

RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND SOCIAL CONTROL, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PATTERNS
OF STABILITY AND CHANGE IN CLASSICAL ATHENS AND ANCIENT EGYPT

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PREFACE

A not entirely superficial reading of sociology might leave the impression that history effectively began with the industrial revolution. Before that, there was a long and uncertain period of undifferentiated stasis the details of which are either lacking or almost invariably prejudiced. On this view, history is regarded as partial, relative and singularly untidy, and it begs the question whether any study which concerns itself with traditional societies can ever be more than an academic divertissement which allows for few substantial conclusions.

Implicit in much sociological debate is the assumption that change, although not unequivocally good, is both necessary and preferable to the contemporary situation - whatever that happens to be. Indeed, it may even be thought that the task of sociology is to provide the philosophical underpinnings for a new and better society.

It is understandable that sociology should be taken up with matters of change. After all, its 19th century antecedents were rooted in a rapidly changing social situation, and it was natural that writers such as Comte and de Tocqueville should try to interpret what was happening in contemporary society (see ROBERT NISBET Social Change and History O.U.P. 1969). But perhaps this concern has become something of a preoccupation which has detracted from the study of pre-industrial society. Change is reasonably easy to describe even if it is somewhat more difficult to explain. Theories of change proliferate, as does the literature to appraise them. What is just as important to the understanding of society is some consideration of stasis, a term I use throughout the thesis to denote that relatively unchanging order which has been the experience of mankind for most of history. Stasis is problematic in that it raises the issue of both why and how some complex pre-industrial societies could retain their cultural identities over such long periods of time.

It was concern with this and related problems which led me to write IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL ORDER (R.K.P. 1977), in which I argued that social order - and, by implication, social longevity - are inextricably bound

up with the prevailing ideology, and that it is the nature and coherence of the ideology which in turn facilitates certain forms of social control. It recognised that ideology is "one of the most equivocal and elusive concepts...in the social sciences.." (JORGE LARRAIN The Concept of Ideology p.13 HUTCHINSON 1979), and that it is rarely possible to establish any positive causal connections between the ideologies in question and their social manifestations. But it did contend that although these arguments can never be ultimately conclusive, they can nevertheless be plausible and persuasive.

The original research material has been completely reworked so that the thesis differs from the book in a number of ways. There have been important structural alterations. The thesis begins with a brief discussion of the kind of analysis to be undertaken. It looks at the definitions to be used and the categories to be employed, and outlines the historical development of the societies concerned. This is followed by the main substantive material which studies comparatively the institutional arrangements of Egypt and Athens. The concluding chapter draws together this material and relates it to the initial orientations of the thesis, and indicates the relationship between religion and social control in the societies in question.

For all this I have particularly to thank Dr. Kenneth Kitchen of the University of Liverpool and Professor Harold Mattingly of the University of Leeds. My considerable gratitude is due also to my supervisor, Dr. Robert Towler, for his conscientious oversight and his invaluable help in the preparation of this thesis.

ABSTRACT

The social sciences are vitiated by the perennial problem of social order. Questions concerning the nature and possible determinants of social formations are often intriguing and necessarily conjectural, but the problem of how such structures are then kept in being constitutes one of the fundamental issues of sociology.

Social order connotes social stability, and this is necessarily difficult to study in the modern world of dissolving and crystallizing social patterns. This thesis, therefore, sets out to examine the problem of order in the context of complex pre-industrial society which, whilst not completely static, exhibits more clearly and comprehensively the persistent features of institutional life.

The discussion rests upon a typification of Static and Dynamic societies. The Static society is characterised by retrospective orientations and eunomic (good order) stability, and the Dynamic society by qualified prospective orientations and anomic innovation. It hypothesises that these factors, in turn, can be related to the nature, form and implementation of the belief-systems concerned.

The term 'pre-industrial society' is not a vague classification which can be stamped on an undifferentiated past. Certainly the ancient world witnessed a great variety of systems. The main body of this discussion is involved with a comparative analysis of two such systems, Egypt and Classical Athens, which may be typified as Static and Dynamic societies. Key institutional areas are examined and related to the main themes of religion and social control.

Chapter One

ANALYTICAL ORIENTATIONS

It may be that all human studies must be comparative if they are to have any real credibility (1). But one perennial problem about comparative studies is the task of deciding what is and what is not considered to be comparable. This issue turns on the question of whether it is more valid to compare societies themselves, or whether it is more useful to compare particular institutions and practices within those societies. The difficulty about comparing whole societies is that any statements that can eventually be made are likely to be very general and inconclusive. It is often, therefore, considered to be more fruitful to concentrate on specific institutions and practices. However, it is important that such studies take due regard of social and historical settings. If an institution or practice is 'isolated' for academic purposes, it does violence to the society in question, and inhibits understanding of the social process itself. There is the ever-present danger in the social sciences of using isolated facts to support some general theoretical argument - a tendency to know the theory of the thing without knowing the thing itself. Social investigations that divorce the thing to be studied from its social context, or ignore the historical circumstances in which it was generated, must ultimately be unrewarding and even invalid.

Comparative studies of human behaviour try to make 'true' general statements about the nature of society, and in broad terms try to answer three questions:

- i) What is the range of variation shown by the societies under investigation ?
- ii) What are the reasons for these variations ? (A question that can actually be answered only in the most tentative terms).
- iii) What common principles lie behind their respective social arrangements ?

Important differences between societies certainly exist, but, arguably, societies' fundamental values are much the same even if they are expressed in different forms. The difficulty centres on the problem of why a particular value or need generates a particular response. How did it come about, for example, that in Ancient Greece the various warring city-states were prepared temporarily to forego internecine strife for an armistice celebrated by a festival of games? The periodic cessation of warfare makes sense in any system, but why in this form? Religion is important here. To account for the Games simply in politico-economic terms is to explain neither the fascination which they had for ordinary Hellenes nor the binding solemnity of their ritual performance.

This thesis is a comparative study of two contrasting ancient societies. It will trace the ambiguous role of religion as an institutional factor in the social make-up of these societies, and look particularly at the contradictory movements towards stability and structural innovation. Underlying the investigation is the question of whether religion acts as a dependent or an independent variable in the institutional complex of society. Is it a subordinate or superordinate factor? And in what circumstances can it be said to act or merely re-act to the politico-economic realities of the social situation? This does not pre-suppose a specific theoretical model or an ideological disposition, but it does indicate a thematic orientation, which is necessary for any piece of social research.

Religion interiorises other social institutions, but its exact relationship to those institutions must remain an open question. It is impossible finally to demonstrate a direct correlation between a belief-system and any particular pattern of social behaviour; least of all, is it possible to establish determinant priorities. But it is anticipated that some relationships will be discerned - especially in respect to social control - and that these may indicate some tentative generalisations about the role of religion in the overall social process. It is assumed that these will be identified in the context of pre-industrial society where the pervasive

influence of religion can be seen with unmistakable clarity (2). It is proposed, therefore, to study the institutional nature of two societies, Ancient Egypt and Classical Athens - although occasionally relevant allusions will be made to other traditional systems. Ancient Egypt is here taken to mean Egypt at the period of its greatest development, i.e. c2700 B.C.-c1100 B.C., and Classical Athens simply denotes the 'grand century' from c500 B.C.-c400 B.C. (3). The intention is not to present an accumulative chronicle of events, but a comparative examination of their institutional and structural complexity. In particular, to assess the development, persistence and functional importance of their institutions, and relate the entire analysis to the themes of religion and social control.

This will necessitate initially some discussion of (i) definitions of the key terms involved, (ii) an elaboration of the categories that will be used in the subsequent analysis, and (iii) an outline of the different patterns of historical development of the two societies in question.

i) DEFINITIONS

There is a long-standing debate as to how religion should be defined. Sociologists usually define religion either exclusively or inclusively, or make distinctions between nominal and essential (real) interpretations. In the ongoing discussion, the term religion will refer to the acceptance of a supernatural order - no matter how broadly defined - which has a believed relevance for human action. It is not capable of being confirmed or disconfirmed by reference to empirical facts: "What distinguishes religious belief from other kinds of social beliefs is that in some way...it refers to, and looks for validation in, a dimension beyond the empirical-technical realm of action" (4). However, such beliefs have relevance for social action; whatever their objective validity or otherwise, they constitute a social fact.

The very idea of society presupposes social order, and this, in turn, presupposes mechanisms of social control. In all societies there are rules governing behaviour within and between groups which ensure some measure of uniformity, regularity and predictability of conduct between members. Such rules may be codified as laws or simply remain as informally accepted norms. Social control, therefore, denotes the processes which ensure that individuals conform to the formal and informal prescriptions of the group. The mechanisms which facilitate control operate to resolve conflicts of interest and to promote an acceptable degree of social harmony. This could be illustrated, for example, by the procedures which societies adopt to solve the problems of succession. One method, practised at different times in Ancient Egypt, was that of royal 'incest' which ensured the purity of the royal line and effectively outlawed counter-claims to the throne, thus reducing politically divisive disputation.

Talcott Parsons has maintained that, logically, there are only two positions one can take in relation to the question of social order: people must either subscribe to the normative structure of society out of expediency or a sense of moral commitment (5). Men may either comply because of the threat or actual use of coercion which may take physical, moral or even symbolic forms (6), or because they are predisposed to endorse a system of shared norms and values (7). Either can be reinforced and legitimated by the appropriate religious systems. Indeed, the legitimation of the current order may be one of the most potent functions of religion. Societies tend to invest with value the most important goals of social activity, and religion often - though not invariably - endorses the essential rightness of those objectives (8). Thus particular institutional practices can be justified, as when the Sumerians maintained that "kingship was lowered from heaven at Kish" (9), or policies can be validated by the invocation of the gods as in the case of the peace treaty between Rameses II of Egypt and Hattusilis, king of the Hittites, after the inconclusive battle of Kadesh (^c1295 B.C.). The text engraved on silver tablets was "laid at the feet of" the respective deities so that it was invested with divine sanction and authority (10).

Religion and social control, then, are inextricably interwoven in both theory and practice. It remains for us to explore the nature of this interaction in the experience of Ancient Egypt and Classical Athens.

ii) ANALYTICAL CATEGORIES

One of the problems which bedevils the sociologist in his approach to complex pre-industrial systems is the question of method. He can take refuge in the distinctions which are made between the model orientations of the sociologists and those of the historians (11) and argue that Sociology, per se, is not primarily interested in the particular and the unique, but in the recurrent and the general. Yet this nomothetic approach still entails analyses based on specific historical knowledge. Facts are still important even if - to make good sociological sense - they must be related to other classes of facts. The seemingly limited ability of Sociology to cope with this kind of material is not peculiar to the Social Sciences which tend to be conceptual rather than predictive; it is related to the paucity of specific historical information and the nature of historical interpretation (12).

In the study of history, method is not only important, it also presents particular difficulties. It has not been possible to formulate anything approaching a law of historical development (13), and even modest correlations between historically significant variables have proved to be subject to interminable qualifications. This has been particularly marked in attempts to establish relationships between social structures and religious ideologies.

All events have a multiplicity of causes, and in order to avoid the fruitlessness of infinite regression, we must choose the cause which seems most appropriate, although in doing so we may be simply selecting the antecedents which we regard as significant (14). In examining the effects of one institution upon others, it is important to make the elementary distinction between necessary and sufficient causes. And equally important, but much more difficult because of their fluid complexities, are the interpretations of these interactive and sequential patterns in terms of meaning.

The main concern of the sociologist must be to make general statements about social reality, and classification is an indispensable means to generalisation. Taxonomies must not be mere inventions, but classifications of material based upon relevant principles (15). In a sense, taxonomic knowledge implies prediction. "The classification of objects involves a prediction of how they will behave in given circumstances, and hence the classification of objects is associated with the classification of situations" (16). But just how are societies to be classified? The problem has been to decide on the most useful criteria.

Theorists have resorted to simple but significant dichotomies which express, in one way or another, the differences between fundamentally distinct types of society. Ferdinand Tonnies' analysis in terms of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft societies (17) was influenced by earlier Status and Contract divisions suggested by the anthropologist, Henry Maine. Tonnies wanted to identify the differences between societies governed by natural or affective relations, and those where social relations were conditioned by rational and technical considerations. This dichotomy is roughly analogous to that of Emile Durkheim (18) who stressed the relationships arising from the division of labour in societies characterised by either mechanical or organic solidarity. These classifications emphasise levels of cohesion and integration in society and the patterns of social organisation associated with them, and are an advance on the elementary dichotomies which were also current at the same period (19).

There can be nothing essentially wrong with these classifications. As analytical aids to the understanding of social development and organisation, they can only be judged on the basis of their utility or otherwise. But the problem for the present study is just how meaningful they are for the specific study of pre-industrial societies. Many of them presuppose, or at least anticipate, the transition to the industrialised state. Where there is an insinuation of progress, there is often the implicit assumption that all stages give way, more or less inexorably, to the final and most desirable stage which is equated with a variety of

possibly incompatible end-states ranging from the rule of science to the classless society. Implicit developmental values of this kind are not particularly helpful in any analysis of pre-industrial systems.

A common and more apposite classificatory scheme is the simple division of societies into Slave, Caste, Estate and Class based systems. This too has developmental overtones, but is more appropriate especially to the study of complex pre-industrial societies. It is essentially a stratificatory typology, and therefore has a limited usefulness. Stratificatory criteria are structurally oriented. To this extent, they tend to be inflexible and descriptive. Alternatively, a re-alignment of the institutional variables could provide a credible analysis in terms of control mechanisms. This would give more emphasis to the dynamic processes which sustain the system and keep the structural components in being. There is no one type of pre-industrial society, but forms of social control are ubiquitous phenomena which are as valid as other factorial criteria as bases of social analysis.

Methodologies then are limited: documentation is often sparse and there is a paucity of information, especially of a statistical kind, in certain important areas. For example, in Classical Athens - which is said by some to be a slave-based society (20) - there are no reliable figures as to the actual numbers of slaves or the population. It can be invidious to make judgements of value when they are based on disputable facts.

Talcott Parsons has provided a germinal analysis of what he terms the Archaic and "seed-bed" types of society (21), and although the present study is indebted to Parsons in many important ways, it differs significantly from his analysis. Parsons defines the Archaic type of society as that which is characterised by "craft literacy and cosmological religion" (22). The cultural elaboration of the cosmological system is linked with the literacy of the priesthood, and this ensures the perpetuation of a written tradition. This predominantly esoteric literacy is limited to specialised

groups which constitute the administrative elite of the society. The cultic centres, the temples, from which the priests mediate the religio-cultural traditions may also be the focal points of social organisation. Kinship and community interests may well be subordinated to their service; their maintenance will pattern the economic arrangements of the society. Political and religious offices overlap, especially at the very apex of the administrative hierarchy, possibly in the person of a priest-king who predominates in a three-tier system of ruler, nobility and people. The structure of society might be notably hierarchical, as Egypt, or more segmental, as in Mesopotamia. In both cases, the control of these societies - given the level of religio-cultural symbolization - required tightly controlled ritual and political administrations. The relative decentralisation of Mesopotamian society gave the constituent units more autonomy but less stability than in Egypt (23).

The "seed-bed" society is much less clearly defined by Parsons. Fundamentally, it constitutes a culturally innovative society whose impact may have been relatively small at the time of its developmental period, but whose influence has since been quite incalculable. Its cultural products have become dissociated from their society, but have had special consequences for many subsequent societies. In this respect, Parsons distinguishes both ancient Israel and Greece as "seed-bed" societies.

This study recognises the value of Parsons' typologies. It is particularly influenced by Parsons' delineation of the Archaic society, but has some reservations about the singularity of the type of society designated "seed-bed". The key differentiae of both Israel and Greece had their anticipations and reflections in other systems (24). However, for our present purposes, Parsons' delineations of these two types of society, though important, are both insufficient and - in certain important respects - inappropriate. Instead, a somewhat more highly polarised dichotomy is hypothesised to highlight certain fundamental differences in orientation between Ancient Egypt which will be typified as a Static (25) society, and Classical Athens which will be typified as a Dynamic society.

The STATIC society may be seen as a highly centralised system displaying:

- i) A pervasive theocratic ethic which is integrally harnessed to the interests of the State.
- ii) Bureaucratic control in the hands of a hierarchy of specialists who may be sacred or secular officials; precise differentiation may vary at particular operational levels. These may hold their rank either by birth or by appointment - (the distinction (26) may not always be clear in actual cases).
- iii) Circumscribed intellectual enquiry with scholar-literacy only.
- iv) Minimal institutional and role differentiation.
- v) An emphasis on ascriptive status valuation.
- vi) Socio-cultural exclusivity and self-conscious ethnicity.
- vii) Inflexible political and legal systems.
- viii) Central (State) control of the economy. Low order value of trade and market-development.
- ix) Social equilibrium: a homogeneous and relatively static social order.
- x) Relative permanence.
- xi) Retrospective orientations - a preoccupation with the glories and traditions of the past.
- xii) Centrally developed military organisation.

Egypt was not only a theocratic (= god-ruled) system, it was also a theobasilic (god-king) system. This is possibly the most significant difference between Egypt and its Static-type contemporary, Mesopotamia, and is almost certainly connected with the autonomy-centralisation issue which also separated them. In Mesopotamia, the lugal, the "great one", though supreme, was a mere servant of the gods, especially his tutelary deity. In Egypt, on the other hand, the king was god.

By comparison, the DYNAMIC society may be characterised as a people's system possessing:

- i) Humanistic orientations, with a religious ethic which is not effectively harnessed to the needs of the State.

- ii) No developed bureaucracy of specialist officials. Administration is either loosely aristocratic or widely diffused through a proletarian assembly system. No clear differentiation between sacred and secular spheres. No highly institutionalised system of professional religious functionaries, as such; rituals are the province of many-roled leaders.
- iii) A high degree of intellectual freedom and literacy.
- iv) Comparatively high institutional and role differentiation.
- v) Trends towards achievement status valuation.
- vi) Some degree of socio-cultural inclusivity.
- vii) Political and legal flexibility and experimentation.
- viii) Free-market economy.
- ix) Social disequilibrium - a heterogeneous and relatively unstable social order.
- x) Relative impermanence.
- xi) Qualified prospective orientations.
- xii) Militia-type military system.

The Greeks of the Classical period - partly as a result of the ever-present Persian threat - had become increasingly conscious of their common bonds. They were united specifically by language and religious traditions, although the strength of these religious ideas had already begun to wane (27). The Greeks recognised their internal differences, their separate traditions and their political heterogeneity. But they were also conscious of a body of shared tradition and of a cultural homogeneity which they believed marked them off from the barbaroi of the non-Greek world. The more cosmopolitan city-states, especially Athens, encouraged aliens to settle in the city and participate in the life of the community (28). These resident aliens, or metics, who may - with the slaves - have constituted a majority of the population, were not allowed full citizenship. They had no vote, and were mainly engaged in petty trade and manufacturing, although "some were prominent bankers, but we hear only of those who became in some way conspicuous. We have no statistics for the smaller fry, so that it is not easy to guess at the full proportions"(29).

However, the typification of the Dynamic society as one characterised by prospective orientations requires some explanation when related to Classical Athens. The Athenians cannot really be regarded as proponents of progress and initiators of social reform in anything like the modern sense. They were a pre-scientific people who, like other traditional peoples, did not - and perhaps could not - envisage a world significantly different from their own. The idea of progress is predominantly a feature of technological societies, or at least societies which have come to appreciate the possibilities inherent in an emergent science. But the Greeks did display a public-spiritedness and sense of social responsibility which were not unconnected with their unquenchable political optimism. How much this can be reconciled with the social scepticism or the guarded utopianism which paradoxically were both later reflected in the "Republic", is open to dispute. The Greeks were certainly resourceful and original, "they inherited little but their native vitality, a barren soil, the sunshine and the sea" (30). With this limited endowment, they fashioned a remarkable civilisation. The Athenians, in particular, possessed a humanistic confidence in the enduring qualities of their own culture not least of all their 'natural' democratic processes. Alvin Gouldner sees this rationality as an identifiable trait in the Athenian "social character" which is related to "low object attachment". Such people "select goals and means rather than having these imposed by unexaminable tradition and rather than being bound to them by deeply affective sentiments or by a fear-laden belief in their sacred character" (31). For a while, they seemed on the threshold of embracing a consistently rationalistic ethic. It was incipient within the system, but - for good or ill - was never fully realised. It has been suggested that the Greek failure to achieve a truly humanistic society was a contributory factor in its ultimate decline (32). Certainly the gropings toward a liberal society foundered as the structural deficiencies and ideological inconsistencies gradually became apparent.

iii) PATTERNS OF HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Any analysis of the respective structures and value-orientations of Egyptian and Athenian societies necessarily requires some appreciation of their historical biographies. It is therefore important to trace periods of development and consolidation, of dormancy, resurgence and eventual decline in both societies.

EGYPT

The life of Egypt was dominated and sustained by what Herodotus termed "the gift of the Nile". In a land with negligible rainfall, the annual inundations commencing in July and reaching their peak early in September, became the focus of both practical activity and reverential concern (33).

The earliest villages date from about 5000 B.C. A cemetery of this period has been found at Deir Tasa in Middle Egypt containing food, ornaments and Neolithic tools. By this time, therefore, the people were leading a settled, agricultural existence. They had developed relatively sophisticated techniques for the making and firing of pottery, the fashioning of simple jewellery, and even the manufacture of eye make-up which may have had a prophylactic as well as a cosmetic function. The archeological evidence (34) suggests that from late pre-historic times, perhaps ^c3500 B.C., a steady inflow of immigrants was taking place in Lower i.e. Northern Egypt, possibly from Mesopotamia. Cultural traits such as decorated brickwork, balanced groups of animals as an artistic motif, and particularly the appearance of cylinder seals, points to some acculturation process at work under influences probably emanating from the Tigris-Euphrates area.

However, the appropriation of these diffused cultural elements seems in no way to have determined the developmental patterns of the Nile civilization. Egyptian development shows a clear diversity and is always identifiably unique.

By ^c3400 B.C., two kingdoms, those of Upper (Southern) and Lower (Northern) Egypt had evolved. These co-existed for about three hundred years, but were united - probably by conquest - by Menes the king of Upper Egypt, who traditionally became the founder of the First Dynasty (35).

The first two dynasties, sometimes referred to as the Archaic Period date from ^c3100 to ^c2680 B.C. (36). A great deal of detail is, of course, lacking, but the achievements of the period can be reasonably summarised. The unification of the "Two Lands" was completed, although the duality of rule continued to be reflected in the respective and often duplicated practices of both 'kingdoms' and was symbolized by the double crown of the monarch. Both military and civil administration were organised, and the autocratic nature of control firmly established. Bureaucratic authority was facilitated by the emergence of literary skills. Possibly there had been forms of pictorial writing in pre-dynastic times, but certainly by the First Dynasty, a type of syllabic alphabet had been evolved (37).

The irrigation system and the cultivation of disposable land were well advanced in this period. Trade too was highly developed. The caravan routes of the Fertile Crescent had long been in operation, and the waterway of the Nile provided a ready means of transportation. This is evidenced by the wide range and distribution of both imported and exported products. Architecturally and artistically, the first

impressive steps were being made. Stone was being used in small quantities, and free-standing sculptures were a feature of the latter part of the period. The chief building material, however, for such structures as the royal tombs still remained sun-dried or mud brick. These were located at Sakkara (just south of modern Cairo) near the capital of Memphis, and were often so large that they may have been constructed as burial equivalents or barely scaled-down sepulchral facsimiles of contemporary palaces (38).

During the pre-dynastic period, it may be that independent tribal groupings had animal totems which were regarded as sacred and which were eventually elevated to the rank of gods. It follows that internecine struggles may have resulted in a series of hegemonic political structures which were, in turn, reflected in the prevailing religious order. The conqueror's deity would probably be regarded as supreme, whilst the deities of the conquered, though still worshipped, would occupy a subordinate place. By the time the tribal groups had coalesced into two kingdoms, the southern falcon-god Horus and Buto the serpent-goddess of the north were among the most important deities (39), and this oligotheistic principle was later represented in the symbolization of the united kingdom (40). There is evidence too that by the Archaic period, the authority of the king had full ritual sanctions. Food, weapons, chairs and other utensils were part of the furnishings of the royal tombs, as was the boat in which the spirit of the monarch was to travel with the sun-god. As in Sumeria (41), attendants were killed or immolated within the tombs so that they could serve their masters in the next life.

The Old Kingdom period covering Dynasties 3-6 (i.e. ^c2700-^c2200 B.C.) probably epitomises the full flowering of Egyptian culture. The unquestioned power of the god-king possibly reached its zenith during

the fourth Dynasty. The absolute monarch was regarded as the owner of all land and property and the source of all law. The king's chief minister, the vizier, administered justice from the capital at Memphis. He controlled the grain supply, the treasury, the army, public works and the priesthoods through a body of trained officials. The most important offices of State were in the hands of the nobility who were almost invariably members of the king's own family. Even the governors of the forty-odd nomes, or administrative districts, had become appointees of the king, although formerly these had been independent. This may have happened during the fourth and fifth Dynasties by granting lands to the nobles as a guarantee of the provision of services and food for the royal tombs. Until this time, the governorships of the nomes seem to have been held by the nobles on some form of rotational system which required the king's formal sanction. The concession of permanent tenure increased their power and their independence towards the end of the Old Kingdom period.

Trade increased during the Old Kingdom, especially with the Lebanon. At the same time, the turquoise and copper mines of Sinai were being exploited to advantage. All formal trade, however, was in the hands of the king and the nobles, and the enormous revenues which accrued were used extensively for State-cult purposes. The Egyptian pantheon by now consisted of a bewildering array of deities. Those who represented the cosmic forces, especially Re the sun-god, had been venerated from early times; other local gods such as Osiris gradually came to national prominence (42). But the Pyramid Texts (43) make it clear that the operational religion of Egypt was the State-cult of the god-king who - apparently inconsistently - was both personally divine and at the same time the servant of the gods.

The unapproachable and inviolable nature of kingship lent an authority to the monarch that was believed to persist after death. This was the Pyramid Age when the increasing capital resources of the State were largely devoted to providing funerary complexes and what were ostensibly gigantic monument-tombs for the kings. The colossal expenditure involved in these ventures may have contributed to the eventual decline to what has become known as the First Intermediate Period which lasted for some hundred and fifty years and witnessed a breakdown of the established social order. It is not quite certain what exactly precipitated the social chaos which apparently ensued. It was a phase of Egyptian history analagous, in some respects, to our own Dark Ages, not only in the sense that little is known about it, but also because of the extent of social dislocation which attended it. The lack of the records hardly helps, but it is reasonably clear (44) that a measure of central control was relinquished whilst autonomous groups struggled for power. The traditional social verities were challenged and behavioural norms called into question. It was an ideologically traumatic time for Egyptian culture which never quite recovered from this chastising - and perhaps salutary - experience.

The Middle Kingdom period which followed lasted from ^c2050 to ^c1800 B.C., and mainly concerns the relatively long-lasting twelfth Dynasty. During the eleventh Dynasty, attempts were begun to restore some semblance of normality to the socio-political order. This task was consolidated during the twelfth Dynasty. The power of the nomarchs, the district governors, and that of the monarch was re-constituted with a new capital at Thebes in Upper Egypt. The cult of the god-king was re-affirmed, and in order to lend divine

support to his enterprises, Amun, the local god of Thebes was admitted to the Egyptian pantheon where he joined the sun-god Re of Heliopolis ('the city of the Sun' just north of Cairo), Ptah of Memphis and Osiris of Abydos. Order was re-established; the nobles enjoying increased prestige with the 'democratisation of the cults', a development which appears to be reflected in the burial customs of the period (45). Towards the end of the Old Kingdom, when nobles seemed to be gaining in power, their tombs became larger and those of the kings less ambitious. In the Middle Kingdom, although the tombs of the nobles are clearly less ostentatious than those of the kings, it can be seen from their contents and the "Coffin Texts" that they were empowered to use similar prayers and rituals to those used by the king to achieve beatitude in the next world.

This was also a period of political and economic expansion. A campaign in Canaan (modern Israel) strengthened a weak frontier, a canal was built around the First Cataract and the boundaries of Egypt extended south into Nubia as far as the Second Cataract. A canal was also built linking the Delta with the Red Sea, and trade was encouraged as far afield as Crete, then developing its own very significant civilization, Asia Minor and Arabia.

By this time, the Egyptians had made appreciable strides in the sciences: / ^{their} mathematics was well-developed, although probably not as advanced as their Mesopotamian contemporaries. They were very competent at practical geometrical applications, as their monumental architecture shows. They had devised an accurate calendar, but although they made careful astronomical observations, it is still not certain to what extent they had developed any coherent body of theory about the physical nature of the cosmos (46).

Towards the close of the twelfth Dynasty, there were renewed internal struggles. This era of division and general social debility is now termed the Second Intermediate Period and spanned the five subsequent dynasties i.e. Dynasties 13-17 ^c1800-^c1550 B.C. The widespread unrest made it possible for Egypt to be infiltrated by miscellaneous groups of foreign invaders usually collectively designated the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings. They were almost certainly tribes of Semitic peoples who eventually arrived in such numbers that by ^c1720 they controlled the Delta (47). Within a hundred years, they dominated Lower Egypt and had compelled Upper Egypt to accept their authority. They brought with them the horse-drawn chariot, body armour and the compound bow, all of which must have contributed considerably to their military successes.

There was a very limited degree of assimilation of the Hyksos who were the effective rulers of a series of shadow Theban Kings. The Egyptians appear to have had ambivalent attitudes towards them. There seems to have been a grudging admiration for their hardiness and rough efficiency, but at the same time they were despised as uncouth barbarian intruders. With the decline of their power and the concomitant rise of another Theban house, the eighteenth Dynasty was established ^c1570 B.C. under Ahmose I who eventually drove the Hyksos from Egypt. Thus was initiated the New Kingdom or Empire period (48) which lasted - despite further political upheavals - for some five hundred years.

The Empire is usually regarded as the Golden Age of ancient Egypt. Until this time, no serious expansionist policies had been pursued by the State. The relatively isolated situation of Egypt in earlier times had presumably made such policies unnecessary. But with the growing need to repel the incursion of would-be invaders

and check the depredations of border tribes, it became a short step from defence to offence. The task of reconstruction became one of expansion. Having mobilized the necessary forces to oust the Hyksos and reconquer Nubia and secure the traditional territories, the implementation of imperialist policies was a natural progression. Firm control was exerted over the regional governors and the centrifugal tendencies of earlier periods were minimized by authoritarian government.

By ^c1400 B.C., Egypt had extended her power to the south beyond the Sudan as far as the Fourth Cataract in Ethiopia. Cyprus too came within the Egyptian sphere of influence, and this gave her much-needed copper. Canaan (Palestine) and Syria were also under the suzerainty of Egypt, although several neighbouring powers, namely the Mitanni in Syria and the old Kassite Kingdom of Babylonia exerted counter-influences in their respective areas (49). The later formidable force of the Assyrians to the northeast was still largely dormant, although there were soon to be some uneasy stirrings of the terror to come. The most immediate threat to the Egyptians was the growing power of the Hittites in Anatolia (Turkey). It may not be entirely coincidental that the period of greatest Hittite power ^c1360, was also a time of political weakness and indecision in Egypt where Akhenaten was preoccupied with domestic and religious reforms and cared seemingly little for foreign policy. The Hittites had mastered the use of iron which gave them superior weapons, and their strength was eventually tested at Kadesh ^c1295 by the nineteenth Dynasty Pharaoh (50) Rameses II (the Great). Both protagonists claimed that they had gained the day, but from the later settlement made between the two powers it can be reasonably inferred that it was actually something of a stalemate.

The Empire is particularly noteworthy for its art and literature. The treasures of Tutankhamun (c1352-1344 B.C.) date from this period, as does also the monotheistic interlude of the mystical Akhenaten who reigned from c1369-c1355 B.C. The restoration of Egyptian power after the Hittite threat can be mainly attributed to the rulers of the nineteenth Dynasty, who established a new capital at Tanis in the Delta. In particular, Rameses the Great who commemorated his achievements - often in rather overweening and exaggerated terms (51) - in monumental stone structures which include the incredible temple complex at Karnak near Thebes, and the gigantic rock temple and figures at Abu Simbel in Nubia.

Hittite power began to decline c1200, at a time which coincided with the incursions of the rather mysterious "Sea Peoples" who were probably heterogeneous groups of proto-Greeks and others from the Western Mediterranean (52). These and other Libyan invaders were ultimately repulsed by Rameses III of the twentieth Dynasty (c1200-c1190 B.C.), the last ruling house of the Empire period. Throughout its hundred years or so, it remained powerful enough to discourage attacks from outside although Egypt's Asiatic possessions were being gradually whittled away by alien successes on her Eastern borders. The domestic agricultural wealth of the nation remained unimpaired, as did the supply of gold from the South. The chief difficulties seem once again to have been internal. The authority of the central government weakened and its control of local officials became consequently uncertain. This applied particularly to the powerful priesthoods, especially that of Amun. Perhaps it was a failure of management which, in turn, was aggravated by the presence of large contingents

of foreign mercenaries who proved to be increasingly unresponsive to discipline. Once again the North became administratively separate from the South, a division in which the priests played an important and calculating role.

The great days were now over. For the next five hundred years of the Post-Empire period, Egypt was controlled variously by dynasties of Nubians and Ethiopians. "What was lacking was not a government or a way of life, but the intensity and efficiency of extra achievement, the artistic and literary successes that in the past had raised Egypt above the level of the commonplace and routine organisation" (53).

The ultimate humiliation came with successive conquests by ascendant world powers, the Persians in 525 B.C., the Greeks commanded by Alexander in 332 B.C., and finally the Romans under Pompeius in 63 B.C. The last three Dynasties, 31-33 were those of the Ptolomies, acculturated Macedonians who built up the academic reputation of Alexandria and observed the traditional mores and practices like fervent new converts to an ancient faith. But their enthusiasm could hardly support the crumbling hollow shell of Egyptian culture, or counter the erosiveness of their own internecine struggles. Fittingly it was the opportunistic Romans who not only presided over the death throes of a civilization but also dealt the decisive coup-de-grace.

GREECE.

It is hardly meaningful to consider - even briefly - the history of Athens without setting it in its overall Hellenic context. But this too has its limits because, unlike Egypt, Greek civilization was no one kind of a thing. The Greek culture was homogeneous only in its unilateral love of heterogeneity. There were, admittedly, the unifying forces of the common language and common cults symbolised

by joint participation in the games at Olympus traditionally founded in 776 B.C. But within this loose general framework there was an immense diversity which was eventually to be reflected in the fratricidal Peloponessian War.

The evidence is now conclusive that there had been flourishing proto-Greek civilizations in Crete from ^c2000 to ^c1400 B.C. (probably under Egyptian influence) and on the southern mainland centred on Mycenae from ^c1400 to ^c1200 B.C. (54). Various invaders, notably the Dorians, settled in Greece from the north ^c1100 B.C. and gradually evolved a civilization which, although having a character of its own, owed much to the cultural traditions which had been assimilated. This period which lasted for about three hundred years down to ^c800 B.C., is still sometimes referred to as the "Dark Ages", although in the light of more recent archeological evidence, this may be regarded as at least inappropriate, if not actually something of a misnomer. Life at this time certainly seems to have been simpler and generally less ostentatious than during previous cultural phases. All the evidence (55) points to lower levels of architectural achievement and artistic excellence during this formative 'interim' period of Greek civilization.

By the eighth century B.C., an emergent Greek civilization existed. It was eventually centered on the mainland and the adjacent islands and also in the coastal regions of Asia Minor known as Ionia. The Ionian Greeks who had migrated to Asia Minor as early as the tenth century, had, by the sixth century, become noted for their intellectual precocity (56) and maritime enterprise. It was during the eighth century also that among the singular Greek institutions (57), the embryonic polis or city-state began

to form (58). Before long, many of these states were founding their own colonies throughout the Eastern Mediterranean World. For example, Megara and Chalcis founded Chalcedon and Byzantium respectively, and Corinth, which led in Western colonization (59) established her most famous colony at Syracuse in Sicily in 735 B.C. Other colonies were established in the Black Sea area, in North Africa and in Italy (60) where Athens - which played a relatively small part in this expansionist and migratory activity - founded Tarentum (modern Taranto). Established mainly in the eighth and seventh centuries, these new states, though independent, maintained generally good relations with their mother cities. As part of Magna Graecia, they recognised a common identity, although the practice of colonization probably promoted changes in the social realignments of some individual Greeks who in times of stress between founding poleis, were inclined to espouse the cause of their protective parent cities. The migratory impulse was primarily economic, and the mother cities were often quick to encourage emigration in order to relieve political and economic pressure in their own areas.

Exploration and colonization had far reaching results (61). They created in the colonies a demand for the products of the mother country. This, in turn, led to an increase in trade and the need to exploit the new sources of raw materials. As time passed, this new found wealth from the development of overseas markets, the importation of luxury goods from the East, and the emergence of a money economy (62) all had their effects upon Greek society, particularly that traditionally austere body, the land-owning aristocracy. The position of the aristocracy was also undermined by the concomitant growth of merchant groups, manufacturers, artisans and especially resident aliens. The unforeseen consequences of this was political as well as economic instability (63). The colonization which the

city fathers had encouraged as a safety-valve, resulted eventually in the creation of classes which finally brought about the upheavals which they had feared. Various steps were taken in different poleis to stem the tide of revolutionary unrest. Sparta restricted the use of coinage. Thebes pronounced as ineligible for political office anyone who had engaged in trade within the last ten years. But Athens, on the other hand, welcomed immigrants and encouraged all kinds of economic development, although the ruling classes long resisted the demands of this insistent commercial pressure. There is little doubt that this conflict of ideologies was a contributory cause of the ultimate clash between Athens and Sparta in the fifth century (64).

The rise of the poleis was coincidental with the decline in the institution of monarchy throughout the Greek world. Kings were relegated to the ranks of the dominant aristocracies and assumed the roles of ritual and genos (clan) leaders. Even in Sparta where a form of dual monarchy was retained, the kings themselves had diminished responsibilities; real authority lay with the ephors or city elders. Poleis, especially those developed by the Dorians, were often centered on a citadel of some kind - although again this was not so in the case of the Spartans where the state focused on a very modest group of villages (65). The object originally was probably purely functional; citadels provided a strong base from which the surrounding subject peoples could be efficiently administered. Gradually participatory procedures evolved within the poleis, although control still remained largely in the hands of the aristocracies.

Between ^c800 and ^c500 B.C., the aristocracies gained in wealth and prestige, perhaps at the cost of both kings and people. Their

power was little affected by the growing prosperity of the merchant classes whose ranks some of them joined. The increasing numbers of absentee landlords found that they often had a great deal in common with those with commercial interests. It was the aristocracy which was usually best able to mobilize colonial contingents and organise the necessary investment for trading purposes. Entrepreneurial ventures were risky, and overseas trade was particularly precarious, but for the successful - or the lucky - profits could outweigh the uncertainties. Political office was monopolised either by members of the noble families in general or by one dominant noble family or clan in particular (66) as for example, the Bacchiadae who from the middle of the eighth century ruled Corinth for nearly a hundred years, or the Alcmaeonidae who were the most important clan in Athens.

It was the aristocrats who had the required legal expertise to preside over the rudimentary courts and take care of the administration of justice. But where there was no clearly codified law, we find bitter complaints about the rapacity and venality of those who presumed to arbitrate the claims of others (67). The aristocracy was also able to legitimate its power in religious terms. As clan heads, they were the repositories of ritual knowledge. The gods were not, as yet, seriously questioned: the born leaders were those who alone could offer them the customary addresses and the most efficacious gifts.

The period from ^c650 to ^c550 B.C., is sometimes known as the 'Age of the Tyrants'. The term 'tyranny' is correctly used when it refers to the illegal or unconstitutional way in which a person seizes power rather than the ways in which that power is exercised. The Greek tyrants (68) were usually aristocrats. Not one of them

established an enduring 'dynasty', although in a few cases the family stayed in power for some time (69). Most frequently, the sons of the tyrants who often possessed neither the efficiency nor charisma of their fathers lost power after a period of oppressive and unpopular rule (70).

Tyrants sometimes increased their power by the reorganisation of tribal units and even by the introduction of new regime-supporting cults, but it must not be thought that their period of rule was one of unmitigated oppression. In fact, some of them were benefactors to their respective states and made significant contributions to the artistic and architectural enrichment of the cities (71). Tyrants obviously differed in their reasons for aspiring to power, but the conditions which tended to produce them have a certain similarity. The states in question were usually of a commercial cast, where - it may be argued - it was easier for factions to exist. It is perhaps noteworthy that states outside the mainstream of commercial life and with firmly established aristocracies such as Sparta, rarely if ever produced tyrants.

From the seventh century onwards, a number of law codes were formulated and published. The earliest of these was traditionally that of Zaleucus of Locris, a colony in Southern Italy, although this was predated by the reforms in Sparta attributed to the legendary Lycurgus c. 800 B.C. Presumably such codes were largely based upon customary bodies of rules which were already in existence, and were therefore attempts to rationalise and modify what was already current practice. There was a pressing need to transfer authority from the clan to the polis particularly in relation to the dispensation of justice. The establishment of rudimentary courts became necessary in a growing and increasingly differentiated

society. The legislators also wanted to protect the noble families and their estates, and naturally to safeguard the rules of inheritance. The codes themselves were relatively simple, and might even be memorized (72). They were nothing like as complex as those of the Mesopotamian States a thousand years before, or as subject to government interpretation as those of Egypt.

About 620 B.C., a famous but largely unknown code was published by an Athenian commissioner named Draco whose name - perhaps a little unjustly - has become synonymous with severity. In 594 B.C., the governing body of the Athenian polis chose Solon as its archon for the year. This gave him considerable latitude to institute various political and economic reforms, mainly in an attempt to redress the balance between the richer and poorer families - a problem which had virtually brought Athens to the point of revolution. His agricultural reforms involved a switch from cereal to olive-growing, and a greater concentration upon rudimentary industry in the city itself. As with so many who try to make sweeping changes and yet at the same time try to steer a middle road, Solon eventually disappointed many of his supporters. His failure to redistribute the land in the ways which would have pleased the poor, alienated some support, and his cancelling of debts hardly endeared him to the middle classes. But the impetus of his reforms helped to usher Athens into a new age of prosperity, and precipitated her rise to fame as the commercial and intellectual centre of the Greek world. His reform of the constitution also edged Athens considerably nearer to what the Greeks understood by democracy.

Solon was possibly the 'morning star' of the Greek achievement but his 'new deal' was only observed for about ten years. Reaction,

particularly by the landowners, hardened and the recently democratized state gave way to the tyranny of Peisistratus. He was a strategos, or general, who had just distinguished himself in inter-state warfare - a fratricidal pastime of the Greeks - and who seized power in 561 B.C. His period of power, although characterised by the customary banishments of political opponents and the confiscations of land, was also accompanied by a policy of commercial and cultural enlightenment which did nothing to hamper Athens in her bid to become the leading state in Greece.

The ascendant power in the Mediterranean World at this time was that of Persia (73). The Persians who had established satrapies, or administrative areas, in Asia Minor, inevitably came into conflict with the Ionian Greeks, and this precipitated the long-drawn-out conflict between the Greeks and the Persians, which was not finally resolved until the accession and subsequent victories of Alexander in the fourth century. Contemporary with the imminence of the Persian threat, early in the fifth century, political reorganisation was taking place in Athens under the capable leadership of Cleisthenes. This helped to create in its citizens a greater sense of participation in the life and policies of the city; Athens became more important than the sectional interests of its clans. Its developing ethos possibly prepared the way for this emergent state to withstand the onslaught to come.

The first rather abortive Persian expedition foundered in 492 B.C., when the fleet was defeated by the weather. The second attack two years later was repulsed on the plains of Marathon by a relatively small army of Athenians and Plateans. The Spartans, who were probably the most invincible military force in Greece, could not march to help them, ostensibly for religious reasons - they insisted that the moon

was not yet full and that the time was not therefore propitious. The most ambitious Persian invasion came in 480 B.C. This too was beaten by the developed sea power of the Athenians at Salamis, and by a contingent of Spartans and their allies at Platea, but not before Athens itself was partly destroyed.

The defeat of the Persians who retired to Asia still a formidable but humiliated power, heralded the golden age of Athenian achievement. Athens strengthened her position by forming the confederation of Delos (74) purportedly as a common front against further anticipated Persian incursions. From about 472 B.C., this confederacy developed empire-like characteristics under the hegemony of Athens. The transition was virtually complete by 454 B.C. when the confederacy funds, which were now contributed by the allies virtually as tribute, were transferred from Delos to Athens. The growing power and ambition of the Athenian confederacy now brought it into direct confrontation with the Peloponnesian league in southern Greece led by Sparta, Corinth and Aegina. Despite the Thirty Years Peace treaty which was made in 445 B.C., war broke out in 431 B.C. and lasted with uneasy periods of truce until 404 B.C.

The era between the defeat of the Persians and the outbreak of hostilities with Sparta, saw the full flowering of Athenian culture. The Periclean period of Athenian history was the time of its greatest splendour (75), but it was extraordinarily brief, only fourteen years between 445 and 431 B.C. Pericles, an Athenian aristocrat and general was probably the chief architect of Athenian expansionism. Under his chequered leadership, new colonies were founded and the revenues of state increased largely by heavier subsidies from the allies (76) within the Delian league. The literary, artistic and architectural

accomplishments of the period can only be described as spectacular. The cultural ethos and intellectual curiosity of Athens attracted gifted men, and probably at no other period in history has such a concentration of talent been seen operating in one community (77).

The influential and highly militaristic state of Sparta became increasingly suspicious of Athenian intentions, and was disturbed by her growing eminence in the Greek world. A precarious detente had been reached in the middle of the century, but eventual open conflict was really inevitable. Sparta was supported principally by her allies in the Peloponnesian league, a loose confederacy of states led by Aegina and Corinth, who were probably envious of Athens' commercial success. The immediate cause of the war - the secession of Megara from the Peloponnesian league and her alliance with Athens - is of only precipitatory importance. The underlying problems were political and ideological. Sparta, a non-democratic state, posed as the champion of non-imperialist values in her confrontation with Athenian expansionism. And Athens, reputedly the personification of liberal democracy, exhibited some of the qualities of repressive imperialism (78). There was an oscillation of fortune in the war until the catastrophic destruction of a huge Athenian force at Syracuse in 413 B.C. in a vain attempt to secure the Sicilian corn trade. The Athenian allies were in revolt, and the Persians gave support to Sparta, but the Athenians struggled on gaining some intermittent successes. The end for Athens came in 404 B.C. with the capture of the bulk of her fleet at Aegospotami and a three-months seige of the city which brought her to unconditional surrender. The terms were humilitating but not disastrous. After a turbulent period of social and political unrest, a form of democracy was restored and Athens again settled down to a time of relative peace as a second-class power.

There were brief moments of resurgence during the earlier part of the fourth century. Alliances and allegiances changed with baffling rapidity. Athens reformed her confederacy on more modest lines. The almost mesmeric quality of the Spartan arms began to fade, and she was beaten by her erstwhile friends, the Persians, after having defeated her former allies, the Corinthians, who were on this occasion also joined by the Athenians. The Persians were still a power to be reckoned with, and she imposed a "King's peace" upon the Greeks in 386 B.C. This confirmed her authority in Asia Minor, checked the power of Sparta, and allowed Athens to reform her confederacy. But there was little respite from war. Athens defeated the Spartans at sea, and the Thebans defeated them on land, the ambition of Thebes then drew the traditional enemies, Sparta and Athens, into a coalition against her. This unsuccessful bid to curb Theban power left all the participants economically and militarily exhausted, and made way for the emergence of Macedonia. The collapse of the Athenian confederacy in 354 B.C. and the weakness of both Sparta and Thebes indirectly facilitated the rise of Macedonian power first in Greece under Philip and later in the entire Middle East under his son, Alexander.

This spelled the final eclipse of Athens as a power, although her cultural influence lived on; her reputation as a centre of learning continued even in Roman times. Despite the brevity of her "golden age", her accomplishments have become enshrined in living traditions and the memorials of her creativity can still excite the wonder of new generations. What we know about ancient Greece is very largely what we know about Athens. Justly or not, Athenian culture has become almost synonymous with the Greek achievement.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. "One cannot trace a social fact of any complexity except by following its development through a social species". Durkheim goes on to say that "Comparative Sociology is not a particular branch of sociology; it is sociology itself".
EMILE DURKHEIM Rules of Sociological Method p.139 FREE PRESS 1964
2. Note the view of G. LENSKI (Power and Privilege p.436 McGRAW-HILL 1966) that religion has its greatest impact where its specialists are supported by political institutions.
3. These are necessarily approximations for ill-defined periods - particularly in the case of Egypt. Inferences concerning these periods have often had to be made from conditions existing at later dates, for example, HERODOTUS on Ptolemaic Egypt, and ARISTOTLE on the Athenian constitution of the 4th century B.C.
4. PETER WORSLEY "Religion as a Category" in R. ROBERTSON (Ed) Readings in the Sociology of Religion PENGUIN 1969.
5. TALCOTT PARSONS The Social System FREE PRESS 1951
6. See the very clear discussion of these issues in PERCY COHEN Modern Social Theory Chapters 2 and 6 HEINEMANN 1968.
7. See H. BREDEMEIR & R. STEPHENSON The Analysis of Social Systems p.146 HOLT, RINEHART & WINSTON 1970 and TALCOTT PARSONS An Outline of the Social System in Theories of Society (Eds. T. PARSONS, E. SHILS, K. NAEGEL and J. PITTS) FREE PRESS 1961.
8. "There must be available a morally acceptable explanation of the society's particular system of institutional arrangements, including its social disparities".
ELIZABETH NOTTINGHAM Religion and Society p.42 RANDOM HOUSE 1964.
9. See S.N. KRAMER The Sumerians UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS 1973
10. "As for these words, a thousand gods the male gods and the female gods of them of Hatti, together with a thousand gods of the male gods and the female gods of them of the land of Egypt are with me as witnesses..." Any violation would therefore be seen as an affront to the honour of both the earthly and cosmic forces.
See J.A. WILSON The Culture of Ancient Egypt pp.247-249 UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS 1971.
11. ROBERT BIERSTEDT B.J.S. 1959 (based on ideas advanced earlier by W. DILTHEY).
12. See, P. GARDINER The Nature of Historical Explanation (especially Parts II & III) OXFORD 1961.

13. See, for example, K. POPPER The Poverty of Historicism R.K.P. 1957.
and A. STINCHCOMBE Constructing Social Theories pp.101-118
HARCOURT BRACE & WORLD 1968.
14. See E. SHILS and H. FINCH Max Weber on the Methodology of the
Social Sciences FREE PRESS 1949.
15. Note the treatment of classifications which is particularly critical of
Parsonian schemata in A.R. LOUCH Explanation and Human Action
Chapt. 2 BLACKWELL 1966.
16. B. de JOUVENAL The Art of Conjecture p.63 WEIDENFELD 1967.
17. FERDINAND TONNIES Community and Society MICHIGAN 1957.
18. E. DURKHEIM On the Division of Labour in Society MACMILLAN 1933.
19. Note the division of simple to complex and homogeneous to heterogeneous
of Herbert Spencer (Principles of Sociology) and the even more rudimentary:
Savagery, Barbarism and Civilisation Scheme proposed by Lewis Morgan
(Ancient Society).
20. See G. THOMSON Slavery in Ancient Greece in JILL CLASTER (Ed)
Athenian Democracy HOLT, RINEHART & WINSTON 1970.
21. TALCOTT PARSONS Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives
op. cit. pp.51-62: 103-108. PRENTICE-HALL 1966.
22. "We shall distinguish two principal substages of intermediate society,
the archaic and the 'advanced intermediate'. By archaic, we mean
the first major stage in the evolution of intermediate society. The
advanced stage is characterised by full upper-class literacy and...
historic religion, one which has broken through to philosophical
levels of generalisation and systematisation".
TALCOTT PARSONS Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives
op. cit. p.51.
23. Much here would depend upon the definition of Mesopotamian society
which could - despite sequential patterns of power, Sumerian, Akkadian,
Babylonian, Assyrian etc. - be regarded as one continuous 'civilisation'.
24. The Polis of Greece certainly had its anticipation in the city-state
systems of early Mesopotamia (See G. ROUX Ancient Iraq PENGUIN 1964)
And, in some respects, the uniqueness of Israelite religion - especially
in its developmental phases - can certainly be questioned.
(See SIR FREDERICK KENYON The Bible and Archaeology HARRAP 1940).
Perhaps even more significantly, it is arguable to what extent the
cultural transmission process from both Israel and Greece was
facilitated by a third society, Rome.

25. The term 'stasis' in common Classical usage implied political or social conflict. It is not being used here in this way, but rather in its original and more literal sense of "standing" or "standing still".
26. Where there is ostensible open competition for official positions, it is not unusual for sons of the aristocracy to obtain the appointments. This may even happen where there is a form of civil service examination system as in China.
See L. EBERHARDT Social Mobility in Traditional China BRILL 1962.
Also A History of China R.K.P. 1950.
27. H. KITTO The Greeks PENGUIN 1963.
28. M. FINLEY The Ancient Greeks p.58 PENGUIN 1963.
29. A. ANDREWES Greek Society p.144 PENGUIN 1967.
30. E.B. CASTLE Ancient Education and Today PENGUIN 1961.
31. ALVIN GOULDNER Enter Plato p.71 R.K.P. 1967.
32. GILBERT MURRAY Five Stages of Greek Religion WATTS 1935
33. The Palermo Stone (so named because it is housed in the museum in Palermo) records - perhaps authentically - what purports to be something of the early history of Egypt up to the fifth Dynasty ^c2500 B.C. This is recounted not in political but economic terms, the historian(s) involved being particularly careful to note the height of the Nile from year to year. Apparently a rise of less than 25 feet or more than 30 feet might be disastrous, bringing either drought or floods.
34. J. FINEGAN Light from the Ancient Past PRINCETON 1969.
35. Scholars customarily use the system of dynasties which is ascribed to the work of Manetho, a Greek-speaking Egyptian priest who wrote in the third century B.C. According to this system Egypt had 30 dynasties down to the Greek conquest in 332 B.C., thereafter there were three additional Greek (Ptolemaic) dynasties. His work is very late for our purposes, and survives only in quotations from Greek and Roman authors.
36. The Archaic period has been very ably documented, see particularly W. EMERY Archaic Egypt PENGUIN 1972.
37. W. FLINDERS PETRIE Prehistoric Egypt LONDON 1920.
38. Some tombs were approximately 200 feet by 100 feet and consisted of several rooms around a central chamber.
39. See E. WEECH Civilizations of the Near East p.37 in W. WEECH (Ed) History of the World ODHAMS 1946.

40. The symbols of the two Kingdoms were the vulture and the uraeus serpent. (Upper Egypt acknowledged Horus, the falcon-god, and took the symbol of the vulture-goddess, Nekhebet). Sometimes the unification of Egypt was also represented by ties of lotus (South) and papyrus (North).
41. In the Royal Cemetery of Ur, the remains of some 76 attendants were discovered. Whether they were killed or went willingly to their deaths as a form of ritual mass suicide is uncertain. See L. WOOLLEY Ur of the Chaldees PENGUIN 1950.
42. Osiris represents the dying and re-living god whose adventures may have enjoyed some popularity because they appealed to a wider class spectrum - a fact that may have been prudently exploited by respective priesthoods.
43. The Pyramid Texts were - as the term suggests - writings put in the chambers of the pyramids, and were primarily ritualistic in content.
44. What little is known about the First Intermediate Period has been graphically interpreted by J.A. WILSON in The Culture of Ancient Egypt Chapt. V. op. cit.
45. The Egyptians had early developed the practice of mummification to preserve bodies. This process was expensive and was used only for kings and nobles. Because it was possible that despite all the efforts of the embalmers the body might still decay, figures or paintings were also put in the tomb as lasting symbolic representations - perhaps even as substitutes - of the physical body.
46. Some writers, e.g. P. TOMKINS Secrets of the Great Pyramid, A. LANE 1974 insist that the geodetic insights of Egyptian Pyramid and Temple construction show that in the mathematical and astronomical sciences they were very advanced indeed although this has been contested by other commentators, for example, K. MENDELSSOHN The Riddle of the Pyramids THAMES & HUDSON 1974.
47. The Hyksos probably came from N.E. Syria. They may in fact have been Mitanni, but this is uncertain. When they were eventually driven from Egypt, they were pursued into Southern Canaan, which suggests that the main areas of their suzerainty extended northwards.
48. J.A. WILSON allows for a period of consolidation and reconquest, and prefers to date the Empire from the later eighteenth Dynasty i.e. from the reign of Queen Hatshepsut ^c1465 B.C.
49. As yet, the Hebrews - whose influence was to outlive their fleeting moments of power during the reigns of David and Solomon ^c1000 B.C. - had not arrived on the scene in Canaan. Their Exodus from Egypt is usually dated from the reign of Rameses II, but this is uncertain. For a discussion see e.g. SIR FREDERICK KENYON The Bible and Archeology HARRAP 1949.

50. The term Pharaoh which comes from "pero" meaning Great House or palace has its first known recorded use during the eighteenth Dynasty in a letter to the 'heretic' king Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten).
51. See particularly the authoritative work of J.H. BREASTED History of Egypt HODDER & STOUGHTON 1946.
52. The Egyptians referred to the Sea Peoples as the "northerners in their islands". The period of their invasions also coincides with the fabled seige of Troy by the Achaeans c 1190 B.C., as recounted by Homer in the Iliad. The collapse of Mycenaen civilization in Greece also dates from about this time which again indicates the restless movements of migratory northern tribes.
53. See R.M. HAYWOOD The Ancient World p.60 MACKAY 1971.
54. Regarding Crete, see R. WILLETTS Ancient Crete BATSFORD 1969.
55. See M.I. FINLEY Early Greece: The Bronze and Archaic Ages CHATTO & WINDUS 1970 and L. COTTRELL The Lion Gate EVANS 1963.
56. Intellectual enquiry flourished, for example, at the school at Miletus which boasted the services of such teachers as Anaximander and Anaxagorus who enjoyed the reputations of highly-respected polymaths in the ancient Mediterranean world.
57. The city-state was hardly a Greek invention, similar political forms had existed in much earlier times in ancient Mesopotamia (see G. ROUX Ancient Iraq PENGUIN 1964) but in Greece their development was often linked with democratic traditions.
58. The word polis is usually translated 'city-state', but it is arguable whether this really conveys the meaning which it had for the Greeks themselves. It connotes both an ideal and a practical political experiment. See H. KITTO The Greeks PENGUIN 1951.
59. Expansion in the West was largely inhibited by the presence and sometimes hostile activities of the Carthaginians.
60. For a very thorough treatment of Greek colonization, see J. BOARDMAN The Greeks Overseas PENGUIN 1964 and also R. CARPENTER Beyond the Pillars of Hercules TANDEM 1973.
61. N. HAMMOND A History of Greece to 322 B.C. CLARENDON 1967.
62. Coinage which was developed by the Lydian kings in Asia Minor, spread to the Ionian cities - particularly Miletus and Ephesus which produced coins of electrum. From here, the practice rapidly extended to the islands and the Greek mainland.
63. See particularly, V. EHRENBERG Solon to Socrates METHUEN 1968.

64. H. BENGTSON (Ed) The Greeks and the Persians WEIDENFELD 1967.
65. The Athenian historian, Thucydides remarks that posterity, seeing the humble ruins of Sparta, would never think them appropriate to the power of Sparta at the zenith of her military achievement.
66. For a treatment of some of the lesser poleis, see K. FREEMAN Greek City States NORTON 1963.
67. On the injustices of the Aristocratic period, see HESIOD "Works and Days".
68. For a very thorough analysis of tyranny in Greece, see A. ANDREWES The Greek Tyrants HUTCHINSON 1966.
69. Some tyrannies were relatively long-lasting, for example that of Orthagoras of Sicyon from ^c650 B.C.
70. Perhaps the classic father-son syndrome can be seen in the case of the Athenian tyrant, Peisistratus (d.527 B.C.) whose sons were quite incapable of continuing his rule. A contrary case, however, is provided by the successful father-son tyranny in Corinth of Cypselus (from ^c650 B.C.) and Periander (from ^c627 B.C.).
71. Periander of Corinth, for instance, made rich allowances to the cultic centres of Delphi and Olympia, and instituted the Isthmian Games.
72. A generation after Zeleucus, a similar code was drawn up by Charondas for Catania in Sicily. It was written in verse so that it could be repeated and memorized.
73. See H. OLMSTEAD History of Persia CHICAGO 1948.
74. The designation Delos was used about the Athenian Confederation because the monies held ostensibly in common - though controlled by Athens - were housed in the treasury at Delos.
75. See C.M. BOWRA Periclean Athens PENGUIN 1971
76. By this time, the term 'allies' may have been little more than a thinly disguised euphemism for dependents. See W.S. FERGUSEN Greek Imperialism HOUGHTON MIFFIN 1913.
77. SIR R. LIVINGSTONE The Legacy of Greece OXFORD 1969
78. One of the most infamous examples of the outworking of Athenian frustration can be seen in the massacre of all males of military age on the island of Melos as a punitive act because Melos refused to join the Delian League.

AGENCIES OF SOCIALISATION

As socialisation is the process whereby people are initiated into the evaluations of any particular culture, it must be functionally similar in all societies. It has been aptly described as the way in which the "barbarian invaders of each generation are conditioned" (1) to the norms of their native system. In short, it is the means whereby individuals - infants or adults - come to "define their situations in accordance with institutional prescriptions" (2). Socialisation processes are held to inhibit tendencies toward deviant behaviour by the inculcation and internalisation of norms which reflect the essential 'rightness' of the system. They therefore help to promote a certain consistency of behaviour which is maintained in varying situations. The individual can not be regarded as a mere object of the contemporary environment; he is obviously capable of selective and self-initiated action. Immoderate views of either biological or environmental determinism are both simplistic and reductionist insofar as they tend to discount the complexities of actual personality structures. The interaction between the individual and his environment and the resolution of their respective contributions is the subject of an interminable debate which has yet to be resolved.

Socialisation is indissolubly linked with social order. In all societies, the processes of social control operate to inhibit deviations from the established rules. The normative order is maintained by traditions inculcated in the socialisation process. Nowhere is this more evident than in complex pre-industrial societies where the levels of stability and cohesion resulted in continuities which are largely foreign to modern systems.

The principal agencies of socialisation in traditional societies were the family and the kin-group. These constituted the informal guardians of orthodoxy and conformity. Kinship determined legal, ritual and - in a very broad sense - politico-economic status. The transmission of the culture was thus mainly undertaken by what might be termed 'internal' agencies. Formal or 'external' education as we understand it, was only institutionalised for a minority in these societies, and even this was often closely associated with ritual centres. Other external influences such as the communications media which in our society can act as purveyors of insistent heterodox opinion were, of course, unknown to traditional systems. It is, therefore, necessary to examine these agencies and try to gauge their contribution to the phenomenon of social order in the societies in question.

THE FAMILY AND KINSHIP

The kin groups of a society compose a structural sub-system of that society. They have a unity of their own, but in being closely interwoven with the overall institutional complex, they are part of a superordinate pattern. In this way, the family and kinship systems comprised integral strands in the patterns of control which operated in traditional societies. Not only had they social functions insofar as they were ultimately responsible in most societies for the socialisation of the child (3), they had legal functions also. They legitimised procreation by delineating the bounds within which sexual relations were permitted. By extension, they therefore regulated modes of inheritance, most commonly in terms of patrilineal transmission and succession. This, in turn, conferred status and often confirmed a member's place in the political order. In addition, family and kinship systems had important economic functions. Families might hold and transmit property as a group, and in some societies, notably China, an extended family group might operate as a joint economic unit. This was common in societies where patterns of mutual obligation and reciprocity were customary, and norms dictated that members cooperated for economic purposes. In the absence of highly institutionalised State-aid systems, this provided a substantial measure of security.

Family and kin groups were frequently also religious units. Ceremonial, which might take simple or elaborate forms, was carried out at all levels and/^{was} inseparable from the notion of kinship responsibility (4). Family and kinship systems were essentially authority systems, and it is here that we must consider in what ways they were subject to influential religious factors.

EGYPT: There was a relatively low degree of formalisation of the Egyptian legal system compared with the developed codes in Mesopotamia. One result of this is that we know comparatively little about the formalities and litigation relating to marriage, divorce and property settlements, the position of women and related issues in Egyptian society. What we do know almost exclusively concerns the nobility and the privileged classes. It is therefore particularly difficult to know to what extent extrapolations can be made to the other classes whose memory was not so honoured by mortuary-cult artists.

We know that the Egyptian nobility adhered to matrilineal kinship patterns. Although inheritance was therefore through the female line, there is evidence that like so many agrarian societies, male children were preferred. Certainly among the nobility, transmission rights were vested in the women, but control lay with the men. Marriage itself is very seldom mentioned in surviving literary and pictorial records (5). We know the formalities were completed before an appointed official, and a property settlement was made whereby the husband contributed two-thirds and his wife one-third. If either party died, the survivor was entitled to the entire estate, but could only dispose of the proportion that he or she had contributed.

There appears to have been no marked segregation of the sexes during the maturation period, but arranged marriages seem to have been the norm - certainly among the aristocracy. We are assured, however, that there was some degree of freedom of choice of marriage partners (6). As evidence, love poems are cited, "Her hair is black, blacker than the night, blacker

than sloes. Red are her lips, redder than beads of red jasper, redder than ripe dates. Lovely are her twin breasts". But here a salutary word is necessary. Extant papyri recount stories of love and valour, of heroism and tragedy, similar in general content to those found in the corpus of mythology of many other peoples. Some appear to recount actual incidents from the remote past. Others - and this is particularly the case with Mesopotamian and Greek myths, with their fabulous creatures and unlikely adventures - are either entirely fictitious or imaginative and distorted reconstructions based upon some vestigial folk memories (7). It may, therefore, be unwise to make categorical inferences about the nature of the societies in question from such source material, although the accounts may indicate something of the values and practices of particular milieux at particular times. As J.A. Wilson acutely observes in his very important contribution to Egyptian studies (8), "...objective evidence does not exist. It certainly does not exist in the art of ancient Egypt, which was as timeless and propagandistic as the literature. It does exist in the physical remains resulting from excavation, but this is an extremely limited witness, which only occasionally can deny or corroborate the written record".

Our inferences and extrapolations then must be guarded, and must be weighed against other internal and external evidence. On these bases, reasonable assumptions can still be made. This applies particularly to the problems of interpretation of certain institutional Egyptian practices. Take, for example, the phenomenon of brother-sister marriage. The evidence is not clear on this issue. There were marriages between couples who referred to one another as brother and sister who clearly did not live in the same house, and were certainly not children of the same parents. In New Kingdom times, the term 'sister' was usually employed by the husband instead of the term 'wife', although this practice was not followed in the courts. The Greeks believed that brother-sister or half-brother-half-sister marriage took place in ancient Egypt, and that this was confirmed by observed practices among the nobility. Some of the Pharaohs appear to have married their

sisters and even their daughters, ostensibly to maintain the purity of the royal line because it was believed that divine legitimacy was derived matrilineally. However, the institutionalisation of brother-sister marriage among the Pharaohs may have been a Ptolemaic innovation.

~~Herodotus reminds us that when the Persian king, Cambyses, asked some Egyptian judges if this was, in fact, permitted, they replied that there was no specific law which permitted it, but that there was a law which allowed the king to do as he pleased (9).~~ No unambiguous evidence has been found of any Egyptian, at any level of society, marrying his full sister (10), although marriage to a sister's daughter does seem to have been allowed.

Concubinage was not uncommon among the social elite, although it would be difficult to sustain the charge that this was a necessary concomitant of the arranged marriage system (11). In individual cases, there were undoubtedly reasons for particular unions, but as a practice, it is a near certainty that concubinage was bound up with status and economic factors. The Egyptian text entitled "The Book of the Dead" actually differentiates between "wives" and "concubines", suggesting a distinction between polygamy and concubinage in Egyptian society. And this says nothing of the slave-girls (who were surely not all musicians, as so many of the wall-paintings seem to depict) who were a feature of many of the more prosperous households.

The extended and more particularly the joint family was a characteristic of the social elite. Besides its function as an agency for procreation and socialisation, it also provided an effective measure of security in societies where most people lived near the margins of subsistence (12). The Egyptians appear to have favoured large families, so much so that Strabo (13) reports with some astonishment that in contrast to the Greek experience, the Egyptians made a point of rearing all the children which might be born to them. The Heka-nakht letters of the Eleventh Dynasty, (14) give us some idea of the family life of a small landowner about 2000 B.C. It is clear that the writer who is away

looking after his northern estates at Memphis is trying hard to maintain complete authority over his sons who are associated with him - though hardly as partners - in the task of estate management. He obviously does not treat them equally, and exercises his control at a distance through his concubine who seems to be finding the increasing frictions rather too much for her.

In a relatively undifferentiated system such as ancient Egypt, it is quite impossible to divorce both the formal and informal institutional arrangements from religion. Ideological influences informed social procedures; the pleasure of the gods was the cultivated desideratum of society. Thus the deities were invoked in connection with marriage, ".I adore Hathor (the sky goddess), I adore the Lady of Heaven, I address myself to her.." and, although there is no direct documentary evidence for it, newly wed husbands and wives, and possibly all their relatives, would congregate at the temple of the city-god to offer sacrifices and receive a blessing of the respective deities (15). Egyptians were certainly known to try to fix the horoscopes of their children in relation to specific divinities and their calendar of auspicious and inauspicious days. Herodotus records that "Among other discoveries, the Egyptians have ascertained the god to whom each month and day is sacred, and they can therefore tell, according to the date of the child's birth, what fate is in store for him, how he will end his days and what sort of a person he will become" (16). Apparently, this practice was regarded with fatalistic veneration. The most trivial factors might be determinative of the gravest consequences; it was up to the practitioners to discern the fatal or favourable omens (17). Almost anything could be held to have a cryptic significance. Hemerology, the 'science' of good and bad days was employed, not simply for high-level decision-making, but also to direct the uncertain steps of ordinary people in their day to day affairs. The family was particularly involved because unusual or abnormal births were considered - depending upon the circumstances: - to be especially ominous or propitious. The

belief was entrenched that every new member of society was subject to certain features of the physical world which dictated his conduct (18).

In addition, therefore, to its customary roles, the family also performed strategic ritual functions. In a reciprocal way, these helped to maintain its existence and reinforce its status. This was achieved, not least of all, by sustaining its ideological ties with the past. Social order was sanctified by tradition.

GREECE: Very much more is known about family and kinship patterns in Greece than in Egypt. Athens and Sparta are comparatively well documented, particularly during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, although there are still significant gaps in our knowledge (19). The fact that this relative wealth of material is available must derive in part from the fact that literacy in Greece was not confined to a class of specialist scholar-amenuenseis. Not only did more people write, but the range of material concerns in Greece was much wider. Social and political comment, particularly in dramatic form, was encouraged, and in the "grand century" (20) we can see in Herodotus and Thucydides the beginnings of institutional analysis and historical interpretation (21).

Aristotle maintained (22) that the oikos was not only the smallest unit of the State, it was also an essentially 'natural' unit which comprised the male, the female, the children and the servants (23). The Greek oikos was more than a mere household in anything like the contemporary sense. It was a corporate and integral unit which existed to support its members, and define their status vis-a-vis the State. The members of the oikos, the extended family together with dependents and servants, were part of the wider kinship system based on the genos, or clan, which was organised on patrilineal principles (24). The organisation of the poleis, or city-states, required that kinship should be legally defined, and in Athens, by the fourth century B.C., the State recognised for practical purposes, the anchisteia, the kinship-group extending to the first cousin as defining certain limits of kinship obligation. It was the anchisteia which was entitled to succeed to

vacant estates, and which had legal duties and responsibilities in the event of death within the group. Members were responsible for burying their own dead, and for seeking revenge or some alternative form of satisfaction - perhaps ritual purification - should a kinsman be murdered (25). The oikos-centricity of Greek society was closely linked with the relative impregnability of the aristocracy. This is particularly the case where the leaders of the State were almost invariably drawn from the nobility. Both Solon (6th century) in practice, and Plato (4th century) in theory, sought to divest the oikos of some of its authority by the transference of that authority to the magistrates or guardians. But this was really a perpetuation of aristocratic rule in another - though somewhat more meritocratic - form (26).

The senior male or kurios had final authority within the oikos. Indeed, he had the same absolute rights over his children as he had over his slaves. As head of the family, he even had the right to sell his children into slavery if he wished, although this was prohibited in Attica after the social reforms of Solon early in the 6th century B.C. Even so, a father could still dispose of his child by the recognised practice of exposure (27). Similarly, a man retained the right to repudiate his wife even though he might not be able to adduce a valid reason for doing so. In fact, a wife's adultery, if established in the courts, made repudiation obligatory; a failure to 'put her away' could theoretically render him liable to atimia (literally, without honour) that is, a loss of civil rights (28). A man was at liberty to consort with prostitutes if he wished (29), but he was not legally allowed actually to live with a mistress or concubine, that is to establish formally an alternative oikos (30). Technically, neither citizen men nor women were permitted to set up house with foreign, or non-citizen, spouses on pain of enslavement or a heavy fine (31). It is also worth noting that in a society which so obviously espoused the principle of male superiority, an adultress although punished, was not - as was an adulterer - liable to punishment by death. The lover of the adultress could be killed by the husband with impunity if caught in flagrante. Indeed, the kurios enjoyed legal immunity if he killed an adulterer caught with any of the women of

his household, including not only his wife, but his mother, sisters or daughters also. This can be interpreted as an inverted assertion of the patriarchal principle; an offence against a woman was indirectly an offence against her kurios, whether husband, father, or guardian. Barrenness too, in all probability, was a common ground for repudiation, as it was a man's duty to ensure the survival of his oikos. Divorce was a simple process for the male, but rather more difficult for the female, although women could initiate divorce proceedings possibly through the good offices of a sympathetic city elder (32). In any case, the woman's marriage dowry would have to be returned to her original kurios, presumably her father. A girl could marry without a dowry in Athens, but it was the exception rather than the rule. It may be that the existence of the dowry distinguished legal marriage from mere concubinage (33). The law appears to have been enacted so as to protect not only marriage but the very institution of the oikos. Family law was, in effect, public law. Ostensibly private matters could be occasions for public concern and - where necessary - legislation.

The male principle can be seen also in the relative seclusion of upper class women in Athenian society. . . . Apparently women were rarely allowed out unaccompanied except possibly to certain religious festivals. The everyday shopping was usually either done by the males - even the kurioi themselves - or by slaves (34). Most of their time was occupied with the affairs of the household within which they had their own quarters - the gynaikeia. The Athenians seem to have had an almost obsessive concern with virginity and its vulnerability, an issue which was very much bound up with the status and economic considerations surrounding the question of marriagability. This was reflected in the age-at-marriage issue. The customary practice has to be inferred from the texts, but there seems to be little doubt that generally girls were married quite early, that is between about fifteen and eighteen years of age, although it appears that men married much later being possibly ten or more years older than the girl. There were no formal rules in Athens governing the minimum age at marriage. Possibly some girls were wed as soon as they reached puberty at twelve or thirteen. Certainly they could

be betrothed before puberty, the marriage becoming 'effective' at the post-pubertal stage, but there is no evidence that they married before puberty, as was sometimes the case in Rome.

Love as a necessary pre-condition for marriage seems to have been exceptional enough to excite comment (35). This must not be confused with love within marriage. Memorial inscriptions indicate that Athenian families enjoyed the 'normal' affectionate relations which we associate with family life. Freedom of choice in marriage was certainly not the rule; the match was made primarily by the kurioi concerned. Upper class women, however, may have had more freedom of choice in this respect (36). There is some indirect evidence, particularly from the dramatists (37) that the Peloponnesian War brought about some relaxation in Athenian attitudes to women.

Homosexuality was common in Greece, and even actively encouraged among the youths of the military sets in Sparta. But homosexuality as an exclusive alternative to heterosexuality was treated with considerable scorn (38). In fact, the practice of sodomy was severely circumscribed by law in Athens, and boys still at school were legally protected against sexual assaults and procurement. There appears to have been some inconsistency in such arrangements (39), but then in all societies there are strange gaps between formal social prescriptions and actual practices. The ideal in Greece seems to have been a kind of qualified or disciplined bi-sexuality, or more correctly paraphilia. Versatility was obviously the thing. At some time or another, every Athenian male was expected to marry, although there were no formal sanctions against bachelorhood, as there were in Sparta.

Incest was not legally forbidden in Athens, but unions between parent and child were considered an abomination (40), and similar religious taboos operated in the case of children of the same mother. Half-brothers and sisters of different mothers were allowed to marry, and endogamy within groups of close relatives was often encouraged, particularly where these would preserve and reinforce family ties.

Considering the paucity of conception control techniques then available, Athenians reared relatively small numbers of children (41). There were perennial economic reasons for this, especially the anxiety that the family estates might have to be divided among too many heirs (42). There were ways in which families could be limited. Abortion was not illegal, but the husband's consent was necessary. If a third party procured an abortion for a free woman or a slave, it was deemed an offence against their kurios. The law only intervened to protect the rights of the unborn child's master-to-be, that is its father or slave-owner. Religion had more scruples than the law on this issue; and Aristotle advised that the foetus should not have "life or feeling" if abortion is to take place (43). Failing abortion, there was always exposure or the selling of the child into slavery. It is impossible to know the extent of any of these practices, although the evidence for the institutionalisation and even ritualisation of exposure in Sparta is reasonably well attested (44). In Thebes, infanticide is said to have been unknown (45), although a law outlawing a practice surely indicates that there were at least some sporadic instances of it.

An Athenian could gratify his sexual appetites in a number of extra-marital ways, but he married to produce legitimate children - and these for three main reasons. To continue the oikos, to afford him some measure of security in his failing years, and finally to bury him and maintain the family shrine. The Athenian young were socialised to treat the aged with considerable respect. The obligation to assist parents was upheld by law, and those who neglected their duties were liable to both a fine and partial deprivation of civil rights. The obligation to bury parents was even more stringently upheld; this was regarded as a primary filial responsibility.

It is interesting that in a society which lived near the margins of subsistence, where presumably some premium was put upon youthful virility and warrior potential, such a regard for old age should exist. Theoretically, the old are expendable, they no longer make any direct contribution to the economy or the security of the State, yet - as in

so many traditional societies - they were often treated with something approaching veneration. In one sense, the old represent the 'living memories' of society. This is, of course, much more the case in non-literate societies where the old represent the only 'records' of the clan or tribe, Perhaps it was felt that those who had reached relatively advanced years in societies with a low average life expectancy must have been favoured by the gods - longevity being ipso facto a sign of blessing (46). Alternatively, it may be simply an acknowledgement - an institutionalised anticipation - of the fact that one day the young too would be old and would therefore require similar attention from their own children. In societies where kinship obligation has not been supplanted by welfare services, the very presence of the elderly and the infirmed can be a salutary reminder of the vulnerability of old-age.

Religion permeated the entire fabric of kinship and family organisation in Greece (47). "All Greek social groups were also religious unions" (48). Each phratry had its own altar at which sacrifices were performed. Each genos had its ancestor-hero, and each family had its own domestic cult which was corporately related to others in their common recognition of deities in the Olympian pantheon. On the other hand, how much religion influenced the actual operation of the kinship and family systems is difficult to calculate. Certainly marriages were celebrated with religious observances (49), and the birth and reception of children into the oikoi were accompanied by the appropriate rituals. Some cultic affiliation appears to have been a nominal requirement for eligibility for higher office, but this is largely inferred from the formal responses which were necessary at the dokimasia or preliminary scrutiny of magistrates. These may have been no more significant than certain kinds of formal oath-taking in our own society. What, however, does seem to be inescapable is the importance of the rituals in honour of the dead presumably to ensure their well-being in the nether world. The ancestor cults were, of course, an extension of the patriarchal principle, and served to reinforce the traditional structure of the existing society and therefore functioned as mechanisms of control.

EDUCATION:

The socialisation of the young, even in pre-industrial societies, was hardly confined to the family, but the family itself was subject to external normative pressures and influences. Durkheim has pointed out how parents themselves are bound to conform to customs which if ignored will have serious repercussions for the children. He maintained that children were educated for particular social milieux, and were therefore socialised to conform to the requisite normative structures. This implies a measure of ascription in the stratification system; the achievement principle was not a pronounced feature of traditional societies. Durkheim distinguished between education and pedagogy, that is between the general operation of the socialisation process and the theories of how that process is to be consciously pursued (50). Education, in this broad sense, is to be found in all societies. Pedagogy, on the other hand, is very much more a characteristic of affluent societies, perhaps as an indulgence of a leisured class.

One of the most important differences in emphasis between early societies and modern industrial societies is that whereas in the latter education is directed towards the communication of empirical knowledge, and the application of that knowledge to the industrial process, in the former it was concerned also with transmitting a way of life (51) which, in turn, involved the regulation of behaviour. Knowledge, as distinct from the learning of particular skills, was imparted mainly to minorities who were destined to rule and administer according to traditional codes. Education was not a principal agent in the rationalisation of the world but a cognitive aid which enabled men to adjust to the exigencies of life. As such, it was an essentially conservative force, and thus a potent mechanism of social control.

Oral transmission in pre-literate societies had its obvious limitations. Information was disseminated by public proclamations, by religious functionaries, and by the dramatisations of itinerant storytellers and entertainers. This precluded the possibility of keeping

accurate records and accounts, so necessary to expanding bureaucratic systems. Orally transmitted knowledge is certainly subject to unwitting or conscious distortion, which make accurate communications doubtful, although some credit must be given to those systems which inculcated the virtue of precise recall, and trained some in the development of this facility.

With the advent of literacy, the position changed radically for the privileged, but the oral diffusion of knowledge to the illiterate masses necessarily continued. The importance of the written word should not be underestimated "To this day, many sociologists fail to appreciate the impact of writing upon society. At once a conservative and revolutionary force... its existence had made civilisation and city life possible. Writing... permitted the accumulation of a vast store of learning... On the other hand writing fixes - even stultifies - ideas, beliefs and behaviour patterns over time and space" (52). Literacy had a special status in pre-industrial societies. It was the guarded prerogative of the few who were also, therefore, the custodians of the esoteric or sacred lore. Even the sheer ability to write was sometimes endowed with mystical properties and believed to confer special powers (53).

In general terms, it might be argued that the writing system in some traditional societies was so complex that it actually hindered the transmission of knowledge. This was aggravated by a paucity of writing materials and implements, but it was the scripts themselves which presented such formidable difficulties for the initiates. This applied where simple ideograms were used, as in early Egypt, and more particularly where scripts which were originally ideographic became syllabic, that is when signs such as the cuneiform symbols of the Sumerians were invested with phonetic qualities besides retaining something of the ideographic properties (54). The learning of such languages required assiduous effort on the part of the student who not infrequently would be a member of a leisured class which had the time to devote to such exercises. The Greeks, of course, were an exception

in this respect. The rationalised 22 letter alphabet, which probably derived originally from the Phoenicians (55), presented few of these difficulties, although literacy still remained the privilege of the minority. Complex writing systems inhibited the diffusion of knowledge. Craft-literacy and the measure of control it afforded functioned to reinforce the existing social order by increasing the authority of the ruling hierarchy. Mass literacy, even in relatively advanced societies such as Athens, was possibly regarded as both impracticable and undesirable.

Education in complex pre-industrial societies was largely an urban phenomenon. Not unusually, it was closely associated with ritual centres, and even among the upper classes where education was frequently in the hands of private tutors (56), religious considerations often predominated. Because educational institutions were commonly related to the state religious system, it followed that instruction of the young was usually the prerogative of religious practitioners who defined formal learning as the inculcation of the sacred lore. Again, Greece is something of an exception in this respect, but even Athenian rationality did not preclude metaphysical considerations. Curricula may have been narrow, as some commentators reiterate, and memorisation of texts was a tedious feature of traditional educational procedures, but if these were not centres of intellectual innovation, there were at least centres of intellectual discipline.

EGYPT

It is likely that numeracy preceded literacy in ancient Egypt. The need to reckon and record - especially in connection with the calendrical cycle - was probably originally more important than the need for symbolic communication. Calculation and prediction were inextricably bound up with the enhancement of the king's office; as son of the Sun-god, he was charged with the crucial functions of ensuring the welfare of the people. As writing developed (57), there was a strong preoccupation with religious themes, so much so, in fact, that the pictographic-ideographic script became known eventually to the Greeks as hieroglyphic - literally,

sacred carving (58). Later, a simpler cursive form (hieratic) was developed, and during the late Empire, a popular, degenerate form (demotic) also emerged. Literacy was difficult to acquire, and never became a public possession; it remained the prerogative of a privileged class, and served as the agent of conservation and formalisation.

Three main forms of literature emerged during the Old and Middle Kingdoms which became the bases of Egyptian education. These overlap in a number of respects. There was Wisdom Literature which had a fairly well-defined social purpose. It constituted the major part of the instructional writings used in the training of the apprentice scribe. It gave him edifying advice and also the opportunity for calligraphic practice. In addition, there was a corpus of miscellaneous writings, poems, letters, legal and ritual texts, etc. which often had a moral and didactic aspect. Finally, there were notable religious texts which reflected early philosophical speculations: the Memphite Theology was concerned with the claims of a particular priesthood, but it was also obsessed by the fundamental issue of man's purpose and place in the Universe. Later, during the New Kingdom, specifically educational treatises such as the Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus and the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus were produced, but it may be that these too were copies of originals which date back even to the Old Kingdom period.

Education appears to have been primarily concerned with the priestly/scrival vocation. The higher sacred and scrival tasks were discharged by priests, but by New Kingdom times possibly the majority of scribes were employed in the civil bureaucracies. The evidence suggests that the same social groups occupied the same civil offices for centuries, and that sons succeeded their fathers, from whom they probably learned the rudiments of the profession (59). Further formal education was obviously necessary for the polishing of scrival talent, and for the qualifications which would secure the apprentice a permanent place in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Entry may have been unrestricted, in theory, but competition was considerable - something which is attested in some of

the Wisdom Literature, "I have seen him that is beaten: thou art to set thine heart on books. I have beheld him that is set free from forced labour: behold, nothing surpasseth books.. Would that I might make thee love books...(and) bring their beauty before thy face.." (60). In this, the liberalising qualities of learning for its own sake are emphasised, but the social advantages of the scribal calling are particularly stressed. The moral and ascetic virtues of the vocation are also enjoined, but the career prospects are hardly overlooked: "Set thine heart on being a scribe, that thou mayest direct the whole earth.." (61).

A minority progressed to various kinds of higher learning which appears to have included medicine and astronomy. This was conducted in a special institution called the House of Life. Evidence suggests that this included a scriptorium for the production of documents on religious and cognate matters such as the Book of the Dead. This was a coffin text of confession, and reflects the preoccupation with immortality which may have been the principal concern of the House of Life. If this is so, the House of Life not only functioned as an integrator of Egyptian learning which appears to have been permeated with myth, necromancy and the like, but also as an institution for maintaining both social and personal continuity in the after-life, and social conservatism in the present existence.

Little is known about the actual educational processes. Royal children - who were produced in appreciable numbers - were taught by private tutors. The children of some nobles and even lesser mortals appear to have joined them in what was, in effect, a royal school. There is evidence of this as early as the fourth Dynasty (62), although it may be that in the more intensive organisation of schooling during the Middle, and especially the New Kingdom, procedures were tightened so that the educational system more closely reflected the class divisions within society (63). The highest form of education was a priestly training which was also undertaken by the Pharaoh. In fact, our knowledge of the educational process in ancient Egypt is confined very largely to the

Temple schools, the "School of Books", where the children of the privileged were taught. Certainly by the time of the New Kingdom, education began in a class of perhaps twenty pupils (64) at the age of four or five and continued into the teens. We know, for example, of a Bakenkhons, who became a high-priest of the god Amun, who had to study at a training school of the Pharaoh Seti I (19th Dynasty) for eleven years (65). Intending priests were not uncommonly sons of incumbent priests who cherished similar ambitions for their children. The boys who were designated as prospective officials were given over to the religious authorities for training although the Temples usually operated as day schools and not boarding schools. In addition, each department of the government service had its own school to which members of that department had the right to send their sons. In the upper 'forms', a boy was given some of the work of that department, so that he was partially trained by the time he entered the service. There was apparently no compulsion for a boy to follow his father in this way, although paternal influence could be to his advantage where they shared the same spheres of activity.

Officials might be required to undertake quite a variety of jobs in the course of their duties. A familiar task was the writing of petitions for illiterate people to their overlords. This required some eloquence and felicity of expression. A document of the twelfth Dynasty entitled "The Eloquent Peasant" gives models of different kinds of petitions, and shows that 'free-lance' scribes could make a handsome living pleading the causes of their customers (66). In fact, student officials had to familiarise themselves with a number of subjects which might range from humanistic disciplines such as law to an acquaintance with simple technical processes (67). Mathematics was not an abstract pursuit, as it could be among the Greeks. For the Egyptian scribe it had strictly practical applications (68). Much of the work of government, for example, dealt with the intricacies of taxation. Where assessments were made - as they often were - in terms of corn-yields, the scribe had to be capable of calculating the production levels of the respective cultivable areas of land, and computing the State's tax requirements accordingly.

The texts are silent on the matter of the education of women. Presumably for the upper orders, this would consist mainly of a quasi-domestic initiation into the social graces and etiquette which befitted their class. Of others we know little except that even slave-girls cultivated musical talents as flute-players.

Boys destined for the religious life had the same basic education as those intent on following a secular career - if that term has any real meaning in the context of ancient Egyptian culture. As their education progressed, they were expected to master the esoterica of their profession, the gods - their titles and epithets and their divine mythologies. They had also to be acquainted with the complexities of the prescribed rituals with which the gods should be honoured. Candidates were only fully admitted to the priesthood after formal examinations which sealed their consecration and confirmed their position in the social hierarchy.

The practicalities of Egyptian education were of complementary importance. Its general purpose was the inculcation of traditional verities and the continued preservation of Ma'at, the principle of harmonious eternality without which, it was said, universal chaos would inevitably ensue. In more mundane terms, this meant the training of a literate elite, and through them the perpetuation of a stable social order. Social arrangements confirmed divine requirements.

ATHENS

Even in the culturally buoyant Athenian society of the fifth century B.C., education was a traditional rather than a political obligation, and it is uncertain whether education was legally enforceable (69). Education was not state-controlled, but left to individual initiative. Even where the state supported special pupils, who were usually children of veterans or those who had died in the service of the polis, their tuition was contracted out to private teachers. Inferences have been made from plays of the period that there was something approaching universal literacy in

the Athenian community, . . . but these are 'arguments from silence' which must be treated with reserve. The argumentum ad hominem extrapolation from the situation of some humble citizens of literature - Aristophanes' *Strepsiades* (*The Clouds*), for instance - to the mass must remain an uncertain business (70).

Normally, parents were responsible for their childrens' school fees, and it can therefore be reasonably assumed that the amount of education received by any child was largely conditioned by its parents' ability to pay (71). This probably meant in practice that more prosperous parents were able to see their sons through the advanced education stage where they continued their education to 18 plus.

The evidence suggests that^a teacher's pay - certainly at the elementary level - was rather meagre (72) and the question of his status was of some concern in antiquity. ".his was a... badly paid profession, and therefore rated very low in the Greek scale of social values... Throughout the whole history of the antique world the schoolmaster's was a humble trade, plied by those who had seen better days or had no other skill to offer the community" (73). In effect, the schoolteacher had no special qualifications for the job - but then it is difficult to apply such a yardstick to a society where no formal credentials were available anyway.

The educational system in Athens was rooted in the desire for a basic literacy combined with some musical and athletic skills. At the elementary level, children were generally taught in the houses of their teachers. These must be distinguished from the palaestras which were forms of gymnasia equipped with baths, changing rooms and sports area where the youths exercised. Physical training had a high priority in Greece. Between the ages of seven and fourteen, Greek boys attended the palaestra (wrestling school) for physical education and the music school for simple literacy and musical instruction. The gymnasium (literally, the stripping place) was used by older boys, and its activities were a much more serious affair. Considerable care was taken in the selection

of specialist gymnastes who trained the athletes (74). The music schools may, in some cases, have actually occupied the same sites as the palaestras. Here boys were taught to read and write, and given exercises in simple number. Great emphasis was put upon committing facts to memory. Recitation of the classics, particularly Homer, was an essential ingredient of any educational programme. This was not just a simple didactic technique, but a method of inculcating moral precepts and drawing object lessons on a range of related Homeric themes: war and peace, courtesy, courage, diplomacy and political wisdom, and especially duties towards parents and the gods.

Discipline could be severe in the Athenian palaestra. The school day began at daybreak and holidays were irregular. Children did not attend school during the numerous civic and religious festivals. More prosperous families were able to exercise more control of their young by entrusting them to a paidagogos, a slave who accompanied them to and from school. For most boys, education finished when they were fourteen. Beyond that age, 'higher education' - for those who could afford specialist teachers - centred on the gymnasium which was a public institution. Young men might also avail themselves of instruction by the sophists, itinerant teachers of rhetoric who sometimes enjoyed considerable reputations and even more considerable incomes. Not that all sophist teachers were expensive, as was, say, Plato's contemporary, Isocrates. But Plato, perhaps a little unfairly, reserved some of his sharpest barbs for these men - particularly Protagoras and Gorgias - who attracted "great numbers of students by the smallness of their charges and the magnitude of their professions" (75).

Music was an integral part of Athenian education. The lyre, the aulos - a type of flute - and singing were all taught, and possibly dancing as well. The apparent necessity for even a rudimentary musical education possibly echoes the Pythagorean philosophy of the fundamental relationship between music and number. This was thought to reflect the 'harmonia' of the universe - the essential balance of the cosmic and

social order (76). Choral and instrumental displays were often part of the many celebrations and festivals which both mirrored and endorsed the religious attitudes of the State. Many of these festivals involved activities which were not confined to males. Girls often participated, although until the fourth century, there were no schools for girls (77). There is some evidence (78) to show that many were given a basic literacy, but very few received any kind of higher education.

Greek education, particularly its physical emphasis, betrayed many of the signs of its early military character and its strong aristocratic orientations. It remained, throughout the fifth century certainly, an education for the elite with adaptations for a society in which there was increasing citizen participation. The ideal persisted: the inculcation of arete - the conception of cultivated excellence - was an integral part of the education process. In its earlier form that of the man who is "both beautiful and good", it may have been merely a "resplendent fiction" (79). Arguably it was "aesthetic rather than literary, athletic rather than intellectual" (80). By the latter part of the fifth century, arete had metamorphosised from a kind of moral virtue to the capacity for conspicuous and practical efficiency (81). Such changes were encouraged, though not necessarily initiated by the Sophists.

Athenian education was different in emphasis from that of Egypt. It was not primarily oriented towards the maintenance of the social status quo or simply the perpetuation of a particular form of bureaucratic hierarchy. It was - in broad terms - directed towards the realisation of the 'good life'. This, it was assumed, depended on the "development of the whole personality in a balanced relationship of its physical, intellectual, aesthetic and moral aspects. It was an ideal seldom attained and eventually corrupted in the course of Greek history, but it has left a deep impress on western civilisation" (82).

SUMMARY

Introduction: the nature, functions and agencies of socialisation.

Kinship and the family

EGYPT

Paucity of evidence; inconclusive source material.
Matrilineal organisation: marriage and property settlements.
The question of incestuous unions.
Concubinage and child-rearing
Superstition and religious practices.

ATHENS

The nature and composition of the Greek 'oikos'.
Political organisation and the relevant kin-groupings.
Kurios-authority relating to wives and children.
Marriage, adultery, and the position of women.
Homosexuality and incest - legal and religious proscriptions.
Conception control and infanticide.
Religion and respect for the aged.

Education

The characteristics of education in pre-industrial societies
Oral transmission, and the limits of craft/literacy.

EGYPT

The functions of numeracy and literacy.
Training for the bureaucracy and the priesthoods. The reservoir of scribal talent.
Temple monopoly of education
Religion and administration as vocations.
Family tradition and the perpetuation of educational privilege.
Education as instruction in the traditional verities of the system and the fulfillment of divine requirements.

ATHENS

Education as a private sector activity.
Infant instruction: basic literacy.
Low status of elementary teachers.
The palaestra and gymnasia: training in music and athletics for youths.
Higher education: minority subscription to Sophist teachers.
The ethos of Athenian education. :

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. A. KARDINER and RALPH LINTON The Individual and His Society COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS 1939.
 2. H. BREDEMEIER and R. STEPHENSON The Analysis of Social Systems op. cit. p.61.
 3. This becomes arguable in the case of, say, Sparta, where a boy left his mother at the age of six, and for the next six years was in a paidion class leading a barrack-life existence supervised by State officials. See H. MITCHELL Sparta op. cit. pp.166-168.
 4. See particularly FUSTEL DE COULANGES The Ancient City DOUBLEDAY (1956)
 5. PIERRE MONTET Everyday Life in Egypt pp.48: 57 EDWARD ARNOLD 1958.
 6. PIERRE MONTET ibid. pp.45-46 quoting G. MASPERO Etudes Egyptiennes I PARIS 1897.
 7. See particularly, ROBERT GRAVES The Greek Myths PENGUIN 1966.
 8. J.A. WILSON The Culture of Ancient Egypt p.4. CHICAGO 1956.
- ~~HERODOTUS Histories IX 30~~
10. J. CERNY Consanguineous Marriages in Pharaonic Egypt J.E.A.XL (1954)
 11. The argument is put forward by Sjoberg that in traditional or - in his terms - feudal society, there was a deemphasis on physical attractiveness in a wife, and a premium on reputation. In high-status families particularly, a man could always resort to concubinage or courtesans.
 12. GIDEON SJOBERG The Pre-Industrial City p.160. FREE PRESS 1965.
 13. STRABO Geography XVII, 2, 5. And Diodorus (I, 80, 5-6) suggests that this was because the Egyptian child could be fed and clothed for practically nothing.
 14. T.G.H. JAMES The Hekanakhte Papers METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK 1962.
 15. PIERRE MONTET op. cit. pp.46: 50. There are passing sidelights on family life in the instructional 'wisdom books' of Ptah-hotep etc.
 16. HERODOTUS Histories II, 82.
 17. A medical treatise known as the Ebers Papyrus gives some examples, for instance that a child whose cry resembled the creaking of pines could expect a future fraught with evil.
 18. See H. RINGGREN Religions of the Ancient Near East S.P.C.K. 1973.

19. For example, we do not know the status of children born to an Athenian man and woman who merely lived together without a formal wedding ceremony. See W. LACEY The Family in Classical Greece p.104 THAMES & HUDSON 1968.
20. The term used in a mainly architectural context by J. STOBART The Glory that was Greece SIDGEWICK & JACKSON 1964.
21. For a survey of Greek Literature covering such topics as law and causation, social evolution, and the philosophy of history generally, see ARNOLD TOYNBEE Greek Historical Thought MENTOR 1952.
22. ARISTOTLE Politics I
23. For the earlier writer, Hesiod, this might include animals which served man e.g. the plough-ox, but for Aristotle's citizens - or political man - the household slave is implied.
24. The oikoi were also associated with phratries - the origins of which are obscure - which appear to have been blood-brotherhoods perhaps originally based upon military considerations, as in the Iliad. The implication in Homer is that the phratry was the sub-division of the tribe, but the tribal system was breaking down by Classical times under the pressure of developing urbanisation.
25. The anchisteia was also the limit chosen by Plato in the Republic in case of homicide. It may have been general throughout the Greek world. See W. LACEY op. cit. p.29. For a specialist treatment see also D. MACDOWELL Athenian Law of Homicide MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY PRESS 1963.
26. On the aristocracy, see N. HAMMOND A History of Greece to 323 B.C. OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS 1967.
27. If the child was rescued before it died of exposure or starvation, it might be reared as a slave. Oedipus is just one of many 'heroes' who are said to have been rescued in this way.
28. See R. FLACELIERE Daily Life in Greece p.65 WEIDENFELD 1965.
29. Men might also seek the company of hetairai i.e., courtesans or, more colloquially, call-girls, who were often quite accomplished musically and artistically.
30. This may be the main reason why such odium surrounded the relationship between the Athenian leader, Pericles, and his mistress, Aspasia who to make things even more difficult was foreign-born. Presumably before the citizenship laws of 451 B.C., they could have married had they wished to do so.
31. This is quoted by the fourth century B.C., Pseudo-Demosthenes, from the speech of prosecuting counsel, Apollodorus, in a case against the courtesan, Neaira, who had - he claimed - "cohabited with her husband, pretending she was a citizen". PSEUDO-DEMOSTHENES Against Neaira

32. R. FLACELIERE p.65-66 op. cit. Although W. LACEY (op. cit. p.108) quoting Demosthenes (fourth century B.C.) suggests that women had a good deal more freedom than this, and that even divorce by mutual consent was possible.
33. On this point, see W. LACEY op. cit.
34. T. WEBSTER Everyday Life in Classical Athens LONDON BATSFORD 1969.
35. For example, it is said - as if it were a somewhat uncommon occurrence - that the tyrant Peisistratus' daughter married for love and even kissed her fiance openly in the street.
36. This contrasts interestingly with the situation in Rome, say during the Augustan period, where the lower classes appear to have been relatively untouched by the normative strictures of patrician morality. See M.I. FINLEY Aspects of Antiquity PENGUIN 1972.
37. Particularly ARISTOPHANES in Lysistrata (411 B.C.) The "old Comedy" was given to caricature and exaggeration, but these plays undoubtedly reflect some reappraisal of sexual roles. See DOROS ALASTOS Aristophanes: Two Plays ZENO 1953.
38. See SIR KENNETH DOVER Greek Homosexuality DUCKWORTH 1978.
39. Even Plato who has been called the apologist for "ideal pederasty" inveighed against sodomy, especially in the Laws.
40. Note, for instance, how this incurs the wrath of the gods in SOPHOCLES' Oedipus Rex.
41. Note that Plato in the Laws considers one boy and one girl per union adequate by Law. This contrasts with his earlier view of the ideal State in The Republic where marriage is to give way to periodic mating festivals between specially State-approved couples. This, it was held, would 'naturally' limit the birth-rate.
42. See HESOID Works and Days
43. ARISTOTLE Politics 7. 14.
44. See W. FORREST A History of Sparta HUTCHINSON 1968.
45. W. LACEY op. cit. p.231.
46. Note the Israelite injunction to "honour your father and mother that your days may be long in the land" EXODUS 20 v.12 (R.S.V.)
47. This is the point made most forcibly by FUSTEL DE COULANGES The Ancient City DOUBLEDAY 1864

48. W. LACEY op. cit. p.27.
49. Weddings were particularly frequent in January (Gamelion - the wedding month - the seventh month of the Athenian year) which was sacred to Hera, the goddess of marriage. Although as R. FLACELIERE points out, no rites connected with marriage appear "intended to consecrate, in some visible and tangible form, the personal union of two betrothed individuals. Everything seems rather aimed at, ensuring the prosperity of the Oikos.." op. cit. p.64.
50. E. DURKHEIM Education and Society (1911 - translated 1956) FREE PRESS.
51. T. BOTTOMORE (Sociology ALLEN & UNWIN 1962 p.254) argues that in pre-industrial societies, more emphasis was laid upon moral training for social life than upon learning and instruction.
52. GIDEON SJOBERG The Preindustrial City op. cit. p.290. On the question of the reliability and limits of oral transmission, see J. VANSINA Oral Tradition PENGUIN 1973.
53. Weber remarks on the view in traditional China that successful candidates for the bureaucracy were sometimes believed to have magical powers. MAX WEBER The Chinese Literati in H. GERTH and C. WRIGHT MILLS From Max Weber R.K.P. 1958.
54. N. KRAMER The Sumerians CHICAGO 1973.
55. The Phoenicians may, in turn, have derived alphabetical forms from the Canaanites. At least the Ras Shamra tablets indicate as much. See D. HARDEN The Phoenicians PENGUIN 1971.
56. Some critics have argued that the relatively low pay of teachers in Greece and Rome reflects their relatively low status in the social pyramid, See M. CARY and T. HAARHOFF Life and Thought in the Greek and Roman World METHUEN 1957.
57. The Egyptians seem to have left no record as to how the development of writing took place. It suddenly 'appears' on the scene of history in a fully-fledged pictographic form.
58. The term hieroglyphic is etymologically misleading because the monumental carving was not always religious, and - as a form - it was often not carved at all but written on papyrus etc.
59. J. BOWEN A History of Western Education Vol. I p.33 METHUEN 1972.
60. The Instruction of Duauf, in A. ERMAN The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians p.67ff. METHUEN 1927.
61. A. ERMAN ibid. pp.195-7. Although this may be propaganda in favour of a bureaucratic career and against other callings, rather than an injunction to love learning for its own sake. For all aspects of Ancient Egyptian education the authority is H. BRUNNER Altgyptische Erziehwig WIESBADEN 1957.

62. See the Old Kingdom records of Ptah-shepses A. ERMAN
The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians op. cit.
63. JAMES BOWEN A History of Western Education Vol.I pp.29ff. op. cit.
64. See L. COTTRELL Life under the Pharaohs Chap. VIII EVANS 1955.
65. J.H. BREASTED Ancient Records III pp.234-7; 561-8
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS 1906-07.
66. M. MURRAY The Splendour that was Egypt SIDGEWICK & JACKSON 1963.
67. Discipline was strict for the social aspirant, and teachers' complaints about the indolence of their pupils has a familiar ring. The scribe Amenmose tells his charges that "the way to get strong is by practising every day...if you slack for a single day you will be beaten. A youngsters ear is on his back; he only listens to the man who beats him".
68. J. BOWEN op. cit. p.38 writes rather derogatorily about "Egyptian reckoning - it scarcely amounted to a mathematics". Compare, FLINDERS PETRIE Wisdom of the Egyptians Vol. LXIII Chaps. III & IV. QUARITCH 1940. and A. GARDINER The Wilbour Papyrus II Commentary OXFORD 1948.
69. H. MARROU A History of Education in Antiquity (trans. G. LAMB) SHEED AND WARD 1956.
70. See Introduction to ARISTOPHANES The Clouds by Sir K. DOVER PENGUIN 1978.
71. In Plato's works, "The sons of the wealthy are sent to school later than the others and are able to stay there longer". PLATO Protagoras 326c
72. DEMOSTHENES On the Crown 258.
73. E.B. CASTLE Ancient Education and Today p.64. PENGUIN 1971.
74. See E. GARDINER Athletics of the Ancient World CLARENDON 1930.
75. PLATO Against the Sophists
76. See W. GUTHRIE A History of Greek Philosophy Vol. I O.U.P. 1962.
77. E. CASTLE op. cit. p.61.
78. F. BECK Greek Education p.85ff. O.U.P. 1964.
79. HAROLD NICHOLSON Good Behaviour p.40 CONSTABLE 1955.
80. H. MARROU op. cit. p.43.
81. To be fair, the Homeric ideal of arete could also carry more 'practical' connotations as evidenced by the warrior skills of the Homeric heroes.
82. C.M. BOWRA The Greek Experience WEIDENFELD & NICHOLSON Chapt. V 1957.

Chapter Three

SYSTEMS OF SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

In this comparative examination of social differentiation, it will be taken that stratification is a more inclusive term than class (1), and denotes "the differential ranking of the human individuals who compose a given social system and their treatment as superior and inferior relative to one another in certain socially important respects" (2). The concept of class should be taken to mean the more specific ranking of individuals according to economic criteria, and expresses those social relations - and specifically power relations - which are determined by the individuals proximity to the ownership of the means of production.

Stratification is synonymous with ranking, and implies a hierarchy of social positions which are graded according to a variety of criteria connoting inequality of privilege. All differentiation implies "Significant discontinuities in the distribution of goods and services, or of property, rights and obligations" (3), and may also imply gradations of prestige. Differential access to wealth and power is not necessarily congruent with differential status (4), although in practice they are often closely interconnected. As Weber put it, "In contrast to the economically determined 'class situations' we wish to designate as 'status situation' every typical component of the life fate of men that is determined by a specific, positive or negative, social estimation of honour.." (5). Wealth and power are not always consistent with social esteem, a fact which is particularly highlighted in the study of traditional societies. In fact, poverty itself seen as an ethical or religious task as with, say, certain Hindu gurus, may be held to confer high prestige on the individuals concerned (6). "In the past the significance of stratification by status was far more decisive (than classes)... above all, for the economic structure of the societies" (7).

Social ranking involves the notion of social levels or layers with their superior-inferior implications; of ascription and achievement modes of strata allocation, and the examination of the life-chances and life-styles of the respective strata in question. It is similarly concerned with religious ideology and the extent to which it justifies the system or scale of ranking. But social differentiation also includes primary distinctions made upon such criteria as age, sex and race. To regard these too as forms of ranking requires considerable qualification in specific social contexts. The matter of race, in particular societies, will not admit of any explicit treatment in terms of simple stratification. For example, in ancient Greece during the fourth century, many Greeks became increasingly unwilling to hold fellow Greeks as slaves. A complex of elements was involved: cultural, nationalistic and almost certainly ethnic. Distinctions were being made but the reasons were not clearly analysed or explicated. When the policy - if such it can be called - was in its developmental phase, if any ranking was taking place at all, it was largely in the form of intellectual categorisations not as an institutionalised practice. Similarly, the Egyptians, although tolerant of divergent ideas, were not necessarily tolerant of other peoples. They made a distinction between 'men' and Libyans, Asiatics and Africans (8). Fellow Egyptians were 'humans'; they were 'people' - or perhaps some more precisely the people - but about foreigners there was some vestigial doubt. The actual basis of the distinction is difficult to determine, but it does seem to have had ethnic undertones.

Any attempted analysis of the structure and organisation of human society is vitiated by the ubiquitous and rather intangible concept of status. Weber has emphasised that it can have particular relevance for traditional systems especially where long periods of economic stability characterise the normal state of affairs (9). The status factor links the ranking system with the norms and values of a society. And these in turn, are often associated with religious ideas. Some authorities even maintain that traditional social structures were suffused with a kind of cosmic awareness (10). Extreme as this may seem, the evidence does suggest that there was certainly a pervasive sensitivity to the religious factor.

The ranking systems of pre-industrial societies had a certain rigidity (11); this tends to be a characteristic of ascriptive valuation situations. But it is arguable whether these systems were quite as inflexible as has sometimes been supposed. Undoubtedly, these rigidities did obtain even in the lower echelons of most societies, but it can also be shown that there was considerable flexibility in the hierarchies of status especially among influential entrepreneurial and merchant groups in urban situations (12). These groups were normally dissociated from territorial and kinship associations, and were usually found less among the lower peasant and unskilled urban strata and the hereditary aristocracy than among the rural and - especially - urban middle classes. This dissociation of the upper classes was more common in some societies than others. The Chinese literati, for example, affected to despise trade though profiting indirectly from its operations (13), whilst the Athenian aristocracy - many of whom were actively engaged in commercial ventures - entertained far more ambivalent attitudes to economic enterprise. For the societies in question, these and other organisational activities provided some cultural diversity. In relatively rigidified traditional structures, they also gave a measure of mobility to both the opportunistic and the privileged. Such groups reflected the growing recognition of the achievement principle in what were predominantly ascriptive status systems (14).

Achievement status was also possible among the military where warrior prowess and tactical expertise were important criteria for social and political advancement. And achievement was combined with ascription where religious functionaries came to constitute exemplary elites. Religious categories might be kin-based as in ancient Israel (15) or otherwise rooted in hereditary castes (16). But those engaged in the tasks of religious leadership and communication were not always drawn exclusively from particular strata. Indeed, it was the religious sphere which was probably most open to questionings of an ethico-oracular kind. But even the prophetic challenge was usually protological (17) and was therefore made within the existing religious traditions.

As a very general rule, the more undifferentiated the institutional system, the more undifferentiated and less mobile were the groups - economic, military, religious, etc. - to be found within it. And the fewer and more crystallized these groups were, the more static the society remained. Alternatively, the more highly differentiated the institutional system, the more differentiated and more numerous were the groups which constituted mobile elements within it. These contributed to the openness and relative flexibility of such societies and rendered them more susceptible to influences for change.

EGYPT:

Egypt had a long and chequered history marked by expansion and contraction, incursions and invasions - particularly during the later phases - and the ascendancy of foreign dynasties. But during this entire period not only did it retain an essential cultural homogeneity, it also managed to avoid essential structural discontinuities (18).

The pyramid shape which is so evocative of ancient Egypt and its achievements is often said to symbolise the structure of the society itself (19). Theoretically, there were no classes or castes in Egypt. Except those of royal blood, all were legally commoners "before the throne" (20). In practice, however, authority was delegated downwards from the king at the apex through a widening hierarchy of officials to the peasants or fellahin at the base.

The State was controlled by the king and his chief ministers with the Vizier as his principal administrator. These were aided by the High Priest of the current state deity who was responsible with the priests for maintaining the many cultic centres (periodic changes in theological emphasis (21) were sometimes functions of the relative strengths of the respective priesthoods), and the Commander of the Army, whose tasks included not only national security, but also the organisation of resource-seeking expeditions. The Commander of the Army might be required to obtain slaves or important raw materials: for example, in the reign of Amenhotep II, the army is said to have brought back 90,000 captive workers from one campaign alone (22).

The country was governed in the name of the king by means of a developed bureaucracy of scribes, archivists and other administrators

through descending grades of artisans, masons and agricultural overseers to the masses who laboured mainly in the fields, on dykes and canals, in workshops and on building sites. Whether they worked on an official's estate or on the lands and in the craft centres associated with the Temples, they were all theoretically responsible to the king from whom they derived their livelihood as a kind of bounty. As subjects, they were obliged to pay part of their crops to their superiors as taxes, and they were also liable for both military duties, if required, and for service in the corvee, a form of forced labour exacted by the government for the construction of various public works. Their rights were therefore minimal; they were entirely dependent upon the munificence of the monarch and his administrative subordinates.

Among the lower orders, there is little evidence of social mobility, but at the upper levels there appears to have been considerable mobility. Once a member of the bureaucracy, promotion was always possible for the favoured and the gifted. "The king was always on the lookout for able men and once he spotted a potential talent, movement to a higher echelon could quickly follow" (23). Parsons makes a similar point, "...status was diffuse.. Yet it could break through the very strict forms of kinship ascription, making it possible for more able people to be advanced more routinely from lower to higher positions of service" (24).

In the very early years, during the first and second Dynasties, the rather meagre evidence suggests that the main division in Egyptian society was between a large serf population of the ~~the~~ indigenes serving a nobility which was racially different and culturally superior (25). But with a gradual fusion of the races, the situation was slightly ameliorated. The development of an artisan class and the enlargement and diversification of the bureaucracy brought a measure of social mobility for both the fortunate and the politically energetic.

For the peasant, the horizon was always limited, but for the scribe advancement was an ever-present possibility. We are told that scribes

tended to despise manual work. One Egyptian school exercise says, "Be a scribe who is freed from forced labour and protected from all (manual) work" (26). Temple scribes and highly-skilled artisans may have held regular positions on an hereditary basis in particular community and hierocratic organisations which had some measure of operational independence.

In traditional societies, elites tended to be urban in character (27). In urban centres they were usually safer in times of social disturbance than in the less well protected rural areas. Certainly intellectuals gravitated towards the larger cities. This was particularly the case in the later Mediterranean world - especially in Greece and Asia Minor. Urban living provided the necessary contacts with the few academic communities. For the ruling elites, the cities were the centres of control. Here they could best ensure a grip on the key administrative organisations, and in maintaining their positions, enhance their own self-image as a privileged group. This general picture, however, must be qualified to some extent in relation to ancient Egypt. The centres of control were not always urban in the commonly accepted sense, but were often concentrated on Temple complexes which operated as semi-autonomous economic communities.

Because of its variations, it is probably unwise to generalise unilaterally about the role of the priestly class, but it was possibly "the most variable feature of importance in agrarian societies" (28). In Egyptian society, however, it can probably be seen as a relatively invariable feature of importance. The temple organisations comprising cultic centres and their adjacent estates were often endowed with enormous wealth, mainly for the upkeep of the attendant priesthoods and the maintenance and extension of the complexes themselves. For example, we learn that Rameses III, a king of the twentieth Dynasty, who probably ranked among the more generous benefactors of the priestly class, gave vast riches to the temples (29). The record show that his gifts to the gods and their servants included 169 towns, 113,433 slaves,

493,386 cattle, 1071,780 plots of land; and - among other things - 2,756 images of the gods containing 1,400 pounds of gold and 2,200 pounds of silver.

The customary bases of mobility must therefore be modified in respect of Egyptian society. Age - a common criterion in many simple societies - though venerated, did not ensure upward mobility within the system. Wealth too was also open to qualifications. In what was, in effect, a state economy with minimal entrepreneurial activity, wealth - in relative terms - was held by state and temple officials. The emergence of a merchant or capitalist class was, therefore, severely inhibited if not actually impossible. Even the work of the professional class of artisans was harnessed primarily to the needs of the State. Merit, on the other hand, whether military or administrative, certainly had its rewards. And what in general terms might be called charismatic merit - the prerogative of the ritual functionaries - could also pay high dividends.

The lowest order in traditional systems was, of course, the slaves. M.I. Finley is probably right when he asserts that, "The pre-Greek world - the world of the Sumerians, Babylonians, Egyptians, and Assyrians...was, in a very profound sense, a world without free men" (30). Possibly in all traditional systems, therefore, there was no such thing as freedom as we have come to understand it, merely varying degrees of unfreedom. But in many pre-industrial societies, as in ancient Greece, the legal and - less commonly - the occupational distinctions between the slave and the peasant were reasonably clear whereas in Egyptian society, the line was sometimes blurred. The work of the peasant was often indistinguishable from that of the slave; the landed estates owned slaves and employed serfs for similar kinds of work. But by the time of the New Kingdom, quite separate terms had come to be used to differentiate between the slave and the servant (literally, listener or follower). The slave was usually a foreign captive, often from Nubia or Libya, though sometimes Syria or Canaan. In fact, it has been argued that during the Old Kingdom period, there were no slaves other than

prisoners-of-war; this is partly inferred from the fact that in the building of the Pyramids, the annual corvee of the peasantry was probably sufficient for the task on hand (31).

The actual occupations of slaves could vary enormously. They could be employed as they were in the fifteenth century B.C. for example, mining copper and turquoise in the Sinai in reasonably harsh conditions (32). Yet in reviewing the exploits of the king Amenhotep II, we find that in the seventh year of his reign, his campaign captives included 270 women "the favourites (or musicians ?) of every foreign country...in addition to their paraphernalia for entertaining the heart.." (33). These ladies, who might technically be regarded as slaves, were presumably destined for the royal harem as both concubines and entertainers. We also find that the general growth in the slave population and the demands of the developing expansionist policy of the Empire put such strains upon the system that the army considered the possibility of using slave troops. There must have been some thousands of slaves and 'foreign workers' on the great estates and at the service of the State during this period. This can be inferred from particular statistics. In the reign of Rameses III, there were 2,607 Syrians and Negroes on the estate of Amon, another 2,093 on the estate of Re. Later, at the time of Rameses IV some 800 Habiru are found on one of his quarrying expeditions (34).

Slaves, therefore, could be owned by the State, by temple priesthoods or by private individuals. They could be sold, bequeathed or hired, and the State required that all slaves had to be duly registered after purchase. A papyrus published in the thirties sheds some light on the process (35). It shows that when a young female slave was purchased by barter from Syria, oaths were exchanged in the presence of witnesses and the contract was registered with a tribunal. Rights of slaves do not appear to have followed a particularly consistent pattern. They could be severely treated, especially if they were runaways (36), but this may have been relatively rare. For the same offence, in Mesopotamia, branding and mutilation were not

uncommon penalties. This punished the recalcitrant slave without actually impairing his economic efficiency, and was a favourite practice of the Assyrians (37). On the other hand, Egyptian slaves had certain legal rights. They could own property and land and this is evidenced by an extant tax-assessors scroll which includes slaves with priests, soldiers etc., who were all under the general oversight of a high civil or religious administrator (38). Predictably, in the later days of Egyptian decline, the slave increased in value. With retrenchment instead of expansion, the supply of slaves began to dry up, so that by the Libyan period (Dynasty XXII) a slave cost about the same as the plot of land he cultivated, and by the Persian period (Dynasty XXVII) about twelve times as much. Slaves were even allowed to marry free-born women, and could be emancipated by an official act (39). This again compares with Mesopotamian practices whereby slaves could be articulated as craft apprentices (40), and could also be manumitted or adopted by their masters, although there are no known laws to protect the slave from maltreatment by their masters (41).

Traditional societies did not seriously question the morality of slavery, it was very much an accepted institution. Inasmuch as people needed to rationalise such practices, justifications were made either in terms of economic necessity or in terms of the natural inferiority of the slave himself. In Egypt, the scribes referred to slaves as being "without heart", that is to say, "without understanding" and therefore insisted that they had to be driven with a stick like cattle (42). There was really no reason for Egyptian society to reflect on the ethical implications of slavery or even on the aesthetic niceties of the slave's condition. It was a taken-for-granted institution common to their contemporaries in the ancient world. Slavery was feared as the potential plight of any citizen. It was certainly the accepted fate of the captive, either by war or piracy, and often the debtor as well. The morality of the situation was not even an academic question. Slavery was merely the last rung on the social ladder; the ultimate in non-status.

Turning from specific ranking systems to the more general forms of differentiation, it is necessary to look at the social position of women in ancient Egypt. Women appear to have enjoyed a similar status to men in Egyptian society although writers are not entirely agreed on this point (43). Few definitive statements are possible because so much has to be inferred from inadequate and perhaps ambiguous sources. It needs to be reiterated that cosy homilies about married life (44) and idyllic feasting scenes in the wall-paintings which seem to show women enjoying equal status with men (45), may not really depict the social situation 'as it was' for women at all strata. They may, in fact, be well-meaning but distorted reflections of social actuality.

What can be said with some certainty is that Egypt was a matrilineal society, "The ancestors are always traced farther back in the female line than the male line. The father was only the holder of the office, the mother was the family link...(also) property... goes through...the mistress of the house; we never find a... master of the house" (46). All landed property apparently descended in the female line from mother to daughter. If a man married an heiress, he enjoyed her property only as long as his wife lived. On his death, it passed to her daughter or her daughter's husband. This had very important implications for the matter of royal succession, and may be related to the question of why Pharaohs sometimes married their sisters and even their daughters. "The marriage laws of Ancient Egypt were never formulated and knowledge of them can be obtained only by working out the marriages and genealogies. It becomes evident that a Pharaoh safeguarded himself from abdication by marrying every heiress without any regard to consanguinity, so that if the chief heiress died, he was already married to the next in succession and thus retained the sovereignty... the throne went strictly in the female line. The great wife of the king was the heiress; by right of her the king came to the throne..(his) birth was not important. He might be of any rank, but if he married the queen, he became king. The queen was queen by right of birth, the king by right of marriage" (47). It seems that a prince could never become Pharaoh simply by being his father's son; he had to be his wife's husband. The woman

conferred kingship. When the eighteenth Dynasty Pharaoh, Tutankhamun died, his young widow Ankhesenamun wrote to the Hittite king saying "My husband is dead and I have no son. Send me one of your sons and he will be my husband and lord of the land of Egypt". Tutankhamun had also become king by marrying the 'daughter of the god' (48). A man of little rank and obscure birth could rise to prominence. This is illustrated by the career of Heri-Hor who rose from a modest military rank to become priest of Amun, and assume nominal kingship in Middle Egypt in the Post-Empire period ^c1080-1074 B.C. (49).

But there are qualifications of unambiguous matriliney. John A. Wilson, one of the foremost modern authorities, agrees that the legitimacy of rule was conditioned by the royal descent of the mother and of the father, and that according to the rather tortuous theology of succession, the first wife was both the daughter and the consort of the god. He feels that this contributes to the "strong matriarchal trend in the theory of royal succession in Egypt" and adds that this "was the reason for brother-sister marriages by some of the Pharaohs" (50). But he also stresses that the position of women is "not very clear". Women appear to be chattels and channels of transmission: queens certainly enjoy considerable esteem, but "(slave women) and concubines had no legal status and could be dismissed at will" (51).

Marriage contracts which have survived seem to show that women's rights were respected. A late contract dating from ^c580 B.C. - which in substance may be based on earlier contracts - records a prospective husband taking an oath that if he leaves his wife "either from dislike, or preferring another", he will return the dowry and a share of all paternal and maternal property for the children which she may bear (52). There is no evidence that marriage was indissoluble, and divorce may have been relatively simple for both parties (53).

Among the very few professions which were open to women, mourning, dancing, midwifery and the priesthood appear to have been the most common. But inevitably, the account is very incomplete since "it is only wives and daughters of the well-to-do (who) have left us their portraits" (54). There is some evidence for prostitution as a practice, although the sources

are meagre. The Boulaq (Cairo) Papyrus (^c1400 B.C.) translated by Flinders Petrie tells of the infatuation of Setna, a prince about whom there are a number of legends, for Thbutui who appears to have been a prostitute in the service of the temple of Bastit which was dedicated to the Egyptian cat-goddess (55). But temple prostitution does not appear to have been as highly institutionalised as it was in, say, Mesopotamia or Phoenicia.

The overall picture which emerges is neither clear nor consistent. What can be discerned are impressions of the ubiquitous residues of ancient social life. The position of women, at the lower levels, was presumably not very dissimilar from that of women in other traditional societies. Life was hard, insecure and not over long. Where the matrilineal principle obtained, women had the power to transmit, but only rarely the power to control. At the upper levels, the situation - certainly in Egyptian society - is much more clearly defined. It is one of privilege and esteem, and - in the case of queens - was bound up with a form of bio-theological rationale of the monarchy.

Any analysis of the ranking systems of ancient Egypt must be vitiated by the problem of change within a 'changeless' tradition (56). Theoretically, there was no rigid caste system in which all were contained despite the changing generations. There was a status continuum which extended from the gods to men and even to animals and inorganic objects. The society demanded talented artisans and administrators therefore there had to be a qualified mobility within the system.

There is a paucity of information concerning the class divisions in the Old Kingdom, although the main divisions became crystallised at a very early period. We may generally hypothesise, however, that this was closely linked with religious ideology "The future life of each class of society was treated as an advance over this life". This extended through all grades within the system "Thus the hope of eternal life would be an advance within one's own rank" (57). By the time of the New Kingdom, these divisions had, paradoxically, both widened and become less well defined. Increased wealth brought a realignment of the divisions and

the introduction of new professional groups. These constituted an intermediate status category which enhanced the old distinction between master and peasant. At the same time, the occupational distinctions between peasants and slaves possibly narrowed to the extent that many slaves were better placed than their legally 'free' counterparts.

The growing numbers of interest groups and increasing socio-economic differentiation meant inevitably that a greater degree of flexibility evolved within Egyptian society. This process was accentuated by the increasingly relaxed attitude to foreigners and resident aliens. The once monolithic system began to feel the strain of containing competing autonomoi - a pluralism of independent and semi-independent social groups which challenged the total nature of the traditional autocracy. External pressures began to mount, and the adaptive internal structures were ultimately unable to withstand them. Social differentiation and fragmentation are sometimes welcomed as the precursors of change and liberalisation; they may also be tell-tale tumours of societal mortality.

ATHENS

In the structure of Homeric society (58), the key distinction was between the aristoi or land-owning aristocracy and their dependents in a type of proto-feudal organisation where status was largely based on wealth and military prestige. These were the salient dimensions which determined the gradations of dependency. All were more-or-less bound directly or indirectly to local lords. Some served as retainers in the households (oikoi) of the aristocracy whilst others worked in a serf-like capacity in their fields. These early communities also included slaves and property-less workers (thetes) who were sometimes hired by the households, and freemen who were mainly herders and craftsmen (59).

The expression 'household' is really inadequate as a translation of oikos because the Greek term can connote a grouping which is both larger and more complex than the simple household of modern Western

society. It would consist of all the members of the lord's family, including his sons (until his death), general retainers, hired servants and slaves. "It is likely that, at least during certain periods, the ties of common membership in an oikos transcended even communal commitments. It was the basic social and economic unit in early Greek society" (60), which ultimately gave way to the more inclusive demands of polis organisation.

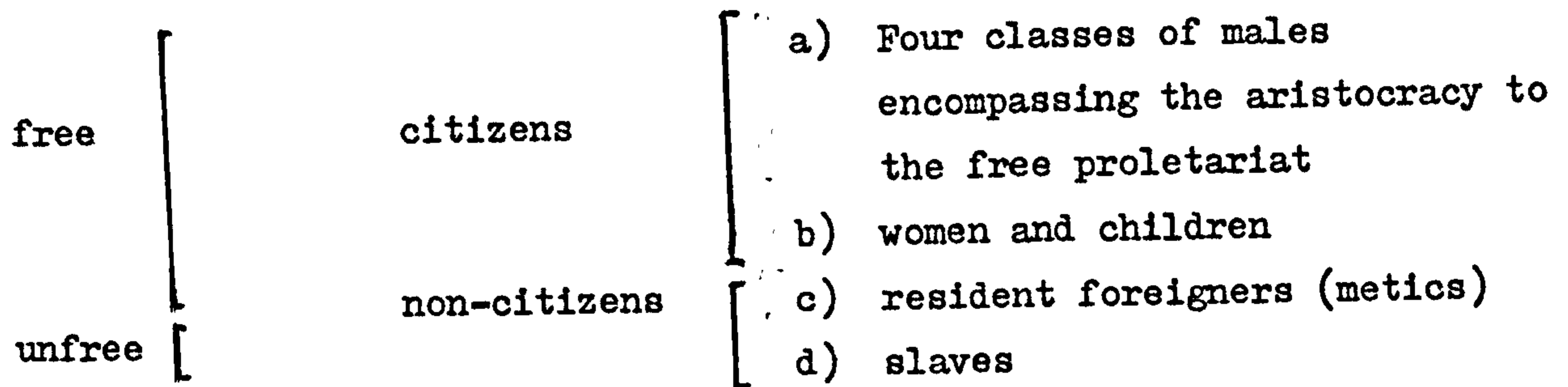
By the early seventh century B.C., there was a growing shortage of agricultural land in Attica, the area controlled by Athens. This, it is argued (61), intensified the conflict between the classes and increased the power of the eupatridai - the 'well-born' landed aristocracy. They were able to squeeze many of the small farmers out of business by the imposition of high-interest loans which the independent growers could only repay by forfeiting their personal security, and sometimes that of their families, and 'share-cropping' for the big landowners. This assimilation of the formerly independent holdings and the social injustices which attended virtually untrammelled aristocratic control (62), eventually precipitated the reforms of Solon at the beginning of the sixth century B.C. These were designed to "advance the community idea... by protecting the weaker majority from the excessive... extra-legal power of the nobility" (63).

Solon established a system of four classes of citizens based on income from property. These were categories of 500, 300, 200 and under 200 bushels, depending on crop returns. Only members of the first two classes were admitted to high public office (64), and members of the lowest class were excluded from any public office though admitted to the Assembly and the courts. In effect, Solon abolished the birth qualification and introduced a property-qualification; this increased the numbers of citizens eligible for public office. The first three classes constituted about 40% of the citizen body, but during the fifth century B.C. when the total number of citizens grew from about 40,000 to about 50,000 this proportion increased to an estimated 50% (65).

Although the Solonic reforms laid the groundwork for a new conception of community, they also had - perhaps unwitting - divisive effects. Alvin Gouldner argues that the reforms helped to bridge the status incongruences that had developed by providing a system that enabled men whose income and class positions were improving to have a correspondingly large share in political powers and honours and that this, in turn, strengthened their loyalties to the community and made their energies and resources more willingly available (66). But they also gave, as never before, institutional articulation to the true class divisions in Athenian society. The old ascription-based status distinctions of the nobility began to give way to the achievement-orientations of the wealthy. They favoured the intermediate categories, the upwardly mobile and the politically ambitious. The extremes of the stratificatory spectrum, the nobility and the poor, remained permanently discontented. Social cleavage crystallised around property considerations; class-consciousness, in the strict economic sense, became a reality.

It is extremely difficult to analyse the structure of Athenian society during the classical period without anticipating yet further analyses of the political and economic spheres. The simple division of the society into citizens and non-citizens involves political considerations inasmuch as 'citizen' for the Greeks was essentially a political term. On the other hand, if emphasis is - perhaps rightly - given to the saliency of wealth and property, the economic dimension has been invoked. In short, differentiation in Athenian society involves a number of possible dichotomies. The aristoi and the demos (i.e. the mass of ordinary citizens whether urban or rural); the citizens and the non-citizens (metics) who were without political affiliation; and - what is by no means the same thing - the free and the unfree. In a further rather special category comes also a valid distinction between male and female, because, in one sense, the free Athenian woman was a non-citizen. She was without direct political representation, yet her status was quite different from that of the metic and very different from that of the slave, both of whom were types of non-citizen.

Perhaps the least confusing categorisation of strata in fifth century B.C. Athens would be:



This categorisation really needs a number of qualifications. For instance, it should be stressed that aristocratic women and children - despite their relative wealth - were just as politically unrepresented as those of the 'people'. It also begs the question of exactly what is meant by 'free' and 'unfree' (67). It can be disputed how far considerations of professional and educational status weighed very heavily in a society where it was possible for slaves to hold responsible positions. "Most bank managers were slaves, as were clerks in public audit departments. Many were shopkeepers, craftsmen and business agents" (68). It can also be contested whether even the desirability of wealth was a social sine qua non in a community where resident non-citizens (metics) were in the forefront of entrepreneurial activity (69). The Athenian value-system was undoubtedly conscious of wealth and its growing importance. In the city there were some hundreds of wealthy families (70). But its emphasis on honour and the quality of life cannot be fully appreciated in materialistic terms (71).

The aristocracy were largely rentiers whose income derived either from their estates of which they were often absentee landlords, or from manufacturing or slave-hire (72), or perhaps from some combination of these. They were therefore able to devote their time to learning or to political or military activity (73), or - not infrequently - to nothing in particular. It was probably in the military sphere that the aristocracy operated with a measure of ease and confidence. It was here that "the well-born, like the nobility of much later nations, felt at home and claimed the right to command" (74).

The vast majority of citizens were either small farmers, craftsmen or tradesmen. Greece being primarily an agrarian society, the main attachment was to the soil, and possibly about three quarters of the citizen families of Athens owned some landed property, although often barely enough for a livelihood. The extremes of wealth and poverty were probably to be found in the urban rather than the rural population.

The proportions of the population to be found in the main social categories is a matter of some dispute. Attica, an area about the size of Bedfordshire, is estimated by Flaceliere to have had a total population of about half a million of whom roughly two-fifths were 'free'. Included in this figure, he calculates that there were about 40,000 citizens, 20,000 metics, and perhaps as many as 300,000 slaves (75). H.D. Kitto, on the other hand, gives a much lower estimate: a total population of 350,000 of whom about 210,000 were 'free', including 20,000 citizens and 35,000 metics, leaving a slave population of about 140,000 (76). H. Bengston (77) gives quite different figures. His view is that the population of Athens was between 105,000 and 120,000, whilst the total population including rural Attica was approximately 210,000-235,000; of these perhaps as many as 35,000 were citizens (78). To add to the complexities, M.I. Finley advances yet further figures. He gives 250,000-275,000 as the total population, of whom perhaps 60,000-80,000 were slaves. Using army figures based on Thucydides, he calculates that in 431 B.C., there might have been as many as 40,000 to 45,000 citizens (79). Perhaps a third of these had hoplite status, that is, they had the privilege of being able to supply their own heavy armour and general accoutrements of war. This suggests that they belonged to that intermediate stratum of citizens which it is tempting, though possibly inaccurate, to dub middle-class. However, it does give us, in the light of very inadequate and disputed statistics, some idea of the class distribution of Athenian society.

On any estimate, therefore, the citizens, i.e. the male voters, comprised only a fraction - perhaps as low as a tenth - of the total population. And from the uncertain inferences which can be made from the available sources, this was not out of keeping with the balance

found in other Greek states. Within this enfranchised category, a certain flexibility obtained. Some mobility did exist for the lower orders of citizen; the mercantile means of advancement were beginning to operate in classical times, but commerce was still hardly a prestigious pursuit. Wealth could buy a grudging recognition, but breeding was important; it was barely possible for the demos to aspire to the ranks of the aristocracy. Political and military merit were acceptable, but neither age nor cultic pretensions - which only involved a very narrow range of professional practitioners - really conferred any particular advantages. Even service with the military reflected the prevailing ranking system. In very general terms, the higher and intermediate orders served with the army, whilst the navy - though commanded by the nobility - recruited, especially as rowers, large numbers of metics and - in very extreme circumstances - even slaves.

However, it should be added in fairness to the Athenian system that, in practice, there was a great deal of necessary cooperation and fraternisation between the lower strata. On public works, slaves, metics and poor citizens might be employed under similar conditions. There is the well-known example of the building of the Erechtheion in 408 B.C. Of the seventy-one men engaged in the work, sixteen were slaves, thirty-five were metics, and twenty were citizens (80). Downward mobility, on the other hand, was also a feature not so much of the occupational structure as the status hierarchy of Athenian society. Under certain circumstances, for example, a successful prosecution under the anti-pederasty laws (81), it was possible for a citizen to lose his citizenship rights (*atimia*) for a specified period.

Any consideration of Athenian non-citizens, must first of all take account of that rather anomalous category, the metics. These resident foreigners were probably mostly Greek by birth and had migrated to Athens for a variety of reasons; the relative security of a large and powerful State, and the opportunities of an expanding economy. They constituted an appreciable proportion of the total Athenian population during the classical period. They were liable to most of the ordinary citizens' financial obligations, particularly the *leitourgiai*, i.e. the

public service and festival expenses, besides a small special tax which was peculiar to their class. The metics had educational disadvantages: although permitted to exercise in the *gymnasia* (which were barred to slaves) they were excluded from ephebic training, the stage of education for the more privileged Athenian males between 16 and 18 years. Marriages between metics and citizens were probably sanctioned by law, although after 451 B.C. the children of such marriages did not qualify for citizenship. Metics could acquire household chattels and own slaves, but were only exceptionally allowed to buy houses, for which they needed special permission. Their rights to their possessions, however, were upheld by law.

Pericles, in comparing Athens with some other *poleis*, eulogised the liberal nature of Athenian society and its institutions. "Our city is open to all men: we have no law that requires the expulsion of the stranger in our midst, or debars him from such endeavour or entertainment as he may find among us" (82). But legally, the metic had to be represented in court by a citizen who acted as his patron, and could even be tortured - although this may have been seldom enforced. The differential social value of the metic is also evidenced by the fact that the murderer of a metic could not be executed - only exiled - although this was the statutory punishment for the murder of a citizen.

Metics had relative freedom as far as religion was concerned, and could even import and celebrate their own native cults, some of which found adherents among citizens themselves (83). This liberty extended to special places at specifically Athenian festivals, such as the Panathenaic Games.

Although the metic population was distributed throughout the administrative districts (*demes*), they possessed no political rights, and were allocated purely subordinate tasks. The spheres in which they flourished were those of manufacture and trade. They had considerable liberty to develop their commercial interests, particularly banking and importing, and many of them became prosperous additions to the community.

They had a virtual monopoly of the metal-working trades; were prominent in weaving, tanning and pottery-making; and one of them, Chaerephilus, owned the largest salt-curing business in Athens. It is highly probable, therefore, that metics were treated as well if not better in Athens than in any other Greek states. They had the liberty to advance their own economic interests, but this must be balanced against the fact that political ambition was denied them. They certainly had no power to change their own political situation. In commerce and trading they were retained because they were useful. In religion, there were virtually no restrictions, perhaps because the cults did not directly affect the political concerns of Athenian society.

In Athens, it seems to have been an inviolable rule that citizenship was absolutely sacrosanct. Any breach could be treated with considerable severity - and this even applied to metics who were valuable members of the trading community. In 445 B.C., there was a particular occasion - almost a cause celebre - which highlights the citizens' response to presumptions of status. During the distribution of a special gift of grain imported from Egypt, it was discovered that a number of metics were posing as citizens. The disclosures must have precipitated something of a purge, and eventually a large body of metics - the number is given as around 5,000 - were struck off the city's register and sold into slavery (84). This affair raises several problems of interpretation. It is obvious that metics wanted to be citizens, at least for simple grain allocation reasons. But it is not certain if their imposture extended beyond the issue of rationing. If it did, how could so many have maintained this pretence in such a relatively small community without being discovered sooner? It is possible to draw the inference - perhaps quite wrongly - that despite the norms of citizenship, a 'blind-eye' situation had developed and had been allowed to continue until this particularly crucial economic issue had arisen. This threatened the privileges of citizenship and called forth the legally appropriate response. There is no evidence to suggest that this was any more than an isolated occasion, and it was certainly not part of a continuing policy of metic-oppression in any way analagous to the Spartan treatment of their helots.

At the lowest level of Athenian society were the slaves; but there were gradations even within the slave category. These should be seen mainly in occupational terms, but they also necessarily involve the question of differential rights. Whatever the legal niceties, the de facto rights of a household slave or an unfree artisan were quite different from those of the chattel slave working in the mines.

M.I. Finley (85) shows that in Greece as a whole there were many shades of dependence within the status spectrum ranging from freedom to slave. These are exemplified by the types of servitude found in various kinds of Greek state. The oikeus (literally 'household servant') of Crete was actually nearer to what we understand as a serf. He was someone who was bound to the land by ties of obligation to a local lord, and had limited, but increasingly well-defined rights. The Gortyn Code ^c450 B.C. (86) which probably contains elements of earlier material, shows that Cretan slaves were liberally treated. They could be bought and sold, but they were allowed to own some property, and certain safeguards were operative in relation to their children (87). By comparison, the helot of Sparta was not a slave by either purchase or capture in the normal sense, but a member of a subjugated people, those who had occupied Lacadaemonia when it was conquered by the Dorian Spartans in the eleventh century (88). The Spartan ephorate gave their own people power of life and death over the helots, and there is evidence to show that periodic murder of helots was sometimes allowed, although this may only have been encouraged, according to Aristotle, as part of the young warriors' training (89). Plutarch informs us (90) that the helots acted as serfs for the Spartans to whom they gave a share of their produce. There seems to be little doubt that the Spartiates, who were very much a powerful minority, feared possible uprisings among the helots, and not without cause; there had been a serious revolt of the helots in 464 B.C. which took five years to quell. Thucydides reports (91) that during the Peloponnesian War, some 2,000 helots were recruited for the Spartan army and quietly and peremptorily massacred by their masters as a precaution against incipient revolt. Yet helots were recruited in equal numbers with Spartans for overseas army service (92).

The debt bondsman, can also be classed with the unfree, although he was not a slave in the strict sense, but a person who could be eventually sold into slavery because he was unable to repay his debts. When this happened, it was common to sell the person abroad; certainly from the fourth century B.C. onwards, Greeks became increasingly reluctant to hold other Greeks as slaves. The 'opposite' of the debt-bondsman was the conditionally manumitted slave, that is a slave given conditional freedom by either deed or payment. At the extreme of the ranking order is the slave proper, the chattel-slave who had little or no hope of freedom.

All these types or categories were rarely if ever, found in the same community. Generally speaking, debt-bondage and helotage were found in the more archaic Greek communities such as Crete, Sparta and Thessaly. Whilst slavery, per se, was more normally found in the politically and economically advanced societies such as Corinth and Athens. For example, Periander, tyrant of Corinth ^c600 B.C., sent 300 youths from the Corinthian colony of Corcyra to Sardis where they were to be castrated and serve as eunuchs (93). There were relatively few slaves, as such, engaged in agriculture; certainly there were no extensive slave-estates such as the later latifundia organised by the Romans. Most were involved in trade and manufacture, in household duties in the larger urban centres, and - most notoriously - in the silver mines at Laurium, near Athens.

The numbers of the slave population of particular poleis are difficult to estimate, it is only possible to infer something of the dimension of slavery from figures which are given in occasional references. It is almost certainly correct to assume that the majority of most slave populations were women and children. Men, trained at arms, were often difficult to keep enslaved under certain circumstances, so they were executed by their conquerors. A fairly typical example would be that of Thebes which attacked Plataea in 427 B.C. and, following the common practice in inter-poleis warfare, massacred 200 men and enslaved the women and children. The principal exceptions to this practice occurred where men had special and much-needed skills, or particularly where able-bodied males were required for heavy duties in mining and quarrying. During the

campaign in Sicily, for instance, in 415-413 B.C., after the rout of the Athenians, about 7,000 prisoners were made to work in the quarries where many of them soon perished, and the remainder were sold into slavery.

The slave population of Athens is uncertain. It was probably about 80-100,000, that is perhaps one-third of the total population. Many - possibly most - of the people did not own slaves, although by the fourth century B.C., those who paid a war-tax, i.e. owners of 6-7 acres, would probably have an oikeus or household servant. Domestic slavery appears to have been quite common, and even families who did not have slaves working in their fields might well have a servant in the house. There was limited agricultural slavery; some slaves acted as overseers on the estates of the absentee aristocracy, and others were hired as casual labour during the harvest periods. They were relatively rare in the liberal professions, which were the particular province of the metics. But they were employed as clerks and tutors, and even prison attendants and police, though not allowed to perform military duties - these were the privilege of free citizens. They were common too in the manufacturing industries where they worked alongside freemen, but the worst excesses were probably to be seen in the mining industry. The silver mines at Laurium were being developed from ^c483 B.C., and labour there was reserved for the lower class slave or unwanted captured males. Silver had an international market, and by ^c427 B.C. under the impetus of the Peloponnesian War, the mines probably employed between 20,000 and 30,000 slaves - perhaps a quarter of the total slave population. They laboured there under the most primitive conditions. Only slaves were allowed to work underground; they were branded and chained, and worked day and night shifts in the two thousand or so tiny shafts. It is hardly surprising that during the seige of Athens in 413 B.C. many of them took advantage of the situation and deserted to the Spartans.

Some Delphic inscriptions indicate the slave's legal position; these can be summarised as follows:

- i) He was a non-citizen. He could not go where he pleased or live where he wished; he could not determine his polis or his affiliations. In having no political identity, he was virtually a non-person. He had, therefore, no independence. His will was that of his master, whose permission had to be sought for any activity.
- ii) In legal actions, he had to be represented by his owner or some other legally empowered person.
- iii) He was technically a chattel, and as such was subject to seizure as property, against which he had little, if any, recourse.

There were some compensations. To some extent, the slave was protected from undue violence. He was exempted from military service and therefore war duties. In fact, it was improper though not illegal to strike a slave in Athens, although it is doubtful if this stricture applied to the owner. It was a Spartan jibe that in Athens it was impossible from appearance to tell a slave from a citizen. This 'liberty' was extended to the practice of allowing slaves to buy their freedom, although the price for manumission was predictably in excess of the original purchase price - not surprising in those inflationary times (94). This was a great incentive for slaves who enjoyed the privilege of modest earnings. Some of these were actually able to form small security schemes (eranoi) which could make loans to fellow slaves - a rather novel feature of Athenian slavery. Although such rights were granted perhaps to the majority of Athenian slaves, it can be certain that the lower class slaves were virtually untouched by them. Those who toiled unremittingly and died prematurely in the silver mines would have known little of these benefits of Athenian social organisation.

Slavery was an accepted feature of the ancient world. When slaves were plentiful, and supply exceeded demand, life was very cheap, and the privations of the slave were at their worst. This was usually during expansionist phases when the market was glutted with captives. But during periods of consolidation, and especially retrenchment, the breeding

of slaves might even be encouraged where supply could not keep pace with demand. In these circumstances, the lot of the slave might actually improve. This can be seen very clearly from the example of Roman slavery. Considerable changes took place between the first century B.C. the expansionist slave-estate period, and the second century A.D. when Rome was beginning to feel alien pressures on her frontiers (95). Changes in slave conditions need not necessarily be seen in terms of compassion or morality - although kind masters obviously existed - but rather in terms of economic necessity. For autocratic societies such as Egypt, the economy was based on a form of clientage; slaves were not required in large numbers where there were sufficient serf-like peasants to sustain the system. It was only in more democratic societies like Athens that a huge reservoir of slave labour was necessary to afford politico-occupational privileges to the citizens. Whether or not slavery was the basis of the Athenian economy is still debated by scholars, and will be considered in the discussion on economic organisation. But that it was a contributory factor in the Athenian achievement is undeniable.

M.I. Finley has argued (96) in answer to Marxist interpretations of Greek history (97), that with a virtually unrestrained demos there was nothing approaching a working-class consciousness or class agitation, in the strict sense. Slavery is a case in point. Far from being regarded as an exploitative practice devised by an unscrupulous aristocracy, the evidence shows that it was very much a given institution which was rarely questioned either by the intellectuals, reformers, or by the people themselves (98). Even slave revolts may not indicate any more than that the victims of slavery wanted to be free, not that they wanted to abolish the institution of slavery (99). In fact, if revolution is defined as a violent attempt by one section of the State to effect social change, perhaps there were no slave revolts in Greece.

The question of class war presents similar problems - and perhaps admits of a similar analysis. There did occur in Greece what are described as Class Wars (100). The incidents at Corcyra in the early phase of the Peloponnesian War (precisely between 427 and 425 B.C.) recorded by Thucydides could fall into this category. The Corcyraean aristocracy and the demos, partly out of principle and partly out of political opportunism, took opposing sides in the conflict. The result was disastrous; massacre, mass suicide and the wholesale enslavement of many of the women (101). But, if we interpret 'class war' to mean an attempt not simply to reform, but actually to re-structure society, the term may again be inapplicable. As in so many states, the desire was not to overthrow the existing systems but merely to change the balance of power.

The position of Greek women, particularly upper class women, involves certain ambiguities. In Homeric literature, monogamy seems to be the rule, and divorce is rarely mentioned. There appears to be little indication of intensity in men-women relationships (102). This reflects the normative sexual mores of some warrior societies, and can be seen very clearly in the later military aristocracies of Thebes and Sparta. Women were often held as captives and served as slaves, but the men were customarily slain. Sometimes women captives were elevated to the position of concubine which implies some regularisation of the sexual role (103). Although women in the Iliad and the Odyssey are obviously inferior to men, the poems do contain some enigmatic material. For example, would Penelope's marriage to one of the persistent suitors have conferred noble status on him as husband of a queen? (104). Was Helen desired for her fabled beauty or for her inherent transmission rights? And do both these problems indicate a vestigial matriarchalism in archaic times?

During the Classical period, the position of women in Athens is also rather ambiguous. To begin with, most of our information concerns the womenfolk of citizens who were, by and large, the wealthier and more influential members of the community. Much has been inferred from limited available sources, namely, the Dialogues of Plato, some histories,

literature and plays in particular, and - to a lesser extent - pictorial art and inscriptions. What we do know is that women were not enfranchised. They could not vote or hold political office, neither were they even allowed to attend the Assembly. They had to occupy separate blocks of seats at the plays - normally at the back of the amphitheatre, and although they took a very full part in numerous religious festivals and had their own cults, married women were not allowed to attend the Olympic celebrations. They were permitted to carry on a limited trade, and could own property in a restricted sense (105). They were always regarded as wards of a male guardian or relative, usually a parent or husband, and if a woman was divorced the dowry was returned not to her but to her guardian. The nearest male relative was entitled to marry an heiress (uncle-niece, and half-brother-half-sister unions were permitted) even if it meant having to divorce his own wife to do so. Adultery in Athens simply meant the union of a married woman and a man who was not her husband. This was an offence against her husband - as rape or seduction were offences against the guardian. A married man's indiscretions were barely recognised.

This situation compares interestingly with Sparta, traditionally regarded as a more repressive society, where women appear to have enjoyed greater freedom and more equality. The fact that Spartan women exercised naked, often with men, was something of a byword among even the liberal Athenians and was taken as one indication of their brashness and relative independence (106). They married comparatively late, perhaps 18-20, and their primary task seems to have been to bear healthy sons for the State. After marriage, the men continued to live in army quarters with their comrades, and visited their wives apparently by stealth and usually at night. Any children from these unions became the property of the State.

Perhaps the Athenian practices were not so essentially different. The men appear not to have found their main companionship in the home, but in the company of comrades-in-arms (hetairoi), possibly in an age-set

'dining-club' (hetaireia) or in the arms of courtesans (hetairai) - an accepted and legitimate exercise (107). The etymological connections are hardly accidental (108), they express the sentiments and indicate the situational satisfactions of the Athenian male, as far as we know them (109).

The ambiguous nature of our 'knowledge' of the women's role in Classical Athens derives mainly from certain inferential correctives which may be applied to our interpretations (110). One of the indices of relaxed attitudes towards women must surely be procedural mutuality in relation to divorce. Athenian women could institute proceedings as well as men. In fact, the women's parents might bring a case if there was no issue from the marriage. Such a move cast unfortunate doubts on the husband's capacity to produce children - an interesting situation in patriarchal societies where the failure to produce children was not uncommonly imputed to the wife's barrenness (111). It follows too from the relative freedom of the hetairai that not all Athenian women were so repressed. Brothels enjoyed State patronage, certainly from the days of Solon; the porne or common prostitute was a readily available commodity - for a modest sum - to the general citizenry. Prostitution was sometimes closely connected with religion. Strabo reported (VIII. 378) that Corinth had a thousand prostitutes who were also priestesses of the temple of Aphrodite; in fact it was they who offered up the sacrifices during the threatened Persian invasion. By comparison, the more expensive hetairai were virtually an upper-class institution. The texts and vase-paintings seem to indicate that their versatile charms were reserved primarily for the relaxation of the leisured aristoi (112), and many of them became famous in Athens as the mistresses of eminent men (113). Citizens' wives, by contrast, were supposed to live circumscribed lives which were assumed to be above reproach (114), but what, for instance, did women make of the licentious Old Comedy which presumably they attended? Aristophanes' plays, for example, show a scant respect for that virtuous modesty (sophrosyne) which was regarded as a prime requirement for the well-bred Athenian woman (115).

A nescient situation exists as far as the lower orders are concerned. So little is really known, and 'arguments from silence' are notoriously suspect. There is very little evidence of the daily lives of slaves - male or female - in any ancient societies. They were not the subjects of much concern, but some reasonable assumptions about them can be made, even if they do lack the desired detail. Little too is known about women of the lower strata, it may be - as M.I. Finley argues (116) - that poverty which gave less leisure to males, gave females a greater measure of independence. The literature suggests that family life was essentially little different from our own. Vase-paintings depict homely scenes, and epitaphs often indicate a simple devotion within the family unit, binding both partners and children. Although virtually silent on the question of slavery, the intellectuals were sometimes more intrepid on the issue of women's rights; Socrates/Plato in the Dialogues (particularly in the Republic) and especially the playwright Euripides in the Medea (117). It may be significant, however, that the women of Greek literature (118), although figures of consequence, are also often seen as figures, and even occasions, of tragedy.

SUMMARY

EGYPT

- 1) Hierarchical and occupational gradings. Division between free and unfree.
Mobility within classes
Limited meritocratic system between classes for Literati, priests and military
- 2) Artisans mainly employed on State/Temple projects
- 3) No emergent merchant class
- 4) Slavery: variety of occupational categories
Usually prisoners of war could be owned by State, Temples or privately
No known clear codification of rights
- 5) Position of women:
similar rights to males. Some ambiguities.
Matrilineal stress especially in property transmission rights.
Some occupations, including religious functions.
- 6) New Kingdom toleration of non-citizen foreigners
- 7) Ranking systems endorsed by religious sanctions.

ATHENS

- 1) Property basis of class divisions:
Some economic mobility
Divisions between: aristocracy and the people (demos)
free and unfree citizen and non-citizen
Rotating political roles
- 2) Variety of occupational categories, but limited functional differentiation
- 3) Emergent merchant class
- 4) Slavery: wide variety of occupational categories
Prisoners, debtors, slaves by purchase
All slaves privately owned - but sometimes leased to State
Clear legal status definitions
- 5) Position of women:
unequal rights compared with males.
Marked patrilineal stress, but some inconsistencies.
Some occupations including institutional prostitution
Developed cultic functions
- 6) Toleration of resident aliens (metics) who did not share political rights
- 7) Religion and cultic practices cut across ranking systems.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. A. BETEILLE Social Inequality pp.12-13 PENGUIN 1969.
2. T. PARSONS Essays in Sociological Theory, Pure and Applied p.166. FREE PRESS 1949.
3. J. LITTLEJOHN Social Stratification ALLEN & UNWIN 1972
4. For a brief but excellent summary of the Marx-Weber argument, see J. LITTLEJOHN Social Stratification op. cit. Chapter 1 "It was to this levelling of the uniqueness of previous epochs and of other existent civilizations that Weber objected, and to the view that the past could be interpreted in the terms most relevant to the interpretation of the present" (p.25).
5. A translation of Weber in R. BENDIX Max Weber: an Intellectual Portrait HEINEMANN 1960
6. See, for example R. ZAEHNER Hinduism (especially Ch. 6) O.U.P. 1962.
7. M. WEBER Essays in Sociology transl. by H. GERTH & C. WRIGHT-MILLS p.301 R.K.P. 1948.
8. This was noted by Champollion, one of the pioneers of Egyptology in the early 19th century.
See also J.A. WILSON (joint editor) Before Philosophy p.41. PENGUIN 1954
9. M. WEBER The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation FREE PRESS 1966.
10. HENRI FRANKFORT et al Before Philosophy op. cit.
11. "One of the most striking of the features that set the pre-industrial city apart from its industrial counterpart is the all-pervasiveness of its stratification system, above all the rigid class structure".
GIDEON SJOBERG The Pre-industrial City p.108 op. cit.
12. S.N. EISENSTADT The Political Systems of Empires pp.85-87 FREE PRESS 1969
13. S.N. EISENSTADT The Political Systems of Empires op. cit.
This gives an extensive analysis of the structural arrangements of complex pre-industrial societies in relation to the political variable.
14. The peasantry often formed different types of associations. For example, the quite distinctive eranoi or mutual-aid societies which were formed in 4th century Athens. Note A.R. HANDS Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome, especially Chapter 6. THAMES & HUDSON 1968.

15. ROLAND de VAUX Ancient Israel DARTON, LONGMAN & TODD 1962.
16. MAX WEBER The Religion of India FREE PRESS 1958.
17. 'Protological' - in contradistinction to eschatological - is used here to denote a doctrine of the 'first things' i.e. the original or pristine 'truth'. Revelation-based systems have a habit of spawning further and higher revelations which can be both debilitating and self-renewing depending on circumstances.
18. BARBARA SEWELL Egypt under the Pharaohs p.79 EVANS 1968.
19. For example, KURT MENDELSSOHN The Riddle of the Pyramids THAMES & HUDSON 1974.
20. H. FRANKFORT Kingship and the Gods UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS 1948. According to Plato (Timaeus 24A, B) there were five classes; Diodorus gives six hereditary divisions, and Herodotus (II, 164) cites seven professional castes. But these relate to a late period. (See C.D. DARLINGTON The Evolution of Man and Society p.120 ALLEN & UNWIN 1969). H. Frankfort (following E. Meyer 1928) notes that these divisions into castes which classical authors claimed for Egypt was part of the disintegration of the traditional social order following the usurpation of the crown by the High Priest of Amon after the decline of the Empire (21st Dynasty).
21. See H. FRANKFORT Ancient Egyptian Religion HARPER & ROW 1961.
22. J.A. WILSON The Culture of Ancient Egypt op. cit. p.257.
23. M. COVENSKY The Ancient Near Eastern Tradition p.62. HARPER & ROW 1966.
24. T. PARSONS Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives op. cit. p.55.
25. W. EMERY Archaic Egypt p.111. PENGUIN 1972.
26. What may be a biased account records, "...the scribe landeth on the embankment and will register the harvest, the peasant who is unable to supply corn for taxes is beaten and his wife and children put in fetters. But the scribe, he directeth the work of all people. For him there are no taxes, for he payeth in writing, and there are no dues for him". R.A. CAMINOS Late Egyptian Miscellanies p.247. OXFORD 1954.

27. "We reiterate that throughout the preindustrial civilized world the upper class, and above all the society's ruling strata, is urban in nature". G. SJOBERG The Preindustrial City op. cit. p.113.
28. G. LENSKI Power and Privilege p.257 MCGRAW-HILL 1966.
29. J.H. BREASTED Ancient Records of Egypt IV CHICAGO 1906-7.
30. M.I. FINLEY Slavery in Classical Antiquity p.164 HEFFER 1964.
31. See K. MENDELSSOHN The Riddle of the Pyramids op. cit. p.147.
32. J.A. WILSON The Culture of Ancient Egypt op. cit. p.191.
33. J.A. WILSON *ibid.* p.201. See also A.M. BAKIR Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt Cairo (IFAO) 1952.
34. J.H. BREASTED Ancient Records of Egypt IV op. cit.
35. A.H. GARDINER Lawsuit arising from the purchase of Slaves JEA XXI (1935) pp.140-6.
36. What evidence there is suggests that fugitive slaves were relentlessly pursued by their owners. For laws relating to runaway slaves, see W.C. HAYES The Brooklyn Papyrus NEW YORK 1956.
37. See A. OLMSTEAD History of Assyria CHICAGO 1960.
38. A.H. GARDINER The Wilbour Papyrus O.U.P. 1941.
39. BARBARA SEWELL Egypt under the Pharaohs op. cit. p.80.
40. Although slaves might be allowed to earn their own living in Mesopotamia - providing their masters took a percentage - in some regions, slaves had to wear fetters outside the household as a sign of bondage.
41. A. OPPENHEIM Ancient Mesopotamia pp.75-76. UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS 1964
42. A. ERMAN Life in Ancient Egypt op. cit. p.128.
43. L. COTTRELL (Life under the Pharaohs) argues for the equal desirability of male or female children mainly on the uncertain evidence of child-names (p.78) whereas P. MONTET (Everyday Life in Egypt) insists that male children were preferred (p.57). But this is not an unambiguous yardstick as to the status of women in Egyptian society.
44. For example, the story of the unhappy widower in the Leyden Papyrus.
45. Note the scenes depicted in the tomb chapels at Karnak.
46. W.M.F. PETRIE Social Life in Ancient Egypt CONSTABLE 1930.
47. MARGARET MURRAY The Splendour that was Egypt SIDGEWICK & JACKSON 1949.

48. It may be that eventually the widow, Ankhesenamun actually married the vizier, Ay, in order to confer upon him the right to the throne - but the facts are very much in dispute.
See CHRISTINE DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT Tutankhamun Chapt. 9 B.C.A. 1972.
49. K. KITCHEN Third Intermediate Period in Egypt pp.90-1; 248-252
ARIS & PHILLIPS 1973.
50. It should be added that J.A. Wilson in this same context goes on to say that brother-sister marriage among the Pharaohs also had the "derivative purpose of cutting down on the number of pretenders to the throne".
51. L. COTTRELL Life under the Pharaohs op. cit. p.80.
52. W.M.F. PETRIE Social Life in Ancient Egypt op. cit.
53. This is suggested by Petrie (Social Life in Ancient Egypt) but the sources quoted are very late, c. 442 B.C., and concern contracts between Jews living at Elephantine in Upper Egypt. See also P.W. PESTMAN Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt BRILL 1961.
54. L. COTTRELL Life under the Pharaohs op. cit. p.84.
55. See H. KRICH and A. GREENWALD The Prostitute in Literature BALLANTINE 1960. Also F. HENRIQUES Prostitution and Society MACGIBBON & KEE 1962-68.
56. J.A. WILSON maintains that "ancient Egypt survived 'unchanged' for long centuries by changing constantly and ignoring such change"
The Culture of Ancient Egypt op. cit. p.76.
57. J.A. WILSON ibid. p.86.
58. The term "Homeric society" is really ambiguous. It could refer to the society of which Homer writes, i.e. 12th century late Mycenaean society or the society of Homer's own time i.e. 8th century "Dark Ages" society, or, as has been argued, 12th century characters and incidents dressed unwittingly in an 8th century guise. Compare 6th century A.D. Arthur and his knights in Medieval trappings. For a discussion of the Homeric problem, see M.I. FINLEY The World of Odysseus PENGUIN 1958.
59. For a general treatment of the period, see H. MITCHELL The Economics of Ancient Greece C.U.P. 1940.
60. M.I. FINLEY The World of Odysseus op. cit.
61. For a detailed analysis of this absorption process in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., see A. FRENCH The Economic Background to Solon's Reforms THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY Nos. 1, 2 (1956).
62. Contemporary evidence i.e. from the 8th century B.C. can be seen in Hesiod Works and Days
63. M.I. FINLEY The Ancient Greeks p.43. PENGUIN 1963.

64. This applies particularly to the archonship. Archons ('rulers') were elected annually by the Assembly from among the aristocracy with property qualifications. After their period of office, they became members of the ancient Council of the Areopagus, a body which in some ways was analagous to the Roman Senate (See H. KITTO The Greeks p.101 PENGUIN 1960). Solon became archon in 594 B.C. and after he had completed his work, he left Athens for ten years so that the city could 'test' his programme without prejudice. It can never be known whether the discontentment which attended his efforts would have been so evident had he stayed.
65. G. GLOTZ Ancient Greece at Work p.169 KNOFF 1926. The issue of the Athenian population is discussed at some length in A. FRENCH The Growth of the Athenian Economy, especially pp.135-47. R.K.P. 1964.
66. A. GOULDNER Enter Plato op. cit. p.19. The definitive work of social analysis on the philosophy of the polis.
67. *ibid.* p.23 Gouldner points out that any analysis of stratification in classical Greece must take account of a number of dimensions, and he particularly identified four main issues:
- i) Whether or not persons derived their income from ownership, operation, or investment in landed properties or from mercantile or manufacturing properties.
 - ii) The differences between citizens and foreigners.
 - iii) The distinction between residence and landholding in urban and rural areas.
 - iv) The distinction between the free and the slaves.
68. J. LITTLEJOHN Social Stratification op. cit. p.56.
69. The "voteless alien(s)" were not the only people interested in trade by any means, although it is probably incorrect to think of merchants as a class before the 4th century B.C. What is evident is that there was a certain contempt for trade among the Athenian upper classes, although they undoubtedly benefitted from its operations.
See A. ANDREWES Greek Society pp.143-45. PENGUIN 1967.
70. M.I. FINLEY The Ancient Greeks op. cit. p.71.
71. See A.W.H. Adkins Merit and Responsibility: a Study in Greek Values O.U.P. 1960.
72. Some slave-owners held slaves in considerable numbers. Nicias, the leader of the ill-fated Sicilian expedition which was destroyed in 413 B.C. - perhaps the turning point of the Peloponnesian War - is said to have owned 1,000 slaves which he hired at a daily rate. This may have given him an annual return of "at least 35%".
See G. THOMSON Studies in Ancient Greek Society pp.196-205. LAWRENCE & WISHART 1955.
73. Cimon, who according to Aristotle (Constitution of Athens XXVII 3) "possessed the fortune of a tyrant.." was an eminent political opponent of Pericles, and used his wealth to further his political ambitions.
74. A. ANDREWES Greek Society op. cit. p.241.

75. R. FLACELIERE Daily Life in Greece op. cit. p.52.
76. H.D. KITTO The Greeks op. cit. p.66.
77. H. BENGSTON The Greeks and the Persians p.112: WEIDENFELD 1970. The 35,000 are presumably adult male voters. This raises the thorny question of terminology: women and children who were neither metics nor slaves were definitely citizens, but only the adult males had 'full' citizenship in that they alone had political (voting) status. See A.M.H. JONES Athenian Democracy BLACKWELLS 1957.
78. These figures for citizenship are large by Greek standards. Only three poleis had more than 20,000 citizens, Syracuse and Acragas in Sicily, and Athens.
79. M.I. FINLEY The Ancient Greeks op. cit. pp.55 and 73. He argues that army figures are almost certainly accurate unlike the estimated population figures. As far as we know, the Greeks conducted no actual censuses.
80. See G. THOMSON Studies in Ancient Greek Society Vol. II op. cit. pp.196-205.
81. See R. FLACELIERE Love in Ancient Greece: WESTPORT 1973.
82. THUCYDIDES 2. 39.
83. The thiasoi or religious associations included such foreign deities as the Thracian goddess, Bendis, and the Great Mother cult from Phrygia.
84. See D. WHITEHEAD The Ideology of the Athenian Metic Supplement 4 CAMBRIDGE PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY 1977.
85. M.I. FINLEY Slavery in Classical Antiquity op. cit.
86. The Law Code of Gortyn in Crete is the chief source of our knowledge of the social history of ancient Crete. It is the only complete law code we have from Ancient Greece. See R. WILLETTS Ancient Crete p.22ff. BATSFORD 1969.
87. The fact that slave and freeman unions were the subject of legislation shows that they did take place, but almost certainly gave rise to some legal problems, if not actual disquiet.
88. It is not known for certain whether Spartans held slaves by purchase or capture, but helotage and similar systems were not peculiar to Lacadaemonia. Compare the Penestes or Thessaly and the helot-like subjection of conquered Messina.
89. The periodic murder of helots may have been the work of the Spartan 'secret police', the crypteia. Myron of Priene also writes of the annual floggings of helots, but he is regarded as a doubtful source, and anyway the Spartans were extremely harsh to their own kind, especially youths in training who could be flogged for relatively trivial offences. See H. MICHELL Sparta p.75ff. C.U.P. 1962.
90. PLUTARCH Inst. Lac. 239E
91. THUCYDIDES IV. 80.
92. A. ANDREWES Greek Society op. cit. p.153.

93. See G. THOMSON Studies in Ancient Greek Society op. cit. It should also be noted that Chios had the oldest slave market in Greece, yet from ^c600 B.C. its constitution was democratic. One particular individual, Panionios is said to have made a fortune ^c500 B.C., by castrating Greek boys and selling them at Ephesus and Sardis.
94. An interesting comparison can be made with manumission procedures in Roman society. See KEITH HOPKINS Conquerors and Slaves CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS 1978.
95. See particularly, MORTON CHAMBERS (Ed.) The Fall of Rome HOLT, RINEHART AND WINSTON 1970.
96. M.I. FINLEY Slavery in Classical Antiquity op. cit.
97. For example, the Marxist historian, GEORGE THOMSON Studies in Ancient Greek Society op. cit.
98. Indeed, it can be argued that in certain circumstances it is the people who have most to profit from slavery. See ERIC CARLTON review of KEITH HOPKINS "Conquerors and Slaves" SOCIOLOGY MAY 1979.
99. Slave revolts were much more a feature of Roman society, particularly in the 1st century B.C. They needed the organisational skills which were sometimes found in large aggregations of slaves. In the Sicilian slave war, it is interesting that those in revolt succeeded in enslaving those who opposed them. P. GREEN The First Sicilian Slave War PAST & PRESENT No.20 Nov. 1961.
100. See ARNOLD TOYNBEE Greek Civilization and Character MENTOR 1953. in which he writes of the First and Second Phases of the Class War pp.44-53 and pp.74-80.
101. THUCYDIDES Book III Chapt. 70-85 and Book IV Chapt. 46-48.
102. M.I. FINLEY The World of Odysseus op. cit. p.148ff.
103. On this issue, Gouldner observes that "while Greek homosexuality excludes the male slave, Greek heterosexuality includes the female slave.. low or slave status need not disqualify a woman as a bed-mate". A. GOULDNER Enter Plato op. cit. p.63.
104. C. SELTMAN Women in Antiquity PAN 1956.
105. See H. BENGSTON The Greeks and Persians op. cit. pp.149-51.
106. Note, for example, the character attributed to Spartan women in the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes.
107. The hetaira or courtesan is used here in distinction to the porne (prostitute).
108. M.I. FINLEY The Ancient Greeks op. cit. p.146.

109. H. LICHT Sexual Life in Ancient Greece ROUTLEDGE 1935.
110. For a detailed exposition of the view that women in Athens enjoyed more liberal treatment, see; H. KITTO The Greeks op. cit. pp.219-236, and particularly A.W. GOMME Essays in History and Literature BLACKWELL 1937.
111. In antiquity, many semitic societies, for example, Hebrew society, believed barrenness in the wife could constitute grounds for divorce or justification for polygamy or concubinage.
112. There is a much-quoted passage from Demosthenes to the effect that hetairai are for pleasure, female slaves for the care of the person, and wives to bear legitimate children and manage the household.
113. In the 4th century, for example, Phryne (Mnesarete) was the mistress of the orator Hyperides and the sculptor Praxiteles, and posed for his Aphrodite. In the later Hellenistic age, some courtesans even managed to become queens.
114. Athenian wives were not above taking lovers and even entertaining them under their husbands' roofs. See, for example, LYSIAS (On the murder of Eratosthenes 9-10) who writes of an Athenian woman who took her lover on the ground floor while her husband slept upstairs.
115. R. FLACELIERE Daily Life in Greece op. cit. p.71.
116. M.I. FINLEY The Ancient Greeks op. cit. p.147. An argument which he develops in greater detail in the case of lower class Roman women in the Silent Women of Rome (Aspects of Antiquity p.159ff. PENGUIN 1972)
117. For the Medea, Euripides may have drawn upon the character of Aspasia, the mistress of Pericles, but this is conjectural, and her position anyway was exceptional.
See H. BENGTON The Greeks and Persians op. cit. p.150.
118. This applies to many of Greek literature's characters: Helen, Clytemnestra, Cassandra, Penelope, Phaedra, etc.

Much of the effort of sociologists since Marx has been concentrated on analyses of modern capitalism, its origins and its development, and has largely ignored - or at least overlooked - the economic structures of traditional systems (1). The general development of formal economic theory has also tended to exclude examinations of wider social variables. The rather simplistic notion that economic factors determine the forms of society has become modified by the notion that certain social and cultural forms may be necessary before economic growth can take place (2). In the present discussion, we are going to examine the ways in which the economic order of society may be related to prevailing religious ideas.

In the previous chapter, some effort was made to show that the bases of social stratification extend beyond the purely economic - if indeed such an unalloyed entity actually exists. However, this should not detract from the undoubted importance of economic factors in the makeup of historical societies especially in relation to their stratification systems. Any analysis must take account of 'who get what, and how?'; the entire distributive process reflects the control structures of traditional systems. This is essentially the position taken by Gerhard Lenski (3) who argues that privilege derives from having control of the surplus of goods and services in society, and this control, in turn, depends upon the power of the individual or group to be able to carry out their policies despite all possible opposition. It is Lenski's view that inequalities increase with the level of technology required to achieve the surplus. These, he maintains, reach their peak not in advanced technological societies, where large-scale production has an economically ameliorative effect, but in advanced agrarian societies, that is the types of traditional society with which this study is primarily concerned (4). The general characteristics of complex pre-industrial societies are obviously very broad indeed, but

the general characteristics of their economic systems can be delineated with reasonable accuracy. The directional influences too of these economic systems on power structures is not difficult to perceive as Robert Heilbroner puts it, "in pre-market societies, wealth tends to follow power, not until the market society will power tend to follow wealth" (5).

Eisenstadt maintains that the most important factors to be noted in connection with traditional economic systems are (6):

- i) the extent to which specific economic roles were differentiated
- ii) the degree of development of specific units of production, exchange and consumption, in the major areas of the economy.
- iii) the relative importance of different types of exchange mechanisms.

This brings into focus the underlying issue of how theorists see the relationships between economy and society and between economy and values. The tendency with economists such as Marshall was to see the term economy as somehow encompassing the whole of life. This involved the necessary assumption that all institutions have something to do with the acquisition or distribution of wealth (7). This approach is rather limiting in that it makes any evaluation of the distinctive contributions of 'social' or 'economic' variables difficult to assess. But any strong reaction in the opposite direction tends instead to put undue stress on the formal 'separateness' of each, and this fails to give sufficient emphasis to the non-material forms of economic wealth. The more utilitarian approach to wealth which emphasises its social usefulness, shifts the orientation towards the market and exchange as central features of an economy (8). This can involve the distinctive and important factor of a money system. Money is a precise criterion, and will be a crucial variable in our analysis, but even here there must be some reservations in the context of pre-industrial systems where the distribution of rewards may have a social rather than an economic basis. The problem is simply that the utilitarian approach may overlook subjective considerations. Why any

particular individual holds any particular commodity, object or activity to be useful may have nothing whatever to do with utility as it is customarily conceived, but may well be related - especially in traditional societies - to some aesthetic or religious value.

The relationship between systems of production, distribution and consumption may be held to delineate the specific spheres of economics. In Parson's view, the economy is an adaptive sub-system of society (9); but in stressing production (10) rather than distribution (exchange), Parsons and Smelser appear to have some difficulty in making the economy a differentiated part of society. Indeed, it could be argued that all enduring social relations involve transactions which have an exchange aspect (11). The position taken by other theorists (12), particularly in the context of pre-industrial societies, is that social and economic are not logically separable categories. Acts are neither economic nor non-economic. All acts have economic and social and cultural aspects.

Not all economic acts can be seen as being manifestly rational. In categorising some social action as rational action, Max Weber was expressing a relationship of possible means to possible ends (13). He was not suggesting that the ends themselves could be rationally chosen. Weber was well aware of the importance of other categories of social action, namely, affective or emotionally responsive action, and traditional or customary action which are particularly applicable to pre-industrial systems. Choices, whether ostensibly economic or otherwise, are determined by the traditional value-system of a society. How that value-system is itself determined may not admit of any final answers. Economic factors will almost certainly have played their part, but the evaluation of those choices or goals, however determined, may not always be possible in terms of an economic theory which has been developed in modern, technological settings (14). Although in any analysis, implicit notions of modern economic rationality are unavoidable (15).

In relative terms, then, we may delineate the main features of traditional economic systems: a) Limited technology. Superficially this may appear to be almost insulting in view of the incredible constructional achievements of many traditional societies. In fact, the opposite is the case. The wonder is that they achieved so much with so little. Even the pyramid and temple complexes of Egypt (16), and the architectural marvels of Greece, though the products of superlative engineering and artistic skills, were actually built with surprisingly little technology, as such. The block and tackle, the ramp and the plumb-line, are hardly machine technology, as we understand it. The traditional society was largely sustained by animate sources of energy; part of the achievement, therefore, lay in the ability to harness and control the necessary reserves of human effort. This relates particularly to public works which were commissioned either by the State or by religious organisations - which in many societies were substantially the same thing.

In the private sector, limited technology meant that manufacturing, in general, tended to be a small-scale affair. Workshops employing over fifty men, for example, would be rare in Athens. Production units were small because processing techniques did not require large concentrations of labour. These units were sometimes organised on a kinship basis, although in more advanced societies, wage-relationships were common. Specialisation was in the product, e.g. types of pottery, rather than in the process. The work might be neither simple nor standardised, and a craftsman might well see the product through the entire process. The limited purchasing power of the masses in traditional societies meant that the luxury goods market, where high standards were required, became very specialised indeed.

b) Limited economic specialisation. In traditional societies, developed commercial activity was not uncommon, but it was often only during periods of expansion and colonisation that there was the impetus for the creation of new demands. Entrepreneurs played a part in organising the flow of goods and services, but without a constantly expanding market for capital, there was only a qualified seeking for new avenues of investment. Overseas trade particularly was fraught with uncertainties, and it often took the promise of high profits to activate even the most intrepid of traders. The problems of storage and the preservation of goods, of communication and transport, and especially the limited ability to know the nature and strength of market demands, meant that by modern standards economic enterprise was necessarily circumscribed. Though commercial activity was frequently well developed, formal and purposive planning was often lacking. With a limited degree of standardization in goods and services, and especially in weights, measures and currencies, the levels of economic integration were low and market synchronization was difficult.

One key qualifying factor was the presence or otherwise of a money system. This simplified enormously the process of rational planning and meant that the varied activities and accumulative interests of an economy could be calculated in common terms. Similarly, it greatly simplified the barter and exchange mechanisms of overseas trade by instituting interchangeable and mutually acceptable value systems.

c) Limited Capital Formation: Certain forms of banking were to be found in pre-industrial societies. Sometimes Temples functioned as treasuries-cum-banking houses, as in ancient Greece (17). The extending of credit was a risky venture. Few people had much collateral; morbidity and mortality rates were high, and credit was often consequently loaned at exorbitant figures. "The rates of interest obtainable on credit extension for production or commercial ventures were substantially inflated by discounts for risk and uncertainty... Among peasants, by far the most common form of debt was the consumption loan... this type were

normally short-term. Interest rates charged on consumption loans might easily reach 100% or more..." (18).

With limited credit facilities, both kinship groups and craft organisations sometimes played a conspicuous role in capital formation. By pooling resources, a large extended kinship unit might raise appreciable amounts of capital which allowed members to develop common property or even expand their interests. Craft organisations, particularly guilds, were also reservoirs of capital for their members. Guilds often transcended community boundaries, their memberships being partly but not entirely kin-based. They were frequently able to establish a monopoly of some salient economic activity, ensure the maintenance of standards and prices (19) and even act, when necessary, as a politico-economic counterweight to the traditional authority (20). Religious factors, however, played some part in affecting the growth of economic innovation. The ban on usury in Jewish, Muslim and - for a while - Christian communities inhibited economic investment, and the low premium put upon merchants and trade generally did little for the expansion of commercial activity in many traditional societies.

In examining the broad economic arrangements of Ancient Egypt and Athens, it is necessary to bear in mind Max Weber's useful theoretical distinction between formal and substantive rationality in economic systems (21). In this way, Egypt and Athens can be seen as types of economies characterised by quite specific features. Weber's 'formal rational' system is a construct of an ideal free market situation where there is a high level of market competition between autonomous economic units. This wide extension of economic freedom is aided by a money system which is an important - though not exactly indispensable - basis for rational accounting and exchange. This necessarily involves conflicts of interest between competitors, the outcome of which can "never be guaranteed to be strictly in accord with the standards of substantive rationality". In very general terms, this

represents the Athenian situation. By contrast, the Egyptian economy can be seen in terms of substantive rationality, that is a system where, - again in general terms - there was a restriction of the area of market relations, where price levels were not determined simply by autonomous competition, and where there was a high degree of centralised planning and direction.

EGYPT

The Egyptian system was probably the nearest thing to a centralised economy in the ancient world. This conclusion is supported by both direct and indirect evidence and is particularly marked in the experience of the Old Kingdom. There seems to have been very little economic activity that was not either by royal command or carried on with royal approval. On the other hand, we are not sure exactly how the system operated, whether it was always by direct control, or whether the State exercised its prerogatives by exacting dues and taxes in relation to certain forms of commercial enterprise. There were local markets which were not under the direct supervision of the State, but which obviously operated with the sanction of the requisite authorities. The great State and temple estates which functioned like closed corporations, often sold their surplus produce to these markets. And there were a number of private producers who also supplied these markets (22). Similarly, there were independent craftsmen who - on a small scale - manufactured articles, particularly in leather, wood and pottery, for the local markets, and petty merchants who organised the transactions. There is also evidence of foreign traders setting up stalls and selling their merchandise without any particular controls being exercised (23), though presumably their business was noted by the diligent state officials and was therefore subject to the appropriate taxes.

Certainly by the Empire period, the texts indicate that there was fairly extensive commerce with neighbouring peoples. By river or caravan, the principal imports were gold from Nubia, silver from the Middle East, perfumes and precious stones from South Arabia, ivory from Libya and the Sudan, ebony and scents from tropical Africa, and copper from Sinai. By

sea came timber - especially cedar - from Lebanon, and other miscellaneous products, such as oil and wine from the Aegean. In exchange, Egypt's main exports were various manufactured linen goods, cereals, dried fish, papyrus, leather and glass (24). These were obtained by trade and diplomacy, and - where necessary - by conquest. Otherwise, she was largely self-supporting. Each nome (province) produced for most of its own needs, each royal or priestly estate had its own craftsmen and workmen who were able to cater for their own employees and their dependents.

Each estate employed a labour force of serfs who appear to have owned cattle and cultivated small plots of land for themselves, and were subject to tax on the produce (25). Tomb paintings often depict the peasants as contented souls toiling cheerfully for their masters; whether or not this gives an accurate picture of the peasants' lot is open to debate. What is certain is that the system, which was arguably a form of benevolent despotism, afforded the poor a meagre but assured income and some measure of security.

The life of the skilled artisan, as might be expected, was appreciably better than that of the serf. New Kingdom paintings show craftsmen engaged in a range of diverse activities, carving, vase-making, leather and lapidary work, chariot and weapon making. Some were independent craftsmen, but in the main their workshops seem to have been housed on the large estates which supported them. Much of the work was routinised, and production was either for the markets or for the general maintenance of the estates. Some of the work, on the other hand, was of a very high order (26), as the collections of Tutankhamun (eighteenth Dynasty) and Psousennes (twenty-first Dynasty) testify, and was largely directed towards the comfort and aesthetic pleasure of the nobility. The skill of the craftsman was recognised and rewarded in Egyptian society, and grades of payment were made for various tasks. The artist and sculptor were held in particularly high esteem and often commanded relatively high returns for their services (27).

The State's capital consisted largely of produce and herds of cattle together with the wealth gathered from taxation and, during the Empire, from tribute from conquered neighbouring states. The economic system was based upon the annual production and the immediate consumption of food, apart from what was husbanded for the State granaries against failure of the harvest. The ruling classes obtained their wealth from personal property which was originally given by the king and was possessed by inheritance, or assigned to them by virtue of their official positions in the State hierarchy whether as administrators, or priests on the temple estates. They did not capitalise their riches, but stored jewels and precious metals for their present and future lives, or left them as legacies to their families.

Foreign trade was very much a state-organised activity, although it was little developed until the Empire which was the great period of military and economic expansion. During the Old Kingdom, there was some trade with Phoenicia (even this broke down during the First Intermediate Period), but archaeology has been unable to trace any appreciable amount of Egyptian material on foreign soil until the New Kingdom. In this period, the tribute wrested from conquered neighbours tends to be listed together with the wealth which flowed into Egypt as part of her normal commercial revenue. Although they are not clearly differentiated, it can be reasonably assumed that economic activity was well advanced by this time. During the Eighteenth Dynasty, Egypt held an Empire which extended southwards to the Fourth Cataract. Her Asian territories included Palestine and certainly parts of Jordan, Phoenicia (Lebanon) and Syria. It may, if contemporary claims are to be believed, have even stretched as far as the Euphrates, although at the outer limits, there may have been no resident Egyptian commissioners. Perhaps these areas were mainly subject to occasional punitive raids to ensure their continued contributions.

Not only was there a substantial influx of material wealth accruing from military conquest, there was also the exploitation of foreign slave captives for the further development of Egyptian economic resources - particularly the mines in Sinai. In addition, there were increased

trading relations with countries as far afield as Crete, Mesopotamia and Punt (possibly Somaliland) from whence the Egyptian merchants brought back incense, ivory, apes and rare woods. Later, in the Ramesside period, Egypt became increasingly dependent on her Asian neighbours for wood and metals. She had always had to import silver, but iron - for which she had to trade - became the new and much coveted metal. Similarly, outlying areas, especially Nubia, were the source of slaves and the more exotic traffic in ostrich feathers, panthers and giraffes. Such political and commercial expansion required the elaboration of an already extensive civil and religious bureaucracy, and "Most important from the Egyptian point of view" further expenditures because "the gods had to be propitiated by buildings and new services" (28).

Trade, then, in Egypt was largely the monopoly of the king (29). The available evidence suggests that trade was within the gift of the monarch, and there is no indication - certainly in Old Kingdom times - of any private enterprise outside the frontiers. The development of the turquoise and copper mines in Sinai and the gold mines in the eastern and southern deserts (30) which were manned by officials and policed by the army were likewise a royal prerogative. Egypt had exploited her copper deposits from the First Dynasty as excavations in tombs at Sakkarah have shown. From the Old Kingdom period, copper was the basic medium of exchange in the ancient world, and this continued until the early part of the thirteenth century B.C. The abundance of copper gave Egypt a dominance in Eastern Mediterranean affairs. It is probably no coincidence that her power began to wane with the ascendancy of the new iron-using nations, predominantly the Hittites.

The quarries from which the Egyptians cut stone for their obelisks, statues and sarcophagi were exploited at the royal command. Very fine white limestone came from the quarries at Roiaou (Tura) and red quartzite from the "red mountain" near On which appears to have been in full production by the Twelfth Dynasty. Granite came principally from the Aswan area, and diorite not very far to the west at Idahet. These quarries were not worked intensively all the time. When the king required

stone, possibly to commemorate the triumph of his reign, he would dispatch an expedition for the purpose. This too might then also rank as one of his main achievements. When Rameses IV (^c1164-^c1157 B.C.) organised such a project, it was a huge scale enterprise involving the practicalities of reconnaissance parties and the insurance of elaborate ritual preparations. He mobilised 9368 men including the high priest of Amun and other high officials together with their cupbearers, and some twenty scribes. These were merely the headquarters staff, as it were, who were expected to master all manner of technical and logistical problems. The main body of the expedition included 91 masters of the horse, baggage train overseers, 50 police and 50 minor administrators, 5000 soldiers, 200 temple staff, (probably mostly labourers) 800 foreign auxiliaries and 900 further officials of the central government. The particular craftsmen who were crucial to the entire undertaking, the draughtsmen, sculptors, stone-dressers and quarrymen, 140 in all, represented a mere fraction of the total force. The religious implications are all too evident. The entire operation was dedicated to the gods, particularly Amun, without whose goodwill it was thought to be doomed to failure. And this was, of course, no singular instance. The whole burden of state economic activity was charged with ritual necessity.

Egypt was essentially a public sector economy, and for much of its history this was much the same as saying that it was a temple economy. Ritual served the state, and, in practice, the state's requirements were often inseparable from those of the king, especially in the earlier dynasties (31). The prosperity of the land and its people was inextricably linked with the physical proximity and continued good-will of the king. The Egyptians tended to see signs of divine intervention even in broadly 'economic' activities and elevate these to the status of miracles. Note the account of quarrymen looking for suitable stone for a sarcophagus lid for the Eleventh Dynasty King Mentuhotep (d^c2010 B.C.). They marked the route taken by a she-gazelle and attributed their eventual find to the intervention of the appropriate god - possibly Min, the ithyphallic lord of the desert - and made the required sacrifice. ".in earlier reigns soldiers had come and gone past where it lay, but no eye had ever seen it.. it revealed itself only to His Majesty.. people..shall

learn of this (and) bow down to the ground and shall acclaim the perfection of His Majesty for ever and ever" (32).

There were limits, of course, to the complete acceptance of these ideas, in which case they had to be rationalised by some form of theodicy. The Egyptian peasant - like his other ancient world counterparts - was often the victim of fearful pestilences and famines with which he could barely cope (33) and only partly explain. These were difficult to reconcile with the king's benevolence, but an anaesthetizing amalgum of tradition and resignation usually sufficed. Compliance is possibly simple and inevitable where the cognitive spectra are limited and alternative explanations are few.

Our knowledge of Egyptian economic priorities derives very largely from tomb paintings and temple engravings which are necessarily biased sources. They represent the interests of the king and the nobility, who in effect, were Egypt for practical politico-economic purposes. The interests of the king and nobility, and those of the State were virtually the same, although it is important to stress that they were not exactly identical. There were periods when there was some conflict between the king and the nobility, and there was certainly friction between the military and the government and even more notably between the priesthoods and the government (34). Nevertheless, these occurrences were relatively rare. In general, there was a mutuality of purpose in the higher orders of State. At the instrumental level, there was an enviable complementarity of function between the agencies of control.

The tombs and temples indicate that a pattern of enlightened patronage existed pre-eminently for the glorification of the god-king. Craftsmen and artists could manufacture for independent markets, but in general, these functionally specialised artisan groups operated with limited politico-economic autonomy. But the system was not one of unending repression; labour relations of a rudimentary kind existed in the New Kingdom period, as the incidence of strikes and their resolution testifies (35). The fact that these could take place on State projects

and be settled by negotiation, shows that some degree of flexibility existed (36). However, the energies of the masses although manifestly directed towards the securing of a livelihood, were ultimately committed to the maintenance of king and State. There was really little alternative. Whether the allegiance was complete and unswerving must be open to doubt, as records of proletarian protest barely exist, but such evidence as there is supports the view that there was a genuine and - in the main - unquestioning dedication to the traditional ideology.

In examining the wealth and general extractive capacities of the State, it must be admitted that it is still disputable whether Egypt can be said to have had a money system. Certainly in the Old Kingdom it was a barter economy, but as is customary in pre-industrial non-money systems, specific items or given weights assumed the role of money inasmuch as they became accepted as common means of exchange (37), although in some societies there was only minimal standardisation in this respect. Under the New Kingdom, rings and spirals of metal were used as measures of value. Usually the buyer was not in a position to pay in metal, especially precious metal, although the goods were calculated in these terms (38). The practice of actually settling transactions in precious metals seems to have developed under the Ramessides when more wealth was flowing into Egypt as the result of foreign tribute and trade, and the symptoms of inflation were making themselves felt. But these units were all notional media, merely referable standards whereby the economy could function with moderate efficiency. Egypt was essentially an exchange economy. A money system, in anything like the sense we have come to understand it, was not evolved until the declining years in the middle of the First Millennium although a rudimentary temple banking system did evolve during the Empire.

Perhaps the absence of a money economy can be tenuously correlated with the absence of credit formation or entrepreneurial activity in Egypt. Such a relationship is at least plausible (39). What is not obvious is any link between a money system and the development of acquisitive tendencies as postulated by Max Weber - though Weber does stress that there is no lack of the acquisitive instinct in simple non-capitalistic

structures (40). Certainly there was no rational system of profit-making enterprise which is facilitated by a money system. But this was conditioned by structural constraints and - not least of all - by the prevailing god-king ideology and its concomitant expressions of State control.

The absence of a money economy in no way precluded the imposition of taxes. All classes were subject to taxation with the possible exception of the priests, (this is a disputed issue and will be discussed below in connection with Temple income and immunities). Taxes were assessed in terms of land and other capital possessions. Tax officials would note even gifts of slaves, wine, clothing etc. given by the State in recognition of services rendered, but registered in the name of the recipient (41). People simply paid their dues in produce which came either from the land or from small-scale, possibly household, manufacturing. It would appear from the records that people paid their taxes with no better grace than they do today. The documents contain numerous complaints of unfair assessment, injustice and even extortion. One text gives an account of an argument over the ownership of a donkey, and one of the disputants says, "Behold... you have not sent it to me, and they (the tax-collectors) demand from me the work of the donkey, year by year, while it has been with you" (42).

Similarly, the Egyptian peasant was subject to payments which were institutionally exacted not only in terms of produce, but also physical labour. He was liable to be conscripted for the annual corvee, the mass mobilisation of labour for public works which might involve almost anything from digging ditches to building temples. There were certainly exemptions from these tasks for a range of higher order people including priests and literati (43). There seems to be little doubt that the labouring masses were sometimes treated with severity, and even cruelty.

One text reads, "...the scribe lands on the embankment (to) register the harvest. The porters carry sticks and the Negroes palm-ribs. They say, 'Give us corn'. There is none..(replies the peasant). He is stretched out and beaten; he is bound and thrown in the canal. His wife

is bound... his children are put in fetters" (44). Peasants worked almost entirely for others, with little chance of redress when they felt themselves to have been wronged. The Nauri decree of Seti I (^c1300 B.C.) shows that those not specifically protected by royal decree could have their livestock confiscated and their persons conscripted arbitrarily - even indefinitely - for agricultural or military service (45).

Some accounts may come from prejudiced sources, yet the general picture is clear that the Egyptian peasant was virtually a non-person whose interests were completely subordinated to those of the State. At the same time, it must be said that there is little evidence that he suffered excessive injustices within the terms of his own system, or that he seriously questioned the rightness of the established order of things.

In one sense, the Egyptian conception of property was self-contradictory. On the one hand, all property belonged in theory to the god-king, that is, the State. On the other, private property, as we understand it, did exist. In principle, the king did administer the land as a personal possession. But, as we have seen, there was a real - if limited - measure of autonomy, especially for the intermediate orders of society. Private property and the seeds of private enterprise certainly existed during the Empire. We know that whilst land could be bequeathed to an owner's legatee, the transaction had to be ratified by royal decree (46). Slave-owners were able to rent the services of their slaves to others (47), owners could rent land to tenants and independent trade in other goods was possible, but we are unable to define its limitations. What can be asserted with some confidence is that very careful records were kept, certainly in Ramesside times, of both public and private wealth which was to be assessed for taxation purposes (48). Perhaps there was little real wealth outside the public service.

In Weber's terms, the king enjoyed appropriated rights over all State property. These rights were inalienable and inheritable; they gave the monarchy both possession of tangible 'things', land, artifacts

etc., and control over their use (49), although this system became modified in later practice. Tenure of land was, either directly or indirectly, the gift of the Pharaoh. This was the de jure system which became qualified by the de facto appropriation of land by both individuals and groups - especially the priesthoods. Property, therefore, in Egypt was concentrated not so much in the public sector as the religious sector. There is overwhelming evidence that the vast public works were constructed from ideological motives, or were at least ideological in their inspiration. The classic example is the Pyramids of the Old Kingdom. It is still generally accepted (50) that they were gigantic tombstones which were constructed to protect the Ka or living spirit of the king. The Great Pyramid, according to Herodotus, ^(II, 122ff.) took 100,000 men twenty years to build, the causeway alone for the transport of the stone blocks taking ten years (51). More recent estimates have lowered or modified this figure, possibly to something like 35,000 men on a corvee basis working in shifts (52). Whatever, it was an incredible undertaking involving the cutting, shaping, hauling and general erection of some 2,300,000 blocks weighing over two tons a piece. But the Pyramid building programme may have been simply a huge communal enterprise which was socio-economic rather than ritual in its intentions. Although such a view is not new (53), it has been cogently argued by Kurt Mendelssohn (54), that the main function of these projects was to generate a sense of national consciousness. Such a view hardly seems to answer the question, why pour incalculable resources into this particular form of economic activity? Were there no other possible forms of work-relief which would afford a similar sense of civic pride, and give the same degree of social unity? The Mendelssohn theory does not really answer this, and it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that the god-king ideology was the main motivating factor.

Similar interpretations must apply to the Temples and their attached estates which enjoyed privileges not afforded other areas of the economy. The temples of the Old and Middle Kingdoms were relatively modest affairs compared with those of the New Kingdom. These acquired vast estates and were granted immunities which threw an extra burden on the rest of the

economy. "Egypt became top heavy with priests and specially privileged temple holdings" (55). There were particular endowments, sometimes the gift of a grateful Pharaoh where a god had graciously lent his "sword" to give victory in battle (56), but these were far exceeded by the vast incomes which accrued from the continuing benefactions and exemptions granted by the monarchy.

Towards the end of the Empire, Rameses III confirmed the temples in their property. The Great Papyrus Harris (57) gives an extraordinary picture of the wealth of the priesthoods, particularly that of Amun-Re at Karnak (Thebes). We have no idea how the temple revenues compared with those of the State at this time, but an annual income of 1000 lb. Troy of silver and 1,100,000 bushels of grain must represent a considerable proportion of the nation's wealth. The temples owned 169 towns (nine of them in Syria), over 500 gardens, vineyards and orchards, more than 50 shipyards and 88 ships. On their estates, they also had about half a million head of cattle, over 400,000 of which were the sole property of Amun. It is estimated that the temples controlled about one-eighth of the arable land and employed a workforce of approximately 450,000 i.e. a tenth of the total population - but this is a very tentative overall figure (58). The Temple of Amun alone probably possessed one person in every fifteen and one acre in every eleven (59). The doors of the sanctuaries of Thebes were either of gold or burnished copper; some of the statues wore garments of gold, and much of the Temple's furniture and vessels were of silver. The Temple of Atum at On like other temples, had its own treasury and, among other valuables, is said to have had thousands of statues of the Nile god.. "13,568.. of pure lapis lazuli and turquoise, and half as many of gold and other materials.." (60). Despite some dispute over the actual proportions of temple wealth and the debate as to whether they were always exempt from taxation (61), the general impression seems inescapable that religious ideology was an important motivating factor in the substantively rational Egyptian economy.

ATHENS

In the ancient world, the Athenian economy conformed, in broad terms, to Weber's ideal construct of a formal rational system. Compared with

Egypt, there was a high level of market competition between independent economic units aided by money and banking systems which facilitated the extension of commercial enterprise. As in all traditional societies, the basis of the economy was essentially agricultural, but Athens also supported a small-scale yet flourishing industrial sector with functionally specialised economic groups of craftsmen and artisans with appreciable politico-economic autonomy.

As a preliminary to any examination of the Athenian economy, it is salutary to be reminded that the "evidence for Greek economics will always remain too fragmentary for any kind of quantitative analysis.." (62). Commerce and industry in ancient Greece were very important, but in the absence of any statistics, we are compelled to make inferences from a limited number of instances without being sure in what ways they may be typical or abnormal. Nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence to indicate the main orientations of Athenian economic activity.

The agrarian nature of the Athenian economy had passed through an important period of change more than a hundred years before the Periclean period when Solon, one of Athens' traditional lawgivers, had attempted a number of agricultural reforms including a redistribution of the land. Smallholders had apparently incurred huge debts due to the ruinous interest exactions of the rich landowners, but Solon's insistence on the cancellation of these debts met with only partial success. Part of the problem was purely ecological. The soil of Attica was too thin to bear corn, yet it was well-suited to the olive and the vine. Solon tried to put Athenian agriculture on a new footing by encouraging diversification in agricultural products and more specialisation in industry (63).

By the Periclean period, landed property was still a main source of wealth for citizens, although as time went on commercial interests came to play an increasingly important role in the economy. Finley estimates that by the end of the fifth century B.C., about three-quarters of the citizen families owned some landed property (64). The rich were often rentiers, absentee landlords who were content to leave the oversight of their property to others. Pericles himself who was kept permanently busy with affairs of

state, authorized his bailiff to sell the produce of his lands in order to defray the expenses of maintaining his town house in Athens. Really large estates were rare in Attica, and there was nothing approaching the vast temple lands of Egypt or the later Roman latifundia, which were often little more than slave-farms (65). On the other hand, in other parts of the Greek world such as Thessaly and Boeotia, large estates seem to have been the rule from early times. In Sparta, almost the opposite obtained. Each Spartan was given a medium sized holding (kleros) from which he was entitled to keep the produce - about a hundred bushels of corn for a man and his wife plus a proportionate quantity of fruit. But this system does not appear to have been enforced consistently, and even in Sparta property became concentrated in the hands of a small number of citizens who continued to add to their domains (66).

As is to be expected in peasant societies, there was a real attachment to the land. The notion that agriculture as a form of occupation necessarily produced the best citizens and soldiers is reflected in some of the literature. For example, Xenophon writes, "When all is well with agriculture, everything else prospers" (67). But there may be more than a hint of nostalgia here. These sentiments must be qualified by the fact that many small-holders merely leased their modest holdings from the rich landowners who had numerous small farms scattered about the countryside rather than concentrated in any one area. This tenancy system was obviously seen as the best way of giving them a good return from the land. Such tiny allotments could hardly sustain some families who became increasingly tempted to run themselves further into debt, and this put them at the mercy of land speculators. The ownership of land was the main security for debt. The small-holder who negotiated a loan would remain in occupation, but would lose his property if he was unable to make repayment. Land and houses were bought and sold for cash; the credit system so common in our own society which provides mortgages for purchasers was still a thing of the future. Similarly, there was no official land register, although some people did keep records of land sales (68).

In general, Greek tradition demanded that property ought to remain in the family. But strong sentiment is not the same as legal prohibition.

There is no incontrovertible evidence that kinship holdings were inalienable, but property cases before the courts in Athens as late as the fourth century suggest that the prevailing norms and laws of inheritance favoured the retention of land within the family group (69). This sentiment was bound up with the strict obligations to care for parents and maintain the family shrines (70).

The popularity and qualified success of the small-holding system stems partly from having to make virtue of necessity, and partly from Greek attitudes to self-dependence. How such attitudes arose and how they came to be expressed in these particular forms are probably unanswerable questions. Only in highly qualified ways can they be said to have given rise to the democratic ethos which prevailed in certain states. The view that the Greeks despised manual labour has long been dispelled (71). In both Homer and Hesiod physical work was not regarded as degrading. What was demeaning was that a man worked for somebody else (72). The banausos, the "mere worker" tended to be despised in the old aristocratic tradition (73). There was actually a supreme dignity in self-employment - although even this was circumscribed so as barely to include trade. "There used to be a law in Thebes debarring all businessmen and traders from public office unless they had ceased their money-making activities at least ten years previously.." (74).

Socrates, according to Xenophon, appears to deplore "those occupations which are called handicrafts". He maintained that "they are quite rightly held of little repute in communities". Again there are echoes of the Old aristocratic-cum-martial tradition in the reasons given, "..they weaken the bodies of those who make their living at them by compelling them to sit and pass their days indoors.." (75). Although in another context (76), the sage who himself was something of a stonemason, seems genuinely interested in craftsmanship. But then artists and sculptors enjoyed a more enviable reputation. The sources for such attitudes probably display a bias that was not always shared. "..the passages from ancient authors often cited to show... Athenian contempt for trade will not bear the weight that is put upon them. They show, as was to be expected,

some upper-class bias against commercial life.. the trader was (not) always a voteless alien - rather the reverse... the small trader was a regular component of the democratic assembly which the wealthy and the philosophers so much distrusted" (77).

The necessity for trade and industrial enterprise was gradually thrust upon the Athenians. The rising population and the shortage of alluvial soil meant that there was little hope of growing enough wheat to satisfy home consumption. The natural trend was to seek grain abroad, especially in southern Russia and Egypt, and turn from subsistence farming to a small-scale industrial import-export economy. Other factors helped to accelerate the decline of agriculture. Constant over-felling of trees for shipbuilding and charcoal for fuel, depleted the forests. This in turn led to soil erosion which did little for agrarian communities. Added to this, under the impetus of the Peloponnesian War, was the Periclean policy of abandoning the countryside to the invaders, and turning Athens and the Piraeus (its harbour area) into one vast fortress. The depredations of the Spartans during the initial invasion of Attica in the first year of the War (431 B.C.) affected the olive and grape harvests for several years to come. The polis became turned in upon itself, as it were, and needed industry and limited trade to maintain its viability. It became a political as well as an economic problem. A remarkable proportion of Greek (especially Athenian) foreign policy was dictated by the perennial need to secure grain, timber or precious metals in an area where natural resources were always inadequate. There is every reason to believe that land hunger was the primary stimulus behind the colonizing movements which were well underway by the early part of the seventh century B.C. with the establishment of new poleis in Italy and Sicily. By the classical period, the colonies were important as both provisioning agencies and as readily available markets for Greek exports. In addition, they constituted suitable havens for immigrants from overcrowded parent cities (78).

In the simple industry developed by the Athenians, production units were relatively small; only in a few cases can one speak of such things

as rudimentary factories (79). The main exception was the mining industry which was largely served by slaves. This included the silver mines at Laurium and the gold-bearing deposits in eastern Macedonia. Apart from these, the largest known unit was one manufacturing shields in Athens. This was owned by a metic from Syracuse named Cephalus who employed 120 slaves. Normally a sizable labour-force was no more than fifty men. For public works such as naval contracts or temple construction, the State usually supplied the raw materials and divided the work between several small firms who could supply the necessary specialists. It is to be assumed that on a much smaller scale, a similar pattern of operation would obtain for private contracts as well. The more common practice was that of a craftsman with one or two slaves manufacturing on his own premises producing goods which would be sold direct to the public.

During the 5th century technical innovation was less spectacular than the level of theoretical innovation (80). But production was of a sufficiently high standard to satisfy not only home consumption but also to export enough to maintain much-needed supplies of timber and grain (81). The maritime supremacy of the Greeks - despite the growing power of Carthage - ensured a minimum of piracy, and virtually untrammelled commerce in the Mediterranean world. In terms of returns, her overseas trade probably outstripped her shore-based activities. Jewelry, cotton and woollen articles, and even silk (82) were exported, besides the oil, wine and especially pottery for which the Greeks were well known. Quite large numbers of Athenian vases have been found abroad, many of them not intended as utensils, but as decorative amphorai often in the characteristic black glaze. Whether these were deliberately designed for the export trade is a matter of debate (83). By contrast, some idea of the extent of Athens' dependence upon imports can be inferred from a contemporary comedy (84) which indicates that a wide range of goods was being received from Cyrene, the Hellespont, Thrace, Syracuse, Egypt (85), Syria, Crete, Rhodes, Phrygia, Phoenicia and Carthage. Ten times a year the Athenian Assembly was presented with a report on the state of public provisioning. Extremely stringent laws defined the obligations of corn-merchants, and enforced the sanctions against hoarding or stockpiling which might produce a shortage.

The stratification system can be related to various levels of economic activity. Manual work done for others was associated with low status groups, particularly slaves, whilst trading was an area very largely dominated by the non-citizen metics. The metics, who were prohibited from holding land but required to render military service to defend the lands of others, had very few civic rights and concentrated their energies on the originally suspect activity of trade. Citizens on the other hand, predominated in olive and grape-growing, hog and sheep-breeding, activities associated with the land. But such generalisations must be qualified by evidence which shows different strata working together (86). The nobility too can hardly be excluded from the field of commerce. The taste for imported luxuries led many to take advantage of the new opportunity structures and finance various kinds of trading venture. Perhaps in doing so they slowly undermined their previously unassailable position as aristoi. In order to finance commercial enterprise, many had to convert their frozen, land-based assets into liquid assets. Without fresh reinvestment in property, their wealth was subject to the vagaries of an uncertain commercial situation. But the potential gains were inviting and investment in trade and industry gradually rivalled land-based investment as counter-attractive possibilities. The State, however, did little to promote the interests of its citizens in foreign commerce. The search for export markets was no direct part of State policy.

The release of liquid capital became possible with the introduction of coinage to Greece c.600 B.C. A proverb, "money makes the man" became the bitter slogan of declassé reactionaries since wealth as opposed to breeding could in theory be acquired by anyone, and could lead - perhaps unintentionally - towards democracy (87). Iron objects (obolos = spit or nail) as a medium of exchange had been used since the seventh century B.C., but the actual minting of coins was a relatively late innovation for the Greeks. Until the Persian wars, gold and silver coins were a rarity in Greece, although the stater (twice the weight on the Persian gold daric) was in wider currency among the Ionian Greeks in the early fifth century B.C. In Athens coins were of silver, a practice which was accelerated

by the discovery of rich seams in Attica in 483 B.C., and were either in multiples or fractions of the drachma (4.36 grammes). Comparative values are not easy to assess. For example, a slave sold at auction might fetch anything from about 70 to 300 drachmai. An inscription of 414 B.C. suggests an average of 168 drachmai for males and 147½ drachmai for females. These figures may be compared with those of a professional teacher offering a course on "human and political virtue" at what was considered to be a quite modest fee of 500 drachmai (.88). Inflation was obviously a problem in the ancient world, but it had a differential impact on different commodities. A bushel of barley costing one drachma ^c590 B.C. had risen to only two drachmai by ^c390 B.C., although the price of sheep had increased ten to twenty times (.89).

The money system and the gradual standardisation of values which Athens imposed upon her allies undoubtedly facilitated the ease of her commercial undertakings (.90). The State encouraged a free enterprise system - except in the grain market - but derived considerable benefits from others' trading activities by creaming off a healthy percentage for the city's revenues. Through a tax-farming syndicate it levied harbour dues of 1% and later 2% on the total value of all merchandise passing through the Piraeus.

The Periclean age saw the emergence of usury. Previously people had tended to hoard capital. Temples particularly had been used as treasuries - a practice common in the Assyrian, neo-Babylonian and Hebrew Kingdoms (.91). But with the development of trade, new avenues of investment presented themselves. A banking system developed and banking houses helped those whose commercial enterprise necessitated large capital outlays (.92). There were virtually no limits to the interest rates which could be as high as 200-300% (.93) although the norm was possibly nearer 12% (.94).

The State was financed in several ways. Apart from the annual tax payable by non-citizens, direct taxes - eisphora or property tax - were only levied irregularly to deal with emergencies. For example, special funds were raised for the invasion of the island of Lesbos after her

secession from the Delian League to become allies of the Spartans in 428 B.C. It was the first levy of the War, and realised some 200 talents. Towards the end of the fifth century B.C., such situations coalesced into one continuous emergency as the prosecution of the War became more desperate.

Apart from slaves and metics, there were four tax classes; the 500-bushel men, the knights, hoplites and thetes. Each had its civic rights and obligations, particularly as far as State officers were concerned, but for practical purposes the gradations were almost imperceptible. As an addition for the State coffers, the wealthy were expected to finance 'liturgies' (leitourgiai) or special public services such as plays and choruses, or even the outfitting of war vessels (triremes) of which they might be given command. This superogatory expenditure, though almost ruinous on some occasions, was apparently characteristic of the period. It was a quasi-voluntary system which, on the whole, seems to have worked rather well; some citizens actually contributed more than was 'normally' required.

Apart from the extra sources of revenue from taxes imposed on the importing and exporting of goods, there were also various tolls and fees for the use of market-places. Somewhat uncharacteristically, there was a tax on conjurors, fortune tellers, and members of what were considered other more or less "dishonourable occupations". But there was no direct tax on trade or capital earnings. (95).

By far the most important source of income for Athens was the tribute levied from her allies in the Delian League (96). It is uncertain how many allies constituted the League, as the earliest tribute lists date from some twenty-five years after it was founded. At the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War it may have numbered about two hundred. Little too is known of its precise organisation in the formative years. We do know that the large island states provided ships which were a useful addition to the Athenian navy, whilst the smaller states were assessed a tribute (phoros), in lieu of service, totalling 460 talents. During the first phase of the War - known technically as the Archidamian War - this had more than trebled to 1460 talents.

Originally, the money was housed at the temple of Apollo at Delos (it was a common practice to secure money in temples which were technically sacrosanct.) but later it was transferred to Athens. At its inception, the League, ostensibly founded as an alliance against the Persians, was a free federative union of states with all members having equal legal status. This relationship changed and the balance shifted in favour of the hegemonic power of Athens. When the War began, 6,000 talents had been accumulated in the Treasury of Athena; 9,700 talents was the highest level the reserves ever reached (97).

The problem of whether Athenian prosperity was achieved at the cost of her allies - or subjects, is tenuously related to the other vexed question, was the Greek achievement only gained at the expense of her non-citizen population? Specifically, was the Athenian economy based on slave labour? It can be argued that Athenian slave-keeping practices, even the abysmal treatment of those in the mines, was simply an extension of attitudes and practices which had been endemic in Greece since early times and which became particularly acute with the fratricidal strife which followed the development of polis organisation. So much is hardly in dispute. The relatively small proportion of free citizens were undoubtedly benefitted by the economic activities of the large unfree population. Similarly, the leisured upper-classes could enjoy the privileges of relaxed philosophical discussion because the commercial life of the city was being carried on by others.

The relevance of a Marxist interpretation of this situation in terms of modes of production (98) is highly arguable. Whether slaves were employed in small-scale industry or in the more ambitious enterprises of mining and large-scale farming seems largely immaterial. The Ehrenberg-Westermann argument (99) that "slave-based" simply turns on the quantitative assessment of the slave population's economic contribution is also an uncertain one. It is all rather like the problem of how much industry a society needs to be classified as an industrial society. In the absence of a machine technology, slave-labour must afford considerable advantages to a free population. All the more so

in Athens where a large proportion of the unfree population was occupied in wresting the common exchange medium, silver, out of the ground to maintain the viability of a war-time economy. And many others were engaged in tasks which freed their superiors for duties which ensured the military and maritime supremacy which kept the tribute rolling in.

Certainly one of the most significant features of Athenian society was in the allocation of its revenues. After the depredations of the Persian wars, the Periclean policy was to use a high proportion of the state's income to rebuild the temples; this greatly enhanced the beauty of the city (100). But quite apart from this ambitious building-programme, state expenses were considerable. The payment of indemnities for service in the council, the magistrates, the jury courts was a Periclean innovation. Although such indemnities were nominal, they did tend to create a fluid class of salaried officials where formally no bureaucracy had existed. There were also the costs of games, festivals and other public occasions. Even in the midst of war, the celebration of the Greater Panatheneia festival (410 B.C.) cost six talents. In all, a significant proportion of the state's revenues was expended in creating architectural and artistic masterpieces of a religious nature (101) and this policy was pursued through virtually the entire period of the War.

From various sources we can form an incomplete composite impression of the range and distribution of wealth. Given that there were about 12,000 citizens in the lowest (thetes) class, another 8,000 or so in the hoplite class, and about a 1,000 in the two highest property classes, it has been reckoned (102) from the war-tax on property that some 90% of them were in the 180-480 drachmai income bracket. We know that in the fourth century, a half drachma was the subsistence allowance paid for attendance at the Assembly or as a juror, an unskilled labourer got one and a half drachmai and a skilled labourer two drachmai a day - double the fifth century rate (103).

There was private wealth in the polis, but there seems to have been only a handful of really rich citizens. Possibly there were no more than

about 1,200 who were expected to support the State by quasi-voluntary contributions (leitourgiai), and perhaps only a quarter of these were really wealthy, that is to say with incomes in excess of 3,000 drachmai. In the main, wealth was concentrated in the public sector. This is well expressed by Finley, "Classical Greece was a world almost completely without palaces, and, on the whole, without private mansions...Of the public buildings, the temple and later (to a lesser degree) the theatre, both directly and immediately connected with cult, outranked all others.. The State was therefore almost the sole patron of the monumental arts. Given the nature of the classical polis, this meant...the community acting through its usual instrumentalities, the assemblies, councils and magistrates. The same men who levied taxes...also ordered, supervised and maintained and paid for public works. Art was meshed with daily living... not set apart for the special enjoyment of rich collectors and aesthetes" (104).

It is sometimes argued (105) that the Athenian achievement was only made possible by forced payments to the Delian League. This must remain a matter of contention, because after the defeat of Athens and the temporary eclipse of the Delian League, similar State policies were pursued with greatly reduced revenues (106). The central issue of the present discussion is not the quantitative one of how much all this was paid for by tribute exacted from the Athenian allies, but the qualitative one of how much this activity was the outcome of ideological constraint. Many authorities see the embellishment of the city in religious terms. For example, C.M. Bowra:

"So Pericles set out to rebuild (the temples) of Athena on a magnificent scale.. (but) he was moved by more than patriotism. In his supreme attention to Athene he showed what he wished men to think about her as the presiding goddess of Athens" (107).

Or T.B. Webster:

"Religious patronage is general Greek rather than democratic Athenian.. the whole of Greek life is dominated by religion" (108).

Or yet again, M.I. Finley, though less categorically:

"This is not to denigrate secular public buildings, for the Greeks lavished much care on them...but they had a scale of values which elevated the temple above other buildings" (109).

The same authorities fully recognise that there were also important political implications in the building-programme. For example, "...the Parthenon was to surpass all other temples in size and splendour (and) proclaim the glory of Athens to ships sailing across the Saronic Gulf and strike awe and admiration into their crews.." (110). The social intentions too should not go unnoticed. Most citizens lived in very modest circumstances: the city was unhygienic, unlit at night, and with open sewers which were an invitation to epidemics (111), and streets which were so poor and unpaved that they became seas of rutted mud in bad weather. This great disparity between the living conditions of the populace and the grandeur of the public buildings suggests that the religious spirit of the people was such that nothing was regarded as too good for the gods. Possibly Plutarch may have a point when he suggests that the money lavished on the Acropolis was largely a work-relief programme inaugurated by Pericles to reduce unemployment. It was a way of obviating the irregular hand-outs to the poor. "As for the working population, Pericles did not want such people to go unpaid, but he was equally anxious that they should not get money for doing nothing. Consequently, he put a series of firm proposals before the Assembly involving large-scale construction projects.. which would keep numerous trades fully employed for some time to come.." (112). The Acropolis complex cost in the order of 2,000 talents; it included a magnificent ivory and gold statue of the tutelary goddess Athena housed in the Parthenon and costing some 700 to 1,000 talents (113). Plutarch, then, has not answered the question, why so much was spent on religious buildings? One commentator - following Plutarch - summarises: "Economically speaking, the amount invested in these elaborate non-functional buildings and the statues they contained..was out of all proportion to a small city-state's standard of living, technical resources and available public funds. Why? Not, I think, religious fervour, except in the most generalised sense. The answer seems to be, rather, that this...offered an infinitely rewarding medium for the

expression of civic pride and propaganda. The conscious dignity and affluence of any polis could be measured by the splendour of its public (which meant, primarily, religious) architecture, thus satisfying those... who sought some tangible expression for their unity of purpose and achievement" (114).

This seems to be a sweeping judgment which is only valid if religion is exclusively defined. For the Athenians, religion and civic pride were indistinguishable; their whole social and political life was suffused by religious sentiment. For them, the polis was an ideal which was physically actualised in the monumental symbols of architectural and artistic creativity.

SUMMARY

EGYPT

- 1) Economy characterised by substantive-type Rationality
- 2) High-level of bureaucratically-organised central control of market operations. State-orientated economy
- 3) Centralised control and financing of extensive public works
- 4) Limited private property. Extensive Temple estates and State-holdings
- 5) Wealth primarily invested in public sector
- 6) Qualified feudal 'base'
- 7) Functionally specialised economic groups (artisans etc.) with little/no politico-economic autonomy
- 8) Agrarian economy with low-level of exploitation of foreign markets
- 9) Trade for scarce/essential goods
- 10) Exchange-barter system

ATHENS

- 1) System characterised by Formal-type Rationality
- 2) Non-bureaucratic low-level of central control of market operations. Entrepreneurial, market-economy
- 3) Extensive, public control and financing of elaborate public works
- 4) Extensive private property-mainly in possession of smallholders. Few large estates
- 5) Wealth primarily invested in public sector
- 6) Qualified slave 'base'
- 7) Functionally specialised economic groups (artisans etc.) with considerable politico-economic autonomy
- 8) Agrarian-maritime economy with high-level of exploitation of foreign markets
- 9) Trade for scarce/essential goods but with range of colonial sources/markets
- 10) Developed money-system

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. This even applies to historians. See, for example, H. PIRENNE The Stages in the Social History of Capitalism AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW XIX (3).
2. See CYRIL BELSHAW Traditional Exchange and Modern Markets p.2ff. PRENTICE-HALL 1965.
3. G. LENSKI Power and Privilege MCGRAW HILL 1966.
4. According to Lenski, these societies conform to a general pattern. They are usually extensive, often based on conquest and characterised by severe internal and external pressures. They have monarchical tendencies and usually develop influential state religions. They are marked by increasing urbanism and a growing economic diversity and specialisation, which may be supported by a money system and high literacy.
5. R. HEILBRONER The Making of Economic Society p.27 PRENTICE-HALL 1962.
6. S.N. EISENSTADT The Political Systems of Empires op. cit. p.49.
7. A. MARSHALL Principles of Economics MACMILLAN 1898.
8. Market and exchange orientations are emphasised by C. BELSHAW Traditional Exchange and Modern Markets op. cit.
9. T. PARSONS & N. SMELSER Economy and Society R.K.P. 1956.
10. The economist Kenneth Boulding tends to emphasise distribution (exchange), whereas Parsons and Smelser put much more stress on production factors. See KENNETH BOULDING Economic Analysis HARPER ROW 1941.
11. C. BELSHAW Traditional Exchange and Modern Markets op. cit. p.4.
12. See, for example, RAYMOND FIRTH Elements of Social Organisation WATTS 1951 and Essays in Social Organisation and Values LONDON 1964.
13. MAX WEBER The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation op. cit.
14. See particularly MAX WEBER The Agrarian Sociology of Ancient Civilizations p.35ff. N.L.B. 1976 and for a very illuminating discussion of the main themes, see ALAN WELLS Social Institutions p.43ff. HEINEMANN 1970.
15. Note the argument in relation to primitive societies between M. HERSKOVITS and R. FIRTH (Elements of Social Organisation) WATTS 1951 p.122 where Herskovits says that "practically every economic mechanism and institution known to us, is found somewhere in the non-literate world.." Firth: on the other hand, insists that "the principles of economics which are truly general.. in their application, are few. Most have been constructed primarily within the framework of ideas of an industrial capitalist system with its machine technology, monetary exchange, and elaborate credit system".

16. See particularly, I.S. EDWARDS The Pyramids of Egypt
MICHAEL JOSEPH 1972.
17. The authority on this issue is R. BOGAERT Banques et Banquiers dans
les cites Greques SIJHOFF 1968.
18. RICHARD ROEHL Patterns and Structure of Demand 1000-1500 A.D.
FONTANA ECONOMIC HISTORY OF EUROPE Vol. 1 Sect. 3 1970
19. See, SYLVIA THRUPP Medieval Industry 1000-1500 ECONOMIC HISTORY OF
EUROPE Vol. 1 Sect. 6 pp.29-35 1971.
20. SYLVIA THRUPP The Merchant Class of Medieval London ANN ARBOR 1962.
21. MAX WEBER The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation op. cit.
particularly pp.32-39 and Part II. For Weber, the highest degree of
formal rationality took the form of capital accounting; and is more
appropriate to advanced technological systems, than to pre-industrial
societies.
22. See J. JANSSEN Commodity Prices from the Ramassid Period BRILL 1975.
23. N de G. DAVIES & R.D. FAULKNER A Syrian Trading Venture to Egypt
J.E.A. XXXIII (1947) p.40.
24. See LUIGI PARETTI et al THE ANCIENT WORLD Vol. 2 p.134 (U.N.E.S.C.O.)
GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN 1965.
25. Tax-gatherers seem to have been very unpopular and even feared. They
could be very persuasive with recalcitrant payers; beatings were not
unknown as a method of exacting payment. See the wall-carvings from
the tomb of Mereruka.
26. See the Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British
Museum BRITISH MUSEUM publications 1964.
27. A cemetery found at Deir el-Medina on the west bank of the Nile near
the Valley of the Kings, probably houses the inhabitants of a village
who served the funerary temple as artists, masons etc. They lived in
virtual isolation and called themselves the "Servants of the Place of
Truth" and seem to have been directly responsible to the Vizier himself.
These New Kingdom artisans left some record of their work in the royal
necropolis including references to differential scales for seniority.
See J. CERNY The Valley of the Kings, Cairo (IFAO) 1973.
28. John A. Wilson argues that the "introduction of imperialism ended
Egypt's formal isolationism" adding the unverifiable generalisation that
it had a profound effect upon "Egyptian psychology" and concluding that
this "ultimately brought the characteristic Egyptian culture to an end".
J.A. WILSON The Culture of Ancient Egypt op. cit. p.169.

29. "Foreign commerce was probably a royal monopoly, although our evidence is slight and comes from texts which express attachment to the King" J.A. WILSON The Culture of Ancient Egypt op. cit. p.81.
30. There were rich deposits of gold in the desert between the Nile and the Red Sea, the Harris papyrus particularly makes reference to the gold of the Coptos mountains.
31. For example, in First Dynasty times, a great hoard of copper - 75 rectangular slabs besides hosts of copper tools and weapons - was buried not in a separate state treasury but in a king's tomb for his specific use in the next life. W.B. EMERY Archaic Egypt op. cit.
32. J.H. BREASTED Ancient Records I op. cit.
33. There is an Old Kingdom relief depicting emaciated peasants in a famine. See ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS February 26 1944 p.249.
34. During the Amarna revolution, a general Haremhab was able to seize the throne even though he was a non-royal person, and reign as Pharaoh from ^c1342 B.C. This period was also notable for instances of priesthood-government conflict. See C. ALDRED Akhenaten THAMES & HUDSON 1968.
35. W. EDGERTON The Strike in Rameses III's 29th Year J.N.E.S.X. 1951.
36. Some craftsmen, like traders, were itinerant operatives. For instance, barbers - who flourished in a society where so many men shaved and had their heads shaven - set up 'shop' in the open wherever a group of customers seemed likely. Those who catered for a more prosperous clientele often also doubled as doctors. Predictably, there was a barber-god in the Egyptian pantheon.
37. PIERRE MONTET op. cit. maintains that a referable medium of exchange from as early as the fourth Dynasty was a "seal" which was an entirely imaginary value calculated at one twelfth of a deben i.e. about 5/24ths oz. It seems not to have been much used in the later New Kingdom. Perhaps inflation had overtaken it. For data on money values, see J. JANSSEN op. cit.
38. For example, ADOLF ERMANN (Life in Ancient Egypt) mentions a transaction in which 119 deben of copper was paid for an ox. Deben may not have changed hands in the market, but goods came to be valued in these terms.
39. There is the argument of K. POLANYI that markets were largely absent in Babylonia, early Assyria and Ptolemaic Egypt, because the lack of coinage as a medium of exchange made price negotiation of the market type virtually impossible. This seems to take a rather narrow view of what passes as money. See K. POLANYI et al (Eds.) Trade and Market in the early Empires FREE PRESS 1957 pp.38-63.
40. Weber attributes enormous significance to the role of money. It extends the range of possible exchange relationships, it facilitates acquisitive orientations, and it provides a systematic basis for budgetting and rational economic calculation. MAX WEBER The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation op. cit.

41. L. COTTRELL Life under the Pharaohs EVANS 1955 p.173.
42. A. ERMAN Everyday Life in Ancient Egypt op. cit.
43. A school exercise of late period records, "Be a scribe, who is freed from forced labour, and protected from all work".
A. ERMAN The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians METHUEN 1927.
44. *ibid.*
45. See W. EDGERTON "The Government and the Governed in the Egyptian Empire" in S.N. EISENSTADT The Decline of Empires PRENTICE-HALL 1967. p.43.
46. C. ALDRED The Egyptians op. cit. p.171.
47. There are records of slave rental during the reign of Amenhotep III (eighteenth Dynasty). See W. EDGERTON "The Government and the Governed in the Egyptian Empire" op. cit. p.45.
48. A.H. GARDINER (Ed.) The Wilbur Papyrus OXFORD 1941.
49. It may be, as Weber argues, that "Centralized control over the process as a whole is functionally essential to efficiency (and that) this control cannot exist without what we consider property rights".
MAX WEBER The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation op. cit. p.45.
50. However, note the theory that their primary purpose may have been that of ancient observatories. P. TOMKINS Secrets of the Great Pyramid ALLAN LANE 1974.
51. Herodotus writing some 2,200 years after the building of the Great Pyramid was mistaken about other dimensions and may have been wrong about this although he claimed to have got his information from Egyptian priests who had preserved the tradition.
52. C.W. CERAM A Picture History of Archeology Chapt. 6. THAMES & HUDSON 1957.
53. For a criticism of the view that Pyramid building may have been a kind of work relief operation, see J.A. WILSON op. cit. p.83.
54. KURT MENDELSSOHN The Riddle of the Pyramids THAMES & HUDSON 1974.
55. J.A. WILSON op. cit. pp.185-6.
56. After a campaign against the Western Libyians, Rameses III gave 28,337 animals to Amun, i.e. two-thirds of his total booty in cattle.
57. See A.H. GARDINER Journal of Egyptian Archeology XXVII (1941)

58. J.A. WILSON op. cit. pp.269-71.
59. Estimates - or guesses - have varied. They range from 2% of the people and 15% of the land to 15-20% of the people and 30% of the land. See J.H. BREASTED Ancient Records of Egypt Vol. IV
60. P. MONTET op. cit. p.148.
61. There is evidence that in the period of Rameses V (^c1150 B.C.) - rather late for our purposes - such immunities did not exist. A.H. GARDINER (Ed.) The Wilbur Papyrus OXFORD 1941.
62. A. ANDREWES Greek Society op. cit. p.160 Professor Andrewes (p.130) goes on to argue that in the past there has been an unfortunate and misleading tendency to try to apply concepts which are more appropriate to modern business than an analysis of Greek economics.
63. H. KITTO The Greeks op. cit. p.100 In Hesoid (Works and Days), a small-holder, complains of the big landowners who are even referred to as "kings".
64. M.I. FINLEY The Ancient Greeks op. cit. p.71. See also the discussion in A. FRENCH The Growth of the Athenian Economy R.K.P. 1964, and the complementary view of M.I. FINLEY in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens 500-200 B.C. RUTGERS UNIVERSITY PRESS 1952.
65. The Latifundia increased enormously in size and wealth after the Roman wars of conquest from the middle of the third century B.C. In one campaign alone in 167 B.C., the Romans are said to have made 150,000 slaves in Epirus, and in 176 B.C. another 80,000 in Sardinia" (this) exercised a strong economic effect, especially in the growth of large country estates". J.P.V.D. BALSDON (Ed.) Roman Civilization pp.28: 174. PENGUIN 1965.
66. See A.M.H. JONES Sparta BLACKWELL 1968 and W.G. FORREST History of Sparta HUTCHINSON 1968.
67. XENOPHON Oeconomica 5, 4-17.
68. For a specialised discussion of these and related issues see M.I. FINLEY Land and Credit in Ancient Athens op. cit. The Ancient Economy CHATTO & WINDUS 1973.
69. A. ANDREWES Greek Society op. cit. p.106.
70. FUSTEL de COULANGES The Ancient City op. cit.
71. See D. WHITEHEAD The Ideology of the Athenian Metic op. cit. pp.116-121.
72. For a recent discussion of these themes with a Neo-Marxist view that moderns have inadvertently been misled on Athenian attitudes by the bourgeois writings of the Socratics, see E. & N. WOOD Class Ideology and Ancient Political Theory BLACKWELL 1978. Compare A. FRENCH The Growth of the Athenian Economy op. cit.

73. In the middle of the fourth century, Aristotle wrote that "the title of citizen should be withheld from those on whom the city depends for its livelihood...the perfect city will not enfranchise the mere worker.. it is not possible to practise the civic virtues while leading the life of a worker with a pay-packet.. by 'banausic'.. we mean (that which robs) the mind of all freedom, all aspirations to higher things".
ARISTOTLE Politics 3.3 2-4.
Both Plato and Xenophon express very similar sentiments.
PLATO Gorgias 512. XENOPHON Oeconomica 4. 2-3.
74. ARISTOTLE Politics op. cit.
75. XENOPHON Oeconomica 4. 3.
76. See H.D. KITTO The Greeks op. cit. pp.240-241 and
XENOPHON Memorabilia 3. 10.
77. A. ANDREWES Greek Society op. cit. p.144
78. J. BOARDMAN The Greeks Overseas op. cit.
79. The term 'factory' is sometimes reserved for slave-based operations. For example, the father of Isocrates the rhetorician owned a flute 'factory', but these were actually made by slaves, the owner simply directed their activities.
See R. FLACELIERE Daily Life in Greece op. cit. p.199.
80. The achievements of the 5th century were considerable in the arts, in philosophy and politics, and in medicine (e.g. the rise of the Hippocratic school of medicine at Cos), but as Professor Haywood (New York University) has said, "in the matter of production, it is surprising to realise that the Greeks were not so inventive as some of the peoples who had flourished earlier. Many Greek craftsmen had fine technique and wonderful ability in design and ornamentation, but they were not strong in improving technical procedures or inventing new ones" (R.M. HAYWOOD The Ancient World p.220 MACKAY 1971).
In general terms, this is supported by other writers:
"All in all, to the Greeks of that period, we owe more in the fields of art, literature, philosophy, logic, politics and pure science than in the field of engineering".
L. SPRAGUE de CAMP Ancient Engineers p.113 TANDEM 1977
"..the city-states never took a decisive step in the direction of harnessing scientific discoveries to the practical use of human communities and the achievement of material progress.."
F.W. WALBANK The Hellenistic World p.184 FONTANA 1981
See also H. HODGES Technology in the Ancient World ALLEN LANE 1970.
81. By the middle of the fourth century B.C., Athens was importing some 1,200,000 bushels of grain annually.
H. BENGSTON The Greeks and the Persians op. cit. p.112.
82. The first mention of Greek cotton is found in the Assyrian cuniform texts, and later in Herodotus and Ctesias. Aristotle reports that silk from cocoons of larvae was invented at Cos by a woman named Pamphile. L. PARETTE et al The Ancient World op. cit. p.388.

83. See T. WEBSTER Athenian Culture and Society p.130. BATSFORD 1973.
84. HERMIPPUS, the Phormophoroi (The Basket-Carriers) dating from
^c431 B.C. i.e. early in the Peloponnesian War.
85. As part of contemporary diplomacy, Egypt sent a gift of 50,000 bushels of grain in 445 B.C. which gives some impression of her enormous potential in cereals.
86. The building accounts of Eleusis (329-328 B.C.) show that there were 21 citizens among the 94 craftsmen.
 H. MITCHELL The Economics of Ancient Greece p.126. 1940.
87. See particularly P. GREEN Ancient Greece pp.58: 102-3.
 THAMES & HUDSON 1973.
88. G. THOMSON Studies in Greek Society Vol. II op. cit. p.196ff.
89. H. BENGTON The Greeks and the Persians op. cit. p.113
90. C.M. BOWRA Periclean Athens pp.83-84. PENGUIN 1971.
91. HERODOTUS II, 150.
92. For a presumably typical account of banking in operation in the fourth century B.C. see T.R. GLOVER (From Pericles to Philip) who writes of a banker, Pasion, who started with nothing and after thirty years in business was worth 40-60 talents i.e. 240,000-360,000 drachmai.
93. J. HASEBROEK (tran. L. Fisher and D. MacGregor) Trade and Politics in Ancient Greece p.96. BELL 1933.
94. This development should more accurately be attributed to the fourth century when the normal rate was 12%, but could rise to something like 25% during wartime.
95. H. BENGTON The Greeks and the Persians op. cit. p.116. For a more complete treatment of the question of taxation, and particularly liturgies, see J.K. DAVIES Democracy and Classical Greece p.109ff. FONTANA 1978.
96. The Delian-Attic Maritime League is sometimes technically designated a plural-symmachy, i.e. an organisation with Athens on one side and a mass of allies on the other.
97. For a general treatment, see J. BURY A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great 3rd ed. revised by R. MEIGGS. O.U.P. 1974.
98. G. THOMSON Studies in Ancient Greek Society op. cit.
99. See W. WESTERMANN The Slave System of Greek and Roman Antiquity PHILADELPHIA 1955, and V. EHRENBERG The Greek State METHUEN 1969. For a balanced, though somewhat generous approach, see A.M.H. JONES on "The Economic Basis of Athenian Democracy" in Athenian Democracy OXFORD 1957.

100. The decision on the form the rebuilding of Athens should take may have been a joint one. Pericles called a meeting of the states ^c449 B.C. for discussion purposes. C.M. BOWRA Periclean Athens op. cit. p.98.
101. For a general view of architectural and artistic achievement, see G.M. RICHTER Handbook of Greek Art LONDON 1969.
102. A.M.H. JONES Athenian Democracy op. cit. p.83ff. The authority here is R. THOMSEN Eisphora: a study of direct taxation in Ancient Athens GYLDENDAL 1964.
103. T.B. WEBSTER Athenian Culture and Society pp.42-3. BATSFORD 1973.
104. M.I. FINLEY The Ancient Greeks op. cit. p.152. See also C.A. ROBINSON JNR. Athens in the Age of Pericles UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA PRESS 1959. Reproduced in J. CLASTER (ED.) Athenian Democracy op. cit.
105. W.S. FERGUSON Greek Imperialism op. cit.
106. T.B. WEBSTER Athenian Culture and Society op. cit. p.106. A point also forcibly made by A.M.H. JONES.
107. C.M. BOWRA Periclean Athens op. cit. p.98.
108. T.B. WEBSTER Athenian Culture and Society op. cit. pp.260-1.
109. M.I. FINLEY The Ancient Greeks op. cit. p.152.
110. C.M. BOWRA op. cit. pp.98-9.
111. The Great Plague of Athens (429 B.C.) spread with incredible rapidity in the absence of elementary sanitation.
112. PLUTARCH Life of Pericles 12
113. See J.K: DAVIES Democracy and Classical Greece pp.108-9 in which the author quotes an inscription suggesting that Athena took her share (tithe ?) of the "tribute of the Athenians".
114. P. GREEN Ancient Greece op. cit. p.67.

POLITICAL AND LEGAL ORGANISATION

Some early sociologists tended to take an evolutionary approach to the study of political institutions. With the growth of ethnographic knowledge, their interests centred largely on the origins and development of the state and the history and classification of political systems. In general, their explanations were of two main kinds. Those which regarded the emergence of the state as a consequence of the increasing size and complexity of societies, and those which argued that the state is a function of the differentiation of social classes which itself is related to the development of productive forces and disparities in the distribution of wealth (1). On the other hand, some anthropologists saw the growth of political forms in terms of rationalised kinship hierarchies (2), and maintained that kinship was the sole possible ground of community and political functions. This was contested by later theorists such as I. Schapera who argued for a complementary emphasis upon territorial and other institutional considerations including religion (3), a theme which had been stressed earlier by Fustel de Coulanges who attributed the formation of the Greek and Roman cities to the elaboration of more inclusive religious systems (4).

In his analysis of political authority and the exercise of power, G. Mosca (5) maintained that the history of mankind could be reduced to conflicts which attend the attempt to control the operation of judicial and executive systems. Political conflicts therefore arise because of opposing tendencies towards conservation and change; between the traditionalist "old forces" and their possible replacement by other "insurgent new forces". The conflict is therefore one of rival factions in their attempt to monopolise political power. This can involve opposing groups striving for identical ends, a "competition" situation, or groups striving for different ends, a "conflict" situation. Both situations are familiar in the political process, but as a model it has limited applicability when related to traditional systems. Athens could certainly

be analysed in these terms, but - in general - the notions of competition and conflict have only a limited applicability to the Egyptian experience.

Political power inevitably connotes the 'legitimate' use of coercion. In Max Weber's words, "We wish to understand by politics... a state (or) human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory... Hence politics for us means striving to share power or striving to influence the distribution of power, either among states or among groups within a state" (6). Weber, in his well-known analysis of legitimate power, identified three main types of authority system (7):

- a) Rational-Legal: where an impersonal legal order obtains, and individual considerations are treated as applications of generalised rules which can only be changed by correct procedures. This type of authority system, Weber argues, involves organised administrative arrangements of a bureaucratic type, and is most characteristic of complex, advanced societies.
- b) Traditional: in which authority rests upon the sanctity of norms and prescriptions of the traditional order. This type of authority system is characteristic of pre-industrial societies.
- c) Charismatic: in which authority is vested in the person of a leader rather than any particular mode of organisation. Such systems have strong ideological overtones; the leader is usually the founder or populariser of a cause (8) with which either a nucleus of a mass identify themselves.

There are many qualifications which can be made of Weber's analysis. Coercion is not the only distinguishing feature of government. Weber also tends to stress means rather than ends in his categorisations; the implication being that the means of coercion constitute the main basis of political legitimacy and - what is probably just as important to rulers - operational effectiveness. Detailed critiques of his analysis are not lacking (9). What is important, however, in any discussion of the political structures of complex pre-industrial societies is that Weber's interest focused on the ways in which power was transformed into

political authority. The term 'authority' implies some degree of acceptance and acceptability as opposed to sheer domination. This gives power its essential legitimacy. It is arguable whether power can be exercised without some regularisation of procedures to give it an operational base, and without some degree of popular concurrence to make those operations effective.

Limitations to the exercise of 'absolute' power have been voiced by a number of theorists (10), notably S.N. Eisenstadt, "the tendency to generalisation of power of the rulers in the historical bureaucratic empires was limited not only by the paucity of free resources and by the existence of many traditional forces. It was also restricted by internal regulative problems which emerged as a result of the growing differentiation of the social structure" (11). So much, of course, depends upon how 'total' or 'absolute' is defined, particularly whether it is to be seen in terms of degree or extent - or both. One very useful approach is that suggested by Almond and Powell who direct their attention to the capabilities of political systems (12). This involves the three basic ideas of input, what the system derives from the society; conversion, the internal utilisation of the resources; and output, the canalisation of those resources and the general contribution which the system makes to the society.

The principal capabilities of political organisations may be summarised as:

- i) Extractive
- ii) Regulative
- iii) Distributive
- iv) Symbolic
- v) Responsive

The Extractive capabilities of the system concern its accumulation capacities. The emphasis is essentially quantitative, and involves the recruitment of manpower and the collection of funds as taxes and tribute, which are rarely given voluntarily (13), in short, the overall mobilisation of resources. The notion of extractive capacity takes on a special significance when related to the exercise of power. In what we may broadly call 'nondemocratic' systems, there are differences in the degree to which the decision-makers, whether they are aristocrats, oligarchs or autocratic rulers, are independent of the wishes of those they govern. No matter how arbitrary the dictates of the state may be, it can never be totally immune to the needs and aspirations of all its subjects. Similarly, there are always differences in the status spectrum of the governed which qualify the extent of the state's jurisdiction and control. This particularly applies to its ability to mobilise and organise economic resources. But this, in turn, must be conditioned by the differences in the degree to which the decision-makers are independent of those who mediate their instructions, and those who have endorsed, passively or actively, their right to command (14). In traditional and charismatic authority systems, the autonomy of the ruler(s) may be very considerable indeed. The restrictions on the realisation of their political and economic goals may be minimal.

The Regulative capabilities of the system concern its capacity to institute and operate effective controls. This involves the problem of what kind of mechanisms to employ and the frequency and intensity of their application. Broadly speaking, optimum control can be achieved in four main ways: by the exploitative use of force, or the threat of force; by compromise which necessitates some degree of decision-sharing; by a legal machinery which involves the institutionalisation of acceptable norms of conduct; and by general consensus which solicits support on a reciprocal-loyalty basis. No one of these can be completely effective by itself, and therefore all societies operate a composite which entails various shades of 'mix'.

The Distributive capabilities of a system not only concern the division of goods and services, but also the defining and allocation of statuses, honours and opportunities. In more autocratic systems such as Egypt where there was a minimal differentiation of roles, distribution had a strong ascriptive bias. By contrast, in societies with a qualified consensus such as Athens where roles were relatively highly differentiated, distribution had a marked achievement bias.

As far as the purely economic functions of the system are concerned, the principal aims of the state are the regulation of available resources so as to ensure a constant flow of wealth. These can then be used to fulfill its obligations to its subjects, in terms of necessities and public works, and to discharge its protective duties by strengthening its own position vis-a-vis internal and external forces which may jeopardise its viability.

The Symbolic capabilities of a system are, by definition, concerned with the provision of ideological supports and legitimations. These may be credible and persuasive, or simply menacing. Where power is monopolised on an autocratic basis, it may be necessary to control effectively the 'symbolic flow' from rulers to people. Similarly in aristocracies, where a small number of ruling families often occupy virtually all the strategic seats of control, some kind of ideological legitimation is required to validate their position and justify their possession; even if it is simply an appeal to hereditary rights.

Charismatic authority may well be expressed in symbolic terms. But personal charisma as opposed to charisma of office often has a social ephemerality which reduces its long-term effectiveness. This could easily be illustrated from the experience of Egypt and Athens. Greek tyrannies which were frequently founded by discontented but ambitious aristocrats, rarely lasted more than two generations. Sons were not always as charismatically endowed as their fathers, and thus imposed more oppressive forms of rule which eventually undermined their authority (15). By contrast, in Egypt where charisma was associated with the office as well as the person of the Pharaoh, dynasties were often

of considerable duration. The eighteenth Dynasty, for example, lasted some 260 years, and then the 'mandate' was merely transferred to the next ruling house. The essential nature of the authority did not change significantly until the later years of Egyptian history, i.e. from the Post-Empire period, when the rise of other powerful states threatened and ultimately destroyed the Egyptian power.

Symbolic and particularly charismatic capabilities are often rationalised and justified in terms of appeals to absolutes or to tradition. On the other hand, appeals to experts or to a mandate bestowed by the people is more commonly a feature of modern societies, although there can be considerable overlapping on these issues. Athens, for instance, would constitute an appeal-to-the-people system, whilst ideologically-based modern regimes exemplify the appeal to absolutes-tradition-experts systems, although they too will make nominal democratic gestures of an appeal-to-the-people kind (16). Whatever, symbolic mechanisms provide the ideological grounding upon which societies justify current policy and practice. Being value-based they constitute the unanswerable legitimations of the system.

The Responsive capabilities of a system simply concern its ability to elicit the necessary responses from society. This input capacity validates the normative structures of society whilst implicitly sanctioning the authority status quo. "Ruling classes do not justify their power exclusively by the de facto possession of it, but try to find a moral and legal basis for it, representing it as the logical and necessary consequence of doctrines and beliefs that are generally recognised and accepted" (17).

To summarise: a political system is an organisation of a territorial society which has the legitimate monopoly over the regulation and use of force (18). This is authorised explicitly or implicitly by consensus acceptance. Thus political organisation has defined responsibilities in maintaining the system and implementing the society's

collective goals. Any examination of political organisation must therefore take into consideration how political roles are differentiated and defined, and whether they are distributed in mainly ascriptive or achievement terms. It must also take into account the orientations and capabilities of the political process, and how these are both determined and achieved. And, finally, it must analyse the bases of legitimation which are held to explain the nature of the structure and sanction its operations.

EGYPT

The Egyptians had no word for 'state'. This conception so common to modern society with its connotations of consciously contrived political structures may well have been foreign to them. "The Egyptian state was not a man-made alternative to other forms of political organisation. It was god-given, established when the world was created (and) part of the universal order" which, for Egyptians, "involved the feeling of unalterable rightness" (19). The word 'state' may have been absent from the language because all the significant aspects of the state were concentrated in the king. The monarchy was thought to be as old as the world; the creator himself having assumed the duties of kingship from the beginning of creation. So although for most of its history, ancient Egypt was administered by a vast bureaucracy of officials, it is impossible to divorce the exercise of power from the position and authority of the Pharaoh. This was regarded as a function of his divine nature. ".There seems no doubt that Pharaoh's predicate 'god' found its correlate in his absolute power over the land of Egypt and its inhabitants" (20).

Private property appears early as a result of royal donations, although basically it seems to be little more than a transference of rights. This applies also to every personal liberty, personal status or rank which, in theory, the king could annul at any time. In principle, there was no autonomous justice or law outside that of the crown. But "very few administrative and legal documents of Egypt have survived; and, as a result of this scarcity, our knowledge of the functioning of kingship in Egypt is of the vaguest" (21). What is clear,

however, is that the king's rule could not be entirely arbitrary. There was the perennial obligation to govern in accordance with Ma'at, often translated as 'truth' or 'right order' but which actually expresses a cosmic principle of harmonious eternality (22).

As god, the king alone could direct the state by virtue of the special divine attributes which only he possessed. These special qualities were 'hu', authoritative command, 'sia', perception, and 'maat'; all three were personalised, i.e. deified, by the Egyptians. 'Hu' represented the ability to recreate a situation by speech, and 'sia' the divine recognition and understanding of situations. These might be used for good or evil, so 'Maat' was regarded as the most important as it imposed responsibilities on the ruler for just dealings with his subjects (23). Only the god-king therefore had final authority in matters both sacred and secular - if such a distinction can be made in this context.

Henri Frankfort has argued that although such conceptions are largely alien to us, we must nevertheless not try to evade the difficulty by quasi-rational explanations. It was not an elaborate fraud contrived and perpetuated by men who were anxious to retain and sanctify their claim to power. The Pharaoh "ruled in the strictest sense by divine right; any attempt to describe the Egyptian state irrespective of the doctrine of (his) divinity could be fatuous... The doctrine of divine kingship is only comparable to a religious creed" (24). John A. Wilson, on the other hand, whilst recognising the theory and practice of the doctrine, admits that it must be qualified in view of the apparent inconsistencies involved (25). The king, as god, though the sole source of law and authority, relied upon other gods for oracular direction. He also delegated responsibility to the vizier and other officials. This mediation of divine authority by humanly fallible agents may be presumed both to detract from the divine absolutism and even distort the intentions of the divine will, a paradoxical situation which continued throughout the history of ancient Egypt.

There were times when there was a marked diminution of royal power, as, during the First Intermediate period, and other times when the royal authority was confidently reasserted. The tendency was to idealise the king by emphasising in both art and literature not only his authority and beneficence, but also his exploits and warrior prowess (26). The personal and political blemishes were often passed over in silence. Deviations from the sanctioned forms which can often only be inferred, were probably regarded as ephemeral in the overall economy of the divine order. Pharaonic charisma attached to the office rather than the person.

The officials who in the Old Kingdom period seem to have been mainly kinsmen of the king (27) may have been thought to share in some degree the mysterious essence which differentiated the king from other men (28). As the bureaucracy expanded, especially under the Empire, this form of kin-based nepotism was necessarily modified. It is arguable whether such a quasi-nepotistic system actually ensured special qualities of loyalty. Kin-based political structures are not notably immune from dissension. Family schism and the pretensions to power of ambitious siblings can give rise to fratricidal strife within the royal houses, although there is actually little evidence of this in the Egyptian monarchical tradition (29). There were palace intrigues, but, as far as we are aware, no popular uprisings. Occasionally "godless" conspirators were prepared to seek ways of interrupting the royal succession. Towards the end of the reign Rameses III, one of his wives, Taia, schemed to secure the throne for her son and planned an unsuccessful coup d'etat (30).

Legislation seems to have been a function of the king alone; there is no clear evidence that this was ever delegated to other groups or subordinates. The king's administrative and judicial work, however, was delegated to a large and elaborately organised body of officials (31). Not too much is known about the actual operating of the state (32). We do know that the state was organised on a strictly hierarchical basis, and was authoritarian in structure. The government can be seen to be divided in two main ways: the central administration including control of the granaries, treasuries and so forth, and the government of the

administrative districts (nomarchies) into which the country was divided. To these can, of course, be added the external provinces under the Empire. Every part and function of the State were de jure subject to the king and the central administration, although - as we have already seen - de facto shifts of power did take place. During the Old Kingdom, the principal officer of State was the Vizier, "the Steward of the Whole Land", the "Councillor of All Orders of the King" who acted as the chief intermediary between the king and the bureaucracy. He reported to the king daily and sought divine approval on policy measures, "He was exhorted to show no fear or favour, and to make himself available to receive and listen to all classes of petitioners with sympathy, patience and an open mind" (33). In theory, the king was also open to the appeals of his people, but in practice it was extremely difficult to gain access to his presence. It may be suspected that as the king was kept at one remove from the details of government, so the Vizier too, as chief executive, was shielded from the burden of excessive legal-administrative trivia by an army of minor officials.

In his capacity as chief officer of State, the Vizier concentrated his attentions on the 'secular' administration of the royal office. The religious functions were the special prerogative of the king who was also, by right, Chief Priest. The Vizier was responsible for both internal and external affairs. It was his task to deal with district matters and - in later times - to cope with the extra burden of provincial administration. During the Empire, there were two Viziers; one in Upper and another in Lower Egypt, where they presided over two "Great Councils" in Thebes and Heliopolis respectively. As a rule, there was no single officer who exercised authority in all parts of the country and in all parts of the government at the same time. It may have been an intentional policy of the Pharaoh to prevent too much power falling into the hands of any one subordinate.

In each large town there were lesser councils which had judicial functions and sat as courts of law in both civil and criminal cases.

The men who comprised such councils appear to have been separately engaged in administrative work, so there was therefore no clear dividing line in practice between their administrative and judicial duties. The composition of the councils may have operated on an adhoc basis, and been composed of different officials at different times (34) or they may have consisted of reservoirs of administrative talent whose variety of expertise could be drawn upon as and when the occasions demanded. The flexibility of the councils' composition is shown by the fact that they sometimes consisted entirely of priests, on other occasions entirely of lay-members, and sometimes both together.

There is a 'catalogue' which lists the Egyptian hierarchy of New Kingdom times (35). It is headed, predictably, by the various divinities, the royal family, followed by the vizier, magistrates and all those who had the good fortune to live near the "Sun" (the king), i.e. all those who participated in the central administration. Another list enumerates the king's representatives in the provinces and the foreign territories. It is clear that there was a highly differentiated bureaucracy whose members had their own specialised tasks. Each high official had his own personal entourage. The district governors maintained households which were often modelled, though on a much smaller scale, on that of the Pharaoh. The immense wealth of some of the temples, particularly those dedicated to Amun, generated a minutely graded body of priests and other temple functionaries (36). Even such a deity as the ithyphallic Min, Lord of Coptos and Ipou, less universally worshipped than Amun, possessed a large staff of priests, an administrative cadre of scribes, foreman of works, herdsmen, linen-masters, superintendents of transport, storekeepers and accountants.

The temple priests should probably be regarded as an integral part of the administrative machine. Theoretically, it was the king who was supposed to perform the daily rituals throughout the land. In practice, however, it was the priests who officiated in his stead. Perpetual service had to be offered to the royal ancestors and the other gods of the State. The Pharaoh, despite his divinity, was hardly omnipresent,

and therefore rendered this service through the activities of the priesthood who were supported by generous royal endowments.

The Pharaoh appears to have been able to appoint and dismiss priests in much the same way as he could officials in other government departments. Removal from public office could have serious family repercussions for those involved as it was not uncommon for a son to follow his father into the public or priestly service. Punishments for corrupt officials could be severe especially if their misdemeanours concerned temple property. Seti I in an address to officials and other state employees all the way down to the "sunshade-bearers" warns of infringements and abuses of temple property. He announced that any official who appropriated goods would receive not less than a hundred blows with a cudgel, and would have to restore what he had stolen and pay a hundred times its value in penalty and interest. In severe cases, this could mean the cropping of a nose and ears and the humiliation of returning to the temple as a mere labourer (37).

Although law was not carefully codified, as it was in some Asiatic states, there was a judicial machinery which operated throughout the State through duly convened courts. In principle, the king alone determined the law. The texts often relate how the king called his counsellors together to seek their advice. This appears to have been rather a nominal procedure; it had no legislative force, and seems to have been little more than a sounding-board for the Pharaoh's ideas. Indeed, perhaps its reporting was a mere propagandistic device for emphasising the superhuman wisdom of the monarch (38).

The highest magistrate was the Vizier himself in his capacity as chief executive of the king. His theoretical function was to act in strict conformance with the will of the monarch who alone, for example, could confirm death sentences and exercise the royal pardon (39). However, there is evidence which hints that within a tight procedural framework he had some independence of action (40). His formal duties included listening to appellants in the audience hall, but he was also

expected to walk in the streets so that poorer - and possibly less intrepid - supplicants too could seek his advice and present their petitions. The lesser magistrates in the numerous administrative districts seem to have enjoyed a considerable measure of autonomy in the legal sphere. But in working through the local councils, they too were expected to exercise their authority in keeping with the normative guide-lines of maat which, in theory at least, informed the administration of justice.

In Egypt, law came "from the mouth of the Pharaoh". In principle, therefore, it was constantly renewed by the divine beneficence of the sovereign. The precision which marked the codification of law in successive Mesopotamian societies, was absent in Egypt. There was apparently no word for law, as a principle, although there were terms for regulations which covered specific situations, but these really relate to decrees rather than actual codes of law. Similarly, there are legal documents which refer to such matters as the transfer of property, together with abbreviated records of court proceedings, but these only give us some indications about court procedure, and very little about the law itself. In fact, unlike the Greek situation where legal reformers were revered in both precedent and folk-memory, few Pharaohs had reputations as law-givers.

Whether or not the noble sentiments expressed in the texts about the administration of justice were simply lofty idealism, it is difficult to know. What evidence there is does not always support the view of the normative order which can be inferred from the texts, or the moral probity of officials as depicted in some of the literature. Various high officials wrote of their exemplary conduct and unimpeachable public service ostensibly to impress the gods. Viziers and magistrates

were often quick to proclaim their unvarnished reputations especially in their tombs or on public stelae. Thus Ptahmose says, "I have done the things that men praise and the gods approve"; Rekhmire insists that he has always defended the weak against the strong; and Khaemhat, a royal scribe and superintendent of the granaries, maintains that he had never had any accusation levelled against him, and that he was guiltless before the gods. One is tempted to ask if these catalogues of good works were really protestations of innocence in the face of either actual or anticipated accusations, or perhaps an insistence on singular exceptions amidst known corruption.

Officials were subject to severe penalties, particularly demotion, or even disfigurement, if found guilty of corruption or disloyalty. In some actual cases, for example, the tomb-robbings during the reign of Rameses IX (^c1100 B.C.), we know that court proceedings took place, but we have no idea of the judgements that were given or what sentences were passed. Records also show that for the lower orders particularly, debt and other infringements could bring harsh beatings and even the confiscation of their meagre property. Warnings were given about the oppression by the tax-collectors and the general exploitation by the minor bureaucracy, "You know that they never show mercy when they judge the unfortunate" (41).

Punishments, especially beatings, were meted out to criminals, including some that might now be regarded as civil or moral offenders, on a carefully graded scale in proportion to their crimes. The cutting off of nose or ears or both was a common punishment for more serious offences, as was also deportation to the mines and quarries. The death penalty was reserved for rebellion and for adultery by women. This could take a number of forms, beheading, burning, or perhaps the 'voluntary' suicide which seems to have been the privilege of highly-placed dignitaries (42).

The qualified autonomy which existed in the administrative districts and the increasing abuses of the later Ramesside period tend to support

J.A. Wilson's contention that the "Egyptian always shrank from carrying a series of concepts.. or experiences.. to their logical conclusions. They preferred to compromise or conciliate... Crisis could be met with flexibility of action" (43). In effect, the argument is that the dogma of the unique politico-legal authority of the king must have been qualified by practical exigencies. A pragmatic ethic prevailed. The perhaps too general principle of Maat combined with the lack of precisely codified law, allowed a theoretically static system to adapt to a changing situation.

Obviously, the idea that the Pharaoh consulted only his own 'heart' was something of a fiction, and equally obviously precedent played a large part in the practical observation and detailed administration of Maat. This is shown by the "Instructions" which some kings gave for the benefit of their progeny, and the fact that decisions taken in earlier times were sometimes used as guide-lines for the present order (44). But the weight of textual evidence confirms the tradition that the king was regarded as the origin and fount of all law, and, as such, was the final court of appeal. This did not change throughout the dynastic system despite the questionings and upheavals of particular periods. There is little doubt that it reached its zenith during the Old Kingdom and was subsequently enunciated during the periods of great socio-political renewal. What is important is that when the crises were past, the Egyptians did not look for - or apparently even think of looking for - another kind of system. They persistently returned to what they saw as the 'right' and eternal order. Despite its admitted practical deficiencies, this system exhibited high extractive and regulative capabilities with central control of the distributive processes. Its continuing viability over three millenia testify to its capacity to elicit the necessary response by means of an explicit and effective symbolic order.

ATHENS:

There was no accepted or unified system of Greek political organisation, any more than there was a really coherent body of Greek law (45). There were elements of commonality. The various poleis had developed in sufficient isolation to allow for the gradual crystallisation of a wide spectrum of politico-legal systems (46). As in Egypt, the political and the legal are difficult to separate, and to distinguish them in administrative terms has to be something of an academic fiction. This would be the case in most traditional societies; and Greece was certainly no exception. "The doctrine of the separation of powers had no place in Greek constitutional theory or practice. The (political) councils and assemblies which passed the laws and took decisions of policy... were also, for some purposes, courts of law" (47).

More is known about the politico-legal arrangements of Athens and Sparta than any other Greek states, but even so the sources are limited. Much of what we know about Athens is drawn, sometimes indirectly, from a few contemporary historians and philosophers particularly Thucydides, Xenophon and Plato (48). Important additional material can be taken from Aristotle (49) and orators such as Demosthenes, Isocrates and Lysias (50). Other than this, there are the inferences which can be made from contemporary playwrights, particularly Aristophanes whose insights tend to provide us with parodies - or at best caricatures - of the Athenian political situation and its personalities (51). It should always be borne in mind that these original sources may contain a good deal of bias. Thucydides and Aristophanes were writing during and immediately after the War period, and had, in their different ways, particular axes to grind (or, perhaps in the case of Aristophanes - to blunt). Plato, writing after the War, expressed in the Republic and the Laws something of his disillusionment with the ineffectual cycles of Greek political arrangements. Whereas Aristotle, his pupil, writing later still, recaptured something of the earlier enthusiasm for the Athenian constitution.

The actual details of development of the polis system are unclear. Perhaps the primary impetus was the need for defence. In Athens, the city proper was centred round the Acropolis which can be seen not only as a ceremonial area, but also as a defensible citadel. As a state, Attica was comparatively large, about a thousand square miles, but the walled area of its controlling polis, Athens itself, was barely one square mile, and perhaps up to 30% of this area was unoccupied in classical times. It has been estimated that about another 14% made up the public places such as the Acropolis and other shrines together with the commercial area of the Agora, and the Pnyx where the Assembly met to discuss public issues (52). The remainder consisted of the jumble of streets and houses comprising the residential and semi-industrial quarters.

In earlier times, with the abolition of the monarchy and the reduction of the power of the nobility, the office of archon (regent) had been created, firstly for life, then for ten years, and afterwards for one year only. Under the economic class system of Solon, all four classes were allowed to vote at the Assembly of the citizens, although only the two upper classes were eligible for the archonship. This, in itself, was something of a political innovation inasmuch as men who were not of the nobility now qualified for high office in the State. When the archons had completed their term of office, they passed into the Council of the Areopagus which consisted mainly of the heads of the most important families, in fact, a kind of House of Lords. The Council exercised general supervisory powers of a largely legal nature, and ensured the smooth running of the existing social order. A second council or senate (Boule) was also set up consisting of four hundred members drawn equally from the traditional four tribes (53). These were chosen by lot, served for one year only, and their main task was to prepare the agendas for the general Assembly of the citizens. This limited control of the areas of debate gave them a form of administrative authority which presumably further undermined the power of the aristocracy.

During the 5th century, a number of important additional changes were instituted especially in relation to the matter of citizenship. The Athenians did not normally bestow citizenship very easily on outsiders and under Pericles (451 B.C.) they passed a law which restricted citizenship to those whose parents were both Athenian citizens. Citizenship and the threat of non-citizenship were used to great effect. Some offences against the State carried political penalties. They could result in a disqualification from speaking in the Assembly or being made ineligible to bring a case in the courts. Particularly serious offences such as cowardice or the avoidance of military service might result in a complete loss of civil rights (54).

Citizenship was based upon membership of the demes or villages which became the new political units after the legislation of Cleisthenes in 510 B.C. In later times, there were 174 demes (55); perhaps many of these also existed during the classical period. They varied considerably in size, but each had its own local assembly, treasury and leading official, the demarchus, and each had modest religious as well as political functions. A father enrolled his son with his own deme, and at eighteen the boy was registered as a citizen of that deme, and always remained a member no matter where he lived.

The four traditional tribes of Attica were reconstructed as ten tribes (phylae), to which the demes were allocated. Under Cleisthenes, the phylae in turn were each allocated a city section (asty), an inland section (mesogaia) and a shore section (paralia). This ensured, to some extent at least, that the phylae were of comparable size, and - more importantly - that they represented a cross-section of the people. This reduced the preponderant influence of any one economic class, particularly the big landowners, and was designed to generate greater unity and participation at the local and national levels. Particular

activities contributed to the ethoi of the new tribal entities. The tribal spirit was promoted and reinforced by such formal events as, for example, the chorus contests at the Great (City) Dionysia festivals. The intention to "mix the people" (Aristotle) may be reflected in Cleisthenes' own term isonomia, equal distribution and equality among citizens (56). Membership of the re-formed deme was hereditary and permanent. The phylae served as a framework for the elections to practically all political institutions, especially to the Council and the various boards of magistrates. Among their most important electoral functions was the election of generals (strategoi) who commanded each of the ten tribal contingents of the army. To this extent the phylae performed an important function between the deme and the polis.

These reforms were achieved at the cost of disregarding traditional divisions and sentiments. The new mode of organisation, though given nominal approval by the oracular centre at Delphi, appears to have been governed largely by politico-rational considerations. "The new phylae...were never genuine sacred communities. The whole character of the new order was secular and rational" (57).

The phylae supplied the membership of an enlarged Boule. Fifty men were chosen by ballot from the demes of each of the ten tribes to constitute the new Council of 500. Each 50 (prytaneis) served in turn for one tenth of the year (58). No citizen could serve as a councillor more than twice, and each prytany had a chairman, also chosen by ballot, who served for twenty-four hours only, during which time he was chairman of the Assembly and titular Head of State. There was, therefore, an overall and continuous turnover of personnel, and there were probably very few older citizens who had not served as a prytaneus at least once. Athenian political procedures therefore had a

strange 'contrapuntal' quality where the same substantive themes were repetitively renewed in ways which brought variation and - sometimes - clarification to central issues.

Ostensibly, the Boule system was devised because a Council of 500 was too unwieldy, and its changing composition made it unlikely that it would ever develop any corporate feeling. Operated in this way, the Boule provided "a political school for the majority of Athenian citizens" (59), but it could not overshadow the ultimate power of the Assembly. There was the well-known incident towards the end of the War when Socrates, who was serving his one day as chairman of the Council, refused to allow a vote on a proposal of the Assembly that six strategoi (generals) should be impeached for failure to rescue the survivors of a naval battle of Arginusae (406 B.C.). This was an irregular action of the Assembly, trials were normally the province of the courts. Despite Socrates resistance, in a "mockery of justice" all six were condemned and executed (60).

It was the task of the Boule to convene the Assembly, arrange its business and see that its decrees were carried out. It scrutinised the qualifications of officials and the allocation and use of their funds, and generally coordinated their activities. Its supervisory duties included all the State's concerns from the building of warships to the administration of state pension schemes. The membership of the Boule was full-time for the period of office during which time the members were supported by state revenues.

Every male from the age of eighteen with the statutory birth qualifications had full citizenship rights and was allowed to participate in the work of the Assembly (Ecclesia). From the time of Cleisthenes, the ownership of land was no longer necessary as an eligibility factor. It was only late in the fifth century B.C. that citizens were compensated for attendance at the Assembly. During the Periclean period, they had to

resign themselves to the loss of a day's pay if they wished to attend, although those required for jury service were reimbursed from public funds. This raises questions not of eligibility but of practicability. How many citizens, especially of the poorer classes or of the rural population, could actually attend with any regularity? The frequency of attendance and the composition of the Assembly at any one time is still a matter for conjecture.

The Assembly met forty times a year, and some provision was made for extra or emergency war-time meetings when required. The forty meetings were held in ten groups of four; these corresponded with the ten 35-36 day periods of each prytany into which the Boule's year was divided. Each group of four meetings had a set format. The first meeting considered whether the holders of offices were performing their duties satisfactorily, and also debated general matters such as the problems of corn-supply and defence, proposals for political prosecutions and property to be confiscated and - once a year only - the desirability of holding an ostracism. At the second meeting, any citizen might ask the Assembly to consider a motion on private or public affairs. And at the third and fourth meetings, the Assembly discussed and, if necessary, debated three proposals chosen by lot on religious affairs, three on secular affairs and three on foreign affairs. It is not certain just how many people were present at the meetings of the Assembly; it was probably rarely more than 5,000, although for certain major issues a quorum may have been as high as 6,000 (61).

The Assembly appears to have had final authority in Athens. De jure, the Athenian citizenry was sovereign, and de facto no group or official could dictate to it, check it, and review or revise its actions. It could be influenced by trained rhetoricians and swayed by gifted demagogues and openly led by exceptional charismatic figures such as Pericles, but no person or group could order its policies. It could not be dominated, but it could be manipulated. There was the infamous incident in 416 B.C. when the entire population of the neutral

island of Melos was condemned to death and slavery. It was the peoples' system and there was apparently no written constitution which could inhibit its flexibility and adaptability, or guarantee an immunity against practised and opportunistic populists.

In addition to the membership of the Boule, a number of other officials were either elected or chosen by lot. Some 550 guards were chosen by lot from the demes, and 277 further officials from the phylae. These included the commissioners of sacred places, officials to perform sacrifices, officials in charge of the market and the corn-supply, deme judges, police officers, guards of the dockyards and the Acropolis, besides members of miscellaneous other Boards which worked closely with the Boule (62), all of whom held office for a single year.

The archonate, as such, had declined in influence and importance by the classical period. The duties of the archonate were divided to areas of administration. The archon basileus was the general supervisor of the religious cults of the polis, and the polemarch was primarily concerned with legal dealings between citizens and non-citizens although formerly he had been commander of the army. In addition to these, there was also the Eponymous archon who was generally in charge of jurisdiction. In all, with junior members (the thesmothetae) there were nine archons - all largely involved with the law and its applications - who comprised a college which rarely exerted much influence as a group. Complementing the archonate, there was the Areopagus - a kind of 'Upper House' - the former King's Council, of which all ex-archons were members. This judged cases of homicide, was guardian of the laws, and vetted those chosen for the Archonate.

Elections were mainly confined to the appointment of the military. On the whole, these were the preserve of the rich, but among the sixty

or so officers needed for any one year, including the ten-strong Board of generals (strategoi), there were often exceptions.

There were probably more boards and committees than seems necessary to get things done; in total, some 700 officials, all paid by the state. Perhaps the idea was to distribute responsibility and reduce the opportunities for peculation. In naval matters, for example, the Assembly decided whether any new ships were to be built during the current year and then settled on the number. The Boule was responsible for the building of the ships, but worked through a board of ten, whilst another board of ten was in charge of the yards. The income of the polis to finance these craft would itself be subject to further boards and possibly commissions, ostensibly to ensure a sharing of the task, but perhaps also to minimise the possibilities of corruption.

The ballot system for choosing officials may also have derived from similar motives. The vast majority of officials were chosen by lot; very few were elected. The Athenians felt that this ensured a fairer distribution of civic duties, but they also tended to view with some suspicion those who actively sought office for its own sake. Some intellectuals disputed the wisdom and efficiency of the system (63), and others actually despaired that it was open to demagogic manipulation. The demagogos was, by definition, a leader of the people, and therefore a likely figure in any democratic system. The term became closely associated with the oratorical and emotional exploitation of populist feeling. The demagogue, therefore, came to connote a sinister and even heedless political opportunism which we now tend to regard with some apprehension (64).

Solon made the Assembly capable of acting as an appeal court. Later a kind of sub-committee of the Assembly seems to have acted for the whole. Even this obviously could not deal with all court business, and in the mid-fifth century, it was divided into a number of specialised 'benches' or dicasteries consisting of 201 jurors (dicasts) for civil cases and 501 for criminal

cases. These were members of the total body of 6,000 jurors chosen by lot by the Archonate who selected 600 names from each of the ten phylae. These candidates were, in turn, taken from lists submitted by the demes. The system was analagous to that used for the choosing of the membership of the Boule (65). These huge panels of jurors which could even number 1,001, 1,501 or 2,001 were held to represent the whole people. The jury whatever its constitution took no vocal part in the proceedings of a trial; they simply listened to the evidence and made their decision, and this decision was final. There was no other body or court to which a further appeal could properly be made (66).

The dicasteries were presided over by magistrates. These can hardly be regarded as judges in the currently understood sense, they were really only chairmen of the courts who ensured, as far as possible, the orderly conduct of affairs. A trial (agon) was fought out between the interested parties: the duties of the presiding magistrate - who was usually one of the archons - was confined to collecting sworn statements, recording the testimony, and generally acting as combined judge and jury foreman. Both magistrates and jurors were modestly paid for their services, another task arranged by the Thesmothetae. Pay for jurors had been instituted by Pericles so that men with limited means were able to serve the state without undue loss of earnings, and perhaps no more than a fifth of the rich citizens actually did jury service. Citizens under thirty were excluded from jury service, and it may be that a high proportion of those who did serve were over forty-five - rather elderly by comparative standards. It was a conservative jibe that jury pay was a way of using the people's money to bribe the people. Aristophanes, in "The Wasps" for example, suggested - perhaps with some exaggeration - that the poor and elderly made pocket money serving on juries.

The magistracy itself was not a career for aspiring legal experts. In fact, every citizen had the chance to become a magistrate at some time. No special qualifications were needed for candidature; it was

simply required that the citizens in question had never themselves been condemned in court for any infamy. There was no hierarchy of magistrates in Athens; all magistrates dealt directly with the Boule and the Assembly. This is in marked contrast to Sparta, where the special magistrates (ephors) were appointed with wide powers of supervision and control over the government and the administration of the laws. Any Athenian magistrate could/ be relieved ^{theoretically} of his office in the course of its term if his conduct was found to be unsatisfactory at a prytany review. On relinquishing his office, the magistrate had to give an account of his tenure, and if his administration was suspected of being dishonest, he could himself be subject to legal proceedings. At the completion of their year of service, principal magistrates passed to the Areopagus. Uncharacteristically, membership of this politically innocuous body was for life - an inexpensive and undemanding reward for service to the State. The Areopagus had few effective political powers, but it did retain certain important legal functions, notably in what might be broadly termed 'capital' cases (67), including premeditated murder, wounding with intent to kill, arson (if the house was inhabited at the time) and poisoning. In cases of murder, it was entitled to impose the death penalty. Physical violence was normally punishable by exile and the confiscation of property.

It was the Heliaia which dealt with most cases apart from homicide; this was the court of popular jurisdiction. Offences which involved men in public life were often brought before the Boule, and really serious cases - particularly those concerning the conduct of war - might actually be judged by the Assembly itself (68). The fifty-one criminal court judges (ephetai) were divided into three separate tribunals. At the first, the Palladium, cases of incitement to murder and manslaughter were heard, and the maximum penalty was limited to exile without confiscation of property. At the second, the Delphinium, cases of homicide which were considered by the archon basileus (the examining magistrate) to be justified by way of mitigating circumstances were heard. A third tribunal dealt with cases of those already banished, possibly for manslaughter (69), who had subsequently committed murder with intent.

This 'court' was conducted by the sea; the accused - already in a state of banishment - had to conduct his defence from a boat while the judges sat on the shore.

Court procedures were conditioned not only by the nature of the offence but also the source of initiation of the charge. In private law-suits, only the injured party or their representative could bring the charge. A representative was essential in cases where minors, women, metics or slaves - that is those without full citizenship status - were concerned. The plaintiff, was allowed the assistance of a paid spokesman or advocate. In criminal matters, however, anyone could prosecute. This included certain types of civil case, notably those of public indictment, where any citizen could regard himself as the injured party and bring a charge of unconstitutionality (*graphe*), a practice which encouraged public denunciations. This gave rise to public informers (*sykophantai*) who might well make allegations against the wealthy in the hope of extorting money to drop the prosecution. From different perspectives the same action can be seen as veiled blackmail or patriotic duty. Certainly it was a common feature of the Athenian political arena where ambition made it expedient to malign publicly one's personal enemies and political rivals.

A prosecution was brought by summoning the defendant before the presiding magistrate. Both parties were allowed to interrogate one another and each other's witnesses. Speeches to the jury might be frank appeals to prejudice or exercises in flattery - especially in pleas for leniency. "To bring one's wife and small children was a standard piece of stage setting (and) exchanging personal abuse of the most indecent kind was customary (70). In order to prevent the frivolous - or perhaps the malicious - multiplication of charges, in all private suits both parties were required to deposit a sum towards the defrayment of legal costs; in public hearings only the accuser had to make such a deposit. If he withdrew the charges, or did not obtain at least one fifth of the votes when it came to the verdict (71), he was liable to a fine of 1,000 drachmai. In a case where the State itself had incurred some material loss, the individuals who brought the

prosecution were 'rewarded' with a proportion of the guilty person's fine which could amount to as much as three-quarters of the total sum. By comparison, in the case of an acquittal, if the accuser did not obtain one fifth of the votes cast, he was liable to pay a fine or even suffer a loss of civic rights. Paradoxically, this was considered necessary in order to curtail the activities of the public informers which the system encouraged.

Athens maintained a police force which was controlled by a group of magistrates called 'the eleven'. They were responsible for the State prisons, and brought those charges which necessitated preventative detention. They were also responsible for the summary executions of self-confessed murderers and those caught in flagrante. Executions were carried out outside the walls of the city, and could take the form of chaining or tying to a plank or post and being left to die. This seems to have been reserved mainly for pirates and was really a variant of crucifixion (72). Stoning to death was also occasionally practised. This had the doubtful virtue of being a participatory act which was sometimes considered appropriate for crimes which were an affront to the democratic system. Thus in 479 B.C. we find Lycidas stoned to death by his colleagues for proposing acceptance of the Persian peace terms (73). There was also the drinking of hemlock as a form of privileged suicide, associated in the popular mind with the death of Socrates. The term most used in Greek to denote capital punishment (apotympanismos) may refer to the exposure of criminals (74), although some authorities maintain that it is impossible to know (75).

When an accused person was found guilty by a majority of the votes, he was either sentenced according to a fixed penalty or there was an 'assessment of punishment' which called for another vote. Punishments varied according to the status of the offender. Imprisonment was normally restricted to non-citizens, and such niceties as confinement in the pillory, whipping on the wheel (76) and branding were reserved for slaves. Normally, punishments were either fines perhaps including the confiscation of property, or either temporary or permanent

banishment, or perhaps loss of civil rights. A variant of these, and an institution peculiar to Athens, was the practice of ostracism (77). This was a device - perhaps more political than judicial - whereby the Athenians sent one of their number into temporary banishment without bringing him to trial or even formulating a specific charge against him. Allegedly instituted by Cleisthenes to curb the possibility of tyranny, it was ostensibly intended as a preventative measure. The object was not to punish a crime, but to make its commission either impossible or unlikely by the banishment of those who were planning political subversion. Only one ostracism vote could be held each year, and only then if a preliminary committee of the Assembly decided that it had a prima facie case. The ostrakorphoria, or extraordinary meeting of the Assembly to consider a possible ostracism, involved a secret vote, and was, in effect, a trial by presumption. Theoretically, anyone could be voted against but only the person with the highest number of votes cast against him was exiled, usually for ten years (78). Unlike the situation with ordinary banishment, the exile could retain control of his possessions and reside where he liked as long as he was well clear of Attica. He need be no further from Athens than Euboea or Argolis, that is about 50 miles from the city. He could even be recalled to civic service should the need arise, and be reinstated without obvious dishonour. There was, for instance, a general amnesty at the time of the threatened Persian invasion (480-79 B.C.) when those who had been ostracised were allowed to return. Ostracism was a common feature of the classical period, but after the Peloponnesian War, the practice fell into disuse.

In addition to this array of political-legal penalties, there existed a number of religious and, presumably, archaic sanctions which could be invoked against the impious. These could range from the ritual condemnation or 'cursing' of offenders to the more serious deprivation of burial rights. It is difficult to know how effective these 'shaming' mechanisms were in the maintenance of public order in Athenian society.

A comparative analysis of the politico-legal machinery of Egypt and Athens involves the student in a set of seeming contradictions. One intriguing fact which emerges is that in Egypt, where law was theoretically the sole prerogative of the Pharaoh, the system was significantly less arbitrary than one might suppose. All was not subject to royal whim; monarchical capriciousness was largely contained by the force of tradition. Law and justice were deeply rooted in the unchanging principle of Ma'at which, though variously interpreted and not entirely inflexible, ensured a relatively stable and enduring social order. Ma'at was the ideological continuity-principle which sustained an essentially homogeneous system. By contrast, the participatory system of Athens with its carefully structured political constitution and its clearly defined legal administration, could be both arbitrary and inconsistent.

Athenian democracy was not a sham, even if it was confined only to those of citizen status. But the actual operation of the system was subject to a number of weaknesses which we have already identified. To some extent, it was at the mercy of demagogues - perhaps a natural hazard of people's systems. Yet in apparent contradiction of this, its procedures were so organised that ultimate power was vested in the 'tyranny of the majority'. A contemporary observer wrote, "The Sovereign People recognise the fact that in foregoing the personal exercise of (such offices as sharing in the choice of actual military leadership) and leaving them to the control of the more competent citizens, they secure the balance of advantage for themselves. It is only in those departments of government which bring emolument and assist private households that the People care to keep in their own hands... if any mischief should spring out of the deliberations of the assembly, the People charge that a handful of men acting against the interests of the citizens have ruined the state. But if any good result ensue, they, the People, at once take the credit of that to themselves" (79).

Despite its administrative inefficiencies, it is undeniable that the extractive capacity of Athens at the zenith of her power was considerable. The State grew rich from the autonomous entrepreneurialism of citizens and metics, and particularly from the wealth (or tribute ?) contributed by her allies in the Delian League. This, of course, enhanced her distributive capacities, and is evidenced by her support of the arts and financial maintenance of what can be seen as an extensive public bureaucracy. In regulative terms, the Athenian system was necessarily limited by the diffusion of authority, and its responsive capacities were circumscribed by the procedural mechanisms for the forming and mobilisation of opinion. In the symbolic sphere, there were limited practical applications, although religion did have a supportive and legitimating role in the general activities of the State.

SUMMARY

EGYPT

- 1) Compulsory/high extractive capacities at both internal and external (Empire) levels
- 2) Centralised regulative capacities based upon autocratic power
- 3) Low differentiation of roles and relative paucity of autonomous groups.
- 4) State control of resource allocation
- 5) Ascriptive status orientations
Narrowly graded ranking system within broad categories defined in terms of birth and wealth with mobility largely confined to military/priestly sphere.
- 6) Relatively unlimited capacity to elicit response and mobilize resources.
- 7) Symbolic legitimations

ATHENS

- 1) High external (League) extractive capacities
- 2) Diffused regulative capacities; authority based on consensus.
- 3) High differentiation of roles and relative proliferation of autonomous - especially economic - groups.
- 4) Market control of commercial activity with high level of control of public expenditure.
- 5) Achievement status orientations
Broadly defined ranking system based on wealth and citizenship, with mobility largely confined to the politico-economic sphere.
- 6) Relatively limited capacity to elicit response and mobilize opinion.
- 7) Symbolic legitimations.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. See T.B. BOTTOMORE Sociology op. cit. p.147.
2. See A.R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN Introduction to African Political Systems
M. FORTES & E. EVANS-PRITCHARD (Eds) OXFORD 1940.
3. ISAAC SCHAPERA Government and Politics in Tribal Societies
WATTS 1956.
4. FUSTEL de COULANGES The Ancient City op. cit.
5. G. MOSCA The Ruling Class MCGRAW-HILL 1939.
6. H. GERTH & C. WRIGHT MILLS From Max Weber pp.77-78. R.K.P. 1948.
7. MAX WEBER The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation op. cit.
pp.324-372.
8. See JOACHIM WACH Sociology of Religion KEGAN PAUL 1947, for a
typology of religious leadership, and an elaboration of the distinction
between the originator and the innovator.
9. Among those who have reservations with the Weber analysis and who are
especially concerned with institutional factors, note:
TALCOTT PARSONS critique in his Introduction to the Theory of Social
Economic Organisation pp.57-77. Also A. WELLS Social Institutions
pp.159-62 HEINEMANN 1970 and G. SJOBERG The Preindustrial City op. cit.
pp.224-38.
10. Note, for instance R. LAPIERE A Theory of Social Control
MCGRAW-HILL 1954 who writes, "No one has ever attempted to ascertain
quantitatively the extent to which and the specific conditions under
which determined government action can through coercion bring about
changes in the norms of any community of persons" (pp.318-9).
11. S.N. EISENSTADT The Political Systems of Empires op. cit. p.367.
12. G. ALMOND & O. POWELL Comparative Politics: a Developmental Approach
LITTLE, BROWN & CO. 1966.
13. R. LAPIERE argues (op. cit. p.317) that non-voluntary payment of taxes
etc. is a characteristic of societies "in general", but this discounts
the leitourgiai of classical Athens.
14. Historically, there are innumerable instances of the failure of rulers'
policies due to their disregard or inability to judge the mood of the
people. The Roman Emperor Diocletian (245-313 A.D.) for instance,
failed in an attempt to secure the distribution of basic commodities
such as cereals, wine etc. by fixing prices. The price-control
programme did not work even though the punishment for overcharging was
death or deportation.
M. ROSTOVITZEFF Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire
OXFORD 1957.

15. A. ANDREWES The Greek Tyrants op. cit.
16. See, for example, J. WEISS The Fascist Tradition HARPER & ROW 1967.
17. G. MOSCA The Ruling Class op. cit. p.70.
18. See S.A. EISENSTADT The Political Systems of Empires op. cit. pp.5-9 following D. APTER "A Comparative Method for the Study of Politics" A.J.S. LXIV (1958).
19. See H. FRANKFORT Ancient Egyptian Religion p.30 HARPER & ROW 1961.
20. H. FRANKFORT Kingship and the Gods p.51 UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS 1971 (Seventh Impression).
21. *ibid.* p.51.
22. Any consideration of Ma'at necessarily recalls the much later (6th century B.C.) Pythagorean doctrine of harmonia which expresses similar ideas of the cosmic order. See, A.H. ARMSTRONG An Introduction to Ancient Philosophy pp.6-8 METHUEN 1968.
23. See, J.A. WILSON "Authority and Law in Ancient Egypt" in S.N. EISENSTADT The Decline of Empires p.13 PRENTICE-HALL 1967.
24. H. FRANKFORT Ancient Egyptian Religion op. cit. pp.31-2.
25. J.A. WILSON "Authority and Law in Ancient Egypt" op. cit. p.12.
26. Note the feats of bowmanship of the 18th Dynasty warrior-king, Tutmosis III and his son Amenhophis II which far exceeded the abilities of ordinary mortals. Or the claimed invincibility of Rameses II in his various campaigns against his enemies. See P. MONTET Everyday Life in Egypt op. cit. especially pp.210-11.
27. On the officialdom of the Old Kingdom, see N. KANAWATI, The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom ARIS & PHILLIPS 1977.
28. H. FRANKFORT Kingship and the Gods op. cit. p.52.
29. The death of the young Smenkhkare (^c1352 B.C.), the advent of Tutankhamun and his somewhat mysterious demise, at least suggest palace intrigue, although there is no actual evidence of murder. See CHRISTIANE DESROCHES NOBLECOURT Tutankhamun op. cit.
30. SIR A. GARDINER Egypt of the Pharaohs p.288ff. OXFORD 1974.
31. For an outline of the organisational structure of the Egyptian State, this section is particularly indebted to the article by W. EDGERTON "The Government and the Governed in the Egyptian Empire" (1947) in S.N. EISENSTADT The Decline of Empires op. cit. pp.35-47.

32. "actual information about how the Pharaonic government functioned and what effects it produced in the lives of its subjects, is unfortunately very scanty. Many of the relevant documents can be interpreted in more than one way, and the resulting picture necessarily includes much which is uncertain" *ibid.*
33. B. SEWELL Egypt Under the Pharaohs *op. cit.* p.109.
34. When council members were listed, the list was often headed 'the council of this date'. Edgerton (*op. cit.*) concluded that this may indicate that the composition "changed from day to day" (p.41).
35. See A. GARDINER Ancient Egyptian Onomastica OXFORD 1952.
36. The staff of the First Prophet of Amun, for example, included a chief assistant, a head steward, a guard of the chamber, a body of scribes, a commander of sailors and numerous servants. His deputy also had his own personal staff.
37. The Nauri Decree: see W. EDGERTON in J.N.E.S. VI (1947).
38. See J.A. WILSON Authority and Law in Ancient Egypt *op. cit.* (pp.14-15).
39. C. ALDRED The Egyptians *op. cit.* p.169.
40. Certainly in the 18th Dynasty, note the autobiography of the vizier, Rekhmire.
41. P. MONTET Everyday Life in Egypt *op. cit.* p.258.
42. B. SEWELL Egypt Under the Pharaohs *op. cit.* pp.109-10.
43. "It is impossible to claim that ancient Egypt formulated any ethical basis for government and law".
J.A. WILSON Authority and Law in Ancient Egypt *op. cit.* pp.17-18.
44. Tutmosis III is said to have recalled decisions taken by a vizier who lived five centuries earlier.
See C. ALDRED The Egyptians *op. cit.* p.169.
45. See T.A. SINCLAIR History of Greek Political Thought R.K.P. 1961.
46. See R. FLETCHER The Making of Sociology Vol. I pp.94-8.
MICHAEL JOSEPH 1971. and C. HIGNETT History of the Athenian Constitution O.U.P. 1953.
47. A. ANDREWES Greek Society *op. cit.* p.184.
48. See STEPHEN USHER The Historians of Greece and Rome HAMISH HAMILTON 1969.
49. ARISTOTLE The Constitution of Athens HAFNER 1950.

50. These were writing in the 4th century in somewhat changed circumstances. This study concentrates on 5th century Athens but later the institutional arrangements - though very similar - were influenced by defeat and revival and the encroaching Macedonian menace.
51. See V. EHRENBERG The People of Aristophanes OXFORD 1951.
52. See T. WEBSTER Everyday Life in Classical Athens METHUEN 1969.
53. Some modern scholars do not accept that the Boule was created by Solon, but came into being some hundred years later. See V. EHRENBERG From Solon to Socrates op. cit. pp.66-67 and Note 41 (p.395). Note also W.G. FORREST The Emergence of Greek Democracy: The Character of Greek Politics 800-400 B.C. pp.164-6. (See N.65) WEIDENFELD & NICHOLSON 1966.
For a highly specialised discussion of the Boule, see P. RHODES The Athenian Boule O.U.P. 1972.
54. For an acute discussion of Pericles citizenship law see SALLY HUMPHREYS JHS XCIV (1974).
55. STRABO 9, 396.
56. The democratic intentions of Cleisthenes have been contested. Some have argued that his underlying aim was to put more power into the hands of the influential Alcmaeonid family.
See W. FORREST The Emergence of Greek Democracy: The Character of Greek Politics 800-400 B.C. op. cit.
57. V. EHRENBERG From Solon to Socrates op. cit. pp.89-90.
58. This term which is usually rendered 'prytany' can be used to denote the period of time, one tenth of the year, or the group of 50 in session on the Council.
59. V. EHRENBERG From Solon to Socrates op. cit. p.93.
60. See H. BENGTON The Greeks and the Persians op. cit. p.193.
61. R.M. HAYWOOD The Ancient World op. cit. p.205.
62. There were five main Boards: the treasurers of Athena, the sellers of public properties, receivers of public monies, scrutineers of official accounts, and examiners of official conduct.
63. Socrates seriously questioned the lot system maintaining that if people want a pilot, they do not subject their choice to the uncertainties of the ballot. A fortiori, how much more hazardous this is in affairs of state. See J. FERGUSON Socrates MACMILLAN 1970.
64. Compare article by M.I. FINLEY "Athenian Demagogues" in Studies in Ancient Society (Ed. M.I. FINLEY) R.K.P. 1974.
65. See W.G. FORREST The Emergence of Greek Democracy op. cit. p.172ff. For a comparative approach to voting procedures in classical societies, see E.S. STAVELEY Greek and Roman Voting and Elections: THAMES & HUDSON 1975.

66. There was some uncertainty about the details of the ways in which the system actually worked until the pre-War II excavations of the Agora which uncovered fragments of the lot-drawing machines.
See STERLING DOW Allotment Machines HESPERIA Supplement I (1937).
67. For a discussion of 'capital' cases, see D. MACDOWELL
Athenian Homicide Law MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY PRESS 1963.
68. For a definitive discussion of Athenian legal system, see
J.L. JONES The Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks O.U.P. 1956.
69. There was also a 'blood-tribunal' which "condemned unidentified murderers in absentia, and pronounced a solemn judgement upon the animal or object, be it of wood, metal or stone which had occasioned the death in question". C. GLOTZ The Greek City p.275 R.K.P. 1950.
70. R.M. HAYWOOD The Ancient World op. cit. p.208.
71. Although juries had no official vocal part in the proceedings, they were known to demonstrate their sympathies by 'murmuring'. For a discussion of procedural issues see A.R. HARRISON The Law of Athens I (1968) II (1971) CLARENDON PRESS.
72. Crucifixion - often as a form of impalement - was a type of punishment traditionally associated with the Persians.
See H. OLMSTEAD A History of Persia UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS 1948.
73. See HERODOTUS 9. 5.
74. PETER GREEN, for example, maintains that all references in Liddle Scott-Jones indicate some form of exposure or crucifixion.
75. Some of the tragedians make references to execution of other kinds. For example, in the pursuit of Orestes - who had murdered his mother Clytemnestra and her lover Aegisthus - Apollo tells the avenging Erinyes, "Your place is where justice is executed with beheadings and eye-gougings and slit-throats.." though this may refer to the barbarian/Persian world 'outside' Greece.
AESCHYLUS Eumenides 185-190.
76. A reference to whipping as a punishment can be seen in
ARISTOPHANES 'Peace' (452).
77. Ostracism is named after the practice of voting with potsherds (ostraka).
78. PLUTARCH Life of Aristides. There is some uncertainty whether the figure of 6,000 refers to the number of votes cast or to the quorum of voters at the ostrakaphoria. See JEROME CARCOPINO
The Athenian Ostracism p.5. 1935.
79. This obviously biased but rather ironically clever argument is taken from an anonymous source usually designated as the "Old Oligarch".

MILITARY ORGANISATION AND EXPANSIONISM

The contention that men are intrinsically warlike, and that war itself is a 'natural' activity has provoked a good deal of discussion among scholars. One view, that men are basically competitive and self-seeking, and therefore in need of less destructive ways in which to canalise their aggressive instincts has its proponents (1). Alternatively, there are those who insist that war is a cultural invention not a biological necessity (2). An associated argument is that war is an inevitable concomitant of the development of the state, the struggle for land/natural resources which generates forms of class societies. The incidence of war is correlated with the growth of urbanism and the fortress-towns, and also with the concomitant rise of new military elites (3). This view sees war not so much as a product of man's nature as a product of social evolution; the problem being rooted in history rather than the human psyche. The 'answer' to war, therefore, is seen in terms of social change, in the outlawing of classes and, the more equal distribution of goods. Such structural arguments have been qualified by Mosca who contends that they confuse the "struggle for existence" with the "struggle for pre-eminence" which is characteristically human and "a constant phenomenon which arises in all human societies from the most highly civilised down.." (4).

A complementary argument is that the incidence of war has been associated with the growth of nationalism and the accompanying breakdown of the traditional moral order, and the liberating but disorganising influence of liberal social norms. It is held that the older identities of estate, class, region and religion have been eroded by the emergence of the mass society, and that this, in turn, has precipitated the collapse of the stable moral order (5).

The problem of why societies go to war and the ways in which this is related to their respective forms of social order is important for

our consideration of traditional systems. Theories to account for the phenomenon of war proliferate, but the conclusion that aggression is in some way inherent in the human condition seems inescapable (6); men have persistently resorted to violent solutions to their politico-economic problems (7). There have been exceptions, but these are extremely rare (8). The demographic-economic argument that scarcity promotes war has been reasserted by Stanislaw Andreski. Struggles for land, wealth, food, women, power and honours, are unavoidable. Struggle is omnipresent because resources are perennially scarce, and therefore war has a functional importance in ensuring the necessary balance of wealth over population (9). These views should be compared with those, say, of Malinowski who has argued that war is often waged in primitive societies for status and ritualistic reasons, and that the politico-economic motive can be conspicuously absent (10). Robert Lapiere too has contended that the land-hunger theory of war is something of a myth. He maintains that many early migrations - including those of the Dorians into Greece - were occasioned by social vacua rather than retreat from a deteriorating physical habitat. To some extent, overpopulation and underpopulation are social evaluations. History is replete with instances of societies which have lived for centuries near subsistence levels in areas which, in our terms, may be regarded as overpopulated, without resorting to war on neighbouring peoples who were both weaker in numbers and in technology (11). With reservations, the Egyptian Old Kingdom might well come into this category, although it must be admitted that in this and other cases, there was probably a complex of reasons why expansionist policies were abjured. But insofar as men struggle to survive, and strive to possess either material goods or the intangibles of social esteem, there are good historical reasons for believing that human conflict will continue.

If war derives, therefore, from the struggle for gain, it is probably useful to distinguish between conflicts which arise from "position scarcity" and those which arise from "resource scarcity" (12). Position scarcity can be defined as the condition in which an object

cannot occupy two places at the same time or fulfil two different functions simultaneously. Athens, as ostensible leader and benefactor of the Delian League, could not consistently perform the roles of both protector and oppressor - although she tried to do both. "Resource scarcity" is much more straightforward. Conflict occurs when contending states cannot both have all they want. Different value judgments will almost certainly condition the demand or need for scarce resources and positions. Hence mutually exclusive and/or mutually incompatible values are the inevitable concomitants of conflict.

For the sociologist, the key issue centres on the extent to which war is a function of social arrangements. Even if aggression is 'inbuilt', what determines its institutionalised expression as militarism? It is here that we should note the useful distinction between "militarism" and the "military way" made by Alfred Vagts (13). For Vagts, the military way is "marked by a primary concentration of men and materials on winning specific objectives of power with utmost efficiency... it is limited in scope (and) confined to one function..". Militarism, on the other hand, "presents a vast array of customs, interests, prestige and actions... it displays qualities of caste and cult, authority and belief" (14). Militarism is seen, therefore, as something quite distinct from the military way, inasmuch as it is unlimited in scope, and consequently permeates the whole of society. In other words, war is different from militarism. Societies everywhere indulge in warfare, and some take the resigned and rational view that if war is necessary, it should be prosecuted with the utmost care and efficiency. By contrast, militarism is a way of life. It involves a complex of traditions and values which is integral to particular social orders. In model militaristic systems, war is regarded as a valorous game, an esteem-achieving enterprise, and aggression itself may be elevated to the rank of virtue - that which conduces to heroic manliness. And the economic and cultural exploitation which have often followed in the wake of military success may indeed be rationalised in terms of the 'just' reward. The ancient world was virtually unanimous on this as a right, for example, Xenophon (Cyropaedia VII, 5, 73) "it is a law established for all time among all men that when a city is taken in war, the persons and the property of the inhabitants belong to the captors". But it is arguable whether campaigns were ever conducted out of blatant and

unadulterated greed. War may derive from a complex of motives, some of which may be religious, but conquest to perpetuate or universalize a religious ideology was something of a rarity in the ancient world (15). In general, politico-military leaders in traditional societies seem rarely to have been impelled by such considerations, although religious ideological justifications have always been very much in evidence to rationalise or explain official actions, as we shall see exemplified in different ways in the experience of the Egyptians and the Greeks.

EGYPT:

The Egyptian military machine can only really be discussed in relation to particular periods of Egyptian history. The forces of the Old and Middle Kingdoms had a thoroughly amateur appearance beside the large armies of the New Kingdom with their chariotry, mercenary stiffened infantry and marines. Similarly, expansionist motivations - insofar as they can be ascertained - varied with both period and monarch. These often appear as responses to the external pressures which were first seriously experienced during the Hyksos invasions and occupation, and much later in the Hittite threat and the incursions of the so-called "Sea Peoples" during the New Kingdom period.

Egyptian military organisation, therefore, can only be described in general terms. As is to be expected, it changed with the centuries, so any descriptions must have a rather contrived synchronic 'look' which cannot do justice either to actual circumstances or the passage of time. More problematically, Egyptian expansionist policies can be related to structural factors, and yet more tenuously to those ideological imperatives which undoubtedly informed the system.

During the Old Kingdom, the government does not appear to have maintained any uniform or compact military organisation. The evidence (16) suggests that each nome or administrative district possessed its own militia commanded by civil officials who were not necessarily trained professional soldiers. The various temple properties also supported bodies of troops who were mainly engaged in the seemingly unending task

of mining and quarrying besides acting as guards to the estates themselves. In the event of serious hostilities, these motley militia, perhaps together with some Nubian auxiliaries, were mobilised as quickly as possible and put in the command of some responsible official nominated by the king. The king had no standing army other than a Royal corps or bodyguard which probably outnumbered any other local force (17). It comprised both Egyptians and Nubians whose primary task was that of policing the capital and protecting the king. Having to rely on this specialist corps was both a strength and a weakness for the monarch. It meant that there was no separate class of military professionals to usurp power. But it also meant that his military strength was vested in the goodwill and loyalty of nomarchs and priests. This decentralisation of authority into the hands of numbers of local officials may have contributed to the upheavals of the First Intermediate Period which was marked by the growing independence of the nomes.

The relative isolation of Egypt in Old Kingdom times is thought to have generated such a sense of security from external aggression that possibly a permanent force was felt to be unnecessary. This is not to argue for some form of spatial determinism (18). But it can be reasonably hypothesised that this comparative seclusion gave rise to a kind of passivity which was entirely foreign to the later Empire period, although this would have to be qualified in the case of the Old Kingdom invasions of Nubia and Libya which were certainly known as early as the Fourth Dynasty (19).

The Middle Kingdom was marked by the increasing influence of the nobility and the inevitable frictions which this generated between these powerful officials and the king. There is evidence of the usurpation of inordinate powers by commanders in outlying territories, and at least one attempted regicide during the Twelfth Dynasty (20). As a reassertion of authority, it is not surprising that the monarchy increased the strength of its special military attendants. During this period there appear the first professional soldiers, apart from the Royal guard, of whom we have any knowledge in ancient Egypt. In companies of a hundred men they garrisoned various strongholds from Nubia to the Asiatic frontier; they campaigned regularly and also participated in quarrying expeditions. They comprised the nucleus of a standing army which was supplemented for

specific purposes by local levies, possibly of free-born citizens of the middle-classes. These contingents were commanded by high-born officials who owed direct allegiance to the monarch on a quasi-feudal basis. The overall size of the army is unknown, but the local militia may have numbered as many as 500-1,000 for each district (21). All free citizens were organised and enrolled in a form of age-set system, and became generationally liable to military and public service. Large-scale hostilities were still largely unknown and war - in the main - consisted of little more than loosely organised forays into the territories of immediate neighbours and punitive expeditions into Nubia where fortresses have been excavated as far south as the Third Cataract (22).

The Middle Kingdom effectively closed with the appearance of the Hyksos or so-called "shepherd-kings" who should perhaps be known as the "rulers of foreign lands". Their origins are uncertain, but they probably combined some West Semitic peoples with groups of Hurrians who descended on Mesopotamia as well as Syria-Canaan and Egypt (23). They may have arrived initially as predatory nomads, but stayed to share power with their reluctant Egyptian hosts. The conquered learned a great deal about warfare from the invaders, especially in the use of chariots and the composite bow. A few of their fortified camps have survived in Egypt and Asia, and similar beaten earth structures have been located as far east as Iran and the Caucasus, evidence of the widespread influence of the Hyksos at this time (24). Their power was finally broken by an Egyptian army led by a Theban military aristocracy which tempered by its continual campaigning against invaders, was now ready for more ambitious enterprises. The embryonic Empire gradually began to take shape. This was to be the new era of Egyptian military organisation and expansionism. Until this time, warfare had been a periodic rather than a relatively permanent state of affairs. Campaigning had required special mobilization, and defensive measures were sometimes no more than hurried ad hoc arrangements. Basically, all this changed with the new martial emphasis of the Empire.

Under the Empire, two large armies in four divisions named after the gods, Amon, Ptah, Ra and Seth were permanently stationed in Upper

and Lower Egypt. There was also a form of police force composed chiefly of Nubians. The actual numbers and composition of the army are uncertain. Each division may have consisted of about five thousand men; quite a force to be supported by the Egyptian economy. It is certainly unlikely that the Egyptians ever invaded Asia with more than twenty-five to thirty thousand men (25), and these usually included troops who had been recruited from neighbouring territories. For example, at the Battle of Kadesh, c.1296 B.C., Rameses II had a contingent of Sardinians who had been captured in previous wars. And Nubians and Libyans were allowed to win their freedom by taking service with the army which in later periods came to contain increasing numbers of mercenaries.

The Supreme Commander of the army was the Pharaoh himself, though some executive functions were often delegated to the Crown Prince. There was a War Council of high army officers and State officials which was nominally consulted before the initiation of any particular campaign. The plan and its execution - particularly when successful - were attributed to the inner esoteric knowledge of the divine ruler. The Pharaoh's due glory was not to be eclipsed by the strategic inspirations of ambitious subordinates.

The executive command of the army was the responsibility of a General Staff who were primarily concerned with logistics and organisation, tasks which in earlier days were often among the duties of the Vizier or Chief Treasurer. It can be no coincidence that members of the General Staff were regarded as the best people to take over kingship at various critical periods of pharaonic vacua. A number of trained staff officers succeeded to the throne at different times including Ay who followed Tutankhamun because no direct royal succession was possible.

Army officers were usually educated men who were drawn from the ranks of minor scribes or those who had been educated for the forces

since boyhood. It was, however, possible to be promoted from the ranks, and a career in the army was possibly "the only opportunity for an adventurous and uneducated man, either Egyptian or alien to achieve a position of importance or affluence" (26). The actual desirability of the army as a career can be questioned in the light of contemporary records. It is clear that some scribes did not view the prospect of military life as anything to be coveted: "Listen to.. his campaigns in Syria, and his marches over mountains. He carries his water on his shoulder like an ass's burden; his spine is dislocated. He drinks brackish water and sleeps with one eye open. When he encounters the enemy.. there is no strength left in his limbs (and) when the time comes for him to return to Egypt he is like a worm-eaten piece of wood" (27). This, of course, may be construed as the reactionary pique of petty teachers and administrators who led drab, inconsequential and relatively sheltered lives at home - but it is probably not without a measure of truth. A different situation obtained for higher officers who were served by numbers of orderlies for whom they were in part financially responsible.

But the military life could also be profitable. As early as the Middle Kingdom, there is evidence of rewards for service. Ahmes, a naval officer who was a hero of the successful onslaught upon the Hyksos at Avaris received the 'gold of valour', women, slaves and a tract of land. And for similar services, another member of the same family was awarded "amulets, bangles, rings, sceptres, two golden axes, two silver axes and further decorations in the shape of six flies and three lions of gold" (28). It is a reasonable assumption that those who were more highly placed were in a better position to secure such benefits, but the evidence suggests that the perks of the profession were available to all who were commended for valour. A soldier not only had a fixed wage, he might also be rewarded with a grant of land in his own town, and with a distribution of the booty which had been confiscated from the conquered (29).

By the Ramesside period, soldiering had become an established profession supported largely by a long-suffering peasantry (30). The army itself came more and more to rely upon the services of mercenaries. They were recruited from many parts of the Empire which were garrisoned by army

personnel. Nubia supplied negro auxiliaries, and Libya provided yet further contingents sometimes as a form of tribute to the State. Later still, mercenaries from non-controlled territories were employed including Sardinians and troops from the Aegean. Arguably these territories were within the Egyptian sphere of influence, but this became decreasingly the case as the First Millenium wore on, and other states successively eroded the power and authority of Egypt.

It can be reasonably inferred that with military success and the influx of new wealth, the Egyptians themselves became less willing to undergo the rigours of months of hard campaigning on foreign soil. The thirst for conquest was abated by growing affluence. Others could do the fighting, captives could serve as soldiers. The Egyptians wanted to enjoy the fruits of their victories, and re-occupy themselves with local concerns. So by the fourteenth century B.C., we discover that Akhenaten actually preferred foreigners in his army, especially in his bodyguard. Later, in the reign of Rameses IV, we find a body of five thousand troops in which there was not a single Egyptian, being sent to the quarries at Hammamat. Perhaps the material and status benefits of hewing stone were rather marginal for the front-line professionals of a warrior-Pharaoh. Retrospectively, we can see how inherently dangerous this policy was. When their military service was ended, these professionals were pensioned with small grants of land. They were expected to settle, however uneasily, for a peaceful retirement, but they may well have become a persistent source of anxiety to the government (31). Eventually, they developed into a military class. Their relations vis-a-vis the State became increasingly uncertain. In time, they gained such power and influence that they became, in effect, a state within the State which alternatively both supported and threatened the native dynasties.

Campaigns were both parades of power and predatory expeditions. They began at much the same time of year, after the Egyptian spring harvest but a little before the Asiatics harvested their own produce - a time when, economically, they were at their most vulnerable. One campaign text for Phoenicia records that, "their orchards were filled with their fruit. Their wines were found lying in their vats... and their grain was on the threshingfloors... more plentiful than the sand of the shore..." (32).

The treatment of conquered peoples varied, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between State policy and the capriciousness of individual Pharaohs. Usually, the land was plundered and put under tribute, frequently in the form of an obligation to supply Egypt with priority goods. Towns were not always razed, nor the people massacred or enslaved. For example, we find that Thutmose III spared Megiddo even after a seven months seige, and the exaggerated official claim that he "destroyed" Kadesh in his thirtieth year did not obviate the necessity of reconquering it yet again in his final campaign twelve years later (33). On the other hand, slaughter was by no means unknown. Amenhotep II does not hesitate to inform posterity that he personally crushed skulls of seven Asiatic princes and hanged their bodies on a city wall to discourage further rebellion (34). Nor are we spared the details of his exploits in Syria when single-handedly he drove into the town of Khashabu and returned with sixteen of the enemy, still alive, tied to the two sides of his chariot, and twenty severed hands hanging from the foreheads of his horses (35).

Captives were sometimes killed for accepted ideological reasons. Enemy massacre was enemy sacrifice as a thanksgiving to the gods who had granted the victory. So we read of the battles of Rameses III against the "Sea-peoples"; how he crushed their army and scattered their ships with enormous losses, "over 12,500 slain upon the field and at least a 1,000 captives...taken". The significant point is that we are told that "Amon, who had granted the great victory, did not fail to receive his accustomed sacrifice of living victims, and all Egypt rejoiced in restored security" (36). Similarly, we find that before his Libyan campaign, Memeptah, the successor of Rameses II, saw a vision of the god Ptah who held a sword before him and commanded him not to be afraid. The result was an inspired and innovatory use of his archers, "the bowmen of his Majesty spent six hours of destruction among them (the Libyans), then they were delivered to the sword" (37).

The religious overtones of military activity can also be seen in lesser ways. The cursing of enemies in the texts (38) appears to reflect a quasi-mystical approach to the problems of State - and perhaps more specifically - pharaonic security. Real and potential foes were sometimes castigated in terms which covered most contingencies. Perhaps it was done on the assumption that to name a thing gave power over that which was named (39). On the other hand, it may simply have been an elementary

exercise in intimidation. The triumph-songs also found in Egyptian literature appear to have a similar mystical basis. The poet of Amenhotep III puts words into the mouth of the god, Amon:

When I turn my face to the South, I work a wonder for thee
I cause the chiefs of the miserable Kush to turn to thee
Bearing their tribute on their backs...

When I turn my face to the West, I work a wonder for thee,
I cause thee to capture the Tehennu, none are left... (40)

Allowing for a measure of customary hyperbole, the sentiments are transparently clear. Later in the Empire, with the accession of other warrior-kings, the attribution of victory to the gods is much less ambiguous. The campaigns are not described, they are merely paeans of praise to the triumphant Pharaoh. Rameses II prays to Amon in his plight at Kadesh in his struggle against the Hittites. The style is loquacious and self-extolling, and purports to reaffirm his divine capabilities when deserted by his troops:

At the cry of my despair swiftly the god came to me
Took my hand and gave me strength
Till my might was as the might of a hundred thousand men
With the rapid onward sweep of a fierce consuming flame
I destroyed their serried ranks...
Slew and wearied not to slay.
In terror they did flee to the water's edge...
Rotted were their hearts with fear as they tasted of my hand
And amazed they shrieked aloud,
.. No mortal man is he ! (41)

Egyptian kings sometimes took enemy hostages, but this policy was only marginally prompted by ideological motives. Certain Pharaohs such as Thutmose III (42) combined the holding of hostages with the practice of egyptianising foreign princes. The holding of hostages was obviously a form of insurance against possible future insurrection. But it also facilitated a kind of ideological inculcation of Egyptian values which sometimes paid dividends in times of crisis. Presumably, the "sons of princes" were quite young, and this new experience was, in effect, a type of secondary socialisation (43).

The surrender of tribute too had its ideological implications: huge treasures were dedicated to the gods in recognition of victory. These same gods, in turn, required recognition from subject peoples. The simple acknowledgement of the Egyptian gods by non-Egyptians can be interpreted as almost anything from token acts of obeisance to diplomatic tolerance. We find Asiatic slave-workers in the early fifteenth century B.C. making images of their own Semitic gods in Egyptian forms, and subject nobles "giving praise to the Lord of the Two Lands (i.e. Upper and Lower Egypt), kissing the ground to the good god.. as they extol (his) victories with tribute upon their backs.. seeking that there be given to them the breath of life" (44). Yet during the next Dynasty, the nineteenth, there are what appear to be genuine acceptances of the Egyptian deities by traditional enemies. The Egyptian scribe, admittedly a biased source, causes the Hittite king, Hattusilis, to attribute the current drought to the anger and, by implication, supremacy - of the Egyptian god, Seth, and to send "gifts of fealty to the good god.. that (the Hittites) might live" (45). Similarly, alliances and peace treaties were contracted with religious solemnisation. The gods were dutifully called upon to witness the good intentions of the participants. It will always be arguable whether this was authentic supplicancy or customary ritual gestures.

To summarise: the Old Kingdom was marked by a singular lack of military expansionism. It may, therefore, be somewhat ironic if - as has been argued (46) - the only really successful peasant revolt in the history of ancient Egypt which effectively brought the Old Kingdom to a close, occurred when the peasants were still eligible for military service. This was, in all probability, actually a rebellion of the nomarchs, but it must have had appreciable peasant support. By contrast, the New Kingdom operated an extensive expansionist policy with a highly trained professional army increasingly supplemented by mercenaries. This is analagous to the transition from the military state to the militaristic state.

From early times, military success was seen as a primary task of the monarch, but this received increasing emphasis under the Empire. To some extent this is represented in the pictorial art of Egypt depicting the

victories of its forces. Even as early as the First Dynasty, the king is shown destroying his defeated enemies (on the so-called Narmer Palette). By the time of the expansionist eighteenth Dynasty, the Karnak inscriptions show a gigantic figure of Tuthmosis III defeating dwarf-like Syrians. It may be that the texts emphasised the traditional at the expense of the historical. The army itself is not really depicted until the nineteenth Dynasty and then only in a rather subsidiary position as in the victory reliefs of Rameses III at Medinet Habu. ".the king (appears) as the.. sole agent of victory. But.. (in this).. as in every other deed of his reign, the king acts out and realises a pre-figured course of events" (47). A stylised Pharaoh was depicted by the temple artists in classic victory poses of supreme military confidence and ability supported by an anonymous and often invisible army.

It can be hypothesised that the insistent emphasis in the Empire upon the invincibility and prowess of the monarch was, in fact, a compensation for the almost imperceptible diminution of acceptance of the Pharaoh's divinity. The militaristic Pharaoh succeeded the remotely god-like king of the Old Kingdom. Could the prowess-emphasis have been a reaction to status-uncertainty? Military assertiveness can possibly be correlated with diminishing charisma. Alternatively, military success may be seen as a physical proof of divinity and of heterodeistic approval (48). Perhaps mundane achievement reflected supramundane validations. The capacities of the gods to bring benefits to their respective adherents was thought to be reflected in military success and failure, but there were no overt ideological conflicts which impelled expansionist activities. The militaristic Pharaohs were not intent on spreading a new faith. The gods of Egypt were seen very much as Egypt's gods, although during the Empire there was some recognition of the idea that they might be identified with the gods of other nations.

It might further be hypothesised that, under given circumstances, there might even be an inverse relationship between militarism and religious ideology in that where militarism is strong, religious ideology may be

weak (49). At its most effective, as in the Old Kingdom, religious ideology does not need militaristic assertiveness to bring political cohesion. The development of the military ethos in Egyptian society could even be construed as a revolutionary ideology to counter the growing power of the traditional priesthoods with whom the Pharaoh had ambiguous relations. He both supported the Temples by his benefactions, and feared the divisive potentialities inherent in their increasing wealth and prestige. He needed their aid in containing the new class of military experts which the Empire had produced, and who now constituted a new challenge to the divine authority.

The militaristic operations of the Empire were expressions of resource rather than position scarcity. There were no obvious conflicts of role or ambiguities of function. Given the pressures and imperatives, the activities of the State followed a consistent line. On the other hand, certain prized goods, particularly wood and metals, were scarce and the possibility of ensuring a monopolisation of supply must have been a very real incentive to the warrior kings. The prescriptions for royal reassertiveness were militarism and expansionism which were justified in religious terms. The maintenance of the State involved traditional measures, but these economic and defensive requirements were inextricably bound up with imperial ambition and the validation of a unique divinity.

ATHENS

The art of war seems to have been something which was temporarily lost to the Greeks of the so-called Dark Ages. Vestigial memories of the elaborate military organisation of the Mycenaean period remained in the writings of Homer. These reflect the time when the power of the army was concentrated in the persons of the king and his companions and retainers. These are depicted as possessing horses and shield-bearers, and chariots which merely conveyed warriors to and from the battlefield.

They are shown as clothed in full body armour together with large shields of wood and hide. This contrasts with the equipment of the Classical period where the cavalry generally was given a subordinate role and heavily-armed hoplites were the norm. In the Homeric writings, the kings' subjects follow as rather ill-armed foot soldiers whose confused encounters are only a backcloth for the main action. The valorous but often indecisive combats between princely contestants were the foci of the poems.

The next phase of military development is also reflected in the poems. The masses were given a form of tactical organisation based upon kinship groupings (50). The Myrmidon battalions, for example, consisted of 500 men each, and in battle the army was arranged in three lines, the chariots, the inferior infantry and lastly the best reserve troops (51). The developmental phase which most closely approximated the the fifth century pattern is also anticipated in the poems, namely, the formation of the phalanx the compact group of heavily armed troops or hoplites whose superiority lay in their ability to maintain an unbroken line in the face of an enemy. Evidence shows that this type of infantry was evolved a considerable time before the Classical period; hoplite formations were depicted in vase paintings from the early seventh century B.C. (52), and Gyges, tyrant of Lydia, was certainly using hoplites as about this time (53).

In earlier times, the cavalry had dominated the battlefield, as the aristocratic arm of any Greek force. Aristotle maintained that during this early period, the Greek States had relied on the cavalry for their main military strength. This had meant a reliance on the aristocratic classes who could afford to keep horses. But when the military strength of the city came to rely on hoplites, the basis of the constitution was necessarily widened (54). This cannot be verified from present sources, but it has a ring of authenticity. The change to highly organised infantry formations almost certainly represents a decline in the political as well as the military pre-eminence of the

aristocracy, and the new ascendancy of the Greek middle classes (55). It also reflects the emergence of the autonomous city-state mentality. The hoplite armies were citizen armies. Individual combat between nobles or heroes gave way to tight formations of mutually dependent troops. The cavalry was largely relegated to light skirmishing operations, often on the peripheries of an engagement. The Greeks had never made any marked contribution to the art of warfare, but the development of the hoplite armies was a tactical innovation of real consequence which influenced military thinking for centuries. They attacked in lines of perhaps eight deep, a phalanx of human armour which pushed forwards until either they or the opposing line broke. Once this happened, it was usually difficult to reform. Exceptionally, the Spartan hoplites (56) were greatly praised for their ability to regroup, and this was seen as a product of their rigorous and superior training (57).

Every Athenian was liable for military service between the ages of eighteen and sixty. The constant emphasis upon physical fitness even after the initial period of training made the non-professional army a viable and effective unit. This initial training was customary for 'cadets', but it is not certain whether those of the lowest tax class (thetes) who mainly served as rowers in the Athenian navy were exempt from this obligation (58). During this period of training, cadets - although technically citizens - were exempt from political duties and even legal prosecution (59). From twenty to fifty, Athenians remained members of the regular forces, and between fifty and sixty they were classed as veterans. In peace time, the bulk of the army remained on reserve; the veterans, with the cadets and the metics formed a kind of territorial army which guarded frontiers and strong-points, as required. This was a necessary contingency when it is realised that from the Persian Wars in 490 B.C. until the battle of Chaeronea in 338 B.C., Athens was at war more than two years out of every three, and never had ten consecutive years of peace.

The tribal basis of recruitment still obtained in Classical times. Cadets were registered for military training within their fathers' demes

at the beginning of the Attic year. The total annual enrolment involved 700 or so recruits. The deme-assembly checked their physical aptitudes and their ages and credentials to ensure that they were legitimate and freeborn. Special cases were brought before the court of the Heliaia, and any youth found guilty of imposture was immediately sold into slavery. There was also a second scrutiny by the Boule; again the question of status was the special concern of those who conducted the screening. The officers in charge of the cadets were chosen from the tribes by which they were paid on a per capita basis for the upkeep of their recruits. In addition, special instructors for gymnastics, combat techniques etc., were nominated, and an overall director was elected who had final authority for the group and their welfare. At the end of the first year of training, the cadets were paraded before the Assembly in the public theatre, and the state presented them each with a spear and shield in recognition of their military graduation. During the second year, they carried out patrols and garrison duties in certain key areas, and the towns where they were stationed sometimes made financial contributions towards the cost of their training.

In 431 B.C., at the opening of the Peloponnesian War, Athens had a regular army of 13,000 hoplites and 1,000 cavalry together with a territorial reserve which included 1,400 cadets, 2,500 veterans and 9,500 metics (60). The supreme command of the forces was in the hands of the ten strategoi. These were elected and not chosen by lot; even the Athenians - with their penchant for participation - were reluctant to leave such a vital issue as national security to chance.

In broad terms, the army comprised cavalry, hoplites, light armed troops such as archers and slingers, and other auxiliary groups for liaison, medical and even ritual purposes. Horses were not supplied by the state, so the cavalry represented the aristocratic minority which could afford to breed and maintain its own steeds. Youths who were experienced in horsemanship, were drafted into the cavalry after the

completion of their initial training. The commanders of the cavalry division, who were elected for a year by the Assembly, recruited suitable cadets, but their choice had to be ratified by the Boule. As supernumeraries, they had ten squadron commanders, one from each of the ten tribes of Attica. The cavalry considered themselves to be something of an elite, and bore themselves with a certain aristocratic hauteur, although popular opinion may again be reflected obliquely by Aristophanes (61) when he depicts them as upholders of a commendable but outdated patriotism.

The hoplites, who also had to supply their own equipment, were similarly divided into ten units on a tribal basis. These were commanded by ten officers (taxiarchoi) elected by the people, but these had the privilege of appointing their own company commanders. The light-armed troops consisted of slingers and javelin-throwers, and both mounted and infantry archers who were usually recruited from the thetes; during the Peloponnesian War, they had an effective strength of about 1,600 (62). These must be distinguished from the Scythian archer mercenaries, numbering about 1,000, who were brought in not to strengthen the army, but to act as a kind of police force, mainly in the lower part of the city (63).

The general strategy in Greek warfare was quite simple. The object was primarily to dominate the enemy's agricultural plain. Few states could survive the devastation of their crops for more than two years running. One of the most significant features of Athenian strategy during the early stages of the Peloponnesian War was the decision to encourage the citizens of Attica to retire within the city walls, allow the Spartans to ravage the countryside, and rely on supplies of essentials coming from overseas protected by the Athenian fleets. This policy of Pericles came in for a great deal of criticism, but ruinous as it eventually proved to be, it successfully avoided a direct confrontation with the superior force of the Spartan hoplites. Siegecraft was not as highly developed by the Greeks as it had been in some other ancient societies; the Assyrians had already set the standards, and this was later developed by the Macedonians (64) and their successors. It is perhaps significant that in the entire thirty years of the Peloponnesian

War, the Spartans and their allies never once tried to storm the fortress of Athens and its Long Walls to the port of Piraeus. If a city was determined to withstand a seige, there was little the enemy could do short of treachery to bring about its collapse. Starvation or the cutting off of the water supply were perhaps the most common reasons for a city's surrender. It is rather interesting in view of the ferocity with which wars were often fought that the deprivation of water was banned as 'unfair' by the Amphictyonic League of Delphi (65).

The battle tactics of the Greek armies were even more rudimentary than their general strategies. The basic principle was for each side to draw up their hoplites against one another, and to cut and thrust until one line broke. In the meantime, skirmishers and cavalry would do their work to weaken the flanks. Victory went to those who could stand their ground more tenaciously. Given the traditions, and the limited range of weaponry at the disposal of ancient armies, there were few possible variations on this familiar theme (66). The heavy-armed infantryman gave the Greek armies their particular invincibility as mercenaries in later years (67), but they were at their most effective when the enemy was prepared to meet them in similar array on level ground. Where the terrain was more uncertain, and the opposition was more enterprising, the cut-and-run tactics of lightly-armed troops could be devastating. There would probably be little serious dispute that the Greek art of war reached its zenith under the Macedonians in the fourth century B.C. Philip, and later his son, Alexander, showed what ruthless but imaginative leadership could achieve against often numerically daunting opposition (68).

Unlike Egypt, Athens was a significant naval power. Except for the Carthaginians - who were only just emerging at the time of Greek pre-eminence - Athens, in the early years of the Peloponnesian War, had possibly the most powerful fleet in the ancient world. It had been built up during the pre-War period, largely at the expense of allies in the Delian League, ostensibly to counter the continuing Persian threat. The eventual ability of Athens to import enough food from overseas to

offset the devastation of her crops by invading Spartan armies all but won the war. And ironically, it was the destruction of a large part of that fleet in the Syracuse expedition (415-413 B.C.) in a fruitless attempt - among other things - to ensure corn supplies, which arguably lost her the war. The 'Sicilian adventure' was catastrophic for Athens, and was possibly the turning point of the War. She lost over 70 triremes and, perhaps as many as 20,000 men including 5,000 hoplites, a force that was really irreplaceable (69).

The build-up of Athenian naval power is usually attributed to the foresight of Themistocles who is said to have persuaded the citizens to invest the newly found wealth of the Laurium silver mines in the construction of a fleet. Enormous strides were made between the Persian invasions of 490 and 480 B.C., the building programme including not only ships but also the attendant harbour facilities. This was so accelerated that by the time of the War, Athens probably had between three and four hundred triremes on active commission (70). In addition to these, there were the naval contingents of the allies, especially Chios and Lesbos, in all a formidable maritime force which dominated the Aegean. Commanders of triremes were nominated annually by the Board of Generals (strategoi). Names were taken from a list of wealthy citizens who had contributed to the building of these craft and who would now be financially responsible for keeping them in good repair (71). So wealth rather than naval skill or experience was a principle of eligibility in the appointment of naval commanders, although they always had seasoned naval staff to assist them. The rowers were usually either poorer citizens (thetes), metics, non-Athenian Greek volunteers or - when the manpower shortage became really acute - slaves who were promised their freedom on the completion of their service. The rate of pay was between three obols and one drachma, a modest income for the servicemen, but burdensome for the state who were employing some 60,000 naval personnel.

As the pursuit of military solutions is rooted in human fallibility, so the practice of war is plagued by moral uncertainties and political inconsistencies in which class factors have played their part. Even

when tension was growing between Athens and Sparta in the pre-War period, it was possible for the Athenians to help the Spartans to suppress a slave revolt (72). Similarly, as a prelude to the Peloponnesian War, Corcyra (Corfu) was drawn into conflict with her mother city of Corinth because of a class-based struggle for power (73). Attenuated and often fragile relationships between states frequently dissolved into rigid alignments. In the Peloponnesian conflict, this meant the effective division of the entire Greek world. This may have been the inevitable outcome of the city-state ethos rather than anything inherent in the Greek mentality.

The tradition of arete, or excellence (74), was extremely potent in Greece. It was certainly an important term of commendation from Homeric times onwards and strongly connoted military prowess (75). Arete reflected the contest morality of an achievement-oriented society (76), and it is interesting to ask to what extent this competitiveness derived - at least in part - from the autonomous nature of city-state existence. Of course, the emergence of the poleis themselves may be one political manifestation of this same competitiveness, but this may be to ignore the significant historical and geographical factors attending their development. To seek the origins of attitudes is probably a fruitless exercise, but to identify the conditions in which these attitudes find categorisable expressions, is another matter. Impressionistically, one can hardly doubt that the struggle for independent recognition at least encouraged, if it did not actually crystallise, the contest morality in the city-states. And given the assumptions of such a code, the infrastructures of individual poleis would always be susceptible to disruption from discontented citizens. The authority system would be open to the challenge of enterprising contenders for power. Between states, ambition could only effectively be realised in military terms, hence the interminable internecine warfare which characterised the ancient Greek world.

Inter-poleis differences were often resolved at terrible cost. The legacy of archaic practice where towns were sacked, men of military age killed, and women and children taken as slaves (77) still existed in classical times (78). There were, of course, variants and refinements. Conquering states might put the defeated under tribute, and where women and children were taken, they might not be kept as slaves, but sold into slavery and similarly swell the coffers of the State. The Corcyrean episode, which took place in the opening phases of the Peloponnesian War (425 B.C.) heralded some of the horrors which were to come. With Athenian help, the Corcyrean proletariat defeated the aristocracy in the "class war" (79). Their prisoners, who had been confined in a large building, were being led out in batches for execution, when the remainder decided to put up further resistance. This could only be a token gesture. Realising that the situation was hopeless, they picked up Athenian arrows and committed suicide by thrusting them down their own throats, whilst others hanged themselves with cords taken from some stored bedding. In Thucydides words, "these scenes of horror continued through the greater part of the night... with the return of daylight, the corpses were piled in layers upon wagons by the Corcyreans and carted out of the city, while all the women who had been captured in the fort were sold into slavery. This is how the Corcyreans... were exterminated by the proletariat.." (80).

The merciless treatment of the defeated was by no means uncommon in Greek warfare. During the Peloponnesian War, such practices were rife on both sides. For instance, in 422/21 B.C., the Athenians captured Torone and Skione: in Torone they took the men to Athens and enslaved the women and children, and in Skione, they massacred the men and again enslaved the women and children. Later in 416 B.C., they did the same on the island of Melos, and the area was resettled by land-seeking Athenian colonists. But when the Athenians were routed during their catastrophic campaign in Sicily (413 B.C.), some 7,000 Athenian and allied prisoners were either thrown into the stone quarries of Syracuse, where many of them died, or were sold into slavery (81). In their inhuman treatment of the defeated, the Spartans were little - if anything - better than the Athenians. During the final stages of the War (405 B.C.) their naval commander,

Lysander, surprised and destroyed some beached Athenian ships on the Thracian Chersonese (Gallipoli), and executed 3,000 prisoners, ostensibly as retribution for Athenian atrocities.

Within the conventions of the ancient world, there were only three things the victors could do with their prisoners, put them to death, enslave them, or release them gratuitously. Prisoners were sometimes exchanged when an armistice was arranged on mutually compromising terms, but where the result was decisive, the vanquished literally became the property of the victors (82). In fact, there was no status for prisoners corresponding to that of the modern prisoner-of-war, and no specific word to designate them. They were simply 'goods' to be disposed of as the victors saw fit. A similar state of affairs obtained among the Romans until ^c264 B.C. when a fourth alternative was introduced namely that of giving able warriors the chance to be gladiators (83). This not only institutionalised but also trivialised the slaughter as a form of entertainment.

The specific relationship between militarism and religion in Greek society in general, and Athenian society in particular, is fascinatingly ambiguous. The term citizen connoted the warrior function. Young citizens, epheboi, took oaths at various sanctuaries before embarking on their military service. Greek armies performed numerous rituals both at the outset and during the course of their military campaigns. Hostilities did not even commence until a herald - whose person was sacrosanct - had formally announced the severing of relations between the states in contention. This declaration had a legal force, in the same way that the herald's proclamation that hostilities had ceased, formally concluded the war.

The use made of the Pythian and Delphic oracles to seek advice and perhaps even settlement in some cases of inter-poleis rivalry, shows that religion was important to the Greeks. But the actual pronouncements of these oracles opens up the whole question of exactly what their function was. Were they ideological oases in a desert of unending disputation, or were they mere pawns in a lucrative political game? Certainly the pronouncements of the Delphic oracle, in particular, could be openly partisan (see Thucydides 1. 118-119; 5: 16).

When opposing armies were drawn up for battle, both commanders, possibly with the aid of ritual assistants, would offer prayers to the gods, and 'dedicate' to them the persons and property of their enemies. In archaic times, this might involve the sacrifice of prisoners, but by classical times, there was little attempt to sacrilise the carnage in terms of ritual offerings. Even the dedication of the booty had, by this time, been reduced from the sum total of the spoils to a mere tenth (84), although the despoilation of enemy crops and the destruction of their property might still be accompanied by formulaic oaths. Similarly, the burial of the war dead was celebrated by rituals and funeral orations which both honoured the deceased and encouraged the living to greater dedication to the city's cause (85).

The observance of the religious festivals was also important. Ostensibly, a festival prevented the bulk of the Spartan army being present at Thermopylae during the second Persian campaign. This was virtually a repeat performance of their response to the first Persian invasion ten years earlier. Then, they were also celebrating the Carneia, and maintained that they were unable to send their promised help until the full moon, which was probably six days away (86). How crucial was this religious factor? Were these celebrations of the Carneia and the Olympics that essential, or were there obvious political gains? Scholars are divided on this issue (87). Much as one might be tempted to doubt a religious cover for Spartan motives, it is attested (88) that at the battle of Plataea, the Spartan army actually stood motionless, shields at their feet, amidst a hail of arrows, waiting for the gods to direct them.

But, in general, the evidence is uncertain; different incidents permit different interpretations. For instance, in the case of the Spartan Cleomenes - who admittedly Herodotus regards as mad - we find quite inconsistent attitudes to religion. In his military actions against Argos there is both the desire to obey the oracle to appease the gods, even if it meant desecrating altars, punishing priests, and then

explaining his unsuccessful campaign in terms of supernatural revelation which his accusers readily accepted (89). All of which brings into question the extreme ambiguity of oracular pronouncements anyway (90). Herodotus, in contrast to the more rationalistic Thucydides, is broadly sympathetic to the claims of religion, but even he echoes the cynical views which obtained regarding religious sanctions for military conquest. He records how Themistocles could attribute Persian failures to the godless pride of the king who destroyed statues of the gods and lashed the sea with whips because he did not know the difference between the sacred and the profane. On the other hand, he also cites how Themistocles went on to besiege the city of Andros, demanding money and warning the inhabitants that his Athenians had the support of two powerful gods, Persuasion and Compulsion. Equally cynically, the Andrans replied that the Athenians were unlikely to collect because Andros had two rather useless gods, Poverty and Inability (91).

The victory of Marathon, won by such a relatively small force - mainly of Athenians - seemed little short of a miracle which merited the appropriate ritual thanksgiving and dedications to the gods. Similarly, after the victories over the Persians in their second campaign, rich offerings were made to many of the temples. But when the Athenians besieged and took Thebes which had been the main ally of the Persians, the Theban leaders surrendered themselves for mandatory punishment, and there was no suggestion that their execution was some form of ritual sacrifice. In fact, it is impossible in many such acts to disentangle motivations of genuine piety and those of cynical advantage.

A further feature of Athenian life was the superstitious regard for omens. The Sicilian expedition, for instance, the major 'second front' campaign of the Peloponnesian War, set out on what was considered an ill-omened day, and it could be argued that the conclusive factor in the Athenian defeat was the refusal of the commander, Nicias, to withdraw for a month on the advice of some soothsayers (92). The result was disastrous. This was the greatest military enterprise the Athenians had ever mounted and its failure was greeted first by incomprehension, and then by an

almost unreasoning fury against generals, orators and soothsayers, "as though they had not voted.. for the expedition...themselves" (93). This apparent incapacity to see their responsibility for situations, and the convenient transference of that responsibility to others was a recurrent feature of the Athenian demos. In a system where responsibility was ostensibly shared between participating members, the apportioning of blame could be undemocratically selective. This tendency was, in turn, exploited by opportunistic populists who saw in the persecutions of social scapegoats the stepping-stones to political advancement. The manipulation of the demos became a cultivated art in Athens. The endorsements of the people were seen as a strength of the democratic system, but may in fact have been one of its most subtle weaknesses, especially where those endorsements were regarded as ipso facto unquestionable.

In this kind of situation, religion is more likely to give way to socio-political expediency. Thucydides writes of party-leaders who "invented high-sounding catchwords and posed as the champions of political equality" who stopped at nothing to gain personal power. As a contemporary, he argues that they were prepared to ignore both national interest and moral right. "They did not shrink from bringing themselves into power by verdicts obtained immorally against their opponents, if not by naked force.. In fact, religion lost its hold...and they relied upon.. powers of misrepresentation" (94).

It can hardly be argued that the surprising success of Athenian arms against the vastly superior Persian forces in the early part of the fifth century B.C. precipitated the militarism which was to come, although it did inspire the Athenians to realise their military-naval potential. The martial spirit had been present from early years, and was by no means confined to Athens, but was partly a function of the autonomy ethos. The need for larger armies to defend political independence and win control in a competitive inter-poleis situation called for some democratisation of the military machine. The predominance of the aristocratic cavalry gave way to the hoplite formations of the higher citizenry, and finally - with the Persian threat - to the proletarian power of the maritime forces (95).

Military imperatives had derived partly from resource scarcity. There was a need to secure certain essential supplies, particularly of grain, and to establish overseas markets. These and demographic factors gave rise to the intermittent phases of colonial expansion. It could be hypothesised that expansionism created forms of socially acceptable diversions from the awareness of internal weaknesses, and increased the sense of cohesiveness in individual states. In Athens, there was ambiguity of control over the process of decision-making. At different levels, on the various councils and committees, the democratic process was both extended and circumscribed. Control was therefore diffused, and the inherent instability of the system exacerbated. In the classical period, the need for coherence took an imperialistic form, the attempt to establish hegemonic control in particular areas of the mainland and the Aegean. Military prowess was extolled as a virtue. All the Greek world loved a hero, and military prowess and valour were among the most clearly appreciated expressions of the contest system.

Position scarcity was more applicable to the Athenian situation than resource scarcity. To be more precise, resource scarcity can be seen as one of the immediate causes of the Peloponnesian War, whereas a form of position scarcity was its underlying cause. Thucydides makes it clear that there were certain issues concerning trade, particularly with Megara, which precipitated the conflict, but that the real reason for the war was disguised by such arguments: "What made war inevitable was the growth of Athenian power and the fear which this caused in Sparta" (96). At one level, the war represented a conflict between mutually exclusive and mutually incompatible interests of different political values. But what Athens and Sparta had in common was mutuality of ambition. Their means of government were very different, but the goals were unsurprisingly similar. Each wanted control, each wanted national esteem, and each both feared and envied the influence of the other.

Perhaps the true irony in Athens was that the military pursuit of imperialistic objectives symbolised a division in her own thinking. There was a kind of dualism in the Greek world (97), which was reflected in the internal thinking of the Athenians. The dichotomy could not be resolved. The conflict persisted between the substantive ambition and the normative idealism of its citizens. Alexis de Tocqueville has pointed out, in a quite different context, that this is not an unfamiliar paradox. "We arrive at this singular consequence: that of all armies, those most ardently desirous of war are democratic armies, and, of all nations, those most fond of peace are democratic nations. And what makes these facts still more extraordinary is that these contrary effects are produced at the same time by the principle of equality" (98).

SUMMARY

EGYPT

- 1) State-religious ideology strong and militarism weak (Old Kingdom)
Military charisma as remedy for possible status uncertainty of Pharaoh (New Kingdom).
- 2) Effective authoritarian control over the decision-making process
Specificity correlates with social stability.
- 3) Militaristic spur has economic basis.
Resource scarcity problems
- 4) Militarism gives rise to new class of experts to challenge divine authority.
- 5) Religious ideology as justificatory mechanism for militarism.

ATHENS

- 1) Militarism/expansionism give internal coherence where religious ideology is weak.
- 2) Ambiguity of control in democratic decision-making process.
Diffuseness correlates with social instability.
- 3) Expansionist spur has economic/demographic basis but primarily political problem of position scarcity.
- 4) Militarism/maritime activity gives rise to proletarian participation in state process.
- 5) Religious ideology in ambiguous relationship with military activity.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. See, for example, WILLIAM JAMES' essay on "The Moral Equivalent of War". Also B. MALINOWSKI "An Anthropological Analysis of War" in L. BRAMSON & G. GOETHALS (Eds.) War BASIC BOOKS 1968.
2. MARGARET MEAD "War is only an Invention - not a Biological necessity" in BRAMSON & GOETHALS op. cit. p.270.
3. See GIDEON SJOBERG The Preindustrial City op. cit. p.58. Also the more qualified analysis of G. LENSKI Power and Privilege op. cit. pp.68-69.
4. G. MOSCA The Ruling Class op. cit. p.29.
5. For a discussion on war, nationalism and the mass society, see L. BRAMSON The Political Context of Sociology PRINCETON 1961.
6. For persuasive discussions of the 'aggressive instinct' thesis, see K. LORENZ On Aggression METHUEN, 1966 and R. ARDREY African Genesis COLLINS 1963.
7. See A. TOYNBEE War and Civilization O.U.P. 1950.
8. The phenomenon of seeking peaceful solutions to politico-economic situations is itself in need of explanation. One account of the Lepchas of Sikkihm, for example, insists they they do not understand war - even defensive war.
See G. GORER Himalayan Village MICHAEL JOSEPH 1938.
9. S. ANDRESKI Military Organisation and Society R.K.P. 1968.
10. B. MALINOWSKI in BRAMSON & GOETHALS op. cit. pp.258-9.
11. R. LAPIERE A Theory of Social Control pp.450-1. MCGRAW-HILL 1954.
12. See article by RAYMOND MACK and RICHARD SNYDER in A. ETZIONI & M. WENGLINSKY (Eds.) War and its Prevention HARPER & ROW 1970.
13. A. VAGTS A History of Militarism (Revised Edition) FREE PRESS 1969.
14. *ibid.* p.13.
15. Ideological conflict may be defined as "a clash...of the prescriptive norms and beliefs who do or should govern particular behaviours"
R. MACK and R. SYNDER The Analysis of Social Conflict - Toward an Overview and Synthesis op. cit.
16. J.H. BREASTED A History of Egypt op. cit. pp.83-4.
17. See C. ALDRED The Egyptians op. cit. p.171.

18. It is an instructive exercise to compare the experience of the Egyptians during the Old Kingdom with their contemporaries in Mesopotamia. Here there was relative non-isolation; the frequent incursions of foreign invaders consequently gave rise to a martial ethos which became more marked with time.
19. The basic text on Egyptian military matters is probably still R.O. FAULKNER Egyptian Military Organisation JOURNAL OF EGYPTIAN ARCHEOLOGY 39 (1953) pp.32-47.
20. J.H. BREASTED Ancient Records of Egypt op. cit. I (514).
21. J.E. MANCHIP WHITE Ancient Egypt p.56. ALLEN & UNWIN 1970.
22. Note the archaeological work of the American, G. REISNER, at Kerma south of the Third Cataract, mentioned in SIR A. GARDINER Egypt of the Pharaohs op. cit. p.136.
23. SIEGFRIED HERRMANN A History of Israel in Old Testament Times pp.19020. S.C.M. 1973. Compare J. VAN SETERS The Hyksos YALE 1966.
24. Note the work of M. GIMBUTAS and R. SCHMITT in articles in Journal of Indo-European Studies Vol. 2 No.3 1974.
25. Breasted on the basis of Rameses II's campaign at Kadesh, the date of which is disputed, estimates that the army was probably nearer twenty-thousand.
J.H. BREASTED A History of Egypt op. cit. p.285.
26. C. ALDRED The Egyptians op. cit. p.172.
27. P. MONTEP Everyday Life in Egypt op. cit. p.222 quoting the Bibliotheca aegyptiaca VII. 26.
28. J.E. MANCHIP WHITE Ancient Egypt op. cit. p.56.
29. We find, for example, that in accounts such as the sack of Arrad in Phoenicia by Thutmose III, "the army of his majesty was drunk and anointed with oil every day" - presumably on the confiscated fruits of victory. J.H. BREASTED A History of Egypt op. cit. p.299.
30. Herodotus' comments on the army of the twenty-sixth Dynasty are probably appropriate: that son succeeded father in families which learned no other trade. They all owned property, and members of the royal bodyguard were entitled to extra rations of corn, wine and beef.
HERODOTUS II 164-8.
31. It is the view of Steindorff and Seele that restless mercenaries may well have periodically pillaged and oppressed the villages where they were settled, especially during times of scarcity or when payments were delayed. When Egypt Ruled the East p.93 UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS 1957.
32. J.H. BREASTED A R E II 461-2. op. cit.
33. See J.A. WILSON The Culture of Ancient Egypt op. cit. p.180.

34. J.H. BREASTED A R E II 797.
35. J.A. WILSON The Culture of Ancient Egypt op. cit. p.200.
36. J.H. BREASTED A History of Egypt op. cit. p.478.
It is possible that this is an inference of Breasteds for which there is only flimsy evidence.
37. MARGARET MURRAY The Splendour that was Egypt op. cit. p.44.
38. This practice of 'destroying' an enemy by curse appears to go back to the "breaking of the red jars" ceremony of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, where names of enemies were inscribed on pottery which was then ritually smashed.
See J.A. WILSON The Culture of Ancient Egypt op. cit. p.156.
39. The belief that the power to name gives also the power to control is well known in ancient Hebrew literature.
See R.H. PFEIFFER Introduction to the Old Testament A. & C. BLACK 1953.
40. W. FLINDERS-PETRIE Six Temples at Thebes quoted by M. MURRAY op. cit. p.208.
41. Quoted by MARGARET MURRAY op. cit. p.209.
42. Of Thutmoses' sixth campaign it is recorded that "...the sons of the princes and their brothers were brought away to be hostages in Egypt... List of the sons of princes carried off this year: thirty-six men". J.H. BREASTED A R E 467.
43. Some Asiatic princes showed "almost fanatical loyalty" to the State during the Amarna crisis when the influence of the Akhenaten and the Aten priesthood were being seriously tested.
See J.A. WILSON The Culture of Ancient Egypt op. cit. p.221.
44. J.A. WILSON op. cit. p.191.
45. J.A. WILSON op. cit. p.250 This is really a traditional scribal format which 'sees' situations in terms of Pharaonic interests. It is doubtful if this view was shared by the Hittites. See also O. GURNEY The Hittites PENGUIN 1964.
46. S. ANDRESKI Military Organisation and Society op. cit. p.43.
47. Note H. FRANKFORT Ancient Egyptian Religion op. cit. p.49.
48. Heterodeistic is here meant to refer to 'other or other kinds of gods'.
49. An inverse relationship between militarism and ideology would have to be seriously qualified in historical cases. The type of ideology is important, and the circumstances in which it operates. Where the ideology is universalistic, as for example, Islam, militarism and expansionism may be seen as adjuncts which are necessary to its acceptance and realisation.

50. HOMER The Iliad II 362. The authority here is A.M. SNODGRASS Arms and Armour of the Greeks THAMES & HUDSON 1967.
51. HOMER The Iliad 168ff. and IV 297ff.
52. M.I. FINLEY The Ancient Greeks op. cit. p.36, and particularly JOHN WARRY Warfare in the Classical World SALAMANDER 1980.
53. L. PARETI The Ancient World Vol. II op. cit. p.212.
54. ARISTOTLE Politics 1297b.
55. A. ANDREWES The Greek Tyrants op. cit. p.34ff.
56. Spartan hoplites could be distinguished immediately by their all purple tunics which were thought to disguise bloodstains, and their long hair - something of an anachronism in the classical period - which they are said (Herodotus VII 208) to have ritually combed before battle. Athenian officers wore tunics with a purple stripe, whereas cadets apparently always wore black.
57. Xenophon referred to the Spartans as the "technicians of war" in contrast to the impoverished militia of many other Greek States. A. ANDREWES *ibid.* p.164. quoting XENOPHON'S possible idealisation of Sparta in his Polity of the Lacedaemonians.
58. Much of what we know of Athenian military organisation derives from Aristotle (Constitution of Athens) who was writing of fourth century procedures.
59. R. FLACELIERE Daily Life in Greece op. cit. p.249. It is probably wise to use the term 'cadets' for this period. The more developed conscription system for young men (ephebeia) really evolved in the 4th century.
60. THUCYDIDES 2. 13.
61. ARISTOPHANES The Knights
62. At the Battle of Marathon in 490 B.C. when the Athenians had routed a strong Persian force, they had neither cavalry nor archers, and decided to make up for these deficiencies in future. HERODOTUS 6. 112.
63. Originally the Scythian archers had been slaves who were purchased by Athens about the time of the inception of the Delian League, about 477 B.C.
64. Compare the prolonged seige of Tyre by the armies of Alexander in the fourth century B.C. A.R. BURN Alexander the Great and the Middle East PENGUIN 1973. For a general survey, see F.E. ADCOCK The Greek and Macedonian Art of War UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA 1957.
65. AESCHINES "On the Embassy" quoted by R. FLACELIERE op. cit. p.262 The Amphictyonic League, of whom more is known in the fourth century B.C., was a pan-hellenic institution with traditional religious associations. In the 5th century it had limited practical influence, but this changed considerably in the 4th century.

66. One innovation, used with great success by the Thebans against the Spartans at the battle of Leuctra in 371 B.C., was to weaken one wing and the centre, and increase the other wing from the customary eight man line to an extraordinary depth of fifty men.
See H.D. KITTO The Greeks op. cit. p.154.
67. Greek professional soldiers were in great demand in the ancient world, mainly in the fourth and third centuries B.C. fighting particularly for either Persia or Egypt. Perhaps the best known are the campaigns of the Ten Thousand in Asia recounted in the Anabasis of Xenophon.
68. See particularly, J. FULLER The Decisive Battles of the Western World (Ed. John Terraine) Vol. I Chapters 7-10. PALADIN 1970.
69. THUCYDIDES Bk.VIII, see also, H. BENGTSON The Greeks and the Persians op. cit. pp.184-86.
70. The trireme, the most common type of warship in the Classical period, had three banks of oars necessitating some 170 rowers. The complement of the trireme, in all, numbered about 200 men including the commander (trierarchos) and his staff. See J.S. MORRISON and R.T. WILLIAMS Greek Oared Ships 900-322 B.C. C.U.P. 1968.
71. The state often provided the hull and possible the rigging of the ship, but the trierarchos would provide the rest as a form of leitourgia or public service. This practice began to die out later in the War when personal wealth became scarce and the burden of equipping triremes was shared by two or more citizens.
72. The helots of Messenia and Laconia revolted in 464 B.C. when an earthquake destroyed part of Sparta. The Athenian Cimon took a force of hoplites to aid the Spartans in putting down this very serious rebellion which lasted for some years.
73. It is probably fair to state that Corcyra and Corinth had been in conflict before, and were perhaps looking for the excuse to reopen hostilities. See V. EHRENBERG Solon to Socrates op. cit. p.254. See also G. de STE CROIX The Origins of the Peloponnesian War DUCKWORTH 1972.
74. The term arete is sometimes translated as 'virtue', but the modern connotations of this word are hardly appropriate. Arete comes nearer to the Roman 'virtus' which can be closely associated with 'manliness'. Compare the term ponos (toil) which came to connote endurance, and which - by Classical times - was associated with the upper order citizens who farmed, hunted, and went to war.
75. Note, A.W. ADKINS Merit and Responsibility: a Study of Greek Values CLARENDON 1960, and particularly Moral Values and Political Behaviour in Ancient Greece CHATTO & WINDUS 1972.
76. "the objective was not simply to improve on one's own past performance, but to put the other man down. The 'glory that was Greece' was, in some important measure, born of this violent competitiveness".
A. GOULDNER Enter Plato op. cit. p.13.

77. Note the Homeric account of the sack of Troy in the Iliad, M.I. FINLEY comments on similar practices in early Greece in The World of Odysseus (op. cit. p.61.)
78. This is probably reflected in Plato (Republic V 468 a) "...if any fall alive into the enemies' hands we shall make a present of him, and they may do what they like with their prey...".
79. Some authorities use the disputable term "class war" to describe the Corcyran incident. For example, ARNOLD TOYNBEE Greek Civilization and Character op. cit. pp.44-53.
80. THUCYDIDES BKS III 70-85, IV 46-48.
81. See G. THOMSON Studies in Ancient Greek Society op. cit. pp.196-205.
82. ARISTOTLE Politics 1255a 6-7.
83. See YVON GARLAN War in the Ancient World pp.70-71. CHATTO & WINDUS 1975.
84. Plutarch, himself a priest of Apollo, wrote "when you see the god surrounded on all sides with tithes and spoils got by murder and war and rape, and his temple full of Greek booty, does it not strike you as intolerable?".
PLUTARCH On the Pythian Oracle
85. For the famous funeral oration of Pericles in 431-30 B.C., see THUCYDIDES 2. 34.
86. There is, however, a tradition that the Spartans may have been engaged in the suppression of a revolt in their own territory.
(PLATO Laws 692, 698).
87. V. Ehrenberg following Herodotus (7, 206), is inclined to accept the ritual justifications, but admits that this is "generally disbelieved by modern scholars".
88. HERODOTUS 9. 61-2.
89. HERODOTUS 6. 79ff.
90. HERODOTUS 7. 140ff.
91. HERODOTUS 8. 108ff.
92. Nicias was a devout man who carried images of the gods on the expedition together with a portable altar on which there was a perpetual altar flame lit at the city's altar-hearth. His staff also included diviners who advised him on crucial decisions.
93. THUCYDIDES 8. 1.

94. THUCYDIDES III. 82ff.
95. It is worth noting that there may be some correlation between naval development in Greece and proletarian participation. Thessaly, a non-naval power, with strong cavalry traditions, was also a non-democratic state. On the other hand, Carthage which was a very strong naval power, was an oligarchy. Carthage employed large numbers of mercenaries, but - unlike Egypt - was not troubled by attempted revolution. Her economic situation was similar to that of the sixth century Greek commercial states, but she was not significantly troubled by popular movements.
See S. ANDRESKI Military Organisation and Society op. cit. pp.45-46.
96. THUCYDIDES 1.23 and 1.118.
97. V. EHRENBERG From Solon to Socrates op. cit. p.204ff.
98. ALEXIS de TOCQUEVILLE "On War, Society and the Military" in L. BRAMSON & G. GOETHALS (Eds.) War op. cit. p.331.

SYSTEMS OF IDEATION

All discussion of ideational or religious systems is seriously complicated by problems of definition. The view that any study of religion must begin with a definition must impose serious limitations upon investigation and discussion (1). Much of the controversy about the meaning of the term religion, however, is really disputation about delineations of the range of phenomena which are held to constitute legitimate areas for enquiry (2). Broadly speaking, definitions can be classified as being either Nominal or Real. Nominal definitions are those in which meanings are arbitrarily assigned to the properties or phenomenon in question. Thus the term "religion" is merely a convenient linguistic symbol which denotes the beliefs and rites associated with man's actual or purported relationships with the gods. Real definitions, on the other hand, are concerned with a 'true knowledge' of the phenomenon in question; so a real definition of "religion" suggests an understanding of what religion really is. Here there is the implication that religion is more than cult or dogma, and that it has an 'essence' which is more than the sum total of its social expressions. Real definitions imply, firstly, that the phenomenon at issue has some kind of universal status or applicability having properties which are common to most if not all societies (3), and, secondly, that these properties also have an indefinable ontological status. Traditionally, sociologists and anthropologists have inclined to a Nominalist position and have tended to limit their investigations to the rather circumscribed area of the behavioural expressions of religion (4).

For the purpose of our present discussion of traditional societies, it is proposed to analyse religious systems in terms of reflective cosmologies. This is neither better nor worse than other kinds of analysis, it may simply be more useful in the context of the ancient world. To examine the ways in which the social order is held to reflect the cosmic

order complements other forms of analysis. Religious symbols formulate a basic congruence between a particular ethos and an implicit metaphysic - each supporting and sustaining the other. "The notion that religion tunes human actions to an envisaged cosmic order and projects images of cosmic order onto the plane of human experience is hardly novel. But it is hardly investigated either, so we have very little idea of how, in empirical terms, this particular miracle is accomplished..(although) we have an enormous ethnographic literature to demonstrate it" (5).

At one level, therefore, the emphasis of this discussion is substantive and phenomenological. It is concerned with the empirical nature of Egyptian and Athenian religions whilst, at the same time, attempting some evaluation of their practical and cognitive importance for the members of those societies. Religion has psychological as well as sociological dimensions, and must, therefore, be seen from the perspective of the adherent as well as that of the system. It is hardly presumptuous to assume that most people do not make analytic distinctions in this respect and are content to deal with their everyday concerns pragmatically, without any conscious attempt to construct a comprehensive system. Yet cognitive problems persist; certain ubiquitous facts need to be explained, especially injustice, suffering and death. In all societies, the fundamental question of meaning is answered - however inadequately - by theological speculations. No other kinds of ideological explanation seriously compete at this level (6). All beings are vulnerable, and the very permeability of the psycho-social experience has generated the apparent need for various kinds of expressive protective rituals.

There are several ways in which men tend to interpret reality. They may advance positivistic interpretations which are characteristic of modern societies, or they may espouse magico-religious ideas which range from beliefs in the ability to manipulate cosmic forces to complete resignation before the gods. But the view that men are either rational, or magical,^{or}/fatalistic or religious (7) involves purely academic distinctions. In practice, all these orientations may co-exist not only in the same culture but also in the same individual. A similar point is made by

Henri Frankfort in the context of pre-industrial societies; he argues that the ancients did not regard reality as something to be apprehended by different modes of cognition because the mythic nature of their traditions indicated that for them "the realm of nature and the realm of man were not distinguished" (8). The desirability of seeing religion in multiple perspectives is made also by some philosophers (9) who maintain that symbols and concepts do not represent parallel lines of approach, but have their own complementarity.

At an operational level, ancient societies differ in the extent to which there is a fusion between religion and the institutional complex. In Athens, for example, a separate political organisation can be identified, whereas in Egypt, there appears to be no such clear distinction. In ancient societies generally, religious values and symbols were common to the cultural orientations of all strata, and permeated all forms of institutional structures, kinship, education, the economy, the military, and pre-eminently the arts. Rulers defined their policies and objectives in religious terms, and bureaucratic elites often legitimised their activities with the necessary deference to the prescriptive system.

Particular religious orientations are consonant not so much with particular social structures - as though there were some functional one-to-one correspondences - as with particular kinds of social order. In putting the emphasis, therefore, on reflective cosmologies, we are simply asking in what ways the cosmologies of societies reflect their social orders. This conceptual approach requires a formal typology to indicate the range of possible relationships which may exist between religion and society.

The following typology is, therefore, suggested as an aid to analysis:

- a) Concretist Systems: these are systems where the cosmic and social orders are regarded as growing together. The emphasis here is existential. In some schools of Christianity, for example, God is seen as realising himself in his creation, and the gradual triumph of the Kingdom of God may be viewed

as a form of "realised eschatology". This has a universal application and is not regarded as being confined to any one society.

b) Congruent Systems: these are systems of ultimate explanation, which can take two main forms. The 'open' form has universal applications, in which the world order and the cosmos itself are seen as one and indivisible. The emphasis is pantheistic as in traditional Buddhism. In the closed form, the applications are specific, the cosmic order is seen as coterminous with a particular social order. In general, Ancient Egypt can be placed in this category, as may also some other ancient societies at specific periods, notably China and Inca Peru.

c) Contingent Systems: here the relationship between the social and cosmic orders is one of ritualised dependency. The land is the possession of the gods, and men are their servants whose primary task is the maintenance of the cultus. These are systems of selective explanation. In general terms, this would be the position of various Mesopotamian societies.

d) Constituent Systems: in these the cosmic order is reflected in only part of the social order. That part is the chosen or favoured community, and it may be believed that the community alone has access to the 'true' nature of the cosmos. Its place in that order may have been challenged but never carefully defined, and individual members of that order will have different comprehensions of its nature and role. This may result in a kind of institutionalised isolation. Israel in both its formative Jahwist stage where God is thought of as unique to a particular people, and in its later history as randomly dispersed ethnic communities, might be classified under this heading. This situation is also typical of deviant, sect-type religious groups with a totalising ethic who seek to survive as minorities in an alien society.

e) Contiguous Systems: this term indicates systems of adjacency where the boundaries of the cosmic and social orders touch. There is a proximity relationship only; effective contact may no longer be either operative or enjoined. These, therefore, are systems of marginal explanation: a situation largely characteristic of modern, highly secularised societies.

It must be emphasised that this typology simply represents a spectrum of generalised possibilities. Some actual societies and belief-systems can be classified within this framework with relative ease, but this is not the case with Egypt and Athens. The Old Kingdom certainly seems to fit the Congruent category, but 'true' congruency is relatively rare. The New Kingdom however, presents difficulties. During the Empire, there was an increasing willingness to recognise non-Egyptian gods, in fact it was virtually essential for alliance purposes. Similarly, Egyptian gods were 'exported' to all provinces, either in a relatively pure form or as syncretised versions of existent foreign deities. But the Egyptians never really succumbed to the temptation actually to universalise their belief-system or to see the Pharaoh as someone with a mandate for world rule. Any attempt, therefore, to 'place' Egypt in this way, must be related to the period in question. Egypt was a Congruent system insofar as religion was the source of ultimate explanation, but this categorisation must be qualified in practice.

Athens, too, is a problem. The city shared its gods with the rest of Greece, indeed, in barely disguised forms, they appear in a number of quite different societies. But the identification of, say, the love-goddess, Aphrodite, as a hellenised version of her Mesopotamian counterpart, Ishtar, in no way implies an attempted universalisation by either society. Athenian religion also throws into relief the common problem of differential apprehensions. It can be generally conceded that there was a perceptible decline in the status of the gods during the Classical period, and that this was not unnaturally reflected in the writings of the intellectuals. Whether they led the way in any process of 'spiritual' disenchantment is unclear; after all, theirs are the only voices we hear. We cannot know to what extent their writings expressed a public mood. The appeal of the gods still seems to have had some resonance among the populace. Witness, for example, the general indignation occasioned by the violation of the Hermae in 415 B.C. at the time of the departure of the ill-fated expedition to Syracuse. These stylised figures of Hermes were mutilated, perhaps as the result of drunken vandalism. Citizens were outraged. It was an affront to their spiritual sensitivity and their civic pride. The Hermae,

which were rectangular shafts surmounted by a sculpted head, were - in effect - boundary stones of an ancient kind. These simplified images were usually of gods, Hermes, Zeus etc., and were sometimes the object of certain rites. They were believed to have protective powers, and their violation, for whatever reason (10) was regarded as an act of sacrilege and impiety.

Particular factors, make Athens difficult to classify. We know so little about their actual religious observances. There was a pervasive regard for the gods, but the actual 'spirituality' of the Athenians - or of any people, for that matter - is impossible to gauge, even if, indeed, such a quality were measurable. But there were obvious inconsistencies. On the evidence available, therefore, the Athenian system can probably be located in the Contingent category.

EGYPT

No examination of ancient Egyptian history and culture is possible without a serious consideration of the religious system. Religion is a persistently refluent theme in Egyptian studies and it impinges upon every aspect of the institutional complex. About many aspects of Egyptian life, for example, family and kinship arrangements, we know relatively little, but on the subject of religion we are in danger of knowing just enough to be completely confused. These uncertainties have given rise to some diversity of opinion among the scholars.

Some authorities regard Egyptian religion as being not one system but many. These sometimes overlap and occasionally conflict especially in the contradictory statements of their respective supportive myths. The differences seem never to have been carefully thought through or satisfactorily reconciled, and therefore as a complex of systems, they carry very little conviction. This position was taken by some earlier scholars such as W. Flinders Petrie who did a great deal of very important preliminary work in this area, and is followed - to a greater or lesser degree - by perhaps the majority of modern Egyptologists (11).

Alternatively, there is the work stemming from the Chicago school of J.H. Breasted which is sometimes more sympathetic to the apparent inconsistencies of Egyptian religion. There are articulate apologists for the essential internal coherence of Egyptian religion (12), but the task in this section of the discussion is not to evaluate the particular contributions of these and other theorists, but to indicate that any study of the substantive nature of Egyptian religion must be informed by these separate academic traditions.

If we include the local deities and the foreign gods who in later times were welcomed to the pantheon, something in the order of two thousand gods were probably worshipped in Egypt at one time or another (13). The traditions from which they appear to have derived are historically uncertain. Perhaps in the pre-dynastic period, even the principal deities were local gods who were believed to preside over the fortunes of different agricultural settlements and perform specific fertility functions. The mysteries of fecundity and reproduction were probably centres of reverential concern. In time, particular deities might then follow the success of the more aggressive and expansionist communities, and be elevated to district - and eventually - national gods.

This is the conventional - but hypothetical - reconstruction. What, however, is reasonably certain is that from very early times there were several clearly distinguishable traditions, although the view that they were necessarily developments of existing local or tutelary systems is contested (14). These traditions can be conveniently categorised in a number of possible ways. A dichotomy in terms of aristocratic and popular deities has much to commend it, as also has the division into Official and Popular ^{forms of} deities (15). The principal gods are always theologically related to the king. It is through him that their good offices appear to be extended to the people. Perhaps this helps to explain the host of minor deities who peopled the supramundane world of the 'ordinary' Egyptians.

Any classification criteria are somewhat contrived, but they can indicate possible determinatives in the emergence of these separate yet related systems.

i) The 'first' group of gods, who were primarily nature deities, were associated with the city of On, better known as Heliopolis (the city of the Sun). These may represent the oldest known religious tradition in Egypt. The foundation myth relates how from Nun, the primordial waters, came Atum or Ra-Atum the sky-god who with self-generating masturbatory techniques produced the air-god Shu and the moisture-goddess, Tefnut. These, in turn, gave birth to Geb, the earth-god and Nut the goddess of the sky who was also sometimes identified with the cow-headed goddess, Hathor. From these came the popularly contrasted brother-sister unions of Seth and Nebhet, and Osiris and Isis. There are other versions of this creation-myth: one in the Pyramid texts speaks of Atum creating Shu and Tefnut by spitting them out of his mouth, whilst the Book of the Dead more loftily records how the sun-god created his family pantheon by naming them as parts of his 'body'. Whatever the version, it normally includes the same dramatis personae who are usually referred to as the Great Nine or Great Ennead. The first five gods are clearly cosmological, whilst the second four have ill-defined intermediary functions between men and the gods.

The Egyptians apparently saw no real inconsistency in accepting that the same gods might take many forms and assume numerous titles and functions simultaneously (16). Thus Ra-Atum was simply one representation of the sun-god, Ra or Re, who occupied a perennial place in Egyptian cosmology. There were others: Khepra, the sacred scarab-beetle, symbolised the youthful sun journeying in his Ship-of-Millions-of-Years across the heavens; Re, was the re-vitalizing fully-grown sun; and finally the elderly Atum who wearily disappeared over the horizon at sunset. At night, the sun-god sailed in a second ship through the underworld and fought an unfailingly successful battle with the serpent-monster, Apep, (Apophis) and emerged again to recommence his daily routine at dawn. In the developed form of the myth, this dramatic ritual journey of Re and his retinue of fellow deities, became linked with the solar god Hor (Horus) who, in one persistent form of the tradition,

was the son of Isis and Osiris. As such, Re-Horus or Re-Harakhte was depicted as a falcon-headed man wearing the solar-disc and uraeus.

The forms and names of Re seem innumerable, and the Litanies of the Sun, engraved at the entrance of the royal tombs, list no fewer than seventy-five (17). Efforts were made to distinguish various sun gods from one another, but they seem to possess little coherence and even less credibility. This diversity of myths was perpetuated by tradition; "the inevitable result was a bewildering confusion of tangled and often self-contradictory ideas (18)... Nevertheless it does not appear that the learned priesthood ever succeeded in drawing up a comprehensive system of Egyptian Theology" (19). Some degree of reconciliation seems possible only if the entire corpus of myth is regarded as a kind of religious language, and the art as a form of esoteric symbolism (20).

ii) Other centres in the Delta were also associated with the initial act of creation. Their priesthoods promoted the worship of Thoth who was depicted as a man with the head of an ibis or baboon sometimes surmounted by a crescent-moon, and was later identified with his Greek counterpart Hermes, the spokesman of the gods. Thoth was said to have called the other gods into being, which were originally conceived as primeval snakes and frogs. He is also said to have enjoyed solar pre-existence, for as the universal Demiurge - the divine ibis - he was able to hatch the sun from the appropriate egg at Hermopolis Magna a companion cult centre in Middle Egypt. Thoth was regarded as a nature deity to the extent that he was thought to control the moon, the stars and the seasons. But he was also regarded as the patron of learning, the inventor of writing and the fount of wisdom and knowledge. These cultural functions suggest that Thoth should be thought of primarily in societal terms.

The Pyramid Texts contain a separate set of traditions which refer to Thoth variously as the son of Ra, as the brother of Osiris and sometimes merely as the vizier of Osiris during his mythical reign (21). One suspects that here was a procrustean attempt by either the Heliopolitan or the Hermopolitan Theologians to reconcile cultic practices in favour of the widely-accepted Horus-Isis-Osiris tradition.

iii) The god Amon (or Amun) seems to have been a rather obscure deity in early times, and is mentioned only four times in the Heliopolitan texts of the pyramids. The traditions, perhaps reflecting some political upheaval, suggest that Amon, superseded Montu, the solar-god of the South, and became generally recognised in his co-regal form as Amon-Ra, the "king of the gods". He was sometimes depicted - like so many of the Egyptian deities - in animal or composite human-animal form, in this case as a man with a ram's head. Also like some other warrior deities Amon had fertility associations, and he is sometimes represented with human features posed in an ithyphallic manner. He was adopted by the military rulers of Thebes, and became - as Amon-Ra - perhaps the most redoubtable of the Egyptian gods. Certainly the temples and priesthoods of Amon, primarily at Thebes, became extremely rich and influential, mainly from the benefactions of grateful warrior-Pharaohs.

Pharaoh, the god-king, was regarded as the physical son of Ra. As early as the fifth Dynasty, there are references to the wife of a priest being pregnant with "three children of Ra", although this might well be a theological justification for the founding of a new Dynasty from the Ra priesthood. A similar theological foundation can be seen in the unusual case of the female Pharaoh, Hatshepsut (^c1486-^c1468 B.C.) of the eighteenth Dynasty. The records claim that her true progenitor was Amon-Ra who is said to have masqueraded as her father, Thutmosis I, in order to produce a divine child. Amon took the "form (of his) majesty.. her husband, the king. Then he went to (her mother) immediately.. had intercourse with her... The majesty of this god did all that he desired with her (and said).. Now... Hatshepsut is the name of the daughter whom I have placed in thy body... She is to exercise..(king)ship in this entire land" (22). Whilst enhancing the importance of the religious underpinnings of the system, this kind of rationale tends to minimize the male role in procreation and implicitly reinforce the matrilineal principle.

In mythopoeic terms (23), the king was also linked with the Isis-Osiris-Horus triad Myths which can be reconstructed from allusions in the Pyramid Texts. These relate how an ancient king Osiris is killed by his brother Seth but revived by his wife Isis. Osiris becomes

ruler of the next world and is succeeded in his earthly kingdom by his son, Horus. Similarly, by a mystical process, each Pharaoh at death became Osiris only to be succeeded by his son, the new Horus. This corpus of myths became the basis of the mortuary rituals which were performed on behalf of the dead king (24).

Amon-Ra should possibly be seen primarily in political terms. He was the protector of the monarchy, the great national god who led Egypt to her greatest military triumphs in Libya and Asia, and who lingered on as patron of a declining culture. It is interesting that even Alexander paid his respects at the temple of Amon at Siwa in 331 B.C. when the oracle diplomatically saluted him too as the "Son of Amon".

iv) Importantly, but unchronologically, any consideration of the principal Egyptian religious traditions must include some reference to the celebrated and very ancient Memphite theology. The existing text dates from ^c700 B.C., but there is reason to believe - as the inscription claims - that these traditions go back to the early dynasties centred at Memphis. These relate how the god Ptah, the Creator of All, the self-conceived and self-existent mind of the Universe, made all the other gods by simple verbal authority (25). He was normally depicted not as an animal, but as a mummified human figure holding a sceptre with the emblems of life, stability and omnipotence. The Memphite Theology is not entirely free from the often crude anthropomorphisms of the other Egyptian cults, but it may represent an uncharacteristic philosophical tradition which both antedates them - in their more developed forms - and supersedes them in theological coherence. It is possible that it was instituted to reconcile the disparate interests involved in the merger of the Two Kingdoms at the beginning of Egyptian dynastic history. But despite its undoubted all-embracing political advantages, it does express a near-monotheism which was not approached again in Egypt until the transient Aten worship instituted by the late eighteenth Dynasty Pharaoh Akhenaten. It may be that its rather abstruse and elevated nature precluded its popular acceptance, and with time it degenerated into a Ptah-cult concerned with patronage of the arts and simple industry.

In addition to the principal deities, Egyptian religion was peopled by innumerable subsidiary divinities. Some of these were local refractions of the major gods; some were peculiar to minor cults; whilst yet others were imported from neighbouring states to join the already overcrowded realms of the Egyptian pantheon. There were yet further metaphysical mantissae in the form of magic and ghosts; even occult practices are recorded in connection with the attempt to influence the guardians of the Royal Harem (26).

Whether one should make a distinction between worship and reverence in the context of Egyptian religion is difficult to determine. As objects of religious attention, the Egyptians recognised cult-figures which ranged from human to animal to vegetable forms. Representationally, the principal deities were mainly to be found at the 'human' end of the spectrum. Although many of the older and popular deities, which may have been legacies of a pre-historic phase, were totally animal in type such as Sebek, the crocodile god, and Bast, the cat. Indeed, during the New Kingdom, Apis bulls, as living reincarnations of Ptah (27) were ceremoniously interred in a necropolis at Saqqara, and Rameses II provided the sacred bulls with a subterranean gallery some 350 feet in length cut from solid rock, the Serapeum, to house their stone sarcophagi (28). Falcons were sacred, and ibis birds were also revered and often mummified with special honours especially at a later period (29).

The complex of rituals which attended the worship of the deities centred on acts of purification and the physical care of the images. The nexus of most cultic activity was the Pharaoh himself. The king performed daily rites which appear to have been fairly standardised from the Middle Kingdom onwards. These included acts of identity with the primordial gods; acts of humility which necessitated the 'waking' of the gods with the appropriate prostrations and recitations, and acts of dependency which involved the clothing and 'feeding' of the statue(s). All rituals throughout the State were nominally the prerogative of the king, but being a non-omnipresent immortal he required others to deputise for him (30). Priests vicariously carried out similar ceremonies in the temples at the king's expense. These

were performed in secret; the mystery of the rites could not be the property of the laity, although the people were permitted - certainly in the later period - to share in certain annual festivals when the gods were paraded publicly (31).

Each temple was a self-contained unity with its own officials, artists, police, craftsmen and peasants. Precise knowledge of the priesthoods is lacking, but a composite picture is possible from partial evidence which has come to us from specific temples. We know that priests were trained for their vocations, normally from the age of five, and that it was often a family tradition, if not an actual profession. The priesthoods themselves were organised on an hierarchical basis, and their duties were arranged so as to maintain the perpetual care and supplication of the gods, and ensure their continued benevolence. Temples were not always dedicated to the worship of any one deity, and similarly priests were not necessarily bound by indelible vows to any particular god. Women too participated in cult practices usually as instrumentalists or singers, but only debatably as prostitutes. Temple prostitution which was a common practice in a number of ancient societies, could also take 'amateur' forms as in the Canaanite town of Byblos where women were required to entertain strangers during the feast of Adonis and give the profits to the temple treasury. It is not certain whether this or another form of temple prostitution was practised in Egypt. A Turin Papyrus, however, does suggest that the singers of Amon were not always too particular about their forms of service.

Although there was no one coherent theology, other than the divinity of the king, there were certain beliefs which were esteemed throughout the cults, notably those associated with the Cult of the Dead which, arguably, has been responsible in one way or another for preserving most of the remains of Egyptian civilisation. These beliefs were concerned with the nature and survival of the soul or Ba which could assume many forms, a bird or fish, and which left its owner at the moment of death and possibly became a star. There was a companion belief in the Ka - a rather more difficult concept which is subject to interpretation. The Ka seems

to have been regarded as a kind of protean life-essence or alter-ego with which the individual became fully united at death, but which had to be attended and fed with offerings if immortality was to be fully enjoyed. The Ka-concept was closely associated with the practice of mummification. It was important that the form of the dead person was preserved either in body or by statue, so that it could be 'animated' by the requisite ceremonials. Mortuary-cults were therefore endowed by prosperous families for the permanent care of the deceased. A son might be designated Ka-priest to act as both supervisor of the funerary rituals and executor of the estates. The living were consequently kept in permanent touch with the dead and made more aware of their own future states. Priests were required to contract themselves on a prebendal basis to the fulfillment of these specific tasks, but the poor who could not afford consecrated officials had to rely on their families not to overlook their ritual duties. There was obviously some neglect of the tombs, and during the upheavals of the First Intermediate Period, for instance, even occasional passers-by were enjoined to make small offerings to the deceased (32).

These institutionalised contacts with the dead do not seem to have allayed anxieties about the nature and consequences of death. In contrast to the situation in modern societies, the problem of death seems to have been ethical rather than cognitive. The doubts about survival which assail scientific man presumably existed, but the main fears seem to have centred on the judgement and destiny of the soul. The fact of survival was not in serious dispute, but its nature for the individual concerned was altogether another matter. Perhaps not all Egyptians quite accepted that life in the Land of the Dead was a modified continuation of life on earth as many tomb paintings depict (33), even if they were assured of the necessary spiritual benefits. Indeed, although it was an apparently constant pre-occupation, Egyptian ideas about the nature of life after death were not very precise. One view held that the deceased joined their ancestors in a care-free life-on-earth type existence, whilst another held that the soul joined the stars in the eternal round. But despite these inconsistencies, the cult of the dead penetrated nearly every sphere of life. It largely determined the land tenure system and dictated labour utilisation, and its need for permanent buildings was the main stimulus behind Egypt's monumental architecture.

We probably know as much - if not more - about Egyptian ideas on religion than any other intellectual area, and yet, in a sense, we know very little at all. It is not so much a matter of coping with the volume of physical evidence, the texts and inscriptions, or even the complex dating and translation. About these, there is at least some consensus. It is really a question of interpretation. We know, more-or-less, what the texts say - its what they mean that presents problems. For example, although it is argued that the Egyptians - unlike the Greeks - never really developed myth, epic or drama as art forms (34), they did have elaborate esoterica which took the form of dramatic rituals. The rites for the dead, especially for the king and nobility, were particularly complex, and their theological implications are often far from clear. For instance, mummification procedures sometimes included a chant which reads, "...the west wind blows straight... into thy nostrils... For thy pleasure the south wind changes and blows from the north. Thy mouth is laid against the udder of the cow Hesat. Thou becomest pure in order to gaze upon the sun.. Thou art justified in the presence of Re..." (35). What is clear is that the symbolic universe of the Egyptians was completely different from almost anything we know in the modern world, although the basic cognitive principles involved are not entirely unfamiliar.

The concentration on animal figures, the almost naive anthropomorphic imagery, and the inconsistencies of the multi-strand traditions all tend to detract from the obvious attempts to arrive at intuitive insights. To depict Seth as stupid and lecherous, and Horus as sulky (36), does little for the gods either as authentic beings or as mythical exemplars. Whereas explaining the daily appearance of the sun as its birth, or the disappearance of the night as the ritual triumph of Re over the serpent of darkness, if not intellectual is at least imaginative. Such accounts should not be seen as allegories; the one-to-one correspondence which allegorical interpretations involve, would hardly explain, for example, the waning of the moon as the ailing eye of Horus. On the other hand, it may be possible to see them as poetic and picturesque analogies. Perhaps men without the assurances of revelation must resort to analogical insights. Anthropomorphic symbols may then substitute for visual certainty.

Of course, divinity can always be imputed to persons, animals and even inanimate things. In the case of Egyptian society, these assurances were supplied in the physical presence of the god-king. Where the gods are imperceptible, the deification of man is always a possible solution. Mythic coherence was therefore almost unnecessary. There was little need to rationalise or reconcile the traditions. Theology was actualised in a living myth - the ineluctable authority of an immanent divinity.

But how impregnable was the Pharaoh? And just how unquestioned was his divinity? Doubts must be raised, for instance, when we find that of the eighty or so known tombs of these god-kings, all had been violated in antiquity (37). The sanctions against such sacrilege were presumably enough to deter the most intrepid thieves, yet neither this-worldly penalties nor other-worldly curses (38) saved the Pharaohs from these indignities. Such possibilities were realised at the time, and officials were known to take intricate precautions in order to protect the bodies and the Ka-spirits of the kings (39).

The invincibility of the Pharaoh is brought into question by the palace intrigues which were designed to depose and even assassinate him, as in the case of Rameses III. Coups were comparatively few, and plots intended to establish a new rule seem to have been rare but not exactly unknown. As we have seen, priests occasionally succeeded to royal office, and sometimes military leaders took over the throne. The power of the priests is evidenced by the resolution of the Amarna 'revolt' in the mid-14th century B.C. The attempted religious reforms of Akhenaten eventually foundered, and his immediate successors capitulated to the demands of the Amon priesthood for a restoration of the traditional system. The final humiliation was that of Tutankhamun who was obliged to redress the damage done to the temples of Amon. "His majesty deliberated...searching for any beneficial deed... for his father Amon... fashioning his august image in genuine gold (surpassing all that) had been done previously..". We are told further that the property of the temples was "doubled, trebled, and quadrupled in silver, (gold), lapis lazuli, and turquoise" (40).

Such qualifications to pharaonic authority suggest that Weber's distinction between charisma of office and personal charisma may be

relevant to the Egyptian situation. The person of the king was nominally sacrosanct, but not entirely inviolable. What was perhaps more important was his office. He who occupied the seat of power was also endowed with divinity. He upheld Maat; he was the son of Re; if he died or was deposed, the mandate merely passed to his successor. Authority and power were vested in the institution rather than the incumbent; the monarchy rather than the monarch. This might also explain why the king could be held up to ridicule. Certainly at a late period stories circulated about how Pharaohs were incapable of taking personal responsibility, or were cuckolded by their wives; other stories suggested that they were subject to the control of their counsellors and magicians, and the dupes of their architects (41). The kings, like the gods, were sometimes shown to be capable of the failings and vices which beset their mortal subjects.

The ethico-religious ethos of Egypt is not easy to determine. Some authorities see the ancient Egyptian as a reasonably easy-going moral pragmatist, a man with an individualistic zest for the good life and worldly success (42). Others are quick to stress that quite different inferences might be made, even from the same basic texts. It is argued that it may be an error to regard the Egyptian ethic as simply opportunistic and materialistic (43); it had a refluent other-worldly quality which qualified this-worldly ambitions. Perhaps the paradox is that it was something of both. It is necessary to reconcile the immanent and the transcendent elements of Egyptian religion. These different modes of thinking were not merely characteristic of different historical periods, the one aggressive and optimistic, and the other submissive but hopeful (44), but represent a perennial duality in Egyptian thought which was expressed with different emphases at different periods. This parallelism of values was not peculiar to Egypt. Value-inconsistency is found in a different guise in Athenian society, and, surely, in one form or another, in all societies.

This study has attempted to show, firstly, that both kinds of orientation can and do exist side by side and are not mutually exclusive. And, secondly, it has tried to indicate something of the nature of the

interaction between them in institutional terms. We have seen how ideological imperatives have informed every facet of Egyptian life, particularly government and law, the economy and the military demands of the New Kingdom. Religion provided the stimuli, the supportive philosophy and the justifications for the Empire. This is borne out - if further evidence were needed - by the recently translated inscription on the Second Pylon at Karnak, reused shrine of Thutmoses III, which speaks of the Pharaoh's benefactions to the temple in gratitude for "the first campaign of victory which (my father) Amon had commanded.." (45). Indeed, it might be argued as an "inevitable conclusion .. that Egyptian religion was the heart of the civilisation" (46).

Writers on Egyptian religion do not necessarily distinguish between cosmology and theology. For the society itself, it did not really matter that a cosmology had never been clearly formulated. What did matter was that a reasonably coherent theology of rule was operative within the State. The former was open to question and interpretation on the tacit assumption that the gods might not answer back, but the latter - being politically enforcible - admitted of very limited debate (47). The consubstantial cosmologies of Egypt can be synthesised so that their divergencies are of no practical significance. Their essential import was that the gods were beneficent, they favoured the good land and personally directed its affairs through the divine-king. They decreed its changeless order which was laid down at creation. Historical events were ephemeral, mere sequential disturbances within an essential regularity. Fundamentally, the universe was imperturbably static, and its order was governed by the eternal principle of Maat.

Moral action was action which did not violate Maat. In practice, this meant that which did not contravene traditional norms. This was reflected in the papyri which were placed in the tombs of the dead to justify their earthly actions. Their lives had to be evaluated. At the supreme judgement by the gods, and the "weighing of the heart" (the seat of intelligence and will), the deceased was required to recite the ritual formula. "I have committed no injustice against men, I have not maltreated animals, I have not killed anyone... I did not deny bread to the hungry, or drink to the thirsty, or neglect to console the widow

and orphan..". If the heart then balanced Maat, and the judges were satisfied, the deceased was then admitted to the Kingdom of Osiris (48).

Egyptian religion, despite its acknowledged amorphousness, was a potent and practical force within a highly centralised theobasilic system. It had a marked other-worldly quality which appears to have been pervasive and enduring. As a mechanism of control, it possessed totalizing characteristics which were effective in both degree and extent, and which operated through the spiritual and politico-economic influences of well-endowed priesthoods. By the Empire period, Amon was coming to be seen as a singular deity with possible universal applications, but Egypt offered no universalising message. There was toleration of other non-Egyptian deities, but the Egyptian system itself was not for export either by proclamation or conquest.

Ancient Egyptian religion was essentially introverted, and peculiar to the 'beloved land'. The evidence points to a qualified but active acceptance of the authority of a supramundane dimension mediated through the divine being of the Pharaoh. A congruent system of ultimate explanation in which the social order was seen as a reflection of its cosmic counterpart.

ATHENS

Greek religion presents us with a number of interesting issues and - for our immediate purposes - one salient problem. If the Greeks were the first people, as such, to subject religious ideas to rationalistic scrutiny, in what sense can we speak of them as 'religious' ? And to what extent was this passion for critical enquiry the pre-occupation - or indulgence - of a leisured intellectual minority whose views were largely unrepresentative of the uncritically religious majority ? This issue may never be resolved (49) but it can be elucidated by an examination of the way in which Greek belief-systems operated in Athenian society.

Primitive Greek religion may have had its origins in the early invasions of the Chalcolithic period which, in turn, affected the Asiatic coast and the Aegean during the Mycenaean Age, ^c1400-1200 B.C. The decipherment of the Linear B tablets of this period shows that many of the major Greek gods, were being worshipped with sacrifices and offerings as early as the fifteenth century B.C. (50). The religion of Classical Athens, therefore, had at least a thousand years of history behind it, although the actual development of these ideas is difficult to trace. Perhaps the most crucial changes during this time reflect a diminution in the authority and functions of the Mycenaean king and the centrality of the palace shrine. These were broadened and democratized so that in Classical Athens there was a King Archon chosen by the citizen body, and city temples which were public property.

In the formative period, there appear to have been strong animistic elements in Greek religion; the veneration of natural phenomena such as springs, caves and mountains; of meteoric phenomena such as winds and rain; and cosmic phenomena of sun, moon and stars, so common to most ancient peoples. The Greek pantheon of later times consisted of a plurality of groups or families of gods which may be distinguished etymologically into those who came with the original invaders, those which belonged to the indigenous peoples of the peninsula, those which were subsequent importations, and those which seem to have been products of the emergent Greek culture (51).

During the developmental period, regions presented their own peculiarities, and differentiated between the gods in their own ways. But inevitably the uncertain federative nature of the Greek states demanded some degree of identification, selection and syncretism in the formation of the pantheon. The Greeks began to express their commonality in hegemonies and politico-cultural leagues which favoured religious ground-rules.

The writers Homer and Hesiod were both influential in shaping religious ideas. In the Iliad and the Odyssey, Homer presented a graphic

Dark Age image of the Olympian family which provided - albeit unintentionally and haphazardly - a kind of proto-theology for the Greeks which became the main literary basis of their education. Hesiod, writing some time after Homer, attempted a systemization of ideas about the Olympian gods/⁽⁵²⁾. In his Theogony (Birth of the Gods), the myths which linked with current rituals were given some semblance of order and unity. This advanced the processes of religious conceptualisation which were taking place in Greek society (53).

Well before Classical times, the Greek pantheon had crystallized around the following principal deities. The list is not exhaustive but it does indicate the major areas of concern (54).

- i) Ancient gods related to the gods of Olympus
Ouranos and his consort Ge (earth), Kronos (time) and his sister-wife Rhea the parents of Zeus.
- ii) The gods of Olympus
Zeus (sky), Hera (marriage), Poseidon (sea), Demeter (corn), Apollon (law), Artemis (hunting), Hermes (commerce), Athene (learning), Hephaistos (handicrafts), Aphrodite (procreation), Ares (war), and Dionysos (wine).
- iii) Subsidiary Deities:
Hestia (home), Eros (love), Helios (sun), Selene (moon), Pan (flocks), Persephone (springtime), and Hades (underworld).
- iv) Mortals who became gods:
Herakles (labour), Asklepios (healing).

In broad terms, the religious observances of Classical Greeks exhibit a well-attested dichotomy. There was the State religion represented by the official Olympianism and its attendant cults, and there were other recognised mystery cults which encouraged divination and sundry magico-religious practices, and - above all - satisfied the apparent need for individual spiritual assurance as well as mere ecstatic curiosity. Initially, the Olympian pantheon looks impressively coherent with the relationships and respective functions of its gods well-established. But on closer inspection we find that the goddesses

do not even have Greek names, and the "keystone to the whole arch", the marriage between Zeus and Hera looks like a dynastic union which may reflect the syncretistic processes which took place in early Greece.

Olympianism derived from the cults of family and tribe, and by extension became the religion of the State. It was pre-eminently the religion of the citizens, although non-citizens were allowed to participate in some of the festivals. In earlier times, Olympianism had had certain explanatory functions (55); in the Classical period, it still retained some of its cognitive elements which, in addition teach an implicit civic responsibility. Its emphasis was essentially prodemic (56). It evolved as a religious yet rational agency for the reinforcement of community consciousness. The protective capacities of Olympianism related specifically to the socio-political organism, and within its framework, it tended to be catholic in its applications. Despite its perceived inadequacies, there seems to be no direct evidence that some people turned to the mystery religions for social reasons, in fact, differential status and occupational positions were, to some extent, catered for within the Olympian system. For example, married women had their own festivals such as the Thesmophoria, from which men were rigorously barred. The festival had obvious fertility emphases, and was held in honour of Demeter. It was conspicuously phallic; pastries shaped like sexual organs were displayed and possibly manipulated (57). Artisans too, as an occupational group, also celebrated their crafts with specific rituals (58).

The mystery cults, on the other hand, appear to have had marked didactic and inspirational functions. If anything, they tended to be ademic (59) in emphasis. Their concern was not so much the community as the individual or, at best, the esoteric group. The term mysterion connoted something secret - in this case, a religious truth - which was restricted to a privileged group of initiates only. The teaching of the cults appears to have been principally directed towards purification and spiritual initiation, and to the personal assurance of immortality (60). A soteriological element was introduced which had connotations of meritorious conduct; a factor which was largely absent from State Olympianism. This was a thread which had persisted from early times in

Greek philosophy, notably that of the Pythagoreans and the Orphics (61), and is just detectable in Socrates (62).

Mystery ingredients were to be found in the related but very different cults of Dionysos and Orpheus, a possibly mythical Thracian poet and prophet of Dionysos, whose movements flourished mainly in Western (Italian) Greece. Popular Dionysianism was largely expressed through drama (see below), but some groups practised cathartic rites in which devotees were promised communion with the god through an induced ecstatic experience. Alternatively, Orphism enjoined its followers to lead disciplined lives of renunciation and abstinence as a way of salvation. It purged Dionysianism of its orgiastic aspects, and substituted an ascetic emphasis on respect for living creatures, expressed as vegetarianism, and a belief in the transmigration of souls (63). Little is known about it during the Classical period, although something of its influence can be inferred from contemporary writings. Plato for one, certainly had ambivalent attitudes towards it; he was possibly influenced by the self-disciplinary emphasis of Orphism, yet was quite prepared to be critical of its more suspect practitioners (64).

The distinction between Olympianism and the mystery cults tends to break down at the operational level. There were movements which operated with the blessing of the State which had unmistakable mystery-cult characteristics. The Eleusinian mysteries are a case in point. They were not strictly part of the State religion, yet they were given official recognition and encouragement. They were celebrated as Lesser Mysteries and Greater Mysteries, and involved both public and private rituals. The public ceremonies which have been documented (see, e.g. Aristophanes, *The Frogs*) involved rites in Athens and Eleusis including a mass procession. The private ceremonies, on the other hand, took place at Eleusis, and are still shrouded in secrecy. The rituals were in honour of Demeter and her daughter Persephone (Kore), and were open to all - except unpurified murderers - even slaves and non-Greeks, providing they could repeat the ritual formulae. The organisation was quite involved. The celebrations were managed by the Archon Basileus together with two assistants from the traditional priestly families (the Eumolpids and the Kerykes) and two citizens, and a supervisor elected by the Assembly. The rituals, which consisted of "things said", and "things enacted" and "things shown", were

conducted by the Hierophant (the High Priest of Demeter) and his assistants. He too was an Eumolpid, and held office for life. He was maintained at public expense and was a dignitary of some status: he called the public truce to herald the celebrations; he alone could enter the sacred Anaktoron; and he was the only person who could reveal the 'Hiera' the sacred objects, to the initiates. The Hierophant's assistants included some priestesses who were also drawn from the same priestly families. Initiates were required to make small payments to some of these functionaries, but the total cost for any one devotee did not normally exceed 15 drachmai (65). It would appear that although the nature of the Mysteries has never - to our knowledge - been resolved, their content was almost certainly concerned with the fate of the soul after death. The references in the Hymn to Demeter to the revitalisation of the corn would seem to signify this as the corn was a symbol of new life.

Generally speaking, Greek philosophy of the Classical period had been considerably influenced by earlier Ionian thinkers whose anticipatory probings had displayed an unusual intellectual daring. This gave way in the second half of the sixth century B.C. to the more mystical approaches of men such as Pythagoras and Xenophanes of Colophon, a wandering teacher of the sixth century B.C., who made the subversive observation that different peoples make their gods in their own images (66). He defended his anti-Olympian scepticism by mocking the ludicrous and criminal antics of the gods, as described by Homer and Hesiod (67). This was the legacy of the classical philosophers, many of the Sophist tradition, and most notably of such figures as Parmenides of Elea, "the first Greek philosopher who reasons" (68), of Socrates and later of Plato, all of whom tended to be rather idiosyncratic and guardedly rationalistic in their attitudes towards orthodox religion (69).

The uncertainties for the individual Greek who may have been seeking some kind of spiritual assurances in an age of religio-philosophical pluralism is highlighted by the confusing responses which were given on just one key cosmological theme, namely, what happens to the soul (psyche) at death? Olympianism taught that the souls of the departed joined the shades which tenuously existed in the underworld realm of Hades. Whether such views were convincing to the ordinary Greek is disputable. Apart from the mystery, particularly the Orphic cults, there seems to have been

little clarity about the question of survival. Certainly the more cerebral doctrines of immortality of the Pythagoreans and of Plato made little impression on the majority. The Thracian Getae, who did believe in the possibility of immortal life, were reported as a curiosity (70). Perhaps most Greeks only really expected to live on in the memories of their successors, but at the same time remained apprehensively optimistic. One problem arises in trying to reconcile the apparent scepticism about immortality and the well-attested Greek fear of the ghosts of the dead. Whatever theological contradictions are involved in these conflicting attitudes, it was a sine qua non of Greek kinship obligation that the rites of burial were carried out according to prescribed customs. There is little doubt that this was associated in the Greek mind with the need to be protected from the post-mortal powers of the departed (71). Combined with this, there may also have been the desire for a quiet and uneventful future existence which, in turn, required the correct burial rituals. Plutarch relates the instance of how after the battle of Plataea, the Plataeans agreed to bring the slain who were buried on the battlefield offerings of food, wine and perfumes every year. This was apparently done conscientiously with great ceremony and invocations that the dead would take part in the feast (72). These views were not peculiar to the Greeks, but with them they assume a particular interest in the light of the increasingly rationalistic attitudes which were current in some other areas of activity, particularly politics.

Religious interests extended to the subject of fate (moira), and divination, mainly for telling the future, was common in numerous forms ranging from the 'readings' of animal entrails (hieroskopia), often used before battle - a practice known among the Spartans, which seems to have been highly respected by Xenophon - to the interpretation of dreams (oneirokrisia). These deductive and intuitive practices were closely bound up with religious ideas, and it may be that the highest form of divination was mediumship, the ability to receive a direct message from the gods whilst in a trance-like state. What evidence there is (73), suggests that the Pythia - usually referred to as a priestess - at Delphi, perhaps the most influential Oracle in Greece, operated on this basis. This shrine to Apollo which was only one of some thirty or so oracular

temples, was the centre of a panhellenic consultancy service which had become thoroughly institutionalised by Classical times (74). But the vagueness and ambiguities of its predictions had prompted some sceptical spirits to question its inspirations (75).

The wide spectrum of divinatory practices (mantike) were also associated with retribution (nemesis) arguably another kind of 'fate'. In the classical mind, this was often connected with hubris, an overweening pride which was regarded as a source of conflict with other men, and an affront to the gods. Nemesis was interpreted in a number of ways. As an impersonal causal agency; as the direct retribution of the gods; or perhaps as the malevolent acts of shadowy, little understood daemonic forces which even the gods could not completely control (76).

Orthodox Olympianism was also undermined and qualified by other factors. Herodotus, who represents a more conservative strain in Greek thought, contends as a philosophical axiom of history that "God suffers no one to be proud except himself" (77). But for later pragmatic politicians such as Critias, one of the Thirty Tyrants who controlled Athens after the Peloponnesian War, the Homeric-Hesiodic belief that Zeus punishes human crime with, say, agricultural disaster, was just a device for keeping the subjects in order. Such views were not untypical of the Sophists (78) who differentiated between *nomos* (law or custom) which reflected man-made conventions, and *physis* which reflected the natural order. Religion was seen as part of the *nomoic* superstructure of society; politics dealt with hard realities, and should be conducted by the only law visible in the natural world, the law of the jungle (79).

The organisation of Athenian ritual observance was graduated through various levels from the *oikos* to the State temples, which were not places of worship, but merely sanctuaries in which the gods were housed. Originally they were of wood, but stone temples are known from ^c700 B.C. From this time they became more numerous and increasingly elaborate, and the finest artists and sculptors were employed in their construction, particularly by city tyrants. The rituals themselves required no temples;

the processions and even the sacrifices were performed largely in the open-air. Altars were to be found everywhere, but rarely inside temples, so a man could make his own sacrifices, perhaps no more than a meal of meat, without the intercessory aid of a priest. The figures of the gods themselves were sometimes brought from the temples for religious celebrations at the stadium or the theatre, but very little took place within the temple itself.

The priesthood was very different from its Egyptian counterpart. In fact, the term 'priest' is, in one sense, something of a misnomer when applied to Greek religious functionaries. There were professional priests and priestesses drawn from traditional families associated with particular cults, but many were lay people who were appointed in much the same way as other deme and city officials to carry out the appropriate cultic observances. There was, therefore, no development of a large-scale priestly class. In the main, no special training was required, and priests were not expected to lay claims to a prerequisite vocational experience or sense of calling. There were no charismatic expectations, except where certain mediumistic qualities were called for in the illuminati of the mystery cults and the oracles. The priest's task was not normally dignified by prophetic presumptions; his religious duties were simply part of his duties as a State official.

The offering of sacrifice, prayer and libations are the accepted ingredients of most religious rituals; what we find in Greek religious practice which was not so usual was the inclusion of games and drama.

The origins of the games are somewhat obscure. There are references to them in the Homeric poems, although at this time they do not appear to have been associated with any particular cult or celebrated at any special sanctuary. In the early days, they seem to have been mainly occasions for competitive sports, but subsequently they were connected with heroes such as Heracles and Theseus and thus took on a religious character. Most Greek cities had their own games organised around a local religious cult. Most importantly, there were four great panhellenic festivals of games; the Pythian (Delphic), Isthmian, Nemean and the Olympian. The Olympian games

traditionally began in 776 B.C., perhaps one of the most reliable dates in early Greek history. It was held at the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, and celebrated, like the modern Olympics, every four years.

Olympia was a sacred precinct occupied exclusively by temples, dwellings for the priests and officials, and public buildings and special areas connected with the Games. It was a sanctuary which housed some of the choicest treasures of Greek art. (see PAUSANIAS Bk. 5). The festival occupied a central place in Greek life, giving immeasurable status to the participants. However, it was not until ^c470 B.C. that the decision was taken to erect the magnificent Doric temple which took about fifteen years to complete and housed the chryselephantine statue of Zeus, the patron deity (80). The embellishment of Olympia continued until the time of Hadrian (2nd century A.D.). The Games were suppressed in 393 A.D., and much of it actually destroyed in 426 A.D.

The Altis (sanctuary) was reserved for the gods; the officials lived outside. The supreme governing body was the Olympian Senate who controlled the revenues and the organisation. The magistrates and priests, who were Eleans of good family, were elected for the period of each Olympiad. They were led by three High Priests together with their assistants and officials including the heralds who went abroad to proclaim the Olympic truce. Lesser sanctuaries had their own staffs, but were generally supervised by the senate who were maintained at public expense.

The festival itself lasted seven days in all. The first two days were largely devoted to the prescribed religious rituals at the seven altars which included a sacrifice to the patron deity of the sanctuary. The next four days were mainly taken up with musical, athletic and equestrian events, and the last day with a banquet and procession. Mainly, it was the occasion for a variety of male athletics together with some chariot racing, but singing by trained choruses and public readings by writers and poets were also included. Women were not allowed at most Games, although at Olympia the priestess of Demeter was given a place of honour near the judges. There was probably also a choice of various not-so-cultural amusements in

the fairground atmosphere of the festivals, which drew large and enthusiastic crowds. Prizes consisted simply of crowns of wild olive which carried tremendous prestige. An olympionikos (a victor at the games) - who would have trained from his youth - could virtually command the freedom of the city, and possibly live in comfort for the rest of his life.

The games were primarily religious festivals. A truce was declared between warring poleis, and a state of temporary peace was observed. The celebrations were times when hostilities were ostensibly forgotten. Yet there was the tacit reaffirmation of interpoleis rivalry with every competitive act. For the individual contestants, who sometimes found a kind of idealised literary immortality (81), the games may well have been matters of personal pleasure. But the differential quality of the representative teams must have reflected something of the size and recruitment potential of the wealthier cities. But despite this, the games manifested the underlying cultural unity of the Greeks which in the chequered Classical period found all too infrequent expression.

The theory that games and sociability are really playforms of sociation (82), is particularly relevant to the matter of Greek drama. In the retelling of myths, the tragedies mirrored the serious concerns of human existence. The plays themselves often give the impression of courses of ethical history in the form of entertainment. The Greeks apparently welcomed the reiteration of these refluent moral themes, which were cast into sharper relief by the value problems posed by the Peloponnesian War. The War was possibly the most prolific period for writers and artists in Athens, and a challenge to the intellectuals who sometimes tended to adopt a rational but uncomfortable neutrality.

Little is known about the origins of Greek drama, but the choral lyric which often comprised an exchange between the chorus and the leader, had been developed into an art form by the middle of the sixth century B.C. Later, by ^c500 B.C. - perhaps at the inspiration of Thespis of Athens - a third element, the answerer (hupocrites) was introduced, and the unfolding of the tragedy became something of a moral debate. During the fifth century B.C., tragedy was normally presented as

a religious ceremony in honour of Dionysos. There were three main festivals in the year, the Rural Dionysia in December, the Lenae in January and the Great (or City) Dionysia in March. As with the games, celebrations began with religious invocations, sacrifices, and gifts to the temple of Dionysos. Besides the performances of tragedies and comedies at the Theatre, which usually commenced a little after dawn, there were choral contests and general revelries which lasted several days. The entire occasion was presided over by the priest of Dionysos, but it was organised by State officials who were themselves at the festivals.

There were no Athenian impresarios, as such, the expense of the play was customarily borne as a 'liturgy' by one of the wealthier citizens, and it was usually produced and directed by the author who might also act as the leader. The actors in Greek drama were all males. Women's parts were played by men or boys, and masks were worn to give identity to the various characters. After Classical times, the entire production operation became more professionalised at every level. Payment was introduced (theorikon) so that citizens could attend the plays. This encouraged the spread of culture and, at the same time, fostered the inculcation of the civic ideal (83).

The theatre was an integral part of Athenian life. This can be seen particularly in relation to what was probably the most important dramatic festival, the City Dionysia. In this, the entire community was involved. The Archon organised the financing of the festival and determined, with the help of his assistants, which plays were eligible for the Competition. The patron might be invited to participate as producer and/or director together with the respective authors, actors and musicians. Judgement of the plays was taken very seriously, and any attempt to tamper with the actual selection of the judges - which was by lot - was regarded as a capital offence. Attic drama was closely bound up with religion. The image of Dionysos was normally housed in the temple of the theatre precinct, but as part of the preparations a re-enactment of the coming of Dionysos from Eleutherai (N.W. Attica) to Athens was celebrated. There was a public holiday, prisoners were released on bail, processions took

place, the sons of those who had died in the service of the state paraded, and - not least of all - there were sacrifices and the pouring of libations. The festival included not only the plays; usually in groups of three, but also - as we have seen - choruses and dancing. Dionysos or Bacchus (Dionysos Bromios - the lively one) is usually seen as a god of wine, but it is probably correct to see him also as a god of fertility. His worship was marked by joy and public exuberance, but it apparently also had a darker side - as represented by the ecstatic extravagances of some women devotees depicted by Euripides in the *Bacchae*.

Ritual was part of daily life, and it may be that the reason Plato (*The Republic*) wanted to expel playwrights along with other poets from his ideal State is that he thought them worth expelling (84), they obviously had such a considerable influence on the community and its affairs that their presence militated against Plato's bases for social stability.

These festivals were expression of Athenian religiosity which highlight some features of their normative structures. Nowhere does drama exactly reflect everyday usages; conventions are observed which are believed either to set examples to the public, or at least command general respect. Whilst a playwright such as Aeschylus appears to be trying to understand the divine will, and reconcile his audiences to its seeming inconsistencies, Euripides appears to undermine the authority of the gods, and suggests that they are less noble than their human subjects (85). If Euripides secularises tragedy, Aristophanes burlesques it (86) in the Old Comedy, where virtually any obscenity of gesture or word was permissible. On the Athenian stage violence - though implied - was not shown and blasphemy was not allowed. Blasphemy, in this context, did not mean swearing in the name of a deity, or disparagement of the gods - this was often done especially in the caustic comedies of Aristophanes. In fact, abusive and indecent language may have sometimes been used quite deliberately for apotropaic purposes, to avert the ill-will of possible unseen powers. Blasphemy was much more concerned with what the Athenians understood by atheism and impiety.

During the Classical period, there were several cases of eminent people - usually artists or intellectuals - who were hounded for their alleged 'impiety'. Pheidias the principal sculptor of the Parthenon and the superintendent of the design work of the Acropolis; Protagoras, Anaxagoras and Diagoras who were philosopher-teachers, and, of course, the unclassifiable Socrates. We also gain the impression that certain groups, namely the Sophists, sometimes had to teach privately for fear of informers (87). Aristophanes, who appears to be extremely liberal, but who, in fact, adhered very much to traditional values, may have directly pointed the finger at Socrates long before the famous trial of 399 B.C. when Socrates was condemned to death. It is arguable whether he attacked him directly, but he did make Socrates the butt of what may have been a general ferment of distrust and even misunderstanding (88). Socrates was eventually accused of teaching the young to argue in new and irresponsible ways, and these practices were associated with an interest in "things in the heavens and below the earth", that is, astronomy which together with meteorology were indictable as forms of atheism (89).

Not enough is known of these impiety trials, or just how many there were. Perhaps they can be dismissed as exceptional manifestations of the suspicions and anxieties of a people under seige; certainly they were all part of the general backwash of the war. What they do call into question is the vaunted parrhesia of the Athenian system. Was the freedom of thought and expression any more than a romantic myth? (90). Or is the 'lesson' of Athens simply that repression and democracy were not - and never have been - mutually incompatible in practice.

The entire panoply of Olympianism was underpinned by a body of myths which can be variously interpreted. Myths are not exclusively about the gods, although this is a position which has been taken by some scholars (91). After all, the stories of the Trojan Wars, which may be forms of poetic history, or, say, Perseus and Medusa, are myths about heroes rather than gods, although they do have the kind of religious associations which seem to be inextricably interwoven with myths. It is probably also too circumscribed to treat myths as though they were no more than functional

validations of existing institutions (92), or alternatively to emphasise simply their speculative and problem-reflecting properties (93). The confident attempts to formulate graduated theories of religious development from the study of myths is now regarded as ill-considered, and in many respects positively mistaken (94). Myths - and this is almost certainly the case with Greek myths - have a multi-dimensional quality which cannot easily be reduced to single explanatory variables (95). To complicate matters still further the relatively unrestrained license of the poets gave rise to regional variations (96) with their rhapsodic elaborations of mythical events. But in all this, the religious element was not far away. The Greek myths both validate and speculate; they can act as explanatory mechanisms, but at the same time - mundane as it may seem - they are probably also just entertaining narratives.

Greek religion despite its obvious and confusing heterogeneities, has been praised by writers for its liberal and tolerant orientations (97). Others (98), in an attempt to resolve or, at least, understand the existing contradictions, have taken up the distinction between Apollonian and Dionysian religious orientations (99). Greek culture is seen as an ongoing tension between the Apollonian aristocratic virtues of individualism and self-assertion and the Dionysian classless values of mystical collectivism. But this distinction between rational Apollonianism and irrational Dionysianism is regarded as another source of confusion by some Greek scholars who see it as a simplistic dichotomy which ignores actual cases and disregards historical specificities (100).

The social significance of Greek religion is something of a problem. It is extremely difficult to assess its place in Athenian society. It appears as both a dependent and an independent variable in different social situations and - what is more perplexing - in similar social situations. And the rationality of these differential responses is not easy to identify.

The evidence is conflicting. For example, Greek temples were normally regarded as sacrosanct, yet when necessity demanded this could be overlooked. So early in the Peloponnesian War, when Pericles ordered the people living in outlying areas into the city, some had to live temporarily in temples

and shrines, although some places were still strictly forbidden including the Acropolis and the Temple of Eleusian Demeter at Athens (101). During the emergency, even land that had been put under a curse was eventually built on, despite the warnings of the Pythian (Delphic) oracle (102). Yet, on other occasions, oracles were implicitly obeyed, even where it meant radical changes in traditional practice. This happened in the sixth year of the war at Delos, where, because of an oracular pronouncement, ceremonies of purification were performed, and the announcement made that no longer would anyone be allowed to be born or die on the island (103). Again, in the early years of the conflict at Corcyra, we find that people who had fled to the temples for sanctuary were dragged out and killed at the altars whilst others were actually walled up in the temple of Dionysos to die (104). In Athens itself, during the great plague which struck in 429 B.C., the temples were full of dead bodies, and the people were so overwhelmed by the catastrophe that Thucydides observes that they became indifferent to the rule of religion or law. Indeed, he argues that things were so bad that consultation of oracles, and temple prayers were so useless that people "paid no further attention to such things (105).

Athenian religion, therefore, was perhaps never totalising, although it was always pervasive. Contrary to the advocacy of the dominant nature of middle class ideologies, it can be seen that for the Athenian middle classes and certainly the intellectuals, religion may have been in decline, yet it could be invoked for and by the proletariat for whom it still had a considerable measure of emotional resonance. A case in point is the incident of the generals who after their naval victory at Arginusae had neglected to bury their dead and were therefore accused of impiety and condemned to death. It was the relatives of the dead - members of the public - who came to the tribunal and asked for vengeance. But whether the people's indignation was aroused because the souls of the dead were in jeopardy, or simply because there had been an act of alleged criminal negligence - with hints of cowardice - is difficult to say. Similar questions arise in relation to the desecration of the Herms on the eve of the Sicilian expedition. Theoretically, this was an act of religious impiety which may have been superstitiously associated with a danger of failure of the military operation. In practice, it may also have been seen as an act of vandalism which was directed - almost traitorously - at the city itself. In analytical terms, therefore, Athenian religious beliefs and practices, insofar as they can be discerned, would appear to constitute a system of selective explanation.

SUMMARY

EGYPT

- 1) Plurality of syncretistically related religious traditions.
- 2) Operative congruent system of ultimate explanation closely harnessed to the interests of the State.
- 3) Totalising ideology with supranaturalist orientations.
- 4) Non-universalising and ademic (non-participatory).
- 5) Psyche-centric in emphasis.
- 6) Hierarchically organised professional priesthood.
- 7) Differentiation/separation of esoteric (nobility) and public observances.
- 8) High investment in religious sector.
- 9) Marginal occult practices.
- 10) High effectiveness as agent of social control

ATHENS

- 1) Coherent corpus of related religious traditions with mystery cult and rationalistic philosophical school additions.
- 2) Polytheistic system of selective explanation enjoying State patronage but not closely harnessed to State interests.
- 3) Supernaturalistic beliefs with humanistic orientations.
- 4) Qualified universalising emphasis and highly prodemic (participatory).
- 5) Psyche-centric emphasis especially in some cults and philosophers.
- 6) Democratically organised largely non-professional priesthood.
- 7) Non-differentiation and separation of cultic practices.
- 8) High investment in civic-religious sector.
- 9) Marginal occult practices.
- 10) Ambiguous effectiveness as agent of social control.

1. Note the position of MAX WEBER Sociology of Religion METHUEN 1965.
2. See ROLAND ROBERTSON The Sociological Interpretation of Religion BLACKWELL 1970.
3. Note the form of essentialism taken by C. LEVI-STRAUSS (The Savage Mind WEIDENFELD 1966) who argues in a neo-Kantian way that human categories of thought are really forms of a universal conceptual algebra which simply find different expressions in different societies.
4. See the article by CLIFFORD GEERTZ Religion as a Cultural System in M. BANTON (Ed.) Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion TAVISTOCK 1966. Geertz cites examples of studies which merely highlight well-established propositions that "initiation rites are means for the establishment of sexual identity" and that "myths provide charters for social institutions", etc. (p.2.).
5. C. GEERTZ *ibid.* p.4.
6. For a development of this theme with particular relevance to the modern world, see PETER BERGER A Rumour of Angels PENGUIN 1972.
7. For an elaboration of these ideas, see H. RINGGREN Fatalistic Beliefs in Religion, Folklore and Literature S.C.M. 1967.
8. H. FRANKFORT et al Before Philosophy *op. cit.* p.12.
9. Note, for example, JEAN DANIELOU Phenomenology of Religions and Philosophy of Religion in Mercia Eliade & Joseph Kitagawa (Eds) The History of Religions pp.68-9 UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS 1959.
10. There has long been a suspicion that the mutilation of the Hermae was due to Alcibiades and some of his friends. One of this set, Andocides, was arrested and claimed informer's indemnity, implicating others who were either put to death or condemned in their absence (THUCYDIDES 6. 60). He was released and went into exile though afterwards he returned under a general amnesty (403 B.C.). Later, (399 B.C.) he was accused of further impiety, this time in connection with the Eleusinian mysteries (see below), and was acquitted after making his defence (On the Mysteries) which - as a speech - still survives. It has never been known for certain who the actual perpetrators were. Thucydides remarks that the act was even believed to be evidence of a revolutionary conspiracy to overthrow the democracy itself (6. 27). Others have maintained that it may actually have been the work of agents of Syracuse and Corinth who had most to gain in impeding the expedition (See J. BURY and R. MEIGGS A History of Greece pp.294-6). The issue was complicated by the additional accusation that there had also been a profanation of the Eleusinian mysteries (see Note 65) in which mock celebrations of the rites had taken place in private houses. Again, Alcibiades and his group were cited, although this may have all been a plot on the part of his enemies (THUCYDIDES 6. 28). Alcibiades was indicted but never stood trial although

(continued)

10. he was condemned in his absence and his property was confiscated (See PLUTARCH Alcibiades 19-22 and Xenophon Hellenica 1. 4. 14, the most recent appraisal being by J. HATZFELD Alcibiade PARIS 1951). Others have been accused of divulging the mysteries: the Athenians offered one talent to whoever would kill Diagoras the Melian, and two talents if they captured him alive, and PAUSANIAS mentions the house of Poulytion "where distinguished Athenians are supposed to have carried out a parody of an initiation at Eleusis (Guide to Greece Vol. 1. 1. 5)
11. This can be seen from the work of G. STEINDORFF and K. SEELE When Egypt Ruled the East op. cit. p.132-155.
12. H. FRANKFORT Kingship and the Gods (1948) op. cit. and Ancient Egyptian Religion (1948) op. cit. and R.T. RUNDLE-CLARK Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt THAMES & HUDSON 1959.
13. J.E. MANCHIP-WHITE Ancient Egypt op. cit. p.21.
14. HENRI FRANKFORT Ancient Egyptian Religion op. cit. Chapter 1.
15. A suggestion of the Ramesside specialist, Dr. K.A. Kitchen (University of Liverpool).
16. M. COVENSKY The Ancient Near Eastern Tradition op. cit. p.72,
17. LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF MYTHOLOGY p.11 HAMLIN 1968.
18. Compare, for example, the dual nature of some ancient female deities such as the Egyptian Hathor and the Mesopotomian Innana who were endowed with both warmly beneficent and coldly aggressive characteristics. This may not only reflect the ambivalent attitudes to female deities found in some ancient cultures, it may also be an attempt to grapple with the contradictory elements in the human psyche.
19. G. STEINDORFF and K. SEELE When Egypt Ruled the East op. cit. p142.
20. Note the arguments of R.T. RUNDLE-CLARK Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt op. cit. Compare S. MORENZ Egyptian Religion METHUEN 1960.
21. The position of vizier is not incompatible with that of kinsman; a brother or son might well also be vizier according to Old Kingdom practice.
22. J.A. WILSON (Co-author) Before Philosophy op. cit. pp.81-2.
23. The term 'mythopoeic' is commonly used by J.A. Wilson and particularly by Henri Frankfort in a rather speculative 'read-back' way to denote the conceptual orientations of "ancient man".
24. See S. BRANDON Religion in Ancient History Chapter 8. ALLEN & UNWIN 1969.
25. The Memphite Theology is reminiscent of the Logos Doctrine of the New Testament (John Chapter 1) - a point that Breasted noted - and may have influenced the philosopher, Philo of Alexandria who was teaching immediately prior to the New Testament period.

26. See J.M. PLUMLEY The Cosmology of Ancient Egypt in CARMEN BLACKER & MICHAEL LOWERE Ancient Cosmologies pp.38-9 ALLEN & UNWIN 1975.
27. H. FRANKFORT (Ancient Egyptian Religion op. cit. p.10) insists that Ptah was never actually depicted as a bull or believed to be incarnate in a bull. But presumably there was some believed relationship between the procreative powers of the bull and the procreative powers of the earth-god, Ptah.
28. G. STEINDORFF & K. SEELE When Egypt Ruled the East op. cit. pp.140-41.
29. HERODOTUS II, 67.
30. These rituals are known primarily from the relief of Seti I (Nineteenth Dynasty) in the temple of Abydos. See A.R. DAVID Religious Rituals at Abydos ARIS & PHILLIPS 1973.
31. For the later period, see HERODOTUS II, 59-60.
32. A. GARDINER The Attitudes of the Ancient Egyptians to Death and the Dead CAMBRIDGE 1935.
33. The Book of the Dead indicates that in the Netherworld, men will inhabit the windswept Field of Rushes where he carries on life as before. But this is just the teaching of one particular tradition. As one religious text puts it, "O Atum, what does this mean that I must go into the desert? It has no water, it has no air, it is very deep, very dark, boundless". See A. ERMAN The Religion of Egypt op. cit. p.229.
34. H. FRANKFORT Ancient Egyptian Religion op. cit. p.126. This view should be compared with that of H.W. FAIRMAN The Triumph of Horus BATSFORD 1974.
35. The Book of the Dead Chapt. 175.
36. See ALAN SHORTER The Egyptian Gods R.K.P. 1978 concerning the "Contendings of Horus and Seth".
37. There is, of course, the partial exception of Tutankhamun, although even in this case, the evidence suggests that an unsuccessful attempt to rob the tomb had actually been made. See H. CARTER The Tomb of Tutankhamun CASSELL 1922-3 and PENELOPE FOX Tutankhamun's Treasure O.U.P. 1951.
38. For example, a very early text of the fifth Dynasty, reads: "As for any people who take possession of this tomb.. or do any evil thing to it, judgement shall be had...by the great god" See R.O. FAULKNER The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts O.U.P. 1969. and The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts Vol. I ARIS & PHILLIPS WARMINSTER 1973. It should be noted that curses were often directed not against the violaters of the tombs themselves, but against the violaters of the endowments which maintained the tombs and the mortuary-cults connected with them. Spiritual penalties were therefore being invoked for the enemies of the priesthood rather than the deceased.
M. MURRAY The Splendour that was Egypt op. cit. p.139.

39. For a specialised treatment, see T.E. PEET The Great Tomb Robberies of the 20th Dynasty VOLS. I & II (1930).
40. J.A. WILSON The Culture of Ancient Egypt op. cit. p.233.
41. Note the stories of the 21st Dynasty King, Menkheperre at a time when - according to A. GARDINER (Egypt of the Pharaohs op. cit. p.318) - women were becoming more influential in court circles.
42. This position is taken by J.A. WILSON particularly in relation to the Old Kingdom. See The Culture of Ancient Egypt op. cit. p.92.
43. H. FRANKFORT Ancient Egyptian Religion op. cit. p.61ff. following the teachings of Ptahhotep, an Old Kingdom Vizier. in J.H. BREASTED Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt (1912)
44. This is the position taken by J.A. WILSON (Before Philosophy op. cit. p.104) who maintains that the earlier periods were characterised by an emphasis on action and life, whilst the later periods were marked by an emphasis on death and repose - resignation being a feature of a civilisation in decline.
45. Found in this pylon by Henri Chevrier during the 1953-4 excavations. See CHARLES NIMS "Thutmosis III's Benefactions to Amon" in G.E. KADISH (Ed.) Studies in Honour of John A. Wilson UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO 1969.
46. R.T. RUNDLE-CLARK op. cit. p.26.
47. Note how in modern Christian movements it is possible to make radical criticisms of theological verities, but not the ecclesiastical procedures which affect the actual organisation and raisons-d'etre of the systems. See ERIC CARLTON The Unitarians in England op. cit.
48. BARBARA SEWELL Egypt Under the Pharaohs op. cit. p.108.
49. For a discussion of this problem, see E.R. DODDS The Greeks and the Irrational UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS 1951.
50. See JACQUETTA HAWKES Dawn of the Gods CHATTO & WINDUS 1968.
51. A number of Greek cults almost certainly derive from the pre-Mycenaean Minoan culture of Crete; that may even extend to the worship of Athena, the patron goddess of Athens. It may also be significant that early Attica and Argos who have the longest royal genealogies known in Greece, had female deities - again a feature of the fertility religion of the Minoan civilisation. See H.D. KITTO The Greeks op. cit. p.18. As an example of the historical 'transformation' of a particular deity, Aphrodite, see GEOFFREY GRIGSON The Goddess of Love CONSTABLE 1976.
52. M.I. FINLEY (The Ancient Greeks p.30) Note that C. SELTMAN (The Twelve Olympians p.48) insists that most Greeks were probably untroubled by such "wildly absurd" tales.

53. See particularly the analysis by MICHAEL GRANT Myths of the Greeks and Romans Parts I and II MENTOR 1962.
54. See KARL KERENYI The Gods of the Greeks THAMES & HUDSON 1951.
55. For example, the conflict between Greece and Troy is 'explained' by the famous story of the "judgement of Paris", prince of Troy, when as a consequence of his unfortunate choice of the most beautiful goddess, he compounded the mistake by 'seducing' the legally unavailable Helen, wife of Menelaus of Sparta.
56. The term prodemic (pro + demos) is being used here to denote that which is done specifically to inculcate community-mindedness and aid community activity.
57. See ARISTOPHANES Thesmophoriazusaë
58. Artisans celebrated mainly at the Chalkeia, in honour of Athene Ergane (Athene the worker) their patron goddess, and Hephaistos, the patron god of the smiths. MARIE DELCOURT quoted by R. FLACELIERE Daily Life in Greece op. cit. p.200. See too R.A. TOMLINSON Greek Sanctuaries particularly p.36ff. ELEK 1976.
59. Ademic is here used in contradistinction to prodemic (as Note 56). Although this would not be so in the case of the Eleusinian or Dionysian rites which both had a marked 'community' emphasis.
60. MARTIN NILSSON Greek Popular Religion COLUMBIA 1940.
61. See A.H. ARMSTRONG An Introduction to Ancient Philosophy METHUEN 1949.
62. See particularly the Apologia of Socrates (via Plato) in G. LOWES-DICKENSON Plato and his Dialogues PENGUIN 1947.
63. Orphism had a number of doctrines in common with contemporary Indian Jainism which 'emerged' at approximately the same time, i.e. in the middle of the sixth century B.C.
64. See The Republic 2, 364-5. Compare with the views of Herodotus in Bk. III chaps. 129-138.
65. M. NILSSON A History of Greek Religion p.179ff. LONDON 1952. The authority here is G. MYLONAS Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries, particularly pp.224ff. PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS 1961.
66. Compare Herodotus 1, 131 who suggests that the Greeks were not anthropomorphic, like the orientals, but elevated the gods to a status far beyond the likeness of men.
67. See particularly T.A. SINCLAIR A History of Classical Greek Literature pp.168-72. COLLIER 1962.
68. A.H. ARMSTRONG An Introduction to Ancient Philosophy op. cit. p.12.

69. See G. FIELD Plato and his Contemporaries METHUEN 1967.
70. A. ANDREWES Greek Society op. cit. p.258.
71. This may have been particularly feared where the dead had once been powerful people. See SÜETONIUS on Caligula: (59), and A. ANDREWES *ibid.* pp.258-9 re Agamemnon.
72. PLUTARCH Aristides 21. See also FUSTEL de COULANGES The Ancient City op. cit. pp.17-21.
73. See H.W. PARKE and D.E. WORMELL The Delphic Oracle OXFORD 1956.
74. It may not be possible to sustain the argument that Oracles were merely a palliative for common superstitious people, simply because they are hardly mentioned in Homer (See PARETI Part I p.234). The Delphic oracle in particular was better established after Homer's time, and was consulted by all classes: there is little evidence that ordinary citizens had a monopoly of superstition in this respect.
75. For oracular ambiguities, see HERODOTUS (7, 140ff.) and V. EHRENBERG: From Solon to Socrates op. cit. p.150.
76. Of the daemonic forces, Isocrates (To Philip 117) wrote, "we honour (them) neither in our prayers nor in our sacrifice, but seek to drive them off". Note also AESCHYLUS, Prometheus 511-18, who suggests that even Zeus cannot escape from Fate and the Furies (Erinyes).
77. HERODOTUS III, 10. Note also his accounts of Croesus (I, 32-34) and Polycrates (III, 39-43; 122-125).
See too A. TOYNBEE Greek Historical Thought MENTOR 1952.
78. See W. GUTHRIE The Greek Philosophers pp.82-4. METHUEN 1967.
Compare the arguments of KEITH THOMAS (Religion and the Decline of Magic p.638ff. WEIDENFELD 1971) that the rise of rationalistic philosophy in 17th century Europe contributed towards the decline of the more elemental cults and enhanced the claims of more humanistic religious systems.
79. T.B. WEBSTER Athenian Culture and Society op. cit. p.97.
80. See B. D'AGOSTINO Monuments of Civilization: Greece CASSELL 1974 and particularly A.R. & MARY BURN The Living Past of Greece pp.93ff. THE HERBERT PRESS 1980.
81. The bard of the games was Pindar (d.441 B.C.) who is generally regarded as one of the great epic poets of Greece.
82. See K. WOLFF The Sociology of Georg Simmel FREE PRESS 1950.

83. There is still some doubt about the actual cultural standards of the audiences. It may be that the ordinary Athenian was not the "walking handbook of mythology and legend" that posterity has sometimes assumed. Certainly the playwrights themselves did not necessarily assume it: for example, in Sophocles' play Oedipus Rex it can be seen how the author skilfully imparts information to an audience which was obviously not au fait with the background of the plot. In general, however, it can be fairly assumed that audiences were well acquainted with the mythic material which was used repeatedly by various playwrights. Note, for example, the popular reworking of the House of Atreus stories. See M. GRANT op. cit. pp.138ff.
84. See the argument of H. BALDRY The Greek Tragic Theatre p.15ff. CHATTO & WINDUS 1974. Note Plato's strictures on the influence of the arts in The Republic. He argued that children particularly should only be exposed to "the beautiful, the good and the true".
85. See EURIPIDES Orestes (285-293) and T.A. SINCLAIR op. cit. pp.266-7.
86. For example, ARISTOPHANES' Treatment of oracles and oracle mongering The Wasps (414 B.C.).
87. PLATO: Protagoras
88. ARISTOPHANES The Clouds (produced in 423 B.C.) See SIR K. DOVER op. cit.
89. See G. LOWES-DICKENSON on the trial of Socrates in Plato and his Dialogues op. cit.
90. See P. GREEN Ancient Greece op. cit. p.135. See also M. NILSSON Greek Piety O.U.P. 1948.
91. See W. GUTHRIE "Religion and Mythology of the Greeks" CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY VOL. II who certainly regards mythology as an aspect of religion.
92. B. MALINOWSKI Magic Science and Religion GARDEN CITY 1954.
93. See C. LEVI-STRAUSS The Savage Mind op. cit.
94. For an excellent general discussion of these and related problems, see G.S. KIRK Myth op. cit. Section I, and with special reference to the Greeks, The Nature of Greek Myths PENGUIN 1974.
95. For this approach, see SIR JAMES FRAZER. The New Golden Bough ANCHOR 1961, and those influenced by this school, particularly JANE HARRISON (Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion 1903) and A.B. COOK (Zeus). Kirk criticises, "What is wrong with such attempts is not merely their arbitrary quality and lack of supporting evidence, but also, and even more serious, their unspoken assumption that myths are all of one kind".
96. G. PARETI (op. cit. Vol. II, Part II) argues that this situation could not be prevented because of the lack of any powerful priestly class (p.525). For a broad, comprehensive treatment, see H.J. ROSE A Handbook of Greek Mythology METHUEN 1958.

97. In a rather outmoded plea for sexual emancipation, Charles Seltman sees Greek religion as characterised by:
- i) a lack of any class of caste of priests.
 - ii) the fact that humility and obedience were never Greek virtues since they presuppose an authoritarian system which demands or exacts them.
 - iii) a lack of dogma.
 - iv) an absence of missions - implying toleration and non-proselytism
 - v) no martyrs - this, it is argued follows from the absence of missions and dogma. The Athenian impiety trials, and the later Roman persecution of the Christians are regarded as essentially political in motive.
 - vi) no Sacred Book, as such, although Homer may be regarded as a kind of moral reference point.
Little preoccupation with sin - or therefore with misleading ideas about guilt or eternal punishment.
 - vii) tolerant attitudes to sex "...far more significant for mankind than anything as yet mentioned is the difference between Greek and most subsequent religious thought and practice concerned with the attitude to sex.." (p24).
- CHARLES SELTMAN The Twelve Olympians pp.15-25. PAN 1952.
This book is characteristically dedicated to "Pan and the Nymphs" and is really a eulogy of Greek religious and sexual practices. It is marred by a reiterated anti-Puritan bias. In effect, it is a polemic against authoritarian religion, particularly Christianity, and is consequently laced with the appropriate liberated conceits which are really no longer capable of shocking anyone. Compare the similar emphasis of his WOMEN IN ANTIQUITY op. cit.
As a summary, this has its perceptions, if an an analysis, it has its prejudices. Many of the points need qualifying in terms of the substantive histories, and, as we have seen, these are not without their ambiguities.
98. For example ALVIN GOULDNER Enter Plato op. cit.
99. Suggested by F. NIETZSCHE in The Birth of Tragedy and the Geneology of Morals DOUBLEDAY 1956. See also, F.M. CORNFORD From Religion to Philosophy HARPER 1957.
100. A. ANDREWES concedes that it may be a rough, though useful tool for the analysis of Greek religion as a whole Greek Society op. cit. pp.260-61.
101. THUCYDIDES 2. 17. In a quite different Hellenistic context, note the uproar that attended the violation of Eleusis by Demetrios.
CLAUDE MOSSE Athens in Decline p.121ff. R.K.P. 1973.
102. *ibid.* Here Thucydides makes the rationalistic point that disaster did not follow simply from the ignoring of oracles but from the tragedy of the war itself. Compare the arguments in R. FLACELIERE (Greek Oracles p.73ff. ELEK 1965) for a rational justification of the oracles and oracular ecstasy.
103. THUCYDIDES 3, 104.
104. THUCYDIDES 3. 81.
105. THUCYDIDES 2. 47 and 52.

CONCLUSIONS

In the foregoing analysis, we have identified a number of features in the development of two traditional societies. These features may only be sequential; it is not possible to say with any finality if they were causally related. We have also examined certain cardinal institutional areas which functioned as mechanisms of control and have hypothesised that they can be plausibly linked with the prevailing religious systems. These societies, Egypt and Athens, may be summarily compared as follows:

EGYPT

- 1) A religious ethic which is the source of ultimate explanation.
- 2) Centralised politico-economic control.
- 3) Scholar-literacy
- 4) Limited inter-stratum mobility
- 5) Qualified socio-cultural exclusivity.
- 6) Non-participatory (ademic) political organisation.
- 7) Central control of military system
- 8) Philosophically unreflective
- 9) Retrospective orientations
- 10) Social stasis: an adaptive 'unchangingness'
Cultural homogeneity and longevity.

ATHENS

- 1) A religious ethic which is the source of selective explanation.
- 2) Diffused politico-economic control.
- 3) High literacy
- 4) Rigid stratification with considerable citizen strata mobility.
- 5) Qualified socio-cultural exclusivity.
- 6) Participatory (prodemic) political organisation
- 7) Ecclesian (assembly) control of military systems with hegemonic ambitions.
- 8) Philosophically reflective
- 9) Ambiguity of orientation
- 10) Social astasis: inherently subject to disruption and change
Instability and impermanence.

As we have seen complex pre-industrial societies can be classified in a number of ways. Existing typologies have usually concentrated on socio-political organisation, and are venerated by tradition for their sociological utility. They are valuable but necessarily deficient for any balanced analysis of this kind of society because they concentrate too exclusively on stratificatory and economic variables. These societies may be typified as Static or Dynamic (chapt. 1) in relation to their capacities for innovation and modes of orientation in which religious ideology is an important variable. The hypothesis underlying this discussion has been that there is a direct correlation in any given society between the forms and effectiveness of social control and the nature of the prevailing ideology. Such a hypothesis can never be more than persuasive. There is no way in which this kind of relationship can be measured. We are dealing with incommensurable phenomena which are not susceptible to quantification, therefore definitive correlations cannot be unambiguously established. However, a plausible case can be made for linking the institutional mechanisms of these societies with the belief systems which informed their operation.

Ancient Egypt, especially in its Old Kingdom phase, represents a Static type of society. It was organised as a strict hierarchy of occupational gradings with the main divisions between the nobility, the administrative echelon and the peasants. It was ruled autocratically, and centrally controlled by an hereditary divine-king whose will was mediated through a small body of chief ministers. The will of the king was law; there were no codified legal prescriptions, only precedent. This, in turn, was based upon the expert interpretation of Ma'at (justice) which was implemented by a cadre of trained officials. This bureaucracy constituted the literati in a society where learning was the prerogative of a class of craft specialists. Social positions were ascriptively defined at the higher nobility levels, but status achievement was possible on a meritocratic basis within the ranks of the scribes, the priests and the military.

The economy was highly centralised with very limited autonomous market operations. There was no effective or emergent merchant class. State revenues were mainly directed towards the financing of large-scale

public works which were largely co-extensive with religious interests. Building programmes were made possible not, in the main, by slaves, but by a huge reservoir of feudal labour which was mobilised on an annual corvee basis. There were functionally specialised artisan groups but these had little or no politico-economic autonomy. It was a barter-exchange system which, because of its high grain production, was relatively independent of foreign markets. The need to import certain scarce goods, especially woods, necessitated a limited overseas trade. This encouraged a degree of ethnicity which was gradually eroded with the expansion which took place under the Empire.

The miscellany of polytheistic religious beliefs of Egypt were contained and harnessed by the State in the worship of the Pharaoh. Regardless of the heterogeneity of supernaturalistic ideas, ideological praxis was centred on the authority of the king. This focus on the theobasilic nature of a person actualised and expressed the concern for the traditional gods. Control was legitimised with the necessary mythic validations, and institutionalised in elaborate cultic practices performed by highly trained ritual specialists.

Egypt remained culturally homogeneous for about three thousand years. Adaptations did take place, but, in general, it was a eunomic and relatively stable society, particularly during the early period. The conflicts which took place between priesthoods, and the power struggles between the various Temple Complexes and the nobility were among the most important forces for change in a comparatively static society. It is notable that when disruption did occur, as in the First and Second Intermediate Periods (1), movements for reform and consolidation were persistently retrospective in their orientations.

By contrast, the Athenian system represents the Dynamic type of society. It was organised as an hierarchy of economic classes with clear legal divisions between the citizen and the non-citizen, and the free and the unfree. The society was democratically governed and diffusely controlled by a citizen body with rotating political roles. No bureaucracy was necessary; the Assembly of the citizens was the executive (2). All the

subsidiary boards and committees had limited independence of action; they were directly responsible to the Assembly which had final political, military and legal authority. Law was administered through a series of courts with differential powers and clear legal precedents.

Learning was not confined to a cultured and literary elite. There was an independent educational system which favoured the higher classes at the more advanced levels. The actual operation of the political system did not necessitate literacy, but it could hardly have functioned without informed citizens.

Except for the financing of extensive public works the State economy was not highly centralised and there was a low level of control of market operations. The developed money system facilitated autonomous entrepreneurial activity and an emergent merchant class. There was a variety of occupational categories, but limited functional differentiation of status which tended towards achievement rather than ascription valuations. Colonisation was comparatively small-scale for a predominantly maritime people, but overseas trade was well developed, and foreign markets exploited. There must be some doubt whether the Athenian achievement would have been possible at all in an economy of small farmers and rudimentary industry had it not been supported by the labour of a large slave population.

Greek religion, though pervasive, was not integrally harnessed to the needs of the State. Cults proliferated, and were administered either by traditional family-related priesthoods or by non-professionals as part of their occasional duties for the State. However, the role of religion in Athenian society is not entirely clear. There was a great deal of ritual activity, and vast amounts were expended on temples and festivals, but ambiguities arise because there is some uncertainty about the values which these were supposed to represent.

The Athenian social order was characterised by disruption and instability. For a society which had carefully codified laws, we find so many anomalies in its implementation. It was given to constitutional experimentation and artistic innovation. It was both brilliant and

and transient, democratic and violent. Its intellectuals tried to find satisfying legitimations for the system, and were ultimately divided between radical and traditional solutions for its structural weaknesses and its institutional dilemmas.

Anomalies vitiated both societies. Egypt, the theoretically autocratic society could be very flexible on certain issues. The attitudes to women and the rearing of children; the comparatively reasonable treatment of slaves and prisoners of war, a tolerance of other religious systems (3), and a capacity for adaptation within a virtually unchanging socio-cultural framework. There was a singular devotion and obedience to the person - and particularly the office - of the Pharaoh. But flaws were evident. The system had its weaknesses. The dynasties changed and the mandate transferred; reigns were not without question or incident. But despite its imperfections, it survived - largely through the unholy alliance of the military and the priesthoods - into an unprecedented cultural old-age.

Athens presents a quite different picture. As part of Greece, it was one of a number of potentially coalescent states which could never satisfactorily unite except in hegemonic leagues which were renowned for their dissention and fragility. It had upwardly mobile economic groups, and a strong middle class which in themselves suggest an atypical traditional society. But, at the same time, there was a clear and indelible demarcation between citizen and non-citizen. Democratic privileges were for citizens only, although the non-citizens were possibly better off in Athens than in many other Greek states.

Corresponding ambiguities obtained in other areas. Women though citizens, were subject to certain social and legal restraints; they had no vote, and played no direct part in the practical life of the city. Yet some women - notably the prostitutes and courtesans - were not subject to so many restrictions. Slavery too, suffered from similar anomalies. The evidence shows that the very best and possibly the very worst forms of slavery were to be found in this one state. Athens was ostensibly a liberal

society, encouraging political participation and promoting artistic expression. Yet allies were oppressed, intellectuals and political enemies proscribed, and public denunciations encouraged.

Both societies were to a greater or lesser extent conditioned by the nature and foci of their internal struggles. In Egypt, the conflict was between the influential echelons of state, variously the nomarchs and the king or the priests and the military; the people were relatively untouched by these rivalries. In Athens, virtually the opposite was the case. The conflict was between the hereditary holders of power, the aristocracy, and the emergent demos straining for greater recognition in an increasingly participatory society. In comparing the two societies, therefore, we find ourselves confronted by contradictions and ambiguities which may not be entirely untypical of autocracies and people's systems. It is interesting to observe that autocracies can produce artistic cultures which equal those of so-called free systems: Egypt matched Athens architecturally but not in the broad range of philosophic and artistic achievement. Artistic expression is not necessarily dependent on the type of political process; autocracy need not retard cultural achievement providing certain conventions are observed (4).

Both autocracies and people's systems, as this study shows, can be equally ambitious in their expansionist intentions and military practices. But a more cynical and unsurprising fact which emerges is that the 'people' can be as tyrannical (5) as any autocrat whose capriciousness is most likely to affect those of his immediate entourage. Despots can often be beneficent without obvious advantages to themselves. They can be - and have been - prodigal with resources in, say, the beautification of a city or the honour of the gods despite the fact that the returns in terms of prestige are of a diminishing order (6). In comparison, one of the ironies of democratic systems is that those who normally have most to fear from the people are usually the people themselves.

It is a sociological truism that the organisational patterns of societies are related to the control mechanisms which operate to maintain their structural viability. The discussion of the social systems of

Egypt and Athens demonstrates this connection in a number of internal institutional areas. In both societies, the agencies of control were much the same, although they operated in different ways. Both societies recognised the value of custom and moral precepts, but differed profoundly on the matter of law. In Egypt, authority was vested in the Pharaoh and the esoteric interpretation of Maat, the eternal principle of justice. In practice, this probably meant the application of precedent and was less arbitrary than might be supposed. In Athens, authority lay with the citizens who also theoretically applied traditional normative principles but sometimes their decisions - especially under the pressure of war - could be both arbitrary and unpredictable.

This raises the crucial issue of legitimation. The manner in which societies ensure the appropriate responses is inseparably related to the ways in which their actions are justified and implemented. Indeed, the desired responses themselves may be determined by the nature of the legitimating traditions. This problem is central to this entire discussion. It is a contention of this study that the legitimating traditions are functions of the prevailing value-system which in the case of these two societies was related to religious ideology. Important as the socio-economic 'realities' may be, they are often, in practice, either subordinated to ideological considerations, or seen in terms of ideological necessity.

Every society is confronted with the problem of meaning, and this can be seen most clearly in the experiences of Egypt and Athens. A society's explanation of itself to itself is a function of its value-system. The origination of a value or genesis of a tradition should be regarded as quite separate from their subsequent observance by citizens or their implementation by the State. It is not chronological precedence which is so important, but rather situational precedence in specific circumstances. Evaluations are possible in terms of the 'competencies' of values to effect certain resolutions in given social situations (7). This is directly related to the place of belief and values in these societies.

Value-systems do not have to be interpreted primarily in religious terms - as the value of honour or merit in Athens demonstrates. On the other hand, this does not mean that all values are basically non-religious.

It can hardly be seriously argued, for instance, that the imperatives behind the mobilisation of vast revenues to build the Pyramid and Temple Complexes of Egypt or the architectural marvels of the Acropolis can simply be dismissed in terms of, say, the need to reinforce social solidarity. Reductionism of this kind results in a diffuse and meaningless regression.

In Egypt, belief in the god-king took intricate forms of ceremonial expression but these were largely confined to the priesthood and the nobility. There were limited opportunities for the mass of the people to share the ritual exercise which presumably had a cathartic value and promoted a sense of communal well-being. There may have been some attenuated satisfaction derived from seeing the king carefully preserving good order by being safely interred in his tomb or pyramid, or some vicarious pleasure at his victories against the non-peoples of the surrounding territories. But it is difficult to detect, in such occasions, that class-surmounting empathy which is the theoretical pre-requisite of social solidarity.

In a sense, Egypt was essentially an ademic society. It almost encouraged a non-participatory quality which precluded the free communication and overt sense of community which were found in Athens. In all societies, and especially traditional societies, there is a gulf between the esotericism of the illuminati and the religion of the people, but this seems to be particularly marked in Egypt. The very nature of Egyptian religion demanded trained interpreters of the mysteries, and this in turn produced a hierocratic system of authority which automatically ruled out participatory procedures. The presence of magical and quasi-occult beliefs and practices in this kind of society can therefore be seen as a spiritual palliative in the face of social anonymity; a reactive form of personalised religious activity for the achievement of lower-order goals.

In Athens, the situation was very different. In general, religion and its rituals had a public quality (8). The cultus was not confined to temples: the worship was in the open-air and the officiating priests were often lay functionaries. Some of the rites were relatively simple and

uncomplicated, and their performance required a minimum of training. Except in the case of the mystery cults, the system hardly encouraged the emergence of a priestly literati who alone could interpret the meanings. The prodemic nature of Athenian society was expressed by a range of participatory procedures which theoretically maintained morale and fostered a sense of social solidarity. Rituals to inaugurate various political activities, rituals for warfare, and religious festivals of competitive Games and theatrical performances held in honour of the gods.

Despite the absence of a hierocracy, Athens also had its philosophical esotericism of the intellectuals and its religion of the people. The dichotomy was not as instrumentally effective as in Egypt, but in its own way it was also socially divisive. For those seeking either salvation or just sheer diversion, there were, of course, exotic and orgiastic mystery cults as well as soteriologically oriented movements. These too can perhaps be interpreted as forms of reactive individualism in the face of an insistent collectivism. It was probably only in these movements that personal charisma had a chance to flourish. Prodemic societies may not always be the best proving grounds for prophets, but participatory systems are usually quick to validate or otherwise the charismatic pretensions of would-be religious functionaries. It is in non-participatory systems, where the people are not in a position to question openly the beliefs and practices of the prevailing order that charisma attaches more to the office than to the official who occupies it, and religion is more a source of mystification than enlightenment. This is not an invariable rule, but it has general applications. Personal charisma tends to be transient and socially 'unstable', whereas charisma of office is perpetuated regardless of the competency of the incumbent, and therefore helps the society to weather the lean periods in its own historical process.

To suggest, therefore, that there is a relationship between religious ideology and social order is unexceptional. What is important is to question whether the type of ideology is a determinative factor in the type of social order which evolves. This cannot be demonstrated scientifically, and

'connections' can only be persuasive. Whether ideology is regarded as deriving from innate, or social, or even supramundane values - or some amalgam of these - is, in one sense, unimportant. What matters is that for all practical purposes it can be seen to be an influential factor in the social process. It both acts and interacts, but this dialectic is marked by uncertainty and unpredictability: sometimes ideology appears as an independent variable, at other times as a dependent variable; sometimes it 'acts', sometimes it merely reacts to given social situations (9). Even in cases where the survival of the group is threatened, it is not always possible to say whether ideology will assume a subordinate or a superordinate role (10).

Perhaps the term ideology should not be used too restrictively (11). Some theorists have argued that it is not the nature of the conception but the vehicles of the conception that are socially determined (12). The ideology of Egypt was essentially conservative; the system was creaking under the weight of its own administrative complexity, and needed the force of religious ideology to sustain it. That of Athens, on the other hand, was affected by the unresolved clash between the conservative values of the aristocracy and the revolutionary values of the demos.

The religion of Egypt was not simply an instrumental value system, it was a belief system which had unambiguous supernaturalist orientations (13). It was introverted and totalizing, and its imperatives - though sometimes questioned - were pervasive and persistent. The congruence between its theological structures and the observed values of society was never perfect, but it did inform every aspect of life (14).

By comparison, the institutional religion of Athens together with the complementary and sometimes conflicting cults, are not easy to classify. Religion, for Athenians, was certainly pervasive, but it does not appear to have been totalizing as in the Egyptian experience. This is not to suggest that it was, in any sense, peripheral or unimportant, but that it was subject to certain inconsistencies and ambiguities .

Enormous sums were expended on building and extending the numerous religious sanctuaries, perhaps a tenth of the annual revenue (excluding tribute) from 447-431 for the Parthenon and the Propylaea alone. But even so, the spending on religious buildings over the Classical period though generally high was also intermittent (15).

Admittedly, the Acropolis and the temples were there, and the rites were solemnly performed by the priests, but what was their real significance? The offerings before the Assembly, sacrifices before the games, libations before an expedition, are all expressions of religion, and yet there is the recurrent suspicion that these may not have been simple 'religious' acts. What obviously mattered to the Athenians was the polis and its affairs. The gods were acknowledged in all the appropriate ways but was there that sense of real dependence on them which was so evident in Egyptian society? Athena was the tutelary goddess of the city, but was she also a convenient symbolisation of the State?

Egyptian religion was the heart of the civilisation, pervading every aspect of life. The Greeks, on the other hand, were possibly the first to discover spheres of activity which were independent of religious conditions, and which might be expressed in non-religious terms (16). The Egyptian system may be said to represent "order from above" whereas the Athenian system represents "order from reason" - the discovery that independent reason can serve as a sufficient guide for living (17).

Athens was secular in tone. Its emphases were often materialistic and self-consciously political. Some of its intellectuals were eroding the old traditions, and there was a doubtful congruence between the vague theological structures and the practical imperatives of city life (18). It may be extremely significant that Greek religion was always very much in the hands of the people. Even the esoterica of the mystery cults was accessible to all classes, and the traditional priestly

families hardly constituted a powerful priestly caste. It was, in many ways, a "priesthood of all believers" system, in which control of the rituals and the determination of their place and importance was a civic responsibility. All that civic pride represents seems to have been the focal point of Athenian attention. The beautification of the city, the admiration and reputation which it duly acquired; these are the things which commanded the loyalty of its citizens. There was a humanistic confidence in Athenian social organisation and its artistic, commercial, and even military values. The subsidiary concerns for the individual soul and its destiny were either subsumed under a general care for the city and its patron goddess or they were left to the more esoteric comforts of the cults.

How consistent were the Greeks about their religious concern when viewed even in their own terms ? Here there are several possible levels of debate. Firstly, there are the obvious inconsistencies about what was regarded as 'holy' and what was not as Thucydides indicates in relation to particular areas of Athens (2. 14ff). Similarly, there is the problem of the sanctuaries themselves. Generally speaking, their holy nature was taken for granted; their territories and possessions were sacrosanct. Yet, as we have seen, in certain circumstances they could be violated. When the situation seemed to demand it, fugitives seeking sanctuary were dragged out and murdered. And, perhaps more significantly, when warring states vied for control of these complexes, they were sometimes desecrated and plundered as was Olympia by the Arcadians and Delphi by the Phocians. Admittedly, this was in the 4th century: earlier, the Spartans had refrained from touching the dedications at Olympia, and Athens had borrowed money from 'Athene' and repaid the principal with interest after 421 B.C. (19). By comparison, the mysteries of Eleusis quite incredibly still remain mysteries. But even these were not entirely inviolate; a number of instances have been recorded in which some form of profanation is said to have taken place, although the culprits were usually punished (20). This all contrasts interestingly with Athenian attitudes to Delos, a sacred island, where congresses of the Delian league were held at the Temple of Apollo, but where the administration and the assessment of tribute levels became increasingly secular (21). This

may even be reflected in the Greek approach to oracles where magic and divination were used to manipulate the unseen powers for social, and sometimes, cynical purposes (22).

Secondly, we can see that even prior to the Classical period, intellectual scepticism about religion was evident in the Milesian school of philosophers. The "hospitable riot of polytheism" defied close analysis and discouraged systematic theology (23). The reactions toward this tended either to take the form of "irrationalism" i.e. in mystery cults which promised inner gnosis and even personal salvation (24), or they resulted in perceptive movements towards a rational appreciation of the world. Sometimes, the reaction resulted in theoretical compromises which combined rationality with a feeling for the inner mysteries of existence such as is found, for example, in the work of Xenophanes of Colophon (^c540 B.C.) who repudiated anthropomorphism and declared that "Homer and Hesiod attributed to the gods all the sins and wickedness of mankind". Unsurprisingly, the orthodox condemned him as irreligious, and later antiquity remembered him mainly as a satirical poet (25). In various guises, these themes were taken up in the Classical age by the Sophists including Protagoras who came out firmly in favour of agnosticism, and Archelaus who maintained that social values such as justice and equality were just as subjective and unreal as matters of taste (26). Such matters were debated by Socrates and later by Plato who also stressed rationality but were still open-minded about the religious dimension. The large mass of the public were not yet greatly affected by such debates, but the ideological bases of the traditional order were now open to question.

There was certainly a time when religion was the bond of Greek political life (27). But it has been argued that by the 5th century the real religion of Athens was "a devotion to the city itself" (28). For some, the Olympian gods failed to edify - a point forcibly made by Euripides, especially in the Medea. Among the Sophists too, there was a growing intellectualism and with it an incipient humanism. When, eventually, Adeimantus could ask (in The Republic) "But suppose there are no gods" ?, he was probably speaking for very few besides a small disunited group of dramatists and philosophers. But already the disparities between beliefs

and values were beginning to show. This is not^{to} imply that the Athenians were irreligious, but simply to suggest that amidst the manifest religious concerns was a latent and pervasive secularism.

This appreciation of the civic nature of Athenian ideology is really Durkheimian in emphasis. From his study of primitive rituals Durkheim concluded that society was the source of religious categories. In effect, religion was an institutionalised process whereby society reaffirms its own values (29). These views have been rehearsed and ably criticised in seemingly countless texts (30). But although they are subject to a great deal of qualification, they do contain valuable insights which are particularly pertinent to the Athenian situation where one is confronted by the paradox of considerable popular religiosity hand in hand with encroaching secularism.

Super/^{naturalist} ideologies tend to de-emphasise man and his immediate concerns, and stress ultimate, universal verities, whereas civic ideologies tend to emphasise manipulable, here-and-now concerns, though both are conditioned by practical exigencies. Much depends upon the context in which ideologies are developed (31). Do men infer the nature of their gods from the nature of their experiences, or do they interpret their experiences in terms of the believed natures of their gods? For instance, in Egypt, where the Nile inundations occurred with reassuring predictability, the gods - in general - were regarded as austere but beneficent^t beings. The geographical isolation, the protection afforded by the seas and the deserts, all increased her sense of being favoured by the gods, particularly in Old Kingdom times (32). The social experience of fifth century Greeks was very different. Not especially rich in natural resources, increasingly dependent on others for even staple commodities, and lumbered with a history of fratricidal strife, some Greeks saw the gods increasingly as capricious and even frivolous beings. Ultimately these attitudes gave rise to the schools of inquiry which often questioned whether the gods existed at all. Experimental and experiential uncertainties in the pursuit of truth can lead to either complete resignation or a gnawing scepticism. Doubt can be the solvent of belief, and it can also act as the catalyst of change.

Ideologies are not only conditioned by developmental contexts, they also crucially affect, and are affected by, the modes of implementation. In general terms, there appear to have been significant discontinuities between the normative and substantive structures in all societies, although fewer inconsistencies seem detectable in the Egyptian than in the Athenian situation. This can be related to the form and mediation of the ideologies, and to the nature and patterns of their implementation. Ideologies contribute to the maintenance of structures and legitimate their social orders. Humanistic ideologies suffer the disadvantage of visibly emanating from a mortal source which can be seen and therefore challenged, whereas supernaturalistic ideologies are, by definition, ultimately indisputable - only their interpretations are subject to debate. Both supernaturalistic and humanistic ideologies are capable of evoking dedicated responses, but supernaturalism, when fully espoused, offers adherents final and irrevocable authority. Its potency lies in its all-embracing inviolability. Ideology which can be indelibly inculcated and suitably implemented, if necessary by coercive sanctions, is probably the most effective - and certainly the least expensive - mechanism of social control.

This study began with the assumption that religious belief is important and may be determinative of certain forms of social action. The question at issue was: does belief affect action, or is it merely the intellectualisation of the need for action? It must be admitted that specific indices for the resolution of this problem may never be forthcoming. But the notion that values themselves are shaped by social necessity begs the question of how and by what social necessity itself is determined. This investigation then becomes locked into the charmed circle of social determinism, and one is confronted by a 'Hall-of-Mirrors' situation.

In pre-industrial society, the natural-supernatural dichotomy may be quite false; it probably represents a distinction which is mainly the product of modern rationality. It would certainly have gone largely unrecognised in the context of the ancient world. To distinguish, therefore,

between supernaturalist and humanistic ideologies is something of an academic artifice, a contrivance - indeed, a model - which enables us to see a difference of orientation in two key traditional systems. Despite the anomalies and inconsistencies revealed by the substantive historical material, the pervasive influence of religious ideas can be discerned in both societies, and their different effects on social order, stability and change, reasonably inferred.

1. Note the article by BARBARA BELL The Dark Ages in Ancient History, in which a case is made that famine, due to a 'failure' of the Nile inundations, was mainly responsible for the political and social upheavals which attended the First and Second Intermediate Periods.
J.A. SABLOFF & CO. LAMBERG-KARLOVSKY The Rise and Fall of Civilisations
CUMMINGS 1974.
2. Direct democracies such as Athens did not require extensive bureaucracies, but political-administrative participation does require strict limits of citizenship and/or population if control is to be maintained, as Plato insisted in The Republic.
3. Of a later period, HERODOTUS says that the Egyptians were most religious, and the only people he knew without some form of human sacrifice.
4. Rulers such as the Egyptians Pharaohs and, say, Dionysus, the tyrant of Syracuse - a contemporary of the later classical period, paraded their wealth and often extolled their own virtues. But they were able to mobilise the men and resources which gave their States a grandeur which participatory systems have found difficult to match.
5. This is using the word "tyrannical" as in common English expression. In Greek usage, a tyrannos was someone who seized power unconstitutionally, but did not necessarily exercise it cruelly, although by the Classical period it had virtually become a synonym for despot.
6. This is notably the case of the contemporary Sicilian tyrants such as Theron, Hiero and particularly Gelon of Syracuse who was extremely generous in his ritual dedications at Delphi.
See M.I. FINLEY Ancient Sicily Chap. 4 CHATTO & WINDUS 1968.
7. See P. WORSLEY "Religion as a Category" in R. ROBERTSON (Ed.) Readings in the Sociology of Religion PENGUIN 1969.
8. See, for example, the collected essays in V. EHRENBERG Man, State and Deity METHUEN 1974.
9. See the article by ROBERT BELLAH "Civic Religion in America" Daedalus, 96 (1): 1-21 in which he advances the thesis that certain general ideological themes in the USA compose a civic religion.
See also Note 17.
10. In the case of Christian ideology, it is interesting to compare the reaction of many believers to Roman persecution in the 1st 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. (See M.I. FINLEY Studies in Ancient Society R.K.P. op. cit.) and the Christian response to the Muslim invasions during the late Byzantine period (See D.M. NICHOL The End of the Byzantine Empire ARNOLD 1979).
11. See: J. LARRAIN The Concept of Ideology p.14. HUTCHINSON 1979.
12. CLIFFORD GEERTZ The Interpretation of Cultures pp.200; 212
HUTCHINSON 1975.

13. ".the belief in superhuman beings and...their power to assist or to harm men approaches universal distribution, and..is the core variable which ought to be designated by any definition of religion".
MELFORD SPIRO Religion: "Problems of Definition and Explanation" in M. BANTON (Ed.) Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion p.94 A.S.A. MONOGRAPHS, TAVISTOCK 1968.
This view is also generally supported by a number of other anthropologists e.g. R. HORTON A Definition of Religion and its Uses JRAI 90 (1960) and J. GOODY Religion and Ritual: the Definition Problem B.J.S. 12 (1961).
14. It is for this reason that Egyptian religious ideology has been characterised as Cosmic in type.
See ERIC CARLTON Ideology and Social Order R.K.P. 1977.
15. See R.A. TOMLINSON Greek Sanctuaries p.53-4. op. cit.
16. See R.T. RUNDLE CLARK Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt op. cit. p.26.
17. A point which is probably overstressed by ORRIN KLAPP in Models of Social Order p.51ff. MAYFIELD 1973.
18. If the operational religion of Egypt was the cult of the god-king, the operational religion of Athens could be seen as being Athenianism. Its ideology, has, therefore been characterised as civic in type.
ERIC CARLTON *ibid.*
This approach to religion which is related to the work of Emile Durkheim has been applied with notable effect in a study of religious values in the U.S.A. in the fifties. See W. HERBERG Protestant-Catholic-Jew DOUBLEDAY 1956.
19. See J.K. DAVIES Democracy and Classical Athens op. cit. p.183.
20. See G. MYLONAS op. cit. p.224-5. PAUSANIAS is so wary of Eleusis that he claimed to have been warned in a dream not to say too much about it (1. 38. 6).
21. See the discussion in J.K. DAVIES op. cit. p.59.
22. Note the critique of ROBERT FLACELIERE Greek Oracles ELEK 1976.
23. HUGH LLOYD-JONES (Ed.) The Greek World p.59. PENGUIN. 1962.
24. Note the appraisal in E.W. WALBANK The Hellenistic World op. cit. p.218
25. See U.A. SINCLAIR A History of Classical Greek Literature op. cit. pp.172-3.
26. See W. GUTHRIE The Greek Philosophers pp.66-71; 82-84 METHUEN 1967.
27. See, for example, LOWES DICKENSON The Greek View of Life METHUEN 1957. and E.B. CASTLE op. cit. p.35 "(religion was) the only restraining pressure exerted against the future separatist tendencies of independent city-states...".
28. GILBERT MURRAY Five Stages of Greek Religion p.75. WATTS 1946.
29. EMILE DURKHEIM The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life (1915) ALLEN & UNWIN 1968.

30. Among the many critical reviews of Durkheim's work on religion, see
E.E. EVANS-PRITCHARD Nuer Religion O.U.P. 1956.
M. GINSBERG Reason and Unreason in Society HEINEMANN 1957.
A. WELLS Social Institutions p.245ff. HEINEMANN 1970.
31. See particularly C.D DARLINGTON The Evolution of Man and Society
Parts II, III and V. ALLEN & UNWIN 1969.
32. Compare the experience of the Mesopotamian civilisations which were
dependent on the less predictable Euphrates and Tigris rivers which
were given to flooding. Here the gods could sometimes be awesome in
their arbitrariness.

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