

Go and get yourself washed. Cake, come along over here. The pot ought to empty out the cabbages. Get moving, fish: — 'but I'm not yet toasted on the other side!' — Then why don't you turn yourself over — and cover yourself with oil and salt!

Athenaeus gives us several further excerpts from the comic dramatists Telekleides, Pherekrates, Nikophon and Metagenes referring to the automatic arrival of food and drink. These passages illustrate the extent to which slaves could be seen as living machines (see No. 2 above), providing the rich with goods which the peasant citizens who watched these comedies had to work to produce. Anxieties about food were naturally universal in the primitive agrarian societies of the ancient world.

There follows an episode which is standard in the literary genre of the symposium, the *topos* of the interruption from an unpleasant guest. The Cynic Kynoukos complains that all these quotations about food make him feel famished, and he wants the discussion to cease so that the guests can get on with the meal. He is firmly put in his place by Ulpian, who points out that intellectual discussion is immensely superior to material sustenance; and although the Cynic makes as though to leave, the opportune arrival of food persuades him to stay, quoting a line which the comic poet Metagenes had adapted from Homer (*Iliad*, 12, 243):

The best omen of all is to stay and fight for one's dinner.

#### *Spartan and Other Serfs*

- (271b) When he had shut up, Masurius Sabinus said: Some points connected with this account of slavery haven't yet been resolved. So [quoting the poet Philoxenes of Kythera], 'I too am going to compose a love song' for my wise friend Demokritos. In his *History of the Carians and the Leleges*, Philippos of Theangela mentions the Lacedaemonian Helots and the Thessalian *Penestai*, and says that in the past, and indeed today, the Carians use the *Leleges* as their house-boys. Phylarkhos, in book six of his *Histories*, says that the Byzantines, too, had the same master-and-serf relationship towards the Bithynians as the Spartans had towards the Helots. As regards the group of persons among the Spartans called *Epeunaktoi* ('married in') — these too are slaves — Theopompos gives the following clear account in book thirty-two of his *Histories*:

Many Spartans had died in the war with the Messenians. The survivors didn't want their shortage of manpower to become known to the enemy, so they made some of the Helots marry each of the widows

- (d) of the dead men. Later they made them citizens and called them 'those who married in' because they had been selected as husbands in the place of the men who had been killed.

The same historian notes in book thirty-three that there are some slaves called the *Katōnakophoroi* ('sheepskin-coat wearers') among the people of Sicyon, whose position is similar to that of the *Epeunaktoi*. Menaikhmos in his *History of Sicyon* gives a similar account. And Theopompos in book two of his *History of King Philip* says that the people of Arcadia possess retainers of a similar status to Helots, to the number of 300,000. The people called *Mothakes* who live among the Spartans are free men, but they do not have the status of Spartans. In the twenty-fifth book of his *Histories*, Phylarkhos says this about them:

- (f) The *Mothakes* are brought up together with Spartans; for each boy of the citizen class chooses one or two or sometimes even more to be brought up with him, depending upon the means at the family's disposal. So the *Mothakes* are free, although they are not Spartans, and they share the Spartan education system. They say that Lysander himself, the man who conquered the Athenians at sea, was one of these, and that he became a citizen because of his noble character.

In book two of his *Messenian History*, Myron of Priene says:

The Spartans freed their slaves on many occasions. They called some of them 'released', some 'persons without masters', some 'defenders', others — whom they assigned to their naval expeditions — 'master-seamen' and others 'new citizens'. They all had a different status from Helots.

- (72) In book seven of his *Greek History*, Theopompos says of the Helots that they are also called *Heleatai*. He writes as follows:

The conditions of the Helot race are in every respect inhumane and horrible. These people were enslaved by the Spartans a long time ago; some of them originate from Messenia, while the *Heleatai* formerly inhabited the territory called Helos in Lakonia.

#### *Numbers of Slaves in Greece and Rome; Slave Revolts*

- Timaios of Tauromenion actually contradicts himself (and Polybios of Megalopolis in book twelve of his *Histories* criticises him for this) when he says that it wasn't customary for the Greeks to acquire slaves — for this 'Contradictor of Timaios' (as Kallimakhos' follower Istros

calls him in the essay he wrote criticising him) himself said that Mnason the Phocian owned more than a thousand slaves. And in the third book, the 'Contradictor of Timaios' says that the Corinthians were so rich that they owned 460,000 slaves (*douloi*). I suppose that that's why the Pythia called them 'those who measure out rations'. In

(c) book three of his *Chronicles*, Ktesikles says that at Athens during the † hundred and tenth † [? 117th = 312/308 BC] Olympiad, Demetrios of Phaleron took a census of everyone who was resident in Attica, and he found that there were 21,000 Athenians, 10,000 Metics and 400,000 dependants (*oiketai*). According to the noble Xenophon in his essay *On the Revenues*, Nikias the son of Nikeratos had a holding of one thousand slaves whom he hired out to work in the silver mines for Sosias the Thracian; his rate was that he should get an obol a day for each of them. Aristotle, in his work on the *Constitution of Aegina*, says that amongst them too there were at that time 470,000 slaves (*douloi*). Agatharkhides the Cnidian says in book thirty-eight of his *European Affairs* that some of the Dardaneis possessed a thousand slaves, others even more. In peacetime all of them worked on the land, but in war they were called up in units officered by their own master.

Larensius said in reply to these points:

- In contrast every single Roman – you know this very well, my dear
- (e) Masurius – buys himself the greatest number of slaves he can. Very many of them own ten or twenty thousand or even more – but not because of the income, as with Nikias (who was so incredibly wealthy by Greek standards); most Romans have the greatest possible number so that they can accompany them on their excursions. In contrast, most of these tens of thousands of Athenian slaves were chained and worked in the mines. The philosopher Poscidonios, whom you have frequently mentioned, says that they even revolted and killed the men
- (f) who were guarding the mines, took control of the acropolis at Sounion and ravaged Attica for a long time. This was the moment when the second slave revolt was taking place in Sicily. There were many of these, and over a million house-slaves lost their lives. The rhetor Caecilius who came from Kale Akte wrote a history of the slave wars. Then there was the gladiator Spartacus; at the time of the wars against Mithridates, he ran away from the Italian city of Capua and made a vast number of slaves revolt (he was a slave himself, a Thracian by race); for a considerable period of time he overran the whole of Italy, and
- (273) day after day a lot of slaves poured in to join him. He would have caused my fellow-countrymen some quite unprecedented exertions if he hadn't been killed in the battle against Licinius Crassus – and the same goes for Eunous in Sicily.

The Romans of ancient time showed more moderation and were superior in every respect. Polybios and Poseidonios relate how when

- Scipio Africanus was sent out by the Senate to organise all the kingdoms of the world so that they would obey their proper rulers, he took just
- (b) five slaves along with him, and when one of them died during the journey he sent off to his relatives to buy him another in his place and send him to him. Cotta tells us in the essay on the Roman constitution which is written in our own Latin language, that when Julius Caesar, whose legate he was, was the first of all human beings to sail over to the British Isles in a fleet of a thousand ships, he took only three slaves with him in all. What a contrast to Smindyrides of Sybaris, my Greek friends – when he set out for his wedding to Agariste the daughter of Kleisthenes, he took a thousand slaves with him as an expression of
- (c) his ostentation and immoderate wealth – they included fishermen and bird-catchers and cooks. This man wanted to demonstrate what a luxurious life he was living, as Khamaileon of Pontus records in his book *On Pleasure* (this is the same book as is also ascribed to Theophrastos).

#### 81. Apuleius, *Defence*, 17

In the mid-second century AD, the African Latin writer and philosopher Apuleius was accused of having used sorcery to persuade a wealthy widow called Pudentilla to marry him. The prosecution had used several of the stock arguments available in ancient rhetoric – that Apuleius had shown that he lacked all moderation and self-restraint by manumitting three slaves on the same day; and alternatively, that the fact that he was accompanied by only one slave showed him up as a disreputable figure of low social status whom the court should not trust. Apuleius had no difficulty in pointing out the contradiction. But it is interesting that he had to explain the absence of a retinue by reminding the court that philosophers like himself didn't care for status. He wasn't sure the jury would be persuaded by this; so he advanced a much stronger argument: the traditional stories about Roman generals who were poor or unostentatious show that you can be highly virtuous even if you have no slave retinue. The frequency of this myth about the behaviour of great figures from the Roman past (see No. 80, 273b above) only underlines the importance to wealthy Romans of possessing and displaying slaves as symbols of high social status.

I myself have no idea whether you keep slaves of your own to work your farm or have an agreement for the exchange of labour with your neighbours, and I don't care. But you have information that at Oea I manumitted three slaves on one and the same day, and your barrister used this and other points that you had made to him to blacken

own specialised craftsmen is even better than having a market nearby or friendly neighbours.

(3) Similarly, if there are towns or villages nearby, or even just well-stocked fields and estates belonging to wealthy owners, so that you will be able to buy cheaply from them anything you need for your own farm and can sell them your own surplus products — for instance stakes or poles or reeds — then your farm will be more profitable than if things have to be brought in from far away, and frequently it will even bring more profits than if you are able to provide these goods yourself by having them produced on your own farm. (4) For this reason small-holders prefer to have people who live in the neighbourhood under a yearly contract so that they can call on their services (under this heading come doctors, fullers and carpenters), rather than keep their own on their estate; for the death of a single craftsman can wipe out the estate's profitability. But rich landlords generally entrust all these functions of a great estate to members of their own household. If towns or villages are too far from their farm, they make sure that they have some smiths on the estate as well as the other essential craftsmen, so that the slaves on the farm won't have to leave off working and idle about on work days as though they were on holiday, instead of making the farm more profitable by getting on with their tasks.

#### 89. Hypereides, fragment 29

If one of the reasons for owning slaves was that they were economically profitable, the question arises whether the civilisation of classical Athens and Rome would have been possible without the economic basis of slave labour. The ancient evidence for calculations of the total number of slaves, or the proportion of slaves to free men, is weak (see No. 80, 272b–d above).

The tenth-century Byzantine lexicon called the *Suda* contains this excerpt from a speech in which the anti-Macedonian politician Hypereides seems to have suggested after the battle of Chaeronea (338 BC) that resistance against King Philip could be continued if citizenship were extended to slaves and others. He put forward a proposal:

that first of all those [slaves] working in agriculture and in the silver mines and elsewhere in the country, who were more than 150,000, and then those who were in debt to the state treasury and those who had lost their civic rights and those who had been disenfranchised and the resident aliens . . .

#### 90. Lysias 12: *Against Eratosthenes*

There are a few passages in fourth-century orators which give precise and probably reliable figures for the numbers of slaves which particular individuals owned. But there is no way of telling just how typical these figures are: Lysias and his father and brother were Metics who were debarred from investing their wealth in land; and the demand for weapons in the last years of the Peloponnesian war suggests that their shield factory was exceptionally large.

(19) They took seven hundred shields that belonged to us, and all our gold and silver, so much copper and jewellery and furniture and clothing for women as they had never dreamed they would get hold of, and one hundred and twenty slaves: of all these things they kept the best for themselves and handed over the rest to the state treasury.

#### 91. Aeschines 1: *Against Timarchus*

Specifications of property in slaves tend to mention only craftsmen who paid their owner a fixed rent; there is little mention of domestic servants or agricultural slaves, whose contribution to productivity would have been difficult to calculate in money terms, although they were clearly used to work the land of the rich at least (No. 139).

(97) His father left him an estate which anyone else would have found sufficient to provide a liturgy; but he wasn't even able to keep it for himself. There was a house at the back of the Acropolis, a country estate at Sphettos and another at Alopeke, apart from nine or ten slave craftsmen who were skilled at producing shields, each of whom brought him an income of two obols a day, while the manager (*hēgemon*) of the workshop brought in three. And in addition there was a woman who was skilled at weaving flax, who marketed her first-class products in the Agora, and an embroiderer, and also some men who owed him money, and then all his furniture.

#### 92. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 33, 47

There are indications that Athenaeus was right (272de, No. 80 above) to think that the wealthiest Romans owned slaves on an entirely different scale from the Greeks. Although initially simply a quantitative difference, the size of Roman slave-holdings tended to make the ideal that slaves were part of the household increasingly ineffective; Roman

## SOURCES OF SLAVES

101. Aristophanes, *Wealth*, 510–26 (with Scholia)

The jurist Marcianus listed those methods of obtaining slaves which Roman law recognised as legitimate (No. 4): fraudulent self-sale, capture in war and descent from a female slave. Romans, unlike some Greeks, did not accept that a foundling became the slave of the person who raised him. Dio Chrysostom discussed the moral objections to these and other grounds for holding people as slaves (No. 235 below).

Ownership of a slave could be acquired through inheritance, donation or sale – always assuming that the vendor was the slave's legitimate owner (see Varro, No. 150, Ch. 4 below). The literary evidence suggests that the traders who introduced slaves into a community were frequently suspected of having stolen or kidnapped their wares.

**Poverty:** But if Wealth weren't blind, if he distributed himself in equal shares to everyone, there wouldn't be a single person who would bother to exercise any craft or skill. And if these disappeared, who would work as a smith or build ships or sew clothes or make wheels or shields or bricks or run a laundry or a tannery or break up the soil by ploughing in order to reap Demeter's harvest – if you could live without bothering about any of these things?

**Khremylos:** You're talking rubbish. All the labours you've just listed could be done for us by our slaves.

**Poverty:** And where would you get your slaves from?

**Khremylos:** We'd buy them for money of course.

**Poverty:** But who would have an incentive to trade in slaves if he was already well off?

**Khremylos:** Some merchant would come from Thessaly in the hope of making a profit – that's where most of the men who kidnap slaves come from.

**Poverty:** But the logical conclusion of your argument is that not a single slave-trader would be left. Would anyone who was rich risk his life in such a profession? Of course not – you will be forced to plough and dig and do all the other hard work yourself, and your life will be twice as unpleasant as it is now.

One of the Scholiasts has commented:

'Slave-trader' doesn't just refer to someone who drags free men off into slavery, but also to someone who removes slaves from their masters and brings them under his own control in order to take them somewhere else and sell them. The Thessalians are here being attacked for indulging not just in these practices, but in piracy too.

## 102. Herodotus, 8, 104f.

It is ironical that ancient writers – almost all of whom presumably owned slaves – were so hostile to those who traded in them. Dealers in eunuchs were particularly despised: Herodotus tells how, after the battle of Salamis, Xerxes sent some of the children of his harem away to Ephesus.

He sent Hermotimos, whose place of origin was Pedasus, to look after these children; this man was the most important of his eunuchs, (105) and took a greater revenge for the wrong done to him than anyone else we know about. A Chian called Panionios had bought him after he had been taken captive by the enemy and offered for sale; this man made his living in the most horrible [literally, 'unholy'] way – when he had bought any boys who were particularly attractive in appearance, he castrated them and took them to Sardis or Ephesus to sell them for a lot of money (amongst non-Greeks, eunuchs are worth much more than ordinary male slaves because of their total loyalty). Since he made his living in this way, Panionios had castrated a lot of people including this one. But Hermotimos was not unfortunate in every respect, for from Sardis he was taken to the Persian king together with some other presents, and in due course Xerxes came to respect him more highly than any of his other eunuchs.

## 103. Strabo, 11, 2.3

Just as in early modern West Africa, many slaves were bought from 'barbarian' tribes (like Tacitus' debt-bondsmen: see No. 20) at recognised 'Ports-of-Trade'. Amongst the exporting countries were Britain (Strabo, 4, 5.2) and the Black Sea (see Strabo, 7, 3.12, No. 12 above). Side was the 'Port-of-Trade' for those kidnapped in central Anatolia (Strabo, 14, 3.2); Ephesus (No. 13 above) may have been an exchange like Delos, where Romans bought their wares from the eastern slave-merchants.

Where the river Don flows into the Sea of Azov, there is a city called Tanais, after the name of the river; it was founded by the Greeks who

assembly is to be summoned by them whenever [...] and of the  
 15 rest of the crew [...] and of money for auspicious sacrifice [...] one thousand six hundred [...]

(The fragment is broken off)

Fragments d+g

5 [...] or they guard the [city or] the land [...] whoever  
 does not patrol [or] serve for hire<sup>3</sup> (in the armed forces?) [...] except  
 for all those who [-7-] the Boule and [...] shall be subject to penalty  
 [-8-] nor the [...] Prytaneis. Repeal shall be made [-9-] the dec-  
 10 rree [-] of the departure of the sixty ships until [...] on no other  
 task nor [on another] campaign [...] three thousand. If [anyone  
 should move] or put to the vote [...]

(The fragment is broken off)<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Tod's text, like earlier ones, is adventurous in view of our ignorance of the length of the lines of this document. Restorations which amount to extrapolations from Thucydides' text are here ignored.
- 2 I.e. in assembly, as the Greek makes clear.
- 3 Though this meaning is given to the verb by Liddell-Scott-Jones, an Athenian in the army or navy cannot be said to 'serve as a mercenary'; perhaps the other meaning, 'to receive pay for public service,' is better here.
- 4 Of the other fragments it is notable that Fragment f mentions 100 triremes.

147 Confiscation of the Property of Athenians Convicted of Sacrilege. 414 B.C.

A: Pollux, *Onomasticon* 10.97; B: Scholiast to Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 1094 (412/11) (Philochorus, *FGH* 128 F 133); C: Scholiast to Aristophanes, *Birds* 766 (415/14) (Cratinus F 66, 174 Kock; Philochorus, *FGH* 328 F 134); D: Extracts from the 'Attic Stelai,' *GHI*, no. 79, pp. 240-7. Cf. Thucydides 6.27-9, 6.60-1; Andocides, *On the Mysteries, passim*, and especially 12-18 for the names of those denounced; Plutarch, *Alkibiades* 19-20. See no. 105.

Jacoby, *FGH* IIIb Suppl. 1.504-7; D. M. Macdowell, *Andokides on the Mysteries* (Oxford 1962) 167 ff.; Gomme, etc., *HCT* 4.264-88; Bury-Meiggs 294f.; C. A. Powell, *Historia* 28 (1979) 15-31; C. W. Fornara, *Panhellenica. Essays in honor of T. S. Brown* (Lawrence, Kansas 1980) 43-55.

A. Pollux, *Onomasticon* 10.97

On the Attic Stelai, which are set up in Eleusis, there is inscribed the property of those who committed sacrilege against the two goddesses which was publicly sold.

B. Scholiast to Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 1094

Aristoph. *Lysistrata* 1093-4: If you are wise you will hold on to your clothes for fear that / one of the Hermokopidai will see you.

*Scholion*: ... In so far as the Hermokopidai mutilated the Herms when (the Athenians) were about to sail to Sicily, four years before the production of this play. Some attributed the blame for this to Alkibiades and his associates, as Thucydides (says); some to the Corinthians, as Philochorus (says). He writes that only the Herm of Andocides was (not) mutilated.

C. Scholiast to Aristophanes, *Birds* 766

Aristoph. *Birds* 766: But if (Meles) the son of Peisias wants to betray the gates (of the city) to those without citizen-rights. ...

*Scholion*: We have no certain information about who the son of Peisias was or about the betrayal. That he was one of the very worthless people is indicated by Cratinus in his *Chirones, Meeting of the Amphityons*, and *The Hours*. The son of Peisias may have been associated with the Hermokopidai who, as Philochorus says, were condemned to death in the archonship of Chabrias (= Charias, 415/14) and their names were inscribed on stelai and (their property) was confiscated and proclamation was made of a talent reward per man for anyone who killed one of them. (See Plato, *Gorg.* 502 for Meles son of Peisias.)

→ D. Extracts from the 'Attic Stelai'

Fragments from marble stelai, developed Attic writing, partly stoiche-  
 don, Athens.

W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia* 22 (1953) 240-9, 268-79; 25 (1956) 276-81; 30 (1961) 23-5, 28; \**GHI*, no. 79, pp. 240-7 (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 421, 426).

Pritchett, *Hesperia* 25 (1956) 178-317; D. M. Lewis, *Ehrenberg studies* 177-91. The name 'Attic Stelai' is due to Pollux (A above).

(A) (STELE I, COL. I)

7 <sup>1</sup>	[-]²	[-]	[-7-]	
	[-]	[-]	[-6-]	
	[-]	[-]	[Slave boy, P]eisistratos of Caria	
10			[Total] from Hephaistodoros:	
			[-8-] 2 dr. 4½ ob.	
			[Of Alkibiades] <sup>3</sup> son of Kleinias	
			[of Skambonid]ai, the following house-gear was sold:	

15	[--]	[---]	[-7-]
	[--]	[---]	Pot of bronze
	[--]	[---]	Pot of bronze
	[--]	[---]	Pot of bronze
	[--]	[---]	[-6-] of bronze

(The fragment breaks off)<sup>4</sup>

20	[--]	[.]10[-]	[---]
	[3] ob.	18 dr.	Crops
			at Thria
	[3] ob.	20 dr.	Crops
			at Athmonon
		Total with tax:	
25		4,723 dr. 5 ob.	
		Of Polystratos son of Dio[doros]	
		of Ankyle	
	2 dr. 1 ob.	202 dr.	Pistos <sup>5</sup>
	[1] dr. <sup>6</sup>	42 dr.	Crops at An-
30			kyle
		Total with tax:	
		247 dr. 1 ob.	
		Of Kephisodoros <sup>7</sup> the metec in Pira[eus]	
	2 dr.	165 dr.	Thracian slave-girl (or woman)
35	1 dr. 3 ob.	135 dr.	Thracian slave-girl (or woman)
	[2] dr.	170 dr.	Thracian slave
	2 dr. 3 ob.	240 dr.	Syrian slave
	[1] dr. 3 ob.	105 dr.	Carian slave
	2 dr.	161 dr.	Illyrian slave
40	2 dr. 3 ob.	220 dr.	Thracian slave-girl (or woman)
	1 dr. 3 ob.	115 dr.	Thracian slave
	1 dr. 3 ob.	144 dr.	Scythian slave
	1 dr. 3 ob.	121 dr.	Illyrian slave
	2 dr.	153 dr.	Colchian slave
45	2 dr.	174 dr.	Carian slave-boy
	1 dr.	72 dr.	Carian <sup>child</sup>
	[3] dr. 1 ob.	301 dr.	Syrian slave
	[2] dr.	151 dr.	Meletenian slave <sup>8</sup>
	1 dr.	85[.]1 ob. <sup>9</sup>	Lydian slave-girl (or woman)

(End of Column I)

(B) (STELE VI)

50	[--]	[---]	[...] and [their young] <sup>10</sup>
			(Two lines are uninscribed)
		[Of Adeimantos] <sup>11</sup> son of Le[uk]olophides of Ska[m-	
		bonidai]	
55	[--]	[..]	The man [Ar]istomachos
			Country-farm [in] Thasos in I[--]
			and private residence
	[--]	[...]250 dr.	Included are jars (?): nine; [amphorae (?)]
			unbroken: 20[.] unsound [--]
			[with] lids
			Amphoreis of wine [--]:
60	[--]	[..]180 dr.	
			590, three choes <sup>12</sup>
			(This line is uninscribed)
		Of [P]anaitios	
			Amphoreis of wine, Attic
65	[--]	[.]20 dr.	
			unmixed: 104, seven choes
			Beehives on the country-farm
	[3] dr.	[2]60 dr.	
			in Is[-6-] 15 dr. [--]
	[1 dr. 1 ob.]	[100] dr.	Two working oxen in Ar[--]
	[1] dr.	[7]0 dr.	[Two] oxen
70	[--]	[--]	Four cows <sup>13</sup> and calves [--]
	[--]	[--]	Sheep: 84
			and their young
	[7 dr. 3 ob.]	[7]10 dr.	Goats, 67, and [their] young
			(This line is uninscribed)
75		[Of Polystra]tos son of Diodoros of Ankyle	
		Private residence in Kydathenaion [in which	
		the porch is]	
		two-columned, adjoining [the temple]	
	[--]	[...]50 dr.	of Artemis, from Athmonon,
			Amarysia.
80	[--]	[--]	Land at Ankyle south of
			the hill where the temple [--]
			(Three lines are uninscribed)

- 85 Of Nikid[es son of] Phoiniki[des of M]elite  
1 dr. 52 dr. [--]<sup>14</sup>  
(This line is uninscribed)
- Of Euphiletos son of T[imotheos of Kydathenaion]  
(Guilty) in respect of both.<sup>15</sup> *Private residence* [--]  
90 15 dr. 1,500 dr. [--]  
(Two lines are uninscribed)
- Of Pherekles son of Phe[ren]ika[ios of Themakos]  
(Guilty) in respect of both.<sup>15</sup> *Private residence in Bate*  
[and] land  
95 (This line is uninscribed)
- Another (piece of) land [--]  
[--]  
Land beside the Pyth[ion]<sup>16</sup> --]  
(This line is uninscribed)
- 100 12 dr. 1,200 dr. *House-site, swampy, without a crop,*  
beside [the P]ythion  
*Another* (piece of) land beside the  
Hera[kle]ion  
Half the *orgas*<sup>17</sup> [--]<sup>18</sup>  
105 Pythion and of the canal from [the temple,]  
[the other] half in Kykale  
*This was sold* all together as a parcel.  
(Two lines are uninscribed)
- 110 Payments were made of these rents  
of the men who committed impiety toward the two goddesses.<sup>19</sup>  
Of Phaidros<sup>20</sup> son of Pytho[kles] of Myrrhinous:  
60 dr. Rent paid down for the *private residence*  
[For land in Myrrh]inous rent  
115 350 dr. [was paid down]  
[--]  
From the (property) of Adeim[antos son of L]eukolophides of  
Skambonidai  
1,632 dr. 4 ob. [---]

- From (the property) of Axioch[os<sup>21</sup> son of Alkibiades of S]kam-  
bonidai  
1,633 dr. 2½ ob. [---]  
250 dr. [---]  
162 dr. 4 ob. [---]  
From [----  
-----]
- 120
- The first six lines are missing.
  - This column listed the tax on the sales. How it was computed is obscure, but it was close to a one percent tax, which increased in steps for sums over 100 dr.; see Pritchett, *Hesperia* 22 226-30. The column adjacent to it posted the value of the property; the third column gives the description of the items sold.
  - The famous Alkibiades; see the literature cited at the beginning of the entry.
  - Enough uninscribed space on the right-hand side indicates that the list contained short items (Pritchett).
  - A slave.
  - An overcharge of 3 obols (Pritchett)
  - Madowell 211 identifies him with a comic poet mentioned by Lysias 21.4. If that is correct, he managed to rehabilitate himself, like Adeimantos (note 11) and Axiochos (note 21).
  - Probably Melitene in Cappadocia. The ending is missing and we cannot tell whether this slave is male or female.
  - A new reading in *GHI*. The two missing figures may be drachmas or obols.
  - I.e. livestock.
  - He became general in 407 and remained after the fall of Alkibiades to serve as general at the defeat at Aegospotami (405), when he was accused of treachery (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 1.4.21, 1.7.1, 2.1.30, 32; Lys. 14.38).
  - I.e. 590 amphoreis (a unit of measurement probably equivalent to 12 choes) + three choes = 7,083 choes. (Pritchett's figure, 6,963 choes (*Hesperia* 25 200) seems to be an error.)
  - Or, 'oxen.'
  - '[crops] from Chalcis': Lewis; 'bronze objects': Tod. The letters legible on the stone are EKCHAL.
  - I.e. implication in both crimes, the desecration of the Mysteries and the mutilation of the Herms.
  - The temple of Pythian Apollo at Athens.
  - Apparently, a 'woody, mountainous tract,' perhaps originally sacred land (Pritchett); cf. no. 122E.
  - 'hard by': Meritt; 'within': *GHI*. In the first case, half the canal is assumed to have been sold along with half the *orgas*; in the second, the boundaries of the *orgas* would be the temple and the canal.
  - I.e. rents now received by the state from tenants of the violators of the Mysteries.
  - Phaidros was the friend of Sokrates whose name appears as the title of one of Plato's dialogues. Lys. 19.15 speaks of his poverty; the explanation is his involvement in this episode.
  - The uncle of Alkibiades, he survived to move the second decree of no. 156. A Socratic dialogue bears his name.