

BRIDGING WORLD HISTORY

EPISODE: #8

Early Economies

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TIME CODE	AUDIO
1:00:00	ANNENBERG LOGO
1:00:15	OPB LOGO
1:00:23	WEB TAG
1:00:28	NARRATOR: ON CHRISTMAS DAY 1085, WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR PLANNED A MOMENTOUS UNDERTAKING:
1:00:33	JERRY BENTLEY: William, the conqueror, sent agents out to collect information and compile it into what's known as the <i>Doomsday Book</i> ...
1:00:42	VOICE OF STORYTELLER: <i>"there was no single...ox nor one cow nor one pig which was...left out and not put down in his record; and all these records were brought to him afterwards."</i>
1:00:52	JERRY BENTLEY: ...What he wanted was an inventory of what he had conquered so that he would know what its value is and have some idea how to distribute it, both to himself and to his followers. And it's that valuation and distribution of wealth that is a common element in the way societies have dealt with economic issues throughout history.
1:01:14	THEME MUSIC
1:01:38	THEME MUSIC holds on sustaining note, or fades out
1:01:39	HOST: AS EARLY PEOPLES ALL OVER THE EARTH BUILT THEIR COMMUNITIES AND ORDERED THEIR SPIRITUAL AND POLITICAL WORLDS, THEY ALSO HAD TO MEET THEIR FUNDAMENTAL NEEDS OF FOOD AND SHELTER. AND THE WAYS IN WHICH PEOPLE MADE A LIVING WERE SHAPED BY THEIR ENVIRONMENTS AND

	AVAILABLE TECHNOLOGIES.
1:01:56	LINDA WALTON: ...for example, people who lived in pastoral societies who made their living by herding animals. In that case, ah, wealth would be determined by the number of animals in a herd. But people who lived in agricultural communities would assess wealth perhaps by the land they controlled and farmed, by the grain they produced and so on.
1:02:19	HOST: ECONOMIC GROWTH DUE TO EXPANDING AND SHIFTING POPULATIONS, THE GROWTH OF MARKETS, THE INCREASED USE OF MONEY...THESE ARE THE TYPES OF ISSUES THAT HISTORIANS EXPLORE WHEN LOOKING AT EARLY ECONOMIES. HOW DID SOCIETIES DISTRIBUTE THE GOODS THEY PRODUCED, AND HOW DID PEOPLE GAIN ACCESS TO WHAT THEY NEEDED TO SURVIVE? AND AT THE MOST BASIC LEVEL, WHAT DID EARLY SOCIETIES CONSIDER VALUABLE AND HOW DID SOME PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS ACCUMULATE WEALTH?
1:02:46	HOST: HOWEVER WEALTH WAS DEFINED—WHETHER THROUGH LAND, COMMODITIES, LABOR OR MONEY—THERE WERE DIVERSE WAYS PEOPLE SECURED FOOD AND SHELTER, AND THEN WENT BEYOND THAT TO ACCUMULATE WEALTH. BUT THOSE MANY WAYS OF MAKING A LIVING ALWAYS EXISTED WITHIN POLITICAL STRUCTURES, AND WERE SHAPED BY HISTORICAL FORCES OF CHANGE.
1:03:07	HOST: FROM THE SELF-SUFFICIENT MANORIAL SYSTEMS AROUND 1200 CE IN ENGLAND AND JAPAN... ...TO TRADE AND TRIBUTE IN THE INKAN EMPIRE AS IT WAS SHAPED BY THE CHALLENGING ANDEAN ENVIRONMENT... ...AND THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE CHINESE COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION AROUND 1000 TO 1200 CE... COMPARING THESE DIVERSE ECONOMIES WILL HIGHLIGHT THE MANY WAYS IN WHICH PEOPLE MADE A LIVING AROUND THE WORLD BETWEEN ABOUT 1000 AND 1500 CE.
1:03:35	Musical transition
1:03:40	HOST: IN THE LATE 11TH CENTURY IN BOTH ENGLAND AND JAPAN, AGRICULTURAL LIFE WAS ORGANIZED AROUND SELF-SUFFICIENT ESTATES OFTEN REFERRED TO AS MANORS. A CLOSE LOOK AT EACH REVEALS MANY SIMILARITIES IN THE WAY PEOPLE MADE THEIR LIVING. BUT THERE WERE IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES AS WELL...
1:04:07	HOST: WITH THE DOMESDAY BOOK, WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR COMPILED A PRECISE AND DETAILED SNAPSHOT OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN 11TH CENTURY ENGLAND. IT SHOWED THAT FEWER THAN 200 INDIVIDUALS SUCH AS WILLIAM HIMSELF, AND ABOUT 100 MAJOR CHURCHES LIKE ST. PETER'S CHURCH IN WESTMINSTER, TOGETHER POSSESSED 75% OF THE ASSESSED VALUE OF THE ENTIRE COUNTRY.

1:04:29	<p>HOST: THE SURVEY ALSO REVEALED AN ENGLAND IN WHICH 90% OF THE POPULATION MADE THEIR LIVING FROM THE LAND.</p> <p>AND THE INSTITUTION THAT WAS CENTRAL TO THE ORGANIZATION OF AGRARIAN LIFE OF THIS TIME WAS <i>THE MANOR</i>.</p>
1:04:42	<p>JERRY BENTLEY: The principal role of the peasants was agricultural production that sustained the whole community. The lord, on the other hand, organized essential services such as, ah, baking and milling and brewing and also provided order and security for the whole manor.</p>
1:05:02	<p>HOST: THE LORD OF THE MANOR ALLOWED HIS LAND TO BE USED BY HIS TENANTS, WHO WERE MOSTLY FREE PEASANTS AND SERFS. THOUGH NOT CHATTEL SLAVES, SUBJECT TO SALE ON A MASTER'S WHIM, SERFS OWED OBLIGATIONS TO THE LORDS WHOSE LANDS THEY CULTIVATED.</p> <p>HERE'S WHAT ONE PEASANT OWED IN 1307...</p>
1:05:21	<p>VOICE OF STORYTELLER: <i>"They say that John of Cayworth holds one house and thirty acres of land, and he owes 2 s. a year at Easter and Michaelmas, and he owes one cock and two hens at Christmas worth 4 s. ...And he ought to carry the manure of the lord for two days with one cart, using his own two oxen, the work to value 8 d., and he receives from the lord three meals of the above value each day; and so the work is worth 3 d. clear..."</i></p>
1:05:56	<p>HOST: ALTHOUGH EACH MANOR VARIED FROM ITS NEIGHBOR IN SIZE AND ORGANIZATION, THERE WERE CERTAIN BASIC CHARACTERISTICS THEY ALL SHARED. THE TYPICAL MANOR WAS A LARGE, SELF-SUFFICIENT AGRICULTURAL ESTATE WITH FIELDS, MEADOWS AND FORESTS. THE LORD WAS USUALLY A PROMINENT POLITICAL OR MILITARY FIGURE WHO-WITH HIS DEPUTIES-PROVIDED GOVERNMENT, ADMINISTRATION, POLICE SERVICES AND JUSTICE TO THE MANOR.</p>
1:06:23	<p>HOST: BY THE 11TH CENTURY, THOSE WHO LIVED ON THE MANOR WERE SEEING INCREASED CROP PRODUCTIVITY, DUE TO VARIOUS TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES. THE HORSE REPLACED THE OXEN AS THE PREFERRED PLOW ANIMAL, AND THE INTRODUCTION OF THE HORSE COLLAR AND HORSESHOE MADE PLOWING FIELDS AN EASIER TASK. WATER-POWERED GRAIN MILLS FREED HUMAN AND ANIMAL ENERGY FOR OTHER WORK.</p>
1:06:46	<p>HOST: AS PRODUCTION INCREASED, SURPLUSES WERE MORE LIKELY TO BE SOLD AT MARKET THAN CONSUMED ON THE MANOR PROPER. THE EXPANDING IMPORTANCE OF THESE MARKETS, ALONG WITH AN INCREASE IN POPULATION LED TO A PRONOUNCED GROWTH IN CITIES AND TOWNS. BETWEEN 1100 AND 1300, APPROXIMATELY 140 NEW TOWNS WERE DOCUMENTED IN ENGLAND. URBAN CENTERS GRADUALLY BEGAN TO OFFER OPPORTUNITIES TO PEASANTS FROM THE COUNTRYSIDE: TRADE, HANDICRAFTS AND OTHER JOBS. SO A COMMERCIAL ECONOMY WAS SLOWLY DEVELOPING; BUT THE MANOR REMAINED THE SEAT OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY.</p>

1:07:21	<p>HOST: DURING THE 12TH & 13TH CENTURIES, THE VOLUME OF TRADE IN SUCH GOODS AS WOOL, CLOTH AND TIMBER INCREASED. BUT THERE WAS NO AGRICULTURAL OR COMMERCIAL <i>REVOLUTION</i>, NOR ANY SIGNIFICANT ADVANCES IN <i>INDUSTRIAL</i> TECHNOLOGIES.</p>
1:07:37	<p>HOST: BY THE MID 14TH CENTURY A SERIES OF EVENTS WOULD HAVE A DRAMATIC EFFECT ON THIS FRAGILE SYSTEM. POOR HARVESTS, BAD WEATHER AND NATURAL DISASTERS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 1300S PRODUCED A TEMPORARY DIP IN THE POPULATION.</p>
1:07:52	<p>HOST: BUT IT WAS THE BLACK DEATH, REACHING ENGLAND IN 1348 THAT HAD THE GREATEST IMPACT ON ALL LEVELS OF ENGLISH SOCIETY.</p> <p>ALTHOUGH THIS CATASTROPHE DID TEMPORARILY IMPROVE LABOR CONDITIONS BY RAISING DEMAND AND WAGES, ENGLISH LANDOWNERS AND THE CROWN SOON REACTED WITH CONTROLS DESIGNED TO RETURN WAGES TO PRE-PLAGUE LEVELS.</p>
1:08:14	<p>HOST: RESENTMENT AMONG ENGLISH PEASANTS REACHED THE BOILING POINT OVER THE THIRD INCREASE IN THE POLL TAX IN AS MANY YEARS. FRUSTRATIONS FINALLY ERUPTED IN THE PEASANTS' REVOLT OF 1381. THE REBELLION UNIFIED A WIDE RANGE OF ENGLISH SOCIETY; FROM AGRICULTURAL WORKERS TO TOWNSMEN TO LONDONERS.</p>
1:08:34	<p>JERRY BENTLEY: The revolt was extremely violent. The rebels actually executed the Archbishop of Canterbury but the really had not planned their revolt very well and it was almost doomed to fail. The rebels tried unsuccessfully to persuade the 14-year-old king Richard II, to abolish serfdom and when they were unable to do so they eventually dispersed and went back to their homes.</p>
1:09:00	<p>HOST: EVENTUALLY, IT WOULD BE THE MUCH SLOWER-PACED GROWTH OF COMMERCE, FOREIGN TRADE AND URBANIZATION THAT WOULD BREAK DOWN THE OLD MANORIAL SYSTEM. WITH MORE AND MORE LABOR ALTERNATIVES IN TOWNS AND CITIES, PEASANTS BECAME FREER TO MEET THEIR ECONOMIC NEEDS BEYOND THE MANOR SYSTEM.</p>
1:09:19	<p>HOST: AT THE SAME TIME THAT WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR WAS CATALOGING HIS KINGDOM IN THE DOMESDAY BOOK, JAPANESE PEASANTS WERE ALSO LABORING ON LANDED ESTATES. AS IN ENGLAND, THESE ESTATES, OR <i>SHOEN</i>, WERE HELD BY THE IMPERIAL FAMILY, BY TITLED NOBILITY OR BY POWERFUL RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS.</p>
1:09:44	<p>HOST: BY THE 11TH CENTURY, JAPAN HAD EMERGED FROM A PERIOD OF TIGHTLY CENTRALIZED IMPERIAL CONTROL. THE ECONOMIC BASE OF THE ESTATE SYSTEM NOW LAY IN PRIVATE HOLDINGS.</p>
1:09:55	<p>LINDA WALTON: ...The estates or shoen really grew out of the breakdown of the imperial government in the late 8th Century so between the 8th and 11th centuries increasingly noble families or religious institutions such as the temple of Todaiji, the Buddhist temple in Nara, or the temple of Toji</p>

	in Kyoto amassed large estates in the thousands of acres.
1:10:23	HOST: IN 1068, IN AN ATTEMPT TO REVERSE THIS TREND, EMPEROR GO-SANJO ISSUED AN EDICT REGULATING THE GROWTH OF ESTATES. THE RESULT WAS THAT BY ACKNOWLEDGING THE VERY EXISTENCE OF PRIVATE ESTATES, THE EMPEROR INADVERTENTLY LEGITIMIZED THEM. THE TREND TOWARD PRIVATELY-HELD ESTATES CONTINUED, SO THAT BY THE 12TH CENTURY ONLY ABOUT ONE TENTH OF ALL LAND WAS IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN—THAT IS, IN GOVERNMENT HANDS.
1:10:50	HOST: THESE ESTATES COULD BE ANYWHERE FROM A FEW ACRES UP TO SEVERAL THOUSAND ACRES. THEY MIGHT BE A LOOSE AGGREGATION OF IRRIGATED FIELDS ON RICH PLAINS, OR COMPACT HOLDINGS IN MOUNTAIN VALLEYS. RICE WAS THE MAIN FARMING CROP BUT SILK, LINEN, SALT, COOKING OIL, IRON, LACQUER WARES AND EVEN MUSHROOMS WERE ALSO PRODUCED. ESTATES ENCOMPASSED MORE THAN LARGE FARMS; THEY OFTEN INCLUDED SUCH HOLDINGS AS WOODLANDS AND FISHING VILLAGES.
1:11:17	LINDA WALTON: Everyone who lived on an estate had certain right and obligations no matter what their social status—ranging from the managers who represented the interests of the usually absentee landlord, the owner of the estate, down to the tenant farmers who farmed the land and received some living from that land or individual farmers who farmed the land and paid rent on the plots that they farmed.
1:11:52	HOST: THE ABSENTEE PROPRIETORS DEPENDED ON INCOME FROM THEIR VARIOUS ESTATES, AND KEPT CAREFUL WATCH OVER THESE PROPERTIES ON A REGULAR BASIS. BUT ESTATES BELONGING TO A SINGLE PROPRIETOR WERE SCATTERED ACROSS THE COUNTRYSIDE. FOR INSTANCE, ACCORDING TO A REGISTER OF HOLDINGS DRAWN UP IN 1325, THE SAISHOKO-IN TEMPLE OWNED 20 ESTATES IN 16 PROVINCES. SO THESE PROPERTIES NEEDED TO BE STRUCTURED INTO A SMOOTHLY FUNCTIONING ORGANIZATION FOR THIS ECONOMY TO WORK. AN EFFECTIVE ROAD SYSTEM BECAME VITAL.
1:12:23	HOST: THE PEASANT WHO WORKED ON THE <i>SHOEN</i> WASN'T EXACTLY A JAPANESE VERSION OF AN ENGLISH SERF. HE DIDN'T BELONG LIFE AND LIMB TO THE LORD OF THE ESTATE. PEASANTS COULD OWN LAND, AND THERE WERE NO AGREEMENTS BETWEEN PROPRIETORS TO FORCE THE RETURN OF DISSATISFIED PEASANTS WHO OFTEN FLED THE ESTATES.
1:12:38	HOST: STILL, LIKE THEIR COUNTERPARTS IN 14TH CENTURY ENGLAND, JAPANESE LABORERS ROSE UP AGAINST THEIR LANDOWNING PROPRIETORS. THEY FELT THEY HAD A LEGITIMATE RIGHT TO REBEL, SINCE THEIR EXPECTATIONS WERE NOT BEING MET. BUT RATHER THAN RESORTING TO RIOTING AND DESTRUCTION, JAPANESE REBELS FORMED A WELL-ORCHESTRATED THEATRE OF PROTEST. BEFORE FLEEING INTO THE FORESTS AND MOUNTAINS, PEASANTS WOULD PRESENT THEIR LANDLORD WITH A PETITION, LISTING THEIR GRIEVANCES, AND SOMETIMES INVOKING SHINTO DEITIES TO SUPPORT THEIR CLAIM.

1:13:09	<p>VOICE OF STORYTELLER: <i>"If we have spoken falsely, may the vengeance of all the deities, great and small, of the sixty-six provinces of Japan, especially that of the temple's Daishi and Hachiman and of Myojin and the related deities of the five shrines of the estate, be visited upon us."</i></p>
1:13:30	<p>HOST: PEASANT RESISTANCE IN THE 14TH CENTURY WAS INDICATIVE OF MAJOR CHANGES TAKING PLACE IN JAPANESE SOCIETY. AND THE ECONOMY WAS UNDERGOING CHANGE AS WELL. AS MORE PAYMENTS CAME TO BE MADE IN MONEY, AND REGIONS BECAME MORE SPECIALIZED IN THE GOODS THEY PRODUCED, MARKET ACTIVITIES INCREASED.</p>
1:13:48	<p>HOST: BY THE 14TH CENTURY, COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT ALONG WITH SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGES WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR GREAT UPHEAVAL ACROSS THE JAPANESE LANDSCAPE. BUT WITH A MONEY ECONOMY ON THE RISE, GROWING MARKETS AND EMERGING AGRICULTURAL METHODS, THE JAPANESE PEASANT ENJOYED NEW OPPORTUNITIES AND DIVERSE WAYS OF MAKING A LIVING.</p>
1:14:07	<p>MUSICAL TRANSITION</p>
1:14:12	<p>HOST: IN THE 11TH CENTURY, AROUND THE SAME TIME AS WILLIAM COMPILED THE DOMESDAY BOOK AND EMPEROR GO-SANJO ISSUED THE EDICT REGULATING ESTATES IN JAPAN, CHINA'S POPULATION HAD REACHED ABOUT 100 MILLION. AND THOSE MILLIONS OF PEOPLE HAD BEGUN TO EXPERIENCE A SERIES OF REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES THAT WOULD CATAPULT THEIR ECONOMY INTO RAPID GROWTH.</p>
1:14:46	<p>HOST: THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW STRAINS OF HIGHLY PRODUCTIVE RICE—ALONG WITH THE RECLAMATION OF NEW LANDS FOR FARMING—RESULTED IN A GROWTH OF BOTH POPULATION AND PRODUCT MARKETS.</p>
1:14:57	<p>LINDA WALTON: So the surge in agricultural productivity helped provide the basis for the commercial revolution of the Song. It enabled, in part, farmers to specialize in the production of goods and agricultural products such as oranges or tea, silk—growing mulberry bushes to feed silkworms and so on. And farmers were able to do this because they could rely on an efficient distribution network to get those goods to central marketplaces, such as cities like Hangzhou and cities grew in this period along with the expanding commercial economy.</p>
1:15:40	<p>HOST: THE BASIC UNIT OF CURRENCY OF THE SONG STATE WAS A ROUND COPPER COIN WITH A SQUARE HOLE, CALLED 'CASH'. BUT AS IT WAS CUSTOMARILY STRUNG IN UNITS OF 1000, IT WAS HEAVY AND CUMBERSOME TO USE OR TRANSPORT. THE INNOVATION OF CERTIFICATES OF CREDIT OR BILLS OF EXCHANGE—SHOWING THAT MONEY DEPOSITED IN ONE PLACE COULD BE USED TO PAY FOR GOODS IN ANOTHER—MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR MERCHANTS TO TRADE ACROSS DISTANT REGIONS WITH EASE. THE EARLIEST PAPER CURRENCY EVER USED ORIGINATED IN CHINA, AT FIRST IN SCATTERED REGIONS DURING THE 10TH CENTURY. BY THE 11TH, THE SONG GOVERNMENT WAS PRINTING AN OFFICIAL PAPER CURRENCY.</p>

1:16:19	<p>HOST: THE EXPERIENCE OF WANG GE, A 12TH CENTURY INDUSTRIAL ENTREPRENEUR, ILLUSTRATES THE MAGNITUDE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AND ENTERPRISE THAT EXISTED AT THE TIME.</p>
1:16:29	<p>HOST: WITH A SMALL CAPITAL INVESTMENT, WANG ACQUIRED A TIMBER-COVERED MOUNTAIN. HE BEGAN TO PRODUCE CHARCOAL, EMPLOYING LOCAL FARMERS IN THE OFF-SEASON. LOCAL IRON ORE DEPOSITS ALLOWED HIM TO SET UP TWO IRON FOUNDRIES, EMPLOYING ABOUT 500 WORKERS. WANG HIMSELF RAN ONE OF THE FOUNDRIES, THE OTHER WAS SUPERVISED BY A MANAGER. WITH THE PROFITS FROM THE FOUNDRIES HE ACQUIRED TWO MORE ASSETS, A WINE SHOP AND A LAKE, WHERE HE EMPLOYED SEVERAL HUNDRED FAMILIES IN THE FISHING TRADE.</p>
1:16:59	<p>HOST: LABORERS SUCH AS THOSE WHO WORKED FOR WANG GE IN THE 12TH CENTURY MIGHT HAVE ALSO TRIED THEIR LUCK IN THE CITIES. HANGZHOU, FOR EXAMPLE BECAME A FAVORED DESTINATION. ITS RESTAURANTS, SHOPS AND ENTERTAINMENT HOUSES OFFERED JOBS CONSIDERED MORE APPEALING THAN THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH RURAL LIFE. MANY WORKERS WERE ENGAGED IN HIGHLY SPECIALIZED ENTERPRISES, AS ILLUSTRATED IN THIS DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY, WRITTEN IN 1235:</p>
1:17:24	<p>VOICE OF STORYTELLER: <i>"Various businesses are designated by the word 'company'...even physicians and fortunetellers are included...artisans sometimes call their businesses 'workshops' such as a comb workshop, belt workshop, gold and silver-plating workshop.</i></p>
1:17:43	<p>HOST: AS THE POPULATIONS OF HANGZHOU AND OTHER CHINESE CITIES GREW, SO TOO DID THEIR SOCIAL STRUCTURE. URBAN LIFE CREATED NEW CULTURAL OPPORTUNITIES AND BROUGHT ABOUT CHANGES IN GENDER ROLES AND SOCIAL STATUS. BY THE YEAR 1200 THE <i>COMMERCIAL</i> REVOLUTION IN CHINA HAD SUBSTANTIALLY ALTERED THE LANDSCAPE—PHYSICALLY, SOCIALLY AND ABOVE ALL... ECONOMICALLY.</p>
1:18:06	<p>MUSICAL TRANSITION</p>
1:18:11	<p>HOST: IN CONTRAST TO THE COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION THAT SWEEPED THE SONG EMPIRE, THE ECONOMY OF THE INKAN EMPIRE IN THE 15TH CENTURY FLOURISHED WITHOUT MONEY OR MARKETS.</p>
1:18:35	<p>HOST: THE INKANS HAD LONG LIVED AS ONE OF MANY PEOPLES INHABITING THE ANDEAN HIGHLANDS. BUT IN THE EARLY 15TH CENTURY THEY LAUNCHED A SERIES OF MILITARY CAMPAIGNS VASTLY EXPANDING THEIR AUTHORITY. THE INKAN EMPIRE AT ITS HEIGHT IN THE 16TH CENTURY RULED OVER SOME 10 MILLION PEOPLE AND STRETCHED FOR NEARLY 4000 MILES ALONG THE WESTERN COAST OF SOUTH AMERICA. IT ENCOMPASSED MUCH OF MODERN PERU, MOST OF ECUADOR, MUCH OF BOLIVIA, AND PARTS OF CHILE AND ARGENTINA AS WELL.</p>

1:19:05	<p>HOST: THE DEFINING FEATURE OF THIS ANDEAN EMPIRE WAS ITS CHALLENGING TERRAIN. WITH ONLY 2% OF ITS LAND BEING ARABLE, AND MOST OF IT MOUNTAINOUS, THE INKAN EMPIRE WAS UNIQUE IN WORLD HISTORY. IT WAS A SYSTEM OF WIDELY SEPARATED ECOLOGICAL NICHES, EACH PRODUCING ITS OWN RANGE OF GOODS ON WHICH ITS INHABITANTS DEPENDED. POTATOES AND LLAMAS ON THE HIGH PLATEAU, MAIZE AND PEPPERS IN THE VALLEYS AND HONEY AND NUTS IN THE AMAZON RAIN FOREST. AND IT OPERATED WITHOUT MONEY OR MARKETS.</p>
1:19:34	<p>PETER WINN: This unique vertical settlement pattern, a noncontiguous archipelago of diverse ecological niches, was created by Andean peoples centuries before the Incas. What the Incas did was make it an imperial principle and to assure the access to the products of this diverse ecology to their entire empire.</p> <p>It was a system that operated without either money or markets and was controlled by the state for the common good, a reciprocity that was itself a local Andean pattern taken up to an imperial level by the Incas.</p>
1:20:11	<p>HOST: WHEN THE INKAS CONQUERED A NEW REGION, THEY CLAIMED ALL OF THE RESOURCES—including human labor—and allocated them to the state. They then divided up the farming and grazing land, giving most of it back to the community...but at a price. The Inkan state demanded labor service in return—and that a portion of the lands be used to support the empire and its religious cults. In Peru's Huanaco region for example, there were as many as 31 different duties assigned by the state. These included farming, herding, masonry, military service, guard duty, mining, portage and artisanry.</p>
1:20:48	<p>HOST: MEN PROVIDED THE HEAVY LABOR NECESSARY FOR TRANSPORTING OF GOODS, AND FOR THE CONSTRUCTION AND REPAIR OF ROADS, BUILDINGS AND IRRIGATION SYSTEMS. WOMEN OFTEN DELIVERED TRIBUTE IN THE FORM OF TEXTILES, POTTERY AND JEWELRY.</p>
1:21:01	<p>PETER WINN: In a region without large beasts of burden or wheel carts, the great labor need was for human bearers to transport goods across ecological niches. That is why taxes were always in the labor whether they were at the local or at the imperial level.</p>
1:21:17	<p>HOST: THIS BUREAUCRACY WAS ORGANIZED AT THE LOCAL LEVEL AROUND A KIN GROUP CALLED THE AYLLU. EVERYONE BELONGED TO ONE OR ANOTHER AYLLU, WHICH WAS THE BASIS FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF FARMLANDS, PASTURES AND OTHER RESOURCES. THE AYLLU WERE RULED BY A LOCAL LORD CALLED A KURAKA. THE INKAS USED THE KURAKAS TO RULE INDIRECTLY. THE KURAKAS MAINTAINED AUTHORITY BY DISTRIBUTING MATERIAL GOODS AND FOOD. THESE GOODS INCLUDED CLOTH, MAIZE, BEER AND COCA.</p>
1:21:48	<p>HOST: EACH OF THE DIVERSE REGIONS OF THE INKAN EMPIRE WAS REQUIRED TO SUPPLY SPECIFIC GOODS TO THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY. THESE COMMODITIES RANGED FROM SALT AND FISH TO FARM PRODUCTS TO TEXTILES, CERAMICS AND SANDALS. ONE SUCH CONQUERED PEOPLE, THE WANKA, REVEALED TO A</p>

	SPANISH CHRONICLER THE STAPLES THEY WERE REQUIRED TO PRODUCE:
1:22:08	VOICE OF STORY TELLER: <i>"...the Wankas were sent to tend fields of food and to make clothing and maids were named for their wives; and native clothing and all things that they could produce were ordered put into storehouses, and similarly, it was ordered that those who worked in their fields and houses receive something from the storehouses."</i>
1:22:34	HOST: AS THE EMPIRE GREW, THE ABILITY TO COMMUNICATE, TRANSPORT GOODS AND DISPATCH MILITARY FORCES WAS FACILITATED THROUGH THE INKAS' REMARKABLE ROAD SYSTEM.
1:22:44	HOST: AT THE CENTER OF THE INKAN EMPIRE, VAST ROYAL ESTATES CLUSTERED AROUND THE SACRED VALLEY OF THE INKAS NEAR CUZCO AND MACCHU PICCHU. THESE ESTATES HELD A WIDE RANGE OF RESOURCES INCLUDING CROPLANDS, PASTURES, SETTLEMENTS, FORESTS, PARKS, HUNTING RANGES AND SALT FIELDS. ONE SUCH ESTATE REQUIRED A FORCE OF 2400 MEN AND THEIR FAMILIES TO KEEP IT MAINTAINED.
1:23:10	HOST: THESE IMPRESSIVE ROYAL ESTATES WERE CONCENTRATED IN THE HEART OF THE INKAN EMPIRE. BUT IT WAS REALLY THE COMBINED PRODUCTIVE ABILITY OF THE FAR-FLUNG REGIONS OF THEIR REALMS THAT GAVE RISE TO THE DISTINCTIVE NATURE OF THE INKAN POLITICAL ECONOMY.
1:23:25	HOST: THE POWER TO EXACT TRIBUTE IN THE FORM OF LABOR AND GOODS, AS WELL AS TRANSPORT AND DISTRIBUTE THEM EFFICIENTLY LAY AT THE CENTER OF THE INKAS' IMPRESSIVE ECONOMIC SUCCESS DESPITE THEIR LACK OF MARKETS AND MONEY. IT'S IMPOSSIBLE TO KNOW HOW THIS SOCIETY MIGHT HAVE EVOLVED, HAD NOT THE INVADING SPANISH IMPOSED THEIR OWN IMPERIAL ORDER ON THE VAST AND RICH ANDEAN EMPIRE.
1:23:48	HOST: IN STUDYING HOW EARLY ECONOMIES DEVELOPED, WORLD HISTORIANS ARE CONSTANTLY REEVALUATING THE PAST FROM CRITICAL NEW PERSPECTIVES. FOR INSTANCE, WHAT IMPACT DID IT HAVE ON A SOCIETY WHEN RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS BECAME POWERFUL LANDHOLDERS?
1:24:05	TRANSITION
1:24:10	PETER WINN: We are heirs to an individualistic capitalist tradition which regards landholdings by religious institutions as unproductive and a drag on the economy. The French term "mortmain" literally the dead hand of the church captures this view. In some cases this may be true but historians need to view such received conventional wisdoms critically cause they may obscure more than they reveal. In societies very different from our own, for example, the meaning as such ostensibly religious landholdings may be different from what it seems at least at first glance. A case in point is the Incas allocating substantial land and labor resources to support the imperial cult of royal mummies which some scholars have speculated might have been a drag

	<p>on the economy. But unlike pharaohic Egypt this Inca cult did not involve the investment of vast resources and ostentatious monuments to the dead like the pyramids. In reality, much of the land and labor allocated to the royal mummy cult was used to support the living relatives of dead emperors</p> <p>So what at first might appear to be the allocation of scarce resources to an unproductive religious institution can be read rather as the allocation of increasing resources to support and maintain peace within the royal extended family. Taken together with growing private landholdings by Inca aristocrats in the late Inca Empire, this reading of the mummy cult makes the question of whether the allocation is substantial in increasing resources to support the Inca aristocracy was a drag on the economy but that is a different question.</p>
1:25:52	TRANSITION
1:25:56	HOST: RELIGION... AND LAND. TWO OF THE POWERFUL FACTORS INFLUENCING THE ROLES PEOPLE PLAYED AS ECONOMIES EVOLVED.
1:26:06	HOST: PEASANTS WORKING THE FIELDS IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND AND JAPAN, CHINESE MERCHANTS USING PAPER MONEY, AND INKAN WEAVERS PRODUCING FINE CLOTH FOR THEIR RULERS... ALL OF THESE PEOPLE WERE ENGAGED IN MAKING A LIVING. WHETHER THEY BARELY SURVIVED OR GREW RICH THROUGH THE ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH WAS TO A LARGE EXTENT DETERMINED BY THEIR PLACE IN A COMPLEX WEB OF ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS DISTINCT TO EACH POLITICAL SYSTEM.
1:26:31	HOST: BY THE 14TH CENTURY, THE GROWTH OF MARKETS, AS WELL AS THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MONEY ECONOMY HAD BEGUN TO WORK THEIR CHANGES. THE BARRIERS BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL, AND BETWEEN LORD AND PEASANT WERE COMING DOWN. AND IN THE FOLLOWING CENTURIES THE PEOPLES OF SOUTH AMERICA, ENGLAND, JAPAN AND CHINA AND MANY MORE LANDS WOULD FORGE FURTHER CONNECTIONS THROUGH GLOBAL FORCES OF ECONOMIC CHANGE.
1:26:57	WEB TAG
1:26:58	PROGRAM CREDITS
1:27:33	SPECIAL THANKS
1:27:48	OPB LOGO
1:27:55	ANNENBERG LOGO
1:28:10	1-800 ORDER TAG
1:28:25	END