

obey, and for themselves in managing them.

The Chians the First to buy Chattel Slaves

The Chians were the first Greeks that I know of who used slaves they had bought for money, as Theopompos narrates in book seventeen of his *Histories*:

- (c) After the Thessalians and the Spartans, the Chians were the first Greeks to use slaves, but they didn't obtain them in the same way as these did. For as we shall see, the Spartans and Thessalians constituted their slave population out of the Greeks who had previously inhabited the territories which they now control – the Spartans taking over Achaean territory, the Thessalians that of the Perrhaiboi and the Magnesians; and they call the people they enslaved *Helots* and *Penestai* respectively. But the Chians have acquired people who are not Greek-speakers to be their house-slaves, and pay a price for them.

That is what Theopompos tells us. In my opinion God punished the people of Chios for this – for in later times they were engaged in a long war because of their slaves. At least Nymphodoros of Syracuse tells the following story about them in his *Voyage along the Coast of Asia Minor*:

- (d) The Chians' slaves ran away from them and made off into the mountains, where they gathered in large numbers and did a lot of damage to their country estates. The island is rough and covered with trees. There is a story which they tell that a little before our own time there was a certain slave who ran off to make his home in the mountains. Since he was a brave man who had a lot of luck when it came to fighting, he came to lead the runaways in the same way as a king leads an army. After the Chians had organised many expeditions against him which failed to achieve anything, Drimakos (for that was the runaway's name) saw that they were being killed for no good reason, and he made them the following proposal: 'Chian owners: what you have been suffering because of your house-slaves is never going to stop. How can it, since it is in accordance with an oracle that has been given by a god? Now if you make a truce with me and allow us to live in peace, I shall ensure that there will be many benefits for you.' So the people of Chios made a treaty with him and agreed on a truce for a certain period of time, and he prepared some measures and weights and a special seal. He showed these to the Chians and said that, 'I am going to

- take anything that I take away from any of you in accordance with these weights and measures, and when I have taken whatever I need, I shall leave your warehouses sealed up with this seal. And I shall interrogate any of your house-slaves that run away about what their reasons are; and if anyone seems to me to have run away because he has been treated intolerably in any way I will keep him with me: but if their story does not convince me, I will send them back to their owners.' When the other house-slaves saw that the Chians were prepared to accept this arrangement, they ran away much less frequently, since they were afraid of being interrogated by Drimakos. At the same time the runaways who were with him were much more afraid of Drimakos than of their own masters, and treated him with great respect, obeying him as though he were their commanding officer; for he punished those who were guilty of breaches of discipline, and allowed no one to plunder the fields or to commit even a single act of injustice without having obtained his consent. At festival time, he would set out and take from the fields wine and any animals suitable for sacrificial purposes which their owners themselves would [†not] hand over. And if he found out that anyone was plotting to lay an ambush for him, he would take his revenge on them.

- (b) The city of Chios had announced that it would give a lot of money to anyone who captured Drimakos or brought them his head; and so, in the end, when he had grown old, he called his boyfriend to a particular place and told him that, 'I have loved you more than anyone else and you are my favourite and like a son to me, and so on and so forth. Now I have lived for long enough, while you are a young man in the best years of your life. So what ought to be done? You ought to become an upright and respected citizen. And since the city of Chios is going to give a lot of money to the man who kills me, and has promised him his freedom, it is you who must cut off my head and bring it to the Chians, take the money from the city and live happily ever after.' Although the young man objected, he convinced him to do this; so he cut off his head and received from the Chians the money that had been promised, buried the body of the runaway and then went home to his own country. Later the Chians suffered a lot of vandalism and theft because of their house-slaves, just as they had before; and since they remembered how fair Drimakos had been to them when he was alive, they erected a shrine to him out in the countryside, and dedicated it to the Kindly Hero. And even today runaway slaves bring the first fruits of everything they steal to him. And it is also said that he appears to many Chians while they are asleep and warns them when their house-slaves are plotting against them; and those to whom he appears go to the

- (e) place where the hero's shrine stands and sacrifice to him.

Now that is the account given by Nymphodoros. But I have found that in many manuscripts the text does not mention Drimakos by name. I don't suppose that any of you are unaware of the story which the wonderful Herodotos tells of Panionios the Chian, and what he so rightly suffered when he made free born boys into eunuchs and sold them [see No. 102 below]. Both the Peripatetic writer Nikolaos and the Stoic Poseidonios state in their histories that the citizen population of Chios was enslaved by Mithridates the Cappadocian and handed over to their own slaves in chains to be resettled in the land of the Colchis. In this way God truly showed how angry he was with them because they were the first people to use human chattels that had been bought, while the †citizens [or: most people] carried out any necessary services by doing the work themselves. Perhaps these events were behind the proverb which Eupolis uses in his play *The Friends*: 'a Chian has bought himself a master'.

Athens and Samos

The Athenians were concerned for the fate of slaves as well as of other persons, and enacted a law to the effect that there could be criminal actions for insulting behaviour against slaves too. In his speech *Against Mantiitheos*, on a charge of assault, the orator Hypereides says:

- (267) They [the lawmakers] decided that an accusation could be submitted against a man who has behaved insolently not just when the behaviour effects free persons, but even when it was directed at a person of slave status.

In his first speech *Against Lykophron*, Lykourgos too seems to be saying the same thing, and so does Demosthenes in his speech *Against Meidias* [see No. 183]. In his *Seasons of the Siphnians*, Malakos tells the story of how some slaves of the Samians, a thousand in number, founded the city of Ephesus. These men had previously withdrawn to the mountain which is on the island of Samos and done the Samians a lot of harm. But as the result of an oracle, the Samians made a truce with these slaves in the sixth year of their revolt, on certain conditions: they were allowed to leave unharmed and sailed away from the island, landing at Ephesus. The Ephesians are their descendants.

Words for Slaves

Writing in book two of *On Concord*, Khrysisippos says that the difference between a slave (*doulos*) and a house-boy (*oiketēs*) is this, that freedmen continue to be slaves [i.e. are slaves 'by nature'], while *oiketai* are

those who have not been set free from ownership. 'For the *oiketēs*' — he says — 'is a slave who is subject to ownership.'

- (c) Kleitarkhos says in his *Dictionary* that the following words exist for slaves: *azos*, *therapōn*, *akolouthos*, *diakonos*, *hypēretēs*, *hepamōn*, *latreus*. Amerias says that those house-slaves who work in the fields are called *herkitai*. And Hermonax says in his *Cretan Dictionary* that *mnōtai* are indigenous house-slaves, while Seleukos says that *azoi* are male or female attendants, *apophrasē* and *bolizē* refer to female slave personnel, a *sindron* is a slave born of someone of slave status, an *amphipolos* is a female attendant of the Lady of the House, while the (d) *propolos* is the woman who walks before her. In book two of his *Constitution of Sparta*, Proxenos says that among the Spartans, female attendants are called *khalkides*. In his *Laertes*, Ion of Chios uses the word dependant (*oiketēs*) for 'slave' when he says:

Go quickly, *oiketēs*, and shut the house
so that no human being may come in.

When Akhaios refers to the satyr in his *Omphale*, he says: 'How good he was to his slaves, how good to his house.' What he is strictly saying is that he behaved well towards his slaves and towards his dependants.

- (e) It doesn't have to be said that an *oiketēs* can be anyone who is staying in your house, even if he is a free person.

Utopias in Comedy

When the writers of Old Comedy talk about life in the old days, they say that at that time no use was made of slaves, in passages like the following:

Kratinos in Riches:

Once upon a time Kronos was their king, in the days when they played knuckle-bones with loaves of bread, and in the athletic schools payment was made with great lumps of ripe barley as good as the coinage of Aegina.

Or Krates in The Beasts:

- Then there shall be no one who may own a slave or a slave girl, but each man, each old man, shall have to serve himself?
- (f) — By no means: for I am going to make everything walk about on its own.
- How is that going to help?
- Each object will come to him when he calls for it. Put yourself down next to me, table. That one — get yourself ready. Get kneading, my sweet little kneading-trough. Fill up, jug. Where's the cup got to?

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 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 Posidonios, 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 Khamailleon 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

211. *Thucydides, 7, 27*

If the slave could not remove his master, he could remove himself by running away. The frequency of references to fugitive slaves shows how many were dissatisfied with the particular master they had to serve – it cannot prove any general resistance to slavery as an institution. Opportunities for flight were particularly good in times of war and insecurity (see Nos. 59–61 and 67–8 above). During the Peloponnesian war, many slaves made the most of the presence of a Spartan army encamped inside Attica at Decelea; large numbers were arrested by the Boeotians and resold very profitably (*Oxyrhynchus Historian*, 12.4).

(5) The Athenians suffered greatly; they were deprived of the use of the whole of their countryside; more than twenty thousand slaves deserted (and a substantial number of these were craftsmen); and they lost all their herds and draught animals.

212. *Digest 11, 4.1: Ulpian, from On the Edict, book 1*

In principle, running away was a very serious crime against property, and the Romans had carefully defined procedures to ensure the swift recovery of runaways.

Anyone who has hidden a runaway slave is guilty of theft.

(2) The Senate has decreed that no runaways must be allowed onto country estates or be sheltered by the estate managers or agents of the landowners, and has laid down a fine; but if anyone restores such runaways to their owners within twenty days or brings them before the authorities, their previous behaviour is to be overlooked.

(3) Any person whatsoever who apprehends a runaway slave has an obligation to produce him in public;

(4) and the authorities are very properly required to guard them carefully to prevent them from escaping.

(7) Carefully guarding them may even include chaining them up.

(8) They are kept under guard up to the time when they can be taken before the Prefect of the *Vigiles* [the police at Rome] or the provincial governor.

(9) Their names and distinguishing features and the names of the persons whom they may claim as their owners should be submitted to the authorities, so that the runaways can be more easily recognised and dealt with (the term 'distinguishing features' here includes scars); and this also applies if details are posted up in writing in a public place or building.

213. *Paul, Letter to Philemon*

When a runaway slave called Onesimos joined the circle of the Apostle Paul, awaiting trial at Rome, there could be no question of Paul's committing the crime of harbouring the fugitive. To reconcile the runaway Christian to his Christian master Philemon, Paul needs all the diplomatic finesse he can muster: in his letter, he tries to confuse the metaphorical enslavement of all Christians to God with the very real slave status of Onesimos: it should be remembered that Christ is 'master' in the sense of 'slave-owner'.

Paul, the captive of Jesus Christ, and his brother Timothy, to Philemon the fellow-worker whom we love, and to Apphia whom we love, and to our fellow-soldier Arkhippos, and to the community within their household: may you have favour and peace from God our Father and from the Master, Jesus Christ.

I thank my God, and always remember you in my prayers, when I hear about the love and faith that you have towards the Master Jesus and towards all the holy ones, that your sharing in the faith may become active in recognising all the good that is in us through Jesus Christ. We find much pleasure and consolation in your love, since the hearts of the holy ones are refreshed through you, my brother.

For this reason, although Christ gives me much freedom of speech to impose an obligation upon you, I prefer to appeal to your love. Senior as I am now, and now a captive for Jesus Christ, I, Paul, appeal to you concerning your child, whom I bore in my chains, Onesimos ['Useful'], whom you once found useless but who is now very useful to you and to me, and whom I have sent back to you; receive him as you would my own heart. I wanted to keep him with me so that he could serve me as your substitute in the chains of the Gospel. But I didn't want to do anything without your knowledge, so that if you performed a good deed, it should have been done freely and not under compulsion. I suppose that the reason why you were without him for a short time was to receive him back for all eternity – no longer as a slave, but as more than a slave, rather as a beloved brother, especially to me – and how much more so to you! – both in the flesh and in the Master. So if you consider me your associate, receive him as you would me. If he did you some wrong or owes you anything, put that down to my account. I, Paul, wrote this and signed it; I will pay you back. I'm not going to remind you that you are indebted to me for your own self. Indeed, my brother, I would like to exploit you for the Master's sake: for his sake, you must relieve my concern. I have written to you confident that you will be obedient, knowing that you will do even more than I ask of you. At the same time, you must prepare to receive me

