

## CHAPTER SEVEN

# Work and Society

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The governor of a province is accustomed to settle the law on salaries, but only for the teachers of the liberal studies. We regard as liberal studies those which the Greeks call *eleutheria*: Rhetoricians, grammarians and surveyors will be included.

Ulpian, *Digest of Justinian*, 50.13.1pr.<sup>1</sup>

The *Digest's* explanation of *liberalia studia* (liberal pursuits) establishes the link between Roman ideas of the liberal arts and earlier Hellenistic ideas of the meaning of *eleutheria* (freedom). In Greco-Roman antiquity, the definition of freedom was inextricably linked to perceptions of work and payment. However, this definition was neither static nor consistent across the vast time and space of antiquity. Originally from the Greek city of Tyre, Domitius Ulpianus was a Roman legal mastermind who wrote during the Severan period. Even three hundred years after his death, the compilers of Justinian's *Digest* held Ulpian above almost all other jurists.<sup>2</sup> One of the opinions of Ulpian that was excerpted, republished, and likely heavily interpolated by the sixth-century compilers of the *Digest* articulated a special legal category for practitioners of the liberal arts.<sup>3</sup> Such a division was nothing new. Romans had always wished to separate out the lower-status *mercenarius*, someone hired for pay and given a *merces* as their payment, from the liberal professional that instead performed an *officium* (duty) for society and might thus receive an *honorarium* as a sign of their elevated position. After all, being paid a regular salary by another signalled a demeaned status to elite Romans. In terms of one's ability to sue for remuneration, Roman law appears to provide distinct legal categories for those that functioned as *operae* (contract workers) for labor, versus those that provided intellectual services.<sup>4</sup> Philosophers and legal advocates were still supposed to work for free, but by late antiquity there were special dispensations given to certain physicians, midwives, schoolmasters, librarians, accountants, and even gubernatorial entourages—a far broader definition of liberal artistry than had existed in the Hellenistic world or during the Roman Republic. As this chapter will contend, a cautious analysis of Roman literary, legal, and patristic opinions on work from the late Roman Republic into the period of late antiquity (44 BCE–565 CE) permits us to better trace the rhetoric, evolution, and—most importantly—the impact of such philosophies of work on the day-to-day lives of the workers that lived and labored within the Roman Mediterranean.

In addition to revealing elite Roman disdain for the payment of outright wages, Ulpian's opinion on the practitioners of the liberal arts exposes the strong influence of Greek culture on Roman society. Accordingly, it is difficult for us to understand Roman law, philosophy, or even literature fully without first tracking some of their antecedents to the Hellenistic world. For most of the populace living in Athens during the archaic

and classical periods, achievement of the Greek ideal of *eleutheria* meant freedom from subjugation to another in the form of chattel *douleia* (slavery) or debt bondage, rather than freedom from labor altogether.<sup>5</sup> The popular definition of the term categorized thousands of Athens' tradesmen, artisans, bankers, and farmers as free, though not everyone agreed upon this classification. Theoretical philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle crafted their own, rather self-serving idea of *eleutheria*. They posited that an engagement in *theoria* (abstract thought) was the most freeing activity, and one that stood in opposition to the unfree and "banausic" work that required physical labor. It should be acknowledged that there was a respect, particularly from Aristotle (*Rh.* 2.4.9–10), given to Greece's self-sufficient farmers, sometimes termed *autourgoi*, who independently worked the land.<sup>6</sup> Many of these ideas formed the basis for the Greek idea of a *paideia* (education), which was perpetuated into the later empire. The philosophical diminution of manual labor as a vulgar (i.e. common), mechanized, and sordid endeavor constructed an enduring binary pair that pitted the liberal arts against the illiberal arts. This dichotomy then influenced later Roman ideologies concerning work as well, a fact most notably seen in the writings of the republican philosopher, orator, and statesman Cicero. In addition to the free versus unfree framework emphasized within Greek society, elite Roman writers also underscored the distinctions between *negotium* (business), *labor* (toil), and *otium* (leisure).<sup>7</sup> Unlike their Greek philosophical predecessors, Roman elites tended to value civic utility and oratory above idle thought; moreover, they viewed the objectives for and the products from the use of work and leisure time as a mirror that reflected a person's place within a hierarchy of dignity. Just as there was a disconnect between Aristotle's idea of freedom and that of an Athenian tanner, there appears a patent disconnect between the elite Roman philosophy of work articulated in literature and law, and the evidence for the lived experience of work revealed through surviving material culture such as archaeological remains, inscriptions, papyri, and graffiti.

### FREEDOM, LEISURE, AND WORTHY PURSUITS IN THE REPUBLIC AND EARLY EMPIRE

Beyond evaluating the cross-cultural influences that shaped Roman ideas of work, there is the issue of how "labor" or "toil" was conceived of within the Greco-Roman Mediterranean world. Greek texts often use the words *ponos*, *kopos*, and *mochthos*, but these are not direct correlates with our words "labor" and "toil" nor is the Latin word *labor*. Historians Paul Veyne and Moses Finley famously argued that there was in fact no equivalent term for our English word "labor" in antiquity. Both Greeks and Romans compartmentalized time into periods for leisure and periods for business: for the Greeks, this was *scholê* and its negation, *ascholia*, and for the Romans, it was *otium* and its oppositional form: *negotium*. This was simply the negative *nec* added onto the Latin word for leisure, *otium*. Veyne in particular believed that the assessment of each job was rather to be measured based on the social status of the worker: while the aristocracy did not engage in any kind of labor—no matter how hard they might sweat—the impoverished could only be identified by the sweat that they gave over to their occupations. Moses Finley contended, "Neither in Greek nor in Latin was there a word with which to express the general notion of 'labour' or the concept of labour 'as a general social function.'"<sup>8</sup> Veyne's and Finley's assertions have had a strong impact on assessments of work in Roman society. Recent scholars in the field of labor history continue to echo Finley's words in particular, and to remark that "the ancient Greeks and Romans would have perceived the

notion of dignity of labor as a quite absurd thought.<sup>9</sup> This is simply not the case when we examine the epigraphic remains for artisans and farmers that reveal pride in their occupations.<sup>10</sup>

In order to understand elite abstractions of the role of work in Roman society, the influence of Hellenistic philosophies of *eleutheria*, and how Romans articulated notions of labor, we must first turn to the writings of Marcus Tullius Cicero. Although he may have been a *novus homo* (new man) from the Italian city of Arpinum, he was no stranger to the tenets of Greek philosophy. After becoming versed in the courts of Rome, he studied in Greece from 79 to 77 BCE. While he had always loved and written upon Hellenistic philosophy, it was in the waning years of life—from 46 to 43 BCE—that he wrote upon the topic most prolifically. In just a few short weeks in late 44 BCE, mere months after the assassination of Julius Caesar earlier that March, Cicero wrote his treatise *On Duties*. Ostensibly, the work was written as a piece of advice in the mode of Hellenistic-era philosophical letters passed from father to son. This one was addressed to Cicero's 21-year-old son, Marcus, who had been studying in Athens himself (*Off.* 1.1). The orator not only delineates the antithetical relationship between free and unfree within the work, he also extols the dignity of activities that contributed to the communal good of the state, rather than those that contributed to the selfish endeavor of pleasure and profit. A pivotal portion discussed the reputation of various *artificia* (trades) and whether they behooved the ideal *liberalis* (freeborn man).<sup>11</sup> Tax gatherers and usurers that lent money at interest were viewed negatively due to the ill-will they garnered with the people. Moreover, Cicero suggested that it was considered *illiberalis*—a word that had by then taken on the meaning of “ignoble” as well as signalling a behavior unbecoming of a freeperson—to do manual labor as a paid worker in search of *quaestus* (profit). Like his Hellenistic predecessors, Cicero evoked the language of slavery when discussing paid occupations, suggesting that no worker in an *officina* (workshop) could possibly pursue anything worthy of a freeman, nor could people that provided luxury or pleasure to their consumers. Interestingly, the scale of operations also comes into account within Cicero's philosophical rubric: *mercatura* (trade) done on a small scale was much more sordid than that done on a large scale (*Off.* 1.151). Ultimately, the orator reached the traditional Roman conclusion: agriculture and autonomy through land ownership was the most celebrated and liberating endeavour if a man wanted to truly be free. Despite the fact that Aristotle and Plato would have disagreed with Cicero's definition of freedom, he chose to deploy the familiar vocabulary of liberty developed in Hellenistic philosophy in order to set forth a Romanized philosophy of work for young Marcus—as well as an articulation of the ideal occupational hierarchy with which to view Roman society.

Cicero's writings are not the only ones that reveal Roman prejudices towards certain professions during the Roman Republic. The same Roman elites that had the leisure time to write philosophical treatises were often the ones with the civic power and—most importantly—the capital to shape the social, legal, economic, and physical margins that defined a Roman community. This meant that some trades were, to varying degrees, labelled as sordid, dishonorable, or even legally *infamis* (infamous).<sup>12</sup> A first-century BCE inscription from the Italian city of Sarsina illustrates the impact of the belief that the work someone engaged in while living should determine the placement of their corpse when they died: “Horatius Balbus ... gives burial places, at his own expense, to his municipal townsmen and other residents, except for those who have hired themselves out as gladiators, have taken their life by their own hand with a noose, or pursued a polluted craft for profit.”<sup>13</sup> Attitudes towards certain professionals manifested in the material record in respect to the burial of gladiators as well.<sup>14</sup> Despite the fact that certain professions were marginalized both legally

and socially, those that incurred the legal stigma of *infamia* for the work that they engaged in—gladiators, actors and actresses, some musicians, prostitutes, pimps, and even funeral workers—were still viewed as necessary laborers by the upper orders. While they were not viewed as legal equals to more dignified Romans, they still had a necessity within the greater hierarchy of labor that allowed communities to function.

Into the early empire, philosophers such as Seneca continued to perpetuate traditional ideas of the liberal arts. In his letters, the Stoic philosopher noted: “Therefore you see why the liberal arts is referred to as such: because they are studies worthy of a free born man” (*quare liberalia studia dicta sint, vides; quia homine libero digna sunt, Ep. 88.2*). However, if we depart from the literary genre of philosophical reflections and delve into the literary imaginings of work and society in the high empire more broadly, we begin to see new and revealing types of literary works engaging with and describing trade—though not necessarily providing a more accurate reflection of its reality for most Romans engaged in manual labor connected to craftsmanship or farming. For instance, the *Oνειροκριτικά* (Interpretation of Dreams) by Artemidorus of Daldis is the only complete dream manual to survive classical antiquity. Writing around the second or perhaps early third century CE, Artemidorus approached dream interpretation as an empirical practice that required its own scientific method and specific order of operations. Like Greek and Roman society’s interpretation of work more generally, Artemidorus’s rubric for understanding dreams was highly structured and hierarchical. His interpretation was guided by six *stoicheia* (analytical elements), with the two principal ones being *physis* (nature) and *nomos* (convention), followed by habit, occupation, name, and time. In the lingo of modern database design, we might call these Artemidorus’s metadata. In order to properly translate the image that appeared in a dream, each metadata category had to be properly filled out by the dreamer, and occupational title could play a considerable role in this model for predicting the future. First, one had to decide if the act or vision in the dream was *kata* or *para*—that is, were they in accordance with or against for each of the *stoicheia*. Artemidorus refers to 264 different occupations in his dream manual; however, it seems that many of his reactions are based on long-held prejudices against certain trades, such as tanners or other manual laborers, and they often incorporate elite invective against tradesmen cast as dirty, sordid, or fetid.<sup>15</sup> Even in the dream manual, which was intended for a more popular usage, there remained prejudices towards those occupations traditionally viewed as part of the banausic order of workers.

As is often the case in ancient literary views of tradesmen, despite playing a pivotal part in the economy of many Greco-Roman cities, tradespeople were often cast as the lowly figures of antique society. The second-century historian and biographer Plutarch recognized this paradox himself in his *Life of Pericles* (1.4., trans. Perrin modified):

In other cases, admiration of the deed is not immediately accompanied by an impulse to do it. No, quite the contrary, many times while we delight in the work, we despise the *dēmiourgos* (skilled craftsman who works for the people), as, for instance, in the case of perfumes and dyes; we take a delight in them, but dyers and perfumers we regard as base and vulgar folk.

This paradox also appears in references to tradespeople in early Christian texts. Proverbs notes that within the city gates, the ideal wife supplied her family with fine purple garments; however, it is likely from outside the gates that Lydia, the independent businesswoman who acted as a hostess to Paul at Philippi, perhaps directed her purple dye business (Prov. 31.22; Acts 16.13).<sup>16</sup> She is noted specifically as a purple-seller and not a purple-dyer, and thus is a

commercial intermediary of some sort. A pungent irony lies in the fact that, much like modern diamond miners or oilfield workers, purple dye workers produced a highly valued, prestigious, and rarefied commodity, but those who produced this product were themselves viewed as lowly workers. If Lydia was in fact a real businesswoman, she likely moved her business to Philippi and sold purple fabrics dyed in the purple dye that she procured. Inscriptions from the province of Macedonia point to the importance of Thyatira as an epicenter for the



FIGURE 7.1 A cloth seller displaying fabric. Detail of a relief from Tuscany, first century CE. Museo Della Civiltà Romana, Rome. Photo: De Agostini / Getty Images.

production of dyed fabrics. A Greek inscription from Thessalonica notes the "association of purple dyers of Eighteenth Street" (IG X.2.1 291). The relationship between the status of purple dye workers and their work involved the often-visceral reaction that all humans have to smell, but it was also about control of a highly prized product.

In addition to considerations of semantics, audience, and genre, archaeological remains indicate that geographic context is similarly important to understanding the literary descriptions of work and society that survive from antiquity next to epigraphic remains. Living along a central road or near a port could have a great impact on the perception of trade among the local elites. For instance, the city of Philippi, like many of the cities visited by the apostle Paul, was along the fabled *Via Egnatia* that ran through Macedonia. The area had long-established trade networks sustained by Italian and Greek merchants that acted as intermediary *negotiatores* (businessmen). An early imperial dedication found in the *macellum* (market) of the city was even dedicated to Fortuna and to the *genius* of the market. The monument reveals the centrality of trade within the community at Philippi and many other cities within the Roman Mediterranean, despite what elites might have written (AE 1935, 51). Many of the towns along major Roman roads were cities heavily populated by tradesmen and tradeswomen, as well as artisans. Consequently, in order to understand the purported writings by or about the apostle Paul, we must also understand the local economies of the places he spoke to. When the literary topography of trade described by learned ancient writers is brought together and checked against the alternative evidence provided us by the material culture of papyri, inscriptions, graffiti, ostraca, dipinti, and other archaeological evidence, the individual lives of tradespeople comes into clearer focus. Similarly, a closer look at the walls of Pompeii and Herculaneum reveal the etchings of hundreds of proud tradespeople living and working within the town, just as at Roman Philippi. Visitors to Philippi might have seen the dedication to Fortuna and the *genius* of the market in the city's *macellum*; perhaps they even played a game of hopscotch on a game board inscribed by a butcher named John or read the mention of an association of gladiators that had dedicated a religious monument (*Philippi* II, 247, 142). Such inscriptions served to exhibit the pride with which many tradespeople went about their trade in their daily lives, despite the fact that elite Roman philosophies of work influenced the structure of systems they operated within: the military, civic councils, and the legal system.

### APPLIED PHILOSOPHY: INSTITUTIONALIZING IDEAS OF WORK AND STATUS

In the 1957 movie *The Bridge on the River Kwai*, captured British prisoners of war are forced by their Japanese captors to construct a rail bridge for the Burma Railway in 1942 to 1943. Much of the beginning of the movie centers on the fact that Lieutenant Colonel Nicholson, played by Alec Guinness, refuses to allow himself or any of his officers to do manual labor for the Japanese, per the provisions in the Geneva Convention. The Geneva Convention of July 1929 in fact enshrined long-held beliefs about the relationship between manual work and status. Articles 27 and 34 of the document addressed the use of prisoners of war for the purposes of manual labor and noted that the work assigned should be commensurate with the status of the prisoner. Commissioned officers or "persons of equivalent status" could ask for "suitable work," while noncommissioned officers could only be compelled to take on nonmanual labor in the form of supervisory positions.<sup>17</sup>

Similar societal attitudes towards work had seeped into the once citizen-soldier army of Rome as well, though not in regard to the treatment of prisoners. Specialized soldiers that served as artisans were given immunity from certain menial tasks and *munera*, and centurions also seem to have been exempt from manual labor.<sup>18</sup> Thus Roman officers helped to codify and perpetuate attitudes towards work within the army, essentially entrenching such prejudices towards manual labor into pivotal Roman institutions. The idea that the types of work one engages in should be proportionate to one's status was—and is—an enduring outlook.

Rome's civic and legal institutions were also a means to effect the exclusion of tradespeople from key civic positions in certain towns. Writing in the third century CE, the jurist Callistratus remarked on the ideal makeup of the local decurial councils<sup>19</sup>:

It is not proper to disregard as if base individuals those persons who carry out business and sell wares, though it is allowed that they may be beaten by the aediles ... However, I do not think that it is honourable to admit persons of this kind into the *ordo*, namely those who have been subjected to blows of the *flagella*, and especially in those towns which have a number of distinguished men.

Here we cannot speak monolithically about the Roman Empire, since the legal exclusion of tradesmen from serving on decurial councils does not seem to have been an active policy in most eastern Roman cities. These towns often counted business owners and tradesmen among their civic leaders and essential *decuriones*. Thus this excerpted opinion from the *Digest* is another reminder that juristic opinions do not necessarily capture the sentiment of the entirety of the Roman Empire's diverse makeup. Such legal opinions simply indicate the "best practices" according to a respected legal mind, and in this case, Callistratus's wariness to allow tradesmen into the decurial *ordo* was predicated largely on the fact that such men were corporally vulnerable to physical humiliation by the market's overseer: the aedile. In other words, they were men physically subject to another. Our best evidence for the systematic exclusion of all tradesmen from decurial councils in fact comes only from republican Italy and Sicily, where cities began to adopt ordinances that stipulated that either all tradesmen or specific occupations would be excluded from decurial eligibility.<sup>20</sup> This stance against tradesmen softened over the course of the empire, and was substantially weakened during the later Roman Empire, when many communities struggled to fill the ranks of the decurial orders to capacity.

## LINKS BETWEEN PLEASURE, FOOD, AND STATUS IN ROMAN SOCIETY

As was mentioned earlier, Cicero declared a number of attitudes in his *De officiis* that echoed earlier judgments of Greek philosophers in terms of the ties between manual labor and subservience to a master. Yet Greek influence was not always roundly celebrated, particularly not in respect to the introduction of luxurious goods and services. In Rome between 100 BCE and 180 CE, a new merchant social stratum began to grow and to gain political clout in many Roman communities within the Italic peninsula. In his philosophical writing, Cicero accentuated the differences between the liberal and illiberal arts and underscored that the least dignified of all trades were those that catered to *voluptas* (sensual pleasure). These artisans included "fishmongers, butchers, cooks, poulterers and

fishermen" (*Off.* 1.150). They were all occupations associated with luxurious food and the moral degradation that luxury brought to a society—particularly from the East. Romans were in fact rather obsessed with markers of social station and of ethnicity through food, just as many Greek communities were. One immediately thinks of the Scythian tribes singled out in Homer's *Iliad* for drinking mare's milk—the *hippomolgoi* and *galaktophagoi* (*Hom. Il.* 13.5–6). The drinking of milk could set one apart, but so could other beverages. Wine was touted as the preferred drink of civilized Romans and Greeks, and in Greco-Roman literature its binary opposite was then beer.

A rhetorical dissection of the debate over beer versus wine can provide a broader insight into the Roman literary construction of "us" and "them." Roman elites tended to denounce beer as the drink of the uncivilized other, the barbarian, and thus the makers of these products were also classified as such. Writers such as Pliny and Tacitus reinforced this apparent cultural dichotomy, though, strikingly, the Germans themselves may have viewed wine as too much of a corporal palliative to be consumed. In the *Bellum Gallicum*, Caesar noted that while *mercatores* (traders) were allowed by the tribes to engage in commerce in Gaul, "They absolutely forbid the importation of wine, because they think that it makes men soft and incapable of enduring hard toil" (4.2). As these sources indicate, whatever the culture, workers connected to food and drink could represent important boundary lines in a society, and elite prejudices towards certain products often attached themselves to the tradesmen or tradeswomen who produced or sold them as well. The use of food to indicate otherness or uncivilized nature is prevalent within the ancient sources, just as noting a region's lack of trade could also point to its inhabitants' incivility.<sup>21</sup> Thus Germanic barbarians are portrayed as using butter at meals and as a hair pomade while also described as persons lacking in trade. This was all in order to present a contrast with the civilized Romans who preferred olive oil and who regularly exchanged goods of all kinds. The existence of exchange could then be viewed as a characteristic of a civilized society. As Garnsey notes, "The construction is ideological, the details inaccurate or imaginary, and the purpose of the exercise is to emphasize the identity, singularity, and superiority of the dominant cultures of Greece and Rome over those of sundry 'barbarians.'"<sup>22</sup> Such literary constructs then often say more about the pretensions of the writer than about the reality of "barbarian" identity.

This is not to say that "barbarian" tradespeople from the northern provinces remained so confident in their identity or products that they did not attempt to imitate habits of the Roman elites. Artisans such as brewers—called in Latin *ceresarii*—made and sold a "barbarian" drink themselves, however, they may have attempted to tap into the prestige of the more well-regarded wine-sellers. Many of the inscriptions for these *ceresarii* indicate commercial behaviors and epigraphic habits that were decidedly Roman. These brewers perhaps chose to imitate the inscriptional vocabulary of the wine-sellers to the south as a means of advertising an elevated self-perception of the brewing profession. Even in the beer business of the Latin west, it was all about posturing and adapting elite norms. Brewers could present themselves in the traditional manner of a Roman *negotiator*—a businessman—in inscriptions and through organized voluntary associations, many supplying both local communities and, it appears, Roman forts, with a hearty beverage (*AE* 1928, 183; *AE* 1998, 954).

Looking more broadly at the corpus of the businessmen called *negotiatores* from the empire, numerous inscriptions indicate that these individuals could sell multiple products at the same time—for instance, an inscription from Ostia notes a *negotiator* that





FIGURE 7.2 Relief depicting a tavern scene and the transportation of barrels, from a funerary monument found in Saint Maximin, France, second century CE. Bischöfliches Dom-Und Diözesanmuseum, Treviri. Photo: De Agostini / Getty Images.

sold both iron and wine—but still others indicate that *negotiatores* could be producers of the product they then sold (CIL X 1931). Epigraphically referring to an *ars* both communicated the high quality of the products being marketed and designated specialty or technical knowledge necessary to perform an activity.<sup>23</sup> For comparison, we see another *negotiator* from Trier boasting of his knowledge of the *ars cervesariae*—the skill of brewing, while a woman named Hosidia Materna identifies herself as a *negotians artis cervesariae sive cereariae* (CIL XIII 450). She notes that she has mastered the technical skill of making *cervesa*, the typical name for beer, or *cerea*, which appears to be a beer type often associated with Hispania. Her inscription is important for indicating the prideful use of *ars* in the *cervesarii* inscriptions, but she also indicates that not all brewers or artisans were men. It also demonstrates that the language that elites like Cicero used to speak about trade in various literary texts is unquestionably important, but the vernacular that tradespeople employed themselves in order to refer to their own work is equally significant. The evidence for *cervesarii* living in Belgica and Britannia conveys a picture of tradesmen that were proud of their skilled profession, just as the tradespeople in Pompeii and Philippi were. The language of *negotium* (business) used in their inscriptions is highly reminiscent of other inscriptions for *negotiatores*, particularly those within the area of Germania, Gaul, Britain, and Macedonia. The voices of artisans and commercial mediators heard through inscriptions, papyri, and graffiti are thus invaluable resources for understanding the everyday lives of Roman tradespeople, but are also a means for questioning the narratives provided by the likes of Cicero or Ulpian.

### WORK, SOCIETY, AND INVOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN LATE ANTIQUITY

In the period of the later empire, biases towards trade and commerce continued to be perpetuated among the most elite within Roman society; however, there was an increasing recognition that the state needed to organize and control certain trades deemed indispensable to the functioning of the empire. Particularly from the third century CE onwards, the Roman state more heavily relied on the work of commercial tradesmen in particular—fishermen, swine farmers, and bakers—in order to supply Rome and Constantinople with staples of the Roman diet. Although the relationship with the state changed, as we will now discuss, the literary rhetoric that elites used to speak about these same trades changed little between the early and late empire. A number of trades producing food became compulsory trades in the later empire, including the *suarii*, *pistores*, and *navicularii*. This is what we would call the *corporati* system in the later empire, which depended on a string of associations—some voluntary and some involuntary—in order to supply the military, imperial house, and populace with goods they were in need of. The individuals enrolled in state-controlled *collegia* (associations) oftentimes could not leave and were responsible for service; in the case of the bakers, and people like mint workers, there were even marriage laws that governed who they could legally marry. As regards the *suarii*, the pig farmers, this alteration was due predominantly to the changes in the pork ration. The state had previously purchased pork from private traders, but a closer relationship between certain *suarii* and the state developed in the later second to early third century, and it was eventually incorporated into the *annona*. The bakers also became a part of the broader attempt by the emperor to secure the food supply. It was slightly before or during the reign of Caracalla (211–217 CE) that service in the *corpus pistorum* became a compulsory service at Rome in order to supply grain and later bread to the people.<sup>24</sup>

In addition to the state recognition of certain trades as indispensable, there were continued revisions to the definition of labor. While many male elites in the late antique Mediterranean



FIGURE 7.3 The goddess Annona, personification of the Roman grain supply. Detail from a wedding scene on a sarcophagus from the Via Latina, third century CE. Museo Nazionale Romano—Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Rome. Photo: Alamy.

still kept up a literary front that abhorred engagement in profiteering and commerce, they began to realize the link between thought and labor. In the sixth century CE, the late antique bureaucrat Cassiodorus reacted to the monks busy writing in a *scriptorium* thusly: “I admit that among those of your tasks which require physical effort that of the scribe, if he writes correctly, appeals most to me” (*Inst.* 1.30). Although a great writer and thinker, Cassiodorus’s hands were likely not stained by ink or riddled with the kinds of calluses that marked the hands of most medieval scribes. Like many bureaucrats, Cassiodorus likely dictated his letters, while others wrote down his words. The physical disconnect between thought and the labor involved in writing that thought down is far less evident to us today. I say this as an author currently writing her own words on her own laptop. Unlike today, there was often a chasm of social space that existed even between the bishop or bureaucrat that dictated and the scribe who took down his dictation, just as there had been when Cicero, Pliny, or Atticus dictated letters and philosophical remarks to their servile and freedmen *librarii*, who then diligently committed their words to a material medium and made copies. In his *Moralia on Job*, Pope Gregory the Great (Figure 7.4) also commented on this disconnect (*Moral. Pr.* 1.2, trans. O’Donnell):

The writer is the one who dictates things to be written. The writer is the one who inspires the book and recounts through the voice of the scribe the deeds we are to imitate. We might read the words of some great man in his letters but ask by what pen they were written; but it would be ridiculous not to recognize the author and attend to the contents and to go on asking by just what sort of pen the words were pressed onto the page.

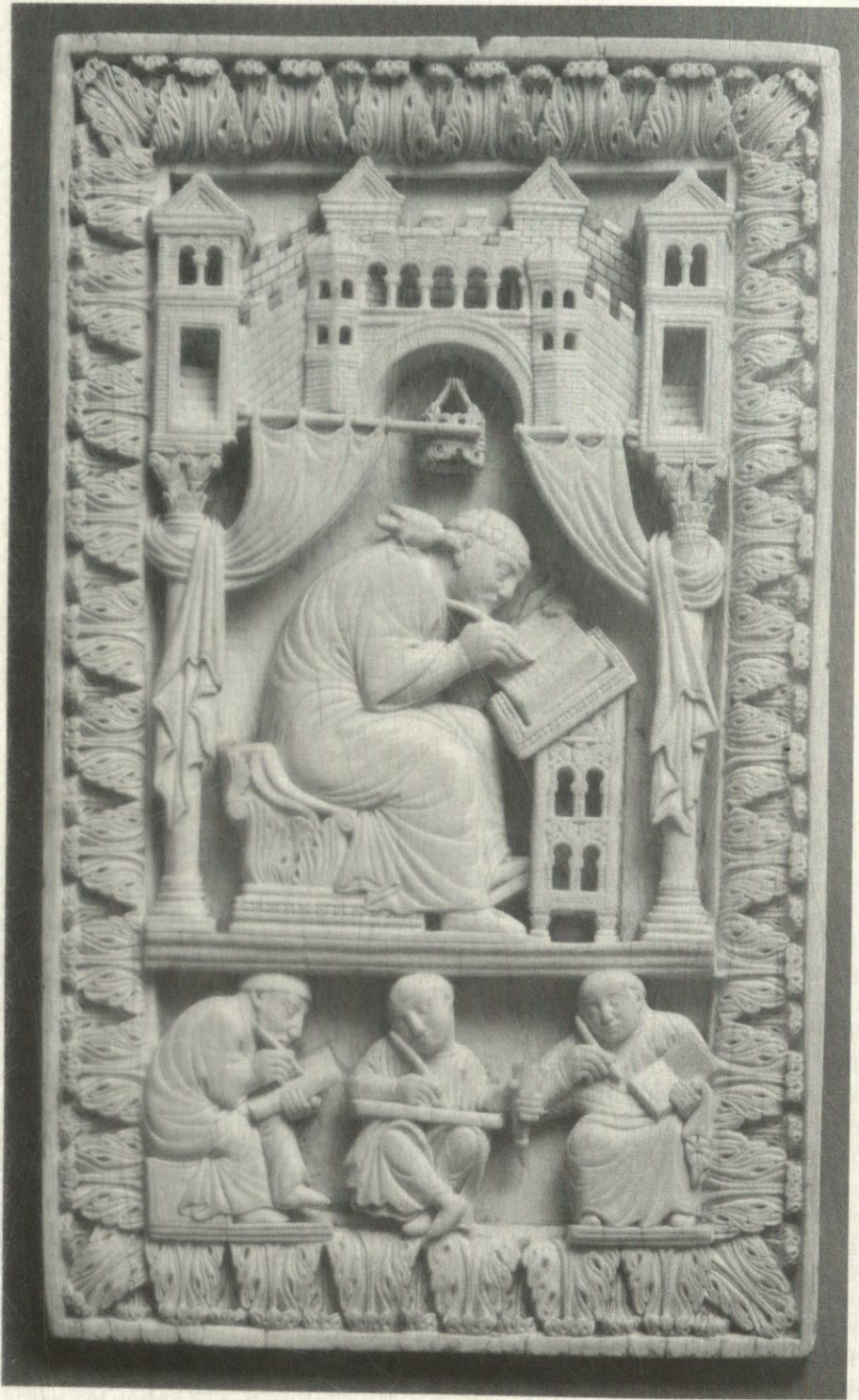


FIGURE 7.4 Carved ivory book cover depicting Pope Gregory I and three monk scribes, c. 850 AD. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Photo: Ali Meyer / Corbis / VCG via Getty Images.

Although often carefully depicted in manuscript illustrations, Byzantine ivories and many other late antique pieces, in the literature itself the work of the scribe is invisible and largely forgotten, while the ideas are celebrated. Into the later empire, philosophers discussing work began not only to recognize the terrestrial visibility of some work, but to continue to develop ideas concerning souls being suited to particular kinds of work. Moreover, a more direct relationship between "leisure" and vice was easily converted into the Christian notions of divine purpose and sin. As Libanius would note, giving one's body over to idle pleasures that benefited neither the civic good nor one's own livelihood meant having little control over the soul.<sup>25</sup>

### CHRISTIANITY AND REVISED PHILOSOPHIES OF WORK IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Around 403 CE, Augustine, then the bishop of the North African city of Hippo, published a short treatise titled *De opere monachorum* (On the Work of Monks). It was originally meant as a letter to chastise a group of unruly brothers living in the area of Carthage. The bishop of Carthage, Aurelius, had earlier written to the esteemed bishop and requested that he send along some words of advice for these rogue brothers. According to Aurelius, many wished to spend their days reading, living off of church donations, and growing their hair long. Augustine dedicated most of the treatise to encouraging these brothers to leave their lives of sloth by exhorting manual labor and justifying the monastic engagement in such physically arduous activities. It should here be noted that Augustine also puts any arguments over the merits of long hair to rest. As one scholar phrases it: "Augustine sought to convince the offending ascetics, or at least others who might have been susceptible to the siren-song of a more spiritual, labor-less life, to work for their keep as well as trim their locks."<sup>26</sup> To the bishop's mind, even if these men were trying to emulate their biblical forefathers with their unkempt tresses, their laziness and aversion to work while living off the increasing number of alms given to the church had no place in the city of Carthage—or any other monastery for that matter. The question is, had the conception of manual labor in the later empire changed at all from the rather lowly place it had occupied in the archaic, classical, Hellenistic, and then early Roman periods? The answer is more complex than Augustine's reproachful treatise might at first suggest. The ties between manual labor and the monastic lifestyle crystallized during the course of the fourth century leading to a strong belief that manual work liberated monks from worldly bonds.

In Augustine's writings, his verdicts on the issues of the value of manual labor and the hazards to society of profit—referred to in Latin as *quaestus* or in Greek by a number of words, among them *kerdos*—were pervasive topics of debate among the church fathers of the late fourth and early fifth century CE, as they had been at various times in earlier Greek and Roman society. As Livy noted in his *History* published in the late first century BCE: "all profit made by trading was regarded as dishonourable for the patricians" (*quaestus omnis patribus indecorus visus*, Livy, 21.63.4). Despite legal prohibitions, senators continued to engage in trade through mediators while often professing a disdain for trade.<sup>27</sup> Much of this literary disdain directed at work in Roman society allowed elite men to exploit economic prospects while maintaining "noneconomic" values.<sup>28</sup> In late antiquity, the growth in donations and benefactions left to churches, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical institutions meant that the ascetic lifestyle which had been advocated for since the nascence of the monastic movements in the eastern Mediterranean was increasingly in jeopardy. In the writings of Augustine and many others connected to the

church in the later empire, manual labor also held a new potential for service to God. Additionally, it could function as a way to emulate the apostle Paul, a means to facilitate prayer, and a concourse for meditation—at least for some. Despite this public haranguing to the populace, many of the church fathers shared among themselves elite ideas about manual labor—engrained social attitudes that had already been perpetuated by Greco-Roman elites for hundreds of years prior.

We see this inherited prejudice quite clearly in a passage from a late fourth-century bishop of Constantinople named Gregory of Nazianzus, himself the privileged son of a bishop. Gregory blended his traditional rhetorical education at Athens and strong belief in the methods of *paideia* with Christian theology.<sup>29</sup> In his autobiographical poem *Concerning Himself and the Bishops*, he writes a diatribe to his colleagues within the episcopate concerning the deplorable backgrounds of some of their fellow bishops using a standard vocabulary that can be traced back to Greek predecessors such as Aristotle and Xenophon who had written in the fourth century BCE about the lowly nature “of vulgar manual trades” (*tôn banausôn texnôn*, Arist. *Pol.* 1.1258b):

Some from the plough with their sunburn still fresh: some again from day-long exertions with the mattock and the hoe ... Then there are those who, as yet, have not washed the soot of their fiery occupations from their person, slave material who ought to be in the mills ... So these heaven-bound dung beetles continue their ascent.<sup>30</sup>

Augustine and Gregory of Nazianzus reveal both old and new approaches to the perception of work in late antique society. In the targeted sermons given to monks and to the laypeople—that is to say, to non-elite audiences—there began to emerge a pervasive teaching that manual labor on earth, performed in the service of the church, could lead to a heavenly redemption. Ultimately, this redemption hinged in new ways upon the type, purpose, and outcome of the work.

Isolating the intended audience of each late antique literary text—whether it be a philosophical treatise, a play, an epic tale, a letter, a legal speech, a historical work, a satirical poem, or a biography—remains an imperative both to understanding the literary representation of work in Roman society and to contextualizing the perceptions of this work conveyed within them. This is particularly true when reading about the deeds of Paul and their later citation in patristic texts. Luke’s sketch of Paul in the Acts of the Apostles was a partial inspiration for the revised outlook on manual labor that proliferated within monasteries during late antiquity. However, scholars have debated over the apostle’s own background, particularly whether or not he originally came from an elite social group and received an above average rhetorical education in the Cilician city of Tarsus. During his later missionizing journeys, Paul does appear to have been a tentmaker that worked in cities such as Ephesus during the first century CE.<sup>31</sup> If the apostle was, in fact, a *skênopoios*, as mentioned in Acts 18:3, Paul would have cut and sold leather, all reportedly in order to help support his extensive travel in order to spread the words of Christ.<sup>32</sup> He was then experienced at performing manual labor and turning a profit from his work; however, this was notably a profit in the service of his missions, and in some ways, the ends justified the means, thereby cleansing him in the later minds of early Christian clerics. As was the case with Augustine, Gregory of Nazianzus, and many other elite church fathers who came from privileged backgrounds, however, it must be said that Paul knew how to communicate with his audience. The apostle’s mentions of labor in his letters to the Thessalonians and to the Corinthians were regularly utilized by later church fathers in order to encourage a monastic and congregational dedication to manual labor—even if this was not Paul’s original intent.

The shifting definitions of both *labor* and *otium* in early Christian writings in particular is seen in the texts of John Chrysostom and Libanius.<sup>33</sup> In his second *Homily on the Statues*, written in 387 CE—three hundred years after Paul lived—the cleric gave a sermon reacting specifically to the disastrous riots in the city of Antioch that saw the people tear down statues of the emperor Theodosius in order to protest taxes. Chrysostom preached: “When Adam lived an unlaborious life, he fell from Paradise, but when the Apostle laboured abundantly, and toiled hard, and said, ‘In labour and travail, working night and day’ and then he was taken up into Paradise, and ascended to the third heaven! Let us not then despise labour; let us not despise work” (*Hom.* 2.23, trans. Stephens). A salaried presbyter by this point, Chrysostom exhorted the toil of the poor man as something now *dikaion*—“worthy.”<sup>34</sup>

As Margaret Mitchell has pointed to, it is often alternatively by divine inspiration or the apostle’s sheer force of will that Chrysostom explains the success of Paul.<sup>35</sup> In one homily, divine grace pulled him from the marketplace, while in another, it was the hard work and indomitable will of Paul that served as the ideal to imitate (*Hom. in Heb.* 1.2 (PG 63: 16); *Hom. in Heb.* 16.4 (PG 63: 127)). The message of the value in labor and the workers themselves saw an uptick within the literary genre of moralizing sermons that proliferated in the later empire. As Chrysostom noted (*Hom. in Rom.* 16.3 (PG 51: 193), trans. Mitchell): “Let’s not simply consider the rich to be blessed nor disparage the poor, nor be ashamed of trades, nor consider work to be an *oneidos* (disgrace), but rather idleness and having nothing to do ... Sin is the only disgrace. Idleness usually gives birth to sin.” The perception of sloth or idleness as impetus for sin in works such as Chrysostom or within the monastic thinking of Evagrius Ponticus (345–399 CE), John Cassian (c. 360–435), and Pope Gregory the Great (c. 540–604) helped to further cast sloth or idle hands as one of the eventual seven deadly sources for sin.

The antecedents of Chrysostom’s rhetorical approach and the issues he discussed can perhaps be seen in his education. Nicknamed “Gold Mouth,” he was in fact born to an elite family in the city of Antioch around 349 CE and was likely later educated by the rhetorician Libanius (*Sozom. Hist. eccl.* 8.2). Chrysostom focused on the role of the poor and of labor; subjects similarly dear to the heart of the famed Antiochene rhetorician. The uses and abuses of labor were often topics for his *Orations*. In Libanius’s oration regarding the use of forced labor in Antioch in 385 CE, he had spoken out against the local administrator’s abuse of the peasantry and the continual requisitioning of livestock and their owners to remove the rubble of demolished buildings from the city (*Or.* 50). Libanius pleaded for not just the poor of the city, but also for the impoverished farmers and ranchers living in the countryside, since the city was built upon the agricultural foundation of the country (*Or.* 50.33). Artisans, craftsmen, and food service workers could be requisitioned for compulsory services in major cities, an act which could take away from time dedicated to their own businesses or farms. While Libanius often stressed the need to protect these workers, he also extolled the benefits of education in allowing an escape from manual labor; the pain of the schoolroom was worth the later pleasure found in the city council (*Prog.* 3.3.13).

## CONCLUSION

The fusion of earlier ideas of Greco-Roman liberal artistry with new Christian attitudes towards work and labor is exemplified within the works of Augustine. While in the Italian city of Cassiciacum in September of 386, Augustine had engaged in a life of liberal artistry.

In his *Revisions*, a retrospective on his earlier writings penned just a few years before his death, he would refer to it as *Christianae vitae otium*, "the leisure time of a Christian life" (*Retract.* 1.1.1). This time of both individual and group engagement in the study of classical and Christian texts allowed him, in his estimation, to leave corporal things in search of the incorporeal (*Retract.* 1.1.3: *a quo corporalibus ad incorporalia potest profici*). Augustine was in fact pivotal to developing ideas of a Christianized liberal artistry that would have an impact for millennia to come. In particular, he promulgated the idea that there were *duplex enim est via* (there are two roads) for individuals to find truth upon: to follow a life of philosophy and reason or to follow a life of Christian faith and obedience (*Ord.* 2.5.16). As he expanded on in the first book of his *Soliloquia*, written while in Italy in 386, the world needed traffic on both roads (*Sol.* 1.13.23). The idea of persons taking variant yet necessary paths was a common theme in Augustine's writing that we should consider when discussing the philosophy of work and society in the transition from the late empire into the Middle Ages. Augustine confirmed the relationship between an earthly and divine order, and stated the need for a structured society wherein manual labor was imperative:

What is more horrible than the public executioner? What is more cruel or ferocious than his character? Yet he has a necessary place in the legal system, and he is part of the order of a well governed society; and he is criminal in character, however, he is the penalty for the criminals according to others' arrangement.<sup>36</sup>

There was a place for the farmer, the artisan, the executioner, and the philosopher within the divine order.

Within Roman legal studies today, there remains a debate over whether the category of *liberalia studia* or *artes liberalia* in reality excluded workers from the Roman law of contract's ambit or whether this was simply a philosophical opinion transmitted by jurists. Certainly the creation of the legal category was influenced by embedded ideas pulled from earlier Greek attitudes towards work and from Stoic approaches exemplified by writers like Seneca, but in practice, there is doubt as to whether liberal artists in fact remained outside the protections of *locatio conductio*.<sup>37</sup> As this chapter contended, cautious analyses of Roman literary, legal, and patristic opinions on work spanning from the late Roman Republic into the period of late antiquity (44 BCE to 565 CE) allow us to trace the rhetoric and evolution of such ideas of work; however, the impact on the day-to-day lives of the workers that lived and labored within the Roman Mediterranean is not always able to be fully gauged from the surviving material culture. What can at least be stated from this study is that there was a very real link between ideology and praxis, which reveals that the philosophies towards work that existed in the intellectual realm can and did have both positive and negative consequences in the real world.

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## CHAPTER EIGHT

# The Political Culture of Work

ALAIN BRESSON

There exists an essential link between work and the state. This is due to the fact that the means of production are not evenly allocated to those who use them. Some means of production may be operated by those who own them. But in most societies since the neolithic period the distribution of ownership of the means of production has been very unequal. The situation can be summarized as follows: those who own the means of production, most importantly land in traditional societies, are frequently not those who work them. There exists both an inevitable tension and a relationship of reciprocal need between the suppliers of work and the workforce. The former (the owners of the means of production) are in need of workers to exploit the means of production they own. The latter (the workers) are in need of the former to gain their means of subsistence. Even though it may be felt by the actors to be a closed relationship between an owner of the means of production and his or her workers, there is inevitably in the background a social construct that establishes a balance of power between owners of the means of production and workers. In other words, the violence of the state is always present in this relationship, explicitly or implicitly. It is the state that allows the owners of the means of production to maintain their supremacy. Furthermore, in addition to collecting taxes on economic activity in general, the state also has to employ a workforce to maintain its own existence and to perform the tasks entrusted to it.

These general definitions provide a starting point for describing situations that at first glance may seem very diverse across the societies of the ancient world. However, amidst this apparent disorder, major trends can be observed. There is, first of all, a continuity of household organization throughout antiquity. But there is also in parallel a clear evolution, marked by an increasing development of urban life, division of labor, and externalization of the exploitation of the workforce, culminating in the Hellenistic and early imperial periods. Finally there follows a new internalization in the late imperial and early Byzantine periods. In every phase, the state is a major actor for the creation of social order and exploitation of the workforce.

### THE WORLD OF HOMER AND HESIOD

For Greece the earliest Iron Age evidence is the world of Homer and Hesiod. Exploitation of the workforce takes place almost exclusively in the framework of

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  19. Seth Bernard, “Food Distributions and Immigration in Imperial Rome,” in *Migration and Mobility*, eds. de Ligt and Tacoma, 50–71; Claire Holleran, “Labour Mobility in the Roman World: A Case Study of Mines in Iberia,” in *Migration and Mobility*, eds. de Ligt and Tacoma, 95–137.
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28. Tacoma, *Moving Romans*, 38.
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36. Stephen Mitchell, "Requisitioned Transport in the Roman Empire: A New Inscription from Pisidia," *Journal of Roman Studies* 66 (1976): 106–31; Anne Kolb, "Transport and Communication in the Roman State: The *cursus publicus*," in *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*, eds. Colin Adams and Ray Laurence (London: Routledge, 2001), 95–105.
37. Theodor Kissell, "Road-building as a *munus publicum*," in *The Roman Army and the Economy*, ed. Erdkamp, 127–60; Sylvain Fachard and Daniele Pirisino, "Routes out of Attica," in *Autopsy in Athens*, ed. Margaret Miles (Oxford: Oxbow, 2015), 139–53.

#### Chapter Seven

1. Ulp. Dig. 50.13.1pr: "*Praeses provinciae de mercedibus ius dicere solet, sed praeceptoribus tantum studiorum liberalium. liberalia autem studia accipimus, quae graeci ἐλευθερία appellunt: rhetores continebuntur, grammatici, geometrae.*"

2. Ulpian's lines made up about 40–41 percent of the entirety of the work as a whole when it was published in 533 CE. Tony Honoré, *Justinian's Digest: Character and Compilation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 54.
3. Practitioners of the liberal arts were not subject to contract, so the governor had a separate, more ad hoc authority to intervene in their wage disputes than in the cases of *operae* (contract workers) subject to normal contract law (in particular, *locatio conductio*).
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6. See Catharina Lis and Hugo Soly, *Worthy Efforts: Attitudes to Work and Workers in Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 34.
7. John Bodel, "Slave Labour and Roman Society," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery: Volume I*, eds. Keith R. Bradley and Paul Cartledge (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 314.
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10. For the purposes of this chapter, I apply Christian Laes' definition of labor, which states: "an activity is regarded as labour if it is performed with a view to satisfying societal needs and within a social context of obligations and/or duties." See *Children in the Roman Empire: Outsiders Within* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 152.
11. Cic. *Off.* 1.150: "iam de artificibus et quaestibus, qui liberales habendi, qui sordidi sint, haec fere accepimus."
12. For the legal repercussions of *infamia*, see Abel H. J. Greenidge, *Infamia: Its Place in Roman Public and Private Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894); and see Sarah E. Bond, *Trade and Taboo: Disreputable Professions in the Roman Mediterranean* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), 1–22.
13. *CIL* P 2123 = *CIL* XI 6528 = *ILLRP* 662 = *ILS* 7846. See Bond, *Trade and Taboo*, 1–3.
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19. Call. Dig. 50.2.12: "Eos, qui utensilia negotiantur et vendunt, licet ab aedilibus caeduntur, non oportet quasi viles personas neglegi ... inhonestum tamen puto esse huiusmodi personas flagellorum ictibus subiectas in ordinem recipi, et maxime in eis civitatibus, quae copiam virorum honestorum habeant."
20. Cic. Verr. 2.2.122. He is referencing the year 95 BCE. See Thomas A. J. McGinn, *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 34.
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29. See Susanna Elm, *Sons of Hellenism, Fathers of the Church: Emperor Julian, Gregory of Nazianzus, and the Vision of Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).
30. Molaise Denis Meeham (trans.), *St. Gregory of Nazianzus: Three Poems* (Manchester, NH: Saint Anselm Abbey, 1983), 52, lines 158–9, 163–6, 170–1.
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32. Todd D. Still, "Did Paul Loathe Manual Labor? Revisiting the Work of Ronald F. Hock on the Apostle's Tentmaking and Social Class," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 125, no. 4 (2006): 782.
33. Scholarly debate continues over whether Libanius was in fact the rhetoric teacher of Chrysostom. Chrysostom's schooling certainly included a focus on the Greek ideal of *paideia*. See Pierre-Louis Malosse, "Jean Chrysostome a-t-il été l'élève de Libanios?," *Phoenix* 62 (2008): 273–80.
34. For the salaries of clerics and income of the early Church, see Arnold H. M. Jones, "Church Finances in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries," *Journal of Theological Studies* 11, no. 1 (1960), 84–94.

35. Margaret M. Mitchell, *The Heavenly Trumpet: John Chrysostom and the Art of Pauline Interpretation* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 247–8.
36. Aug. Ord. 2.4.12: “*Quid enim carnifice tetrius? quid illo animo truculentius atque dirius? At inter ipsas leges locum necessarium tenet et in bene moderatae civitatis ordinem inseritur estque suo animo nocens, ordine autem alieno poena nocentium.*” See Lenka Karfiková, *Grace and the Will According to Augustine*, trans. Markéta Janebová (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 10–11.
37. Paul Du Plessis, *Letting and Hiring in Roman Legal Thought: 27 BCE—284 CE* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 95.

### Chapter Eight

1. David M. Lewis, “The Homeric Roots of Helotage” in *From Homer to Solon: Continuity and Change in Archaic Greek Society*, eds. Mirko Canevaro and Johannes Bernhardt (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).
2. All translations of ancient literary works are from the Loeb Classical Library.
3. Kurt Raaflaub, “Homeric Society,” in *A New Companion to Homer*, eds. Ian Morris and Barry Powell (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 624–48. Walter Donlan, “The Homeric Economy,” in *A New Companion to Homer*, eds. Morris and Powell, 649–67.
4. Translation Allen C. Johnson, Paul R. Coleman-Norton, and Frank C. Bourne, *Ancient Roman Statutes* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961), doc. no. 8, p. 10.
5. On *nexum*, see Jean-Jacques Aubert, “The Republican Economy and Roman Law: Regulation, Promotion, or Reflection,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*, ed. Harriet I. Flower (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 163–64 and Seth Bernard, “Debt, Land, and Labor in the Early Republican Economy,” *Phoenix* 79, nos. 3–4 (2016): 317–28, who shows the decisive role of the process of conquest in the disappearance of *nexum*.
6. See also Livy 8.28.8–9.
7. For Greece, see Edward M. Harris, “The Meaning of the Legal Term *Symbolaion*, the Law about *Dikai Emporikai* and the Role of the *Paragraphe* Procedure,” *Dike* 18 (2015): 7–36. For Rome, see Roberto Fiori, “The Roman Conception of Contract,” in *Obligations in Roman Law: Past, Present and Future*, ed. Thomas A. J. McGinn (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2015), 40–75.
8. IG XII.5 129, ll. 16–20, with Alain Bresson, *The Making of the Ancient Greek Economy. Institutions, Markets, and Growth in the City-States* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 245.
9. Vincent Gabrielsen, “Be Faithful and Prosper: Associations, Trade and Trust: The Economy of Security in Hellenistic Times,” in *Antike Wirtschaft und ihre kulturelle Prägung = The Cultural Shaping of the Ancient Economy*, eds. Kerstin Dross-Krüpe, Sabine Föllinger, and Kai Ruffing (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016), 87–111.
10. For the case of *collegia* linked to textile production, see for Asia Minor Ilias Arnautoglou, “Craftsmen Associations in Roman Lydia—A Tale of Two Cities?,” *Ancient Society* 41 (2011): 257–90, and for the west, Jinyu Liu, *Collegia Centonariorum: The Guilds of Textile Dealers in the Roman West* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).
11. On the question of the seasonality of demand in the case of the Roman world, see Cameron Hawkins, *Roman Artisans and the Urban Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 23–66.
12. Gabrielsen, “Be Faithful and Prosper,” 92–94.

13. Philip F. Venticinque, "Courting the Associations: Cooperation, Conflict and Interaction in Roman Egypt," in *Private Associations and the Public Sphere*, eds. Vincent Gabrielsen and Christian A. Thomsen (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 2015), 314–40.
14. See Peter Garnsey, "Les travailleurs du bâtiment de Sardes et l'économie," in *L'origine des richesses dépensées dans la ville antique*, ed. Philippe Leveau (Aix-en-Provence: J. Lafitte, 1985), 147–60.
15. See Diod. Sic. 12.21.1–2. On this tax, see Edward E. Cohen, *Athenian Prostitution: The Business of Sex* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 116–18 and 176–8.
16. Sven Günther, "Vectigalia nervos esse rei publicae": Die indirekten Steuern in der Römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis Diokletian (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 59–64.
17. Joseph G. Manning, *Land and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Structure of Land Tenure* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 49–50.
18. Léopold Migeotte, *Les finances des cités grecques* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2014), 92–102.
19. Rob Tordoff, "Introduction: Slaves and Slavery in Ancient Greek Comedy," in *Slaves and Slavery in Ancient Greek Comic Drama*, eds. Ben Akrigg and Rob Tordoff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 12–15; Paulin Ismard, *Democracy's Slaves* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 35–56 (for Athens and other cities).
20. Poll. *Onom.* 8.131–2; Andoc. 3.5 (who states they were three hundred); Schol. *Ar. Ach.* 54 (who certainly erroneously says they were one thousand). See Balbina Bäbler, "Bobbies or Boobies? The Scythian Police Force in Classical Athens," in *Scythians and Greeks: Cultural Interactions in Scythia*, ed. David Braund (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2005), 114–22; and David Braund, "In Search of the Creator of Athens' Scythian Archer-Police: Speusis and the 'Eurymedon Vase,'" *ZPE* 156 (2006): 109–13.
21. Thomas Pekáry, *Untersuchungen zu den römischen Reichsstrassen* (Bonn: Habelt, 1968), 91–119; Benjamin H. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 295; Jonathan P. Roth, *The Logistics of the Roman Army at War (264 B.C.–A.D. 235)* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 214–17.
22. See Paul A. Vander Waerdt, "Philosophical Influence on Roman Jurisprudence? The Case of Stoicism and Natural Law," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. II.36.7, eds. Wolfgang Haase and Hildegard Temporini (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994), 4884–6.
23. Greece: David Braund, "The Slave-Supply in Classical Greece," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*. Vol. 1. *The Ancient Mediterranean World*, eds. Keith R. Bradley and Paul Cartledge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 112–33; Rome: Walter Scheidel, "The Roman Slave Supply," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*. Vol. 1. *The Ancient Mediterranean World*, eds. Bradley and Cartledge, 287–310.
24. Scheidel, "Roman Slave Supply," 294–7.
25. Aetolians: Philip De Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 70–6; Cretans: *Ibid.*, 65–7, 80–6 and 157–61; Cilicians: *Ibid.*, 58–9, 96–142 and 161–78.
26. Vincent Gabrielsen, "Economic Activity, Maritime Trade and Piracy in the Hellenistic Aegean," *Revue des Études Anciennes* 103 (2001): 219–40.
27. David M. Lewis, "The Market for Slaves in the Fifth and Fourth Century Aegean: Achaemenid Anatolia as a Case Study," in *The Ancient Greek Economy: Markets, Households and City-States*, eds. Edward M. Harris, David M. Lewis, and Mark Woolmer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 316–36.