

State Power, Taxation, and the Creation of Currency Value: Historical Examples

Mesopotamia

- **Taxed in-kind and by weight:** In early Mesopotamia (Sumer and Babylon), households paid taxes largely in goods (grain, livestock) and labor. Cuneiform records from Lagash (c. 2600 BC) show tax quotas of barley, and even note cases of **tax evasion and penalties for non-payment** ¹. Later Babylonian law codes (e.g. Ur III and Hammurabi's code) prescribed fines and levies to be paid **in specified weights** of silver or grain. For example, Hammurabi's laws force offenders or tax defaulters to "weigh and deliver" a set weight of silver or barley, with harsh penalties (forfeiture of land or goods) for non-compliance ² ³. In practice, the palace often fixed an official barley:silver ratio (roughly 300 liters barley = 1 shekel silver ⁴) so that a tax due in silver could be commuted into an equivalent grain payment (or vice versa), but only at the state's terms ⁵.
- **Consequences of non-payment:** The state enforced these obligations severely. Sumerian and Akkadian documents depict local officials being punished (even beaten) if their communities failed to deliver the required taxes ¹. Under the Ur III administration (2100s–2000s BC), tax delinquency or refusal to provide mandated labor could result in forfeiture of the taxpayer's land and property ². In short, Mesopotamian rulers insisted on payment in the units they defined (silver weight or grain volume), and used legal and physical coercion to ensure compliance.

Ancient Egypt

- **Taxes in kind (grain, cattle, labor):** Pharaonic Egypt had no coinage until the Late Period, so taxes were assessed in **agricultural produce, livestock, or corvée labor**. Writing in *Archaeology Magazine*, Egyptologist Brian Muhs notes that Old Kingdom tax quotas were measured in grain or cattle, and that **town chiefs could be publicly beaten for failing to deliver their community's tax** ⁶. Middle Kingdom bureaucrats likewise recorded precise grain shares and corvée obligations. No standard "currency" was imposed on peasants; rather, scribes collected whatever produce or labor the state demanded (e.g. a fixed volume of barley or wheat).
- **Enforcement and penalties:** Egyptian records emphasize force and accountability. Surviving reliefs show scribes armed with staffs seizing grain directly from peasant granaries, with little sympathy for poor harvests ⁷. Administrators who under-reported or failed to meet quotas were held personally responsible (penalties included beatings or loss of office) ⁶. Tax "units" were essentially the crop yields or livestock counts defined by royal decree; paying in any "wrong" form (say, offering services instead of goods when only grain was demanded) would not discharge the obligation. Thus in Egypt, the king's writ – rather than any intrinsic value of a medium – gave weight to the specified tax payments.

Medieval England (Tally Sticks and Coin Units)

- **Tax payment and tallies:** Beginning under Henry I (c.1100), the English Exchequer used **split wooden tally sticks** to record tax liabilities and payments ⁸. Tallies were carved hazelwood sticks notched with amounts (e.g. “£100” or “1 shilling”) and split lengthwise; one half was kept by the Crown and one by the taxpayer. These notches corresponded to the kingdom’s monetary units (pounds, shillings, pence) – for example, a curved notch represented £100, a “V”-shaped notch 20 shillings (one pound), etc ⁹. Payment of a tax would be documented by issuing a tally of the appropriate value in silver coin (pounds/shillings/pence sterling). The tally thereby became proof that the taxpayer’s obligation was discharged; conversely, lack of a tally meant the debt remained.
- **Enforcement:** The Exchequer “never forgot a debt” – unpaid taxes remained recorded, and the Crown could pursue recovery by standard legal means (seizure of lands or goods). Though explicit surviving statutes on tax refusal are rare, chroniclers note that failure to pay royal taxes could lead to confiscation or forfeiture of property (the same as for other debts). Tallies themselves acted as the accepted currency of the state: because they could be used to settle future taxes or government debts, people accepted old tallies (at a discount) in the market ⁸. In effect, the monarch enforced use of *sterling* units (the £sd silver system) through the tax register: no one could get a tally from the Exchequer without paying in the Crown’s coins. Paying in a foreign or worn coin was generally not allowed, since the tally accounts fixed values in the official pound-shilling system. (By contrast, the Magna Carta and later statutes would penalize *underpayment* of scutage or other dues, e.g. by double-multiplier fines, but the basic units remained the sovereign’s coin.)

Ancient Rome

- **Taxes demanded in coin:** From the Republic onward, the Roman state insisted on payment of major taxes in its coinage. By the Empire, provinces were typically required to convert local produce or wealth into **Roman currency** to pay tribute. As one scholar notes, “coins were typically demanded for the payment of taxes” (even if in exceptional cases Rome took grain in Egypt, Africa or Sicily) ¹⁰. Local populations therefore had to sell their goods and pay a tax in denarii (or later aurei/solidi), effectively creating demand for the official coin. This system is sometimes stated as a “nominal requirement” for cash: even when in-kind contributions remained common, coin tax laws existed in principle ¹¹. For example, Domitian’s Fiscus Judaicus was levied in Roman coin, and Diocletian’s tax reforms later fixed obligations in aurei/denarii values.
- **Enforcement:** The Roman fisc could be ruthless. Tax arrears became *fiscus Julius’* debt, and defaulters risked prosecution or asset forfeiture. In extreme cases (e.g. failure to supply corn for the army), provincial governors could impose compulsory requisitions or violence. More broadly, the requirement to pay in imperial coin – under penalty of legal sanction – helped stabilize the denarius and later solidus as currency. As historian Duncan-Jones observes, even into the Empire’s height some taxes were still collected in kind, but this was “despite the nominal requirement that taxes be paid in cash” ¹¹. In other words, Rome’s standard of value was set by the state’s choice of coin, and refusal to pay that coin simply left one indebted to the treasury.

Imperial China

- **Ming Dynasty – the Single Whip:** In 1580 the Ming government (under reformer Zhang Juzheng) converted virtually all land, poll, and corvée taxes into one silver payment per household – the so-called “*Single Whip*” reform ¹². The tax unit shifted from grain and labor to a fixed sum of silver

(taels) based on land and population. By law, taxpayers had to pay in silver bullion or sycee, not in rice or any other form. This decree suddenly made silver (with no intrinsic use in China) the vital money of account; failure to produce the required silver meant defaulting on taxes. Contemporary sources report that peasants “could pay a corvée exemption in silver” only ¹³ (and colonial Spanish silver flooded into China to meet this demand). Non-payment led to confiscation of land and servants or forced sale of family assets – a coercive shift that on balance gave the state’s chosen currency a monopoly.

- **Qing Dynasty – parallel bimetallism:** The Qing continued taxing in bullion. Officially, everyday salaries (for soldiers and clerks) were paid in copper cash coins, but taxes – especially major ones like land and salt taxes – had to be paid in silver. In fact, by the 18th century “the rural workers tended to receive their salaries in copper-alloy cash coins and would pay their taxes in silver, using the official government exchange rate” ¹⁴. Moreover, Qing chroniclers note that “silver...enjoyed a special status as the major form of currency used for payment of taxes and government expenditures” ¹⁵. The state even set a fixed official conversion (1 tael = 1000 cash) to enforce this dual-currency system. Although shortages and market swings made the rate ineffective in practice, the legal framework clearly coerced tax payments in the “right” metal. Any shortfall meant intense pressure on local officials; refusal or inability to pay silver taxes could result in up-front loans at extortionate rates or loss of post.

Early Modern Europe

- **European states and legal tender:** By the 16th–18th centuries, most European states formalized legal-tender laws and tax rules to cement their currency. For example, in revolutionary France **the national assembly declared its new paper money (assignats) to be legal tender for all taxes and debts** ¹⁶. From April 1790 onward, French citizens *had to accept* assignats for tax and other payments, effectively forcing use of fiat paper. (Once the state mandated their use, assignats circulated widely until inflation, even though old silver coins still existed.) Similar policies appeared elsewhere: England’s 1696 recoinage “pares” old hammered silver and requires payments in new coin. More generally, the period saw rulers *monetizing taxes*: requiring payment in state coin or bullion under penalty. German and Scandinavian states revalued or demonetized coins (and legally forbid old coins in taxes) whenever they needed revenue.
- **Penalties and coercion:** Across Europe, failure to pay taxes in the required form could mean fines, seizure, or loss of privileges. For instance, refusal to pay the French *taille* or English *ship money* in the king’s coin was treasonous. In early modern China and Europe alike, legal punishments (heavy fines, imprisonment, confiscation of estates) accompanied tax evasion. This use of fiscal law – “pay or perish” – ensured that even intrinsically worthless tokens (notes, coins with debased metal) acquired value because only they would discharge the tax debt.

Sources: Ancient and medieval tax records and laws (e.g. cuneiform tablets of Sumer/Babylon, Egyptian administrative inscriptions, English Exchequer records) consistently show tribute specified in a state-selected medium, with penalties like land forfeiture or corporal punishment for default ¹ ² ⁶ ⁸. Modern scholarship emphasizes the chartalist insight: governments gave force to currency by demanding it in taxes ¹² ¹⁴ ¹⁶. These examples from Mesopotamia, Egypt, medieval England, Rome, China, and early-modern Europe all illustrate that the state’s tax obligations – backed by legal coercion – underpinned the value of its chosen currency ¹ ⁶ ¹⁵ ¹⁶.

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