

did not want to see a woman who had been their own concubine having to work again at Corinth under the control of a pimp; instead they would be delighted to get back less money than they had spent for her, and see that she herself got some benefit out of the deal. So they said that they would remit one thousand drachmae from the sum she needed for her freedom, five hundred each, and suggested that she pay them back the remaining twenty minae when she had earned it. When she had heard this proposal of Eukrates and Timanoridas, she invited some of the men who had been her lovers to come to Corinth. One of them was Phrynion from Paianeia [an Athenian deme], the son of Demon and brother of Demokhores; as the older ones among you will remember, he lived an outrageous and wasteful life.

(31) When Phrynion arrived, she told him what Eukrates and Timanoridas had suggested to her, and took all the money she had been given gratuitously by her lovers to go towards buying her freedom and gave it to him, together with anything else that she had to spare, and asked him to provide what was still needed to make it up to twenty minae and pay it all to Eukrates and Timanoridas so that she would become free. (32) He readily accepted this proposal of hers, took the money which she had been given by her lovers, made up the balance himself and paid Eukrates and Timanoridas the total of twenty minae as the price for her freedom so that she should not have to work at Corinth.

23. *Fouilles de Delphes*, 3, 6, No. 36

Liberating a slave did not entail that he was immediately free to do as he pleased. When a Greek slave paid his master to become free, a contract was often drawn up which was guaranteed by a god; and many of these contracts survive, inscribed on the walls of public buildings at Delphi and similar religious centres. They are called '*paramone*-agreements', because they usually stipulate that the ex-slave must remain with (*paramenein*) his or her master for a number of years before the contract becomes valid; during that period, the 'freedman' is little better off than a slave (for details, see Hopkins, Ch. 3; see No. 21 above). He can be punished; if a woman, she may be required to give her patron one of her children to take her place as a slave; and occasionally the period of service stipulated is the rest of the patron's life, as in this inscription from Delphi, dating to the first half of the first century AD.

In the magistracy of Pason son of Damon, in the month of Herakleos, when Habromakhos son of Xenagoras and Markos son of Markos were serving as councillors.

Written in the hand of Sosikles son of Philleas on behalf of Sophrona daughter of Straton, who was present and ordered him to write on her behalf.

On the following conditions Sophrona, acting with the consent of her son Sosandros, hands over to the Pythian Apollo to be free the female house-born slave [literally, 'body'] named Onasiphoron, priced at three silver minae, and has received the whole price; Onasiphoron has entrusted the sale to the god, with the aim of becoming free and not to be claimed by anybody at any future time, and to have no obligations of any kind whatever to anyone. The guarantor required by law is Eukleidas son of Aiakidas. And if anyone touches Onasiphoron in order to enslave her, then she who has sold her and the guarantor together are to ensure that the sale to the god is valid; and similarly anyone at all is to have the legal right to take Onasiphoron away so that she may be free, without incurring any penalty or being subject to any legal action or punishment.

Onasiphoron is to remain with Sophrona for the whole period of the latter's life, doing whatever she is ordered to do without giving cause for complaint. If she does not do so, then Sophrona is to have the power to punish her in whatever way she wishes to. And Onasiphoron is to give Sosandros a child.

This sale is to be deposited as required by law: one copy engraved on the Temple of Apollo, the other taken to the public archives of the city by the Secretary Lysimakhos son of Nikanor.

Witnesses: Signature of Eukleidas son of Aiakidas: I have become guarantor of the above-stated sale, appointed by Sophrona with the agreement of her son Sosandros.

There are five more witnesses, two priests of Apollo and three private persons.

24. *Schwyzler*, No. 341

This *paramone*-agreement from Delphi can be dated to 157 BC:

In the year when Patreas was magistrate at Delphi, in the month Poitropios, Dorema, acting with the agreement of her daughter Hedyle, gave the god Apollo a slave girl called Melissa, worth one mina of silver, to be freed. The guarantor required by law is Teiseas. Melissa is to stay with Dorema for as long as Dorema lives, doing what she asks. If she doesn't stay with her or do what she asks, the contract is to be void.

Witnesses: Andronikos the priest, Nikomakhos, Ariston, Astylos,

Timokritos, Astyokhos.

25. Contract from Chaeronea: *ZPE* 29 (1978), 126f.

At Chaeronea in Boeotia, slaves were granted their freedom by means of a sale to a god (Sarapis, Isis, the Mother of the Gods, Artemis); during the period before the contract became valid, the slave was required to continue to serve his patron, normally (in 32 out of 35 cases) for the rest of the patron's life; but these obligations might be transferred to one of the patron's heirs. The following is one of nine cases involving the same family, dating to about 200 BC:

The god
Good Fortune

In the magistracy of Mnasigeneis, in the month of Hermaios, Menekleis son of Dionousodoros and Biottis daughter of Mnason brought forward their own foundling [slave] Parthena to be consecrated to Artemis Elitheia, with the full consent of their son Mnason; to remain with them for ten years before the consecration becomes valid. If anything happens to Menekleis and Biottis before the completion of the stated period of time while Parthena remains with them, Parthena is to remain for the remaining years with Menekleis' daughter Telia, who is to complete the consecration through the Council, in accordance with the law.

26. *Fouilles de Delphes*, 3, 3, No. 333

On exceptional occasions, the terms of the *paramone*-agreement were remitted; this had to be inscribed publicly in the same way as the original contract. At about the beginning of the Christian era, one owner at Delphi had stipulated that:

Eisias is to remain with Kleomantis for the rest of his life and do everything that she is ordered as if she were a slave (*hōs doula*). And if Eisias does not remain or does not do what she is ordered, Kleomantis is to have the right to punish her in whatever way he wishes — by beating her or imprisoning her or selling her. (*Fouilles de Delphes*, 3, 3, No. 329, lines 4–7).

But later he decided to institute this concubine, together with his son by her, as heirs in succession to his wife (who apparently had no children):

In the magistracy of Diokles son of Philistion, in the month of Eilaios, with the following intention and desire, Kleomantis son of Dinon freed his own foundling [slave] Eisias from the obligation to remain (*paramone*) with him, and remits the sum written in the *paramone*-agreement; together with Nikostratos, the son she bore during the period of *paramone*, whose name she changed to Kleomantis, so that they are to be free from anyone at all and have no obligations towards anyone in any way whatsoever.

And if the common fate of mankind befalls Kleomantis, all that is left behind by him is to belong to Sosyla for her own use. And if anything happens to Sosyla, then everything is to belong to Eisias and Kleomantis, and no one else is to have any claim in any way whatsoever. Eisias may do anything at all anywhere on earth, just as any other person.

Witnesses: Priests of Apollo: Diodoros, son of Philonikos, Dionysios son of Astoxenos, Damon son of Polemarkhos;
Magistrates: Laiadas son of Melision, Nikon son of Nikaios;
Private citizens: Strategos son of Philon, Xenagoras son of Habromakhos, Lamenes son of Eukrates, Evangelos son of Megartas, Agon son of Poplios.

27. Harpocraton, s.v. *apostasiou*

Some *paramone*-agreements specify that the act of liberation is void if the freedman fails to obey his patron. Athenian law provided that if a patron sued his freedman for disobedience and he was acquitted, all obligations towards the patron would cease. The successful ex-slave would inscribe and dedicate a silver bowl, and calculations based on surviving inscriptions recording these dedications (*IG* 2,2.1553–78) suggest that there were about fifty cases a year in the period 340–320 BC.

This is a civil action allowed to patrons against their freedmen, if they cease to recognise them or seek legal protection from someone else or fail to do the other things required by the laws. Those found guilty have to become slaves once more, and those acquitted become absolutely free. It often occurs in speeches, like Lysias' *Against Aristodemos* and Hypereides' *Against Demetria, for Apostasy*.

95. *Diogenes Laertius, Lives of the Philosophers*

The details of the testamentary dispositions made by famous philosophers which Diogenes Laertius includes in his biographies are almost certainly fictitious, but they do give an impression of the number of slaves which the educated Greek-speaking readers of the Second Sophistic would have expected a gentleman (albeit a philosopher) to own.

Book 5: Aristotle

(13) My daughter is to have three women to attend her, whom she is to choose herself, in addition to the little girl she already has and the boy Pyrraios. (14) I want Ambrakis to be freed when my daughter is married and given five hundred drachmae plus the slave girl she has now; Thales is to be given one thousand drachmae and a slave girl, in addition to the little girl I bought whom she has now. (15) Apart from the money given him already to buy another slave, Simon is either to have a slave bought for him, or be given the equivalent in cash. When my daughter gets married, Tykhon is to be freed, and so is Philon and Olympios and his child. None of the slaves who served me is to be sold, they must all be used; and when they have reached the appropriate age, they are to be given their freedom according to their deserts.

Book 5: The Philosopher Lykon

(72) This is my Will concerning those who serve me (*therapeuontōn*): Demetrios was freed a long time ago; I remit the money he owes for his freedom and give him five minae, a cloak and a tunic, to reward him for all the work he has done for me during my life. I also remit Kriton from Chalcedon the money he owes me for his freedom and give him four minae. I also manumit Mikros; let Lykon [his nephew] look after him and see to his education for six years from this date. (73) I also manumit Khares; let Lykon look after him. I leave him two minae and the manuscripts of my public lectures; the unpublished writings are for Kallinos, who is to edit them carefully. I give to Syros, who is already free, four minae and Menodora; if he owes me anything, I remit it. I give to Hilare five minae, a carpet, two pillows, a blanket and whichever bed she chooses. I also manumit Mikros' mother, Noemon, Dion, Theon, Euphranor and Hermias; Agathon is to remain for two more years and then be given his freedom, and the litter-bearers Ophelion and Poseidonios are to remain for four more years. (74) I give Demetrios, Kriton and Syros a bed each and whatever blankets Lykon thinks fit out of those that I leave behind.

In Epicurus' Will (10, 21), four slaves are manumitted; Straton (5, 63) manumits four and leaves one slave to a friend; Plato (3, 42) frees one

and leaves four to his heirs.

96. *Apuleius, Defence, 47*

The paucity of reliable evidence for any statistical estimate of the number of slaves that existed at any period in antiquity is shown by the fact that some scholars have used this passage as the basis for serious calculations. But the context makes it clear that the only reason why Apuleius says that precisely fifteen slaves constitute a household (*domus*) or a prison (*ergastulum*) is that his accuser had claimed that he had carried out a magic rite in the presence of that number of slaves.

As far as I know these magic rites are something covered by the law, and right from the earliest times they have been forbidden because of the incredible business of enticing corn from one field to another. As a result, they are secret as well as disgusting and frightening, and involve staying up at night and hiding under cover of darkness and avoiding witnesses and saying the spells silently, in the presence of very few free men. Yet here you are suggesting that fifteen slaves were in attendance! Was this some kind of wedding reception or some other celebration or similar feast? Are these fifteen slaves taking part in the magic rites as if they had been appointed the fifteen State Commissioners for Religion? For what reason would I have invited such a number — far too many for the secret to be kept? Fifteen free men make a community, the same number of slaves a household, and if they are chained they constitute a prison. I suppose such a large number might have been needed to hold down the sacrificial victims for the duration of the ceremony: but the only victims you've mentioned have been chickens . . .

97. *Xenophon, Memorabilia, 2, 5*

Attempts to assess the relative productive 'efficiency' of slave and free labour are pointless, not merely because of the absence of statistical evidence, but also because what was bought was the slave's person, not his labour. Thus even in the same city at the same time, the range of 'values' was enormous. However, we can use the ratio between the price of a slave and the annual income he brought his owner (No. 86) to give us some idea of the minimum number of years a slave will have had to serve before being allowed his freedom.

(2) Antisthenes — said Socrates — do friends have different values, like slaves? For one slave may be worth two minae, another less than half