

For the sheer novelty of its main argument, this book, technical and dense but very diligently argued, is extremely important. When I agreed to take up this review, I was a little bemused, but fairly certain that M. was wrong. I finished reading it believing that she is very probably right. M. has substituted one subaltern group for another, and by doing so has produced one of the most significant monographs on Athenian history of the new millennium.

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FREEDOM AND SLAVERY

TAMIOLAKI (M.) *Liberté et esclavage chez les historiens grecs classiques*. Préface de Kurt Raaflaub. Pp. 503. Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2010. Paper, €28. ISBN: 978-2-84050-688-1.

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Moses Finley famously argued that 'one aspect of Greek history is the advance, hand in hand, of freedom *and* slavery'. Although most scholars pay lip service to the paradoxical adage, our historiographies of ancient freedom and slavery are equally paradoxically separated. The modern study of ancient freedom focusses primarily on political and intellectual freedom and is rarely concerned with slaves and the social dimension of slavery; on the opposite side, the modern study of slavery is dominated by the study of slaves and the social relationship of slavery and hardly ever touches on the Greek discourses on political and intellectual freedom. Just one example of these attitudes will suffice: when Thucydides tells us how the Spartans fought the Peloponnesian War with the rallying cry of liberating the Greek *poleis* from Athens, we take this reference to freedom at face value, and it forms part of our discussion of freedom in ancient Greece. But when Thucydides talks of the enslavement of the *polis* of Naxos to the Athenian Empire, our attitude is completely different: we dismiss this as a metaphorical use, and it does not form part of our discussion of slavery in ancient Greece. The aim of this very interesting book is to overcome this unfortunate conceptual straitjacket and take Finley's adage seriously, by examining how freedom and slavery, collective and individual, interpenetrated and interacted in the works of Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon. An earlier work by P. Hunt (*Slaves, Warfare and Ideology in the Greek Historians* [1998]) had examined how these historians dealt with the participation of slaves in warfare; T. does engage with Hunt's topic and arguments (pp. 91–7, 137–48, 190–201, 265–8), but here the scope is massively expanded by taking into account the full range of forms and functions of freedom and slavery.

The work consists of three parts. The first examines the relationship between freedom and slavery in the interstate affairs of cities and peoples, while the second, shorter, part is devoted to freedom and slavery within cities and peoples. Both parts are divided into three chapters, one on each historian. The most interesting and innovative part of the work is Part 3. Its title, 'Freedom and Slavery outside the City', is a bit misleading (as it is difficult to understand why for example slavery and freedom in the *oikos* is outside the city), but its unity is provided by its focus on Xenophon's *œuvre* apart from the *Hellenica*. The focus here shifts to a

topic that has attracted less attention among scholars: that of power and voluntary submission.

In the first part, Chapter 1 is devoted to Herodotus and examines three aspects in detail. The first is the role of collective freedom and slavery as factors of resistance, with a parallel examination of the Egyptians and the Scythians. The second concerns the relationship between Greek freedom and resistance to Persia, but the third is a particularly interesting discussion of the paradoxical relationship between collective freedom and individual slavery among the Persians. Chapter 2 is devoted to Thucydides' discussion of the relationship between freedom and slavery in interstate relationships during the Peloponnesian War, from the use of liberation as a political slogan to the image of political slavery to the city-tyrant. Chapter 3 stresses how the concepts of freedom and slavery are supplanted in Xenophon's *Hellenica* by the concept of *autonomia* as the central organising principle of discussing interstate affairs.

In the second part, on freedom and slavery within cities and peoples, T. argues that there is a significant difference between Herodotus and Thucydides, where there is hardly any significant reflection on the role of slaves within the community, and Xenophon's *Hellenica*, where it plays a more significant role. Chapter 4 examines Herodotus' reflections by focussing on aspects like the relationship between freedom and tyranny and between freedom and *nomos*. In Chapter 5 on Thucydides, particularly interesting is T.'s claim concerning the problematic nature of individual freedom as presented in the *Epitaphios*. Herodotus and Thucydides largely focus on the relationship between the political system of a community and the individual freedom of its members, but Chapter 6 shows convincingly how slaves play an important role in Xenophon's reflection on freedom and slavery within the *polis*, focussing on episodes such as the participation of slaves at Arginusae and the events around the regime of the Thirty, as well as the tyranny of Euphron at Sicyon and the conspiracy of Cinadon at Sparta.

In the third part, the long Chapter 7 shows eloquently that in many of his works Xenophon explores the ways in which various kinds of rulers can best secure the submission of their subjects and the exercise of their rule: imperial rulers and subjects in the *Cyropaedia*, masters and their various household dependants in the *Oeconomicus*, and generals and soldiers in the *Anabasis*. T. explores two different modes in which Xenophon pursues these quests: one is that of using slaves and slavery as an analogy to think through the role of subjects and rulers; the other is the dissociation between the voluntary submission of certain kinds of subjects (e.g. the Persian *homotimoi* in the *Cyropaedia*) and the enforced and unconditional submission of slaves. But the two modes can interpenetrate: eliciting the voluntary submission and loyalty of slaves in the *Oeconomicus* assimilates slaves to freemen, while nominally free subjects can be assimilated to slaves in their submission to Cyrus in the *Cyropaedia*. Finally, Chapter 8 examines how Xenophon's Socratic works employ slavery and freedom as modes of exploring the world of human passions and the relationship between self, desire and body. The book ends with a very useful analytic table of terms relating to freedom and slavery in the works of the three historians.

As the summary of its contents should make obvious, this is a very stimulating work, not only in its comprehensive discussion of individual passages, but also in successfully exploring the interaction between freedom and slavery in the work of Greek historians. It seems to me that the best way to summarise the book's call of studying political freedom and social slavery together is to remind ourselves

that slavery in the mainstream of classical Greek thought is primarily not a form of property but a relationship of domination, a relationship of power that can be applied to a variety of fields and to a variety of persons. This is the reason that Greek historians, and Xenophon in particular, can so fruitfully explore slavery as a mode of reflecting on the most divergent relationships of power within Greek society, or on the most divergent moral and ethical questions. Instead of arbitrarily distinguishing between 'real' slaves and slavery and its 'metaphorical' uses in politics and ethics, this book rightly invites us to explore freedom and slavery as interdependent aspects of wider Greek discourses over the exercise of power between communities, within communities, over subordinates or over bodies and desires. The discussion of Xenophonic works in the third part could be profitably expanded in the future by an examination of the related Platonic and Aristotelian works; and the exploration of the interaction of freedom and slavery in the work of later historians, from Polybius to Posidonius and Diodorus, will be another fascinating agenda for future research, in particular given that slaves play a much more prominent role in the historical narratives of later historians, than they do in Herodotus and Thucydides. This is a very interesting work which will surely find an extensive audience.

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SLAVERY

BRADLEY (K.), CARTLEDGE (P.) (edd.) *The Cambridge World History of Slavery. Volume I: the Ancient Mediterranean World*. Pp. xii + 620, figs, ills. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. Cased, £110, US\$180. ISBN: 978-0-521-84066-8.
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This outstanding reference work is the first of a new, four-volume history of global slavery from antiquity to the present day. Its chronological or thematic chapters synthesise current scholarship, analyse the available primary sources, and provide bibliographic essays. The Editors offer three main conclusions for study: (1) slavery was central in ancient Mediterranean life; (2) there was never any sustained opposition to the institution or its ideology; and (3) the new religion of Christianity probably reinforced rather than challenged slavery's existence (p. 2).

D.C. Snell in 'Slavery in the Ancient Near East' (Chapter 1) opens the volume with the problem of how to define *slavery*, arguing that *corvée* labour had greater importance than slavery throughout all Mesopotamian history. Definitional issues also concern T.E. Rihl's 'Classical Athens' (Chapter 3), especially what constitutes a genuine slave society. P. Cartledge in 'The Helots: a Contemporary View' (Chapter 4) responds to revisionist historians aiming to diminish the general significance of Helots for Spartan society and Greece as a whole. D.J. Thompson's important essay 'Slavery in the Hellenistic World' (Chapter 10) covers a wide geographical scope and responds well to Marxist historians.¹ K. Bradley's 'Slavery in the Roman

¹However, on the question of 'temple slave prostitutes', see now J.L. Lanci, 'The Stones Don't Speak and the Texts Tell Lies: Sacred Sex at Corinth', in S.N. Schowalter and S.J. Friesen (edd.) *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth* (2005), pp. 205–20.