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| The Agricultural Revolution and the Sophistication of Violence 'And the Lord said unto Cain, Where is Abel, thy brother? And he said, I know not: Am I my brothers' keeper? And he said, What hast thou done? the voice of thy brothers' blood crieth unto me from the ground." GENESIS 4:9-10 | 农业革命和暴力的复杂化'耶和华对该隐说，你的兄弟亚伯在哪里呢？他说，我不知道。我是我兄弟的看守人吗？他说："你做了什么？ 你兄弟的血的声音从地里向我喊叫。"创世纪》4:9-10 |
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| Five hundred generations ago, the first phase change in the organization of human society began.1 Our ancestors in several regions reluctantly picked up crude implements, sharpened stakes and makeshift hoes, and went to work. As they sowed the first crops, they also laid a new foundation for power in the world. The Agricultural Revolution was the first great economic and social revolution. It started with the expulsion from Eden and moved so slowly that farming had not completely displaced hunting and gathering in all suitable areas of the globe when the twentieth century opened. Experts believe that even in the Near East, where farming first emerged, it was introduced in "a long incremental process" that "may have taken five thousand years or more."2 | 五百代以前，人类社会组织的第一个阶段性变化开始了。1 我们在几个地区的祖先不情愿地拿起粗糙的工具、削尖的木桩和临时的锄头，开始工作。他们在播种第一批庄稼的同时，也为世界上的权力奠定了新的基础。农业革命是第一次伟大的经济和社会革命。它从被逐出伊甸园开始，进展非常缓慢，以至于在二十世纪开始时，农业还没有完全取代全球所有合适地区的狩猎和采集。专家们认为，即使在最早出现农业的近东地区，它也是在 "一个漫长的渐进过程 "中引入的，"可能花了五千年或更长时间"。 |
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| It may seem an exaggeration to describe a process that stretched out over millennia as a "revolution." Yet that is precisely what the advent of farming was, a slow-motion revolution that transformed human life by altering the logic of violence. | 将一个绵延数千年的过程描述为一场 "革命 "似乎有些夸张。然而，这正是农耕的出现，一场通过改变暴力逻辑而改变人类生活的慢动作革命。 |
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| Wherever farming took root, violence emerged as a more important feature of social life. | 无论农耕在哪里扎根，暴力就会成为社会生活的一个更重要的特征。 |
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| Hierarchies adept at manipulating or controlling violence came to dominate society. | 善于操纵或控制暴力的等级制度开始主宰社会。 |
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| Understanding the Agricultural Revolution is a first step toward understanding the Information Revolution. The introduction of tilling and harvesting provides a paradigm example of how an apparently simple shift in the character of work can radically alter the organization of society. Put this past revolution into perspective and you are in a far stronger position to forecast how history may unfold in response to the new logic of violence introduced with microprocessors. | 理解农业革命是理解信息革命的第一步。耕作和收割的引入提供了一个典范的例子，说明工作性质的明显简单转变可以彻底改变社会的组织。将这一过去的革命纳入视野，你就能更有力地预测历史可能如何展开，以应对微处理器引入的新的暴力逻辑。 |
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| To appreciate the revolutionary character of agriculture, you first need a picture of how the primeval society functioned before farming. We surveyed this in The Great Reckoning and offer a further sketch below. Hunting-and gathering societies were the only forms of social organization through a long, prehistoric slumber when human life changed little or not at all from generation to generation. Anthropologists claim that humans have been hunters and gatherers for 99 percent of the time since we appeared on earth. Crucial to the long success and ultimate failure of hunting-and-gathering bands is the fact that they had to operate on a very small scale over a very wide area. | 要理解农业的革命性特征，你首先需要了解原始社会在农耕之前是如何运作的。我们在《大清算》中对此进行了调查，并在下文中作了进一步的简述。狩猎和采集社会是唯一的社会组织形式，经历了漫长的史前沉睡期，当时人类的生活在一代又一代人之间几乎没有任何变化。人类学家声称，自从人类出现在地球上以来，99%的时间里人类都是狩猎和采集者。狩猎和采集群体的长期成功和最终失败的关键是，他们必须在一个非常小的范围内，在一个非常广泛的区域内运作。 |
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| Foragers could survive only where population densities were light. To see why, think of the problems that larger groups would have posed. For one thing, a thousand hunters parading together across a landscape would have raised such a ruckus as to scare away the game they sought to trap. And even worse, had a small army of hunters occasionally managed to corner a huge herd of game, the food they harvested, including fruits and edible plants found in the wild, could not have remained plentiful for long. A large group of foragers would have laid waste to the countryside through overharvesting like a starving army in the Thirty Years War. Therefore, to minimize overkill, hunting bands had to be small. As Stephen Boyden writes in Western Civilization in Biological Perspective, "Most commonly, hunter-gatherer groups number between twenty-five and fifty individuals." | 觅食者只有在人口密度低的地方才能生存。要知道为什么，想想更大的群体会带来的问题。首先，一千名猎人一起在风景区内游行，会引起骚动，从而吓跑他们想要捕猎的动物。更糟糕的是，如果一小群猎人偶尔能抓到一大群猎物，他们收获的食物，包括在野外发现的水果和可食用植物，不可能长期保持丰富。一大群觅食者会像三十年战争中的饥饿军队一样，通过过度采摘浪费农村。因此，为了尽量减少过度捕杀，狩猎队必须是小规模的。正如斯蒂芬-博伊登在《生物学视角下的西方文明》中写道："最常见的是，狩猎-采集者群体的人数在25至50人之间。" |
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| To live on ten thousand acres in a temperate climate today is a luxury allowed only to the very rich. A family of hunter-gatherers could scarcely have survived on less. | 今天，在温带气候下生活在一万英亩的土地上是一种奢侈，只有非常富有的人才能享受。一个狩猎采集者的家庭几乎不可能靠更少的东西生存。 |
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| They generally required thousands of acres per person, even in areas that were most fertile for foraging. This suggests why the growth of human populations during periods particularly favorable to farming may have created the basis for population crises. | 他们通常每人需要数千英亩的土地，即使在最肥沃的觅食地区也是如此。这表明为什么在特别有利于耕作的时期，人类人口的增长可能为人口危机的发生奠定了基础。 |
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| Because so much land was required to support a single person, the population densities of hunting-and-gathering societies had to be incredibly sparse. Before farming, humans were about as densely settled as bears. | 由于养活一个人需要这么多的土地，狩猎和采集社会的人口密度必须非常稀疏。在农耕之前，人类的居住密度就像熊一样密集。 |
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| With minor differences, the human diet resembled that of bears. Foraging societies depended upon food gathered from the open countryside or from nearby bodies of water. Although some gatherers were fishers, most were hunters who depended for a third to a fifth of their food upon protein from large mammals. Other than a few simple tools and objects carried around with them, hunter-gatherers had almost no technology at their disposal. They usually had no way to effectively store quantities of meat or other foods for later use. Most food had to be consumed soon after it was gathered or left to spoil. That is not say, of course, that some hunter-gatherers did not eat spoiled food. | 除了微小的差别，人类的饮食与熊相似。觅食社会依赖从开放的乡村或附近的水体中收集的食物。虽然有些采集者是渔民，但大多数是猎人，他们的食物有三分之一到五分之一是依靠大型哺乳动物的蛋白质。除了一些简单的工具和随身携带的物品外，狩猎采集者几乎没有任何技术可供他们使用。他们通常没有办法有效地储存大量的肉类或其他食物供以后使用。大多数食物在采集后不久就必须吃掉，或者任其变质。当然，这并不是说有些狩猎采集者不吃变质的食物。 |
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| Eskimos, as Boyden reports, "are said to have a particular liking for decomposed food."4 | 正如博伊登报告的那样，爱斯基摩人 "据说特别喜欢腐烂的食物 "4。 |
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| He repeats the observations of experts that Eskimos" 'bury fish heads and allow them to decay until the bones become of the same consistency as the flesh. They then knead the reeking mass into a paste and eat it'; they also enjoy the 'fat maggoty larvae of the caribou fly served raw. . deer droppings, munched like berries ... and marrow more than a year old, swarming with maggots' "5 | 他重复了专家们的意见，即爱斯基摩人"'把鱼头埋起来，让它们腐烂，直到骨头变得和鱼肉一样稠。然后他们把散发着恶臭的东西揉成糊状并吃掉'；他们还喜欢 "生吃驯鹿苍蝇的肥大蛆状幼虫......鹿的粪便，像浆果一样咀嚼......还有一年以上的骨髓，上面长满蛆虫 "5。 |
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| Other than such delicacies, foragers developed little surplus food. As anthropologist Gregg notes, "mobile populations generally do not store foodstuffs against seasonal or unexpected lows in resource availability." Consequently, foragers had little to steal. A division of labor that included specialization to employ violence was insupportable in settings where surplus food could not be stored. The logic of the hunt also dictated that violence among hunting-and-foraging bands could never rise above a small scale because the groups themselves had to remain tiny. | 除了这些美味之外，觅食者几乎没有开发出多余的食物。正如人类学家格雷格所指出的，"流动人口一般不储存食品，以应对资源供应的季节性或意外的低谷"。因此，觅食者没有什么可偷的。在无法储存剩余食物的情况下，包括使用暴力的专业化分工是不可行的。狩猎的逻辑也决定了狩猎和觅食群体之间的暴力不可能超过小规模，因为这些群体本身必须保持微小。 |
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| The small scale of foraging bands was advantageous in another way. Members of such small groups would have known one another intimately, a factor that made them more effective in working together. Decision-making becomes more difficult as numbers 5 Ibid. | 觅食队的小规模在另一个方面是有利的。这种小团体的成员会彼此熟悉，这是一个使他们更有效地合作的因素。随着人数的增加，决策变得更加困难。 |
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| Whether hunting-and-gathering bands were easygoing is open to debate. Sir Henry Maine refers to "the universal belligerency of primitive man." In his words, "It is not peace which is natural and primitive but war." 6 His view has been underlined by the work of evolutionary biologists. R. Paul Shaw and Yuwa Wong comment: "[T]here are strong indications that many of the injuries apparent in remains of Australopithecus, Homo erectus, and Homo sapiens of the European fourth and pre-fourth glacial periods resulted from combat." 7 But others doubt this. Experts like Stephen Boyden argue that primitive groups were usually not warlike or prone to violence. Social conventions developed to reduce internal tensions and facilitate the sharing of the hunt. Especially in areas where humans preyed on larger game, which was difficult for a single hunter to fell, religious and social doctrines emerged to facilitate the redistribution of any game that was taken with the whole group. The first priority of sharing of caloric resources was with other hunters. Necessity, rather than sentiment, was the spur. The first claim on the resources was exercised by the most economically competent and militarily strong, not by the sick and the weak. Undoubtedly, a major influence informing this priority was the fact that hunters in the prime of life were also militarily the most potent members of the small band. By assuring them a first claim on the hunt, the group minimized potentially lethal internal squabbling. | 狩猎和采集的队伍是否随和，还有待商榷。亨利-梅恩爵士提到了 "原始人的普遍好战性"。用他的话说，"自然和原始的不是和平，而是战争"。6他的观点在进化生物学家的工作中得到了强调。R. Paul Shaw和Yuwa Wong评论说。["有强烈的迹象表明，在欧洲第四个和第四个冰川期前的澳洲人、直立人和智人的遗骸中，许多明显的伤害是由战斗造成的"。7 但其他人对此表示怀疑。像斯蒂芬-博伊登这样的专家认为，原始群体通常不喜欢战争，也不容易发生暴力。社会惯例的发展是为了减少内部的紧张关系，促进分享猎物。特别是在人类捕食大型猎物的地区，单个猎人很难猎获这些猎物，于是出现了宗教和社会学说，以方便重新分配任何与整个群体一起捕获的猎物。分享热量资源的首要任务是与其他猎手分享。必要性，而不是情感，是一种鞭策。对资源的第一要求是由经济上最有能力和军事上最强大的人提出的，而不是由病人和弱者提出。毋庸置疑，影响这种优先权的一个主要因素是，正值壮年的猎人在军事上也是小队中最有实力的成员。通过保证他们在狩猎中的优先权，该群体最大限度地减少了潜在的致命的内部争吵。 |
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| So long as population densities remained low, the foragers' gods were not militant gods but embodiments of natural forces or the animals they hunted. The scantiness of capital and open frontiers made war in most cases unnecessary. There were few neighbors outside one's own small family or clan to pose threats. Because foragers tended to roam in search of food, personal possessions beyond a bare minimum became an encumbrance. Those with few possessions necessarily experienced little property crime. When conflicts arose, the contending parties were often content to walk away because they had little invested in any given locale. Escape was an easy solution to personal feuds or exorbitant demands of other kinds. This does not mean that early humans were peaceful. They may have been violent and unpleasant to a degree we can scarcely imagine. But if they employed violence, it was mostly for personal reasons or, what may be worse, for sport. | 只要人口密度保持在低水平，觅食者的神就不是好战的神，而是自然力量或他们狩猎的动物的化身。资本的匮乏和开放的边界使得战争在大多数情况下是不必要的。除了自己的小家庭或部族之外，很少有邻居会构成威胁。由于觅食者倾向于漫无目的地寻找食物，超出最低限度的个人财产成为一种负担。那些财产不多的人必然会经历很少的财产犯罪。当冲突发生时，争执的各方往往满足于走开，因为他们在任何特定的地方都没有什么投资。逃跑是解决个人恩怨或其他类型的过高要求的一个简单办法。这并不意味着早期人类是和平的。他们的暴力和不愉快可能达到了我们几乎无法想象的程度。但是，如果他们使用暴力，那主要是出于个人原因，或者，更糟糕的是，出于运动。 |
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| The livelihoods of hunter-gatherers depended upon their functioning in small bands that allowed little or no scope for a division of labor other than along gender lines. | 狩猎采集者的生计取决于他们在小范围内的运作，除了按性别划分外，几乎没有分工的余地。 |
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| They had no organized government, usually no permanent settlements, and no possibility for accumulating wealth. Even such basic building blocks of civilization as a written language were unknown in the primeval economy. Without a written language there could be no formal records and no history. | 他们没有有组织的政府，通常没有永久的定居点，也没有积累财富的可能性。甚至像书面语言这样的文明的基本组成部分在原始经济中也是未知的。没有书面语言，就不可能有正式的记录和历史。 |
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| Overkill | 过度杀戮 |
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| The dynamic of foraging created very different incentives to work than those to which we have become accustomed since the advent of farming. The capital requirements for life as a forager were minimal. A few primitive tools and weapons sufficed. There was no outlet for investment, not even private property in land, except occasionally in quarries where flint or soapstone was mined. 8 As anthropologist Susan Alling Gregg wrote in Foragers and Farmers, "Ownership of and access to resources was "held in common by the group." 9 With rare exceptions, such as fishers living on the shores of lakes, foragers usually had no fixed place of abode. Having no permanent homes, they had little need to work hard to acquire property or maintain it. They had no mortgage or taxes to pay, no furniture to buy. Their few consumer goods were animal skins, and personal adornments made by members of the group themselves. There was little incentive to acquire or accumulate anything that might have passed for money because there was little to buy. Under such conditions, savings for the foragers could have been no more than a rudimentary concept. | 觅食的动力创造了非常不同的工作动机，与我们在农业出现后所习惯的动机不同。觅食者生活的资本需求是最小的。一些原始的工具和武器就够了。除了偶尔在采石场开采燧石或肥皂石外，没有任何投资渠道，甚至没有土地的私有财产。8 正如人类学家苏珊-阿林-格雷格在《觅食者和农民》中写道："资源的所有权和使用权是 "群体共同拥有的"。9 除了极少数的例外，如居住在湖岸边的渔民，觅食者通常没有固定的居住地。由于没有固定的住所，他们几乎不需要努力工作来获得财产或维护财产。他们没有抵押贷款或纳税，没有家具需要购买。他们为数不多的消费品是动物皮毛，以及由群体成员自己制作的个人装饰品。因为没有什么可买的东西，所以没有什么动力去获取或积累任何可能被当作金钱的东西。在这样的条件下，牧民的储蓄可能不过是一个基本的概念。 |
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| With no reason to earn and almost no division of labor, the concept of hard work as a virtue must have been foreign to hunting-and-gathering groups. Except during periods of unusual hardship, when protracted effort was required to find something to eat, little work was done because little was needed. There was literally nothing to be gained by working beyond the bare minimum required for survival. For the members of the typical hunting-and-gathering band, that meant working only about eight to fifteen hours a week. Because a hunter's labor did not augment the food supply but could only reduce it, one who heroically labored overtime to kill more animals or pick more fruit than could be eaten before it spoiled contributed nothing to prosperity. To the contrary, overkill reduced the prospects of finding food in the future, and thus had a detrimental impact on the wellbeing of the group. That is why some foragers, such as Eskimos, punished or ostracized members of the band who engaged in overkill. | 由于没有挣钱的理由，也几乎没有分工，勤奋工作作为一种美德的概念对狩猎和采集群体来说肯定是陌生的。除了在不寻常的困难时期，当需要长期努力寻找食物的时候，很少有人工作，因为需要的很少。除了生存所需的最低限度的工作外，实际上没有什么可以得到的。对于典型的狩猎和采集队伍的成员来说，这意味着每周只工作8至15个小时。因为猎人的劳动并不能增加食物的供应，而只能减少食物的供应，一个人如果英勇地加班加点，杀死更多的动物或采摘更多的水果，在水果变质之前就能吃到，对繁荣没有任何贡献。相反，过度杀戮会减少未来寻找食物的前景，从而对群体的福祉产生不利影响。这就是为什么一些觅食者，如爱斯基摩人，会惩罚或排斥那些从事过度杀戮的成员。 |
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| The example of the Eskimos punishing overkill is particularly telling, because they, far more than others, might well have been able to store meat by freezing it. | 爱斯基摩人惩罚过度杀戮的例子特别有说服力，因为他们远比其他人更有能力通过冷冻来储存肉类。 |
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| Further, it would have been feasible to provide at least some storage for oils rendered from large marine animals. The fact that foragers generally chose not to do so reflects their far more passive interactions with nature. It may also indicate the degree to which cognition and mental processes are biased by culture. Constraints on learning and behavior in complex environments make adoption of some strategies far more difficult than would otherwise appear. As R. Paul Shaw and Yuwa Wong have written, "Because niches differ in many respects, so, too, do biases in learning." | 此外，为大型海洋动物的油类提供至少一些储存空间也是可行的。觅食者通常选择不这样做，这一事实反映了他们与自然界的互动更为被动。这也可能表明认知和心理过程受文化影响的程度。在复杂的环境中，对学习和行为的限制使一些策略的采用远比看起来更困难。正如R.Paul Shaw和Yuwa Wong所写的那样，"由于壁龛在许多方面有所不同，学习中的偏见也是如此。" |
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| Seen in this perspective, the advent of agriculture entailed more than a change in diet; it also launched a great revolution in the organization of economic life and culture as well as a transformation of the logic of violence. Farming created large-scale capital assets in land and sometimes in irrigation systems. The crops and domesticated animals farmers raised were valuable assets. They could be stored, hoarded, and stolen. Because crops had to be tended over the entire growing season, from planting through harvest, 47 migration away from threats became less attractive, especially in arid regions where opportunities to grow crops were confined to the small areas of the land with dependable water supplies. As escape became more difficult, opportunities for organized shakedowns and plunder increased. Farmers were subject to raids at harvest time, which gradually raised the scale of warfare. | 从这个角度来看，农业的出现不仅仅意味着饮食的改变；它还在经济生活和文化的组织方面发起了一场巨大的革命，并改变了暴力的逻辑。农业创造了大规模的土地资本资产，有时也创造了灌溉系统。农民饲养的农作物和驯养的动物是有价值的资产。它们可以被储存、囤积和盗窃。由于农作物从种植到收获的整个生长季节都需要照料，因此远离威胁的迁移变得不那么有吸引力，特别是在干旱地区，种植农作物的机会被限制在有可靠水源的小块土地上。随着逃跑变得更加困难，有组织的抢劫和掠夺的机会也在增加。农民在收获季节会受到袭击，这逐渐提高了战争的规模。 |
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| This tended to increase the size of societies because contests of violence more often than not were won by the larger group. As competition over land and control of its output became more intense, societies became more stationary. A division of labor became more apparent. Employment and slavery arose for the first time. Farmers and herders specialized in producing food. Potters produced containers in which food was stored. Priests prayed for rain and bountiful harvests. | 这往往会增加社会的规模，因为暴力的竞争往往是由较大的群体获胜。随着对土地的竞争和对土地产出的控制变得更加激烈，社会变得更加固定。劳动分工变得更加明显。就业和奴隶制第一次出现了。农民和牧民专门生产食物。陶工生产储存食物的容器。祭司们祈求雨水和丰收。 |
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| Specialists in violence, the forefathers of government, increasingly devoted themselves to plunder and protection from plunder. Along with the priests, they became the first wealthy persons in history. In the early stages of agricultural societies, these warriors came to control a portion of the annual crop as a price of protection. In places where threats were minimal, yeoman farmers were sometimes able to retain a relatively large degree of autonomy. But as population densities rose, and competition over food intensified, especially in regions around deserts where productive land was at a premium, the warrior group could take a large fraction of total output. These warriors founded the first states with the proceeds of this rake-off, which reached as high as 25 percent of the grain crop and one-half the increase in herds of domesticated animals. Farming, therefore, dramatically increased the importance of coercion. The surge in resources capable of being plundered led to a large surge in plunder. | 暴力专家，政府的祖先，越来越多地致力于掠夺和保护自己免受掠夺。与祭司一起，他们成为历史上第一批富有的人。在农业社会的早期阶段，这些战士开始控制一部分年度作物，作为保护的代价。在威胁最小的地方，贵族农民有时能够保留相对较大的自主权。但是，随着人口密度的增加，对食物的竞争加剧，特别是在沙漠周围的地区，生产性土地的价格很高，战士集团可以拿走总产量的很大一部分。这些战士用这种抽成的收益建立了第一批国家，其收益高达粮食作物的25%和驯养动物群增长量的二分之一。因此，农业极大地提高了胁迫的重要性。能够被掠夺的资源的激增导致了掠夺的大量增加。 |
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| It took millennia for the full logic of the Agricultural Revolution to play itself out. | 农业革命的全部逻辑花了几千年的时间才发挥出来。 |
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| For a long while, sparse populations of farmers in temperate regions may have lived much as their foraging forebears had done. Where land and rainfall were ample, farmers harvested crops on a small scale without much violent interference. But as populations rose over a period of several thousand years, farmers even in thinly settled regions became subject to erratic plunder that sometimes must have left them with insufficient seed to replant the next year's crop. Competitive plundering, or anarchy, was a possibility at one extreme, as well as unprotected communities living without any specialized organization to monopolize violence. | 在很长一段时间里，温带地区稀疏的农民群体可能像他们的觅食祖先那样生活。在土地和降雨量充足的地方，农民在小范围内收获农作物，没有太多的暴力干扰。但随着几千年来人口的增加，即使是在人口稀少的地区，农民也会受到不稳定的掠夺，有时他们肯定没有足够的种子来重新种植第二年的作物。竞争性的掠夺，或无政府状态，是一个极端的可能性，也是没有任何专门组织来垄断暴力的无保护的社区。 |
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| As time passed, the logic of violence inherent in agriculture imposed itself over an ever-wider terrain. The regions where farming and herding could continue without the predations of government receded to a few truly remote areas. The Kafir regions of Afghanistan, to cite an extreme example, resisted the imposition of government until the last decade of the nineteenth century. But in so doing, they were transformed centuries earlier into a quite militant society, organized along kinship lines. Such arrangements were not capable of mustering force on a large scale. Until the British brought modern weapons to the region, the Kafirs remained independent in their remote Bashgal and Waigal valleys because their redoubts were protected by features topography, high mountains, and deserts that stood between them and conquerors from thc outside.'2 | 随着时间的推移，农业中固有的暴力逻辑在越来越广的范围内实施。可以在没有政府掠夺的情况下继续耕种和放牧的地区退缩到少数真正的偏远地区。举个极端的例子，阿富汗的Kafir地区一直抵制政府的强加，直到19世纪的最后十年。但在这样做的过程中，他们在几个世纪前就被改造成了一个相当好战的社会，按照亲属关系组织起来。这样的安排不能够大规模地集结力量。在英国人将现代武器带到该地区之前，卡菲尔人一直在他们偏远的巴什加尔和瓦加尔山谷中保持独立，因为他们的堡垒受到地形特征、高山和沙漠的保护，这些都是他们与外部征服者之间的障碍。 |
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| Over time, the basic logic of the Agricultural Revolution impressed itself on the societies where farming took hold. Farming sharply raised the scope at which human 48 communities could form. Beginning about ten thousand years ago, cities began to emerge. Although tiny by today's standards, they were the centers of the first 'civilizations," a word derived from civit which means "citizenship" or "inhabitants of a city" in Latin. Because farming created assets to plunder and to protect, it also created a requirem for inventory accounting. You cannot tax unless you can compile records and issue receipts. The symbols employed in the accountant's ledger became the | 随着时间的推移，农业革命的基本逻辑在农业发展的社会中留下了深刻印象。耕作极大地提高了人类48个社区可以形成的范围。从大约一万年前开始，城市开始出现了。虽然以今天的标准来看，城市很小，但它们是第一批 "文明 "的中心。"文明 "一词来自拉丁语中的 "公民权 "或 "城市居民"。由于农业创造了可供掠夺和保护的资产，它也创造了一个库存会计的要求。除非你能汇编记录和开具收据，否则你无法征税。会计师账簿中使用的符号成为了 |
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| Farming also extended the horizon over which humans had to solve problems. | 耕作也扩大了人类必须解决问题的范围。 |
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| Hunting bands lived within an immediate time horizon. They seldom undertook projects that lasted more than a few days. But planting and harvesting a crop took months. | 狩猎队生活在一个即时的时间范围内。他们很少进行超过几天的项目。但种植和收获庄稼需要几个月的时间。 |
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| Pursuing projects of a longer time frame farmers to train their attentions on the stars. | 追求时间较长的项目的农民要把注意力放在星星上。 |
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| Detailed astronomical observations were a precondition for drawing up almanacs and calendars to serve as guides on when to best plant and reap. With the advent of farming, hunters horizons expanded. | 详细的天文观测是制定历法和日历的先决条件，以作为何时种植和收割的最佳指南。随着农业的出现，猎人们的视野也随之扩大。 |
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| PROPERTY | 物业 |
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| The move to a settled agricultural society resulted in the emergence private property. Obviously, no one would be content to toil through whole growing season to produce a crop just to see someone else war along and harvest what he produced. The idea of property emerged a' inevitable consequence of farming. But the clarity of private property concept was attenuated by the logic of violence that also accompanied introduction of farming. The emergence of property was confused by fact that the megapolitical power of individuals was no longer as equal had been in foraging societies, where every healthy adult male was a hunter as well armed as anyone else. Farming gave rise to specialization in violence. Precisely because it created something to steal, farming made investment in better weaponry profitable. The result was theft, much of it highly organized. | 向定居农业社会的转变导致了私有财产的出现。显然，没有人会满足于通过整个生长季节的劳作来生产作物，而只是看到别人来收获他生产的东西。财产概念的出现是农业生产的必然结果。但是，私有财产概念的明确性被伴随着农耕的引入而出现的暴力逻辑所削弱。财产的出现被以下事实所迷惑：个人的巨大政治力量不再像在觅食社会中那样平等，在那里，每一个健康的成年男性都是一个猎人，和其他人一样装备精良。耕作引起了暴力的专业化。正因为它创造了一些可供偷窃的东西，耕作使得投资更好的武器装备变得有利可图。其结果是盗窃，其中大部分是高度有组织的盗窃。 |
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| The powerful were now able to organize a new form of predation: a monopoly of violence, or government. This sharply differentiated societies, creating quite different circumstances for those who benefited from plunder, and the mass of poor who tilled the fields. The few who controlled military power could now become rich, along with others who found favor with them. The god-kings and their allies, the various lesser, local potentates who ruled the first Near Eastern states, enjoyed much more nearly modern forms of property than the great mass who toiled beneath them. | 有权势的人现在能够组织一种新的掠夺形式：对暴力的垄断，或政府。这使社会急剧分化，为那些从掠夺中获益的人和耕种田地的广大穷人创造了相当不同的环境。少数控制军事力量的人现在可以变得富有，还有那些得到他们青睐的人。神王和他们的盟友，即统治第一批近东国家的各种较小的地方势力，比在他们下面劳作的广大民众享有更接近现代形式的财产。 |
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| Of course, it is anachronistic to think of a distinction between private and public wealth in the early agricultural societies. The ruling god-king had the full resources of the state at his disposal in a way that could hardly be distinguished from ownership of a sprawling estate. Much as in the feudal period of European history, all property was subject to the overlordship of higher potentates. Those down the chain of hierarchy found their property subject to attenuation at the whim of the ruler. | 当然，在早期的农业社会中，认为私人和公共财富之间有区别是不合时宜的。执政的神王拥有国家的全部资源供其支配，其方式与庞大的庄园所有权几乎没有什么区别。与欧洲历史上的封建时期一样，所有的财产都受制于更高的权贵。在等级制度下的人发现他们的财产会因统治者的意愿而减少。 |
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| Yet to say that the potentate was not restrained by law does not mean that he could afford to seize anything he pleased. Costs and rewards impinged upon the freedom 49 of the pharaoh as much as they do today upon the prime minister of Canada. And the pharaoh was much more constrained than contemporary leaders by the difficulties of transport and communication. Simply hauling loot from one spot to the next, especially when loot was measured mainly in the form of agricultural produce, involved a lot of loss from spoilage and theft. The proliferation of officials to check on one another reduced the loss due to pilfering but increased the total overhead costs the pharaoh had to bear. | 然而，说君主不受法律约束并不意味着他可以随心所欲地夺取任何东西。成本和报酬对法老的自由造成了影响，就像今天对加拿大总理的影响一样。而且法老比当代领导人更受交通和通讯困难的限制。仅仅是将战利品从一个地方拖到另一个地方，特别是当战利品主要是以农产品的形式衡量时，就会因变质和偷窃而造成大量损失。官员们互相检查，减少了偷窃造成的损失，但增加了法老不得不承担的总的管理费用。 |
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| Decentralized authority, which optimized output under some circumstances, also gave rise to stronger local powers who sometimes blossomed into full-fledged challengers for dynastic control. Even Oriental despots were by no means free to do as they pleased. | 分散的权力，在某些情况下优化了产出，也催生了更强大的地方势力，这些势力有时会发展成对王朝控制的全面挑战者。即使是东方的专制者也绝非可以随心所欲地行事。 |
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| They had no choice but to recognize the balance of raw power as they found it. | 他们别无选择，只能承认他们发现的原始力量的平衡。 |
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| Although everyone, including the rich, was subject to arbitrary expropriation, some were able to accumulate property of their own. Then as now, the state devoted much of its income to public works. Projects such irrigation systems, religious monuments, and crypts for the kings provided opportunities for architects and artisans to earn income. Some well-situated individuals were able to accumulate considerable private property. In fact, a large portion of the surviving cuneiform tablets from Sumer, an early Mesopotamian civilization, record various acts of trade, most of which involve the transfer of property titles. | 虽然每个人，包括富人，都会被任意征用，但有些人还是能够积累自己的财产。和现在一样，国家将其大部分收入用于公共工程。灌溉系统、宗教纪念碑和国王的墓穴等项目为建筑师和工匠提供了赚取收入的机会。一些有条件的人能够积累大量的私人财产。事实上，美索不达米亚早期文明苏美尔现存的楔形文字片中，有很大一部分记录了各种贸易行为，其中大部分涉及财产所有权的转让。 |
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| There was private property in the early agricultural societies, but seldom at the bottom of the social pyramid. The overwhelming majority of the population were peasants who were too poor to accumulate much wealth. In fact, with a few exceptions, most peasants, up until modern times, were so poor that they stood in constant danger of perishing from starvation any time that a drought or a flood or an infestation reduced crop yields. Hence the peasants were obliged to organize their affairs in a way that minimized the downside risks in bad years. Across the broad and impoverished stratum of society, a more primitive organization of property obtained. It increased the chance of survival at the expense of foreclosing the greater part of the opportunity to accumulate capital and rise in the economic system. | 早期的农业社会有私有财产，但在社会金字塔的底层很少有。绝大多数人口是农民，他们太穷了，无法积累很多财富。事实上，除了少数例外，直到现代，大多数农民都是如此贫穷，以至于在干旱、洪水或虫害降低作物产量时，他们随时都有被饿死的危险。因此，农民不得不以一种方式来组织他们的事务，以尽量减少坏年景下的风险。在整个社会的广泛而贫困的阶层中，获得了一种更原始的财产组织。它增加了生存的机会，但却剥夺了大部分积累资本和在经济体系中崛起的机会。 |
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| Peasant Insurance | 农民保险 |
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| The form that this bargain took was the adoption of what anthropologists and social historians describe as the "closed village." Almost every peasant society in premodern times had, as its main form of economic organization, the "closed village." | 这种讨价还价的形式是采用人类学家和社会历史学家所描述的 "封闭的村庄"。在前现代时期，几乎每一个农民社会都有 "封闭的村庄 "作为其主要的经济组织形式。 |
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| Unlike more modern forms of economic organization, in which individuals tend to deal with many buyers and sellers in an open market, the households of the closed village joined together to operate like an informal corporation, or a large family, not in an open marketplace but in a closed system where all the economic transactions of the village tended to be struck with a single monopolist-the local landlord, or his agents among the village chiefs. The village as a whole would contract with the landlord, usually for payment in kind, for a high proportion of the crop, rather than a fixed rent. The proportional rent meant that the landlord absorbed part of the downside risk of a bad harvest. Of course, the landlord also took the greater part of the potential profit. | 与更现代的经济组织形式不同的是，个人倾向于在一个开放的市场上与许多买家和卖家进行交易，而封闭式村庄的家庭联合起来，像一个非正式的公司或一个大家庭一样运作，不是在一个开放的市场上，而是在一个封闭的系统中，村庄的所有经济交易倾向于与一个单一的垄断者--当地的地主，或他在村长中的代理人达成。整个村庄会与地主签订合同，通常是以实物形式支付高比例的庄稼，而不是固定的租金。按比例的租金意味着地主吸收了歉收的部分负面风险。当然，地主也拿走了大部分的潜在利润。 |
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| Landlords also typically provided seed. | 房东通常也提供种子。 |
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| This convention also minimized the danger of starvation. It required that the landlord, rather than the peasant, save a disproportionate share of his part of the harvest. | 这一惯例也将饥饿的危险降到最低。它要求地主，而不是农民，从他的那部分收获中节省出不成比例的份额。 |
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| Because agricultural yields were appallingly low in many areas in the past, as many as two seeds had to be planted for every three harvested. Under such conditions, a bad harvest would mean mass starvation. The peasants rationally preferred an arrangement which would require the landlord to invest in their survival. At the cost of buying at monopolized prices, selling cheaply, and providing the landlord with in-kind labor, the peasants increased their chances of survival. A similar impulse led the typical peasant in a closed village economy to forgo the security of freehold property ownership. By putting themselves at the mercy of the village headman, a peasant family improved its chances of benefiting from the regular redistribution of fields. Not infrequently, the headman would take the best fields for himself and his favorites. But that was a risk that peasants had to tolerate in order to enjoy the survival insurance that confused village ownership of fields provided. At times when crop yields were miserably low, a difference in growing conditions of fields a hundred yards apart could make the difference between starvation and survival. Peasants frequently opted for the arrangement that lowered the downside risk, even at the cost of forgoing any hope of increased prosperity. | 由于过去许多地区的农业产量低得惊人，每收割三粒种子就必须种下两粒种子。在这种情况下，收成不好就意味着大规模的饥饿。农民理性地倾向于一种要求地主为他们的生存投资的安排。以垄断价格购买、廉价销售和向地主提供实物劳动为代价，农民增加了他们的生存机会。类似的冲动使封闭的乡村经济中的典型农民放弃了自由财产所有权的保障。通过将自己置于村长的摆布之下，一个农民家庭提高了从定期重新分配田地中获益的机会。村长经常会把最好的田地留给自己和他的宠儿。但这是农民必须忍受的风险，以便享受村里混乱的田地所有权提供的生存保险。在作物产量低得可怜的时候，相隔一百码的田地的生长条件不同，就会造成饥饿和生存之间的差异。农民们经常选择降低风险的安排，甚至以放弃任何增加繁荣的希望为代价。 |
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| In general, risk-averse behavior has been common among all groups that operated along the margins of survival. The sheer challenge of survival in premodern societies always constrained the behavior of the poor. An interesting feature of this risk aversion, explored in The Great Reckoning, is that it reduced the range of peaceful economic behavior that individuals were socially permitted to adopt. Taboos and social constraints limited experimentation and innovative behavior, even at the obvious cost of forgoing potentially advantageous improvements in settled ways of doing things.'3 This was a rational reflection of the fact that experimentation increases the variability of results. | 一般来说，规避风险的行为在所有在生存边缘活动的群体中都很常见。在前现代社会，纯粹的生存挑战总是制约着穷人的行为。在《大清算》中探讨的这种风险规避的一个有趣的特点是，它减少了社会上允许个人采取的和平经济行为的范围。禁忌和社会约束限制了实验和创新行为，甚至以放弃对已确定的做事方式的潜在有利改进为明显的代价。"3 这是对实验增加结果的可变性这一事实的理性反映。 |
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| Greater variability means not only potentially greater gains but more ominously for those at the very margin of survival-potentially ruinous losses. A great part of the cultural energy of poor farming societies has always been devoted to suppressing experimentation. This repression, in effect, was their substitute for insurance policies. If they had insurance, or sufficient savings to self-insure their experiments, such strong social taboos would not be needed to help ensure survival. | 更大的变异性不仅意味着潜在的更大收益，而且对于那些处于生存边缘的人来说，更不祥的是潜在的破坏性损失。贫穷的农业社会的文化能量的很大一部分总是用于压制实验。这种压制，实际上是他们对保险政策的替代。如果他们有保险，或者有足够的储蓄来为他们的实验进行自我保险，就不需要如此强烈的社会禁忌来帮助确保生存。 |
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| Cultures are not matters of taste but systems of adaptation to specific circumstances that may prove irrelevant or even counterproductive in other settings. | 文化不是品味的问题，而是适应特定环境的系统，在其他环境中可能被证明是不相关的，甚至是适得其反的。 |
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| Humans live in a wide variety of habitats. The wide number of potential niches in which we live require variations in behavior that are too complex to be informed by instinct. | 人类生活在各种各样的栖息地。我们所处的广泛的潜在壁龛需要行为的变化，这些变化太过复杂，不能由本能来决定。 |
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| Therefore, behavior is culturally programmed. For the vast majority in many agricultural societies, culture programmed them for survival, but little more than survival in an environment where the luxury of participating in open markets was reserved to others. | 因此，行为是由文化编程的。对于许多农业社会中的绝大多数人来说，文化为他们的生存进行了编程，但仅仅是在参与公开市场的奢侈品被保留给其他人的环境中生存。 |
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| Personal ability and personal choice-individual "pursuit of happiness," in the modern sense-were suppressed by taboos and social restrictions that have always been most emphatic among the poor. Such restrictions were superseded only with great difficulty in societies with limited productivity. When and where agricultural productivity was higher, such as in ancient Greece, minor megapolitical revolutions 51 occurred. Property took more modern forms. "Allod," or freehold property, emerged. | 个人能力和个人选择--现代意义上的个人 "追求幸福"--被禁忌和社会限制所压制，这些禁忌和社会限制在穷人中一直是最强调的。这种限制只有在生产力有限的社会中才会被取代，而且非常困难。在农业生产力较高的地方，如古希腊，发生了小规模的政治革命。财产采取了更现代的形式。出现了 "Allod"，即自由产权的财产。 |
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| Lands tended to rent for a fixed fee, and the tenant absorbed the economic risk as well as a higher portion of the profit if the crop was good. Higher savings allow self-insurance of riskier behavior. Under such conditions, yeoman farmers could rise above the rank of peasantry and sometimes even accumulate independent wealth. | 土地往往以固定费用出租，承租人吸收经济风险，以及在作物良好的情况下吸收更高的利润部分。较高的储蓄允许对风险较大的行为进行自我保险。在这种条件下，贵族农民可以超越农民的等级，有时甚至可以积累独立的财富。 |
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| The tendency for more market-like property rights and relationships to develop near the top of an economic hierarchy or, in rarer cases, across the whole economy, as societies emerged from poverty, is an important characteristic of social organization. It is equally important to note that the most common organization of agricultural society historically has been essentially feudal, with market relations at the top and the closed village system at the bottom. The great mass of peasants were tied to the land in almost all premodern agricultural societies. So long as agricultural productivity remained low, or higher productivity was dependent upon access to centralized hydraulic systems, the freedom and property rights of individual farmers at the bottom remained minimal. In such conditions, feudal forms of property prevailed. Land was held by tenure rather than through freehold title. Typically, rights of sale, gift, and inheritance were restricted. | 随着社会摆脱贫困，更多类似市场的产权和关系在经济等级制度的顶端附近发展，或者在更少的情况下，在整个经济中发展，这种趋势是社会组织的一个重要特征。同样重要的是要注意到，历史上最常见的农业社会组织基本上是封建的，市场关系在顶层，封闭的村庄系统在底层。在几乎所有的前现代农业社会中，广大农民都被束缚在土地上。只要农业生产力仍然较低，或者较高的生产力取决于进入集中的水利系统，底层农民个人的自由和财产权仍然是最低的。在这种情况下，封建形式的财产普遍存在。土地是通过保有权而不是通过自由产权来持有的。通常情况下，出售、赠送和继承的权利受到限制。 |
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| Feudalism in its various forms was not only a response to ever-present risks of predatory violence. It also was a reaction to appallingly low rates of productivity. The two have tended to go hand in hand in farming societies. Each frequently contributed to the other. When public authority collapsed, property rights and prosperity tended to recede accordingly. Collapsing productivity also tended to undermine authority. While not every drought or adverse climatic change resulted in the breakdown of public authority, many did. | 各种形式的封建主义不仅是对无处不在的掠夺性暴力风险的一种回应。它也是对令人震惊的低生产率的一种反应。这两者在农业社会中往往是相辅相成的。两者经常相互促进。当公共权力崩溃时，财产权和繁荣也会相应消退。崩溃的生产力也倾向于破坏权威。虽然不是每一次干旱或不利的气候变化都会导致公共权力的崩溃，但很多都是如此。 |
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| THE FEUDAL REVOLUTION OF THE YEAR 1000 | 1000年的封建革命 |
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| Such was the case with the transformation of the year 1000, which launched the feudal revolution.14 At that time, megapolitical and economic conditions differed in important ways from those we have come to think of as characterizing the Middle Ages. | 1000年的变革就是如此，它启动了封建革命。14当时，大政治和经济条件与我们所认为的中世纪的特点有很大不同。 |
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| In the first few centuries after the fall of Rome, the economy of Western Europe withered. The Germanic kingdoms that took root in the territories of the former Roman Empire had assumed many functions of the Roman state, but at a much less ambitious level. Infrastructure more or less went untended. As the centuries passed, bridges and aqueducts fell into disrepair and became unusable. Roman coinage was still employed, but it practically disappeared from circulation. Land markets, which had thrived in Roman times, more or less dried up. Towns, which had been centers of Roman administration, virtually vanished along with the taxing power of the state. And so did almost every other accoutrement of civilization. | 在罗马灭亡后的最初几个世纪里，西欧的经济萎靡不振。在前罗马帝国领土上扎根的日耳曼王国承担了罗马国家的许多职能，但其水平要低得多。基础设施或多或少地被忽视了。几个世纪过去了，桥梁和水渠年久失修，变得无法使用。罗马硬币仍在使用，但它实际上已从流通中消失了。在罗马时代兴盛的土地市场或多或少地干涸了。作为罗马行政管理中心的城镇，几乎与国家的征税权一起消失了。几乎所有其他文明的附属品也是如此。 |
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| The "Dark Ages" were so named for a reason. Literacy became so rare that anyone who possessed the ability to read and write could expect immunity from prosecution for almost any crime, including murder. Artistic, scientific, and engineering skills that had been highly developed in Roman times disappeared. From road building to the grafting of vines and fruit trees, Western Europe ceased employing many techniques that had once been well known and practiced to a high standard. Even so 52 ancient a device as the potter's wheel disappeared in many places. Mining operations contracted. Metallurgy receded. Irrigation works in the Mediterranean region disintegrated through neglect.' 15 As historian Georges Duby observed, "At the end of the sixth century, Europe was a profoundly uncivilized place." 16 Although there was a brief renaissance of central authority under the rule of Charlemagne around the year 800, everything soon devolved again after his death. | "黑暗时代 "被如此命名是有原因的。识字率变得如此稀少，以至于任何拥有读写能力的人都可以期望对几乎所有的罪行免于起诉，包括谋杀。在罗马时代高度发展的艺术、科学和工程技能消失了。从道路建设到葡萄和果树的嫁接，西欧停止使用许多曾经广为人知并达到高标准的技术。即使是像陶轮这样古老的设备也在许多地方消失了。采矿业萎缩了。冶金业退缩了。地中海地区的灌溉工程由于忽视而瓦解。15 正如历史学家乔治-杜比所指出的，"在六世纪末，欧洲是一个极不文明的地方"。16 尽管在800年左右查理曼大帝的统治下，中央权力曾有过短暂的复兴，但在他死后，一切又很快陷入困境。 |
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| A surprising corollary to this dreary landscape was the fact that the collapse of the Roman state probably raised the living standards of small farmers for several centuries. | 这种沉闷的景象的一个令人惊讶的推论是，罗马国家的崩溃可能提高了小农的生活水平达几个世纪之久。 |
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| The Germanic kingdoms that dominated Western Europe during the Dark Ages incorporated some of the relatively easygoing social features common to their ancestral tribes, such as the legal equality of freeholders. As a consequence, small farmers in the Dark Ages were far freer than they were to be in the feudal centuries. By that we can also infer that they were more prosperous. As we analyzed above in exploring the logic of property forms under different conditions of productivity, freehold property has historically gone hand in hand with the relative prosperity of small farmers. The closed-village and feudal forms of property tended to emerge where the capacity of small farmers to make a living was more doubtful. | 在黑暗时代主宰西欧的日耳曼王国吸收了他们祖先部落常见的一些相对随和的社会特征，如自由民的法律平等。因此，黑暗时代的小农远比他们在封建世纪要自由得多。通过这一点，我们也可以推断出，他们更加繁荣。正如我们在上面探讨不同生产力条件下的财产形式逻辑时分析的那样，自由财产在历史上与小农的相对繁荣相伴而行。在小农谋生能力比较可疑的地方，往往会出现封闭的村庄和封建的财产形式。 |
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| To be sure, the virtual collapse of commerce during the Dark Ages cost small farmers the benefits of trade and advantages of wider markets. The demise of the towns undermined the cash economy, but it also meant the rural population was no longer called upon to support the crushing burden of bureaucracy. As Guy Bois has written, the Roman town was a parasitic community, not a center of production: "In the Roman period, the dominant function of a city was of a political order. It lived primarily from the revenues draining into it from its surroundings by the agency of the land tax.... The town, in effect, produced little or nothing for the benefit of the surrounding countryside." 17 The collapse of Roman authority largely freed farmers in the countryside from taxes, which had sucked away "between one quarter to one third of the gross product of the land, without counting the various exactions suffered by small and middling landowners." | 可以肯定的是，黑暗时代商业的实际崩溃使小农失去了贸易的好处和更广泛市场的优势。城镇的消亡破坏了现金经济，但它也意味着农村人口不再被要求支持官僚机构的沉重负担。正如Guy Bois所写，罗马城镇是一个寄生社区，而不是一个生产中心。"在罗马时期，城市的主要功能是政治秩序。它主要是通过土地税的代理机构从其周围流入的收入而生存，....。实际上，城市很少或根本没有为周围的农村生产任何东西"。17 罗马当局的崩溃在很大程度上使农村的农民摆脱了税收，税收吸走了 "土地总产值的四分之一到三分之一，这还不算中小地主遭受的各种征收"。 |
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| 17 The collapse of Roman authority largely freed farmers in the countryside from taxes, which had sucked away "between one quarter to one third of the gross product of the land, without counting the various exactions suffered by small and middling landowners." 18 The taxes were so onerous, sometimes enforced by execution, that desertion of property by owners was widespread. The barbarians mercifully allowed these taxes to lapse. | 17 罗马当局的崩溃在很大程度上使农村的农民摆脱了税收，税收 "吸走了土地总产值的四分之一到三分之一，还没有算上中小地主的各种征收"。18 税收是如此繁重，有时是通过处决来执行的，以至于所有者遗弃财产的现象非常普遍。蛮族仁慈地允许这些税收失效。 |
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| Agri Deserti | 农业沙漠之路（Agri Deserti |
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| The burdens of government were so greatly reduced by the barbarian conquests that an opening was created for the poor to obtain freehold property and keep it. Some of the agri deserti, or deserted farms abandoned by owners fleeing predatory taxation in the final years of the Roman Empire, were brought back into production. Notwithstanding the rude circumstances of the time and the fact that crop yields were ridiculously low by modern standards, the Dark Ages were a period of relative prosperity for Europe's smallholders. In fact, they were in a stronger position than they would be again until the modern era. For one thing, fewer hands were available to till the fertile land, large tracts of which had gone out of cultivation. Plagues, wars, and abandonment by owners 53 | 政府的负担因野蛮人的征服而大大减轻，从而为穷人获得自由财产和保持财产创造了机会。一些agri deserti，即在罗马帝国最后几年因逃避掠夺性税收而被业主遗弃的荒废农场，被重新投入生产。尽管当时的环境恶劣，而且按现代标准，作物产量低得离谱，但黑暗时代对欧洲的小农来说是一个相对繁荣的时期。事实上，他们的地位比他们在现代之前的地位还要高。首先，可用来耕种肥沃土地的人越来越少，大片土地已经不再耕种。瘟疫、战争和所有者的遗弃 53 |
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| rude circumstances of the time and the fact that crop yields were ridiculously low by modern standards, the Dark Ages were a period of relative prosperity for Europe's smallholders. In fact, they were in a stronger position than they would be again until the modern era. For one thing, fewer hands were available to till the fertile land, large tracts of which had gone out of cultivation. Plagues, wars, and abandonment by owners 53 escaping the collapsing Roman Empire had significantly depopulated areas previously under cultivation. Another advantage enjoyed by small farmers in the Dark Ages arose from the adoption in the sixth century of new farming technology: the heavy plow, often mounted on wheels. Used in tandem with an improved harness that allowed peasants to employ multiple oxen, the new technology made it much easier to clear forested land in Northern Europe.' 19 | 由于当时的环境和作物产量按现代标准低得离谱，黑暗时代是欧洲小农户的一个相对繁荣的时期。事实上，他们的地位比他们在现代之前的地位还要高。首先，可用来耕种肥沃土地的人越来越少，大片土地已经不再耕种。瘟疫、战争和逃离崩溃的罗马帝国的53位业主的遗弃，使以前耕种的地区人口大幅减少。小农户在黑暗时代享有的另一个优势是在六世纪采用了新的农业技术：通常安装在轮子上的重型犁。新技术与允许农民使用多头牛的改进型马具一起使用，使得在北欧清除林地变得更加容易。19 |
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| Under such conditions, the market for land contracted almost to the vanishing point. New land for farming could be had merely by clearing it and sharing part of each new parcel with the appropriate local authorities. This process, known as assarting, gave a comfortable outlet for population growth for centuries after Rome fell. Assarting became particularly attractive in thinly populated northern regions after warmer temperatures in the eighth century made farming more productive. | 在这种情况下，土地市场几乎收缩到消失的地步。仅仅通过开垦土地并与适当的地方当局分享每块新土地的一部分，就可以获得新的耕地。这个过程被称为Assarting，在罗马灭亡后的几个世纪里为人口增长提供了一个舒适的出口。在8世纪气温升高，农业生产效率提高之后，土地改革在人口稀少的北方地区变得特别有吸引力。 |
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| The leaders of the Germanic tribes who conquered former Roman territories had established themselves as large landholders. Most of the rest of the population farmed small plots-but under conditions very different from those that came later under feudalism. Wealthier landowners, or masters represented about 7-10 percent of the population. It appears that before the year 1000, two-thirds of the villagers in a typical area of France wen freehold landowners.21 They owned about half of all the land in cultivation.2 There were few serfs. Coloni, or tenant farmers, amounted to no more than 5 percent of the population. Slavery persisted, but on a much smaller scale than in Roman times. | 征服了前罗马领土的日耳曼部落的首领已将自己确立为大土地所有者。其余大多数人耕种小块土地，但其条件与后来的封建主义非常不同。较富裕的土地所有者或主人约占人口的7-10%。似乎在1000年之前，法国一个典型地区的三分之二的村民都是自由土地所有者。佃农（Coloni）不超过人口的5%。奴隶制依然存在，但其规模比罗马时代小得多。 |
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| The Germanic successor kingdoms to Rome were defended militarily by all free men who assembled to bear arms on the call of the king's local representative, the count. | 罗马的日耳曼继承王国在军事上由所有自由人保卫，他们在国王的地方代表--伯爵的号召下集合起来携带武器。 |
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| Even "small and middling proprietors" were expected to club together and send one of their number to fight with the infantry. 22 In the Edict of Pitres, Charles the Bald ordered all those who could afford to do so to muster for battle on horseback. Pope Gregory II; had attempted to advance this military imperative a century earlier by banning the human consumption of horsemeat in 732. 23 But there was as yet little distinction in status or law between the infantry of freeholders and the cavalry. All free men participated in local judicial assemblies and could petition for dispute settlement to the count, an office that had existed since late Roman times. There was no nobility as such. | 即使是 "中小业主 "也要联合起来，从他们中派一个人去和步兵作战。22 在《皮特尔敕令》中，查理-秃头下令所有有能力的人都要在马背上集结作战。教皇格雷戈里二世曾试图在一个世纪前推动这一军事需要，在732年禁止人类食用马肉。23 但自由人的步兵和骑兵之间在地位或法律上还没有什么区别。所有自由人都参加了当地的司法会议，并可以向伯爵提出解决争端的请求，这个职位从罗马时代后期就已经存在。不存在这样的贵族。 |
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| Populations gradually recovered, placing greater pressures on the use of land. | 人口逐渐恢复，对土地的使用产生了更大的压力。 |
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| Over several centuries, much of the most fertile of the unclaimed land was brought into production, particularly growth in Northern Europe. The increasing population of farmers relative to the supply of land made the labor of each farmer worth less. Most freehold titles were broken into ever smaller plots through inheritance. During the Dark Ages, children tended to share equally in the estates of their parents. The fragmentation 54 of holdings at a time of rising population tended to place land at a premium once again and led to the reemergence of active land markets by the mid-tenth century. | 几个世纪以来，许多最肥沃的无主土地被投入生产，特别是在北欧的增长。相对于土地供应，农民人口的增加使得每个农民的劳动价值降低。大多数自由所有权通过继承被分解成越来越小的地块。在黑暗时代，孩子们倾向于平等地分享他们父母的财产。在人口不断增加的情况下，土地所有权的分散再次导致土地溢价，并导致在10世纪中期重新出现活跃的土地市场。 |
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| In the final decades of the tenth century, temperatures suddenly turned colder, with a devastating impact on farm output. Three successive crop failures led to severe famine from 982 to 984. Famine struck again after another crop failure in 994-95. Then, in 997, the problem of falling crop yields was compounded by a plague, which struck small family holdings with particular force because the smallholders lacked the resources to replace labor supplied by lost family members. These clustered crop failures and disasters at first led the yeoman farmers to sink into debt. When yields failed to recover they could not pay their mortgages. | 在十世纪的最后几十年，气温突然变冷，对农业产出产生了毁灭性的影响。从982年到984年，连续三次作物歉收导致了严重的饥荒。在994-95年的另一次作物歉收后，饥荒再次袭来。然后，在997年，作物产量下降的问题因一场瘟疫而变得更加复杂，这场瘟疫对小规模的家庭财产造成了特别大的打击，因为小农户缺乏资源来替代失去的家庭成员所提供的劳动力。这些成群结队的作物歉收和灾难起初导致贵族农民陷入债务困境。当产量无法恢复时，他们就无法支付抵押贷款。 |
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| Power relations were progressively destabilized by the growing importance of heavy cavalry. Medieval historian Frances Gies describes the transformation of the armored cavalryman into the medieval knight: | 由于重装骑兵的重要性不断增加，权力关系逐渐变得不稳定。中世纪历史学家弗朗西斯-吉斯描述了装甲骑兵向中世纪骑士的转变。 |
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| Originally a personality of mediocre status raised above the peasant by his expensive horse and armor, the knight slowly improved his position in society until he became part of the nobility. Although knights remained the lowest rank of the upper class, knighthood acquired a unique cachet that made knighting an honor prized by the great nobility and even royalty. The cachet was primarily the product of the Church's policy of Christianizing knighthood by sanctifying the ceremony of knighting and by sponsoring a code of behavior known as chivalry, a code perhaps violated more often than honored, but exercising incontestable influence on the thought and conduct of posterity. 26 | 骑士最初是一个因其昂贵的马匹和盔甲而高于农民的平庸地位的人，慢慢地提高了他在社会中的地位，直到他成为贵族的一部分。尽管骑士仍然是上层阶级的最低等级，但骑士身份获得了一种独特的荣誉，使骑士成为大贵族甚至皇室所珍视的一种荣誉。这种魅力主要是教会将骑士身份基督教化的政策的产物，它使骑士的仪式神圣化，并赞助了一种被称为骑士精神的行为准则，这种准则也许被违反的次数多于被尊重的次数，但对后人的思想和行为产生了无可争议的影响。26 |
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| As we recounted in The Great Reckoning, the invention of the stirrup gave the armed knight on horseback a formidable assault capability. He could now attack at full speed and not be thrown from the saddle by the impact of his lance striking a target. The military value of the heavy cavalry was further enhanced by an Asian invention that penetrated through Western Europe in the tenth century; the nailed iron horseshoe. This further improved the durability of the horse on the road.27 Also adding to the improved effectiveness of the armed knight were the contoured saddle, which made it easier to wield heavy weapons, the spur, and the curb bit, which enabled a rider to control the horse with one hand while fighting. 28 Together, these apparently minor technological innovations dramatically devalued the military importance of the smallholders, who could not afford to maintain warhorses and arm themselves. The cheaper of the horses specially bred for war, the large chargers known as destriers, were worth four oxen or forty sheep. The more expensive warhorses cost ten oxen or one hundred sheep. Armor also cost a sum that no small holder could afford, equivalent to the price of sixty sheep.29 | 正如我们在《大清算》中所叙述的那样，马镫的发明使马背上的武装骑士拥有了强大的攻击能力。他现在可以全速进攻，而且不会因为长矛击中目标的冲击力而被甩出马鞍。重型骑兵的军事价值因一项亚洲发明而得到进一步加强，这项发明在10世纪渗透到了西欧；钉铁马蹄铁。这进一步提高了马匹在道路上的耐用性。27 此外，使武装骑士的效率得到提高的，还有使其更容易挥舞重武器的轮廓马鞍、马刺以及使骑手在战斗时能够用一只手控制马匹的马鞍。28 这些明显的技术革新加在一起，极大地贬低了小农的军事重要性，因为他们无力维持战马和武装自己。专门为战争而饲养的马匹中比较便宜的是被称为 "destriers "的大型冲锋马，价值四头牛或四十只羊。更昂贵的战马则需要10头牛或100只羊。盔甲的价格也是小户人家无法承受的，相当于60只羊的价格。 |
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| The fact that the colder weather, crop failures, famines, and plagues occurred during the run-up to the year 1000 also played a role in informing behavior Many people were convinced that the end of the world or the Second Coming was at hand. Devout or frightened landowners, large and small, gave their land to the Church in preparation for apocalypse. | 寒冷的天气、农作物歉收、饥荒和瘟疫发生在1000年之前，这一事实也对人们的行为起到了一定的影响。 许多人相信，世界末日或第二次降临就在眼前。虔诚的或受惊吓的大大小小的土地所有者将他们的土地交给教会，为世界末日做准备。 |
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| "Only a Poor Man Sells Land" | "只有穷人才卖地" |
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| The unsettled conditions of the late tenth century paved the way for the feudal revolution. Clustered crop failures and disasters led the yeoman farmers to sink into debt. | 十世纪末的不稳定状况为封建革命铺平了道路。成群的作物歉收和灾难导致贵族农民陷入债务。 |
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| When crop yields failed to recover, the freeholders faced a desperate situation. Markets always place the greatest pressures on the weakest holders. Indeed, that is part of their virtue. They promote efficiency by removing assets from weak hands. But in late-tenth-century Europe, subsistence farming was practically the only occupation. Families who lost their land lost their only means of survival. Faced with this unpalatable prospect, many or most of the freehold farmers decided to give away their fields during the feudal revolution. In the words of Guy Bois, "The only sure way for a peasant to hold on to the land he tilled was to concede ownership of it to the Church, so he could retain its usufruct." 30 Others ceded some or all of their land to wealthier farmers in whom they had confidence, either friendly neighbors or relatives. | 当农作物产量未能恢复时，自由持有者面临着绝望的局面。市场总是把最大的压力放在最弱的持有人身上。事实上，这也是其优点的一部分。它们通过将资产从弱者手中移走来提高效率。但在十世纪末的欧洲，自给自足的农业几乎是唯一的职业。失去土地的家庭失去了他们唯一的生存手段。面对这种令人不快的前景，许多或大多数自由职业者决定在封建革命中放弃他们的田地。用Guy Bois的话说，"农民要想守住自己耕种的土地，唯一可靠的办法就是把土地的所有权让给教会，这样他就可以保留土地的用益权。"30 其他人则将部分或全部土地割让给他们信任的富裕农民，他们或是友好的邻居或是亲戚。 |
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| These property transfers were made on the condition that the farmer, his family, and his descendants were to remain to work the fields. The poor farmers were also to enjoy the reciprocal support of the more substantial holders, now the "nobles" who were able to afford horse and armor, and thus provide protection to the enlarged estates. Such a bargain can be seen from the new serf's point of view as a halfway station between continuing economic ownership and foreclosure. More often than not, it was a bargain he could not refuse. | 这些财产转让的条件是，农民、他的家人和他的后代要继续在田间劳作。贫穷的农民还可以享受更多的持有人，即现在的 "贵族 "的相互支持，他们有能力购买马匹和盔甲，从而为扩大的庄园提供保护。从新农奴的角度来看，这样的交易可以看作是持续的经济所有权和取消赎回权之间的一个中途站。更多时候，这是一个他无法拒绝的交易。 |
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| Falling productivity not only placed poor farmers in a desperate economic dilemma; it also instigated an upsurge in predatory violence that undermined the security of property. Those without the resources to wrest a share of the available and inadequate supply of horses and fodder suddenly found that they and their property were no longer safe. To put their dilemma in contemporary terms, it was as if you were forced to arm yourself today with a new type of weapon, but the cost of doing so was $100,000. If you could not pay that price, you would be at the mercy of those who could. | 生产力的下降不仅使贫穷的农民陷入了绝望的经济困境；它还激起了掠夺性暴力的激增，破坏了财产的安全。那些没有资源从现有的、不足的马匹和饲料供应中分一杯羹的人突然发现，他们和他们的财产不再安全。用当代的话来说，他们的困境就像今天你被迫用一种新型武器武装自己，但这样做的代价是10万美元。如果你不能支付这个价格，你就会被那些能够支付的人所摆布。 |
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| Within a few years, the capacity of the king and the courts to enforce order collapsed. 31 Anyone with armor and a horse could now become a law unto himself. | 在几年内，国王和法院执行秩序的能力就崩溃了。31 任何拥有盔甲和马匹的人现在都可以成为自己的法律。 |
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| The result was a late-tenth-century version of Blade Runner, a melee of fighting and plunder that the constituted authorities were powerless to stop. Looting and attacks by armed knights disrupted the countryside. It is by no means obvious, however, that all the victims of this pillage were the poor. To the contrary, the elderly, physically weaker, or ill-prepared among the larger landholders made more attractive targets. They had more to steal. | 其结果是一个十世纪末的《银翼杀手》，一场战斗和掠夺的混战，宪政当局无力阻止。劫掠和武装骑士的攻击扰乱了乡村的秩序。然而，这并不明显，这种掠夺的所有受害者都是穷人。相反，大土地所有者中的老人、身体虚弱的人或准备不足的人成为更有吸引力的目标。他们有更多的东西可以偷。 |
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| It was not a coincidence that this happened at the very moment when colder weather, famine, and plague were placing a pinch on resources. The megapolitical conditions conducive to the breakdown of authority had been in place for some time. | 这并不是一个巧合，它发生在天气变冷、饥荒和瘟疫对资源造成压力的时刻。有利于权力崩溃的大政治条件已经存在了一段时间。 |
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| Their potential for altering the power relations in society was not realized, however, until a crisis was triggered. Crop failures and famines appear to have done just that. While the exact sequence of events is difficult to reconstruct, it appears that the looting was instigated, at least in part, by desperate conditions. Once the violence was unleashed, it became evident that no one could mobilize the force to stop it. The vast majority of 56 poorly armed farmers certainly could do little. Even dozens of farmers on foot would have been outmatched by a single armed knight on horseback. The freehold farmers, like the constituted authorities, the kings with their counts, were powerless to prevent local land from being seized by armed warriors. | 然而，它们改变社会权力关系的潜力，直到危机被触发时才被意识到。农作物歉收和饥荒似乎就是这样做的。虽然事件的确切顺序很难重建，但似乎抢劫是由绝望的条件所煽动的，至少有一部分是这样。一旦暴力被释放出来，很明显没有人能够调动力量来阻止它。56名武装薄弱的农民中的绝大多数人当然无能为力。即使是几十个步行的农民也会被一个骑马的武装骑士打败。自由保有的农民，就像宪法规定的当局，即国王与他们的伯爵一样，无力阻止当地土地被武装的战士夺取。 |
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| "The Peace of God" | "上帝的和平" |
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| In these desperate conditions, the Church helped to launch feudalism through its efforts to negotiate a truce in the violent countryside. Historian Guy Bois described the situation this way: "The impotence of the political authorities was such that the Church stood in for them in the attempt to restore order, in the movement known as 'The Peace of God.' 'Councils of Peace' proclaimed series of interdictions which were sanctioned by anathemas; vast 'assemblies of peace' received the oaths of the warriors. The movement originated in the French Midi (Council of Charroux in 989, Council of Narbonne in 990), then gradually spread..." 32 | 在这种绝望的情况下，教会通过努力在暴力的农村谈判休战，帮助推出了封建主义。历史学家Guy Bois这样描述当时的情况。政治当局无能为力，教会在被称为 "上帝的和平 "的运动中代替他们试图恢复秩序。"和平会议 "宣布了一系列禁令，这些禁令得到了圣谕的认可；庞大的 "和平大会 "接受了战士们的宣誓。这场运动起源于法国中部地区（989年的夏尔鲁会议，990年的纳邦会议），然后逐渐扩散......"32 |
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| The bargain that the Church struck involved acknowledgment of the overlordship of armed knights in local communities in exchange for a cessation or tempering of the violence and looting. Land titles inscribed after the surge of violence in the late tenth century suddenly bore the title "nobilis" or "miles" as an indication of lordship. The nobility as a separate estate was created by the feudal revolution. Property transactions recorded to the same individuals only a few years earlier had listed no such distinction.33 | 教会达成的交易包括承认武装骑士在当地社区的霸主地位，以换取暴力和掠夺的停止或缓和。在10世纪末暴力事件激增之后，刻下的土地所有权突然出现了 "nobilis "或 "miles "的头衔，作为领主地位的标志。贵族作为一个独立的产业是由封建革命产生的。仅仅在几年前，记录在案的同一人的财产交易并没有列出这种区别。 |
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| Given falling productivity and the economic insecurity of the smallholders, the megapolitical power of the armed knights led inevitably to property holdings by feudal tenure. By the end of the first quarter of the eleventh century, yeoman farmers had largely disappeared. Their freeholdings had shrunk to a fraction of their previous extent and were now being worked just part-time. The small farmers or their descendants were serfs who spent most of their time laboring on the estates of feudal lords, lay and ecclesiastical. | 鉴于生产力下降和小农的经济不安全，武装骑士的巨大政治力量不可避免地导致了封建使用权的财产占有。到11世纪第一季度末，贵族农民基本上已经消失了。他们的自由所有权已经缩减到以前的一小部分，现在只是在做兼职。小农或他们的后代是农奴，他们大部分时间都在封建领主（非宗教人士和教会人士）的庄园里劳动。 |
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| The breakdown of order that accompanied the feudal revolution led to adjustments in behavior which reinforced feudalism. Among them was a surge in castle building. Castles had first appeared in northwest Europe as primitive wooden structures in the wake of Viking raids in the ninth century. Originally command centers for Carolingian officials, they became hereditary possessions after the feudal revolution. | 伴随着封建革命的秩序崩溃，导致了行为上的调整，加强了封建主义。其中包括城堡建设的热潮。城堡最早出现在欧洲西北部，是九世纪维京人袭击后的原始木结构。城堡最初是卡洛林王朝官员的指挥中心，封建革命后成为世袭财产。 |
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| These early redoubts were far more primitive than they would later become, but they were nonetheless difficult to attack. Once erected, castles were razed only with the greatest effort. As they began to dot the countryside, the castles made it ever more implausible that the king or his counts could effectively challenge the local supremacy of the lords. | 这些早期的堡垒比后来的要原始得多，但它们还是很难被攻击。城堡一旦建立起来，就只能用最大的努力来铲除。随着它们开始遍布乡村，城堡使国王或他的伯爵能够有效地挑战当地领主的优势地位变得越来越不靠谱。 |
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| Contributions of the Church to Productivity | 教会对生产力的贡献 |
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| Feudalism was the response of agricultural society to the collapse of order at a time of low productivity. During the early stages of feudalism, the Church played an important and economically productive role. Among the Church's contributions: 1. | 封建主义是农业社会在生产力低下时对秩序崩溃的反应。在封建主义的早期阶段，教会在经济上发挥了重要的作用。在教会的贡献中。1. |
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| In an environment where military power was decentralized, the Church was uniquely placed to maintain peace and develop rules of order that transcended fragmented, local sovereignties. This is a job that no secular power was positioned to do. | 在一个军事力量分散的环境中，教会处于独特的地位，可以维护和平，制定超越分散的地方主权的秩序规则。这是一项任何世俗权力都无法胜任的工作。 |
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| The observations of the great religious authority A. R. Radcliffe-Brown are directly relevant here. He pointed out that "the social function of a religion is independent of its truth or falsity." Even those that are "absurd and repulsive, such as those of some savage tribes, may be important and effective parts of the social machinery."34 This was certainly the case with the Church in the early stages of feudalism. It helped create rules, as only a religion could, that enabled people to overcome incentive traps and behavioral dilemmas. Some of these were moral dilemmas common to all human life. But others were local dilemmas, unique to the prevailing megapolitical conditions. The medieval Church had a special role to play in restoring order in the countryside in the final years of the tenth century. By providing religious and ceremonial support to local authorities, the Church lowered the costs of establishing at least weak local monopolies of violence. By helping to establish order in this way, the Church contributed to the conditions that ultimately led to more stable configurations of power. | 伟大的宗教权威A.R. Radcliffe-Brown的意见在此直接相关。他指出，"一种宗教的社会功能与它的真假无关"。即使是那些 "荒谬和令人厌恶的宗教，如一些野蛮部落的宗教，也可能是社会机制的重要和有效的部分。"34 在封建主义的早期阶段，教会肯定是这种情况。它帮助制定了规则，只有宗教才能做到，使人们能够克服激励陷阱和行为困境。其中一些是所有人类生活中常见的道德困境。但也有一些是地方性的困境，在当时的大政治条件下是独一无二的。在10世纪的最后几年，中世纪教会在恢复农村秩序方面发挥了特殊作用。通过向地方当局提供宗教和仪式上的支持，教会降低了建立至少是薄弱的地方暴力垄断的成本。通过以这种方式帮助建立秩序，教会为最终导致更稳定的权力配置创造了条件。 |
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| The Church continued to play a role for a long time thereafter in tempering the private wars and excesses of violence that otherwise could not be contained by civil authorities. The relative importance of the Church as opposed to secular authorities is reflected in the fact that by the eleventh century, the main administrative division of authority in most of Western Europe came to be the parish, rather than the old divisions of civil authority, the ager and pagus (town) that had persisted from Roman times through the Dark Ages.35 | 此后很长一段时间里，教会继续发挥着作用，缓和民间当局无法遏制的私人战争和过度暴力。教会相对于世俗当局的重要性体现在，到11世纪，西欧大部分地区的主要行政权力划分是教区，而不是从罗马时代到黑暗时代一直存在的旧的民事权力划分，即ager和pagus（城镇）。 |
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| The Church was the main source for preserving and transmitting technical knowledge and information. The Church sponsored universities and provided the minimal education that medieval society enjoyed. The Church also provided a mechanism for reproducing books and manuscripts, including almost all contemporary information about farming and husbandry. The scriptoria of the Benedictine monasteries can be understood as an alternate technology to printing presses, which did not yet exist. | 教会是保存和传播技术知识和信息的主要来源。教会赞助大学，提供中世纪社会所享有的最低限度的教育。教会还提供了一个复制书籍和手稿的机制，包括几乎所有关于农耕和畜牧业的当代信息。本笃会修道院的手稿可以被理解为印刷术的替代技术，当时还没有印刷术。 |
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| Costly and inefficient as the scriptoria were, they were practically the only mechanism for reproducing and preserving written knowledge in the feudal period. | 尽管剧本的成本高且效率低，但它们实际上是封建时期复制和保存书面知识的唯一机制。 |
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| Partly because its farm managers were literate, the Church did a great deal to help improve the productivity of European farming, especially in the early stages of feudalism. | 部分原因是其农场经理是有文化的，教会在帮助提高欧洲农业的生产力方面做了大量工作，特别是在封建主义的早期阶段。 |
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| Before the thirteenth century the farm managers of lay lords were almost all illiterates who kept records through an elaborate set of marks. Shrewd farmers though they may have been, they were in no position to benefit from any improvement in production methods that they could not invent themselves or see with their own eyes. The Church was therefore essential to improving the quality of grains, fruits, and breeding stock. | 在13世纪之前，非专业领主的农场经理几乎都是文盲，他们通过一套复杂的标记来保存记录。尽管他们可能是精明的农民，但他们无法从任何他们无法自己发明或亲眼看到的生产方式的改进中获益。因此，教会对于提高谷物、水果和种畜的质量至关重要。 |
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| Because of its extensive holdings spread over the entire European continent, the Church could send the most productive seed and breeding stock to areas where output lagged. | 由于其广泛的财产分布在整个欧洲大陆，教会可以将最有生产力的种子和种群送到产出落后的地区。 |
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| The demand for sacramental wine in Northern Europe led monks to experiment with 58 hardier varieties of grape that could survive in colder climates. The Church also helped raise the productivity of medieval farming in other ways. Many of the uneconomically small plots donated to the Church during the feudal revolution were reconfigured to make them easier to farm. The Church also provided ancillary services required by small farming communities. In many areas, Church-owned mills ground grain into flour. | 北欧对圣酒的需求导致僧侣们尝试使用能够在寒冷气候中生存的58种更耐寒的葡萄品种。教会还以其他方式帮助提高了中世纪农业的生产力。许多在封建革命期间捐给教会的不经济的小块土地被重新配置，使其更容易耕种。教会还提供小型农业社区所需的辅助服务。在许多地区，教会拥有的磨坊将谷物磨成面粉。 |
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| The Church undertook many functions that are today absorbed by government, including the provision of public infrastructure. This is part of the way that the Church helped overcome what economists call "public goods dilemmas" in an era of fragmented authority. Specific religious orders of the early-medieval Church devoted themselves to applied engineering tasks, like opening roads, rebuilding fallen bridges, and repairing dilapidated Roman aqueducts They also cleared land, built dams, and drained swamps. A new monastic order, the Carthusians, dug the first "artesian" well in Artois, France. | 教会承担了许多今天被政府吸收的职能，包括提供公共基础设施。这是教会在一个权力分散的时代帮助克服经济学家所说的 "公共物品困境 "的部分方式。中世纪早期教会的特定宗教团体致力于应用工程任务，如开辟道路、重建倒塌的桥梁和修复破旧的罗马水渠。他们还开垦土地、建造水坝和排泄沼泽。一个新的修道会，即卡尔图斯会，在法国的阿图瓦挖出了第一口 "自流井"。 |
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| Using percussion drilling, they dug a small hole deep enough to create a well that needed no pump.36 The Cistercian Order undertook to build and maintain precarious seawalls and dikes in the Low Countries of Europe. Farmers deeded land to Cistercian monasteries and then leased it back, while the monks undertook full responsibility for upkeep and repairs. Cistercians also took the lead in developing water-powered machines, which were adopted to such widespread uses as "pounding, lifting, grinding, and pressing."37 The monastery of Clairvaux dug a two-mile-long canal from the River Aube.3x The Church also intervened to build new roads and bridges where population centers had shifted outside the range of the old Roman garrison roads. Bishops granted indulgences to local lords who would build or repair river crossings and maintain hospices for travelers. An order of monks established by St. Benezet, the Freres Pontifes, or "Brothers of the Bridge," built several of the longest bridges then existing, including the Pont d'Avignon, a massive twenty-arch structure over the Rhone with a combination chapel and tollbooth at one end. Even London Bridge, which stood until the nineteenth century, was constructed by a chaplain and financed in part by a contribution of 1,000 marks from the papal legate.39 | 他们使用冲击钻，挖了一个足够深的小洞，创造了一个不需要水泵的水井。36 西斯托克教团在欧洲低地国家建造和维护危险的海堤和堤坝。农民将土地租给西多会的修道院，然后再租回来，而僧侣们则承担起维护和修理的全部责任。西多会还率先开发了以水为动力的机器，这些机器被广泛用于 "敲打、提升、研磨和压榨 "37。 克莱尔沃修道院从奥布河挖了一条两英里长的运河。主教们向那些修建或维修过河通道并为旅行者开设安养院的当地领主发放了赦免令。由圣贝内塞特建立的修士会，即Freres Pontifes，或 "桥之兄弟"，建造了几座当时最长的桥梁，包括阿维尼翁桥，这是一座横跨罗纳河的巨大的20层结构，一端是小教堂和收费站的组合。甚至直到19世纪的伦敦桥，也是由一位牧师建造的，部分资金来自教皇遗嘱的1000马克捐款。 |
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| The Church also helped incubate a more complex market. Cathedral construction, for example, differs in kind from public infrastructure, like bridges and aqueducts. In principle, at least, Church structures were used only for religious services and not as thoroughfares for commerce. Yet it should not be forgotten that construction of churches and cathedrals helped create and deepen markets for many artisanal and engineering skills. In the same way that military spending of the nationstate during the Cold War unintentionally helped incubate the Internet, so the building of medieval cathedrals led to spin-offs of other kinds, the incubation of commerce. The Church was a principal customer of the building trades and artisans. Church purchases of silver for communion services, candelabra, and artworks to decorate churches helped to create a market for luxury goods that otherwise would not have existed. | 教会还帮助孵化了一个更复杂的市场。例如，大教堂的建造在种类上不同于公共基础设施，如桥梁和水渠。至少在原则上，教会建筑只用于宗教仪式，而不是作为商业的通道。然而，我们不应忘记，教堂和大教堂的建设有助于创造和深化许多工匠和工程技能的市场。就像冷战期间民族国家的军事开支无意中帮助孵化了互联网一样，中世纪大教堂的建设也导致了其他类型的衍生产品，即商业的孵化。教会是建筑行业和工匠的主要客户。教会购买用于圣餐仪式的银器、烛台和装饰教堂的艺术品，有助于创造一个奢侈品市场，否则就不会存在。 |
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| In many ways, the Church helped to temper the ferocity of violence unleashed by armed knights during and after the "feudal revolution." Especially in the early centuries of feudalism, the Church contributed significantly to improving the productivity of the farming economy. It was an essential institution, well fitted to the needs of agrarian society at the close of the Dark Ages. | 在许多方面，教会帮助缓和了武装骑士在 "封建革命 "期间和之后所释放的凶猛暴力。特别是在封建主义的早期几个世纪，教会为提高农业经济的生产力做出了重大贡献。它是一个重要的机构，很适合黑暗时代结束时农业社会的需要。 |
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| Vulnerability to Violence | 易受暴力影响的程度 |
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| In "thirty or forty years of violent disturbances, the feudal revolution of the year 1000," 40 like the fall of Rome five centuries earlier, was a unique event, caused by a complex interplay of influences. Yet in one respect, the triumph of mali ham ines (wicked men) and the oppressions they wrought perfectly reflect the essential vulnerability of agricultural society to violence. In contrast to the foraging phase of human existence, farming introduced a quantum leap in organized violence and oppression. | 在 "三四十年的暴力骚乱中，1000年的封建革命"，40像五个世纪前罗马的灭亡一样，是一个独特的事件，由复杂的影响因素相互作用造成的。然而在一个方面，mali ham ines（恶人）的胜利和他们造成的压迫完美地反映了农业社会对暴力的基本脆弱性。与人类生存的觅食阶段相比，农业在有组织的暴力和压迫方面有了质的飞跃。 |
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| From the very earliest, this was reflected in the more militant cultures of farming peoples. The gods of the early agricultural societies were gods of rainfall and flooding, whose functions reflected the preoccupations of those societies with factors that determined crop yields. The sender of rain or water was also often the god of war, invoked by the earliest kings, who were, above all else, warlords.41 The close connection between farming and warfare was reflected in the religious imagination of people whose lives were transformed by the innovations of the agricultural revolution. The expulsion from the Garden of Eden can be seen as a figurative account of the transformation of society from foraging to farming, from a free life with food picked from nature's bounty with little work to a life of hard labor. | 从最早期开始，这就反映在农耕民族较为激进的文化中。早期农业社会的神是降雨和洪水之神，其功能反映了这些社会对决定作物产量的因素的关注。雨水或水的发送者往往也是战争之神，最早的国王都会召唤战争之神，他们首先是军阀。41 农业和战争之间的密切联系反映在人们的宗教想象力中，他们的生活被农业革命的创新所改变。被逐出伊甸园可以被看作是社会从觅食到耕作的转变，从不费吹灰之力就能从大自然的恩赐中获取食物的自由生活到艰苦的劳动生活的形象化描述。 |
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| PARADISE LOST | 失落的天堂 |
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| Farming set humanity on an entirely new course. The first farmers truly planted the seeds of civilization. From their toil came cities, armies, arithmetic, astronomy, dungeons, wine and whiskey, the written word, kings, slavery, and war. Yet notwithstanding all the drama that farming was to add to life, the shift away from the primeval economy appears to have been roundly unpopular from its earliest days. | 耕作使人类走上了一条全新的道路。第一批农民真正播下了文明的种子。从他们的劳作中产生了城市、军队、算术、天文学、地牢、葡萄酒和威士忌、文字、国王、奴隶制和战争。然而，尽管农耕为生活增添了许多戏剧性的内容，但从原始经济的转变似乎从最初就不受欢迎了。 |
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| Witness the account preserved in the Book of Genesis, which tells the story of the expulsion from paradise. The biblical parable of the Garden Of Eden is a fond recollection of the life of ease enjoyed by the forager in the wilderness. Scholars indicate that the word "Eden" appears to be derived from a Sumerian word for "wilderness."42 | 见证了保存在《创世纪》中的记载，其中讲述了被驱逐出天堂的故事。圣经中关于伊甸园的比喻，是对荒野中的觅食者所享受的轻松生活的美好回忆。学者们指出，"伊甸园 "这个词似乎来自苏美尔语中的 "荒野 "一词。 |
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| The transition from a free and sparsely settled life in the wild to a sedentary life in a farming village was a matter of deep regret, expressed not only in the Bible but also in humankind's continuing grudge against getting up in the morning and going to work. As Stephen Boyden wrote in Western Civilization in Biological Perspective, the new way of living that accompanied farming was "evodeviant."43 Prior to the advent of farming, thousands of human generations lived as Adam did in Eden, at the invitation of his Maker: "Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat." Hunters and gatherers had no crops to tend, no herd to watch, no taxes to pay. Like hoboes, foragers drifted where they pleased, worked little, and answered to no one. | 从自由而稀少的野外生活过渡到农耕村落的定居生活是一件令人深感遗憾的事情，这不仅表现在《圣经》中，也表现在人类对早晨起床和工作的持续怨恨中。正如斯蒂芬-博伊登在《生物学视角下的西方文明》中写道，伴随着农耕的新生活方式是 "逃避 "的。43 在农耕出现之前，成千上万的人类世代像亚当一样生活在伊甸园中，应造物主的邀请。"园中各样的树，你都可以随便吃"。猎人和采集者没有庄稼需要照料，没有牛群需要看管，没有税收需要支付。像无业游民一样，觅食者在他们喜欢的地方漂流，很少工作，不对任何人负责。 |
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| With farming, a new way of life began, and on altogether more pressing terms. | 随着农业的发展，一种新的生活方式开始了，而且是在更加紧迫的条件下。 |
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| "Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the 60 field; In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." Farming was hard work. The memory of life before farming was that of paradise lost. | "荆棘和蒺藜也要给你生出来，你要吃六十地的草，你脸上流的汗也要吃饼。"耕种是艰苦的工作。人们对农耕之前的生活的记忆是失去的天堂。 |
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| More than they could have imagined, farmers created new conditions that drastically altered the logic of violence. It is not a coincidence that the Book of Genesis makes Cain, the first murderer, "a tiller of the ground." Indeed, it is part of the uncanny prophetic power of the Bible that its story was entrusted to shepherds who readily understood how farming gave leverage to violence. In a few verses the biblical account encapsulates logic that took thousands of years to play out. Farming was an incubator of disputes. Farming created stationary capital on an extensive scale, raising the payoff from violence and dramatically increasing the challenge of protecting assets. Farming made both crime and government paying propositions for the first time. | 农民创造了新的条件，极大地改变了暴力的逻辑，这比他们想象的还要多。创世记》将第一个杀人犯该隐称为 "耕地的人"，这不是一个巧合。事实上，《圣经》的故事被委托给牧羊人，这是《圣经》不可思议的预言能力的一部分，他们很容易理解耕作是如何给暴力提供杠杆的。在短短的几节经文中，《圣经》的叙述概括了几千年来的逻辑。耕作是争端的孵化器。耕作创造了大规模的固定资本，提高了暴力的回报率，大大增加了保护资产的挑战。耕作第一次使犯罪和政府都有了回报。 |
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| "The Sovereign Individual" by James Dale Davidson & Lord William Rees-Mogg Simon & Schuster 1997 | 詹姆斯-戴尔-戴维森和威廉-里斯-莫格勋爵的 "主权个人"，西蒙和舒斯特出版社1997年版。 |
| Protection by Stealth | 隐形保护 |
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| Information societies will place vast resources outside the realm of predation. | 信息社会将把巨大的资源置于掠夺的领域之外。 |
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| When cyberspace comes increasingly to host financial transactions and other forms of commerce, the resources employed there will be more or less immune to ordinary shakedowns and theft. Therefore, predators will be unable to harness as large a share of resources as they do today and have done through much of the twentieth century. | 当网络空间越来越多地成为金融交易和其他商业形式的场所时，那里所使用的资源将或多或少地对普通的敲诈和盗窃行为具有免疫力。因此，掠夺者将无法像今天和二十世纪的大部分时间里那样掌握大量的资源。 |
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| Inevitably, therefore, government protection of a large part of the world's wealth will be redundant. Government will be no better situated to protect a bank balance in cyberspace than you are. As government will be less necessary, its relative price is likely to fall for that reason alone. There are others. | 因此，不可避免的是，政府对世界财富的很大一部分的保护将是多余的。政府在保护网络空间的银行余额方面不会比你更好。由于政府的必要性降低，其相对价格可能会下降，仅仅是这个原因。还有其他原因。 |
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| With a large and growing share of financial transactions occurring in cyberspace in the new millennium, individuals will have a choice of jurisdictions in which to lodge them. This will create intense competition to price government's services (the taxes it charges) on a nonmonopolistic basis. This is revolutionary. As George Melloan argued in The Wall Street Journal, the one institution that has most successfully resisted the forces of global competition has been the welfare state. "A study by researchers at the Wharton School and the Australian National University discussed the forces coming to bear on income transfers. Geoffrey Garrett and Deborah Mitchell concluded that 'there is virtually no evidence that increased market integration has put downward pressures on their most fundamental welfare programs.' To the contrary, they write, 'governments have invariably responded to increased integration into international markets by increasing income transfers.' The advent of the cybereconomy will at long last finally expose the welfare state to genuine competition. It will change the nature of sovereignties and transform economies, as the balance between protection and extortion swings more completely on the side of protection than it has ever done before. | 在新的千年里，随着金融交易在网络空间的份额越来越大，个人将可以选择在哪些司法管辖区进行交易。这将创造激烈的竞争，在非垄断的基础上为政府的服务（它收取的税）定价。这是革命性的。正如乔治-梅卢安在《华尔街日报》上所说，最成功地抵御全球竞争力量的机构是福利国家。"沃顿商学院和澳大利亚国立大学的研究人员的一项研究讨论了即将到来的对收入转移的力量。杰弗里-加勒特和德博拉-米切尔的结论是："几乎没有证据表明，市场一体化的增加给他们最基本的福利项目带来了下行压力。相反，他们写道，"政府总是通过增加收入转移来应对与国际市场的进一步融合。网络经济的出现最终将使福利国家最终暴露在真正的竞争中。它将改变主权的性质并改变经济，因为保护和勒索之间的平衡比以往任何时候都更彻底地摆在保护一边。 |
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| 143 "The Sovereign Individual" by James Dale Davidson & Lord William Rees-Mogg Simon & Schuster 1997 | 143 "The Sovereign Individual" by James Dale Davidson & Lord William Rees-Mogg Simon & Schuster 1997 |
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