CHAPTER VI OUTLINE

I. Opening Vignette

- A. Caste continues to be central to present-day India.
- B. The period 1750-present has challenged many social structures once thought to be immutable.
 - 1. series of revolutions destroyed monarchies and class hierarchies
 - 2. abolition of slavery
 - 3. women's movement
 - 4. Gandhi's effort to raise status of "untouchables"
- C. Patterns of inequality generated social tensions during the "second-wave" civilizations, too.
- D. Classical civilizations were hierarchical and patriarchal, but they varied in how they organized their societies.

II. Society and the State in Classical China

- A. Chinese society was shaped more by state actions than were other societies.
 - 1. immense social prestige and political power of state officials
 - 2. officials as cultural and social elite

B. An Elite of Officials

- 1. world's first professional civil service
- 2. 124 B.C.E.: Wudi established an imperial academy for officials
 - a. around 30,000 students by end of Han dynasty
 - b. written examinations used to select officials
 - c. system lasted until early twentieth century
- 3. favored the wealthy, who could educate sons
 - a. closeness to the capital, family connections important
 - b. it was possible for commoners to rise via education
- 4. system developed further in later dynasties
- 5. bureaucrats had great prestige and privileges

C. The Landlord Class

1. by first century B.C.E., small-scale peasant farmers had been displaced by large landowners and tenant farmers

- 2. state opposed creation of large estates throughout Chinese history, without much success
 - a. large landowners could often evade taxes
 - b. large landowners sometimes kept independent military forces that could challenge imperial authority
 - c. land reforms by usurper Wang Mang (r. 8-23 C.E.) impossible to enforce

3. landowners benefited both from wealth and from prestige of membership in the bureaucracy ("scholar-gentry")

D. Peasants

- 1. in Chinese history, most of population have been peasants
 - a. some relatively prosperous, some barely surviving
 - b. tenant farmers in Han dynasty owed as much as two-thirds of crop to landowners



- 2. periodic peasant rebellions
 - a. Yellow Turban Rebellion in 184 C.E. provoked by flooding and epidemics
 - b. peasant revolts devastated the economy and contributed to overthrow of Han dynasty
 - c. Chinese peasant movements were often expressed in religious terms

E. Merchants

- 1. Chinese cultural elite disliked merchants
 - a. stereotyped as greedy and profiting from work of others
 - b. seen as a social threat that impoverished others
- 2. periodic efforts to control merchants
 - a. sumptuary laws
 - b. forbidden to hold public office
 - c. state monopolies on important industries (salt, iron, alcohol)
 - d. forced to make loans to the state
- 3. merchants often prospered anyway
 - a. won their way to respectability by purchasing estates or educating their sons
 - b. many officials and landlords were willing to work with them

III. Class and Caste in India

A. Caste as Varna

- 1. the word "caste" comes from Portuguese word casta meaning "race" or "purity of blood"
- 2. caste may have evolved from encounter between Aryans (light-skinned) and natives (dark-skinned)
 - a. certainly grew from interaction of culturally diverse peoples
 - b. development of economic and social differences between them
 - c. economic specialization and culture apparently more important than notions of race
- 3. ca. 500 B.C.E., there was clear belief that society was divided into four great classes (*varna*), with position determined by birth
 - a. three classes of pure Aryans (the "twice-born"): Brahmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas
 - b. far below them were the Sudras, native peoples in very subordinate positions
- 4. Varna theory: the four groups were formed from the body of the god Purusha; immutable
 - a. reality: considerable social change in ancient India
 - b. frequent conflict between Brahmin and Kshatriya groups
 - c. absorption of "tribal peoples" within Aryan groups
 - d. Vaisya varna evolved into business class
 - e. Sudra varna became peasant farmers
 - f. emergence of untouchables below Sudras

B. Caste as Jati

- 1. social distinctions based on specific occupations, organized as guilds (jatis)
 - a. blended with varna system to create full caste system
 - b. thousands of jatis as primary cell of social life
 - c. each of four great classes divided into many jatis (sub-castes)



- 2. clearly defined social position
 - a. marriage and eating together only permitted within individual's jati
 - b. each jati has particular duties, rules, obligations
- 3. ideas of ritual purity and pollution applied to caste groups
- 4. inherent inequality supported by idea of karma, dharma, and rebirth
 - a. birth into a caste determined by good or bad deeds (karma) of a previous life
 - b. rebirth in a higher caste is determined by performance of present caste duties (dharma)
- 5. threat of social ostracism for violating rules of the jati
- 6. individuals couldn't raise social status, but whole jatis could improve social standing

C. The Functions of Caste

- 1. caste was very local, so it focused loyalties on a restricted territory
 - a. made empire building very difficult
 - b. caste as a substitute for the state
- 2. caste provided some social security and support (care for widows, orphans, the destitute)
- 3. caste was a means to accommodate migrants and invaders
- 4. made it easier for the wealthy and powerful to exploit the poor

IV. Slavery in the Classical Era: The Case of the Roman Empire

A. Why did slavery emerge in the First Civilizations? There are various theories:

- 1. domestication of animals provided a model for human slavery
- 2. war, patriarchy, and private property ideas encouraged slavery
- 3. women captured in war were probably the first slaves
- 4. patriarchal "ownership" of women may have encouraged slavery

B. Slavery and Civilization

- 1. Slavery as "social death": lack of rights or independent personal identity
- 2. Slavery was long-established tradition by the time of Hammurabi (around 1750 B.C.E.)
- 3. almost all civilizations had some form of slavery
 - a. varied considerably over place and time
 - b. classical Greece and Rome: slave emancipation was common
 - c. Aztec Empire: children of slaves were considered to be free
 - d. labor of slaves varied widely
- 4. minor in China (maybe 1 percent of population)
 - a. convicts and their families were earliest slaves
 - b. poor peasants sometimes sold their children into slavery
- 5. India: criminals, debtors, war captives were slaves
 - a. largely domestic
 - b. religion and law gave some protections
 - c. society wasn't economically dependent on slavery



C. The Making of a Slave Society: The Case of Rome

- 1. Mediterranean/Western civilization: slavery played immense role
 - a. Greco-Roman world was a slave society
 - b. one-third of population of classical Athens was enslaved
 - c. Aristotle: some people are "slaves by nature"
- 2. at beginning of Common Era, Italy 's population was 33 to 40 percent slaves
 - a. wealthy Romans owned hundreds or thousands of slaves
 - b. people of modest means often owned two or three slaves
- 3. how people became slaves:
 - a. massive enslavement of war prisoners
 - b. piracy
 - c. long-distance trade for Black Sea, East African, and northwest European slaves
 - d. natural reproduction
 - e. abandoned/exposed children
- 4. not associated with a particular ethnic group
- 5. little serious social critique of slavery, even within Christianity
- 6. slavery was deeply entrenched in Roman society
 - a. slaves did all sorts of work except military service
 - b. both highly prestigious and degraded tasks
- 7. slaves had no legal rights
 - a. could not marry legally
 - b. if a slave murdered his master, all of the victim's slaves were killed
 - c. manumission was common; Roman freedmen became citizens

D. Resistance and Rebellion

- 1. cases of mass suicide of war prisoners to avoid slavery
- 2. "weapons of the weak": theft, sabotage, poor work, curses
- 3. flight
- 4. occasional murder of owners
- 5. rebellion
 - a. most famous was led by Spartacus in 73 B.C.E.
 - b. nothing on similar scale occurred in the West until Haiti in the 1790s
 - c. Roman slave rebellions did not attempt to end slavery; participants just wanted freedom for themselves

V. Comparing Patriarchies of the Classical Era

A. Every human community has created a gender system.

- 1. at least since the First Civilizations, the result has been patriarchy
- 2. men regarded as superior to women
- 3. men had greater legal and property rights
- 4. public life as male domain
- 5. polygamy was common, with sexual control of females of family
- 6. notion that women need male protection and control



- 7. patriarchy varied in different civilizations
- 8. interaction of patriarchy and class: greatest restrictions on upper-class women

B. A Changing Patriarchy: The Case of China

- 1. in the Han dynasty, elite ideas became more patriarchal and linked to Confucianism
 - thinking in terms of pairs of opposites described in gendered and unequal terms: yung
 - a. (masculine, superior) vs. *yin* (feminine, inferior)
 - b. men's sphere is public; women's sphere is domestic
 - c. "three obedience's": woman is subordinated to father, then husband, then son
- 2. woman writer Ban Zhao (45–116 C.E.): female inferiority reinforced by birth rituals
- 3. subordination wasn't the whole story
 - a. a few women had considerable political authority
 - b. some writers praised virtuous women as wise counselors
 - c. honor given to the mothers of sons
 - d. dowry was regarded as woman's own property
 - e. value of women as textile producers
 - f. a wife had much higher status than a concubine
- 4. changes following the collapse of the Han dynasty
 - a. cultural influence of nomadic peoples/less restriction
 - b. by Tang dynasty (618–907), elite women regarded as capable of handling legal and business affairs, even of riding horses
 - c. major sign of weakening patriarchy: reign of Empress Wu (r. 690-705 C.E.)
 - d. growing popularity of Daoism provided new women's roles

C. Contrasting Patriarchies in Athens and Sparta

- 1. Athens and Sparta were substantially different in views about women
- 2. Athens: increasing limitations on women 700–400 B.C.E.
 - a. completely excluded from public life
 - b. represented by a guardian in law; not even named in court proceedings
 - c. Aristotle: position justified in terms of women's natural "inadequacy" compared to males
 - d. restricted to the home
 - e. married in mid-teens to men 10–15 years older
 - f. role in life: domestic management and bearing sons
 - g. land normally passed through male heirs
 - h. women could only negotiate small contracts
 - i. most notable exception: Aspasia (ca. 470-400 B.C.E.)
- 3. Sparta: militaristic regime very different from Athens
 - a. need to counter permanent threat of *helot* rebellion
 - b. Spartan male as warrior above all
 - c. situation gave women greater freedom
 - d. women encouraged to strengthen their bodies for important task of childbearing
 - e. men were often preparing for or waging war, so women had larger role in household



- 4. Sparta, unlike Athens, discouraged homosexuality
 - a. other Greek states approved homoerotic relationships
 - b. Greek attitude toward sexual choice was quite casual

VI. Reflections: Arguing with Solomon and the Buddha

A. What is more impressive about classical Eurasian civilizations: change or enduring patterns?

- 1. Ecclesiastes—basic changelessness and futility of human life
- 2. Buddhism—basic impermanence of human life

B. Clearly, some things changed.

- 1. Greek conquest of the Persian Empire
- 2. unification of the Mediterranean world by the Roman Empire
- 3. emergence of Buddhism and Christianity as universal religions
- 4. collapse of dynasties, empires, and civilizations

C. But the creations of the classical era have been highly durable.

- 1. China 's scholar-gentry class
- 2. India 's caste system
- 3. slavery largely unquestioned until nineteenth century
- 4. patriarchy has been most fundamental, durable, and taken-for-granted feature of all civilizations
 - a. not effectively challenged until twentieth century
 - b. still shapes lives and thinking of vast majority of people
- 5. religious and cultural traditions started in the classical age still practiced or honored by hundreds of millions of people