

David Lewis

NOTES ON SLAVE NAMES, ETHNICITY, AND IDENTITY IN CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC GREECE\*

After decades of relative neglect, Greek slave names are once more the subject of intense interest.<sup>1</sup> In this article I aim to take stock of several recent developments, to bring some neglected evidence to bear on the debate, and to critique some recent arguments (including my own). Much of the revived interest in this topic has focused on classical Athens. Section I of this article therefore reviews the evidence for Athenian slave names, and in particular their connection with ethnicity and ethnic identity. In section II we turn to the recent claim by Kostas Vlassopoulos that most Athenian

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\* My thanks to Maria Nowak for the invitation to speak at the ‘Tell me who you are’ conference, and to Jakub Urbanik and José Luis Alonso for their kind hospitality during my stay. The invitation provided me with a welcome opportunity to revisit a topic I had not touched on for almost a decade (D. M. LEWIS, ‘Near Eastern slaves in classical Attica and the slave trade with Persian territories’, *CQ* 61.1, pp. 91–113 was penned in 2008–2009), not to mention the privilege of delivering a paper on slavery at the University of Warsaw, home institution of the late Prof. Iza Biezuńska-Małowist. I would like to thank the participants of the conference for their criticisms and suggestions, which have helped greatly to improve this paper; my special thanks to Yanne Broux, Christian Ammitzbøll Thomsen, Edward Harris, Mirko Canevaro, Oliver Thomas, Amy Richlin, and Stephen Mitchell, who helped to improve the piece substantively in several respects. (None of them should be considered complicit in my argument.) I would also like to thank the Epigraphical and Numismatic Museum in Athens for the kind permission to reproduce the photograph of EM 9461 at the end of this article. Translations in this article are my own.

<sup>1</sup> A. BRESSON, ‘Remarques préliminaires sur l’onomastique des esclaves dans la Rhodes antique’, [in:] M. MOGGI & G. CORDIANO (eds.), *Schiavi e dipendenti nell’ambito dell’oikos*

slaves did not bear ethnic or foreign names; this claim is stress-tested by running a counterfactual: what if the *phialai* inscriptions – which provide about two-fifths of Vlassopoulos’ slave names – have nothing to do with slavery or manumission, as Elizabeth Meyer and others have recently argued? If we remove these inscriptions from the equation, does the same pattern hold regarding the prevalence of ethnic and foreign names as that presented by Vlassopoulos? The answer is yes: the picture is scarcely altered by discounting the evidence of the *phialai* inscriptions. Section III compares the Attic evidence to that of several other regions of the Greek world during the Hellenistic period, in order to discern similarities and differences. I argue that a similar – indeed even stronger – picture emerges from this evidence: relatively few slaves bore ethnic or foreign names, and that is true even when we know from other information that the slaves in question were indeed non-Greek. These conclusions deserve special emphasis given the structuralist orientation of much work on slavery in the 1980s and 1990s, work that focused on the importance of ‘othering’ slaves as a process in Greek identity formation. The onomastic evidence shows, on the other hand, that this need to ‘other’ non-Greeks was just one priority among many, and rather less important than was once thought. Finally, a case is made for proceeding

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*e della famiglia*, Pisa 1997, pp. 117–126; H. SOLIN, ‘Griechische und römische Sklavennamen. Eine vergleichende Untersuchung’, [in:] H. BELLEN & H. HEINEN (eds.), *Fünfzig Jahre Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei an der Mainzer Akademie 1950–2000. Miscellanea zum Jubiläum*, Stuttgart 2001, pp. 307–330; B. ROBERTSON, ‘The slave names of IG I<sup>3</sup> 1032 and the Athenian ideology of slavery’, [in:] C. COOPER (ed.), *Epigraphy and the Greek Historian*, Toronto 2008, pp. 79–116; P. M. FRASER, ‘Servile ethnics and metic ethnics’, [in:] P. M. FRASER (ed.), *Greek Ethnic Terminology*, Oxford 2009, pp. 103–118; K. VLASSOPOULOS, ‘Athenian slave names and Athenian social history’, *ZPE* 175 (2010), pp. 113–144; IDEM, ‘Plotting strategies, networks, and communities in classical Athens: the evidence of slave names’, [in:] C. TAYLOR & K. VLASSOPOULOS (eds.), *Communities & Networks in the Ancient Greek World*, Oxford 2015, pp. 101–127; D. M. LEWIS, ‘Near Eastern slaves in classical Attica and the slave trade with Persian territories’, *CQ* 61.1 (2011), pp. 91–113, at pp. 93–98. By means of disclaimer I should state that in writing ‘slave names’, I do not mean a discrete body of names reserved for slaves alone, but simply ‘names borne by slaves’. Cf. O. MASSON, ‘Les noms des esclaves dans la Grèce antique’, [in:] *Actes du colloque 1971 sur l’esclavage*, Besançon 1973, pp. 9–23, at p. 9; H. SOLIN, ‘Ancient onomastics: perspectives and problems’, [in:] A. RIZAKIS (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Colloquium Organized by the Finnish Institute and the Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, Athens 7–9 September 1993*, Athens 1996, pp. 1–9, at p. 4.

beyond a statistical approach to slave names: various epigraphic sub-genres contain names of different sorts, and by investigating the contextual and generic features of individual inscriptions or dossiers of inscriptions, we may be able to explain why certain kinds of name are more prominent in e.g. public inscriptions than in certain kinds of private documents such as dedications and epitaphs. These generic differences are invisible when we look at slave names merely in aggregate.

### I. SLAVE NAMES IN CLASSICAL ATTICA: AN OVERVIEW

A brief survey of the evidence for slave names in Attica will help to set the scene. One obvious source is comedy, but it should be noted that comic slave names do not provide a very good reflection of real slave names. The name Xanthias, ‘Blondy’, for example, which carries ethnic connotations given the Greek association between blond hair and northern barbarian origins, is found famously in Aristophanes (*Ach.* 243; *Nub.* 1485; *Vesp.* 1; *Av.* 656; *Ran.* 271; cf. *Ran.* 582); but not a single attestation of the name is preserved for any historical Athenian slave.<sup>2</sup> The overwhelming bulk of our evidence for historical slave names derives from inscriptions. Several dossiers are particularly important.<sup>3</sup> The most well-known is the ‘Attic Stelai’ (*IG I<sup>3</sup>* 421–430), the fragmentary records of auctioned goods confiscated from the Hermokopidai; the names of 45 slaves are preserved, 34 of which provide potential evidence of ethnic origins, in almost every case non-Greek.<sup>4</sup> From not much later is the naval inscription *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1032, which mentions some 156 legible slave names, of which 51 are ethnic or foreign names.<sup>5</sup> A third

<sup>2</sup> The point is well made in VLASSOPOULOS, ‘Athenian slave names’ (cit. n. 1), p. 124; IDEM, ‘Plotting strategies’ (cit. n. 1), pp. 104–106. On slave names in comedy, see E. LÉVY, ‘Les esclaves chez Aristophane’, [in:] *Actes du colloque 1972 sur l’esclavage*, Besançon 1974, pp. 29–46; K. TREU, ‘Zu den Sklavennamen bei Menander’, *Eirene* 20 (1983), pp. 39–42.

<sup>3</sup> In the notes that follow I take the opportunity to add some addenda and corrigenda to LEWIS, ‘Near Eastern slaves’ (cit. n. 1).

<sup>4</sup> VLASSOPOULOS, ‘Athenian slave names’ (cit. n. 1), p. 141, rightly notes that Σκῶνυς (*IG I<sup>3</sup>* 422.71) bears a foreign name; but as he is referred to as an οἰκογενὲς τραπεζοποιό[ς], I have left him off my list.

<sup>5</sup> This figure is modified from that cited in LEWIS, ‘Near Eastern slaves’ (cit. n. 1), p. 103, to include the additional names noted in VLASSOPOULOS, ‘Athenian slave names’ (cit. n. 1),

dossier derives from a collection of inscriptions – some of them tombstones, some dedications – from Laurion which, due to foreign nomenclature and the strong association between the district and slave labour – Siegfried Lauffer viewed as evidence for slaves.<sup>6</sup> A fourth dossier of potential slave names derives from a series of late-fourth-century inventories known as the *phialai* inscriptions; as we noted above, there has been some recent debate on whether these relate to slavery at all. Fifth, there are the gravestones of foreigners in Attica collected by Bähler, among which Thracian and Anatolian ethnics predominate. These lack the standard citizen and metic name formulae, meaning that for the most part they likely relate to slaves or freedpersons, but (as Bähler herself notes<sup>7</sup>) it is difficult to prove the legal status of the person mentioned in the epitaph; besides, some slaves may have altered their names after they had been freed, making this a complicated dossier of evidence to utilise.<sup>8</sup> A further, though-non-epigraphic, dossier of importance consists of the wills of the philosophers preserved by Diogenes Laertius; these name a number of slaves and freedpersons belonging to Plato (5 per-

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p. 127 n. 46, and the six individuals named Γῆρυς at lines 116, 261, 265, 325, 404, 459 (on the name, see B. BÄBLER, *Fleißige Thrakerinnen und wehrhafte Skythen. Nichtgriechen im klassischen Athen und ihre archäologische Hinterlassenschaft*, Stuttgart – Leipzig 1998, p. 247).

<sup>6</sup> S. LAUFFER, *Die Bergwerkssklaven von Laureion*, Mainz 1979, 2nd ed., pp. 124–128. I reproduce LAUFFER's table in LEWIS, 'Near Eastern slaves' (cit. n. 1), p. 113.

<sup>7</sup> BÄBLER, *Fleißige Thrakerinnen* (cit. n. 5), p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> For post-manumission name altering, see L. C. REILLY, 'The naming of slaves in Greece', *Ancient World* 1 (1978), pp. 111–113; VLASSOPOULOS, 'Plotting strategies' (cit. n. 1), pp. 116–119. BÄBLER, *Fleißige Thrakerinnen* (cit. n. 5), one should note, includes most of Lauffer's Laurieon inscriptions. In LEWIS, 'Near Eastern slaves' (cit. n. 1), pp. 103–104, I reported percentages of ethnic groups based on Bähler's analysis, but I now query a number of her identifications: no. 32 (more likely Carian than Mysian: L. ZGUSTA, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prague 1964, § 996); nos. 44 and 45 (more likely Anatolian than Persian: ZGUSTA, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, § 108, 1–5); no. 47 (where the reading ΠΕΡΣΙΑΔΟΣ is based on a fairly drastic editorial emendation); no. 49 (the same problem as nos. 44 and 45); nos. 86–88 (Daos is more likely Phrygian than Scythian: MASSON, 'Noms des esclaves' (cit. n. 1), p. 13 with n. 14, p. 22); no. 127 (it seems rather a stretch to me to categorise a Maeotian as Thracian). Once one weeds out the dubious Scythians, only five remain: nos. 85a, 85b, 89, 90, and 91, two of which are funerary statues of archers; but even if one follows BÄBLER, the Phrygian ethnics still dwarf the Scythian ethnics in number. (*Fleißige Thrakerinnen und kluge Phrygier*, then, might have better encapsulated the contents of BÄBLER's collection!)

sons), Aristotle (5 persons), Theophrastus (11 persons), Straton (5 persons), and Lycon (14 persons).<sup>9</sup>

What, then, did these ethnic and foreign names look like? Strabo provides a useful summary:

Strab. 7.3.12: Γέτας μὲν τοὺς πρὸς τὸν Πόντον κεκλιμένους καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἕω, Δακοὺς δὲ τοὺς εἰς τάναντία πρὸς τὴν Γερμανίαν καὶ τὰς τοῦ Ἰστρου πηγὰς, οὗς οἶμαι Δάους καλεῖσθαι τὸ παλαιόν: ἀφ' οὗ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ἐπεπόλασε τὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν ὀνόματα Γέται καὶ Δάοι. τοῦτο γὰρ πιθανώτερον ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν Σκυθῶν οὗς καλοῦσι Δάας: πόρρω γὰρ ἐκείνοι περὶ τὴν Ὑρκανίαν, καὶ οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐκείθεν κομίζεσθαι ἀνδράποδα εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν. ἐξ ὧν γὰρ ἐκομίζετο, ἢ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐκείνοις ὁμονύμους ἐκάλουν τοὺς οἰκέτας, ὡς Λυδὸν καὶ Σύρον, ἢ τοῖς ἐπιπολάζουσιν ἐκεῖ ὀνόμασι προσηγόρευον, ὡς Μάνην ἢ Μίδαν τὸν Φρύγα, Τίβιον δὲ τὸν Παφλαγόνα.

The Getai are those who incline towards the Black Sea and the east, whereas the Dacians are those who incline in the opposite direction towards Germany and the sources of the Danube, who I think were called Daoui in early times; and whence derived the slave names 'Getas' and 'Daos' which were popular among the Athenians; for this is more credible than the idea that 'Daos' is from those Scythians who are called 'Daai', since they live far away in the vicinity of Hyrcania, and it is not plausible to suppose that slaves were brought from there to Attica. For the Athenians tended either to call their slaves by the same names as those of the peoples from which they were brought, such as 'Lydos' or 'Syros', or addressed them by names that were common in their countries, such as 'Manes' or 'Midas' for the Phrygian, and 'Tibios' for the Paphlagonian.

The problems relating to deducing ethnicity from this sort of nomenclature are well known.<sup>10</sup> Nobody, to my knowledge, denies them; and

<sup>9</sup> On their authenticity, see Mirko CANEVARO's analysis in M. CANEVARO & D. M. LEWIS, 'Khoris oikountes and the obligations of freedmen in late classical and early hellenistic Athens', *Incidenza dell' antico* 12 (2014), pp. 91–121, at pp. 103–110.

<sup>10</sup> See D. BRAUND & G. R. TSETSKHLADZE, 'The export of slaves from Colchis', *CQ* 39.1 (1989), pp. 114–125, at pp. 119–121; G. R. TSETSKHLADZE, 'Pontic slaves in Athens: orthodoxy and reality', [in:] C. ULF, P. MAURITSCH & R. ROLLINGER (eds.), *Antike Lebenswelten. Konstanz – Wandel – Wirkungsmacht. Festschrift für Ingomar Weiler zum 70. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 2008, pp. 309–319; FRASER, 'Servile ethnics' (cit. n. 1), pp. 107–111; but cf. LEWIS, 'Near East-

this rules out certain ways of using this evidence. Thus if we have a context wherein we can be sure that an individual named Θραξ is a slave,<sup>11</sup> we cannot be entirely certain that he is Thracian (though that may seem more likely than not). So an ethnic or foreign name alone is not proof of ethnicity, which precludes any mechanical, positivistic use of ethnic and foreign names as a means of discovering the ethnicity of specific individuals. These data are more useful, however, if we step back and look for broad trends, using relatively large samples. (The approach is most effective if we possess a series of random samples, which allows us to avoid the risks of generalising from a single sample.) If, let us say, eight out of ten<sup>12</sup> slaves named Θραξ were indeed Thracian, this means that in relatively large samples, ethnic or foreign nomenclature can be used as a proxy – a rough and ready one, to be sure – which, for the most part, captures genuine historical trends relating to the ethnic composition of the slave population. The evidence is therefore useable, but only for painting with broad brushstrokes.<sup>13</sup>

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ern slaves' (cit. n. 1), p. 95: the Roman requirement of stating the *natio* of a slave at the point of sale should not be assumed for classical Greece.

<sup>11</sup> It is obviously unsafe to speculate about ethnicity if the individual in question cannot be securely identified as a slave: P. M. FRASER, 'Ethnics as personal names', [in:] E. MATTHEWS & S. HORNBLLOWER (eds.), *Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence*, Oxford 2000, pp. 149–157; TSETSKHLADZE, 'Pontic slaves' (cit. n. 10.), and R. PARKER, 'Introduction', [in:] R. PARKER (ed.), *Personal Names in Ancient Anatolia*, Oxford 2013, pp. 1–14, discuss the basic problems. Cf. LEWIS, 'Near Eastern slaves' (cit. n. 1), p. 96 n. 21. See also G. J. OLIVER, 'Foreign names, inter-marriage and citizenship in Hellenistic Athens', [in:] R. CATLING & F. MARCHAND (eds.), *Onomatologos. Studies in Greek Personal Names presented to Elaine Matthews*, Oxford 2010, pp. 155–169.

<sup>12</sup> 80% accuracy is what we find in Delphi: of the nineteen cases where we can pair up ethnic or foreign names with ethnicity reported in a τὸ γένος clause, fifteen turn out to relate to or derive from the region from which the slave came (accurate: *SGDI* II 1696; 1749; 1750; 1851; 1906; 1985; 2009; 2027; 2029; 2042; 2119; 2175; 2194; 2289; *FD* III 2:219; 3:265; inaccurate/misleading: *SGDI* II 1797; 1799; 1800; 1854). (This fine-tunes my earlier analysis in LEWIS, 'Near Eastern slaves' (cit. n. 1), pp. 97–98.) On the Delphic documents, see *infra*.

<sup>13</sup> That was the thrust of my argument in LEWIS, 'Near Eastern slaves' (cit. n. 1), pp. 93–98. However, I am rather sceptical of my younger self's remarks about geographical names and in particular my analysis of Varro, *Ling.* 8.9 (see LEWIS, 'Near Eastern slaves' [cit. n. 1], pp. 95–96); I now retract that argument.

## II. THE RIDDLE OF THE PHIALAI INSCRIPTIONS

Before we build such a broad-brushstroke picture, though, we must confirm the relevance of our epigraphic evidence to the topic of slavery. It has long been thought that the late-fourth-century Athenian *phialai* inscriptions concern slaves or freedmen. This view has recently been criticised by Elizabeth Meyer.<sup>14</sup> She argues that these inventories do not relate to slaves or freedmen, but to metics prosecuted under the *dike aprostasiou* procedure; and if she is correct, then students of Athenian slavery must lose, and students of Attica's metics gain, a substantial body of material. Here is not the place to enter this debate, which is far from resolved.<sup>15</sup> For now, let us consider whether or not Vlassopoulos' picture holds together if Meyer's basic claim that the dossier does not relate to slaves or freedmen is correct.

If one makes a count of the slaves from the fifth–fourth centuries BC listed under 'Other Foreign Residents' in Osborne & Byrne's *The Foreign Residents of Attica*,<sup>16</sup> the total (including, for the purposes of argument, the individuals listed in the *phialai* inscriptions) comes to 606 individuals. Of these, some 122, or c. 20%, bear ethnic or foreign names. Now, of these 606 individuals, 228 entries derive from the *phialai* inscriptions. Let us deduct them from the total and calculate the proportion of ethnic and foreign names in the remaining sample. This leaves us with a revised dossier of 378 names, of which 102 (c. 27%) bear ethnic or foreign names. So there is a slightly higher proportion of ethnic and foreign names if we remove the *phialai* inscriptions

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<sup>14</sup> See E. A. MEYER, *Metics and the Athenian Phialai-Inscriptions: A Study in Athenian Epigraphy and Law*, Wiesbaden 2010, and pp. 17–28 for a potted history of scholarly interpretation of these documents.

<sup>15</sup> For post-MEYER debate on the dossier, see K. VLASSOPOULOS' review of MEYER, *Metics and the Athenian Phialai-Inscriptions*, *BMCRA* 2011.02.48; A. BRESSON, 'Greek epigraphy and ancient economics', [in:] J. K. DAVIES & J. WILKES (eds.), *Epigraphy and the Historical Sciences*, Oxford 2012, pp. 223–247, at p. 232. E. M. HARRIS is currently working on a paper ('The dedication of *phialai* by metics and citizens; or, applying Ockham's Razor to some Athenian inscriptions') that will present a major advance in the debate. I endorsed MEYER's view in LEWIS, 'Near Eastern slaves' (cit. n. 1), p. 102 n. 46, but whilst I remain convinced by her demolition of earlier theories, I am now more sceptical about her reconstruction.

<sup>16</sup> M. OSBORNE & S. BYRNE, *The Foreign Residents of Athens: An Annex to the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names: Attica*, Leuven 1996, pp. 323–362.

from the picture;<sup>17</sup> but it is not a very significant change, and the basic fact remains that nearly three quarters of the slaves in our sample did not bear ethnic or foreign names. That might not surprise experts in onomastics;<sup>18</sup> but it may surprise the general student of Greek slavery, since much work during the 1980s and 1990s emphasised the importance to the Greeks of ‘othering’ slaves, and in so doing bolstering a chauvinistic Greek sense of identity.

That is a point to which we will return; but for now, let us step back from Attica and the classical period and look at evidence from other regions of the Greek world dating to the several centuries that followed Alexander’s death, for two purposes: first, we can test whether the pattern of slave-naming that Vlassopoulos has demonstrated for Attica holds for the Greek world more broadly; and second, certain features of these documents provoke questions that may help us better understand the Athenian situation. In other words, for historians interested in Athenian slave names, the Hellenistic evidence is good to think with.

### III. SOME SLAVE ONOMASTICS BEYOND ATHENS

The evidence for slave names is widely scattered across the Greek world; the last well-known attempt at comprehensive coverage was Max Lambertz’ *Die griechischen Sklavennamen* in 1907.<sup>19</sup> A new comprehensive study, proceeding on a regional basis, is a desideratum.<sup>20</sup> For the purposes of this ar-

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<sup>17</sup> The handful of new names MEYER discovered through autopsy of the stones (MEYER, *Metics and the Athenian Phialai-Inscriptions* [cit. n. 14], pp. 142–143) scarcely alters the picture.

<sup>18</sup> Such an impression could be gleaned from reading M. LAMBERTZ, *Die griechischen Sklavennamen*, Vienna 1907, or C. FRAGIADAKIS, *Die attischen Sklavennamen von der spätarchaischen Epoche bis in die römische Kaiserzeit. Eine historische und soziologische Untersuchung*, Athens 1988, cover-to-cover. (Not something, I imagine, many have done.)

<sup>19</sup> LAMBERTZ was a remarkable character. A polyglot, folklorist, and (in later life) a communist, he enjoyed a distinguished career in Albanian studies; R. ELSIE, *Historical Dictionary of Albania*, Lanham – Toronto – Plymouth 2010, pp. 260–262, provides a succinct biography. One of his many talents was photography, and his photographs of Albanian life in 1916 are especially charming.

<sup>20</sup> I have not been able to consult SIEGFRIED COPALLE’S *De servorum Graecorum nominibus capita duo*, Marburg 1908. MASSON, ‘Les noms des esclaves’ (cit. n. 1), provides a useful, though brief, survey of the issue of Greek slaves’ names. M. I. FINLEY, ‘The Black Sea and Dan-

ticle, which must be more modest in scope, I have chosen to focus on a few choice dossiers of evidence, each of which displays singular features and provides a useful counterpoint in relation to which the Athenian material can be considered. Let us begin with Delphi. We have relatively few cases in Attica where a slave is explicitly stated as deriving from this or that place or people,<sup>21</sup> but Delphi provides hundreds of such cases, whose manumission inscriptions – of which a thousand or so survive<sup>22</sup> – often employ τὸ γένος clauses to describe the origins of the manumitted person. This provides us with far finer-grained evidence, here presented in the following table. (The raw data on which it is based are presented in the appendix.<sup>23</sup>)

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ubian regions and the slave trade in antiquity’, *Klio* 40 (1962), pp. 51–59, at p. 56 (= M. I. FINLEY, *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece*, B. D. SHAW & R. P. SALLER (eds.), London 1981, p. 172) called for more regional studies; L. C. REILLY, *Slaves in Ancient Greece: Slaves from Greek Manumission Inscriptions*, Chicago 1978, presents a useful but austere list based on manumission inscriptions, whilst FRAGIADAKIS, *Die attischen Sklavennamen* (cit. n. 18), provides a study of Athenian slave names. Much work, however, remains to be done (cf. SOLIN, ‘Ancient onomastics’ [cit. n. 1], p. 4).

<sup>21</sup> But there are a number of instances in the Attic Stelai: [παις Π]εισίστρατος Κάρ (IG I<sup>3</sup> 421, l. 9); Ποταίνιος Κάρ (422, l. 77); Στρογγυλίον [τ]ὸ γένος Κάρ (427, ll. 5–6); Καρίον τὸ γένος Κάρ (427, ll. 8–9); [Φ]άνες τὸ [γέ]νος Λυδός (427, ll. 10–11); [Α]ρτέ Θραίττα (422, ll. 195); [Γρ]υλίον Θραίχς (422, ll. 196); [Αβ]ροσύνη Θραίττα (422, l. 197); [Αν]τιγένης [τὸ] γένος Θραίξ (427, ll. 3–4); Ἀπολλο[νί]δης [τ]ὸ γέν[ος] Θραίξ (427, ll. 12–13); Δ[ιο]νύσιος χαλ[κ]εὺς Σκύθες (422, ll. 198–199); Σῆμος τὸ γένος Σκύθες (427, ll. 7–8); Πολυχσ[έ]νε Μακεδόν (422, ll. 79–80); Σοσιμένες Κρέ(ς) (422, l. 206). However, most of Kephisodoros’ slaves in IG I<sup>3</sup> 421, ll. 34–49 are referred to by plain ethnics, and scholars have differed in treating these either as ethnic designations (viz. Θραίχς at line 41, on this view, means simply ‘Thracian male’ – thus C. W. FORNARA, *Archaic Times to the End of the Peloponnesian War*, Cambridge 1983, p. 172) or as genuine personal names (viz. Θραίχς, on this view, means ‘a man named Thrax’ – thus VLASSOPOULOS, ‘Athenian slave names’ (cit. n. 1), p. 136).

<sup>22</sup> For an introduction to the dossier, see D. MULLIEZ, ‘Les actes d’affranchissement delphiques’, *Cahiers Glotz* 3 (1992), pp. 31–44.

<sup>23</sup> FINLEY, *Economy and Society* (cit. n. 20), p. 272 n. 19 (= FINLEY, ‘The Black Sea regions’ [cit. n. 20], p. 55 n. 1) rightly commented that ‘the distribution tables of the Delphic slaves in WESTERMANN (1955) 33 is (*sic*) unsatisfactory in the way the regions are grouped’. I hope this table improves on WESTERMANN’S effort (*The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity*, Philadelphia 1955), and (in combination with the appendix) allows the reader to see my working out in full.

Region	201– 154/3 BC	154/3 – c. 100 BC	c. 100 BC – c. AD 100	Total	Ethnic origin given in τὸ γένος clause & frequency of attestation
Greece	35	17	8	<b>60</b>	Eastern Locrian (2); Western Locrian (9); Phocian (10); Laconian (10); Epirote (4); Boeotian (10); Chalcidian (2); Thessalian (5); Delphian (2); Tenedian (1); Aneian [see <i>infra</i> , n. 73] (1); Megarian (1); Aitolian (2); Heleian [see <i>infra</i> , n. 74] (1)
Balkans	31	18	1	<b>50</b>	Maketan (5); Perrhaibian (1); Macedonian (3); Illyrian (5); Dardanian [sc. a Thraco-Illyrian tribe] (2); Thracian (34)
Black Sea & environs <sup>24</sup>	4	15	0	<b>19</b>	Maeotian (2); Bastarnian [sc. a tribe from the vicinity of the Carpathians] (2); Sarmatian (10); Armenian (4); Colchian (1)

<sup>24</sup> I include here the swathe of territory extending clockwise around the Black Sea from the north bank of the Danube to Colchis, and adjoining hinterland regions.

Anatolia	22	15	1	<b>38</b>	Asian (1); Bithynian (2); Paphlagonian (1); Heracleote [ <i>sc.</i> Heraclea Pontica] (1); Tibaranian [ <i>sc.</i> a tribe in NE Anatolia] (1); Mysian (2); Lydian (2); Pergamene (1); Phrygian (4); Galatian (11); Cappadocian (10); Cilician (1); Pisidian (1)
Near East	22	36	2	<b>60</b>	Cypriot (2); Syrian (49); Phoenician (2); Jewish (2); Arab (3); Elymaian [ <i>sc.</i> SW Iran] (1); Mede (1)
Africa	1	5	0	<b>6</b>	Alexandrian (2); Libyan (1); Egyptian (3)
Italy	6	0	0	<b>6</b>	Italian (1); Samnite (2); Roman (2); Brettian (1)

A few notes of warning. First, most of these entries are bunched in the second century BC, for reasons unknown; specialists have warned against viewing this trend as a simple reflection of manumission rates.<sup>25</sup> Second, I have not included those τὸ γένος clauses that mention that the slave in question was homeborn (οἰκογενής / ἐνδογενής). Indeed, all of the slaves mentioned in the Delphic manumissions *could* have had their origins ex-

<sup>25</sup> K. HOPKINS & P. J. ROSCOE, 'Between slavery and freedom: on freeing slaves at Delphi', [in:] K. HOPKINS, *Conquerors and Slaves*, Cambridge 1978, pp. 133–171, at pp. 134–136; R. DUNCAN-JONES, 'Problems of the Delphic manumission payments 200–1 B.C.', *ZPE* 57 (1984), pp. 203–209; MULLIEZ, 'Les actes d'affranchissement' (cit. n. 22), pp. 36–37.

pressed in a τὸ γένος clause stating that they were either home-born or bought from some or other locale; yet a great many do not.<sup>26</sup> Third, we do have some ethnic and foreign names unaccompanied by a τὸ γένος clause, which I have not included in this table.<sup>27</sup> What I present, then, is a list of the slaves of known ethnic origins, minus the homeborn slaves.

The superior quality of this evidence to the Attic ethnic and foreign names should be clear. Instead of a name like Θραῖξ that in most (but not all) cases was given to a Thracian, the Delphic evidence furnishes us with numerous deliberate statements of origins. (Some of these designations, it should be noted, are finessed by the inclusion of a specific toponym, e.g. τὸ γένος Σύρον Βηρύτιον in *SGDI* II 2183, etc.) A few of these deliberate statements of origins may be in error, of course; but the chances of error are much slimmer. The most important observation for our purposes is that of the 179 known non-Greek slaves in this sample, only a handful bore ethnic or foreign names: Δαρδάνα (*SGDI* II 2194); Ἰουδαῖος (*SGDI* II 2029); Καρίας (*SGDI* II 1797) Κύπριος (*SGDI* II 1749–1750); Λίβυς (*SGDI* II 2175); Μῆδος (*FD* III 2:219); Βιβία (*SGDI* II 1985); Βίθυς (*SGDI* II 2009); Κότυς (*SGDI* II 2119); Μαιφάτας (*SGDI* II 1854); Μαισίρα (*SGDI* II 2119<sup>28</sup>); Μάνης (*SGDI* II 1696); Μηνᾶς (*SGDI* II 1906); Μήνιος (*SGDI* II 2042); Μηνόδορος (*FD* III 3:265); Μηνόφιλος (*SGDI* II 1851; 2027; 2289); Μιθραδάτης (*SGDI* II 1799); and Πλάτωρ (*SGDI* II 1800).<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> I do not find the argument of HOPKINS & ROSCOE, 'Between slavery and freedom' (cit. n. 25), p. 139 n. 15 – that there were probably few foreigners among those freedmen whose origins are not stated – convincing. We simply cannot say anything about them, and WESTERMANN, *Slave Systems* (cit. n. 23), p. 32, was probably correct to write that 'clearly there was no statute at Delphi which required the origin of the slave be given in each case of manumission'.

<sup>27</sup> E.g. Θραῖσσα (*SGDI* II 1694); Βιβία (*SGDI* II 1960); Δαζίμα (*SGDI* II 1789); Δάζιμος (*SGDI* II 1952); Μενηδόλα (*SGDI* II 2115); Λυδός (*SGDI* II 1965); Μήδα (*SGDI* II 1708); Μῆδος (*SGDI* II 1822); Σύρα (*SGDI* II 2126); Σύριον (*SGDI* II 1781); Καρίνα (*SGDI* II 1988); Καρίων (*SGDI* II 2032). See MASSON, 'Les noms des esclaves' (cit. n. 1), p. 19.

<sup>28</sup> Seemingly the only attestation of this name; I can find no parallels in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (LGPn).

<sup>29</sup> On Καρίας, see LAMBERTZ, *Die griechischen Sklavennamen* (cit. n. 18), p. 13; ZGUSTA, *Kleinasiatischen Personennamen* (cit. n. 8), § 910, on the Μῆν- theophorics; on Μήνιος, see F. REITER, *Die Nomarchen des Arsinoites. Ein Beitrag zum Steuerwesen im römischen Ägypten*, Paderborn 2004, pp. 36–38; on the other foreign names, see MASSON, 'Les noms des esclaves' (cit. n. 1), p. 19.

Whereas the Athenian evidence suggests that ethnic and foreign names make up somewhere in the region of 20–27% of all slaves' names, in the Delphic evidence – even if we restrict ourselves only to cases where we know that the individuals are non-Greek – such names make up a mere 11% of the total. It is of course possible that some ethnic or foreign names have disappeared through the freedperson changing their name, and that replacement name appearing in the inscription; but the trend is very strong, this possibility notwithstanding. (If anything, one would suspect that if this process were prevalent, there would be a rather higher number of indigenous foreign names than the record shows.)

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For a second point of comparison to our Athenian data let us turn to the gravestones from Rhodes.<sup>30</sup> Alain Bresson has shown that there are many parallels between the two bodies of evidence for slave onomastics.<sup>31</sup> Ethnicity in these epitaphs is not usually indicated through ethnic or foreign names, but is stated after the personal name of the deceased; the adjective *χρηστός*, 'useful', is also often present, just as in many of the tombstones from Attica studied by Bäbler.<sup>32</sup> A few examples will help to illustrate their format:

<sup>30</sup> P. M. FRASER & T. RÖNNE, *Boeotian and West Greek Tombstones*, Lund 1957, pp. 96–97, explain the name formulae as follows: 'The class designated by name, patronymic and city-ethnic is relatively small. The group with name only followed by racial ethnic, such as ὁ δεῖνα Θρηάξ represents, of course, largely the slave population. A further group of monuments has single names but no racial- or city-ethnics; the names of most of these denote a servile status, even if one or two appear to be Rhodian. Another large group consists of foreigners with city-ethnic but no patronymic. These we may fairly regard as resident metics (though the term μέτοκος is only used on three or four tombstones)'.

<sup>31</sup> See BRESSON, 'Remarques préliminaires' (cit. n. 1). See also D. MORELLI, 'Gli stranieri in Rodi', *Studi classici e orientali* 5 (1955), pp. 126–190; FRASER & RÖNNE, *Tombstones* (cit. n. 30), pp. 96–97 with n. 37 & 38, for a list of texts; I. PAPACHRISTODOULOU, 'Noms géographiques et noms de personnes d'Asie mineure dans les inscriptions rhodiennes de l'époque hellénistique avancée', [in:] A. BRESSON & R. DESCAT (eds.), *Les cités d'Asie mineure occidentale au II<sup>e</sup> siècle a.C.*, Bordeaux 2001, pp. 173–179, on Anatolian ethnics.

<sup>32</sup> See BÄBLER, *Fleißige Thrakerinnen* (cit. n. 5), pp. 65–66.

<p>IG XII, 1 497 Ἀνδρικόδς Καππάδοξ (Rhodes) χρηστὸς χαίρε.</p>	<p>Andrikos, a Cappadocian, <i>chrēstos</i>. Farewell.</p>
<p>IG XII, 1 877 Ἄνταιός Θρᾶξ χρηστὸς χαίρε (Lindos) καὶ Κλεαινὶς ἐγγ&lt;ε&gt;νὴς χρηστὰ χαίρε.</p>	<p>Antaios, a Thracian, <i>chrēstos</i>. Farewell. And Kleainis, locally-born, <i>chrēsta</i>. Farewell.</p>
<p>IG XII, 1 881 Φρόνιμος (Lindos) Γαλάτας, Ἄρτεμισία Σύρα. Εὐφρόνιος ἐγγενής.</p>	<p>Phronimos, a Galatian. Artemisia, a Syrian. Euphronios, locally-born.</p>

Many Rhodian slaves bore Greek names and indicated their ethnicity in this manner; the method is therefore comparable to the Delphic τὸ γένος clauses, insofar as ethnicity is not normally expressed through the name itself but through an additional adjective. The dossier of Rhodian funerary inscriptions is particularly valuable for the light it sheds on slave couples: it is probable that the relationship between Antaios and Kleainis was of this sort; likewise, the Galatian Phronimos and the Syrian Artemisia were surely the slave parents of Euphronios.<sup>33</sup> In a number of epitaphs the female slave or freedperson is explicitly identified as the wife, *gyna*, of the male slave or freedperson.<sup>34</sup> Christian Ammitzbøll Thomsen has collected 188 examples of slaves stating their origins from epitaphs found in the necropolis of the city of Rhodes dating between c. 300 BC – AD 100.<sup>35</sup> 30 of these individuals

<sup>33</sup> The Rhodian evidence thus provides a particularly rich point of comparison to the Attic material discussed in VLASSOPOULOS, 'Plotting strategies' (cit. n. 1), pp. 125–126.

<sup>34</sup> E.g. IG XII, 1, nos. 500; 507; 517; 523; 880.

<sup>35</sup> I am very grateful to CHRISTIAN THOMSEN for sending me his list pre-publication, and for permission to cite these figures. Needless to say, this rich vein of material holds much

are identified (or identify) as ἔγγενής;<sup>36</sup> as for the rest, we have a handful of slaves from what I defined for Delphi (*supra*) as ‘the Black Sea and environs’ (3 Armenians, 3 Scythians, 1 Sarmatian, 4 Maiotians), a few from Europe and the Balkans (3 Thracians, 1 Celt), a larger group from the Near East (4 Medians, 2 Persians, 12 Syrians), and a small number from north Africa (3 Egyptians, 2 Libyans). By far the bulk of the attestations, however, concern Anatolians: 30 Phrygians, 12 Galatians, 1 Paphlagonian, 4 Carians, 13 Lydians, 8 Cappadocians, 12 Cilicians, 12 Lycians, 11 Kabalians,<sup>37</sup> 8 Lycaonians, and 9 Pisidians. Of these 158 non-Greeks who are not born locally, however, only a small handful bear ethnic or foreign names.<sup>38</sup> Of these, a number match well with the reported ethnicity of the slave in question.<sup>39</sup>

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Our third point of comparison to Athens is an altogether singular document, often overlooked: the Protarchos inscription, a funerary monument that dates to the late second or early first century BC and was discovered on Rheneia, an island next to Delos.<sup>40</sup> The diverse origins of the named individu-

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potential for expanding our understanding of slavery beyond Attica, and THOMSEN’s future work on this topic is much anticipated.

<sup>36</sup> As BRESSON, ‘Remarques préliminaires’ (cit. n. 1), p. 119, notes, this term denotes a category ‘sans doute équivalent à celle des *oikogeneis*’.

<sup>37</sup> Kabalia was a region to the north of Lycia: Hdt. 3.90; 7.77.

<sup>38</sup> Ἀν[νά]ς (*Suppl. Epig. Rodio* 74); Καβαλεύς (*IG XII*, 1 491); Πέρσης (*IG XII*, 1 520); Ποττοῦς (PFUHL-MÖBIUS 1844); Μηνιάδος (*ΜΑΙΥΡΙ, NSER* 241); Μηνιάς (*ASAA* 2 [1916] 177, 173); Μάνης (*SEG* 39:793); Πάμας (*Clara Rhodos* 2 [1932] 231, 120); Ἀπαμάς (*ΜΑΙΥΡΙ, NSER* 240); Φοῖνιξ (*ASAA* 2 [1916] 167, 121).

<sup>39</sup> E.g. Ἀν[νά]ς Κύλισσα (*Suppl. Epig. Rodio* 74), on which see ZGUSTA, *Kleinasiatischen Personennamen* (cit. n. 8), § 62; Ποττοῦς Καβαλίσσας (PFUHL-MÖBIUS 1844), on which see ZGUSTA, *Kleinasiatischen Personennamen*, § 1295 1–3; Ἀπαμάς [Φρυγία]ς (*ΜΑΙΥΡΙ, NSER* 240), on which cf. ZGUSTA, *Kleinasiatischen Personennamen*, § 70; Μηνιάδος Φρυγίας (*ΜΑΙΥΡΙ, NSER* 241) and Μηνιάς Φρυγία (*ASAA* 2 [1916] 177, 173), on which see ZGUSTA, *Kleinasiatischen Personennamen*, § 910; Μάνης Φρῶξ (*SEG* 39:793).

<sup>40</sup> M.-T. COUILLOU, *Les monuments funéraires de Rhénée: Exploration archéologique de Délos XXX*, Athens 1974, no. 418 = *SEG* 23:381. For discussion, see J. ROBERT & L. ROBERT, ‘Bulletin épigraphique’, *Revue des études grecques* 78 (1965), pp. 70–204, at pp. 89–90; MASSON, ‘Les noms des esclaves’ (cit. n. 1), pp. 20–21; P. BRUNEAU, ‘L’esclavage à Délos’, [in:]

als, paired with the fact that they are described as the *χρηστοί* of Protarchos, make it clear that we are dealing with a number of deceased slaves; perhaps they all died in some manner of accident, possibly a fire or a collapsing building.<sup>41</sup> Like the list of Kephisodoros' slaves from late fifth-century Athens (*IG I<sup>3</sup>* 421, ll. 33–49), this document provides us with a valuable snapshot of a group of slaves belonging to a single elite individual.

	Ἰσίδωρε Μαιῶτα, Δαμᾶ Μαιῶτα	Isidoros of Maeotis; Dama of Maeotis;
	Ἰσίδωρε Ἀπαμεῦ, Βίθυ Ἰστρια(ν)έ	Isidoros of Apamea; Bithys of Istros;
	Καλλιόπη Ὀδησσίτι, Ὁμόνοια	Kalliope of Odessos; Homonoia;
4	Ἑρμόλαε Ῥωσέῦ	Hermolaos of Rhosos;
	Ἀντίπατρε Μαζακηνέ	Antipatros of Mazaka;
	Ἀσκληπιάδη Σιδῆτα	Asklepiades of Side;
	Ἀπολλωνίδη Μαρισηνέ	Apollonides of Marisa;
8	Νικηφόρε Ἰοπεῖτα	Nikephoros of Joppa;
	Μενέλαε Μαραθηνέ	Menelaos of Marathos;
	Ποσῆ Μαραθηνέ	Poses of Marathos;
	Ἡρακλείδ(η) Μαιῶτα	Herakleides of Maeotis;
12	Νικία Μαιῶτα	Nikias of Maeotis;
	Ἀμμωνία Κυρηναία	Ammonia of Cyrene
	καὶ θυγάτ(η)ρ Ἀπολλωνία	and her daughter Apollonia;
	Νικῆρατε Ἀπαμεῦ	Nikeratos of Apamea;
16	Λαοδίκη Ἀπάμισα	Laodike of Apamea;
	Δάμων Μύνδιε	Damon of Myndos;
	Ζαῖδε Ναβαταῖε	Zaidos of Nabataea;

M.- M. MACTOUX & E. GENY (eds.), *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque*, III: *Anthropologie et société*, Besançon 1989, pp. 41–52, at p. 50; BRAUND & TSETSKHLADZE, 'Export of slaves' (cit. n. 10), pp. 120, 123 n. 59; A. AVRAM, 'Some thoughts about the Black Sea and the slave trade before the Roman domination (6th–1st centuries BC)', [in:] V. GABRIELSEN & J. LUND (eds.), *The Black Sea in Antiquity: Regional and Interregional Economic Exchanges*, Aarhus 2007, pp. 239–251, at pp. 243–244. FRASER, 'Servile ethnics' (cit. n. 1), p. 105 n. 2, writes that the original monument is now lost; according to COUILLOUD, though, it is held in the Roma collection in Zante. COUILLOUD does not include a photograph of the monument in the plates of her book, though FRASER (cit. *supra*) notes that a squeeze is kept by the *Inscriptiones Graecae* team in Germany.

<sup>41</sup> COUILLOUD, *Monuments funéraires* (cit. n. 40), p. 192.

Δαμᾶ Ἰστριανέ	Damas of Istros;
20 οἱ Πρωτάρχου κρηστοὶ	the <i>chrēstoi</i> of Protarchos.
χαίρετε.	Farewell.

Like the slaves of Kephisodoros, those of Protarchos are largely from non-Greek regions. The personal names are common enough Greek names for the most part; we do however find a couple of foreign names which, perhaps unsurprisingly (given the trends in Attica, Delphi, and Rhodes), match up well with the place from which the slave is supposed to have come (Bithys of Istros; Zaidos of Nabataea).<sup>42</sup> A striking feature of this document is that the ‘ethnics’ (if one might call them that) almost all relate to precise settlements, not broader regions or specific peoples; most of these are trading hubs, rarely very far from the sea.<sup>43</sup> As Avram points out, it looks like these ‘ethnic’ designations represent the places at which the slaves were likely bought by Protarchos, especially in southern Anatolia (Myndos, Mazaka, Side), the Levant (Apamea,<sup>44</sup> Rhosos, Marathos, Marisa), and the Black Sea (Odessos, Istros; and Maeotis, *viz.* the Sea of Azov).<sup>45</sup> Strabo (11.2.3), writing

<sup>42</sup> Bithys is a common Thracian name: D. DANA, *Onomasticon Thracicum. Répertoire des noms indigènes de Thrace, Macédoine Orientale, Mésies, Dacie et Bithynie*, Athens 2014, pp. 40–58; examples also in *LGN IV*, pp. 69–71. The name Zaidos is rare, but can be found in Nabataea and Arabia: see *IGLSyr* 21 4 126 (Wadi Ghuwayr, Nabataea); *SEG* 7:1169 (Ormân, Arabia). According to M. WHITTON, ‘Rethinking the Jafnids: new approaches to Rome’s Arab clients’, [in:] D. GENEQUAND & C. ROBIN (eds.), *Regards croisés de l’histoire et de l’archéologie sur la dynastie Jafnide*, Paris (forthcoming), Zaidos is the Greek rendering of the Arabic name Sa’id.

<sup>43</sup> Some of the settlements are not as familiar as others. Rhosos is a port in Syria, c. 30 km south of Iskenderun; Marathos is mod. Amrit, Syria; Mazaka is in Cappadocia, mod. Kayseri, Turkey; Marisa is mod. Tel Maresha, Israel, the same Marisa mentioned by Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* 13.9.1). Marisa is also mentioned as the location of a slave sale in one of the Zenon papyri, a transaction dating to 258 BC. See *P. Cair. Zen.* 59015 = *C. Ptol. Sklav.* 39, with I. BIEŻUŃSKA-MAŁOWIST, *L’esclavage dans l’Égypte gréco-romain. Première partie: période ptolémaïque*, Wrocław 1974, p. 55.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Σπράτιον τὸ γένος ἐκ Ἀπαμείας in *SGDI* II 1829 from Delphi, 165/4 BC. But rather than the Syrian city, could these documents be referring to the Phrygian Apameia Kibotos, noted by Strabo (12.8.15) as a trading hub frequented by Greek and Italian merchants? Cf. W. V. HARRIS, ‘Towards a study of the Roman slave trade’, [in:] J. H. D’ARMS & E. C. KOPFF (eds.), *The Seaborne Commerce of Ancient Rome*, Rome 1980, pp. 117–140, at p. 127.

<sup>45</sup> AVRAM, ‘Some thoughts’ (cit. n. 40), p. 244. Amy RICHLIN points me to J. PRAG, ‘*Poenus plane est* – but who were the “Punickes”?’ , *PBSR* 74 (2006), pp. 1–36, who discusses similar

around a century later, stated that Tanais, which lies at the mouth of the Don as it flows into the Sea of Azov, was a trading post where the nomads of the Scythian hinterland exchanged slaves and hides for the wares of the civilised world (cf. Polyb. 4.38.4–5).<sup>46</sup> Yet again, though, we find that most of the non-Greeks owned by Protarchos bore Greek names rather than chauvinistic ethnic or foreign names.

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Finally, a few words on the papyrological evidence from Ptolemaic Egypt.<sup>47</sup> A comprehensive study of slave names in the papyri is a desideratum, but beyond the scope of this article. I wish instead to look at two aspects of the papyri that present novel features not found in the epigraphic evidence that we have already considered, but which may help to provoke some hypotheses to explain (or nuance our reading of) the Athenian epigraphic material. First is the mention of slave children in some documents that relate to sale; second, the appearance in other documents of slaves bearing multiple names.

Papyri relating to slave sales are collected by Scholl in *C. Ptol. Sklav.* 37–52. In relation to ethnicity, they present a significantly different vista from the evidence we have considered above, insofar as the slaves seem to derive almost exclusively from the Levant and immediately adjacent regions. Thrace, the Black Sea region, and Anatolia, it would appear, were of negligible importance to the slave supply of Ptolemaic Egypt.<sup>48</sup> Several documents inform us of the age of the slaves sold, and whilst a number mention adults

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instances in the Western Mediterranean.

<sup>46</sup> Note that we also find slaves from the Sea of Azov region at Athens, Delphi, and Rhodes; see the remarks of AVRAM, ‘Some thoughts’ (cit. n. 40), pp. 243–244.

<sup>47</sup> R. SCHOLL, *Corpus der ptolemäischen Sklaventexte*, Stuttgart 1990 (*C. Ptol. Sklav.*), collects the papyrological evidence for slavery. For a general study, see BIEŻUŃSKA-MAŁOWIST, *L’esclavage* (cit. n. 43).

<sup>48</sup> See BIEŻUŃSKA-MAŁOWIST, *L’esclavage* (cit. n. 43), pp. 54–58, and the digest of the sale data in *C. Ptol. Sklav.*, p. 213. We do find a couple of Anatolians in the papyri, e.g. *C. Ptol. Sklav.* 81 (Lycian); 61–63 (Cilician). Cilician slaves had been imported to Egypt since at least the 5th c. BC, and appear in the Aramaic letters of the Persian satrap Aršama (LEWIS, ‘Near Eastern slaves’ [cit. n. 1], p. 107).

(*C. Ptol. Sklav.* 9, 42, 43, 49), we also find some child slaves. *C. Ptol. Sklav.* 37 mentions a sale in the Transjordan of a seven-year-old girl named Sphragis; *C. Ptol. Sklav.* 43 mentions a young child (παιδισκάριον) bought for 20 drachmas, whilst *C. Ptol. Sklav.* 51 refers to the sale of a ten-year-old home-born slave boy of Syrian descent named Karpos. Now, this sheds light on an aspect of the slave trade about which our epigraphic evidence from the Aegean world is wholly silent; the closest parallel known to me comes from fiction, viz. a fragment of the comic poet Antiphanes (fr. 166 K-A) that refers to two Syrian slaves transported to Athens as children and sold at auction.<sup>49</sup> In terms of identity, the issue of slave children poses complications. Very young children like our Sphragis might have acquired the rudiments of their mother tongue, yet have little conception of their own culture, let alone a spatial sense of the region from which they came.<sup>50</sup> A second, and this time historical, Athenian parallel comes from Xenophon (*Anab.* 4.8.4–8), who mentions a Macronian peltast who had formerly served as a slave in Athens. It was only in adulthood, when traversing the southern littoral of the Black Sea with the homeward-bound Greek mercenary army, that this peltast once again encountered his own people. He seems to have known very little about them, save how to speak their language; Xenophon tells us that the man – who is not named – acted as a kind of impromptu dragoman in negotiating passage through Macronian territory. Yet he did not even know the name of his own people, a piece of information that the Macronians themselves had to proffer (*Anab.* 4.8.5).<sup>51</sup> The lesson that this instance provides is that slaves sold for the first time as adults surely held more fully formed ethnic identities than child slaves, a point we might bear in mind when discussing

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<sup>49</sup> Amy RICHLIN points me to some parallels in Plautus: *Poen.* 66, 85; *Men.* 24, 1116; *Capt.* 8, 760, 981–982; *Rud.* 744; *Cur.* 528. For the sexual abuse of child slaves, see A. RICHLIN, ‘Reading boy-love and child-love in the Greco-Roman world’, [in:] M. MASTERTON, N. S. RABINOWITZ & J. ROBSON (eds.), *Sex in Antiquity: Exploring Gender and Sexuality in the Ancient World*, New York 2015, pp. 352–373.

<sup>50</sup> For child language acquisition in ancient Greece, see O. THOMAS, ‘Ancient Greek awareness of child language acquisition’, *Glotta* 86 (2010), pp. 185–223. For slaves learning Greek, see *Dem.* 19.209; cf. *Xen. Cyn.* 2.3; *Pl. Meno* 82a–b.

<sup>51</sup> One might compare the remark of Herodotus (5.6.1) that the Thracians customarily sold their children for export. Philostratus, living at the time of Philip the Arab, wrote that the Phrygians practised the same custom (*VA* 8.7.12).

slave identity in Athens, which is too often treated in a rather monolithic fashion.<sup>52</sup>

The second point emerges from consideration of papyri that mention slaves bearing more than one name. The best example is *C. Ptol. Sklav.* 78 (= *P. Lond.* VII 2052), which provides a description of several runaway slaves:

Πίνδαρον Λύκιον διάκονον ὡς (ἐτῶν) κθ μέσον μελίχρουν σύνοφρυν ἐπίγρυπον, οὐλή ὑπὸ γόνυ ἀριστερόν. καὶ Φιλωνίδην ὃς καὶ Βελτενοῦρις καλεῖται, ὡς (ἐτῶν) κδ μέσος [με]λίχρους, οὐλή ἐπ ὄφρυ ἀριστεραὶ καὶ ὑπὸ χεῖλος ἐγ δεξιῶν. καὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ὀμηρεύσαντος Φιλῖνον Βαβυλώνιον τριβέα ὡς (ἐτῶν) μδ βραχὺν μελανχρῆ ἐπίγρυπον σύνοφρυν, φακὸν ἔχοντα παρὰ τὸν ἀριστερὸν κρόταφον. καὶ Ἀμύνταν Μῆδον συνωριστὴν ὡς (ἐτῶν) λδ μέσον μελανχρῆ, οὐλή μετώποι καὶ ῥινί.

Pindaros, a Lycian slave, aged around 29, of medium height, with honey-coloured skin, a monobrow, a hooked nose, a scar below his left knee. And Philonides, who is also called Beltenouris, aged around 24, of medium height, honey-coloured skin, a scar on his left eyebrow and below his lip on the right. And of the slaves belonging to Alexandros who was taken hostage: Philinos, a Babylonian masseur, aged around 44, short, with dark skin, a hooked nose, a monobrow, and a mole by his left temple. And Amyntas, a Median carriage-driver, aged around 34, of medium height, with dark skin, a scar on his forehead and nose.

The papyri that document runaway slaves (*C. Ptol. Sklav.* 61–85) provide some remarkably personal information, information that allows us even to visualise their appearance. The person I wish to focus on in this text is Philonides, *a.k.a.* Beltenouris. As Scholl points out, the latter name is a Hellenised rendering of the Babylonian name Belti-nuri, which means ‘my lady is my light’.<sup>53</sup> We find a similar case in *C. Ptol. Sklav.* 81, which mentions a Syrian

<sup>52</sup> But see the excellent recent study of P. HUNT, ‘Trojan slaves in classical Athens: ethnic identity among Athenian slaves’, [in:] C. TAYLOR & K. VLASSOPOULOS (eds.), *Communities & Networks in the Ancient Greek World*, Oxford 2015, pp. 128–154, who (at pp. 143–145) makes several incisive remarks about age and ethnic identity.

<sup>53</sup> See *C. Ptol. Sklav.*, pp. 271–272: an alternative reading is Belit-nuri, ‘the Lady is my light’.

slave from Bambyke named Hermon, who also went by the name Neilos.<sup>54</sup> How are these examples relevant to students of classical Athens? One of the points that has been emphasised in the recent volume edited by Taylor and Vlassopoulos is the sheer range of interactive contexts in which Athenian slaves engaged.<sup>55</sup> Is it not possible, then, that like Beltenouris and Neilos, some Athenian slaves may have borne more than one name, and switched between these depending on the nature of the interaction in which they were engaged? This possibility may go some way towards explaining variations in onomastic patterns in the various dossiers of Athenian evidence outlined earlier in section I.

For instance, it may be helpful to make a distinction between the public documents (especially *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 421–430 & 1032) and the various private inscriptions. The former seem to reflect to a greater degree the interests and conceptions of slaveowning citizens. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 421–430 show a fairly uneven approach to recording the names of slaves, which is unsurprising when we remember that they represent the official, written-up version of charcoaled notes written on *leukōmata* recording the outcomes of auctions. (Perhaps the entries for the individual slaves represent merely what the auctioneer barked out by way of description as each lot came up for sale, which was then scribbled down by the *pōletai* or their assis-

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<sup>54</sup> Interestingly, Neilos is described (lines 8–9) as ἐστιγμένος τὸν δεξιὸν καρπὸν γράμμασι βαρβαρικοῖς. This marking or tattooing of slaves was a very old practice in the region, and is mentioned in the Aršama letters; C. TUPLIN, *The Arshama Letters from the Bodleian Library*, vol. 3: *Commentary* (<http://arshama.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/publications/>), pp. 82–84, provides detailed discussion. It is worth noting that the use of multiple names was widespread in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt among the free populace: see Y. BROUX, ‘Double names as indicators of social stratification in Graeco-Roman Egypt’, [in:] M. DEPAUW & S. COUSSEMENT (eds.), *Identifiers and Identification Methods in the Ancient World*, Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA 2014, pp. 119–139; IDEM, *Double Names and Elite Strategy in Roman Egypt*, Leuven 2015. Yanne BROUX also points out to me several examples from Roman Egypt where slaves either have, or are presumed to have, multiple names of this sort: see Y. BROUX, ‘Explicit name change in Roman Egypt’, *CdE* 88 (2013), pp. 313–336, at pp. 320–322. Cf. also Ἑρμιόνη ἢ λεγομένη Γραῦς in *Tit. Calymniii* 164 (1st c. AD). Slaves with multiple names are also attested in Neo-Babylonian documents: see M. DANDAMAEV, *Slavery in Babylonia, from Nabopolassar to Alexander the Great, 626–331 BC*, tr. V. A. POWELL, Dekalb, IL 1984, p. 109.

<sup>55</sup> TAYLOR & VLASSOPOULOS, *Communities & Networks* (cit. n. 52).

tants.<sup>56</sup>) *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1032*, on the other hand, displays a remarkable uniformity in its stylised ethnic and foreign names, listing no fewer than six individuals named Σύρος, five named Καρίων, five named Ἀρτίμας, six named Θράξ, and eight named Μάνης.<sup>57</sup> This strikes a contrast with the sort of private dedications we find in Lauffer's Laureion sample: these contain names of a very mixed bag, for interspersed among typical ethnic and foreign names like Ἀρτίμας, Τίβειος, Σύρος, and Μάνης we find some much rarer specimens (e.g. Μάης, Θούς, Ἀτώτας, Ἀττάβος, Ἄττας, Μανδίων). It is tempting to conclude that whereas the public inscriptions capture the sort of names that masters bestowed on their slaves (Pl. *Cra.* 384d), the private documents capture a much more complex and textured onomasticon employed by slaves in reference both to themselves and each another, likely involving in some cases indigenous names borne by these individuals prior to being enslaved. Perhaps, then, like Beltenouris and Neilos, Θούς was not the only name that this individual (if he was indeed a slave) bore, nor the one he went by in the presence of his master.

## CONCLUSIONS

Besides bringing out the differences in evidence from these various regions, I hope this article has been able to make clear a basic point: slaves in ancient Greece – even when of demonstrably foreign origin – did not normally bear ethnic or foreign names. The trend that Vlassopoulos has

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<sup>56</sup> On the unevenness of slave-naming formulae in the Attic Stelai, see n. 21, *supra*. On slave auctions, see R. DESCAT, 'À quoi ressemble un marché d'esclaves?', [in:] V. CHANKOWSKI & P. KARVONIS (eds.), *Tout vendre, tout acheter. Structures et équipements des marchés antiques*, Bordeaux – Athens 2012, pp. 203–211; D. M. LEWIS, 'The market for slaves in the fifth- and fourth-century Aegean: Achaemenid Anatolia as a case study', [in:] E. M. HARRIS, D. M. LEWIS & M. WOOLMER (eds.), *The Ancient Greek Economy: Markets, Households and City-States*, Cambridge – New York 2015, pp. 316–336, at pp. 323–325. On auctions more generally, see J.-CH. MORETTI, M. FINCKER & V. CHANKOWSKI, 'Les cercles de Sôkratès. Un édifice commercial sur l'agora de Théophrastos à Délos', [in:] CHANKOWSKI & KARVONIS (eds.), *Tout vendre, tout acheter* (cit. *supra*), pp. 225–246.

<sup>57</sup> Σύρος: ll. 120, 256, 399, 449, 469, 475; Καρίων: ll. 119, 140, 344, 366, 403, 453; Ἀρτίμας: ll. 135, 253, 337, 372, 402; Θράξ: ll. 248, 383, 390, 391, 395, 406; Μάνης: ll. 323, 328, 332, 405, 451, 452, 472, 479.

demonstrated for Athenian slave names is therefore valid in a more generalised sense across the Greek world. Why might this have been the case? Vlassopoulos provides a range of possible explanations, several of which concern the agency of slaves themselves.<sup>58</sup> These explanations are all worthy of consideration, and each to a greater or lesser extent provides part of the answer. Yet we might also step back and ask the following question: should we expect the Athenians or other Greeks to have routinely and consistently supplied their foreign slaves with ethnic and foreign names?

The general assumption is that the answer to this question is ‘yes’.<sup>59</sup> The reason for this, I think, lies in modern scholarly fashions, in particular the structuralist approach whose limitations Vlassopoulos has rightly underscored in other studies.<sup>60</sup> Interest in structuralism among classicists during the 1980s fed into much work on ancient slavery during the 1990s, work that paid close attention to stereotypes of slaves and the ideology of slaveholders; Aristotle’s theory of natural slavery attracted particular attention as the prime example of the mental effort Greeks expended on constructing their own identity in polar opposition to that of the barbarian ‘Other’.<sup>61</sup> This work has been very valuable, insofar as it has taught us a great deal about ideology and stereotype; but historians’ interests during this acme of structuralism-inspired scholarship led to these stereotypical ‘Others’ completely dominating academic discourse on Greek slavery, and as Vlassopoulos has rightly noted, the occasional references to slave onomastics by scholars

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<sup>58</sup> VLASSOPOULOS, ‘Athenian slave names’ (cit. n. 1), pp. 130–131; these are fully unpacked in VLASSOPOULOS, ‘Plotting strategies’ (cit. n. 1), pp. 107–127.

<sup>59</sup> VLASSOPOULOS, ‘Athenian slave names’ (cit. n. 1), p. 113, provides some prominent examples.

<sup>60</sup> K. VLASSOPOULOS, ‘Recent studies on ancient slavery’, *Polifemo’s Recent Studies 2* (2015), pp. 83–106, at pp. 103–104.

<sup>61</sup> See e.g. F. HARTOG, *The Mirror of Herodotus. The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*, Berkeley 1988; E. HALL, *Inventing the Barbarian. Greek Self-Definition Through Tragedy*, Oxford 1989; P. A. CARTLEDGE, *The Greeks: A Portrait of Self and Others*, Oxford 1993; P. GEORGES, *Barbarian Asia and the Greek Experience*, Baltimore 1994; V. J. ROSIVACH, ‘Enslaving *barbaroi* and the Athenian ideology of slavery’, *Historia* 48.2 (1999), pp. 129–157; P. DUBOIS, *Slaves and Other Objects*, Chicago 2003; for a recent, and admirably well-referenced study in this tradition, see K. WRENHAVEN, *Reconstructing the Slave: The Image of the Slave in Ancient Greece*, London 2012.

writing in this tradition exclusively focused on ethnic and foreign names.<sup>62</sup> Academic fashions change. The study of slave names provides one way of moving towards a multifaceted picture, a picture that must of course include this work on ideology and stereotype (for these issues have a history in their own right), but not be limited to it.<sup>63</sup>

When it comes to explaining the patterns of slave names in the epigraphic record, it is therefore important to bear two things in mind. First, what kind of behaviour are we *expecting* Greek slaveholders to have exhibited? The study of slave names shows that the kind of ethnocentric, chauvinistic citizen obsessed with ‘othering’ his barbarian slaves popularised in the 1990s is in itself too simplistic.<sup>64</sup> Second, *whose* ethnicity are we talking about? The ideas of slaveowners about the ethnicity of their slaves? Or the ideas of slaves about their own ethnicity? A top-down approach that captures only generalised statistics regarding names can only go so far towards answering this question.<sup>65</sup> The next step must therefore be to consider the differing contextual features of our documentation: that is, to drill down into the details of the individual dossiers, for not only are they generically very diverse; they in all probability throw together both names by which slaves and freedpersons called themselves, and names bestowed on them by their masters. It is important to ask, then, who it was that erected the inscription in question, and what sort of identity he or she wished to project. What is interesting about a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach – one that abandons

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<sup>62</sup> VLASSOPOULOS, ‘Athenian slave names’ (cit. n. 1), pp. 113–114; IDEM, ‘Plotting strategies’ (cit. n. 1), pp. 101–102.

<sup>63</sup> Another interesting change of perspective – one that allows us to take off the structuralist blinkers – can be gained by reading Aristotle’s will (Diog. Laert. 5.11–16), a dry and pragmatic document whose clauses, a number of them making provisions for the manumission of loyal slaves, strike a contrast with Aristotle’s more programmatic discussion on slavery in Book I of the *Politics*.

<sup>64</sup> Here I concur with the thrust of the argument in K. VLASSOPOULOS, *Greeks and Barbarians*, Cambridge 2013, pp. 1–31: the structuralist approach is valuable, but only captures part of the overall picture.

<sup>65</sup> That approach is something that both VLASSOPOULOS and I have utilised (VLASSOPOULOS, ‘Athenian slave names’ [cit. n. 1]; IDEM, ‘Plotting strategies’ [cit. n. 1]; cf. LEWIS, ‘Near Eastern slaves’ [cit. n. 1], pp. 99–105, and the present study), so I direct this criticism at myself as well.

a bird's-eye perspective for a ground-level view – is that when we encounter inscriptions likely erected by slaves or freedpersons, the issue of ethnicity is not avoided. If ancient Greek slaveholders like Aristotle used slaves' non-Greek origins as a means of denigrating them, then slaves seem frequently to have viewed the same issue in a very different manner, as a valuable facet of their cultural identity, and one that was worth commemorating.<sup>66</sup> I will finish, therefore, with two further pieces of evidence: one, an imaginary scenario sketched in a melodrama; the other, an inscription erected for a real, historical individual.

In the opening lines of Menander's *Heros* we hear of a slave named Tibeios who worked in the deme of Ptelea as a herdsman before being manumitted (*Her.* 20–24). He later borrowed 200 drachmas from an Athenian citizen, Laches, in order to survive through a famine. Eventually, though, Tibeios died in penury (*Her.* 27–30). His son Gorgias borrowed a further 100 drachmas to pay for the funeral expenses, and then worked in debt bondage alongside his sister Plangon to pay off the debt to Laches (*Her.* 32–36).<sup>67</sup> Could a similar story lie behind the erection of this monument, the grave stele of Tibeios (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 12780 = EM 9461)?

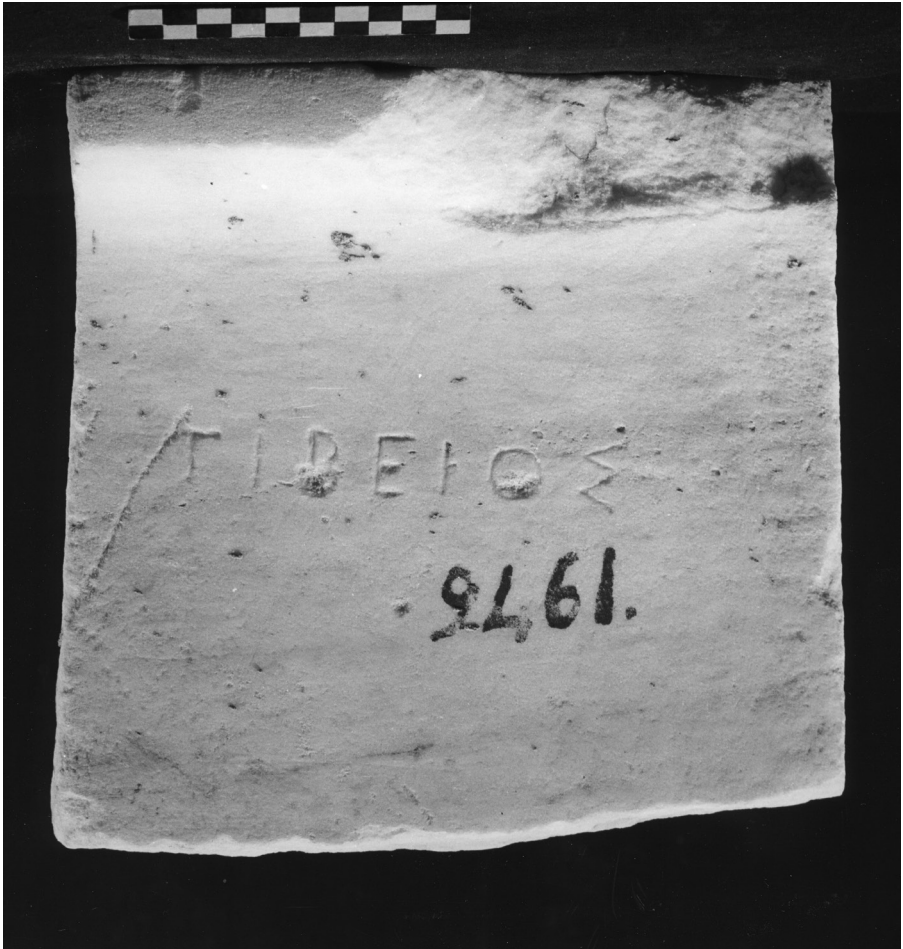
We cannot, of course, know for sure; and perhaps this Tibeios had died as a reasonably well-off freedman. But the example shows that much remains to be done on such monuments by historians and archaeologists working on Greek slavery. Further questions might include the strategies used by poor individuals to acquire grave markers; their spatial context (where findspots are known); and the legal regulations governing the burial of non-citizens.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> HUNT, 'Trojan slaves' (cit. n. 52) brings this point out very fully for Athens; something similar might be attempted using the Rhodian material.

<sup>67</sup> For an analysis of the passage and the issue of debt bondage, see E. M. HARRIS, *Democracy and the Rule of Law in Classical Athens*, Cambridge 2006, pp. 249–269.

<sup>68</sup> On the costs of monuments, see G. J. OLIVER, 'Athenian funerary monuments: style, grandeur, and cost', [in:] G. J. OLIVER (ed.), *The Epigraphy of Death. Studies in the History and Society of Greece and Rome*, Liverpool 2000, pp. 59–80, for discussion. It should be noted that the 100 drachmae borrowed by our fictional Gorgias would probably cover the costs of a simple headstone of the sort discussed and costed by Oliver (though Menander's text does not specify whether a headstone was bought). On the legal relations governing access to grave plots, see M. FARAGUNA, 'Società, amministrazione, diritto: lo statuto giuridico di tombe e *periboloi* nell' Atene classica', [in:] B. LEGRAS & G. THÜR (eds.), *Symposion 2011. Études*



This kind of work is necessarily fine-grained, and will require the contribution of epigraphers and archaeologists who work at the coalface, considering not just the edited text but also the form of the monument and its archaeological context.<sup>69</sup>

*d'histoire du droit grec et hellénistique (Paris, 7–10 Septembre 2011)*, Vienna 2012, pp. 165–185.

<sup>69</sup> See e.g. the discussion of G. J. OLIVER, 'An introduction to the epigraphy of death: funerary inscriptions as evidence', [in:] OLIVER (ed.), *The Epigraphy of Death* (cit. n. 69), pp. 1–23.

## APPENDIX: SLAVE ORIGINS IN THE DELPHIC MANUMISSIONS

Besides the individual references, I have given (wherever available) finer-grained information in the τὸ γένος ἐκ- constructions, which provide specific toponyms to further finesse the categories set out below. Most of the detailed toponyms come from Greece; the level of detail in the identifications generally decreases with distance from Delphi.

**Greece [60 individuals]**

**Eastern Locrian:** *SGDI* II 1882 (τὸ γένος ἐξ Ὀποῦντος); *FD* III 3:26 (τὸ γένος Θροναΐδα); **Western Locrian:** *SGDI* II 1953 (οἰκογενής ἐξ Ἀμφίσσας); 2016 (τὸ γένος ἐξ Ἀμφίσσας); 2043 (τὸ γένος Μεσσαπίαν); 2053 (τὸ γένος ἐξ Ἀμφίσσας); 2212; 2151 + *FD* III 3:43; *FD* III 2:131 (τὸ γένος Βωτάν<sup>70</sup>); 1:303 (τὸ γένος Φυσκικόν); 3:50 ([τὸ γένος] ἐκ Τολφῶνος); **Phocian:** *SGDI* II 1685 (τὸ γένος ἐξ Ἐλατείας); 1732 (τὸ γένος Ἀμβρυσσίαν); 1861; 2118 (τὸ γένος Φωκίδα ἐγ Δαυλίας); 2130 (τὸ γένος Τρωνίδα); 2132 (τὸ γένος ἐκ Τρωνείας); 2182 (τὸ γένος ἐκ Φανατέος<sup>71</sup>); *FD* III 2:235; 3:316 (τὸ γένος Λιλαιεύς); **Laconian:** *SGDI* II 1853; 1950; 1990; 1993 (τὸ γένος Λακεδαιμονίαν); 2044; 2050; 2068; 2075; 2129 [2 slaves]; **Epirote:** *SGDI* II 1689 (τὸ γένος ἐξ Ἀργεθίας); 1901; 1987 [2 slaves] (τὸ γένος ἐξ Ἀθαμανίας); **Boeotian:** *SGDI* II 1974; 2223 (τὸ γένος Θηβαῖον); 2226 (τὸ γένος Βοιωτάν ἐγ Λεβαδίας); 2288 (τὸ γένος ἐκ Κορωνείας); *FD* III 2:233; 3:5 (τὸ γένος [ἐκ Κο]ρωνείας); 3:347; 3:355; *BCH* 22, p. 32, no. 24; *BCH* 68/9 (1944), p. 112, no. 23; **Chalcidian:** *SGDI* II 1844 (τὸ γένος ἐκ Χαλκίδος); 1994; **Thessalian:** *SGDI* II 1756 (τὸ γένος ἐκ [...])

<sup>70</sup> This designation is rather a puzzler. A. CALDERINI, *La manomissione e la condizione dei liberti in Grecia*, Milan 1908, p. 410, lists it in 'Africa Settentrionale', though I am unsure why. I have followed *LGPN* (III B, s.v. Ἐπίκτησις' [6], Ὀωτηρίς' [11 & 12]) and treated it as Bouttos in Western Locris, near Naupactus. But even P. M. FRASER and E. MATTHEWS are unsure of this, and add question marks to these entries. For -αν as an ethnic suffix in NW Greece, see A. THUMB & E. KIECKERS, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekten*, Heidelberg 1909, i, p. 309; F. BECHTEL, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, Berlin 1921–1924, ii, p. 60, for examples.

<sup>71</sup> Viz. Phanoteus: *LGPN* III B, s.v. Ὀωφρόνα' [6], for the individual; M. H. HANSEN & T. H. NIELSEN (eds.), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, Oxford 2004, no. 190, for the toponym.

Κελαίθας); 1771; 2038 (τὸ γένος ἐξ Σπερχειᾶν); 2133 (τὸ γένος Θε[σσα]λᾶν ἐξ Σκοτούσσης); *FD* III 2:214 (τὸ γένος Ὀρθωσιῆ); **Delphian**: *SGDI* II 2123; *FD* III 2:226; **Tenedian**: *SGDI* II 2232; **Aneian**: *SGDI* II 1908;<sup>72</sup> **Megarian**: *SGDI* II 2070; **Aetolian**: *SGDI* II 1747 (τὸ γένος Αἰτωλᾶ ἐκ Καλλιπόλιος); *FD* III 3:9; **Heleian**: *FD* III 6:46.<sup>73</sup>

### ***The Balkans [50 individuals]***

**Maketan**: *SGDI* II 1872; 1925; 1940; 2082 (τὸ γένος Μακέταν ἐξ Ὀρωποῦ); 2279; **Perrhaibian**: *SGDI* II 1856; **Macedonian**: *SGDI* II 1720; 1880; 2165; **Illyrian**: *SGDI* II 1810; 1854; 2014; 2046; *FD* III 2:222; **Dardanian**: *SGDI* II 2194; *FD* III 3:27; **Thracian**: *SGDI* II 1694 [2 slaves]; 1711; 1715; 1719; 1733; 1816; 1824; 1826; 1832; 1839; 1847; 1849; 1895; 1902; 1903; 1926; 2006; 2009; 2036; 2047; 2052; 2062; 2119 [2 slaves]; 2186; 2134; 2175; 2205; 2263; *FD* III 1:568; 2:128; 2:237; 3:6; 3:358.

### ***Black Sea & Environs [19 individuals]***

**Maeotian**: *SGDI* II 1992; 2163; **Bastarnian**: *SGDI* II 1754; 2196; **Sarmatian**: *SGDI* II 1724; 2108; 2110; 2142 [2 slaves]; 2274; *FD* III 2:228; 3:47; *BCH* 66/67 (1942), p. 71, no. 2; p. 74, no. 4; **Armenian**: *SGDI* II 1877; 1911; 1915; 1938; **Colchian**: *SGDI* II 2218.

### ***Anatolia [38 individuals]***

**Bithynian**: *SGDI* II 1906; *FD* III 1:565; **Mysian**: *SGDI* II 2027 (τὸ γένος ἐκ Πιονιᾶς); 2065; **Cappadocian**: *SGDI* II 1796; 1799; 1851; 2143; *FD* III 3:2; 3:15; 3:21; 3:32; 3:265; *BCH* 66/67 (1942), p. 78, no. 7; **Galatian**: *SGDI* II 1809;

<sup>72</sup> τὸ γένος ἐξ Ἄνεος; perhaps Aneiai on the Corinthian-Epidaurian border. The *Barrington Atlas* II, p. 892, places Aneiai in this area as an ‘unlocated toponym’.

<sup>73</sup> G. COLIN, ‘Notes de chronologie delphique’, *BCH* 22 (1898), pp. 1–200, at p. 34, writes (without providing any references): ‘on connaît plusieurs bourgs du nom de Ἐλος’. CALDERINI, *La manomissione* (cit. n. 71), p. 408, places the (this time unaspirated) toponym in central Greece; but it could be elsewhere. (An obvious candidate is Helos in Laconia.)

1854; 1860; 1878; 1881; 1886; 1971; 2094; 2154; *FD* III 3:208; 3:209; 6,118; **Per-gamene**: *SGDI* II 2121; **Paphlagonian**: *SGDI* II 1696; **Lydian**: *SGDI* II 1951; 1991; **Phrygian**: *SGDI* II 1710; 1922; 2289; *FD* III 3:13; **Cilician**: *SGDI* II 1936; **Pisidian**: *FD* III 2:217; **Asian**: *SGDI* II 1739 (τὸ γένος Ἀσιαγενῆ); **Tibaranian**: *SGDI* II 1894; **Heraclea Pontica**: *SGDI* II 1959.

### *Near East* [60 individuals]

**Syrian**: *SGDI* II 1686; 1688; 1717; 1718; 1735; 1738; 1743; 1817; 1825; 1829 (τὸ γένος ἐκ Ἀπαμείας); 1841; 1857; 1893; 1905; 1945; 2002; 2019; 2091; 2095; 2137; 2155; 2175; 2183 [2 slaves, one of whom is described as τὸ γένος Σύρον Βηρύτιον]; 2184; 2203; 2209; 2230; 2251; 2258; 2275; 2276; 2293; 2295; 2315; *FD* III 1:337; 1:566; 2:234; 2:236; 3:24; 3:28; 3:30; 3:35; 3:140; 6:65; 6:77; 6:85; 6:112; *BCH* 86 (1962), 314 = *SEG* 22:486; **Phoenician**: *SGDI* II 1727 (τὸ γένος Σειδώνιον); 1989; **Jewish**: *SGDI* II 1722; 2029; **Cypriot**: *SGDI* II 1749; 2250 (τὸ γένος Πάφιος); **Arab**: *SGDI* II 1814; 1892; 2174; **Mede**: *FD* III 2:219; **Elymaian**: *SGDI* II 1797.

### *Africa* [6 individuals]

**Libyan**: *SGDI* II 2175 + *SEG* 22:487; **Alexandrian**: *SGDI* II 1740; *FD* III 3:33; **Egyptian**: *SGDI* II 1712; 2190; *FD* III 2:243.

### *Italy* [6 individuals]

**Italian**: *SGDI* II 1800; **Samnite**: *SGDI* II 2000; 2042; **Roman**: *SGDI* II 1985; 2116; **Brettian**: *SGDI* II 2045.

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David Lewis  
Department of Classics  
The University of Edinburgh  
Old Medical School  
Teviot Place  
Edinburgh EH8 9AG  
Scotland  
dlewis2@ed.ac.uk

## NOTES ON SLAVE NAMES, ETHNICITY, AND IDENTITY IN CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC GREECE

**Abstract**

This article builds on recent studies of slave names in ancient Greece. First, it expands the scope beyond Attica and shows that in other regions of the Greek world too, foreign slaves were normally given Greek names that did not echo their ethnic origins. Second, it argues that for the minority of slaves that were given ethnic or foreign names, normally (but not invariably) these did reflect the true origins of the slave in question. Third, it argues that some slaves bore multiple names, and that some epigraphic genres are more likely to reflect names bestowed on slaves by their owners, whereas other genres are more likely to reflect the indigenous or preferred names of the slaves themselves.

**Keywords:** slavery, slave names, Ancient Greece, slave trade, epigraphy, Delphi

## UWAGI NA TEMAT IMION NIEWOLNIKÓW, POCHODZENIA ORAZ TOŻSAMOŚCI W KLASYCZNEJ I HELLENISTYCZNEJ GRECJI

**Abstrakt**

Artykuł ten opiera się na najnowszych badaniach dotyczących imion niewolniczych w starożytnej Grecji. Po pierwsze, rozszerza on zakres badawczy poza Attykę, pokazując, że również w innych regionach greckiego świata niewolnikom obcego pochodzenia nadawano imiona greckie, które nie stanowiły nawiązania do ich pochodzenia etnicznego. Po drugie, dowodzi, że w przypadku gdy niewolników nazywano imionami o pochodzeniu etnicznym albo obcym, miało to rzeczywiście, choć nie zawsze, związek z ich pochodzeniem. Po trzecie, artykuł pokazuje, że niektórzy niewolnicy nosili więcej niż jedno imię, a pewne rodzaje inskrypcji częściej przekazują imiona nadane przez właścicieli, podczas gdy inne zachowują oryginalne bądź preferowane przez samych niewolników.

**Słowa kluczowe:** niewolnictwo, imiona niewolników, starożytna Grecja, handel niewolnikami, epigrafika, Delfy