



Η πρόσληψη της κατηγορίας της εργασίας σε διαφορετικά συστήματα πολιτικής οικονομίας: μια ανάλυση υπό το πρίσμα της ιστορίας της οικονομικής σκέψης

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Σεμινάριο Διεπιστημονικών Προσεγγίσεων  
για την Κρίση

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Τμήμα Οικονομικών Επιστημών, ΕΚΠΑ

# **Metamorphoses: The Concept of Labour in the History of Political Economy**

**Nicholas J. Theocarakis \***

*Χαῖρε πού δὲν φοβήθηκες  
ποτέ τις συμπληγάδες*

ΑΦΙΕΡΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΤΟΜΟΣ  
ΣΤΟΝ  
*Ζαχαρία Δεμαθά*

ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑ

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ΟΙ ΜΕΤΑΜΟΡΦΩΣΕΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΝΝΟΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑΣ  
ΣΤΗΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ  
ΑΝΤΙΧΑΡΙΣΜΑ ΣΤΗ ΜΝΗΜΗ ΤΟΥ ΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΥ  
ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΥ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑ ΔΕΜΑΘΑ

*χρύσεια χαλκείων, εκατόμβοι ἑνεαβοίων  
(Ιλιάδα, Ζ' 236)*



ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ GUTENBERG

2019



Powerhouse mechanic working on a steam pump  
Lewis Hine 1920



Labor mural in lunette from the Family and Education series by Charles Sprague Pearce. North Corridor, Great Hall, Library of Congress, Thomas Jefferson Building, Washington, D.C. 1896



USA | Building a Nation



USA | Building a Nation



USA | Building a Nation



USA | Building a Nation



USA | Building a Nation



USA | Building a Nation



USA | Building a Nation



USA | Building a Nation



USA | Building a Nation



USA | Building a Nation



USA | Building a Nation



USA | Building a Nation





Fritz Lang *Metropolis* 1927





Charlie Chaplin, *Modern Times*, 1936

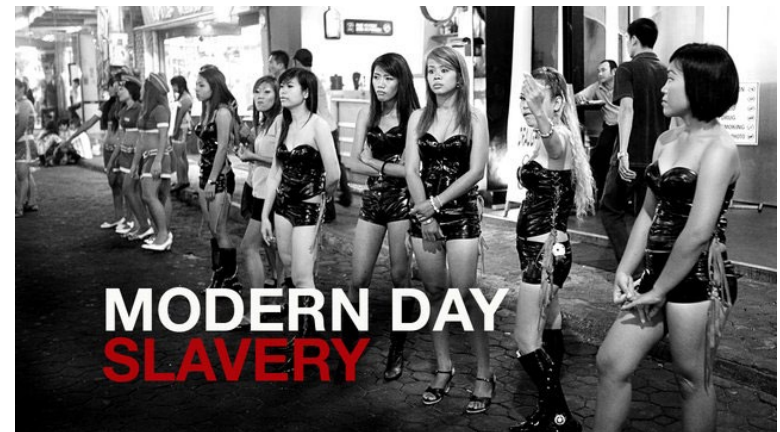
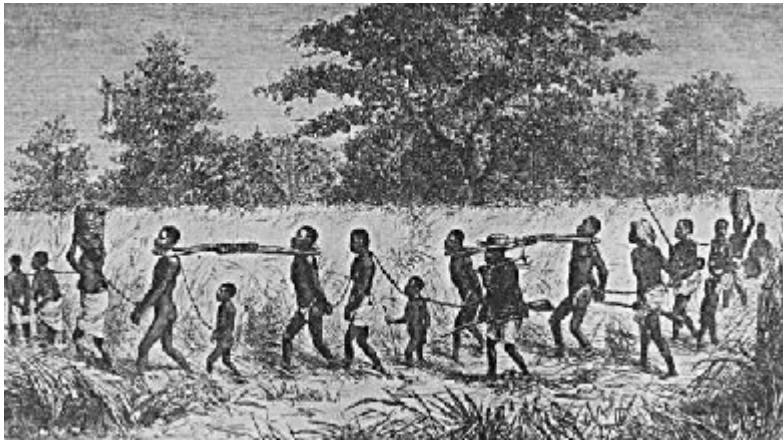


Gustav Klutsis, *Work is a matter of honor*, 1931



Poster, *We smite the lazy workers* 1930s







Most of the times women jobs are depicted as menial agricultural works, like this poster by Wu Shaoyun, "We sell dry, clean, neat and selected cotton to the state", 1958.



...While men are doing serious industrial jobs, as this poster by Li Zongjin, called "Study the advanced production experience of the Soviet Union, struggle for the industrialization of our country" in 1953 shows. In the early years of the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union sent many experts to help. Here a Russian industrial expert is shown giving advice.



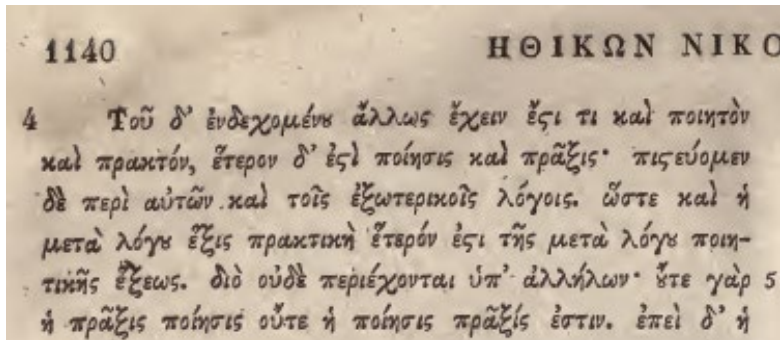
A. I. Strakhov-Braslavskij, *Liberated woman – build up socialism!*, 1926



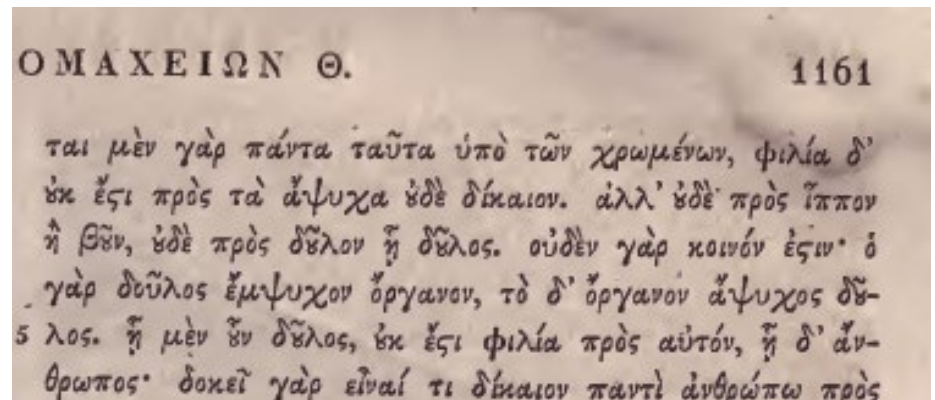
"We Can Do It!" poster for Westinghouse, closely associated with Rosie the Riveter, although not a depiction of the cultural icon itself. Pictured Geraldine Doyle (1924-2010), at age 17. J. Howard Miller, 1942

## Αρχαία Ελλάδα

### ποίησις καὶ πράξις



Αριστοτέλης







πολιτική, καθάπερ εἶπομεν ἀρχόμενοι· τοῖς δὲ παρὰ φύσιν  
 τὸ δεσπόζειν. νόμῳ γὰρ τὸν μὲν δῦλον εἶναι τὸν δ' ἐλεύ-  
 θερον, φύσει δ' ἕθεν διαφέρειν. διόπερ ἕδὲ δίκαιον· βίαιον  
 γάρ. ἐπεὶ ἔν ἢ κτήσις μέρος τῆς οἰκίας ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ κτητικὴ<sup>4</sup>  
 μέρος τῆς οἰκονομίας (ἀνευ γὰρ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀδύνατον  
 5 καὶ ζῆν καὶ εὖ ζῆν), ὥσπερ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὀρισμέναις τέχναις  
 ἀναγκαῖον ἂν εἴη ὑπάρχειν τὰ οἰκεῖα ὄργανα, εἰ μέλλει  
 ἀποτελεσθῆσθαι τὸ ἔργον, ἔτω καὶ τῶν οἰκονομικῶν. τῶν  
 δ' ὀργάνων τὰ μὲν ἀψυχα τὰ δ' ἐμφυχα, οἷον τῷ κυ-  
 βερνήτῃ ὁ μὲν οἶαξ ἀψυχον, ὁ δὲ πρῶρευς ἐμφυχον· ὁ  
 10 γὰρ ὑπρέτης ἐν ὀργάνῳ εἶδει ταῖς τέχναις ἐστίν. ἔτω καὶ  
 τὸ κτῆμα ὄργανον πρὸς ζῶν ἐστὶ, καὶ ἡ κτήσις πλῆθος  
 ὀργάνων ἐστὶ, καὶ ὁ δῦλος κτῆμά τι ἐμφυχον, καὶ ὥσπερ  
 ὄργανον πρὸ ὀργάνων, πᾶς ὁ ὑπρέτης. εἰ γὰρ ἠδύνατο  
 ἕκαστον τῶν ὀργάνων κελευσθῆν ἢ προαισθανόμενον ἀποτε-  
 5 λεῖν τὸ αὐτῷ ἔργον, ὥσπερ τὰ Δαιδάλα φασὶν ἢ τὰς τοῦ  
 Ἡφαίστου τρίποδας, οὓς φησὶν ὁ ποιητὴς αὐτομάτης θεῖον  
 δύεσθαι ἀγῶνα, ἔτως αἱ κερκίδες ἐκέρκιζον αὐταὶ καὶ τὰ  
 πληκτρα ἐκιδάριζεν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἔδει οὔτε τοῖς ἀρχιτέκτοσιν

ὑπρετῶν ἕτε τοῖς δεσπόταις δῦλων. τὰ μὲν ἔν λεγόμενα  
 ὄργανα ποιητικὰ ὄργανά ἐστι, τὸ δὲ κτῆμα πρακτικόν· ἀπὸ  
 μὲν γὰρ τῆς κερκίδος ἕτερον τι γίνεται παρὰ τὴν χρῆσιν  
 αὐτῆς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσθῆτος καὶ τῆς κλύης ἢ χρῆσις μό-  
 νον. ἔτι δ' ἐπεὶ διαφέρει ἡ ποιήσις εἶδει καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις,<sup>5</sup>  
 δεόνται δ' ἀμφοτέραι ὀργάνων, ἀνάγκη καὶ ταῦτα τὴν  
 αὐτὴν ἔχειν διαφορὰν. ὁ δὲ βίος πρᾶξις, ἢ ποιήσις ἐστίν·  
 διὸ καὶ ὁ δούλος ὑπρέτης τῶν πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν. τὸ δὲ  
 κτῆμα λέγεται ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ μόριον. τό τε γὰρ μόριον ἢ  
 μόνον ἄλλῃ ἐστὶ μόριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλως ἄλλῃ· ὁμοίως δὲ<sup>10</sup>  
 καὶ τὸ κτῆμα. διὸ ὁ μὲν δεσπότης τῷ δῦλῳ δεσπότης μό-  
 νον, ἐκεῖνος δ' ἐκ ἐστίν· ὁ δὲ δῦλος ἢ μόνον δεσπότης δῦλός  
 ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλως ἐκεῖνος. τίς μὲν ἔν ἢ φύσις τῷ δῦλῳ  
 καὶ τίς ἢ δύναμις, ἐκ τῶν δῆλον· ὁ γὰρ μὴ αὐτῷ φύ-  
 σει ἀλλ' ἄλλῃ, ἄνθρωπος δέ, ἕτος φύσει δῦλός ἐστιν. ἄλλῃ<sup>15</sup>  
 δ' ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, ὅς ἂν κτῆμα ἢ ἄνθρωπος ᾖν. κτῆμα δὲ  
 5 ὄργανον πρακτικόν καὶ χωριστόν. πότερον δ' ἐστὶ τις φύσει  
 τοῖστος ἢ ἕ, καὶ πότερον βέλτιον καὶ δίκαιόν τινι διελύειν  
 ἢ οὐ, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα δουλεία παρὰ φύσιν ἐστὶ μετὰ ταῦτα  
 σκεπτόν. οὐ χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ θεωρῆσαι καὶ ἐκ<sup>20</sup>  
 τῶν γινομένων καταμαθεῖν. τὸ γὰρ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι  
 ἢ μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων ἐστὶ,  
 καὶ εὐθύς ἐκ γενετῆς ἔνια διέσηκε τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχεσθαι  
 τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχειν. καὶ εἶδη πολλὰ καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ

τάς τινας. περί τε τῶν πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἕθεν ἔσιν ὁμολογώμε-  
 νον· καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἢ τὴν αὐτὴν εὐθύς πάντες τιμῶ-  
 σιν, ὡς' εὐλόγως διαφέρονται καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀσκήσιν αὐτῆς.  
 ὅτι μὲν οὖν τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δεῖ διδάσκεσθαι τῶν χρησίμων,  
 5 ἢ ἀδύνατον· ὅτι δὲ ἢ πάντα, διηρημένων τῶν τε ἐλευθέρων  
 ἔργων καὶ τῶν ἀνελευθέρων, φανερόν ὅτι τῶν τοιούτων δεῖ  
 μετέχειν ὅσα τῶν χρησίμων ποιήσει τὸν μετέχοντα μὴ  
 βάναισον. βάναισον δ' ἔργον εἶναι δεῖ τῆτο νομίζειν καὶ  
 τέχνην ταύτην καὶ μάθησιν, ὅσαι πρὸς τὰς χρήσεις καὶ  
 10 τὰς πράξεις τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀχρηστον ἀπεργάζονται τὸ  
 σῶμα τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ τὴν διάνοιαν. διὸ  
 τάς τε τοιαύτας τέχνας ὅσαι τὸ σῶμα παρασκευάζουσι  
 χεῖρον διακεῖσθαι βαναύσης καλῶμεν, καὶ τὰς μισθαρνι-  
 καὶς ἐργασίας· ἀσχολον γὰρ ποιῶσι τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τα-  
 15 πεινήν. ἔσι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐλευθερίων ἐπιστημῶν μέχρι μὲν  
 τινος ἐνίων μετέχειν ἢ ἀνελεύθερον, προσεδρεύειν δὲ λίαν  
 πρὸς τὸ ἐντελὲς ἔνοχον ταῖς εἰρημέναις βλάβαις. ἔχει δὲ  
 πολλὴν διαφορὰν καὶ τὸ τίνοσ χάριν πράττει τις ἢ μαν-  
 θάνει· αὐτῆ μὲν γὰρ χάριν ἢ φίλων ἢ δι' ἀρετὴν ἢ ἀνε-  
 20 λεύθερον, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πράττων δι' ἄλλους πολλάκις  
 θητικὸν καὶ δουλικὸν δοῦξειεν ἂν πράττειν. αἱ μὲν ἔν κα-

alimento sunt aequales. Oportet ergo, tionē & comparationē habet ædificandi orem, tot numero calceos cum domo aut reparari. Nam si hoc non ita fiet, neq; erit æq; cōmunitas. Non poterunt autē comodammodo sint aequalia. Ergo quemad- i dixi, unum quiddam esse oportet, quod imeturur. Hoc autē re quidē vera vñs, i est: quæ omnia continent. Nam si nulla vines, aut si nō similiter egerēt: vel nulla, esset permutatio. Sed in indigentia locū tali compacto & conuento quodammo- ummus: atq; ob hāc causam <sup>in</sup> voca- bitur nō nō, id est, à lege: quia nō natura, sed eq; in nobis situm cum immutare, inuti- ē. Erig igitur tum permissio mutua & reci- ces fuerint exæquat. Itaq; quam rationē ola ad futurē, eandem rationē habere de- us ad opus agricolæ. Sunt autem tum in ortionis deducendi, cū permutaturū i non fiet, alterum extremum utramque i habebit. Verumtamen cū suas res ha- xuales inter se, ac focij, quia hæc aqua- ſci potest. Agricola A, alimentum C, s futurois exæquatum cum alimento D.

*le* *B. Sutor*  
*atum* *D. Opus futuriis cum alimento*

modo non liceret, vicissim perpeti seu a societas esset, nulla communitas. Ind- a societatem hominum contineri, tan- odam, quod vinculi instar sit, ex eo per- uid ubi aut neuter eger re alterius, aut on eger, permutatio inter eos contrahi maomodo cum eius quod quis habet, ut puta vini, exportandi frumenti sit po- tur oportet exæquatum esse. In permu- tam autem, si fortē re aliqua nunc non e eius nobis facultatem & copiam fore as, veluti sponsor nummus intercedit, vnicuique eam rem qua egeat, accipo- nummum atulerit. Sed idem nummo dum accidit: non enim semper æqualem Verumtamen immutabilior ac stabilior let. Itaque debent esse res omnes æsti- rerum permutatio semper futura est. permutatio, erit & societas. Nummus iam veluti mensura, res apta quadam & conuenientia concordēs inter se & s reddidit, eas exæquat. Nam neque si mutatio, societas cōstare potuisset: neq; e permutatiois loc\* vnquā fuisset: neq; iam reū compositione, & conuenientia, est igitur inter se tam dissimiles ac dispa- uarimus, nulla communi mensura inter nec coherere possunt: sed quod ad utilitatem indigentiaq; attinet, satis comodē possunt. quiddam exare necesse est, idq; hominum instituto, & ex conditione. Quæ propter ap- umus. n. res inter se dispares apta quadā compositione & conuenientia concordēs efficit. Nihil d non metiturur nummus. Sic domus A, minx decem B, lectus C, A igitur dimidium B fuerit,

*ὅψ* ὁ ἐκδίδους ἑαυτῶν ἐκπιπύουσι, παρὰ ἑαυτῶν-  
ματι ἑαυτῶν οἰκίον, ἢ ἑρῶν. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ τῶν, ἑαυτῶν  
ἑαυτῶν ἀλλὰ γὰρ, οἰκίον χροῖα. τῶν δὲ, εἰ μὴ ἑαυτῶν  
τῶν, ἑαυτῶν. ἀὶ ἑαυτῶν ἐν τῶν πῶντα μεταβάσαι, μὴ  
πρὸ ἀλλῶν ἑαυτῶν. τῶν δὲ ἑστὶ, τῶν μὴ ἀλλὰ  
ἢ γῆρας, ἢ πῶντα στυγῆ. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ τῶν δίδουσι,  
μὴ ἑαυτῶν, ἢ ἑαυτῶν ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ἢ οὐκ ἢ αὐτῶν. Ἐ  
δὲ ἑαυτῶν ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῶν γῆρας ὁ νόμισμα γῆρας, ἐπὶ  
στυγῆ καὶ ἐπὶ ἑσὶ τῶν πῶντα ἑαυτῶν ἑαυτῶν, ὅτι οὐ  
φύσις, ἀλλὰ ἡμῶν ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμῶν μεταβάσαι καὶ  
πῶντα ἀλλὰ γὰρ. ἑαυτῶν δὲ αὐτῶν πῶντα, ἐπὶ ἑαυτῶν,  
οὕτως ὅταν γῆρας ἑαυτῶν ἐκπιπύουσι, \* ὁ ἑρῶν τῶν γῆ  
ἐκπιπύουσι ἑαυτῶν ὁ τῶν γῆρας. Εἰς ἑρῶν δὲ ἀλλὰ  
γῆρας \* ἀὶ ἀλλὰ, ἐπὶ ἀλλὰ ἐκπιπύουσι. Εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλὰ  
C ὀπίπυουσι ἑστὶ ἑαυτῶν τῶν ἑρῶν ἀλλὰ, ἀλλὰ ἑ  
τῶν ἑρῶν τῶν αὐτῶν, ὅτι οὐκ ἑστὶ καὶ καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἢ  
ἑστὶ δίδουσι \* ἐπὶ αὐτῶν γῆρας τῶν γῆρας, ἑστὶ  
γῆ, ἐκπιπύουσι β, ὁ ἑρῶν αὐτῶν ὁ ἑσπύουσι δ,

	a	
γῆρας	ἐκπιπύουσι.	
γ.	δ.	
ἑρῶν.	ἐκπιπύουσι ἑρῶν τῶν ἑρῶν	
	ἑσπύουσι.	

Εἰ δὲ ὅταν μὴ τῶν αὐτῶν πῶντα, ἑαυτῶν ἀλλὰ  
ἑαυτῶν. ἐπὶ δὲ ἢ γῆρας στυγῆ ἑστὶ πῶντα, ὅτι οὐκ ἑστὶ  
D μὴ οὐ γῆρας ἑστὶ ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ἢ ἀμφότεροι, \* ἢ ἑρῶν  
ἑρῶν, ἑαυτῶν ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ὅτι οὐκ ἑστὶ αὐτῶν, \* ἢ ἑρῶν  
τῶν πῶντα, ἢ ἑαυτῶν δίδουσι ἐπὶ ἑρῶν. ἀὶ ἑρῶν  
τῶν ἑσπύουσι. ἑαυτῶν δὲ τῶν μεταβάσαι ἀλλὰ  
γῆρας, εἰ μὴ μὴ δὲ αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ ἑρῶν, ἐπὶ δίδουσι, ὁ  
νόμισμα ἢ ἑρῶν τῶν ἑρῶν \* ἀὶ γὰρ τῶν φέ  
E ἐρῶν, ἢ ἑρῶν. πῶντα μὴ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ὁ αὐτῶν.  
οὐ γὰρ αὐτῶν δίδουσι. ἑρῶν δὲ βούλεται ἑρῶν  
μὴ δὲ. ἢ δὲ πῶντα πῶντα ἑστὶ ὅταν γὰρ ἑρῶν  
ἑστὶ ἀλλὰ γὰρ. Εἰ δὲ τῶν, καὶ οἰκίον. ὁ δὲ νόμισμα,  
ὁ ἑρῶν \* μὴ ἑρῶν σῶντα πῶντα, ἑστὶ δὲ ἑρῶν  
γῆ. ἢ ἑρῶν. ἢ ἑρῶν ἀλλὰ γὰρ, καὶ οἰκίον ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀλλὰ  
interpe. utram-  
que lectionem  
agrosolere vide-  
tur, non vno  
loco.

γῆ. ἢ ἑρῶν. ἢ ἑρῶν ἀλλὰ γὰρ, καὶ οἰκίον ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀλλὰ  
interpe. utram-  
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interpe. utram-  
que lectionem  
agrosolere vide-  
tur, non vno  
loco.

Guilielmo Du Val, Aristotelis Opera Omnia quae extant, graece & latine, veterum ac recentiorum interpretum, Lutetiae Parisiorum (Paris), Typis Regiis, apud Societatem Graecarum Editionum, 1629.

Αντίτυπο αυτής της έκδοσης στη βιβλιοθήκη του Adam Smith



Πλάτων

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.  
 ε Ἐτι δὴ τινες, ὡς ἐγώ μαι, εἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλοι διάκονοι, οἳ ἂν  
 τὰ μὲν τῆς διανοίας μὴ πάνυ ἀξιοκωμώνητοι ᾧσιν, τὴν δὲ  
 τοῦ σώματος ἰσχὺν ἱκανὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόνους ἔχωσιν· οἳ δὴ  
 πωλοῦντες τὴν τῆς ἰσχύος χρείαν, τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην μισθὸν  
 5 καλοῦντες, κέκληνται, ὡς ἐγώ μαι, μισθωτοί· ἢ γάρ;  
 Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.  
 — Πλήρωμα δὴ πόλεός εἰσιν, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ μισθωτοί.  
 Δοκεῖ μοι.

piuntur<sup>9</sup>, ut multus<sup>9</sup> e visceribus sanguis exeat; nonnunquam etiam, ut, quum ibi essem, audiebam<sup>9</sup>, ad necem: quorum non modo nemo exclamavit unquam, sed ne ingemuit quidem. Quid? ergo hoc pueri possunt, viri non poterunt? et mos valet, ratio non valebit?

XV. 35. Interest aliquid inter laborem et dolorem; sunt finitima omnino, sed tamen differt<sup>1</sup> aliquid. Labor est functio quaedam vel animi vel corporis gravioris operis et muneris; dolor autem motus asper in corpore, alienus a sensibus. Haec duo Graeci illi, quorum copiosior est lingua, quam nostra, uno nomine appellant. Itaque industrios homines illi studiosos vel potius amantes doloris appellant, nos commodius laboriosos. Aliud est enim laborare, aliud dolere. O verborum inops interdum, quibus abundare te semper

putas, Graecia! Aliud, inquam, est dolere, aliud laborare. Quum varices secabantur C. Mario, dolebat; quum aestu magno ducebat agmen, laborabat. Est inter haec quaedam tamen<sup>2</sup> similitudo. Consuetudo enim laborum perpessionem dolorum efficiet<sup>3</sup> faciliorem. 36. Itaque illi, qui Graeciae formam rerum publicarum dederunt, corpora iuvenum firmari labore voluerunt. Quod Spartiatae etiam in feminas transtulerunt, quae ceteris in urbibus mollissimo cultu parietum umbris occuluntur. Illi autem voluerunt nihil horum simile esse

*apud Laecenas virgines;*

*Quibus magis palaestra, Euróta<sup>3</sup>; sol, pulvis, labor,*

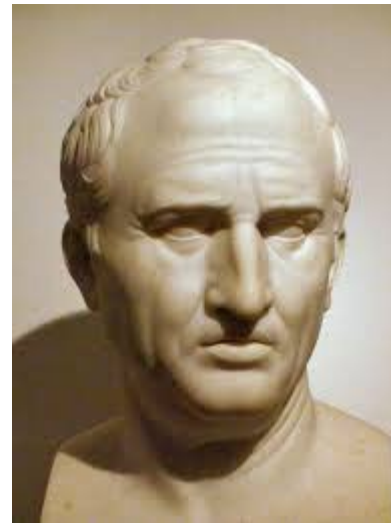
*Militia<sup>3</sup> in<sup>3</sup> studio est, quam fertilitas<sup>3</sup> bárbara.*

Ergo his laboriosis exercitationibus et dolor intercurrit nonnunquam,

custom have more force than reason :

XV. There is some difference betwixt labour and pain; they border upon one another, but with a distinction. Labour is a certain exercise of the mind or body, in some employ or undertaking that requires pains; but pain is a sharp motion in the body, disagreeable to our senses. Both these the Greeks, whose language is more copious than ours, express by the common name of Πόνος; therefore they call industrious men, pains-taking, or rather fond of labour; we, more pertinently, laborious; for there is a difference betwixt labour and pain. You see, O Greece, your barrenness of words, sometimes, though you think you always abound. I say, then, there is a difference betwixt labour and pain. When Marius was cut for a swelling in his thigh, he felt pain; when he headed his troops in a very hot season, he laboured. Yet they bear some resemblance to

### Cicero, *Disputationes Tusculanae*, II.XV.35

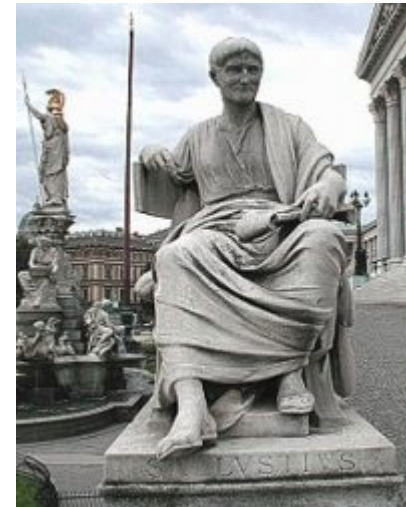


<sup>4</sup> Greek has two distinct terms, πόνος, *labor*, and ἄλγος, *dolor*. A Greek might have pointed out to Cicero that *laborare* sometimes has a meaning like that of *dolere*, cf. § 61, quod vehementer eius artus laborarent. For similar remarks about Greek and Latin cf. III. § 7.

decevi, quam, me diu fidus, veram licet cognoscas:  
3 Iniuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quod fructū labōris  
industriæque meae privatus statum dignitatis nōn ob-  
tinēbam, publicam miserōrum causam pro meā cōsuē-  
tūdine suscipi, nōn quī aes aliēnum meis nōminibus  
ex possessiōnibus solvere nōn possem, — nam et aliēnis  
nōminibus liberālitās Orestillae suīs filiaequē cōpiis  
persolveret —, sed quod nōn dignōs hominēs honore  
honestatōs vidēbam mēque falsā sūspiciōne aliēnatum  
4 esse sentiēbam. Hōc nōmine satis honestās pro meō

Maddened by wrongs and slights, since I had been robbed of the fruits of my **toil and energy** and was unable to attain to a position of honour, I followed my usual custom and took up the general cause of the unfortunate; not that I could not pay my personal debts from my own estate (and the liberality of Orestilla sufficed with her own and her daughter's resources to pay off even the obligations incurred through others), but because I saw the unworthy elevated to honours, and realized that I was an outcast because of baseless suspicion.

Bellum Catilinae



Gaius Sallustius Crispus



G A I  
INSTITVTIONES

OR

INSTITUTES OF ROMAN LAW  
BY GAIUS

... ..

§ 79. Specification or conversion by labour of something so as to constitute a new thing is a title which cannot without violence be brought under either *Occupatio* or *Accessio*. Here one person contributes only his labour, whereby he transforms the material or materials belonging to another into a new product (*nova species*). The Sabinians held that the product belonged (by *Accessio*?) to the owner of the material, the Proculians (by *Occupatio*?) to the producer of the specification or conversion. Justinian adopts an intermediate opinion, which Gaius mentions, *Dig.* 41, 1, 7, 7, cf. *Inst.* 2, 1, 25, that the product belongs to the producer, provided that it cannot be reduced to its original substance, while if it can be it belongs to the owner of that substance; e. g. a gold or silver vessel belongs to the owner of the gold or silver out of which it was made: and provided further that the change is a genuine fabrication or manufacture; for instance, the mere thrashing out of corn is not sufficient to change the ownership, and therefore the corn belongs to the owner of the sheaves, cf. § 79: and the mere dyeing of wool operates no transfer of ownership to the dyer, *Dig.* 41, 1, 26, 3.



**ΓΕΝΕΣΙΣ 3.17** τῷ δὲ Ἀδὰμ εἶπεν· ὅτι ἤκουσας τῆς φωνῆς τῆς γυναικός σου καὶ ἔφαγες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, οὗ ἐνετειλάμην σοι τούτου μόνου μὴ φαγεῖν, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔφαγες, ἐπικατάρατος ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου· ἐν λύπαις φαγῆ αὐτὴν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου· 18 ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους ἀνατελεῖ σοι, καὶ φαγῆ τὸν χόρτον τοῦ ἀγροῦ. 19 ἐν ἰδρωτί τοῦ προσώπου σου φαγῆ τὸν ἄρτον σου, ἕως τοῦ ἀποστρέψαι σε εἰς γῆν γῆν, ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθης, ὅτι γῆ εἶ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύση·

## ΣΟΦΙΑ ΣΕΙΡΑΧ

κληρονομίαν. ΠΕΡΙ ΔΟΥΛΩΝ. - 25 Χορτάσματα καὶ ράβδος καὶ φορτία ὄνω, ἄρτος καὶ παιδεία καὶ ἔργον οἰκέτη. 26 ἔργασαι ἐν παιδί, καὶ εὐρήσεις ἀνάπανσιν ἄνες χεῖρας αὐτῷ, καὶ ζητήσει ἐλευθερίαν. 27 ζυγὸς καὶ ἰμάς κάμψουσι τράχηλον, καὶ οἰκέτη κακούργω στρέβλαι καὶ βάσανοι. 28 ἔμβαλε αὐτὸν εἰς ἐργασίαν. ἵνα μὴ ἀργῆ, πολλὴν γὰρ κακίαν ἐδίδαξεν ἡ ἀργία. 29 εἰς ἔργα κατάστησον, καθὼς πρέπει αὐτῷ, κὰν μὴ πειθαρχῆ, βάρυνον τὰς πέδας αὐτοῦ. 30 καὶ μὴ περισσεύσης ἐν πάσῃ σαρκί, καὶ ἄνευ κρίσεως μὴ ποιήσης μηδέν. 31 εἰ ἔστι σοι οἰκέτης, ἔστω ὡς σύ, ὅτι ἐν αἵματι ἐκτήσω αὐτόν. 32 εἰ ἔστι σοι οἰκέτης, ἄγε αὐτόν ὡς ἀδελφόν, ὅτι ὡς ἡ ψυχὴ σου ἐπιδεήσεις αὐτοῦ. 33 ἐὰν κακώσης αὐτόν καὶ ἀπάρας ἀποδρᾷ, ἐν ποίᾳ ὁδῷ ζητήσεις αὐτόν;

## Προς Θεσσαλονικεῖς Β, 3.

8 οὐδὲ δωρεὰν ἄρτον ἐφάγομεν παρά τινος, ἀλλ' ἐν κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ, νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ἐργαζόμενοι, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαί τινα ὑμῶν· 9 οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἑαυτοὺς τύπον δῶμεν ὑμῖν εἰς τὸ μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς. 10 καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ἦμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τοῦτο παρηγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν, ὅτι εἴ τις οὐ θέλει ἐργάζεσθαι, μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω. 11 ἀκούομεν γὰρ τινὰς περιπατοῦντας ἐν ὑμῖν ἀτάκτως, μηδὲν ἐργαζομένους, ἀλλὰ περιεργαζομένους· 12 τοῖς δὲ τοιοῦτοις παραγγέλλομεν καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα μετὰ ἡσυχίας ἐργαζόμενοι τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἄρτον ἐσθίωσιν. 13 Ὑμεῖς δέ, ἀδελφοί, μὴ ἐκκακήσητε καλοποιοῦντες.

**S. AURELII AUGUSTINI**  
HIPPONENSIS EPISCOPI  
**DE OPERE MONACHORUM**  
**LIBER UNUS** (a).

cognovit negotiationes, corrigant se Christiani; non negotientur. Sed ait mihi negotiator: Ecce ego afferō quidem ex longinquo merces ad ea loca in quibus non sunt ea quae attulero, unde vivam, tanquam mercedem labris mei peto, ut carius vendam quam emerim. Unde enim vivam, cum scriptum sit: *Dignus est operarius mercede sua (Luc. x, 7)*? Sed agitur de mendacio, de perjurio. Hoc vitium meum est, non

ENARRATIO IN PSALMUM LXX.

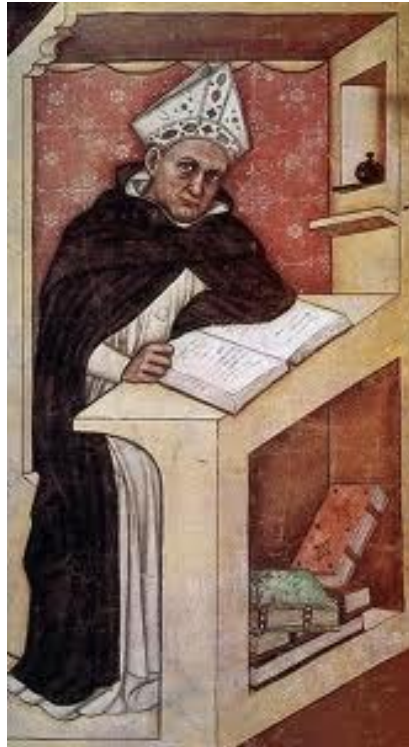
836

ἄξιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐστι·



Αυγουστίνος Ιππώνος  
354-430 μΧ

# Σχολαστικοί



Albertus Magnus

Δίκαιη τιμή = *labor et expensae*



Θωμάς Ακινάτης

Λόγος κέρδους *stipendium laboris*



Laurentius de Voltolina: *Liber ethicorum des Henricus de Allemania*. Ο Henricus de Allemania (1245-1340) και οι φοιτητές του. Σχολή Μπολόνιας. Ζωγραφική σε περγαμνή, 2<sup>ο</sup> μισό 14<sup>ου</sup> αι.

# Albertus Magnus (1193/1206 –1280)



*differentia secundum labores et expensae*

*opus diximus esse usum vel utilitatem vel indigentiam*

Αξία σύμφωνα με εργασία και κόστος

Αξία σύμφωνα με χρησιμότητα και  
χρεία

# Θωμάς Ακινάτης (1225-1274)

Ο Θρίαμβος του  
Αγίου Θωμά  
Ακινάτη: Δεξιά του  
ο Αριστοτέλης,  
Αριστερά ο  
Πλάτωνας.  
Στα πόδια του ο  
μέγας Άραβας  
φιλόσοφος  
Αβερρόης





Benozzo Gozzoli, Ο Θρίαμβος του  
Αγίου Θωμά Ακινάτη (1470-5)

Benozzo di Lese di Sandro, dit GOZZOLI  
Florence, vers 1420/1422 - Pistoia, 1497

Le Triomphe de saint Thomas d'Aquin  
Vers 1470 - 1475


H. : 2,30 m. ; L. : 1,02 m.

# COMMENTARY ON THE NICOMACHEAN ETHICS


by  
**Thomas Aquinas**

translated by  
C. I. Litzinger, O.P.

Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1964, 2 volumes




Deinde cum dicit: quanta quaedam etc., ostendit quomodo, secundum commensurationem praedictam fit commutatio. Licet enim domus sit magis aliquid in pretio quam calciamentum, tamen aliquanta calceamenta adaequant in pretio unam domum, vel et cibum unius hominis per aliquod longum tempus. Oportet igitur ad hoc quod sit commutatio ut tanta calceamenta dentur pro una domo vel pro cibo unius hominis, quantum aedificator vel etiam agricola excedit coriarium in labore et expensis, quia si hoc non observetur, non erit commutatio rerum, neque homines sibiinvicem sua bona communicabunt. Id autem quod dictum est, scilicet quod aliqua calceamenta dentur pro una domo, non poterit esse nisi aliquo modo sint aequalia calceamenta domui.



Deinde cum dicit: oportet enim etc., assignat rationem praedictae commensurationis, quae fit per numisma. Et dicit, quod ideo possunt omnia adaequari, quia omnia possunt commensurari per aliquid unum, ut dictum est; hoc autem unum, quod omnia mensurat secundum rei veritatem est indigentia, quae continet omnia commutabilia, in quantum scilicet omnia referuntur ad humanam indigentiam; non enim appetantur res secundum dignitatem naturae ipsorum: alioquin unus mus, quod est animal sensibile, maioris pretii esset quam una margarita, quae est res inanimata: sed rebus pretia imponuntur, secundum quod homines indigent eis ad suum usum.





980. Next [1, a, ii], at ‘W certain number,’ he shows how exchange takes place according to the preceding commensuration. Although a house is worth more than a sandal, nevertheless, a number of sandals are equal in value to one house or the food required for one man during a long period. In order then to have just exchange, as many sandals must be exchanged for one house or for the food required for one man as the builder or the farmer exceeds the shoemaker in his labor and costs. If this is not observed, there will be no exchange of things and men will not share their goods with one another. But what has been said, that a number of sandals are exchanged for one house, is not possible unless the sandals are equated with the house in some way.

981. At “Therefore, it is” [i, a, iii] he indicates the nature of this commensuration made by means of money. He states that for this reason it is possible to equate things because all things can be measured by some one standard, as was pointed out (957). But this one standard which truly measures all things is demand. This includes all commutable things inasmuch as everything has a reference to human need. Articles are not valued according to the dignity of their nature, otherwise a mouse, an animal endowed with sense, should be of greater value than a pearl, a thing without life. But they are priced according as man stands in need of them for his own use.



Hugo Grotius (1583 – 1645)

2. And now in that common and current Price of Things,<sup>7</sup> we usually have a Regard to the Pains and Expences the Merchants and Traders have

been at; and it often rises and falls all on a Sudden, according as there are more or fewer Chapmen, and according to the Plenty or Scarcity of Money or Commodities. Besides, <302> there may possibly some such Circumstances intervene, as may very justly raise or lessen the ordinary Market Price; as, the Loss we sustain, the Profit we lose, a particular Fancy for certain Things, the Favour we do one in buying or selling what we should not otherwise have bought or sold; all which Circumstances the Person we deal with ought to be acquainted with. And we may also have Regard to the Loss or Gain that arises from the Delay or the Promptness of Payment.

II.xii.14



1625

*affectum nec vitiosis iudicantibus pro communi iudicantur. Hinc fit ut res tanti aestimetur quantum pro ea communiter offerri aut dari solet, quod vix est ut non aliquam latitudinem habeat, intra quam plus minusve dari aut exigi possit, nisi ubi lex certum rebus pretium  $\epsilon\iota\ \sigma\tau\mu\eta$ , ut Aristoteles loquitur, id est in puncto constituit. In communi autem illo pretio ratio haberi solet laborum & expensarum quas mercatores faciunt: solentque subito quoque mutari ex copia & inopia eumentium, pecuniae, mercium. Ceterum possunt & quaedam esse rei accidentia aestimabilia, ob quae res licite supra aut infra commune pretium ematur vendaturve, puta ob damnum consequens, lucrum cessans, affectum peculiarem, aut si in gratiam alterius res vendatur ematurve alioquin non emenda aut vendenda; quae ipsa accidentia ei cum quo agitur indicanda sunt. Eius quoque damni aut lucri cessantis ratio haberi potest, quod ex pretij solutione dilata aut anticipata nascitur.*



But the *Vulgar* Price, which is not fix'd by the Laws, admits of a certain *Latitude*, within the Compass whereof more or less may be, and often is, either taken or given, according to the *Agreement* of the Persons *dealing*; which yet for the most part, goes according to the Custom of the *Market*. Where commonly there is Regard had to the Trouble and Charges which the Tradesmen generally are at, in the bringing home and managing their Commodities, and also after what manner they are bought or sold, whether by Wholesale or Retail. Sometimes also on a sudden the Common Price is alter'd by reason of the *Plenty* or *Scarcity* of *Buyers*, *Money*, or the *Commodity*. For the *Scarcity* of Buyers and of Money, (which on any particular Account may happen) and the Plenty of the Commodity, may be a Means of *diminishing* the Price thereof. On the other hand, the Plenty of Buyers and of Money, and the Scarcity of the Commodity, *inhances* the same. Thus as the Value of a Commodity is lessen'd, if it *wants* a Buyer, so the Price is augmented when the Possessor is solicited to sell what otherwise he would not have parted with. Lastly, it is likewise to be regarded, whether the Person offers *ready Money*, or desires *Time* for Payment; for Allowance of *Time* is Part of the *Price*.

VI. Vulgar  
Price. L. N. N.  
l. 5. c. 1. §9.



pere.

VI. ENIMVERO vulgare pretium, quod *Pretium ex usu fori suam habet latitudinem.* per leges non est taxatum, habet aliquam *latitudinem*, intra quam plus minusve dari & accipi potest ac solet, prout inter contrahentes fuit conventum, Quod tamen fere sequitur usum fori. Ubi solet haberi ratio laborum & expensarum; quas mercatores communiter faciunt in mercibus adportandis & tractandis; necnon quo modo ematur aut vendatur, in magna quantitate, an minutatim. Subito quoque interdum mutatur commune pretium ex copia aut paucitate ementium, pecuniæ, aut mercium. Nam paucitas ementium & pecuniæ, (ex peculiari causa emergens) & *C. 1. § 10.*

S. PUFENDORFII  
D E  
OFFICIO  
HOMINIS & CIVIS  
J U X T A  
Legem Naturalem  
LIBRIDUO.



Samuel Pufendorf 1632-1694



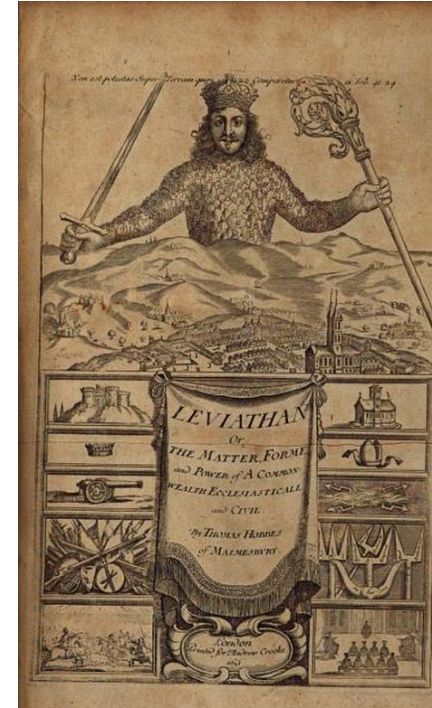
Thomas Hobbes  
1588-1679

**T**HE NUTRITION of a Common-wealth consisteth, in the Plenty, and Distribution of Materials conducing to Life: In Concoction, or Preparation; and (when concocted) in the Conveyance of it, by convenient conduits, to the Publique use.

As for the Plenty of Matter, it is a thing limited by Nature, to those commodities, which from (the two breasts of our common Mother) Land, and Sea, God usually either freely giveth, or for labour selleth to man-kind.

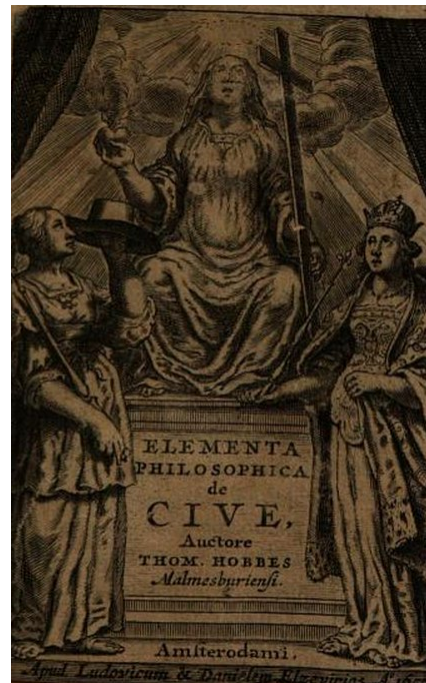
For the Matter of this Nutriment, consisting in Animals, Vegetals and Minerals, God hath freely layd them before us, in or near to the face of the Earth; so as there needeth no more but the labour, and industry of receiving them. In somuch as Plenty dependeth (next to Gods favour) meerly on the labour and industry of men.

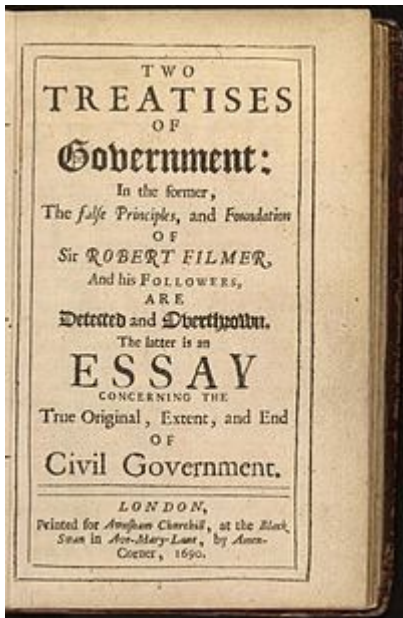
*The Nutrition of a Common-wealth consisteth in the Commodities of Sea and Land.*



XIV. Ad locupletandos cives ne-  
cessaria  
K-3 cessa-

222 IMPERIVM. Cap. XIII.  
euple-  
tandos  
cives  
condu-  
cere le-  
ges qui-  
bus artes  
cessaria duo sunt, labor & parsimonia;  
conducit etiam tertium, nempe terræ  
aquæque proventus naturalis; est au-  
tem & quartum, militia, quæ rem ci-  
vium quandoque auget, sæpius vero at-  
tenuat. priora duo sola necessaria sunt.





40. Nor is it so strange as perhaps before consideration it may appear, that the Property of labour should be able to over-balance the Community of Land. For 'tis Labour indeed that puts the difference of value on every thing; and let any one consider, what the difference is between an Acre of Land planted with Tobacco, or Sugar, sown with Wheat or Barley; and an Acre of the same Land lying in common, without any Husbandry upon it; and he will find, that the improvement of labour makes the far greater part of the value. I think it will be but a very modest Computation to say, that of the Products of the Earth useful to the Life of Man, are the effects of labour: nay, if we will rightly estimate things as they come to our use, and cast up the several Expences about them, what in them is purely owing to Nature, and what to labour, we shall find, that in most of them, are wholly to be put on the account of labour.



John Locke (1632 –1704)

45. Thus Labour in the Beginning, gave a Right of Property, where-ever any one was pleased to employ it, upon what was common, which remained, a long while, the far greater part, and is yet more than Mankind makes use of. Men, at first, for the most part, contented themselves with what un-assisted Nature offered to their Necessities; and though afterwards, in some parts of the World, where the Increase of People and Stock, with the Use of Money, had made Land scarce, and so of some Value, the several Communities settled the Bounds of their distinct Territories, and by Laws within themselves, regulated the Properties of the private Men of their Society, and so, by Compact and Agreement, settled

( 199 )  
settled the Property with Labour and Industry began; and the Leagues that have been made be-



Sir William Petty  
1623-1687

A  
TREATISE  
OF  
Taxes & Contributions.

Shewing the Nature and Measures of

Crown-Lands.	Penalties.
Assesments.	Monopolies.
Customs.	Offices.
Poll-Moneys.	Tythes.
Lotteries.	Raising of Coins.
Benevolence.	Harth-Money.
	Excize, &c.

With several intersperst Discourses and Digressions concerning

Warres.	Beggars.
The Church.	Ensurance.
Universities.	Exportation of <sup>Money.</sup> Wool.
Rents & Purchases.	Free-Ports.
Usury & Exchange.	Coins.
Banks & Lombards.	Housing.
Registries for Con-veyances.	Liberty of Con-science, &c.

*The same being frequently applied to the present State and Affairs of*  
IRELAND.

18. Our Silver and Gold we call by severall names, as in *England* by pounds, shillings, and pence, all which may be called and understood by either of the three. But that which I would say upon this matter is, that all things ought to be valued by two natural Denominations, which is Land and Labour; that is, we ought to say, a Ship or garment is worth such a measure of Land, with such another measure of Labour; forasmuch as both Ships and Garments were the creatures of Lands and mens Labours thereupon: This being true, we should be glad to finde out a natural Par between

Land and Labour, so as we might express the value by either of them alone as well or better then by both, and reduce one into the other as easily and certainly as we reduce pence into pounds. Wherefore we would be glad to finde the natural values of the Fee simple of Land, though but no better then we have done that of the *usus fructus* above-mentioned, which we attempt as followeth.

ESSAI  
SUR LA NATURE  
DU  
COMMERCE  
EN GÉNÉRAL.

TRADUIT DE L'ANGLAIS.

*en réalité composé par De Cantillon*



A LONDRES,

Chez FLETCHER GYLES;  
dans Holborn

---

M. DCC. LV.

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PREMIERE PARTIE.

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CHAPITRE PREMIER.

*De la Richesse.*

LA Terre est la source ou la matière d'où l'on tire la Richesse; le travail de l'Homme est la forme qui la produit: & la Richesse en elle-même, n'est autre

CHAPITRE X.

*Le prix & valeur intrinsèque d'une chose en général est la mesure de la terre & du travail qui entre dans sa production.*

A  
MODEST INQUIRY  
INTO THE  
NATURE AND NECESSITY  
OF A  
PAPER CURRENCY.

Quid asper  
Utile nummus habet; patrie carisque propinquis  
Quantum elargiri deceat.

PERSIUS.

FIRST PRINTED AT PHILADELPHIA IN THE YEAR 1729.

UES, WITH ABUNDANCE OF FACILITY.

For many ages, those parts of the world which are engaged in commerce, have fixed upon gold and silver as the chief and most proper materials for this medium ; they being in themselves valuable metals for their fineness, beauty, and scarcity. By these, particularly by silver, it has been usual to value all things else. But as silver itself is of no certain permanent value, being worth more or less according to its scarcity or plenty, therefore it seems requisite to fix upon something else, more proper to be made a *measure of values*, and this I take to be *labor*.\*



Benjamin Franklin  
1706-1790





Ferdinando Galiani  
1728-1787  
Della moneta (1751)

D E L L A  
M O N E T A

LIBRI CINQUE

DI

FERDINANDO GALIANI

EDIZIONE SECONDA.



IN NAPOLI MDCCLXXX.  
NELLA STAMPERIA SIMONIANA  
Con licenza de' Superiori.

*Ragioni  
componenti  
il valore.*

Il valore adunque è una ragione ; e questa composta da due ragioni , che con questi nomi esprimo d' *Utilità* , e *Rarità* . Quel ch' io m' intenda , acciocchè sulle voci non si disputi , andrò con esempli dichiarando . Egli è evidente , che l'aria , e l'acqua , che sono elementi utilissimi all' umana vita , non hanno valore alcuno , perchè manca loro la rarità : e per contrario un sacchetto d' arena de' lidi del Giappone rara cosa farebbe , ma posto che non avesse utilità particolare , non avrebbe valore .

*La quantità della materia.*

Passando ora a dire sulla quantità della cosa , dico che sonovi due classi di corpi . In alcuni ella dipende dalla diversa abbondanza , con cui  
la

la natura gli produce: in altri solo dalla varia fatica , ed opera che vi s' impiega . E' la prima

LA  
MIMICA DEGLI ANTICHI

INVESTIGATA

NEL GESTIRE NAPOLETANO

DEL CANONICO

ANDREA DE JORIO.



NAPOLI,

DALLA STAMPERIA E CARTIERA DEL FIBRENO  
Largo S. Domenico Maggiore N.° 3.

1832

FATICA, STENTO, SUDORE.

La fatica ec. di cui parliamo, si può intendere in senso fisico o morale, lodevole o vituperevole. Per esprimerlo i Napoletani fanno uso del seguente gesto.

1. *Pollice strisciante la fronte da una punta all'altra.* Il portare la mano, e più particolarmente il pollice disteso in alto da una tempia all'altra, e premendola con una certa lentezza, rimanendo le altre dita in qualunque siasi posizione, forma il gesto col quale si esprime la fatica e lo stento, che ci ha costato, o potrebbe costarci una qualunque siasi operazione (v. tav. 21. n. 6). Si suole talvolta anche usare nel seguente modo.
2. *Indice curvato a forma di falce, e strisciante la fronte da sinistra a destra.* Questi gesti non sono che contraffacenti ciocchè naturalmente si pratica da coloro, che grondano sudore dalla fronte. Or come il sudore è quasi sempre un effetto della pena, della fatica, e dello stento che si ha in qualche operazione, così il contraffare di astergersi il sudore, dinota la fatica di cui è l'effetto.

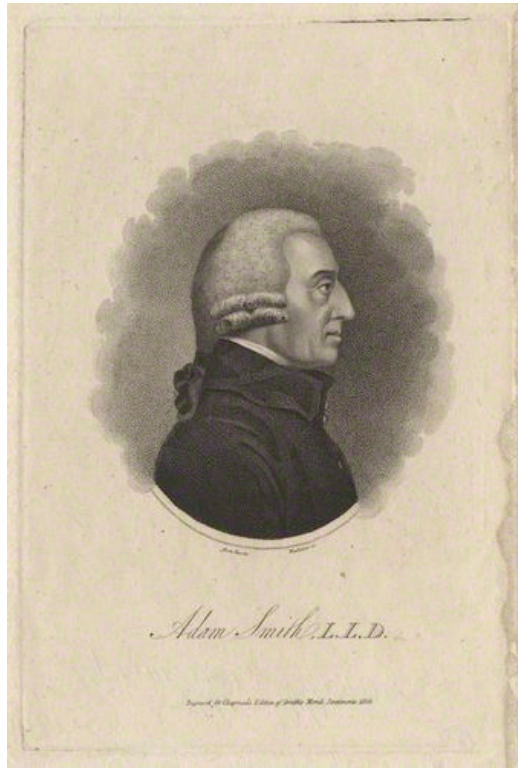
Gli antichi certamente sudavano, e che talvolta si tergessero il sudore della fronte con le mani, come è naturale, lo abbiamo anche da Petronio Cap. VIII. *Sudorem ille manibus detersit.* Non è perciò improbabile, sebbene non s'intenda darne con ciò una diretta dimostrazione, che essi



*1st Answer*, If this Bullion, or Coin, is carried out to purchase *raw Materials*, for the Employment of our People, the Trade is good and beneficial to the State, because it creates Industry, and promotes Labour. For Industry and Labour are the only real Riches; Money being merely the Ticket or Sign belonging to them; and the Use of Money is TO CERTIFY, that the Person possessing that Piece of Coin, hath likewise been in Possession of a *certain Quantity of Labour*, which he hath transferred into other Hands, and now retains the *Sign* of it.—Money therefore being nothing more than a Certificate of Labour, it necessarily follows, that national Industry will always command as many of these Certificates, *i. e.* as much Gold and Silver, as are wanted for these Purposes.

Josiah Tucker 1713-1799  
*Elements of Commerce* 1755





AN  
I N Q U I R Y  
INTO THE  
Nature and Causes  
OF THE  
WEALTH OF NATIONS.

By ADAM SMITH, LL. D. and F. R. S.  
Formerly Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of GLASGOW.

IN TWO VOLUMES.  
VOL. I.

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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR W. STRAHAN; AND T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.  
MDCCLXXVI.

Adam Smith 1723-1790



## [1] INTRODUCTION AND PLAN OF THE WORK

- 1 THE annual labour of every nation is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessaries and conveniences of life which it annually consumes, and which consist always, either in the immediate produce of that labour, or in what is purchased with that produce from other nations.
- 2 According therefore, as this produce, or what is purchased with it, bears a greater or smaller proportion to the number of those who are to consume it, the nation will be better or worse supplied with all the necessaries and conveniences for which it has occasion.
- 3 But this proportion must in every nation be regulated by two different circumstances; first, by the skill, dexterity, and judgment with which [2] "its<sup>a</sup> labour is generally applied<sup>b</sup>"; and, secondly, by the proportion between the number of those who are employed in useful labour, and that of those who are not so employed. Whatever be the soil, climate, or extent of territory of any particular nation, the abundance or scantiness of its annual supply must, in that particular situation, depend upon those two circumstances.

THE real price of every thing, what every thing really costs to the man who wants to acquire it, is the toil and trouble of acquiring it. What every thing is really worth to the man who has acquired it, and who wants to dispose of it or exchange it for something else, is the toil and trouble which it can save to himself, and which it can impose upon other people. What is bought with money or with goods is purchased by labour as much as what we acquire by the toil of our own body. That money or those goods indeed save us this toil. They contain the value of a certain quantity of labour which we exchange for what is supposed at the time to contain the value of an equal quantity. Labour was the first price, the original purchase money that was paid for all things. It was not by gold or by silver, but by labour, that all the wealth of the world was originally purchased; and its value, to those who possess it and who want to exchange it for some new productions, is precisely equal to the quantity of labour which it can enable them to purchase or command.



David Ricardo (1772-1823)

ON  
THE PRINCIPLES  
OF  
POLITICAL ECONOMY,  
AND  
TAXATION.

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By DAVID RICARDO, Esq.

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LONDON :

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.

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1817.

*The value of a commodity, or the quantity of any other commodity for which it will exchange, depends on the relative quantity of labour which is necessary for its production, and not on the greater or less compensation which is paid for that labour.*<sup>1</sup>

It has been observed by Adam Smith, that “the word Value has two different meanings, and sometimes expresses the utility of some particular object, and sometimes the power of purchasing other goods which the possession of that object conveys. The one may be called *value in use*; the other *value in exchange*. The things,” he continues, “which have the greatest value in use, have frequently little or no value in exchange; and, on the contrary, those which have the greatest value in exchange, have little or no value in use.”<sup>2</sup> Water and air are abundantly useful; they are indeed indispensable to existence, yet, under ordinary circumstances, nothing can be obtained in exchange for them. Gold, on the contrary, though of little use compared with air or water, will exchange for a great quantity of other goods.

Utility then is not the measure of exchangeable value, although it is absolutely essential to it. If a commodity were in no way useful,—in other words, if it could in no way contribute to our gratification,—it would be destitute of exchangeable value, however scarce it might be, or whatever quantity of labour might be necessary to procure it.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. 1 does not divide this chapter into sections; ed. 2 divides it into five sections and ed. 3 into seven. Section 1 bears the same heading in ed. 2 and in ed. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Wealth of Nations*, Bk. 1, ch. iv; Cannan's ed., vol. 1, p. 30. The passage continues by contrasting water with diamonds.

Possessing utility, commodities derive their exchangeable value from two sources: from their scarcity, and from the quantity of labour required to obtain them.

There are some commodities, the value of which is determined by their scarcity alone. No labour can increase the quantity of such goods, and therefore their value cannot be lowered by an increased supply. Some rare statues and pictures, scarce books and coins, wines of a peculiar quality, which can be made only from grapes grown on a particular soil, of which there is a very limited quantity, are all of this description. Their value is wholly independent of the quantity of labour originally necessary to produce them, and varies with the varying wealth and inclinations of those who are desirous to possess them.

These commodities, however, form a very small part of the mass of commodities daily exchanged in the market. By far the greatest part of those goods which are the objects of desire, are procured by labour; and they may be multiplied, not in one country alone, but in many, almost without any assignable limit, if we are disposed to bestow the labour necessary to obtain them.

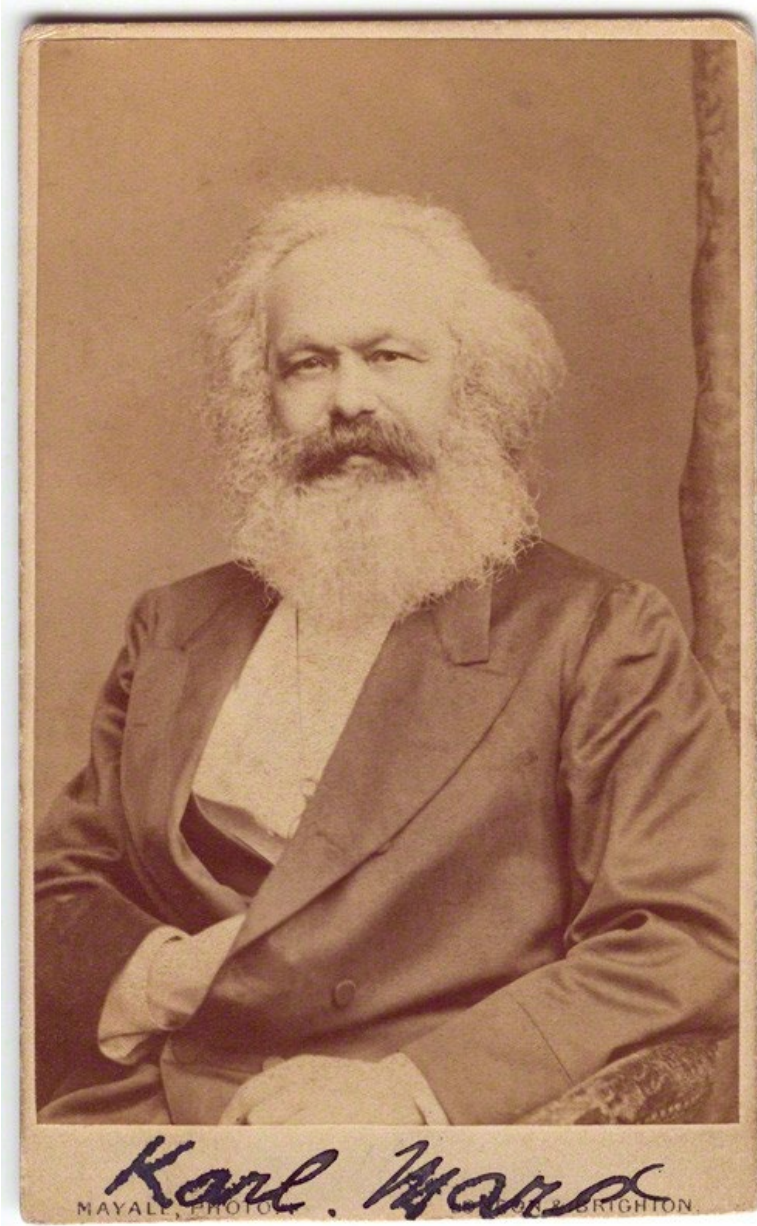
In speaking then of commodities, of their exchangeable value, and of the laws which regulate their relative prices, we mean always such commodities only as can be increased in quantity by the exertion of human industry, and on the production of which competition operates without restraint.

In the early stages of society, the exchangeable value of these commodities, or the rule which determines how much of one shall be given in exchange for another, depends almost exclusively<sup>1</sup> on the comparative quantity of labour expended on each.

“The real price of every thing,” says Adam Smith, “what every thing really costs to the man who wants to acquire it,

<sup>1</sup> Eds. 1–2 read ‘depends solely’.





Karl Marx (1818-1883)

# Das Kapital.

Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.

Von

Karl Marx.

Erster Band.

Buch I: Der Produktionsprocess des Kapitals.

Das Recht der Uebersetzung wird vorbehalten.

Hamburg

Verlag von Otto Meissner.

1867.

Die beiden zuletzt entwickelten Eigenthümlichkeiten der Aequivalentform werden noch fassbarer, wenn wir zu dem grossen Forscher

zurückgehn, der die Werthform, wie so viele Denkformen, Gesellschaftsformen und Naturformen zuerst analysirt hat. Es ist diess Aristoteles.

Zunächst spricht Aristoteles klar aus, dass die Geldform der Waare nur die weiter entwickelte Gestalt der einfachen Werthform ist, d. h. des Ausdrucks des Werths einer Waare in irgend einer beliebigen andren Waare, denn er sagt:

„5 Polster = 1 Haus“ („*Κλίνας πέντε ἀντὶ οἰκίας*“)

„unterscheidet sich nicht“ von:

„5 Polster = so und so viel Geld“

(„*Κλίνας πέντε ἀντὶ . . . ὅσου αἱ πέντε κλίνας*“).

Er sieht ferner ein, dass das Werthverhältniss, worin dieser Werthausdruck steckt, seinerseits bedingt, dass das Haus dem Polster qualitativ gleichgesetzt wird, und dass diese sinnlich verschiedenen Dinge ohne solche Wesensgleichheit nicht als kommensurable Grössen auf einander beziehbar wären. „Der Austausch“, sagt er, „kann nicht sein ohne die Gleichheit, die Gleichheit aber nicht ohne die Kommensurabilität“ („*οὐτ' ἰσότης μὴ οὐσης συμμετρίας*“). Hier aber stutzt er und giebt die weitere Analyse der Werthform auf. „Es ist aber in Wahrheit unmöglich („*τῆ μὲν οὖν ἀληθείᾳ ὀδύνατον*“), dass so verschiedenartige Dinge kommensurabel“, d. h. qualitativ gleich seien. Diese Gleichsetzung kann nur etwas der wahren Natur der Dinge Fremdes sein, also nur „Nothbehelf für das praktische Bedürfniss“.

Aristoteles sagt uns also selbst, woran seine weitere Analyse scheitert, nämlich am Mangel des Werthbegriffs. Was ist das Gleiche, d. h. die gemeinschaftliche Substanz, die das Haus für den Polster im Werthausdruck des Polsters vorstellt? So etwas kann „in Wahrheit nicht existiren“, sagt Aristoteles. Warum? Das Haus stellt dem Polster gegenüber ein Gleiches vor, soweit es das in Beiden, dem Polster und dem Haus, wirklich Gleiches vorstellt. Und das ist — menschliche Arbeit.

## ΜΕΡΟΣ ΤΡΙΤΟ

## Η ΠΑΡΑΓΩΓΗ ΤΗΣ ΑΠΟΛΥΤΗΣ ΥΠΕΡΑΞΙΑΣ

## ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟ ΠΕΜΠΤΟ

## ΠΡΩΤΕΣ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΩΤΕΣ ΑΞΙΟΠΟΙΗΣΗΣ

## 1. ΤΟ ΠΡΩΤΕΣ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑΣ.

Ἡ χρήση τῆς ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως εἶναι ἡ ἴδια ἡ ἐργασία. Ὁ ἀγοραστής τῆς ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως τὴν καταναλώνει βάζοντας τὸν πωλητὴ τῆς νὰ δουλέψῃ. Ἔτσι ὁ πωλητὴς γίνεται actu [ἔργω] δρῶσα ἐργατικὴ δύναμη, ἐργάτης, πράγμα πού προηγουμένα ἦταν μόνο potentia [δυνάμει]. Γιὰ νὰ παραστήσῃ τὴν ἐργασία του μὲ ἐμπορεύματα, πρέπει πρὶν ἀπ' ὅλα νὰ τὴν παραστήσῃ μὲ ἀξίες χρήσης, μὲ πράγματα πού χρησιμεύουν γιὰ τὴν ικανοποίηση ἀναγκῶν ὁποιοῦδήποτε εἶδους. Αὐτὸ λοιπὸν πού ὁ κεφαλαιοκράτης βάζει τὸν ἐργάτη νὰ φτιάξῃ εἶναι κάποια ἰδιαιτέρη ἀξία χρήσης, κάποιο καθορισμένον εἶδος. Ἡ γενικὴ φύση τῆς παραγωγῆς ἀξιῶν χρήσης ἢ ἀγαθῶν δὲν ἀλλάζει ἀπὸ τὸ γεγονός ὅτι γίνεται γιὰ τὸν κεφαλαιοκράτη καὶ κάτω ἀπὸ τὸν ἔλεγχό του. Γιαντὸ πρέπει νὰ ξετάσουμε τὸ πρῶτος τῆς ἐργασίας πρῶτα ἀνεξάρτητα ἀπὸ κάθε καθορισμένη κοινωνικὴ μορφή.

Ἡ ἐργασία εἶναι πρῶτα ἓνα πρῶτος ἀνάμεσα στὸν ἄνθρωπο καὶ στὴ φύση, ἓνα πρῶτος ὅπου ὁ ἄνθρωπος μὲ τὴ δική του πρῶτη μεσολαβεί, ρυθμίζει καὶ ἐλέγχει τὴν ἀνταλλαγὴ τῆς ὕλης ἀνάμεσα στὸν ἑαυτὸ του καὶ τὴ φύση. Τὴν ὕλη τῆς φύσης ὁ ἴδιος ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὴν ἀντιμετωπίζει σὰν μιὰ φυσικὴ δύναμη. Τίς φυσικὲς δυνάμεις πού ἀνήκουν στὸ σῶμα του, τὰ μέρη του καὶ τὰ πόδια, τὸ κεφάλι καὶ τὰ χεῖρα, τὰ βάζει σὲ κίνηση γιὰ νὰ ἰδιοποιηθῇ τὴ φυσικὴ ὕλη μὲ μιὰ μορφή χρήσιμη γιὰ τὴ δική του ζωὴ. Ἐπιπλέον μὲ τὴν κίνηση αὐτὴ πάνω στὴ φύση πού βρίσκεται ἔξω ἀπ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἀλλάζοντάς την, ἀλλάζει ταυτόχρονα καὶ τὴ δική του φύση. Ἀναπτύσσει τίς δυνάμεις πού κοιμοῦνται μέσα της καὶ ὑποτάσσει, στὴν κυριαρχία του τὸ παιχνίδι τῶν δυνάμεων της. Δὲν ἀσχοιοῦμαστε ἐδῶ μὲ τίς πρῶτες ζωώδεις, ἐνστιχτώδεις μορφές τῆς ἐργασίας. Βαθιά, πίσω ἀπὸ τὴν κατὰστασιν ὅπου ὁ ἐργάτης ἐμφανίζεται στὴν ἀγορὰ ἐμπορευμάτων σὰν πωλητής τῆς δικῆς του ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως, βρίσκεται ἀπομακρυσμένη σὲ πανόρχειους χρόνους ἢ κατὰστασιν ὅπου ἡ ἀνθρώπι-

νὴ ἐργασία δὲν εἶχε ἀκόμα ἀποβάλλει τὴν πρῶτη τῆς ἐνστιχτώδεια μορφή. Προϋποθέτουμε τὴν ἐργασία μὲ μιὰ μορφή πού ἀνήκει ἀποκλειστικά στὸν ἄνθρωπο. Ἡ ἀρχὴν κάνει δουλιές πού μοιάζουν μ' αὐτές πού κάνει ὁ ὕφαντής, καὶ ἡ μέλισσα μὲ τὸ χτίσιμο τῶν κυττάρων τῆς κερήθρας τῆς ντροπιάζει κάμποσους ἀνθρώπους—ἀρχιτέκτονες. Αὐτὸ ὅμως πού ξεχωρίζει ἀπὸ τὰ πρὶν τὸ χειρότερον ἀρχιτέκτονα ἀπὸ τὴν καλύτερη μέλισσα εἶναι ὅτι ἔχει κιόλας φτιάξῃ τὸ κύτταρον στὸ κεφάλι του, πρῶτον τὸ φτιάξῃ στὸ κερί. Στὸ τέλος τοῦ πρῶτος τῆς ἐργασίας προκύπτει ἓνα ἀποτέλεσμα πού ὑπῆρχε κιόλας ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴ στὴν παράστασιν τοῦ ἐργάτη, δηλ. ὑπῆρχε κιόλας ἰδεατά. Ὁ ἐργάτης δὲν πετυχαίνει μονάχα μιὰν ἀλλαγὴ τῆς μορφῆς τοῦ φυσικοῦ πραγματοποιεῖ ταυτόχρονα στὸ φυσικὸ στοιχεῖο τὸ σκοπὸ του, ἓνα σκοπὸ πού τὸν ξέρει, ἓνα σκοπὸ πού καθορίζει σὰ νόμος τὸν τρόπο καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς ἐνέργειάς του καὶ πού σ' αὐτὸν πρέπει νὰ ὑποτάξῃ τὴ θέλησή του. Καὶ ἡ ὑποταγὴ αὐτὴ δὲν εἶναι μιὰ μεμονωμένη πρῶτη. Ἐκτός ἀπὸ τὴν καταπόνηση τῶν ὀργάνων πού ἐργάζονται, απαιτεῖται γιὰ ὅλη τὴ διάρκεια τῆς ἐργασίας ἡ σκόπιμη βούληση πού ἐκδηλώνεται σὰν προσοχὴ, καὶ μάλιστα τόσο περισσότερον, ὅσο λιγότερον συνεπαίρνε τὸν ἐργάτη μὲ τὸ περιεχόμενον της καὶ μὲ τὸν τρόπο τῆς ἐκτέλεσής της καὶ, ἐπομένως, ὅσο λιγότερον τὴν ἀπολαβαίνει ὁ ἐργάτης σὰν παιχνίδι τῶν δικῶν του σωματικῶν καὶ πνευματικῶν δυνάμεων.

Τὰ ἀπλά στοιχεία τοῦ πρῶτος ἐργασίας\* εἶναι ἡ σκόπιμη δραστηριότητα ἢ ἡ ἐργασία ἢ ἴδια, τὸ ἀντικείμενον της καὶ τὰ μέσα της.

Ἡ γῆ (στὴν ὅποια οικονομικὰ συμπεριλαμβάνεται καὶ τὸ νερό), ὅπως ἀρχικὰ ἐφοδιάζει τὸν ἄνθρωπο μὲ ζωοτροφίες καὶ μὲ ἔτοιμα μέσα συντήρησης<sup>1</sup>, ὑπάρχει χωρὶς τὴ συμβολὴν του σὰν τὸ γενικὸ ἀντικείμενον τῆς ἀνθρώπινης ἐργασίας. Ὅλα τὰ πράγματα πού ἡ ἐργασία ἀπλῶς τὰ ἀποσπᾷ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀμεση σχέση τους μὲ τὸ γῆνο σύνολο, εἶναι ἀντικείμενα ἐργασίας πού ὑπάρχουν ἀπὸ τὴ φύση. Ἔτσι λχ. τὸ ψάρι πού πιάνεται καὶ ἀποσπᾷται ἀπὸ τὸ στοιχεῖο τῆς ζωῆς του, ἀπὸ τὸ νερό, τὸ ξύλον πού τὸ κόβουν στὸ παρθένο δάσος, τὸ μεταλλευμα πού τὸ ἀποσπᾷ ἀπὸ τὴ φλέβα του. Ὅταν ὅμως τὸ ἴδιο τὸ ἀντικείμενον τῆς ἐργασίας ἔχει, νὰ ποῦμε, περάσει καὶ φιλοτραπιστῇ ἀπὸ

\* Στὰ γερμανικά: Arbeits-Prozess [πρῶτος ἐργασίας]. Ἡ λέξι πρῶτος, πού ἐκφράζει μιὰν ἀνάπτυξη παρμένη στὸ σύνολο τῶν πραγματικῶν ὄρων της, ἀνήκει ἀπὸ καιρὸ στὴν ἐπιστημονικὴ γλώσσα ὅλης τῆς Εὐρώπης. Στὴ Γαλλίαν τὴν εἶχαν ἀρχικὰ εἰσαγάγει κάποιος δευτὸ μὲ τὴ λατινικὴν τῆς μορφήν: Processus. Ὑστερον γλιτορήσει καὶ πέρασε ἀπαιλλαγμένη ἀπὸ τὴ σχολαστικὴ αὐτὴ μεταφύση στὰ ἐγγχειρίδια τῆς χημείας, τῆς φυσιολογίας κλπ., καθὼς καὶ σὲ μερικὰ ἔργα μεταφυσικῆς. Θὰ καταλήξῃ στὸ νὰ κοιντογραφηθῇ γενικῶς. Ἄς σημειώσουμε ἄνεμα σὲ ἄλλα ὅτι οἱ γερμανοί, ὅπως καὶ οἱ γάλλοι, χρησιμοποιοῦν στὴν καθημερινὴ τους γλώσσα τὴ λέξι «Processé» [δίκη] μὲ τὴ νομικὴ τῆς ἔννοια. (Ἐπισημειώση τοῦ Μάρξ στὴ γαλλικὴ ἔκδοσιν τοῦ «Κεφαλαίων».)

<sup>1</sup> Τὰ αὐτοφυῆ προϊόντα τῆς γῆς, πού ὑπάρχουν σὲ μικρὲς ποσότητες καὶ τελικῶς ἀνεξάρτητα ἀπὸ τὸν ἄνθρωπο, φαίνεται σὰ νάχουν δοθεῖ ἀπὸ τὴ φύση μὲ τὸν ἴδιον τρόπο πού δίνει κανεὶς σ' ἓνα νεὸ ἓνα μικρὸ χρηματικὸ ποσὸ γιὰ μὲ μισοροσὶ μὲ ἐργασίαν καὶ νὰ κάνει τὴν τύχη του. (James Steuart: «Principles of Political Economy», ἐκδ. Dublin 1770, τόμ. 1, σελ. 116).

### Dritter Abschnitt.

#### Die Produktion des absoluten Mehrwerths.

#### Fünftes Kapitel.

##### Arbeitsprocess und Verwerthungsprocess.

Der Gebrauch der Arbeitskraft ist die Arbeit selbst. Der Käufer der Arbeitskraft konsumirt sie, indem er ihren Verkäufer arbeiten lässt. Letzterer wird hierdurch actu sich bethätigende Arbeitskraft, Arbeiter, was er früher nur potentia war. Um seine Arbeit in Waaren darzustellen, muss er sie vor allem in Gebrauchswerthen darstellen, Sachen, die zur Befriedigung von Bedürfnissen irgend einer Art dienen. Es ist also ein besondrer Gebrauchswerth, ein bestimmter Artikel, den der Kapitalist vom Arbeiter anfertigen lässt. Die Produktion von Gebrauchswerthen, oder Gütern, ändert ihre allgemeine Natur nicht dadurch, dass sie für den Kapitalisten und unter seiner Kontrolle vorgeht. Der Arbeitsprocess ist daher zunächst unabhängig von jeder bestimmten gesellschaftlichen Form zu betrachten.

Die Arbeit ist zunächst ein Process zwischen Mensch und Natur, ein Process, worin er seinen Stoffwechsel mit der Natur durch seine eigne That vermittelt, regelt und kontrollirt. Der Mensch tritt dem Naturstoff selbst als eine Naturmacht gegenüber. Die seiner Leiblichkeit angehörigen Naturkräfte, Arme und Beine, Kopf und Hand, setzt er in Bewegung, um sich den Naturstoff in einer für sein eignes Leben brauchbaren Form anzueignen. Indem er durch diese Bewegung auf die Natur ausser ihm wirkt und sie verändert, ver-

11\*

ändert er zugleich seine eigne Natur. Er entwickelt die in ihr schlummernden Potenzen und unterwirft das Spiel ihrer Kräfte seiner eignen Botmässigkeit. Wir haben es hier nicht mit den ersten thierartig instinktmässigen Formen der Arbeit zu thun. Dem Zustand, worin der Arbeiter als Verkäufer seiner eignen Arbeitskraft auf dem Waarenmarkt auftritt, ist in urzeitlichen Hintergrund der Zustand entrückt, worin die menschliche Arbeit ihre erste instinktartige Form noch nicht abgestreift hatte. Wir unterstellen die Arbeit in einer Form, worin sie dem Menschen ausschliesslich angehört. Eine Spinne verrichtet Operationen, die denen des Webers ähneln, und eine Biene beschämt durch den Bau ihrer Wachszellen manchen menschlichen Baumeister. Was aber von vorn herein den schlechtesten Baumeister vor der besten Biene auszeichnet, ist, dass er die Zelle in seinem Kopf gebaut hat, bevor er sie in Wachs baut. Am Ende des Arbeitsprocesses kommt ein Resultat heraus, das beim Beginn desselben schon in der Vorstellung des Arbeiters, also schon ideell vorhanden war. Nicht dass er nur eine Formveränderung des Natürlichen bewirkt, verwirklicht er im Natürlichen zugleich seinen Zweck, den er weiss, der die Art und Weise seines Thuns als Gesetz bestimmt und dem er seinen Willen unterordnen muss. Und diese Unterordnung ist kein vereinzelter Akt. Ausser der Anstrengung der Organe, die arbeiten, ist der zweckgemässe Wille, der sich als Aufmerksamkeit äussert, für die ganze Dauer der Arbeit erheischt, und um so mehr, je weniger sie durch den eignen Inhalt und die Art und Weise ihrer Ausführung den Arbeiter mit sich fortreisst, je weniger er sie daher als Spiel seiner eignen körperlichen und geistigen Kräfte geniesst.

Die einfachen Momente des Arbeitsprocesses sind die zweckmässige Thätigkeit oder die Arbeit selbst, ihr Gegenstand und ihr Mittel.

Die Erde (worunter ökonomisch auch das Wasser einbegriffen), wie sie den Menschen ursprünglich mit Proviant, fertigen Lebensmitteln ausrüstet<sup>1)</sup>, findet sich ohne sein Zuthun als der allgemeine Gegenstand der menschlichen Arbeit vor. Alle Dinge,

<sup>1)</sup> „The earth's spontaneous productions being in small quantity, and quite independent of man, appear as it were, to be furnished by nature, in the same way as a small sum is given to a young man, in order to put him in a

## Handglossen zum Programm der deutschen Arbeiterpartei.

### I.

1. „Die Arbeit ist die Quelle alles Reichthums und aller Kultur, und da nutzbringende Arbeit nur in der Gesellschaft und durch die Gesellschaft möglich ist, gehört der Ertrag der Arbeit unverkürzt nach gleichem Rechte allen Gesellschaftsgliedern.“\*)

Erster Theil des Paragraphen: „Die Arbeit ist die Quelle alles Reichthums und aller Kultur.“

Die Arbeit ist nicht die Quelle alles Reichthums. Die Natur ist ebenso sehr die Quelle der Gebrauchswerthe (und aus solchen besteht doch wohl der sachliche Reichthum!) als die Arbeit, die selbst nur die Aeußerung einer Naturkraft ist, der menschlichen Arbeitskraft. Jene Phrase findet sich in allen Kinderbibeln und ist insofern richtig, als unterstellt wird, daß die Arbeit mit den dazugehörigen Gegenständen und Mitteln vorgeht. Ein sozialistisches Programm darf aber solchen bürgerlichen Redensarten nicht erlauben, die Bedingungen zu verschweigen, die ihnen allein einen Sinn geben. Und so weit der Mensch sich von vorn herein zur Natur, der ersten Quelle aller Arbeitsmittel und =Gegenstände, als Eigenthümer verhält, sie als ihm gehörig behandelt, wird seine Arbeit Quelle von Gebrauchswerthen, also auch von Reichthum. Die Bürger haben sehr gute Gründe, der Arbeit übernatürliche Schöpfungskraft anzudichten; denn gerade aus der Naturbedingtheit der Arbeit folgt, daß der Mensch, der kein anderes Eigenthum besitzt als seine Arbeitskraft, in allen Gesellschafts- und Kulturzuständen der Sklave der andern Menschen sein muß, die sich zu Eigenthümern der gegenständlichen Arbeitsbedingungen gemacht haben. Er kann nur mit ihrer Erlaubniß arbeiten, also nur mit ihrer Erlaubniß leben.

ΚΑΡΛ ΜΑΡΞ

ΠΑΡΑΤΗΡΗΣΕΙΣ ΣΤΟ ΠΡΟΓΡΑΜΜΑ  
ΤΟΥ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΥ  
ΕΡΓΑΤΙΚΟΥ ΚΟΜΜΑΤΟΣ

I

1. «*Η εργασία είναι η πηγή κάθε πλούτου και κάθε πολιτισμού και μια που ωφέλιμη εργασία μπορεί να υπάρχει μονάχα μέσα στην κοινωνία και μέσω της κοινωνίας, το έσοδο της εργασίας ανήκει ακέραιο και με ίσο δικαίωμα σε όλα τα μέλη της κοινωνίας.*»

*Πρώτο μέρος της παραγράφου:* «*Η εργασία είναι η πηγή κάθε πλούτου και κάθε πολιτισμού.*»

Η εργασία δεν είναι η πηγή κάθε πλούτου. Η φύση είναι εξίσου η πηγή των αξιών χρήσης (και από αξίες χρήσης αποτελείται βέβαια ο εμπράγματος πλούτος!), όπως και η εργασία, που η ίδια είναι μονάχα η έκφραση μιας φυσικής δύναμης, της ανθρώπινης εργατικής δύναμης. Η παραπάνω φράση βρίσκεται σε όλα τα παιδικά αλφαβητάρια και είναι σωστή εφόσον υπονοείται ότι η εργασία γίνεται με τα αντίστοιχα αντικείμενα και μέσα. Ένα σοσιαλιστικό πρόγραμμα, όμως, δεν μπορεί να επιτρέψει σε τέτοια αστικά σχήματα λόγου ν' αποσιωπούν τους όρους που μονάχα αυτοί τους δίνουν νόημα. Και στο βαθμό που ο άνθρωπος εκ των προτέρων συμπεριφέρεται απέναντι στη φύση, την πρώτη πηγή κάθε μέσου και αντικειμένου εργασίας, σαν ιδιοκτήτης και τη μεταχειρίζεται σαν να του ανήκει, η εργασία του γίνεται πηγή αξιών χρήσης, άρα και πλούτου. Οι αστοί έχουν κάθε λόγο ν' αποδίδουν στην εργασία *υπερφυσική δημι-*



Nr. 18.

IX. Jahrgang, I. Band.

1890-91.

**Zur Kritik des sozialdemokratischen Parteiprogramms.**

Nach dem Nachlaß von Karl Marx.

*ουργική δύναμη.* Γιατί ακριβώς από το γεγονός ότι η εργασία καθορίζεται από τη φύση, βγαίνει ότι ο άνθρωπος που δεν κατέχει άλλη ιδιοκτησία εκτός από την εργατική του δύναμη, σε όλες τις καταστάσεις της κοινωνίας και του πολιτισμού είναι υποχρεωτικά δούλος των άλλων ανθρώπων, που έχουν κάνει τον εαυτό τους ιδιοκτήτη των αντικειμενικών όρων της εργασίας. Μόνο με την άδειά τους μπορεί να δουλεύει, δηλαδή μόνο με την άδειά τους μπορεί να ζει.

DAS RECHT  
AUF DEN  
VOLLEN ARBEITSERTRAG

IN  
GESCHICHTLICHER DARSTELLUNG

VON  
**DR. ANTON MENGER,**  
PROFESSOR DER RECHTE AN DER WIENER UNIVERSITÄT.

ZWEITE VERBESSERTE AUFLAGE.



STUTT GART 1891.  
VERLAG DER J. G. COTTA'SCHEN BUCHHANDLUNG  
NACHFOLGER.

THE RIGHT  
TO  
THE WHOLE PRODUCE  
OF LABOUR

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE  
THEORY OF LABOUR'S CLAIM TO THE  
WHOLE PRODUCT OF INDUSTRY

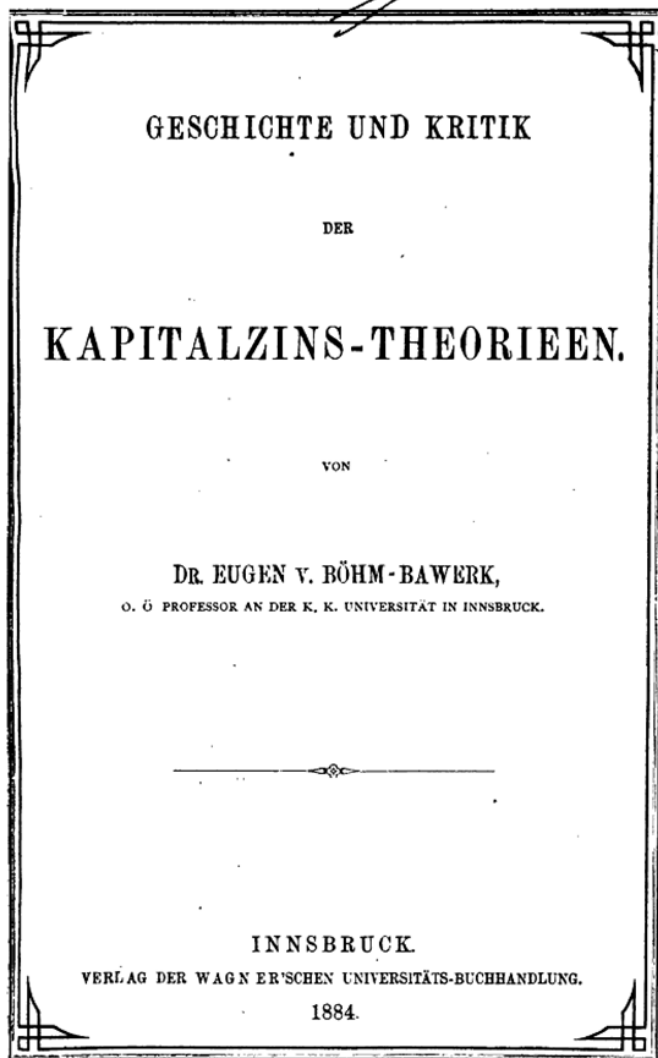
BY  
**DR. ANTON MENGER**  
PROFESSOR OF JURISPRUDENCE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF VIENNA

TRANSLATED BY M. E. TANNER

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND BIBLIOGRAPHY  
BY H. S. FOXWELL, M.A.  
PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON;  
LECTURER AND LATE FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

London  
MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED  
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY  
1899

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XI.

## Die Ausbeutungstheorie.

1. Unterabschnitt.

### Historischer Ueberblick.

Ich gelange nunmehr zu jener denkwürdigen Theorie, deren Aufstellung vielleicht nicht zu den erfreulichsten, ganz gewiss aber zu den folgenschwersten wissenschaftlichen Ereignissen unseres Jahrhunderts zählt; die an der Wiege des modernen Sozialismus gestanden und mit ihm gross geworden ist; und die heute den theoretischen Angelpunkt bildet, um den sich Angriff und Abwehr im Streite um die Organisation der menschlichen Gesellschaft zumeist bewegen.

We come now to that remarkable theory the enunciation of which, if not the most agreeable among the scientific events of our century, certainly promises to be one of the most serious in its consequences. It stood at the cradle of modern Socialism and has grown up along with it; and to-day it forms the theoretical centre around which move the forces of attack and defence in the struggle of organising human society.



Eugen Böhm von Bawerk 1851-1914





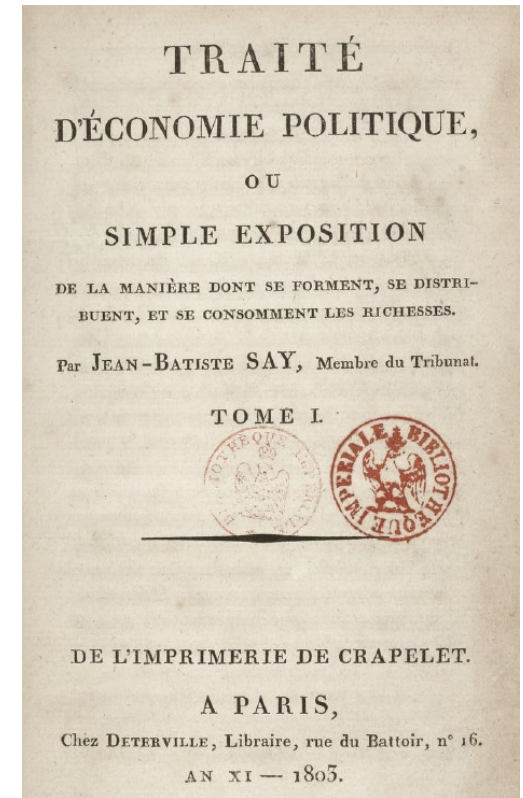
Jean-Baptiste Say  
(1767 – 1832)

Moyens/sources de  
production  
Κεφάλαιο, Εργασία, Γη

CHAPITRE V.

*Suivant quelles proportions la valeur des produits se distribue entre les trois sources de production.*

IL y a par tout pays une certaine quantité d'industrie, de capitaux, de fonds de terre qui réclament de l'emploi. Il y a par tout pays une certaine demande pour employer de l'industrie, des capitaux ou des terres.



De manière qu'on pourrait représenter un pays en pleine production, sous l'image d'un char attelé de trois chevaux de front:

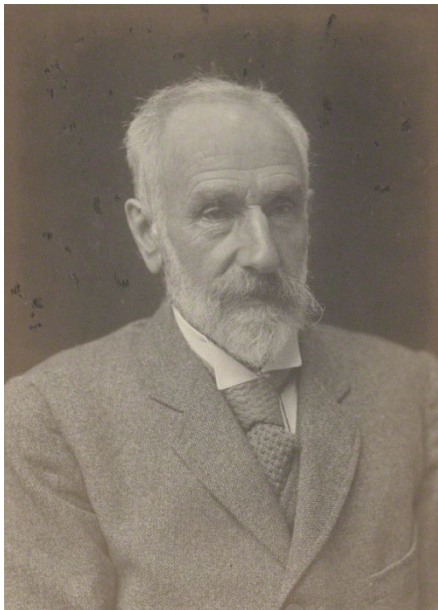
DICTIONARY  
OF  
POLITICAL ECONOMY

EDITED BY  
E. H. INGLIS PALGRAVE, F.R.S.

On tūhū quādamque potest atque adit aucto.

VOL. I.  
A—E

London  
MACMILLAN AND CO.  
AND NEW YORK  
1894



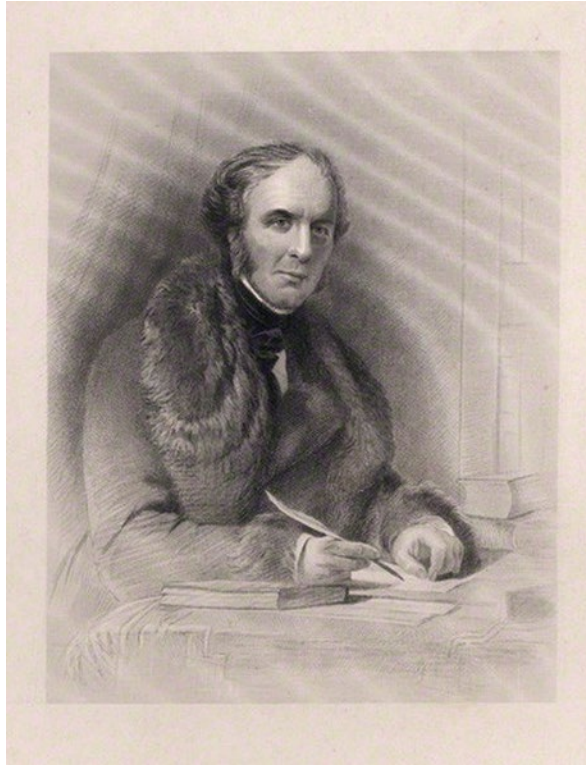
Francis Ysidro Edgeworth (1845-1926)

## Agents of production Κεφάλαιο, Εργασία, Γη

OF ASSOCIATION (see ULTRA VIRES). E. S.  
**AGENTS OF PRODUCTION.** The causes or requisites of production, often called "agents of production," may be divided into two classes: human action and external nature; commonly distinguished as "labour," and "natural agents." The first category comprises mental as well as muscular exertion; the second, force as well as matter. To the second factor is sometimes applied the term *land*: in a technical sense, denoting not only the "brute earth," but also all other physical elements with their properties. But this term is more frequently employed in another classification, according to which the agents of production are divided into three classes—land, labour, and capital. Of the two classifications which have been stated the former appears the more fundamental and philosophical. That "all production is the result of two and only two elementary agents of production, nature and labour," is particularly well argued by Böhm-Bawerk in his *Kapital und Kapitalzins*, pt. ii. p. 83. "There is no room for a third elementary source," he main-

tains. This view is countenanced by high authorities, of whom some are cited below. Even J. S. MILL, who is disposed to make capital nearly as important as the other members of the tripartite division, yet admits that "labour and natural agents" are "the primary and universal requisites of production" (*Pol. Econ.*, bk. i. ch. iv. § 1). Prof. Marshall, dividing the subject more closely, thinks "it is perhaps best to say that there are three factors of production, land, labour, and the sacrifice involved in waiting" (*Principles of Economics*, p. 614, note). For further remarks on the third species of agent see CAPITAL.

In the case where both labour and natural agents are required, the most frequent and important case, the question may be raised whether nature or man contributes more to the result. According to QUESNAY (*Maximes*, Edn. Oncken, p. 331) land is the sole source of riches. According to Adam SMITH, in manufactures "nature does nothing, man does all" (*Wealth of Nations*, bk. ii. ch. v.) The better view appears to be that the division of industries into those in which labour does most and those in which nature does most is not significant. It is like attempting "to decide which half of a pair of scissors has most to do in the act of cutting" (Mill, *Pol. Econ.*, bk. i. ch. i. § 3).



Nassau William Senior (1790-1864)

ADVERTISEMENT.

The following pages form the Article POLITICAL ECONOMY in the ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA. A few Copies have been struck off separately for private distribution.

which is one of the principal obstacles to its progress.

Mr. Malthus, Colonel Torrens, and the other Economists who consider labour, using that word in its popular sense, as a necessary constituent of wealth, appear to have been led to that opinion by observing, first, that some quality besides mere utility is necessary to value; secondly, that all those things which are useful, and are acquired by labour, are valuable; and thirdly, that almost every thing which is valuable *has* required some labour for its acquisition. But the fact that that circumstance is not essential to value will be demonstrated if we can suppose a case in which value could exist without it. If, while carelessly lounging along the sea-shore, I were to pick up a pearl, would it have no value? Mr. M'Culloch would answer that the value of the pearl was the result of my appropriative industry in stooping to pick it up. Suppose then that I met with it while eating an oyster? Supposing that aerolithes consisted of gold, would they have no value? Or, suppose that meteoric iron were the only form in which that metal were produced, would not the iron supplied from heaven be far more valuable than any existing metal? It is true that, wherever there is utility, the addition of labour as necessary to production constitutes value, because, the supply of labour being limited, it follows that the object, to the supply of which it is necessary, is by that very necessity limited in supply. But any other cause limiting supply is just as efficient a cause of value in an article as the necessity of labour to its production. And, in fact, if all the commodities used by man were supplied by nature without any intervention whatever of human labour, but were supplied in precisely the same quantities as they now are, there is no reason to suppose either that they would cease to be valuable, or would exchange in any other than their present proportions.

- (a) It is **scarcity** that confers value and whenever labour creates values it is because it is scarce. More emphatically, Auguste Walras, Léon's father, argued that "the value of labour comes from its scarcity" (*La valeur du travail vient de sa rareté*, 1832: 167). This was an inversion of Galiani's (1751) position who had argued that labour determines scarcity.
- (b) Since scarcity confers value, **labour is on the same par** with any other value causing agent. Thus, labour is dethroned as the determinant of value, and
- (c) The value of things could be determined solely through **exchange**. Senior's mentor, Bishop Whately had already suggested that the proper name for political economy should have been "CATALLACTICS or the "Science of Exchanges"" (1831: 6).

DE LA NATURE  
DE LA RICHESSE,  
ET  
DE L'ORIGINE  
DE LA VALEUR.

PAR  
M. AUGUSTE WALRAS,  
ÉLÈVE DE L'ANCIENNE ÉCOLE NORMALE,  
PROFESSEUR DE RHÉTORIQUE AU COLLÈGE D'ÉVREUX.

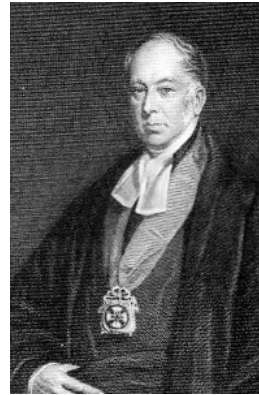
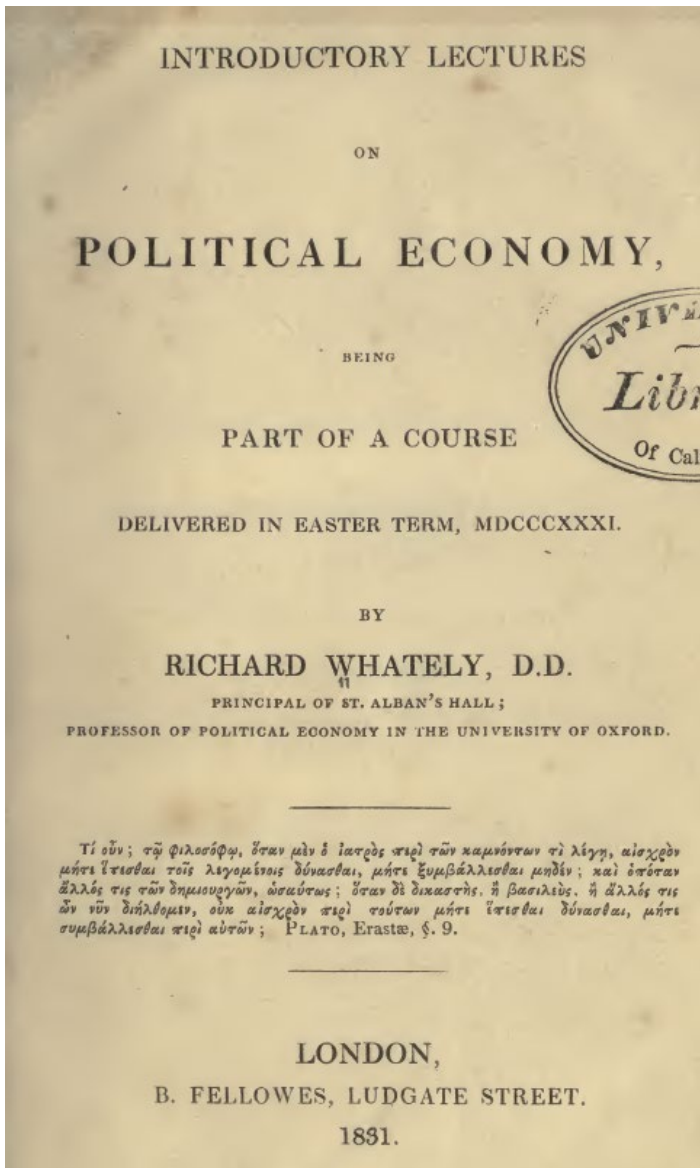


PARIS,  
FURNE, LIBRAIRE-ÉDITEUR,  
QUAI DES AUGUSTINS, N° 59.

1832.

tié. Or pourquoi cet élément a-t-il une valeur, si ce n'est parce qu'il est utile et rare tout ensemble? La valeur du travail vient de sa rareté; car aucun travail ne peut s'accomplir qu'avec le tems et à certaines conditions. Le tems n'est pas pour nous un bien illimité. Êtres éphémères que nous sommes, nous n'avons qu'une certaine durée. Notre vie est courte, et nos jours sont comptés. Le tems est, pour chacun de nous, une chose précieuse, parce qu'elle est rare. Et puisque le travail ne peut s'accomplir qu'avec le tems, et à des conditions plus ou moins onéreuses, il suit de là que le travail a une valeur. En admettant que tous les objets qui nous sont utiles et qui ont de la valeur, fussent le fruit de notre travail, la valeur de ces objets ne pourrait donc que représenter la valeur du travail qui les aurait produits;

vail qui aurait été dépensé pour les produire. Or comme la valeur du travail vient de sa rareté, il serait encore exact de dire que la rareté est la source de la valeur.



Richard Whately (1787 – 1863)

It is with a view to put you on your guard against prejudices thus created, (and you will meet probably with many instances of persons influenced by them,) that I have stated my objections to the name of Political-Economy. It is now, I conceive, too late to think of changing it. A. Smith, indeed, has designated his work a treatise on the “Wealth of Nations;” but this supplies a name only for the *subject-matter*, not for the *science* itself. The name I should have preferred as the most descriptive, and on the whole least objectionable, is that of CATALLACTICS, or the “Science of *Exchanges*.”

Trout Rader (1987) “Production as Indirect Exchange”. The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics

# **Neoclassical Economics: The Dethronement of Labour**

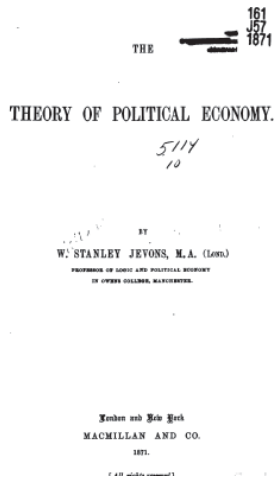
*The Marginalist Revolution*

**Νεοκλασικά Οικονομικά: Η εκθρόνιση της εργασίας**

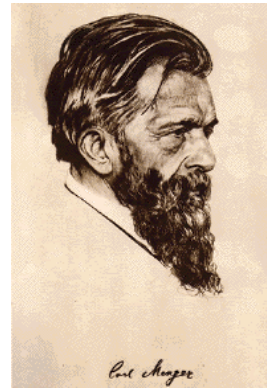
Η Οριακή Επανάσταση

# Οριακή Επανάσταση 1871 Jevons, Menger, Walras

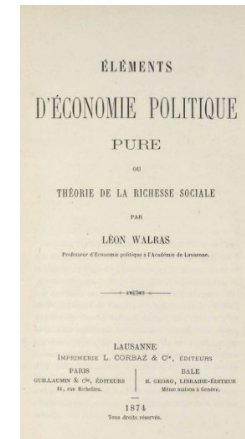
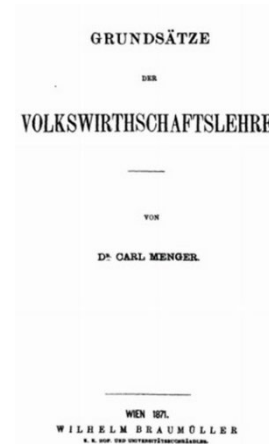
Αντικειμενική => Υποκειμενική Θεωρία Αξίας



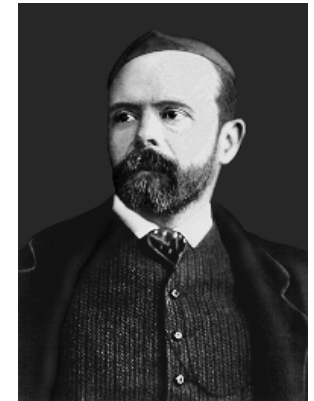
William Stanley Jevons  
(1835-1882)



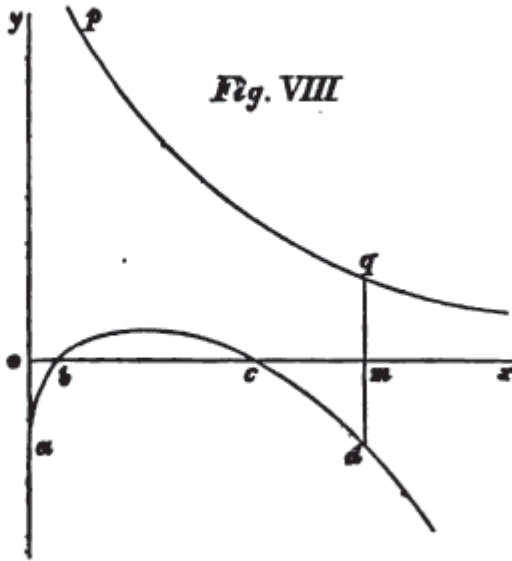
Carl Menger (1840 – 1921)



Marie-Esprit-Léon Walras (1834–1910)







THE  161  
J57  
1871

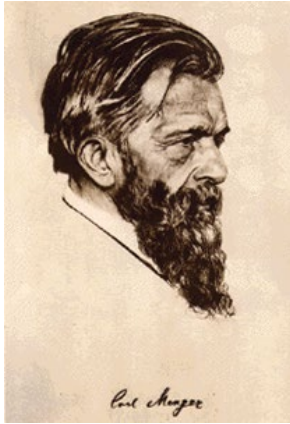
THEORY OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

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BY  
W. STANLEY JEVONS, M.A. (Lond.)  
PROFESSOR OF LOGIC AND POLITICAL ECONOMY  
IN QUEEN'S COLLEGE, BATHINGTON.

Yerkes and John Heath  
MACMILLAN AND CO.  
1871.





§. 2.

Ueber den Causal-Zusammenhang der Güter.

Es scheint mir nun vor Allem von der höchsten Wichtigkeit zu sein, dass man in unserer Wissenschaft sich klar werde über den ursächlichen Zusammenhang der Güter; denn wie in allen anderen Wissenschaften, so wird auch in der unseren der wahre und dauernde Fortschritt erst dann beginnen, wenn wir die Objecte unserer wissenschaftlichen Beobachtung nicht mehr lediglich als vereinzelte Erscheinungen betrachten, sondern uns bemühen werden, den Causal-Zusammenhang derselben zu erforschen und die Gesetze, unter welchen sie stehen. Das Brot, das wir geniessen, das Mehl, aus welchen wir das Brot bereiten, das Getreide, das wir zu Mehl vermahlen, der Acker, auf welchem das Getreide wächst, alle diese Dinge sind Güter. Es ist dieses Erkenntniss jedoch für unsere Wissenschaft nicht ausreichend, vielmehr ist es nothwendig, dass wir, wie dies in allen übrigen Erfahrungswissenschaften geschehen ist, uns bemühen, die Güter nach inneren Gründen zu ordnen, die Stelle kennen zu lernen, welche jedes derselben in dem Causalnexus der Güter einnimmt und schliesslich die Gesetze zu erforschen, unter welchen sie in dieser Rücksicht stehen.



Αγαθά πρώτης – δεύτερης – τρίτης τάξης

### SECTION III

#### THÉORIE DE L'ÉCHANGE DE PLUSIEURS MARCHANDISES ENTRE ELLES

##### 11<sup>me</sup> LEÇON

*Problème de l'échange de plusieurs marchandises entre elles.  
Théorème de l'équilibre général.*

##### 20<sup>me</sup> LEÇON

*Equations de la production.*

SOMMAIRE : — 200. Utilité des produits et des services ; quantités possédées. — 201. Equation d'équivalence des quantités offertes de services et des quantités demandées de produits ; équations de satisfaction maxima ; équations d'offre partielle de services et de demande partielle de produits. — 202. Equations [1] d'offre totale des services. Equations [2] de demande totale des produits. — 203. Coefficients de fabrication. Equations [3] d'égalité de l'offre et de la demande des services. Equations [4] d'égalité des prix de vente et des prix de revient des produits. — 204. Fixité des coefficients de fabrication. — 205. Matières premières. — 206.  $2m + 2n - 1$  équations pour autant d'inconnues. — 207. Résolution pratique.

On aurait de la même manière les équations suivantes de demande ou d'offre de (B), (C), (D)... par les échangeurs (2), (3)...

$$y_2 = f_{b,2}(p_b, p_c, p_d \dots)$$

$$z_2 = f_{c,2}(p_b, p_c, p_d \dots)$$

$$w_2 = f_{d,2}(p_b, p_c, p_d \dots)$$

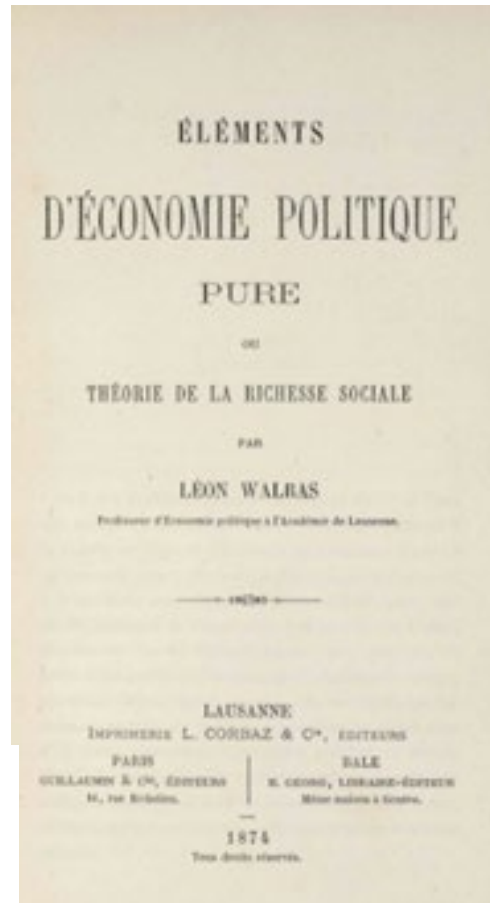
.....

$$y_3 = f_{b,3}(p_b, p_c, p_d \dots)$$

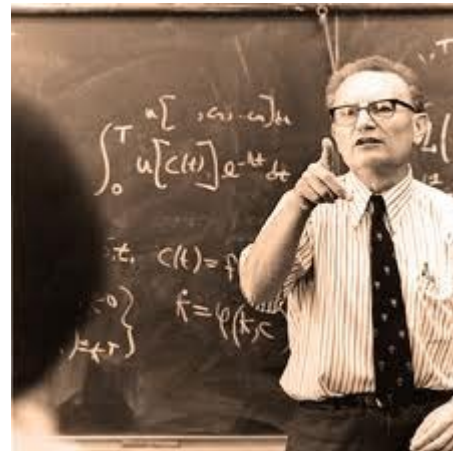
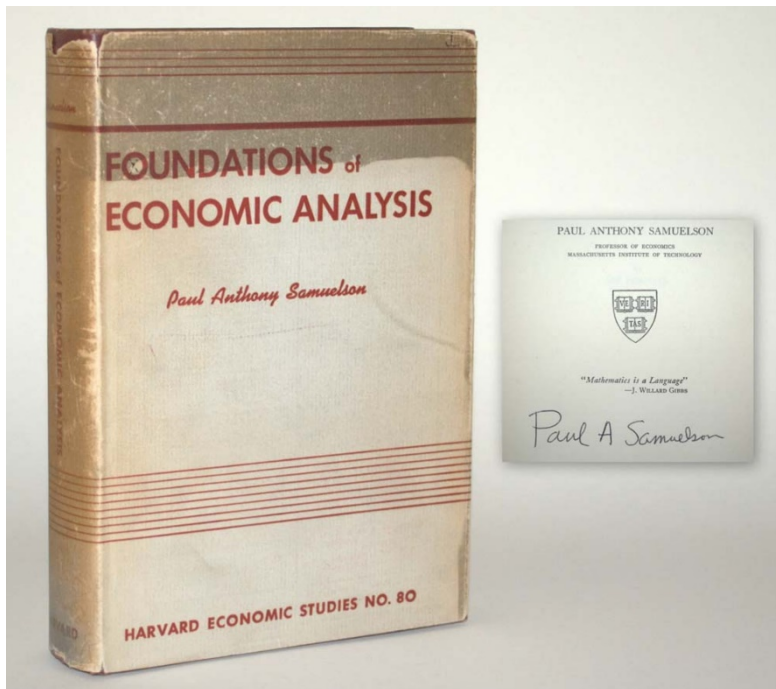
$$z_3 = f_{c,3}(p_b, p_c, p_d \dots)$$

$$w_3 = f_{d,3}(p_b, p_c, p_d \dots)$$

.....



Appelons *propriétaire foncier* le détenteur des terres quel qu'il soit, *travailleur* le détenteur des facultés personnelles, *capitaliste* le détenteur des capitaux proprement dits. Et maintenant, appelons *entrepreneur* un quatrième personnage, entièrement distinct des précédents, et dont le rôle propre est de prendre à bail la terre du propriétaire foncier, les facultés personnelles du travailleur et le capital du capitaliste, et d'associer, dans l'agriculture, l'industrie ou le commerce, les trois services producteurs. Il est bien certain que, dans la réalité des choses, un même individu peut cumuler deux ou trois des rôles ci-dessus définis, ou même les cumuler tous les quatre; mais il l'est aussi qu'il remplit alors deux, trois ou quatre rôles distincts. Au point de vue scientifique, nous devons donc distinguer ces rôles et éviter l'erreur soit des économistes anglais qui confondent l'entrepreneur et le capitaliste, soit celle d'un certain nombre d'économistes français qui font de l'entrepreneur un travailleur en le considérant comme spécialement chargé du travail de la direction de l'entreprise.



Paul Anthony Samuelson (1915-2009)

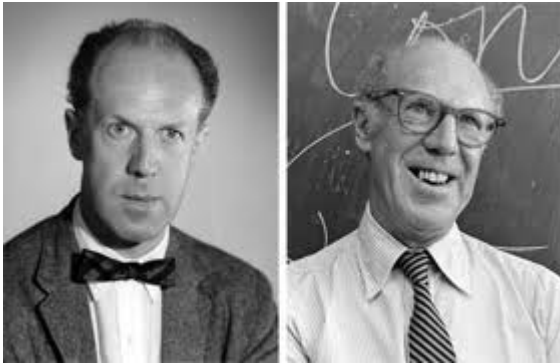
“set of inputs  $(v_1, \dots, v_n)$ ”

# THEORY OF VALUE

## An Axiomatic Analysis Of Economic Equilibrium

GERARD DEBREU

1959



Gérard Debreu (1921-2004)

### 2.5. COMMODITIES

Summing up, a commodity is a good or a service completely specified physically, temporally, and spatially. It is assumed that there is only a finite number  $l$  of distinguishable commodities; these are indicated by an index  $h$  running from 1 to  $l$ . It is also assumed that the quantity of any one of them can be any real number. From now on the full generality of the concept of commodity, as illustrated by all the examples above, should always be kept in mind. By focusing attention on changes of dates one obtains, as a particular case of the general theory of commodities which will be developed below, a theory of saving, investment, capital, and interest.

### 2.3. GOODS

The concept of a commodity can now be introduced by means of examples. The simplest is that of an economic *good* like wheat: it will be discussed in detail. There are indeed many kinds of wheat, and to have a well-defined good one must describe completely the wheat about which one is talking, and specify in particular its grade, e.g., No. 2 Red Winter Wheat. Furthermore wheat available now and wheat available in a week play entirely different economic roles for a flour mill which is to use them. Thus a good at a certain date and the same good at a later date are *different* economic objects, and the specification of the date at which it will be available is essential. Finally wheat available in Minneapolis and wheat available in Chicago play also entirely different economic roles for a flour mill which is to use them. Again, a good at a certain location and the same

### 2.4. SERVICES

The first example of an economic *service* will be human labor. Its description is that of the task performed; thus one has the labor of a coal

30

miner, of a truck driver, of a member of some category of teachers, of engineers, of draftsmen, of executives, etc. (all including any further specification necessary for a complete description). When one adds date and location one has again a well-defined *commodity*. The *quantity* of a specified type of labor is expressed by the time worked (a real number).

Another type of service is illustrated by the use of a truck. It will be assumed that a truck (and similar economic objects) can be in only a finite number of distinguishable conditions. The life of a truck is described by a succession of time-intervals during each of which it stays in the same condition. The lengths of those intervals depend on the intensity of use. Thus the description of the service "use of a truck" is that of the truck (therefore of its condition during the time the service is rendered) and of the conditions under which it is used (mileage per day for example). One adds, as usual, date and location. The quantity of such a service is expressed by the time during which it is rendered.

A more complex type of service is illustrated by the use of a hotel room. The description of this service includes a listing of everything which will be performed for the occupant. It must, of course, be dated and located. Its quantity is an integral number of days; but it will again be assumed instead that this quantity can be any real number. Of the same type is, for example, the use of an apartment.

# Microeconomic Theory

Andreu Mas-Colell Michael D. Whinston

and

Jerry R. Green

New York Oxford OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS 1995

**Definition 10.B.3:** The allocation  $(x_1^*, \dots, x_I^*, y_1^*, \dots, y_J^*)$  and price vector  $p^* \in \mathbb{R}^L$  constitute a *competitive* (or *Walrasian*) *equilibrium* if the following conditions are satisfied:

(i) *Profit maximization:* For each firm  $j$ ,  $y_j^*$  solves

$$\text{Max}_{y_j \in Y_j} p^* \cdot y_j. \quad (10.B.1)$$

(ii) *Utility maximization:* For each consumer  $i$ ,  $x_i^*$  solves

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Max}_{x_i \in X_i} u_i(x_i) \\ \text{s.t. } p^* \cdot x_i \leq p^* \cdot \omega_i + \sum_{j=1}^J \theta_{ij} (p^* \cdot y_j^*). \end{aligned} \quad (10.B.2)$$

(iii) *Market clearing:* For each good  $\ell = 1, \dots, L$ ,

$$\sum_{i=1}^I x_{i\ell}^* = \omega_{\ell} + \sum_{j=1}^J y_{j\ell}^*. \quad (10.B.3)$$

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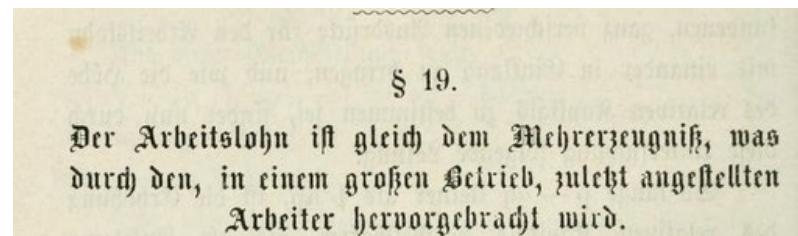
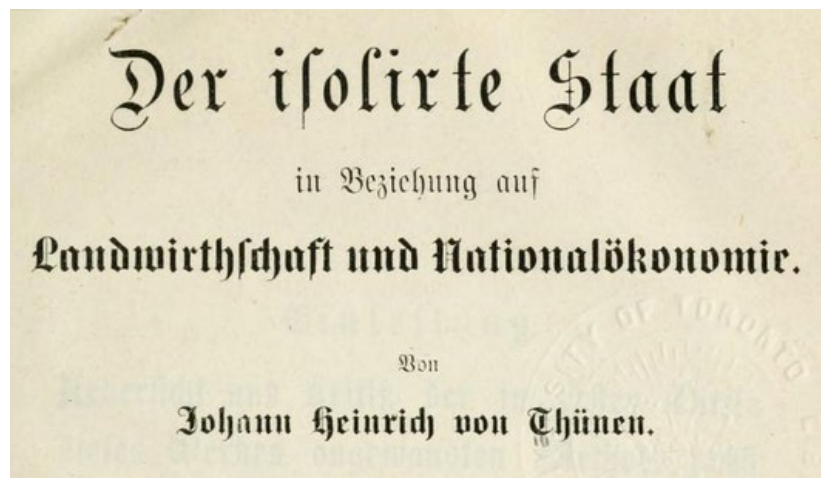
Labour???

*Marginal Productivity Theory*

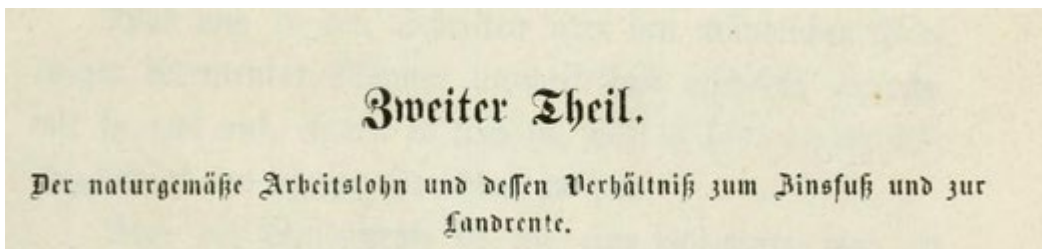
*Θεωρία Οριακής Παραγωγικότητας*



# Johann Heinrich von Thünen (1783-1850)



Οριακό προϊόν εργασίας  
1850



(G. v.)

E. C.

**DISTRIBUTION, ETHICS OF.** The primary fact of economics is the production of wealth. The division of the product among those who create it is secondary in logical order and, in a sense, in importance. Yet the most important subject of thought connected with social economy is distribution. If the term be used broadly enough it designates all of the economic process that presents moral problems for solution. On the settlement of the ethical questions concerning the division of the social income depends not only the peace of society but the fruitfulness of industry. It is a striking fact that Ricardo, whose studies carried economic science forward in the direction of the truth concerning distribution, but stopped short of that goal, and so strengthened the hands of social agitators, realised the paramount importance of the subject on which his thought was chiefly concentrated: "To determine the laws which regulate this distribution," he says in his preface, "is the principal problem in political economy."

Scientific errors concerning the law of distribution react more harmfully on production than do errors of doctrine concerning production itself. Among self-asserting people, industry loses fruitfulness whenever the belief is widely diffused that products are shared according to an unjust principle. If it were a general conviction that social evolution is in the direction of iniquity,—that distribution already robs the workers and will rob them more hereafter,—no force could prevent a violent overturning of the social order.

Industry has its fruits and its sacrifices; it creates useful things at the cost of working and waiting. Where production is carried on in a collective way, both the products and the burdens of the process have to be shared by different classes of men according to some principle. The apportionment that has to be

DICTIONARY  
OF  
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R. H. INGLIS PALGRAVE, F.R.S.

On tract quodamque pinto alio vultu seruo.

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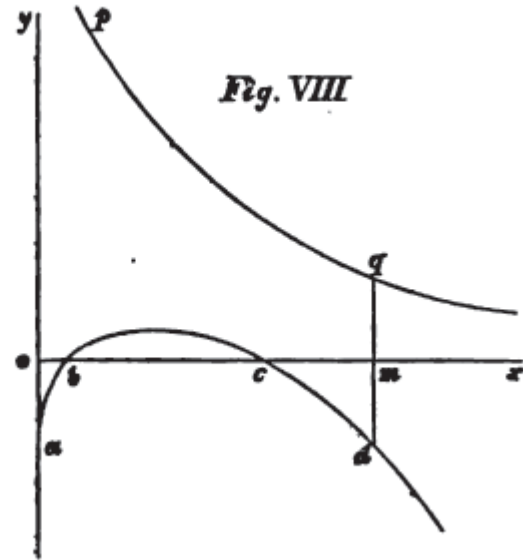
London  
MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED  
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY  
1901



Marginal productivity theory proposed yet another condition on labour: that the *marginal product of labour is diminishing*. As Piero Sraffa wrote (1925/1997: 325) ‘the idea of interdependence between the quantity and the cost of production of a commodity produced under competitive conditions is not suggested by experience at all and could not arise spontaneously. ... [It was] the result of the change in the basis of the theory of value, from cost of production to utility’.

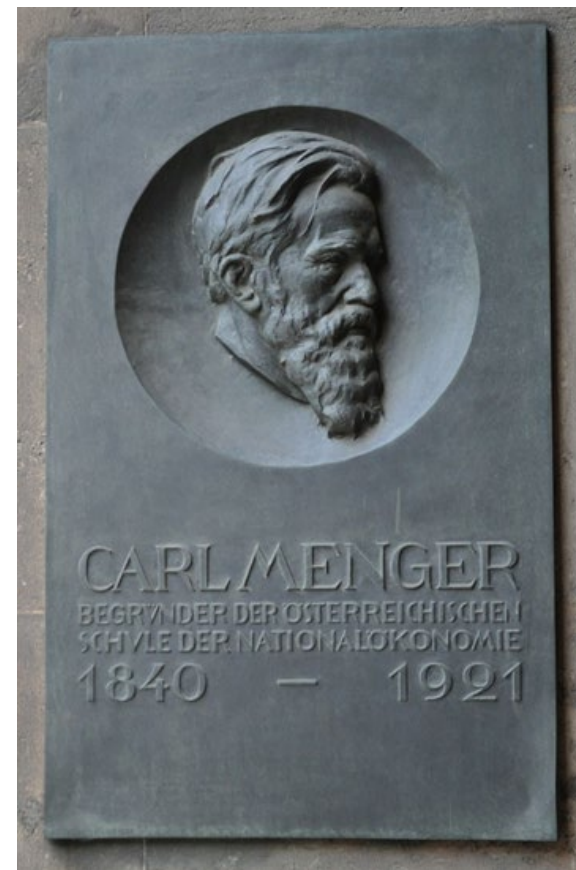
*Labour as Disutility*

*Η Εργασία ως αρνητική χρησιμότητα*



## Der Umstand, dass auch der Preis der Arbeitsleistungen \*)

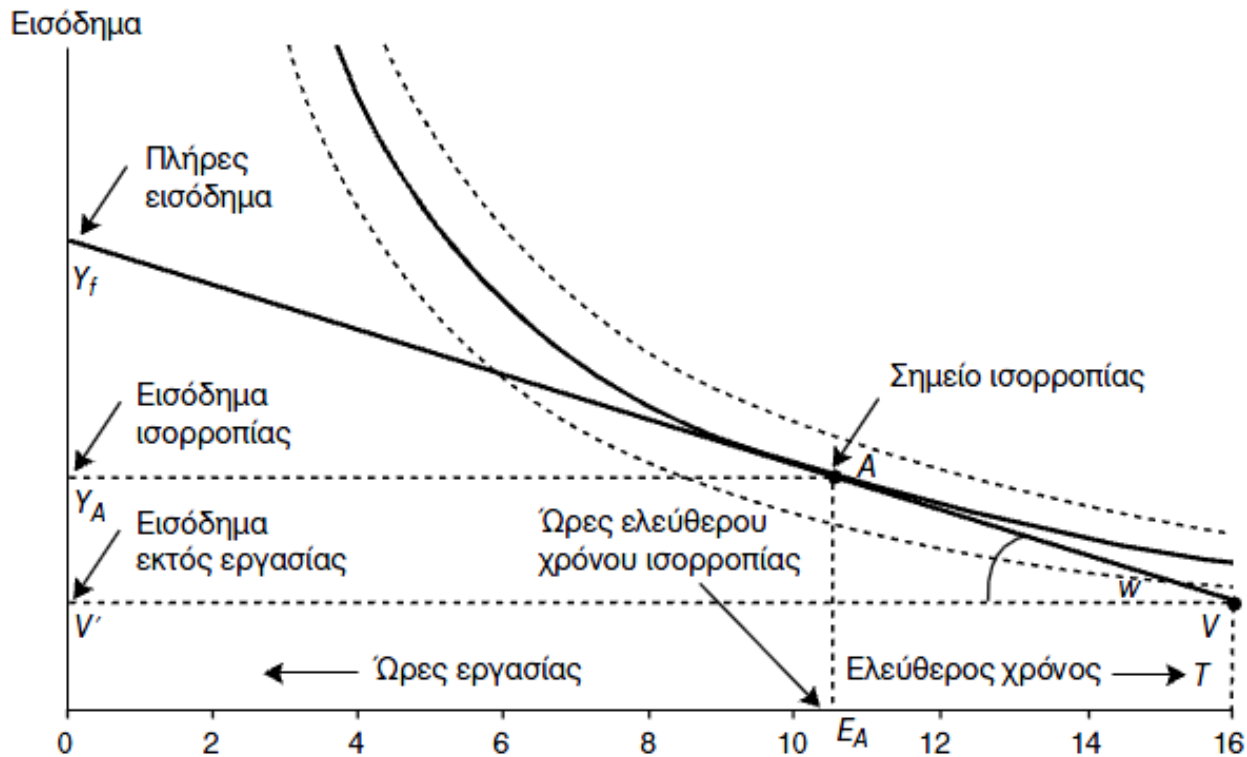
\*) Eine besondere Eigenthümlichkeit der Arbeitsleistungen, welche auch auf die bezüglichen Wertherscheinungen einwirkt, besteht darin, dass ein Theil derselben für den Arbeiter mit unangenehmen Empfindungen verbunden ist und demnach nicht leicht anders als gegen ökonomische Vortheile, welche demselben aus seiner Thätigkeit entstehen, wirksam wird. Arbeiten dieser Art können deshalb für die Gesellschaft nicht leicht den nicht ökonomischen Charakter erlangen. Indess wird der Werth, welchen die Unthätigkeit im Allgemeinen für den Arbeiter hat, der Regel nach denn doch stark überschätzt. Die Beschäftigungen der weitaus grössern Mehrzahl von Menschen gewähren ihnen Freude, sind für dieselben eine wahre Bedürfnisbefriedigung und würden, wenn auch in geringerem Masse, oder in modificirter Weise, auch dann ausgeübt werden, wenn die Menschen durch die Noth zur Entfaltung ihrer Kräfte nicht gezwungen würden. Die Bethätigung seiner Kraft ist für jeden wohlorganisirten Menschen Bedürfniss, und wenn nichtsdestoweniger nur wenige Personen ohne Aussicht auf wirtschaftliche Vortheile arbeiten, so liegt der Grund hievon nicht so sehr in der Unannehmlichkeit der Arbeit im Grossen und Ganzen, als vielmehr darin, dass Gelegenheit genug zur lohnenden Arbeit vorhanden ist. — Zu den Arbeitsleistungen ist entschieden auch die Unternehmerthätigkeit zu rechnen. Auch sie ist der Regel nach ein ökonomisches Gut und hat als solches Werth für die wirtschaftenden Menschen. Die Eigenthümlichkeiten dieser Kategorie von Arbeitsleistungen sind doppelter Art: a) Sind dieselben ihrer Natur nach keine Waaren (nicht zum Austausch bestimmt) und kommt demnach keine



# Labour as absence of leisure

## Η εργασία ως απουσία σχόλης

ΔΙΑΓΡΑΜΜΑ 3.2 Ο καθορισμός του σημείου ισορροπίας στην ατομική προσφορά εργασίας



## *Neoclassical Puzzle-Solving*

Once the theory of marginal productivity of labour became the default explanation, it was necessary to explain those cases where the principle failed to apply owing to market imperfections (monopolies and monopsonies, non-wage costs, quasi-fixed factors of production, search models, specific training, long term contracts, etc.). The image of the worker as a ‘holder of personal faculties’, or rather ‘a vector of productive characteristics’, begot a research programme in which the constituent elements of worker efficiency would be studied separately and their various aspects analysed. Productivity traits could now be examined either as acquired or acquirable — in which case the economics of their acquisition had to be determined, as in the case of human capital — or as endowed by nature or nurture, in which case their interaction with the market could be studied and explanations of earnings distribution offered. On the subjective side, the disagreeableness of labour could be used for explaining the market equilibria between job characteristics and job preferences thus providing an explanation of wage differentials (and job design) that, given enough ingenuity, could have accounted for the overwhelming evidence for the negative relationship between adverse job characteristics and pay. With the Pareto optimal implications of free market theory, regulatory frameworks, whether based on government, the legal system or institutions of collective bargaining, could also be analysed using the tools of marginal analysis, only to demonstrate the deleterious welfare implications of such well-meaning but ill-conceived interventions. The role of market imperfections was seriously underplayed: historical and institutional arrangements were seen as ‘the grit and treacle gumming up market mechanisms’ (Brown and Nolan 1987: 346).



## **The openness and indeterminacy of the employment relationship**

*Phase I: “Non ragioniam di lor, ma guarda e passa”. The triumph of the Chicago School*

“Let us not speak of them, but look and pass”, Dante, *Inferno*, Canto III, verse 51.

*Phase II: Agency problems and personnel economics: the economics of loafing.*

In the United States, the so-called 'neoclassical revisionists' like John Dunlop, Clark Kerr, Richard Lester, and Lloyd Reynolds, who were active during the 1940s and 1950s, accepted in principle the theoretical basis of neoclassical theory, but tried to examine the effects of social structures and behaviour on economic structures and behaviour (Kaufman 1988; Kerr 1988, 1994). They accepted the operation of competitive labour markets only in very special and limiting cases. The debate, however, was not mainly about theoretical principles, but about the 'strength and effectiveness of competition in actual labor markets' (Reynolds 1956: 2). By the 1960s, however, neoclassical revisionism was laid to rest. The 'neoclassical restorationists' (Kerr 1994) of the Chicago School, Milton Friedman, George Stigler, H. Gregg Lewis and Gary Becker reigned supreme. The requirements of mathematical formalism imposed by the School excluded those labour economists who had a more interdisciplinary training and approach to labour matters, and the discipline of industrial relations absorbed the research of those who did not share the marginalist paradigm.

The victory of marginalism had two corollaries; first, 'anomalies' were explained away from within the paradigm, and second, the basic tenets of methodological individualism and rational *homo economicus* were applied to fields hitherto untouched by economic analysis, through what Becker (1976) had called 'the economic approach to human behaviour'.

*Phase II: Agency Problems and Personnel Economics:  
The Economics of Loafing*

*Β Φάση: Προβλήματα Εντολής και Οικονομικά του  
Προσωπικού: Τα Οικονομικά της Λούφας*

*Phase II: Agency problems and personnel economics: the economics of loafing.*



V Kostyanitsyn (1881-1940) *Parasites and slackers don't work themselves and hinder other peoples work, Moscow 1920*



Poster, *We smite the lazy workers 1930s*



Time and motion study



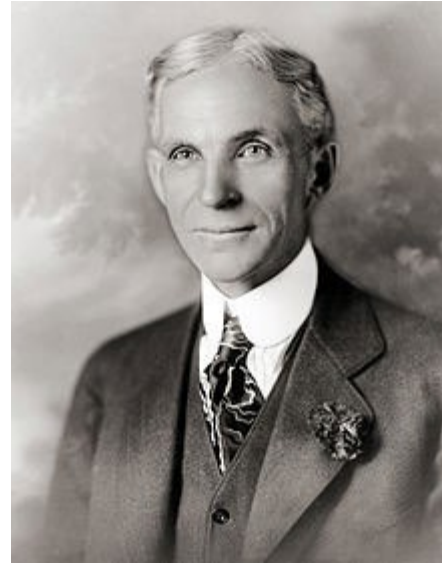
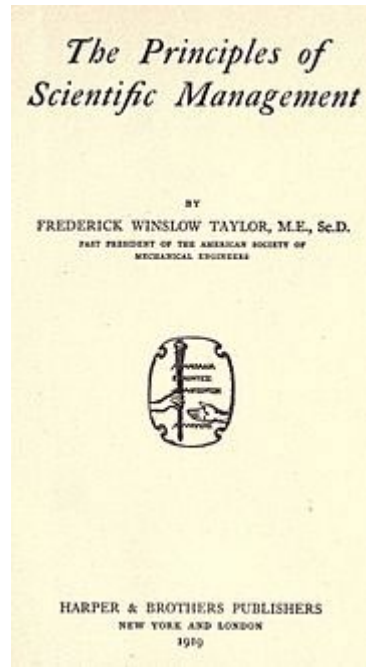
Gilbreth Light Photography



Bedaux system



Frederick Winslow Taylor (1856 –1915)



Henry Ford (1863 –1947)

