This is a ground-breaking edited collection charting the rise and fall of forms of unfree labour in the ancient Mediterranean and the modern Atlantic, employing the methodology of comparative history. The eleven chapters in the book deal with conceptual issues and different approaches to historical comparison, and include specific case-studies ranging from the ancient forms of slavery of classical Greece and of the Roman empire to the modern examples of slavery that characterized the Caribbean, Latin America, and the United States. The results demonstrate both how much the modern world has inherited from the ancient in regard to the ideology and practice of slavery, and also how many of the issues and problems related to the latter seem to have been fundamentally comparable across time and space.

Enrico Dal Lago is Lecturer in American History at the National University of Ireland, Galway. His books include The American South and the Italian Mezzogiorno (co-editor, 2001), Slavery and Emancipation (co-editor, 2002), and Agrarian Elites: American Slaveholders and Southern Italian Landowners, 1815–1861 (author, 2005).

Constantina Katsari is Lecturer in Ancient History at the University of Leicester. She is co-editor of Patterns in the Economy of Roman Asia Minor (2005) and is completing a monograph on the Roman monetary economy. Her articles on Roman economy and ideology have appeared in edited collections and internationally acknowledged periodicals.
Contents

List of figures \hspace{2cm} \textit{page vii}
List of tables \hspace{2cm} \textit{viii}
List of contributors \hspace{2cm} \textit{ix}
Acknowledgments \hspace{2cm} \textit{xii}

\textbf{PART I SLAVERY, SLAVE SYSTEMS, WORLD HISTORY, AND COMPARATIVE HISTORY} \hspace{2cm} \textit{1}

1 The study of ancient and modern slave systems: setting an agenda for comparison
\hspace{2cm} \textit{Enrico Dal Lago and Constantina Katsari} \hspace{2cm} \textit{3}

2 Slavery, gender, and work in the pre-modern world and early Greece: a cross-cultural analysis
\hspace{2cm} \textit{Orlando Patterson} \hspace{2cm} \textit{32}

3 Slaving as historical process: examples from the ancient Mediterranean and the modern Atlantic
\hspace{2cm} \textit{Joseph C. Miller} \hspace{2cm} \textit{70}

\textbf{PART II ECONOMICS AND TECHNOLOGY OF ANCIENT AND MODERN SLAVE SYSTEMS} \hspace{2cm} \textit{103}

4 The comparative economics of slavery in the Greco-Roman world
\hspace{2cm} \textit{Walter Scheidel} \hspace{2cm} \textit{105}

5 Slavery and technology in pre-industrial contexts
\hspace{2cm} \textit{Tracey Rihill} \hspace{2cm} \textit{127}
6 Comparing or interlinking? Economic comparisons of early nineteenth-century slave systems in the Americas in historical perspective
   Michael Zeuske 148

PART III IDEOLOGIES AND PRACTICES OF MANAGEMENT IN ANCIENT AND MODERN SLAVERY 185

7 Ideal models of slave management in the Roman world and in the ante-bellum American South
   Enrico Dal Lago and Constantina Katsari 187

8 Panis, disciplina, et opus servo: the Jesuit ideology in Portuguese America and Greco-Roman ideas of slavery
   Rafael de Bivar Marquese and Fábio Duarte Joly 214

PART IV EXITING SLAVE SYSTEMS 231

9 Processes of exiting the slave systems: a typology
   Olivier Pétré-Grenouilleau 233

10 Emancipation schemes: different ways of ending slavery
    Stanley Engerman 265

PART V SLAVERY AND UNFREE LABOUR, ANCIENT AND MODERN 283

11 Spartiates, helots and the direction of the agrarian economy: toward an understanding of helotage in comparative perspective
    Stephen Hodkinson 285

Bibliography 321
Index 360
Figures

2.1 Per cent slavery by female participation  page 44
2.2 Per cent slavery by subsistence mode 45
2.3 Per cent slavery by warfare 47
2.4 Slavery by female participation in animal husbandry: all societies 47
2.5 Slavery by agricultural level 49
2.6 Slavery by agricultural type 50
2.7 Slavery by bridewealth 51
2.8a Polygyny by female participation 52
2.8b Slavery by polygyny 52
2.9 General model of slavery 57
Tables

2.1a Ordered logistic regressions of female participation on selected variables for extensive agriculturalists

2.1b Ordered logistic regressions of female participation on selected variables for intensive agriculturalists

2.2a Logistic regressions of slavery on selected variables for extensive agriculturalists

2.2b Logistic regressions of slavery on selected variables for intensive agriculturalists

3.1 Epochs of the past and strategies of slaving

3.2 Novelties in the Atlantic (1)

3.3 Novelties in the Atlantic (2)

3.4 Novelties in the Atlantic (3)

4.1 The Temin matrix

4.2 The Fenoaltea matrix

4.3 Composite sliding scale

4.4 Regional variation in real slave prices in the Greco-Roman Mediterranean (male and female; in wheat equivalent)

10.1 The timing of the ending of the slave trade and slavery

10.2 Slavery laws in the northern United States

10.3 Slavery laws in Spanish America

10.4 Slavery laws in the Spanish Caribbean and Brazil

10.5 Emancipation of serfs in Europe
Contributors

Enrico Dal Lago is Lecturer in American History at the National University of Ireland, Galway. He is the author of Agrarian Elites: American Slaveholders and Southern Italian Landowners, 1815–1861 (2005) and co-editor (with Rick Halpern) of The American South and the Italian Mezzogiorno: Essays in Comparative History (2001), and Slavery & Emancipation (2002). He is currently working on a comparative study of American Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison and Italian Democrat Giuseppe Mazzini.

Stanley Engerman is John H. Munro Professor of Economics and Professor of History at the University of Rochester. He is either co-author or co-editor of several books, among them Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery (co-author with Robert Fogel, 1974), British Capitalism and Caribbean Slavery (co-editor with Barbara Solow, 1987), and A Historical Guide to World Slavery (co-editor with Seymour Drescher, 1998). His more recent publication is Slavery, Emancipation, and Freedom: Comparative Perspectives (2007).

Stephen Hodkinson is Professor of Ancient History at the University of Nottingham, where he directs the AHRC-funded research project ‘Sparta in Comparative Perspective’, and is Co-Director of the Institute for the Study of Slavery and the Centre for Spartan and Peloponnesian Studies. He is the author of Property and Wealth in Classical Sparta (2000) and co-editor (with Anton Powell) of Sparta: New Perspectives (1999), Sparta: Beyond the Mirage (2002), and Sparta and War (2006). His current research focuses on cross-cultural approaches to ancient Sparta and on her role as a comparative model in modern thought.

Fábio Duarte Joly is Adjunct Professor in Ancient and Medieval History at the Universidade Federal do Recôncavo da Bahia. He took
his Ph.D. in Economic History from the University of São Paulo, Brazil. He is the author of *Tácito e a metáfora da escravidão: um estudo de cultura política romana* (2004) and *A escravidão na Roma antiga: política, economia e cultura* (2005). He also wrote entries on Roman slavery for the *Encyclopedia of Antislavery and Abolition* (2007), edited by Peter Hinks and John McKivigan.

**Constantina Katsari** is Lecturer in Roman History at the University of Leicester. She is the author of several articles in journals and edited collections and co-editor (with Stephen Mitchell) of *Patterns in the Economy of Roman Asia Minor* (2006). She is currently working on her monograph on the monetary economy of the Roman empire.

**Rafael de Bivar Marquesê** is Professor of History at the University of São Paulo. He is author of *Administrac¸a˜o & Escravidão: Ideias sobre a gestão da agricultura escravista brasileira* (1999) and *Feitores do corpo, missionarios da mente. Senhores, letrados e o controle dos escravos nas Americas, 1660–1860* (2004), and editor of *Manual do agricultor brasileiro – Carlos Augusto Tawnay* (2001). His current interests are in projects that deal with both slaveholders’ ideologies and slave management in Brazil and in the Americas.


**Orlando Patterson** is John Cowles Professor of Sociology at Harvard University. He is the author of many books on slavery and related subjects, among them *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (1982), *Freedom: Freedom in the Making of the Western Culture* (1991), and the first two volumes of a trilogy on race, immigration, and multiculturalism: *The Ordeal of Integration: Progress and Resentment in America’s ‘Racial Crisis’* (1998), and *Rituals of Blood: The Consequences of Slavery in Two American Centuries* (1999).
Contributors

Olivier Pétré-Grenouilleau is Professor of History at the University of Lorient and a former member of the Institut Universitaire de France. He is the author of several books, among them L’argent de la Traite. Milieu négrier, capitalisme et développement: Un modèle (1996) and Les Traites Négrières: Essai d’histoire globale (2004), and editor of From Slave Trade to Empire: Europe and the Colonization of Black Africa, 1780s–1880s (2004).

Tracey Rihll is Lecturer in Classics and Ancient History at the University of Wales, Swansea. She is the author of Greek Science (1999) and The Catapult: A History (2007), and editor (with C. J. Tuplin) of Science and Mathematics in Ancient Greek Culture (2002). Her papers on ancient slavery include ‘The origin and establishment of ancient Greek slavery’, in Serfdom and Slavery, ed. M. Bush (1996), and ‘War, slavery and settlement in early Greece’, in War and Society, ed. J. Rich and G. Shipley (1993). Her current interests are in both ancient science and technology and ancient slavery.

Walter Scheidel is Professor of Classics at Stanford University. He is the author of Measuring Sex, Age and Death in the Roman Empire: Explorations in Ancient Demography (1996) and Death on the Nile: Disease and the Demography of Roman Egypt (2001), editor of Debating Roman Demography (2001), co-editor (with Sitta von Reden) of The Ancient Economy (2002), and (with Ian Morris and Richard Saller) of The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World (2007).

Acknowledgments

We wish to thank all those who contributed to the international conference on ‘Slave Systems, Ancient and Modern’, held at the Moore Institute for Research in the Humanities and Social Studies (then Centre for the Study of Human Settlement and Historical Change), National University of Ireland, Galway, on 24–26 November 2004, at which several of the chapters in this book were presented in an early form. The conference lasted three days and saw for the first time scholars of slavery in the ancient Mediterranean and in the modern Atlantic present explicitly comparative historical papers and engage together in discussions over the concrete possibilities of comparative research in the two regions. The conference benefited from the help of a number of people and we are very grateful to all of them.

In particular, we wish to thank the Director of the Moore Institute, Nicholas Canny, and the Centre’s Secretary, Marta Shaughnessy, for their help and availability. Also, the conference would not have been possible without the financial help of the President’s Office at the National University of Ireland and of the university’s History Department; we wish to thank wholeheartedly both the President, Iognaid O’Muircheartaigh and Professor Stephen Ellis, Head of the History Department. Work towards the publication of the present edited collection has benefited from the financial contribution of the Millennium Research Fund, National University of Ireland, Galway. Particular thanks go to the Center for Hellenic Studies, Washington DC, for allowing us to publish an updated version of Stephen Hodkinson, ‘Spartiates, helots, and the direction of the agrarian economy: toward an understanding of helotage in comparative perspective’, in Helots and their Masters in Laconia and Messenia: Histories, Ideologies, Structures, ed. N. Luraghi and S. E. Alcock. Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2003, pp. 248–86. We also wish to thank those who contributed in different ways, offering their enthusiastic help at difficult
Acknowledgments

junctures in the enterprise of organizing the conference, and especially Professor Gearoid O’Tuathaigh, Reverend Patrick Towers and Sonia Guilhe. Finally, we wish to thank Michael Sharp, an extremely competent and patient editor with whom we had the luck to publish our book at Cambridge University Press.