

THE INDIVIDUATED SOCIETY: A FRISIAN MODEL

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Preface

It has long seemed to me that the dynamic of human activity is directly related to ecological variables within the society. It is the intimate relationship of the individual to the requirements of his society that not only channels human energies, but provides a framework for value orientations as well.

It is as if society were a vast complex of machinery and man the kinetic force driving it. As machinery falls into social disuse, malfunction and inoperation, man must turn to new or alternative avenues or see his kinetic energy fall into disuse. When the crucial social machinery becomes patterned and routinized a surplus of human energy is made available. The stable society has a way of rechanneling these energies into other roles. Where these additional roles are not present--where energy becomes constricted--social revolutions transpire.

This study has been directed toward one socio-economic segment of Western man in which the role of the individual has been measured against the ecological requirements of the society. This pilot study is an attempt to probe variables which seem crucial to the rise of the individuated society.

Introduction

Purpose. To investigate the individuated basis for Frisian society.

If the total society can be considered in its broadest sense, as a social configuration which transcends the normal limits of thinking built into political conceptions of the totalitarian state, my meaning will be made clearer. This social configuration is one which places the requirements of the community on all levels above that of the community's individual constituents. No single interest of the individual can be conceived as over-riding the primary requirements of the total community. Indeed this community is not a strange one. Physical contiguity of person to person--geographical contiguity of institutions--demand social consideration of the total society of which the individual is only a component part. The individual qua individual has no function; his utility becomes functional only as it is defined or circumscribed by the community.

It is clear that the totalized society grows out of the relatively developed community. The prerequisites are those which mark societies which have moved from pastoral to agrarian states; and, in turn, have moved from the



Map of Friesland during the Ninth Century, from Richthofen.

country to the city. Urbanization at the apex of this trend also marks the state where the demands of group over individual become most articulate.

Looking at social developments in this light, it is not surprising that the role of the individual has been subjected to regulation by the community. What is surprising is that the individual qua individual ever emerged in modern times to play a role, however transitory, of significance. Increasingly, the trend would seem to point to values which grow from the social requirements of the modern state--that is the totalized state. Any recognition of the primary role of the individual qua individual in this context would represent a deviance.

The concern of this paper will be toward understanding the reasons implicit in the social and economic history of Frisian society which created values bound up in the cognition of the primary need, not for the welfare of the community, but for the welfare of the individual. This understanding will clarify some of the reasons for the emergence of the democratic society, predicated on the autonomous individual, which had its flower in certain parts of Western Europe and later in frontier America. It is hoped that it will also further highlight some of the difficulties which can be expected not only in transferring a collectivity of norms and values which are called "democracy" to other societies, but, gravely of more significance to the West, of preserving its significant ingredients in our own time.

Methodology:

The search for a model. The availability of material has too often guided us to the result or end product of a particular culture. This has led to a concentration on effect without too much consideration of cause. It is unfortunate, but, at the same time, illuminating and pertinent to observe that records--whether written, or hewn in monuments of magnificent proportion--tell us about a cultural period which has generally already reached its apogee.

Certainly, this categorization (this overstatement, if you will) deserves some clarification. I hope the following will make my meaning clearer. I suggest no eternal truth, but a working hypothesis. The time of art and letters--the formalization of ideas, of retrospect and perspective--are the postscript to growth and social dynamism. The arts gain their constituency in the age of leisure. As the time of dynamism in society passes, the need for brash exciting innovation in politics and economics lessens. The new requirements call for temperance and the solid citizen. The innovator's creative energies overflow the channels of expression in the economics and politics of a society and rechannel into avenues not closed by new circumstances. So it is that the age of growth--of boundless social energy--is not one of philosophers and poets who take their place in a time of stability.

In the same vein, growth and mobility cannot be understood in terms of the ageless memorials. The monuments of the past which are studied and revered, whether the pyramids of Egypt, the hanging gardens of Babylon or the Acropolis of Greece, all mark a time of organization, a time in which the state

was able to effectively exercise its authority against its membership. The time of organization and community are preludes to rising vested interest and a consequent decline of risk-orientation.

Nomad model.¹ The frontiers of our conceptions must be pushed back through the descriptive evidence to its social prerequisites. Ibn Khaldûn provides us with an appropriate model, that is the Bedouin one. This theory would associate dynamics with physical mobility. Khaldûn points out that rot and degeneration are the lot of the city dweller who becomes fat, lazy and comfortable. What is implicit in this model is the cognition that risk-orientation is destroyed with the rise of vested interest. The nomad has very few material attachments: his tent, horse, or camel, a few personal articles, a small herd of goats, sheep, or cattle. The city dweller by comparison is overwhelmed by creature comforts. These creature comforts play a twofold role. In the first instance, they insulate from change--increasingly, the present, bound in vested interests, must be preserved and remain unchanged. In the second, the city dweller's life of ease and indolence enervates him. He loses his physical drive. The end of physical movement brings about an end to the spirit of risk; it also precludes any physical capacity for risk.

There is another perhaps even more important implication. City life throws the individual into the community. He loses his autonomy as, increasingly, work differentiation makes him less self-sufficient. City life by its very nature leads to a specialization of roles. In time these roles interlock and become crucial to the continuance of the community. Likewise the individual flounders when cut off from the community; he is a baker, a silversmith, a potter and no more. He is dependent upon the community for his well being. The community has circumscribed the individual.

By contrast the desert nomad is relatively free. His obligations to the community are much narrower. It is true he may be living within an extended family group or even a clan, but his function has not become specialized. He does not depend upon his fellows for survival. Quite the contrary, his survival depends basically upon his own innovative skills. The relationship of the individual to the clan can be remarkably loose in the nomad society. In the American southwest the Apache sharply illustrates this point. Mobility and diffusion are insured by ecological circumstances.

The complete dependence of these Apaches on wild plant and animal life made it impossible for all members of a tribe to live together. The precarious food supply would soon have been depleted in any restricted area under such conditions. Instead we note a tendency for a tribe to spread out over a large area and to be segmented into social units of graded sizes, all held together by loose bond, and merging, one into the other, until the tribe is reached. (Opler, 1936:7).

It is important to understand the difference between relationships within the nomadic clan and for the city dweller. The obvious distinction, of course, is that the extended family or clan community is diminutive by

comparison. Size is not the most important distinction. Specialization of function in the city deprives the individual of his autonomy. Conversely, non-specialization is necessary within the nomadic clan. The individual is a warrior, hunter, herder, gatherer, and so on. . . These roles which have not been differentiated, allow him autonomy which cannot readily be undermined. His own assessment of his needs determines his relationship to the extended family.

The local group . . . depends upon residence in a given place. The members of some of its constituent families are united by marriage, it is true, but this is hardly a serious bond, for there is no social or practical necessity for these families to camp together. . .

. . . a family is under no obligations to remain with a local group if it cares to go elsewhere. . . (Opler, 1936:14).

Model modification. The Bedouin model must be modified if it is to be made applicable to a study of the individuated Western society. The desert Bedouin or nomad is not a figure, with tent and camel, who fits readily into any pattern of Western European life; nor, for that matter, does the Apache model, armed with rifle on horseback, fulfill these requirements. This is because our understanding of these models has been descriptive. We recognize the Bedouin because of his garb, tents, camels, and so on. . .

What are important, since they mold the spirit of culture, are dynamics. Let us shift the emphasis from descriptive definitions to dynamic ones. The Bedouin model then achieves a configuration which can be applied. If characteristics are extrapolated, then it no longer becomes necessary to search for the desert Arab. It becomes a question of characteristics.

There are two variables upon which a conceptual framework, drawing upon the Bedouin model, can be built. These are: (1) mobility, and (2) autonomy.

Mobility. To the nomad this is freedom in space. His base may be fixed for indeterminate periods, but economic requirements make forays for food and plunder a necessity of life. Out of this economic pattern emerges what I call the risk-oriented personality. The vested interest of the nomad is found in changing space. His assets, for example the herd, can only be made liquid by movement to exchange points. This movement through space then holds a positive value for the nomad. The venture is auspicious, because, while loss is a possibility, consummate skill, leading to exchange, may result in advantage. The city dweller, with his greater accumulation of fixed goods, has much more to lose in any encounter; and, consequently, risks himself and his goods less readily; he becomes a conservative. I see in mobility, then, a circumstance which maximizes risk as a sound economic philosophy.

Autonomy. The nomad is also involved in a way of life which is non-specialized or undifferentiated. Each man is a warrior. His survival depends, not upon the community of the extended family or the clan, but upon his own skills. It is still an age where courage, physical strength, intelligence, and daily innovation are prerequisites to survival. Unlike the specialized city dweller who is dependent upon the community, the nomad remains free, confined

only by his own inabilities. This individuated autonomy provides for high political and social flux because it militates against authority and hierarchy. It also creates a context of insecurity which is counterbalanced by maximized opportunities for innovation. The only restraint is failure; utility is the standard by which success is measured.

Model application. It is clear that the modified model does not have a broad application in Western Europe. Mobility is not characteristic of the Feudal System, itself a manifestation of the fixed economy and political hierarchy. France, Norman England, and Eastern Germany are immediately excluded. To look at it another way, it is important to seek out those societies in which the feudal system did not become operative. In Western Europe two districts emerge: (1) Friesland, and (2) Scotland.² Neither area developed a feudal society. Whether because they were border regions or not, they did form the entrepreneurial base for commercial and industrial developments in both the Netherlands and England.³ The concern of this study will be directed specifically at Friesland.

Friesland. Geographically, Friesland was a region extending along the North Sea coast from the mouth of the Rhine past the Ems and Wesser rivers to the region of the Elbe. Alphons Dopsch insists that by the seventh century East Frisia had reached as far east as the Oder River (Dopsch, 1937:128).

Traditional Frisian Society Before 450 A.D.

What I shall try to do is to examine the pre-conditions of land along the North Sea coast of Europe, using this as a key for the understanding of consequent economics. The particular configuration of traditional Frisian economics will be related in subsequent chapters to the rise of commerce and the formalization of the value framework.

The physical relationship of sea to land--the relative position of the North Sea to the coast presents a study in itself. It can be summarized explicitly. The central problem facing indigenous peoples of the North Sea coast in historical time has been the continued encroachment of land by the sea. In the face of this changing physical scene there were two alternatives: (1) migration or (2) adaptation.

Migration. From the time of Christ onwards tribes along the coast were put into motion. We learn of them through the seemingly endless series of raids, followed by colonization patterns, made first on the North Sea coast and later on England, by the Jutes, Angles, Saxons and Frisians.⁴

The chief reason for the Anglo-Saxon migrations was land-hunger. Two natural processes had been operating to sharpen this hunger: an increase in population and a decrease in cultivable land. Just as the east and south coast of Britain had in many places been inundated as the land surface sank, so on the opposite shores of the North Sea the habitable areas had also decreased. The marshes of the west coast of Angel (Schleswig)

began to extend further inland; between the Elbe and the Weser the Saxons were forced steadily to contract the area of habitation; the Frisian terpen were successively raised in height, and became ever more isolated from the mainland to the south. . . (Copley, 1954:50).

Adaptation. It seems likely that the Frisians practiced some form of agriculture prior to their habitation of the terpen⁷ around 300 B.C. It is equally apparent that the terpen established a new set of ground rules. The considerable effort required to erect terp sites, protecting oneself and family from inundation during high tides, had a powerful economic base.

Since the end of the Boreal phase, the present-day clay zone in the north of the provinces of Frisia and Groningen had been covered by the ocean, and a coastal lagoon was formed where the sea slowly deposited a layer of gradually emerging loamy sedimentation. At the end of the fourth century B.C., the sea covered this land only at exceptionally high tides, and extensive lush meadows of salt-loving grasses appeared, which must have been very tempting to a population of herdsmen. Archaeological remains show that the first colonization of the area dates from about 300 B.C. The pottery indicates that these settlers did not come from the sandy zone bordering the new land, but had their origin in northern Germany. They originally settled at meadow-level, but very soon they discovered their precarious and dangerous position. To be safe from flooding and to protect their cattle they built artificial mounds--known as terpen in Frisia and wierden in Groningen--out of turf sods. Some of these mounds were relatively small and were used only for one single farm and its out-buildings; others were much larger and covered a surface of sometimes up to forty acres: they were occupied by a complete village. Lastly, small uninhabited mounds were used as refuges for cattle in case of flooding. Numerous mounds have been repeatedly heightened when they proved to be too low for exceptionally severe floods: several are as much as 23 ft. above sea-level. The successive habitation levels can easily be distinguished by a thick layer of humus mixed with dung. The archaeological remains, even of organic material (wood, leather, textiles) have been preserved in excellent condition and show an almost complete picture of the material equipment of the terpen inhabitants. Such terpen have been built all along the coast of the North Sea, from Frisia to Denmark. (Clark, 1952:159).

These circumstances point to two facts: (1) the absence of extensive agriculture, (2) the rise of a herding economy.

The absence of extensive agriculture. The saline content of soils surrounding the terpen did not permit the practice of agriculture off the terps. The limited agriculture practiced on the terps was devoted to three principal crops: flax, barley, and beans (Clark, 1952:159). That barley and beans could have provided full subsistence is doubtful; more significantly, the planting of flax, a non-cereal crop, indicates that food crops were not a pressing concern.

The rise of a herding economy. The location of terp sites in the midst of rich meadowland make it clear that the central enterprise of the terp

dweller was his function as a herdsman. The questions which grow out of this function are the extent to which herding was practiced. Did it provide subsistence or did it provide a surplus? To answer this question we will examine the evolution of a specific terp site.

The terp site which will receive our specific consideration is the one at Ezinge in Groningen. Boeles divides the study of the terp into six phases. The proto-Frisian period from 300-50 B.C. comprising phases VI, V, and IVb; the Frisian period from 50 B.C.-450 A.D. comprising phases IVa, III and II; and the final phase from 400-450 A.D.-1250 A.D. comprising final phase I, and showing the greatest lateral extension of the terp through the Anglo-Saxon period--gradually merging into the Anglo-Frisian phase.

The first phase (VI). In the first phase, a settlement of at least one farmstead was made in an open field upon alluvial clay deposited by a nearby stream. The farmstead measured 6 meters across and 13 meters in length. The living space was separated from the cowhouse by a wattle partition. The cow house was marked by a double row of stalls with a central pathway. (Boeles, 1951:88).

The second phase (V). Succeeding the first phase, a terp was thrown up upon the remains of the first settlement. The mound was 35 meters across. At least four farmsteads were built. All were of the same type and similar to those in the first phase, being from 8 to 15 meters in length (Ibid.:88-89).

The third phase (IV). In this phase the terp was again raised, the diameter reaching 100 meters. The farmhouses, superimposed upon old sites, were arranged radially around a square. The stables were still arranged along a central passage. The cows stood with their heads toward the wall in the old Frisian manner still customary today in Friesland (Van der Molen, 1943). One of the farmsteads, 7.20 meters wide and 24 meters long offered stabling for 52 cows (Boeles, 1951:89-91).

The fourth and fifth phases (III-II). This period placed the site within the Frisian period; pre-established patterns were continued (Ibid.:91-92).

The sixth phase (I). Anglo-Saxon invasions about 450 A.D. reduced the Ezinge terp to ashes. Frisian patterns were destroyed and new ones emerged. Upon the ashes of the old Frisian site small rectangular huts were built measuring 3 meters x 4 meters with no stables, following the Saxon model (Ibid.:92-93).

For the time we can leave the implications of Saxon invasion in Friesland. Suffice it to say that Saxon encroachments on the terps soon gave way to an assimilation which brought back the traditional Frisian economy with its cow houses and cattle.

The central purpose of the examination of archaeological developments at the Ezinge terp was to throw light upon the terp economy. As we have already learned the third period (IV) had seen the extension of the terp diameter to 100 meters. New farmsteads were built upon old and more buildings added.

Now eight distinct farmsteads emerged, varying in dimension from 15 to 24 meters in length and averaging 8 meters in width (Ibid.:217). These farmsteads provided stabling for up to 52 cows. The length of the farmstead of course governing the number of cows which could be stabled during the winter months. This quantitative data provides a framework within which agricultural and herding potential can be measured.

Agricultural potential. Total area of the terp was approximately 7,867 square meters.⁶ Eight living units, taking up approximately 1,000 square meters, would make 6,800 square meters available to the extended family, or about 850 square meters to each nuclear family. This would make about one-sixth of an acre of arable land available to each family.⁷

Assuming the size of the nuclear family to be between four and five persons, it is clear that family food requirements could not be met through the arable land available. It is equally clear that this was not the purpose of terp land, since part of the terp site was sown in flax--a crop of possible commercial value, but no food value.

Herding potential. Each family unit had a large cowhouse annexed to it. If stabling was provided for fifty-two cows, it is surely clear that the cattle could provide a surplus in hides, meat, and dairy products.⁸

Today the Frisian cow yields an average of 770 gallons of milk per year (Yates, 1940:120). This high yield has been obtained by continued breeding; however, assuming that the cow yield was vastly lower in the early Frisian period, an average daily yield of one gallon per day per cow could still be expected. A cowhouse stabling 52 milk cows⁹ could produce 52 gallons of milk per day, an amount beyond the consumption capacity of the nucleated family in milk and dairy products (Ibid.:122). The herdsman from the Frisian period forward was faced with the fruits of conditions ideal for cattle raising, i.e., cattle and dairy surpluses.¹⁰

The success of this economic activity militated for the continuance of: (1) social diffuseness, a requirement in cattle herding and (2) the initiation of a surplus economy.

Social diffuseness. Herding demanded space, and so, the extended family remained the basic economic and social unit. The new requirements of exchange did not alter, rather as we shall see, it preserved the autonomous economic and social condition of the terp site.

Communications served to reinforce this autonomy. As late as the nineteenth century transportation was such that the waterways alone provided avenues for communication. Roads, even after the coming of the dykes, were difficult to negotiate; before, they were non-existent. The herdsman's terp was his castle, isolated from the rest of the world. Problem solving consequently devolved upon terp membership. Developments on other terps held no direct relevance for immediate solutions. Psychologically this environment developed in the Frieslander a spirit of individuated values. The crucial element in the

society became the private individual who could best care for and ship his cattle. This function was not differentiated; hence, the society was slow to develop community values.

Surplus economy. Not only was the Frisian prohibited by natural conditions from practicing extensive fixed agriculture; but, he was ultimately forced to consider the problems of surpluses--the inevitable result of the efficient unmixed economy. The historical evidence indicates that surpluses did exist.

Drusus (27 B.C.-14 A.D.), marching to the Elbe, extracted a modest tribute from the Frisians in that single commodity that they could afford, cattle hides (Boeles, 1951:112). The influx of hard goods also indicated the beginnings of an exchange economy. Archaeological finds marked by fibulae (cloak pins of bronze), bronze plate, and statuettes, Republican silver denarii, some coins of Tiberius (14-37 A.D.) (Ibid.:136-143)--all point to the existence of exchange. The comparative strength of this exchange can be partially indicated by the extent of finds. The Frisian terpen have yielded more Roman statuettes than all of the rest of the low countries together (Ibid.:573). In Friesland from this period, 208 coins which were nearly all gold, have been found. This small province has yielded nearly as many coins as those found for the same period in the whole of Germany (266 coins) (Ibid.:582). The widespread existence of luxury goods and hard coin all point to a profitable exchange economy. We have another document which throws light upon the instrument of this prosperity.

During the reign of Claudius (41-54 A.D.), Corbulo had a document drawn up and countersigned by centurions of the 5th and 1st Legions certifying the purchase of a Frisian cow (Ibid.:129-130). While the evidence is by no means conclusive, it is difficult to conceive of any other instrument for exchange. The basis for the Frisian economy was the cow.

The Roman sources have the Roman merchant, combing the Frisian hinterland, looking hither and yon for trading opportunities. Given the kind of economy the Frisians were practicing, it would not be overly venturesome to suggest that the Roman merchant never had great difficulty finding a client.

Exchange and Technology

Herding surpluses gave rise to two new requirements: (1) non-local exchange and (2) viable transport technology.

Non-local exchange. The cattle breeder-herder was faced with a dilemma each winter. There were ample off-terp facilities for breeding stock, young calves, and milk cows, but stabling, necessary in winter, remained limited. After Spring feeding, the surplus stock had to be killed or transported to market.

These markets were not found locally for obvious reasons; the non-diversified nature of the local economy negated the advantage of local exchange. The mutual advantage in stock transfer is limited. The terp dweller was forced to trade outside his own environment. The herder's vested interest was in the cattle economy; still, this interest could not come to profitable fruition except through export.

Implicit in the notion of export is the idea of mobility. This in its turn requires a risk-orientation, since the changes in physical space result in the continued change of circumstance--each of which is to a certain degree unpredictable. In this way export becomes a shaky business, not only because of the problems implicit in shipment itself, but because of the uncertainty of market conditions themselves.

Non-local exchange created a centrifugal movement for the Frisian that was not common in the Europe of the Dark Ages. In contrast centripetal forces bound up in local exchange were operative throughout most of continental Europe. Not only was the need and reality of geographical mobility absent, but there was also a pyramiding of power based on land ownership. It is true that surpluses did exist, but the diversification of food crops could find a mutual advantage in local exchange. This local movement led to the rise of the market town--a further constriction in mobility. As the serf's skills were utilized in the town, they developed a specificity which made him dependent upon the town community. In the rural economy the serf had enjoyed a certain economic independence which only became endangered with crop failure, or at the caprice of the feudal lord. The town made him dependent upon it. This fostered a spirit of conservatism which found its expression in the "status quo." I do not mean to suggest that the serf was ever content with his miserable plight; I do mean that he was unwilling to upset the town economic machinery upon which his subsistence, as a town dweller, depended.

Thus, in Europe there was a certain polarization. On the one hand, the nomad spirit was reflected in high risk orientation prerequisite to the development of non-local exchange. On the other hand, there was the march of the serf to the local market town, particularly in France, which resulted in the rise of guilds, specialization, and economic dependence, a forerunner of the urban bourgeoisie--a perfect model of the cautious conservative.¹¹ While the rest of Europe was polishing feudal institutions, the Frisians were developing a free trading economy.

Transport technology. The implicit necessity for non-local transport of surplus cattle products developed a concern for efficient transportation. It was at this point that nomad values took a new direction, one which was governed by opportunity.

Opportunity. The use of this term affirms the role of circumstance in the development of a requisite technology. The nomad's requirements are most often met by the movement of the flock itself--there are no requisite technological developments. It is true that rapid mobility, as in raids, required the introduction of another animal, the horse, but this instrument so well served nomad requirements that no further development took place. The North

Sea coast, unlike the desert, was not an environment in which the horse could become operative--the marshiness of surrounding districts denied this.

On the other hand the proliferation of the sea coast by sea arms of the North Sea pointed toward ready-made avenues of movement (Encyclopedie van Friesland, 1958:77). See map page 78.

These movements early were reflected in the coming of the Frisians and Saxons by sea. The technology to achieve this was not simple, nor was it ready made. It meant shipbuilding. Unfortunately the archaeological evidence tells us little about shipbuilding in Friesland. The ships must have had considerable commercial value, and been seaworthy enough and fast enough to compete with "raider" Viking ships between 700-1050 A.D. That Frisian commerce could operate in the face of Viking opposition attests the advance of their ship technology. Indeed, it was recognized as such by the people bordering the North Sea who called the North Sea "Mare Fresonum" (Ibid.:461).

Frisian shipbuilding had reached a sufficient prominence in the sixth century for the English king Ethelbred (597-617 A.D.) to contract with the Frisians for ships (Dirks 1846:150). By the ninth century their mastery of the North Sea caused King Alfred of England to enlist the aid of Frisian mariners in his contest with the Danish Vikings (Lewis, 1958:262). These scraps of historical data all point to the existence of a considerable ship technology. Its nature must still be sought.

The Frisian influence in North Sea shipbuilding was an inevitable consequence of their transportation problems. It was a wedding of innovative skills and necessity. To understand the fruits of this copulation we must turn forward in time to its ultimate development, the Cog. "In the north a large, round, clinker built merchant ship setting a single square-sail on a mast stepped amidships was known as a cog" (Singer et al.; 1956:582).

This description makes it possible to relate ships depicted upon early Frisian coins with the cog. Dorestad coinage of the ninth century gives us the first archaeological evidence (Lewis, 1958:314). Brøgger notes that, "As early as the 9th century the Frisians had ships which were propelled by the sail alone. The Hanseatics also adopted this type--how early we have no exact knowledge" (Brøgger, 1951:237).

Why the Hansa towns should utilize the Cog based upon the Frisian prototype is another question. As we shall see in the next section on the extent of Frisian trade, Hanseatic towns and their trade monopolies are co-terminous with Frisian penetrations of the preceding centuries.¹²

Frisian Commerce in the Dark Ages

It was the unique position of the Frisians to the sea that gave them the opportunity to develop a sophisticated ship technology. The coast line with its many inlets provided a natural avenue to the sea. These havens early became the nest of pirates, a circumstance which has occurred the world over where the sea coast is cut with inlets.¹³

Piracy, a natural way for the Frisians with their individuated loyalties to augment their economy, gave way to the greater efficiency of a developed commerce. It is the curious focus of men like Henri Pirenne which warps our understanding of this development. Pirenne is conscious of the Frisian trade; he also regards it as unimportant. "During the first half of the ninth century the ports of Quentovic and Dorestad [Dorestad] were fairly frequented, and Frisian boats continued to cross the Scheldt, the Meuse and the Rhine, and to carry on a coasting trade along the shores of the North Sea" (Pirenne, 1937: 6).

There are a number of assumptions which might be questioned. First, there is some question as to whether developments in France were ever crucial to commercial development in Western Europe. Second, there is the question of his meaning in the term "coasting trade." This is a point which I will define with precision later in this section. Third, there is the question of whether or not the decline of Roman interests in France followed by Pirenne's blockade of the Mediterranean by the Muslims really throws much light upon the rise of Northern European commerce in England and the Low Countries. The modesty of the Frisian trade should not obscure the realization that its development was constant and growing. For the Frisian the Dark Ages were never a reality, for his economic condition was one of continued improvement and growth.

Regarding this, I should like to investigate the growth of Frisian commerce on two levels: (1) I want to present a broad historical overview; (2) I want to develop an understanding of the extent of Frisian coastal trade. About the year 600 A.D. Frisia began to play a dynamic commercial role between the ports of the North Sea. The flow of goods to Dorestad was, by 689 A.D., chiefly one northward along the Rhine. Seventh century coin hoards in Frisia come chiefly from the Rhine valley. Of the forty-two trientes found at Dorestad 27 come from Cologne, Mainz and Worms, 5 are from Metz and Trier on the Moselle, and 10 are from the Meuse valley. The remainder came from Maastricht (Boeles, 1951:513-521).

During this same period we learn of the first mentioned Frisian trader in London; a slaver (Lewis, 1958:146). By the time of Willibald's eighth century Christian mission to Denmark, the Frisians had occupied the south of Jutland and gained access to the Baltic (Helmoldi, 1909:136). Frisian shipping technology and the occupation of crucial commercial towns had created a circumstance by which the Frisians were probably handling the bulk of commercial traffic going to Scandinavia (Lewis, 1958:146).

The Frisians, who had begun to be important as North Sea traders and intermediaries between England and the Continent and Scandinavia and the Rhineland in the eighth century, under the Carolingians [not exactly accurate, since Frisian autonomy had been guaranteed and control remained nominal] became the leading mariners and merchants of the Northern Seas. Their location was ideal for this purpose. As already noted, they were, early in the eighth century pushing down the Meuse, and Rhine, where in 716 Duke Redbad [King Radbod of the Frisians] appeared at Cologne with a fleet. After Charles Martel conquered their homeland, Frisia, in 734, their political independence was ended, but not their power of expansion, which

took an economic form. Thus we find Frisians moving down the Rhine to establish a merchant colony at Worms late in the century, and judging from the similarities between coins of Dorestad and Maastricht (minted by the same coinmaster), they penetrated south into the Meuse valley as well. As already noted, in 778 they possessed a merchant colony at York as well. Finally by 799, their contacts with Rome and Italy were well enough established for them to form a schola of pilgrim-merchants there too. . . They were by 800, then, well on their way towards becoming the principal intermediaries between Carolingian Europe and the Atlantic regions beyond the Empire: England, Northern Germany and Scandinavia (Ibid.:186).

Mr. Lewis continues later in his admirable book, The Northern Seas, to describe the expansion of Frisian trade, a description whose historical veracity is only marred by his unfamiliarity with internal Frisian history.

After 800 there is evidence that these Frisian merchants extended their influence still farther west to the Loire river valley and Aquitaine and perhaps even to the Midi. . . . Near Nantes, at the entrance of the Loire have been discovered two gold solidi of the type copied in Frisia, prior to 840, from those issued by Louis the Pious. Near Aclum on the Frisian coast in a coin hoard dating from about 840 is a coin of Pepin I of Aquitaine, which similar Aquitainian money is found in a whole series of hoards of this period at Oudwarden, Pingjum, Aalsu, Emmen, and Midlaren nearby. When one takes into account the fact that the earlier Belvezet hoard on the lower Rhine and the Veullen hoard on the Loire both contain a number of coins from Dorestad, one becomes aware that the trade between the Netherlands and western French coast must have been considerable. . . . The ubiquitous Frisians were now apparently extending their trading interests into areas where earlier they had not penetrated. Nor did they neglect their interests in the North Sea in doing so. For Yorkshire in the ninth century, as in the eighth, continued to lie in their zone of trade, as revealed by the fact that it was the Frisian gold solidi of Louis the Pious which served as the model for those gold pennies which Archbishop Wigam of York minted during those years (Lewis, 1958:200-201).

Thus, Friesland, in contrast to the trickle of trade which passed overland through continental Europe, pressed their trade along the North Sea into the Baltic and Scandinavia.

The ubiquitous Frisians, settled along the coasts of Holland and North Germany from Dorestad to the Eider, served as the main intermediaries along this route. But it seems probable that at least some of this commerce was handled by Danes who had settled in some numbers in Dorestad and by Saxon merchants from Hamburg. The actual route by which most commerce reached the Baltic seems to have been inside the Zuyder Zee and Frisian Islands, past Heligoland and on to the mouth of the Eider and Schlee rivers to reach Hedeby on the Baltic side. Then it proceeded along the Coast of Sweden to Birka at the entrance of the Malar Sea near the modern city of Stockholm. Dorestad was the principal southern

terminus. Hedeby the most important trading center towards the middle of this route, and Birka its major northern destination. All three had long been trade centers, going back to Merovingian times, Dorestad having been founded about 600 and Dirka and Hedeby having shown some commercial importance by the eighth century. In the Carolingian era, however, it was not until 806 that Hedeby was definitely called a portus while not until Anskar's first visit to Sweden in 826 do our sources reveal that Birka had grown sufficiently to be designated as urban. Besides these three, there soon arose a whole series of trading centers. North of Dorestad lay the Frisian center of Dokkum. . . Further north still, at the mouth of the Weser, we find a portus appearing at Bremen, where Anskar moved after the destruction of Hamburg in 845. At the mouth of the Elbe lay Hamburg, important enough in Anskar's time for its merchants to travel to Hedeby itself. Near Hedeby on the Baltic, a little to the south, was Reric, a trading center of the Slavic Obrodites, called a fortress in Carolingian sources. And on the way to Birka in the Baltic lay the island of Gotland, which some commerce from the Carolingian Empire also reached, judging from the archeological evidence (Lewis, 1958:210-211).

It is further explained that another route proceeded from Hedeby (Haithabu) by way of the Kattegat, to Skringissal on the Oslo fjord, which had already become an important center in the ninth century for furs. There were lesser trading centers known as bjorkeys where goods were gathered for shipment down the coast to more important commercial centers. The role of the Frisians in the establishment of these trading centers in Scandinavia is under dispute.

Some have claimed a Frisian origin for all of them, including the bjorkeys. It seems more likely, however, that while the Frisians played a major role in the foundation and growth of such ports as Hedeby and Ribe, the Scandinavians themselves, as well as Saxon and Slavic merchants, were equally important--particularly as regards Birka and the bjorkeys. Though the Frisians were the principal merchants traveling to the Baltic in Carolingian times, they were by no means the only maritime traders active along these coasts (Lewis, 1958:212).

The trade routes continued to trading settlements at Apolloné, Seeburg and Truso, which lay at the mouth of the Niemen River in East Prussia. The routes continued thence into the Bay of Riga and the Gulf of Finland where a portage to Novogorod would gain access to the Volga and Dnieper rivers, giving a water route to the Caspian and Black seas and from there to Bagdad and Byzantium. The crucial role of the Frisians in this trade can be understood when it is recalled that except for Viking ships which were not designed for trade, the Frisian ship provided the only craft seaworthy enough to navigate the North and Baltic seas successfully, thereby gaining access to the Russian river trade.

Growth of Frisian trading centers at home and abroad continued. Utrecht and Deventer began to rival Dorestad. By 845 Frisian merchants were operating in Bonn. Duisburg and Tiel achieved urban status, and commerce continued south to Strasbourg (Lewis, 1958:294-295). By the close of the tenth century the trading might of Dorestad had shifted to Deventer and Tiel, and new trading centers

had arisen within the province of Friesland like Leewarden, Bolsward, Dokkum and Stavoren which were all coining money in the last years of the century (Ibid.:345).

Frisian merchant colonies existed in most of the important centers along the North and Baltic seas. Hedeby possessed a Frisian Colony. Frisian merchants were operated in Sigtuna, Sweden (Ibid.:344-345). Merchant guilds were established in Damme (1252) and Bordeaux (1256). Ports had been established along the English and Norwegian coast, and in Bremen and Hamburg. Friesland had established trade relations throughout the North and Baltic seas, and along Russian river routes to Constantinople (Encyclopedie van Friesland, 1958:86-87).

Exchange and the Trading Town

This chapter will deal with two areas: (1) exchange reflected in exports and imports, and (2) the trading town as a successful instrument of exchange.

Exchange. Common sense dictates that the herding economy could only export herding products. It is reassuring to find that early in the dyke period of the fourteenth century--prior to the extension of fixed agriculture--cheese, cows, and horses were the chief exports of Friesland (Ibid.:87). However, it is desirable to support this information with data which is current with trade developments between the seventh and eleventh centuries.

Frisian exports. The most famous, if not the most extensive was Frisian cloth (pallia Fresconica) which achieved a widespread popularity because of its rich coloration. Cloaks were made of grey, light blue, and sapphire. There was also a type called vermiculata which was plaid in the Scots manner. Figures and flowers were woven into the woolen fabric (Dirks, 1846:133).

There is some question over the source of raw wool. Older sources believe that the wool was indigenous to Friesland. Sheep finds on the terps admit this possibility. This of course would indicate localized industry. Recently, there has been a trend which accepts the view that raw wool was imported from York and probably fabricated in Utrecht (Boeles, 1951:417). This would indicate a much more complex exchange economy and, of more significance, the rise of non-local industry. Probably the truth exists in the gradual transfer from local to non-local industry.

Archaeological evidence of the period points toward an extension of the herding pattern; namely, the export of dairy products, horses and hides (Ibid.:421). It is Boeles' particular theory that the rural Frisian export terminated at Dorestad where it passed into the hands of a middleman. This is of course an ultimate development, but it leaves certain questions unanswered. Why would the Frisian, having transported his goods to Dorestad by boat, wish to interrupt his journey and reduce his profits? Having reached

Dorestad by boat, it seems equally plausible that the Frisian continued upriver where he could exchange his dairy products for hard goods.

Imports. There are in this category two types of commodity: (1) those goods imported for internal consumption, and (2) those goods destined for transshipment. Grain, herring, wool, wine, beer, and pottery were probably destined for Frisian consumption. It is equally reasonable that their part in the slave trade was that of the middleman. We also know that wine and pottery were transshipped to England. So it can be seen that certain goods enjoyed exclusive internal consumption; it can also be seen that surpluses were trans-shipped.

The herring trade of the Baltic was monopolized by the Frisians (Dirks, 1846:139-140)--a monopoly which later fell in the hands of the Hansa towns. Grain from Russia, already mentioned, must have also represented an important commodity for almost grainless Friesland, but it is the Rhenish wine trade over which the archaeological evidence most heavily rests. The Rhine valley export carried in Frisian ships was wine. "The huge relief-band amphorae made at Badorf near Cologne in the ninth century were wine containers and traveled as far as Birka in Sweden" (Harden, 1956:218).

This trade found its primary market in England where Badorf pottery finds have been made in Canterbury. In 1950 a dozen examples of Pingsdorf ware were found in London (Ibid.:219). The map shown on page 78 indicates trade contacts based on pottery finds between Friesland and England (Harden, 1956:220).

The Rhineland was the most important region for the manufacture of articles traded to the countries bordering the North Sea. The route by which the trade reached the sea in the eighth and ninth centuries passed through the Low Countries. At that time the Frisians were the dominant commercial power in the North Sea; they controlled the great trade route down the Rhine, so that communications between the Rhine and the east side of England were in their hands. The principal trading centre was Dorestad on the Lek Rhine, the second across the North Sea and the Baltic, and the third to England (Harden, 1956:219).

The trading town. The trading venture by ship of the Frisians cannot be fully explained in terms of the town-based middleman; who resting at Dorestad, manipulated the exchange of goods. As later political developments in Friesland indicated, the loyalties and trust of the individual Frisian were very narrow. There is no evidence that these loyalties extended beyond the terp as late as the fifteenth century.¹⁴ It is more reasonable to assume that the shipping venture was an extension of extended family fishing and pirate forays. The Frisian individuated heritage would make exchange with the middleman an activity to be viewed with extreme suspicion. Having reached Dorestad, it is not unreasonable to assume that the Frisian ship proceeded up the Rhine to complete the exchange. There was probably a direct relationship between the terp extended family and the separate merchant colonies. What I am suggesting is that each terp unit performed a discrete function which, in time, became linked to the functions of other terp-based merchant colonies, but was never completely superseded by middlemen who deprived the individual of the advantage of exchange.

Historians have raised an interesting question which throws light on the relationship of the trade center to the continuance of commerce. How was it possible for trade and commerce to continue in the face of the destruction by Danish viking raids in 834 A.D. of Dorestad (Lewis, 1958:253), the center of Frisian trade? If the terp dwellers were simple herders and seafarers dependent upon the function of the middleman at Dorestad, then destruction of Dorestad by sack, fire, and murder would severely interrupt the normal avenues of exchange. Since this did not occur, it can be inferred that the trading center in this case, Dorestad, was not crucial to the continuance of the Frisian trade. There is a way to understand this phenomenon and this is through a differentiation of the Frisian town from the normal feudal pattern.

The Frisian town was never a crucial element in the viability of Frisian commerce. It was the diffuseness of the hinterland terp bases which insulated Frisian commerce from direct attack. "The Danes destroyed Dorestad in the middle of the ninth century, and likewise Quentovic at the end of the ninth century. Yet, the products of the Rhine lands continued to reach England until the eleventh or twelfth century" (Harden, 1956:221).

The confusion has been caused by a misunderstanding regarding the function of the town in Frisian commerce. Weber in The City creates a Venetian city model for the same period which delineates some notions of the city which have gained popular acceptance. In this model city power is internalized and characterized by a continued struggle for power between the doge and his adversaries: the nobility (town) and patriarch (Weber, 1958a:124). It was the oligarchi-commercial power of the urban nobles which dominated the political and economic life of Venice. The weakness or strength of Venice depended upon the health of its internal constituency, the urban nobility.

. . . financial obligations, in turn, could only be covered through the means of the patriciate. The only financially qualified group was one sector of the old tribune aristocracy, doubtlessly strengthened by new nobles who because of urban residence were in a position to participate in commerce and to make profitable investments in the typical manner by lending commenda and other working capital. The patriciate, thus, was able to concentrate both monetary wealth and political power in their hands (Ibid.: 126).

This city model places power within and dependent upon the city. The complete destruction of persons and property in Venice would seriously undermine future commercial ventures. The reason the Frisians never suffered in such a manner was bound up in the non-totalized function of the city. Its function was limited--it remained a port providing docking facilities for Frisian shipping. The seat of power was never internalized within the city. When the city fell or was destroyed new port facilities were created.¹⁵

A study of Frisian city plans makes this differentiation clear.¹⁶ The port of Harlingen is a maze of havens running to the north and south of the town. The town itself is characterized by a multitude of man-made inlets, there being three major shipping canals (Zeillern, 1654:102).

Staveren presents yet a clearer picture. The town is rectangular in shape. Extending along the frontage of the town are piers which allow shipping to berth. To the right is an inner harbor with a long loading pier. To the left is an entrance which gives access to the town's two main canals (Ibid.:106).

The chief characteristic of these towns is that they have no real corpus, as has Venice. The shipping facilities and related functions make up the portus. Capital and manpower is diffused throughout the terpen. The towns retained a very small native population. Even today the Frisian seafarer upon retirement will purchase a small farm. The town is simply a terminus across transport avenues--the life of the whole city is absent.

The medieval city can be found in the south of Brabant. Namur rests on the Meuse river. Namur has a corpus which can be immediately discerned as quite different from the Frisian portus. Its feudal antecedents are immediately apparent; it is dominated by a large castle. Surrounding this is the walled city. The river contains shipping, but there are no berthing facilities (Ibid.: 234). It would be possible to remove the shipping function from the city of Namur and leave the visage of the city practically unchanged. These comparisons could be carried on in great detail. The results would indicate that the contrast of the Frisian town with that of Flanders and France would be in the nature of its function. To destroy a French city is to cut out its corpus; to destroy a Frisian town is merely to shift the terminus of shipping. Thus, the decline and destruction of Dorestad did not affect the flow of shipping from the upper Rhine to England and the North Sea. The portus was shifted to Tiel.

Decline and Formalization

By the eleventh century a gradual dyking of Friesland had begun,¹⁷ and around 1330 A.D. the Middlezee, which had provided deep-water access to the towns of Leeuwarden, Tirns and Bolsward, was closed. Further dyking in 1505 A.D. extended the dyke system yet further into the mouth of the Middlezee (Encyclopedie van Friesland, 1958:73). The period between the eleventh century and the eighteenth century can be considered the great dyking period in Friesland although the great sea dyke closing the Zuyder Zee was not completed until 1932 (Ibid.:73).

This process provided some wide-reaching changes for the economic and political structure in Friesland. Economics were shifted with the increase in arable land. Politics saw the commensurate increase in hierarchical power.

Economics. The shift marked Frisia in two ways. (1) It closed many deep-water sea arms, intervening in the direct access of deep-sea shipping from the town to the North Sea. (2) It meant the passing of common grassland in favor of private farm ownership based on the rise of arable land. Thus, it not only interfered directly with the flow of sea traffic, but it also introduced agriculture which made a mixed economy possible. This mixed economy reduced the primary necessity for an exchange economy and replaced it with a certain autarchy not previously known.

Politics. The pyramiding of power results from the acquisition of land. Wittfogel's (1957:4) theory of the agro-bureaucratic state can be applied.¹⁸ The expense and organization required to maintain the dykes were considerable. Power could no longer effectively operate on a diffuse terp base. There had to be absolute cooperation, at least as far as dyke maintenance was concerned. Further, the sums of money required to maintain the dykes tended to place greatest power in the hands of those with the greatest wealth.

It is possible to examine this transfer within a legalistic framework. There were two extremely significant developments which took place side by side: (1) With the rise of the dyke system there was a recognition of the necessity for the transfer of power hierarchically. (2) Concomitantly with this, was the formalization of common law which allowed values from the traditional terpen period to become institutionalized in the hierarchical period. This tended to preserve the individuated spirit of the Frisian when the society no longer required it.

The earliest formalization of Frisian common law was inscribed in the Lex Frisionum around 800 A.D. The law established punitive ranges for varying offenses. As with Saxon law, punishment for murder required the payment of a fine. It is here that the absence of hierarchy is first legally reflected. The fines for murder apply uniformly. Whatever the social rank of the offender--chief, freeman, or bondsman--the fine was the same. Payment for the murder of a chief was LXXX solidi (Heck, 1927:140). Murder of a bondsman meant a fine of XXVII solidi and so on. . . (Ibid.;140).

As with criminal law in America today there is an inherent discrimination, since the uniform fine strikes the poorer offender more grievously. Still, this is a great distance from the well-defined hierarchical society in which the feudal lord exercised wide powers which could amount to license against his serfs while the serf could be punished grievously for the most innocuous of offenses.¹⁹

As has already been suggested, the coming of the dykes forced some changes in social relationships.

It is true, we cannot say when the popular body [the people] made this transfer of their natural and original right to the nobles, landed proprietors and municipalities. It is, however, certain that it did not happen by violence, of which there is neither trace nor tradition; and since it is obvious and visibly in use (written between 1636-1684) the conclusion is unavoidable that this transfer was at least made and effected by the tacit consent of the people. . . (Huber, 1939:II,11).

The date for the transfer of authority can be located against the institution of the Greatman (Grietmann) which arose, according to the registers, not before the twelfth century (Andreas, 1893:149-171). This institution must be related to the dyke system. It cannot have existed earlier since the Greatman's power was based on land. While the office of Greatman changed hands, it was always held within the circle of large landholders in a district. There was some justification in this since the largest landowner not only had

the greatest investment, but also the greatest interest in dyke maintenance and could best be expected to work toward dyke maintenance in the district. This represents the first aspect of the rise of fixed agriculture--the pyramiding of power.

The second aspect which must be considered is the counterbalancing effect of the formalization of prior values in the law of the Skeltana Riucht. It was first written in the Frisian vernacular about 1475 (Fairbanks, 1939:6). It represents common law passed on by word of mouth, coming before the dyke period and merging with it.

The first article indicates that when the duly invested authority appointed by the King arrives: "There the Frisians shall receive him, and allow him to hold court" (Ibid.:Art. I).

The next pertains to conscription for the defense of the community against Viking raids. "This is the law: the free Frisian need make no further foray whether under proclamation or order, than out with the ebb and back with the flood" (Ibid.:Art. II).

The fourth article allows the Frisian to determine what a reasonable tax assessment against him should be. "This is the law: the free Frisian may establish by oath the maximum dimension for a dike or road to which he can be held, as against the command of the governor that he perform more than he can" (Ibid.: Art. IV).

Like the American Bill of Rights these articles all establish the rights of the private individual against authority. Also, they came to be written under circumstances not unlike those which caused the Bill of Rights to be added to the Constitution. Patrick Henry, among others, was concerned that the landed gentry and rich urban elements might use the Constitution to their own advantage and against the commonweal of the people if these guarantees were not added. For the Frisians it also preserved those values, the rights of individuals, which were most in danger of being eroded.

The common law of the Frisians became formalized when it was threatened by new social patterns. Its formalization preserved autonomous values long after their ecological necessity had ceased. Formalization of traditional values did not serve to preserve a way of life which had passed; it did tend to preserve value patterns which expressed themselves in a new way.

Frisian political and commercial power began to decline by the eleventh century. Even great Friesland, comprising modern Protestant Netherlands, reached the apogee of her commercial climb in the seventeenth century, a time which curiously corresponds to the completion of the dyking system.

With the availability of arable land the Frisian drove his energies into dovetailing stock farming into the new arable system (Dumont, 1957:433). This integration of fodder crops and selective breeding have led to the highest milk yield in the world (Ibid.:416). Still, the disadvantage of the new system was aggrandizement of land by the large landowner.

Most Frisians were driven into the position of the tenant. Those who owned their own plot could not make a living from their land, and were forced to hire out to the local landlord. Thus, their dynamic spirit and innovative skills could not express themselves in the new economy. The directions in which these psychological energies were channeled is interesting and illustrative.

With the intensification of the dyke system in the fifteenth century came a repressive political system--first under Charles V (1515-1555), and later under Phillip II of Spain (1555-1581). It was in this time of maximized trouble on the economic and political levels that the flowering of Frisian literature and art occurs (Encyclopedie van Friesland, 1958:51-58).

It is when the creative-innovative figure is no longer crucial to the successful operation of the economic and political life of a society that energies are channeled in new directions--directions where the creative spirit can find uninhibited expression. This hypothesis finds its verification today in recent statistical studies which indicate that Friesland's artistic output in art, music, poetry, literature, and scholarship equals one-third of the output for the Netherlands despite the fact that it contains only one-twentieth of the total population (450,000) (Ibid.:70).

There is an alternative for the Frisian faced by the frustration of land hunger, and unable to release his energies in artistic channels; this is migration. The frustration of private land ownership in Friesland encouraged emigration. In this century a large colony of Frisians settled in the Los Angeles basin in the early part of the twentieth century.

As economic opportunity existed in the United States, once again the traditional values of the Frisian began to operate in the economic sphere. These first generation immigrants were soon engaged in entrepreneurial enterprises, primarily, dairying and real estate (both of which require private and individual land ownership). While I have not had the opportunity to make a random sample survey, extensive personal contact with this group does permit the following generalizations. While this group contains few millionaires, there are many who are near millionaires and relatively few with small incomes. Perhaps this is the result of a value system which places a high value upon self-employment, and a low value upon wage earning, and the employee-employer relationship in general.

This persistence of formalized values beyond their time of explicit social utility in the economic and political framework of the Frisian society makes it possible to consider the position of the individual in his society, and to recognize that the values of the individuated society can survive in various adulterated forms in the face of collectivizing tendencies.

The Implications of the Frisian Model

We have examined the Frisian society within the framework of the nomad model. This makes it possible to understand the rise of individuated values which were based upon ecological requirements. The Frisian's position led to

surpluses which had to gain expression in non-local exchange. This put the herdsman into a state of increased mobility, because it involved the herder in geographical changes in space. The change in space forced a risk-orientation based on adaptation to continually changing circumstances. Where the fixed agricultural community does not require change in position, a vested interest is built up in existing conditions. Conversely, the vested interest of the nomad is built upon changing space, i.e., circumstances. The member of the fixed agricultural community or town is protected and insulated by the community. The nomad is insulated by his survival (innovative) skills).

In Friesland we have seen the change from a pastoral economy to a commercial one. A transition which preserved the individuated diffuse nature of the terpen, and circumvented the danger of a town-based center of investment and commercial exchange. The towns which arose served the function of a portus--a place for shipping. The heart or corpus of the society remained based on the terp, a symbol of the diffuse society.

The key importance of the individual, unlike the society in which the individual plays a specialized role, was not subordinate to the commonweal of the community. As it was, the community was never much greater than the extended family anyway; but the important thing to remember about the nomad society is that the individual plays a non-differentiated role. Each man is a herder, or, in times of conflict, a warrior. In the town, by contrast, his work becomes differentiated and a hierarchy, based on the importance to the community, undermines the essential mark of the nomad society, equality.

These values were bound up in the folkways of the people--in their common law. With the rise of fixed agriculture, with the rise of agro-bureaucratic requirements came a formalization of the common law--a move to insulate the individual against the restrictions of the new society. This common law reflected the necessary values of an earlier ecological period. Hierarchy and organization had replaced equality and diffuseness. Still, the old values remained.

It was true that the basis of old values no longer existed. Fixed agriculture and the rise of landed estates gave little latitude to the autonomous figure; nor, did the changing political requirements or organization reflected in integration and hierarchy, make any demands upon the Frisian. Frustration in the face of social requirements which made small demand upon innovative skills turned the Frisian to those avenues where his spirit could gain full play. Creative arts were one avenue; migration was another.

The democratic society--the individuated society--has its origins in the pastoral society and in later expression of these values. As such, it represents a deviation from normative systems of fixed societies. Its position is polarized as individuated values come into conflict with community need for integration.

The problem which is raised is the one which begins to occur in the mature society--in that society which has become stabilized. The demand for the innovative figure falls off, and the society loses that spirit of dynamism which allows it to grow.

The Frisian model seems especially relevant in relation to the close parallels between tenth century developments in Friesland and nineteenth century developments in America. In America it gained expression from the autonomous activity of the "robber barons"; it has gained widespread currency through the televised Western, but its code, the "code of the west," has been misinterpreted as the absence of law when, in reality, it was the highest recognition of individuated man--acceptance of individual law, and so. . . .

The nomad types of American empire building, the cattlemen, the traders, the trappers, all provided the élan vital which pushed America to the Pacific. Still, when the Pacific was reached a new era emerged, an era in which the autonomous figure gave way to the commonweal of the community. It became a time of industry, urbanization and sprawling suburbia, a time when man no longer acted alone, but as part of a team, a committee, a factory. A time when the "rugged individual" was no longer a necessity but an irritating chigger in the skin of American society.

The autonomous figure will probably begin to rechannel his energies. Will this bring a cultural renaissance to birth in America? I think the future is pregnant with this possibility. Will the wall of academia provide this figure with refuge? This, too, is already being patterned in the shape of things to come. Will he be able to survive?

The Frisian model points to adulterated survivals (by this is meant a rechanneling of creative energies into areas which are not crucial to the continuance of the society such as the arts) which have been formalized and institutionalized. This insulation has protected the autonomous figure in the past and made him operative in a society alien to his traditional base. What has been lost is the purchasing value of innovative skills in the arena of action. So it is that the American can look, given the continuance of formalized "democratic" values, to a society whose needs push him into an organizational matrix, but whose values still allow him to exercise his innovative skills in certain well defined and discrete areas.

ENDNOTES

- (1) The nomad model is developed by Khaldûn (1958) in his chapter, "Bedouin Civilization."
- (2) Grant (1930:61-62) explains, "While a Feudal system of sorts did develop, excluding the Scots Highlands, it was of a modified nature, and did not bind the peasant yeoman in the same way as in France or England."
- (3) Buchanan (1955:161) states, "Holland was more nearly comparable to England in this respect (entrepreneurship) than any other European country, but the nature of her resources as well as political developments afforded her relatively little opportunity to develop industrially in the early nineteenth century."
- (4) Encyclopedie van Friesland (1958:40-50). At one time or another the Jutes, Angles, Saxons and Frisians have been united under a common polity,

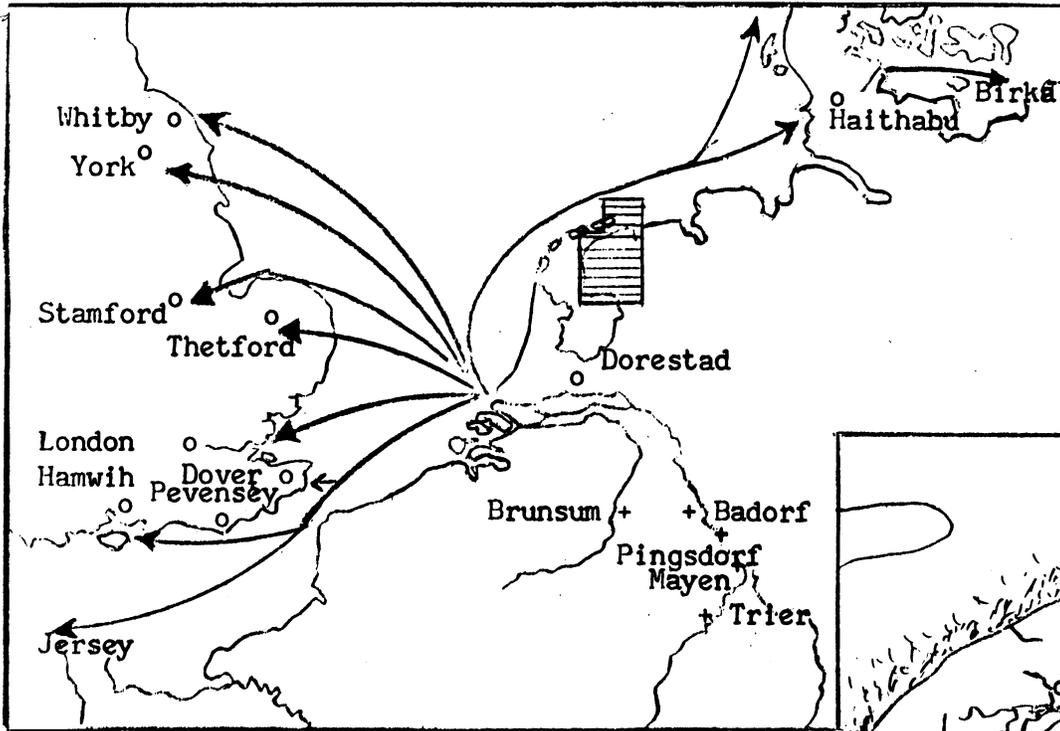
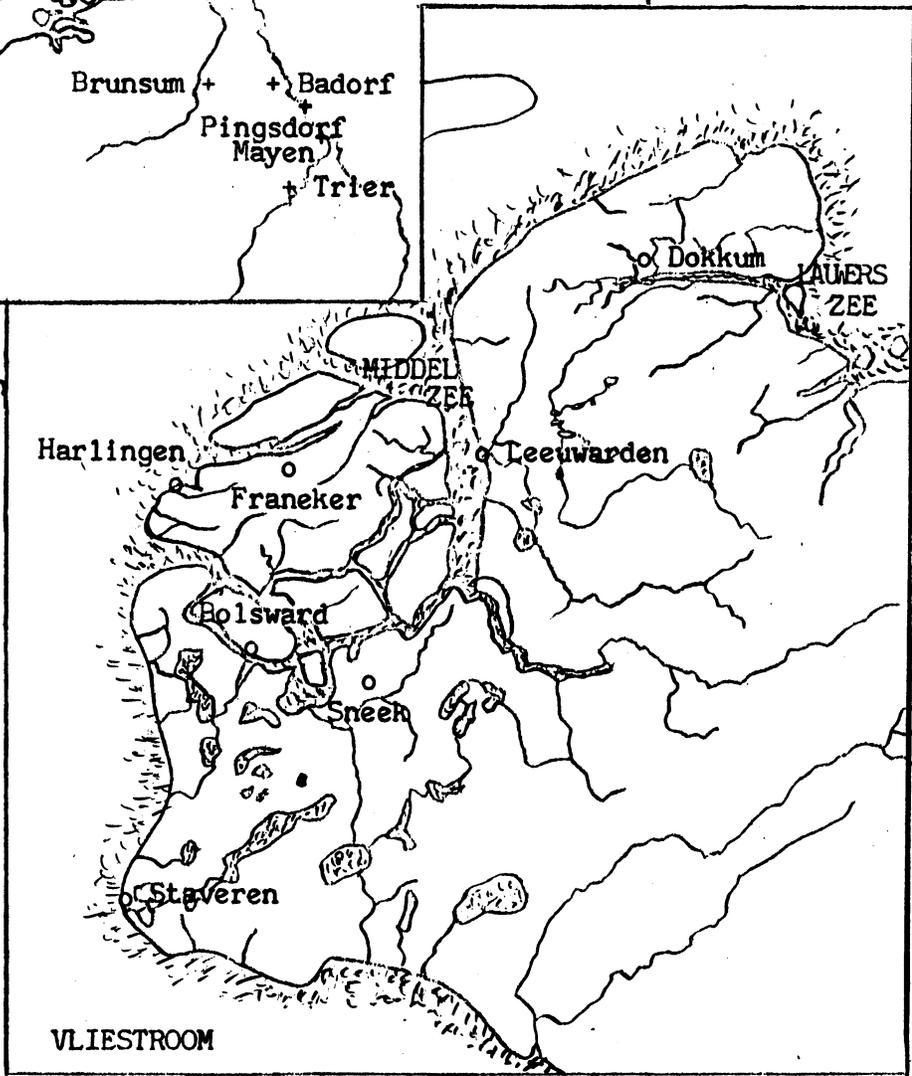


Fig. 1 (right). A section of the Frisian coast known as Middle Friesland circa. the ninth century from Encyclopedie van Friesland

Fig. 2 (above). Frisian wine transport routes marked by the location of amphorae from Harden.

Note the juxtaposition of land to sea. The geographic location is marked by inset in Fig. 2 (above).



but it is the language unity which has persisted. Today there are survivals of ancient Frisian in the Dutch province of Friesland, the German provinces of Saxony (East Friesland) and Schleswig Holstein (North Friesland), and on the island of Helgoland. Indeed, Frisian and English have common derivatives. Beowulf of the old Anglo-Saxon is very similar to modern Frisian. Frisian is not as is often mistaken a dialect of Dutch but a distinct language.

- (5) (Boeles 1951:69-80). The artificial dwelling mounds called "terpen" were raised by the inhabitants of the low-lying regions along the North Sea to protect themselves and their possessions from the gradual rise of sea-level. Characteristic for the terpen situated near the Wadden Sea, in the north of the province of Friesland, are one or more heavy layers of vegetable material mixed with dung of herbivorous animals, predominantly cattle. These layers alternate with layers of sods, laid down to raise the mound. The top soil commonly consists of clay and has been brought up in late Merovingian or in Carolingian times down to about 900 A.D. About the year 1000 many terpen were gradually abandoned now that the construction of the dikes began to guarantee a measure of safety, however hesitatingly. Others have remained inhabited until the present day and form the centers of villages on the clay and of towns like Leeuwarden and Emden.
- (6) This figure was obtained by computation based on the 100 meter diameter of the terp.
- (7) 5000 meters would approximate an acre; this would provide each of the eight families with 1/6th acre.
- (8) The cowhouse provided milking facilities and winter stabling; thus, stabling would indicate the minimum number of cattle in a herd, exclusive of those numbers slaughtered prior to winter.
- (9) The cowhouse is primarily a place for milking.
- (10) (Boeles 1951:196-197.) Cheese molds were utilized in Friesland as early as 29 A.D.
- (11) There has been too much nonsense about the dynamic bourgeoisie. Look at the city dweller in any age. The burger is the man with a well defined vested interest in the community. The man of all the communities' membership who can least risk any change in existing circumstances which might disturb or alter adversely his socio-economic position.
- (12) (Hagedorn 1914:10-24) This represents the only adequate study of North Sea ship technology which I found available. He traces the cog on the basis of the Frisian prototype. Plates bearing minted coins in the back of the book also point to those trading cities in which the cog was the ship of commerce. The towns are: Lübeck (1230), Ebling (1232), Stavoren (1246), Wismar (1256), Harderwijk (1280), Danzig (1299), Stubbekjöbing (1367), Kiel (1364), Danzig (1371), Stralsund (1306), Wismar (1354), Ebling (1350), Stavoren (1415). For a more detailed description of the

cog see Dirks (1846:145-150). "Werkelijk had men in het Noorden schepen Herskip genoemd, die 200 man konden bevatten; hunne gedante was dikwerf nagebootst naar het beeld, b.v. van eenen draak, eene slang, enz. dat den voosteven versierde. Zij hadden 20, 30, 40, tot 60 roebanken. De koopvaardijschepen 12-24 matrozen. Het schip had masten, en een steen, waaraan een houten dubbelde haak was digt, en ijzeren spijkers, vindt men in de noordsche graven. De zeilen waren met bonte strepen voorzien, terwijl de Duitschers zoo wal met halven als heelen wind wisten te zeilen, hetgeen destijds no minder bekend was."

- (13) The pirates of the Carolina coast in eighteenth century America, the Cantonese pirates of the Pearl River, the Viking ships of the Norwegian fjords all had one thing in common--protected complexes of inlets from the sea. France with a harsh sea coast (excepting the south) simply did not have the physical equipment, unlike England and the Low countries, to develop a viable sea commerce.
- (14) Huber (1939:3-2 vol.) next to Hugo Grotius the leader in jurisprudence in his time (1636-1694) explains, "It then happened that the Frisians were involved in an almost fratricidal war, family against family, clan against clan, castle or keep against castle, with endless mutual violence, robbery and bloodshed. There were indeed two main factions, the Schie-ringers and Vetkoopers, but the distinction and confusion between them throughout the whole country was such that one could assuredly call it nothing but a war of all against all."
- (15) A good example of this was the fall of Drestad. Frisian shipping simply shifted berthing to the city of Tiel, a short distance from Dorestad.
- (16) Zeillern (1654) completed his mapping of towns in Friesland and the Low Countries at a time just prior to the growth which followed the emergence of the Netherlands as a first rate commercial power. It can be assumed that the decline of Frisian commercial power in the twelfth century injected a stability into the communities which would permit generalizations on town planning to be made from Zeillern's maps.
- (17) It will be recalled that this was the precise time at which commerce to England from Friesland began to decline. The decline of Frisian commercial power can be dated from the beginning of the dyking period.
- (18) Briefly, the hydraulic society exemplified in extensive water works requires an organization which to maintain the system must regulate the society.
- (19) Robin Hood provides a pleasant introduction to social relationships within the hierarchical feudal society. The caprice or benevolence of the feudal lord determined the fate of the yeoman. Robin Hood suffered under the bad King John, and prospered under the good King Richard.

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