Appendix 1: Data Sources (Arranged alphabetically by place)

Expenditure class	Percentage of	Average monthly	Income in terms of per
	population	expenditure per capita	capita mean
		(in rupees)	
1	15.24	0.68	0.43
2	4.85	0.83	0.53
3	16.18	0.88	0.56
4	6.68	0.97	0.61
5	8.52	1.03	0.65
6	10.39	1.42	0.90
7	8.91	1.56	0.99
8	11.21	2.06	1.30
9	9.89	2.64	1.67
10	8.13	4.45	2.82
Total	100	1.58	1

Bihar (India) 1807

Income distribution data: A household census survey was made by a British official (Hamilton) of Patna city and 16 rural districts in the region surrounding it, all of which we take to be representative of Bihar. He recorded family size and monthly family expenditures in rupees. The data are summarized by ten income groups, approximate deciles (Martin 1838).

Population and area: Population of 3,362,280 and area in km² from Martin (1838).

Urbanization rate: We use the rate for India (Jean-François Bergier and Jon Mathieu 2002: Table 1, 9-12% for 1800, based on Bairoch 1985 and Chandler 1987).

Mean income in \$PPP: 1820 GDP per capita in 1990 international dollars (Maddison 2001: 264).

- Bairoch, Paul (1985), *De Jéricho à Mexico: villes et economies dans l'histoire*, Paris: Arcades, Gallimard.
- Chandler, Tertoius (1987), Four Thousand Years of Urban Growth, The Edwin Mellen Press.
- Bergier, Jean-François and Jon Mathieu (2002), "The Mountains in Urban Development: Introduction," paper presented at the *IEHA XIII World Congress*, Buenos Aires, July 22-26, 2002.
- Maddison, Angus (2001), *The World Economy: A Millennial Perspectives*, Paris: OECD Development Centre.

Martin, Robert M. (1838), *The history, antiquities, topography, and statistics of eastern India. Surveyed under the orders of the supreme government, and collated from the original documents at the E.I. house*, London: W. H. Allen and Co.

Occupational income	Number of people in	Percentage of	Income in terms of
(in milreis per annum)	occupation	people in	per capita mean
	-	occupation	
72	223	0.004	0.23
100	1065836	17.626	0.32
108	1586	0.026	0.35
109	15	0.000	0.35
118	64263	1.063	0.38
120	62662	1.036	0.38
126	140	0.002	0.40
132	15	0.000	0.42
144	14261	0.236	0.46
155	45229	0.748	0.50
155	6736	0.111	0.50
161	239	0.004	0.50
161	426	0.007	0.52
175	677987	11.212	0.52
173	411664	6.808	0.50
178	86	0.001	0.57
179	874	0.001	0.57
180	292066	4.830	0.57
191	150	0.002	0.58
191	261	0.002	0.64
206	1466	0.004	0.66
200	16160	0.024	0.66
207 208	22	0.000	0.67
213	109	0.000	0.68
213	109 7	0.002	0.69
214 215	57619	0.000	0.69
213	60	0.933	0.89
	142		
229		0.002	0.73
232	272965	4.514	0.74
233	82	0.001	0.75
236	67294	1.113	0.76
237	182	0.003	0.76
240	6717	0.111	0.77
245	2872	0.047	0.79
247	962 18779	0.016	0.79
250	18778	0.311	0.80
251	81	0.001	0.81
255	31	0.001	0.82
262	120545	1.994	0.84
266	623196	10.306	0.85
269	6088	0.101	0.86
270	64280	1.063	0.87
271	1925	0.032	0.87
272	2	0.000	0.87
282	24835	0.411	0.90

Brazil 1872

Occupational income	Number of people in	Percentage of	Income in terms of
(in milreis per annum)	occupation	people in	per capita mean
		occupation	
283	777	0.013	0.91
286	1305	0.022	0.92
287	321	0.005	0.92
288	35	0.001	0.92
293	69	0.001	0.94
295	10478	0.173	0.95
297	31	0.001	0.95
300	460770	7.620	0.96
306	104	0.002	0.98
309	9423	0.156	0.99
310	54157	0.896	0.99
312	161	0.003	1.00
319	2156	0.036	1.02
323	1671	0.028	1.04
327	1254	0.021	1.05
340	31	0.001	1.09
343	848	0.014	1.10
348	399884	6.613	1.12
350	3236	0.054	1.12
354	179708	2.972	1.14
356	1499	0.025	1.14
359	86	0.001	1.15
360	41102	0.680	1.15
366	1	0.000	1.17
370	2410	0.040	1.19
377	1051	0.017	1.21
379	161	0.003	1.22
383	31	0.001	1.23
387	7699	0.127	1.24
391	1	0.000	1.25
394	8	0.000	1.26
397	620	0.010	1.27
406	4818	0.080	1.30
408	440	0.007	1.31
413	42	0.001	1.32
424	217	0.004	1.36
425	5494	0.091	1.36
431	7091	0.117	1.38
432	706	0.012	1.39
436	15	0.000	1.40
439	856	0.014	1.41
443	33797	0.559	1.42
445	11	0.000	1.43
450	10174	0.168	1.44
459	1181	0.020	1.47
460	69	0.001	1.48
464	81407	1.346	1.49

Occupational income	Number of people in	Percentage of	Income in terms of
(in milreis per annum)	occupation	people in	per capita mean
	_	occupation	
468	161	0.003	1.50
472	9195	0.152	1.51
475	468	0.008	1.52
476	3	0.000	1.53
479	8	0.000	1.54
480	226013	3.738	1.54
490	3655	0.060	1.57
502	17	0.000	1.61
503	34	0.001	1.61
531	93744	1.550	1.70
533	2078	0.034	1.71
534	180	0.003	1.71
538	597	0.010	1.73
540	1782	0.029	1.73
544	80	0.001	1.73
545	161	0.003	1.75
546	723	0.012	1.75
549	65	0.001	1.76
550	941	0.016	1.76
550	6	0.000	1.77
554	181	0.003	1.78
565	597	0.010	1.81
572	75	0.010	1.83
574	34	0.001	1.84
576	104	0.001	1.85
580	19272	0.319	1.86
585	69	0.001	1.88
586	155	0.003	1.88
587	3	0.000	1.88
591	18874	0.312	1.90
593	7	0.000	1.90
594	659	0.000	1.90
595	4322	0.071	1.91
600	9123	0.151	1.91
612	3003	0.050	1.92
613	35	0.000	1.90
619	3849	0.064	1.99
620	498	0.008	1.99
623	303	0.005	2.00
628	103	0.003	2.00
637	155	0.002	2.04
641	16	0.000	2.04
646	239	0.000	2.00
648	3544	0.059	2.07
650	546	0.009	2.08
654	261	0.009	2.08
658	787	0.004	2.10
030	/0/	0.015	2.11

Occupational income	Number of people in	Percentage of	Income in terms of
(in milreis per annum)	occupation	people in	per capita mean
	_	occupation	
659	5	0.000	2.11
663	161	0.003	2.13
664	1214	0.020	2.13
668	75	0.001	2.14
679	31	0.001	2.18
680	6	0.000	2.18
689	802	0.013	2.21
696	28907	0.478	2.23
701	69	0.001	2.25
708	37669	0.623	2.27
709	1878	0.031	2.27
712	3243	0.054	2.28
713	798	0.013	2.29
718	706	0.012	2.30
719	119	0.002	2.31
720	40182	0.665	2.31
722	1	0.000	2.32
732	46	0.001	2.35
750	113	0.002	2.41
753	550	0.009	2.42
763	75	0.001	2.45
764	62	0.001	2.45
768	36	0.001	2.46
771	981	0.016	2.47
774	1925	0.032	2.48
778	61	0.001	2.50
788	31	0.001	2.53
793	1641	0.027	2.54
797	1183	0.020	2.56
815	1287	0.021	2.61
816	2	0.000	2.62
817	1305	0.022	2.62
819	8138	0.135	2.63
820	4024	0.067	2.63
828	1501	0.025	2.66
829	1	0.000	2.66
831	26	0.000	2.67
832	2291	0.038	2.67
840	1419	0.023	2.69
849	248	0.004	2.72
850	354	0.006	2.73
859	75	0.001	2.76
861	239	0.004	2.76
864	1355	0.022	2.77
878	787	0.013	2.82
880	1555	0.026	2.82
885	41939	0.694	2.84

Occupational income	Number of people in	Percentage of	Income in terms of
(in milreis per annum)	occupation	people in	per capita mean
		occupation	
886	3698	0.061	2.84
890	4593	0.076	2.85
899	3272	0.054	2.88
900	70	0.001	2.89
919	394	0.007	2.95
928	9636	0.159	2.98
929	962	0.016	2.98
934	991	0.016	3.00
941	884	0.015	3.02
945	151	0.002	3.03
950	432	0.007	3.05
954	528	0.009	3.06
955	2532	0.042	3.06
956	1006	0.017	3.07
958	4	0.000	3.07
984	335	0.006	3.16
985	8	0.000	3.16
992	556	0.009	3.18
1019	1809	0.030	3.27
1026	155	0.003	3.29
1020	1139	0.019	3.32
1050	787	0.013	3.37
1056	155	0.003	3.39
1062	14715	0.243	3.41
1063	156	0.003	3.41
1068	1261	0.021	3.43
1076	955	0.016	3.45
1077	17	0.000	3.45
1080	737	0.012	3.46
1082	731	0.012	3.47
1088	1	0.000	3.49
1089	30	0.000	3.49
1092	2713	0.045	3.50
1092	671	0.013	3.51
1095	394	0.007	3.52
1097	5	0.000	3.52
1151	502	0.008	3.69
1151	139	0.002	3.70
1160	4818	0.080	3.72
1166	139	0.002	3.74
1173	311	0.002	3.76
1181	8972	0.148	3.79
1182	12	0.000	3.79
1182	65	0.000	3.81
1190	11526	0.191	3.82
1200	103	0.002	3.85
1200	692	0.002	3.88
1210	072	0.011	5.00

Occupational income	Number of people in	Percentage of	Income in terms of
(in milreis per annum)	occupation	people in	per capita mean
		occupation	
1223	643	0.011	3.92
1242	214	0.004	3.98
1245	90	0.001	3.99
1246	155	0.003	4.00
1273	31	0.001	4.08
1296	1969	0.033	4.16
1299	36	0.001	4.17
1320	437	0.007	4.23
1327	543	0.009	4.26
1328	2166	0.036	4.26
1349	741	0.012	4.33
1358	31	0.001	4.36
1365	362	0.006	4.38
1386	181	0.003	4.45
1392	2409	0.040	4.46
1417	1731	0.029	4.55
1424	1171	0.019	4.57
1425	26	0.000	4.57
1431	377	0.006	4.59
1436	388	0.006	4.61
1441	104	0.002	4.62
1464	22	0.000	4.70
1466	155	0.003	4.70
1477	569	0.009	4.74
1487	3872	0.064	4.77
1512	813	0.013	4.85
1526	75	0.001	4.89
1558	322	0.005	5.00
1560	254	0.004	5.00
1576	4	0.000	5.06
1587	13	0.000	5.09
1594	1204	0.020	5.11
1600	1984	0.033	5.13
1614	119	0.002	5.18
1631	214	0.004	5.23
1634	522	0.009	5.24
1638	3436	0.057	5.25
1639	335	0.006	5.26
1661	13	0.000	5.33
1662	26	0.000	5.33
1717	151	0.002	5.51
1728	1575	0.026	5.54
1729	69	0.001	5.55
1759	155	0.003	5.64
1771	17197	0.284	5.68
1772	949	0.016	5.68
1780	450	0.007	5.71

Occupational income	Number of people in	Percentage of	Income in terms of
(in milreis per annum)	occupation	people in	per capita mean
		occupation	
1784	630	0.010	5.72
1795	17	0.000	5.76
1799	716	0.012	5.77
1800	451	0.007	5.77
1830	5	0.000	5.87
1868	450	0.007	5.99
1890	42	0.001	6.06
1899	26	0.000	6.09
1908	604	0.010	6.12
1948	502	0.008	6.25
1953	13	0.000	6.26
1970	4	0.000	6.32
1984	246	0.004	6.36
2000	14255	0.236	6.42
2039	164	0.003	6.54
2052	155	0.003	6.58
2077	78	0.001	6.66
2125	300	0.005	6.82
2136	180	0.003	6.85
2153	716	0.012	6.91
2154	51	0.001	6.91
2160	1181	0.020	6.93
2184	904	0.015	7.01
2186	1341	0.022	7.01
2279	123	0.002	7.31
2290	226	0.004	7.35
2362	73	0.001	7.58
2363	285	0.005	7.58
2374	103	0.002	7.61
2379	90	0.001	7.63
2400	1190	0.020	7.70
2457	181	0.003	7.88
2491	90	0.001	7.99
2492	180	0.003	7.99
2500	132	0.002	8.02
2592	787	0.013	8.31
2600	66	0.001	8.34
2656	1852	0.031	8.52
2691	119	0.002	8.63
2732	335	0.006	8.76
2833	100	0.002	9.09
2848	180	0.003	9.14
2862	75	0.001	9.18
2882	35	0.001	9.24
2928	90	0.001	9.39
2953	285	0.005	9.47
2974	1711	0.028	9.54

Occupational income	Number of people in	Percentage of	Income in terms of
(in milreis per annum)	occupation	people in	per capita mean
		occupation	
2975	26	0.000	9.54
3000	5620	0.093	9.62
3053	75	0.001	9.79
3113	540	0.009	9.99
3200	66	0.001	10.26
3229	358	0.006	10.36
3275	362	0.006	10.50
3519	155	0.003	11.29
3541	1371	0.023	11.36
3543	36	0.001	11.36
3560	720	0.012	11.42
3561	13	0.000	11.42
3600	66	0.001	11.55
3906	13	0.000	12.53
3967	78	0.001	12.72
4000	7703	0.127	12.83
4320	394	0.007	13.86
4461	180	0.003	14.31
4675	161	0.003	15.00
4748	78	0.001	15.23
4799	448	0.007	15.39
4800	464	0.008	15.40
5000	1520	0.025	16.04
5312	694	0.011	17.04
5339	90	0.001	17.13
5459	181	0.003	17.51
5856	90	0.001	18.78
5859	13	0.000	18.79
5936	13	0.000	19.04
5948	540	0.009	19.08
6000	3774	0.062	19.25
7119	540	0.009	22.83
7123	39	0.001	22.85
8000	934	0.015	25.66
8784	90	0.001	28.18
8899	90	0.001	28.54
9598	138	0.002	30.79
10000	244	0.004	32.08
10679	270	0.004	34.25
12000	403	0.007	38.49
14000	75	0.001	44.91
14396	64	0.001	46.18
19195	34	0.001	61.57
20000	132	0.002	64.15
23994	22	0.000	76.96
28793	3	0.000	92.36
30000	66	0.001	96.23
33592	35	0.001	107.75

Occupational income (in milreis per annum)	Number of people in occupation	Percentage of people in occupation	Income in terms of per capita mean
Total	6046811	100	1

Income distribution data: The occupational data come from the Brazilian 1872 Census. The annual incomes by occupation were estimated by the team of economic historians Bértola, Castelnovo, Reis and Willebald (2006). The original data include 813 professional groups. For simplicity they are consolidated in the table shown above: different professions with the same estimated income are summed up.

Population and area: Current land area of Brazil. Population from Maddison (2004).

Urbanization rate: The 1872 urbanization rate (share of cities 5,000 or greater) is 16.2 percent, interpolated between 1850 and 1900 from Bairoch (1985, Table 26/3, p. 542). The figure refers to all Latin America, of which Brazil was 33% in 1870 (Maddison 2004).

Mean income in **\$PPP:** From Maddison (2004).

- Bairoch, Paul (1985), De Jéricho à Mexico: villes et economies dans l'histoire, Paris: Arcades, Gallimard.
- Bértola, Luis, C. Castelnovo, E. Reis and H. Willebald (2006), "Income distribution in Brazil, 1839-1939" Paper presented at Session 116, "A Global History of Income Distribution in the Long 20th Century," *XIV International Economic History Congress*, Helsinki-Finland 21-25 August.
- Maddison, Angus (2004), *World Population, GDP and Per Capita GDP, 1-2001 AD,* available at <u>http://www.ggdc.net/Maddison/content.shtml</u>.

Social group	Percentage of population	Per capita income (in <i>nomismas</i> per annum)	Income in terms of per capita mean
Tenants (on land)	37	3.5	0.56
Urban 'marginals'	2	3.5	0.56
Farmers	52	3.8	0.61
Workers	3	6	0.97
Army, navy	1	6.5	1.05
Traders, skilled craftsmen	3.5	18	2.90
Large landowners	1	25	4.02
Nobility (civilian and military)	0.5	350	56.31
Total	100	6.22	1

Notes: Nobility includes civil and military nobility. The average household size estimated at 4.3 (see Lefort, 2002).

Income distribution data: Taken directly from Milanovic (2006: Table 5, p. 465). Rural incomes are based mostly on Lefort (2002) who quantifies population shares and incomes of several classes; rural population is divided into tenants (*pariokoi*); farmers that include both landowning peasants and (not very numerous) hired farm workers and slaves working on large estates; and large landowners. Urban population is, following Morrisson and Cheyney (2002), divided into four classes plus nobility (both civilian and military). Additional explanations given in Milanovic (2006: pp. 461-8).

Other incomes and wages (for comparison and illustrative purposes):

	Amount in nomisma	Amounts in terms of the estimated average annual income	Source
Heads of <i>themes</i> (administrative units) annual wage (around year 900)	360 to 720	58 to 115	Ostrogorsky (1969, p. 246)
Heads of the three most important <i>themes</i> (around year 900)	2880	~460	Ostrogorsky (1969, p. 246)
Military commanders	144	23	Morrisson and Cheynet (2002, p. 861)

Population and area: For population, see Milanovic (2006, p. 461). It is a compromise estimate (15 million) based on Treadgold (2001), Andreades (1924) and Harl (1996). Area: Treadgold (2001, p. 5).

Urbanization rate: See Milanovic (2006, p. 461), based on Bairoch's (1985) cut-off point of 5,000 inhabitants.

Mean income in \$PPP: Average income (6.22 *nomisma*) divided by the estimated subsustence minimum (3.5 *nomisma*), and the latter priced at \$PPP 300 at 1990 international prices. This gives (6.22/3.5*300) mean income of \$533 in \$PPPs. From Milanovic (2006, pp. 456-7).

- Andreades (1924), "De la monnaie et de la puissance d'achat des metaux precieux dans l'Empire byzantin", *Ext. B.N.*, pp. 75-115.
- Bairoch, Paul (1985), De Jéricho à Mexico: villes et economies dans l'histoire, Paris: Arcades, Gallimard.
- Harl, Kenneth H. (1996), *Coinage in the Roman Economy, 300 B.C. to A.D. 700*, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Lefort, Jacques (2002), "The rural economy, seventh –twelfth Century" in Angeliki Laiou (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium: from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, pp. 231-310.
- Milanovic, Branko (2006), "An estimate of average income and inequality in Byzantium around year 1000," *Review of Income and Wealth* 52 (3).
- Morrisson, Cecile and Jean-Claude Cheynet (2002), "Prices and wages in the Byzantine world" in Angeliki Laiou (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium: from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, pp. 807-870.
- Ostrogorsky, Georgije (1969), *Istorija Vizantije*, Beograd: Prosveta. English translation *History of the Byzantine State*, New Brunswick, N.J.:Rutgers Byzantine Series, 1999 [1969].
- Treadgold, Warren T. (2001), A Concise History of Byzantium, Palgrave.

China 1880

Social group	Population (in 000)	Percentage of	Total income	Income as a share of total	Income per capita	Income in terms of per
	(population	(in taels)	income (%)	(in <i>taels</i> per annum)	capita mean
Commoners	370000	98	1821047	74.4	4.92	0.76
Gentry	7500	2	627725	25.6	83.7	12.9
Lower gentry	6450	1.7	247605	10.1	38.4	5.91
Upper gentry	1050	0.3	380120	15.5	362.0	55.7
Total	377500	100	2448772	100	6.5	1

Income distribution data: The calculations are based on Chang (1962, Supplement 2: "The gentry's share in the national product," pp. 326-333).

<u>Gentry per capita incomes.</u>

The supplement provides a careful breakdown of gentry incomes by different sources, division of these income sources between upper and lower gentry, and the population shares of both types of gentry (see the table below which is derived from Chang's Supplement 2). The rest of the book gives the data on Chinese GDP and taxes from which one can calculate total household disposable income, and when combining this information with the estimates of gentry total income and its share in the Chinese population, calculate gentry's (upper's and lower's) per capita incomes (see the last line in the table below).

The main sources of gentry income, according to Chang, are:

(i) Government office-holding (administration) which was confined to gentry only. Income from government jobs provided resources for purchase of land and thus income from landownership. Land was a much less important source of income than at a similar stage in European history.

(ii) Gentry service in local affairs (managerial income); basically local administration.

(iii) Assistants to officials (secretarial services).

(iv) Teaching. Unlike the first three, they are private services. Only higher education (teaching) was monopolized by the gentry.

(v) Other services include medicine, writing etc. They are of much smaller importance.

In professions (i) to (iii) actual incomes (as calculated by Chang) were several times larger than the official wages. It was a policy to keep official wages low and give large premiums (the *yang-lien* allowance, see Chang p.13).

<u>Commoners' per capita incomes.</u> Once gentry per capita incomes are derived, commoners' incomes are obtained as the residual (using total household disposable income, line *d* in Table below, minus gentry's total income, and dividing by commoners' total population). The estimated commoners' per capita income of 4.92 taels should be contrasted with the estimated subsistence minimum (based on wage data), which was around 5 taels (Chang). If we consider Maddison's (2004) estimate that China's GDI per capita was \$PPP 540 and Chang's average income of 6.5 taels to be the same (as they should be), then the subsistence minimum of \$300 works out to be 3.7 taels. This

indirectly obtained subsistence minimum is quite close to the directly calculated one (from Chang) of around 5 taels per annum. This further corroborates both the subsistence minimum and the average figures.

		Incom	ne shares:	Estimated t	otal income
Source of gentry income	Estimated amounts (in	Upper gentry	Lower gentry	Upper gentry	Lower gentry
	$000 \ taels)$	(2)		(1) (2)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)x(2)	(1)x(3)
Office-holding	121000	1	0	121000	0
Gentry service	111000	0.18	0.82	20250	90750
Secretarial services	9050	0	1	0	9050
Teaching	61575	0	1	0	61575
Other services 1/	9000	0.2	0.8	1800	7200
Landholding	220000	0.7	0.3	154000	66000
Mercantile activity	113600	0.7	0.3	79520	34080
Total gentry income	645225			376570	268655
plus Imputed rent	30000	0.34	0.66	10200	19800
minus direct taxes	47500	0.14	0.86	6650	40850
(a) Disposable gentry income	627725			380120	247605
(b) China-wide GNP	2781272				
(c) Total taxes	332500				
(d) Household disposable	2448772				
income: (b)-(c)					
(e) Gentry population	7500	0.14	0.86	1050	6450
(in 000 people)					
Disposable income (in tael per capita p.a.) = $(a)/(e)$				362.0	38.4

Derivation of incomes of the upper and lower gentry

Sources: Gentry incomes, Table 26, page 197. Imputed rent and GDP, p. 326. Number of gentry: p. 327 (average household size = 5). Direct taxes: p. 329. Upper and lower gentry shares in total gentry income: p. 330. All references to Chung-li Chang (1962).

1/Upper and lower gentry's shares for other services assumed.

Position		(2)	(1)+(2) in	Source
	Official wage	Yang lien(taels	terms of the	
	(taels p.a.)	p.a.)	estimated overall income	
			mean	
District magistrate	45	1000	~160	Chang, p.13
Governor	150	12000	~1900	Chang, p.13
Highest level military rank*	605		93	Chang, p.13
Seventh level military rank*	36		5.5	Chang, p.13
Highest level court	307		47	
official*				Chang, p.35
Ninth level court official*	54.4		8.3	Chang, p.35

Other incomes and wages (for comparison and illustrative purposes):

*/ Wages include income in kind. Note: *Yang lien* is an allowance paid on top of the official wage.

Population and area: Population from Maddison (2004). Area: Current area of the People's Republic of China plus Taiwan.

Urbanization rate: From Bairoch (1985, p. 462). Based on population living in towns that are greater than 5,000 inhabitants. (See also Bairoch, 1985, p. 517: urbanization rate for 1900 estimated at between 7.5 and 8 percent.)

Mean income in **\$PPP:** From Maddison (2004).

- Bairoch, Paul (1985), De Jéricho à Mexico: villes et economies dans l'histoire, Paris: Arcades, Gallimard.
- Chang, Chung-li (1962), *The Income of the Chinese Gentry*, Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Maddison, Angus (2004), *World population, GDP and per capita GDP, 1-2001 AD*, available at <u>http://www.ggdc.net/Maddison/content.shtml</u>.

England and Wales 1290

Social group	Number of people	Percentage of population	Per capita income (in £ per annum)	Income in terms of per capita mean
Cottagers etc.	1276040	29.68	2	0.47
Smallholders	1270688	29.55	3	0.70
Minor clergy, lawyers	658507	15.31	4	0.94
Miners, soldiers	90182	2.10	4	0.94
Yardlanders	762413	17.73	5	1.17
Substantial tenants	71159	1.65	10	2.35
Landowners	171014	3.98	26	6.10
Total	4300001	100	4.26	1

Income distribution data: Estimated social tables are taken from Bruce Campbell (2007, Table 17, p. 45). They are based on seminal socio-economic reconstruction of England circa 1300 produced by N. J. Mayhew (1995).

Territory and population: Current area of England and Wales is assumed. Population as given in Campbell (2007).

Urbanization rate: The population-weighted average of the urbanization rates for England (15%) and Wales (9%), given in Campbell (2007, Table 16, p. 36).

Mean income in \$PPP: Based on the assumption that the subsistence minimum is 2 pounds per year (the estimated income of the vagrants and paupers by Campbell). Taking this value to equal \$300 in 1990 international prices converts the estimated mean income per capita income from Campbell's data (3.68 pounds) into \$PPP 552.

REFERENCES

Campbell, Bruce (2007), "Benchmarking medieval economic development: England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland *c*. 1209," *Economic History Review*, 60: 1-50.

N. J. Mayhew (1995), "Modeling medieval monetization," in R. N. Britnell and B. M. S. Campbell, *A commercialising economy: England 1086 to c. 1300*, Manchester, pp. 55-77.

England and Wales, 1688

Social group	Number of	Percentage of	Per capita	Income in terms
	people	population	income	of per capita
			(in £ per annum)	mean
Cottagers and paupers	1017845	17.89	2	0.21
Vagrants	23489	0.41	2	0.21
Miners	64080	1.13	3.3	0.35
Laboring people, outservants	997489	17.53	4.3	0.45
Building trades	328581	5.78	5.6	0.58
Common seamen	150000	2.64	6.7	0.7
Common soldiers	70000	1.23	7	0.73
Manufacturing trades	732883	12.88	8.4	0.88
Farmers	516910	9.09	8.5	0.89
Clergymen, lesser	50000	0.88	10	1.05
Shopkeepers and tradesmen	457668	8.04	10	1.05
Freeholders, lesser	482450	8.48	11	1.15
Science and Liberal Arts	64490	1.13	12	1.25
Freeholders, greater	192976	3.39	13	1.36
Clergymen, greater	10000	0.18	14.4	1.5
Military officers	16000	0.28	15	1.57
Persons in offices, lesser	30000	0.53	20	2.09
Naval officers	20000	0.35	20	2.09
Law	56434	0.99	22	2.3
Persons in offices, greater	40000	0.7	30	3.14
Merchants by sea, lesser	48000	0.84	33.3	3.48
Merchants on land, lesser	78342	1.38	33.3	3.48
Gentlemen	120000	2.11	35	3.66
Merchants by sea, greater	16000	0.28	50	5.23
Artisans and handicrafts	26980	0.47	50	5.23
Esquires	30000	0.53	56.3	5.88
Knights	7800	0.14	61.5	6.43
Spiritual lords	520	0.01	65	6.79
Merchants on land, greater	19584	0.34	66.7	6.97
Baronets	12800	0.22	93.8	9.8
Temporal lords	8000	0.14	151.5	15.83
Total	5689322	100	9.57	1

Income distribution data: The source is the Lindert-Williamson (1982) revision of Gregory King's social table (available at http://gpih.ucdavis.edu / early income distributions, and also at Peter Lindert's home page). The data originally presented on per household basis are transformed on per capita basis (each individual is assigned per capita income of his/her household) using King's estimates of average household size by social group.

Population and area: Current territory of England and Wales. Population: obtained directly from King's numbers.

Urbanization rate: Bairoch (1985: Table 13/1, p. 279) gives the year 1700 range (based on cities greater than 5,000) to be 13 to 16 percent. For 1688, we have used the lower bound of the range (13 percent).

Mean income in \$PPP: Obtained by interpolation from Maddison's (2001, p. 247) estimates of English and Welsh GDI per capita in 1600 and 1700 (\$PPP 1418). An alternative calculation based directly on King's estimates yield almost the same result. If we take the ratio between the mean income from King's social table (9.6 pounds per capita per annum) and the subsistence minimum (assumed to be the same as vagrants' income of 2.7 pounds, as given by King), we get an estimated mean income that is 4.8 times the subsistence. This, combined with the assumption of a subsistence minimum of \$PPP 300, yields an average income of \$PPP 1440 which is within 2 percentage points of the interpolation based on Maddison's data.

- Bairoch, Paul (1985), De Jéricho à Mexico: villes et economies dans l'histoire, Paris: Arcades, Gallimard.
- Lindert, Peter H. and Jeffrey G. Williamson (1982), "Revising England's Social Tables, 1688-1812," *Explorations in Economic History* 19, 4 (October): 385-408.
- Maddison, Angus (2001), *The World Economy: A Millennial Perspectives*, Paris: OECD Development Centre.

England and Wales 1759

Social group	Number of	Percentage of	Per capita income	Income in terms of
	people	population	(in £ per annum)	per capita mean
Cottagers & paupers	581399	8.8	2.2	0.21
Husbandmen	670800	10.15	3.2	0.32
Vagrants	13418	0.2	3.2	0.32
Ale-sellers, cottagers (lsr.)	90000	1.36	4.4	0.44
Laborers, country	700000	10.59	4.6	0.46
Mining	64350	0.97	5.1	0.51
Building trades (country)	484052	7.33	5.6	0.55
Manuf wood, iron (country)	315328	4.77	5.6	0.55
Manuf wool, silk (country)	315328	4.77	5.6	0.55
Common seamen,				
fishermen	180000	2.72	6.7	0.66
Common soldiers	36000	0.54	7.0	0.69
Laborers, London	70000	1.06	7.9	0.78
Farmers 4	402490	6.09	8.0	0.79
Civil officers	112000	1.69	8.6	0.85
Tradesmen 5	562500	8.51	8.9	0.88
Ale-sellers, cottagers (gtr.)	90000	1.36	8.9	0.88
Master manufacturers 4	280007	4.24	8.9	0.88
Building trades (London)	17595	0.27	9.2	0.91
Manuf. wood, iron				
(London)	44147	0.67	9.2	0.91
Manuf. Wool, silk				
(London)	44143	0.67	9.2	0.91
Freeholders 3	321992	4.87	9.5	0.94
Clergymen, inferior	45000	0.68	10.0	0.99
Liberal Arts	90000	1.36	12.0	1.19
Farmers 3	67085	1.02	14.0	1.38
Tradesmen 4	90000	1.36	15.6	1.54
Innkeepers 2	13500	0.2	15.6	1.54
Master manufacturers 3	44801	0.68	15.6	1.54
Freeholders 2	160996	2.44	19.0	1.88
Farmers 2	33540	0.51	20.0	1.98
Naval officers	24000	0.36	20.0	1.98
Clergymen, superior	10000	0.15	20.0	1.98
Freeholders 1	140868	2.13	21.7	2.15
Tradesmen 3	45000	0.68	22.2	2.2
Innkeepers and ale-sellers	9000	0.14	22.2	2.2
Master manufacturers 2	22401	0.34	22.3	2.21
Military officers	8000	0.12	25.0	2.47
Law	84000	1.27	28.6	2.82
Farmers 1	16770	0.25	30.0	2.97
Merchants 3	60000	0.91	33.3	3.3
High titled classes, 12	51200	0.77	33.6	3.32
Tradesmen 2	22500	0.34	44.4	4.39
Master manufacturers 1	11200	0.17	44.6	4.41

Social group	Number of people	Percentage of population	Per capita income (in £ per annum)	Income in terms of per capita mean
High titled classes, 11	38400	0.58	50.5	4.99
High titled classes, 10	32000	0.48	53.9	5.33
High titled classes, 8	16000	0.24	53.9	5.33
High titled classes, 9	20800	0.31	62.2	6.14
Merchants 2	12000	0.18	66.7	6.59
Merchants 1	8000	0.12	75.0	7.41
High titled classes, 7	10240	0.15	84.2	8.32
Tradesmen 1	11250	0.17	88.9	8.79
High titled classes, 6	5120	0.08	168.4	16.65
High titled classes, 4	3200	0.05	202.1	19.98
High titled classes, 3	1600	0.02	269.4	26.63
High titled classes, 5	2560	0.04	336.8	33.29
High titled classes, 2	800	0.01	336.8	33.29
High titled classes, #1	400	0.01	673.5	66.58
Total	6607780	100	10.12	1

Income distribution data: From Massie's 1759 table as revised by Lindert and Williamson (1982), also available as an Excel file at http://gpih.ucdavis.edu / early income distributions, and on Lindert's home page. The household size estimated for various social groups from contemporary sources.

Territory and population: Current area of England and Wales is assumed. Population obtained from Brian Mitchell (1988, p. 7) who quotes the Wrigley-Schofield (1981) figure of 6,063,000 for England less Monmouth in 1759 (no data for England and Wales for dates before 1801 are given). For 1801, Mitchell gives 8,893,000 for England and Wales. Since at the same time Wales's population is estimated at 541 thousand and Monmouth's at 46 thousands, this implies that the ratio between England and Wales (on the one hand) and England without Monmouth (on the other) was 1.07. Applying this ratio to the 1759 figure given by Mitchell yields the final estimate of 6,463,200.

Urbanization rate: Estimated from Allen (2003).

Mean income in **\$PPP:** Interpolation from Maddison (2001, p. 247).

- Allen, Robert (2003), "Progress and Poverty in Early Modern Europe" *Economic History Review* 61, 3 (August 2003): 403-443.
- Lindert, Peter H. and Jeffrey G. Williamson (1982), "Revising England's Social Tables, 1688-1812," *Explorations in Economic History* 19, 4 (October): 385-408.
- Maddison, Angus (2001), *The World Economy: A Millennial Perspectives*, Paris: OECD Development Centre.

Mitchell, Brian (1988), *British Historical Statistics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wrigley, E. A. and R. S. Schofield (1981), *The Population History of England, 1541-1871*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Social group	Number of	Percentage of	Per capita	Income in terms
	people	population	income	of per capita
	1 1	1 1	(in £ per annum)	mean
Paupers	1040716	11.5	2.5	0.11
Persons imprisoned for debt	10000	0.11	6	0.27
Laborers in husbandry	1530000	16.9	6.9	0.31
Hawkers, pedlars, duffers	4000	0.04	8	0.36
Laborers in mines, canals	180000	1.99	8.9	0.41
Vagrants	175218	1.94	10	0.46
Artisans, mechanics, laborers	2005767	22.16	12.2	0.56
Clerks and shopmen	300000	3.31	15	0.68
Freeholders, lesser	600000	6.63	18	0.82
Farmers	960000	10.6	20	0.91
Innkeepers and publicans	250000	2.76	20	0.91
Lesser clergymen	50000	0.55	24	1.09
Dissenting clergy, itinerants	12500	0.14	24	1.09
Education of youth	120000	1.33	25	1.14
Military officers	65320	0.72	27.8	1.27
Common soldiers	121985	1.35	29	1.32
Naval officers	35000	0.39	29.8	1.36
Shopkeepers and tradesmen	372500	4.11	30	1.37
Tailors, milliners, etc.	125000	1.38	30	1.37
Confined lunatics	2500	0.03	30	1.37
Freeholders, greater	220000	2.43	36.4	1.66
Marines and seamen	52906	0.58	38	1.73
Lesser offices	52500	0.58	40	1.82
Engineers, surveyors, etc.	25000	0.28	40	1.82
Merchant service	49393	0.55	40	1.82
Keeping houses for lunatics	400	0.004	50 50	2.28
Theatrical pursuits	4000	0.04	50 52	2.28
Liberal arts and sciences	81500	0.9	52	2.37
Law, judges to clerks	55000	0.61	70 83.3	3.19 3.8
Eminent clergymen Gents	6000 160000	0.07 1.77	83.5 87.5	3.89 3.99
Shipowners, freight	25000	0.28	87.5 100	4.56
Higher civil offices	14000	0.28	114.3	5.21
Lesser merchants, by sea	91000	1.01	114.3	5.21
Building & repairing ships	1800	0.02	114.5	5.32
Warehousemen, wholesale	3000	0.02	133.3	6.08
Manufacturers	150000	1.66	133.3	6.08
Knights	3500	0.04	155.5	6.84
Esquires	60000	0.66	150	6.84
Educators in universities	2000	0.02	150	6.84
Baronets	8100	0.02	200	9.12
Eminent merchants, bankers	20000	0.22	260	11.86
Spiritual peers	390	0.004	266.7	12.16
Temporal peers	7175	0.08	320	14.59

Social group	Number of people	Percentage of population	Per capita income (in £ per annum)	Income in terms of per capita mean
Total	9053170	100	21.93	1

Income distribution data: Based on Colquhoun 1801-3 social table revised by Lindert and Williamson (1982), also available as an Excel file at http://gpih.ucdavis. edu / early income distributions, and on Lindert's home page. The data originally presented on per household basis are transformed on per capita basis (each individual is assigned per capita income of his/her household) using Colquhoun's estimates of average household size by social group.

Population and area: Current territory of England and Wales. Population: Obtained directly from Colquhoun (coincides within 1 percent with the population for year 1800 from Maddison, 2001).

Urbanization rate: Estimated from Allen (2003, Figure 9, p. 428).

Mean income in **\$PPP**: Maddison (2001) for year 1800.

- Allen, Robert (2003), "Progress and Poverty in Early Modern Europe" *Economic History Review* 61, 3 (August 2003): 403-443.
- Lindert, Peter H. and Jeffrey G. Williamson (1982), "Revising England's Social Tables, 1688-1812," *Explorations in Economic History* 19, 4 (October): 385-408.
- Maddison, Angus (2001), *The World Economy: A Millennial Perspectives*, Paris: OECD Development Centre.

France,	1788
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Social group	Number of	Percentage of	Per capita	Income in terms
	people	population	income	of per capita
	(in 000)		(livres / annum)	mean
Agricultural day laborers and				
servants	10150	36.29	39.4	0.27
Small scale farmers	5250	18.77	64.6	0.45
Workers (non agricultural)	1500	5.36	66.7	0.47
Mixed workers	1800	6.44	75.0	0.52
Servants (non agricultural)	1080	3.86	92.6	0.65
Shopkeepers and artisans	3240	11.58	150.0	1.05
Large scale farmers	2250	8.04	219.6	1.53
Bourgeoisie	2160	7.72	724.1	5.05
Nobles and clergy	540	1.93	724.1	5.05
Total	27970	100	143.3	1

Income distribution data: From Christian Morrisson and Wayne Snyder (2000). The "high income" variant for income of nobles and clergy and bourgeoisie assumed.

Population and area: Population (27.97 million) obtained directly from Morrisson and Snyder data. The current area of France assumed.

Urbanization rate: From Bairoch (1985, p. 279). The average of the estimated 11-13 percent, for the year 1800, and based on cities with more than 5,000 inhabitants.

Mean income in PPP: GDP from Maddison (2007), for year 1820 (the first year for which the data for France are available) is \$1134.

REFERENCES

Bairoch, Paul (1985), *De Jéricho à Mexico: villes et economies dans l'histoire*, Paris: Arcades, Gallimard.

Maddison, Angus (2007), <u>"World Population, GDP and Per Capita GDP, 1-2003 AD</u>", Updated March 2007. Available at <u>http://www.gqdc.net/maddison/</u>.

Morrisson, Christian and Wayne Snyder (2000), "The income inequality of France in historical perspective", *European Review of Economic History*, 4: 59-83.

Holland 1561

Income distribution data: The full distribution data was not reported in the source (van Zanden 1995), from whence we got the Gini coefficient. Unfortunately, but hardly surprisingly, the author was not able to recover the data from his pre-electronic, and 15 year old files. In personal correspondence (October 2007), however, Jan Luiten van Zanden provided additional information of use to us, expanding on his 1995 results (particularly those contained on pages 650-652).

Population and area: Population is interpolated between 1500 and 1600, from Maddison (2001). We assume that the modern area of Holland applied to 1561.

Urbanization rate: From van Bavel and van Zanden (2004); urban definition not offered.

Mean income in \$PPP: GDP per capita in 1990 international dollars interpolated between 1500 and 1600, from Maddison (2001: p. 264).

- Maddison, Angus (2001), *The World Economy: A Millennial Perspectives*, Paris: OECD Development Centre.
- van Bavel, B. and Jan Luiten van Zanden (2004), "The jump-start of the Holland economy during the late-medieval crisis, c.1350-c.1500," *Economic History Review* LVII, 3: 503-32.
- van Zanden, Jan Luiten (1995). "Tracing the beginning of the Kuznets curve: western Europe during the early modern period," *Economic History Review* XLVIII, 4: 643-64.

Holland 1732

Consolidated	Weighted number	Percentage of	Per capita	Income in terms
income group	of households	population	income	of per capita mean
			(in guilder per	
1	220	7.11	annum) 5	0.07
1 2	192	6.20	6	0.07
3	472	15.25	15	0.09
	292	9.42	24	0.22
4 5	336.75	10.88	25	0.33
6	277.125	8.95	35	0.52
7	144.125	4.66	45	0.66
8	277	8.96	48	0.71
9	75.125	2.43	55	0.81
10	42.375	1.37	65	0.96
11	176	5.70	72	1.06
12	31.5	1.02	75	1.11
13	23.25	0.75	85	1.25
14	27	0.87	95	1.40
15	77	2.48	96	1.42
16	26.75	0.86	110	1.62
17	56	1.82	120	1.77
18	23.5	0.76	130	1.92
19	32	1.05	144	2.12
20	24.75	0.80	150	2.21
21	17	0.54	168	2.48
22	11.25	0.36	170	2.51
23	16.125	0.52	190	2.80
24	19	0.62	192	2.83
25	10	0.31	216	3.19
26	26.25	0.85	225	3.32
27	10 5	0.31	240	3.54
28 29	5 25	0.16 0.81	264 275	3.89 4.06
29 30	23	0.81	273 288	4.00
30	17.25	0.56	325	4.79
32	11.75	0.38	375	5.53
33	12.625	0.41	425	6.27
34	30	0.97	450	6.64
35	12.5	0.40	475	7.01
36	5.5	0.18	525	7.74
37	5.125	0.17	575	8.48
38	4.625	0.15	625	9.22
39	4.75	0.15	675	9.95
40	5.5	0.18	750	11.06
41	5.625	0.18	850	12.54
42	3.875	0.13	950	14.01
43	4	0.13	1150	16.96

Consolidated income group	Weighted number of households	Percentage of population	Per capita income (in guilder per annum)	Income in terms of per capita mean
44	1.75	0.06	1400	20.65
45	1.75	0.06	1750	25.81
46	0.25	0.01	2250	33.18
Total	3095	100	678	1

Income distribution data: The income distribution data are derived from taxes on dwelling rents. The rental values of all dwellings (including the poor) were taxed. We know that dwelling rents were highly correlated with income (Williamson 1985; van den Berg and van Zanden, 1988: pp. 193-215), but we also know that the elasticity of rents to income was less than one (between 0.72 and 0.75 in 1852-1910 Britain: Williamson 1985, p. 225). Thus, income inequality should be understated by rental values. With that understood, the source of the Dutch data is van Zanden (1995).

The consolidated Holland data for 1732 are obtained as a weighted average of distributions of household income for five regions: Amsterdam (with the weight of 25 percent), Delft (12.5 percent), countryside (37.5 percent), townships (12.5 percent) and Leiden (12.5 percent). The first four regions have the same income groups (with income ranges varying between 5 and 2250 guilders). Leiden's distribution has different income ranges, going from 6 to over 400 guilders. The data in the table give a consolidated all-Holland distribution. The data for five regions were kindly provided by Jan Luiten van Zanden.

Population and area: Population is interpolated between 1500 and 1600 (983,176), and between 1700 and 1820 (2,002,783), from Maddison (2001). We use the area of modern Holland (21,680 km²).

Urbanization rate: From de Vries (1985).

Mean income in \$PPP: GDP per capita in 1990 international dollars interpolated between 1500 and 1600, and between 1700 and 1820, from Maddison (2001: p. 264).

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India-at the end of the Moghul rule (around 1750)

Social group	Percentage of population	Percentage of total income	Income in terms of per capita mean
Tribal economy	10	3	0.3
Nobility, zamindars	1	15	15
Merchants to sweepers	17	37	2.2
Village economy	72	45	0.6
Total	100	100	1

India-at the end of the British rule (1947)

Social group	Percentage of population	Percentage of total income	Income in terms of per capita mean
Landless peasants	17	4	0.2
Tribal economy	7	2	0.3
Sharecroppers, tenants	29	12	0.4
Working land proprietors	20	18	0.9
Petty traders, govt. &			
industrial workers	17	30	1.8
Village renters	9	20	2.2
Nobility, Indian capitalists	0.94	9	9.6
British officials, traders	0.06	5	83.3
Total	100	100	1

Note: Zamindars were large landowners. The data refer to the entire Indian subcontinent (today's India, Pakistan and Bangladesh).

Income distribution data: The source of both data sets is Maddison (2002), which in turn are based on Maddison (1971: pp. 33 and 69). Maddison (2002) gives only population and income shares, but if we combine this information with Maddison's own estimates of GDI per capita for India (see below), we can calculate \$PPP income estimates for each social group. Indian Moghul data present a particular problem because there are only 4 social classes given. Since their incomes are vastly different, and the largest group (72 percent; village economy) is in the middle of income distribution, probably spanning people with very different incomes, Gini2 is unusually some 27 percent higher than the minimum Gini (G2 is 48.9 vs. Gini minimum 38.5).¹

Discussion: Note that a part (but only a part) of high Indian inequality around the time of the independence from Great Britain is caused by very high incomes of the British in India. According to Maddison, 0.06 percent of the population (British officials and businessmen) received 5 percent of total income which made their average per capita

¹ For the definitions of G1 and G2, see the main text.

income more than \$PPP 51,000 per year (and would place them in the top 5 percent of today's US income distribution). Yet, despite these incomes being extravagantly high, this is only a part of the story since the Gini without the British is still at a rather high level of 45 (as opposed to 48-49 with them). Consequently, the main cause of the very high inequality is a very low income level of the poor classes.

One can also compare the without-the-British inequality in India in 1947 to the inequality results derived from the first Indian National Sample Survey (NSS) conducted in 1951. The expenditure-based NSS Gini is only $36.^2$ So—(1) are expenditures significantly more equally distributed, compared to income, than we would expect (a conventional adjustment, suggested by Li, Squire and Zou (1998), is 5 to 6 Gini points while here the difference is 9 Gini points),³ or (2) is Maddison overestimating India's 1947 inequality; or (3) is he underestimating income of India's poor, or (4) did inequality go down by several Gini points between the end of the British *raj* and 1951?

Population and area: The Indian population in 1750 is estimated from Maddison (2003: appendix HS-8, Table 8a, p. 256). Interpolation based on the data for 1700 and 1820. The population for 1947 is taken directly from Maddison (2003). For both dates, the area includes the entire Indian subcontinent (today's India, Pakistan and Bangladesh).

Urbanization rate: For 1750, from Bergier and Matthieu (2002: Table 1, original sources given there). Obtained by interpolation from the urbanization rates of the Indian subcontinent of 11-13 % in 1700 and 9-12% in 1800. These latter rates are as given in Bairoch (1985, p. 513). For 1947, obtained as interpolation between the urbanization rate of 14.1% in 1941 and 17.6% in 1951 (Mohan, 1985: Table 1, p. 621). As a corroboration, for 1940, Bairoch (1985, p. 513) gives a range between 14 and 16 percent.

Mean income in \$PPP: From Maddison (2004). For around 1750, we assume the same income as in 1820 (the first year in Maddison's series). For 1947, the value is taken directly from Maddison (2004).

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² See WIDER data set available at <u>http://www.wider.unu.edu/wiid/wiid.htm</u>, available also at <u>http://econ.worldbank.org/projects/inequality</u> (all the Ginis dataset).

³ And it could easily be argued that the difference ought to be less since data from social tables are very rough in that they assign the same income to an entire class of people and do not allow for the fact that some people from a mean-poorer class may have higher incomes than some people from a mean-richer class.

BergierMathieu422.pdf#search=%22urbanization%20rate%20british%20india%2

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Java 1880

Income class	Number of	Percentage of	Estimated per capita	Income in terms
	households	households	income (in florins per	of per capita mean
			annum)	
1	222483	5.55	50	0.31
2 3	465614	11.62	75	0.46
3	1279911	31.95	100	0.61
4	815395	20.36	120	0.74
5	723228	18.05	150	0.92
6	67728	1.69	200	1.23
7	207309	5.18	250	1.54
8	57247	1.43	300	1.84
9	80568	2.01	500	3.07
10	35668	0.89	750	4.61
11	21702	0.54	1000	6.14
12	15059	0.38	1500	9.21
13	1757	0.04	2000	12.29
14	4370	0.11	2500	15.36
15	385	0.01	3000	18.43
16	1579	0.04	4000	24.57
17	3383	0.08	5000	30.71
18	1035	0.03	7500	46.07
19	574	0.01	10000	61.43
20	268	0.01	15000	92.14
21	76	0.002	20000	122.85
22	196	0.005	25000	153.57
23	139	0.003	35000	214.99
24	46	0.001	50000	307.13
25	20	0.000	75000	460.70
26	21	0.001	100000	614.27
27	8	0.000	150000	921.40
28	4	0.000	200000	1228.53
29	2	0.000	250000	1535.67
30	1	0.000	350000	2149.93
31	1	0.000	500000	3071.33
32	1	0.000	1000000	6142.67
Total	4005778	100	162.80	1

Income distribution data: The sources and methods for the Java 1880 estimates are described in Jan Luiten van Zanden (2003, Appendix A).

Population and area: Indonesian population from Maddison (2007). Java population for 1880 assumed to stand in the same proportion to total Indonesian population as in 1924 (62 percent). The area of the island of Java is 126,700 km².

Urbanization rate: Urbanization in Java 1880 from van Zanden (2003, p. 18). Based on cities larger than 10,000 people.

Mean income in PPP: GDP per capita for the entire Indonesia in 1918 (\$PPP 909); from Maddison (2007).

- Maddison, Angus (2007), <u>"World Population, GDP and Per Capita GDP, 1-2003 AD</u>", Updated March 2007. Available at <u>http://www.ggdc.net/maddison/</u>.
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Java	<i>1924</i>
Java	1924

Social group	Number of	Percentage of	Per capita	Income in terms
	people	population	income	of per capita mean
			(in guilders per	
			annum)	
Sharecroppers	1,161,886	3.30	24.89	0.52
Agricultural laborers	4,217,247	11.99	29.01	0.60
Small landowners	9,262,391	26.34	29.51	0.61
Coolies	7,373,979	20.97	31.32	0.65
Medium landowners	6,775,218	19.26	48.93	1.01
Artisans and small traders	2,388,629	6.79	57.14	1.18
Religious officials	147,158	0.42	62.99	1.31
Workers in European &				
Chinese enterprises	1,240,296	3.53	81.18	1.68
Village officials	938,005	2.67	96.81	2.01
Large landowners	850,561	2.42	130.38	2.70
Civil servants	515,159	1.46	153.95	3.19
Large traders; factory				
owners	113,642	0.32	188.14	3.90
Asiatic foreigners	124,807	0.35	282.40	5.85
Europeans	61,648	0.18	2,042.40	42.33
Total	35,170,626	100	43.9	1

Income distribution data: From Booth (1988, Table 7, p. 325). In the original, the data are only for native Javan population and given for three areas: distributions of the same social groups with their average household per capita income in rural areas, towns and cities. Cities include Batavia, Meester Correlius, Bandung, Semarang and Surabaya. Based on a 1924 survey of 1,020 native Javan households reported in J. W. Meijer Ranneft and W. Huender (1926, p.10). Data as shown here are consolidated for the entire Java. The data for European and Asiatic foreigners are from a separate source: *Koloniaal Verslag, 1922/23-1923/24, Statistisch Jaaroverzicht voor Nederlandsch-Indië, 1922-30, Indisch Verslag, 1931-40*: vol. VII, pp. 118-19, pointed out by Pierre van der Eng, who also provided the European (2.72) and the Asian foreigner (3.8) average family size estimates.

Population and area: According to the census, the total population of Java and Madura on December 31, 1927 was estimated at 34,984,171 people. The source is Division of Commerce, *1930 Handbook of the Netherlands East Indies*, Buitenzorg, Java: Department of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, 1930, p. 57. This source includes only non-foreign population, but the sources and evidence cited in the paragraph above imply a foreign share of 0.53 percent. (No doubt that share was higher in Java where the main cities were located.) Total population of 35,170,626 used here includes foreigners. The area of the island of Java is 126,700 km².

Urbanization rate: Estimated at 3 percent by van Valkenberg (1925).

Mean income in PPP: GDP per capita for Indonesia 1918 (\$PPP 909); from Maddison (2007).

- Booth, Anne (1988), "Living Standards and the Distribution of Income in Colonial Indonesia," *Journal of Southeast Asia Studies* 19, 2 (September): 310-334.
- Maddison, Angus (2007), <u>"World Population, GDP and Per Capita GDP, 1-2003 AD</u>", Updated March 2007. Available at <u>http://www.ggdc.net/maddison/</u>.
- Meijer Ranneft, J. W. and W. Huender (1926), *Belasting Inlandsche Bevolking*, Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerji.
- van Valkenberg, S. (1925), "Java: The Economic Geography of a Tropical Island," *Geographical Review* 15, 4 (October): 563-83.

Japan 1886

Income distribution data: Income distribution data not available. Gini from Moriguchi and Saez (2005, table F2-Hist Gini) available at http://elsa.berkeley.edu/~saez/. For the year 1886, there are two estimates: Gini of 34.5 from Otsuki and Takamatsu (1978) and a higher one of 39.5 from Minami (1995a and 1995b, Table 6-4, Series I & II). These two values are taken to be respectively our Gini1 and Gini2. The years 1884-86 are the first years when income distribution data are available for Japan (see Moriguchi and Saez 2005, page 6, footnote 7).

Population and area: Population from Moriguchi and Saez (2005, Table 1). Current area of Japan assumed.

Urbanization rate: From Bairoch (1985, p. 465) estimate for around 1850.

Mean income in PPP: From Maddison (2007).

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Income decile	Percentage of population	Average per capita income (in <i>akches</i> per annum)	Income in terms of per capita mean
1	10	159.64	0.19
2	10	317.88	0.38
3	10	415.19	0.49
4	10	502.66	0.60
5	10	579.19	0.69
6	10	702.08	0.83
7	10	838.78	0.99
8	10	1035.86	1.23
9	10	1345.31	1.59
10	10	2562.69	3.03
Total	100	844.78	1

Income distribution data: The data source is a tax census of rural settlements conducted by the Ottoman authorities. The data were processed, analyzed and kindly supplied by Metin Cosgel. The description of Ottoman tax censuses, *Tahrir Defterleri*, can be found in Cosgel (2004, 2006).

Monetary amount of taxes is calculated using the data on quantities (in physical units) that are paid as in-kind taxes multiplied by the administrative prices of barley and wheat (per local unit) as listed by the enumerators. This amount is then divided by the statutory tax rate on these products to yield estimated total output in monetary terms. (Total tax is higher than these two statutory tax rates because it includes also other flat taxes (e.g. tax on meadows) which are not directly linked to output.) For example, in Levant, the tax rate on wheat and barley ranged between 25 and 40 percent with a mode of 30 percent. Since the tax rates varied between the areas and settlements, enumerators would often indicate what tax rate applied in a particular case (see for example Cosgel, 2004, p.337).⁴

The data cover only rural areas and people who were paying taxes there. They do not include Ottoman landlords who were exempt from taxation. There are no data on urban areas because the tax data from urban areas are very fragmentary -- as many people did not pay taxes at all: soldiers, government officials, etc. -- and as the tax rates varied for unknown reasons. In other words, Cosgel's estimates of rural incomes are constructed essentially from tax data and using the fact that the tax rate applied in rural areas was more or less observed by the authorities. But the rules for cities varied between different

⁴ Cosgel provides also two additional very similar surveys, from Western Anatolia (region of Bursa) for the year 1573, and Southern Hungary, for the years 1562-1570. The methodology of derivation of estimated incomes per settlement is the same but the regional prices of wheat and barley are different (region specific). The use of these different grain prices by region implies that one cannot directly compare total incomes between the three regions. That is, the within-regional analysis is possible, but not inter-regional analysis. The urbanization rates of these two regions however are much higher than that of Levant, and hence a rural based survey would be much less representative of the entire area.

occupations, and Cosgel believes that the rules were never firm even legally, and were applied often arbitrarily. City people were often government officials who also were not subject to taxes, and other professions like traders and artisans seem to have used their proximity to the rulers to ask for favors.

Population and area: Included is the province of Damascus which consists of 7 districts (Ajlun, Gaza, Lajjun, Nablus, Qada Hawran, Quds (Jerusalem) and Safad). Cosgel defines the areas as "Ottoman Palestine, Transjordan, and Southern Syria." Area (26,250 km²) estimated from the detailed map of the region. Total number of settlements included in the survey is 1415; total number of households included in the survey is 47,405. Some 10 percent of household at most might have been omitted from the census (private communication from Metin Cosgel, March 26, 2008). Assuming an average number of 5 members per households (estimate provided by Metin Cosgel; same communication) gives an estimated total population of about 263,000.

Urbanization rate: Estimated by Metin Cosgel at 11.6 percent (personal communication). The population cut-off point for cities is not clear.

Mean income in \$PPP: Obtained as the ratio between the overall mean income from the survey (169.3 akcha per capita) and the estimated subsistence minimum (52.2 akcha per capita) with the latter priced at \$PPP 300. The average income is thus \$PPP 974. The subsistence minimum is calculated as follows. Food minimum is taken to require consumption of 200 kg of wheat per person per year (data from the Byzantine diet; see Milanovic 2006; also Allen's 'bare bones subsistence basket' containing 172 kg of wheat (quoted in Scheidel, 2008, Table 2, p.8)). The cost of that quantity is 42.9 akcha, based on per bushel average price of 5.83 akcha (average regional contemporary price) ⁵ and the standard conversion of the volume measure of bushels into kilograms of wheat (with 7.35 bushels holding 200 kg of wheat).⁶ This cost of 42.9 akchas is multiplied by 1.9 to get to total subsistence minimum (accounting for other food; the other food to wheat ratio being taken from Milanovic 2006) and then by 3.2 equivalent adults to get the subsistence minimum for an average five-member household.⁷ This yields 257 akchas per family of five, which is then divided by 5 to get the subsistence estimate of 52.2 akcha per capita. (Based on personal communications with Metin Cosgel).

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⁵ The bushel prices within the seven districts varied between 5 and 6.7 akchas per bushel. We take the simple average of these (5.83 akchas).

⁶ The Ottoman or more exactly the Istanbul bushel (*kile*) is almost exactly the same as the US bushel, both equal to 0.97 UK bushel.

⁷ Using the contemporary OECD equivalence scale, a family of two adults and three children would imply 3.2 adult equivalent units.

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Income	Percentage of	Income per	Income per capita	Income in terms of
Class	population	family	(in ducats per	per capita mean
		(in ducats)	annum)	
1	10	200	38	0.58
2	10	230	44	0.67
3	10	260	50	0.75
4	10	260	50	0.75
5	10	260	50	0.75
6	10	260	50	0.75
7	10	260	50	0.75
8	10	260	50	0.75
9	10	260	50	0.75
10	6	600	114	1.74
11	3.3	1500	286	4.34
12	0.7	5000	952	14.47
Total	100		65.8	1

Note: Average household size (5.25) assumed to be the same across all income groups

Income distribution data: The source is Malanima (2006: p. 31), who uses the tax census data from 1811. This tax census is, for the purposes of establishing an estimate of income distribution, better than others because it surveyed not only tax paying units but also the poor (the indigent). Each of the 14 provinces of the Kingdom was supposed to place people in predetermined nine categories, running from the poorest to the richest (by family income). The percentage of people placed in each category was "free" (that is, left to each village, city etc.) with the only stipulation that not more than one-sixth of the population may be placed in the bottom category (the "indigent") and hence be exempt from taxation. The problem is that it imposes an equality of conditions across provinces and leads to an underestimation of incomes in the rich areas like Naples-city. For example, people with a same income may be placed in category III in Naples and in higher category IV in a poorer province. Similarly, the number of poor in Naples (which was probably high) might have been underestimated (because of the imposed threshold of one-sixth). Yet, with the exception of the Naples-city (then the third largest European city containing about 6 percent of the total Kingdom's population), which also displayed relatively high inequality.⁸ income differences between the provinces were too small to lead to significant and systematic misplacing of households. The ratio of mean rural incomes between the richest and poorest province was less than 1.5 to 1 (and rural population accounted for 85% of the total population).⁹

Another problem is that the authorities in each province might have been tempted to underestimate people's incomes and to push more people into lower classes so that taxes would be minimized. This is reflected in the fact that some 75 percent of families were

⁸ The Gini given by Malanima (2006) is 53.

⁹ Excluding Naples-city, the same ratio for the urban areas is even narrower: 1.4 to 1 (calculated from Malanima).

grouped in the second class (just above the indigent; see Malanima 2006, Table 3, p. 9).¹⁰ Malanima, however, revised these original data, used information about salaries and other sources of income, and constructed a new distribution (which we use here) composed of nine groups, each consisting of 10 percent of the population, and the top decile divided into three groups (see Malanima 2006: Appendix). We thus obtain an income distribution composed of twelve groups ranked by their estimated per capita income.

Population and area: Malanima (2006: p.3).

Urbanization rate: Malanima (2006: Table 7, p. 15)

Mean income in \$PPP: Obtained as the ratio between the mean income of the Kingdom of Naples as calculated from Malanima data (65.8 ducats per capita per annum) and the subsistence minimum (31 ducats per capita for a five-member family in rural areas). Mean income is thus 2.1 times the subsistence. Taking \$PPP 300 for the subsistence, results in mean income of \$PPP 637. This can be contrasted with Maddison's (2004) estimate of Italy's 1820 GDI per capita of \$PPP 1117. Since Kingdom of Naples was poorer than most of Italy (north of Naples), the difference seems plausible.

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¹⁰ It is notable, however, that the quota for the indigent which was 16.6 percent was not fulfilled: in total, only 14.4 percent of families were placed in this group and thus tax-exempt.

Netherlands 1808

Income Class	Number of households	Percentage of households	Average income in florins	Income in terms of per capita mean
1	173440	46.9	100	0.31
2	45414	12.3	150	0.47
23	38998	10.5	200	0.63
4	26816	7.3	240	0.75
5	16799	4.5	300	0.94
6	18959	5.1	400	1.25
7	9841	2.7	500	1.57
8	13806	3.7	600	1.88
9	7398	2.0	1000	3.13
10	7735	2.1	1500	4.70
11	5842	1.6	2000	6.26
12	1349	0.4	3000	9.39
13	1506	0.4	4000	12.53
14	749	0.2	5000	15.66
15	445	0.1	6000	18.79
16	385	0.1	8000	25.05
17	211	0.1	10000	31.31
18	82	0.0	15000	46.97
19	8	0.0	20000	62.63
20	4	0.0	30000	93.94
Total	369787	100	319.34	1

Income distribution data: Personal communication from Jan-Luiten van Zanden; expansion on the data set provided in Soltow and van Zanden (1998, Chapter 6). The income estimates based on housing rents. See also the explanation provided for Holland 1732.

Population and area: Population is interpolated between 1700 and 1820 (2,002,783) from Maddison (2001). The area is for today's Netherlands (41,865 square km).

Urbanization rate: From de Vries (2000, Table 1, p. 454). The rate is given for year 1815.

Mean income in PPP: Maddison's (2007) 1820 value (\$PPP1837) reduced to \$PPP1800 because of the war.

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Updated March 2007. Available at <u>http://www.ggdc.net/maddison/</u>. Soltow, Lee and Jan Luiten van Zanden (1998), *Income and Wealth Inequality in the Netherlands, 16th-20th Century*, Het Spinhuis, Chapter 6.

Nueva España 1790

Social group	Percentage of population	Annual income per family (pesos)	Annual income per capita (pesos)	Income in terms of per capita mean
Indigenous peasant class	72	61	12.2	0.24
Mestizo middle class	18	300	60	1.19
Spanish upper class	10	1,543	309	6.12
Total	100	252	50.4	1

Note: Assumed household size = 5 for all social groups.

Income distribution data: In 1813, Manuel Abad y Queipo, Bishop of Michoacán, published his *Colección*. His social tables offer information on: family size, total population, three income classes with population shares and income per capita for the bottom two (the Spanish upper class 10%, mestizo middle class 18% at 60 pesos, and indigenous peasant class 72% at 12.2 pesos). What is missing to complete the crude size distribution is either an estimate of average income per capita for the richest class or an estimate of total income for Nueva España as a whole. Our estimates use an average of the latter from three sources: Coatsworth's 240 million pesos in 1800 (Coatsworth 1978 and 1989); Rosenzweig's 190 million pesos in 1810 (Rosenzweig Hernández 1989); and TePaske's 251 million pesos in 1806 (TePaske 1985).

Population and area: Population estimate of 4,500,000 from *Colección* (1813). Modern Mexican borders are used to define the area of 1,224,433 km² since it appears that Manuel Abad y Queipo ignored New Mexico and California.

Urbanization rate: Calculated from cities with 10,000 or more inhabitants from von Humboldt (1822).

Mean income in \$PPP: 1800 GDP per capita in 1990 international dollars (Coatsworth 2003 and 2005).

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Province	Families surveyed	Estimated population	Annual income per	Income per capita (in	Income in terms of per
	5	1 1	family (in	pesos per	capita mean
			pesos)	annum)	•
Villarramiel	94	376	250	62.5	0.26
Villarramiel	146	584	750	187.5	0.77
Villarramiel	58	232	1250	312.5	1.28
Villarramiel	38	152	1750	437.5	1.79
Villarramiel	19	76	2250	562.5	2.31
Villarramiel	8	32	2750	687.5	2.82
Villarramiel	6	24	3250	812.5	3.33
Villarramiel	1	4	3750	937.5	3.84
Villarramiel	8	32	5677	1419.25	5.82
Paredes	364	1456	250	62.5	0.26
Paredes	395	1580	750	187.5	0.77
Paredes	68	272	1250	312.5	1.28
Paredes	21	84	1750	437.5	1.79
Paredes	17	68	2250	562.5	2.31
Paredes	6	24	2750	687.5	2.82
Paredes	8	32	3250	812.5	3.33
Paredes	5	20	3750	937.5	3.84
Paredes	39	156	5677	1419.25	5.82
Palencia	943	3772	250	62.5	0.26
Palencia	483	1932	750	187.5	0.77
Palencia	219	876	1250	312.5	1.28
Palencia	101	404	1750	437.5	1.79
Palencia	56	224	2250	562.5	2.31
Palencia	28	112	2750	687.5	2.82
Palencia	36	144	3250	812.5	3.33
Palencia	19	76	3750	937.5	3.84
Palencia	89	356	5677	1419.25	5.82
Frechilla	56	224	68	16.9325	0.07
Frechilla	67	268	437	109.1875	0.45
Frechilla	89	356	594	148.615	0.61
Frechilla	34	136	866	216.4775	0.89
Frechilla	26	104	1223	305.8175	1.25
Frechilla	18	72	1810	452.4175	1.85
Frechilla	25	100	2460	614.97	2.52
Frechilla	8	32	3513	878.25	3.60
Frechilla	5	20	4351	1087.7	4.46
Frechilla	6	24	5546	1386.543	5.68
Frechilla	1	4	6918	1729.5	7.09
Frechilla	5	20	7325	1831.15	7.51
Frechilla	3	12	9975	2493.75	10.22
Villalpando	87	348	213	53.20402	0.22
Villalpando	106	424	341	85.1309	0.35
Villalpando	46	184	610	152.3859	0.62

Province	Families surveyed	Estimated population	Annual income per	Income per capita (in	Income in terms of per
	5	1 1	family (in	pesos per	capita mean
			pesos)	annum)	
Villalpando	21	84	832	208.0357	0.85
Villalpando	27	108	1247	311.7407	1.28
Villalpando	5	20	1683	420.8	1.73
Villalpando	17	68	2568	641.9559	2.63
Villalpando	8	32	3559	889.8438	3.65
Villalpando	2	8	4757	1189.125	4.87
Villalpando	5	20	5509	1377.15	5.65
Villalpando	3	12	6569	1642.333	6.73
Total	3945	15780	975.72	243.94	1

Note: People (and families) ranked by per capita income within each province. Total gives the overall (Old Castille) mean. Family size assumed to be 4 throughout.

Income distribution data: Family annual income estimates (in pesos) from five locations in the Palencia region, part of what is now Castilla y León: Frechilla (13 income classes) and Villalpando (11 income classes); Palencia city, Paredes de Nava, and Villarramiel (9 income classes each). These data were kindly provided by Leandro Prados de la Escosura, who used them recently in Álvarez-Nogal and Prados de la Escosura (2006), which in turn were taken from Yun Casalilla (1987: p. 465) and Ramos Palencia (2001: p. 70). The data used here are based on the consolidation of income distribution data from the five regions.

Population and area: Population of 1,980,000 and area of 89,061 km² are from Lees and Hohenberg (1989: pp. 443 and 445)

Urbanization rate: The 1750 estimate from Lees and Hohenberg (1989: p. 443).

Mean income in \$PPP: GDP per capita for Spain, in 1990 international dollars interpolated between 1700 and 1820, from Maddison (2001: p. 264).

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Peru 1876

Social group	Number of	Percentage of	Per capita income	Income in terms of
	people	people	(soles per annum)	per capita mean
Female spinners	167778	12.8	59	0.33
Low paying female occupations	166785	12.7	97	0.54
Farmers (both sexes)	513277	39.2	117	0.65
Male laborers	276447	21.1	146	0.81
Poorer artisans-provinces	70757	5.4	269	1.49
Other earners	84432	6.5	312	1.73
Poorer artisans-Lima	5620	0.4	832	4.61
Govt salaried people	9728	0.7	970	5.38
"Patentees"	13670	1.04	3670	20.35
Total	1308494	100	180	1

Income distribution data: Shane Hunt's estimates as revised by Albert Berry (1990, Table 4, p. 47). Barry's "high inequality" revision are used here.

Population and area: The area of modern Peru. Population from "Population annual historical data" available at <u>http://www.populstat.info/Americas/peruc.htlm</u>.

Urbanization rate: An estimate based on Bairoch's (1985, Table 26/3, p. 542) data for Latin America in 1850 and 1900.

Mean income in PPP: Maddison (2007) value for the year 1900 (the first year for which data for Peru are available).

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Roman Empire 14

Social group	Number of members	People	Percentage of population	Average family income (in HS)	Average per capita income (in HS)	Income in terms of per capita mean
Senators 1/	600	2470	0.004	150000	37975	100
Knights (equestrian order) 1/	40000	158000	0.285	30000	7595	20
Municipal senators (decurions) 1/	360000	1422000	2.562	8000	2025	5.3
Other rich people	200000	790000	1.423		4810	12.7
Legion commanders 2/	50	198	0.000	67670	17132	45.1
Centurions	2500	9875	0.018	16160	4091	10.8
Praetorians 3/	9000	35550	0.064	3000	759	2.0
Ordinary soldiers 4/	250000	987500	1.8	1010	256	0.7
Workers at average wage 5/	1066667	4213333	7.6	800	304	0.8
Tradesmen and service workers 6/	133333	526667	0.9		468	1.2
Farmers and farm workers (free or slave) 7/	12000000	47400000	85.4		234	0.6
Memo: Subsistence minimum 8/					180	0.47
Total		55,500,000	100.0		380	1.0

Note: The average household size of 3.95 (derived from Goldsmith, 1984) used throughout except for senators where the average household size (on account of many dependents) was increased to 4.1. HS = sestertius. For explanation of the notes, see text below.

Income distribution data: The basis for calculations is provided by Goldsmith's (1984, pp. 276-278) estimates. Goldsmith provides minimum wealth (census qualification) for the three top classes (senators, knights and municipal senators), an estimate of their mean incomes, and an estimate of their population sizes. The problem was that –taking these estimates as given, and assuming that the bulk of the working population lived at slightly above the subsistence minimum (\$PPP 300)—one finds an overall lower mean income than given by Goldsmith and used here (HS 380). This is why we introduced, following Goldsmith who spoke of that class but did not put any numbers on it, a fourth rich class of "other rich people" who were neither Roman knights nor municipal senators (both of which needed to fulfill the census requirements). There is little doubt that that "fourth" rich class existed but putting a number on its size and average income is obviously difficult. We decided to take as their mean income the average of the two other higher classes' incomes (leaving out as decidedly the richest the class of Roman senators). ¹¹

There is a lively argument on how "graduated" was economic class structure of the Empire and whether one can speak of an *economic* middle class (a position we implicitly take here). In a recent contribution, Scheidel (2006, p.54) argues: "I conclude that there is sufficient evidence in support of the notion of an economic continuum from a narrow elite to a steadily broadening middle class as we move down the resource ladder...It is perfectly possible to reconcile the dominance of a disproportionately affluent elite with the presence of a substantial middle class". Note finally that if one takes the position in favor of the existence of a middle class, then –to be consistent—the estimates of average income in early Empire must be reasonably high in order for such a class to exist at a level significantly above the subsistence. Temin's estimates of Roman income (discussed below) would not allow that.¹²

The total number of *honestiores* (the top three classes with families) was, according to Goldsteion, about 2.8 percent of the population. Scheidel (2007, p. 41-42) however believes that they numbered just over 1 percent. The difference revoilves around the number of municipal senators, assumed to number 360,000 by Goldstein. In order for Scheidel 1 percent to hold, their numbers should be around one-third of it. But it is very difficult to see how that can be reconciled with Jongman (1988), approvingly quoted by Scheidel (2006, p. 42, n. 6) who estimates that Italy alone had at least 90,000 city councillors.

Notes to the table above

1/ From Goldsmith (1984, pp. 276-278). Total amount for senators includes HS15 million of Augustus' and Imperial household's (100 people) private fortune. The censuses, according to Goldsmith, were 1 million for senators and 250,000 for the knights. According to Finlay (p. 46), the census for the knights was 400,000 HS. The average

¹¹ Maddison (2008, pp. 48-9), noticing the same discrepancy, reduced the total nunber of municipal senators (*decurions*) from 360,000 to 240,000.

¹² Scheidel (2006) does not seem to realize this fully in his proposed calculations of social structure.

annual income of senators' class is calculated to be 15 percent of the census (note: census is the *threshold*) and for knights, 12 percent of the census amount. The average income of municipal senators is from Goldsmith (p. 278) and represents an average of census requirements and estimated average income of municipal senators in diverse (from large and rich, to small and poor) cities.

2/ The legion's commander wage ratio (67 times ordinary soldier's wage) is given in Duncan-Jones (p. 116) who quotes Brunt (1950). The number of legion commanders calculated by dividing 250,000 soldiers by the average size of a legion (5,000 men; for the average size of the legion, see Duncan-Jones p. 215 and Tacitus, *Histories*, Pinguin Classics, pp. 226 and 322).

3/ Clark (p. 676). The size of the Praetorian guard was 9 cohorts each with 1,000 men.

4/ Calculated from Clark (p. 676): 225 denarii (1 denarius = 4 HS) *plus* 50 modii of wheat valued at 110 HS (Milanovic, 2006, Table 3). This assumes the average wheat price 2.2 HS per modius. Harl (p. 276) gives modius wheat price range from 8 asses (2 HS) in Egypt to 32 (8 HS) in Rome. Temin (2006, p. 138) gives free market price in Rome at 4-6 HS. After the huge Rome's fire in 64, Tacitus (Book XV, Chapter 39) mentions that the price of wheat in Rome, due to the sudden impoverishment of the population, dropped to 3HS per modius. We select a relatively low price to avoid inflating incomes by using Roman prices for the goods that were essentially consumed outside the capital.

Tacitus (Book I, Chapter 17) quotes soldiers (in year 14) complaining that a soldier is worth only 10 asses per day. That would be 2.5 HS per day or 912 HS per annum, some 10 percent below our estimate of HS 1010. Tacitus' number almost certainly refers to the monetary pay only, *i.e.*, it excludes payments in kind.

Size of the army (250,000) from Temin (2006, p. 147) quoting Goodman (1997). Similarly, Walbank (p.19) gives 250-300,000.

5/ Based on Goldsmith (3.5 HS per day times 225 working days). Temin (2006, p. 138) gives also the average wage in Rome as 3-4 HS per day (see also Milanovic, 2006, Table 4 and the sources given there). Wages expressed at Rome-city prices (see discussion of mean income below). Workers are estimated to account for 80 percent of the urban population.

6/ From Temin (2006, p. 136). We assume that their income was twice the subsistence. They are assumed to account for 10 percent of the urban population.

7/ The lowest class according to Temin (2006). It includes both free laborers and slaves. We assume their average income to be 30% above the subsistence minimum. They account for more than 90 percent of the rural population (which in turn accounts for 90 percent of the total population). According to Evans (1981), quoted in Geraghty (2007, p. 1041), an average plebeian family of 4 produced grain worth about 1000 HS. That would

give a per capita income of 250 HS from grain alone. They are likely to have had other sources of income, pushing their income somewhat higher. Farm workers (slave or free) had about the same income although slaves appear to have worked harder than free workers (250 vs. 150 days per annum on average; see Geraghty, 2007, p. 1040, fn. 21; based on Spurr, 1986).

Maddison (2008, pp. 47-50) distinguishes between free and slave labor using Scheidel's (1997) estimates for both the number of slaves and their annual number of workdays. For workers at average wage, he takes Goldsmith's estimate (as we do here too). For slaves, he assumes that their average income was 300 HS per annum and that they had only 0.25 dependents per person. This works out as 240 HS per capita, very close to our estimate of 234 HS.

The bottom line is that we have 93 percent of the population (workers, and farmers and farm workers) living on household income less than HS 800 (equal to the average wage) while that number reaches almost 97 percent in Maddison (2008). The difference is due to Maddison's disregards of the army in his calculations.

8/ From Milanovic (2006, Table 4), based on Goldsmith (1984, p. 268) and the amount of *alimenta* paid from the public treasury to boys under 15 years of age. Duncan-Jones (1982) gives a slightly different amount (16HS per month) for boys, and 10 HS per months for girls (quoted from Geraghty (2007, p. 1046, fn. 52).

Discussion.

(1) Slaves and landowners. Slaves are not shown as a separate social category. This is because their economic conditions covered practically the entire spectrum of incomes (with a possible exception of the very top). Their consumption levels varied widely: they ranged from being very rich (owning slaves themselves) to being very poor (mostly slaves engaged in mining). Even rural slaves, who were on average worse-off than urban slaves, were not just "all undifferentiated gang laborers; [on the contrary] there are lists of rural slave jobs that are as varied as the known range of urban or household slave jobs" (Temin, no date, p. 8). For the urban slaves, who were more numerous than rural slaves, ¹³ the prevalence of manumission made Roman slavery (unlike that in the Americas) an "open slavery". Schiavone (2000) and Temin (no date) discuss the position of slaves and the role of manumission at great length. Similarly, landowners are not shown separately as a class since most landowners belonged to the four top classes and their incomes from land are included in our totals.

(2) Top of the income distribution. The estimated Gini of between 37 and 40 might seem low in light of the excesses of wealth in Rome (see Table below with data gathered from Tacitus's *Annals*) But this extraordinary wealth was limited to a very few people at the very top. It is very unlikely that they would be even selected (so few they were) to participate in a modern random household survey. Moreover, their extraordinary wealth was not out of step with what we observe today. For example, the fabulously rich

¹³ According to Schiavone (2000, p.112), slaves represented 35 percent or more of Italy's population. And Italy was the most urbanized part of the Empire.

triumvir Marcus Crassus (-115 to -53) whose wealth was estimated at 200 million HS (Schiavone, 2000, p.71) and hence his income at HS 12 million per year,¹⁴ has more than a counterpart in today's Bill Gates and other super rich. Crassus's income was equal to about 32,000 mean Roman incomes. Using today's US GDI per capita, the equivalent would be an income of about \$1 billion per year. But this is an income that is easily made by many of today's hyper-billionaires and yet the overall inequality is not much affected by it. Bill Gates's fortune is estimated at \$50 billion which with 6% interest yields \$3 billion per year, i.e., three times as much as Crassus. According to The *Forbes' Magazine* 2007 list of richest people in the world,¹⁵ four individuals in the United States have wealth above \$20 billion, which would place them around Crassus's level.

	-		
	Amounts in HS	Amounts in terms of the estimated average annual	Source
		income (or GDP)	
From Annals			
Augustus' donative to each	1000	2.6	Book I, Chapter 8
pretorian guardsman (year 14)			_
Augustus' donative to each	300	0.8	Book I, Chapter 8
legionnaire and soldier of cohorts			
(year 14)			
Augustus' donative to people (year	43.5 million	0.2% of GDP	Book I, Chapter 8
14)			, î
Tiberius dowry to Agrippa's	1 million	~2600	Book II, Chapter
daughter (year 19)			86
Left by the Senate to Senator	5 million	~13,000 (or 5	Book III, Chapter
Marcus Piso after his punishment		times the	17
(year 20)		senatorial	
		census)	
Tiberius' personal loan to the banks	100 million	0.5% of GDP	Book VI, Chapter
(who were suffering from shortage			25
of funds; year 33)			
Tiberius' donative after a large fire	100 million	0.5% of GDP	Book VI, Chapter
in Rome (year 36)			51
Maximal lawyer's fee (year 47)	10,000	26	Book XI, Chapter
			7
Consular reward for raising a	5 million	5 times the	Book XII, Chapter
pertinent issue in the senate (paid to		senatorial census	53
a senator; year 52)			
Nero's guaranteed annual income	500,000	~1300	Book XIII, Chapter
for Messala (year 58)			34
Seneca's average annual earnings	75,000	~200	Book XIII, Chapter

Other incomes and wages compiled from Tacitus' *Annals* and *Histories* (for comparison and illustrative purposes):

¹⁴ Using the conventional interest rate of 6 percent (see Finley, 1985, p.104).

¹⁵ Available at <u>http://www.forbes.com/lists/2007/10/07billionaires_The-Worlds-Billionaires-North-America_6Rank.html</u>.

(years 55-58)			42
Nero's average annual gift to the	60 million	~0.3% of GDP	Book XV, Chapter
state treasury (year 61)			18
Nero's subsidy to each soldier after	2,000	5.2	Book XV, Chapter
they crushed Piso's conspiracy (year			72
65)			
Nero's gift to Lyon (Lugdunum)	4 million	~0.02% of GDP	Book XVI,
after a big fire (year 65)			Chapter 13
From <i>Histories</i> (year 69)			
Nero's total largesse (donatives	2.2 billion	~10% of GDP	Book I, 20
during his rule, 54-68)			
Tip to each member of a cohort	100	0.26	Book I, 24
whenever Galba (the emperor) dined			
General's bounty to each soldier	300	0.8	Book I, 66
Emperor's gift to troops after a	5,000	~13	Book I, 82
seeming revolt			
Vitellius (the short-lived emperor	900 million	~4% of GDP	Book II, 95
squanders money on banquets and			
debauch in a few months)			
A social climber's spoils during	7 million		Book IV, 42
Nero's rule			
State loan floated for public	60 million	~0.3% of GDP	Book IV, 47
subscription in 69			

Note: Augustus's donatives refer to the amounts given out at his death.

Inflation rate was estimated by Temin (2003, p. 149) to have been less than 1 percent per annum, up to the end of the Julio-Claudian era in 69. Thus, later (post-Augustan) incomes ought to be deflated accordingly.

(3) Top-to-bottom spread. Following Jongman (1988), Geraghty (2007, p. 1051) writes: "Indeed, the average senator generated 200 times more income than a peasant's subsistence wages in the early Imperium". Our numbers show this ratio to be 210.

Population and area: Population is taken from Goldsmith (1984: p. 263). Goldsmith also gives the area as 3.3 million km², while Taagepera (1979: Table 2, p. 125) gives 3.4 million km² (for year 1, wrongly labeled as year 0).

Urbanization rate: Goldsmith's (1984: pp. 272-3) range is 9 to 13 percent with the former number "nearer the lower boundary at the beginning of the principate." (The urbanization rate seems to have been calculated based on the cut-off point of 2-3,000 people). In addition to Rome, the population of which is conventionally estimated at 1 million (Bairoch 1985: p. 115), there were six cities (Carthage, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, Pergamum and Apamea) with the populations in excess of 100,000 (Schiavone 2000: p. 61). Taking their average size to be 150,000, it follows that about 2 million (or almost 4 percent of the population) lived in the cities that were larger than 100,000. For the urbanization rate, we use a median estimate of 10 percent. For Augustan Italy, the richest and most urbanized region of the Empire, the urbanization rate is estimated at

about 27 percent (1.2 million urban residents out of a population of 4.4 million (see Geraghty (2007, p. 1044, fn. 39, and p. 1048) and the references given there).¹⁶

Mean income in \$PPP: Obtained by expressing mean income from Goldsmith (HS 380) in terms of the subsistence minimum (estimated at HS 180), and then pricing the latter at \$PPP 300. This yields mean income of \$PPP 633 in 1990 prices. In his most recent "Contours of the World Economy, 1-2003 AD" (2008; Chapter 1) Maddison gives disposable per capita income for the Empire in year 14 as \$PPP 570. His approach in deriving this average is rather peculiar: it is obtained as an average of Roman incomes expressed in gold and wheat compared with 1688 purchasing power of English incomes in terms of wheat and gold (Maddison, 2008, p. 52).

Discussion

Temin (2003) argues that Goldsmith's calculation of the mean Roman income is too high. However, there are at least three counterarguments to Temin: (1) his critique of Goldsmith's calculations is not based on Goldsmith's methodology (which Temin praises) but on Goldsmith's apparent use of Rome-based wage rates for the rest of the Empire including Egypt where both wheat prices and wages were much lower in nominal terms. Temin then uses an average of the two nominal wage-rates, and obtains a significantly lower overall Imperial mean income. But that issue can be sidestepped by arguing that the Imperial numbers are expressed in Rome-city prices. This is acceptable since Temin (2003, p. 19) himself believes that *real* (wheat) wages in Egypt and Romecity were about the same. Thus, Temin's methodology of averaging two nominal wagerates seems faulty. (2) The level of infrastructural development, urbanization, size of a large standing army (almost ¹/₂ of a percent of total population), and the point made by Schiavone (2000) that regional differences in mean incomes might have been as high as 5 or even 6 to 1,¹⁷ imply that an overall Imperial mean income was unlikely to have been less than HS 380 (as calculated by Goldsmith) which, using the assumptions regarding the subsistence minimum, translates into about \$PPP 633 (in 1990 prices). (3) There is the consistency argument against changing Goldsmith's mean income while retaining all his other calculations.

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¹⁶ And, as today, the richest part was in the North: "...the forces of Vitellius now controlled the most prosperous area of Italy, including all the flat country and the cities between Po and the Alps" (Tacitus, *Histories*, Book II, Chapter 17).

¹⁷ If there are large inter-regional differences, and even the poorest region is at the subsistence, then the overall Imperial mean must be relatively high. Large regional differences are mentioned by Goldsmith too (1984: p. 265).

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South Serbia 1455

Income deciles	Percentage of population	Average per capita income (in <i>akches</i> per month)	Income in terms of per capita mean
1	10	49.45	0.54
2	10	66.38	0.72
3	10	72.13	0.79
4	10	75.95	0.83
5	10	80.41	0.88
6	10	86.70	0.95
7	10	92.94	1.01
8	10	99.77	1.09
9	10	114.70	1.25
10	10	181.57	1.98
Total	100	91.59	1

Income distribution data: The results are based on a detailed census conducted by the Ottoman authorities soon after the conquest of a part of Southern Serbia (a region which is smaller and contained within the territory of the currently disputed province of Kosovo). The census data were supposed to provide information about wealth, income and hence taxes to be paid by the Christian subjects (Muslims were exempt from the poll tax). In addition, household characteristics were included in order to gather information about the possible Army recruits. The results of the census (*defter* in Turkish¹⁸) whose original is kept in the Imperial archives in Istanbul have been pieces together (over some 20 years) translated and published in Serbian in a massive book edited by Miloš Macura (2001) of which economic data—used here—represent only a small fraction (see pages 107-118). (The book is much more focused on geography, demographic movements and ethnic composition.) The data are presented as mean incomes for each settlement (village), of which there are almost 700. So, this represents a fairly large set of numbers but there are two drawbacks—in addition to the usual one, namely that we do not know how reliable the original estimates are, nor how good are the imputations of different inkind incomes made by the authors of the book. First, the survey leaves out the top class of Turkish military leaders and landowners which was quite small (the region was conquered merely a few years earlier) but also rich, with extensive land holdings. Second, the village-level means conceal some variation between the households. The second element is probably small because of the general evenness of conditions of the conquered peasantry, but the first element imparts an obvious downward bias to inequality statistics. The income distribution table above summarizes the data by showing mean income per capita for the ten deciles of settlements (weighted by population). This means that all inhabitants of a settlement are supposed to have the same per capita income but settlements of different sizes are weighted appropriately.

¹⁸ See also the explanation given in the section on Levant.

Population and area: Total population is estimated at between 75 and 90 thousand (Macura 2001: pp. 20 and 25). Area is from Macura (2001: p. 79).

Urbanization rate: Very low since all settlements (with the exception of one) are tiny hamlets and villages. The Ottoman conquest was followed by a rapid decline in population and de-urbanization. It is estimated that between 1385 and 1455 population of the Brankovina region decreased by about a third, and the largest regional town (a mining center of Novo Brdo) became practically deserted. Macura does not provide an estimate, but based on his discussion, the urbanization rate of the whole area, of which the survey covers only a part, was around 2 or 3 percent.

Mean income in \$PPP: Mean income in terms of the subsistence minimum obtained as the ratio between the average per capita income from the census (91.6 akches per month) and the estimated subsistence minimum of 62 akches. The subsistence minimum is assumed to be one-half of a monthly Ottoman unskilled construction worker's daily wage (4.77 akches) as reported by Pamuk (2001) for the period 1460-1500.¹⁹ Using the amount of \$PPP 300 for the subsistence minimum, the ratio of 1.48 (91.6/62) translates into \$PPP 443.

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¹⁹ Assuming 26 working days in a month.

Income Class	Number of households	households per capita (baht of per ca		Income in terms of per capita mean
			per annum)	0.18
1	777455		6.70 5.48	
2	504047	4.34	7.97	0.26
3	297273	2.56	8.36	0.27
4	777455	6.70	8.44	0.28
5	777455	6.70	11.16	0.37
6	504047	4.34	13.14	0.43
7	297273	2.56	13.26	0.43
8	722467	6.22	13.43	0.44
9	777455	6.70	14.87	0.49
10	297273	2.56	17.58	0.58
11	504047	4.34	18.43	0.60
12	722467	6.22	23.23	0.76
13	297273	2.56	24.02	0.79
14	504047	4.34	26.33	0.86
15	777455	6.70	27.77	0.91
16	722467	6.22	32.60	1.07
17	722466	6.22	49.72	1.63
18	297272	2.56	51.95	1.70
19	504047	4.34	83.16	2.73
20	722466	6.22	117.54	3.85
21	101200	0.87	210.56	6.90
Total	11,607,407	100	30.42	1

Income distribution data: The income distribution data are taken from an extensive rural survey done in 1930-31 (Zimmerman 1999), which referred to the income period spring 1929 to spring 1930, a fairly normal year prior to the great depression and the fall in rice prices. While it included the province of Bangkok, it did not include the city itself (with a population of 506,000). However, provincial towns were included in the sample, which was reported by four regions (Center, South, North and Northeast) and five quintiles, yielding 20 income classes plus the top officialdom. All incomes are reported in nominal *bhat*. Persons per household were only available as regional averages. Since the original distribution excluded Bangkok, it excluded merchants, artisans and the urban poor. Call these the non-royal Bangkok residents. Having no information on any of these, we have in effect assumed that these economically heterogeneous groups among the nonroyal residents replicated their share distribution outside of Bangkok. We do not, however, ignore what we call the "officialdom" (the royal family, bureaucrats, and the church hierarchy) since we know a great deal more about this top Bangkok-located income group. Under the traditional system, officials were entitled to *kin muang*, or "eat the realm" (Zimmerman 1999: vii), that is to receive as income taxes paid by the peasants. Thus, we allocate the reported 21,308,381 in tax revenues (listed by household in the original) to the officialdom, and we estimate that their number was about a fifth of the Bangkok population (101,200 or 18,333 families). This gives us the 21st social class.

Population and area: Population of 11,607,407 from Wilson (1983: 32-34, augmented by the 101,200 officialdom), and the area is 513,115 km² (current area of Thailand).

Urbanization rate: The average of 9-11 percent given in Bairoch (1985, p. 522) for year 1930.

Mean income in \$PPP: 1929 GDP per capita in 1990 international dollars was 799 (Maddison 1995: 204).

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Tuscany .	1427
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Income Class	Number of	Percentage of	Average income	Income in terms
	people	people	per capita (florins	of per capita mean
			per annum)	
Lowest decile	3918	10.2	10.90	0.32
Second	3936	10.3	12.99	0.38
Third	3659	9.6	14.59	0.43
Fourth	3937	10.3	16.60	0.48
Fifth	3776	9.9	18.99	0.55
Sixth	3841	10.0	22.26	0.65
Seventh	3750	9.8	26.47	0.77
Eights	3864	10.1	33.44	0.98
Ninth	3796	9.9	47.98	1.40
Top decile	3827	10.0	138.79	4.05
Total	38304	100	34.23	1

Income distribution data: The underlying data from the special census of 1427-1429 cover the city of Florence and immediate Tuscan environs, and not the other territories that Florence controlled between the Appenines and the Mediterranean, using data from 1427 only. The data were originally collated in a famous study by David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Supan (1985). A newer version consists of the downloadable files at the Brown University site http://www.stg.brown.edu / projects / catasto. Peter Lindert later (January 2008) downloaded the same source's data on bocche (persons) and on real estate. We thank Maristella Botticini of Boston University for downloading most of the variables.

The assumptions behind our estimates are inevitably complex, because the catasto return itself is complex.

Herlihy and Klapisch-Supan (HK) capitalized yearly income estimates to get wealth at the rate of 7 percent. Thus, by taking 7% of wealth as property income, we are reversing their procedure.

Those assets exempted from the assessment included "the family home and its furnishings, and also the tools which supported the taxpayer in productive employment. They [also] gave favorable treatment to plow animals in the countryside and beasts of burden everywhere. They even allowed deductions for the costs of maintaining farm buildings and fertilizing fields." (Herlihy and Klapisch-Supan 1985, pp. 9-10).

More exemptions: "[E]very citizen of Florence was allowed to subtract 200 florins from his total assets for every family member." (p. 10.) We assume that this did not reduce the stated wealth figures here, and only reduced the taxes paid.

But "no deductions [of 200 florins of wealth, or 14 florins of income] be allowed for the mouths or heads of any salaried person, whether servant, nurse, clerk, employee or apprentice." (Source, as quoted in Herlihy and Klapisch-Supan 1985, p. 12.)

"By far the largest group of exempt persons was the clergy. From the number of parishes and religious institutions in Tuscany, we would estimate their size at some 7,000

to 8,000" (p. 25.) But this seems to be for all the territories controlled by Florence, not just for the city.

The assessments are apparently of wealth and income, not just taxable wealth and income.

We made three alternative sets of assumptions about income inequality in Florence 1427: TOO-EQUAL = A set of assumptions that with high probability will understate the inequality of income among households (and individuals); PREFERRED = A set of assumptions designed to estimate the median-probability Gini coefficient for incomes; and TOO-UNEQ = A set of assumptions that with high probability will overstate the inequality of income. [In addition, ALL = An assumption common to all three estimates. Such an assumption cannot, of course, be both too-equal and toounequal at the same time, but it is our belief that the other extreme assumptions succeed in putting bounds on the Gini coefficient.]

Asset incomes:

(1) We accept the Catasto's wealth estimates and its 7% rate of return as accurate. Exceptions are a few cases where the census data on the existence of an asset conflict with its zero valuations, as noted below.

Labor earnings rates:

(2) We matched 26 labor-intensive occupations from the catasto with four skills groups yielding direct wage estimates from other sources. We assumed that ordinary workers earned wages or salaries 260 days a year. For the other, more propertied, classes, we assumed: (2a) The TOO-EQUAL ASSUMPTION: Nobody had a labor income per earner that was higher than the 66 florins a year earned by the average clerk working on the catasto. This seriously under-rates the current earnings of managerial and highly skilled labor. (2b) The PREFERRED ASSUMPTION: For these more propertied classes, labor income = the mid-point between the labor income estimates in (3a) and (3c) below. (2c) TOO-UNEQUAL ASSUMPTION: Labor income = max (14 florins, the value of property income). This assumption denies the fact that incomes from non-human assets like land, bonds, and even commercial property must have soared above the labor earnings in the top quarter of the distribution.

(3) Earnings by non-heads in the household: Charles de la Roncière assumes that the expenditures (and, implicitly, income) of a Florentine worker's family of four people in 1369-1377 was 2.22 times the earnings of a bachelor with the same occupation.

So we assume that each non-head member of a working-class household raised income by 0.407 (=1.22/3) times the unskilled wage rate of 23.1 florins, or 9.4 florins. Such additional labor earnings were probably greater in lower-status households than in more propertied households, but we cannot assume so. Thus: (3a) TOO-EQUAL in TOTAL INCOME: Apply these non-head earnings only to the labor-intensive stated occupations. (3b) PREFERRED: Apply them to the stated labor-intensive occupations and to non-stated occupations, not to high-status. (3c) TOO-UNEQ: Apply these extra earnings to all households.

For a too-equal distribution for income per capita we added (3d) TOO-EQUAL in PER CAPITA: Assume that each non-head in the households with unskilled wage with stated labor-intensive occupations earned 4/5 of the unskilled wage, or 18.48 florins.

Home ownership, for those with occupations given:

(4) ALL: (4a) No adjustment is needed for the income value of owner-occupied housing in cases where the home's value was assessed. This is because the surveyors included such implicit income in their valuations.

We need a different approach for families where no real-estate value is given.

(4b) Where no real-estate value is given and the household does not own its residence (this should be a redundancy, but isn't one in fact), again no adjustment is needed.

(4c) BUT in cases where there is no real-estate value but the household is recorded as owning its home, we must multiply the stated incomes (property plus assumed labor earnings) by $1/(1-\rho)$.

Rho is the share of rental expenditures in total expenditures among households in Florence in 1369-1377 according to de la Roncière. It equals 3.8 percent for bachelors and 6.8 percent for a family of four. We use the 6.8 percent figure for all cases where bocche (persons) ≥ 2 .

(4d) Similarly, in 15 percent of cases where the household head either gets housing rent-free or nothing is said about ownership or rent, we multiply by $1/(1-\rho)$.

Rural households (Herlihy and Klapisch-Supan consider the no-occupation to be heavily rural):

(5a) TOO-EQUAL and PREFERRED estimates: No occupation listed, no cattle, and no home ownership, assume labor earnings = 14 for main earner.

(5b) ALL: No occupation, no cattle, owns home, and has real estate: assume an unskilled wage of 23.1.

(5c) ALL: No occupation, no cattle, owns home, BUT has no recorded real estate: again assume an unskilled wage of 23.1, but in these cases we must multiply total income by 1/(1-rho) because of the implicit value of housing, as in (5c) above.

(6) ALL: No occupation, no home ownership, but owns some beasts or cattle: A pretty rich group. Use 23.1 for the household head's labor income.

(7) No occupation, yes home owned, and owned some beasts and cattle (these tended to have above-average property income):

(7a) Head's income for TOO-EQUAL = 23.1.

(7b) Head's total income for PREFERRED = 23.1×1.5 .

(7c) Head's total income for TOO-UNEQ = 23.1×2 .

(8) TOO-UNEQUAL: As with the occupation-stated group,

Labor income = max (14 florins, and 1/4 the value of property income).

This overstates rural inequality, while honoring the likelihood that labor incomes were a much smaller share of high rural incomes than of high urban incomes.

Gini estimates:

Tuscan Gini coefficients (Gini1 = Gini2) for 1427, estimated using the assumptions described above:

	Too-equal (underestimate)	Preferred estimate	Too-unequal (over-estimate)
Gini for total household incomes	53.0	54.9	59.9
Gini for household income per capita	44.0	47.1	50.5

Population and area: Population taken directly from the census. Total number of households in the census is 9,779, and total population (*bocche*) is 38,340. Area from Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber (1985, p.39).

Urbanization rate: From Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber (1985, p. 56).

Mean income in \$PPP: We took the ratio of average income per capita for Tuscany (34.6 florins) to its subsistence income estimated at 14 florins a year, and applied this ratio (2.47) to the assumed level of subsistence of \$PPP300. Back in 1301 "Florence's yearly income was then an estimated 780,000 pounds or roughly 338,000 florins" (Herlihy and Klapisch-Supan, p. 2). Thus our estimate of 1,287,607 florins for 1427 implies a growth rate of 1.06 percent a year for the combination of average real incomes, population, and price inflation.

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Appendix 2: The w/y calculations

Observation	Gini mid-range Average Gini1 and Gini2	Average Economy Income (y)	Landless Peasant Income (Wr)	Urban Worker Income (Wu)	Wr/y	Wu/y
Rome 14 : "workers @ ave. wage" = Wu	37.9	380	234	304	0.62	0.8
"farmers & workers (free & slave)" = Wr <u>Byzantium 1000</u> : "urban marginals" = Wu "tenants" = Wr	41.1	6.22	3.5	3.5	0.56	0.56
England 1688: "laboring people & servants" = Wu "cottagers & paupers" = Wr	55.6	9.6	2	4.3	0.21	0.45
England 1759: "Iaborers, London" = Wu "Iaborers, country" = Wr	52.2	43.43	16	28	0.37	0.65
England 1801-3: "laborers in mines & canals" = Wu, "laborers in husbandry" = Wr	59.3	90.53	31	40	0.34	0.44
Naples 1811: "income classes 3-9" = Wu "income class 2" = Wr	28.3	65.8	44	50	0.67	0.75
India 1750: "village economy" = Wr	43.7	530	331		0.6	
India 1947: "landless peasants" = Wr	48.9	617	145		0.2	
Brazil 1872: male day laborers in agriculture = Wr	38.7	312	212		0.67	
<u>China 1880</u> : "commoners" = Wr	24.2	6.5	4.92		0.76	
Old Castille 1752: "Palencia city, three lowest classes" = Wu, "four rural districts, two lowest classes" = Wr	52.4	975.72	491	530	0.5	0.54
Nueva Espana 1790: "indigenous peasant" = Wr	63.5	252	61		0.24	

Sources: Ginis are the average of Actual Gini1 and Actual Gini2 from Table 2. Average economy incomes are from Appendix 1. Wr and Wu are from Appendix 1, as defined.

Appendix 3: Derivation of the top 1 percent income share

Define H(y) = cumulative percentage of people with incomes higher than y (the reverse of the normal distribution that cumulates people from the bottom income upwards).

Also H(y) follows a Pareto distribution:

(1) $H(y) = Ay^{-a}$

where *a*=Pareto exponent. If we do not have individual-level data but income distribution tables with grouped data (fractiles of income distribution), then *y* should ideally be the lower bound of the income interval. There are two differences between these requirements and the data we have. First, we have only social classes arranged by their mean incomes and population shares. In other words, we have percentages of people with an *average* income and do not know lower or upper bounds of their income ranges. Notice that the same problem exists when the data are arranged in deciles and only mean income by decile is available. Second, there are very likely "leakages"--namely people from lower (mean-poorer) social groups whose actual incomes are higher and should be part of the top (and the reverse). This problem is specific to the type of data we have here. These two departures of our data from the usual way income distribution statistics are displayed (even in grouped form) should be kept in mind.

Now, let us define G(y) = total income of those with incomes above y divided by total population; if it follows a Pareto distribution, then

(2)
$$G(y) = \frac{a}{a-1}Ay^{-(a-1)}$$

Also, by definition, y_h = mean income of people with income greater than y, and

$$G(y) = \frac{y_h H(y) N}{N}$$

This means

(3)
$$y_h = \frac{G(y)N}{H(y)N} = \frac{G(y)}{H(y)} = \frac{a}{a-1} \frac{A}{y^{a-1}} \frac{y^a}{A} = \frac{a}{a-1} y$$

For example, if the Pareto constant is 2, then mean income of those with income greater than y, will be 2y.

Using (1) and (2), we can link G(y) and H(y):

(4)
$$G(y) = \frac{a}{a-1}Ay^{-(a-1)} = \frac{a}{a-1}Ay^{-a}y = \frac{a}{a-1}H(y)y$$

Write the expression (4) to the exponent *a*:

$$(G(y))^{a} = \left(\frac{a}{a-1}\right)^{a} H^{a} y^{a} = \frac{a}{a-1} H^{a} \frac{A}{H} = KoH^{a-1}$$

where Ko = constant, and we use expression (1).

Now this means that

 $a \ln G = \ln K_0 + (a-1) \ln H = K + (a-1) \ln H$

where the constant K=ln Ko. Then,

$$\ln H = \frac{a}{a-1}\ln G + C$$

The ratio between the change in H and change in G is:

(5)
$$\frac{\ln H1 - \ln H2}{\ln G1 - \ln G2} = \frac{(a/a-1)\ln G1 - (a/a-1)\ln G2}{\ln G1 - \ln G2} = \frac{a}{a-1}$$

Expression (5) is the key relationship that we fit in order to get the Pareto constant and to interpolate for the values that we do not have in the original data. For example, in the case of Rome we have H1=1.71 and H2=0.29. Now, the H1 people receive 24.4 percent of total income. And H2 people receive 6.2 percent of total income. The top 1 percent receive the share that is between the two.

Using (2) we find that the share of total income received by people whose income is greater than y, s(y), is equal to:

(6)
$$s(y) = \frac{G(y)N}{\mu N} = \frac{G(y)}{\mu}$$

where μ =overall mean income.

We can then transform (5)

(7)
$$\frac{\ln H1 - \ln H2}{\ln G1 - \ln G2} = \frac{\ln H1 - \ln H2}{\ln s1 + \ln \mu - \ln s2 - \ln \mu} = \frac{\ln H1 - \ln H2}{\ln s1 - \ln s2} = \frac{a}{a - 1}$$

(7) will be the key relationship when we do the estimation. Thus,

$$\frac{\ln 1.71 - \ln 0.29}{\ln 24.4 - \ln 6.2} = \frac{0.536 - (-1.238)}{3.195 - 1.825} = \frac{1.774}{1.37} = 1.295$$

From which we find α =4.38.

Now, to find the income share of the top 1 percent, we use (7) again.

 $\frac{\ln 1.71 - \ln 1}{\ln 24.4 - \ln x} = 1.295$

 $\frac{0.536}{3.195 - \ln x} = 1.295$

And thus x=16.13.

We obtain the same result if we do:

$$\frac{\ln 1 - \ln 0.29}{\ln x - \ln 6.2} = 1.295.$$

Note that the data we have here are: (i) the bottom cut-off point (y), the share of people above that income level, H(y), and (iii) the share of total income they receive, s(y). The cut-off point is crucial. If we have only the means (for each fractile) and the percentage of people, we are effectively treating the fractile means as the bottom cut off points.

We can also get the important relationship between the income share and the number of people above the income level y. Using (4) and (6), we get

$$s(y)\mu = \frac{a}{a-1}H(y)y \quad \text{and} \\ s(y) = \frac{a}{a-1}H(y)\frac{y}{\mu}$$

If H(y)=1 percent, then $s(y)=(a/a-1)(y/\mu)$, where y is the cut-off point above which the top 1 percent of the population begins, and μ =overall mean. The ratio y/ μ expresses, in terms of the overall mean, income level where the top 1 percent of population begins (the 1 percent cut-off point). Going back to the Roman example where we found α =4.38 and s(y)=16.13, we can readily see that this implies a cut-off point of 12.4.