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Reviewed by Thomas Clements.

David Lewis' monograph represents a significant contribution to the study of ancient slavery. Lewis' approach is one that sees Greece not as an exceptional place, but one of many Mediterranean economies in which slavery was an integral part of life. The book rejects the notion that Greece and Rome are the only 'genuine slave societies' (p. 1). Slavery existed throughout the ancient Mediterranean. In order to draw out this more complex reality, Lewis' aim is to revise some of ancient slavery scholarship's underlying assumptions (p. 3). A book of such scope is of course intimidating for any reviewer. I shall seek to summarise the main arguments of the book, whilst offering some critical reflections.

In Part I ('Prolegomena') Lewis outlines the main theoretical issues: property in Greek and Near Eastern law, freedom (both as a legal status and a political ideal), the nature of status distinctions in Greek and Near Eastern legal systems, and finally the concept of a slave society. In a study of this kind, a high degree of conceptual clarity is necessary to facilitate cross-cultural comparison. Lewis firmly rejects the notion that any society lacks concepts of ownership. Property (as outlined by Honoré 1961) is not a Roman legal construction, but a cross-cultural phenomenon which contains a number of elements (right to alienate, right to possess etc.). Historical societies might maintain certain elements of this property regime, whilst lacking others (pp. 30-33). Lewis also makes interesting use of the linguistic concept of polysemy. In Greek, terms which express status distinctions (*eleutheros*, *doulos*) are often polysemous. They can express either an actual legal status or an ideological use of the term. Against a tide of scholarship which interprets this language as 'fuzzy', Lewis suggests there is a crystal-clear distinction in meaning (pp. 59-70). The prolegomena make the foregoing terms of comparison clear, and the degree of theoretical and conceptual clarity expressed is refreshing.

In Part II ('Epichoric Slave Systems of the Greek World') Lewis presents his Greek case studies: slavery in the Homeric and Hesiodic poems, Classical Sparta, Classical Crete (primarily Gortyn) and Classical Athens. Both Greek and Near Eastern case studies follow the same structure. Lewis first considers legal slave status, before then analysing slaves in their economic and social context with special attention to labour markets and the structure of the economy. Homeric *dmoes* or *dmoai* are slaves in that they can be bought and sold, exchanged as gifts, and killed with impunity. Slave ownership was concentrated within the elite and remained agricultural in character. In *Works and Days*, Hesiod also draws in other forms of dependent labour, such as day-labouring *thetes*. Homer and Hesiod are taken to be illustrative of the archaic situation. A series of late archaic developments (abolition of debt bondage, general prohibitions on enslaving citizens etc.) altered how slavery worked in different cities. Here Lewis is keen to reject Finley's notion of the 'rise of slavery', rather that different Greek cities experienced different developmental cycles which the classical case studies seek to demonstrate.

Sparta, itself, and Cretan *poleis* appear to have experienced comparable developmental cycles. Lewis argues rightly that neither slave system employed 'serfs', even if certain elements resemble serfdom. In Sparta, slaveholders held their helots privately but were publicly prevented from either selling them abroad or from manumitting them (which only the *polis* was empowered to do) (pp. 130-32). In Gortyn, the two terms which appear in the 'Great Code' (*IC IV 72*), *dolos* and *woikeus*, are synonyms referring to same slave status (pp. 150-153). The economies of Sparta and Classical Crete were weighted strongly towards agricultural labour. This defined not just the manner in which slavery was employed, but the productive direction of society. For example, in both the *polis* of Sparta itself and Cretan *poleis*, a great number of agricultural products were consumed in the *phidition* (Sparta) and *andreion* (Crete). In Athens, where the economy was more 'diversified', elites were able to direct their resources towards a number of productive activities (cash cropping, mining, *ergasteria* etc.) all of which employed slaves (pp. 172-80). In his discussion of sub-elite slave ownership (based largely on the evidence of Old Comedy) the author contends that it was within the means of the 'average' Athenian farmer to own one or two slaves (pp. 180-88). The Greek case studies (or at least,

the Classical ones) represent a rule of regional diversity, of slave systems which are 'epichoric' in that they are shaped by local concerns and pressures (pp. 194-96).

Part III ('Slave Systems of the Wider Eastern Mediterranean World') deals with the Near Eastern case studies: Iron Age II Israel (c. 1000-550 BC), Assyria (c. 800-600 BC), Babylonia (c. 800-600), the Persian Empire (Anatolia, Egypt, and Fars), and Punic Carthage (c. 800-146 BC). In Iron Age Israel, the difficult evidence of the Hebrew Bible appears to show that slavery was a feature of a highly stratified economy structured around the estates of magnates. The so-called 'slave laws' of the Torah were an attempt by jurists to outlaw slavery within communities of Israel, analogous with Solon's reforms (pp. 204-11). In Assyria, the rich documentation from the Court of Nineveh, which records numerous slave sales, attests to the concentration of slave ownership within the Assyrian elite (p. 226-30). The relative expense of slaves in Assyria, however, ensured that ownership of slaves was always limited to the elite. Carthage operated a system of slavery *stricto sensu* and not some other variety of unfree labour, as Finley argued (pp. 260-63). Carthaginian slaves were employed in the exploitation of an extensive rural hinterland. The basic structure of this system remained in place until the Roman conquest of Carthage in 146 BC. Babylonia is an interesting case. It was an urbanised region with a complex economy, like Athens, yet never exploited slaves economically to the same degree. Lewis argues that free persons in Babylonia did not have the same reservations, as Athenians did, about working for another (pp. 238-39). This combined with the relatively high prices of slaves placed free labour directly in competition with slavery. Unlike the previous chapters, Lewis' discussion of the Persian Empire includes not a single historical region, but three regions which formed the 'heartland' of the Empire (p. 247). Brief discussions of Anatolia, Egypt, and Fars reveal that slavery was economically significant in all three regions and the rough dynamics comparable with those in Greece. The legal and economic structure of each region, however, is not entirely clear. In truth, this chapter is perhaps too brief. It is not illogical to discuss together regions which formed parts of the Persian Empire, yet in attempting to cover such a vast geographical area in twelve pages, Lewis perhaps pushes the limits of his impressionistic approach.

In Part IV ('Why Slavery?') Lewis outlines the dynamics of regional variation. The aim is to understand why certain regions developed into extensive slave systems (as

Lewis argues all his case studies are with the exceptions of Babylonia and Persia). Any slave system was dependent upon the cost of slavery, the institutional advantages of certain types of labour, cultural factors (e.g. respectability of wage labour), and how labour was employed (pp. 271-74). Using Flynn-Paul's (2009) concept of 'no-slaving zones', Lewis argues that when communities (such as archaic Athens or Iron Age II Israel) banned enslavement of insiders, the supply of slaves became reliant on neighbouring 'slaving zones'. In short, political geography and state regulation of enslavement structured the Aegean slave trade (p. 277). This produced a dynamic slave trade which dispersed individuals all over the Aegean (*SEG*, 23.381) but which prioritised neighbouring areas due to high transport costs. For example, in Greece a greater number of slaves originated from Phrygia (pp. 277-82). This demand for slaves might have contributed to political instability and local warfare in Phrygia and Thrace (pp. 285-86). This concluding chapter outlines the structure for a fuller account of ancient Mediterranean slavery.

Lewis is successful in his aim of drawing the Near Eastern economies into a previously Hellenocentric conversation. Greek *poleis* were not the originators of large-scale slave exploitation and their slave systems resembled those throughout the Mediterranean. However, some occasional reservations must be expressed. First, constructing historical arguments from Homer, Hesiod, and Old Comedy (all of which are justified by the author, pp. 109, 183-85), however impressionistic the arguments, will always be controversial. It must be true that Homer and Hesiod reflect the rough dynamics of slave ownership in early Greece. Yet to argue that Classical slave systems emerged from this situation, roughly reconstructed as the author admits, perhaps takes the evidence too far. Second, significant details from local situations are occasionally omitted. In the Spartan section, some consideration of how the *perioikoi* contributed to the labour market might have improved the analysis. The brevity of some chapters (e.g. Persia) must also be questioned. The author's account of the 'diversity' of the Athenian economy could quite well have formed the basis of its own monograph (one which is perhaps forthcoming). However, these are minor points. This is an impressive work with a broad geographical and historical scope. It is of obvious value to subject specialists and the book's fluid and clear prose should also make it a good, critical introduction to the subject of ancient Mediterranean slavery.

Abbreviations

SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
IC	<i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i>

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