To conclude, this *Repertorium*, despite its flaws, will surely make a good addition to any reference library. The second volume, along with its statistical observations, no doubt renders the first one, too, more useful.

*Tuomo Nuorluoto*


This first volume of the *Cambridge World History of Slavery*, consisting of 22 informative chapters, deals with the major slave societies of classical Greece and Rome. In 9 articles, the volume tackles Roman society and 8 articles explore classical Greek society. One contribution examines slavery in the Hellenistic world briefly and another slavery in the ancient Near East. The last three chapters explore slavery and the Jews, slavery and the rise of Christianity and slavery in the late Roman World. The volume, by 22 authors and more than 500 pages, covers almost every aspect of Greek and Roman slavery. There are two types of contributions; some are chronological surveys of the development of slavery in particular periods or places. Others treat specific topics or themes which seem innovative.

Chapter 5 (pp. 91–111), by Dimitris J. Kyrtatas, deals with slavery and economy in the Greek world and is meant to sum up the structure of classical Greek slave economies and societies. Kyrtatas claims (p. 91ff) that there is no clear explanation for how slavery actually worked in the Greek world, even though it was an important element of everyday life. In classical Athens and other cities with similar social institutions, some people were born into slavery. Moreover, the offspring of slaves acquired from abroad became slaves themselves. Kyrtatas makes the observation (p. 94ff) that only societies that had reached a certain degree of commercialization were interested in commodification of slaves. According to the author, it is difficult to envisage a large-scale slave trade in a world that did not yet use money. It seems that there were no special tasks in which the masters of slaves felt that the employment of slaves could lead to significantly more efficient or productive results. Slaves worked in agriculture and households; they were miners, prostitutes and domestic servants. Nonetheless, the use of slaves was obviously profitable, and in many ways the masters benefited from slave ownership.

Chapter 9 (pp. 176–193), by Ian Morris, draws attention to the question of archaeology and Greek slavery. This is an interesting contribution that is also methodologically of interest. The key question is: what can archaeologists contribute to the study of Greek slavery? Morris asks some basic questions, for instance what slavery is and what are we studying when we study slavery. Interestingly, Morris sketches two ways in which archaeological evidence may make an important contribution to understanding Greek slavery. He claims (p. 177) that when both written and material culture can be combined they probably bring more information together than if the sources were examined by themselves. First Morris compares slave burial practices at Laurium to the rest of Attic burials. Morris draws two conclusions from the Laurium cemetery. First, the information is not sufficient proof to distinguish slave burials from free burials. Burial customs
seem more likely to reflect local traditions. Large concentrations of slaves may be unique to the mine gangs of Laurium. Elsewhere in Attica most slaves probably lived in small groups and may have been buried with their owner's families. In a way more familiar to classical archaeology and its methods, the author then examines representations of slaves in Greek art (pp. 190–192). In figurative art we rarely know whether representations of slaves were made by slaves, catering for the tastes of free patrons, or by free artisans. There are several methodological problems, but this contribution does raise justified questions regarding a conventional survey of Greco-Roman slavery.

In chapter 10 (pp. 195–213), Dorothy J. Thompson explores slavery in the Hellenistic world, taking into account the differences between classical Greek and Hellenistic slavery. She says that the first problem lies in definitions, particularly the boundary between dependence and slavery, which is often hard to define. Both are characterized by varying degrees of un-freedom. In the Hellenistic world, the rural peasants were agricultural laborers who were frequently portrayed as tied to the land or locality. There also seems to be little evidence for slavery as such among the rural workforce of Asia and of Ptolemaic Egypt. The second group of dependants was sacred slaves, who were important especially in the new Greek lands of the East. They were attached in varying ways to the temples of Asia and Egypt. The third group of dependants was chattel slaves who were employed in a range of activities that we know from classical Greece and also known in Ptolemaic Egypt. In Egypt, one observes traditional structures which continued with little sign of change in the Hellenistic world. Thompson concludes (p. 212ff) that there were some changes in the period even though it is not easy to find evidence for a growth of agricultural slavery in the East. In both Ptolemaic Egypt and the Seleucid East, slaves were predominantly found in Greek households and in production spheres.

Chapter 11 (pp. 214–240), by Sandra R. Joshel, draws our attention to slavery in Roman literature, and the author observes that slaves are omnipresent in Roman literature. Rome was a slave society at least from the late third century BC to the third century AD, according to Joshel. The presence of slaves in its literature is thus not surprising. For example, slaves serve their masters faithfully or plot their undoing in Roman comedy and they are topics of concern in agricultural writers. They also blend into scenery of house, city and fields. In general, Roman authors, in a wide variety of texts and genres, speak of slaves as cash, as goods, as implements – as things. The chapter seems quite traditional in its conclusion and methodology.

In chapter 15 (pp. 311–336), John Bodel explores the broad topic of slave labor and Roman society in a relatively limited number of pages. In general, slavery became a significant phenomenon in Roman culture in the fourth century BC. Slaves of both genders worked from childhood to old age in jobs more or less suited to their physical condition and capabilities. The ideology of work differed according to social status. For slave owners, a slave was more or less property and a commodity. Work for someone at the top of society was much more a cultural issue than an economic one according to the author (p. 314). When we associate labor with status, it was the hired workman in ancient Rome, rather than the slave, who was stigmatized with the title that reduced identity to work – *opera*, which came to mean metonymically both "a day's work" and more reductively, "workman". There seems to be little evidence of slave and free labor being distinguished from one another. Indeed, it seems that slaves themselves associated individual identity with work according to evidence from epitaphs. Modern historians have been impressed by the variety and the specificity of the
jobs held by Roman slaves, and the range of occupations recorded in ancient sources is indeed striking.

Chapter 18 (pp. 385–413) tackles the question of slavery and Roman material culture. In this contribution, Michele George introduces a different way of looking at slavery through archaeological evidence such as slave quarters and images of slaves in Roman art, including self-images almost like modern "selfies". There are some methodological problems which need to be addressed, but nevertheless the article presents in a limited number of pages interesting observations. Archaeological evidence is complex and hard to interpret without the risk of engaging in circular reasoning. Slave images, on the other hand, seem to leave more room for different kinds of interpretations. George claims that, given the crucial connection between status and self-presentation in Roman culture, it is not surprising that slaves occur in visual imagery more than they do in other forms of material evidence (p. 397). Slave images can be divided into three groups: images of captive slaves, scenes of domestic work, and scenes of work beyond the domus. Examples of scenes of domestic work are few, and the nature of the scenes that include slaves illustrates their role in the construction and maintenance of elite social identity. On the other hand, work was critical for slave identity. Images of work fulfilled two functions, serving either didactically as advertising or as decoration in retail and industrial settings, or as funerary commemoration for businessmen or craftsmen who owned these establishments. In Roman visual culture, slaves were used to express the ideals of a dominant culture that embraced a system of institutionalized oppression, appropriating and refashioning their servitude into proof of Rome's authority and the social superiority of the slave-owner.

To conclude, the intent of this volume is said to be to survey the history of slavery in the ancient Mediterranean World, an intent which is indeed fulfilled. The central aim of this volume is to place the existence and nature of slavery against the backdrop of the broader human social condition. The book is well edited and the texts are easy to read, but it must be confessed that in many ways it is also a very traditional book about slavery in the ancient World.

Katja Varakas


This book edited by Peter Funke and Matthias Haake contains thirteen papers presented at a conference held at the University of Münster in June 2010. The work has the merit of focusing on the topic of the relationship between federal states and the sanctuaries where these states held their political meetings. The control over sanctuaries or their exploitation had political and economic implications. In some cases the aspects of the divinities worshipped at certain sanctuaries chosen as common federal shrines could reinforce or even create shared national identities between the city members of a federal state. As pointed out by Funke in his introductory chapter, some shrines, such as Delphi, could fulfil different roles, such as a panhellenic sanctuary, an amphictyonic centre, or as a site dedicated to local cults.