

# THE CAMBRIDGE WORLD HISTORY OF SLAVERY

Most societies in the past have had slaves, and almost all peoples have at some time in their pasts been both slaves and owners of slaves. Recent decades have seen a significant increase in our understanding of the historical role played by slavery and wide interest across a range of academic disciplines in the evolution of the institution. Exciting and innovative research methodologies have been developed, and numerous fruitful debates generated. Further, the study of slavery has come to provide strong connections between academic research and the wider public interest at a time when such links have in general been weak. *The Cambridge World History of Slavery* responds to these trends by providing for the first time, in four volumes, a comprehensive global history of this widespread phenomenon from the ancient world to the present day.

Volume I surveys the history of slavery in the ancient Mediterranean world. Although chapters are devoted to the ancient Near East and the Jews, its principal concern is with the societies of ancient Greece and Rome. These are often considered as the first examples in world history of genuine slave societies because of the widespread prevalence of chattel slavery, which is argued to have been a cultural manifestation of the ubiquitous violence in societies typified by incessant warfare. There was never any sustained opposition to slavery, and the new religion of Christianity probably reinforced rather than challenged its existence. In twenty-two chapters, leading scholars from Europe and North America explore the centrality of slavery in ancient Mediterranean life from diverse perspectives and using a wide range of textual and material evidence. Non-specialist readers in particular will find the volume an accessible account of the early history of this crucial phenomenon.

KEITH BRADLEY is Eli J. and Helen Shaheen Professor of Classics at the University of Notre Dame. A Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, he held a Killam Research Fellowship in Canada from 1996 to 1998. His principal interests are in the history of Roman society and culture, on which he has published widely. He is the author of *Discovering the Roman Family: Studies in Roman Social History* (1991) and *Slavery and Society at Rome* (Cambridge 1994).

PAUL CARTLEDGE is A. G. Leventis Professor of Greek Culture at Cambridge University and a Fellow of Clare College. He has published extensively on Greek history over several decades, including *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Ancient Greece* (Cambridge 1997, new edition 2002), *Alexander the Great: The Hunt for a New Past* (2004, revised edition 2005) and most recently *Ancient Greek Political Thought in Practice* (Cambridge 2009).



#### THE CAMBRIDGE WORLD HISTORY OF SLAVERY

#### Series editors

Keith Bradley, *University of Notre Dame*Paul Cartledge, *University of Cambridge*David Eltis, *Emory University*Stanley L. Engerman, *University of Rochester* 

Volume I: The Ancient Mediterranean World Edited by Keith Bradley and Paul Cartledge

Volume II: AD 500–AD 1420 Edited by David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman

Volume III: AD 1420—AD 1804 Edited by David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman

Volume IV: AD 1804–AD 2000 Edited by David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman



# THE CAMBRIDGE WORLD HISTORY OF SLAVERY

VOLUME I
The Ancient Mediterranean World

Edited by

KEITH BRADLEY and PAUL CARTLEDGE





> CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo, Mexico City

> > Cambridge University Press The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521840668

© Cambridge University Press 2011

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2011

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data
The Cambridge world history of slavery / edited by Keith Bradley and Paul Cartledge.
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-84066-8 (hardback)

I. Slavery – History. I. Bradley, Keith, 1946– II. Cartledge, Paul. III. Title.

HT861.c34 2009

306.3'62 – dc22 2009036356

ISBN 978-0-521-84066-8 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



## **CONTENTS**

Series editors' introduction		page ix
List of figures		X
Acknowledgements		xi
	Introduction	I
Ι	Slavery in the ancient Near East DANIEL C. SNELL (L. J. Semrod Presidential Professor, University of Oklahoma)	4
2	Slaves in Greek literary culture PETER HUNT (Associate Professor of Classics, University of Colorado)	22
3	Classical Athens T. E. RIHLL (Senior Lecturer in Classics and Ancient History, University of Wales, Swansea)	48
4	The Helots: a contemporary review PAUL CARTLEDGE (A. G. Leventis Professor of Greek Culture, Cambridge University)	74
5	Slavery and economy in the Greek world DIMITRIS J. KYRTATAS (Associate Professor of Ancient History, University of Thessaly)	91
6	The slave supply in classical Greece DAVID BRAUND (Professor of Ancient History, University of Exeter)	112



vi	CONTENTS	
7	Slavery and the Greek family MARK GOLDEN ( <i>Professor of Classics, University of Winnipeg</i> )	134
8	Resistance among chattel slaves in the classical Greek world NIALL McKEOWN (Lecturer in Ancient History, University of Birmingham)	153
9	Archaeology and Greek slavery IAN MORRIS (Jean and Rebecca Willard Professor of Classics and Professor of History, Stanford University)	176
10	Slavery in the Hellenistic world DOROTHY J. THOMPSON (Fellow of Girton College, University of Cambridge)	194
II	Slavery and Roman literary culture SANDRA R. JOSHEL ( <i>Professor of History, University of Washington</i> )	214
12	Slavery in the Roman Republic KEITH BRADLEY (Eli J. and Helen Shaheen Professor of Classics, University of Notre Dame)	241
13	Slavery under the Principate  NEVILLE MORLEY (Professor of Ancient Economic History  and Historical Theory, University of Bristol)	265
14	The Roman slave supply WALTER SCHEIDEL (Professor of Classics and Professor, by courtesy, of History, Stanford University)	287
15	Slave labour and Roman society JOHN BODEL (Professor of Classics and History, Brown University)	311
16	Slavery and the Roman family JONATHAN EDMONDSON (Professor, Department of History, Programme in Classical Studies, York University, Toronto)	337



	CONTENTS	vii
17	Resisting slavery at Rome KEITH BRADLEY (Eli J. and Helen Shaheen Professor of Classics, University of Notre Dame)	362
18	Slavery and Roman material culture MICHELE GEORGE (Associate Professor of Classics, McMaster University)	385
19	Slavery and Roman law JANE F. GARDNER ( <i>Professor of Ancient History, University of Reading</i> )	414
20	Slavery and the Jews CATHERINE HEZSER (Reader in Middle Eastern Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London)	438
21	Slavery and the rise of Christianity JENNIFER GLANCY ( <i>Professor of Religion, University of Richmond</i> )	456
22	Slavery in the late Roman world CAM GREY (Assistant Professor of Classical Studies, University of Pennsylvania)	482
Bibi	liography	510
Gen	General index	
Inde	Index of ancient passages cited	
	Index of inscriptions and papyri	
Inde	ex of Jewish and Christian literature cited	619



### SERIES EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

This is the first volume of *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, dealing with the major slave societies of classical Greece and Rome. Slavery has been among the most ubiquitous of all human institutions, across time and place, from earliest history until, some would argue, the present day. Yet its durability and ubiquity are not widely recognised and, where they are, they seem poorly understood by the general public and scholars alike. A central aim of these volumes, which cover many different times and places, is to help to place the existence and nature of slavery against the backdrop of the broader human social condition.

Slavery has appeared in many different forms and is not always easy to separate from other forms of coerced labour. Nevertheless, there are basic similarities that emerge from the contributions that follow. Most critical of these is the ownership of one human by another, and the ability to buy and sell the human chattel such ownership creates. A second common characteristic is the fact that chattel status is a heritable condition passed down through the mother. Such characteristics are not to be found in the more general category of 'coerced labour', as normally practised. The latter typically involves a general loss of citizenship rights, but not necessarily ownership of one person by another and inherited status. Some scholars regard slavery as part of a spectrum of coerced labour and dependency, but the institution has maintained a distinctive legal existence in almost all societies.

Slavery evolved independently in the Americas, Africa and Asia, but Greece and Rome were the first major slave societies. The legal patterns, social practices and attitudes established there had a large impact on the cultures that came after. Even more important, it was Greece and Rome that first had to confront the basic dilemmas that slavery raised. These included the nature of freedom and the mix of coercion and freedom that is a central element of the lives of everyone whatever their formal status, the impossibility of having complete control over another human being, and, of course, the moral implications of ownership. This first volume of the series not only provides much new evidence on Greek and Roman slavery but also introduces the reader to key issues that will be further explored in subsequent volumes.



## **FIGURES**

I4.I	The distribution of slave-ownership in the census records of	f
	Roman Egypt (first to third centuries AD)	<i>page</i> 290
14.2		305
14.3		
	Delphi (total = $I$ )	305
16.1	Painting from a lararium from house I 13.2 in Pompeii.	
	Pompeii, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompeii	345
16.2	Tombstone from Emerita in Lusitania (Mérida, Spain).	
	Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida	348
16.3	Gold bracelet with an inscription from Moregine, near	
	Pompeii. Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompeii, inv. 8158	0 352
16.4	Painting of a banquet, from The House of the Triclinium,	
	Pompeii. National Museum, Naples, inv. 120029. © 1990.	
	Photo Scala, Florence – courtesy of the Ministero di Beni e	
	Att. Culturali	355
16.5	Toilette scene, from Neumagen, c. AD 235, now in Trier.	
	Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, inv. Nr. NM 184. © 2008	8.
	Photo Scala	357
18.1	1 '	387
18.2	· 1	389
18.3	Relief from Nickenich with chained captives. Bonn,	
	Rheinisches Landesmuseum, inv. Nr. 31. 86–87	393
18.4	Funerary stela of Iulius Ingenius, AD 50–100, from Mainz.	
	Mainz, Landesmuseum, inv. Nr. S147	398
18.5	Pillar base with two captives chained at neck, AD 50–100,	
	from Mainz. Mainz, Landesmuseum, inv. Nr. S269	401
18.6	Column of Marcus Aurelius, Rome (detail) – woman and	
	child, AD 180–192. DAI Rome. Neg. D-DAI-Rom 1980.270	3 402
18.7	Toilette scene, from Neumagen, c. AD 235, now in Trier.	
	Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, inv. Nr. NM 184	404
18.8	Child's sarcophagus, Agrigento, with slave childminders.	
	Agrigento, Soprintendenza per I Beni Culturali e Ambienta	li 406
18.9		
	DAI Rome. Singer, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 1972.3827	410



### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The editors wish to thank the contributors to this volume for their willingness to participate in the project and for their patience while the volume was in press. They are grateful to staff members at Cambridge University Press, particularly Elizabeth Hanlon, for practical assistance during its production; and they wish to register special thanks to Michael Sharp, who both commissioned the volume and played an important role in bringing it to completion.