Freedom Study Guide

Freedom by Orlando Patterson

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Plot Summary

Orlando Patterson examines the role of the development of freedom as a social value, tracing the roots of its historical development back to the ancient days of slavery. Western civilization has always been preoccupied with freedom, and this is a peculiarly Western trait. Why is this so? Why did a concern for freedom develop in Western culture and not in non-Western culture? Patterson examines the development of this phenomenon with a three-part definition of freedom embodied in the chordal triad. Personal freedom is defined as the freedom of one individual from domination by another individual and the freedom to do as one wants within the limits of the other person's freedom. If your actions infringe on another person's personal freedom, then you have gone beyond the limits of your own personal freedom. Sovereignal freedom is defined as the right of one person to do whatever he wants without regards to the encroachment on the rights and freedom of the other. This is evident in the slave-slaveholder relationship or in the ruler-subject relationship. The last part of the tripartite is civic freedom. This is the freedom to participate in the community and its governance with the rights and obligations of civic duty clearly defined.

Patterson's examination of slavery and its impact on Western thinking begins with civilizations based on slavery, several millennia before the birth of Christ. Looking at the slave culture, Patterson examines what concepts or values are operative in the culture. In all of them, the slave is considered to be socially dead and to have no rights. There is no concept of freedom as a social value until the times of ancient Greece, around 4 B.C.

There are four important questions that Patterson attempts to answer in the book. The first is "how and why was freedom initially constructed as a social value?" The second is "how and why, after having been invented, did it emerge as the supreme value distinct from any number of other important values?" Third, he asks, "why did this rise to cultural supremacy happen only in the Western world, and for so many countries remain confined to this civilization?" His fourth and final question is "what forces maintained its status as the core value of Western civilization throughout the course of its history?" (p. xi)

The answers to these questions and the study of how freedom develops are traced through the Greek and Roman civilizations and then through the Europe of the Middle Ages and beyond, including a study of the role of freedom in Christianity. Christianity had enormous attraction for the slave and freedman classes because it offered them hope. In addition to ascertaining and defining the operative elements of freedom, Patterson examines the evolution of the changing relationships between the elements over time.

The concern with freedom, due to the experience of slavery, becomes one of the most fundamental precepts of Western civilization. In the Coda, Patterson warns of the dangers of the excess of freedom, i.e., greed, alienation and selfishness with no concern for our fellow man.



Chapter 1

Chapter 1 Summary and Analysis

The preoccupation with freedom is a predominately Western concept. How did it come about? Was it because of the institution of slavery? Bernard Bosanquet is quoted as saying, "It will not lead us far wrong if we assume that the value we put upon liberty and its erection into something like an ideal comes from the contrast with slavery" and that it can be taken "as the practical starting point in the notion of freedom." Freedom, according to Patterson, has three components: personal, sovereignal and civic. With personal freedom, the individual is not dominated by another human. He has the choice of doing what he wants, subject to the wishes of others, which functions as a constraint. Sovereignal freedom more or less defines the slave-slave master relationship. An individual can do what he wants without the constraint of the wishes of others. Freedom is relative in that the more freedom one individual has, the less freedom another has. The third component is the civic component, where individuals have the freedom to participate in the community and its governance, with their rights and obligations defined.

Defining freedom and slavery purely in terms of legal status is not entirely correct. Slavery is more than just a problem in legal status. It is more encompassing. The slave, his/her life and everything about him/her is owned by the slave master. The whole fabric of society exists around and is dependent on the institution of slavery. The whole socioeconomic infrastructure of society is dependent on slavery, whether the slaves are purchased or captured. In earlier cultures, the captive slave was ultimately eaten.

The underlying theme of slavery is the domination of one entity by another entity. The slave obviously desires freedom and escape from bondage and social death. The slavery-dominated society taunts the slave with this fact. If the slave escapes, members of the society help to recapture him because of the affront to the slave master's honor and dignity. This is especially true of the Tupinamba people of Brazil in the sixteenth century. The institution of slavery and slave eating defined and solidified the group in a ritual of slaughter and cannibalism.

Freedom in this case is not a social value. It is an idea and yearning of the slave to have some semblance of personal freedom. The social infrastructure necessary for the creation of social values is not yet in existence. The Tupinamba are a primitive society with no social infrastructure to be threatened by slavery. Freedom as a social value did not yet exist in the sixteenth century.

Patterson views the development of freedom as a social value as somewhat of an historical development process. It is an ongoing phenomenon. Society cannot have freedom as a social value until society is socially ready for it. What does this mean? It means that there has to be consent from the society. The slave's desire for freedom has to somehow meld with the slave master and society's desires and consent for the slave



to be free, and there has to be an awareness of these facts among members of the society. Until this kind of social reaction occurs, there can be no inception of freedom as a social value.



Chapter 2 Summary and Analysis

Given the premise that a social reaction between slave, slaveholder and society must take place in order for freedom to develop as a value, why didn't freedom as a value develop universally? Freedom as an idea did not develop into a value everywhere as the social reaction premise suggests. Societies everywhere resisted the inception of freedom as a value. Giving the slave personal freedom means less freedom for the slave-master.

Slavery is developing and changing during this period. Among the Tupinamba, the slave existed for the honor and dignity of the slave master. In the days of ancient Carthage, the slave develops an economic value. Slaves result in output. The financial welfare of the slaveholder is now becoming dependent on the productivity of the slave. Still, the slave wants to be free and an equal member of society. Even if a slave were freed during this period, he did not have a place to go, so even though a slave might want freedom, freedom wasn't practical.

This evolvement process is evident with the nineteenth century Imbangala people of Africa. In this society based on lineage, the slave did not have the family and friendship structure necessary to protect and nurture him. The slave only had the slave master, not a network of friends and family. The slave master had to find a way to motivate the slave to produce, since the slave master's financial welfare depended on the slave. Motivation came in the form of the promise of freedom, and freedom here is defined in terms of the sovereignal concept. The freedman did not have the same rights and status as other citizens, called *jimbanza*, but he had more rights as given to him by the slave master. The freedman would never have full social status, but his descendents would. This class of freedman is known as *mavala*, as opposed to the slave, known as *abika*. They still had not attained the development of freedom as a social value. They valued the status of the freedman, not the social value of freedom.

In the South Pacific there was a different situation. There was a group of tribes that differed only in their slaveholding. The slave holding tribes were the To Lage, To Onda'e, To Palande and To Pada. The non-slaveholders were the To Pebato and To Wing Kemposo. The term *kabosenja* refers to the free, as opposed to the slaves. In this society, the slave played a passive role and stood little chance of becoming free. Since the financial well-being of the slaveholder was not dependent on the slave, as in Africa, there was no need to motivate the slave with the possibility of freedom. Here again, sovereignal power defines the relationship of slave and slave-master.

The same is true with other societies of the time, like the Egyptians and the Jews. Even though slaves desired freedom, freedom never became a social value. Provisions for manumission existed (obtaining freedom from slavery), but the master played a role as protector, something the slave couldn't do himself. They used the word "nmh" to



designate emancipation from slavery. This word literally meant "to be orphaned." The emancipated slave had no place to go and no family or social structure. The slave served the master as the master served the king and the king served the gods. Therefore, only the gods were truly free.



Chapter 3 Summary and Analysis

This chapter examines the role of Greece in the historical development of freedom as a social value. There are four designated periods of interest: palatine centralism, decentralized tribalism, rudimentary state formation and aristocratic resurgence. This period spans time from the fourteenth to the seventh century. The development of freedom as a social value can be traced to five revolutions that occurred in Athens between 7 and 4 B.C.

One of the revolutions is economic. The slaveholder becomes economically dependent on the slave for his own financial well-being. Society's economic infrastructure consists of mining for export and urban crafts, in addition to larger landholder farms. Slaves are needed to make the economy function.

The second revolution is a social revolution. A large slave population exists to serve the aristocracy and non-farm population. The ruling class finds the majority of the population becoming economically and socially independent of it. Society now consists of more than just the ruling class and the slave class.

The third revolution is political and involves the emergence of democracy. All adult Athenian males have a political and social role to play in the political community. This role is not open to the slaves or lower classes.

The fourth revolution is more social and philosophical and is marked by the formation of social and moral sciences based on rationality.

Concern with freedom as a value delineates the fifth revolution of this period. The concern with personal freedom basically results from female slaves of the period. They either fear being captured and made into slaves, or they are already slaves and want release. The men of the period view things differently. They prefer death to capture and slavery. With men, the idea of freedom is tied up with the honor of the community and with their being independent and self-supporting. It is the women who are responsible for instilling the concept of freedom into Western civilization.



Chapter 4 Summary and Analysis

Eventually the differing views of freedom lead to social conflict and upheaval. A new class arises that is not dependent on the aristocracy. These former slaves become successful and prosperous causing resentment among the still-oppressed slaves. A second factor has to do with the spread of literacy and the development of a legal written code, which Patterson sees as "a strategic class error" (p. 65) because it results in a standard against which things can be measured.

Slavery is also a factor contributing to the social conflict of this time. Debtors are sold into slavery, sometimes foreign slavery. These slaves are repurchased and repatriated during Solon's time. Social reforms, like Solon's *seisochtheia*, for the abolishment of debt, debt bondage and enslavement for debt, are put into place to try to alleviate the social strife. This leads to a preoccupation among citizens regarding manual labor and working for others, obviously leading to a labor shortage. Manual labor and working for others is associated with slavery in the minds of the working class. In addition, there is a shift in agricultural production away from grain production into the production of olives, figs, fruits, etc. These factors lead to the development of a foreign slave based society. Athens needs money for foreign exchange and to support its military and commercial ventures in the sixth century, and the only way they can get this money is by using slaves.

Athens experiences three results from the transition to a slave economy. First, society is transformed by the upper class using their wealth to import slaves and control society. The majority of the population did not hold slaves. Second, small landholders, even though they hire slave workers, resent the foreign intrusion and the changes in society. Third, a social consciousness regarding freedom develops as a social conflict arises between the slaveholders and the small farmers.

Political reform in Athens leads to the establishment of dual residence in the city and in rural areas as a requirement for political service, something only the wealthy can afford. This results in a democracy that excludes the poor and rural dwellers. It is a form of government controlled by the wealthy. The women abhor the slavery and identify with the slaves, and the men envy the slaveholder's power and wealth. In a strange way, the introduction of foreign slavery enhances the nativeness of the freedman. This results in an increasing consciousness of freedom because of the enhanced distinction between the free (natives) and the unfree (foreign slaves).



Chapter 5 Summary and Analysis

The social value of freedom exists by the end of the sixth century. Personal freedom awareness results from the role of Greek women, and civic freedom awareness develops from the role of the small rural landholder, both discussed above. Both of these groups are excluded from any say in the government of the ruling wealthy. Patterson finds the third element of freedom, sovereignal freedom, coming into being as a result of the Persian Wars.

During the war in the sixth century B.C., Greek cities are occupied by the Persians. this exposes the Greeks to the opulent lifestyle of the Persians, a people heavily dependent on slave labor. The occupation makes the Greeks think about the issues of slavery and freedoms of various kinds. As Kurt Raaflaub puts it, "The natural freedom of the Greeks vis-a-vis the oriental slave natures of the barbarians, the liberal state form of the Greek polis vis-a-vis Persian despotism, all these considerations reached prominence in people's thought processes." (p. 84)

Freedom becomes associated with victory over the Persians in the minds of the populace. To be Greek means to be free, as long as one is native born, so even the lowest born natives share in the over lordship of the non-Greeks. This is sovereignal freedom on a national level, totally oblivious to the hypocrisy of the situation.

Patterson draws heavily on Greek drama to make his point. He cites Aeschylus' plays, *The Persians* and *The Suppliant Maidens*. Both laud the superiority of the Greeks at the expense of the foreign barbarians. Both draw on the use of the Chorus. The Chorus is a phenomenon born in Greek drama, representing the democracy of the Greeks and the right of the people to express themselves freely. Even though Sparta and Athens celebrate freedom after the Persian Wars, their paths are separating. Sparta still supports sovereignal freedom but watches as Athens embraces imperialism and claims leadership in the Greek victory over Persia. They, in effect, feel that slavery and abrogation of freedom is okay as long as it isn't their freedom that is being nullified.



Chapter 6 Summary and Analysis

This chapter describes events in the period between the Persian War and the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, during which brutal conditions exist for slaves involved in silver mining. Having no possibility for manumission, they still yearn for freedom and escape from bondage. These slaves from the mines and those in the urban sector provide the means for the growing Athenian imperialism. This economically benefits both rich and poor Athenians.

The imperialistic quest of the Athenians is now directed at other Greek city-states. This leads to war, eventually. The Athenians manage to hold together their system of democracy, until it is destroyed by the Macedonians in 322 B.C. At the end of the war in 230 B.C., Athens establishes a democratic republic, bringing their imperialism to an end.

The contemporaneous development of slavery and the concept of freedom characterize ancient Athens and Greece. Again Patterson uses Greek drama to support his point. The three elements of freedom, called the chordal triad, are first expressed in the funeral oration of Pericles. In the oration, each of the three aspects is discussed as a part of freedom. The speech takes place during the first year of the Peloponnesian War.



Chapter 7 Summary and Analysis

This chapter examines the role of women in the development of the concept of freedom using Greek tragedy. The living conditions of many Athenian women are rather harsh. Many upper and middle class women are restricted to their houses with very little social life. The lower down on the social ladder women are, the more activities outside the home exist for them. The women confined to home have slaves as company. This leads to the upper and middle class women commiserating with and identifying with the slaves.

Patterson again uses Greek drama to examine the role of women. Even though the Greek society does not hold women highly, Greek drama is full of strong women commanding leading roles. The dramas are written by male playwrights for male audiences. Yet, Greek drama is considered to be a social barometer of the values and ideals of the era, even though it does not accurately portray social and living conditions. Greek drama represents a discourse on values, drawing on events in the developing democracies.

Greek drama, especially tragedy, credits women with being responsible for developing the social consciousness of concern for personal freedom and independence. In most of Greek drama, the female heroine is a slave, as are most of the female roles, including the female chorus. The women all state their clear desire for personal freedom and the lengths they will go to obtain their goal, including suicide and sacrilege. Greek dramatists, considered to be the ethical thinkers of the day, clearly express their concern with the oppression of a slave-based economy. Light and darkness are also used by the Greek dramatist to symbolize the roles of slavery and freedom. Light is symbolic of freedom, while darkness is symbolic of slavery. Eyes also play a role in the imagery and symbolism of freedom. Sight means being able to see light, which symbolizes freedom. Blindness, or darkness, means lack of freedom. This is why there are so many cases of gouging out eyes in Greek drama. To rob someone of their eyesight is to condemn them to darkness and slavery.

The Oedipus trilogy of Sophocles represents all of the imagery and symbolism at work here. Patterson divides the operative symbolic forces into four categories, called Binary Symbols in the table cited below. (p. 126) Patterson refers to these as symbolic antithesis, or opposites or opposing forces, like life and death. Since everything is laid out so explicitly, as given in the table below, there is no room for freedom, something that characters like Antigone strive to attain. Antigone wants personal freedom without the sovereignal aspects. In the end, Antigone dies as a symbol of freedom.



Chapter 8 Summary and Analysis

The years of the Peloponnesian War bring changes to Athens and Greece. The population grows, and the shift in agricultural production away from grain is complete. Athens is now completely dependent on grain imports. There is greater reliance on the slave-operated silver mines and urban craft industries to produce the necessary revenues. This means that there has to be an increase in the slave population. In order to foster productivity, there is also an accompanying increase in manumission, since this is the only way the society can attain the output it needs to survive. This serves as an impetus for the inception of freedom as a social value. Manumission is accomplished by the slave saving enough to pay for his replacement slave. One of the ways of motivating the slave to be productive is to allow the slave to keep some of the earnings resulting from his labor, called the *peculium*. By 4-3 B.C., the slave can borrow from third parties to pay for his personal freedom, even though most former slaves continue to work for the former slaveholder. The freed slave becomes a member of the metic class and does not become a citizen or have the rights of the native born citizen.

While Athenians value civic freedom over personal freedom, the slaves and metics view the situation the other way around. They value personal freedom the most, even though some of the wealthier metics yearn for civic freedom. Efforts over the next sixty years to grant civic freedom to some of the wealthier metics are thwarted. The chordal triad of freedom exists throughout the fourth century B.C., with the three elements ranked differently by the different classes and groups in society. The adult male citizens value civic freedom first, and then either personal or sovereignal. For the upper class, sovereignal freedom is highest, followed by either personal or civic. Most of the concern with freedom and the chordal triad is an urban phenomenon not felt much in the countryside.

By the fourth century B.C., the chordal triad of freedom is a concept not just accepted by the Athenians and the Hellenic world, but throughout the Western civilization. This does not stop the sovereignal belief and the spread of imperialism. As Rome rises in power, it proceeds to conquer much of Greece, basing its conquests on the precept of protecting political freedom. The Romans have their own concept of chordal triad of freedom, focusing on the protection of the upper classes and the ruling elite. This raises the status of personal freedom in the consciousness of the middle classes.



Chapter 9 Summary and Analysis

Patterson states that he does not mean for his book to be a study of the intellectual study of freedom, but the historical development of freedom as a social value. However, one has to be aware of and concerned with the thoughts and opinions of the intellectuals because they affect the people of all levels of society. The response of the intellectuals is twofold. The external response is the reflections or opinions of the intellectuals on what they see happen in their society. They distinguish between outer and inner or internal freedom. The intellectuals frown on the outer or external view of freedom and place the emphasis on the inner or spiritual or religious level.

The Sophists are one of the groups of intellectuals that influence Greek thought and values. The Sophists and other intellectuals are the educators, earning their livings by moving around from tutoring job to tutoring job. As a group, the Sophists are very concerned with freedom, making a distinction between *phusis*, or nature, and *nomos*, or what we now call culture. This distinction is the distinction between nature and nurture. This is basically the birth of Western philosophy.

The Sophists view the nature-nurture conflict in terms of the correctness of the culture, or laws, trying to restrain nature. Patterson looks at the comments of various philosophers, including Democritus, Protagoras, Iamblichus, Hippias and Alcidamas, on this correctness. The Sophists are promoters of personal freedom and, for the most part, anti-slavery. They are not the creators of personal freedom. The intellectuals define freedom in terms of power. The more powerful a man is, the more freedom he has. Since power is the ability to rule over the less powerful, the intellectuals basically define freedom as sovereignal freedom. This is somewhat contradictory since it is the viewpoint that supports slavery. They also see the inherent contradiction.

Plato views society in terms of its functions of leadership, protection and labor and what groups it requires to provide these functions: leaders, guardians and workers. Individuals become leaders, guardians and workers as a result of natural selection based on their abilities. The resulting hierarchy will reflect wisdom, courage, discipline and justice, or what Plato calls the four cardinal virtues. Freedom, which is not even mentioned, is not viewed as a desirable quality. Plato also believes in the superiority of sovereignal freedom.

Aristotle is basically in agreement with Plato concerning the elements of freedom. Civic and personal freedoms are both operative in democracy. Aristotle dubs these the political and the civic. Excessive personal freedom is undesirable because it brings the individual into conflict with the state. To Aristotle, slavery is a necessary economic condition, something required for the survival of the state. He also views the middle class as the best citizens, since he is suspicious about the upper and wealthy class.



Chapter 10 Summary and Analysis

In this chapter, Patterson examines the view of inner freedom. This is brought about by Greek religion. The gods are the only ones who are truly free. Mortal life is dictated by predetermination, or fate. Mortals have no free choice. Everything in their life is predetermined. This view is beginning to be questioned by the middle of the fifth century B.C., which is seen in Greek drama, where characters are punished for defying the gods. Inner freedom becomes defined as thinking for one's self or the ability to control one's own mind and think freely. It is the ability to be an independent thinker without having one's mind dominated. When an individual can do this, he has achieved inner freedom.

According to Plato, the soul is like a mini-state in that it contains three parts. Reason's function is to rule, and the spiritual element is to obey reason. The third element, appetite, is to work and obey. Harmony, or true justice, exists when all components behave as they should, subject to reason. Man should have the ability to control each of these elements so that they function as they should, without infringing on each other. Inner peace exists when this is achieved. Man's nature or personality is determined by the dominance and functioning of each of these three elements. A slave mentality results in lack of inner freedom and causes inner turmoil. This is the individual who can't think for himself.

Harmony is achieved when each element functions to perform what it does best, without intrusion on other elements. Then inner freedom is attained. How does god and religion fit into this scheme? Gods demand worship. In exchange for worship, the gods give man the freedom from inner conflict of these three elements. When does this occur - in the afterlife? An aspect of freedom is now spiritual.



Chapter 11 Summary and Analysis

Three schools of thought exist among Hellenic thinkers, all concerned with the Delphic message of "know thyself." (p. 181) Each of the three is concerned with the slavery-freedom issue. The Socratic method is one of moral introspection, postulating that the soul is trapped inside the body during life and is freed when the body dies. If the soul has been pure of passions, it will go to the gods. If not, it will go to Hades.

Cynicism is an outgrowth of Socratic thought. In Cynicism there is complete personal freedom, both inner and outer. Obviously, many of its proponents either are slaves or former slaves. Freedom is equated with independence and self-sufficiency, both physically and socially. Dependency is viewed as the equivalence of slavery. From this point of view, the slave master's dependence on the slave means the slave master isn't free. Cynicism reaches its apex in the later fourth century B.C. and declines in importance after this date, only to see a revival in the first and second centuries after Christ.

Epicureanism is the second school of Hellenic thought. This school of thought is based on hedonistic detachment. Epicurus believes that the inner and outer elements of freedom place constraints on each element, what is referred to as the cross-parallel approach. All of man's actions are aimed at the attainment of pleasure and the avoidance of pain. Man will forego the pleasures that will cause anxiety and discomfort at a later point in time. Epicurus believes that man has free will. He makes his own choices and becomes what he becomes because of those choices. There is no such thing as predetermination, or there would be no such thing as morality. How could man be held responsible for his own actions if all actions are predetermined? Epicurus' fourth argument for freedom is that freedom is natural. It is the routines of business and politics that limit freedom.

The third and final school of Hellenic thought regarding freedom is Stoicism, founded by Zeno. This school of thought results from Zeno's break with Cynicism. Stoics basically put some restraints on hedonistic behavior, like public masturbation or defecation, because these acts are not natural. They go against nature and do not promote harmony between the inner and the outer. A follower of Zeno, Chrysippus, further develops the tenets of Stoicism and free choice. Man is based on reason just as the universe is. Man does as the universe does and behaves in ways that are consistent with the laws of nature. Man chooses to do the right thing if he is wise, because laws are based on reason and made by reasonable men. To Chrysippus, Zeus is not the only one who is free. Wise and virtuous men are as free as Zeus because they have achieved harmony and have inner power. This inner power means freedom. The later Stoic thinkers view the human soul as having an irrational impulsive element that has to be controlled by man.



The conclusions of Stoicism are threefold. First, inner personal freedom is based on morality. Second, this inner personal freedom is based on independence. Third, inner and outer personal freedom has a great significance in terms of sociology. Freedom now means moral virtue.



Chapter 12 Summary and Analysis

The scene changes from Greece to Rome as readers look at another slave-based economy. The development of the concept of freedom in Rome also results from a series of struggles. The first struggle is between the patricians and the plebeians. This is referred to as the struggle of the orders, which goes on until 287 B.C. The second takes place between 340-266 A.D., resulting in Rome growing and expanding to become Italy. The third involves the restructuring of Italian agriculture.

The first struggle, the struggle of the orders, parallels developments in Greece, with debt bondage and slavery. Unlike events in Greece, the plebeian class responds with the *secessio*, or strike. They reject the role of the patricians as leaders and refuse to fight their wars in 494-493 B.C. The patrician response to this strike is to basically absorb the plebeian leadership by sharing power and some rights, which leads to the later development of the Italian nobility. This is known as the Hortensian Law of 287 B.C. This, of course, causes resentment from the lower plebeians who are not a part of the new ruling class, which sets the stage for later problems.

Rome extends its power and rule to the Italian peninsula through a series of wars and conquests in 266 B.C. The disgruntled Roman plebeians receive a portion of this land through redistribution, relieving some of the tension and conflict in Rome but creating it in other places throughout the conquered peninsula. The Roman leaders deal with the situation as they dealt with the striking plebeians. They placate the ruling class by absorbing them and promising them Roman citizenship. Each conquered entity forms its own local autonomous government subject to Roman indirect rule. These actions pave the way for unification. At the same time, rural farmers become independent, basically as a result of the land redistribution.

Concern with personal freedom comes about as a result of the possibility of plebeian debtors facing bondage and being sold into foreign slavery. This fear leads to the enactment of the Lex Poetelic Papiria in 326 B.C., which eliminates debt bondage and being sold into slavery because of debt.

During this period, there are pressures by women and plebeians for more economic and political rights or civic freedom. The powers that be respond with co-optation. Rome becomes a war-based society, as the Punic Wars from 266-133 B.C. establish Rome as a major power in the Mediterranean. The captives from the conquest become slaves, and the nobility becomes the slave-holding class. The slave system grows and becomes more entrenched in Roman society and in the economy until 27 B.C., resulting in intensified class conflict and numerous civil wars.

The Hannibalic War with Carthage results in more land redistribution and more slavery. These slaves are required for their productivity and to make the economy function. As



Rome expands through more wars in the Mediterranean and Spain, the rural male population decreases as the men are either killed off in the wars or migrate to more exciting places. These men were the small independent farmers, who are now replaced with slave labor. By the first century, slave plantations develop, run by overseers instead of the now absentee landlord.

Similar changes take place in the cities as all aspects of the business economy are performed by slaves or ex-slaves. Slave productivity is motivated by the promise of manumission. The nobility does not work at any occupation. They use slaves to perform all of the roles of business, leading to high rates of manumission. This leads to the gradual replacement of the nobility and the freeborn in the business economy, as freedmen take over. The Romans set up a strange system in another way. Soldiers' allegiances are to their commander, or patron, instead of to the state or government. Commanders buy their soldiers' loyalty with bribes. The result of this is a perverse corrupt society that culminates in civil war.

The Romans use the term *libertas* to denote personal freedom, the right to do whatever they want. To be free means not to be a slave. Sovereignal freedom is represented by the slaveholders and foreign conquests. The belief in civic freedom is evident in the belief in equality before the law. The only problem is that it doesn't extend to all members of society. How it applies depends on what group one belongs to. The ruling plebeian class achieves libertas and civic freedom through co-optation. Civic freedom, then, exists for the upper class.

The rulers of the Republic give the right to vote to magistrates to all adult males, but they could not vote freely, even if they could travel the necessary distance to vote. In 1 B.C., civic freedom based on bloodlines changes to civic freedom based on achievement. To the average Roman elite, there is nothing to be gained from having equal rights. They only want enough rights to enjoy the kind of freedom they want. While libertas functions as a buzzword among the elite, it excludes the masses, an explosive situation for any society.



Chapter 13 Summary and Analysis

The Roman economy, both urban and rural, is slave-based. Both areas experience the sense of alienation brought about by slavery disrupting any sense of community in either area. The practice of manumission and co-optation means the native born Romans, or the ruling class, are numerically now a minority. The majority of the population consists of aliens who are despised by the ruling elite.

The plebeians view the civic freedom of the upper class as a threat to their own personal freedom. They have more faith in one-man-rule and a ruler like Augustus. They accept the sovereignal freedom of the emperor because it poses less of a threat to their own personal freedom than does the civic freedom of the upper class. Augustus exhibits concern for the masses. Someone like Cicero does not. He loathes the plebeians and slaves and is a staunch supporter of civic freedom. Three reasons are offered to explain the plebeian behavior. First, the plebeian hates the practitioners of the elitist civic freedom because it encroaches on their own freedom. Second, the programs of Augustus, called the *tribunicia potestas*, benefit the Roman masses, so they support him. Third, the emperor fulfills the requirements of what the plebeians think a leader should be. He is concerned with the welfare of the masses, even at the expense of the upper class. The fact that freedmen or their descendants make up the vast majority of this group explains their emphasis on personal freedom. The cult of Lares is given to the slaves and freedmen and eventually tied to Augustus to become a part of the state religion. Many cults exist in Rome during this period. Some are linked to various gods and function as a form of religion. Others are more like business clubs without any religious connotations. The freedmen are credited with developing the value of personal freedom in the Roman population.

Women's lives also change during this period from being housebound and totally subservient to having some legal rights, like divorce with return of dowry and the right to remarry who they want. This functions as a form of manumission. Women also have more social and sexual freedoms that aren't the results of laws. As a result of extremely liberal marital and divorce laws, women can marry and remarry, often times willingly accommodating their fathers' desires for business or political ties. This gives the woman a certain amount of not only personal freedom, but also sovereignal freedom. However, the overwhelming concern of the Roman population is with personal freedom, which is why Augustus is a popular ruler.



Chapter 14 Summary and Analysis

Augustus sets the pace for the interpretations of freedom that will define the European chordal triad for the next fifteen hundred years. Augustus changes his image and his manner of rule from military oriented to personality oriented during his reign. He extols the virtue of the ruler as a provider and protector of the populace. Augustus uses his sovereignal power for the good of the populace. As stated above, the populace accepts the sovereignal freedom of the emperor because he supports and protects their personal freedom, even though it's at the expense of the civic freedom of the upper classes. The Lares Augusti cult makes this support a kind of religion. The emperor's freedom is derived from his power to promote the welfare of all members of his society. Augustus and the following emperors link themselves to the welfare of the populace, a shrewd political move.



Chapter 15 Summary and Analysis

This chapter looks at the effects of Stoicism on Roman society. Cato represents reactionary Stoicism. It appeals to the Roman upper classes, since it is based on reason. They merely adapt the philosophy to fit their version of civic freedom. Wise and good men's actions are based in reason. It is still possible for the upper class to experience personal freedom even when their civic freedom is severely limited by the *princeps*. Many in the nobility view the princeps as a form of slavery, but Stoicism gets them through the changes and becomes a pseudo-religion. The upper class young men of the time are educated in Stoicism and despise the populace and their ties to the emperor. These young upper class Romans emphasize inner freedom over outer freedom in their form of Stoicism.

Reformist Stoicism is the second form of Roman Stoicism and emphasizes personal freedom and the role of reason in the universe. Conformity results in less freedom because man isn't identifying with the cosmos; he's just going along with it. Choice is the result of both internal and external events. Oddly enough, Stoicism is used by both sides as a pillar of support for their positions.

Seneca supports the mix of personal and organic sovereignal freedom formed by Augustus. The different relationships - god and people, reason and physical body, emperor and population - all have achieved a perfect parallelism. Each is balanced without one dominating the other.

Patterson draws on the writings of Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius to discuss Roman Stoicism and the monarchy. According to Epictetus, "If you will, you are free; if you will, you will not have to blame anyone, or complain against anyone; everything will be in accordance with what is not merely your own will, but at the same time the will of God." (p. 281) A king, like a god, has the constraint of greatness. Marcus agrees with Seneca on this point. Both Nero and Marcus try to escape this bondage, Nero through denigrating and lascivious acts of behavior and Marcus by seeking inner freedom and peace of Stoicism as a way of dealing with the outward conditions. Both men struggle with this dilemma. However, their struggle sets the stage for the development of a philosophy of freedom. What Marcus and Epictetus find is that Stoicism cannot give them the spiritual freedom that they desire.



Chapter 16 Summary and Analysis

Once Christianity appears, it spreads rapidly throughout the Roman Empire. Like Stoicism, it offers people inner peace and salvation, focusing on a Savior that will free them from their misery with the promise of an afterlife. Freedom is the central theme of its existence.

According to Patterson, four phases exist in the development of early Christianity. The phases are "the prophetic phase of Jesus and the Jesus movement; the primitive Palestinian sect; the Hellenistic phase of Jesus and gentile Christianity; and the culmination of this phase in the religion of Paul." (p. 295)

Jesus does not intend to lay the foundations for a church based on his teachings. He is the prophet delivering his message or vision. It is those who come after him that found the church. The cult of Christianity preaches the coming of the apocalypse, as did other cults of the time. Repentance of sin by the sinner will result in forgiveness by a merciful God.

For Jesus, the Kingdom of God is already at hand, and the apocalypse is eminent. This view is in keeping with cults of the time. What distinguishes Christianity from the others is the role freedom plays. Liberation means release from the block that the Jewish law creates between man and God. Adherence to the law is not the way to external freedom. There is no way to escape from duty. God demands love and obedience, not adherence to law. Jesus' followers go on to create a Church based on freedom, not equality.



Chapter 17 Summary and Analysis

The fact that Jesus is crucified and dies has critics questioning the absurdity of a Messiah who can't save himself from execution. This is referred to as the "scandal of the cross." (p. 305) In order to maintain their credibility, Jesus' followers have to come up with a plausible reason. His followers respond by replying that Jesus dies for the good of mankind and is resurrected, warning them to prepare for the second coming. They turn the scandal of the cross into an act of glorification and propaganda. The cult of Christianity spreads rapidly through the Roman and Hellenistic world. The wretched who convert are purified of sin. The religion offers hope to the weaker elements of Hellenistic society - women, teens and slaves. It also appeals to the more sophisticated groups.

The different sects within Christianity differ in how man achieves salvation. They agree that spiritual freedom will be achieved, and the hope offered by the early church in all of its forms is the promise of freedom.



Chapter 18 Summary and Analysis

The focus of this chapter is on Paul and his role in shaping Christianity. His thinking is what basically molds the early church and shapes generations of theological thinkers. Why do Paul's ideas win out over others? His ideas provide what is needed at the time for Christianity to be accepted. His views become known as the theology of freedom. He does not intend to separate it from Judaism. Paul's greatest conversion rates are in regions where slavery predominates. Slaves are seeking freedom and escape from bondage, and Christianity offers slaves and freedmen escape and hope, the lures for the earliest converts. The manumitted freedman is not truly free, since his survival depends on the ex-master's employment, and becomes easily converted. Curiously enough, early Christianity does not promote increased manumission or the abolition of slavery. It tolerates slavery and works within the institution of slavery, promoting freedom.



Chapter 19 Summary and Analysis

This chapter examines the role of Paul in shaping Christianity's attitude on freedom. Two questions arise from Paul's theology: "what are we saved from? The answer is clear and repeatedly given: we are saved from the spiritual slavery of sin. But to whom or what are we enslaved? ...The second point to note is that in Romans Paul speaks not of being enslaved in sin to some other force but of being 'enslaved to sin' and of being 'freed from sin,' in this way obviating the problem by making sin both condition and master." (p. 326) This leads to the other question - by what method are people saved and redeemed, and how does this function? People suffer because of their sins, and they are freed of suffering when they die and experience salvation. Sin is considered to be a form of spiritual slavery that humans are freed from. Redemption, then, is the antithesis of spiritual slavery.

Law and the state of grace are opposites. When the state of grace is achieved, man knows what is good and bad and chooses instinctively between the two. At this point, law is no longer required. Freedom comes from the death of death, or the negation of death, which results in the rebirth or afterlife. This thinking represents a break with the past. Before Jesus and Christianity, death was just an end. Nothing followed death. Death didn't lead to salvation and rebirth or anyplace else. Sin is a form of weakness leading to the spiritual death of slavery and is why man needs redemption and saving, just as one who has fallen into physical slavery experiences freedom after the process of manumission. Paul views the process of spiritual freedom as the same as the process of escaping the bondage of slavery. He uses the analogy of a Roman citizen captured and made into a slave. He loses his rights of citizenship, but if he escapes and returns to Rome, his rights are reinstated. He is accepted back into society.

Redemption or emancipation brings with it faith, rebirth and justification. Faith is the way that law is negated through grace. Rebirth negates death's end of life. Justification then is the way the purified sinner is reconciled. According to Paul, faith is the most important factor operative in this scheme. Redemption is achieved by accepting Jesus' death, suffering and resurrection for man's sins to guarantee mankind's freedom. Slavery represents a state of bondage to the slave, who has less personal freedom than others, just as the sinner does. Paul sees this as essential. It is the inner condition or spirituality of the slave that brings him comfort.



Chapter 20 Summary and Analysis

By medieval times, the character of Europe has become rural serfdoms, making the transition from slavery to serfdom. The end of the Roman Empire does not end slavery. Slavery exists in France and Italy until 11 A.D. and the on-set of feudalism. Slavery is somewhat undermined by mass conversion to Christianity in the late 7 A.D., although the church never actively promotes the end of slavery. It basically negates slavery by emphasizing the spiritual equality of all people.

In the Middle Ages, the oppression of serfdom renews the interest in the quest for freedom. There are different periods of serfdom: convergent serfdom from 4-10 A.D, feudal serfdom from 11-14 A.D. and proprietary serfdom from 14-19 A.D. Patterson describes the elements of slavery as powerlessness, natal alienation and dishonor. In serfdom, at least one of these elements is missing. Free small farmers exist along with slaves and serf farmers during the period of convergent serfdom. Free tenants could end up serf tenants due to debt. During this period, natal alienation is the reality of many serfs. Serfs, unlike slaves, have some honor.

The feudal serfdom period sees a resurgence in slavery, as the nature of serfdom changes as the landholders' domination over the serf becomes the important factor. The land isn't the important factor now. The serf is not included in the civic community, even though he may be a landholder. The relationship known as vassalage comes into being. This system defines all relations of the free from the king on down. The serf now has some rights and belongs to the civic community. His natal alienation comes to an end. He now has less personal freedom because he is more or less owned by the lord, though. The serf has to pay a head tax and a wedding tax, and he is deprived of any rights of inheritance. The serf is subject to increasing degradation.

During this time, honor and power becomes synonymous with freedom. Sovereignal freedom is the dominant element in the chordal triad as the period shifts to proprietary serfdom. Conditions improve somewhat for the serf, due to lower rents and large-scale manumission. Then, the ruling monarch tightens up the aristocrat situation and moves toward centralization of government. The lower classes are subject to more control. Slavery is abolished and serfdom grows as slaves become serfs. The serf is subject to the increasing oppression of both monarch and aristocrats. The serf's condition is not much better than the slaves' condition had been. The non-serf population acquires greater sovereignal rights.



Chapter 21 Summary and Analysis

Since the sovereignal aspect of freedom dominates this era, historians have tended to downplay the role of freedom. Freedom is mainly the domain of the landowner, and sovereignal power means he can rule as he wants in his own domain. Most of the freedom granted is to communities or groups of guilds, not to individuals. At this level, elements of civic freedom exist. These rights or freedoms come in the form of charters. The serfs and peasants are constantly fighting for rights throughout medieval times, mostly paying monetarily for some of these rights. The king has the most freedom in terms of the sovereignal aspect of freedom.

This period is rife with rebellions. In the ninth and tenth centuries, there are peasant revolts. The lords try to exact more money from the serfs and peasants or in some way increase the oppression, and eventually the peasants rebel. Underlying a lot of these revolts is the demand for freedom. The biggest revolt is the German Peasant Way of 1525. It is the biggest and the last.

There are also other kinds of revolts and rebellions during the period. There are the burghers bourgeois revolts. Where the peasant revolts are among the lower classes, the burghers bourgeois revolts involve the middle classes, who are trying to get ahead. There are also other rebellions resulting from economic and social conditions. The crusades also occur during this time period.

A common thread running through the peasant revolts is a demand for the end of serfdom. The peasants want their personal freedom and status. To most peasants, increased freedom basically means the ability to have more material goods. They have an idea of sovereignal freedom as a freedom or power shared by all. As far as civic freedom goes, peasants value this and are eager to participate, even if it is only on the village level.

Throughout the Middle Ages, the chordal triad is evident, with different groups experiencing the different elements. Obviously, sovereignal freedom is the dominant element. The most freedom reside with the king; the least freedom reside with people in the lowest rungs of the social ladder.



Chapter 22 Summary and Analysis

As Europe emerges from the Middle Ages, the church and European states become more similar in terms of absolutism and thought processes. At the same time, they have conflict between church and state. Augustine, like Paul, is also concerned with the role of freedom in Christianity. Augustine expands Paul's view and tries to incorporate the Neoplatonic conception of freedom and God. He ends up basically downplaying the role of personal freedom. Augustine views personal freedom as a form of emptiness that doesn't result in inner peace because it does not result in reconciliation. He espouses sovereignal freedom when he describes freedom as a gift from God. Freedom can never be achieved by man on man's own. In heaven, man will share in God's freedom. Man will have free will without any temptation from sin. This freedom is the gift from God.

In trying to define the relationship between church and state, four interpretations are proposed by Patterson. The first interpretation is total interpenetration. The two are so intertwined that they function as one. This view prevails until 10 A.D., when the investiture crisis occurs. Three other interpretations come into being. The Gregorian reforms result in the view that church and state are separate. The sacred is superior to the secular, in contrast to the third view that holds each to be the supreme authority in its own realm. The fourth view is that the state is superior to the church, a view popular among kings. The church does not accept this view, and discourse on this subject takes place for several hundred years.

Sovereignal freedom continues to be the most dominant form of freedom, but by the thirteenth to fourteenth century, the time of Thomas Aquinas, there are three views concerning the source of sovereignal power. The first is that the ruler is divine and omnipotent. The second is that the ruler is absolute and limited. The third is that sovereignty comes from the people and the community. Now the view of government is changing to emphasizing the freedom of the people and their personal autonomy. By 1300, slavery is identified as the absence of civic freedom. The best laws are put into effect by the people, for the people. This is the only way in which there can be a free state.

Many who challenge the dominance of sovereignal powers are considered heretics. However, some of these movements are within the church and are not considered heretical. The mendicants advocate a form of religious freedom and support the personal freedom beliefs of Francis of Assisi. They are criticized for their beliefs concerning the poor. The celebration of poverty means a lack of dependence on material goods. This is not the same thing as being desperately poor, a view that is eventually accepted by the church. Also during this time, the Beguine movement occurs. This movement is concerned with the role of women and their freedom. Some of the Beguine views promoting the freedom of women are taken by Marguerite as part of the



Free Spirit movement of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Marguerite is burned at the stake as a heretic.



Coda

Coda Summary and Analysis

The role of slavery in the development of freedom as a social value forces people to address and try to resolve the issues of conflict between good and evil in the quest for harmony. Western civilization arrives at a conception of freedom that allows man to do what he pleases within the constraint set by the freedom of other people and a belief that all people are equal before the law. The Western concept of freedom that arises from slavery is the basis for the greatness of Western civilization. It sets the basis for the emphasis on personal freedom that exists today.



Characters

Homer

Aeschylus

Sophocles

Pericles

Sophists

Plato

Aristotle

Cynics

Epicurus

Chrysippus

Augustus

Paul of Tarsus

Augustine



Objects/Places

Coastal Brazil

Coastal Brazil is the home of the Tupinamba, an early slave society in pre-European South America that practiced the ritualistic slaughter of their slaves. Slaves had little value to the master except for the honor and dignity of the slaveholder. The slaves performed no economic function.

Angola

Angola is the home of the Impangala, an African slave-based society. The slave master depended on the slave's productivity and motivated the slave by the promise of freedom. Since the slave had no family or social network to support him, freedom had little meaning, since the freed slave could not survive.

Coastal Celebes

Coastal Celebes is the South Pacific island home to a group of people, some of whom practice slavery. The To Lage, To Onda'e, To Palande and To Pada are the slave holding groups. The To Pebato and To Wingkemposo are the tribes without slaves. Slavery introduced the notion of different classes with different status.

Egypt

Egypt has a slave-based society where the slave is totally dominated by the owner without any kind of personal identity. The slave-master relationship exemplifies the supremacy of the ruler, the Pharaoh.

Greece

Greece is a collection of city-states, including Athens, the birthplace of democracy and the birthplace of freedom as a social value.

Rome

Rome is a large city-state on the Italian peninsula with a large slave-based society.



Italy

Italy is formed from the conquest and expansion of the Roman city-state, resulting in the unification of the Italian peninsula.

The Roman Empire

The Roman Empire results from the expansion of Rome beyond the Italian peninsula.

Palestine

Palestine is the Middle Eastern birthplace of Jesus and the birthplace of Christianity.

Europe in the Middle Ages

During the Middle Ages, Europe is the scene for serfdom and vassalage, with all of its revolts and rebellions in the continuing struggle for freedom.



Themes

Slavery

There are several themes that occur throughout the book. The first, obviously, is the theme of slavery, the domination of one human by another, whether it is called slavery or serfdom. The slave is considered to be socially dead, with no rights of any kind. The slave may or may not be responsible for the financial well-being of the slave master. His purpose may just be to enhance the honor and dignity of the slave master. Throughout the book, then, readers see one struggle after the other, as slave and then serf fight to attain personal freedom, not matter how it is defined. Slaves are so oppressed throughout history that they don't even have the right to exist. The slaveholder can murder them, eat them, sell them or beat them without any say on the part of the slave. The slave never has any form of representation or anyone to protect him from the slaveholder. If the slave tries to escape, he is hunted down by the community and then suffers the consequences of having been caught. The only ray of light in the slave's life is the possibility of manumission - being able to legally obtain his freedom. The problem is that a slave's life is not much improved socially and economically after manumission. His personal freedom comes from the fact that he isn't owned by the slave master. This is why Christianity appeals so much to the slave population. Christianity offers slaves inner peace and hope that allows them to better cope with their physical conditions. Slaves and freedmen represent the biggest group of converts to Christianity because of the oppression of their own personal freedom. Even though the salvation of Christianity doesn't come until after death, it is the only hope that the slave and freedman have from their own living conditions.

Slavery and Freedom

The main theme of the book is that slavery is the reason for the concern with freedom in Western civilization. It is the oppression of slavery that causes people to think about freedom and to question what is happening to others and to themselves. The upper class Greek woman's society basically kept women captive in their own homes in the Athenian culture. They couldn't go out of the home on their own, and they couldn't socialize. They lived in isolation, with one function, that of running the home. Slaves are the only company and form of socialization these Greek women had, apart from their husbands.

Women thus come to commiserate and identify with the slave and the slave's lack of personal freedom. Women, in effect, see themselves in the slave. They become the early promoters of personal freedom. It is the Greek woman's concern with freedom that leads to the development of freedom as a social value in Western cultures. This is evident in the Greek drama of the time. The women question social norms and demand freedom. Most of the women in the leading dramatic roles are slaves willing to go to any length to obtain freedom - through suicide, murder or revolt. Many women of the period



poison their husbands in an attempt to escape from their oppression and unhappiness. If women hadn't suffered the oppression and horrible conditions that exist with slavery, they would not have had the conditions that lead to the development of freedom as a social value in the West. They wouldn't have had the preoccupation with freedom if freedom existed in their lives. Greek drama would not have been preoccupied with slave women going to desperate lengths to obtain freedom and would not have raised the awareness and consciousness of the population through their performances. The existence of slavery in ancient times sets the stage for freedom emerging as the basis for modern Western thought.

The Chordal Triad

A third theme of the book is that there are elements of freedom embodied in what is called the chordal triad, or the tripartite. The first element, personal freedom, centers on the individual and is the domination of one individual by another. Remember that the slave has no rights in slavery. The slave can be killed, eaten, beaten or sold without any say on the part of the slave. Personal freedom is the individual's freedom from being dominated by another. It is the individual's right to choose what they do, within the limits of not violating the freedom of others. Most of history and most of the book is concerned with the attempts of the oppressed to acquire personal freedom. The second element of the chordal triad is called sovereignal freedom. This is a relative form of freedom, where one individual is free to do what he wants without regard for the rights of others. This is the power embodied in the relationship between the slave and slaveholders, the ruler and the subject and humans and gods. The more freedom or rights one individual has, the fewer rights and freedoms the other individual has. Slavery could never have existed without sovereignal power. The third and final element of the chordal triad is called civic freedom. This is the freedom to participate in the community and its governance. With civic freedom, the rights and obligations of the citizen are clearly defined. This is the basis of the democracy in Athens. Civic freedom is only available to the upper class, as it is in the early days of the republic in Rome. It is civic freedom that the Emperor Augustus eventually turns against when he supports the masses over the upper classes. This chordal triad is what becomes known as freedom as a social value.

Development of Freedom as a Social Value

The fourth theme of the book has to do with the development process. Freedom as a social value develops throughout history. The culture moves to the next step in the awareness or development process when it is ready to. The culture must be socially ready, as evident in Greek drama. It is impossible for the early Tupinamba civilization to have the social value of freedom, because they are not socially ready for it. They represent an earlier stage in the development process. They aren't asking the questions or making the points that the Greek dramatists are because the Tupinamba society is not yet at that stage of awareness. The social value of freedom is the result of an ongoing social development process, a process that continues in the modern day. It is not a stagnant one-time thing. The development process means that there must be a



realization of something that is right or wrong before progressing to the next stage. There has to be a desire for change among the populace. Greek society had to realize that slavery oppresses the freedoms of the slave before they could address the issue in drama. The dramatist has to realize how the slave feels in order to portray the situation in his plays. This process of realization and progression to the next level, for lack of a better word, is what is meant by the process of historical development.



Style

Perspective

Orlando Patterson is the John Cowles Professor of Sociology at Harvard University. He obtained his undergraduate education at London University and his graduate education at the London School of Economics. As a graduate student, he was interested in Jamaican slavery and wrote his Ph.D. dissertation on the subject. This was published as a book called The Sociology of Slavery: Jamaica. His interests developed into an examination of slavery on a broader level, studying the effects of slavery and power on a people and the socioeconomic-political system. This interest in slavery and its effects led Professor Patterson into an examination of freedom, the antithesis of slavery. Professor Patterson has authored at least seven books dealing with this area of sociology. Volume I of *Freedom* is concerned with how freedom develops as a social value in Western civilization and traces its development to slavery. The author draws on many different disciplines, including theology, philosophy, drama and sociology, and he ties them all together in the development of the social value of freedom. Volume II of Freedom examines race, immigration and multiculturalism in contemporary America. Professor Patterson has also authored three novels and an anthology of short stories, as well as numerous critiques and reviews. He also served as a Special Advisor for Social Policy and Development to the Jamaican Prime Minister from 1972-1980. Volume I of *Freedom* won him the National Book Award for non-fiction in 1991. The intended audience for *Freedom* is guite broad, ranging from high school students to scholars and politicians. Most, if not all, will come away from the book very impressed by its breadth and scope.

Tone

The book is written in a very readable, objective, matter-of-fact style. The author holds the reader's interest and does not belabor or force points or issues. Even though the book deals with fairly well-known Western history, it is not boring as it relates the facts of history. The style is such that one concept of development flows freely into the next without any sudden jolts. Sensitive topics like personal freedom and sovereignal power are not offensive to the reader, as they could be if the tone were different. There are no commendations or moral judgments concerning slavery, the domination of one human being over another or the brutalities of some of the early societies. The facts of history are presented in an unemotional, objective manner which more or less results in the reader adopting the same unemotional, objective point of view. Emotions can cloud objectivity and are the enemy of analysis. In any kind of research and analysis, objectivity is always the goal so that the analyst can arrive at conclusions based on fact and not on emotions. Patterson writes and presents facts in such away that even the reader avoids the trap of emotionality and adopts an objective, rational point of view and is open to the concepts presented. The reader can easily follow the events and concepts presented in the book without being bogged down in details, philosophy or



theology, which is why this book has appeal for many different ages and educational levels.

Structure

Patterson divides the book into five parts: the non-Western world, Greece, Rome, Christianity and medieval Europe. This format works guite well for this kind of book. It is hard to envision any other format. Each division flows smoothly into the next with no sudden jolts or noticeable jumps in time. Some of this sense of smoothness, though, is lost by jumping around chronologically within a chapter, although the purpose is to show how the older intellectuals provide the basis for later schools of thought. The ultimate purpose of the book is to show the role of slavery as the basis for Western civilization's concern with freedom as a social value. This purpose might have been enhanced with more examples from the non-Western world, where slavery also existed during this time period. What are the differences between the Western and non-Western world that led the West to be concerned with freedom while the non-West wasn't? The reader comes away from the book wondering about this. The two short chapters in Part I on the non-Western world aren't enough to overcome this shortcoming. The contrast with the non-Western world is missing. Perhaps a few pages on events in the non-Western world in each part would have filled this missing void without interrupting the smooth flow of the book.



Quotes

"...this work attempts to answer four questions. First, how and why was freedom initially constructed as a social value? Second, how and why, after having been invented, did it emerge as the supreme value distinct from any number of other important values? Third, why did this rise to cultural supremacy happen only in the Western World, and for so many centuries remain confined to this civilization? Finally, having achieved preeminence, what forces maintained its status as the core value of Western civilization throughout the course of its history?' p. xi

"Freedom, like love and beauty, is one of those values better experienced than defined." p. 2

"Freedom, I will show, is a tripartite value. Behind the term's numerous shades of meaning are three ideas, closely related historically, sociologically, and conceptually, which may be called personal, sovereignal, and civic freedoms. The musical metaphor of a chordal triad is very useful in understanding the term and its constituent elements or notes, and I will be employing its constituent elements or notes, and I will be employing its work." p. 3

"Freedom began its long journey in the Western consciousness as a woman's value. It was women who first came to value its absence, both those who were never captured but lived in dread of it and, even more, those who were captured and lived in hope of being redeemed or, at the very least, being released from their social death and placed among their captors in the new condition which existentially their whole being had come to year for." p. 51

"When the average woman of sixth and even fifth century Greece saw a slave and paused to reflect on her or his condition, her musings must have run along the lines of 'There but for the grace of the gods go I.' By empathizing with the slave end of the master-slave relation, then, women become more conscious of freedom by the everpresent experience of powerlessness, natal alienation, and dishonor, the three basic elements of all slavery seen from the viewpoint of the slave; of the three, the most important was the simple horror of total powerlessness." p. 78

"While civic freedom remained the primary value for the Athenian citizens, this is not to say that they did not also value personal freedom; rather, they placed it lower in the cultural chord." p. 135

"First, there is inner freedom, which is the power to act independently, and inner slavery, which is the absence of such power. Second, there is outward slavery, which is external subordination, and correspondingly there is external lordship. This external lordship is an evil, but note that external slavery is not being condemned." p. 193

"Augustus' support for the personal liberty of the masses was a political precondition for the promotion of his own version of libertas, namely, the Roman version of sovereignal



freedom in its organic form. In Rome, it was embedded in the imperial concept of auctoritas. Since this is the note that came to dominate the European chord of freedom for over fifteen hundred years, it is important that we look more closely at the views of the man who laid the secular groundwork for its later ascendancy." p. 258

"Stoicism could also be easily adapted to the notion of an elitist conception of civic freedom. It made a rigid distinction before the wise and the ignorant: only the wise were free and good, and the only the good and free were wise." p. 265

"Seneca's facile shifting here between the inner, the spiritual and the outer worlds illustrates a peculiar feature of Roman thought, one which sets off most strikingly from that of the Greek elite. Among the Greeks, aw we have seen, the inner world was held-firmly apart from the outer. When one was used metaphorically to express the other, it was always absolutely clear that the statement should be taken analogically. In the Roman mind, this distinction is blurred." p. 274

"While all the different versions of early Christianity were, in one way or another, concerned with the value of freedom, none of them related the religious expression of freedom so closely, so completely, to the actual experience of freedom as the release from slavery. In the Christian seteriology that triumphed freedom in the literal sense of redemption became the central religious goal, and it was expressed in terms completely isomorphic with the sociological experience, and dominant intellectual expression of the value." p. 315

"At its best, the valorization of personal liberty is the noblest achievement of Western civilization. That people are free to do as they please within limits set only by the personal freedom of others; that legally all persons are equal before the laws; that philosophically the individual's separate existence is inviolable; that psychologically the ultimate human condition is to be liberated from all internal and external constraints in one's desire to realize one's self; and that spiritually the son of God made himself incarnate, then gave his life in order to redeem mankind from spiritual thralldom and to make people free and equal before God - all add up to a value complex that not only is unparalleled in any other culture but, in its profundity and power, is superior to any other single complex of values, conceived by mankind." p. 402



Topics for Discussion

How does Patterson define freedom? What are the different elements of freedom?

What is the source of Western civilization's concern for freedom? Why?

In what way does Greek drama reveal the slave's preoccupation with freedom?

Why would Athenian women be the source of concern for personal freedom? What circumstances lead to this situation?

Why is sovereignal freedom considered to be a relative concept?

How did the Emperor Augustus redefine the role of sovereignal freedom?

In what way did early Christianity offer hope and freedom to the slave?