1	TECHNOLOGY, INSTITUTIONS, AND WEALTH INEQUALITY OVER ELEVEN MILLENNIA
2	
3	Mattia Fochesato ¹ and Samuel Bowles ^{2*}
4	
5	¹ NYU Abu Dhabi ² Santa Fe Institute
6	*Correspondence to: samuel.bowles@gmail.com
7	
8	Summary:

- 10 their long term evolution we study wealth inequalities over the past 11 millennia,
- 11 measured so as to be comparable across differing asset types and demographic structures.
- 12 The unparalleled temporal scope of these new data allows us to assess inequality under
- 13 widely varying technologies and politico-economic institutions.
- 14 We find that (with few exceptions) wealth disparities vary remarkably little among these
- 15 differing economies. They are no less in modern democratic and capitalist economies
- 16 than in the autocratic societies of the past, excepting slave economies; the only
- 17 populations with notably less inequality are those without a state organization exercising
- 18 a monopoly on the use of force.
- 19 We conjecture that where material wealth is less important as a factor of production (as in
- 20 many of the non state populations) it will be less unequally distributed.

Predictions of future economic inequality include both substantial declines and the opposite, exemplified by the prominent works of Kuznets and Piketty, respectively.^{1,2} These and other conjectures about trends in economic inequality are generally based on historical studies of past trends, along with models allowing predictions using expected movements in the influences on inequality.

Technology, institutions and inequality. Stressing technology and environment as 27 determinants of inequality, some economists derive hypotheses about inequality from the 28 characteristics of a production function.^{3,4} Similarly, the predictions concerning 29 inequality among non-human animals by behavioral ecologists derive from the nature of 30 31 the goods constituting the livelihood of a population, for example clumped or dispersed resources.⁵⁻⁷ Economists and behavioral ecologists alike would anticipate changes in 32 33 inequality to be associated with major developments in methods of production such as the 34 increased capital intensity of production brought about by machine-based production 35 during the industrial revolution or changes in the source of one's livelihood such as the prehistoric shift from wild to cultivated and tended plant and animal species.⁸⁻¹⁰ 36

By contrast, many historians,¹¹⁻¹³ sociologists of the "conflict" school^{14,15} and others¹⁶⁻¹⁸ focus on institutions and politics. For these scholars, the key to understanding the evolution of economic inequality is change in the distribution of political power, such as that which occurred due to the increasing domain of private property and the emergence of states by the Bronze Age, or the demise of slavery and feudalism and the rise of liberal democracy with universal suffrage as a form of rule.

Empirical investigations of the ways in which these two sets of influences affect the degree of economic inequality are hampered by the limited span of the available data. Even the best data sets from Kuznets in the 1950s to Atkinson, Piketty and their coauthors recently cover at most a few centuries in economies that, seen from the perspective of world history and prehistory, are quite similar in both institutions and technologies.^{1,2,19}

49 Here we broaden the range of variation of the determinants of inequality by studying 50 inequalities in material wealth in economies with vastly different technologies and 51 institutions. The technologies on which the economies we study are based range from

hunting and gathering, horticulture (low technology land abundant farming), agriculture,
and manufacturing as well as modern service-based economies. The institutions
governing these economies include common ownership of land, ancient slavery, early
modern centralized authoritarian systems and urban economies, and capitalist economies
governed by democratic states.

Comparing measures of wealth inequality. We measure between-family wealth 57 58 disparities by the Gini coefficient, a measure based on the entire distribution of wealth 59 that ranges from zero (all households have identical wealth) to 1 (all wealth is held by a single household). Our data set complements that of Milanovic, Lindert, and Williamson 60 on ancient income inequality²⁰ in that we measure a different dimension of inequality -61 wealth (a stock of assets) rather than income (a flow of services making up a household's 62 63 living standards). Our data are on individual households, while Milanovic and his co 64 authors construct inequality measures indirectly, using estimates of the size and average 65 incomes of population sub-groups.

66 Our measures of material wealth include the extent of land owned, taxable urban 67 property, size of homes and extent of stored food, and wealth included in burials, as well 68 as conventional modern measures of net worth. To compare wealth inequality across our 69 time period or among differing economic and political institutions we would ideally have 70 estimates based on the same type of asset, unit of observation, and population size.

Lacking a common measure of material wealth over our long temporal domain,
we adjust our estimates so that they measure inequality in the same hypothetical
benchmark with a common population size (1000 households), unit of observation
(household) and asset type (household wealth). Statistical methods and sources are
described in full in our online supplementary information.²¹

First, we need to convert individual level data to household equivalents when we do not know which individuals were paired in households, as is often the case with burial wealth. To do this we simulate a large number of hypothetical couples by matching males and females under a range of assumptions concerning the degree of wealth assortment in marriage. Household wealth is the sum of the wealth of the paired individuals.

81 Second, some measures of wealth – house size, for example – are more equally
82 distributed than others – burial wealth for example. To develop comparable measures for

the different asset types we exploit cases in which we have measures of multiple forms of
wealth in a single population to convert measures based on different wealth types to a
common form of wealth.

86 Third, because larger populations may include greater geographical and social 87 heterogeneity, and as a reason may exhibit greater wealth inequality, we adjust all 88 observations to a hypothetical common benchmark population size. We address this 89 problem using a quasi-experimental technique, exploiting three nested data sets – for medieval Finland, 19th century U.S. and a group of hunter-gatherers in pre-European 90 91 contact North America -- in which we can estimate wealth inequality at the level of both 92 a larger entity (a district, e.g.) and the lower level entities (the villages that constitute the 93 district).

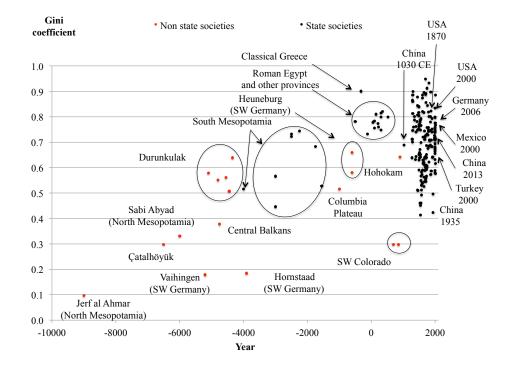
The thought experiment motivating our method is to imagine that we had data on wealth inequality in just one of the villages constituting a district and that we wanted an estimate of inequality in the district or some other larger population unit. The difference between the village and district inequality measures and populations is then the basis for our estimate of the scale effect at that level of population.

99 Wealth inequality over 11 millennia. Our comparability-adjusted data appear in 100 Figure 1. Given the extraordinary differences in both technologies and economic and 101 political institutions over this long period the generally high levels of inequality is 102 something of a surprise. The mean Gini coefficient for the entire period is 0.68 which is 103 to say that the mean difference between all pairs of households in the population is 1.36 104 times the average wealth level. A Gini coefficient of this magnitude describes an 105 economy of 10 individuals one of whom owns three quarters of the land, the rest owning 106 a quarter of the total acreage in total.

107 As surprising as the magnitude of these estimates is the similarity (with few 108 exceptions) of wealth inequality across quite different social structures. Analysis using 109 crude categories to capture differences in political and economic institutions, as can be 110 seen in Figure 2, yields small differences in the level of material wealth inequality.

111 Societies without states are the major exception to the lack of distinctiveness of 112 the institutional categories that we have used. We have identified 17 societies in which on 113 the basis of the historical and archaeological evidence available it seems likely that there

- 114 was no specialized cadre of individuals with a monopoly on the legitimate use of
- 115 violence. Average wealth inequality in these non-state societies is less than two thirds the
- 116 level of the state societies (p = .0001)



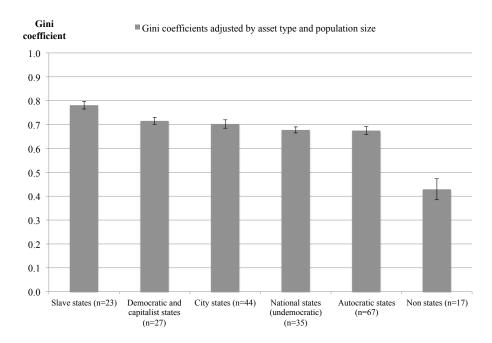
117

Figure 1. **Gini coefficients for material wealth**. Corrected for comparability with respect to household composition, asset type and population size.²¹

120 A less striking exception is the greater wealth disparity in the slave economies (including Roman Egypt, 18th century South Africa, 18th century Brazil, and the 121 Confederate states of the U.S. prior to the Civil War.) The greater inequality in these 122 economies, on average 0.092 Gini points more than the other state societies (p < 0.001), 123 is consistent with our estimates of the effect of the abolition of slavery based on a 124 comparison of slave and non-slave states before and after the Civil War.²² 125 126 What we term "democratic and capitalist" societies are characterized by civil 127 liberties, political competition and the absence of substantial restrictions of the right to 128 vote and a market economy based on the employment of labor by privately owned profit 129 making firms. In our data set they are a bit more unequal (0.023 Gini points; p=0.07) than the other state (non slave) economies The Gini coefficient for wealth in Sweden, for example, is substantially greater in recent years than was four centuries ago and also just prior to the advent of democratic rule early in the 20th century. The same is true of Finland in recent years compared to two centuries ago.

European wealth inequality over 7 centuries. Our data set allows us to explore long term trends in wealth inequality in a region that has a rich tradition of historical analysis of institutions, technology and other influences on wealth disparities. Our data are not sufficient to make inferences about trends within most localities or nations, but

they suggest three distinct periods for the region as a whole.



139

Figure 2. Gini coefficients across different political institutions. Error bars are the
 standard errors of the average Gini coefficients in each institutional category.²¹

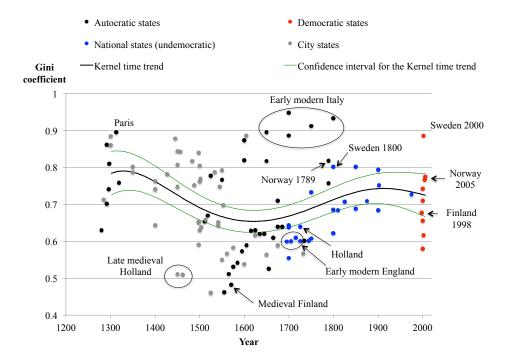
- --

143 Population declines, in some cases predating the bubonic plague in 1348 and

144 recurring with subsequent plagues in the next two a half centuries, affected the entire

- region, lowering the supply of labor relative to land and other forms of material
- 146 wealth.^{23,24} The effect broadly was to increase the bargaining power of labor both
- 147 employees and landless or land poor farmers -- vis a vis the owners of material wealth.

- 148 Throughout the region, the prices of agricultural goods relative to the manufacturing
- 149 goods fell and real wages rose.^{25,26}
- 150
- 151



152

Figure 3. Wealth inequality in Europe since 1250. The data points are comparability
adjusted Gini coefficients. The black line is a kernel trend estimate; the green lines are
confidence intervals.

156

157 Labor scarcity persisted as a result of extensive mortality in warfare and increased 158 trade and urbanization, which increased the reach and severity of epidemics.²⁷ The 159 diffusion in northern Europe of norms of increased labor force participation by women and delayed marriage, termed the European Marriage Pattern,^{28,29} also delayed the 160 161 demographic recovery, keeping labor scarce and real wages high. In addition, where the bargaining power of those with less wealth was considerable, as in 1380s England,³⁰ 162 163 increased wages and peasant incomes were stabilized by the emergence of new social 164 norms and less unequal relationships between the landed and the land-poor, allowing for a prolonged phase of reduced wealth inequality in Europe.¹¹ 165

166 This trend reversed around the beginning of the 17th century, consistent with recent 167 studies on early modern European regional inequality.^{2,31,32} A key development was the 168 recovery of population and labor supply,^{33,34} but unlike the regionally uniform positive 169 impact of labor shortages on wages following the plagues, the impact of greater labor 170 supply was uneven.

171 In southern, central and eastern Europe, wages fell as population recovered. But in 172 the northwestern areas wages had come to be substantially delinked from demographic 173 movements. The fact that in London, Amsterdam and other parts of northwestern Europe 174 wages responded little to the increase in labor supply may reflect the institutionalization 175 of the gains in bargaining power that the less well off had achieved under the preceding 176 period of labor shortage.³⁵

177 While incomes of the non-wealthy were sustained in the northwestern regions, 178 wealth disparities increased even in those areas, most likely in response to two 179 developments stressed by historians of the period. The Atlantic trade in sugar and other commodities allowed the accumulation of extraordinary wealth in some countries.^{36,37} It 180 181 also reduced the cost of calories, dampening upward pressures on the wage, as some of 182 the economies in the northwest expanded rapidly under the joint effects of the commercial and then industrial revolutions.³⁸ Also contributing to the dis-equalizing 183 184 trend, the accelerating introduction of labor-saving technologies raised output per worker 185 while avoiding labor shortages that might have allowed workers to raise their real wages.³⁹ 186

187 Central, eastern and southern European regions experienced an even more drastic 188 drop of the wage share of the national income. The recovery of labor supply in an 189 institutional setting characterized by substantial bargaining power by wealth owners 190 resulted in a generalized redistribution of social and economic power in favor of the 191 historical elites.¹¹ Labor contracts returned to feudal- like relationships, as with the return 192 of serfdom in eastern Europe, or to the reassertion of the economic and political interests 193 of rural elites, as in Italy.⁴⁰

194 The twentieth-century reversal of rising wealth inequality evident in the kernel 195 estimated trends in Figure 3 may have been the result a set of difficult-to-reverse policies 196 adopted during the world wars including greatly increased levels of taxation and the

spread universal suffrage during and in the aftermath of World War I. However, our data
indicate that even in the presence of effective policies of income redistribution though
taxes, transfers and other policies, extraordinary levels of wealth inequality persisted
even in the Nordic social democratic countries.⁴¹

201 Our European data suggest that changes in the broad categories of effects – 202 technology (including the ratio of labor to land and other forms of material wealth) and 203 institutions – thus may provide a contribution to the explanation of changes in wealth 204 disparities over the long run.

Egalitarian labor-limited economies. But in view of the major differences in technology and institutions among the economies in our data set, the similarity in the degree of wealth inequality is puzzling. The substantial inequality among the hunting and gathering populations on the Columbia River Plateau, for example, is not what one would expect if it had been the shift in technology from a reliance on wild species to cultivated plants and tended animals that brought about the considerable increase in inequality observed during the Neolithic period.

Also inconsistent with this view are the early food producing economies in Northern Mesopotamia (Jerf al Ahmar), Anatolia (Çatalhöyük) and Germany (Vaihingen and Hornstaad) respectively 11, 9 and 7 to 6 and millennia ago which are the least unequal economies in our entire data set.²¹ A recent ethnographic study also shows that the degree of material wealth inequality in horticultural economies is not significantly greater than that in hunting and gathering economies; but it is only a third of the levels of wealth disparity evident in pastoral and agricultural economies.⁴²

219 The fact that food production is sometimes not associated with the extraordinary 220 wealth inequalities that are common in our data set could be explained by the persistence in these populations of the egalitarian social norms and political practices that in mobile 221 hunter gatherers limited the accumulation of wealth.⁴³ It could as well be explained by 222 223 the limits to the degree inequality that is biologically feasible given the modest energetic output of an hour of labor under conditions likely to have obtained in the early 224 Holocene.^{44,45} The data do not allow us readily to distinguish between these two 225 226 accounts, one stressing politics and institutions the other focusing on technology.

227 But the substantial wealth inequality levels among the Columbia River sedentary 228 hunter gatherers and the absence of pronounced inequalities among some food producing 229 people are both consistent with the "clumped resources" explanation of inequality 230 mentioned at the outset. We know that the wealth differences among the Columbia River fishers was based on the heritable use of highly productive fishing sites.⁴⁶ Where these 231 and other defensible "clumped resources" were absent or unimportant to the livelihood of 232 233 a people, we conjecture, wealth inequality may have been limited. By this reasoning the 234 limited inequality of some food producing populations would be the result of the lack of 235 such high value and defensible resources.

236 These examples suggest a generalization of the clumped resources explanation. 237 On the basis of archaeological evidence it seems likely that the primary limiting factor of 238 production in the more egalitarian populations' livelihoods was human capabilities – 239 skills, strength, social networks -- rather than land, livestock or other capital goods, at 240 least by comparison to the other economies in our data set. The labor-limited character 241 of horticultural and mobile hunting and gathering economies may help to explain the 242 just-mentioned modest wealth inequality in these economies by comparison to the more 243 material-wealth-limited pastoral and agricultural economies.

Our conjecture is that where the production of goods and services is limited primarily by the amount of labor devoted to production, economic disparities, including inequalities in material wealth will be relatively modest. Reasons include the intrinsic biological and other limits to the degree of inequality in human capacities for labor and the fact that human capabilities are (excepting slave societies) not capable of being accumulated under a single owner.

250 Consistent with this view, the significantly greater inequality in slave economies 251 may be traceable to the fact that in these societies, the ownership of people converted 252 labor itself into a type of wealth that could be accumulated and transmitted across 253 generations. We also know from previous work⁴² that human capabilities are transmitted 254 from parents to offspring to a considerably lesser extent than is the case for material 255 wealth, thereby limiting the extent to which differences in wealth accumulate from one 256 generation to the next.

257 The labor-limited versus material wealth limited distinction is well illustrated by 258 some of the earliest observations in our set: Catalhöyük in Anatolia, and the Durunkulak -259 Hamangia site in what is now Bulgaria. Both engaged in land abundant farming (of 260 similar crops), but the latter also produced salt ingots (which also served as currency) 261 using highly capital intensive methods. The former was a labor-limited economy; the 262 latter was material wealth limited. The Durunkulak - Hamangia economy is associated 263 with the extraordinarily opulent burials at Varna, suggestive of extreme and inherited wealth differences.⁴⁷ Our estimate of wealth inequality at Catalhöyük –described by one 264 of its leading archaeologists as "aggressively egalitarian" 48 – is about half of that at 265 266 Durunkulak – Hamangia. Evidence on the farming methods at the three other egalitarian 267 populations mentioned above also suggests that they are labor limited.

268 Figure 4 explores the labor-limited hypothesis. We present the frequency 269 distribution of our data, excepting the four labor-limited cases just mentioned, the mean 270 of which is shown separately. We also provide two measures of inequality in human 271 wealth. First is the mean Gini coefficient from a series of 18 measures of human 272 capacities such as strength, hunting ability, knowledge in various productive areas, and farming skill based on an ethnographic study of wealth in its many forms.⁴² The second is 273 274 the mean Gini coefficient for years of schooling within five age cohorts across 42 contemporary nations.⁴⁹ Consistent with the logic of the limiting factor hypothesis, the 275 276 data suggest that human capacities are far less unequally distributed than is material 277 wealth, and that material wealth is less unequally held in labor-limited economies 278 (though this last observation is based on such very limited data).

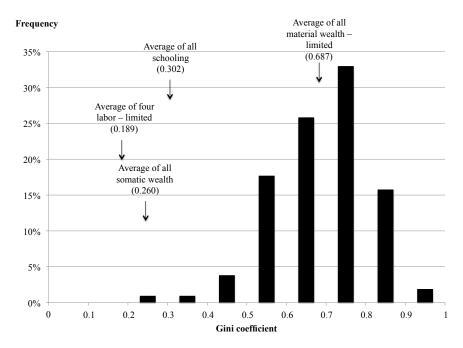
If our conjecture on the sources of inequality is borne out by further study it would provide a possible explanation of the apparent increase in the levels of wealth inequality over the first 10 thousand years evident in Figure 1. Earlier populations may have been predominantly labor-limited – with exceptions such as Durunkulak – until the introduction of the oxen-drawn plough (an important labor-saving and land-using innovation) tipped the balance of scarcity among the factors of production in the direction of a material wealth limited economy.

Because the labor-limited cases that we have just described are also populations
without states, in the absence of more adequate measures of the labor-limited status of

288 our cases we have not been able to explore how these two possible influences on

289 inequality might have interacted. A labor-limited economy may well have posed

impediments to the emergences of states; but we leave these proposals as conjectures.



291

Figure 4. Frequency distribution of Gini coefficients for material wealth over 11,000
 years. The four labor limited economies are excluded from the black bars.²¹

295 Discussion. Inequalities in material wealth contribute to inequalities in living 296 standards as measured by disposable income, that is income net of transfers to (taxes, 297 e.g.) and from (income support e.g.) the government. But across the contemporary 37 298 countries for which comparable data are available (mostly but not exclusively OECD) 299 less than a third of between-country differences in disposable income inequality is 300 attributable to between- country differences in market income inequality (that is, before taxes and transfers.) The rest is attributable to the fact that countries differ substantially in 301 302 the extent of redistribution, as measured by the difference between the Gini coefficient for market and for disposable incomes.²¹ 303

Ethnographic evidence suggests an even greater role for consumption smoothing institutions among mobile hunter gatherers. In three Latin American and one African forager group a mean of almost two-thirds (by calories) of the food acquired by an individual is consumed by those beyond his or her immediate family.⁴¹ 308 Our data motivate two questions about the future trajectory of inequality in living 309 standards under the influence of rapidly changing technology in the production and 310 distribution of information and the changes in social structure and institutions likely to 311 accompany this technological revolution. The first is: will the knowledge- and service-312 based economy now emerging in the high income economies represent a shift towards a 313 system of production that is limited more by scarce human capabilities than by capital 314 goods and other forms of material wealth? And, second, will the politics of this new 315 technological and institutional environment sustain a substantial degree of egalitarian 316 redistribution, as has been the case in many democratic and capitalist nations over the 317 past half century? Positive answers to both questions would lend support to Kuznets 318 conjecture of a possible future with reduced disparities in living standards (although on 319 different grounds); while negative replies would support Piketty's contrary scenario.

1 Kuznets, S. Economic Growth and Income Inequality. *American Economic Review* **65**, 1-28 (1965).

2 Piketty, T. *Capital in the twenty-first century*. (Harvard, 2013).

3 Ferguson, C. E. Neoclassical Theory of Technical Progress and Relative Factor Shares. *Southern Economic Journal* **34**, 490-504 (1968).

4 Solow, R. A contribution to the theory of economic growth. *Quarterly Journal of Economic s* **70**, 65-94 (1956).

5 Vehrencamp, S. A Model for the Evolution of Despotic versus Egalitarian Societies. *Animal Behaviour* **31**, 667-682 (1983).

6 Menard, N. in *Macaque Societies: A model for the study of social organization* (eds Bernard Thierry, Mewa Singh, & Werner Kaumanns) (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

7 Mitchell, C., Boinski, S. & van Schaik, C. P. Competitive regimes and female bonding in two species of squirrel monkeys (Saimiri oerstedi and S. sciureus). *Behavioral Ecology and Sociobiology* **28**, 55-60 (1991).

8 Scott, J. *Grain and Power: The Agro ecology of Early Statemaking* (Yale University, 2017).

9 Childe, V. G. *What happened in history?*, (Penguin, 1942).

10 Allen, R. Agriculture and the Origins of the State in Ancient Egypt. *Explorations in Economic History* **34**, 135-154 (1997).

11 Brenner, R. Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe. *Past and Present* **70**, 30-70 (1976).

12 Wright, G. Sharing the Prize: The economics of the civil rights revolution in the *American south*. (Harvard University Press, 2013).

13 Lindert, P. & Williamson, J. *Unequal Gains: American growth and inequality since 1700.* (Princeton University Press, 2016).

14 Wright, E. O. *Class structure and income determination*. (Academic Press, 1979).

15 Dahrendorf, R. *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Societies*. (Stanford University Press, 1959).

16 Scheidel, W. *The Great Leveler: Violence and the History of Inequality from the Stone Age to the Twenty-first Century.* 523 (Princeton University Press, 2017).

17 Acemoglu, D. & Robinson, J. A. Foundations of Societal Inequality. *Science* **326**, 678-679 (2009).

18 Boehm, C. Egalitarian Behavior and Reverse Dominance Hierarchy. *Current Anthropology* **34**, 227-254 (1993).

19 Atkinson, A., Piketty, T. & Saez, E. Top Incomes in the Long Run of History. *Journal of Economic Literature* **49**, 3-71 (2011).

20 Milanovic, B., Lindert, P. H. & Williamson, J. G. Pre-Industrial Inequality. *The Economic Journal* **121**, 255-272 (2010).

21 Fochesato, M. & Bowles, S. Technology, institutions and wealth inequality over eleven millennia. Supplementary Information. (2017).

22 Fochesato, M. & Bowles, S. Institution Shocks and the Dynamics of Wealth Inequality: Did the Abolition of Slavery in the U.S. Equalize the Wealth Distribution. *Santa Fe Institute working paper* (2017). 23 Biraben, J. N. Les hommes et la peste en France et dans les pays européens et méditerranéens., (Den Haag, 1975).

24 Herlihy, D. *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West*. (Harvard University Press, 1997).

Allen, R. The Great Divergence in European Wages and Prices from the Middle Ages to the First World War. *Explorations in Economic History* **38**, 411-447 (2001).

Pamuk, S. The Black Death and the origins of "The Great Divergence" across Europe, 1300-1600. *European Review of Economic History* **11**, 289-317 (2007).

27 Voigtländer, N. & Voth, J. The Three Horsemen of Growth: Plague, War and Urbanization in Early Modern Europe. *Review of Economic Studies* **80**, 774–811 (2013).

28 Hajnal, J. in *Population History: Essays in Historical Demography* (eds D. Glass & D. Eversley) (Aldine, 1965).

29 Voigtländer, N. & Voth, J. How the West "Invented" Fertility Restriction. *The American Economic Review* **103**, 2227–2264 (2013).

30 Hilton, R. H. Bond Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381. (Taylor and Francis, 2003).

31 Van Zanden, J. L. Tracing the Beginning of the Kuznets Curve: Western Europe during the Early Modern Period. *The Economic History Review* **48**, 643-664 (1995).

32 Alfani, G. & Ryckbosch, W. Growing apart in early modern Europe? A comparison of inequality trends in Italy and the Low Countries, 1500-1800. *Explorations in Economic History* **1**, 21-68 (2016).

Bairoch, P., Batou, J. & Chèvre, P. La population des villes européennes, 800-1850 : banque de données et analyse sommaire des résultats = The population of European cities, 800-1850 : data bank and short summary of results. (Droz, 1988).

34 Livi Bacci, M. *A Concise History of World Population*. 4th edn, (Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2007).

35 Fochesato, M. Origins of Europe's North-South Divide: Population changes, real wages and the 'Little Divergence' in Early Modern Europe. *Santa Fe Institute working paper* (2016).

36 Brenner, R. *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653.* (Princeton University Press, 1993).

37 Landes, D. S. *The wealth and poverty of nations: Why some are so rich and some so poor.* (W.W. Norton & Co., 1998).

38 Pomeranz, K. *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy.* (Princeton University Press, 2000).

Allen, R. in *Living Standards in the Past. New Perspectives on Well-Being in Asia and Europe* (eds R. Allen, T. Bengtsson, & M. Dribe) (Oxford University Press, 2005).
Conti, E. *La formazione della struttura agraria moderna nel contado fiorentino.* (Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 1965).

41 Fochesato, M. & Bowles, S. Nordic exceptionalism? Social democratic egalitarianism in world-historic perspective. *Journal of Public Economics* **127**, 30-44 (2015).

42 Borgerhoff Mulder, M., Bowles, S. *et al.* Intergenerational Wealth Transmission and the Dynamics of Inequality in Small-Scale Societies. *Science* **326**, 682-688 (2009).

43 Boehm, C. *Hierarchy in the Forest*. (Harvard University Press, 2000).

44 Milanovic, B., Lindert, P. H. & Williamson, J. G. Pre-industrial Inequality. *Economic Journal* **121 551**, 255-272 (2011).

Bowles, S. The cultivation of cereals by the first farmers was not more productive than foraging. *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. USA* **108**, 4760-4765 (2011).

46 Hayden, B. *The Pithouses of Keatley Creek*. (Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1997).

47 Nikolov, V., Petrova, V. *et al. Provadia-Solnitsata. Archaeological Excavation and Research, 2008. Preliminary Report.* (2009).

48 Hodder, I. Çatalhöyük: the leopard changes its spots. A summary of recent work. *Anatolian Studies* **64**, 1-22 (2014).

49 Hertz, T., Jayasundera, T. *et al.* The inheritance of educational inequality: International comparisons and fifty-year trends. *B.E.Journal of Economic Analysis and Policy* **7**, Article 10 (2007).

Acknowledgements: We thank [to be completed] for their contributions to this paper and the Dynamics of Wealth Inequality Project of the Santa Fe Institute's Behavioral Sciences Program for financial support.

Author Contribution: The authors contributed equally to this work.

SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION

Technology, institutions and wealth inequality over eleven millennia

Mattia Fochesato¹ and Samuel Bowles²

¹NYU Abu Dhabi, ²Santa Fe Institute

1	Introduction	2
2	Demographic adjustments	3
	2.1 From individual to household inequality in grave wealth2.2 Accounting for those without wealth	6
	2.2.1 Mesopotamia, Classical Greece, and Roman Towns and Villages2.2.2 Late Medieval Paris	
	2.2.3 Late medieval and early modern Italian regions	14
	2.2.4 Ottoman urban areas	14
3	Comparability across sites: Adjustment for asset type	15
	3.1 Aggregating wealth types	
	3.1.1 In archaeological data	
	3.1.2 Jerf al Ahmar	
	3.1.3 Knossos	
4	3.2 Correcting for wealth inequality computed on different asset types	
5	Population size and inequality	27
	5.1 Methods: Naïve and nested	28
	5.2 The nested method and the adjustment of the Gini coefficients	33
6	A note on the interpretation of the Gini coefficient	35
7	Inequality and institutions in historical perspective	36
8	A note on wealth inequality in contemporary Scandinavian countries	39
9	Redistribution and market income	43
10	Labor limited farming economies: ethnographic and econometric evidence	44
11	Sources used for somatic wealth and schooling inequality	47
12	2 Dataset description	48

1 Introduction

We present the methods of estimation for 213 measures of between-household material wealth inequality from archaeological and historical sources, dating from human prehistory to the present. The estimates are inevitably subject to considerable imprecision and bias given the limitations of the data available. We have sought to identify and to minimize bias and imprecision in our estimates so as to provide the basis for comparative studies of inequality of wealth measured across the vast differences in technology, institutions and other possible influences on inequality over this 11 millennium time period.

By material wealth we mean such alienable as tools, livestock, household assets (including dwellings) and land associated with a flow of valued services (income or other) contributing to the living standard of the owner. We measure inequality using Gini coefficients adjusted so as to be comparable across differing asset types, population and units of observation (individuals or households).

To provide a preview of our methods, Figure 1 illustrates our comparability adjustment using a group of Gini coefficients estimated from 498 observations on grave wealth among a pre-European-contact population of fishers at 22 burial sites on the Columbia Plateau in Washington, Oregon and California, presented in Schulting (1995). The unadjusted Gini ratio for the aggregate value of grave goods of the entire population is 0.622. This is the first number in the lower left of the figure. Then (the methods are described in detail in section 2 below) we create fictitious 'couples' under a range of degrees of wealth assortment in marriage and compute the Gini ratio for this population of 'husband-wife' households as 0.541, a reduction reflecting a lack of perfect wealth assortment in our "marital" matching algorithm.

Then, because grave goods are a distinctive indicator of a household's wealth that is typically more unequal than our benchmark asset type, household wealth (as we will show in sections 3 and 4) we adjust this estimate to our benchmark asset type (total household wealth), and we get a Gini coefficient adjusted by asset type equal to 0.510. Finally because the relevant population is smaller than our benchmark population, and because larger populations tend to be more unequal due to a pure scale effect (section 5) we estimate the level of the Gini that would correspond to a hypothetical population size equal to our benchmark level of a thousand households, arriving at our comparability adjusted estimate for the Columbia Plateau, namely

Households All Gini adjusted by common Household Gini All Gini for a wealth type and benchmark Households for wealth type i scale effect to Individuals wealth type i (2.1)in economy of a benchmark population 3 population n (3) (5) Missing (property) households (2.2)EXAMPLE: ADJUSTMENT OF COLUMBIA PLATEAU GINI COEFFICIENT Gini coefficient of Gini coefficient all individuals used in our computations 0.541 0.510 0.622 0.515 Common owned hp unit inclusive of those Common population Common asset type without wealth

Figure 1: **Overview of comparability adjustment methods**. Numbers in parentheses refer to sections of this document where the relevant adjustment is made. At the bottom of the figure is an example of adjustment of the Gini coefficient for the Columbia Plateau. Source: see text.

2 Demographic adjustments

0.515.

2.1 From individual to household inequality in grave wealth

In addition to the Columbia Plateau data we estimate Gini coefficients from grave wealth of 254 individuals at 5 burial sites in, Hohokam, Arizona, from McGuire (1992). The unadjusted Gini ratio for that entire population is 0.772.

Because household membership cannot be identified from the burial remains, we calculate a between-household inequality measure as follows. We identify, both from the Columbia Plateau and the Hohokam archaeological excavations, the burial sites with the greatest number of gender-identified observations. In Columbia Plateau they are Wildcat Canyon, Berrian's Island and Sheep Creek. In Hohokam only the Belleview site has a sufficient number of gender-identified graves. On the selected four sites we implemented the following method. First, we computed the Gini coefficient of individuals' wealth (only among the individuals whose gender is identified.) Second, we estimated the Gini of hypothetical couples' wealth where males and females were matched into "couples" assuming maximal wealth assortment, i.e. richest females are matched with richest males and poorest females

with poorest males.¹ Couples' wealth is the sum of the wealth of the individuals matched. Third, we computed the Gini coefficients on couples' wealth with couples generated assuming random assortment, i.e. males and females were randomly matched irrespective of wealth.² Table 1 presents the results of the method implemented. (The !Kung provide a robustness test that we explain below.)

Society	Site	Gini on individuals	Gini wealth assortment	Gini random assortment (average across 10 rounds)	Average Gini of couples' wealth	μ
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Hohokam	Belleview	0.668	0.704	0.502	0.603	0.87
	Wildcat Canyon	0.593	0.621	0.471	0.546	0.92
Columbia Plateau	Berrelan's Island	0.489	0.495	0.341	0.418	0.85
	Sheep Creek	0.712	0.682	0.529	0.605	0.85
!Kung	-	0.219	0.196	0.136	0.166	0.77

Table 1: Gini coefficients of grave wealth for individual and couples. Shown in column (3) are the Gini computed only across the gender-identified individuals in each site and in column (4) those computed on couples' wealth when individuals are matched through wealth assortment. Column (5) reports the average Gini coefficient across the ten rounds of random assortment. Column (6) is the mean of the Gini in columns (4) and (5). Shown in column (7) are the ratios μ in each archaeological site and in the !Kung data set and obtained as the fraction between the average Gini of couples' wealth, column (6), and the Gini of individuals' wealth, column (3).

We let μ be the ratio of the average Gini coefficients estimated from couples to the one estimated from individual data. Remarkably, it is equal to 0.87 both in the Columbia Plateau data (the value is obtained averaging the three μ for Columbia Plateau shown in column (7) of Table 1) and for Hohokam. For both cases, we use μ =0.87 to obtain the couples' corrected Gini estimates for whole population.

In the Columbia Plateau dataset, we then take the Gini coefficient computed on

¹ In the perfect assortment algorithm when females outnumber males (or vice versa), in order to not lose information, the poorest female is matched with a fictitious male with a wealth equal to the wealth of the poorest man.

² We first created a vector made of females observations randomly ordered and then assigned each element of the vector (first to last) to an element of the males vector ordered per increasing wealth. When females outnumbered males (or vice versa) some males were randomly drawn twice to couple any female. The random draw was repeated ten times to check sensitivity of random choice on estimated coefficients.

all the individual graves (0.622) and multiply it by the μ =0.87 ratio, to obtain the estimated Gini on couples' wealth equal to 0.541 (these numbers are also the first two shown at the bottom left of Figure 1.) Applying the same procedure to the Hohokam dataset, we multiply the Gini of individuals' wealth (0.772) by the μ ratio found in the Hohokam Belleview site (0.87) and we obtain the estimated Gini coefficient of couples' wealth (0.671.)

We have also used the μ ratio equal to 0.87 to adjust all the other Gini coefficients in our dataset that were originally estimated on individuals rather than households. These are estimates from the Varna archeological site, Windler, Thiele et al. (2013), the ancient Balkans, Porčić (2012), grave goods inequality in ancient Mesopotamia, Stone (2016), probate inventories in the Ottoman Empire, Establet and Pascual (2009), Coşgel and Ergene (2011) and Cosgel (2013), probate inventories in 18th-20th century Sweden, Bengtsson (2016) probate inventories in the 19th -20th century Canadian regions, Di Matteo (2016)³ and 17th-20th century England, Di Matteo (2016).

The fact that our algorithm applied to the Hohokam and Columbia Plateau sites yields identical results ($\mu = 0.87$ in both cases) is encouraging. But we also have a dataset with information on individual's wealth and actual couples' composition. So we can check if the Gini for couples obtained through our method is close to the Gini computed on the wealth of true couples. We do this using the information on individuals' wealth in the !Kung population described in Wiessner (1982). To replicate our methods used on the Columbia and Hohokam data sets, we estimate couple's wealth as the simple sum of all the items owned by the male and the female member and we compute the Gini coefficient based on this sum for all couples, which is equal to 0.168. We then replicate for the !Kung the couples' matching procedures described above for the archaeological datasets. In other words, we use the individual observations as if we knew nothing about who was paired with whom in reality, which is the problem we confront with the burial data. We then we create hypothetical couples by wealth assortment as well as through ten random assortments. Averaging the Gini coefficients obtained through the two assortment methods, we get a Gini coefficient equal to 0.166.

³ The two Gini coefficients are the average value across the available estimates of the regions of Thunder Bay Ontario, Toronto, Manitoba and Wentworth county, in two 50- years intervals: 1850-1899 and 1900-49. See Di Matteo (2016) for more details on the sources.

2.2 Accounting for those without wealth

Gini coefficients computed on data from historical documents such as tax registers or probate inventories often report the wealth owned only by those paying taxes or having a sufficient amount of wealth to write wills. Where the number of excluded non owners is substantial, which is common, this results in a substantial underestimate of the degree of inequality in the whole population. Where we do not have the raw data, but only a reported Gini coefficient, to include the non owners (who we will call the 'missing zeros') we need two pieces of information. The first is how numerous the missing zeros are, which we estimate from historical sources about the population in question. The second is an estimate of the effect of excluding zeros on the Gini coefficient, which we obtain by studying populations on which we have both owners and zeros and can artificially remove the zeros.

To estimate the effect of missing zeros we use 23 complete distributions of different forms of wealth: grave wealth of 22 burial sites from the Columbia Plateau three millennia ago, and land ownership in Krummohorn, Germany three centuries ago (Borgerhoff -Mulder, Bowles et al. (2009).) We estimate eq. (1) predicting the Gini coefficient computed on the whole sample ($Gini_{inc}$) as a function of the Gini computed on the population without individuals with zero wealth ($Gini_{exc}$) and the fraction of non-owners in the population (Zeros).

$$(Gini_{inc})_i = b_0 + b_1(Gini_{exc})_i + b_2Zeros_i + b_3(Gini_{exc})_i^2 + b_4(Gini_{exc})_i * Zeros_i + b_5Zeros_i^2 + e_i$$
(1)

Table 2 shows data used for the adjustment (for the moment ignore column 6). The results of the estimation in Table 3 show that the equation provides a reasonably precise estimate of the effects, and it provides the basis for our upwards adjustment of the Gini coefficients with missing zeros. Figure 2 shows the relationship between the true Gini coefficients of the 23 wealth distributions used in the adjustment and the Gini's estimated with the above method. We label the Krummhorn observation in the figure as it confirms that the very different asset type, institutional setting and historical period that it represents does not result in its being in any way atypical. In the next three subsections we explain how the correction has been used for the following cases: ancient Mesopotamia, Classical Greece and the Roman Empire as

well as tax rolls in late medieval Paris; and probate inventories in cities of the Ottoman Empire.

Society	Sample size	Fraction of zeros	Gini _{exc}	Gini _{inc}	Gini _{without}
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Dalles- Deschutes	34	0.41	0.461	0.683	0.373
Congdon	30	0.10	0.285	0.356	0.179
Beek's pasture	18	0.44	0.494	0.719	0.270
Sundale	19	0.47	0.494	0.734	0.270
Juniper	22	0.18	0.445	0.546	0.299
Wildcat Canyon	32	0.31	0.486	0.647	0.402
Berrelan's Island	33	0.12	0.466	0.531	0.314
Yakima Valley	22	0.45	0.392	0.668	0.322
Selah	12	0.16	0.192	0.326	0.107
Sheep Island	22	0.31	0.428	0.610	0.301
Okonogan	18	0.38	0.35	0.603	0.247
Keller Ferry	12	0.58	0.235	0.681	0.121
Whitestone Creek	38	0.34	0.338	0.564	0.215
45-FE-7	24	0.58	0.44	0.767	0.386
45-ST-8	15	0.26	0.246	0.447	0.229
Sheep Creek	38	0.44	0.513	0.730	0.397
45-ST-47	11	0.09	0.527	0.570	0.317
Nicoamen	15	0.13	0.448	0.521	0.369
Nicola Valley	10	0.20	0.259	0.407	0.106
Koomloops/Chase	24	0.04	0.272	0.302	0.198
Rabbit Island	26	0.03	0.349	0.418	0.326
Fish Hooks Island	23	0.21	0.577	0.669	0.515
Krummhorn	1602	0.54	0.554	0.708	0.452

Table 2: **Gini coefficients in 23 populations.** The first 22 rows show the computations for the Columbia Plateau dataset, while the last row shows the computation for the non archaeological dataset. Column (4) reports coefficients computed on the population without individuals owning no wealth. Column (5) shows Gini computed on the whole population. The last column provides the Gini coefficients computed on the non-zero population without the richest 10% and poorest 15% of population. (Used for adjustment in late medieval Paris. (section 2.2.2.) Note that the Gini coefficients of the whole population, column (5), in Berrelan's Island, Wildcat Canyon and Sheep Creek are different than those reported for the same three sites in column (3) of Table 1. The reason is that while in Table 1, the Gini coefficients were computed only on the gender identified individuals, here the Gini are estimated on all the individuals at the site.

	Estimated coefficients
(1)	(2)
Intercept	-0.009
mercept	(0.025)
Gini _{exc}	1.153***
Gimexc	(0.133)
Zeros	0.885***
Zeros	(0.059)
Gini _{erc} ²	-0.211
Gimexc	(0.170)
Gini _{exc} *Zeros	-0.962***
Gimexc Zeros	(0.098)
Zeros	0.133*
Leros	(0.073)
n	23
R^2	0.997

Table 3: **Results of the relationship between missing zeros and the Gini coefficient.** Shown are, for each independent variable in eq. (1) the coefficients estimated through OLS, column (2). Standard errors in parentheses. ***Significant at 99%. **Significant at 95%. * Significant at 90%.

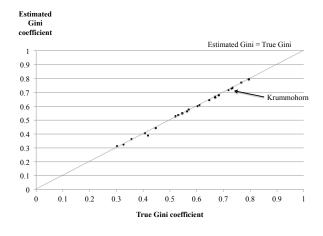


Figure 2: **Estimated and true coefficients for 23 populations**. Shown is the relationship between the Gini coefficients estimated with equation (1) from data in Table 2 columns (4-5). The arrow shows the predicted Gini coefficients of the largest dataset used in the estimation.

2.2.1 Mesopotamia, Classical Greece, and Roman Towns and Villages

The estimates of inequality of grave goods in the ancient southern Mesopotamia, Stone (2016), include the missing zeros among the free population, but exclude the slaves, who lived and worked in the urban centers. We describe below how we approximate the proportion of slaves in the ancient Mesopotamia urban population, reconstructing the number of slaves living in the city of Uruk in 3000 BCE. We then apply the resulting slave ratio to the different periods (4th to 2nd millennium BCE) covered by the inequality estimates (house space and grave goods) in southern Mesopotamia.

According to Westenholz (2002), the total population of Uruk in 3000 BCE numbered 40-45,000 individuals (including free and slave households.) Taking as total population number the midpoint 42,500 and considering that about 9,000 of them were slave workers employed in the textile sector, Jacobsen (1953) and McC. Adams (1978), the first estimate of the slave percentage of the total population is equal to 21%. In addition, we add to this estimate also the slaves employed as household workers in private, public and temple households. To estimate how many of the extant 33,500 individuals were household slaves, we use the estimated proportion between free individuals and household slaves provided by Diakonoff (1969) from which we find that of every 100 free individuals about 16 were privately owned slaves (our computation from Diakonoff (1969) p. 175) employed as household workers. If we apply this ratio to the 33,500 individuals, we find that about 28,100 were free individuals, while 5,400 were the slaves privately owned by households. Summarizing, we count 14,400 slaves (textile workers and household workers), who accounted for 34 percent of the Uruk population. This is the ratio of missing zeros we use in our adjustment of the Gini estimates in southern Mesopotamia, 4th-2nd millennia BCE.

Household wealth inequality in the 321 BCE Athens in the available data is estimated across the free population. It, therefore, takes into account of the households who owned nothing, but it does not include in the estimation the slaves, who according to Finley (1959) represented 2/3 of the total urban population. We add this proportion of missing zeros (67%) for the adjustment of the Athens Gini coefficient in 321 BCE.

To assess the fraction of landless in the Roman towns and villages, we first approximate the proportions of free and slave households in Roman provinces. According to the information provided in Scheidel (2011), we estimate that the total population in Roman Egypt was composed by 6% slave households and 94% free households. In Italy and the other Roman provinces in our dataset (North Africa and Asia Minor), the proportion was slightly different, with slaves representing 9% of total population. Then, we have determined the fraction of the landless among the free households using evidence from an Egyptian Nome, the administrative district. There the approximate proportions for inhabitants status were: 35% of free population landowners, and the 65% of free population non-landowners (Bagnall (1992).) Lacking similar studies for the other regions of the Empire, we assume that in the provinces in Italy, Asia Minor and Northern Africa the fraction of landowners was the same

The resulting fractions of missing zeros (including both free landless and slaves) in the different regions of the Roman Empire are the following: 0.67 in Egypt and 0.68 in Italy, North Africa and Asia Minor. The new Gini coefficients are in Table 4. It is evident that taking account of those without wealth implies a quite substantial increase in measured inequality, as expected.

2.2.2 Late Medieval Paris

The Gini coefficients for Paris in 1292, 1296, 1297 and 1313 are computed on wealth assessment from tax rolls. They are estimated in Sussman (2006) from tax registers reported in Géraud (1837) and in Michælsson (1951, 1958, 1962). Late medieval Paris is a more complicated adjustment because of exclusions at both ends of the wealth distribution. These documents include only individuals subjected to taxation. The excluded were members of the royal court, nobles, members of the clergy, indigents and the university community (professors and students.)

To assess the effect of the exclusion of these members of the society we first took the total number of population for the end of 13th century Paris from Dollinger (1956), where an attempt is made to assess the relationship between the whole population and citizens included in the 1292 tax register. From the 15200 individuals registered in the document, the relatives of family heads are subtracted and a number of 13460 taxable hearths (i.e. households) is obtained. This number is multiplied by 3.5 reflecting an estimate of the average size of the nuclear family living in the city.⁴ The taxable population of Paris is then estimated as 47110 inhabitants.

⁴ The 3.5 multiplier is chosen by Dollinger (1956) as the average value between the two multipliers most commonly used in European population (3 and 4). See also Bairoch, Batou et al. (1988).

Region	Period	Source	Type of wealth	Gini w/o missing zeros	Frac	Fraction of missing zeros	zeros	Est. Gini
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
South Mesopotamia	2500 BCE	Stone (2016)	House size	0.374	-	0.34	0.34	0.587
South Mesopotamia	1750 BCE	Stone (2016)	House size	0.400	-	0.34	0.34	0.604
South Mesopotamia	1750 BCE	Stone (2016)	House size	0.456		0.34	0.34	0.640
South Mesopotamia	500 BCE	Stone (2016)	House size	0.399		0.34	0.34	0.603
South Mesopotamia	3000 BCE	Stone (2016)	Grave goods	0.378		0.34	0.34	0.589
South Mesopotamia	2500 BCE	Stone (2016)	Grave goods	0.670		0.34	0.34	0.766
South Mesopotamia	2500 BCE	Stone (2016)	Grave goods	669.0	-	0.34	0.34	0.781
South Mesopotamia	2250 BCE	Stone (2016)	Grave goods	0.697	-	0.34	0.34	0.780
South Mesopotamia	1750 BCE	Stone (2016)	Grave goods	0.769	-	0.34	0.34	0.818
South Mesopotamia	500 BCE	Stone (2016)	Grave goods	0.765	-	0.34	0.34	0.816
Greece - Athens	321 BCE	Kron (2011)	Household wealth	0.708	-	0.67	0.67	868'0
Egypt – Kerkeosiris	116 BCE	Bowman and Wilson (2009)	Land	0.374	0.61	0.06	0.67	0.804
Egypt – Krokodilopolis	50CE	Bowman and Wilson (2009)	Land	0.553	0.61	0.06	0.67	0.860
Egypt – Panopolis	150 CE	Bowman and Wilson (2009)	Land	0.702	0.61	0.06	0.67	0.897
Italy - Ligures Baebiani	101 CE	Duncan-Jones (1990)	Land	0.435	0.59	0.09	0.68	0.831
Italy – Veleia –	102 CE	Duncan-Jones (1990)	Land	0.526	0.59	0.09	0.68	858.0
Egypt - Philadelphia	216 CE	Bagnall (1992)	Land	0.532	0.61	0.06	0.67	0.854
Africa - Lamasba	220 CE	Duncan-Jones (1990)	Land	0.447	0.59	0.09	0.68	0.835
Asia –Magnesia	300 CE	Duncan-Jones (1990)	Land	0.679	0.59	0.09	0.68	0.896
Italy - Volcei-	307 CE	Duncan-Jones (1990)	Land	0.394	0.59	0.09	0.68	0.818
Egypt – Karanis	308 CE	Bowman and Wilson (2009)	Land	0.638	0.61	0.06	0.67	0.882
Egypt – Hermopolis	350 CE	Bowman and Wilson (2009)	Land	0.758	0.61	0.06	0.67	0.908
Egypt – Aphrodito	525 CE	Bagnall (1992)	Land	0.623	0.61	0.06	0.67	0.879

column (7), and the total fraction of missing zeros used for the adjustment of the Gini coefficient, column (7). Shown in column (4) is the Gini adjusted Gini accounting by the fraction of zeros not included in the original estimate. Gini of grave goods in Mesopotamia reported in column (4) are those corrected by couples' adjustment (section 2.1.) Column (8) shows the coefficient before the adjustment, and the measures of inequality in Ancient Greece and the Roman Empire (the last 12 rows of the table.) The adjusted, the table shows the fraction of free individuals owning nothing missing from the original sources, column (5), the fraction of slaves, Table 4: Adjusted Gini coefficients for Mesopotamia, Ancient Greece and Roman Empire. For each ancient society whose Gini has been We have added to this figure the following approximate number of excluded groups: the members of the royal court (around 5000 individuals), the nobles, the clergy, the indigents (around 10000 individuals) and the students and professors (around 10000 individuals), Dollinger (1956). Among the 10000 individuals including nobles, clergy and indigents we were able to separate the richest from the very poor. Indigents and beggars represented about 10% of the total Paris population in the early 14th century, Geremek (1987) and Farmer (2002), and hence, we have estimated them to have been around 7200 individuals while 2800 where the members of the aristocracy and the Church.

The resulting total population of Paris is estimated around 72000 inhabitants. It is here assumed that the proportions estimated for the 1292 population held constant also in the following two decades. We are aware that this estimation contrasts with results from other studies in which the total population is estimated around 150000 - 200000 inhabitants from different sources, Cazelles (1966), Bairoch, Batou et al. (1988). However, we judge the lower estimate to be more likely to be correct because if the higher number is accepted, then the portion of taxable individuals would have represented about 1/3 of the total population, a small fraction that would have had very little information value for the administrators of the city, not justifying the effort in compiling it, Dollinger (1956).

As a second step of the method, we took the 23 wealth distributions used for the general method (section 2.2) and, after having dropped from them the missing zeros, the top 10% and the bottom 15%, we computed the Gini coefficient, $Gini_{without}$ (last column of Table 2.) Then, as we do not know the distribution of wealth inside the top 10% and the bottom 15% of the Paris distribution, we estimate in our 23 observations the Gini of the total population ($Gini_{inc}$) as a linear function of the fraction of missing zeros, *Zeros* and the Gini computed on the population without the three groups previously excluded, $Gini_{without}$. To reduce prediction error we also add an interaction term. The estimated function is shown in eq. (2).

$$(Gini_{inc})_i = b_0 + b_1(Gini_{without})_i + b_2 Zeros_i + b_3(Gini_{without})_i * Zeros_i + e_i$$
(2)

	Estimated coefficients
(1)	(2)
Intercent	0.101**
Intercept	(0.047)
Cini	1.014***
Gini _{without}	(0.163)
Zeros	0.973***
Zeros	(0.141)
Cini *Zanaa	-1.224**
Gini _{without} *Zeros	(2) 0.101** (0.047) 1.014*** (0.163) 0.973*** (0.141)
п	23
R^2	0.935

The results of the estimation are shown in Table 5.

Table 5: **Results of the relationship between excluded groups and the Gini coefficient.** Shown are, for each independent variable in eq. (2) the coefficients estimated through OLS, column (2). Standard errors in parentheses. ***Significant at 99%. **Significant at 95%. * Significant at 90%.

Figure 3 shows the relationship between the original Gini in the 23 wealth distributions (True Gini, horizontal axis) and the Gini estimated with the above new method (Estimated Gini, vertical axis.) In Table 6 we present the new Gini coefficients for Late Medieval Paris as well as the fractions used in the computation.

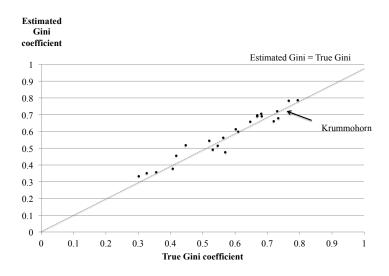


Figure 3: **Estimated and true Gini coefficients for 23 populations.** Shown is the relationship between the Gini coefficients estimated with the results from the OLS estimation of equation (2), using data in table 2 columns (5-6). The arrow shows the predicted Gini coefficients of the largest dataset used in the estimation.

City (1)	Date (2)	Reported Gini (3)	Fraction of missing zeros (4)	Estimated Gini (5)
Paris	1292	0.750	0.132	0.869
Paris	1296	0.610	0.132	0.749
Paris	1297	0.690	0.132	0.818
Paris	1313	0.790	0.132	0.903

Table 6: **Corrected Gini coefficients in medieval Paris.** Column (3) shows the Gini reported in the sources, column (4) shows the fraction of missing and columns (5) shows the corrected Gini.

2.2.3 Late medieval and early modern Italian regions

We include in our dataset the average Gini estimates for inequality of taxable wealth (real estate) across the 14th-18th century communities of Piedmont, northwestern Italy, given in Alfani (2015). As stated by the author, a small number of zeros, estimated to be 9.2% of total population, was excluded from the tax registers. We correct the average Gini coefficients using that fraction of zeros and we present the results in Table 7.

We have also averaged and included the Gini coefficients of taxable wealth (real estate) across urban and rural communities in 14th-18th century Tuscany, central Italy, provided in Alfani (2017). As the author warns, a substantial fraction of zeros -- on average across time and places, 30% of total population --was likely to be excluded from the registers. We correct the average Gini coefficients using that fraction of missing zeros and we show the results in Table 7.

2.2.4 Ottoman urban areas

Inequality in Ottoman cities is estimated from data from probate inventories. A limitation of these sources is that they represent a very small part of the society, as probate inventories were compulsory only for those having heirs of minor age. They exclude the wealth of all the individuals not compelled to register their inheritances, Canbakal (2007). The main limitation is the exclusion of those owning nothing. The approximate number of zero wealth owners for the city of Cairo in the 18th century was 70000, including serfs, wageworkers, beggars and street sellers, Raymond

(1973), while the total population has been estimated around 263,000-270,000 inhabitants, Raymond (2002). Non-owners, therefore, represented about the 25% of the population in the city of Cairo. We have assumed that the fraction of poor in the 17th century was the same. Due to missing information in the literature about the proportion of missing zeros in the other Ottoman cities, we have assumed that their fraction of poor was equal to the one in the city of Cairo. Table 8 presents the new Gini coefficients. These are obtained by adjusting the Gini coefficients corrected by couples' adjustment, as shown in section 2.1.

Region	Date	Gini (average across communities)	Fraction of missing zeros	Estimated Gini
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Italy - Piedmont	1300	0.715	0.092	0.833
Italy - Piedmont	1350	0.660	0.092	0.774
Italy - Piedmont	1400	0.605	0.092	0.715
Italy - Piedmont	1450	0.610	0.092	0.721
Italy - Piedmont	1500	0.624	0.092	0.736
Italy - Piedmont	1550	0.627	0.092	0.739
Italy - Piedmont	1600	0.671	0.092	0.792
Italy - Piedmont	1650	0.673	0.092	0.788
Italy - Piedmont	1700	0.738	0.092	0.857
Italy - Piedmont	1750	0.761	0.092	0.881
Italy - Piedmont	1800	0.779	0.092	0.901
Italy - Tuscany	1300	0.703	0.300	0.857
Italy - Tuscany	1350	0.593	0.300	0.762
Italy - Tuscany	1400	0.565	0.300	0.738
Italy - Tuscany	1450	0.615	0.300	0.781
Italy - Tuscany	1500	0.611	0.300	0.778
Italy - Tuscany	1550	0.598	0.300	0.767
Italy - Tuscany	1600	0.691	0.300	0.846
Italy - Tuscany	1650	0.715	0.300	0.867
Italy - Tuscany	1700	0.774	0.300	0.918

Table 7: Corrected Gini coefficients in late medieval and early modern Italy. Column (3) shows the Gini reported in the sources, column (4) shows the fraction of missing zeros and columns (5) shows the Gini computed using the method described in section 2.2.

3 Comparability across sites: Adjustment for asset type

The thought experiment motivating our asset type comparability estimates is to imagine that in the same population wealth of type x were instead household wealth (our benchmark) and ask how unequally distributed would that be given how unequally distributed is x-wealth? We think, for example, that house size is more

equally distributed than land ownership (or land farmed) because inequalities in family size (which would contribute to house size) are limited in ways that land ownership is not, due diminishing returns to house size after some point being more pronounced than for land, and for other reasons. We address this problem empirically using data from populations for which we have inequality measures for multiple forms of wealth.

City (1)	Date (2)	Gini corrected by couples' adjustment (3)	Fraction of missing zeros (4)	Estimated Gini (5)
Cairo	1630	0.643	0.25	0.721
Cairo	1690	0.643	0.25	0.721
Damascus	1700	0.643	0.25	0.721
Kastamonu	1731	0.539	0.25	0.651
Anatolia	1737	0.591	0.25	0.687
Cairo	1751	0.704	0.25	0.759
Kastamonu	1776	0.574	0.25	0.675
Cairo	1787	0.678	0.25	0.743

Table 8: Adjusted Gini coefficients for Ottoman cities. Column (3) the Gini corrected for the couples' adjustment (see section 2.1.) Columns (4) and (5) show respectively the estimated fraction of propertyless and the Gini computed through the correction estimated in section 2.2.

3.1 Aggregating wealth types

3.1.1 In archaeological data

Material wealth inequality in the Neolithic settlement of Çatalhöyük, Central Anatolia (7100-6000 cal. BCE), has been estimated using measures of house floor size obtained from archaeological excavations, as described and reported in Demirergi, Twiss et al. (2000). There the area of main and side (storage) rooms in 19 house buildings of the settlement is given. According to the authors, the main room was intended as the space for the most frequent daily functions (living, dining and socialization), while the side area was likely to be used as a space for food storage and processing. A first estimation of wealth inequality consists in the computation of the Gini coefficient of the main room area, the side room area and the sum of the two spaces in each building. Using this method the Gini coefficients are respectively 0.186, 0.343 and 0.213.

However, as the two spaces were devoted to two distinct uses, summing up main

and side room is not the best way to aggregate the two measures of wealth: they had different functions and were indicative of different kinds of wealth and, hence, they were not substitutable in the determination of the household's overall well being. Instead, we think about the main room as the wealth which generates housing services and the side room (or the storage area) as a measure that varies positively with access to land.

As we assumed the main and side room to be two different kinds of wealth, we aggregated them as complements, meaning the marginal utility of each area is increasing in the other. We then measure total household wealth (our benchmark) as proportional to the flow of well being made possible by these two forms of wealth. So to measure the inequality of household wealth we simply compute the inequality of the well being. To implement this we aggregate the two kinds of wealth using a Cobb-Douglas function of the following form

$$w_i = A H_i^{a} F_i^{1-a} \tag{3}$$

where w_i (our measure of total household wealth) is the well being generated by housing wealth (H_i) and farming wealth (F_i) , the side room area), with A a positive constant and α the elasticity of well being with respect to housing wealth (with $0 \le \alpha$ ≤ 1 .) The coefficient α would (if one were purchasing housing and food at given prices so as to maximize well being) be the share of one's budget devoted to housing. This measure of the importance of housing is thus critical in the process of aggregation of the two kinds of wealth in a single measure for well-being. Lacking sufficient information to properly evaluate it for Çatalhöyük, we make a reasonable conjecture. Something like a fourth of the annual income might be spent on housing (or, alternatively, one might think that over a lifetime of work about a fourth of one's time might be spent in creating and maintaining the value of the house.) On this basis we conjecture that in an ancient society housing would have the same importance. Hence, we set $\alpha = 0.25$. The coefficient of the storage area is simply 1- α reflecting the fact that the exponents in equation (3) sum to one, so that increasing both living area and storage by a factor of q increases wellbeing by the same factor. Because our choice of $\alpha = 0.25$ is at best an informed conjecture, w also study estimates with $\alpha =$ 0.5. We have used the same procedure for the aggregation of main and side room area

for the buildings excavated in pre historic Mesopotamia (Sabi Abyad⁵, Tell Brak and Tepe Gawra), pre historic South West Germany (Vaihingen, Hornstaad and Heuneburg) and the Dolores Archaeological Project (DAP) in Southwestern Colorado.⁶ Table 9 shows the Gini coefficients of living and side room and of their aggregation according to the method explained above. The table also shows that choosing a higher α , e.g. $\alpha = 0.5$, does not relevantly affect the Gini of aggregated wealth.

Society	N	Gini (living room)	Gini (storage area)	Gini of aggregated wealth (α=0.25)	Gini of aggregated wealth (α=0.5)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Çatalhöyük (7100- 6000BCE)	19	0.186 (0.017)	0.343 (0.036)	0.284 (0.029)	0.267 (0.027)
Sabi Abyad (6000 BCE)	4	0.356 (0.037)	0.276 (0.072)	0.300 (0.061)	0.321 (0.055)
Vaihingen (late 6 th millennium BCE)	11	0.153 (0.019)	0.172 (0.018)	0.165 (0.018)	0.160 (0.018)
Tell Brak Mesopotamia (3850 -3700 BCE)	4	0.300 (0.029)	0.523 (0.030)	0.464 (0.033)	0.405 (0.034)
Hornstaad (3918 -3902 BCE)	30	0.171 (0.008)	0.171 (0.009)	0.171 (0.009)	0.171 (0.009)
Heuneburg ivb2 (800-450 BCE)	11	0.274 (0.033)	0.605 (0.059)	0.566 (0.057)	0.536 (0.058)
Heuneburg iva2 (800 -450 BCE)	8	0.371 (0.040)	0.665 (0.074)	0.645 (0.083)	0.673 (0.070)
DAP (600-770 CE)	14	0.240 (0.022)	0.360 (0.033)	0.331 (0.035)	0.304 (0.035)
DAP (780-925 CE)	25	0.292 (0.015)	0.325 (0.027)	0.305 (0.024)	0.285 (0.021)

Table 9: Aggregating different types of wealth in an ancient society. Gini coefficients are computed for mid-Neolithic Çatalhöyük and the excavations from the Dolores Archaeological Project (DAP) Column (2) reports the number of observations in each society. Columns (3)-(6) show the Gini coefficients of, respectively, the living and side area taken singularly and the two areas aggregated according to the method shown in section 3.1.1 and using two different values of α in eq. (3). Standard errors from bootstrapping the sample 1000 times are shown in parentheses.

⁵ Discussion of the model chosen for the imputation of storage and living space in Sabi Abyad is in Bogaard, Styring et al. (2017).

⁶ The data of the archaeological sites in pre historic Mesopotamia and South West Germany are shown in Bogaard, Styring et al. (2017). Data for the Dolores Archaeological Project and its periodization have been kindly provided to us by Tim Kolher and are analyzed in Kohler and Higgins (2016).

The Gini coefficients of house area provided in Smith, Dennehy et al. (2014), for Aztec Mexico, do not distinguish between storage and living space and, thus, they cannot be compared with our Cobb Douglas aggregated measure of household wealth. As we are not able to retrieve the individual observations used to compute those Gini coefficients, we adjust them in the following way. We compute the ratio between the Gini computed on the Cobb Douglas aggregation of the two measures and the Gini computed on their simple sum for each case in which we have individual data of living and storage space. We average the ratio and multiply by it the Aztec Gini on the simple sum of house spaces for the town of Cuexcomate (the one provided in the original sources and with a sufficiently high mean house space to guarantee a large social group representation.) The resulting Gini is considered as an approximation of the Gini on the Cobb Douglas aggregation of house spaces.

3.1.2 Jerf al Ahmar

We have included in our dataset the well documented ancient site of Jerf Al Ahmar, Northern Mesopotamia (9500-8700 BCE). The house plans are taken from Stordeur (2015) and studied in Bogaard, Styring et al. (2017).

However, a problem arises when we aggregate living and storage spaces for this case. As the 6 storage spaces were located in a central and public area of the village their allocation to the 5 households excavated in the village is uncertain.

Our method to estimate a measure of aggregated wealth is based on two steps. We first assign the storage areas to dwelling areas much as we assigned male and female grave wealth. We assume that the house with the larger living area would have had the larger storage bin, the house with the second larger living area the second larger storage bin and so on. Excluding from the matching procedure the smallest storage bin, we compute the Gini coefficient of the Cobb Douglas aggregations on the basis of this 'wealth matching' procedure and we get a Gini coefficient equal to 0.097.

We then consider the alternative zero assortment case and randomly assign the 5 bins (still excluding the smallest storage bin) to the 5 houses and compute the Gini coefficient on the Cobb Douglas aggregation of the two measures. We repeat the random assignment 10 times and get an average Gini across the 10 random pairings equal to 0.069. Finally, the average Gini between the perfect 'wealth' assortment and

and random matching is 0.083 and it is the measure we use in our dataset. We also check what would be the Gini coefficient if each household would had had equal access to each of the bins, and hence the same storage space (as could have been the case for a communal storage facility). We find that the Gini of the Cobb Douglas aggregation of the two measures after equal assignment of storage across households is 0.043.

3.1.3 Knossos

A problem arising with the house size dataset in Neo Palatial Knossos is that the current excavation provides information on total house space and partially identifies the storage space for only 14 houses in the Acropolis, including the Palace and Little Palace. Thus it excludes a large fraction of the relevant population living in the surrounding areas. The Gini coefficient computed on the Cobb Douglas aggregation of living and storage space of these 14 houses, is substantial, 0.756. (The storage area in the cases in which it was not identified was assumed as the 10% of the total area, a fraction obtained as the average ratio between the two spaces in the cases in which storage was identified.)

Therefore, in order to include the missing population, we create a random log normal distribution of total house space for the population non excavated with the following parameters. Following Whitelaw (2004), we take as the estimate of Knossos population the midpoint between his range 14,000 and 18,000 individuals, which corresponds to 4570 households (assuming that the households had a size of 3.5 adults equivalent.) Since this population fraction was likely representing the middle and lower social strata Whitelaw (2004), we reproduce their possible house space as a truncated random log normal distribution with the mean and standard deviation computed from the three available observations more likely to be similar to non elite houses (SEX North, SEX south and Acropolis house.) We finally set as minimum and maximum house size, respectively, 10 and 511 square meters. (The maximum number is obtained as the midpoint between the two largest non palace houses among the 14 known observations.) After having estimated the storage space as 10 percent of the total space, we aggregate living and storage space through the Cobb Douglas method and obtain a Gini coefficient for the entire population observed and imputed -- equal to 0.530.

Adding a large portion of non elite population with a somewhat homogenous wealth distribution decreases the Gini coefficient. We observe that the estimation of the Gini coefficient is sensitive to three key parameters in the random log normal distribution: the number of missing households, how unequally distributed these house sizes are, and the mean size of total space they have. Knossos, iconic of social hierarchy and economic disparity in the archaeological literature, may not have been as unequal as the estimates based solely on the available measurements would suggest. But a Gini coefficient of 0.528 is nonetheless substantial as the note below on the interpretation of the Gini coefficient shows.

3.2 Correcting for wealth inequality computed on different asset types

Within a given economy a given type of asset may be typically more equally distributed than some other type. Reliance on one or the other may lead to biased estimates. Empirically, house area (a measure available in some archaeological data) is typically more equally distributed than land area. In the Southern Mesopotamia, during the Neo Babylonian period, coefficients for house area and grave goods were respectively 0.603, and 0.816 (after the adjustments by couples and missing zeros shown in the previous sections.) Household wealth (our benchmark concept) is some aggregate of the two, so reliance on one or the other exclusively will bias our results. To address this problem we adjust our estimates for the type of asset they represent to approximate what that measure would have been, if we had know the other kinds of wealth making up household wealth for that community.

We identify the following 5 categories of assets on which material wealth inequality has been estimated: land, house area (the floor area of the main household dwelling), household wealth (including all measures of household assets, e.g. probate inventories, net worth, etc.), real estate (including buildings and land other than the main dwelling of a household) and grave wealth (goods buried with the individuals) and we adopt an empirical method to infer, in those cases in which the Gini coefficients was estimated on grave goods, land, house area, or real estate what could have been the corresponding distribution of household wealth inequality in the same society.

We first describe how we reconcile three wealth types - land, housing, and grave archaeological datasets for which inequality is measured, in the same society and in

the same time period, for at least 2 among the previously listed asset types. Concerning land (indicated by storage area) and housing, we use the data from the archeological sites of Çatalhöyük, Demirergi, Twiss et al. (2000), Tell Brak and Tepe Gawra in ancient northern Mesopotamia Vaihingen and Heuneburg in late Neolithic and early Iron age south-west Germany, Bogaard, Styring et al. (2017) and Dolores archeological excavations in south-west Colorado, Kohler and Higgins (2016) to estimate the average relative difference between inequality of household wealth and inequality of house size and the average relative difference between the inequality of household wealth and the inequality of land. Household wealth inequality is itself estimated from land and housing inequality using the methods in section 3.1.1.⁷

The two mean relative differences are shown in the bottom line of Table 10. These are used to adjust the Gini coefficients in our dataset estimated either only on house size or only on land. For example, to approximate household wealth, a Gini coefficient estimated on housing will be adjusted upwards by 31.6 percent of its value, because where we are able to make direct comparisons, the difference between the household wealth and the housing Gini coefficients are, on average, 31.6 percent of the housing Gini. By similar reasoning, a Gini measured on land inequality will be reduced by 9.7 per cent of its value.

Using a similar method, we estimate the average difference between grave goods inequality and household wealth inequality. Lacking pre historical or historical observations, in which both the two measures of inequality are observed, we combine the results from adjusting land and housing wealth with the information provided in the archeological sites of Balkans, Porčić (2012), and those from South Mesopotamia, Stone (2016), where Gini coefficients are measured on burial sites and house space. From the Southern Mesopotamian dataset we use the data reported in table 5 of Stone (2016). There are shown 6 Gini coefficients of grave good inequality, dating from the Ubaid period (3000 BCE) to the Neo Babylonian one (500 BCE), and 4 house size measures of inequality corresponding to the Early Dynastic period (2500 BCE), and the Old and Neo Babylonian ones (1750 BCE and 500 BCE.)⁸ Using these data, we can compare the inequality between grave goods and house size in 5 cases: 2 in Early

⁷ We do not include in this estimation those cases in which the uncertainty of storage (Sabi Abyad, Jerf al Ahmar and Knossos) has involved some imputation or conjectural choice regarding the original data.

⁸ For the Old Babylonian period, we use both the Gini computed from the archaeological excavations and the one from the written sources, see Stone (2016).

Dynastic (the single observation for house size is used twice), 2 in Old Babylonian (the single observation for grave goods is used twice) and 1 in Neo Babylonian. We use in the comparison the Gini coefficients after the correction to represent couples (section 2.1) and by zero adjustments. (Section 2.2.1)

We first estimate household wealth inequality in the Balkans and Mesopotamia increasing their Gini coefficients of house size by the adjustment to household wealth estimated from step 1, the 31.6 per cent upwards adjustment. Then, we estimate the average relative difference between the estimated inequality of household wealth (already adjusted to represent couples rather than individuals) and the inequality of grave goods.

This value, 5.7 percent, is the downward adjustment of inequality measured on grave goods to the estimated inequality of household wealth in the same society at the same time. The fact that grave wealth is more unequally distributed than household wealth is consistent with our signaling model of grave the grave wealth phenomenon, developed in section 4 below.

In Table 10 we show the Gini coefficients from archeological data used to estimate the asset adjustments. We use this adjustment to correct the Gini coefficients in our dataset computed on land, house area and grave goods. (We show in Table 18 the asset type of each estimate in our database)

We have used the ratio of correction of Gini coefficients of house area also to adjust the estimates of inequality of house rental values. The raw data, which are the average Gini coefficients across some 15th-19th cities in the Low Countries, Ryckbosch (2015), measure the inequality of house rental values, and mainly estimate the inequality among the main dwellings of the households. For this reason, even if we are aware that the rental values might have been not proportional to the house area, we use the house area adjustment ratio as a best approximation of their relationship with the total household wealth.

We implement a similar method to adjust the Gini coefficients estimated on taxable real estate in late medieval and early modern Italy. This asset category cannot be considered either as house area, as it usually excluded the main dwelling of a household, or as land, as this was not the only asset censed, Alfani (2015), Alfani (2017). We adjust it, implementing a method similar to the one used for the other asset categories and use the 1427 Florentine tax registers, Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber (1985), in which both the real estate and other movables assets of households were

censed. We estimate the relative difference between the Gini of household wealth (0.786) and the Gini of real estate (0.759), a measure, also in this case, including building and land and excluding the first house. The difference of the two measures of inequality relative to the Gini of household wealth is equal to 3.4 percent of the inequality of household wealth. We use this ratio to adjust upward the Gini coefficients of real estate in late medieval and early modern Tuscany and Piedmont.

Summarizing, we use the following measures to adjust our set of raw data:

- From house area to household wealth: we increase the original Gini by 31.6 percent of its value.
- From land to household wealth: we reduce the original Gini by 9.7 percent of its value
- From grave goods to household wealth: we reduce the original Gini by 5.7 percent of its value
- From real estate to household wealth: we increase the original Gini by 3.4 percent of its value.

Since the Southern Mesopotamia cases provided in Stone (2016) show, in some cases (Early Dynastic period and Old Babylonian), two Gini coefficients in the same period computed on two different assets from the same population, we add them in our dataset in the following way. We adjust both the two measure by the asset adjustment coefficient as explained in this section and then, because they are from the same location and time period, we average the two measures.

-0.057 (0.129)	-0.097 (0.024)	0.316 (0.071)			leasures	Average difference of inequality measures	ge difference	Avera
-0.027477538	-	1	0.816		0.793	0.603	500 BCE	South Mesopotamia
0.029672603	ı		0.818	,	0.842	0.640	1750 BCE	South Mesopotamia
-0.028246481			0.818		0.794	0.604	1750 BCE	South Mesopotamia
-0.010855923			0.781	ŗ	0.772	0.587	2500 BCE	South Mesopotamia
0.008513739			0.766		0.772	0.587	2500 BCE	South Mesopotamia
-0.31706479	,		0.385		0.263	0.200	4750 BCE	Balkans
1	-0.065	0.081		0.325	0.305	0.280	850 CE	SW Colorado - Dolores
-	-0.090	0.272		0.360	0.330	0.240	690 CE	SW Colorado - Dolores
-	-0.207	0.345	Ţ	0.665	0.645	0.371	600 BCE	SW Germany - Heuneburg Iva1
'	-0.031	0.424		0.605	0.566	0.274	600 BCE	SW Germany - Heuneburg Ivb2
-	-0.068	0.515	Ţ	0.496	0.432	0.204	3000 BCE	North Mesopotamia - Tell Brak
	-0.042	0.072	'	0.564	0.501	0.357	4000 BCE	North Mesopotamia - Tepe Gawra
'	-0.125	0.287		0.172	0.165	0.153	5200 BCE	SW Germany Vaihingen
	-0.148	0.527		0.343	0.284	0.186	6500 BCE	Central Anatolia - Çatalhöyük
goods (9)	land (8)	(7)	(6)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
Relative difference between the Gini of household wealth and the Gini of grave	Relative difference between the Gini of household wealth and the Gini of	Relative difference between the Gini of household wealth and the Gini of house size	Gini (grave)	Gini (land)	Gini (hh wealth)	Gini (house size)	Period	Region

Gini estimated on different asset types. (Standard errors in parentheses.) estimated in those cases in which both the two observations are available. Shown in the last row are the relative mean differences between the aggregation of living and storage space (section 3.1.1.) The Gini in column (4) with green background color are obtained by adjusting upwards assessed from at least 2 different assets. The Gini estimates of household wealth with white background, column (4), are from the Cobb Douglas differences between the measures of inequality relative to inequality of household wealth, column (7)-(9), when wealth inequality had been which more than one measure of inequality is available, column (1), are the Gini computed on available asset types, columns (3)-(6), and the the Gini of housing, column (3), by the average relative difference between the Gini of household wealth and the Gini of housing wealth, Table 10: Gini coefficients in archaeological sites and the adjustment across different asset type. Shown for each archeological dataset for

4 Signaling and grave goods

If burying wealth with the deceased is a form of social signaling, we will see that it is likely that grave wealth will be more unequally distributed than the total wealth of the living population. Because it is the latter that is of interest (the grave wealth is just an indicator of total wealth) we would overestimate the degree of total wealth inequality by using unadjusted measures of grave wealth.

Here is a very simple model showing why this may occur. There is assumed to be one kind of wealth, and the amount held by an individual is w. When he dies his son (a clone of his dad, the population is asexual) inherits all of his wealth and places some amount of it g in the grave, retaining the remainder w-g. The son gains a social esteem value v for every unit of wealth that he buries with his late father. In additional to the social signaling value of the grave wealth, an individual's utility u is an increasing concave function of his wealth remaining after assigning some to the grave (marginal utility is positive but diminishing with increasing remaining wealth). So, with $\ln(w-g)$ as a suitable increasing concave utility function, we have for the son the following maximization problem. Choose g to maximize

$$u = \ln(w - g) + vg \tag{5}$$

Differentiating this with respect to g and setting the result equal to zero, we have the son's first order condition that determines the amount of grave wealth he should deposit as a function of the wealth he inherited from his father:

g = w - 1/v for w > 1/v and = 0 otherwise

(6)

In the entire wealth distribution there will be two classes of sons: those with wealth equal to or less than 1/v who will deposit nothing in their father's grave and then those with greater wealth who will deposit an amount in the grave that increases proportionally as wealth increases. In this model those with wealth equal to or less than 1/v do not signal, and those with greater wealth deposit all wealth in excess of 1/v in the grave.

The fraction of wealth placed in the grave (dividing the above equation by w) is

$$g/w = 1 - 1/vw$$

which increases as wealth rises. The result is that for any non-degenerate distribution (e.g. perfect equality or its opposite, one person has the entire wealth) grave wealth (g) will be more unequally distributed than will wealth itself (w).

5 Population size and inequality

Due to the large variability in population size of estimates in our dataset, we check for any effect of scale on Gini estimates. The thought experiment motivating our scale adjustment is to suppose that we have data on a single village but would like to estimate the degree of inequality in the district of which that village is a part, along with other villages on which we do not have data. It is technically possible that the average inequality in the 'villages' would be greater than the inequality in the district; but this does not appear to be the typical case.

We expect that as larger populations will be more heterogeneous geographically, demographically, and even institutionally and culturally they will exhibit greater levels of wealth inequality. We have already seen that this is the case in our measures of inequality of grave wealth on the Columbia Plateau: the Gini for the entire population is 0.622 while the average of the Gini for the 22 burial sites is 0.568. (The source is the average value of the 22 Columbia Plateau Gini coefficients in column (5) of Table 2.)

Here and in the rest of our analysis, we have used the household as the measurement unit for population size. The main reason for this choice is that almost all of our sources report inequality estimates computed on household-level data. We know that the concept of household and its numerical dimension had not been constant over time. But if we consider households as consumption units its average size (adult equivalent) apparently did not radically change over time. Its composition was equivalent to 2-5 adults equivalent in mostly of the sedentary prehistoric societies (Gregg (1988), Cessford (2005)) and remained a relatively fixed small consumption unit in ancient and pre modern and modern societies, Goody (1996). For comparability we would like an estimate of the population size effect so that our

estimates of the Gini coefficient refer to populations that are hypothetically the same benchmark size, which is 1000 households.

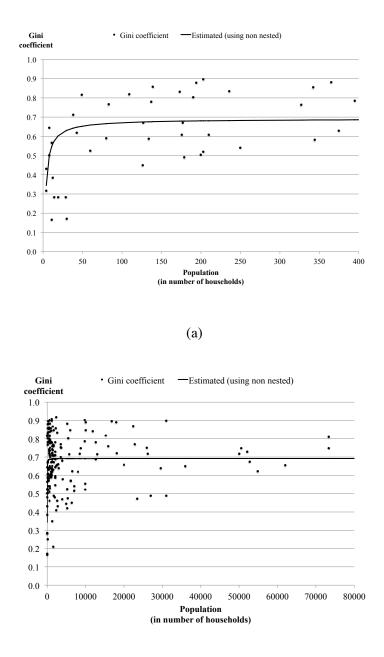
5.1 Methods: Naïve and nested.

A naïve approach to this problem would use an estimate of the statistical relationship between the Gini coefficient and population size to assign a predicted level of the Gini coefficient to each population size, and on this basis to adjust the observed Gini coefficient from its true population size to a hypothetical Gini coefficient at our benchmark size. We refer to this method as the 'non nested method'. Using our dataset of collected Gini coefficients, we estimate the following equation, through non linear least squares estimation,

$$Gini_{i} = b_{0} + \frac{1}{1 - b_{1}} \left(Population_{i}^{1 - b_{1}} - 1 \right) + \mathcal{E}$$
(8)

where $Gini_i$ and $Population_i$ are, respectively, the Gini coefficient and population size of each observations *i* from our dataset, while b_0 and b_1 are the coefficients to be estimated and ε is the error term. The estimated b_0 and b_1 coefficients are respectively equal to -0.464 (0.093) and 1.865 (0.072), with standard errors in parentheses. (Both the estimated coefficients are significant at 99% level.)

Figure 4 shows the Gini coefficients by the size of the population, in number of households, from which they are drawn and the values estimated with the non nested method. Small populations tend to have lower Gini coefficients but the positive association of scale and inequality is greatly mitigated or possibly even absent for larger population, where the non-nested estimation becomes almost flat. This suggests the need to undertake substantial upwards adjustments for populations significantly lower than our benchmark, with only modest adjustments for larger populations.



(b)

Figure 4: **Gini coefficient and population size.** Shown in panels (a) and (b) are the Gini coefficients (black dots) from our dataset and the value predicted by the estimated non nested function when population maximum is respectively 400 and 80,000 households. Source: text.

A more adequate method is based on the comparisons of the Gini coefficients for lower level population entities and the larger entities that they make up. This number along with the difference in population of the lower units and the upper unit gives us an estimate of the effect of population size on measured inequality. The advantage of this method is that we are able to estimate the size effect for population groups that are on average necessarily similar between the higher and lower level entities other than size, because the larger unit is composed of the smaller units. We call this method as the 'nested method', and as it corresponds exactly to our thought experiment it is the one that we use.

Three of our datasets allow us to estimate the difference between the Gini for the constituent lower level units and the Gini for the higher level unit of which these lower level units are a part: the Columbia Plateau dataset, Schulting (1995), the dataset for 1571 Finland,⁹ and the data from the 1860 US census.¹⁰ Using the 1571 Finland dataset we illustrate here how the scale effect is computed and how it compares to the non nested method in predicting the Gini coefficient of a higher level unit when the lower level unit is known.

The scale effect, γ , is computed as the difference between the Gini coefficient for the higher level entity, g_i , and the Gini coefficient for the lower level entity, g_j , divided by the difference between the population of the higher level entities, n_i , and the population of the lower one, n_i :

$$\gamma = \frac{g_{i-}g_j}{n_i - n_j} \tag{9}$$

In Figure 5 we show that the scale effect is, for each parish of one of the 1571 Finland district, the slope of the line connecting the Gini coefficient with the Gini at the district level of which the parishes were part.

⁹ Data have been provided by Ilka Nummela, Nummela (2011).

¹⁰ Raw data have been provided by Peter Lindert from the Lindert-Williamson data base underlying their 2016 book, Lindert and Williamson (2016).

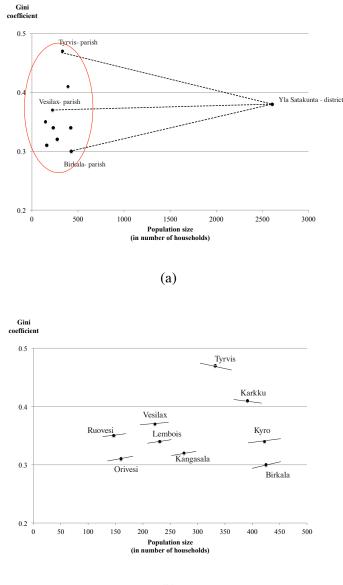




Figure 5: **Examples of scale effect for one district in 1571 Finland.** Shown in panel (a) are the Gini coefficient and population size for each parish in the Yla Satakunta district in 1571 Finland (dots inside the red ellipse) and the Gini coefficient and population size at the district level. The three examples in panel (a) show when the scale effect is negative (Tyrvis), when it is positive but close to zero (Vesilax) and when it is positive and large (Birkala). Panel (b) shows, in more detail, the scale effects for each parish of the district.

We estimate a total of 127 scale effects in this way. Then, in Figure 6 we plot, for each administrative unit the relationship between its scale effect (multiplied by 10,000) and the population of the lower administrative units that constitute it. We observe that, as expected from results of the naïve estimation method, scale effects are large for small populations, but as the population increases a very sharp decline in the scale effect occurs with virtually no effect for large populations.

We develop a statistical summary of these data that will allow us to scale adjust the Gini coefficient for any population size in our Gini data set. To do this we fit a non parametric estimation of the relationship between scale and population: we first estimate a moving average of the scale effect with a varying size window containing at least 5 observations and then smooth it through a Kernel regression. We show the moving average and the kernel regression in Figure 6.

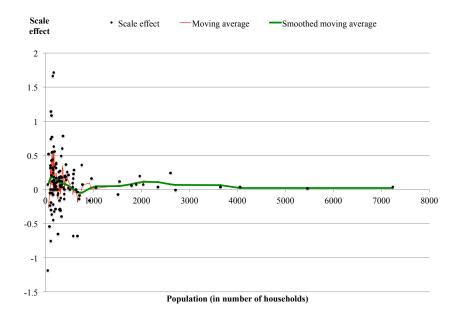


Figure 6: Scale effect and population size in late medieval Finland. Shown in the figure are the scale effects computed in 1571 Finland, (black dots) the moving average, (red line) and the kernel smooth of the moving average (green line.) Source: see text. The vertical axis is the scale effect times 10,000.

Interestingly the non parametric regression shows that the relationship between the scale effect and population size is, as expected, declining, but not necessarily monotonically. This feature captures the fact that the scale effect might also be negative, as also shown in the example in Figure 5, meaning that unequal lower administrative units might aggregate into a more equal higher administrative unit. As this adjustment method is an entirely data driven (not theory motivated) exercise, we do not seek to interpret the shape of the function that we have estimated.

We then check how the nested method compares with the non nested in predicting the Gini coefficient at a higher level entity when the Gini at a lower administrative level is known. We do this by estimating for 1571 Finland the Gini at the higher level using the scale predicted using the nested and the non nested (naïve) method. For the latter we use coefficients of the non nested function estimated across the Finland dataset (the coefficients of eq. (8) estimated with the Finland dataset are b_0 =-0.957 (0.131) and b_1 =1.733 (0.077) with standard errors in parentheses.) We find that the mean square error using the nested method (0.0025) is lower than the one when using the non nested, (0.0033). While demonstrating the superiority of the nested method, the associated mean absolute errors using the nested method is not small, namely 0.050 (the mean Gini coefficient in this data set, counting only the higher level entities is 0.403.)

5.2 The nested method and the adjustment of the Gini coefficients

Since the Finland observations start at a lower population level of 46 households and ends at 7237 households and many of our Gini coefficient estimates are either for quite small populations (particularly those based on archaeological data) or for larger ones, we design the nested adjustment estimating the scale effect from a combined dataset of the three historical nested databases that allow for the estimation of the scale effect across different levels of population. In particular, for the archaeological dataset of Columbia Plateau, Schulting (1995) using the methods just described for Finland, we estimate the scale effect between Gini of each site and at the whole population, while for the US 1860 dataset, we estimate the scale effect between counties and states, states and regions and regions and country. The estimated scale effects at each population level are then used to derive the function of the Gini coefficient as a function of population size predicted through the nested method, which we call 'estimated pure scale effect function'. Because this function is derived from its estimated slopes it is arbitrary in its height, for illustrative purposes we anchor it to the value of the Gini predicted by the non nested function, estimated on our raw dataset, at 1000 households. We then reconstruct its value at each integer population level as the value of the Gini at the previous integer level plus the slope for that population level, estimated through the scale effect.

We show in Figure 7 one example of how the 'estimated pure scale effect' function is used to correct the Gini coefficient originally estimated at a population level smaller than the benchmark value of 1000 households used in our analysis (the method works in the same way for Gini coefficients estimated at population levels larger than 1000 households.) The figure shows the adjustment of the Gini estimated for the whole excavation at the Columbia Plateau (after the demographic and asset adjustments described in the previous sections.) The Gini g_i and g(249) are, respectively, the observed Gini in Columbia Plateau at the population level equal to 249 households (the Gini is the one adjusted by couples' adjustment and the number of household is estimated as half of the total number of burials, 498) and the expected Gini at that population level according to the estimated pure scale effect function. The residual r_i is obtained as the difference between g_i and g(249) and is added to the expected Gini at 1000 households, g(1000) to get the corrected Gini coefficient, $g^i(1000)$. The figure also shows that the resulting actual correction, equal to the difference between $g^i(1000)$ and g(1000), is 0.005.

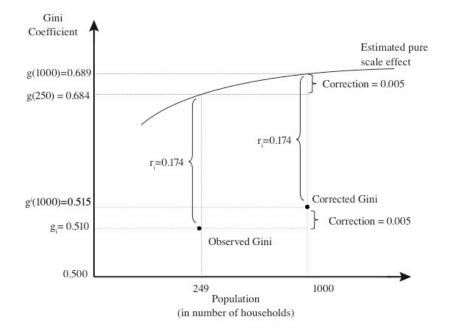


Figure 7: **The pure scale effect adjustment.** Shown in the figure is the scale effect adjustment when the population size on which the Gini coefficient was originally computed is smaller than the 1000 households benchmark population. The estimated pure scale effect function is reconstructed using the non parametric regression of the relationship between the scale effect and population size in the three datasets (see the procedure description in the text.)

6 A note on the interpretation of the Gini coefficient.

The illustrations of the meaning of a Gini coefficient of 0.68 are based on the following reasoning. Let Δ be the sum of the absolute differences between the all of the pairs of *n* wealth holders in a population and <u>y</u>, the mean wealth. Then we have using Bowles and Carlin (2016) the following measure of the Gini coefficient

$$G = \frac{\Delta}{(n^2 - n)/2} \frac{1}{y} \frac{1}{2} = \frac{\Delta}{n(n - 1)} \frac{1}{y}$$
(10)

So the Gini is the mean difference among all pairs (the first term) relative to (divided by) the mean value of y (the "relative mean difference") times one half. (This expression for the Gini coefficient is a correction of the commonly used expression to provide unbiased estimates for small population sizes.) So the relative mean difference quoted in the text is simply 2G, a Gini coefficient of 0.68 indicating that

the average difference between all pairs in the population is 1.36 times the mean wealth.

To interpret the Gini coefficient for wealth in a class based economy, consider a large two-class population whose size is normalized to 1, and suppose that the share of wealth owned by *m* poor wealth holders is *s*; the 1-*m* wealthy individuals own 1-*s* of the wealth. Then using again Bowles and Carlin (2016) we know that G = m - s, so if ninety-nine of a hundred identical wealth holders own 0.31 of the wealth and the remaining holder owns the rest, we have G = 0.99 - 0.31 = 0.68

7 Inequality and institutions in historical perspective

We classify in Table 11 our populations under the following necessarily somewhat arbitrary headings. The names given to these categories are less informative than a perusal of the actual populations included in each.

We then check for the statistical significance of the difference in inequality across those institutional categories. We do this by regressing the Gini coefficients on dummy variables for institutions: non state (*NonState*), autocratic states (*Autocratic*), slave states (*Slavery*), city states (*CityState*), national states (undemocratic) (*National*) and democratic and capitalist states (*Democratic*.) The null variable is the national states (undemocratic). The regression estimated is summarized in eq. (11)

$$Gini_i = b_0 - b_1 (NonState)_i + b_2 (Slavery)_i + b_3 (Autocratice)_i + b_4 (CityState)_i + b_5 (Democratic)_i + e_i$$
(11)

with $b_0,..,b_5$ being the parameters to be estimated and e_i the error term.

As a robustness check, we estimate the eq.(11) using three sets of Gini coefficients: those adjusted only by couples and zero correction, those adjusted by couples and zero correction, and by asset types, and those adjusted also by population size. We show the results of the estimations in Table 12. In addition, we report in Table 13 the F-test for the significance of the difference between each pair of coefficients in the regression.

Institutional	Definition	Data included
system (1)	(2)	(3)
	Lacking in any entity with an effectiv	re monopoly on the use of violence in a given territory I big man systems. Here we also distinguish:
Non -state	Labor - limited economies	Çatalhöyük, Jerf Al Ahmar, Vaihingen (SW Germany), Hornstaad (SW Germany).
	Material wealth - limited economies	Heuneburg (SW Germany), (10 th -7 th millennia BC), Durunkulak (Hamangia and Varna phases), Columbia Plateau, Dolores, Tell Sabi Abyad, Balkans, Hohokam.
Slave society	A significant fraction of the work force is made up of owned persons (irrespective of other aspects of its political structure)	Southern Mesopotamia (4 th -2 nd millennia BCE) Greece (4th century BCE), Roman Egypt and other colonies (2nd century BCE-6th century CE), South Africa (18th century), Brazil (18th century), US Southern states (1860).
Autocratic state	A national state (with taxation powers and standing army) lacking in effective limits on executive powers and representative institutions.	Tepe Gawra and Tell Brak (Northern Mesopotamia) ¹¹ , Aztec state (14th-15th century), Kingdom of France (13th-16th century), Kingdom of England (13th-17th century, up to the Glorious Revolution, 1688), 17 th -18 th century central and NW Italy, Denmark and Norway (18th century), Chinese Empire (11th-19th century), Republic of China (1935), Ottoman Empire (17th-18th century), contemporary Russia, Vietnam and China.
City state	A polis containing a single urban area and its hinterland.	Northern Italian cities (13th-16th century), German cities (15th-16th century), Low Countries cities (15th - 17th century).
National state (undemocratic)	Those with liberal and representative institutions both limited in scope (for example, a parliamentary system but substantial disenfranchisement of property less individuals.)	England (late 17th and 18th century), Low Countries (18 th -19 th century), Sweden and Finland (19th century), USA - Northern states (18th century, 1860), USA - All states (1870,1890).
Democracy & capitalism	Democracy: Modern national states with civil liberties, competitive elections and virtually universal (at least) male suffrage. Capitalism: work for wages and salaries in profit making firms the dominant form of private employment	Contemporary Japan, India, Canada, USA, Mexico, Turkey, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Germany, Italy, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nigeria, Indonesia.

Table 11: **Institutional systems in our inequality database.** In column (1) the names of the main categories used in our classification are given. Definition of the categories and observations included are, respectively, in columns (2) and (3). Source: text and Table 18.

¹¹ According to Stein (2012), Northern Mesopotamia societies showed no political hierarchy and centralized bureaucracy until the 5th millennium BC, while they experienced those political features from the 4th millennium BCE, when they also had warfare systems. For this reason Jerf al Ahmar (10th millennium BC) and Tell Sabi Abyad (6th millennium BC) are considered as non states, while Tepe Gawra and Tell Brak (4th millennium BC) are considered as states.

T		Whole dataset	t
Independent variables	Gini coefficients before adjustments	Gini adjusted per asset type	Gini adjusted per asset type and population
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Interior	0.653***	0.677***	0.677***
Intercept	(0.021)	(0.019)	(0.019)
Non Ganto	-0.220***	-0.259***	-0.248***
Non State	(0.036)	(0.034)	(0.033)
C1	0.174***	0.098***	0.103***
Slavery	(0.033)	(0.031)	(0.030)
A	0.028	-0.004	-0.002
Autocratic	(0.026)	(0.024)	(0.023)
	0.015	0.026	0.025
City state	(0.028)	(0.026)	(0.026)
D	0.056*	0.033	0.038
Democratic	(0.031)	(0.029)	(0.029)
R^2	0.330	0.339	0.332
п	213	213	213

Table 12: **The effect of institutions on wealth inequality**. Shown are the OLS estimated coefficients of eq. (11). The null variable are the national states (undemocratic). For each dataset, the regression is estimated using the Gini coefficients prior to asset and population adjustments, (column 2), those adjusted by asset type, (column 3), and those adjusted by asset type and population size, (column 4). Standard errors in parentheses. ***Significant at 99%. **Significant at 95%. *

	Non state	Slavery	Autocratic states	City states	National states (undemocratic)
Slavery	F=91.61 (p<0.001)	-	-	-	-
Autocratic states	F= 61.94 (p<0.001)	F=14.61 (p=95e-5)	-	-	-
City states	F=69.47 (p<0.001)	F=7.01 (p=0.008)	F=1.56 (p=0.210)	-	-
National states (undemocratic)	F=53.46 (p<0.001)	F=11.23 (p<0.001)	F=0.13 (p=0.907)	F=0.93 (p=0.335)	-
Democratic and capitalist states	F=64.88 (p<0.001)	F=3.99 (p=0.004)	F=2.44 (p=0.119)	F=0.21 (p=0.642)	F=1.68 (p=05.19)

Table 13: **F-test on the coefficients of the institutional regression.** Each cell of the triangular matrix shows the F-statistics and the p-values for the null hypothesis that the corresponding pair of coefficients is equal.

8 A note on wealth inequality in contemporary Scandinavian countries

The literature provides different estimates of wealth inequality in contemporary economies. These differences do indeed suggest circumspection in interpreting the results. But as the Table 14 indicates, when one studies all of the estimates country by country one does not get the impression that the estimates that we have used (in bold in the table) diverge greatly from the alternatives, or that the use of the alternatives would radically change our conclusions. For example, we illustrate here the implication of such variety for the assessment of the, to some, surprisingly elevated levels of wealth inequality in the Nordic countries. The average absolute difference between the estimates we used and all of other estimates (for the countries in question) is 0.069 excluding our LWS non-home estimation and 0.07 including it. There is one major discrepancy in the data: the Gini coefficient for Sweden in 1985 (0.590) reported in Davies and Shorrocks (2000) is very different than the 17 other Gini estimates reported in the table just mentioned including the one computed by us from the LWS database. There is a clear upward trend from the late 70s to the late 90s (in the Sweden Statistics data set, which gives a value of 0.808 for the year 1985, in contrast to Davies and Shorrocks' 0.590.) But this trend is insufficient to explain the unusual Davies and Shorrocks estimate. Extensive email correspondence with the authors concerned failed to resolve the discrepancy in any definitive way. We used the Gini estimated from the LWS dataset (0.890) on grounds that it is more comparable with coefficients from other countries from the same dataset. However, even were we to the average of all of the Swedish estimates (0.840), or even the seemingly anomalous Davies and Shorrocks estimate alone it would not alter our conclusion, namely that the average wealth inequality in the Nordic nations is not substantially less then the rest of the data set.

Source		Wolff (2010)	2010)	Sierminska, Brandolini et al. (2006)	, Davies and Shorrocks) (2000)	Davies, Sandström et al. (2008)	Davies, Shorrocks et al. (2012)	Sweden (2000)	Klevmarken (2006)	(Flood and Klevmarken, 2010)	Epland and Kirkeberg LWS (2012)(our (2012) computation)	LWS (2 comp	LWS (2012)(our computation)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
Country	Year												
USA	1983	0.799	0.893		0.790								
	1989	0.832	0.926										
	1992	0.823	0.903										
	1995	0.828	0.914										
	1998	0.822	0.893										
	2000					0.800						0.840 (0.05)	0.940
	2001	0.826	0.888	0.810									
	2004	0.829	0.902										
	2007	0.834	0.908										
Canada	1984				0.690								
	1999			0.750								0.760 (0.08)	0.950
	2000					0.688							
Finland	1998			0.680									
Germany	1988				0.690								
	2000					0.660							
	2001											0.780	0.820
	2002			0.780									
	2006											0.800 (0.05)	0.810
Italy	1987				0.600								

Source		Wolff (2010)		Sierminska, Brandolini et al. (2006)	, Davies and Shorrocks (2000)	Davies, Sandström et al. (2008)	Davies, Shorrocks et al. (2012)	Sweden (2000)	Klevmarken (2006)	(Flood and Klevmarken, 2010)	Epland and Kirkeberg LWS (2012)(our (2012) computation)	LWS (LWS (2012)(our computation)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
Country	Year												
	2000					0.600							
	2002			0.610								0.62 (0.03)	0.7*
Sweden	1978							0.783					
	1983							0.798					
	1985				0.590			0.808					
	1988							0.831					
	1990							0.838					
	1992							0.865					
	1997							0.855					
	1999								0.860	0.930			
	2000									0.960			
	2001								0.840				
	2002			0.890					0.850			0.890 (0.07)	0.970*
	2003								0.850				
	2012						0.800						
UK	2000			0.660		0.697							
Norway	2009										0.770		
France	1986				0.710								
	2000					0.730							
Korea	1988				0.580								

Country Year Japan 1984 2000 2003	Source
Year 1984 2000 2003	e (2)
	Wolff (
	2010)
	Source Wolff (2010) Sierminska, Brandolini Davies ar (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6)
0.520	Davies and Shorrocks (2000) (6)
0.547	Davies, Sandström et al. (2008) (7)
	Wolff (2010) Sierminska, Davies and et al. (2006) Davies, Shorrocks (2000) Davies, Shorrocks (2000) Sweden (2006) Klevmarken (2006) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10)
	Sweden (2000) (9)
	Klevmarken (2006) (10)
	(Flood and Klevmarken, 2010) (11)
	Epland and Kirkeberg LWS (2012)(our (2012) computation) (12) (13) (14)
0.580	LWS com (13)
0.580 0.660*	JWS (2012)(our computation) (13) (14)

Shorrocks (2000), Davies, Sandström et al. (2008), Davies, Shorrocks et al. (2012), Sweden (2000), Klevmarken (2006), Flood the Gini coefficients on total net worth, column (13), and net worth excluding housing, column (14). In bold are the coefficients we respectively on net worth and net worth excluding housing assets. In our computation from the LWS dataset we have also computed worth (total household assets minus liabilities). Gini coefficients in columns (3) andd (4) come from Wolff (2010) and are computed the all others (including our LWS non home estimations). Source: Wolff (2010), Sierminska, Brandolini et al. (2006), Davies and have included in our dataset and in parentheses are shown the averages of the absolute differences between the estimates we used and Table 14: Wealth inequality from different sources in selected contemporary countries. Gini coefficients are computed on net (2008), Epland and Kirkeberg (2012) and LWS (2012).

9 Redistribution and market income

How much of between country differences in the degree of disposable income inequality can be explained (in an accounting sense) by inequalities in market income and redistribution respectively? Let the superscripts 1 and 0 refer to disposable and market income respectively. The definition of the redistribution ratio ρ is

$$\rho = 1 - \frac{G^1}{G^0} \tag{12}$$

or

$$G^1 = G^0(1 - \rho) \tag{13}$$

so

$$\ln G^{1} = \ln G^{0} + \ln \left(1 - \rho\right) \tag{14}$$

and

$$var(lnG^{1}) = var(lnG^{0}) + var(ln(1-\rho)) + 2cov(lnG^{0}, ln(1-\rho))$$
(15)

The last expression decomposes country differences in inequality in living standards into a part that is arguably due to the market value of endowments, a part that is due to redistribution of the income flows associated with these endowments, and the covariation of these two influences. Using the data in Wang and Caminada (2011), we have the following decomposition.

Decomposition component	Values	%
Variance of <i>lnGini(marketincome)</i>	0.0194	0.284
Variance of $ln(1-\varrho)$	0.0465	0.681
Covariance of [lnGini(marketincome),ln(1- ϱ)]	0.0024	0.035
Variance of <i>lnGini(disposableincome)</i>	0.0683	1.000

Table 15: **Market income inequality and redistribution.** Decomposition of betweencountry differences in inequality in disposable income.

Among contemporary societies with a long tradition of democratic government, differences in the degree of income inequalities and associated disparities in living standards are not primarily due to differences in the degree of material wealth inequality but instead are almost entirely attributable to differences in the extent to which the incomes arising from differing assets and capacities are redistributed.

10 Labor limited farming economies: ethnographic and econometric evidence.

Our conjecture on the greater equality of labor-limited economies is based on the idea that food producing economies may differ considerably in whether the essential inputs to farming production can be owned, stored, accumulated, and transmitted across generations. Here we provide evidence on the differing importance of material wealth – which has these characteristics -- across production systems.

Ethnographic evidence. A group of economists and ethnographers wanted to know how important material wealth was to a population's livelihood compared to other forms of wealth, and how this varied across four production systems: hunter-gatherer, horticulture, pastoral, and farming (the latter distinguished from horticulture by its commercial nature, use of animal traction, and land scarcity). Two other forms of wealth considered were dimensions of individual capacities (or broadly, labor), which they termed 'embodied' (referring to an individual's health, strength and other individual capacities) and "network" (or relational) wealth referring to the individual's social ties, (Borgerhoff -Mulder, Bowles et al. 2009).

For each wealth class they solicited ethnographers' judgments of the percentage difference in household well-being that would be associated with a hypothetical one percent difference in amount of a given wealth class, holding other wealth classes constant at the average for that population, and requiring these percentage effects to sum to one. This is a subjective estimate of the exponent of each class of wealth in a Cobb-Douglas function.

The average values of the estimates by wealth class and economic system appear in Figure 8, in which the distance from the edge opposite the named vertex is a measure of how important the wealth type at the named vertex is. Consistent with descriptive ethnographies of these and other populations, embodied and relational wealth are relatively important for hunter-gatherers and horticultural peoples while material wealth is more important in pastoral and agricultural populations.

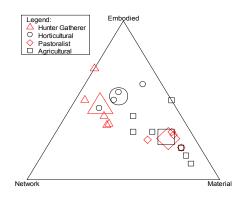


Figure 8: **Labor and material wealth as limits on livelihoods.** Coordinates sum to one; the small triangle on the left edge means, for example, that according to the ethnographer of that hunting and gathering society material wealth was unimportant while among the two other components, relational wealth was about 3 times as important as embodied wealth. Source: Table S1 in Borgerhoff -Mulder, Bowles et al. (2009).

Statistical estimates. In the same study, econometrically estimated measures of the importance of material wealth are also available, from diverse populations including two horticultural, two pastoral and seven small-scale agricultural economies, Borgerhoff - Mulder, Bowles et al. (2009) These are the exponent on material wealth in a Cobb-Douglas production function, corresponding exactly to the ethnographers' estimated quantities just mentioned. These estimates are remarkably close to the ethnographers' estimates. Table 16 summarizes these results.

Population (1)	Date (2)	Mode of production (3)	Material wealth (4)	Est. exponent β (Ethnographic est.) (5)	Source of econometric estimate (6)
Nyaturu Tz	1950s	Agro pastoralist	Cattle and land	0.76 (0.60)	Massell (1963)
India	1950s	Agriculture (all cereal)	Land	0.68 (0.59)	Bardhan (1973)
India	1950s	Agriculture (rice)	Land	0.33 (0.41)	Bardhan (1973)
Borara Ethiopia	2000s	Pastoral	Livestock	0.84 (0.61)	Berhanu, Coleman et al. (2007)
Borara Ethiopia	2000s	Horticultural	Land and livestock	0.23 (0.21)	Berhanu, Coleman et al. (2007)
Gambia	1940s	Horticultural	Land	0.11 (0.21)	Haswell (1953); Bowles (2011)

Table 16: The importance of material wealth in horticultural, pastoral, and agricultural economies. Source (Borgerhoff -Mulder, Bowles et al. 2009) based on Massell (1963); Bardhan (1973); Berhanu, Coleman et al. (2007); Haswell (1953)

Data from the same study, shown in Figure 9, indicate that the estimated importance of material wealth is positively associated with the estimated wealth inequality.

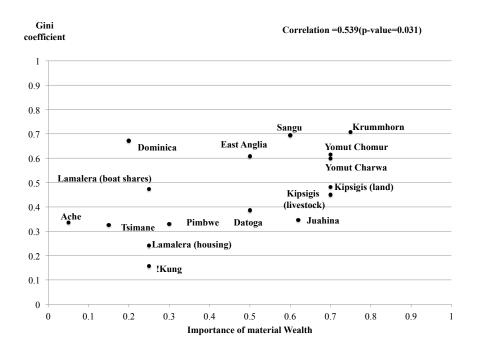


Figure 9: The importance of material wealth and material wealth inequality in small scale societies The simple correlation among the two variables is 0.539 (p = 0.031) Source: Bergerhoff Mulder, Bowles et al. (2009) except Pimbwe (subsequent data correction by ethnographer), !Kung (from (Fochesato and Bowles 2015), with the material wealth exponent for Jo'hansi (a !Kung community) reported in the source, and Ache (data supplied by Kim Hill, with the anthropologists' employees removed from the sample).

11 Sources used for somatic wealth and schooling inequality

In Table 17 we show the main information used for figure 4 in Fochesato and Bowles (2017). We measure schooling inequality using the average Gini coefficients in years of schooling across the 5-years birth cohorts spanning from 1960 through 1999 in the Hertz, Jayasundera et al. (2008) dataset. We are aware of the existence of an alternative series of Gini coefficients of schooling years presented in Castello and Domenech (2002) and based on the dataset firstly compiled by Barro and Lee (1996). The choice of the Gini computed from Hertz, Jayasundera et al. (2008) dataset allows us to have a more geographically representative dataset than the one available from Castello and Domenech

(2002). We also observe that for the 32 countries reported in both datasets the average Gini coefficients is similar: 0.312 using Hertz, Jayasundera et al. (2008) and 0.375 using Castello and Domenech (2002). The difference in means of the 32 observations across the two groups is not significantly different than zero (p=0.248.) Data used for material wealth frequency are explained in detail in this document and summarized in Table 18.

Type of wealth	Source	n	Societies/ countries included
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Somatic wealth	Borgerhoff - Mulder, Bowles et al. (2009)	18	Hadza (grip strength), Tsimane (grip strength), Lamalera (reproductive success), Meriam (reproductive success), Gambians (reproductive success), Pimbwe (reproductive success), Tsimane (reproductive success), Datoga (reproductive success), Bengali (reproductive success), East Anglia (reproductive success), Khasi (reproductive success), Kipsigis (reproductive success), Skelleftea (reproductive success), Pimbwe (Farming Skills), Ache (Hunting and gathering returns), Tsimane (Hunting and gathering returns), Hadza (Hunting and gathering returns), Tsimane (Knowledge of skills)
Schooling	Hertz, Jayasundera et al. (2008)	42	Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, United Kingdom, Ireland, Northern Ireland, Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, Ukraine, Estonia, Slovenia, USA, New Zealand, Rural China, South Africa, Colombia, Kyrgyzstan, Philippines, Chile, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Panama, Ecuador, Indonesia, Peru, Brazil, Nicaragua, Bangladesh, Egypt, Ghana, East Timor, Ethiopia, Pakistan, Nepal

Table 17: **Data source and information on somatic and schooling inequality**. For each of the two types of wealth, column (1), shown are the sources used, column (2), the number of observations, column (3), and societies (or countries) used for the estimation of the average Gini coefficients reported in figure 4 in Fochesato and Bowles (2017).

12 Dataset description

Our data is restricted in a number of respects.

First, we have excluded estimates that are not based on individual or household data (for example estimates of wealth inequality based on group averages wealth and group population shares).

Second, where we have a great number of alternative estimates for similar dates and locations, so as not to overweight regions and time periods we have averaged them (as in the case of contemporary Sweden, or the Colombia Plateau fishing populations) or eliminated estimates that in our judgment were less reliable.

Third, we have preferred estimates computed on observations on wealth among all members of an economically connected communities. We do this so as to avoid the underestimation that would result if we treated separately the inequality in a village of land poor farmers and the adjacent hamlet of their landlords (or if we measured one but not the other of these). The estimates by Stephan (2013) of house size inequality in the Roman Empire are likewise excluded as they are based on a sample of houses throughout the Italian peninsula rather than an as exhaustive as possible survey of house sizes among members of an economically interacting community.

There are undoubtedly sources of data of which we are unaware – both archaeological and historical – that could provide the basis of further estimates. We hope that our essay will stimulate researchers to use their data to estimate measures of wealth inequality in comparable ways so as to advance the comparative study of economic disparity.

(a)	Porčić (2012)	Non state	Grave goods	4750 BCE	Central Balkans
(a)	Windler, Thiele et al. (2013)	Non state	Grave goods	4800 BCE	Durunkulak - Hamangia III
(a)	Windler, Thiele et al. (2013)	Non state	Grave goods	5100 BCE	Durunkulak - Hamangia I and II
(a)	Bogaard, Styring et al. (2017)	Non state	Household wealth	5000 BCE	Germany - Vaihingen
(a)	Bogaard, Styring et al. (2017)	Non state	Household wealth	6000 BCE	Tell Sabi Abyad
(a)	Demirergi, Twiss et al. (2000)	Non state	Household wealth	6500 BCE	Çatalhöyük
(a)	Bogaard, Styring et al. (2017)	Non state	Household wealth	9100 BCE	Jerf al Ahmar
(6)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
Notes	Source	Institution	Asset type	Year	Society
ле он рина	is the interpoint of the period interval provided in the original source. (b) The Orin is the average across the period given in the original source. (c) The Gini is the average value across the observations in a 50-years interval.	s in a 50-years interval.	is the midpoint of the period interval provided in the original source. (b) the Gini is the average value across the observations in a 50-years interval.	the average	s the muppoint of the p source. (c) The Gini is t
	the second stress in the	what is the new offers in the	and mental in the second of		in the second and the second s

is the midpoint of the period interval provided in the original source. (b) The Gini is the average across the period given in the original source. (c) The Gini is the average value across the observations in a 50-years interval.	have attributed to the observation, column (4); and the source for either the raw data or the Gini itself, column (5). Notes: (a) The year	column (2) (we use midpoint when the Gini is computed on a time interval); the asset type, column (3), the political institution we	Table 18: The dataset. The table shows for any society included in the dataset, location, column (1); the year of the observation
---	--	---	---

Grave goods	Grave goods	Grave goods
Autocratic state	Non state	Non state
Bogaard, Styring et al. (2017)	Windler, Thiele et al. (2013)	Windler, Thiele et al. (2013)

(a)

(a)

a

Durunkulak - Hamangia IV

Grave goods

Non state

Windler, Thiele et al. (2013)

a (a)

Durunkulak - Varna I

4550 BCE 4450 BCE 4350 BCE 4000

Durunkulak - Varna

Mesopotamia –

50

	Bowman and Wilson (2009)	Slavery	Land	216	Egypt
	Bowman and Wilson (2009)	Slavery	Land	150	Egypt
	Duncan-Jones (1990)	Slavery	Land	102	Roman Empire
	Duncan-Jones (1990)	Slavery	Land	101	Roman Empire
	Bowman and Wilson (2009)	Slavery	Land	50	Egypt
	Bagnall (1992)	Slavery	Land	116 BCE	Egypt
	Kron (2011)	Slavery	Household wealth	321 BCE	Greece
(a)	Stone (2016)	Slavery	Grave goods	500 BCE	Mesopotamia – Ur
(a)	Bogaard, Styring et al. (2017)	Non state	Grave goods	600 BCE	Germany Heuneburg
(a)	Bogaard, Styring et al. (2017)	Non state	Household wealth	600 BCE	Germany - Heuneburg
(a)	Schulting (1995)	Non state	Grave goods	1000 BCE	Columbia Plateau - All
(a)	Bogaard, Styring et al. (2017)	Non state	Household wealth	1500 BCE	Knossos
(a)	Stone (2016)	Slavery	Grave goods	1750 BCE	Mesopotamia – Ur
(a)	Bogaard, Styring et al. (2017)	Non state	Household wealth	3910 BCE	Germany - Hornstaad
(a)	Stone (2016)	Slavery	Grave goods	2250 BCE	Mesopotamia – Ur
(a)	Stone (2016)	Slavery	Grave goods	2500 BCE	Mesopotamia – Ur
(a)	Stone (2016)	Slavery	Grave goods	2500 BCE	Mesopotamia - Khafajah
(a)	Bogaard, Styring et al. (2017)	Autocratic state	Grave goods	3000 BCE	Mesopotamia – Tell Brak
(a)	Stone (2016)	Slavery	Grave goods	3000 BCE	Mesopotamia - Ubaid
				BCE	Tepe Gawra
(6)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
Notes	Source	Institution	Asset type	Year	Society

(b)	Alfani (2015)	City state	Real estate	1400	Italy - Tuscany
(b)	Alfani (2015)	City state	Real estate	1400	Italy - Piedmont
	Smith, Dennehy et al. (2014)	Autocratic state	House area	1375	Aztec - Cuexcomate
(b)	Alfani (2015)	City state	Real estate	1350	Italy - Tuscany
(b)	Alfani (2015)	City state	Real estate	1350	Italy - Piedmont
	Sussman (2006)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1319	England - London
	Sussman (2006)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1313	France - Paris
(b)	Alfani (2015)	City state	Real estate	1300	Italy - Tuscany
(b)	Alfani (2015)	City state	Real estate	1300	Italy - Piedmont
	Sussman (2006)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1297	France - Paris
	Sussman (2006)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1296	France - Paris
	Sussman (2006)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1292	England - London
	Sussman (2006)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1292	France - Paris
	Blanshei (1979)	City state	Household wealth	1285	Italy - Perugia
	Bekar and Reed (2013)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1280	England
	Zhao (1986)	Autocratic state	Land	1030	China
(a)	McGuire (1992)	Non state	Grave goods	900	Hohokam - All
(a)	Kohler and Higgins (2016)	Non state	Household wealth	850	SW Colorado
(a)	Kohler and Higgins (2016)	Non state	Household wealth	690	SW Colorado
	Bagnall (1992)	Slavery	Land	525	Egypt
	Bagnall (1992)	Slavery	Land	350	Egypt
	Bowman and Wilson (2009)	Slavery	Land	308	Egypt
	Duncan-Jones (1990)	Slavery	Land	307	Roman Empire
	Duncan-Jones (1990)	Slavery	Land	300	Roman Empire
	Duncan-Jones (1990)	Slavery	Land	220	Roman Empire
(6)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
Notes	Source	Institution	Asset type	Year	Society

	Hanus (2013)	City state	Household wealth	1513	Holland – s-Hertogenbosch
	Blanshei (1979)	City state	Household wealth	1511	Italy - Perugia
	Hanus (2013)	City state	Household wealth	1503	Holland - s-Hertogenbosch
	Fügedi (1980)	City state	Household wealth	1502	Germany - Dresden
(b)	Ryckbosch (2015)	City state	House rental value	1500	Low Countries
(b)	Alfani (2015)	City state	Real estate	1500	Italy - Tuscany
(b)	Alfani (2015)	City state	Real estate	1500	Italy - Piedmont
	Zanden (1995)	City state	Household wealth	1498	Germany - Augsburg
	Zanden (1995)	City state	Household wealth	1498	Holland - Zutphen
	Zanden (1993)	City state	Household wealth	1498	Holland - Leiden
	Blanshei (1979)	City state	Household wealth	1498	Italy - Perugia
	Fügedi (1980)	City state	Household wealth	1488	Germany - Dresden
	Zanden (1993)	City state	Household wealth	1483	Holland - Haarlem
	Smith, Dennehy et al. (2014)	Autocratic state	House area	1475	Aztec - Yautepec
	Smith, Dennehy et al. (2014)	Autocratic state	House area	1475	Aztec - Cuexcomate
	Zanden (1993)	City state	Household wealth	1462	Holland - Edam
	Zanden (1995)	City state	Household wealth	1457	Italy - Florence
	Fügedi (1980)	City state	Real estate	1450	Holland - Hildesheim
(b)	Alfani (2015)	City state	Real estate	1450	Italy - Tuscany
(b)	Alfani (2015)	City state	Real estate	1450	Italy - Piedmont
	Fügedi (1980)	City state	Household wealth	1450	Germany - Konstanz
	Fügedi (1980)	City state	Household wealth	1445	Germany - Freiburg
	Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber (1985)	City state	Household wealth	1427	Italy - Florence
(b)	Ryckbosch (2015)		House rental value	1400	Low Countries
(6)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
Notes	Source	Institution	Asset type	Year	Society

(a)	Overton (2006)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1615	England
(a)	Overton (2006)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1605	England
	Zanden (1995)	City state	Household wealth	1604	Germany - Augsburg
(b)	Ryckbosch (2015)	City state	House rental value	1600	Low Countries
(b)	Alfani (2015)	Autocratic state	Real estate	1600	Italy - Tuscany
(b)	Alfani (2015)	Autocratic state	Real estate	1600	Italy - Piedmont
(a)	Overton (2006)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1595	England
(a)	Overton (2006)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1585	England
(b)	Ryckbosch (2015)	City state	House rental value	1575	Low Countries
(a)	Overton (2006)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1575	England
	Nummela (2011)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1571	Finland
(a)	Overton (2006)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1565	England
	Soltow and Zanden (1998)	City state	Household wealth	1561	Holland - Amsterdam
(a)	Overton (2006)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1555	England
	Hanus (2013)	City state	Household wealth	1553	Low Countries
(b)	Ryckbosch (2015)	City state	House rental value	1550	Low Countries
(b)	Alfani (2015)	City state	Real estate	1550	Italy - Tuscany
(b)	Alfani (2015)	City state	Real estate	1550	Italy - Piedmont
	Our computation from Gascon (1971)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1545	France - Lyons
	Zanden (1993)	City state	Household wealth	1542	Germany - Eisenach
	Zanden (1993)	City state	Household wealth	1542	Germany - Weimar
	Zanden (1993)	City state	Household wealth	1534	Holland - Alkmaar
(b)	Ryckbosch (2015)	City state	House rental value	1525	Low Countries
	Our computation from Pound (1966)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1525	England - Norwich
	Blanshei (1979)	City state	Household wealth	1518	Italy - Perugia
(6)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
Notes	Source	Institution	Asset type	Year	Society

	Borgerhoff -Mulder, Bowles et al. (2009)	National state (undemocratic)	Land	1700	Krummhorn
	Borgerhoff -Mulder, Bowles et al. (2009)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1700	East Anglia
	Establet and Pascual (2009)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1700	Ottoman Empire - Damascus
(b)	Alfani (2015)	Autocratic state	Real estate	1700	Italy - Tuscany
(b)	Alfani (2015)	Autocratic state	Real estate	1700	Italy - Piedmont
(a)	Overton (2006)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1695	England
	Establet and Pascual (2009)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1690	Ottoman Empire
(a)	Overton (2006)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1685	England
(c)	Soltow (1989)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1675	USA
(c)	Di Matteo (2016)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1675	England
(b)	Ryckbosch (2015)	City state	House rental value	1675	Low Countries
(a)	Overton (2006)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1675	England
(a)	Overton (2006)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1665	England
	Fourie and von Fintel (2010)	Slavery	Household wealth	1663	Cape Colony
(a)	Overton (2006)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1655	England
(b)	Ryckbosch (2015)	City state	House rental value	1650	Low Countries
(b)	Alfani (2015)	Autocratic state	Real estate	1650	Italy - Tuscany
(b)	Alfani (2015)	Autocratic state	Real estate	1650	Italy - Piedmont
(a)	Overton (2006)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1645	England
(a)	Overton (2006)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1635	England
	Establet and Pascual (2009)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1630	Ottoman Empire - Cairo
(b)	Ryckbosch (2015)	City state	House rental value	1625	Low Countries
(a)	Overton (2006)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1625	England
(6)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
Notes	Source	Institution	Asset type	Year	Society

	Fourie and von Fintel (2010)	Slavery	Household wealth	1757	Cape Colony
	Establet and Pascual (2009)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1751	Ottoman Empire - Cairo
(b)	Ryckbosch (2015)	National state (undemocratic)	House rental value	1750	Low Countries
(b)	Alfani (2015)	Autocratic state	Real estate	1750	Italy - Piedmont
	Bengtsson (2016)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1750	Sweden
(a)	Overton (2006)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1745	England
	Zhao (1986)	Autocratic state	Land	1736	China
	Cosgel (2013)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1736	Ottoman Empire - Kastamonu
(a)	Overton (2006)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1735	England
	Soltow and Zanden (1998)	City state	Land	1732	Low Countries
	Cosgel (2013)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1731	Ottoman Empire - Kastamonu
	Soltow (1989)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1725	USA
(c)	Di Matteo (2016)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1725	England
	Luna (1982)	Slavery	Household wealth	1718	Brasil
(a)	Overton (2006)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1715	England
	Fourie and von Fintel (2010)	Slavery	Household wealth	1709	Cape Colony
	Zhao (1986)	Autocratic state	Land	1706	China
	Zhao (1986)	Autocratic state	Land	1706	China
(a)	Overton (2006)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1705	England
(b)	Ryckbosch (2015)	National state (undemocratic)	House rental value	1700	Low Countries
(6)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
Notes	Source	Institution	Asset type	Year	Society

	Lindert (2000)	Slavery	Household wealth	1860	USA - South
	Lindert (2000)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1860	USA - North
	Myers (2008)	Autocratic state	Land	1857	China
(b)	Ryckbosch (2015)	National state (undemocratic)	House rental value	1850	Low Countries
	Bengtsson (2016)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1850	Sweden
	Myers (2008)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1832	China
(c)	Soltow (1989)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1825	USA
(b)	Ryckbosch (2015)	National state (undemocratic)	House value	1825	Low Countries
	Di Matteo (2016)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1810	England
(b)	Ryckbosch (2015)	National state (undemocratic)	House rental value	1800	Low Countries
	Bengtsson (2016)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1800	Sweden
	Soltow (1979, 1981, 1985)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1800	Finland
(b)	Alfani (2015)	Autocratic state	Real estate	1800	Italy - Piedmont
	Soltow (1989)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1798	USA
	Soltow (1979, 1981, 1985)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1789	Norway
	Soltow (1979, 1981, 1985)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1789	Denmark
	Establet and Pascual (2009)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1787	Ottoman Empire - Cairo
	Cosgel (2013)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	1776	Ottoman Empire – Kastamonu
	Lindert (2000)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1774	USA – Thirteen colonies
(6)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
Notes	Source	Institution	Asset type	Year	Society

	LWS (2012)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2002	Italy
	LWS (2012)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2000	Sweden
	LWS (2012)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	1999	Canada
	Sierminska, Brandolini et al. (2006)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	1998	Finland
	Subramanian (2006)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	1991	India
	Soltow (1989)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	1975	USA
(c)	Di Matteo (2016)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	1975	England
(c)	Di Matteo (2016)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	1975	Canada
(b)	Zhao (1986)	Autocratic state	Land	1935	China
(b)	Zhao (1986)	Autocratic state	Land	1935	China
	Di Matteo (2016)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1925	Canada
	Zhao (1986)	Autocratic state	Land	1909	China
	Di Matteo (2016)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1902	England
(b)	Ryckbosch (2015)	National state (undemocratic)	House rental value	1900	Low Countries
	Bengtsson (2016)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1900	Sweden
	Myers (2008)	Autocratic state	Land	1895	China
	Williamson and Lindert (1980)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1890	USA
(c)	Di Matteo (2016)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1875	England
(c)	Di Matteo (2016)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1875	Canada
	Lindert (2000)	National state (undemocratic)	Household wealth	1870	USA
	Zhao (1986)	Autocratic state	Land	1862	China
(6)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
Notes	Source	Institution	Asset type	Year	Society

	Tang (2014)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	2013	China
	LWS (2012)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2005	Norway
	LWS (2012)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2003	Japan
	LWS (2012)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2001	Germany
	Davies, Sandström et al. (2008)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2000	Nigeria
	Davies, Sandström et al. (2008)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2000	Bangladesh
	Davies, Sandström et al. (2008)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	2000	Vietnam
	Davies, Sandström et al. (2008)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2000	Pakistan
	Davies, Sandström et al. (2008)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2000	Thailand
	Davies, Sandström et al. (2008)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2000	Indonesia
	Davies, Sandström et al. (2008)	Autocratic state	Household wealth	2000	Russia
	Davies, Sandström et al. (2008)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2000	India
	Davies, Sandström et al. (2008)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2000	Switzerland
	Davies, Sandström et al. (2008)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2000	Argentina
	Davies, Sandström et al. (2008)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2000	Brazil
	Davies, Sandström et al. (2008)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2000	South Korea
	Davies, Sandström et al. (2008)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2000	Netherlands
	Davies, Sandström et al. (2008)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2000	Australia
	Davies, Sandström et al. (2008)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2000	Taiwan
	Davies, Sandström et al. (2008)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2000	Spain
	Davies, Sandström et al. (2008)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2000	France
	Davies, Sandström et al. (2008)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2000	UK
	Davies, Sandström et al. (2008)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2000	Turkey
	Davies, Sandström et al. (2008)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2000	Mexico
	LWS (2012)	Democracy & capitalism	Household wealth	2000	USA
(6)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
Notes	Source	Institution	Asset type	Year	Society

Bibliography

- Alfani, G. 2015. Economic Inequality in Northwestern Italy: A Long-Term View (Fourteenth to Eighteent Centuries). *The Journal of Economic History* 75 (4):1058-1095.
- Alfani, G.; Ammannati, F. 2017. Long-term trends in economic inequality: the Florentine State, ca 1300-1800 *Economic History Review* forthcoming.
- Bagnall, Roger S. 1992. Landholding in Late Roman Egypt: The Distribution of Wealth. *Journal of Roman Studies* 82:128-149.
- Bairoch, Paul, Jean Batou, and Pierre Chèvre. 1988. La population des villes européennes, 800-1850 : banque de données et analyse sommaire des résultats = The population of European cities, 800-1850 : data bank and short summary of results, Publications du Centre d'histoire économique internationale de l'Université de Genéve. Genéve: Droz.
- Bardhan, Pranab. 1973. Size, Productivity and Returns to Scale: An Analysis of Farm-Level data in Indian Agriculture. *Journal of Political Economy* 81:1370-86.
- Barro, Robert J., and Jong Wha Lee. 1996. International Measures of Schooling Years and Schooling Quality. *The American Economic Review* 86 (2):218-223.
- Bekar, Cliff T., and Clyde G. Reed. 2013. Land markets and inequality: evidence from medieval England. *European Review of Economic History*.
- Bengtsson, E.; Missiaia, A.; Olsson, M.; Svensson, P. 2016. Wealth Inequality in Sweden, 1750-1900. In Department of Economic History, Lund University.
- Bergerhoff Mulder, Bowles, Hertz, and et al. 2009. Intergenerational Wealth Transmission and the Dynamics of Inequality in Small-Scale Societies. *Science* 326.
- Berhanu, W., D. Coleman, and B. Fayssa. 2007. Diversification and Livelihood Sustainability in Semi-Arid Environment: A Case Study from Southern Ethiopia. *Journal of Development Economics* (43):871-889.
- Blanshei, Sarah Rubin. 1979. Population, Wealth, and Patronage in Medieval and Renaissance Perugia. *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 9 (4):597-619.
- Bogaard, Amy, Amy Styring, Jade Whitlam, Mattia Fochesato, and Samuel Bowles. 2017. The agroecology of (in)equality: Integrating Gini coefficients with recent bioarchaeological work on early urbanization in northern Mesopotamia and south-

west Germany. In *Quantifying Ancient Inequality: The Archaeology of Wealth Differences*, edited by T. A. Kohler and M. E. Smith: Amerind Foundation.

- Borgerhoff -Mulder, Monique, Samuel Bowles, Tom Hertz, Adrian Bell, Jan Beise, Greg Clark, Ila Fazzio, Michael Gurven, Kim Hill, Paul L. Hooper, William Irons, Hillard Kaplan, Donna Leonetti, Bobbi Low, Frank Marlowe, Richard McElreath, Suresh Naidu, David Nolin, Patrizio Piraino, Rob Quinlan, Eric Schniter, Rebecca Sear, Mary Shenk, Eric Alden Smith, Christopher von Rueden, and Polly Wiessner. 2009. Intergenerational Wealth Transmission and the Dynamics of Inequality in Small-Scale Societies. *Science* 326 (5953):682.
- Bowles, Samuel. 2011. The cultivations of cereals by the first farmers was not more productive than foraging. *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. USA* 108 (4760).
- Bowles, Samuel, and Wendy Carlin. 2016. Inequality as difference: A simple explanaton of the Gini coefficient. *Santa FE Institute*.
- Bowman, Alan K., and Andrew Wilson. 2009. Quantifying the Roman economy methods and problems. In *Oxford studies on the Roman economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press,.
- Canbakal, H. 2007. Society and politics in an Ottoman town : Ayntab in the 17th century, The Ottoman Empire and its heritage, Leiden ; Boston: Brill.
- Castello, A., and R. Domenech. 2002. Human Capital Inequality and Economic Growth: Some New Evidence. *Economic Journal* 112.
- Cazelles, R. 1966. La population de Paris avant la peste noire. *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*:539-550.
- Cessford, C. 2005. Estimating the Neolithic Population of Çatalhöyük. In *Inhabiting Çatalhöyük: Reports from the 1995-1999 Seasons*, edited by I. Hodder. Cambridge: McDonald Institute Monographs/British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.
- Cosgel, M.; Ergene, B.; Kaygun, A. 2013. A Temporal Analysis of wealth in eighteenthcentury Ottoman Kastamonu. In *University of Connecticut. Department of Economics*.
- Coşgel, Metin, and Boğaç A. Ergene. 2011. Intergenerational wealth accumulation and dispersion in the Ottoman Empire: observations from eighteenth-century Kastamonu. *European Review of Economic History* 15 (2):255-276.
- Davies, J. B., S. Sandström, A. Shorrocks, and E. N. Wolff. 2008. The world distribution of household wealth. In UNU-Wider studies in development economics, edited by J. B. Davies. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Davies, J. B., and A. Shorrocks. 2000. The Distribution of Wealth. In *Handbook of Income Distribution*, edited by A. B. Atkinson and F. Bourguignon. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Davies, J. B., Anthony Shorrocks, and Rodrigo Lluberas. 2012. *Global Wealth Databook* 2012: Credit Suisse.
- Demirergi, G.A., K.C. Twiss, A. Bogaard, L. Green, P. Ryan, and S. Farid. 2000. Of bins, basins and banquets: storing, handling and sharing at Neolithic Çatalhöyük. *Integrating Çatalhöyük: Themes from the 2000-2008 Seasons* 2008:91-108.
- Di Matteo, Livio. 2016. The Evolution of Wealth Inequality, 1668-2012. The North Atlantic Anglo-Sphere. In *Social Science History Association*. Chicago.
- Diakonoff, I.M. 1969. The Rise of the Despotic State in Ancient Mesopotamia. In *Ancient Mesopotamia*, edited by I. M. Diakonoff.
- Dollinger, Ph. 1956. Le chiffre de la population de Paris au XIVe siécle: 210.000 ou 80.000 habitants? *Revue Historique* 216 (1):35-44.
- Duncan-Jones, Richard. 1990. *Structure and scale in the Roman economy*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Epland, J, and I. Kirkeberg. 2012. Wealth Distribution in Norway. Evidence from a New Register-Based Data Source. In *32nd General Conference of the International Association for Research in Income and Wealth*.
- Establet, Colette, and Jean-Paul Pascual. 2009. Damascene Probate Inventories of the 17th and 18th Centuries: Some Preliminary Approaches and Results. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 24 (3):373-393.
- Farmer, Sharon A. 2002. Surviving poverty in medieval Paris : gender, ideology, and the daily lives of the poor, Conjunctions of religion and power in the medieval past. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Finley, M.I. 1959. Was Greek Civilization Based on Slave Labor? *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 8 (2):145-164.
- Flood, L.; Klevmarken, A. 2008. The Distribution of Wealth. In Simulating an Ageing Population: A Microsimulation Approach Applied to Sweden, edited by A. L. Klevmarken, B.: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Fochesato, Mattia, and Samuel Bowles. 2015. Nordic exceptionalism? Social democratic egalitarianism in world-historic perspective. *Journal of Public Economics* 127:30-44.
- Fochesato, Mattia, and Samuel Bowles. 2017. Technology, institutions and wealth inequality over eleven millennia. *Working Paper*.

- Fourie, Johan, and Dieter von Fintel. 2010. The dynamics of inequality in a newly settled, pre-industrial society: the case of the Cape Colony. *Cliometrica* 4 (3):229-267.
- Fügedi, E. 1980. Steuerlisten, Vermögen und soziale Gruppen in mittelalterichen Städten. In Städtische Gesellschaft und Reformation, edited by I. Batori. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta.
- Gascon, Richard. 1971. Grand commerce et vie urbaine au XVIe siécle: Lyon et ses marchands (environs de 1520-environs de 1580). 2 vols, Civilisations et sociétés. Paris,: S.E.V.P.E.N.
- Géraud, Hercule. 1837. Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel : d'après des documents originaux et notamment d'après un manuscript contenant Le Rôle de la taille imposée sur les habitants de Paris en 1292, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Paris: Crapelet.
- Geremek, B. 1987. *The margins of society in late medieval Paris*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press ;.
- Goody, Jack. 1996. Comparing Family Systems in Europe and Asia: Are There Different Sets of Rules? *Population and Development Review* 22 (1):1-20.
- Gregg, S.A. 1988. Foragers and Farmers: Population Interaction and Agricultural Expansion in Prehistoric Europe. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Hanus, Jord. 2013. Real inequality in the early modern Low Countries: the city of 's-Hertogenbosch, 1500–1660. *The Economic History Review* 66 (3):733-756.
- Haswell, M.R. 1953. *Economics of agriculture in a savannah village: Report on three years' study in Genieri Village and its lands, The Gambia.* London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office for the Colonial Office of the United Kingdom.
- Herlihy, David, and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber. 1985. *Tuscans and their families : a study of the Florentine catasto of 1427*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Hertz, Tom, Tamara Jayasundera, Patrizio Piraino, Sibel Selcuk, Nicole Smith, and Alina Verashchagina. 2008. The Inheritance of Educational Inequality: International Comparisons and Fifty-Year Trends. *The B.E. Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy* 7 (2).
- Jacobsen, T. 1953. On the Textile Industry at Ur under Ibbī-Sîn. In *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen*, edited by F. Hvidberg. Munksgaard: Hauniae.
- Klevmarken, A. 2006. The Distribution of Wealth in Sweden: Trends and Driving factors. In *Working Papers*. Uppsala: Department of Economics, Uppsala University.

- Kohler, Timothy A., and Rebecca Higgins. 2016. Quantifying Household Inequality in Early Pueblo Villages. *Current Anthropology* 57 (5).
- Kron, Geoffrey. 2011. The Distribution of Wealth at Athens in Comparative Perspective. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 179:129-138.
- Lindert, Peter H. 2000. Three Centuries of Inequality in Britain and America. In Handbook of Income Distribution, edited by A. B. Atkinson and F. Bourguignon: Elsevier Science.
- Lindert, Peter H., and Jeffrey G. Williamson. 2016. Unequal gains : American growth and inequality since 1700, The Princeton economic history of the Western world. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Luna, Francisco Vidal. 1982. Estrutura da Posse de Escravos. In *Minas Colonial: Economia e Sociedade*, edited by F. V. C. Luna, Iraci del Nero. São Paulo: FIPE/PIONEIRA.
- LWS. 2012. Luxembourg Wealth Study Database. Luxembourg LIS.
- Massell, Benton. 1963. Econometric variations on a theme by Schneider. *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 12 (1):34-41.
- McC. Adams, R. 1978. Strategies of Maximization, Stability, and Resilience in Mesopotamian Society, Settlement and Agriculture. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 122 (5):329-355.
- McGuire, Randall H. 1992. *Death, society, and ideology in a Hohokam community, Investigations in American archaeology*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Michælsson, Karl. 1951. Le Livre de la taille de Paris l'an de grace 1313, Acta Universitatis Gotoburgensis Göteborgs högskolas årsskrift 57, 1951: 3. Göteborg,: Wettergren & Kerber.
- Michælsson, Karl. 1958. Le Livre de la taille de Paris, l'an 1296, Romanica Gothoburgensia. Gœteborg.
- Michælsson, Karl. 1962. Le Livre de la taille de Paris l'an 1297, Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis Göteborgs universitets êarsskrift,. Göteborg: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Myers, Ramon H. 2008. Socioeconomic Change in Villages of Manchuria During the Ch'ing and Republican Periods: Some Preliminary Findings. *Modern Asian Studies* 10 (4):591-620.
- Nummela, I. 2011. Regional inequality. In *Physical and Cultural Space in Pre-Industrial Europe. Methodological approaches to spatiality*, edited by M. H. Lamberg, M.; J. Haikari, J.: Nordic Academic Press.

- Overton, M. 2006. Household wealth, indebtedness, and economic growth in early modern England. In *Open Research Exeter*.
- Porčić, Marko. 2012. Social Complexity and Inequality in the Late Neolithic of Central Balkans: reviewing the evidence. *Documenta Praehistorica* XXXIX:167-183.
- Pound, J. F. 1966. The Social and Trade Structure of Norwich 1525-1575. Past & Present (34):49-69.
- Raymond, A. 1973. *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siécle*. 2 vols. Damas: Institut Français de Damas.
- Raymond, A. 2002. *Arab Cities in the Ottoman Period: Cairo, Syria and the Maghreb:* Aldershot.
- Ryckbosch, W. 2015. Economic inequality and growth before the industrial revolution: the case of the Low Countries (fourteenth to nineteenth centuries). *European Review of Economic History* 20:1-22.
- Scheidel, W. 2011. The roman slave supply. In *The Cambridge world history of slavery: the Ancient Mediterranean World*, edited by K. C. Bradley, P.; Eltis,D.; Engerman,S.L. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schulting, R.J. 1995. *Mortuary Variability and Status Differentiation on the Columbia-Fraser Plateau*. Burnaby, B.C.: Archaeology Press, Simon Fraser University.
- Sierminska, Eva, A. Brandolini, and T.M. Smeeding. 2006. Comparing wealth distribution across rich countries: first results from the Luxembourg Wealth Study. *Luxembourg Wealth Study Working Paper Series* 1.
- Smith, Michael E., Timothy Dennehy, April Kamp-Whittaker, Emily Colon, and Rebecca Harkness. 2014. Quantitative Measures of Wealth Inequality in Ancient Central Mexican Communities. *Advances in Archaeological Practice* 2 (4):311-323.
- Soltow, Lee. 1979. Wealth distribution in Denmark in 1789. *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 27 (2):121-138.
- Soltow, Lee. 1981. Wealth distribution in Finland in 1800. *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 29 (1):21-32.
- Soltow, Lee. 1985. The Swedish census of wealth at the beginning of the 19th century. *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 33 (1):1-24.
- Soltow, Lee. 1989. *Distribution of Wealth and Income in the United States in 1798*: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Soltow, Lee, and J. L. van Zanden. 1998. *Income and wealth inequality in the Netherlands, 16th-20th century*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.

- Stein, Gil J. 2012. The Development of Indigenous Social Complexity in Late Calcolithic Upper Mesopotamia in the 5th-4th millennia BC - An Initial assessment Origini XXXIV:125-151.
- Stephan, R.P. 2013. House Size and Economic Growth: Regional Trajectories in the Roman World, Department of Classics, Stanford University.
- Stone, Elizabeth M. 2016. The Trajectory of Social Inequality in Ancient Mesopotamia. In *Quantifying Ancient Inequality: The Archaeology of Wealth Differences*, edited by T. A. Kohler and M. E. Smith: Amerind Foundation.
- Stordeur, Danielle. 2015. Le village de Jerf el Ahmar (Syrie, 9500-8700 av. J.-C.): l'architecture, miroir d'une société néolithique complexe. Paris: CNRS.
- Subramanian, S.; D. Jayaraj, D. 2006. The Distribution of Household Wealth in India. In *UNU-WIDER Research Paper*.
- Sussman, N. 2006. Income Inequality in Paris in the Heyday of the Commercial Revolution.
- Sweden, Statistics. 2000. Förmögenhetsfördelningen i Sverige 1997 med en tillbakablick till 1975. edited by Report.
- Tang, Li. 2016. *Income Inequality and an Economy in Transition* 2014 [cited November 2016]. Available from http://people.tamu.edu/~ganli/April-2014-English.pdf.
- Wang, C., and K. Caminada. 2011. Disentangling Income Inequality and the Redistributive Effect of Social Transfers and Taxes in 36 LIS Countries. In Department of Economics Research Memorandum
- Westenholz, A. 2002. The Sumerian City-State. In A Comparative Study of Six City-State Cultures. An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre, edited by M. H. Hansen. Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters.
- Whitelaw, T. 2004. Estimating the population of Neopalatial Knossos. *British School at Athens Studies* 12:147-158.
- Wiessner, Polly. 1982. Leveling the Hunter. In *Food and the Status Quest: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, edited by P. S. Wiessner, W. Oxford: Berghahn.
- Williamson, Jeffrey G., and Peter H. Lindert. 1980. *American inequality: a macroeconomic history*. New York: Academic Press.
- Windler, Arne, Rainer Thiele, and Johannes Müller. 2013. Increasing inequality in Chalcolithic Southeast Europe: the case of Durankulak. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 40 (1):204-210.

- Wolff, E. N. 2010. Recent Trends in Household Wealth in the United States: Rising Debt and the Middle-Class Squeeze - An Update to 2007. In *Working Papers Series*: Levy Economics Institute
- Zanden, J.L van; Berg, W.J. van den. 1993. Vier eeuwen welstandsongelijkheid in Alkmaar, ca 1530-1930. *Tijdschrift voor sociale geschiedenis* 19:193-215.
- Zanden, J.L. van. 1995. Tracing the Beginning of the Kuznets Curve: Western Europe during the Early Modern Period. *The Economic History Review* 48 (4):643-664.
- Zhao, Gang. 1986. *Man and land in Chinese history: an economic analysis*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.