. *A history of early Southeast Asia : maritime trade and societal development, 100-1500*. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, c2011.

## North Vietnam (China)

## Spanish Philippines

### Pre-colonial Philippines

The warm and tropical monsoon winds, blowing from the northeast in northern winter, and the southeast during the northern summer, contributed to the development of a prosperous and growing regional trade economy...the relative ease and safety with which people could travel encouraged increases in material and cultural exchanges. p3 Nadeau

-Typhoons may occur at any time of the year; wreak great damage to property, agriculture, public works and industry, not to mention instant flooding caused by rivers overflowing. P11 Patanne

Nadeau, Kathleen. *The history of the Philippines*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2008.

Patanñe, E. P. *The Philippines in the 6th to 16th centuries*. San Juan, Metro Manila : LSA Press, c1996.

## Indonesia, Malaysia

The prevalence of thick forest, mountainous terrain, and extensive swamps meant that communities naturally tended to establish themselves in the more hospitable and more accessible areas along coastal plains and rivers. Their settlements would usually have been relatively isolated from those of other communities due to the prevalence of these natural barriers.

Unlike the natural land barriers, the sea was a highway that connected settlements and societies throughout the archipelago, especially those situated on the coasts.

Coastal societies, though separated by hundreds of kilometers of sea, often exhibit considerable cultural similarities with each other, while exhibiting significant differences from other societies located only short distances inland from them. P3 Drakeley

Land travel is very difficult (mountains, jungles, terrains). Monsoon winds and the archipelago's physical geography contributes to the relative ease and safety of sea travel. Rivers were also major highways, though only navigable for small distances. P4 Drakeley

Drakeley, Steven. *The History of Indonesia*, Greenwood Press, 2005.

## Fiji

there was no animal power, and apart from sailing canoes, machines to harness non-human sources of energy were not used. P47 Bayliss-Smith

Bayliss-Smith, Tim. *Islands, islanders and the world: the colonial and post-colonial experience of Eastern Fiji*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988

## Africa

### Burkina Faso



The topography of Mossi country is typical of the Sudanic grasslands. It is an immense plain, some 1500 feet above sea level and broken only by three low mountain ranges and numerous small hills. P238 Skinner

Animal: donkey

Rivers are partially navigable, but areas near rivers are affected by tse tse flies.

Bohannon, Paul. Markets in Africa. Northwestern University Press [1962]

Skinner, Elliott. P. Trade and Markets among the Mossi people

## Angola

(Kongo Kingdom) was heavily reliant on riverine transportation. P180 Goodwin

The Cuanza is the only river wholly within Angola that is navigable--for nearly 200 kilometers from its mouth- -by boats of commercially or militarily significant size. The Congo River, whose mouth and western end form a small portion of Angola's northern border with Zaire, is also navigable. <http://worldfacts.us/Angola.htm>

Goodwin, Stefan. Africas Legacies Of Urbanization: Unfoldi: Unfolding Saga of a Continent

## West Africa

Even in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, goods for export from only a few hundred kilometers in the interior still passed through as many as three tiers of relay traders...part of the explanation is the forest itself, tsetse ridden, with transportation limited to portage or boats. P27 Curtin

Salt was in many ways the most interesting and important of the minerals produced in West Africa. Salt deprivation is a particularly acute problem in hot areas, where salt resources are limited or far from the centers of demand...Much of West Africa, and especially parts of the Western Sudan, fell into this category. P47 Hopkins

River profiles are interrupted by breaks of slope which provide barriers to navigation and possibilities for power generation. P32 White

Of human diseases associated with a tropical environment malaria is most widespread. P33 White

White, H. P. (Henry Patrick), An economic geography of West Africa [by] H. P. White & M. B. Gleave.

Curtin, Philip D. Cross-cultural trade in world history. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Hopkins, A. G. (Antony G.) An economic history of West Africa [by] A. G. Hopkins. New York, Columbia University Press, 1973.

## Sierra Leone

the country has three main relief regions-the Freetown Peninsula mountains, the lowlands, and the highlands of the east and north-east. There are seven main river systems which are evenly distributed over the country. The nation's first towns grew from trading settlements at their heads of navigation. P1 Alie

*Alie, Joe A. D. A new history of Sierra Leone. London: Macmillan Overseas, 1990.*

## Nigeria

wheeled transport was not known, and beasts of burden, owing to the danger from the tsetse fly, very rare. P208 Law (horse also not used, river transports were limited. Mainly use human porters)

Law, Robin. *The Oyo Empire, c.1600-c.1836: a West African imperialism in the era of the Atlantic slave trade*. Aldershot, England: Gregg Revivals ; Brookfield, Vt. : Distributed in the U.S. by Ashgate Pub. Co., 1991.

## Senegal

the major geographical features of this region are the great rivers that cut through it. These rivers were the points of access to the hinterland for sea-borne travelers and traders from Europe, and also important commercial routes and centers for pre-colonial states. P18 Eades

Senegambia was a key region in this maritime pattern. It was the closest sub-Saharan region to Europe. The twin water route to the interior gave Senegambia a deep commercial hinterland, reaching to the upper valley of the Niger, which was one reason why Senegambia was never quite so dependent as other regions on the slave trade alone-gum, gold, hides, ivory and beeswax were also important. P4 Curtain

Curtin, Philip D. *Economic change in precolonial Africa; Senegambia in the era of the slave trade*. University of Wisconsin Press, 1975.

## Ghana

covered by rain forests and savannas; hilly, high rainfall, area is covered by dense vegetation. Human porters.

Ghana is drained by a large number of streams and rivers. In addition, there are a number of coastal lagoons, the huge man-made Lake Volta, and Lake Bosumtwi, southeast of Kumasi and which has no outlet to the sea. In the wetter south and southwest areas of Ghana, the river and stream pattern is denser, but in the area north of the Kwahu Plateau, the pattern is much more open, making access to water more difficult....The Ankobra and Tano are navigable for considerable distances in their lower reaches...Navigation on the Volta River has changed significantly since 1964...Lake Volta are several river systems, including the Pra, Ankobra, Tano and Densu. The Pra is the easternmost and the largest of the three principal rivers that drain the area south of the Volta divide. Rising south of the Kwahu Plateau and flowing southward, the Pra enters the Gulf of Guinea east of Takoradi. In the early part of the twentieth century, the Pra was used extensively to float timber to the coast for export. La Verle Berry

La Verle Berry, ed. *Ghana: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1994.

## Zambia

Over most of Zambia, cattle and draught animals could not be kept. In most areas, until this century, the only transport was human portage. P10 Roberts

Natural barriers to human movement have also played an important part in Zambian history. The rugged escarpments have impeded communication between what are now Zambia, Malawi and

Rhodesia. Water transport has been unimportant in Zambia. Finally, the very sparseness of population in so much of the country has tended to reduce the scale and frequency of internal communications. P12 Roberts

Roberts, Andrew. *History of the Bemba: political growth and change in north-eastern Zambia before 1900*. [Harlow]: Longman, 1973.

## Mozambique

It is hot and, when not controlled, the bush easily becomes infested with tsetse fly...where regular flooding occurs, the country is infested with mosquitoes which carry malaria and other tropical diseases. P31 Newitt

(Southern Mozambique) The coast has no good harbors and apparently the immediate coastal area was largely avoided by the inhabitants of the region who had no need for fish to provide protein in their diet...the width of the coastal foothills created no natural bottlenecks to force communication to take certain routes. P149 Newitt

Newitt, M. D. D. *A history of Mozambique*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, c1995.

## Namibia

The coastal strip is one of the most inhospitable deserts in the world. It forms a natural barrier, preventing all entrance to the interior from the coast. P2 Esterhuyse

Esterhuyse, J. H. *South West Africa, 1880-1894: the establishment of German authority in South West Africa*. Cape Town, C. Struik, 1968.

## South Africa

Ocean currents impeded regular access by sea. Coastline is punctured by few natural harbors. Human diseases were less widespread, p2-4 Thompson

## Kenya

a key element of the trading system was the Swahili's ability to sail along the coast with comparative ease from the Horn of Africa to southern Mozambique, Madagascar and the Comores. P94 Horton

Inland: human porters provided the only means of carriage, but although adequate for local purposes its use in long-distance commerce was slow, expensive, dependent on lack of heavy rain or draught, and made difficult by the virtual monopoly held by local entrepreneurs and traders from only a few agricultural groups. P106 Horton

Horton, Mark. *The Swahili: the social landscape of a mercantile society*. Oxford, UK; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2000.

## Malawi

The use of dugout canoes on the waterways of Malawi is mentioned by Portuguese writers in the sixteenth century. In 1861 Livingstone recorded dugout canoes making regular lake crossings at what he estimated to be a speed of three miles per hour or more. P75 Pachai

Apart from canoes, the only vehicles in use during the period of the traditional system seem to have been men themselves and machilas. P76 Pachai  
Pachai, Bridglal. *The Early history of Malawi*. [London] Longman [1972]

## Tanzania

A key element of the trading system was the Swahili's ability to sail along the coast with comparative ease from the Horn of Africa to southern Mozambique, Madagascar and the Comores. P94 Horton

Inland: human porters provided the only means of carriage, but although adequate for local purposes its use in long-distance commerce was slow, expensive, dependent on lack of heavy rain or draught, and made difficult by the virtual monopoly held by local entrepreneurs and traders from only a few agricultural groups. P106 Horton

Horton, Mark. *The Swahili: the social landscape of a mercantile society*. Oxford, UK; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2000.

## Ethiopia

The highlands of present-day Ethiopia are dissected by enormous gorges and canyons thousands of feet deep. Many of these plateaus remain completely isolated from one another. Isolated and mountainous plateau massifs have proven to be almost insurmountable obstacles to political leaders who have sought to unify the country, to the invaders who desired to conquer it. P5 Adejumobi

Ethiopian rivers are scarcely navigable, though some of the lakes are. P172 Munro-Hay

The Baro, which is 280 kilometres long, is navigable from the plains of Gambela to the Sudan border, making it the only navigable river in Ethiopia. Kebbede

Munro-Hay, S. C. *Aksum: an African civilization of late antiquity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, c1991.

Kebbede, Girma, *Environment and society in Ethiopia*. London ; New York : Routledge, an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, [2017]