

gegebene Harvard-Adelaide-Studie. Norman B. Tindale und Joseph B. Birdsell sammelten 1938–39 anthropometrische Werte von mehr als 1.200 half-caste Aborigines, um zu beantworten, inwiefern sich „Mischlinge an die europäische Zivilisation anzupassen vermögen“ (S. 235). Die Aufdeckung und Dokumentation dieser Quellen durch Anderson führte bereits im Vorfeld der Publikation im Februar 2002 zu einer öffentlichen Entschuldigung der Universität an die „gestohlenen Generationen“ für die an den Aborigines im Namen der Wissenschaft durchgeführten barbarischen Experimente.<sup>2</sup>

In historischer Perspektive, so belegt diese Studie für das Beispiel Australiens, erweist sich „whiteness“ als eine flexible Kategorie, die abhängig von medizinischen Forderungen und politischen Bedürfnissen entweder als britisch, weiß oder kaukasisch gerahmt wird und immer einem bestimmten Ideal von Staatsbürgerschaft nachstrebte (S. 255). Obwohl das Konzept Rasse aus der biomedizinischen Wissenschaft verbannt wurde, findet es insbesondere in den Sozial- und Geisteswissenschaften weitere Verwendung. Der Aufschwung von Rassenbeziehungsstudien seit den 1970er Jahren in Australien zeigt, dass die Generation von postkolonialen Akademikern, unter ihnen auch Anderson, „Rasse“ und „Rassismus“ als regierende Prinzipien weiterhin in ihren Arbeiten voraussetzen. Im konkreten Fall ist eine herausragende und zu empfehlende Publikation entstanden, die bei einem weit gefassten Fachpublikum Interesse finden wird.

Anmerkungen:

1 <http://www.tagesschau.de/ausland/aborigines12.html> (14.09.2008)

2 <http://www.adelaide.edu.au/news/news314.html> (14.09.2008)

**Enrico Dal Lago/Constantina Katsari (Hrsg.): *Slave Systems Ancient and Modern*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 375 S.**

Rezensiert von  
Seymour Drescher, Pittsburgh

Slavery has been globally ubiquitous for millennia. This collection is intended to examine slavery and unfree labour in the ancient Mediterranean and the modern Atlantic through methodologies of comparative history. The editors, following a distinction first formulated by Moses Finley, argue for the special status of classical Mediterranean and modern transatlantic slaveries. These were „slave societies“ within the more generic and more diverse ensemble of „societies with slaves.“ „Slave societies“ is appropriately applied to systems in which the institution was especially pervasive, economically, socially and culturally.

The introductory chapter calls attention to the fact that the participating contributors do not feel constrained to focus upon any particular understanding of comparative analysis. Nor do they consistently focus on the two systems favored by the editors. The first two contributors, with quite divergent frames of reference (world history and comparative-history), immediately alter the boundaries of the discussion. Or-

lando Patterson's cross-cultural analysis of slavery, gender, work and warfare in pre-classical Greece is rigorously comparative. Designated variables (modes of subsistence, gender, polygamy and warfare) are cross-tabulated in a systematic search for statistically significant correlations. The evidentiary sample is drawn from hundreds of pre-modern societies. The result is a compelling thesis on the preconditions for the formation of premodern „societies with slaves,” rather than of „slave societies” in particular. Indeed, Patterson begins his essay with a warning against using paradigmatic Roman conceptions which later served as the legal foundations of modern Atlantic slavery. Patterson's closing, focusing on slavery in pre-classical Greece, brings us only to the threshold of classical slavery.

Patterson's approach is not unique. What some contributors refer to as „genuine” slave economies, meaning its Greco-Roman and New World variants, is often given short shrift. The second contributor, Joseph C. Miller is a case in point. He challenges the very premise of slave systems as structures that are accessible to fruitful comparison. Miller insists on approaching slavery as the outcome of a persistent world-historical process extending over four millennia. Once more, the classic slave societies designated for comparison with modern slavery have no privileged place in Miller's schema. His world-historical narrative moves with breathtaking speed through the pre-modern empires of Asia, and Islam, Europe and Africa. At the center of Miller's narration is the millennial process of slaving, traversing a long term evolution of human society between 'Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft'. It is a world

that begins with slaveries of predominantly enslaved females embedded within patriarchal households. In this broad sweep of pre-modern history large-scale classical slavery is typologically marginal. The Roman case is allotted no more than a brief paragraph and Greece is largely ignored. A fundamental transformation occurs with the establishment of New World slavery, especially after 1650. For Miller the critical novelty of Atlantic slavery lies in its commercialization of human relations, accentuated by the racially enslaved transatlantic diaspora. The upshot of Miller's multi-millennial tour-de-force is a challenge to the whole enterprise of comparative analysis. Miller's New World slavery is so novel and unique as to subvert even the classical tradition of legal culture and ideology redeployed by New World empires. For Miller the true import of the world historical perspective is the radical contrast between feminized pre-modern slaveries nested in localized patriarchal households and the global commercial world dominated by enslaved males laboring in plantations and autonomously evolving slave cultures.

Walter Scheidel opens Part II of the collection on slavery and economics. He frames his analysis within a long tradition of economic theorizing. His aim is to determine conditions for the emergence and maintenance of classical slavery. His analytic point of departure is comparative: New World slave labor arose in sparsely populated regions at the peripheries of Atlantic empires. Ancient large-scale agricultural slavery arose at the core of well-populated societies. In the U.S. South, and the British sugar islands, slavery was a pain-intensive labor system, most evident in plantation gang-labor. It was also a system tightly

limiting exit from the status. By contrast, Roman masters were able to deploy their slaves in care-intensive occupations.

How, then did slavery evolve in the high-density populations of classical antiquity, and why did it flourish in so many care – (or skill)-intensive spheres of economic activity? For Scheidel the equivalent of modern transatlantic labor scarcity in the Greco-Roman world was provided by the enormous and continual demand for citizen-soldiers engaged in combat. The primary incentive for this skilled and motivated labor force was a high rate of manumission. The very limited demographic data available on numbers and proportions of slaves in Greco-Roman antiquity is, of course, a limiting condition for all such comparisons. Scheidel strengthens the power of his model, however, by showing its applicability to slave occupations in an analogous modern case – sixteenth-century Portugal. Comparing the declines of ancient and modern slave systems is even more challenging. Classical slaveholders never experienced the cluster of political, military and cultural pressures that resulted in modern antislavery and global abolition.

Tracy Rihill's essay expands the implications of Scheidel's analysis: Roman slaves were, she concludes, highly motivated to improve technology – perhaps more so than were free laborers. She also emphasizes the function of manumission as a positive incentive to slave innovation in the skilled trades. Rihill even argues that slavery may well have been the main agent of technological innovation and transfer in any premodern society where the geographical mobility of free workers was unusual.

Michael Zeuske closes out the economics section by discussing economic comparisons of nineteenth-century slave systems in the Americas. He identifies one historical event as the catalyst for comparison – the Haitian Revolution. Appealing to the impact of the Saint-Domingue slave revolution, Zeuske repositions slave agency as the driving force in nineteenth century economic comparisons of slave systems. Apart from the Haitian case, this essay is less concerned with the impact of other revolutions in North America and Europe, or with most of the extended economic comparisons of slave systems in the Northern Atlantic world. Nor does the essay consider the role of slave agency in classical economic thought. It poses no questions about why large-scale slave revolts did not stimulate similar economic analysis in the ancient Mediterranean.

Part IV, on the ideologies and practices of slaveholders, clearly reflects the relative abundance of documentary evidence available to historians on masters' perspectives. The editors' own essay compares writings of slave management in ancient Rome and the Southern United States. Del Lago and Katsari uncover a number of interesting similarities in masters' writings on the maintenance, control and health of the enslaved. Given the significance of discussions of manumission in so many other essays, it is perhaps significant that the subject is not more directly addressed in this essay. Manumission does not appear to have been singled out as a major source of „positive” incentives in Greco-Roman writings. Correspondingly, the disciplinary threat of slave sales does not appear to have figured prominently in discussions of management by American Southern-

ers. Nor did American essayists on slave management appear to have directly addressed their system's vulnerability, as a „peculiar” institution adjacent to free labor zones, or under ideological threat from both northern American society and Europe. One wonders whether such a situation operated on Southern slaveholders' as a strong incentive to conform, in their manuals, to the „paternalist” ideology of their less threatened ancient predecessors. The authors also seem ambiguous about the combined impact of Southern paternalist ideology and the more modern profit-maximizing ethos of U.S. slaveholders. Even more clearly, the absence of sufficient quantitative data from antiquity in this regard would appear to make rigorous comparisons between „pre-capitalist” ancient and „capitalist” modern mentalities extremely difficult.

The essay by Marques and Joly, analyzing two early eighteenth-century Brazilian Jesuit authors' writings on slave management, constitutes another case of convergence with ancient slaveholders' ideology. The authors emphasize the continued dominance of the classical and Christian ideological tradition. In one respect their essay reinforces the „paternalist” consensus discussed in the previous essay. On the other hand, Joly and Marques conclude that the eighteenth-century capitalist ethos disrupted the paternalistic ideology in the New World. They illustrate the onset of this new hegemonic commercialism by citing a mid-eighteenth century English West Indian manual on slave management. How then are we to explain the restored hegemony of paternalism in U.S. Southern ideologies of paternal management a century later?

Part IV, on „exiting” slave systems, reopens the important question of manumission on different terms. Olivier Petré-Grenouilleau's typology of exits presents a careful classification of the repertoires available to masters and slaves for ending enslavement, from the reciprocal relationships of manumission, to individual and collective flight, to revolt and, ultimately, to abolitionist liberation. Once again, the absence of reliable data on rates of manumission in classical slavery does not permit rigorous quantitative comparison with modern slaveries. Petré-Grenouilleau makes the important point that a high rate of exits could create both nodules of friction and a useful mechanism for perpetuating the institution. His examination of the context of exits also offers readers a sense of how the maintenance of post-liberation constraints on manumission, or the post-emancipation restraints of racism, could foster new forms of constraint and limit post-emancipation mobility. The essay concludes with an overview of the unique, and ultimately global, process of abolition. It was the ultimate exit from slavery through the destruction of the institution itself.

Stanley Engerman's „Emancipation Schemes” analyzes the different means by which modern slavery was brought to an end. He classifies the process in a number of ways: the sequence and timing of Atlantic slave trade abolitions and emancipations; the policies of gradual and immediate emancipation; and the conditions of liberation. The cases of emancipation that were both immediate and massively violent were rare – the Saint-Domingue slave revolution and the United States Civil War. Because there was a deep commitment to both individual lib-

erty and individual property rights in the West, compensation and gradual abolition (free birth, etc.) policies were designed to lessen the blow to individual fortunes and the economic disruption to societies. Engerman ends his essay with a discussion of post-emancipation economies, where long-term indentured servitude or contract sharecropping often took the place of diminished ex-slave labor.

Stephen Hodkinson's final essay moves the discussion from classical slavery to „forms of communal bondage“ in Greece. Hodkinson compares the system of helotage in the ancient Spartan orbit with cases of modern unfree labor. In this case the potential similarities in unfree labor offer the author a chance of working by analogy with modern Russian serfdom and American sharecropping, rather than slavery itself. The author roams far afield for examples, including Europe, Latin America and Africa. The use of internal leaders and indirect rule in modern coerced systems becomes the analogical counterpart to Greek Helot communities and obligations. In a way Hodkinson works himself back to the methodology of Patterson. A dearth of society-specific information on coerced relationships within any given society requires a comparison that aims to illuminate a less documented form of coercion by a better documented one.

Overall this wide-ranging collection offers a stimulating illustration of the utility, challenges, and pitfalls entailed in the comparative historical approach to a major institution in world-historical perspective.

**Jochen Meissner/Ulrich Mücke/  
Klaus Weber: Schwarzes Amerika.  
Eine Geschichte der Sklaverei,  
München: C. H. Beck Verlag, 2008,  
320 S.**

Rezensiert von  
Nikolaus Böttcher, Berlin

Der Handel mit Sklaven aus Afrika weitete sich im Verlauf des 15. Jahrhunderts zunehmend vom Mittelmeerraum auf den Atlantik aus. In einem Zeitraum von vier Jahrhunderten wurden nach 1492 schätzungsweise 12 Millionen Menschen über Häfen wie Elmina, Ouidah und Luan-da nach dem amerikanischen Kontinent verschleppt. Gleichzeitig mit der europäischen Expansion nach Amerika wurden die Kanarischen Inseln und die Azoren zu den wichtigsten Stütz- und Sammelpunkten des weiteren Zwangstransportes in eine fremde, „Neue Welt“. Sowohl auf den Inselgruppen des Atlantik als auch in den Hafen- und Handelsstädten Amerikas wie Bahía, Cartagena de Indias/Veracruz, Kingston oder Charleston saßen Sklavenhändler, die das Geschäft über Jahrhunderte in Form von straffen Netzwerken organisierten. Eine atlantische Geschichte. Sklaverei und Sklavenhandel sind in den letzten Jahrzehnten von der Geschichtsschreibung viel beachtet worden und vor allem in jüngster Zeit zu einem klassischen Thema globalhistorischer Untersuchungen geworden. Besonders die Atlantic History bemüht sich, den historischen Entwicklungen auf beiden Seiten des Atlantiks Rechnung zu tragen und Interpretations-