PART TWO

II. METHODOLOGY

II. A. The Limits of Historical Criticism

The interpretation of the Vita usually takes the form of a complicated process that involves second guessing Josephus in an effort to discover what 'really' happened in the events he records. This process applies the criteria of the modern historian to Josephus and measures him according to our standards of self-description and eye-witness reporting of events. A considerable amount of Josephan scholarship follows the methodology of historical research as it was developed in the 19th century. This methodology, which is still dominant in classical and biblical research, saw its primary aim as the description of "what really happened" in the past. This was realized by the historian's discovery of "new facts" and the elimination of error by the exercise of "Historical Criticism." Historical Criticism continues to mean the marshalling and interpretation of data in terms of the historian's imaginative faculties and individual genius.[1]

Norman K. Gottwald has pointed out that the limitations of Historical-Criticism have resulted in a "revolt" against the tyranny of narrow methods which, he claims, are bankrupt.[2] As with biblical studies, a large portion of Josephan scholarship is hardly more than 'commentaries

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[1]Bruce J. Malina, "The Received View and What It Cannot Do: III John and Hospitality," *Semeia* 35 (1986) 173-74.

[2]Norman K. Gottwald, *The Hebrew Bible: A Socio-Literary Introduction*, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985, 21. William Farmer also speaks of "the tyranny of outmoded ideas and paradigms" in his overview of source criticism and the continuing influence of nineteenth century liberal German Protestant criticism on contemporary studies, "Source Criticism: Some Comments on the Present Situation," *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 42 (1982) 55.

on commentaries' characterized by the constant return to unresolved questions that are approached through implicit methodologies that have undergone little change.[3] Seldom, if ever, have modern scholars sought to find the internal cultural logic of V which would render it perfectly reasonable and intelligible to its first century elite readers.[4] It is this cultural logic which this thesis seeks to find, a logic which is very different and perhaps irreconcilable to our own cultural logic of modern existence.

The limited extend of Historical Criticism's ability to free itself of cultural (i.e., religious, political, academic and scientific) bias is slowly being recognized in the field of biblical research. Likewise, knowledge of new methods is only just beginning to come to the attention of scholars of antiquity.[5] This general inability to free interpretation from gross ethnocentricity has its roots in Troeltsch's principle of similarity which is widely, if unknowingly, held - we assume that the experience of the past and our own contemporary experience of reality is fundamentally similar.[6] Historical research which proceeds under the principle of similarity assumes that the past can be intuitively understood because "we" and "they" are largely the same. If a historian does not make use of explicit models of Josephus' social world then she or he is probably operating with

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[3] Bruce J. Malina notes that the Received View - the dominant academic perspective and methodology(s) - claims to be adequate to interpret texts historically but has in fact been unable to do this task. A general ignorance of the importance of social systems, as reflected in texts, has resulted in the received view continuing to produce "some of the best 19th century commentaries ever written" (Bruce J. Malina, "The Received View and What It Cannot Do: III John and Hospitality," *Semeia* 35 [1986] 171-72).

[4]Josephus' readers would have been both Jewish and non-Jewish, (see Cohen, *Josephus* 147), and most of these would have belonged to the upper classes.

[5]See Carney, *Shape*, and Wallace-Hadrill, *Patronage*, for examples of new approaches to the study of antiquity.

[6]E. Troeltsch, *Über historische und dogmatische Method in der Theologie*, Tübingen: Mohr, 1922, 734f, as delineated by Ben F. Meyer, *The Aims of Jesus*, London: SCM, 1979, 17.

the principle of similarity and unknowingly using implicit social models of contemporary experience.[7] According to Bengt Holmberg, by 1970 this, in combination with the failure of the form critical method, lead to a "fifty-year deficit on social history and sociological perspectives" in New Testament and related studies.[8] Indeed, according to scholars of this persuasion, much of current and past historical research into the events surrounding the beginnings of Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism is so culture-bound that our interpretation of the past often reveals more about ourselves than the objects of our inquiry.[9]

Having noted the limitations of Historical Criticism, it still should be recognized that the enterprise of social scientific analysis does not ignore the fruits of past labour, but enters into a continuing conversation with more traditional critical scholarship. The continued engagement of Historical Criticism is seen in such works as Jerome H. Neyrey's *An Ideology of Revolt: John's Christology in Social Scientific Perspective* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988) and Bruce J. Malina and Jerome H. Neyrey's *Calling Jesus Names: The Social Value of Labels in Matthew* (Sonoma: California, 1988). Both of these works apply various models from cultural anthropology to texts that have undergone redaction criticism in preparation for the modelling process. Social scientific criticism is best used as a suppliment, and not a replacement of, Historical Criticism.

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[7] Carney, *Shape* 5, observes that "The hard fact is that we do not have the choice of whether we will use models or not. Our choice, rather, lies in deciding whether to use them consciously or unconsciously".

[8]Bengt Holmberg, *Sociology and the New Testament: An Appraisal*, Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990, 2.

[9]Malcom Crick makes a similar observation about methodologies of social sciences which, in the extreme situation, "tell one nothing about the object of investigation but a great deal about the scientist's state of mind" (Malcom Crick "Anthropological Field Research, Meaning Creation and Knowledge Construction," *Semantic Anthropology*, London: Academic Press, 1982, 24).

As will be explicated, the following interpretation of V is based upon the delineation of the great degree of existential difference which exists between us in our contemporary experience and Josephus in his own culturally defined experience. This will be effected through the explicit presentation and use of a patron-client model. Our analysis will go 'behind' questions of "what really happened" and take the missed step of intuitive historical research. James D.G. Dunn identifies this missed step of interpretation as the first principle of exegesis - the discovery of the "historical context of meaning".[10] Discovering this context involves asking: what the writer intended his first readers to hear - that also means what he could have expected his readers to understand by the language he used, given the way words and concepts were understood individually and in combination within the broader context of thought at that time and within the particular context of the situation in which or for which the text was written.[11]

This is to say that, first and foremost, our task is to discover the inherent cultural meanings in V and ultimately understand the text from the perspective of its first elite Mediterranean readers. This "penultimate" step to cross-cultural understanding appears to be largely bypassed in the mad rush to separate "truth" from "propaganda" in V and leads to a scholarly construct of what we think happened in Josephus' life. Yet our scholarly constructs leave largely unanswered the question of how Josephus' readers would have perceived the events *as he recorded them*. Our primary concern here is with what Josephus was trying to communicate to his readers and what they would have been likely to understand. We therefore are freed from the pervasive methodological scepticism which dismisses as irrelevant everything

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[10]James D.G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation,* Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1980, 296.

[11]Dunn, *Christology* 296.

that is judged as fiction and judges all as fiction until proven otherwise. As will be shown, this "guilty until proven innocent" approach to ancient texts is prone to missing much of the author's intended meanings.

II. B. The Basis of Cross-Disciplinary Methodology

After reviewing the limits of Historical Criticism, Augustine Stock concluded his survey by raising the question:

> can the method be improved, supplemented by other methods, or replaced by a better? Is there a method that anyone could apply to any text whatever without falling into the excesses of criticism without constraint.[12]

Fortunately, the answer to his question is 'yes' - there is a way forward. This way is to be found in the developing field of social-scientific criticism. Social-scientific criticism combines conceptual models from sociology and anthropology and merges "previously isolated academic disciplines" into eclectic, cross-disciplinary methods and models.[13]

As with any academic field, the social-scientific approach is multi-faceted and diverse, yet this approach arises out of two basic axioms of interpretive methodology which together distinguish it from other fields. These basic axioms which are found throughout the social-scientific field are: (1) meaning within any text derives from the cultural system which produced the text/author; and (2) models descriptive of the text's "historical context of meaning" must be used to separate our culture's meanings from the text's inherent meanings. These two

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[12]Augustine Stock, "The Limits of Historical-Critical Exegesis," *BTB* XIII (1983) 31.

[13]John H. Elliot, "Social Scientific Criticism of the New Testament and its Social World: More on Method and Models," *Semeia* 35 (1986) 2.

foundational propositions definitively shape this field's epistemology and methodology and they also form the basis of this analysis of V. The following two sections will delineate the relation between text and cultural meanings and then describe the role of models in uncovering embedded cultural meanings in a text.

II. B. 1. Meaning and Texts

When language is captured in the written word it also captures, or encodes, meanings specific to the socially constructed world from which both the author and the text arose;

> If we ask of any form of communication the simple question what is being communicated? The answer is: information from the social system. The exchanges which are being communicated constitute the social system.[14]

As meanings communicated within a text carry with them "information from the social system" of the text, then we must approach a text such as V through the social systems of its author and original audience.[15] Clearly we can not simply look for the meaning of the text in the grammatical form of the words Josephus uses for it is the social context that gives significance

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[14]Mary Douglas, "Do Dogs Laugh? A Cross-Cultural Approach to Body Symbolism," *Journal of Psychosomatic Research* 15 (1971) 389.

[15]Bruce J. Malina and Jerome H. Neyrey, *Calling Jesus Names: The Social Value of Labels in Matthew*, Sonoma: Polebridge, 1988, xv. For our purposes here it will not be necessary to go into the very complex issue of what we *mean* by meaning. A good introduction to the problematics surrounding this far from culturally neutral term is Mark Hobart's essay, "Meaning or Moaning? An Ethnographic Note on a Little-Understood Tribe," (*Semantic Anthropology*, London: Academic Press, 1982, 39-63) where no less than seven main theories of meaning are identified within the American and British analytical approach alone. Hobart's survey of the bitter disagreements between and within the various schools leads him to conclude that "if hermeneutics can provide a clear statement about meaning it will be over the dead bodies of its own proponents" (*Ibid*., 47).

to any of his words.[16] Thus any analysis of a text must begin by mapping out the relevant social scripts surrounding the text's point of origin. Malina refers to these social scripts as the text's "domain of reference":

> If interpretation of a written language of any sort takes place some domain of reference will be used by the reader. This domain of reference will be rooted in some model of society and of social interaction.[17]

The question of what meanings are being communicated within V can only be answered by first discovering what the various social structures were that communicated meaning within the cultures that surrounded the production of V.[18] Our analysis approaches the meanings within V through the most fundamental and pervasive social system ("domain of reference") of antiquity, patron-client relations. It will be shown that V mediates information specifically through the social system of patron-client relations.

II. B. 2. Models

Before launching into a description of the model we will be using in this analysis, it is necessary to be explicit about what is here meant by "model" - what it is, what it is not and what it does. The enterprise of modelling stands in contrast to what is often referred to as

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[16]Elizabeth Tonkin, "Language Versus the World: Notes on Meaning for Anthropologists," *Semantic Anthropology*, London: Academic Press, 1982, 114.

[17]Bruce J. Malina, "The Social Sciences and Biblical Interpretation," *Interpretation*, 36 (1982) 233.

[18]With reference to the New Testament, Robin Scroggs suggests that "most texts are speaking about theological verities, not sociological conditions" (Robin Scroggs, "The Sociological Interpretation of the New Testament: The Present State of Research," *New Testament Studies*, 26 [1980] 166). Yet it is artificial to divorce the social setting from a text, regardless of its contents. As Malina has demonstrated, even such "theological verities" as grace are deeply embedded in a social context (see below, II.C.3.a fn. 54).

"intuitive" analysis - that is, historical analysis that proceeds from the assumption of similarity of experience (as described above II.A). The way around the trap of cultural transference (the process of wrongly attributing our own cultural systems to an alien text) begins with creation of an abstract representation of a phenomenon (a model), which, by its explicit presentation, prevents us from substituting our own experiences and common sense assumptions for the alien experiences and assumptions embedded in the text's presentation of the phenomenon in question.[19] Modelling at this level is a process of controlled pattern matching.

A model provides us with a way of controlling (but not, of course, eliminating) cultural bias by the explicit representation of difference.[20] Modelling recognizes and takes seriously the fact that "observation and description are always informed and directed by presuppositions".[21] Models function to explicitly present the presuppositions of ourselves and the presuppositions of our object of study and thereby shed light on the difference between subject and object. T.F. Carney similarly describes the function of models as the process of extending consciousness:

> Models bring hitherto unconscious levels of thought into awareness. They also enlarge our conscious control over the ways in which we handle data.[22]

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[19]Cf., Ian G. Barbour, who describes a model as "a symbolic representation of selected aspects of the behaviour of a complex system for particular purposes" (Ian G. Barbour, *Myths, Models and Paradigms: A Comparative Study in Science and Religion*, New York: Harper and Row, 1974, 6).

[20]Unlike Malina, I do not presume that the models constructed below will 'head off' ethnocentrism from "the very outset", (Bruce J. Malina, *Christian Origins and Cultural Anthropology: Practical Models for Biblical Interpretation*, Atlanta, GA: John Knox, 1986). There is no pure starting point for perception, even with the best of models.

[21]Trokin, "Language Verses the World," 108.

[22]Carney, *Shape* 6.

They extend consciousness by controlling the natural selectivity and culture-bound character of our perception. Carney's notion of modelling is comparable to James A. Boon's recognition that without "comparative analytical frameworks" every culture remains "impenetrable":

> A "culture" can materialize only in counterdistinction to another culture ... before any culture can be experienced *as a culture* displacement from it must be possible (*sic*).[23]

This notion of "extended consciousness" that models facilitate is similar to Victor Shklovsky's notion of defamiliarization or "making strange" which occurs when an old and familiar object or a linguistic and social convention is made to appear new and unfamiliar.[24] This term and phenomenon is seen whenever an infant "makes strange" to a mother that has been away for too long and is now unfamiliar. A similar process can be made to occur with our familiar objects of academic study.

Models and the extended awareness they can bring are necessary when, through long association, our perception of a too familiar text becomes habitual and automatic. We see only what we are used to seeing. Modelling, like the linguist's process of "making strange", can be used as a technique of defamiliarization that strips away our routinized perception by the "deformation of a familiar, habitualized context" and thereby renews a "deadened perception of reality".[25] Herein lies the difference between models and analogies or metaphors of the familiar - there is no element of control in the latter as they lack explicitness and testability, whereas the former is highly structured, systematically arranged, and instrumental in use.[26]

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[23]James A. Boon, *Other Tribes, Other Scribes: Symbolic Anthropology in the Comparative Study of Cultures, Histories, Religions and Texts*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982, ix.

[24]Here I am following Resseguie's discussion of the Russian formalist, Victor Shklovsky (James L. Resseguie, "Defamiliarization and the Gospels," *BTB* 20 [1990] 147).

[25]Ressequie, "Defamiliarization" 147.

[26]Elliot, "Social-Scientific" 5.

Carney describes two major divisions of models, isomorphic and homomorphic.[27] Isomorphic models are scaled, one-to-one replicas of a real world object, such as a map or a globe. Isomorphic models attempt to achieve the perfect scaled replication of all relationships involved in a phenomenon. In contrast to the one-to-one replication represented in isomorphic type, homomorphic models are abstractions of the thing modeled. A homomorphic model, the type we will be employing below, only delineates gross similarities, not the precise details of a real world object. Thus it is intrinsically selective in focus and provisional in nature. No legitimate attempt can be made to use a homomorphic model to provide the final answers to every question. What they can be used for is to make deductions about the behaviour of the real life phenomenon being modeled. It must always be kept in mind that the model presented below is only an abstract construct and not an exact representation of any one specific reality. The degree of abstractness of our model predetermines the degree of abstractness of our conclusions. There is a temptation that arises when using models to take conclusions farther then is warranted by either the model or the data.[28]

The proof of our model of patron-client relations will rest in its ability to uncover the culturally influenced assumptions of past analysis of V and in its ability to explain the behaviours, relationships and social processes captured by Josephus' self-portrait.[29] Thus, following Carney, our model is to been seen and used as a speculative instrument that allows us to frame an alternate view of Josephus' world and derive a new perspective from the text:

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[27]Carney, *Shape* 9-11.

[28]On the limitations of models see also, Richard Rohrbaugh, "Models and Muddles: Discussions of the Social Facets Seminar," *Forum* (3) 1987, 23-33.

[29]Elliot, "Social-Scientific" 9.

> ... the whole purpose of employing a model may be to check whether the novel view of reality which it provides adds to our understanding of that reality.[30]

What will be shown is that Josephus has been misunderstood because he has been seen only from the perspective of our modern reality.

Finally, our model presented below will be sensitive to what Rene Lemarchand has identified as "perhaps the toughest issue in discussions of patron-client relationships," that is, how far above the "micro-level" of description (isolated ethnographic and diachronically specific analysis) can the concept be abstracted and still retain its analytical value?[31] Taken to the correct level, an abstraction can illuminate a social landscape. Taken too far, an abstraction will twist the text's landscape out of proportion. As there exist no clear cut rules for the process of model abstraction, the best that we can do is to be entirely explicit about the factors involved within the model and then stand willing to modify the model according to the critical review of others in the field. The explicit presentation of the model will permit the testing, adjustment and validation of both the model and its conclusions.

II. C. The Fundamental Characteristics of Patron-Client Dynamics

II. C. 1. The History of a Concept.

The use of patron-client relations as an analytical concept has undergone significant maturation over the past fifty years. While, in the late forties and fifties, the concept was

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[30]Carney, *Shape* 9.

[31]Lemarchand, "Comparative," 13. It is this factor of conceptual stretching verses conceptual straining which has not yet been reckoned with in the social scientific modelling of Malina et al.

identified as a significant script, it was not until a decade later that its study moved beyond a marginal position in the social sciences. The early sociological and anthropological studies limited the existence of patronage to dyadic, interpersonal, semi-institutionalized relations involving one patron and only a few clients.[32] There were also pervasive evolutionary assumptions, particularly in political science theories, which suggested that the modernization of a society would lead to the disappearance of patronage. Even today it is not uncommon to see patron-client relations treated as though they are a deviant, or even 'primitive' form of human interaction. Consider the implicit moralism of T.F. Carney's description of patronage as:

> ... a rudimentary and primitive type of human relationship ... (it) can turn any organizational form to its own ends ... It perverts the legal process, due process, the operation of the market, bureaucratic ethics ... [33]

It is too tempting to view patronage as merely a subversive form of relationship when viewed from the North American ideal of "democracy."

The growth of conflict, exchange, symbolic interactionist, neo-Marxist and network analysis models over the past thirty years has, according to Johnson and Dandeker,[34] lead to two broad approaches to patronage as a tool for comparative analysis. The first approach interprets patronage as a historically specific structure limited to societies where kinship and tradition are disintegrating or where modernization and industrialization are beginning to take effect. The

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[32]S.N. Eisenstadt and L. Roniger, *Patrons, Clients and Friends: Interpersonal Relations and the Structure of Trust in Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, 2-3. For a brief survey of the evolution of contemporary work on patron-client relations, see also, Arnold Strickon and Sidney M. Greenfield, "The Analysis of Patron-Client Relationships: An Introduction," *Structure and Process in Latin America: Patronage, Clientage and Power Systems*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1972, 1-17.

[33]Carney, *Shape* 171.

[34]Terry Johnson and Christopher Dandeker, "Patronage: Relation and System," *Patronage in Ancient Society*, London-New York: Routledge, 1989, 218-242. See also, David D. Gilmore's "Anthropology of the Mediterranean Area," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 11 (1982) 175-205, for a brief survey of some approaches to modern patronage in the Mediterranean.

second approach regards patronage as a universal phenomenon existing in all times, cultures and classes. The model presented below will follow literature of compromise between these two conceptions and will treat patronage both as a particular kind of relationship and as a universally occurring system of relationships. This is to say, we will be looking at patronage both as a system of complex and hierarchically organized networks of relations and as an individual dyadic relationships.[35]

[35]Johnson and Dandeker, "Patronage" 218-242. The approach followed below will be to combine the macro-system analysis of political scientists and sociologists with the micro-system analysis of social anthropologists. This will allow us to fit the actions of Josephus into the immediate context of Galilee and into the broader context of the Roman empire. On the dual, national-regional focus of patronage studies see, Alex Weingrod, "Patronage and Power," *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies*, London: Duckworth, 1977, 41-51.

II. C. 2. Eisenstadt and Roniger's Model of Basic Characteristics

Eisenstadt and Roniger have identified nine fundamental analytical characteristics of patron-client relations as patterns of interaction and exchange.[36] The following core analytical characteristics of patron-client relations, as identified by Eisenstadt and Roniger, will be the foundation of our model:

> 1. Patron-client relations are usually particularistic and diffuse.
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> 2. The interaction on which they are based is characterized by the simultaneous exchange of different types of resources, above all instrumental, economic, as well as political ones (support, loyalty, votes, protection) on the one hand and promises of solidarity and loyalty on the other.
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> 3. The exchange of these resources is usually effected by a "package-deal,"; i.e., neither resources can be exchanged separately but only in a combination that includes both types.
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> 4. Ideally, a strong element of unconditionality and of long-range credit and obligations is built into these relations.
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> 5. As a corollary there is a strong element of solidarity in these relations - an element often couched in terms of interpersonal loyalty and attachment between patrons and clients - even though these relations may be ambivalent. The element of solidarity may be strong ... (or) very weak, but to some degree it is to be found in all of them. Solidarity is often closely related to conceptions of personal identity, especially of personal honour and obligations ...
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> 6. At the same time, the relations established are not fully legal or contractual; they are often opposed to the official laws of the country and are based more on informal - although tightly binding - understandings.

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[36]Eisenstadt and Roniger, *Patrons* 276-77. These nine characteristics reflect the authors' criticism of the systemic emphasis found in the models of the functionalist schools.

> 7. Despite their seemingly binding, long-range and, in their ideal portrayal, almost life-long endurance, patron-client relations are entered into voluntarily, at least in principle, and can, officially at least, be abandoned voluntarily.
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> 8. These relations are undertaken between individuals in a vertical fashion (the simplest kind is a strong dyadic one) rather than between organized corporate groups. They seem to undermine the horizontal group organization and solidarity of both clients and patrons, but especially of clients.
>
> 9. Last and not least, patron-client relations are based on very strong elements of inequality and power differences ... the crucial element of this inequality is the monopolization by the patrons of certain positions that are of vital importance to the clients; especially ... of the access to the means of production, major markets and centers of the society.[37]

It should be kept in mind that this "topological" listing of parts does not fully capture the phenomenon itself. Patronage must be interpreted in the light of surrounding social processes and strategies which will determine the dynamics of the relationship, shaping its specific form and mitigating its significance in light of other forces at play in the wider context.[38] As the patron-client relation is only one of a number of social scripts that can be engaged to achieve similar ends, it must be recognized that patronage is not always operative or primary in the course of social action.[39] In particular, patron-client relations can compete with the social forces of kinship, neighbourhood solidarity and state support.[40]

Andrew Wallace-Hadrill rightly points out that the present state of research clearly indicates that patronage in the Roman world was not "a sharply defined relationship with a

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[37]Eisenstadt and Roniger, *Patrons* 48-49.

[38]Lemarchand, "Comparative," 12.

[39]Lemarchand, "Comparative," 12.

[40]See, for example, Paul Millet, "Patronage and its Avoidance in Classical Athens," 15-48, and Peter Garnsey and Greg Woolf, "Patronage of the Rural Poor in the Roman World," 153-70, in *Patronage in Ancient Society*, 1989.

predictable set of services exchanged between men of a given social distance" but rather, "a varied, ill-defined and unpredictable set of exchanges unified by reference to values deeply embedded in Roman ideology."[41] A model that has too rigid in its design will succumb to the trap of social determinism that plagues the social sciences. As Mary Douglas has observed:

> A formidable list of textbook quotations shows that our students are given a stereotype of society consisting of well-trained sheepdogs picking their way through institutional mazes. Whereas we know that many social situations are fraught with ambiguity: each individual has latitude to misroute, redirect and even reconstrue.[42]

Thus the model must not be reduced to a list of static elements but should be rendered as a descriptive account of the variable factors that interact within a complex social process.

What we have above is an abstract model that outlines the general, typical characteristics of a certain type of human interaction (that is, patron-client relations). The complex phenomenon of patron-client relations constitutes a central aspect of the social institutions of the ancient (and modern) Mediterranean and serves to structure the flow of resources, the patterns of exchange

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[41]Wallace-Hadrill, *Patronage* 9-10, I would suggest that such was also the case within Roman Galilee throughout the first century C.E. Likewise, Richard Saller has also shown that any concept of "technical" criteria (strict legal and social definitions) for Roman Patronage are simply modern attributions: "the Romans applied the language of patronage to a range of relationships...usage was more fluid than usually supposed, and the connotations of *amicus*, *cliens* and *patronus* were subtly and variously manipulated in different circumstances ("Patronage and Friendship in Early Imperial Rome: Drawing the Distinction," *Patronage in Ancient Society*, London and New York: Routledge, 1989, 57). For a brief survey of variations in patron-client systems see, Ernst Gellner, "Patrons and Clients," *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies*, London: Duckworth, 1977, 1-6. On the parallel existence of variations in the forms of patron-client relations between modern and ancient (Roman) societies see, Luis Roniger, "Modern Patron-Client Relations and Historical Clientelism: Some Clues from Ancient Republican Rome," *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 24 (1983) 63-95.

[42]Mary Douglas, "Cultural Bias," (Occasional Paper No. 35 of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland), London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 1978, 5. On social determinism in the Human Sciences see, Sheldon R. Isenberg, "Some Uses and Limitations of Social Scientific Methodology in the Study of Early Christianity," *Society of Biblical Literature 1980 Seminar Papers* (19), Chico, California: Scholars Press; and Stanislav Andreski, *Social Sciences as Sorcery*, Markham, Ontario: Penguin, 1972.

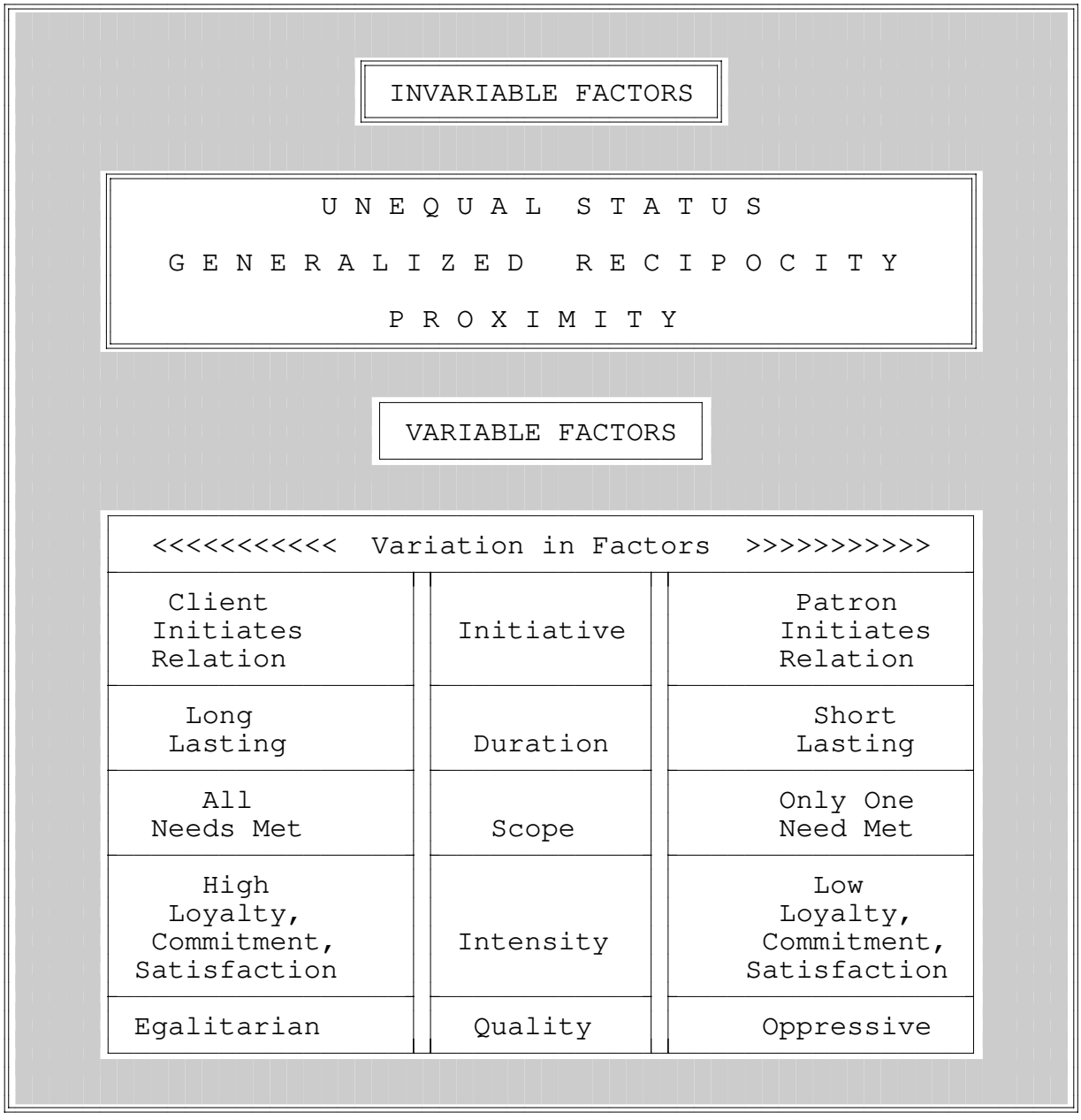
and power relations and their legitimation.[43] In keeping with the nature of models, it must be remembered that (a) not all aspects will be seen to operate in every instance of patronage; (b) that these abstract core characteristics are realized in an enormous variety of concrete forms as is evidenced by ethnographic data, and, (c) that some of these characteristics are seen to be invariable in their presence while others operate as variables. Invariable in the relationship is the existence of unequal status, generalized reciprocity and proximity between the actors. Variables encompass the following; initiative (either patron or client can take the initiative to establish the relation); the duration of the relation, which may be short or extended (even to the point of being inherited over generations); the scope of the relation, which may extend to all of the client's needs or to only one immediate need; and finally, the relation may also vary in intensity of commitment, loyalty and satisfaction[44] (see Diagram 1).

[43]S. N. Eisenstadt and Luis Roniger, "Patron-Client Relations as a Model of Structuring Social Exchange," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (1980) 49.

[44]John Duncan Powell, "Peasant Society and Clientelist Politics," *The American Political Science Review* LXIV (1970) 413.

Diagram 1

Variable and Invariable Factors



Eisenstadt and Roniger point out that a major feature of this type of social interaction and exchange is the existence of certain paradoxical elements within it. These contradictions are seen in the coexistence of conflicting aspects within the above model: (1) the combination of inequality and asymmetry of power with apparent mutual solidarity and interpersonal sentiments; (2) the combination of potential coercion and exploitation with voluntary relations and compelling mutual obligations; and (3) the combination of an emphasis on these obligations and solidarity with the illegal or semi-legal nature of these relations.[45] This third element of the "legal or semi-legal" nature of patron-client relations does not apply to Josephus' context and is not seen to operate within V. This is because throughout the Roman empire patronage itself was the dominant and generalized form of institutionalized resource allocation:

> Rome was a society in which public offices and official functions were mediated by the private personal ties of patronage ... it (is) entirely misconceived to maintain a distinction between the 'formal power structures' of the state and the private bonds of patronage.[46]

The patron was an integral part of the Roman state. It is important to note that Israel's status as a colony had the effect of turning the local Jewish aristocracy into clients of the Roman Empire and brokers of both Roman resources and political control:

> In Judea as elsewhere, the local aristocracy was the municipal equivalent of the Roman senate - conservative, wealthy, hereditary, and above all loyal to the purposes of the Empire.[47]

The recognition that patronage generates opposing social forces (coercion yet obligation, asymmetry of power yet solidarity) safeguards our model from the defect of "organicist" models

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[45]Eisenstadt and Roniger, "Study," 277.

[46]Johnson and Dandeker, "Patronage," 234-40.

[47]John G. Gager, *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity*, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1975, 101.

that assume society is a highly cohesive system of harmonious interdependence.[48] In the context of a patron-client relation both coercion and voluntary compliance can coexist. As will be seen in V, patronage generates conflict and is itself not a necessarily stable relation.

Our analysis will begin with this abstract model, which serves to indicate the existence of patron-client dynamics within V. Then we will use comparative data to suggest possible specific meanings and nuances within the text. But before applying the model we would do well to explicate some of the more important features of the above core characteristics.

II. C. 3. An Expansion of Eisenstadt and Roniger's Model

The above outline of Eisenstadt and Roniger's core characteristics needs to be supplemented with a survey of related factors surrounding patron-client dynamics in order to broaden the analytical scope of the model. The following section expands upon the factors of generalized exchange; power and oppression; structure versus ideology; and the role of brokers.

[48]Lemarchand, "Comparative," 9. On patronage as both socially functional and dysfunctional in the Roman empire see David Braund, "Function and Dysfunction: Personal Patronage in Roman Imperialism," *Patronage in Ancient Society*, London and New York: Routledge, 1989, 137-52.

II. C. 3.a. Generalized Exchange

The most significant and fundamental aspect of patron-client relations is expressed by the exchange of resources between social actors that takes place within this script. This exchange is not merely a simple market-like individualistic exchange as it combines specific material exchange with what has been called generalized exchange (i.e., sharing, hospitality, gifts, favours, help, generosity).[49] Generalized exchange, the simultaneous exchange of different types of material and immaterial resources, occurs when the expectation of direct material return is not explicit and, indeed, may never occur at all:

> The material side of the transaction is repressed by the social: reckoning of debts outstanding cannot be overt and is typically left out of the account ... it usually works out that the time and worth of reciprocation are not alone conditional on what was given by the donor, but also upon what he will need and when, and likewise what the recipient can afford and when.[50]

It is the nature and function of generalized exchange within a patron-client relation that will serve to explain why Poppea Sabina would do a favour for Josephus and give him gifts while Josephus himself appears to give nothing in return (see below, III.A.3). The notion that Poppea would require or even expect immediate reciprocation for the favour and gifts is simply ethnocentric.[51] While the V is silent about what Josephus may have given in return, the role of patronage itself provides a clue as to Poppea's motives for favouring Josephus: "the patron increases his prestige

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[49]Eisenstadt and Roniger, "The Study of Patron-Client Relations and Recent Developments in Sociological Theory," *Political Clientelism, Patronage and Development*, Beverly Hills-London: Sage, 1981, 278.

[50]Marshall D. Sahlins, "On the Sociology of Primitive Exchange," *The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology*, London: Tavistock, 1965, 147.

[51]Cf., Johnson and Dandeker, "Patronage," 225.

through the possession of clients, while the client participates in the glory of the patron".[52] Josephus, as one more client, was a 'resource' to Poppea (see below, III A).

Whereas a simple market exchange (the daily buying and selling of goods, for example) is typically non-utilitarian, the generalized exchange that takes place within patron-client relations is a highly structured form of reciprocity. Generalized exchange has a latent purpose of establishing solidarity, obligation and trust in society:[53]

> The exchange of favours also serves as a means of maintaining a dyadic alliance and thus of achieving ... the binding together of two allies who can count on each other's help in time of need. Thus the exchange of favours allows each ally to demonstrate his interest in the alliance and his willingness to make sacrifices for his ally.[54]

The typically public display of such an exchange of favours reinforces the socially binding obligations of the relationship, it helps to attract more allies into the alliance and it serves to notify enemies of the scope of the alliance.[55] Such generalized exchange often appears as favouritism and the giving of favours and gifts within the world of Josephus.[56] Whereas horizontal dyadic relations between social equals involves an exchange of favours of more or less equal worth, vertical dyadic relations (i.e., patron-client relations) involve the exchange of material for immaterial goods and favours.[57] Generalized exchange was in the interest of the

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[52]Julian Pitt-Rivers, *The Fate of Shechem (or The Politics of Sex): Essays in the Anthropology of the Mediterranean*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1977, 34.

[53]Pitt-Rivers, *Fate* 34.

[54]Carl H. Lande, "The Dyadic Basis of Clientelism," *Friends, Followers and Factions*, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977, xv.

[55]Lande, "Dyadic" xv.

[56]See Bruce J. Malina, "Patron and Client: The Analogy Behind Synoptic Theology," *Forum* (4) 1988, 4, 5-6, for a discussion of how the vocabulary of "grace" (χαρίζομαι, χάρις, χάρισμα) belongs to the script of patronage.

[57]Malina, *Forum* 6.

patron for it maintained client indebtedness and ensured a high measure of personalized, local control.[58] Patronage is the institutionalized form of generalized exchange and social control.

The material-for-immaterial characteristic of generalized exchange within the patron-client context directly reflects the extreme scarcity of the typical environment of the peasant life (Roman Galilean or otherwise).[59] The average peasant has little or nothing of material value to give a member of the elite but may have something of significant social value; support, loyalty, praise. This harsh material reality of the peasant life also leads to another important aspect of the patron-client exchange - the peasant/client's needs tend to be critical while the needs of elite patron tend to be marginal.[60] This contrast is readily
apparent in V's portrayal of the interaction between Josephus and the Galileans (see below, section III.C).

II. C. 3.b. Power and Oppression

If a model of patron-client dynamics merely stated that patrons have power and clients have none it would be guilty of grossly oversimplifying complex social relations. J. Davis sees the "crude material bases of power", which patrons hold, as being "cloaked, softened, converted to moral agreement, (and) transformed into social facts" by the phenomenon of patronage.[61] A

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[58]Johnson and Dandeker, "Patronage," 225.

[59]John Duncan Powell, "Peasant Society and Clientelist Politics," *The American Political Science Review* LXIV (1970) 411.

[60]Powell, "Peasant" 411.

[61]J. Davis, *People of the Mediterranean: An Essay in Comparative Social Anthropology*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977, 132.

patron's use of power is usually limited by the moral restraints of friendship, real or fictitious kinship or spiritual kinship that are seen to operate within patron-client relations. Here Davis highlights an important aspect of patronage within Eisenstadt and Roniger's core characteristics; that of the role played by moral pressure - "the pressures of acceptance, deference, (and) friendliness" which clients and society exert upon a patron.[62] The inequality of power and access to resources is not (usually) absolute - along with moral pressure it is also mitigated by the following factors:

(1) Clients themselves are a voluntary yet necessary resource of patrons and as such they prevent patrons from acting with complete autonomy within a social system:

> Patronage tends to operate as a competitive and pluralistic system in which patrons are dependent on maintaining a high level of client support in a situation where clients are neither owned nor controlled. That is to say, client choice is a significant dynamic in the system and clients constitute a major resource within it.[63]

As a result of the conflicting forces of client choice and inter-patron competition, the concept of loyalty or *fides*/πίστις functions to hold the whole system together.[64] The dynamics of client loyalty and choice as well as competition for clients among patrons will be seen quite clearly within V's portrayal of Josephus and John of Gischala's conflicts over clients in Galilee (see section III.B).

(2) In a society where a clientelistic model is predominant, elites also lacked solidarity as a class.[65] The Roman elite, in particular, did not constitute a unified class but were divided

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[62]Davis, *People* 132. James Scott likewise speaks of "the normative order of the village (which) imposes certain standars of performance on its better-off members" (Scott, "Patronage as Myth," 27).

[63]Johnson and Dandeker, "Patronage," 223-24.

[64]Johnson and Dandeker, "Patronage" 231.

[65]Eisenstadt and Roniger, "Study," 284.

into competing factions.[66] The same can be said of the Jewish elite of Roman Palestine. This lack of elite solidarity encouraged factional competition for clients within Roman Galilee during the revolt (see section III.B.4).

As to whether or not clients are ultimately exploited by patrons, Johnson and Dandeker have concluded that the competing forces of patron competition, client choice and the constant reciprocal exchange of vital resources within the patronage systems of antiquity together serve to mitigate exploitative relationships within such networks.[67] Their systemic analysis is also confirmed on another level within James Scott's analytical inquiry into how patron-client structures of deference acquire or lose their moral force. Scott summarizes the agrarian peasant's perspective of the relationship as follows:

> In understanding the peasant's view of the patron-client relationship, we do well to avoid seeing the peasant as either a fickle, cost-counting bourgeois, with but fewer alternatives, or as a serf whose loyalty knows no bounds. We do far better to view the peasant as a cultivator who faces a set of continuing existential dilemmas over his economic and physical security which he is often poorly equipped to solve by himself or with other peasants. To the extent that someone of high status is willing to assist and protect him, provided the cost is not prohibitive, a relationship of deference may develop that grows in its resilience and closeness as expectations about mutuality and assistance are met. The patron validates his friendship by helping the peasant at times of crisis. It is on that basis that trust and confidence grows; friendship and favour are, for the client, synonymous. When a relationship of a patronage fails to protect the peasant, it not only leaves him worse off but it also represents a betrayal of the trust he had placed in a powerful friend.[68]

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[66]Cf., *Patronage in Ancient Society*, Ed., Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, London and New York: Routledge, 1989.

[67]Johnson and Dandeker, "Patronage," 232-34. For an opposing view see, P. Flynn, "Class, Clientelism and Coercion: Some Mechanisms of Internal Dependency and Control," *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 12 (2) 138-56, were it is suggested that coercion and manipulation are intrinsic to political clientelism.

[68]James Scott, "Patronage or Exploitation?" *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies*, London: Duckworth, 1977, 34-35.

Power and oppression needs to be evaluated on the terms that the system operates and from the perspective of the participants. What we would undoubtable experience as intolerable, the peasant may well describe as quite equitable where protection, deference and mutuality exist. Scott also notes that the "comparative bargaining strength" of peasant-clients is relative to the existence of alternative sources for resources (kin, neighbours, the law) and to the clients ability to repay (reciprocate) the supplier-patron.[69] Furthermore, If there is a high demand for client labour in the midst of inter-patron conflict, then peasants usually experience a more favourable balance of exchange then would otherwise be possible in the face of elite solidarity. The dynamics that serve to mitigate exploitation are brought together in the following diagram:

[69]Scott, "Patronage or Exploitation?" 35-36.

Diagram 2

Factors that Mitigate Exploitation

SPECIFIC TO PATRONS		
Moral Pressure	High Demand For Labour	Inter-Patron Conflict
SPECIFIC TO CLIENTS		
Client Choice	Alternative Sources of Resources	Ability to Repay

See Diagram 7 - Factors that Mitigated the Exploitation of the Galileans (section III.C.2) for a summary of how these factors are represented in V.

II. C. 3.c. Structure Versus Ideology

A major difficulty in analyzing a patron-client relation lies in "decoding the hidden meanings and rationalizations"[70] that lie behind the actual function of the relationships described (in this case by Josephus). While the structure of the dependency relationship may be rooted in oppression there may nonetheless exist ideological justifications in the minds of all participants, justifications which include a myth of mutual benefit.[71] The ideological framework of the social values that surround patronage creates a social logic that may lead to clients claiming contentment to avoid retribution while patrons will often exaggerate the extent of their

[70]Lemarchand, "Comparative," 10.

[71]Lemarchand, "Comparative," 10.

benevolence.[72] Thus an analysis must try to determine the difference between actual benefits and perceived benefits of the relation. Patronage must be analyzed both from the perspective of its structural and ideological implications.

II. C. 3.d. The Role of Brokers

One aspect of patron-client relations that is not evident within Eisenstadt and Roniger's core characteristics is that of the role of brokers. Brokers are a class of individuals who mediate contact between clients and patrons and their resources.[73] Malina relies heavily upon Jeremy Boissevain's model of social brokerage in his essay "Patron and Client: The Analogy Behind Synoptic Theology".[74] Yet Boissevain's model is based upon modern concepts of social networking; concepts such as innovation, personal profit entrepreneurism, competition, careers, and risk taking. His "broker" is one who is "a professional manipulator of people and information who brings about communication for profit".[75] Yet one cannot use these modern social concepts without considering the diachronic specificity of the model. How do these concepts differ in the first century Mediterranean world and how would any cultural difference

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[72]Lemarchand, "Comparative," 10. Sydel Silverman has also observed that in certain instances, when the downward flow of exchange to clients is minimal, then an ideology of patronage can serve to underwrite the status and authority of elite patrons in the absence of equitable exchange, (Sydel Silverman, "Patronage as Myth," *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies*, London: Duckworth, 1977, 7-19).

[73]Malina sees the word μεσίτης as rooted in the phenomenon of social brokerage and therefore translates 1 Tim 2:5 as "For God is one and the broker between God and men is one, too, the man Jesus Christ ...". He goes on to interpret Jesus as broker and God as patron as portrayed within the Synoptic gospels. See Malina, "Patron and Client," 11-18.

[74]Malina, *Forum* 2-32.

[75]Jeremy Boissevain, *Friends of Friends: Networks, Manipulators and Coalitions*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1974, 148.

effect first century social brokerage? Boissevain's definition of social brokerage will remain of limited use until these surrounding social scripts (innovation, profit, etc.,) are situated within a cross-cultural model.

With the above limitations in mind, a minimal outline of what a broker is and does can be taken from Boissevain's modern model and applied to V with significant results. As noted above, the primary characteristic of a broker is that he or she puts potential clients in contact with (usually elite class) individuals who control some vital resource(s). While patrons controlled first order resources - land, jobs, money, specialized knowledge; brokers controlled second order resources - strategic contact to people who in turn controlled vital (first order) resources.[76] In some cases brokers may have mediated between patrons and clients who have never actually met.[77]

Yet there is more to brokers than the type of resource they mediate for not all brokers act as channels of power. With reference to the mediation of power, Richard N. Adams has identified two distinct kinds of intermediaries; cultural brokers and power brokers.[78] The cultural broker is an individual from one level of society who lives or operates among individuals of another (usually higher) social level. This kind of broker has influence within the "alien" social level only as a result of his own skill and personal influence. The cultural broker's influence within one social level is not due to any power that he may have at another level. An example

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[76]Boissevain, *Friends* 146-47.

[77]Johnson and Dandeker, "Patronage," 227.

[78]The following description of power and cultural brokers is based upon Richard N. Adams' "Brokers and Career Mobility Systems in the Structure of Complex Societies," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 26 (1970) 315-327. In contrast to Adams' definition, William T. Stuart sees little distinction between patrons and brokers (William T. Stuart, "The Explanation of Patron-Client Systems: Some Structural and Ecological Perspectives," *Structure and Process in Latin America: Patronage, Clientage and Power Systems*, Albuquerque: University of Mexico Press, 1972, 33-34).

of a cultural broker in the primarily two tiered social system of antiquity would be a peasant who through some good fortune has been befriended by a member of the local elite. This peasant would thus gain influence outside of his social level that is not based upon any power he may wield within his village. His ability to broker resources between these two levels rests solely upon his ability to influence someone among the elite.

Power brokers are able to wield power at both levels and their power in one level of society depends upon their influence and position within the other level. This typically means that the power broker controls one type of resource at the level of peasant society by virtue of his having access to derivative power from the elite level. Yet, his power in each level depends upon his maintaining control over resources in both social levels of the peasantry and the elite alike.

One example of power brokers in antiquity is the Pharisees as portrayed in the synoptic gospels. As the Pharisees had a large popular following (i.e., a large network of clients) they were able to wield power as a faction among the Jerusalem aristocracy and mediate resources (cultic knowledge, healing) from the Temple to the surrounding Jewish peasantry. Their influence as an elite faction depended upon their influence as popular leaders.[79]

The key difference between these two kinds of brokers is that the cultural broker plays an insignificant role in mediating elite control whereas power brokers play a major role in strengthening the elite power structure and tend to hold an important place in the region within which they work (see Diagram 3).

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[79]This explains why Jesus was such a threat to them. As a broker of the resources of God he competed with the Pharisees and threatened to undermine their client base (the Jewish peasantry) and this was a direct threat to their strength as a faction among the ruling elite .

Members of the first century Mediterranean elite were surrounded by a network of individuals who controlled access to their person and their resources. These social brokers were frequently referred to in the language of friendship and kinship within this script. Eric R. Wolf's model of what he calls "instrumental friendship" is similar to what we have described as brokers:

> In instrumental friendship each member of the dyad acts as a potential link to other persons outside of the dyad.[80]

Brokerage, particularly culture brokerage, often takes the form of an "instrumental" friendship that gives the actors access to persons outside of their normal social domain.

The Judaean ruling class functioned as power brokers between the centre of the empire, Rome, and its periphery, the Jewish peasantry. Martin Goodman notes this dynamic when he points out that, for the ruling class:

> the power to influence Rome brought prestige from the Jews, just as the power to influence the Jews brought recognition from the procurator. The two sources of power fed on each other.[81]

The ruling class needed both the support of the peasantry and the procurator to maintain their social status. Ruling factions such as the Sadducees disappeared after the unsuccessful revolt not because the religious character of Judaism changed with the loss of the Temple but because this and other elite factions lost the power to influence the Jewish peasantry in the course of the revolt. As a direct result of this faction's loss of influence over the peasantry the Romans could

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[80]Eric R. Wolf, "Kinship, Friendship, and Patron-Client Relations in Complex Societies," *Friends, Followers and Factions: A Reader in Political Clientelism*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977, 172-73.

[81]Martin Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea: The Origins of the Jewish Revolt against Rome A.D. 66-70*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, 150.

no longer use the "client-less" Sadducees as mediators of Imperial control. The Sadducees lost their place in the imperial-colonial network of the Roman empire.

Within a large network of patron-client relations most patrons also function as power brokers and clients within an ascending hierarchy of status that ends in independent source of all patronage - the deity. In the complex networks of antiquity an individual could play all three main roles of this model to different groups or domains. For example, some of the Judaean ruling class were clients of the Roman aristocracy; as representative of the Jews they were also power brokers between Rome and Jerusalem, and as mediators of Temple-based and factional resources they were patrons of various Jews. The primary distinguishing feature between those who act as patrons and those who act as brokers in any given situation is that patrons have their own general fund of assets to convert into influence while brokers mediate resources that are not their own.[82]

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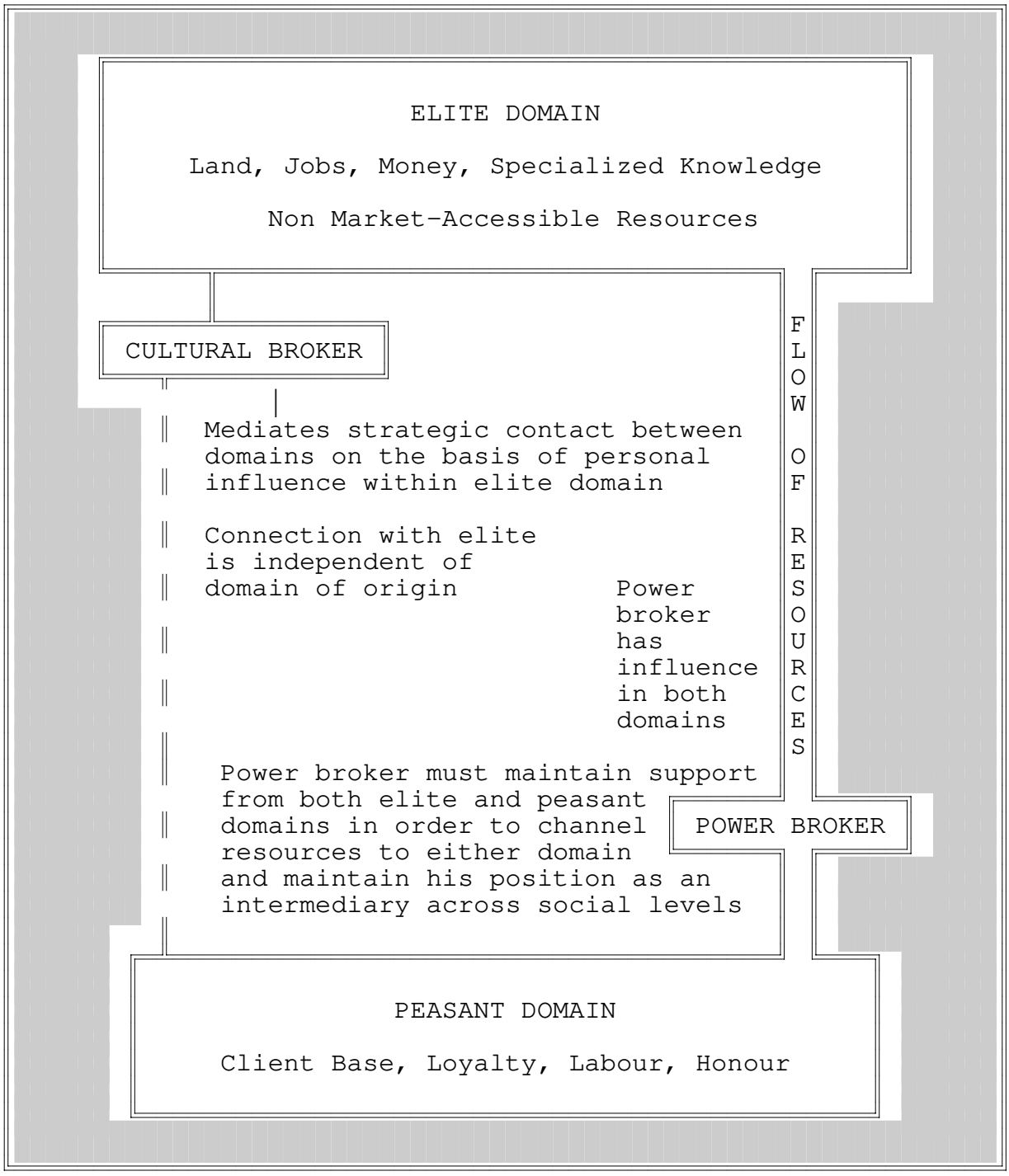
[82]Robert Paine, "A Theory of Patronage and Brokerage," *Patrons and Brokers in the East Arctic*, Toronto, 1971, 18. Failure to adequately define brokers as distinct from patrons or clients due to the type of resources they mediate leads to vague and imprecise usage of the concept. The term 'broker' becomes synonymous with 'patron' and loses analytical value (as Robert Paine has pointed out). This is seen to occur in Halvor Moxnes' *The Economy of the Kingdom: Social Conflict and Economic Relations in Luke's Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988) where brokers are described simply as mediators or middlemen (44).

Diagram 3

Brokerage in Antiquity



II. D. Summary of Methodology

The above abstract model provides a simplified representation of the multiplicity of complex phenomena denoted by patron-client relations. It allows us to identify sections and themes of V where patron-client dynamics are dominant in the social action. Eisenstadt and Roniger note that when patron-client relations operate as the "central mode of regulation of the flow of resources and process of interpersonal and institutional exchange and interaction in a society or a sector thereof" it is then that the full social "implications and repercussions" of this complex social phenomenon are most readily apparent.[83] That patronage stands at the nexus of vital resources will be seen most clearly in our analysis of V. Whenever the context is centred upon access to resources we will see that patron-client relations are clearly dominant within the text. It will be seen in the analysis below that this is precisely what happens in V in the course of action that occurs between Josephus, Aliturus, Poppea Sabina, the Galileans, John of Gischala and the emperors, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian. The dynamics of patron-client relations determine the flow of resources and the character of interpersonal interaction within V. The very centrality of this script within Josephus' world serves as the key to understanding the flow of action within the episodes before us (see below, Part III).

The significance of patron-client relations, and its importance for the analysis of V, arises out of its character as an irreducible social relationship. As J. Davis has noted in his study of comparative Mediterranean social anthropology:

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[83]Eisenstadt and Roniger, "Patron-Client," 49.

> patronage is a *sui generis* political form. Its essence is an act of submission involving a superior and an inferior. Its purpose is usually to acquire access to resources.[84]

It is not merely an extension of friendship or kinship. Failure to "see" patron-client dynamics in V and account for them within one's analysis would be as grave an error as the failure to account for the dynamics of kinship, hospitality, health care systems, witchcraft accusations, deviance labelling or honour and shame within the text. The importance of Davis' observation must not be underestimated and is echoed by Eisenstadt and Roniger:

> There is a growing recognition that the phenomena subsumed under the umbrella of patron-client or clientelistic relations are not only ... marginal addenda to more fully structured or organized social relations but may constitute ... a central aspect of the institutional patterns of these societies.[85]

The following diagram summarizes the main aspects of our model.

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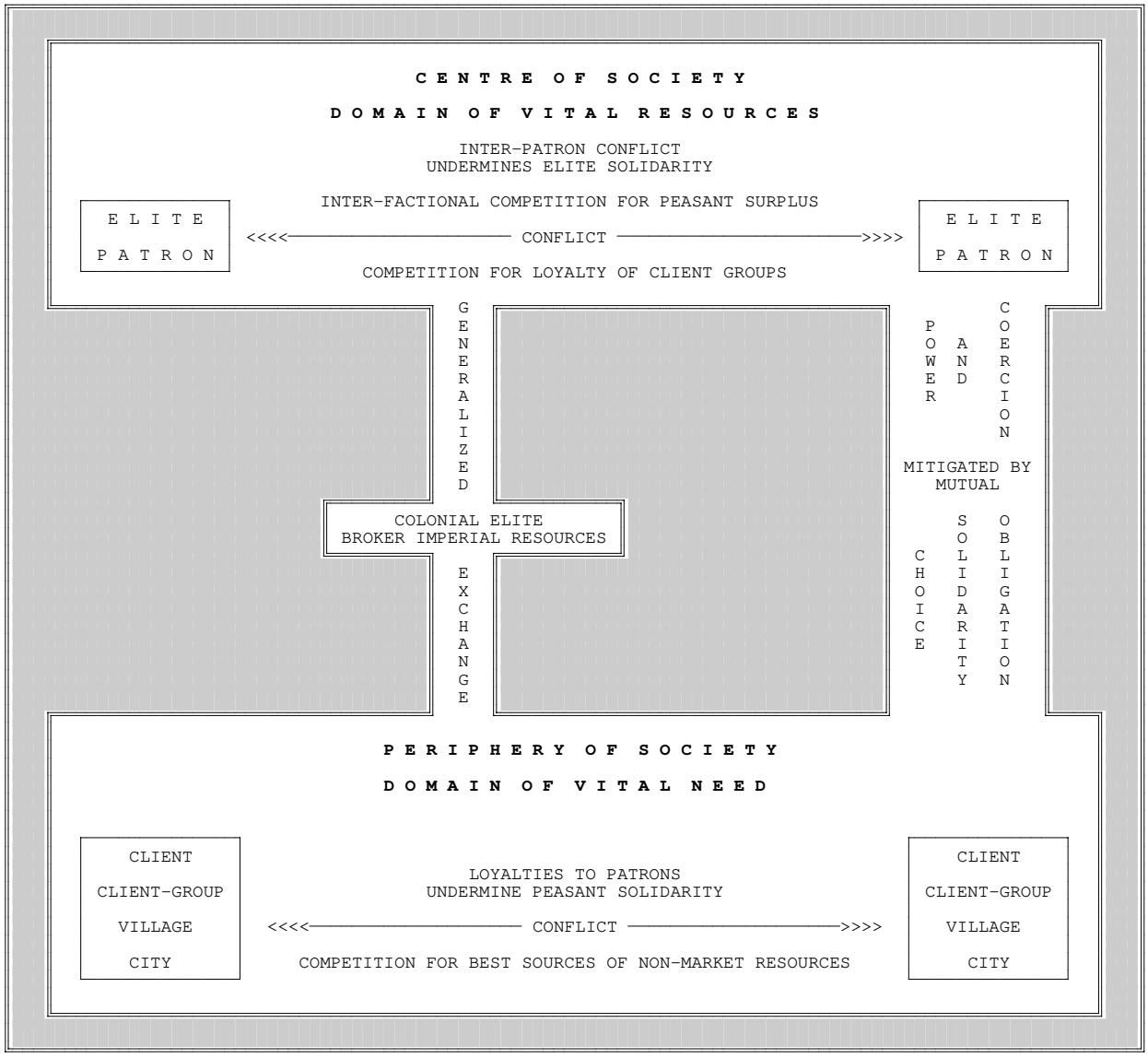
[84]Davis, *People* 134. Johnson and Dandeker likewise note that complex networks of patronage can function as the prime mechanism in the redistribution of scarce resources, "Patronage," 223.

[85]Eisenstadt and Roniger, "Patron-Client Relations," 48-49.

Diagram 4

Summary of Patron-Client Dynamics