

PETER HUNT, ANCIENT GREEK AND ROMAN SLAVERY

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Premda na spomen istraživača izrazito kompleksne teme antičkog ropstva njegovo ime neće imati isti odjek kao što ga stvara spomen nekih njegovih prethodnika, Peter Hunt se svojim radovima etablirao među vodeće istraživače robovskih društava. Profesor na *University of Colorado*, Hunt se specijalizirao za društvenu povijest u kontekstu ropstva i ratovanja, konkretno vezano uz antičku Grčku. Knjigu *Ancient Greek and Roman Slavery* koja je izašla 2018. godine u izdanju Wiley Blackwell, najavio je još 2012. godine, a predstavlja njegov prvi veći rad u kojem se bavi i ropstvom u Rimu.

Autor sam u uvodu navodi da je smisao knjige pružiti općeniti uvod u temu za one koji žele znati više o temi ropstva, pa je knjigu namijenio kao udžbeničku literaturu za kolegije koji se bave ropstvom ili kao dopunsku literaturu za društvenu povijest, a prvim pregledom vidljivo je da je u toj namjeni i uspio.

Knjiga je podijeljena na 13 poglavlja, od kojih svako nosi naslov jedne ključne teme kroz koju se komparativno promatra ropstvo grčkog i rimskog svijeta, a autor ponekad daje usporedbe s ropstvom američkoga juga 17.-18. stoljeća (naravno, s namjerom da bi

Although his name will not reverberate as much as that of some of his predecessors when researchers of the very complex subject of slavery in the Antiquity are mentioned, Peter Hunt's works have nevertheless won him acclaim as one of the leading researchers of slaveholding societies. A professor at the University of Colorado, Hunt specializes in social history in the context of slavery and wars – specifically, in ancient Greece. His book *Ancient Greek and Roman Slavery* was published by Wiley Blackwell in 2018. He himself announced it back in 2012. It is his first major work on the slavery in Rome.

In the introduction, the author points out that the book's purpose is to offer a general introduction into the subject of slavery and that he intended it as a textbook for the courses on slavery or as additional literature on social history. A brief overview makes it clear he has succeeded in it.

The book has 13 chapters, each entitled as one of the key subjects used to cast a comparative light on the slavery in the Greek and Roman worlds. In places, comparisons with the slavery in the American South of the 17th and 18th centuries are also made (of course, as a better way of presenting the slavery

temu antičkog ropstva bolje dočarao angloameričkim čitateljima kojima je ropstvo na jugu SAD-a puno poznatije). Te su teme obrađene malo detaljnije no što bi se očekivalo (pogotovo uzevši u obzir autorovu najavu djela), ali stvaraju generičku sliku ropstva jer je autor naglasak stavio na Rim i klasičnu Atenu koji ne mogu u cijelosti predstavljati grčki i rimski svijet. Autor ne ulazi (ili jako malo ulazi) u problematiku ropstva u drugim grčkim polisima i u rimskim provincijama, ali mu to uostalom nije ni trebao biti opseg rada. Na kraju svakog poglavlja, autor je dao svoj zaključak, nakon čega je, kroz *Suggested reading* dao svoje prijedloge autora kod kojih se o navedenoj temi može više pročitati. Prilikom pisanja djela koristio se relevantnim autorima koji su ostavili trag u istraživanju navedene tematike, a popis korištenih djela je naveo na kraju knjige pod *References* (str. 221-239).

Trinaest napisanih poglavlja je pak napisano iznimno dobro, gdje je autor na najjednostavniji mogući način, argumentirano i uz pregršt primjera, uspio stvoriti sliku ropstva u antičkom Rimu i Ateni. Počevši od prvog poglavlja, naslovljenog *Introduction and Historical Context* (str. 1-17) u kojem autor umjesto konkretnog pregleda djela stvara ideju antičkog ropstva kao polazišne točke modernih ropstava, raspravu o definiciji ropstva i robovlasničkih društava nastavlja u drugom poglavlju *Definitions and Evidence* (str. 17-31) gdje je jedan dio posvetio problematici i kritici izvora. Ta kritika se odnosi na njihovu jednostranost, više nego nedostatak, gdje između ostalih spominje i arheologiju i epigrafiju kao dobre pomoćne znanosti kojima se može razjasniti ropstvo. Dojam je međutim da autor navedene znanosti više spominje usput, a ne kao važan instrument istraživanja, što je opet možda posljedica neproširivanja tematike na provincije (gdje su epigrafija i arheologija neizostavni).

U poglavljima *Enslavement* (str. 31-49), *Economics* (str. 49-67) i *Politics* (str. 67-83) Hunt raspravlja o načinu nabave robova, gdje veći naglasak stavlja na reprodukciju robova, piratstvo, trgovinu i prodaju samog sebe kao njihov glavni izvor radije nego nova osvajanja. Raspravlja o ekonomskoj perspektivi trgovine robovima (gdje detaljnije obrađuje robovsku ekonomiju i profitabilnost iste) i utjecaju koji je imala na rimsko društvo, a raspravlja i o odnosu ropstva i politike koji je po njemu imao ogromnu ulogu u prelasku iz Republike u Carstvo.

of the Antiquity to the American readers, who are much more familiar with the slavery in the American South). These subjects are discussed in more detail than one would expect (particularly given the author's announcement of the work), but they offer a generic depiction of slavery because the author focuses on Rome and classical Athens, which cannot fully represent the Greek and Roman worlds. The author does not tackle (or he does, but marginally) the issue of slavery in other Greek poleis or in Roman provinces. True, this was not supposed to be included in the scope of this work. At the end of every chapter, the author gives his conclusion and, as *Suggested reading*, a list of literature that offers more on the subject. While writing his book, he consulted the works by relevant authors who had left their imprint in the domain. A list of the works he consulted can be found at the end of the book as *References* (pp. 221-239).

The book's thirteen chapters are very well written: Using the simplest possible approach, valid arguments and numerous examples, the author managed to depict slavery in the ancient Rome and Athens. In Chapter I (*Introduction and Historical Context*, pp. 1-17), instead of giving a brief overview of the book, the author offers a notion of slavery in the Antiquity as a starting point for the slavery of Modern Age. He continues the discussion on the definition of slavery and slaveholding societies in Chapter II (*Definitions and Evidence*, pp. 17-31), a part of which is dedicated to the problem and criticism of sources. The criticism is directed at their one-sidedness more than at their scarcity; he mentions archaeology and epigraphy as some of the good secondary disciplines that can help explain slavery. The impression is, however, that the author mentions these scientific disciplines offhandedly, not like important instruments of research – which, again, could be due to his decision not to include the provinces (where epigraphy and archaeology are inevitable) in the scope of this work.

In the chapters entitled *Enslavement* (pp. 31-49), *Economics* (pp. 49-67) and *Politics* (pp. 67-83), Hunt discusses the ways of acquisition of slaves, focusing on the slaves' reproduction, piracy, trade and selling oneself as a slave as the main sources of slavery rather than focusing on new conquests. He also discusses the economic prospects of the slave trade (tackling in detail the slave economy and its

Sa šestim poglavljem naslovljenim *Culture* (str. 83-99) autor smisleno i postupno naglasak prebacuje s države na pojedince, pa raspravlja o kulturi i o tome jesu li ju robovi mogli zadržati padanjem u ropstvo. Naglašava da je teško ustvrditi koliko su od vlastite kulture robovi zadržali, a koliko gospodareve primili, pogotovo jer su češći primjeri onih robova koji su se asimilirali. U sljedećem poglavlju *Sex and Family Life* (str. 99-117) fokus je u potpunosti prebačen na pojedinca pa autor raspravlja o obiteljskom životu i odnosima između gospodara i roba, na koji način je on mogao biti iskorištavan i na koji način je on mogao uznapredovati. Jedan dio poglavlja je posvećen i prostituciji u Ateni, gdje je autor u nekoliko situacija nezgrapno izjednačio heteru s robinjom prostitutkom (premda se u kasnijem dijelu djelomično ogradio od toga).

Osmo poglavlje naslovljeno je *Manumission and Ex-Slaves* (str. 117-137) i u njemu autor raspravlja o procesima oslobađanja robova. To poglavlje međutim nije dovoljno dobro razrađeno, jer je u kratkim crtama obradio samo jedan oblik formalne manumisije (*manumissio vindicta*), dok druge oblike, kao i oblike neformalne manumisije, nije uopće spomenuo. Ne dotiče se građanskog prava oslobođenika, a nedovoljno obrađuje i ograničenja slobode u smislu prava na obnašanje javnih skužbi (*ius honorum*) i ograničenog prava na ženidbu (*ius connubii*), dok ipak u nešto većoj mjeri navodi obaveze koje je oslobođenik imao u odnosu na svog patrona. Raspravlja također i o učestalosti oslobađanja, ali ne spominje zakone koji su ograničili broj manumisija (*Lex Fufia Caninia* i *Lex Aelia Sentia*).

U nastavku autor kroz poglavlja *Everyday Conflict* (str. 137-155) i *Revolts* (str. 155-173) raspravlja o oblicima robovskih revolta gdje na dobar način, prikazan na primjerima u literarnim izvorima, daje sliku mogućih, ali rijetkih događaja i navodi moguće razloge za takve ekscese. Potom se s tih primjera manjih ekscesa prebacuje na širi kontekst gdje obrađuje (naravno u kraćim crtama) ustanke helota u Sparti (što je jedan od rjeđih primjera gdje se odmiče od Atene) i ustanke robova u Rimu te prikazuje izazove i mogućnosti koje su ti ustanci donosili. Pretposljednja dva poglavlja *Representations* (str. 173-191) i *Philosophy and Law* (str. 191-209) bave se prezentacijom robova

(profitability) and its impact on the Roman society, as well as the relation between slavery and politics that, in his opinion, had a huge role in the transition from Republic to Empire.

In Chapter VI (*Cultures*, pp. 83-99), the author shifts his focus – gradually and with good reason – from the state to individuals, discussing culture and whether slaves could retain it after falling into slavery. He points out that it is hard to establish to what extent could slaves retain their own culture and how much of their masters' culture could they adopt, particularly when we know that the slaves who became assimilated were more common than those who did not. The following chapter, *Sex and Family Life* (pp. 99-117), focuses on individuals only. The author discusses family life, relations between a master and a slave, the ways of exploitation of the slave and the ways of his/her advance. The chapter also deals with the prostitution in Athens. In some places the author – somewhat ungainly – abolishes distinctions between *hetaerae* and slave prostitutes (although he partly disavows this approach in other places).

Chapter VIII (*Manumission and Ex-Slaves*, pp. 117-137) discusses the processes of manumission. However, this chapter has its flaws: While outlining only one type of formal manumission (*manumissio vindicta*), the author does not even mention other formal types as well as non-formal types of it. He does not tackle freedmen's rights as citizens and pays too little attention to the limitation of their right to perform public service (*ius honorum*) and right to marry (*ius connubii*). He does, however, pay somewhat more attention to freedmen's obligations to their patrons. He also discusses the frequency of manumission, but fails to mention the laws limiting their number (*Lex Fufia Caninia* and *Lex Aelia Sentia*).

In the next chapters, *Everyday Conflict* (pp. 137-155) and *Revolts* (pp. 155-173), the author discusses slave revolts. Using a good approach (giving examples from literature), he illustrates here the possible but rare events, while giving likely reasons for the conflicts and rebellions. Then he shifts his attention from these minor excesses to a broader context and analyzes (not in detail, of course) the Helot revolts in Sparta (a rare departure from Athens) and slave revolts in Rome, describing the possibilities and challenges arising from these revolts. The two penultimate chapters, *Representations* (pp. 173-191) and *Philosophy and Law* (pp. 191-209),

u antičkim izvorima, kako u antičkoj drami, tako i u filozofiji i zakonu (koji se poboljšao na korist robovima) te percepcijom inferiornosti koja se o robovima stvarala u društvu. Autor navedena poglavlja zaključuje potpoglavljem u kojem kratko raspravlja o nedostatku konkretnih zagovornika ideje oslobađanja među građanstvom.

Posljednje poglavlje *Decline and Legacy* (str. 209-221) raspravlja o propadanju klasičnog ropstva i njegovom nasljeđu, gdje autor smatra da se ne može točno odrediti kad je klasično ropstvo završilo, jer je ono u određenom obliku nastavljeno i u sljedećim povijesnim razdobljima. Hunt intenzivno raspravlja o mogućim oblicima u kojima se to ropstvo nastavilo, nudeći primjere podijeljenih mišljenja ranijih autora, a sve nastavno na njegovu raspravu u drugom poglavlju gdje raspravlja o robovlasničkim i društvima s robovima.

Za zaključak, valja istaknuti da je ova knjiga Petera Hunta upravo ono za što ju je i on sam namijenio – udžbenička literatura, a može se reći i jako dobra udžbenička literatura. Problematično poglavlje o manumisiji na stranu, autor je obradio svaki aspekt ropstva antičkih civilizacija i bez (u ovom slučaju) nepotrebnog zadiranja u kompleksne dubine, na temelju relevantnih primjera, stvorio sliku koja će pomoći u shvaćanju tematike, a i poslužiti kao polazišna točka onima koji se temom žele baviti.

describe the presentation of slaves in Greek and Roman sources – be it dramas or philosophy and laws (which would be amended over time to benefit the slaves) – and the perception of slaves' inferiority in their societies. Each of the two chapters ends with a sub-chapter that briefly discusses the absence of true advocates of abolition among citizens.

The final chapter, *Decline and Legacy* (pp. 209-221), discusses the decline of the classical slavery and its legacy. In the author's opinion, it is hard to determine when exactly did slavery come to an end, because the subsequent historical periods saw a continuation of slavery in certain forms. Hunt intensively debates about these possible forms in which slavery continued to exist, giving examples of divided opinions of earlier authors – all this in the context of his debate in Chapter II, where he discusses slavery and slaveholding societies.

As a conclusion, we should point out that the purpose of this book is the one Peter Hunt himself intended it to be – a textbook. And a very good textbook, too. The problematic chapter on manumission aside, the author analyzes every aspect of slavery in civilizations of the Antiquity, without (in this case) going unnecessarily deep into this complex subject. Using relevant examples, he creates a picture that can help understand the subject and serve as a starting point for those who want to engage in it.