ANALYTIC SUMMARY

Ana Iriarte GOÑI

Under this title there is a humble homage to the recently deceased historian, Pierre Vidal-Nanquet (Paris, July 23ᵈ, 1930 – Fayence, July 28ᵗʰ 2006), *Directeur d'études* of the *Histoire des representations de l'antiquité grecque* chair at the *École des hautes études en sciences sociales* and director of the *Centre Louis-Gernet*. A good many essays give evidence of his double dedication to the Greek World and to Contemporary History, but among the various leitmotivs that allow us to approach his work, the XXXI GIREA Symposium invites us to choose that of ancient slavery.

Key words: Vidal-Naquet, Finley, ancient slavery, Mai 68.

Jacques ANNEQUIN

Research on the flight of slaves' and on servile movements, and research from the field of historical anthropology on the search by marginal or rebel groups for a cultural identity, enable us to look for:
– the role played by prevailing groups in the construction of the social identity of a heterogeneous set of slaves,
– the widening of this aggregate to marginalized or excluded indivuiduals.
It is then possible to reread syntagmas that became *topoi* in all the slave societies, one associating fugitivi*, pastores* and *latrones,* another locating the rebels in the spaces of «savageness».
These syntagmas have already been studied in their function of denunciation; less questioned is the fact that, if they reveal probably real and continually recomposed alliances, they hide a process of constitution of cultural identities, legible in adjustments of marginal spaces, but certainly not savage.

Key words: Slave revolts- cultural identity- marginality- exclusion- resistance.

Miriam VALDÉS GUÍA

Some slave or dependents rebellions and some attempts of integrating marginal populations in the citizenship have been related frequently, in the imaginary field but also in the reality, with reversal festivals which subvert the established order; the main aim of these feasts is to secure precisely the established order through periodical and ritual reversion. This is the case of the Parthenias and Minias episodes in Sparta, the Argive situation of *douloi* after Sepeia (related with the *Hybristika*) and the integration of thetes in Peisistratid time; the tyrant is associated with the Dionysia and with Kronos, the reversal god.

Key words: reversal festivals, slave rebellion, citizen integration.

Adolfo DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO

This paper approaches the issue of the messenian diaspora at different historical moments as a basic mechanism in the development of the messenian identity. This identity reached a great force in the diaspora thanks to the existence of political structures developed by the Messenians, as opposed to the existing situation in Messenia. However, also the situation in Messenia is reviewed to argue in favour of the existence in it of elements of identity, in spite of the dominion that exerted Esparta on that territory; the key element in this case is the use of this identity as an element of resistance against the submission. The foundation of Messene by Epaminondas can be seen as the joining together of those diverse messenian identities, those developed outside Mesenia and those that, undoubtely, survived in the occupied Messenia.

Key words: Messenia, identity, helots, religion, Zankle, Anaxilas, Naupactus.

César FORNIS

In modern historiography the *prâgma* of Cinadon had had very different interpretations according to the idea that the scholars had formed on the Lacedaimonian dependent classes and particularly on the helots. So, if some of them under value the threat of the conspiracy, others take it as paradigm of subversion against the stablished order. Our analysis leads to conclude that the episode meant a real menace against the *hómoioi* or «pairs»; however it did not came from the helot class, but from the boundaries of the civic body, from individuals with unclassifiable juridical status and ambiguous social position deprived of full citizenship in the imperial Sparta of the early fourth century b.C.

Key words: conspiracy, revolt, helots, perioikoi, *neodamódeis*, *hypomeíones*, citizenship, exclusion, integration.

María Cruz CARDETE DEL OLMO

The Sicilian ethnic variety is a constant that signs the interaction with Greek conquerors. Ducetio, Sicel and helenised warlord, is the visible head of a movement that canalised the social and political expectations of Sicels, who have been excluded from government and controlled by Greek interests. The groups radicalised due to the elaboration of an ethnic discourse by the native elites, incarnated in Ducetio. That discourse confronted Greeks and Sicels and obliterated, in some way, the deep acculturation suffered by both of them, specially by natives.

Key words: Ethnic revolt, Acculturation, Ducetio, Classical Sicily.

Marie-Claude CHARPENTER

Aesop's Fables: A literature of resistance, submission or subversion of the social order?

Whereas Aesop's fables are often considered as a way to express submission to an unequal social order, we study how they can be a way of resistance. Indeed, is it possible to rank together fables and their supposed author? Are Aesop's fables – written by a slave named Aesop – ineluctably a script of submission to slave order?
This reflection is organized according to three keywords: literature of submission, or subversion or resistance, in order to stress the relationships between discursive production and social practices. Tale analysis very frequently gives rise to a social study of the struggle between strong and the weak, as a way of depicting the class-struggle, the presumed author being a slave himself. This assimilation leads to these tales being devaluated. We can thus regard them as «commoners' classics» or merely as a metaphorization of a social knowledge. That is the point we analyse.

Key words: Aesopic fables, writing of submission, poetry of resistance, «Commoners' Classics», social knowledge.

Colette ANNEQUIN

Syleus, Euripides' satirical drama, points at the misadventures of a rich vine-grower who has bought Heracles as a slave. In a comic way, the myth once more brings heroes into the space of slavery. Indeed, we cannot look at it as reflecting social reality, but there is no doubt that the story helps us to understand the symbolic aspects of slavery, acknowledges submission and reveals peculiar looking forms of resistance.

Why Heracles? Because he himself incarnated both *latris* and *doulos*, because he played an instrumental role in the integration of the myth and, fundamentally because of the role played by his sanctuaries in slave manumission.

Key words: myth, slave labour, submission, resistance-revolt.

Domingo PLÁCIDO SUÁREZ

In Xenophon's Memorabilia, Sócrates exposes to his friends Athenians who have been ruined a way to eran his living through work without falling in slavery, through a specific form of personal dependence, under protection of the powerful.

Key words: Xenophon, Athens in crisis, friendship, slavery, personal dependence.

Paolo DESIDERI

This is an analysis of the role played by the Romans' intimidation of other peoples in the making of their empire in the East, in the decades after Antiochus the Great's defeat in 190 B.C. Special attention is devoted to the development of the relations between Rome and the Achean League in the eighties. Through Polybius and the Polybian tradition (Livy) we can follow the strengthening of the imperialistic trend on the part of Rome, and its impact on Achean politics. At the end, reference is made to a famous Diodorean passage, where intimidation and a terrorist attitude are considered peculiar features of the final phase of the making of empires.

Key words: fear, intimidation, imperialism.

Ricardo MARTÍNEZ LACY

Before they revolted, the slaves who did revolt were as submissive as it was to be expected given their living conditions. However, the respective revolts, which were both servile Sicilian wars and Spartacus' rebellion, could have been anticipated. In any case, each revolt constituted the most flagrant act of insubordination in antiquity, though it was not the case that slave rebels changed radically in their minds and attitude, for they showed that their dependence had been interiorized.

Key words: Slaves, revolt, submission, dependence.

Antonio DUPLÁ

This paper deals with the ongoing debate about the nature of Roman politics in the Late Republic. The historiographical analysis starts with Th. Mommsen and his «Roman revolution» and ends with the new position taken since the late 80s by F Millar, who emphasizes the democratic features of the «Roman constitution». Against the authors who are critical with Millar (M. Jehne, K. J. Hölkeskamp et al.) and insist on the aristocratic consensus, the civic rituals and the submission of the plebs, the necessity of a new historical approach assuming both political and social conflicts of that time is pointed out.

Key words: Late Roman Republic, historiography, social history, social conflicts, *optimates* and *populares*.

Saverio GUALERZI

In the classic world, one of the most unfortunate conditions was that of slave women, as they belonged both to a commonly discriminated social group and sexual gender. The flaws that classical age writers sometimes ascribed to male slaves were multiplied when they referred to slave women. From the Homeric epic poem to Byzantine historiography there were very few circumstances when one slave woman or more could be praised for unusual loyalty to their master. Extreme loyalty *exempla*, though, refer above all to *hetairai* or freedwomen, as if it were impossible to single out any individual deserving praise for her behaviour among the masses of 'ordinary and anonymous' slave women. Therefore, in classical sources, the condition of slave women was generally passed over in silence or made fun of, and those unlucky women were not even granted the 'benefit' of famous and positive examples to refer to.

Key words: Slave woman, Slavery, Blame, Faithfulness, Unfaithfulness, Hetaira, Freedwoman.

Liborio HERNÁNDEZ GUERRA

The emancipated women of Lusitania's province have the same restlessnesses and perspectives than the rest of the womanly of another Hispanic provinces. However, the Portuguese woman tries, not only juridical, but also economically acquiring a social different situation, well through marriage, well by means of another forms.

Key words: Ancient History, document int the epigraphical, liberta, Hispanic provinces.

Athanassios RIZAKIS

Dominus and *servus* relationship began to soften only in the last part of the Hellenistic age; this change was caused both by the influence of Stoicism on the civic elites and by the transformations in the political and social context which took place in this period. Slaves started to enjoy «jours de congé» and so were able to take part, almost regularly, in festivals and banquets, as well as in money and food distributions. As for education, there were fewer changes. Very few slaves were able to get an education, and this was generally due to their master's willingness or interests. In regard to this, Rome appears to be more «generous», providing for the creation of slave schools. In the Greek world, on the contrary, non-freeborn individuals were usually debarred from the gymnasium, and when the latter opened its doors to slaves it was only for unction but never for athletic activities or contests; the rare exceptions to this rule confirm it.

Key words: slaves, leisure, education, Romen Empire

Jean-Yves GUILLAUMIN

In the beginning of his work *De condicionibus agrorum*, Siculus Flaccus devotes one sentence to the study of the acceptance and refusal of Roman domination among the *populi*. Its study brings out literary sources, among which the most important is probably Virgil's *Aeneid* 7, 234-238. From a philological point of view, this makes it possible to accept of the correction once suggested by Lachmann, that is, to change *addixerunt* into *adiunxerunt* in Siculus' sentence. Most important, one might notice that the author takes up the same ideological message as Virgil does, which rests on the memory, still alive in every Roman reader, of those lines from the *Aeneid*.

Key words: *Agrimensores*, Roman land surveying, domination, resistance, Roman Empire, Virgil, Siculus Flaccus.

Antonio GONZALES

Slaves and unfree men but also freedmen have behaved differently towards their *domini*. For Pliny the Younger, slaves had a collective attitude against the *dominus*. The freedmen had an individual response about the relationship with the *patronus*. The possibility of a form of self government by the freedmen was a very dangerous opportunity.

Key words: Pliny the Younger, letters, panegyric, slave, freedman, unfree condition, ability, behaviour, opposition, self-sufficiency, *dominus*, *patronus*, alienating condition, group integration.

Juan Ramón CARBÓ GARCÍA

It is analyzed in this article the 74th letter of Pliny the Younger directed to the emperor Trajan with the objective to study the possible diplomatic relations between Dacians and Parthians, and the attitude of submission or resistance on the part of a slave that is seen reflected in the letter. The analysis is carried out around three possibilities: that the testimony of Pliny was certain and the history that collects was also certain; that the testimony of Pliny was certain but the history that collects was an invention; and that the testimony of Pliny was not certain, but an own invention. In this last case the letter would serve also as an example more about the conception that had Pliny of the slavery.

Key words: Pliny the Younger, 74th letter, Callidromus, diplomacy, Dacians, Parthians, slavery, submission, resistance.

Pedro LÓPEZ BARJA

In the mirror game which Apuleius' novel is, where nothing really is what it seems to be, the protection offered by the law to all men turns out to be false. Violence on slaves is a case in point. Their condition is described with an unexpected sense of reality. Slaves cannot hope of being manumitted nor protected by the law. Their fate is a punishment which they can only avoid committing suicide or running away.

Key words: fiction, slavery, violence, Apuleius.

Marguerite GARRIDO-HORY

The texts of Petronius, Martial and Juvenal present many signs of resistance on the part of the slaves. If the discourse invites criticism - because it is especially the reflection of the concern of free men - it is nevertheless a fact that we see the slaves there trying by all means to escape exploitation through the murder of the master, more often by flight and more often by laziness, nonchalance and blackmail. Added to these was their cleverness in compromising their master by dangerous gossip as well as by the exploitation of his vices and passions.

Key words: Petronius, Martialis, Juvenalis, slaves, resistance.

Francesca REDUZZI MEROLA

The paper examines the aediles' edict concerning the *vitia mancipiorum* in the sales of slaves, the qualification of a *servus* as *fugitivus*, the difference between *servus erro* and *fugitivus*. It also analyses the cases of *furtum* of a *servus fugitivus*, and finally the matter in which *recipere* a *servus fugitivus* can be considered as a *corruptio servi*.

Key words: Fugitive slaves, stolen slaves, 'servi corrupti'.

Dionisio PÉREZ SÁNCHEZ y Manuel RODRÍGUEZ GERVÁS

This article approaches the situation that arose around the Bishop of Clermont Ferrans, Sidonius Apollinaris, who developed certain elements of social control in a complex way. The Bishop reflected the image of a great landowner, jealous of his privileges, who used diverse means to defend the way his city and territory were organized under the principles of stability and social control. It was within this system of domination that Christian charity played a large role, both in its practical dimension of helping the faithful and citizens in need, and in its ideological-discursive dimension.

Key words: later Roman empire, Gallia, Christian charity, social control.

Arminda LOZANO

Within the multifaceted religious framework of Asia Minor the present study tries to analyze the relations between gods and devoted *kometai* in the northeastern area of Lydia and the adjacent area of Phrygia, which are laid down epigraphically in inscriptions generally called «confession steles». For a comprehensive understanding of words like *tyrannos*, *basileuein*, *doulos*, *hyperetes*, etc, which have a very particular meaning, it is necessary to understand the religious ideology of the indigenous population. Though historically bound to oriental beliefs, and therefore different from the Greek, they have expressed their sentiments with Greek terms. As a consequence, this dichotomy can hide the true meaning of these terms, the interpretation of which has raised controversy amongst scholars for some time.

Key words: Asia Minor, confession inscriptions, personal religiosity, oriental religiosity, indigenous population.

Rosa María CID LÓPEZ

In Ancient Rome, as well as in other societies, religion became a useful instrument for the dissemination of forms of social behaviour, which in the case of women served to reinforce their submissive position. In this paper we will attempt analyse the cult of *Juno Lucina* and the *Matronalia* feast are clear examples of the stereotype of the woman-mother who is recluded in the domestic space. Such conceptions are opposed to those of Mars, the god worshipped by the Romans to celebrate warcraft and protagonism in public spaces. The opposition between the feminine religious practices associated with Juno and the masculine ones connected with Mars reveals the unequal relation among women and men citizens in this model of social organisation, which seems to be constructed upon women's role as mothers and men's as soldiers.

Key words: Roman Religion, Women, Mother, Motherhood, War, Feast, Women's Submission.

María José HIDALGO DE LA VEGA

The main objective of this article was to analyse and explain, through Book XI of Apuleius's novel, significant aspects of religious customs and behaviour in the collective imagination of a society. Thus, mystery religions can, in their complexity and diverse guises, come to symbolize the integration of cosmic forces, offering an overall system of representation and integration of the world and of society. Their universality is the scenario in which the faithful believe they will achieve a promised, although fictitious, equality, since in reality this involves submission and dependence on the orders and dictates of the gods, in our case the goddess Isis, whose supremacy and soteriology will guarantee the faithful protection and salvation in this life and in the next. The analysis of the vocabulary of dependency, present throughout the text, reveals on a symbolic-religious level the social relations peculiar to Roman society, reinforcing-renewing, through the new values provided by Isism, the ideological control over the believers-faithful, to the point of interiorizing these relations of dependency and considering them egalitarian on a horizon of domination-submission.

Key words: Religiuous initiation, Apuleius novel, vocabulary of dependency, ideological control.

Jaime ALVAR y Antonio GONZALES

This paper analyzes the ways developed in early christianity to reach the internalization of the submission. There is no room to personal interpretations

about Christ's message. From the beginning there is a clear pourpose to control the new communities in order to make new clients. Therefore arise hegemonies to impose some specific interpretation about individual and colletive behaviour inside early christianism. Our point of view allows to reject many predjuges faking the true nature of early christian thougt.

Key words: Keywords: Early Christianity, collective behaviour, submission.

María Amparo PEDREGAL RODRÍGUEZ

The apparently liberating message that Christianity offered to the oppressed in pro-slavery and patriarchal Greco-Roman society might be summarised in *Gal*. 3, 28, a text that announces the suppression of politica, legal and gender barriers. In it women and slaves, who are recurrently associated in ancient thought, are presented –together with foreingners– as the «Other» in relation to the androcentric self. This paper analyses the way in which Christian discourse appropiated pro-slavery ideology in order to justify/legitimise bodily punishment and women's sexual accessibility, i.e. gender violence, as well as female submission and women's acceptance of their dependence on the male, that is, the husband, who may be mortal o divine.

Key words: Women¨History, Slavery, Christianity, Ideology, Religion.

Bassir AMIRI

The article intends to consider the position of slaves and freed slaves in touch with the Roman army in Germania. Considering the significant presence of Roman legions in these provinces and their ability to convey the Roman lifestyle and values, we can wonder if they had some effect on acculturation or social advancement of the servile population. After a short explanation concerning the corpus of dependent people connected to the Roman army, the article move on to its influence and limits on the integration of dependent people from different viewpoints: the places where the inscriptions have been discovered, the onomastic features of this population and the responsibilities that slaves and freed slaves are able to take on in this context.

Key words: slaves and freed slaves ; Roman army ; Romanisation ; acculturation ; social advancement; Roman provinces; Germania.

Mario MAZZA

In this article the author studies a series of different types of ill-treatment which colonists were subjected to in Late Antiquity through epigraphic documents among other sources. The colonists were helpless against this oppression.

Key words: Colonist, submission, resistance, Late Antiquity.

Begoña ENJUTO SÁNCHEZ

This paper deals with the attitude of the Roman aristocracy towards slavery in the 4th century. The Letters and Orations of Quintus Aurelius Symmachus are quite revealing on the subject and provide us with several interesting examples of resistance and submission to the slavery.

Key words: Symmachus, aristocracy, 4th Century, slavery, dependence, resistance, submission.

Domenico VERA

During Late Antiquity, mainly between the 4th and 6th centuries, the situation of rural slavery in Italy was affected by different aspects related to the prior experience of the slavery system. These included the existence of a high number of slaves, clearly higher than in the other provinces, and where they came from, which entailed strong biological continuity. It was thus quite a peculiar phenomenon, and the interpretative model of the end of the Roman slavery system proposed by M. I. Finley is open to criticism for many reasons: it does not distinguish Italy from the provinces and maintains a continuist perspective which does not correspond to the rather pronounced structural differences that distinguish rural slavery in classic Roman Italy from slavery in the phase of Late Antiquity. From the productive point of view, and partially from the social point of view, rural slavery in the Italy of Late Antiquity had lost its previous specificity, was not closely related to a particular economic form, but does seem to have been a variation of «colonato». Slave populations and dependent free populations in rural areas tended to mix together in their social relations, if not legally.

Key words: Slavery, Late Antiquity, Agriculture, Roman Italy, Historiography.

Pablo Cruz DÍAZ

This works approaches the problematic of the status of dependent populations in the Visigothic kingdom of Toledo following the evidence offered by the *Formula Wisigothica* 32, in which a free man seems to voluntarily accept the degradation of his legal and social condition in exchange for a greater economic stability. Such an attitude can be understood as a real loss of the free condition of the seller in exchange for money, although some signs make us think that the appearance of submissiveness and degradation to a state of subjection can hide an agreement for a patron-client relationship which would not necessarily affect the formal legal condition of whoever is theoretically selling him self.

Key words: Visigothic kingdom, legislation, social structure, freedom/slavery, *clientela* relationships.

Aimé MIGNOT

It is commonly accepted that the Edict of 1685 was derived from the Marquis de Seignelay - the son of Colbert, the great Minister of King Louis the XIV, Secretary of State (for the Navy and French colonies). The supreme lawmaking body for the overseas possessions, it was largely inspired by Roman law. Legal practice influenced the *Code Noir Louis* and consequently shaped different matters of civil, religious and criminal laws. Penalties and treatment of offenders were intended to instil the fear of repression with a public colonial trial, and possibility of punishment and sometimes the cruel severity of the punishment of slaves (Africans) and freemen at more than 7000 kilometres from the French mother country. The local jurisdictions took cognizance under the control of a small number of judges (administrators of the Crown, Intendant, royal stipendiary magistrates and «Conseil souverain» of the West Indies. The common authority of the master was admitted; he naturally applied his *dominica potestas* to his slaves living with him under the supervision of the Administrators in the colony. The trend towards non-custodial treatment could also be provided by the master in his own home jurisdiction. On the contrary it can be said that when a notorious offence was suspected to be serious or the slave was likely to commit further offences in the country, they were taken to the Royal Magistrate's court. Criminal liability could be considered collective in some social matters. In these cases, their criminal prosecution reminds us of the earliest Roman examples.

Key words: Slaves - criminal prosecution - *dominica potestas* - Black Code - home jurisdiction.

Brígida VON MENTZ

When the Spaniards arrived to Ancient Mexico, there existed in the indigenous societies human beings living in bondage that where called «slaves» in Spanish. This essay explores the specific circumstances of the life of these «slaves», men and women, that where called in Nahuatl, the old Mexican dominant Indian language, *tlacotin*. At the same time, in order to show the complex coexistence in later times of different forms of bondage in the world of labor, other forms of un-free working conditions are described, forms that where characteristic for the different regions during the colonial and the independent period of Mexican history.

Key words: Slavery, Ancient Mexico, New Spain.

Izaskun ÁLVAREZ CUARTERO

As a result of the Caste War in Yucatan, Mexico (1847-1901), the local authorities decided «to clean the territory of Indians». One of the chosen solutions was to send Mayan farmers to Cuba using a system of semislavement. The shortage of manual labor in the island provided the basis for the agreement between the elites of both territories who organized the Mayan slave trade. This article reviews the origin and developement of the most prominent aspects of this trade.

Key words: Yucatan History, Caste War, Indians of Mexico, 19th Century History, Mayan History, Cuba, Slave Trade, Cuban History.

Dick GEARY

This paper examines the various survival strategies adopted by slaves in Brazil between 1780 and 1850. It argues that the strategies adopted varied according to circumstance and opportunity, and that they were complex, involving sometimes simultaneously elements of both «accommodation» and «resistance». Some of these strategies were individual, ranging from the purchase of freedom and litigation, through petty insubordination to flight, arson and murder. Others were collective (the formation of maroon communities and rebellion) but witnessed significant conflict between African-born and creole slaves.

Keywords: Brazil, slavery, accomodation, resistance.

Alberto PRIETO ARCINIEGA

This paper tries to show how Danish movie director, Lars von Trier, sees slavery. In particular, one of his films, *Manderley*, will primarily focus my attention, but also *Dogville* as a precedent. Finally, Jean Paulham's *La bonheur dans l'esclavage*, a text inspiring von Traer's peculiar script, will also be considered.

Key words: slavery, film and history, von Trier.