BETWEEN THE ANCIENT AND THE MODERN WORLD: WAR AND COMMUNITY IN MAX WEBER'S *CITY TYPOLOGY*

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Abstract

Economy and Society, one of the most influential oeuvres of the early twentieth century, with impact in several branches of the Human Sciences, has in one of its parts a text of particular interest to researchers of Ancient History, the *Typology of Cities*. Although Max Weber's significant aims in composing his text were, blatantly, to evaluate the contemporary world, the density of the Weberian text, the fruit of a unique erudition, revealed an in-depth and singular analysis of the ancient Greek city. The purpose of this article is to analyze Weber's interpretive choices, in the light of historiographical criticism and a careful analysis of the *Typology*, in particular as regards the ideal types which he made to understand the city of the ancient Greeks.

Keywords

Max Weber; *Economy and Society*; *Typology of Cities*; Polis; City-State; Ideal types.

Resumo

Economia e Sociedade, uma das obras mais influentes do início do século XX, com reflexos em diversos ramos das Ciências Humanas, é um texto de especial interesse aos pesquisadores da História Antiga, em especial na *Tipologia das Cidades*. Ainda que os objetivos maiores de Max Weber ao compor o seu texto estivessem vinculados, flagrantemente, à avaliação do mundo contemporâneo, a densidade do texto weberiano, fruto de uma erudição ímpar, revelou uma análise profunda e singular sobre a pólis, a cidade grega antiga. O objetivo desse artigo é analisar, sob à luz da crítica historiográfica e de uma análise cuidadosa da *Tipologia*, as escolhas interpretativas de Weber, em especial, no que se refere aos tipos ideias que construiu para compreender a cidade dos gregos antigos.

Palavras-chave

Max Weber; *Economia e Sociedade*; *Tipologia das Cidades*; Pólis; Cidade-Estado; Tipos-ideais.

Introduction

Max Weber, born in the same year that Fustel de Coulanges published the ancient city, 1864, had a lifetime of tribulations of political order. He censured Germany's entry into World War I and, later, directed his criticism over the Kaiser, William II, whose conduct of the war displeased him. He did not fail to criticize the leftist revolutionary groups that were stifled in the Weimar Republic, nor spared criticism concerning the rise of the far right at the same time. Jacob Burckhardt's political isolation was not suited to Weber, even though the German sociologist thought that the insertion in politics and science required different ethical commitments. Weber deep incursions into so many areas have yielded him many oeuvres, hitherto been taken as milestones in scientific production, as well as periods of convalescence whose origins were the acute psychic crises related to his father's death in 1897 and the political disappointments in Germany of his time (Pollak, 1996: 59-60; Pollak, 1996b: 87-8; Moerbeck, 2016: 89-90).

The primary goal of this article is to analyze as systematically as possible the considerations of Weber on the ancient western city, with particular attention to the Greek case. However, a small initial digression may help bring some warning elements to the reader's horizon. It should be remembered that the typology of cities is a genuinely sociological approach with a strong comparative ethos among many ancient societies, ranging from Greece, Rome, China, Egypt, India, Japan, Mesopotamia, in addition to other periods such as the Middle Ages. Having as a point of analysis the form of legitimate and rational domination, the modern state, Weber proposes to think of forms of non-legitimate domination, as the ancient city (Finley, 2013: 17-9). It should be noted that in the Weberian sense the modern state was "a system of institutions and impersonalized relationships involving out […] a territorial entity with a central power monopolizing coercive power" (Goldstone e Haldon, 2009: 5).

In the same sense, there is a very relevant set of debates about the nature of the economy in antiquity dating back to the end of the nineteenth century and related to discussions in the area of economics that mobilized the German, Austrian and English schools, especially the economist Karl Bürcher. The problems relating to Weber's approximation of primitivism and debates with other currents of the economy of his time should interest the reader as they form the basis of some of the essential Weberian reflections. Although not developed here, they have been approached many times by historians and sociologists who explain them in greater detail (cf. Carvalho, 2011: 45-7; 51-2; Carvalho, 2018: 447; 463-4; Cardoso, 2005: 133-48; Iggers, 1983: 8-10; Vlassopoulos, 2007: 36-7; Palmeira, 2009:

95-6; Morley, 2004: 33-7; Scheidel; Morris; Saller, 2008: 1-2; Nippel, 1991: 20-1; Cohn, 2002: 8-10).

The ancient western city: the long course of the typology of cities.

Concepts and categories of city

How to conceptually characterize a city? For Weber, it is what is constituted as a "village" in a "closed settlement" and not as a set of isolated dwellings (Weber, 1999: 408). If the quantification of inhabitants as well as the spatial arrangement of buildings are important, the legal aspect is no less relevant as a defining element of the existence of a city. The formation of a city depends: a) on the existence of a center, which may exist as a seigneurial seat or an *oikos*[2]. Weber is thinking about the possibilities of the formation of the city in terms of economic needs, in commerce and its forms of political relations; b) on the regular exchange of goods. Thus, there should be a market that fulfills the needs of the residents.

> Every city, in a sense adopted here, is 'market locality,' that is, it has a local market as the economic center of the village [in which] the non-urban population also satisfies their needs for industrial goods or commodities […] the city (in a sense adopted here) is a permanent market settlement (Weber 1999: 409-410).

The political-administrative element also acts in the characterization of the concept of the city. By proclaiming itself as an autonomous unit, a community (*die Gemeinde*)[3] with particular political and administrative institutions, there would also have been the formation of a city. Not least important is the idea that the city in antiquity would be constituted as a military garrison, as a fortress, expressed materially and symbolically by a wall.

In search of a typification of the city, Weber has established, at least, two variables that served as predictive elements through which he constructed an ideal type: the first is the type of consumption carried out by the city; the second is the relationship between city and country[4]. The type of

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[2] Oikos is considered by Weber, a significant consumer of the local market, through which it could satisfy its needs for services or products (Weber, 1999: 409-10).

[3] Translators for the Portuguese opted for the word *comuna*, while in English put the word "commune" in quotes. I adopt the word community in my text because it is today a more current anthropological term and seems to do more justice to the sense employed by Weber in the course of his text.

[4] Weber developed the notion of the ideal type, a methodological resource, to respond to the problems that the enormous variety of phenomena observable in social life

fortress city that Weber imagines is organized by the combination of military, political and legal (estates) elements that involve meeting places of the citizens' military assembly. All this should be added to the existence of the local market. This composition is called "plastic dualism", which makes the German author point out that in the attic case, the agora was the space in which economic, political, and even religious questions were resolved before there was a *pnyx* (Weber, 1978: 1224; Weber, 1999: 419-20).

In summary, this community, typically Western, or at least much more frequent, depended on the formation of:

> [...] at least relatively developed artisanal-commercial villages that had the following characteristics: [...] at least relatively developed artisanal-commercial villages that had the following characteristics: (1) a fortification, (2) a market, (3) its own court, and at least, in part, its law, (4) the character of association and, 5) autonomy and autocephaly at least in part and, authorities, in whose appointment the citizens as such participated in some way (Weber, 1999: 419-20).

It is sometimes difficult to deal with Weber's argument, for despite his classificatory quest about what a city and community would be, at times he is very little explicit whether there were variations in his concepts. What would empirically mean "at least partial autocephaly and autonomy"? What made autonomy partial, what is the criterion? When he says that the Middle Ages are outside this model, does he refer to the whole Middle Ages[5]? What about modern urban communities, which would fulfill this criterion of eligibility to the category of commune/community?

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required. It consists of taking certain traits of reality, exaggerating them unilaterally, in such a way that they can be perceived in the purest way possible. The ideal-type part of the empirical world and its infinite possibilities to create an analytical instrument that cannot be equated with the lived world directly, because only a fragment of this reality could be constituted, each time, the object of scientific apprehension. Thus, it was a question of selecting a particular cultural variable, for example: how certain religious precepts were essential in the development of an ethical-religious sense of work. Such precepts, while directing life through an ascetic ethos and the support of morality that despises the body and its sensations as a search for spiritual perfection, have propelled the actions and the formation of a capitalist stratum and capitalist ideas. These were related to the rational conducts that led to success in the work and that express symbolically as a sign of the "salvation" in certain societies whose base was Protestant. The key question for Weber in this case is that the individual who has incorporated the ethics of the spirit of capitalism is not a product but a producer of the regime itself Cohn, 2002: 8; Weber, 1999b: 105-110, Weber, 2001: 35-42; Mathias, 2006: 4-8; Cardoso, 2012: 8-10; Ringer, 2004: 116; Fontana, 1998: 169-185; Carvalho, 2011: 61).

[5] Weber takes up this idea later by comparing, roughly speaking, some features of the ancient western city with those of the southern region of France and the northern part of the Italian Peninsula to the lower Middle Ages.

Two ideal types: the consumer city and the *Ackerbürgerstädt*

The best-known of Weber's ideal types, mostly because of the appropriation made by Moses Finley, is related to the idea of the consumer city (*Konsumentenstadt*)[6]. The consumer city is a construct that depends on a specification: who consumes what? The idea which prevails is that the city is composed of rentier consumers, that is, landowners who lived on rents from its plots to buy other products in the local market. It should be noted that Weber is careful to warn the empiricists that "it seems obvious that almost all empirical cities are mixed types and therefore can only be classified according to their predominant economic components" (Weber 1999: 412).

When he mentions the case of antiquity in generic terms, Weber wants to refer to the Greek and Roman case; otherwise, he makes explicit mentions to the near or far east. In the Western world, which also includes Medieval Europe, the towns contained "feudal estates and line of lodgings with territorial landlords outside the city and often also with large landed estates within the city ..." (Weber 1999: 426).

Perhaps it is essential to clarify that Weber uses terms uneasy to contemporary reading. He often mentions the existence of old capitalism, although he does not intend to make his approach as the modernizing current used to do. On the contrary, Weber recognizes the specific nature of the Ancient economy, analogous to what is related to the idea of the modern state when compared to the illegitimate (pre-modern) forms of domination. In speaking of capitalism, he relates it to a general sense, that is, as in "an economy of production satisfies the needs of a human group is done through the enterprise, regardless of the nature of the needs to be satisfied" (Weber apud: Carvalho, 2018: 468). Weber used, albeit less often in Economy and Society, the idea of city feudalism. The Weberian idea that the archaic Greek city was a "corporation of warriors linked to a system of egalitarian character" already appeared in the previous text in the *Agraverhältnisse*. The slave structure would have been one of the elements that made the feudal city lose strength still in antiquity. The Spartan case would be the most characteristic of a process of democratization, which ended the form of feudalism and seigniorial rule in antiquity (Colognesi, 2001: 21-2). Again, an idea that may seem strange to the contemporary gaze, but it is precisely the notion that Weber wanted to express, seeing

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[6] There are other ideal types, such as the merchant city (*Handelstadt*) and the producing city which, because they are mostly found in their ideal form in the medieval period, are important to us only in that they help in understanding the most typical city models for Western antiquity (Weber 1999: 412-25).

how the Spartans maintained the form of division of the land among themselves, concomitant with the decrease of the powers linked to a more aristocratic structure.

Another ideal type, originating from the relation between city and agriculture, operates in the arrangement of a city of farmers/ agrarian cities / *Ackerbürgerstädt* (Weber, 1999: 412; Weber, 1978: 1217). It is a type of city that Weber himself emphasizes to be "the great majority of the typical cities (polis) of Antiquity" (Weber, 1999: 413). In general terms, Weber constructs an ideal type in which citizens are agricultural producers living in the city, but who go to work daily in the near field (Hansen, 2006, p.86).

Three elements of the ancient western city

Another attempt by Weber to understand the city was to typify it as a western city, with a differentiation still to be made, since there were the ancient and medieval models. There are at least three characteristics that define the phenomenon of the ancient western city; it was: an estate kind, military and religious.

The estate character is central and refers, in the ancient case, to the possible membership in a clan[7], besides considering the fact whether there is land ownership. According to the author, the Mediterranean world was where these estate differences appeared more sharply. Even though, as an "opportunity market", the Mediterranean city offered opportunities for material gain, from the public buildings in Athens, where slaves get along with free laborers, to the possibilities surrounding the *pecullium* in Rome[8]. Thus, the existence of a system of estates, which guaranteed juridical privileges to a particular social group, did not prevent economic coexistence between citizens of higher status with inhabitants who, although inferior under a given prism, accumulated more wealth than the citizens themselves. "The western city, both in antiquity and in Russia, was a place of ascension from servitude to freedom through acquisitive activity in the regime of the monetary economy" (Weber, 1999: 426-7).

For Weber, it is hardly necessary to point out the differences in Greek reality seen in its diachrony, and not even between the Greek and Roman

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[7] Further on, Weber treats the term clan similarly to the phratry found in Athens, cf. (Weber, 1999: 430).

[8] As is well known, a process by which a slave can pool resources to buy his manumission.

civilizations which, at this point in his text, appear almost wholly merged. In general, Weber uses the same terminology for the city of the Middle Ages as for Antiquity. An example is the term bourgeoisie, which is analogous to craftsmen / merchants / traders. However, when observing the relationship between town and countryside, he preserves the distinctions between the ancient and the medieval city. This is the variable that separates these worlds. In the Weberian analysis, the medieval world and its producing city combined the germ of what became capitalism[9].

As mentioned above, Weber's ancient western city was constituted from a set of political and juridical institutions that guaranteed the estate separation of the urban citizen from the other groups that inhabited the polis. The city developed both in Antiquity as in the Middle Ages were an "association constituted as brotherhood", but at the core of which was the form of religious association, "an exclusive cult of the citizen's association, a city or saint god who protected them as such" (Weber, 1999: 429).

Although there was any citizen marriage impediment caused by a taboo, as there was in the case in India and China, Weber considers that the sacred acts of the clans were forbidden to those who were not their natural members, such as the rituals of commensality (Weber, 1999: 430). The origin of the polis itself is marked by this clan organization, appraises Weber. This argument leads us to draw a link closely similar to that developed by Fustel de Coulanges, although Weber does not cite him in any passage of the long text of the typology of cities (Fustel, 2009; Hartog, 2001: 7-46, 1987: 67-97). This approach also has to do with the fact that these family communities (clans) are based on a common ancestry "which in turn constituted a strictly exclusive cultural association regarding the strangers" (Weber, 1999: 430). Besides, such clans or their confederations had, above all, a military character, that was passing through transformations in its organizational forms while the time went on. These lineages that make up the cities and join themselves here and there in a symbiosis between religion and war had been losing their amalgam since the origin of the polis in the Classical Period[10].

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[9] In the medieval world, there was "a monopolistic appropriation of the opportunities for gain by the individual [master] worker" based on free labor and not on the slave. The latter was widely used from the model of the ancient western city. It should also be noted that "the free organization of craftsmanship with the regulation of corporations is classically illustrated by the European Middle Ages and only then became the predominant form" (Weber, 1964: 261; 233).

[10] In my reading, Weber seems to suggest the reforms of Cleisthenes amid these transformations.

It is entirely right that Weber, elsewhere in the Typology, was much more careful in analyzing this process from a diachronic point of view, which, however, did not prevent him from making all sorts of analogies. Beyond the question of conceptual use, the problem is that Weber compares, without reservation, rituals of commensality in the Greek *genoi* to events described in a letter of Paul to the Galatians, in which he weaves an account of community rites. Keep in mind that Weber is working with, at least, a gap of five hundred years. Although it could be almost impossible for the historian of antiquity not to accept a certain conceptual anachronism in the analytic process, especially in the path between past and present, we must emphasize, as did Nicole Loraux, to the fact that, for a moment, one must "suspend one's cultural categories" and then put oneself in a time pendulum. Thus, anachronism can be an exciting tool for historical reflection, on the condition that it remains under control and the historian keep himself aware of its properties (Weber, 1999: 430; Loraux, 1992: 57-70)[11].

In its temporal becoming, the polis imposed itself as an estate community of citizens with particular attention to the military formation. At times, Weber walks again, very close to the Fustel's interpretation, although it belongs to the German the greater emphasis on the effects of this military community. When looking at the medieval cities, what one sees is a "confederation of individual citizens", of parents. In antiquity, there was a notion of "commune" (with political autonomy) as opposed to that of state, only with the Hellenistic state would the commune lose its autonomy (Weber, 1999: 431). This question put under stress Weber's assessment of modern politics, for which politics was the set of efforts to participate or to influence the division of power, either between states or within them. Thus, for Weber, and then for Finley, the locus in which politics operates is the state, since every person who participates in politics aspires to power independently of its ends[12] (Weber, 2002: 60-1, Finley, 1985: 68-73; Mac Gaw, 2003: 238-49).

Among other things, Weber points out that the religions of antiquity knew only the vestige of ancestor worship as a taboo limitation, comparing them to the Indian and Asian realities in general, and this was due to internal

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[11] It would be unfair not to thank Profª. Marta Mega de Andrade for introducing me to this text by Nicole Loraux.

[12] One should not confuse political action with the notion or concept of power. For Weber, power is something more general which is connected to the possibility of a person or several, in social action, impose the will itself in a legal order, even if not only in the state (Weber, 1999: 154-186).

religious questions or, is uncertain, related to the nautical life, and colonial expansion which helped to break with more exclusive clan ties.

> Moreover, even if in antiquity they were everywhere artificially reestablished, according to tradition, by organizing the new communities into associations of genoi and phratries, the fundamental unit was no longer the gentile association, but the military association of the polis (Weber, 1999: 431).

Both for the Athenian case, as for the Roman one, the foundation of a city created religious communities that could involve different ethnic groups. What seems fundamental is that "[...] belonging to one of these associations remained the characteristic of the full citizen ..." (Weber, 1999: 433). What is intended to be emphasized here is that in the medieval world the citizen acquires individual existence in his community and legal position, while in antiquity, the various forms of political-juridical association, and even religious, blunt, or, at least, became even more complicated the visualization of these urban networks.

Although Weber uses terms such as natives and members of strange tribes (Weber, 1999: 432-3), it should be mentioned that there is an exciting reflection on ethnic community relations in *Economy and Society*. I underline here the idea of Weber that a community, [essential to note the use of this term throughout the *Typology*], can be fixed in certain conventions, acting as a generator of customs. Consequently, he selects anthropological types based on the creation of social subjects. The difference concerning the exterior, [to other communities], as well as the internal homogenization, can occur from any elements, however superficial they might be. About this matter, Fredrik Barth speaks of ethnic boundaries, which is very much related to the forms of distinction that Weber mentions. What we now use to name as the process of alterity, of the human being's fabrication, of the other through the selection of a cultural element that is variable in time.

Thus, Weber finishes showing that any common or contrary form of habit or custom can generate a subjective belief that there is an affinity or heterogeneity of origin. Remarkably, the belief in the affinity of origin can have significant consequences for the formation of political communities (Weber, 1999b: 267-77; Barth, 1998: 185-227).

The Greek city in Weberian diachrony
The city of lineages

Despite the irregular temporal anchorage in Weber's reflections, the second part of his typology, especially that of the Greek city, undertakes a more precise chronological orientation. The beginning of his narrative refers to the polis in its early stages; therefore, something between centuries VIII and VII a.C. This is a period seemingly hybrid since it is no longer that of Mycenaean royalty and its patrimonial-bureaucratic apparatus that refers to the forms of Eastern domination, but of a government based on noble lineages of warriors who unite in a knightly army in which the duels still decide the battles. It should be underlined that Weber continues to use concepts which mingle among Greek, Roman and even medieval reality. In the relationship between Agamemnon and Achilles, he speaks of the donation of a fief (Weber, 1999: 457), then, of dealing with the image of the elders appearing on the Achilles' shield; he still mentions the clans of "*honoratiores* who stand out for their properties and military merits" (Weber, 1999: 458). To follow the Weberian reflection requires the effort to interpret these concepts according to the semantics that concerns the author himself and not only through their contemporary criticism.

The typical antiquity aristocratic city, according to Weber, was the one that kept some elements: it is a coastal city, outside the territory of the polis -, it is not possible to infer if Weber refers to an urban core or the territory of the city as a whole[13]. There were villages (*chomai*) and union of tribes (*ethne*). The process of synoecism, the basis of the formation of the polis, presupposes the coexistence of these lineages, now and then with a king, and, returning to the argument expressed a few pages above, using a "fortified castle" (Weber, 1999: 459). The Greek and Roman worlds sometimes appear as a blurred ink in Weber's paper, in the few times he refers to other authors, such as E. Gothein, mentions that "the [lineages] of antiquity continued, in part, dwelling in their rural castles or at least owned - and this constituted a rule - country houses, as well as an urban center" (Weber, 1999: 459).

The set of social relations that give life to the space-territorial form expressed above is basically composed of a subsistence economy and a "passive trade" allied to a military element with structuring ethical precepts, perhaps a *habitus*, around the valorization of the young and an

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[13] If it is related to the urban nucleus, it is similar to what, analytically, Robin Osborne once called a town to the ancient Greek city (Osborne, 1987: 9).

agonistic culture[14]. The prestige of young people in the city, especially regarding the impetuosity for war, appears controversially among the ancients. Euripides' gaze on his Supplicants shows a little of this tension. On the one hand, the city that annuls the strength of the young becomes weak and feeds the rise of tyrants, on the other, the warlike furor, the *philotimia* of the youth can put the future of a polis at risk (Bourdieu, 2009: 87, Moerbeck, 2017: 263-75). In short, for Weber, the polis was structured based on a gentile character, in which charismatic power was structuring of social relations.

The process which consolidated the polis power, even in this period, had to do with the fact that the cult communities, inherent in each lineage, had lost their power for the city. It was through the ritual of commensality, characteristic of the western city, that a new community was founded. "In antiquity, this fraternization meant the birth of a new local community of diners and worshipers [...] put itself against the cult of each lineage, which excluded non-members everywhere [...]" (Weber, 1999: 460)[15]. The polis becomes the owner of the gods' patrimony. On the other hand, in the Eastern world, such as China and India, the caste division prevented this kind of fraternity which, in the case of the Middle Ages, would be assumed by the Christian community through the Eucharist (Nippel, 1991: 26-8).

The economic relations appear to be somewhat ambiguous in Weber's formulations. The argument regarded to Attica is that the *astoi*, (resident in the cities, but must be understood as citizens for the sense that Weber gave the term), were the ones who accumulated the best lands and exploited them through debt bondage, to the detriment of the peasants (*diacrians*) who, in turn, occupied the slopes, much less productive. It seems clear that Weber refers here to the pre-Solon period by reporting that these *agroikoi* and *perioikoi* were out of political participation, which remained in the hands of the urban warrior stratum[16].

> From the economic point of view, the property of the nobility was, naturally, mainly of a seignorial-territorial character. The services of slaves, servants, and customers [...] were the basis of satisfaction of needs [...] the source of economic power of the typical urban nobility was direct or indirect the participation in

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[14] Weber insists that by that time, active trade was still in the hands of the Phoenicians (Weber, 1999: 458).

[15] It is not uncommon for Weber to draw comparisons with the Classical Period-as in the case of the weakening of the *genoi*, the concentration of the necropolis near the city, and the function of the *phylai* in the politics and administration of the city (Weber, 1999: 460-1).

[16] For a reassessment of the role of the great legislators and the question of charismatic power, cf. (Arnason, 2013: 30-33).

commerce or sailing, what was considered compatible with their social status, and it was only in Rome that it was forbidden to senators (Weber, 1999: 462).

Weber analyzes in one set the situation of Babylonia, Hellas, and Middle Ages, and there is any specific trace to which period it refers. However, the judgment of the author on the participation of the "typical nobility" in commerce reveals itself weak to a closer analysis of the arguments used in the writings of the same elite, at least in the Greek one[17]. Typical nobility, doubtless, is a loose concept, still more when used for so many different socioeconomic realities. The most we can deduce, as a synthesis to the reader, is that it is a landed nobility that had a residence in the city. For the Greek case, ambiguously in Weber's speech, the nobility seems to be involved in commerce and navigation without causing them any social stigma. A widespread misunderstanding in nineteenth-century historians was to consider an adverse view that the Athenian elite attributed to artisanal and commercial work as if it were a universal desideratum, that is, inherent to the entire Athenian population, perhaps even to all Hellenes. This view was expressed in many authors of the classical period, such as Xenophon, Aristotle, and Aristophanes. It was up to contemporaneous historiography to "brush against the pelage" those same Greek authors (Pires, 2014: 815). In any matter, the question remains whether Weber ignores or disagrees with this point of view of the Greek elite. To assert that trade could be primarily made by the aristocracy, without this instilling social stain, would be a different perspective of the Greek readings of the period which Weber analyzes.

It is hardly ever easy to sail through Weber's arguments. It is an uncomfortable perception to think that in the case of many cities the type of the agricultural city (*Ackerbürger*) expressed too modest a reality so that commerce and navigation could exist as the "source of the economic power of the typical urban nobility." On the other hand, Weber emphasizes the consumer character of cities that had versatile commerce, like Athens and Corinth. Well, if these are hypothetical consumer cities, given their population and territorial characteristics, how could we think of them from the perspective of an elite that was heavily engaged in commerce, although, paradoxically, it despises the same trade at the ideological level of the discursive sphere? There is something which does not fit into this method. Alternatively, Weber is right in the above statement, and commerce is so important that the great Greek cities would not easily fit into any ideal type, or the German author does not precisely see the

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[17] Ellen Meiksins-Wood explains very well the process of appropriating the opinion of the Athenian elite by contemporary historiography as if it were the opinion of the Athenians as a whole, cf. (Meiksins-Wood, 1989: 05-42).

Athenian aristocratic value distinctions in work on the land, in crafts and commerce. At the end of his account, Weber does not seem to decide how much the relevance of trade would affect the logic of a city centered on consumption, its internal market, and monetary redistribution through rents from the countryside and from the state itself[18]. (Vernant e Vidal-Naquet, 1989; Moerbeck, 2017; Meiksins-Wood, 1989: 05-42; Paiaro, 2018: 93-134).

The plebeian city

Weber's central aim in this section of the *Typology* is to take notice of the process through which the city of lineages begins to erode. In this path, Weber does not shy away from the multiple comparisons of the ancient city with the medieval world, especially concerning the emergence of *popolo* [entrepreneurs and artisans] in the northern cities of the Italic Peninsula, which involved financing the mass action against the nobility of lineage. These actions would be similes to the institutional struggles of the plebs, in the realm of the policy of the Roman republic, especially about the plebeian interests defended by the tribune of the plebs[19].

What Weber wants to define sharply is that fights against lineages are estate fights. Thus his interest is reportedly to see similarities in the *modus operandi* of legal divisions, despite the political, social and economic differences of the Greek, Roman, and Medieval worlds, because "[...] there is no infinite variety of technical-administrative forms to regulate estate commitments within a city ..."(Weber, 1999: 475).

These social changes did not mean immediate unrestricted equality, but actually, a staged process. In the first, in the case of Athenian democracy, the vote in Ecclesia, the popular assembly, was granted to all citizens. After that, the belonging to the nobility of blood ceases to be a *sine qua non* criterion for the occupation of high public offices and councils. In this way, the economic census, which still created barriers to political participation, disappears in the fourth century BC.

Although again, in some respects, we remember the Fustelian analysis, Weber reveals an interest in a more detailed evaluation of how administrative-juridical changes were also expressed in the spatial dimension of the polis. To do so, he uses the case of Athenian democracy,

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[18] It must be remembered that Weber only possessed the texts of this elite (Athenian or not) for his reflection, thus, his analysis ends up being guided by the ideas of the ancient authors.

[19] One of Weber's references in this passage is Eduard Meyer (Weber, 1999: 474).

which created a local district, called demos, a "subsection of the whole territory and foundation of all rights and duties in the polis" (Weber, 1999: 477)[20]. The polis ceases to be "a confraternity of military associations and gentilities [and becomes] a territorial corporation of an institutional character" (Weber, 1999: 477). In this way, "instead of the irrational charismatic judicature appeared the law. Along with the elimination of the domination of lineages, legislation was initiated" (Weber, 1999: 477). With the diminution of the power of the Areopagus, probably in the 480s a.C., there would have been a kind of symbolic fracture of the aristocratic power, undertaken during the archon of Ephialtes, who, after commanding the reforms, was murdered. The turn to democracy is closely related to the change from a government based on consanguineous connections and charismatic power to one in which one governs through the use of the law, the election of magistrates, and by using lotteries[21]. Concomitantly with the creation of an idea of the Athenian elite concerning the work, there is also the emergence of a discursive *topos* that characterized a democratic ideology. Thus, not only in Aristotle's Politics but earlier, in the Histories of Herodotus and over Euripides' Suppliants appear the elements which give form to what the Athenians understood as the basis of the democratic regime (Moerbeck, 2017: 223).

Weber points out that democracy brought with it a new type of leader, usually a *strategos*, one of the ten generals of Athens who, although he was a public agent, was not in the modern sense of the word. The wages for the position was minimal, and there was no public career as in some sense there was in Rome sometime later, because in many cases even one could not be re-elected to the post. The position of a *strategos*, who could be re-elected and required a full-time dedication, was usually occupied by wealthy people. This process begins to appear subtly in Weber's speech as a kind of deformation element of the rule of law, thus, "the real leader of politics, created by fully realized democracy - the demagogue - used to be formally, in Athens in time of Pericles, the supreme military official" (Weber, 1999: 478). In this moment, it was established with the people a sort of relationship that transcended law and office, while influent citizens

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[20] In another passage, Weber mentions that the democratic city was divided according to *phylai* and *demoi* and possessed eminently rural character. The division of the city into neighborhoods is something that the ancient city shares with that of the Middle Ages and even with the Eastern one. There was, in any case, a domain of the city, in such a way that "formally the villages became [...] sub-departments of the city" (Weber, 1999: 498).

[21] It should be noted that Weber does not equate these new democratic government officials with the modern state bureaucracy because of the often-irregular remuneration and because they cannot in many cases hold the same position after the end of the period for which was chosen.

were acting through "personal influence and trust", again, we are closer to what Weber defines as charismatic power, which was the basis of functioning of the Athenian system (Weber, 1999: 478).

Therefore, Weber appropriates a rather negative view of the "deviations" of the Athenian democracy produced in the fourth century, heavily influenced by such authors as Aristotle and Aristophanes. The charismatic domination, which was established concurrently with the various legal bases[22], occurred when there was a perversion of the uses of ordinary political life. The charisma is related to "an extraordinary power", exceptional, of a given person, in bringing together followers and partisans. In politics, there are some types: the demagogue, the dictator, the military hero, or the revolutionary[23]. The turning of power over the charismatic leader presupposes the belief that he is fated to a mission, for the foundation of charismatic power is emotional rather than rational. The trust in him is often fanatical, sightless (cf. Dabdab-Trabulsi, 2001: 50-66).

Would be the demagogue guided by an ethic of conviction[24]? The charism appears as a breaker of a traditional or a legal system; it breaks institutions and puts them in doubt. The legitimacy of the charismatic leader is not drawn from the laws, nor tradition, but from himself, from his certainties, from his faith about what should be done, though his recognition and legitimacy can be conferred through an election in a democratic system. Finally, it should be emphasized that Weber himself considered that many relations of domination are based on a set of beliefs, in the empirical world, on a mixed basis (legal, traditional and charismatic). There is even the possibility of converting the charismatic in traditional domination when it becomes quotidian (Weber, 1999: 134-141, Weber, 2002: 73-90).

Thinking about Greek democracy

The city in antiquity tried to contest economic differentiation. Likewise, there were many full citizens who, although ruined, awaited the benefits of the state in different forms of subsidies, especially poor peasants with debts, usually those who had any land property. Weber compares this

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[22]While in the case of Athens, it established itself in democracy, in the case of the city-state of Jerusalem, it appeared in the religious figure of the prophet (Weber, 1999b: 136).

[23] In the contemporary world, Weber thinks of demagogues as politicians and members of political parties, as well as journalists and advertisers involved in the political game itself (Weber, 2002: 81-91).

[24] We return to the problem of justification of ends by means, of a pure conviction that has negative social consequences (Weber, 2002: 115-120).

situation with the "poor White trash", the layer that represented the white despicable in the southern United States slaver.

The economic policy of the democratic polis, if we allow ourselves to use the term to the ancient world, was concentrated on the forms of government intervention in the mercantile and consumer interests (the landowners living in the city) and on how incomes were distributed, like those from the mines of Laurium. Thus, there was a series of programs, such as the prohibition of the sale of cereals in Athens, as well as the imposition of tributes to the allies of the Delian League.

Slavery was one of the foundations of the economy, not only of agriculture but also of the artisanal sector in which worked free and non-free. There were, however, limitations to the composition of professional associations or corporations, as was common in some instances of the Middle Ages. What Weber wants to draw attention to is that "democracy in antiquity was a "bourgeois corporation" of free citizens, a character that determined all its political behavior" (Weber, 1999: 499). Nonetheless, note that the notion of consumer city is not related to the creation of demand as is usually called in the modern economy.

> The small urban bourgeoisie [...] was interested in direct or indirect incomes from the pocket of the dependent communes, that is, public constructions, subventions to attend the theatrical presentations and to participate in the jury assembly (the *heliaia*), distribution of cereals and other things, all financed by the state with taxes on subjects (Weber, 1999: 500).

In ancient Athenian, old traditional lineages: "*phyles* and *fratrias*," are divided into "demoi and tribus,[25]" which Weber calls political corporations. "This means two things: first, the influence of the lineages is broken, since their property was, corresponding to their origin in loans and insolvency, broadly scattered property…" (Weber, 1999: 500). It should be pointed out here that, with the advent of the *demoi*, everything had to be registered and a tax paid, which diminished the power of the old property based on a modus operandi of traditional power. The *demoi* allowed the occupation of the political posts with their members, and that is a remarkable question for Weber because it marks the political rise of the peasants. "And this means that in the Middle Ages, from the beginning, artisans were the bearers of democracy and in antiquity, in the time of Cleisthenes, the peasantry" (Weber, 1999: 501).

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[25] Here and in other passages, we preferred to keep Weber's original transliterations taken from Portuguese translation mentioned in the references.

Moreover, why was war fundamental? The demos were so much interested in war because it worked as the possibility of income gains, similar to what happened to the work of the sailor, which Weber calls, in quotation marks of "unemployment/unemployment benefits." Thus, "these disqualified citizens had no economic commitments and nothing to lose" (Weber, 1999: 502, Weber, 1974: 1350).

All this reasoning helps to understand why antiquity was not the springboard for modern capitalism, considering the fact that the "democratic development of antiquity did not practice an authentic industrial policy of producers as a decisive element .... the urban policy of antiquity pursues, first and foremost, the interests of urban consumers" (Weber, 1999: 502). In western antiquity, the grain supply of the city was not left only in the hands of urban merchants. It was a state policy allied to the interests of large landowners and raiding that operated from a coastal determinant factor (geographic) in Weber's view[26].

The hoplite reform, in its fight against lineages, is directly linked to the transition to democracy, since that process would have been what politically eliminated the nobility. Purging in the nobility has significantly varied since Sparta's most radical case, in which Weber seems to look with suspicious eyes to the view of the land as "common property" (Weber, 1999: 505), to the very maintenance of that nobility in Rome. In Athens, the path was that of "incorporating the nobility into the *demoi*" in the sense of a timocratic state, already in the time of Cleisthenes (Weber, 1999: 504).

> The specific city of antiquity, its dominant layers, its capitalism, the interests of its democracy, all these factors are primarily oriented to military political aspects, and all this when, mostly, the particular character of antiquity stands out (Weber, 1999: 504) [...] Such demos [which were warlike as an acquisitive form, especially of slaves] could never be primarily in the sense of peaceful economic activity and economically rational management (Weber, 1999: 511).

The democratic polis was a corporation of warriors, of citizens as political men. After the collapse of the lineages, hoplites were the class of full citizens, this type of position decayed with the appearance of mercenaries and the fleet in coastal cities (Weber, 1999: 505-510). From this point on, another discursive *topos* appears, repeated in Burckhardt, Fustel, and Weber, namely, the absence of the notion of freedom among the Athenians. Aristotle was an essential and careful reading of all, who considered the democracy of Athens too radical and even a distortion of the sense of politeia (Ober, 1998: 290-5).

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[26] It is not without relevance that Weber refers to Pausanias (Weber, 1999: 510-11).

One can even speculate that, in the context of the appropriation and resignification of political ideas, Aristotle's assumption about the necessity of ownership for full participation fits perfectly into a form of oligarchic vision in the invention of the contemporary republic that would justify the assets in politics. Noteworthy is the causal relation established by Weber between the use of large-scale slave labor, the wars promoted for imprisoned purposes with the impossibility of establishing a kind of peaceful, rational economy, in addition to technical progress that had made modern capitalism emerge in antiquity (Weber, 1999: 510; Wagner, 2013: 61; Carvalho, 2018: 470).

Although Pericles claimed that the Athenians could live as they wished, the fact to Weber was that,

> [...] the corporation of citizens interfered, at the discretion, in the life of each individual. A poorly managed property, especially the dissipation of the lot inherited by a warrior [...]adultery, a unwell educated son, the bad treatment of parents, impiety, *hybris* - all behavior that endangered military and public order and discipline or could provoke the wrath of the gods, to the disadvantage of the polis - were punished [...] one cannot speak of personal liberty in the conduct of life, and the measure, which in fact existed, diminished the militant force of the citizens' militia, as happened in Athens (Weber, 1999: 510).

Weber and so many other intellectuals of his generation had to fight rationally with many questions. In any case, the environment of 19th-century historicism left a mark on his work. By the way, it was what happened concerning the concept of liberal freedom, which could only be achieved through the traditional structures of the modern state. The bureaucracy of a state, such as that of the Prussian monarchy, could be the best guarantor of the defense of individual freedoms and legal certainty vis-a-vis democracies that tended to bow to the pressures of public opinion (Iggers, 1983: 10-7).

How the polis asserted rights to subtract the citizens' possessions is one of the bases for thinking of polis as a form of illegitimate domination. The Modern State becomes mandated (through a pact) and has as a prerogative to guarantee the assets of the signatories of this symbolic and legal agreement. Meanwhile, in the polis, the maintenance of the patrimony was very unstable, since, through the liturgies, several citizens were forced to commit economically for the common good. Moreover, how could Weber admit a system of justice in which civil cases were brought and tried by citizens with no specific and formal legal knowledge? All this seemed, to the Weberian look, in constant political instability.

Final considerations

Much of the proposition that Greece was a kind of adolescence of European civilization, since childhood would have been the Eastern world, was already present emphatically in F. Hegel (Bernal, 1987: 294-6). Weber's quest to understand the formation of the ancient western city has much to do with the keys he had sought after to understand his world, to understand the culture of the late nineteenth century and the advent of the modern state.

Moses Finley's interpretations of the ideal model for the ancient city, such as that of the persuasive consumer city, eventually cast a smoky curtain on Weber's thinking of the ancient city. Enormous mistake to think that Finley's reading could account for the high degree of Weberian complexity. Finley's errors and distortions in mixing the two types of consumer city and *Ackerbürgerstädt* have already been pointed out in other works by Mogens Hansen and Kostas Vlassopoulos. Perhaps Finley's unwillingness to work with the data of material culture for the understanding of the ancient city could have played a role in this process of interpretive limitation. However, we are in the field of speculation, which says more about the way the field deals with the appropriations of ideas than with the extent to which Weber was correct or not in his interpretations (Hansen, 2006: 85-98; Vlassopoulos, 2007: 123-141).

The core of the Weberian analysis of the ancient western (Greek and Roman) city is supported by the triad: state, military, and religious. The core which it could be drawn from the Weberian analysis of the ancient western (Greek and Roman) city is supported by the triad: *estate*, *military* and *religious*[27]. Also, it operated in the coexistence of sophisticated status, legal, and class distinctions. Every city for Weber fulfills specific characteristics without which it would not make sense even to call it a city. The heart of the question lies in how in its physical center lies a market for the exchange of goods. How does this market work in an agrarian world? Two ideal types give shape to the functioning of these spatial, legal, economic, political, and military entities known as the consumer city and agricultural city.

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[27] I am considering Weber's conception of the concept of class, which has to do with a position concerning the market. Property is not a basis for the division of society into classes, but it is a source of privileges and discrimination in the market environment. Of course, Weber is more concerned with these debates in the contemporary world, for which he thinks that classes do not necessarily determine the formation of distinct social groups because they have no necessary relation to the social division of labor.

By this time, Weber no longer has to say that Sparta is a consumer or even Athens, or even that many were agricultural cities. Although Hansen demonstrates that Weber had been more sophisticated in his analysis than Finley himself, the problem is in trying to compare the ideal type to the existing cities. Hansen ends up doing this by mentioning that the problem of the Weberian model (of the consuming city) is that it applies only to just a few polls among more than a thousand (Hansen, 2006: 86-7; 94-8). The model created by Weber was not constructed to be compared to empirical realities *in totum*, but to trace a path of understanding of the meanings of the empirical transformations that occurred through time, which could lead to a better understanding of the formation of the modern state and capitalism. All of this does not exempt Weber's discourse from flaws and inaccuracies about the ancient world or exempts his ideas from being, in the end, unplausible to the analysis of the old reality.

Weber is constantly distancing himself and approaching the empirical world. When he struggles to understand the process by which the polis moved from a lineage configuration to democracy, there was the bridge to understand the detachment from its ideal type. Athens, the city that most left written sources, became the nucleus of the diachronic journey of Weber, as might be expected from a written text of the 1910s. The author's effort is to try to analyze how, from the historical point of view, the real cities approach or not his ideal model.

Thus, from an aristocratic city, whose power was based on a hybrid form of traditional/charismatic domination, supported by a warrior elite, to the democratic city of Athens, it can be seen a transition in which the territorial-legal-institutional elements imposed itself on the triad of the gentilic-military-charismatic Archaic Period. It seems that the city of Athens is the consumer for Weber. It is one in which the military power of an elite who inhabited the city exploited the incomes from the countryside. It is primarily landowners who foment war as a possibility of acquisition and taxation of subject cities.

Athens was an irrational economy and could never produce modern capitalism since it was based on a logic of instability concerning the constant wars as well as the property of its citizens. Weber's conception of contemporary democracy was one of the sources of his antipathy while analyzing Athens' mass democracy, because: "the [modern] democratic regime could provide the alternation through elections or other forms of consultation of the majority, but in fact it is always a minority that decides and directs according to its guidelines the general policy of the group" (Freund, 2000: 162). Thus, equality of legal conditions has more to do with

Weber's conception of rational-legal domination than the acceptance that the vast majority should participate effectively in the political process.

The pulsating trade of Athens was a problem that Weber was aware of but still believed to be limited enough to advance in another interpretation that would break with his primitivist position. At the very end, what characterized the democratic city was the triad based on land ownership, the military community governed sometimes by a demagogic leader and the forms of taxation which transferred incomes to a system that, like every city, presupposed a market.

The debates brought about by this article raises to orders of questions. Firstly, it concerns the condition of contemporary historiography, especially about reflections on very relevant topics, such as evolutionism, the economic bases of the ancient world and the distortions caused by the presupposition of the notion of State in the analysis of the ancient ages. Firstly, it concerns the condition of contemporary historiography, especially about reflections on very relevant topics, such as evolutionism, the economic bases of the ancient world and the distortions caused by the presupposition of the notion of State in the analysis of the ancient ages. In the same way, there are dangers in thinking of the State as a factor in the cohesion of societies, and even in the very condition of Ancient History as a specific and legitimate historical form for all societies indistinctly.

There are many developments of this problem that still today has a significant range in the field of Theory of History, as well as in other forms of history that include the educational and there of the public history. From the formation of a field of classical studies up to the nineteenth-century and its athenocentrism, still expressed today in many school textbooks in Brazil, the fact is that Ancient History as a field of study, as well as the often arbitrary divisions between West and East, is still today object of disputes that transcend the debates in the scientific field towards the political games that underlie the choices and assumptions taken in the academic positions of power (Guarinello, 2003: 41-61; Vlassopoulos, 2007: 13-46; Francisco e Morales, 2016: 67-79; Shanks, 1996: 80-5; Moerbeck, 2018: 140-6; Wagner, 2013: 47-67; Andrade, 2016: 95-105; Bernal, 1987: 294-6; Carvalho, 2018: 473-4, Gallego, 2018: 86; Lisarrague, 2002: 101).

The forms of appropriation and reassessment of political concepts are critical in our time. As Peter Wagner has pointed out, the idea of a republic has gained ground to the detriment of democratic practices (Wagner, 2013: 51). At the end of the nineteenth century, it was already considered that the notion of a republic did not imply the massive participation of people. The notion of republic gains an air of politeia when it comes to

domesticating the "disruptive forms of democracy," especially popular participation. The ideas that spoke of a democratic revolution in the nineteenth century were clearly against the model of Athenian democracy. The idea of freedom has become central since the discussions of the late Enlightenment, but it added various tones: freedom from injustice; freedom as personal fulfillment; freedom as personal expression; freedom in the trade or as collective self-determination. The latter, closer to the Greek experience, came into conflict with the former. "The answer that crystallized after 1800 was what we now know as the liberal concept of freedom, a freedom that did not emerge from the community but had to be protected against it" (Wagner, 2013: 52). It should be noted that the recognition of individual rights is perfectly compatible, in modern experience, with an undemocratic government.

It would not be possible in such a limited space to take up all these questions, although one must remember the significant changes of perspective by which the history of the ancient city is passing by. If it was central to Weber, as it was also for Marx, to understand to what extent there were different worlds that could be divided into Eastern and Western realities, now, on the contrary, these divisions seem too arbitrary to think of a Greek world much more integrated with realities that surpass the city as a unit of analysis. It is a space-material mutation that, since the late 1970s, and even more since the mid-1980s, is committed to assessing more the network of Greeks and non-Greeks in the Mediterranean than the of the polis seen in its unity and isolation (Marx, 1985; Hodern e Purcell, 2000; Brock & Hodkinson, 2001; Morris 2003; Vlassopoulos 2007; Malkin, 2012; Guarinello, 2013, Polignac, 1995, Snodgrass, 1981).

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