

## Tekmeria

Vol 19 (2025)

γεγενῆσθαι. μνηύεται οὖν ἀπὸ μετοίκων τέ τιων καὶ ἀκο-  
 λούθων περὶ μὲν τῶν Ἑρμῶν οὐδέν, ἄλλων δὲ ἀγαλμάτων  
 περικοπαί τινες πρότερον ὑπὸ νεωτέρων μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ  
ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ · ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ  
NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION · INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH  
SECTION OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITY  
 οἴκιάς ἐφ' ἑρβεί· καὶ αὐτὰ ὑπολαμβάνοντες οἱ μάλιστα τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ ἀχθόμενοι  
 ἐμποδῶν ὄντι σφίσι μὴ αὐτοῖς τοῦ δήμου βεβαίως προεστάναι,  
 καὶ νομισαυτες, εἰ αὐτὸν ἐξελάσειαν, πρῶτοι ἂν εἶναι, ἐμεγά-  
 λυνον καὶ ἐβόων· **Τεκμήρια** τὴν ἐπὶ δήμον καταλύσει τά τε μυστικὰ καὶ  
 ἢ τῶν Ἑρμῶν περικοπή· γένηται καὶ οὐδὲ εἴη αὐτῶν ὅτι οὐ  
 μετ' ἐκείνου ἐπράχθη, ἐπιλέγοντες τεκμήρια τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ  
ΣΥΜΒΟΛΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΜΑΪΚΟΥ  
ΚΟΣΜΟΥ · CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE GREEK  
AND ROMAN WORLD · CONTRIBUTIONS A L'HISTOIRE DU  
MONDE GREC ET ROMAÏNE · BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE  
DER GRIECHISCHEN UND RÖMISCHEN WELT · CONTRIBUTI  
PER LA STORIA DEL MONDO GRECO E ROMANO  
 γὰρ καὶ τὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐπεπερισσότερα, καὶ εἰ μὲν τούτων  
 τι εἴργαστο, δίκην δοῦναι, εἰ δ' ἀπολυθείη, ἄρχων. καὶ  
 ἐπεμαρτύρητο μὴ ἀπόντος περὶ αὐτοῦ διαβολὰς ἀποδέχεσθαι,  
 ἀλλ' ἤδη ἀποκτείνειν, εἰ ἀδίκησε· καὶ ὅτι σωφρονέστερον εἴη  
 μὴ μετὰ τοιαύτης αἰτίας, πρὶν διαγνώσι, πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ  
 τοσοῦτ' στρατεύματι. οἱ δ' ἐχθροὶ δεδιότες τό τε στρατεύμα  
 μὴ εὖνον ἐχρη, ἦν ἤδη ἀγωνίζηται, ὅ τε δήμος μὴ μαλα-  
 κίζηται θεραπεύων ὅτι δι' ἐκείνων οἱ τ' Ἀργεῖοι ξυνεστράτευον  
 καὶ τῶν Μαντινέων τινές, ἀπέτρεπον καὶ ἀπέσπευδον, ἄλλους  
 ῥήτορας ἐνιέντες οἱ ἔλεγον νῦν μὲν πλείν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ  
 κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀναγωγὴν, ἐλθόντα δὲ κρίνεσθαι ἐν ἡμέραις  
 ῥηταῖς, βουλόμενοι ἐκ μείζονος διαβολῆς, ἦν ἐμελλον ῥῆον  
 αὐτοῦ ἀπόντος ποριεῖν, μετάπεμπτον κομισθέντα αὐτὸν ἀγω-  
 νίσασθαι. καὶ ἔδοξε πλείν τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην.  
 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θέρους μεσοῦντος ἤδη ἡ ἀναγωγὴ ἐγγίγνεται

### Honorands and Slave-owners: Tracing the Fortunes of an Achaian Elite Family in IG IX 12 3, 721

Matthew Hewitt

doi: [10.12681/tekmeria.42133](https://doi.org/10.12681/tekmeria.42133)

Copyright © 2025, Matthew Hewitt



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/).

#### To cite this article:

Hewitt, M. (2025). Honorands and Slave-owners: Tracing the Fortunes of an Achaian Elite Family in IG IX 12 3, 721. *Tekmeria*, 19, 79–103. <https://doi.org/10.12681/tekmeria.42133>

MATTHEW HEWITT

## Honorands and Slave-owners: Tracing the Fortunes of an Achaian Elite Family in IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 3, 721\*

### Introduction

This article concerns a single block of marble, which hosts three separate inscriptions (IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 3, 721a-c), from the West Lokrian *polis* of Chaleion. These three texts – a fragmentary dedication, a decree granting *proxenia* to an Achaian, and a manumission by sale to Apollo – together make up a significant proportion of the relatively humble extant epigraphic corpus from this small Greek community. At first sight – barring the fact that they are inscribed on the same stone – these texts, which seem to have been inscribed decades apart, appear unrelated to one another. This habit of inscribing one inscription upon the material support for another, unconnected text is not unusual in central Greece in the second century BCE, particularly in the case of manumission inscriptions.

However, I here hypothesise that the homonymity between the honorand in text *b* and the manumittor in text *c* (both Kleogenes) was no mere coincidence, and that these texts might permit us to reconstruct the history of an elite Achaian family and its attempts to consolidate a hereditary interstate network. Most strikingly, it may provide us with a remarkable insight into the mobility of the Peloponnesian elite in the wake of the disaster of 146 BCE. Furthermore, I argue that the act of freeing an enslaved person, along with its record, was employed in this instance as a means of performing and establishing the status of the manumittor. I suggest that this example is indicative of the fact that manumission inscriptions were firmly embedded within a culture of conspicuous elite display. This model may help to explain the function and popularity of this form of inscription in certain parts of the Hellenistic world.

I will begin by charting the history of the stone itself, before introducing each inscription and its historical interpretation in chronological order.

---

\* My thanks are due to Charles Crowther for providing me with photographs of the inscriptions. The argument made here has benefited from his insights, as well as those of David Lewis and Peter Thonemann, both of whom commented on versions of this article. I am also grateful to the anonymous reviewers of *Τεκμήρια* for their valuable recommendations.

## A history of the stone

The marble block with which this article is concerned resides now in Oxford, in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum. It belonged to the collection of one James Dawkins (1722-1757), a Jacobite antiquarian and heir to a Jamaican plantation fortune.<sup>1</sup> In the early 1750s, Dawkins travelled the Mediterranean with a retinue of distinguished companions, in search of ancient sites and objects.<sup>2</sup> It was with his financial support that Robert Wood was able to publish his *The Ruins of Palmyra* (1753), and James Stuart and Nicholas Revett their *Antiquities of Athens* (1762), both of which were the results of expeditions undertaken with Dawkins himself. As was often the case with Grand Tourists of Western Europe, it was not only impressions that these men returned with, but any objects of antiquity that they could manage. Among Dawkins' haul was a stone from the ancient *polis* of Chaleion.

According to Richard Chandler's *Marmora Oxoniensia*, a 1763 guide to what was then the Arundel marble collection, the stone was found not at Chaleion itself – the site of the modern picturesque harbour town of Galaxidi – but some way east, on the opposite side of the Corinthian gulf, in a church near Vassiliko (ancient Sikyon).<sup>3</sup> This findspot is repeated in Klaffenbach's *IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 3*.

But while the journey ascribed to this *Pierre errante* would make a neat inversion of the movement of the individuals attested in the texts inscribed on its surface, this findspot is contradicted by Dawkins' expedition diaries. Transcribed by Robert Wood's daughter, but thought originally to have been written by Dawkins himself, the diaries document their Aegean excursions in the late spring of 1751.<sup>4</sup> The entry for the 30<sup>th</sup> May records their visit to Galaxidi, and Dawkins notes their

---

1. For a brief introduction to the Ashmolean's collection of Greek inscriptions and their origins, see Tod 1954, 172-173. On Dawkins, and the scale of his wealth, see the entries "James Dawkins the younger", *Legacies of British Slavery database* (<http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146633416>) (accessed 20/1/2025), and "Dawkins, James", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7338>) (accessed 20/1/2025).

2. On Dawkins' expeditions in the Mediterranean, see Harris 1990, 49-51.

3. According to the stone's earliest mention in Richard Chandler's (1763) *Marmora Oxoniensia* (no. XXIX, 1-3): "Ex Ecclesia non longe a *Basilico*, prope Asopum". Due to the mention of an Asopos, Böckh (*CIG* 1567) had Chaleion down as an otherwise-unknown Boeotian town. This was corrected by Dittenburger in a note to his edition of the inscriptions (*IG IX 1*, 330-332), noting the presence of a river Asopos in the northern Peloponnese: "Illuc vero facillimo negotio navi ex opposita sinus Corinthii ora, ubi situm erat Chaliium, lapidem deportari potuisse luce clarius est".

4. For their itinerary during this period, see Hatton 1927, 127-128.

finding of an inscription which he anticipates will identify the town's ancient predecessor. A note added later affirms that the inscription refers to Chaleion, though he says nothing of the content of the inscription.<sup>5</sup> Later that day, they travelled by boat across to Corinth, and it was on the following day, May 31<sup>st</sup>, that they visited the site of ancient Sikyon. It is safe to assume that the text referenced in Wood's diary is the one with which the present article is concerned, that the stone was found at Chaleion (Galaxidi), and that the attribution given by Chandler is owed to a minor cataloguing error.

As for a more specific original physical context for the stone, we can say little with any certainty. Dawkins' diary entry mentions the inscription after noting the ruins of "one or two buildings" and the "enceinte" (the fortification wall), but it is unclear whether the stone was employed in one of these structures. Without a clear understanding of ancient Chaleion's topography, our only clue can be found in the contents of the inscriptions, which suggest a local sanctuary to Apollo (Naiotes) as the original location of the stone.<sup>6</sup>

#### Face *a*: a dedication to Apollo (IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 3, 721a)

Of the three inscriptions the stone bears, the dedication is almost certainly the earliest. We might infer that this block served originally as a statue base, with the dedication on face *a*, carved with neat, large lettering, constituting the original text engraved on the stone (**fig. 1**).

#### *Text and translation*

[– c. 6 –] τὸν υἱὸν vac.  
 [– c.7 –] ἅ Ἀπόλλωνι.  
 .... son .... to Apollo.

---

5. The diary entry reads as follows: "[May] 30. Found Galaxidi to be a village built on a little point of land in the Crissean gulf on which are a few ruins of an ancient city as the foundations to be still traced of one or two buildings and part of the enceinte. An inscription which we carried(?) of from thence will probably discover the ancient name\* of this place. From hence we took a boat to Corinth...". A note added later reads: "The inscription shows it to have been Chaleon, which Ptolemy and Stephanus gives to the Locri; and which according to Strabo and Pausanias, must be in their bounds". Wood's diaries have been made available online by the School of Advanced Study, University of London.

6. On the remains at Chaleion, see Freitag 2000, 107-109; Petrochilos 2019.

*Commentary*

Half of the dedication –including, unfortunately, its dedicator– is lost. We can assume that it was accompanied by a statue of the dedicator’s son, and that the whole monument –inscription and statue– taken together served as a visible indicator of this man’s individual virtues, and of an elite family’s status in their civic community.<sup>7</sup> The version of Apollo to whom the statue was dedicated was almost certainly Apollo Nasiotes (“of the island”), who is the recipient of the manumission on the same stone, and who is known to have been worshipped in Chaleion from a third-century decree granting *proxenia* to Aristodama, inscribed at Delphi, which stipulates that another copy is to be inscribed at the sanctuary of Apollo Nasiotes.<sup>8</sup> The dedication has been dated to the third century BCE, with its letter forms the only weak criterion for doing so. That said, its inscription almost certainly preceded the other two texts on the stone, which can be dated with greater precision.

**Face b: a decree honouring Kleogenes of Aigion (IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 3, 721b) (fig. 2)***Text and translation*

- ἀγαθαὶ τύ[χαι]  
 ἄρχοντος Ξένωνος, ἐπ[ίδα]-  
 μοργέοντος Μίκκωνος· ἐπ[εῖ]  
 Κλεογένης Ἀλκιθόου Αἰγιεὺς
- 5 εὖνους ὧν καὶ εὐχρηστος διατελ[εῖ]  
 τᾷ πόλει τῶν Χαλειέων, ἔδοξε τᾷ πό-  
 λει ἐν ἐνόμῳ ἐκκλησίαι· πρόξεν-  
 ον εἶμεν καὶ εὐεργέταν τᾶς πόλιος]  
 τῶν Χαλειῶν Κλεογένη Ἀλκιθόου Αἰγ[ιῆ]
- 10 καὶ ἐγόνους αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶμεν αὐτῶι ἴσο[πο]-  
 λιτείαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν κα[ὶ] πολέ]-  
 μου καὶ εἰράνας καὶ γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας ἔνκτης[ιν]  
 καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὑπάρχειν αὐτῶι πάντα, ὅσα [καὶ]

7. Such dedications are fairly common in late 3rd and 2nd cent. BCE. See e.g., *I. Oropos* 424-425 for a pair of dedicated statues of family members. On the development, character and function of private statues in public spaces, see Ma 2013, 194-240.

8. *FD* III 3, 145 ll. 34-37: τὸ ψάφισμα τόδε [ἀναγρ]άψαι τὸν | ἐπιδα[μ]οργὸν Ἀρχα<γ>όραν μετὰ τοῦ γραμ[μ]ατέος | Φιλίου κ[αὶ] ἀναθέμεν τὸ μὲν πα[ρὰ τὸν] ναὸν | οὗ Ἀπό[λλ]ωνος τοῦ Νασιώτα, ν τὸ [δὲ ἐν Δ]ελφοῖς.

τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέτ[αις]  
 15 τᾶς πόλιος ὑπάρχει.

“When Xenon was archon, and Mikkon was epidamiourgos. Since Kleogenes, son of Alkithoos, of Aigion, is consistently well-disposed and useful to the city of the Chaleians, the city decided in a lawful assembly: Kleogenes, son of Alkithoos, of Aigion and his descendants shall be a proxenos and benefactor of the city of the Chaleians, and he shall have equal citizen rights and security and protection from seizure both in war and in peace and the right to own land and property and that he shall possess all the other privileges, as many as are apportioned to the other proxenoi and euergetai of the city.”

#### *Prosopography and dating*

The recipient of the grant of *proxenia* is a certain Kleogenes, son of Alkithoos of Aigion, who can be identified as a member of an illustrious family of great prominence in the Achaian League in the third and second centuries BCE, and whose line has been traced by Christian Habicht.<sup>9</sup> The eldest member of the family of whom we are aware is Euryleon, who served as *strategos* of the Achaian *koinon* in 211/10 BCE. Polybius offers us little else on the subject of this man, whom he considers “a coward and a stranger to the business of war” (ἄτολμος ἦν καὶ πολεμικῆς χρείας ἀλλότριος), and who provides a negative counterpoint to the historian’s subsequent laudatory portrait of Philipoimen.<sup>10</sup>

Euryleon’s son, Xenophon, himself seems to have had a distinguished diplomatic career. He is attested as a *proxenos* to the Aitolian *koinon* in an inscription dated to 210/9 BCE, the year after his father’s term as *strategos*, and appears on a list of *proxenoi* from Delphi from 195/4 BCE.<sup>11</sup> He is almost certainly the same Xenophon dispatched by the Achaians to Flamininus’ congress at Nikaia in 198, and later sent on an embassy to Rome itself.<sup>12</sup>

Alkithoos, the father of the man honoured in our inscription, was the son of this Xenophon, and Polybius has him serving on an Achaian embassy in 169/8 to Ptolemy VI Philometor, who in turn sent Alkithoos and his fellow envoys on to Antiochos IV with overtures of peace.<sup>13</sup>

9. The following reconstruction is drawn from Habicht 1994, 223.

10. Polyb. 10.21.1.

11. Aitolian *koinon*: *IG IX* 1<sup>2</sup> 1, 29, l. 27. Delphi: *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 585 ll. 28–29.

12. Polyb. 18.1.4 and 18.10.11.

13. Polyb. 28.12.9 and 28.19.3.

Euryleon (active 211/10 BCE)



Xenophon son of Euryleon (active 210/9 BCE – 195/4 BCE)



Alkithoos son of Xenophon (active 169/8 BCE)



**Kleogenes son of Alkithoos (active 166 – 146 BCE?)**

The date of the present proxeny grant for Kleogenes cannot be fixed precisely, since the year of Xenon's archonship is unknown. However, he may well be the Xenon, son of Philiston, who freed a slave by sale to Delphian Apollo in 145/4 BCE.<sup>14</sup> Habicht suggests that the proxeny decree likely pre-dates 146 BCE and the disastrous defeat which the Achaians suffered at the hands of the Romans led by Mummius, who sacked Corinth and (at least temporarily) dismantled the federal states of the Greek mainland.<sup>15</sup>

Lerat posited 166 as a *terminus post quem* for this inscription, on the grounds that it is dated by the local archon of Chaleion, and not by the *strategos* of the Aitolian *koinon*. The Aitolians had hitherto dominated Western Lokris, but according to Lerat's dating, lost control of much of it following the battle of Pydna; while some states remained attached to the Aitolians, others formed into a West Lokrian *koinon*, yet the Chaleians and the Amphissans seem to have operated independently in these years.<sup>16</sup> Indeed it is striking that before the 160s the manumissions performed at Delphi by West Lokrian manumittors employed the Aitolian dating system.<sup>17</sup>

---

14. CID V 534 [= SGLI II 2089]. Though not given an *ethnikon*, we can infer that this Xenon is from Chaleion as his son (or father), Philiston son of Xenon, is listed among the witnesses from Chaleion.

15. For the war and its after-effects, see Polyb. 38.9-18; Paus. 7.15-16; Strabo 8.6.23; Plut. *Vit. Phil.* 21.5-6. On Roman government of Achaia, see Hurlet, Müller 2020.

16. Lerat 1952, 95-108 and, especially, 98 on this inscription. Cf. Zachos 2023, 248.

17. The manumissions by sale to Pythian Apollo performed by foreign manumittors employ a double formula for dating: by the Delphic archon and the eponymous magistrate from the manumittor's home city. The Delphic inscriptions provide rich evidence for West

We lack the evidence from Chaleion itself to be certain that they would have employed the Aitolian dating system internally. That Chaleion's local magistracies existed within the Aitolian *koinon* can be illustrated by a decree of the last quarter of the third century, inscribed at Delphi, which refers to both the archon and the *epidamiourgos* as in our inscription.<sup>18</sup> That said, the earliest Delphic manumission performed by a citizen of Chaleion and dated by the local archon is CID V 534 (= SGDI II 2089), produced during the archonship of Emmenidas at Delphi, which Mulliez's revised chronology tentatively places in 162/1 BCE.<sup>19</sup> Coincidentally, the manumittor in this instance is Μίκκων Δωροκλέος Χαλιεύς, who ought to be the *epidamiourgos* in our proxeny inscription. A date in the 160s thus seems to fit nicely for this inscription.

A post-Pydna date signifies that Kleogenes was not one of the notable Achaians against whom trumped-up charges of collusion with Perseus were brought by Orestes (on the instigation of the treacherous Kallikrates, if the sources are to be believed), as a result of which 1,000 Achaians were taken to Italy as hostages between 167 and 151 BCE.<sup>20</sup>

This dating also makes some political sense: Kleogenes' grandfather Xenophon had close ties with the Aitolian *koinon*, as did several other Achaians during this period.<sup>21</sup> As the Aitolians lost ground, Kleogenes can be seen shrewdly ingratiating

---

Lokrians, particularly in the early part of the 2nd cent. BCE. Illustrative of this is the fact that half of the 100 earliest datable manumissions, were performed by West Lokrians. On Delphi's sphere of influence (*Wirkungskreis*) as reflected by these inscriptions, see Lepke 2019, 279-302 and, especially, 281-292.

18. IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 3, 740, l. 1; 35. See Daux 1922, 449; Pomtow 1923, 293-294 (on the unknown function of the *epidamiourgos*). A *damiourgos* is already attested at Chaleion in the fifth century: IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 3, 720.

19. Mulliez 2020, 209.

20. Polyb. 30.13.9-11; Paus. 7.10.7-10. On this period of Roman-Achaian relations, see Dmitriev 2011, 327-330.

21. The information on the proxeny networks of the Aitolians and Achaians employed in this article was obtained through the *Proxeny Networks of the Ancient World* database, hosted at <http://proxenies.csad.ox.ac.uk/>.

An inscription from Thermon records grants of the Aitolian *koinon* itself to at least three men from Aigion in 214/3 BCE: IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 1, 31, l. 168; 176. Two citizens of Patrai are beneficiaries in an inscription from 185/4: IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 1, 32.

On the other side, Polybius (5.95.12) mentions a *proxenos* of the Achaians, Kleonikos of Naupaktos, captured and released by the Achaians during their skirmishes against

himself with a newly independent state which had broken free from the Aitolians.<sup>22</sup> The strategic position of Chaleion for the Achaians, with its access to the Corinthian gulf from the north, and its natural double harbour, can well justify the desire by a prominent figure in Aigion to cultivate friendly relations with the community.<sup>23</sup> The existence of friendly relations between Aigion and the cities of West Lokris in roughly the same period is elsewhere attested by the proxeny decree of the *koinon* of the West Lokrians, inscribed into an *exedra* from Physkeis, granted to Aristoboulos son of Euagoras from Aigion.<sup>24</sup> At nearby Delphi, meanwhile, three men from Aigion are attested as *proxenoi* in this period, while another manumits his slave there in 169/8 BCE.<sup>25</sup>

All of this is suggestive of a concerted attempt by members of Aigion's elite to forge ties in the region, though the fact that two of the Delphic *proxenoi* are musicians cautions against a reading of these individuals purely as political operatives. Personal gains of financial and symbolic capital no doubt contributed to the activities which led to the formalised tie of *proxenia* with the cities on the opposite shore of the Corinthian gulf.<sup>26</sup>

In our inscription we find a relatively standard “package” of honours for a Hellenistic proxeny decree, including the καὶ ἐκγόνους clause.<sup>27</sup> This latter deserves particular emphasis here, as the honours granted to Kleogenes were considered inheritable, a fact that will be relevant as we discuss the third inscription written on the stone.

---

the Aitolians in 217 BC during the Social War. Kleonikos subsequently played a role in negotiating peace between the two sides (Polyb. 5.102.4-6).

22. Though it is worth noting that, even within the Aitolian *koinon*, individual *poleis* seem to have exercised their right to bestow *proxenia*. On the proxeny decrees of Kallipolis, see Rousset 2006. Cf. Mack 2015, 211-213.

23. See Petrochilos 2019, §5-8, who notes the strategic advantages of the site from the perspective of the Aitolians, under whose influence the site was probably fortified.

24. IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 3, 667. See Lerat 1952, 103.

25. Proxenies: FD III 1, 154 (145/4 BCE); 3, 125 and 126 (157/6 BCE).

Manumission: CID V 236 [= SGDI II 1774], Pratiias son of Telesias of Aigion frees his slave Sotion for the high price of 9 minai, with the remarkable proviso that he may “do whatever he should please, but not set foot in Achaia” (ποιέοντα ὅ κα θέληι, μὴ ἐπιβαίνοντα ἐπ’ Ἀχαΐαν).

26. For a full analysis of the motivations of *proxenoi*, see Mack 2015, 90-147.

27. Mack 2015, 122-130.

**Face c: a manumission by sale performed by Kleogenes of Elis / Alea (IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 3, 721c)**

The final text recorded on the stone is a manumission by sale to Apollo Nasiotes. With some peculiarities, this text represents a relatively standard example of this form of inscription (**fig. 3**). The procedure of granting enslaved people their freedom through sale to a deity is exclusively attested in central Greece, with examples from at least 19 communities from Aitolia, West Lokris, East Lokris, Akarnania, Phokis, Doris, and Thessaly.<sup>28</sup> The earliest of these date to the late third century BCE, and the practice continued at Delphi into the first century CE.<sup>29</sup> However, they seem to have been produced in the greatest number, both at Delphi and in West Lokris, in the second century BCE.<sup>30</sup> This is our only extant example of a manumission by sale performed at Chaleion, though Chaleians are among the most prolific manumitters at Delphi in the second century BCE.

*Text and translation*

ἄρχον[τος ἐν μ]ὲν Χαλειῶι Ἀλεξίνου, μηνὸς Καρείου, ἐν δὲ Ἀμφίσσαι ἄρ-  
χοντο[ς Ἀρι]στάρχου, μηνὸς Ἀγραστυῶνος ἀπέδοτο Κλεογένης Ἀνδρονίκου  
Ἀλείου ἐν Ἀμ[φ]ί[σσαι] ἐνεργα[ζ]όμενος σῶμα ἀνδρείου, ὧ ὄνομα Δημήτριος, τὸ γέ-  
νος Λαοδικῆ, ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαι τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Νασιώται τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν  
χιλιῶν. τὰν τι-  
5 μὰν ἀπέχει πᾶσαν. [β]εβαιω[τῆρ κ]ατὰ τὸ σύμβολον Φίλιος Χαλειεύς. τὰς ὄνᾶς τὸ  
ἀντί[γρα]-  
φον φυλάσسونτι οἱ θεοκόλο[ι τοῦ] Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Νασιώτα Φιλόξενος Νικία,  
Εὐχανδρίδας  
Νικάνδρου Χαλειεῖς, ἐν δὲ Ἀμφίσσαι Ἀρίσταρχος Λαϊάδα· μάρτυρες Φιλόξενος,  
Νικ[ό]-  
λαος, Πέτ[α]λος, <N>ικόλαος, Θεοφάνης, Ξενί[ας], Καλλιτέλης, Πολυξενίδα,  
Ἀλεξί[νος],  
Ξενόσ[τρατο]ς.

28. On this form of manumission, see Hopkins, Roscoe 1978; Mulliez 1992; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, especially, 86-91; Kamen 2014; Lepke 2016; Zanovello 2021, 37-72.

29. IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 1, 96a from Phistyon is the earliest dated manumission by sale, from 213/2 BCE.

30. More than 800 of the ca. 1300 published manumissions from Delphi date before 100 BCE. See now the chronology of Dominique Mulliez in CID V.

“When Alexinos was archon in Chaleion, in the month of Kareios, when Aristarchos was archon in Amphissa, in the month of Agrastyon. Kleogenes, the son of Andronikos, from Elis / Alea who trades(?) in Amphissa, sold a male slave, by the name of Demetrios, a Laodikean by origin, to Apollo Nasiotes for the purpose of freedom, for the price of 1,000 silver drachmae. He received the sum in full. The guarantor according to the symbolon: Philios of Chaleion. The theokoloι of Apollo Nasiotes Philoxenos son of Nikias and Euchandridas son of Nikandros of Chaleion, and in Amphissa Aristarchos son of Laiadas shall keep copies of the sale. Witnesses: Philoxenos, Nikolaos, Pettalos, Nikolaos, Thophanes, Xenias, Kalliteles, Polyxenidas, Alexinos and Xenostratos.”

#### *Dating and prosopography*

As with the previous inscription, a single year cannot be fixed for the term of office of the Chaleian archon, Alexinos (who also presumably appears here as a witness).

More can be said about the Amphissan archon Aristarchos. As well as being named as the archon, he appears in l. 7 as one of those charged with keeping a copy (*antigraphon*) of the sale contract.<sup>31</sup> Here he appears with a patronymic: he is the son of Laiadas. His father can be identified in *CID V 207* [= *SGDI II 1856*], a Delphic manumission dating to 173/2 BCE, in which Λαιάδας Ἀριστάρχου Ἀμφισσεύς frees two slaves.

The guarantor Φιλίος can be identified as Philios son of Lykios, and has the same role in a manumission performed by a fellow citizen of Chaleion from Delphi in the late 130s BCE.<sup>32</sup> That inscription is dated by the archonship of Petalos at Chaleion, who is homonymous with, and very likely identical to, the witness in our text.<sup>33</sup> Philios is also likely the keeper of the *antigraphon* in a manumission by the Delphian Pyrrias, dated to the late 130s or early 120s.<sup>34</sup>

Of the two witnesses named Nikolaos, one might be Nikolaos son of Timon, who witnesses two other manumissions at Delphi in the mid-late second century, one alongside Philios.<sup>35</sup>

---

31. This clause is relatively common to manumissions by sale, attesting to the importance of keeping records other than the inscription itself. On archival practices in manumissions by sale, see Harter-Uibopuu 2013, 281-294; Mulliez 2014.

32. *CID V 667* [= *SGDI II 2145*], ll. 5-6.

33. *CID V 667* [= *SGDI II 2145*], l. 2.

34. *CID V 698* [= *SGDI II 1693*], l. 11; 14.

35. *CID V 534* [= *SGDI II 2089*] (145/4 BCE) alongside Philiston son of Xenon (the archon from text b); *CID V 698* [= *SGDI II 1693*] (135-128 BCE), l. 21.

The name Θεοφάνης is a *hapax* in this form, but we might identify this man with the (likely Amphissan) Θεοφάνης who appears in an amphictyonic document from ca. 125 BCE.<sup>36</sup>

Ξενίας is probably to be identified with the Ξενέας who appears as a witness in CID V 698 (along with Nikolaos and Philios).

Πολυξενίδας is a rather rare name, with only 10 attestations in the LGPN.<sup>37</sup> Three of these are Amphissans. The first, perhaps the grandfather of the man in this text, provides his consent to his father Polyxenos' release of a slave at Delphi in 195 BCE.<sup>38</sup> The next is the father of the witness Μενίσκος in an inscription from ca. 90-80 BCE, a plausible candidate for our man.<sup>39</sup> The last is a priest from Amphissa itself, dated roughly to the first century BCE.<sup>40</sup>

A date ca. 130-125 BCE, a period in which four of these actors seem likely to have been active, and which can be made to fit with the prosopography of the others, seems reasonable. Inscription c thus belongs some 20-40 years after the decree on Face b.

#### Commentary

A peculiarity of this inscription is its use of the verb ἐνεργάζομαι. This phrase has been interpreted by some as indicating simply that Kleogenes was living in Amphissa, though Georges Daux rightly argued that the verb never has this sense.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, if what this participle was attempting to capture was the fact that Kleogenes was a metic, a foreign resident at Amphissa, we would expect some variation of the clause κατοικῶν ἐν, as found in other manumissions from the region.<sup>42</sup>

The verb ἐνεργάζομαι relates in its broadest sense to the generation of something in something (or someone) else, often coupled with an abstract concept like δόξα, εὐνοια or δέος. In a more concrete sense, the verb can mean “plying one’s

36. FD III 4.280, col. c, l. 20.

37. There are seven more with the -ιδης suffix.

38. CID V 16 [= SGDI II 2010], l. 5.

39. CID V 862 [= SGDI II 1931], l. 5. This Meniskos is likely the protector (φύλαξ) of the *antigraphon* in CID V 942 [= SEG 28, 488].

40. IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 3, 754.

41. Daux 1934, 159 n. 1.

42. Naupaktos: IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 3, 639, l. 4. Delphi: CID V 17; 35; 92; 178; 189. On metics as manumitters conforming to local practices, though misunderstanding Kleogenes as a citizen of Chaleion, see Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 145.

trade in”,<sup>43</sup> or “making a profit from”.<sup>44</sup> Here, we must take the verb to mean quite simply that Kleogenes makes his money in Amphissa (hence Daux identified him as a “commerçant”). We can only speculate on what Kleogenes’ business might have been in Amphissa, but the high price paid by Demetrios for his freedom indicates that it was lucrative.<sup>45</sup> It is possible that he ran some kind of workshop (an ἐργαστήριον), in which Demetrios had served.<sup>46</sup> In any case, Kleogenes was more than likely a man of means.

Another curiosity of the inscription is the reference to a σύμβολον in the guarantor clause. The phrase βεβαιωτῆρ κατὰ τὸ σύμβολον is here equivalent to the clause βεβαιωτῆρ κατὰ τὸν νόμον (τᾶς πόλιος) “guarantor according to the law (of the city)” common at Delphi and other West Lokrian sites. In every other instance in which we encounter a reference to a σύμβολον, the reason is that the manumittor is from another city (though always a West Lokrian city).<sup>47</sup> Many of the details are uncertain, but it is clear that a legal framework existed in the cities of western central Greece for carrying out sales –perhaps specifically manumissions by sale–, and that this included a local νόμος mandating or regulating the role of the guarantor.<sup>48</sup> When someone from another community of the region came to enact a sale, they did so in accordance not with a νόμος but a σύμβολον, an agreement between their home community and the one in which the sale is performed.

In this instance, it would seem that the σύμβολον is between Amphissa, Kleogenes’ city of work, and Chaleion. Since Kleogenes is neither a citizen nor even a metic in Amphissa, Vélissaropoulos-Karakostas expresses surprise that he is bound by this agreement.<sup>49</sup>

---

43. As for example at Polyb. 10.8.7 describing fisherman.

44. As at Dem. 44.23.

45. In general, manumissions by sale rarely provide any explicit indication of the occupation of a manumittor. On this question, see Mulliez 2021, 143-144.

46. Workshops populated with slave labour are well-attested in Classical Athens, e.g., Lys. 12.8; Dem. 27.9; 37.4.

47. Delphi: *SGDI* II 1901; 1921; 1927; 2140. *Physkeis*: *IG IX* 1<sup>2</sup> 3, 681.

48. On state intervention in manumission, see Zelnick-Abramovitz 2009.

49. Vélissaropoulos-Karakostas 2011, 396: “pour des raisons qui ne sont pas indiquées, il est concerné par les dispositions du traité conclu entre les deux cités, toutes les deux étrangères à son égard”. Cf. Albrecht 1978, 54 n. 95.

The *symbolon* or “covenant” might be a broader agreement than between these specific cities. On a Phokian covenant, see Zachos 2007, 123-124.

Indeed, this inscription begs the question of why Kleogenes, a man from the other side of the Corinthian gulf (and we shall come shortly to his *ethnikon*), working (and potentially living) in Amphissa, decided to free his slave at Chaleion. That he could have performed precisely the same action in Amphissa is affirmed by other epigraphic evidence, and one might expect this to have been a more convenient choice.<sup>50</sup> Alternatively, if Kleogenes were to travel to free Demetrios, why not journey, as so many others did, to the closer and more conspicuous site of Delphi to perform a manumission? The answer, I suggest, lies in the manumittor's name.

*Kleogenes of Elis / Alea: A Speculative Reconstruction*

The aspect of this text I would most like to draw attention to is that our manumittor here is homonymous with the recipient of *proxenia* in the decree recorded on side *b* of the same stone. Of course, this may be mere coincidence, and one must accept that the following argument is somewhat speculative. With the requisite caution, however, I wish to argue that the two Kleogenes' are related, and pursue the logical implications of this for our interpretation of these inscriptions. The evidence for naming a son after his paternal grandfather is abundant for the Greek world, while Kleogenes is not such a common name that a simple coincidence is overwhelmingly likely.<sup>51</sup> Given the relative dates of the two inscriptions, I suggest that this Kleogenes, some 30 years after his grandfather had been honoured by the community of Chaleion, returned and left his own mark on the epigraphic record, in the form of a manumission inscription. The practice of returning to the same stone to inscribe a text relating to the same individual or family might be comparable with roughly contemporary examples from Delphi where an inscription recording an *apolyxis* (the release of a freed person from *paramonē* conditions) was inscribed directly under the document of manumission by sale of the same individual, albeit the timespan is more significant in our case.<sup>52</sup>

---

50. See Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 144. Manumissions performed at Amphissa: *IG IX 1<sup>2</sup>* 3, 753-756.

51. The name Kleogenes, according to the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* database, has 43 attestations in total, 22 of which derive from Attica and Euboea, the others relatively dispersed – from the 5th cent. BCE to the 1st cent. CE, largely from *poleis* on the Greek mainland. The variation Κλεαγένης is attested five times.

52. E.g. *CID V 1099* [= *FD III 3, 402*], recording the *apolyxis* of Antigona by Aphrodisia, is inscribed directly under her manumission *CID V 1075* [= *FD III 3, 401*], yet the inscriptions are dated to different archonships.

The most obvious objection to this reconstruction is that the two men are given different ethnics. The elder Kleogenes of our proxeny decree comes from Aigion, the known provenance of his ancestors. The younger Kleogenes, in contrast, is given the *ethnikon* Ἀλεῖος. He is typically assumed to have been from the *polis* of Elis.<sup>53</sup> However, Kleogenes may also be from the Arcadian city of Alea. Given that since the 230s most Arkadian *poleis* were incorporated into the Achaian *koinon*, an individual from Aigion would no doubt have had the right to settle in a member city of the *koinon*.<sup>54</sup> The same seems to be true of Elis, from the late 190s.<sup>55</sup> It is therefore possible –accepting either of these as his ethnic identifiers– that some members of the family relocated in the years following the elder Kleogenes’ receipt of *proxenia*. Alternatively, the shift in origin might tentatively be accounted for by the upheavals of the mid-second century in Achaia. The comprehensive defeat of the Achaians by the Romans in 146 BCE, and its long-term impact on the mainland Greek world are well-known.<sup>56</sup> In the short term, the sources tell us, the Achaian *koinon*, along with other federal leagues, was disbanded, and the walls torn down from the cities which opposed the Romans. We can safely assume that Aigion, as the seat of Achaia’s federal organisation, was one of these. There is no reason to assume it suffered any more substantial a destruction, which would preclude one from living there. There is also no explicit testimony that the Romans forced the inhabitants of such cities into exile on this occasion. However, exile was a relatively common fate for the vanquished in the Hellenistic world, particularly those of high status and influence.<sup>57</sup> The family of the elder Kleogenes claimed at least four generations of political actors (on the assumption that the proxeny grant from Chaleion implies some kind of diplomatic career). Furthermore, they were familiar to the Romans. If not forced out, it is not hard to imagine why resettling from Aigion to a neighbouring Peloponnesian state seemed a sensible decision. Indeed,

---

53. See the translation of the digital *Inscriptiones Graecae*: [http://telota.bbaw.de/ig/digitale-edition/inschrift/IG%20IX%201%C2%B2,%203,%20721\(C\)](http://telota.bbaw.de/ig/digitale-edition/inschrift/IG%20IX%201%C2%B2,%203,%20721(C)) (accessed 21/1/2025). German and Italian translations are provided by Klaus Hallof and Daniella Summa, respectively. The same assignation is made by the *LGP*N. Since the *ethnika* in manumissions by sale are almost universally *polis* rather than regional ethnics, we ought to deduce that he is from the *polis* of Elis rather the broader territory of the same name.

54. Plut. *Vit. Arat.* 34.5.

55. Livy 36.31.3. For a reconstruction of events in this period based on fragmented sources, see Mackil 2013, 128–143.

56. See n. 15 above.

57. See Gray 2015.

the disaster experienced by the Greeks in the Peloponnese is attributed squarely by our sources to the leaders of the Achaian league (Kritolaos most conspicuous among them), and we might expect that anyone of influence in the preceding years felt themselves vulnerable.<sup>58</sup> In the context of the turbulent politics of the second century BCE in the northern Peloponnese, it is eminently plausible that the younger Kleogenes, despite his misleading *ethnikon*, belongs to the same family as the elder Kleogenes honoured several decades earlier.

#### *Kleogenes in Chaleion*

If this prosopographical link is correct, it remains to consider why the grandson of this Kleogenes would return to Chaleion, a city in which neither he nor his grandfather lived, in order to manumit his slave and record it in monumental form.

The first point to make is one of legality: if Kleogenes benefitted from a variety of hereditary rights in Chaleion, as a result of the gift made to his grandfather, this may partially explain his choice to manumit in Chaleion rather than Amphissa. Without knowing precisely the regulations surrounding the procedure, it may simply have been easier or less expensive for Kleogenes to register a manumission in a city in which he possessed *isopoliteia* (and a variety of other privileges), rather than in one in which he ran his business as a foreigner.

But further still, I contend that the younger Kleogenes' return to Chaleion can be read as an effort to renew these ties and reap the rewards first bestowed upon his grandfather. By performing a manumission and having it inscribed at the same site, Kleogenes made himself visible in Chaleion, creating an epigraphic continuity. The large number of witnesses (10, none of whom are given ethnics) might also fit into this context. As much as they are witnesses to the act of manumission, and therefore protectors of the status of the freed man, they are witnesses to Kleogenes' reaffirmation of his connection with the city.

He also demonstrated his piety to a local cult by selling his slave to Apollo Nasiotes, rather than doing so in his home city or the city in which he plied his trade, Amphissa. His patronage of the cult of Apollo Nasiotes would be even more compelling if we were able to identify the original dedication, recorded on side *a*, with the same family. Perhaps, as well as renewing ties with the city of Chaleion, Kleogenes also revived his family's connection to this specific iteration of Apollo. However, this pushes our conjecture too far: the fragmentary state of the dedication on face *a* gives no clues as to the identity of the dedicator, and the decision to inscribe the proxy decree on the same stone may have been a matter of convenience.

---

58. Diod Sic. 32.26, following Polyb. 38.

The salient point here is that the inscription of a manumission appears to have been employed as an instrument for consolidating social and political capital. Far from having the sole intention of protecting the status of Demetrios, the Laodikean man who paid 1,000 drachmas for his freedom, this text, and the choice to manumit at Chaleion, were in the interests of the man who wished to stake a claim about his identity and his status.<sup>59</sup> Demetrios, it can be said with reasonable confidence, would have been best served by having his freedom announced at Amphissa, where he presumably worked with Kleogenes, a city at which we know the same form of manumission was practised.<sup>60</sup> Alternatively, he could have performed the act, and patronised another of Apollo's iterations, at the much more conspicuous shrine at Delphi, as did many other manumittors from Chaleion and Amphissa.<sup>61</sup> Individual motivations for an act of manumission, or for its specific shape, can rarely be identified with any confidence. In this instance, however, it seems likely that a family connection brought Kleogenes back to Chaleion, and to the very stone upon which his grandfather's honours had been recorded.

*The function of a manumission inscription*

Once again it must be stressed that this interpretation relies on an inference from an occurrence of homonymity. Furthermore, this might be an isolated case, though it is only the fortuitously preserved prosopographical trail identifiable on this stone that allows us to identify it, and it may well be that similar stories underlie other inscriptions of this kind. This example might encourage a shift, already occurring, in how manumission inscriptions are conceptualised by modern scholars.

The public inscription of acts of release of enslaved people emerges as a significant phenomenon only at the end of the third century BCE. While we encounter some differentiation in their forms (from sales and dedications to a god to "secular" acts of manumission), there is a clear clustering in the communities of the central and northern Greek mainland of inscriptions which record the practice,

---

59. This is the highest price paid for manumission in the extant West Lokrian texts. Blavatskaja 1972, 23, attributed this to the greed of Kleogenes.

60. See Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 144. Manumissions performed at Amphissa: *IG IX 1<sup>2</sup>* 3, 753-756.

61. See Blavatskaja 1972, 37. By my count, there are at least 66 certain attestations of Amphissian manumittors at Delphi, and 14 Chaleians, to which several other probable instances can be added (e.g. in cases where the manumittor is given no ethnic, but there are substantial number of foreign witnesses).

primarily in religious sanctuaries. The precise origins of this epigraphic habit are not well understood, and it has been noted that many of the more epigraphically prolific communities of the Hellenistic World (such as Athens or Rhodes) are lacking entirely in this kind of inscription.<sup>62</sup>

The inscriptions of this genre have conventionally been interpreted as legal documents, as “proofs” of an individual’s free status.<sup>63</sup> The principal idea underlying this interpretation is that the public inscription of the act at a sanctuary – and particularly one, like Delphi, which attracted a large number of visitors – provided freed persons with protection from re-enslavement, by disseminating the knowledge of their freedom as widely as possible.<sup>64</sup>

But Kleogenes’ manumission of Demetrios provides a counterpoint to this model. As I have argued, Chaleion was hardly the most beneficial site for publicising Demetrios’ new status, if his protection were the primary function of the inscription. In fact, in this instance it would seem that Kleogenes’ status is the more important fact communicated by this inscription. As I shall argue elsewhere, this is a feature which has frequently been overlooked by modern scholars in their understanding of Greek manumission inscriptions, and one which is essential for explaining the popularity of this kind of document in certain communities.

---

62. See Vlassopoulos 2018. Whatever the nature of the procedures underlying the so-called “*phialai exeleutherikai*” inscriptions from 4th-cent. Athens, their form (as inventory lists of silver bowls dedicated to Athena) is clearly distinct from the relatively detailed acts found in the Hellenistic period. It would be misleading to characterise them as “manumission inscriptions” in any meaningful sense. For the debate over whether these inscriptions record the acquittals of freed slaves in trials (real or fictitious) for the charge of *dikē apostasiou* (and hence were *de facto* acts of manumission) or something else entirely, see Meyer 2010; McArthur 2019.

63. Bömer 1960, 29-30; Rädle 1969, 63-64; Posner 1972, 115; Hopkins, Roscoe 1978, 145; Mulliez 1992, 34 and 2021, 160; Davies 2003, 331; Kamen 2005, 109; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 11, 184f., and 2009, 307; Gagarin 2008, 230-231; Jacquemin, Mulliez, Rougemont 2012, 235; Grenet 2014, 402; Scheibelreiter 2014, 35.

Important recent exceptions are Lepke 2019, who acknowledges that manumitters at Delphi were partly motivated by prestige (see especially 285), and Meyer 2021, who argues that these inscriptions served as physical testaments to Apollo’s greatness.

64. E.g. Grzesik 2022, 111: “the introduction of the custom of inscribing acts of manumission in the prime location in the sanctuary... must have attracted manumitters and slaves, as it was always better to have an act of manumission published in a Panhellenic sanctuary, than to have it hidden somewhere in the local archive.”

Manumission was a discretionary act on the part of a slaveowner, and likewise so was its publication. A plausible model for explaining the proliferation of inscribed acts of manumission must therefore place manumittors and their interests at its centre. In this specific example, I contend that Kleogenes used an act of manumission to stake a claim to his status in another community. But speaking more broadly, these inscriptions offered slave owners the opportunity to present themselves as wealthy (through the alienation of an expensive item of property), generous (through the grant of freedom) and pious (through their patronage of a local deity). They also quite simply showed them to be conspicuous, visible members of their civic or regional communities.

It is notable that manumission inscriptions often sit alongside (and are in some cases aesthetically indistinguishable from) those inscriptions which are more explicitly concerned with granting prestige and honour to their subjects, such as honorific decrees.<sup>65</sup> Though *prima facie* the procedures they record are not honorific, manumission inscriptions were embedded in the same system of symbols and values which produced these more honorific texts, and it is a mistake to ignore this fact. Perhaps we cannot explain in precise detail the development of this genre, but their propagation in a certain corner of Hellenistic Greece makes sense when we recognise that manumission was integrated into a culture of public performance – of which the epigraphic record is the only remaining vestige – which underscored the virtues and status of the (primarily elite) individuals who instigated the act: the manumittors. Kleogenes, I would argue, knew this well, and employed an act of manumission as a mode of performing his own status among the citizens of Chaleion.

## Conclusion

To sum up, this article has investigated a single block of marble from ancient Chaleion, whose original location must have been a local temple of Apollo Nasioles, to whom an unknown individual is attested as having dedicated a statue of their son in the earliest inscription recorded on this stone. In the succeeding decades, two more inscriptions were added to this same stone: a proxeny decree granted

---

65. At Delphi, manumission inscriptions in some sense “replaced” honorific decrees, the dramatic rise of the former coinciding with the latter’s decline. See Grzesik 2022, fig. 3. Likewise, the practise of inscribing onto the polygonal wall began with honorific decrees, before being widely adopted for the purposes of publicising manumissions by sale (Grzesik 2021, 136-148). Similarly the *parodos* wall of the theatre of Bouthrotos sees decrees granting *proxenia* inscribed amidst acts and lists of manumitted slaves: Cabanes, Drini 2007, fig. 6.

by the citizens of Chaleion to Kleogenes of Aigion, and a manumission by sale performed by another Kleogenes. The first of these reveals the successful attempts of Kleogenes, a descendant of an illustrious Achaian family, to forge a connection with a strategically useful community of West Lokris in the aftermath of the Battle of Pydna and the subsequent weakening of the Aitolian League. I have further argued that the manumission documents another generation of this same family, based on the homonymy of the subjects of the two later inscriptions. Perhaps owing to the turmoil experienced in Achaia in the mid-second century BCE, the younger Kleogenes bears the *ethnikon* of another city of the northern Peloponnese. Yet, judging by the strikingly large sum he received for the freedom of Demetrios, the Laodikean man whom he had held as his slave, we can deduce that he was flourishing in material terms, practising some trade through Amphissa. Crucially, I have proposed that the younger Kleogenes used the procedure of manumission, witnessed by members of the local community in Chaleion, to stake a claim to the status and rights that he inherited from his ancestor and namesake. The permanent stone record of this action served not primarily as publicity for Demetrios' new status, but as a symbol of Kleogenes' conspicuous patronage of a local cult and ultimately of his entitlement to the prestige accorded to his ancestors.

This case study demonstrates how a close reading of a cluster of related texts in a single monumental context can shed light on the impact of major historical events, as well as the motivations behind certain kinds of epigraphic display.

Matthew Hewitt

Turin Humanities Programme,

Fondazione 1563 per l'Arte e la Cultura

matthew.hewitt@fondazione1563.it

### Summary

This article is a study of a single block of marble from the West Lokrian *polis* of Chaleion, which hosts three separate inscriptions (IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 3, 721a-c): a dedication, a proxeny decree and a manumission by sale to Apollo. I first provide an overview of the history of the stone, as well as the dates, content and context of each inscription. I then propose that the homonymity between Kleogenes of Aigion, the recipient of *proxenia* in text *b*, and the Kleogenes who manumits his slave in text *c* suggests that they belonged to the same family. I explore the implications of this identification for tracing the fortunes of an elite Peloponnesian family in the wake of the disaster of 146. Furthermore, I argue that the act of freeing an enslaved person, along with its record, was employed by the second Kleogenes as a means of performing and establishing his own status. I suggest that this example is indicative of the fact that manumission inscriptions were firmly embedded within a culture of conspicuous elite display.

### Abbreviations - Bibliography

- Albrecht, K.D. 1978. *Rechtsprobleme in den Freilassungen der Bötier, Phoker, Dorier, Ost- und Westlokrer: untersucht mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der gemeinschaftlichen vorgenommenen Freilassungsakte*. Paderborn.
- Blavatskaja, T.V., Golubcova, E.S., Pavlovskaja, A.I. 1972. *Die Sklaverei in hellenistischen Staaten im 3. – 1. Jh. v. Chr.* Wiesbaden.
- Bömer, F. 1960. *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom*, pt. II: *Die sogenannte sakrale Freilassung in Griechenland und die (δοῦλοι) ἱεροί*. Wiesbaden.
- Cabanes, P., Drini, F. 2007. *Corpus des inscriptions grecques d’Illyrie méridionale et d’Épire*, vol. II, pt. 2: *Inscriptions de Bouthrotos*. Athens.
- Chandler, R. 1763. *Marmora Oxoniensia*. Oxford.
- Daux, G. 1922. “Inscriptions de Delphes”, *BCH* 46, 439-466.
- Daux, G. 1934. “Sosthenis”, *BCH* 58, 157-167.
- Davies, J.K. 2003. “Greek Archives: From Record to Monument”, in M. Brosius (ed.), *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions: Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World*. Oxford, 323-343.
- Dmitriev, S. 2011. *The Greek Slogan of Freedom and Early Roman Politics in Greece*. Oxford.
- Freitag, K. 2000. *Der Golf von Korinth: historisch-topographische Untersuchungen von der Archaik bis in das 1. Jh. v. Chr.* Munich.
- Gagarin, M. 2008. *Writing Greek Law*. Cambridge.
- Gray, B. 2015. *Stasis and Stability: Exile, the Polis, and Political Thought, c. 404-146 BC*. Oxford.
- Grenet, C. 2014. “Manumission in Hellenistic Boeotia: New Considerations on the Chronology of the Inscriptions”, in N. Papazarkadas (ed.), *The Epigraphy and History of Boeotia: New Finds, New Prospects*. Leiden – Boston, 395-442.
- Grzesik, D. 2021. *Honorific Culture at Delphi in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*. Leiden – Boston.
- Grzesik, D. 2022. “Connections between Delphic Manumission Inscriptions and Honorific Decrees: The Phenomenon of Delphic Publishing Habit”, in A. Pałuchowski (ed.), *Les lectures contemporaines de l’esclavage : problématiques, méthodologies, et analyses depuis les années 1990. Actes du 42<sup>e</sup> colloque du GIREA, tenu à l’Université de Wrocław, 4 et 5 septembre 2019, à la mémoire d’Iza Biezuńska-Małowist*. Franche-Comté, 101-116.
- Habicht, C. 1994. “Beiträge zur griechischen Prosopographie”, *ZPE* 101, 219-226.
- Harris, E. 1990. *British Architectural Books and Writers, 1556-1785*. Cambridge.
- Harter-Uibopuu, K. 2013. “Epigraphische Quellen zum Archivwesen in den griechischen Poleis des ausgehenden Hellenismus und der Kaiserzeit”, in M.

- Faraguna (ed.), *Archives and Archival Documents in Ancient Societies: Legal Documents in Ancient Societies IV. Trieste 30 September - 1 October 2011*. Trieste, 273-305.
- Hatton, C.A. 1927. "The Travels of 'Palmyra' Wood in 1750-51", *JHS* 47.1, 102-128.
- Hopkins, K., Roscoe, P.J. 1978. "Between Slavery and Freedom: On Freeing Slaves at Delphi", in K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves*. Cambridge. 133-171.
- Hurlet, F., Müller, C. 2020. "L'Achaïe à l'époque républicaine (146-27 av. J.-C.) : une province introuvable?", *Chiron* 50, 49-100.
- Jacquemin, A., Rougemont, G., Mulliez, D. 2012. *Choix d'inscriptions de Delphes, traduites et commentées*. Athens.
- Kamen, D. 2005. *Conceptualizing Manumission in Ancient Greece* (diss., UC Berkeley.)
- Kamen, D. 2014. "Sale for the Purpose of Freedom: Slave-prostitutes and Manumission in Ancient Greece", *CJ* 109.3, 281-307.
- Lepke, A. 2016. "Apollon kauft einen Sklaven. Legale Fiktion und göttliche Intervention in den delphischen Freilassungsinschriften", in D. Bonanno, P. Funke, M. Haake (eds.), *Rechtliche Verfahren und religiöse Sanktionierung in der griechisch-römischen Antike / Procedimenti giuridici e sanzione religiosa nel mondo greco e romano*. Stuttgart, 151-162.
- Lepke, A. 2019. "Vor fremden Göttern? Religiöse Handlungs- und Repräsentationsorte im Spiegel der Freilassungsinschriften des 2. Jahrhunderts v.Chr.", in K. Freitag, M. Haake (eds.), *Griechische Heiligtümer als Handlungsorte: Zur Multifunktionalität supralokaler Heiligtümer von der frühen Archaik bis in die römische Kaiserzeit*. Stuttgart, 279-302.
- Lerat, L. 1952. *Les Locriens de l'Ouest*, vol. II: *Histoire, institutions, prosopographie*. Paris.
- Ma, J. 2013. *Statues and Cities: Honorific Portraits and Civic Identity in the Hellenistic World*. Oxford.
- Mack, W. 2015. *Proxeny and the Polis: Institutional Networks in the Ancient Greek World*. Oxford.
- Mackil, E.M. 2013. *Creating a Common Polity: Religion, Economy, and Politics in the Making of the Greek koinon*. Berkeley, CA.
- McArthur, M. 2019. "Kittos and the Phialai Exeleutherikai", *ABSA* 114, 263-291.
- Meyer, E.A. 2010. *Metics and the Athenian Phialai-Inscriptions: A Study in Athenian Epigraphy and Law*. Stuttgart.
- Meyer, E.A. 2021. "The Knowledge Transmitted by Inscribed Accounts and Legal Documents", in Y. Suto (ed.), *Transmission and Organization of Knowledge in the Ancient Mediterranean World*. Vienna, 199-210.
- Mulliez, D. 1992. "Les actes d'affranchissements delphiques", *CCG* 3.1, 31-44.
- Mulliez, D. 2014. "Archivage et affichage des affranchissements à Delphes : les obligations juridiques et leur évolution", in M. Fumaroli, J. Jouanna, M. Trédé, M. Zink (eds.), *Hommage à Jacqueline de Romilly : L'empreinte de son œuvre*. Paris, 47-60.

- Mulliez, D. 2019. *Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes. Tome V : Les actes d'affranchissement*, vol. I. Athens.
- Mulliez, D. 2021. "Esclaves et affranchis à Delphes : une main d'œuvre indifférenciée, mais indispensable", in S. Maillot, J. Zurbach (eds.), *Status personnels et main-d'œuvre en Méditerranée hellénistique*. Clermont-Ferrand, 141-164.
- Petrochilos, N. 2019. "The Fortification Wall of Chaleion: The Current State of Research", *BCH* 143.1, 289-320.
- Pomtow, H. 1923. "Delphische Neufunde. VI", *Klio* 18, 259-308.
- Posner, E. 1972. *Archives in the Ancient World*. Cambridge, MA.
- Rädle, H. 1969. *Untersuchungen zum griechischen Freilassungen* (diss., Munich).
- Rousset, D. 2006. "Les inscriptions de Kallipolis d'Étolie", *BCH* 130, 381-434.
- Scheibelreiter, P. 2014. "Geldverwahrung bei Artemis, Sklavenverkauf an Apollo. Überlegungen zur Funktion der Einbindung von Göttern in den privatrechtlichen Verkehr: Antwort auf Martin Dreher", in M. Gagarin, A. Lanni (eds.), *Symposion 2013. Papers on Greek and Hellenistic Legal History*. Vienna, 27-38.
- Tod, M.N. 1954. "Epigraphical Notes from the Ashmolean Museum", *JHS* 71, 172-177.
- Véllissaropoulos-Karakostas, J. 2011. *Droit grec d'Alexandre à Auguste : 323 av. J.-C.-14 ap. J.-C. : personnes, biens, justice*, vol. I. Athens.
- Vlassopoulos, K. 2019. "The End of Enslavement, 'Greek Style'", in S. Hodkinson, M. Kleijwegt, K. Vlassopoulos (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Slavery*. Oxford (<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199575251.001.0001>) (accessed 20/1/2025) .
- Zachos, G.A. 2007. "The Interference of the City in the Elateian Manumissions", in A. Serghidou (ed.), *Fear of Slaves – Fear of Enslavement in the Ancient Mediterranean. Actes du XXIXe GIREA, Rethymnon 4-7 Novembre 2004*. Franche-Comté, 115-124.
- Zachos, G.A. 2023. "The Ozolian Locris in Roman Times: A Lost People in a Fragmented Land", *Τεκμήρια* 17, 233-260.
- Zanovello, S. 2021. *From Slave to Free: A Legal Perspective on Greek Manumission*. Alesandria.
- Zelnick-Abramovitz, R. 2005. *Not Wholly Free: The Concept of Manumission and the Status of Manumitted Slaves in the Ancient Greek World*. Leiden – Boston.
- Zelnick-Abramovitz, R. 2009. "Freed Slaves, Their Status, and State Control", *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire* 16.3, 303-318.



Fig. 1. Face a, a dedication to Apollo (image credit: CSAD).

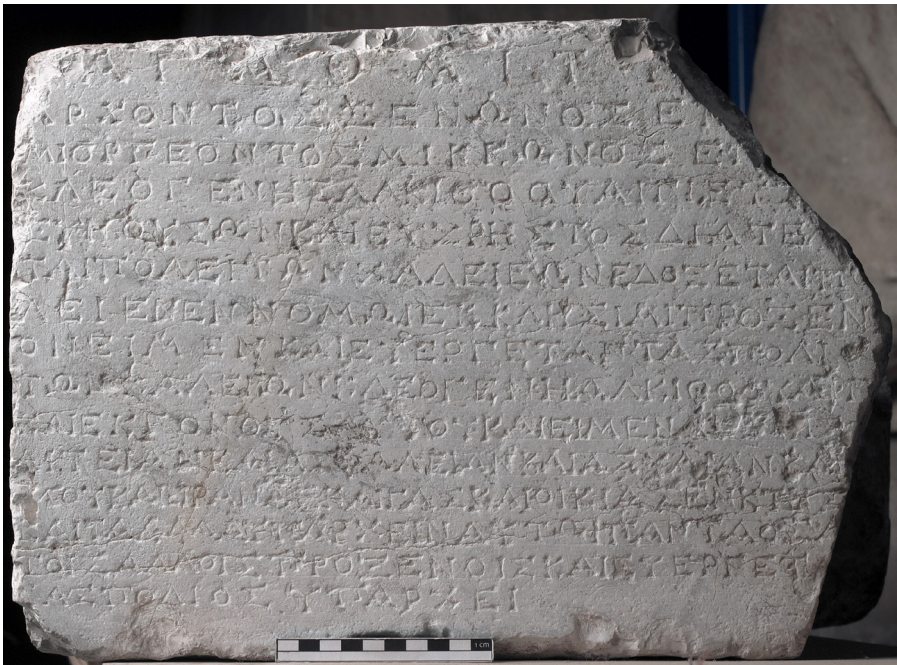


Fig. 2. Face b, a proxeny decree (image credit: CSAD).

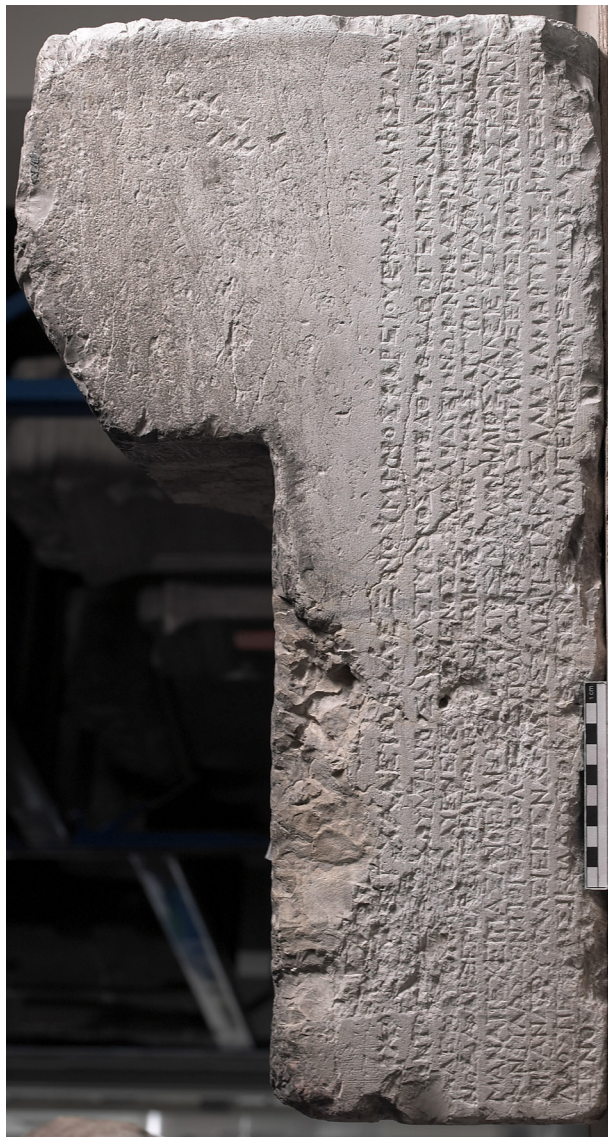


Fig. 3. Face c, a manumission by sale to Apollo Nasiotes (image credit: CSAD).