

Slavers on Chariots

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Modelling slaving societies

This paper deals with sources of slaves outside the Classical world, rather than the multiple ways of acquiring them inside it – private sale, war, banditry and piracy, reproduction, penal slavery, foundlings.¹ The model used here is provided by an example far from Africa, but one that gives as a clear view of the mechanisms of the slave trade outside the area directly controlled by Rome. It comes from the recent work of André Tchernia and Michel Poux on 2nd-century Gaul (Poux, 2004; Tchernia, 2010).

The scale and intensity of the trade between Tyrrhennian Italy was already clear from the Madrague de Giens wreck, excavated by André Tchernia and Antoinette Hesnard between 1972 and 1975 (Tchernia, Pomey and Hesnard, 1976; Pomey and Tchernia, 1978: 233–51). It was huge, and scientifically loaded with somewhere between 6,000 and 7,800 Dressel 1 amphorae, whose stamps, many of which were of P. Veveius P. f. Papus, indicate that they came from the region of Terracina (Tchernia *et al.* 1976: 14).² Above these were found 1,635 sherds of black glaze vases, with a minimum number of individuals totaling 287, of these latter, 233 were drinking cups (*ibid.* 47–59). Diodorus' well-known remark that the Gauls liked wine so much that they would trade a slave for a jar of it immediately seemed here to be directly relevant (*ibid.*: 47–59).³

In France, rescue archaeology then brought about the discovery of a large number of ritual sites and tombs scattered throughout the country. Dating between the middle of the 2nd century BC and the middle of the 1st, they showed a range of similarities. First, they were covered with amphorae. Hundreds of them.⁴ Enough amphorae to keep 1,000 people drunk for a week. Gallic tombs, too, contained large amounts of amphorae. At sites such as the Verbe Incarné at Lugdunum ditches surrounding an open enclosure are filled with very deliberate deposits of amphorae, alternating with pig bones (Poux, 2004: 527). There were at least 700 individual amphorae. These were very systematically disposed within the ditch. In some places were groups of rims which still had their stoppers, in their mouths, and had thus been sliced off with a hatchet: clearly an ancient form of opening a bottle with a saber. Elsewhere were aligned the large straight handles of the Dressel 1 form. The bone layers showed that around a hundred pigs had been axed as well. This was clearly not normal domestic refuse. The excavators decided that it was a military camp where the troops had partied incessantly (Mandy, 1989: 37–95; *esp.* 85–90). The fact that no Roman military equipment was found there made this an odd conclusion, and details like the decapitated skull of a woman from the same deposit and the articulated skeletons of two horses did not sit well with this hypothesis either. Poux takes it, and the numerous similar sites, as the remains of gigantic Celtic potlatches, where a chief traded enormous amounts of food and drink for a spectacular

rise in his status – note that the chief Luern, who enclosed a space of 6 stadia where he filled vats with expensive wine and had so much meat prepared that no one could eat without stopping for days, had a reputation which reached Poseidonios.⁵

Now, the study of the amphorae in the deposit has revealed that it was not created in a single moment. Rather, a group of about 50 amphorae stamped by L. Sestius were found together, as are another group of Dressel 1 A forms (Poux 2004: 529 n.2). So it looks as if the ditch had surrounded more than one party, over several decades. Poux interprets it as a ceremonial site, where wine amphorae and pigs were sacrificed to the unity of the tribe. Tchernia points out that the wine in the amphorae bound for Gaul in the Madrague de Giens wreck were filled with red wine, and thus the act in which the amphora was decapitated would have revealed a satisfyingly bloody-looking contents (Brun, Poux, Tchernia and Tournier, 2010; Tchernia forthcoming). The beheading and burial of the amphorae can be seen as a substitute sacrifice (Poux, 2004: 529 n.2 *passim*).

Thus these are not simply parties, or even drunken orgies: there is a serious ritual component, in which human sacrifice might or might not have been included. The relationship between these sites and the slave trade is fairly easy to imagine. Slaves were the principal merchandize that the Roman merchants received in return for the wine they delivered. It is hardly insignificant that Lugdunum, which was one of Strabo's *emporía*,⁶ has so far revealed five of these sacrificial enclosures – including that of the 'Verbe Incarné'. But where did the slaves come from? You can hardly raid your own countryside on a regular basis: soon there would be no peasants and no food. Clearly the supply of slaves depended on raiding parties with an element of surprise on their side. The more and braver men the chief could command, the more slaves he could acquire, and the more wine would become available for the great sacrifices – which, in turn, would enhance his prestige and the loyalty of his men. This potlatch of wine and meat is redistribution in its most primitive form. It seems to have initiated around the end of the 3rd century BC, the date at which the first of these feasting sanctuaries was created (Poux, 2004: 195). It thus pre-dates the creation of the great Italian wine estates of the 2nd century, but not by much. After 150 BC the practice took on massive proportions, with wine arriving in every corner of Gaul.⁷

Poux and Tchernia's reconstruction of this traffic gives much food for thought. It was not, of course, the only instance of the exchange of wine for slaves – Strabo explicitly associates the trade with Aquileia, and with Tanaïs on the northern shore of the Black Sea.⁸ Tanaïs must have inherited the role of the Black Sea ports of Olbia in the Greek period, receiving slaves from the steppes from the Scythians, whom they supplied with the wine and perhaps silver for their celebrations.⁹

Now, while the Roman state did not approve of slaving within its boundaries it had no problem with the sale of slaves: indeed, Scheidel estimates that between 250,000 and 400,000 new slaves were required per year to maintain a slave workforce of somewhere between 5,000,000 and 8,000,000.¹⁰ Although within the empire piracy and kidnapping undoubtedly took place, the Romans preferred to let their slaving be done by people outside the empire, except in cases where slaves were a by-product of war.¹¹

However, there appears to have been some connection between emporial sanctuaries and the slave trade. Apart from Delos, where Strabo tells us that 10,000 slaves (a myriad) passed through every day,¹² we know from Cicero that a group of pirates wintered in the bay under the temple of Venus, presumably the sanctuary of Tas Silq on Malta.¹³ Did they sell their captives outside its *temenos*? The sanctuary certainly became rich, and had a distinctly African flavour, for Valerius also tells us that an admiral of the Numidian king Massinissa stole some massive ivory tusks kept in the sanctuary. These were subsequently returned by Massinissa, and dedicated there with an inscription.¹⁴ We have increasing evidence that the Phoenicians intensified their use of slaves during the 2nd century, both for farming, as new estates were founded in the territory of Carthage, on Jerba and near Gadir-Cadiz, and for the industrial production of fish products (Fentress, forthcoming; Lopez Castro, 2007).¹⁵ They may, of course, have used Delos as their source, but it seems possible to relate another slave trade to the Phoenicians, as well. This involved mobility, speed, and the Garamantes of the Fezzan.

The Garamantes and the Mediterranean

Within the context of other papers on the Garamantian routes, including Andrew Wilson's very sophisticated analysis of the small scale exchanges that complement the long distance movements of objects and people (Wilson, forthcoming),¹⁶ it is unnecessary to establish the density of exchange for which the Fezzan provides evidence. What I want to do here is to argue particularly for the presence of slaves among the commodities that were traded there.

Liverani posits the existence of a trade in gold from the 6th century BC, and makes a plausible case for the use of the camel from the 6th century onwards (Liverani, 2000).¹⁷ It is hard to interpret the great oracular sanctuary at Siwa founded by Amasis (570–526 BC) as anything other than an emporial sanctuary, marking the border with the desert tribes (Kuhlmann, 1988). It is the period from the 5th century that, as David Mattingly and Mario Liverani have shown, marks the beginning of the shift from *oppida* on the highlands towards the formation of the city of Germa; a process that culminated in a Garamantian state extending from the Fezzan through the Tadrart Acacus, complete with subsidiary towns and forts.¹⁸ This transformation, for Liverani, would have been powered in large part by the increasing expansion of the gold trade.

There are problems, though. First, although this is a cavit, there are no known cities on the Niger River before the 2nd century BC; the earliest layers excavated at Jenne Jano, and this was not yet a city.¹⁹ Second, and rather more important, are the arguments advanced by Timothy Garrard in an article dismissing the early importation of Ghanaian Gold (Garrard, 1982). First, the Cyrenian gold coinage did not last, and the

experiment was not repeated after the middle of the 5th century. Carthage struck gold and electrum at various mints, but apparently only in Sicily and Sardinia. There is no evidence that this gold came from West Africa. Ptolomaic gold coinage probably came from the recycled gold of their closed exchange system, as well as from Nubia, while the Romans struck no gold in North Africa or Egypt until 296 AD (ibid.: 446). However, by the 5th century AD all taxes from North Africa had to be paid in gold.²⁰ Byzantine gold coinage from Carthage is also plentiful, while the conquering Arabs lost no time in setting up a mint in Kairouan to strike gold. Garrard argued from this evidence that the supply from the mines of Ghana only came on-line at the end of the 3rd century AD, and this has not yet been seriously disputed. What did their undeniable caravan trade carry?

Iconographic evidence for African slaves

My answer is naturally going to be centred on the slave trade. Slaves were a particularly mobile merchandize, for unlike other commodities slaves could walk, and provided convenient carriers for other objects. Further, there is evidence for black slaves in the Mediterranean from as early as the 6th century BC. This evidence is exclusively in the form of images: in paintings on ceramics and in small statuettes which clearly represent black slaves. A good collection of these was made by Grace Beardsley as early as 1929 (Beardsley, 1929).²¹ Subsequently, however, Frank Snowden's wide survey of images of black people in Antiquity tended to slide over the servile nature of many of these images, interpreting shackles as 'rings' and their wearer as 'perhaps a captive' (Snowden, 1970: no. 42).²² However, closer examination seems to demonstrate that Beardsley's earlier impression that most of the images were servile from an early date was entirely correct, while we may add that the great majority of them represent children. The exceptions are mythological representations of the Ethiopians visited by Menelaus,²³ or the Ethiopian bodyguard of Busiris, the king of Egypt.²⁴ Many early depictions of black people show them as objects above all of curiosity: noble warriors, mythological figures, or ethnographic curiosities, alone on 6th and 5th-century head vases or in contrast to the white heads on Janus flasks (Beardsley, 1929: 23–37). Their heads may even have had an apotropaic value, which we might see on an archaic silver amulet from Cyrene (Warden, 1990: 14 no. 36), or the faience head beads produced in Naukratis, for which there are moulds in the British Museum (Pl. 1) (Beardsley, 1929: 18).

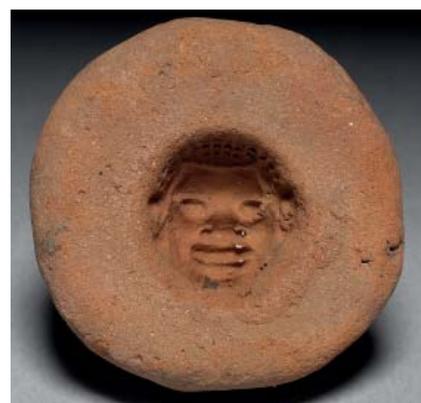


Plate 1 Mould for faience African heads, from Naukratis. 6th century. British Museum 1920,0417.3



Plate 2 Head, cast from a 5th-century mould found in Naukratis. Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, AN1896–1908 G. 96



Plate 3 5th century bronze statuette of a boy cleaning a boot. British Museum 1859,0301.17, provenance unknown



Plate 4 4th century BC askos of a crouching child. By permission Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, AN 1922.205

A head of a young boy in a hood, also from 6th-century Naukratis, seems an equally ethnographic image (Pl. 2).

However, from the 6th century onwards we find young black boys who were clearly not simply exotic and interesting but certainly luxury slaves. Some evidence for black slaves in domestic contexts are relatively benign images of household servants, like a girl holding a mirror for her mistress on a black-figured lekythos,²⁵ or a stool bearer.²⁶ As time goes on, however, the representation of the black in a lowly, crouching, position, becomes more common. A 5th century bronze from Egypt shows a little boy polishing a boot (Pl. 3), while a small Askos from Boeotia shows a crouching boy, with the spout pouring out from his lower back: the image is degrading or worse (Pl. 4).²⁷ In a 3rd-century statuette from the Fayyum the hands of the boy are bound behind him,²⁸ while a black steatite statuette of a crouching boy is clearly shackled.²⁹ A 3rd-century askos, from Capua, depicts a child wearing a cloak curled up against the amphora for which he might have been exchanged, and is perhaps evidence for the two-way nature of the trade. In a

similar piece from Taranto the child is naked and clearly starving (Pls 5 and 6). The majority of the images are of the children who seem to have been the principle objects of the trade: it is noteworthy that in the 19th century, as the slave trade was dying out, overwhelming numbers of children were observed in the Saharan caravans.³⁰

By the 1st century BC there is a new twist. Although depictions of squatting Africans continue (Pl. 7) slaves are assigned new *personae* as sexually available, well-endowed bath attendants, as on a well-known mosaic from the house of the Menander at Pompeii.³¹ Their sexual uses are also evident on a lamp in Boston,³² or in a series of lamps produced between the 1st century BC and the 2nd century AD (Pl. 8).³³ The children still appear, now as servile *delicati*:³⁴ the dove on a statue of a young black boy from Sousse, created in the Hadrianic period, makes the erotic allusion explicit.³⁵ The progression from the noble, warrior Ethiopians depicted on early Greek vases towards the slaves found on many depictions of black people in Roman art could not be clearer, and can be interpreted as a



Plate 5 Black glazed 3rd-century pottery oil-bottle from Capua, in the form of a nude African boy resting against an amphora which forms the spout. British Museum 1873.0820.285



Plate 6 Askos of slave boy and amphora, from Taranto (Campanian manufacture?). Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, AM1884.583

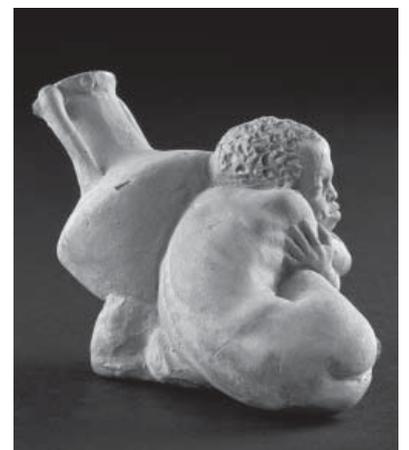




Plate 7 Pottery flask in the form of a squatting African, black glaze, Campania, 80–1 BC, from Ruvo in Puglia. British Museum 1873,0820.287

product of their commercialization through North Africa and the Mediterranean. Black people in Egypt may well have come initially from Nubia or Ethiopia, but the features on most of these images are anything but Nilotic. Sold at Alexandria – *Alexandrinus* is a common epithet (Nielson, 1990: 79)³⁶ – or at the Syrtis, at Leptis Magna or Gigthis (note that Herodotus speaks of a route from Augila to the land of the Lotus Eaters),³⁷ they created riches both for their captors, the Garamantes, and for the merchants at those ports. There seems every chance that Punic Carthage was a beneficiary of this trade from the beginning. Frontinus tells us that black auxiliaries served in the Carthaginian army from the 5th century BC.³⁸

However, it may have taken a lot longer to achieve a steady flow of slaves than Liverani assumes for the gold trade. There is not much sign that the trade was fully underway before the end of the 5th century BC, when the urban site of Garama really started to take off (Mattingly, 2003: 348), and the quantity of representations of black Africans multiplied. By the time of Terence, however, an ‘Ethiopian’ slave girl was a fine gift for a lover that could be accepted as plausible in the context of the play, no longer beyond the means of all but the richest.³⁹

That this trade continued well into the late empire is demonstrated by a curse tablet from Carthage in which a hapless black charioteer is insulted as *‘faex Garamantarum’*, the dregs of the Garamantes.⁴⁰ It is likely, in fact, that the flow of gold from Ghana from the period of Constantine onwards was a direct consequence of this traffic, using the slaves themselves to carry the gold. Although the traffic probably diminished considerably in the Late Roman period, when Garama declined noticeably, and sites such as Aghram Nadharif were abandoned,⁴¹ the 8th century, after the Arab conquest, saw it begin anew, under the auspices of Kharejite traders who sold slaves into Egypt and beyond (Savage 1997).

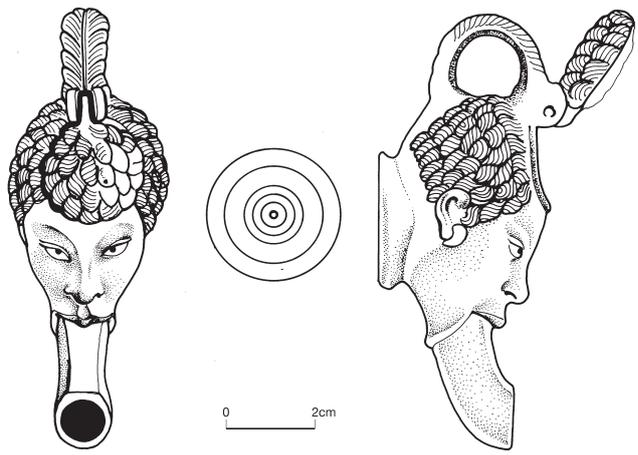


Plate 8 Bronze lamp in the form of an African, the nozzle projecting from his mouth. Provenance unknown. British Museum 1824,0454.17

Trading

We thus have fairly clear evidence for a trade in slaves, particularly children, supplied by the Garamantes to Mediterranean traders. The routes that we can read from Herodotus suggest that the ports of trade included Siwa, at which they would have been bought by Egyptian traders and moved on to Naukratis or, later, Alexandria (Fontana 1995). Another route, as we have seen, cut up from Augila to the ‘land of the lotus eaters’. Here Gigthis probably served as the port of trade, with Punic merchants moving the cargoes on by land or sea to Carthage. Finally, Leptis Magna provided the most direct route to the Mediterranean, and it is hardly a chance that the great Chalchidicum of Lepcis, the auction house/sanctuary from which Braconi argues that slaves were sold, is found on the road between the Severan Gate to the south and the port. At the time it was built it was very likely outside the city limits, the first major building that a caravan from the desert would encounter (Braconi, 2005).

In return for slaves, and the other products like carnelian and wild beasts (Mattingly, 2006: 357–62), the Garamantes imported Roman products, probably textiles,⁴² certainly amphorae, and it is these that provide the clearest link to the Gallic tribes we discussed at the beginning. Found in numerous graves, and now on settlement sites (Mattingly, Lahr and Wilson, 2009: 122), Tripolitanian and Italian amphorae occur in huge numbers: Andrew Wilson estimates over 50,000 imported in the period between the end of the 2nd century BC and the 2nd century AD, based on the numbers of tombs and the regularity of Roman amphorae within them.⁴³ Considering the twin issues of distance and of the desert, this represents exchange on a massive scale. If we take 50,000 as a purely hypothetical figure, it would represent an import of 167 *per annum* over the three centuries, suggesting the passage of as many slaves into the Mediterranean if the ‘exchange’ rate resembled that of pre-Roman Gaul: not an enormous amount, but a highly visible and valuable commodity. Further, the rate of death from dehydration in the trans-Saharan crossing was severe: Lovejoy estimates that as many as 90% of boys might die in passage in the 19th century, which would imply that around 1,500 were actually embarked for the north (Lovejoy, 2000: 35). As Wilson shows, the trade is likely to have been carried out through a complex web of smaller-scale exchanges,

with slaves being traded up the circuit and amphorae and other goods traded down in ill-defined steps: salt was an important commodity in trade with the Niger Delta (cf. Lovejoy, 2000), as, presumably, was metal work.⁴⁴ The details of these steps remain obscure: it is still not certain whether horses or camels were used.⁴⁵ However, the rock engravings seem to provide unequivocal evidence for the importance of the horse, whether or not it was used together with camels.

Raiding

The first step towards trading slaves is, of course, catching them. At least initially, the Garamantes appear to have done their own slaving. This is what we can deduce from Herodotus, who famously remarks that they hunted the Troglodyte Ethiopians on four-horsed chariots.⁴⁶ David Mattingly makes the interesting suggestion that the representations of Garamantian chariots that are widespread across the Sahara were created not by the Garamantes themselves, but by their victims, groups of earlier pastoral people who used the rock shelters in which the drawings are found (Mattingly 2003: 89). He notes that the chariots could not have been used on the full route across the desert and they could easily have been dismantled and reassembled at appropriate points. Indeed, horses and chariots are particularly useful for raiding people: villages can be burned, and the escaping people captured with the chariots.⁴⁷ Jack Goody classes them among the 'means of destruction' necessary to a warrior society (Goody, 1971: 69), while Mattingly points out that horses were used by desert tribes for fighting into late antiquity (Mattingly 2003: 88). It seems likely that rival desert populations were the prey in the early centuries of the Garamantian state, raided both for resale and for the agricultural labour they would provide in the Fezzan itself (Mattingly, 2006: 201). From the desert region the search for slaves must have quickly extended to the Niger Bend. Evidence for Sub-Saharan Africans in the population has been provided by the tombs of the Fezzan, where recent excavations have found a tomb with a very African lip plug (Mattingly, Lahr and Wilson, 2009: 118–19); while the Italian anthropologist Sergi, noted four 'negro' skulls against three 'Mediterranean' and six 'intermediate' (Sergi, 1951: 499).⁴⁸

The Roman general Julius Maternus accompanied the king of the Garamantes on a slave raid towards the end of the 1st century AD as far as the Niger;⁴⁹ perhaps this was an annual expedition, like those of the kings of Dahomey (Law 1967: 67). It cannot be excluded that the Garamantian demand for slaves, both for themselves, and for sale into the Mediterranean World, had a knock-on effect along the Niger, stimulating local chiefs to found cities, such as Jenne Jano, based on plundering their neighbours further south. Studies of western Africa at the height of the 19th century Saharan slave trade show chilling pictures of whole regions, like that of Wasulu in the western Sudan, which were deserted by the end of the 19th century (Klein, 2001: 53; Hubbell, 2001). It would be enormously useful for us to know more about what was going on to the south of the Desert, particularly in the region of Jenne Jano. We won't fully understand Saharan commerce until we have seen both ends of it.

Slaving and the state

Andrew Wilson has shown that the *foggara* irrigation systems were essential to the establishment of agriculture within the Wadi al-Ajal, and that they permitted the survival of the substantial population of the Fezzan (Wilson, 2006). He suggests that dangerous job of digging the shafts would most likely have been carried out by slave labour. The techniques for the creation of the *foggaras* seem to have come from Achaemenid Egypt, where they have been dated in the Kharga oasis to the 5th century BC, both by stratigraphy and from a series of contracts involving the sale of water rights (ibid.: 211; Cruz-Urbe, 2003: 537–44). This date coincides with both the foundation of the urban site at Garama and with Herodotus' tales of Garamantian trade. However, in a society whose self-representation is so clearly that of a warrior elite, it seems highly unlikely that any agricultural labour was carried out by the Garamantes themselves.

Clearly, as Wilson notes, the development of irrigation agriculture will have played a role in the creation of the Garamantian state, but the actual organization required to carry out both the raiding and the trading of other populations will itself have affected state formation and the creation of a hierarchical society. The employment of many of the adult males in raiding parties would have withdrawn labour from the agricultural sector, leaving the products of their raids to fill the gap. The slaving societies of early modern West Africa, such as Dahomey, are obvious examples of this process, in which the men are used for raiding parties rather than agriculture, and much depends on the maintenance of their loyalty and desire for war (Law, 1989).⁵⁰ The role of imported wine in emphasizing status differentiation and of its redistribution in encouraging the loyalty of the warriors becomes clear here, while the presence of amphorae in tombs would also link wine and its consumption to sacred space and practice. We have no evidence for the dedication of the amphorae comparable to that of Gaul, but it would be interesting to excavate the settlement sites on which they are found for evidence of feasting.

The very elite society of Garama, notable for its ashlar buildings and richly furnished tombs, contrasts strongly with the oases to the south, such as Fewet and Aghram Nadharif, where a process of social differentiation seems to carry on through the early centuries of the 1st millennium AD.⁵¹ The need to control these southern oases will have created new administrative problems: the citadel excavated by Liverani in Aghram Nadarif, near the oasis of Ghat, was built in the mid-1st century BC. This citadel controls an important trade route leading west, and marked, at Ilarlaren, with a major inscription, or palimpsest of inscriptions in Libyan script, which underscores its importance as a point of passage. The construction of the citadel seems to be clear evidence of a move by the Garamantian state to monitor and protect that trade route. At the same time, environmental dessication concentrated the existing population in the oases of Bharkat and Ghat. The people perhaps left an earlier, more pastoral life to practice intensive agriculture in the oases. Here, as in the more northerly Garama, agriculture probably involved slave labour. The growing control exercised by the northern state may also have included taxation of trade passing through the southern passes, and the creation of more urban settlements to avoid the dispersion of families through nomadism (Liverani,

2005: 407). While the houses of Aghram Nadharif are of relatively similar size, as are the tumuli nearby, Garama itself displays a clearer social ranking, and the emergence of a political elite that must have exercised direct control over the society and the slave trade.

Conclusions

This is hardly the first attempt to demonstrate existence of a Saharan slave trade carried out by the Garamantes: it has long been recognized, although it is generally considered but a single component of the Garamantian economy. My argument is rather that slave raiding as an economic activity gives a particular dynamic structure to a society, transforming over time its relationships with its neighbours and those within the society itself.⁵² Among the effects is the emergence of a warrior elite, and of goods, such as wine, that form part of their rites and display, redistributed by a chief to his men and eventually by a king to his citizens. Control over the elements of warfare, such as the horse, extension of control over the trade routes and the creation of fortifications to protect them, and the creation of an administrative system, are all components of raiding states. The use of slaves on agriculture within the state is a corollary to their trade outside it: in the trade in children the Garamantes provides a rather singular example of this division.

Notes

- 1 For a discussion of these see Harris, 1980; Bradley, 1994; Scheidel, forthcoming.
- 2 For the number of amphorae see Pomey and Tchernia 1978: 234. They note a text from the *Digest* (14.2, 1) where ships are described as 'of 2000 amphorae'.
- 3 Diodorus Siculus 5. 26. 3.
- 4 Details and distribution maps in Poux, 2004 n. x.
- 5 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistes*, Kaibel 4.36, 4–40).
- 6 Strabo 4.3.2.
- 7 See on the organization of the trade Olmer, 2003 and Tchernia, 2010.
- 8 For Aquilea Strabo 5.1.8; for Tanaïs 2.2. 4.
- 9 On the slave trade in the Pontic region see Batty, 2008 and Avram, 2007.
- 10 *Op.cit.* in n. 1.
- 11 On the importance of captives as a source of Roman slaves see Scheidel forthcoming. On the boundaries between those who could be enslaved and those who could not, see most recently Fynn-Paul 2009: 3–40.
- 12 Strabo 14.5.2.
- 13 'Dicunt legati Melitenses ... ubi piratae fere quotannis hiemare soleant', in Verrem 2.4, 104.
- 14 Valerius Maximus II.
- 15 For Carthaginian estates see Fentress, forthcoming. On the use of slaves in the manufacture of fish products see Colum. *Rust.* 8.16.9; see also Lopez Castro, 2007.
- 16 Now forthcoming as A. Wilson, 'Saharan trade: short-, medium- and long-distance trade networks in the Roman period', *Azania*.
- 17 For expressions of this idea see Law, 1967 and Bovill, 1958; *contra* see Swanson, 1975.
- 18 David Mattingly, this volume, and notably, Mattingly, Dore, and Wilson, 2003; Mattingly, Daniels, Dore, Edwards, and Hawthorne, 2007; Liverani, 2005.
- 19 On Jenne-Jeno see McIntosh and McIntosh, 1981; on the subsequent gold trade see McIntosh, 1981.
- 20 Garrard, 1982: 447, citing Theodosian *Code* 12.7.1 through Pharr (trans.) 1952.
- 21 See Desanges, 1976, for a more negative view of the importance of the trade.
- 22 On Snowden's use of the terms 'Black' and 'Negro' see Snowden, 1983: 16–17. In the later work Snowden argues against deliberate slaving, suggesting that those black people who do appear to be

slaves were enslaved as prisoners of war, and that others will have settled in the country in which they fought.

- 23 *Od.* 4.84.
- 24 Apollodoros, *Bibliothēke*, 2.1.5 and 2.5.11. The representations on, for instance, the numerous Athenians white-ground lekythoi and aryballoi probably represent the followers of Busiris or Memnon, king of the Ethiopians. They are tall and lean, dressed in sleeved jackets and trousers, and very different from any of the representations of slaves: indeed, they might be seen as genuine representations of Ethiopians, rather than of West Africans: see Beardsley, 1929: 48. See also, for the alabastra, Neils, 1980.
- 25 G. and A. Magheru Coll; *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* 2, pl. 39, 7–9.
- 26 E.g. a 5th-century Lekythos with a negroid diphrophoros in a grave scene: Berlin Staatliche Museen, 3291; cf. Bosanquet, 1899: 178 fig. 4; Snowden, 1970: fig. 25. Also see a volute crater from the Louvre, K1 Chryses and Agamemnon, by the painter of Athens 1714, 360–350 BC, showing a Negro slave carrying stools. A Negro slave carrying stools is also reproduced in Moon, 1929: 30–49 pl. xv. http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=obj_view_obj&objet=cartel_7860_34926_K1.004.jpg_obj.html&flag=false.
- 27 A very similar askos from Punic Kerkouane is reproduced by Fantar 1987: III 610, who identifies it as of Alexandrine manufacture.
- 28 Louvre Br361.
- 29 BMA 01.8210, reproduced in Snowden, 1970: fig. 40.
- 30 Klein, 1992: 54.
- 31 Reproduced in Clark, 2003: 110.
- 32 A 1st century AD lamp from Arles in which a dwarf holds his gigantic penis (Clark 2003: 153) makes sense of the Boston Museum lamp, in which the penis is broken, the figure is identified as squatting on a wine skin (accession number, 00.329).
- 33 See also Louvre Br361; note that Syrians are also depicted on lamps performing the same service: Br 3096.
- 34 Dunbabin, 2003: 451; Nielsen, 1990 downplays the sexual roles of *delicate* and *deliciae*.
- 35 Cf. de Chaisemartin, 1987: no. 42. She feels that the bird has a funerary reference, which seems curious in a statue found within a house. See also the early 3rd-century black marble slave from Aphrodisias, holding a perfume flask. Louvre Ma 4926, http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=2698.
- 36 See also Quintillian, *Inst.* 1.2.7.
- 37 Herodotus, 4.183, 7.
- 38 *Strategemata* 1.11.18,
- 39 Terence *Eunuchus*, 165–7 and 470–1.
- 40 Riese and Bücheler, XXX 183: 155–6; see also Luxorius 43 on Garamantian women as prostitutes (?) 'Ut tibi non placeat Pontica, sed Garamas'.
- 41 See Mattingly, 2003; 2007: 349, who observes that evidence for Mediterranean trade diminishes significantly after a peak in the early empire. Cf. Liverani, 2005.
- 42 Murex-dyed textiles were recovered by the Italian Mission in tombs: Pace, Sergi, and Caputo, 1951: 314.
- 43 Pers. comm.
- 44 For metalwork and other artisan products of the Fezzan see Mattingly, 2006: 201.
- 45 For a recent discussion see Brett, 2006; see also Shaw, 1981; Bulliet, 1975.
- 46 4.183
- 47 See for example Webb, 1993: 222.
- 48 Sergi's methodology, based on cranial measurements, would not be followed today, we await the analysis of the osteological material excavated in the current British projects.
- 49 Ptolemy 1.8
- 50 See also Goody, 1971: 55f., and Lovejoy, 2000: *passim*.
- 51 For a fine diachronic treatment of the changes in Garamantian social structure see Liverani, 2007.
- 52 These dynamics are illustrated in Lovejoy, 2000, *passim*. For the Ancient world see Annequin, 1983.

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