

Slaves

The main source of labour; lack of technical progress; inequality of mankind:

Aristophanes, *Ploutos* 510-26: *Poverty* If Ploutos were to recover his sight and to share himself out equally, nobody would ever practise a trade (*techne*) or a skill (*sophia*); once both of these had disappeared from among you, who would want to be a smith, a shipwright, stitch, makes wheels, shoes, bricks, keep a laundry, be a tanner? Who would want 'To break the soil with his ploughshare and reap the fruits of Demeter', if you were able to live in idleness and not to worry about all these things?

Chremylos Rubbish! All these tasks you have just mentioned our servants will labour at for us.

Poverty And where will you get servants?

Chremylos We shall purchase them for silver, of course.

Poverty But first who will be the seller, when he too has silver?

Chremylos Some trader avid for profit, from Thessaly, the land of the insatiable slave-traders.

Poverty But first of all there won't be any slave-traders for a start, according to your own argument. Of course! For who, once he has become wealthy, would want to risk his life doing this job? You will wear your life out much more painfully than you do now, being forced to plough and dig and do all painful tasks.

- Roles performed by private slaves; public slaves (*demosioi*), e.g. the 300 Scythian archers and the tester of coins for their purity (*dokimastes*):
- Athenian law on silver coinage (375-74): It was resolved by the *nomothetai*, in the archonship of Hippodamas; Nikophon moved: let Attic silver currency be accepted when [it is shown to be] of silver and bears the official [type]. Let the public tester sitting among the tables test (the coins) according to these regulations every [day except] when payments of money are made; at that time let him test in the [council] chamber. If anyone brings to him [...] which bear the same type as the Attic [...], let (the tester) return it to the one who brought it to him. If it has a core [of copper], or of lead, or is counterfeit, let him cut it across [...] and let him consecrate it to the Mother of the Gods and [deposit] it with the council. If the tester does not hold session or test (coins) according to the law, let the *syllogeis* of the people strike him with 50 blows of [the whip].

- Working conditions; the *choris oikountes* (e.g. Pasion); manufacture – Lysias' 120 slaves in his arms factory (12.19); Demosthenes' father's factories (*ergasteria*):
- Demosthenes, *Against Aphobos* 1.9: My father, men of the jury, left two factories, in each of which a substantial trade was carried on. One was a knife factory consisting of 32 or 33 workmen, some worth five or six minae, others at least 3 minae; from them my father got a clear annual income of 30 minae. The other was a bed factory consisting of 20 workmen, which were given to him as security for a debt of 40 minae.

Mining

- Andocides, *On the Mysteries* 38: He (Diocleides) said he had a slave working at Laurion, and he had to go and collect the payment (he owed to him). He got up early to start on his way but got the time wrong. It was full moon.
- Phrygians, Thracians and Paphlagonians

All nations at risk through war and piracy:

- Thucydides 6.62.2-4: Coasting along Sicily, with the shore on their left, on the side towards the Tyrrhenian Gulf, they touched at Himera, the only Greek city in that part of the island, and being refused admission resumed their voyage. On their way they took Hykkara, a petty Sicanian seaport, nevertheless at war with Egesta, and making slaves of the inhabitants gave up the town to the Egestaeans, some of whose cavalry had joined them; after which the army proceeded through the territory of the Sicels until it reached Catana, while the fleet sailed around the island with the slaves on board. Meanwhile Nicias sailed straight along the coast and went to Egesta and, after transacting his other business and receiving the 30 talents, rejoined the forces. They now sold their slaves for the sum of 120 talents.

Barbarian slaves in the fourth century:

- Plato, *Republic* 5.469b-c: *Socrates* And next, how will our soldiers deal with enemies?
- *Glaukon* In what respect?
- *Socrates* First take slavery. Is it right that Greek states should sell Greeks into slavery? Ought they not rather to do all they can to stop this practice and substitute the custom of sparing their own race, for fear of falling into bondage to barbarians?
- *Glaukon* That would be better, beyond all comparison.
- *Socrates* They must not, then, hold any Greek in slavery themselves, and they should advise the rest of Greece not to do so.
- *Glaukon* Certainly. Then they would be more likely to keep their hands off one another and turn their energies against barbarians.

- Manumission; slaves might work together with citizens and metics, e.g. the Erechtheion building accounts:
- For channelling the columns at the east end, opposite the altar, the column next to the altar of Dione – Laossos of the deme of Alopeke: 20 drachmae; Philon of the deme of Erchia: 20 drachmae; Parmenon (slave) of Laossos: 20 drachmae; Karion (slave) of Laossos: 20 drachmae; Ikaros: 20 drachmae.

Metics

- Trade; obligations – the metic tax (*metoikion*); inferior status; taxes on foreigners (*xenika*); the privilege of *isoteleia* (equality of taxation); the *prostates* (patron):
- Aristotle, *Politics* 3.1275a1-25: A state (*polis*) is a compound made up of citizens; and this compels us to consider who should properly be called a citizen and what a citizen really is. The nature of citizenship, like that of the state, is a question which is often disputed; there is no general agreement on a single definition: the man who is a citizen in a democracy is often not one in an oligarchy. We may leave out of consideration those who enjoy the name and title of citizen in some other than the strict sense – for example, naturalised citizens. A citizen proper is not one by virtue of residence in a given place: metics and slaves share a common place of residence. Nor can the name of citizen be given to those who share in civic rights only to the extent of being entitled to sue and be sued in the courts. This is a right which belongs also to aliens who share its enjoyment by virtue of judicial conventions (*symbola*), though it is to be noted that there are many places where metics do not enjoy even this limited right to the full – being obliged to choose a legal protector (*prostates*) so that they share only to a limited extent in the common enjoyment (*koinonia*) of the right. These men may be said to be citizens in the same way as children who are still too young to be entered on the roll of citizens, or men who are old enough to have been excused from civic duties. There is a sense in which the young and the old may both be called citizens, but it is not altogether an unqualified sense: we must add the reservation that the young are undeveloped, and the old superannuated citizens, or we must use some other qualification; the exact term we apply does not matter, for the meaning is clear. What we have to define is the citizen in the strict and unqualified sense, who had no defect that has to be made good before he can bear the name – no defect such as youth or age, or such as those attaching to disfranchised or exiled citizens. The citizen in this strict sense is best defined by the one criterion, ‘a man who shares in the administration of justice and in the holding of office’.

Metics register in a deme, e.g. the Erechtheum building accounts:

- The next column – Theogenes of the deme of Peiraieus: 15 drachmae; Kephisogenes of the deme of Peiraieus: 15 drachmae; Teukros who lives in the deme of Kydathenaion: 15 drachmae; Kephisodoros who lives in the deme of Skambonidai: 15 drachmae....

Financial obligations, service in the army and navy:

- Euripides, *Supplikes* 888-98: The son of the huntress Atalante, Parthenopaïos, a most beautiful child, was an Arcadian. He came to the river Inachos and was educated at Argos. Being brought up there, first of all, as is fitting for foreigners who enjoy the status of metics, he did not cause any distress or odium to his city, nor was he argumentative, a source of annoyance both with a demesman and a foreigner. He joined our battalions, like an Argive by birth, and defended the country, rejoicing in the successes of the city and being distressed at its reverses.
- Thucydides 7.63.3-4: Bear in mind how well worth preserving is the pleasure felt by those of you who through your knowledge of our language and imitation of our manners were always considered Athenians, even though not so in reality, and as such were honoured throughout Greece, and had your full share of the advantages of our empire in the respect of our subjects, and more than your share in protection from ill treatment. You, therefore, with whom alone we freely share our empire, we now justly require you not to betray that empire.

- No political rights, no automatic process of naturalisation, no right of *epigamia* with citizens, no citizen status except by a special grant, inferior, could not acquire land and houses in Attica, except as a special privilege, but economic activity could lead to wealth:
- Ps.-Xenophon, *Constitution of the Athenians* 1.10-12: As far as slaves and metics are concerned, it is in Athens that you see them behaving with the greatest insolence; you may not strike them there and the slave will not stand out of your way. The reason for this local custom is this: if there was a law allowing the free man to strike the slave, the metic or the freedman, he would often have struck an Athenian thinking he was a slave. For the common people (*demos*) there are no better dressed than the slaves and the metics, nor any better in appearance.
- Should anyone be surprised at the fact that they allow the slaves in Athens to live in luxury, and some of them lead a life of great splendour, this too is done deliberately by them. In a country which bases its power on its navy, it is necessary for financial reasons for us to be slaves of our human livestock. We must get from them the money they owe us, and therefore allow them to be free. Where there are wealthy slaves there is no advantage in my slave being afraid of you, but in Sparta my slave fears you. For if your slave was afraid of me, there is a possibility that he would hand over his own money to free himself from personal danger.
- This is why we have granted to slaves the right of equal speech (*isegoria*) towards free men, and similarly to metics towards citizens, because the city needs the metics on account of the multiplicity of trades and because of the fleet. Accordingly, it is with good reason that we have given the right of equal speech to metics as well.

Xenophon's proposal of extra privileges:

- Xenophon, *Ways and Means (Poroi)* 2: All the advantages I have mentioned are, I believe, due to the country itself. But to our indigenous advantages it would be worth adding concern for the metics; they seem to me to be among the finest sources of revenue, since they are self-supporting, confer many advantages on the cities, yet do not get any salary but pay the *metoikion*. Concern for the metics would be adequately shown, in my view, by the lifting of restrictions on them which do no good to the city, and by relieving them of the obligation to serve as hoplites together with the citizens. It represents a great risk for them, and it is a serious matter for them to have to leave their occupations or their houses. The city itself would gain if the citizens were to serve in the ranks together instead of being mixed up, as is the case at present, with Lydians and Phrygians and Syrians and other barbarians from all over the world; for there are many metics of this kind. In addition to the advantage they would gain in being exempted from military service, it would be an honour for the city that the Athenians should be thought to rely in battle on themselves rather than on foreigners. I believe further that if we were to grant to the metics admission to various honorific functions, including serving in the cavalry, we would make them even better disposed to us and would increase the greatness and strength of the city. Further, since there are within the walls many empty spaces without houses, if the city were to confer on worthy candidates the right to own land on which to build houses, I believe that there would be many more foreigners and of greater distinction who would be keen to live in Athens. Finally, if we were to institute a body of guardians of the metics similar to the existing guardians of the orphans, and some kind of distinction were to be conferred on those who could show the longest list of metics, this would also make them better disposed and it would be reasonable to expect all stateless individuals to be anxious to become metics in Athens and thus to increase our revenues.
- Metics could be among the social elite (e.g. Lysias); loyalty towards the democracy